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Ratio Civilis



Ratio Civilis: The Central European Experience of the Early Modern City

Ferenc HÖRCHER

National University of Public Service, Hungarian Academy of Sciences
e-mail: horcherferenc2@gmail.com

Citizens and magistrates of early modern cities experienced radical changes in a comparatively short span of time. Huizinga in his famous *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (1919) noted that the glorious mediaeval culture which gave birth to the phenomenon of the European city went through a process of slow decline in its last centuries. After the first world war, in a time of total disillusion and the final loss of European innocence, Huizinga meant to show the opposite side of the coin of the culture of the Renaissance to the one presented by Burckhardt's more optimistic narrative of *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860) in an earlier, more self-confident moment of European history. From our point, it might be the case that perhaps Huizinga and Burckhardt were both right. The late mediaeval–early modern period experienced a radical transformation due to the decline of earlier views and the birth of shockingly new visions of human life and the cosmos. Science and the arts both returned to the classical tradition and invented something unparalleled at the same time. In economic life, the novelties included the birth of long-distance trade, new methods of banking in finance, and technological innovation in industry. In society, it meant among other changes, demographic explosions and disasters in a short span of time, sharp social conflicts as a result of a burgeoning middle class, while in politics it led to civil and continent-wide wars based on new dynastic demands and fresh denominational debates, and the intrusion of the Ottoman Empire into South-East Europe, among others. In culture, the period witnessed both the flourishing of Christian humanism and the rise of the Reformation in its Lutheran and Calvinist versions as well, resulting in social unrest, civil wars, and the Thirty Years' War.

Huizinga's and Burckhardt's different perceptions are usually associated with a North–South conflict in the early modern period.¹ Although the fierce debate between these two paradigms is by now over for the most part, it is noteworthy for us for two reasons. First, because the dichotomy behind the debate constructed

1 Harry Jansen. 2016. Rethinking Burckhardt and Huizinga. A Transformation of Temporal Images. *History of Historiography, International Review* 70(2): 95–112.

a southern and a northern version of early modern transformation. It not only left out the Western (Atlantic) direction of the transformation but left the Eastern and much of the Central European developments in total darkness. Secondly, both Burckhardt and Huizinga focused on the cultural dimension of the debate, which led them more to a courtly and less to an urban context. Of course, a key element of Burckhardt's story is Florence, which had a long history of republican government; yet his interest in artistic production brought into the picture the famous Italian secular (princely) and religious (mainly the papal) courts as sponsors as they had the capacity to cover the costs of the luxury of high culture. Huizinga himself was an admirer of the urban culture of his homeland, as he illustrates it in his book on the golden age of the Dutch Republic.² Yet in the centre of his opus magnum we find the Burgundian Court and not the Dutch seaports and famous urban centres. This way, his story suggests that the mediaeval period was more favourable to the feudal, courtly way of politics, and he seems to underestimate the urban developments in the background.

What if we try to redraw this map of cultural history and concentrate on the early modern European city? The three papers the reader finds below deal with the Central European, East-Central European region, more particularly with the Hungarian Kingdom and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Early Modern Period (16th–18th centuries), in connection with civic (in other words, burghers') education.³ They are edited versions of talks given at the conference organized around the topic of the early modern intellectual history of the city at the Institute of Philosophy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. It was entitled '*Ratio Civilis*'. *The Transformation of Urban Political Cultures in the Age of the Reformation*. It was organized by Ferenc Hörcher and Ádám Smrcz with the intention to bring together a select group of multidisciplinary researchers who are interested in the specific political culture characterizing urban centres, as it can be reconstructed by the different methods of intellectual and cultural history as well as of the history of political thought.

The Latin term 'ratio civilis' in the title refers to the specific frame of mind which determined the way of thinking of urban magistrates in the era as witnessed by those who were ready to put down their political ideas and experiences in written form as well.

Fortunately, by now, we have got some interesting new research into the late mediaeval–early modern past of Central Europe. We have got, for example, the Forum on Early Modern Central Europe at the School of Slavonic and East

2 Johan Huizinga: *Dutch civilisation in the seventeenth century*, originally published in 1941.

3 For an earlier account of the present author of early modern civic education, see Ferenc Hörcher. 2017. Dramatic Mimesis and Civic Education in Aristotle, Cicero and Renaissance Humanism. *Aisthesis: Pratische Lingauggi e saperi dell'estetico rivista online del seminario permanente di estetica* 10(1): 87–96.

European Studies in London.⁴ Or think about the research into this period and region at the Central European University, especially the work of Balázs Trencsényi.⁵ Also, we have got some new interesting research, especially on urban development in the region in the Early Modern Period. In this respect, we have the work of András Kubinyi, György Granasztói, and, by now, also of Katalin Szende. This is, of course, a very subjective draft of the new results of Early Modern Central European urban research as it can be seen from the perspective of someone working in Budapest, Hungary. The guest editor's admittedly partial perspective explains why two of the three papers will concentrate on the Hungarian Kingdom. These papers are the works of Hungarian postdoctoral researchers, engaged in the historical study of some of the early modern urban centres. The third one is a different topic, though closely connected to the Hungarian Kingdom. After all, the early modern Poland evoked in it had close historical – political, economic, and cultural – contacts with the Hungarian Kingdom. The idea offered in that paper is itself closely connected to the topic of the other two articles.

Let me shortly describe the merits of the three papers one by one. Barnabás Guitman takes a closer look at 16th-century Bártfa (Bardejov) in Upper Hungary, present-day Slovakia. His hero is Leonhard Stöckel (1510–1560), but Dr Guitman's article is not about his specific activity as schoolmaster of the city after his return from his study trip in Wittenberg. Rather, the author asks how religion, education, and politics are interrelated in this thriving city during and after the Reformation. In the meantime, often as side remarks, he formulates some strong claims. One of them is that 'The cities of the Hungarian Kingdom had broad political and ecclesiastical autonomy compared to other European towns.' Also, he rightly stresses the fact that the city alliance of Upper Hungary had a real political relevance in the age when, after the defeat in the Battle of Mohács (1526) of the Hungarian king by the Turkish invaders and the fall of Buda (1541), the country was divided into three independent parts.⁶ However, perhaps nothing was as important in this respect as the impact of the German-language reformation of the local government, the church government taking over the authority of the

4 This research was established there by the late László Péter, and now it has been taken over by Martyn Rady and Thomas Lorman. I worked together with this research group to edit: Ferenc Hörcher–Thomas Lorman: *A History of the Hungarian Constitution: Law, Government and Political Culture in Central Europe*. London, I. B. Tauris, 2019. There is a long chapter in this volume on the mediaeval and early modern history of the Hungarian Kingdom.

5 See especially Balázs Trencsényi's thesis: *Patriotism, Elect Nation, and Reason of State: Patterns of Community and the 'Political Languages Of Hungarian Nationhood' in the Early Modern Period*. Budapest, Central European University, 1998; Balázs Trencsényi–Márton Zászkaliczky, eds, *Whose Love of Which Country? Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

6 For an overview of this specific topic, see Gábor Kiss Farkas: *Humanist Ethics and Urban Patriotism in Upper Hungary at the Turn of 15th–16th centuries (Valantine Eck's De reipublicae administratione)*. In: Balázs Trencsényi–Márton Zászkaliczky, eds: *Whose Love of Which Country?* 131–149.

city council. As a follower of Melanchton's direction, Stöckel took his share of the community responsibilities, but he also made time for publishing his ideas in print. Relying on one of his writings, published posthumously, Guitman tries to find out why he argues so vehemently for the political importance of education.⁷ As we can read in a letter written by him to one of the nearby cities (also partner to the urban alliance mentioned above), he was convinced that governability rests on the sciences.⁸ Guitman also refers to the regulations of the school, which might have been written by or under the influence of Stöckel.⁹ As he points out, the regulation is also inspired by Melanchton's principles.

Stöckel proves to be a good humanist as well as a pious Lutheran. The connection he establishes between *prudencia* and *eloquentia* is crucial for an understanding of the character formation of the early modern citizen in the protestant tradition. If you cannot formulate your thoughts clearly, you will not be able to make the right judgement in difficult cases, either morally or politically. Yet Stöckel is not a modern liberal: he is aware of the risks of the existence of a too wide pool of citizens thinking clearly as well as fully participating in the affairs of the political community. In this respect – when he talks about the duty of the magistrates to take control of the publishers of secular literature –, his view of local government is far from being democratic as he thinks that power should not be distributed on an equal basis. As schoolmaster, he was responsible for the well-ordered ideas of all his pupils, and as his students had different talents he was far from being a liberal teacher, either. Also, as schoolmaster, he had to take good care of the religious education of the children (and their families), and in this age of religious struggles his enthusiasm led to harsh control of citizen activity – as was the case in Calvin's Geneva. He had to provide the ideological basis for the fight against the Turks as well. His literary heritage proves that he was a man of strong ideas and strong discipline and that his Melanchtonian principles were mixed with his ideas of heavy-handed leadership of both the religious community and the secular civitas.

If Bártfa had its own experience of how to combine Reformation theology, autonomous politics, and humanist schooling, the same is true of Sopron, a city in the western part of the country. The fact that the city was much closer to Vienna, however, makes its story less straightforward than Bártfa's one was. The essay by Dr Kálmán Tóth tries to show the particular turns of this history in the Early

7 Leonardus Steckelius: *Annotationes Locorum communium doctrinae Christianae Philippi Melanchtonis*. Basileae: Oporinus. In: Philip Melanchton: *Loci Communes Theologici*. Basileae: Oporinus, 1561.

8 See Daniel Škoviera. 1976. *Epistulae Leonardi Stöckel*. *Zbornik Filozofickej Fakulty Univerzity Komenského Graecolitana et Orientalia* 7–8(01): 265–359, 322.

9 *Leges Scholae Bartphensis*. The 18th-century text is available in the following modern edition: István Mészáros. 1981. *XVI. századi városi iskoláink és a „studia humanitatis”*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Modern Period. Relying on the school history of the Lutheran lycée of Sopron by Sámuel Németh, Tóth reaffirms Guitman's claim above that 'during the 16th and 17th centuries secular and clerical governance were not exactly separated from each other' (author's transl.).¹⁰ Tóth calls his readers' attention to the fact that Sopron was the city in Hungary which was first and with the greatest intensity affected by the Reformation. Although the parish priests and with their lead the parish schools made their best to oppose the new wave of religious teaching, first the inhabitants and somewhat later the Council of Sopron had a majority supporting Luther's theses. It is more surprising that Sopron had the first Lutheran lycée, organized not by an aristocratic patron but by the city council itself. They, of course, did it along the Lutheran principles of education, which expected the secular authority to be active on this field as well. These principles were transmitted from Wittenberg to Sopron through the work of reformation humanists such as the schoolmaster of the famous Goldberg School in Silesia, Valentin Trotzendorf, and Johan Sturm from Strasbourg. The school, whose building was constructed in 1557, worked as a boarding school as well, which allowed students to come from settlements outside of Sopron to study at the lycée and learn a new way of life besides the particular disciplines they were taught.

However, as I mentioned, Sopron's progress was not straightforward. From the 1580s, the Counter-Reformation gained momentum here. The town council had to present themselves in Vienna, and they were ordered to send away the pastors, who took care of the school as well. And yet, as Tóth points out, under the active leadership of the charismatic Sopron magistrate, Christoph Lackner, the town gathered new energies to manage its own affairs along the lines its inhabitants wanted to see. Lackner negotiated successfully with Vienna, and in 1622 even a Diet took place in the town.

Still the struggle was not over yet. After his death, the school of the Jesuits and the Lutheran Latin school had a real competition for the souls of the pupils and their families. Yet it was only as a result of the forceful reorganization of the town council, in accordance with the Peace of Vienna, electing members from both confessions, that the Counter-Reformation could make the breakthrough. It resulted in the closing down of the Lutheran public institutions, including the school. When the Lutherans could once again open their school, it was not run by the town any more but by the church itself. Yet the Lutheran school survived the new era as well, educating a number of the best minds of the country in the coming decades.

Whereas in the first two articles two examples of the early modern *urbs* of the Hungarian kingdom were presented, the last one is about the Polish nobility's effort to establish a *civitas* on the national level. While the Hungarian cities

10 Sámuel Németh. 2007. *A soproni evangélikus líceum történetének egy százada 1681–1781*. Sopron, Berzsenyi Dániel Evangélikus (Líceum) Gimnázium, Szakképző Iskola és Kollégium, p. 13.

had German-speaking populations, who had – as it were – a natural inclination towards the Lutheran spiritual movement, the third story is about a country dominated by the Catholic denomination. Relying on an idea taken from Lefebvre, the main point of the author of the paper, Iwona Barwycka-Tylek, is that the Polish nobility's republic could be imagined as a *civitas*, a political community, usually associated with the town.¹¹ After all, from 1573, they had a right to choose their king freely, and the *Nihil novi act* (1505) and the *Henrician Articles* – which functioned as a Bill of Rights – further ensured the rights of each member of the assembly. The last document also gave them the possibility of 'legalized rebellion'. All these rights and privileges of the nobility lead Barwycka-Tylek to argue that Poland was transformed into a special kind of 'democracy of nobles' in the Early Modern Period.

Of course, Poland had proper towns as well, with both *urbs* and *civitas*, such as the famous Hansa town of Danzig or Gdansk. The inhabitants were here, too, mostly German speaking, and, just like in Hungary, they were not trusted by the nobility – all the more so since the difference between the nobility and the townspeople was not simply social and ethnic but also religious. It is true that for some time Protestantism touched the soul of the members of the nobility, leading to the *Sandomierz Agreement* in 1570, with provisions of mutual tolerance. It is also true – as pointed out by the paper – that leading members of the church hierarchy, including the Archbishop of Gniezno and the Primate of Poland, were in favour of tolerance. When, however, the nobility secured its legal superiority over king and church, 'Polish nobles were more than happy to re-convert to Catholicism'.¹² As a result, the internal conflict between the burghers of real cities and the noble *szlachta* thus became prominent on three different levels: socially, ethnically, and religiously as well. Poland, in this respect, remains a counter-example of the early modern Central European urban experience.

The difference in the religious views of members of the Catholic Polish nobility and Protestant city dwellers was also reflected in their respective political ideologies. While the cities' wealth was based on the discipline and talent of its individual burghers, and therefore urban ideology respected the burghers' particular personal interests, the ideology of the noble republic was securely founded on the common good, irrespective of individual interests. The difference was there in schooling as well. When the Counter-Reformation wave reached the nobility, their youth did not attend the famous Protestant schools abroad anymore but Catholic ones such as that of Padua. As a result, the constitution of Venice was the ideal they promoted. And yet Venice was a place of unashamed private interest – so, its Polish admirers thought they have to correct the imperfection of both the real and the ideologically constrained Venice, returning to the Ciceronian

11 Henri Lefebvre. 1996. *Writings on Cities*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

12 Barwicka-Tylek, see below.

Roman concept of perfect virtue. Although the Polish state-city's bold initiative to surpass the famous ideology of the Venetian city-state was not successful, it is nevertheless remarkable as yet another Central European effort to support the survival of the urban ideology after the birth of the centralized early modern state.¹³

Taken together, the three examples of urban thinking in Hungary and Poland show that a research into early Central European urban ideology is well worth and promises further results both for historians and theorists of politics.

13 For an account of early modern Italian urban developments and their ideological background, see Ferenc Hörcher. 2016. The Renaissance of Political Realism in Early Modern Europe: Giovanni Botero and the Discourse of 'Reason of State'. *Krakowskie studia z historii państwa i prawa* 9(2): 187–210.



The Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth as a Border Experience of the City

Iwona BARWICKA-TYLEK

Dr. hab., Jagiellonian University in Cracow, Poland

Faculty of Law and Administration

E-mail: i.barwicka-tylek@uj.edu.pl

Abstract. Referring to Fustel de Coulanges' distinction of *urbs* and *civitas*, the article discusses political theory and practice in 16th-17th-century Poland. While in western Europe an important shift in the notion of politics took place, and the *civitas* aspect of cities deteriorated as they were conquered by new centralized nation-states, the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth was an attempt to recreate the ancient and mediaeval concept of *civitas* – a community of free citizens, actively participating in the government – at the state level. As its proponents, such as Stanisław Sarnicki, argued, Poland was to become a city rather than a state, and so the theoretical justification, political practice, and eventual failure of this project is an interesting, though extreme, historical example of difficulties embedded in a more universal 'quest for the political form that would permit the gathering of the energies of the city while escaping the fate of the city' (Manent 2013: 5).

Keywords: *urbs* and *civitas*, Polish republicanism, urban history, history of Central Europe, cities

Introduction

Political philosophers may feel reassured reading words of Lewis Mumford, who stated boldly that figures like Aristotle, Plato, and the utopian thinkers from Sir Thomas Moore to Robert Owen contributed more to answering the question 'what is a city?' than his fellow sociologists (Mumford 2011: 93). Even more reassuring is the review of extensive sociological literature on the subject. The city is 'an *oeuvre*, closer to a work of art than to a simple material product' (Lefebvre 2000: 101). It is 'something more than a congeries of individual men and of social conveniences' (Park 2005: 1) because 'social life is a structure of interaction, not a structure of stone, steel, cement, asphalt, etc.' (Martindale 1958: 29). 'It is in the city, the city as theater, that man's more purposive activities are focused, and

work out, through conflicting and cooperating personalities, events, groups, into more significant culminations' (Mumford 2011: 94).

There is one repeatable element in all these definitions, as phrases like: 'more than', 'rather than', or 'not only' prove. All authors find it necessary to underline the fact that the city is a human creation, and thus any reliable explanation of the city experience must include intentional human action even if it is difficult to pin down this action by strictly scientific analysis. The city itself is involved in the vital processes of the people who compose it; it is a product of nature, and particularly of human 'nature', summarizes Park (2005: 1). And since any discussion on human nature includes philosophical assumptions, it looks like political philosophers are indeed called to complement studies on cities with their more general and synthesizing narrative on the very essence of a city.

In effect, scholars interested in urban reality struggle not only with cities but also with 'the city'; the latter having not only descriptive but also normative content. Cities have their particular names, they belong to particular times and spaces, they tell their particular stories. At the same time, there is a continuous interest in 'the city' meant as a concept which would become a theoretical benchmark according to which successes and failures of urbanization, being judged and predicted, could be measured. And so the worldwide historical city experience is still a valid political lesson.

This dual nature of a city is reflected, for instance, in Fustel de Coulanges' distinction. The author of *La Cité antique* described ancient cities as being syntheses of *urbs* and *civitas*; the former being 'the place of assembly, the dwelling-place, and [...] the sanctuary', while the latter: 'the religious and political association of families and tribes' (Fustel de Coulanges 1877: 177). Both terms are convenient labels, and their possible application goes beyond the specific context of the ancient city-states. Regardless of time and space, particular cities can be viewed as places providing their inhabitants with opportunities to create their own *civitas* – 'the city'. The *urbs* side of cities is to a large extent historical and therefore easier to explore with scientific scrutiny, but the *civitas* element cannot be grasped in a purely scientific manner. This is exactly the something-more-element of a city that can be universalized due to its direct references to presumed human nature. And this is the element which has always fascinated both urban scholars and political philosophers the most because by grasping its nature they could formulate not only historical or sociological descriptions but also political prescriptions for their societies. Thinkers like Fustel, Weber, Mumford, and Lefebvre did not avoid overtly political engagement. They were dissatisfied with the outcomes of rapid industrialization and urbanization in the West, and it was one of the main incentives that triggered their interest in urban history. Appreciating cities from the past for being successful syntheses of *urbs* and *civitas*, they tried also to present a more universal and coherent image of

a ‘good’ city in its full. The historical examples they had previously examined (whether it was the ancient city-state or the mediaeval city-guild) became political arguments that this ideal is feasible and perhaps should be revived to avoid further degradation of their societies. This way, their political beliefs and goals became lenses through which one could look at the historical record to identify general trends and directions of city development and to present particular cities as better or worse manifestations of the assumed city ideal. It is, however, necessary to remember that the use of wider philosophical and political assumptions as methodological lenses has some inconveniences. They are condemned to be biased as they are themselves bound to the particular historical experiences of those who have constructed them. As summarized in Weber (1950: 318): ‘It is true that outside the western world there were cities in the sense of a fortified point and the seat of political and hierarchical administration, but outside the occident there have not been cities in the sense of unitary community’.

In spite of voices demanding caution (Isin 2003), scholars still find it convenient to treat the development of cities west of the Elbe as the most significant spatial and temporal urban phenomenon. Consequently, they tend to examine urbanization and further industrialization in other regions of the world through the prism of lack – lack of a Roman past, lack of routes facilitating large-scale international trade, lack of Protestantism and its ethic promoting capitalism, even the lack of demographic perturbations caused by the Black Death in the 14th century. Paradoxically, there are also clandestine consequences of this attitude among scholars who are dissatisfied with it. They focus upon proving that on the most specific level of empirical studies the dividing line gets rather tenuous. Still, that means following the same pattern of reasoning, trying at best to show that we can find ideal-type cities outside Western Europe, so that at least the quantitative ‘amount of the lack’ in other parts of Europe was not that great. The fact that more cities were built in Western Europe (see the map in Clark 2009: 38) and that Western-style urbanization and industrialization had a decisive impact on world history is beyond question. Nevertheless, the privileged position of ancient and mediaeval Western cities as ‘the most “beautiful” *oeuvres* of urban life’ (Lefebvre 2000: 65) is more a political conclusion than a historical one.

The above remarks are not to question such an approach. Quite the contrary, appreciating the political potential of historical studies, I am convinced that we should follow in the footsteps of thinkers such as Weber and not avoid looking at urban history as a source of wisdom that can contribute to the justification or criticism of our own political choices. This is what I intend to do in this article, presenting what I would call a border experience of the city – the case of the 16th-17th-century Poland. The relation between *urbs* and *civitas* is still an open question, and, since many new factors complicated its nature in the course of the last century, we are entitled not only to refer to the opinions of the classics

but also to revise them and to draw our own conclusions. The Polish ‘state-city’, peculiar as it may seem, may be worth mentioning for at least two reasons. First, it was an attempt to create a city in which the superiority of the *civitas* would not be limited to some commonly shared political ideology or occasionally performed rituals but would actually shape its constitutional design, setting conditions for everyday political practice. This way, it sets an interesting perspective that permits the assessment of the arguments of those who ‘still imagine a city made up not of townspeople, but of free citizens [...], freely associated for the management of this community’ (Lefebvre 2000: 97). Second, its proponents held rather strict views about cities they had observed in the West, which makes their observations relevant, as far as we are concerned, to formulate more balanced opinions concerning the assumed beauty of the European city.

Can Big Be Beautiful?

Small Is Beautiful, proclaimed Ernst F. Schumacher (1973) in the 70s of the last century. Proximity is often viewed as an important factor that strengthens interpersonal bonds and facilitates the establishment of strong and proud communities which their members can identify themselves with and thus support mutual cooperation, both political and economic. And so Pierre Manent in his *Metamorphoses of the City* writes: ‘The Greek city was the first form of human life to produce political energy. It was a deployment of human energy of unprecedented intensity and quality [...]. Later history appears, in sum, as the ever-renewed quest for the political form that would permit the gathering of the energies of the city while escaping the fate of the city [...].’ (Manent 2013: 5). Although for Fustel de Coulanges only ancient cities were to be perceived as being both *urbs* and *civitas*, his opinion in this respect does not seem to prevail among city historians. Many of them do their best to at least extend the validity of this peculiar combination, looking for some continuity between Greek *poleis*, Rome, and mediaeval or even contemporary cities. This is possible, so it seems, because contemporary interest in cities is to a large extent motivated by the assumption that the concept of *civitas* born in ancient *urbs* has been constantly affecting the direction of the cultural and political development of Europe. Its values and ideals, such as freedom, justice, cooperation, etc., are claimed to form the core of European identity.

It is true that the concept of the city as *civitas* was born in the reality of small Greek city-states, or even more precisely in Athens, the cradle of political philosophy. And it was reborn at the end of the Middle Ages, this time in the urban republics of Northern Italy mainly. Nevertheless, unlike the Greeks, who consequently viewed those not having *polis* as barbarians, Italian thinkers did not

identify *civitas* or *respublica* with urban political reality only. They were ‘thinking primarily of the city-state they knew’, but ‘they enlarged their definitions so as to include larger political units like the medieval kingdom or the empire’ (Dawson 1961: 180). And so, especially in the political literature of the Renaissance, the city (*civitas*) was emancipated from cities as such, and as a political project it supported the emancipation of nation-states aspiring to independence from the ideological and political domination of the Church. Often taking after Italian predecessors, writers all over Europe used the same political language borrowed from Aristotle and Cicero. Institutions, laws and the virtue of citizens, the political significance of individual behaviour and thus the role of education and wisdom, and the need for establishing balance between particular interests and the common good are the main themes whether one reads Andrzej Frycz-Modrzewski’s prescriptions for the Polish government (*De republica emendanda* 1551) or learns about the sources of strength of the Commonwealth of England from Thomas Smith (*De republica Anglorum* 1583) or Venice Serenissima from Gasparo Contarini (*De magistratibus et republica venetorum* 1543). Proportions differ, stress is put elsewhere, but the conviction that the state should be a collectively operating community in which every individual understands, and perceives as just, his social and political role is common to all of them. Perhaps Weber was right that the ‘ideal type’ of the European city was the mediaeval guild city, but the political spirit of *civitas* lasted in Europe much longer. Unfortunately, although it was able to keep its allure as a desirable political ideal in works of many political thinkers, the dominant historical practice proceeded along an alternative path for a long time. The eventual victory of nation-states resulted not only in conquering cities as such, but – as Maurizio Viroli (1992) points out – it changed the meaning of politics. From then on, the traditional language of politics, being so far the language of the city, functioned only on the margin of political philosophy. At the level of states, it was replaced by the language of reason of state according to which political activity is no more than a struggle for power. Cities survived, but merely as new economic resources and not proud communities any more. Thanks to subsequent industrialization, the *urbs* side of cities expanded far beyond traditional political imagination, but at the same time they ceased to be political forms ‘in which men govern themselves and know that they govern themselves’ (Manent 2013: 18). With one decisive political shift, *civitas* was ousted from its natural residuum, a city, and new dynamic states refused to give it a shelter – except for Poland (from 1569, the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth), where a unique political experiment was carried out at about this time. The experiment could be seen as a continuation and radicalization of the earlier European political practice that was just expiring in the West.

As Jerzy Topolski points out rightly, the tendency to oppose Western Europe and countries east of the Elbe River is perhaps attractive as it permits the production of many neat explanatory schemes, but being often contradictory they

only multiply confusion and on the whole do not make any progress in explaining true historical sources of the split (Topolski 1994: 342). Perhaps a better option would be searching for some common backgrounds all across Europe, and only then looking for special causes and developments characteristic of the different regions. One of such commonalities are economic and social changes taking place in the last centuries of the Middle Ages, which were accompanying the developing market economy. Though generally the social living standards in the late mediaeval period, and especially of the wealthy townspeople, rose, the same was not true about the status of the nobility. The disparity between the growing needs of the nobles and their falling income was noticeable in almost all countries and demanded a countermeasure. This was all the more so since it was the nobility who claimed a leading political and cultural role in society, which was on its part redefined by the growing popularity of the model of the Renaissance man. Given the prevailing conditions of European economic growth, the only effective method for the nobility to regain its position was for it to develop the individual's own direct economic activity, which is again a reaction that can be observed throughout Europe except for the Netherlands (Topolski 1994: 346). At the same time, this common reaction of the nobility is for Topolski the crucial factor that triggered processes responsible for the further differentiation of Europe, the rising of a 'new' serfdom and manorial-serf economy in Central and Eastern Europe being one of their outcomes. Specific conditions of Poland – its agrarian character, good terms for the grain trade, and large quantity of nobility (the *szlachta*) – were in favour of this group. No wonder that the rise in economic and social status encouraged the *szlachta* to increase their political significance. It was facilitated, again, by particular historical circumstances which were to modify the impact of pan-European trends and events. All over Europe, the main opponent of the centralization of power and the establishment of a strong monarchy was the nobility. Nevertheless, while western monarchs relied upon towns as a means of reducing their dependence upon the landed aristocracy, Polish kings in their attempts to counterweight the power of the wealthiest nobles (the 'European' *magnaci*) had to rely on the provincial nobility, the 'gentry' (Wyczański 1982: 97). They were doing that with the help of various privileges, which are often incorrectly viewed as gradually weakening the monarchical power, while in the first place they improved the social and political position of the lesser nobility in respect to their much wealthier 'brothers'.

From its beginnings at the end of the 14th century, the realm of the Jagiellons was in fact an agglomeration of territories differing in political traditions, customs, laws, and populations, with the ruling dynasty as the only tangible embodiment of the political will which gave birth to the spectacular undertaking of the union between the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania. Only when this unifying element risked perishing because of Zygmunt August's inability to beget an heir was

the new Act of Union signed in Lublin (1569), according to which two separate political organisms became one. The process of unification was long and never fully accomplished. Still, as the crucial political actors from both sides were interested in its lasting, it was important to construct and support some coherent political narration which would facilitate the building of a common political identity and a common political language. In general, this identity was in accordance with the concept of the ancient *civitas*, being perceived as a community of free and equal citizens who elect and control those who are to decide on the common good, including the king himself. Already in the 14th century, no king could come to office without the approval of the representatives of the nobility, and from 1573 the concept of free election (*electio viritim*) was introduced, which meant the participation of the entirety of the nobility. Eventually, as the Sejm developed its own leadership and political movement (the so-called ‘executionist movement’), the middle gentry replaced the aristocracy as the key political decision maker. The growth of political awareness among the *szlachta* was accompanied by constitutional development, which in the course of time centred all power in the legislative assembly – the Sejm Walny (‘general gathering’), comprised of the ‘three estates’ (*trzy stany sejmujące* – the king, senators, and deputies from the Sejm proper). Besides privileges granting the nobility almost absolute power over the rest of the society, several documents laid the legal foundations for this domination. According to the *Nihil novi* act (1505), all new laws required the approval of the Sejm. Even more significant were the *Henrician Articles*, meant as a social contract between the newly elected king, Henri de Valois, and the nobility (that is: all citizens). Though the king abandoned the Polish throne to become the ruler of France as Henry III, the *Articles* survived. In essence, they formed a *Bill of Rights* as they included important obligations which were meant to bind every king thereafter. The last article granted the nobility the right to absolve itself from obedience to any king who had violated the agreement, which was in fact an invitation to legalized rebellion (Jedrych 1982: 88). In a nutshell, the subsequent privileges and laws set the nobility in an extremely favourable economic, social, and political position unknown in other countries, supporting constitutional changes that eventually transformed Poland into a democracy of nobles. A detailed analysis of peculiarities embedded in the political system of the First Polish Republic would be superfluous here. All the more so, the recent ‘republican turn’, as some call it, raised the interest in the Polish version of republicanism, and so the literature on the subject is vast and constantly growing (Fedorowicz 1982, Jedruch 1982, Lukowski 1991). Instead, I would like to make use of my philosophical licence and underline one particular aspect of the nobles’ ideology, which is often overlooked. And that is because it is visible only when it is presented against the background of general European trends in the development of political thinking – such are the trends mentioned by Manent

and Viroli. Here is where the Polish *rzeczpospolita* (Latin *respublica*) can be presented as an experimental attempt to find a form suitable for ‘the gathering of the energies of the city while escaping the fate of the city’ on the largest scale then possible – the whole state.

A City without Cities

From the Middle Ages, the urban sector in Poland was relatively small, but at that time among countries with agrarian economy one can also count France, Germany, Austria, and Hungary (Allen 2000: 4). The number of Polish cities is estimated at about 1,100 in the 14th and 1,750 in the middle of the 17th century (Herbst 1954: 7). Only eight cities had more than ten thousand inhabitants, with Gdańsk (German *Danzig*) having in its prime over seventy thousand inhabitants (Cieślak, Biernat 1988: 92). On the scale of the whole country, the percentage of urban population did not exceed 20–25%, with some regional variations. Some sources seriously lower these data (Allen 2000) as final numbers depend on the calculation method. Traditionally, the most urbanized region of Poland was Great Poland (*Wielkopolska*, in the west), and the most notable were three cities of Royal Prussia (Gdańsk, Toruń, and Elbląg), for enjoying the greatest autonomy. Though the pace of urbanization was rather slow up to the mid-17th century, the cities in Poland had not markedly lagged in size or wealth behind the cities in the West. Quite similar were their internal development, the economic, social, and political conflicts between different social strata, or the religious revival during the Reformation (Bogucka–Samsonowicz 1986). The situation changed dramatically in the second half of the 17th century. Reasons for that were plenty, and there is still disagreement between historians as to which ones of them are to be viewed as the most pivotal. Definitely, one of such important causes were consequences of the Swedish invasion (the *Swedish deluge* of the years 1655–1660), during which more than one hundred cities were destroyed, and the whole country suffered serious political and economic problems. Nevertheless, it is also true that the fate of urbanization in Poland was at least partly sealed by political changes brought about by the rise of Polish parliamentarism at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries and by the further democratization of the political system. For various reasons, cities did not fit into the general project of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, but the most interesting from a philosophical perspective are the arguments justifying reluctance to the urban reality.

Polish republicans deplored cities. The main object of their criticism was not, however, accidental. What they really resented was first of all one particular aspect of cities, namely their dependence on their economic status and thus the promotion of materialism among their citizens. For Polish political thinkers,

such focus on triggering the development of the *urbs* side of urban communities worked against their attempts to become *civitate*. And so cities were criticized for both aesthetic and ethical reasons (Bogucka 2009). The primacy of egoistic motivations was accused of causing damages in the public sphere. That is why, it was claimed that big cities all over Europe were dirty and smelly, they were overcrowded, and in their search for utility they became inimical to beauty. No *laudatio urbis* can one find in early modern Polish literature. And the only known essay on a Polish city – the *Description of Warsaw* by Adam Jarzębski (the middle of the 17th century) – praises not the urban reality of the city but the great houses and palaces of the nobles, which bring some greater culture to it and thus deter total disintegration.

Ethics, according to Polish writers, does not live in a city, either. Since self-interest is a centrifugal force, it does not foster republicanism. In fact, egoism percolates through the public sphere, and, instead of strengthening a good republican government, the political system drives towards oligarchy. Even Venice, perceived as the best European model of government up to the middle of the 17th century, was treated with some dose of suspicion in this respect (Grzybowski 1994). And yet, in spite of all the criticism against urbanization, in one of the works of Polish historian and 16th-century nobleman Stanisław Sarnicki, one can read: ‘not many cities they have built in Poland, but with one city so notable, so fortified, so ordered – they [the ancestors] granted us [...]. The one in which the king is a mayor, and the whole nobility is a city council, so they are all, together with the Crown, urbanites’ (Zarębska 1986: 271).

It would be wrong to see in the above words just a slick analogy. They expressed a belief common among Polish political thinkers that the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth had much more in common with European cities than with big European nation-states. And it has to be remembered that we are talking about the biggest country of Europe (except Russia), covering at its peak in the early 17th century almost a million square kilometres; and the biggest body of citizens, as the Polish nobility was the most numerous in Europe. To think about such a large area as similar to cities required a great dose of imagination. Trying to turn it into a city required courage and favourable historical conditions, that is to say: a lot of luck. And so the political turn Poland took in the Renaissance, with its further successes and failures, was the outcome of all that.

Although points such as political imagination and courage in making political choices are much more interesting for a political philosopher, a few remarks should be made on more objective factors that contributed to the undertaking. One of such factors was the Reformation, all the more so it coincided in time with the coming of age of the parliamentary system.

In Poland, and even more in Lithuania with its large Eastern Orthodox population, Christianity was already multi-denominational long before the start

of the Reformation (Tazbir 1994: 168). More than a movement for the radical reform of the Church, the latter was perceived rather as an interesting foreign ideology which could serve as a means of exerting pressure on the Catholic clergy (id.: 178). Luther's ideas reached Poland very quickly, and they found fertile soil especially in the cities of Pomorze (Pomerania) and Wielkopolska. However, it was not Luther's Church which was to prevail. Burghers in Poland were for the greater part of German origin; so, for them, Lutheranism was more natural – all the more so as German immigration rose during the 30 Years' War. Still, the nobility had their reasons to choose Calvinism instead. Lutheranism was perceived as a supporting absolutism, while Calvin's ideas could be applied, if correctly interpreted, as a weapon to fight both the king's prerogatives and the rights of the Roman Church. And in this role they were used, causing Calvin himself to criticize Poles for not paying enough attention to theological issues (Małłek 2012). The superiority of political over religious goals had paradoxical effects. It encouraged quick proliferation of new ideas (quite soon Protestant deputies dominated in the parliament), but strictly religious debates were fragmented and shallow in spite of all the efforts of figures like Jan Łaski, who was one of not so many converts interested and trained in theology. In effect, Polish Protestantism started with serious religious claims – like the proposal to cut the bonds with Rome and to create a national Protestant church of Poland – but gave them up rather quickly. The climax of the Polish Reformation was reached in 1570 with the Sandomierz Agreement in which a number of Protestant groups (without the most radical movement of the Polish Brethren) agreed on mutual tolerance. The idea was supported even by many non-Protestants, including Jakub Uchański, the Archbishop of Gniezno and the Primate of Poland. And so the document was later incorporated into the *Henrician Articles*, thus becoming a kind of constitutional provision. This peak of famous Polish toleration was, however, the forecast of its decline. After achieving a legal confirmation of the superiority of the noble nation against the king and the Church, Polish nobles were more than happy to re-convert to Catholicism. Although for the next hundred years Poland was to be called 'a place of shelter for heretics' or 'a state without stakes' (Tazbir 2000), the number of Protestants dropped significantly on the political scene already in the 70s of the 16th century (Małłek 2012).

One of the less obvious but significant effects of the Reformation was an important change in the educational *curriculum* of the Polish nobility. Despite its medieval renown, the University of Cracow no longer satisfied the taste of the youth as it was too much devoted to the Pope and at the same time hostile to republican ideas. Therefore, the need for intellectual freshness drove young noblemen abroad. Protestants initially chose Wittenberg, Leipzig, or Basel, but the University of Padua soon became the most attractive place for Catholics, not without regard for the proximity of the increasingly appreciated Venice.

Exaggerating a bit, Stanisław Windakiewicz claims that this popularity of Padua put a stop to the former Florentine influences, paving their ways into Poland via the royal court at the turn of the 16th century (Grzybowski 1994: 19). Falling under the spell of the *Serenissima*, the new noble élites started to dream about turning Poland into the new Rome and so exceeding Venice in fulfilling republican ideals. In spite of its inspiring political theory, Venice seemed not to have been radical enough in unifying all individual efforts around the common good. And the reason for that was exactly its urban character with all its vices. The Polish republic was to correct this imperfection, referring directly to the Ciceronian ideal of the virtuous citizen.

Reconstructing the concept of *civitas* on the state level did not mean at all staying true to the more and more outdated language of politics. Polish thinkers were more than happy to adopt the language of *raggione di stato*. Nevertheless, answering the question as to who had an ear so sensitive and an arm so strong as to hear and then to execute demands of the reason of state, they pointed at the nobility – or, even more precisely: at every member of the group, regardless of his property, his social status, his education, and so on. All such individual differences were perceived as secondary and deprived of any serious political significance. That was to be the main difference between ordinary cities, including city-states, and the big Polish state-city. The latter was to become a pure *civitas* whose functioning would remain unblemished by any private interests. Even the very word ‘private’ served as a serious insult in Polish political discourse. It was believed that freedom and equality are values necessary to improve the quality of one’s life, which led to the conclusion that every individual should naturally seek ways to enjoy them. In effect, every individual was expected to develop civic virtues as a natural competence that simply ameliorates one’s life. And so the idea to create an institutional system which would offer freedom and equality as the most attractive social and political rewards for acting on behalf of the common good might indeed look convincing as strengthening both freedom and cooperation. In fact, this idea has been percolating through the whole body of republican literature from antiquity up to our times as it serves well the purposes of the theory, vouching for its coherence. Rarely, however, was it brought to such an extreme, literally becoming the source of constitutional practice, with inventions so unique as the *liberum veto* custom (‘I do not allow’ shouted by a noble present at the parliamentary session nullified any legislation).

Binding the difference between *urbs* and *civitas* to the forms of human activity, it is possible to see here the difference between ‘using’ and ‘creating’ the city. The *urbs* is the object of the activity motivated first of all by personal interests. And so it is a city which is viewed by its citizens as an opportunity, a tool which is to be used to achieve their own particular goals, such as wealth or social prestige, taking advantage of one’s social, economic, or political position. The need for *civitas* is

born out of recognizing the benefits of joining one's actions to those of others. And though perhaps, at first, individual motives for doing so are equally egoistic, requirements of cooperation – institutions and laws but also public accountability for one's actions – are factors which facilitate the rise of some common political awareness and sense of community. Even if we assume the egoistic, unsocial nature of each individual to be a fact, under favourable circumstances, this nature does not have to be hostile to undertakings which are able to unite efforts of the citizens, as not only philosophers but also historical practice observed in many cities proved. What seemed to be the key to their success was balance between *urbs* and *civitas*, with its many aspects described already by Aristotle: the balance between material and spiritual needs, richness and freedom, differences and unity, private and common, or economy and politics.

Polish republicans (with few important exceptions such as Andrzej Wolan or Andrzej Frycz-Modrzewski) paid little attention to specify conditions under which such balance could be achieved. Believing in the superiority of the *civitas* aspect of their state-city, they seemed to have assumed that the strength of the *urbs*-Poland should emerge automatically. This initial oversight of the fact that it is much easier to create a *civitas* in a wealthier *urbs* was perhaps due to the fact that in the 14th century Poland entered an economic and demographic upswing which persisted into the 16th century (Bideleux–Jeffries 1998: 129). It was expected that this prosperity would survive much longer. Nevertheless, the economic situation was worsening in the course of the 17th century, and by the end of the First Republic nearly half of the gentry did not own land and had to earn their living through public service (in the army, the judiciary, or in administrative positions) as, according to the above mentioned *Nihil Novi* act, the *szlachta* was barred from engaging in city commerce. Being enfranchised and feeling equal to the rich magnates, later on, that so-called *szlachta-gołota* contributed heavily to the corruption of the political system as they became puppets in the hands of their more powerful colleagues and foreign courts. Nevertheless, even when the economic backwardness of the country was noticed and voices demanding social, economic, and political reforms were raised, they were usually supported by a very specific narrative. According to this narrative, it was much more important to remind the nobility about their political and ethical duties than to introduce concrete legal and institutional solutions which would be able to force particular behaviours. Of course, the political significance of this ideological bias cannot be overestimated, but it does deserve attention from a wider philosophical perspective. It shows that Polish republicanism put great trust in the individual, expecting that, being granted citizenship, he would feel motivated to take part in the *civitas* of his own will and thus would develop virtues necessary to establish the balance between *urbs* and *civitas* – in his life and in the life of the whole community. Consequently, the constitutional framework of the Commonwealth

was viewed as a tool to activate this individual potential of freedom rather than a system of fences to direct it as, for instance, Thomas Hobbes would have wanted it. It was believed that once individuals become virtuous citizens, their virtue would guarantee that their actions would take into account not only their own particular interests but also the good of their *civitas*. Such a radical choice of the republican political practice to bind the condition of the whole community with qualities of its citizens heavily influenced the development of Polish political culture. In the 18th century, when anarchy in the Commonwealth was so obvious that there was no point in denying the need for deep constitutional reform, even radical proposals in this respect were usually mitigated by the argument that ‘every form of government is good [...] when people are good’, as an anonymous author of the only known Polish booklet (moderately) advancing French absolutism concluded. And so the Polish experiment to create a city which would be more beautiful than other cities thanks to suppressing the *urbs* side of the community and expanding its political *civitas* side was caught in a vicious circle. To suit theoretical assumptions, this project was deprived of the political energy coming from competing interests although, as Fedorowicz concludes summarizing the noble hegemony: ‘In any healthy society, competing loci of power and influence tend to balance each other in a creative tension which offers that society the opportunity of flexible response to any crisis’ (Fedorowicz 1982: 148). At the same time, the Polish state-city was deprived of the energy coming from the *civitas* itself as the emphasis put on the individual virtue made it impossible to enforce obedience to the common good via institutions and laws. In short, the produced noble *civitas*, which in theory was to embody the ideal of a good city, became merely a screen for private interests of the nobility. It was no accident that, as observed by Zamoyski, the less the nobility participated in the government, the more indispensable they believed themselves to be (Bideleux–Jeffries 1998: 146).

Conclusions

There is an extremely interesting 16th-century essay which refers to exactly the same issues as the ones mentioned in the first, more philosophical section of this article, and then I discussed these issues with references to the history of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. It confirms my deep conviction that indeed, as Cicero claimed, *historia magistra vitae est* – not because it is repeating itself but because we are condemned to repeat the same political lessons all over again. The essay I have in mind was born out of a careful observation of Renaissance city life in Italy and an active participation in Polish political life. The work, titled *The Conversation of a Pole with an Italian*, was written by Łukasz Górnicki, a minor burgher from the town of Oświęcim, then appointed at the court. In the

dialogue, which compares the levels of freedom being enjoyed by Polish citizens and Italian ones, Górnicki includes many references to cities. Both the Italian, probably some Venetian merchant, and the Pole, a member of the nobility, notice very quickly that there is one huge difference in their view of possible sources of corruption of the *civitas*. For the Italian, the greatest dangers are brought about by those who are idle and poor but audacious, while for the Pole much worse are citizens who are rich and mind their business quietly. And so they both soon realize that one of the main objects of disagreement is the perception and the function of *urbēs*. For the Italian, there is no *civitas* without the strong *urbs*. For the Pole, urbanites always seem to threaten the political community. And yet there is a characteristic passage in which both the Italian and the Pole become a bit confused. It starts with the suggestion by the former that if the nobility lived in cities then it would be easier to check up on their civic virtue as cities are small enough to take account of every individual. The Pole seems to follow the reasoning, adding that indeed it is easier to care for virtue and good *mores* in small communities, but he suddenly draws back noticing that freedom suffers in such communities. It suffers, he claims, as the attention of the individual is focused upon his personal benefits, while it should rather encourage serving the whole political community. The Italian rejects Polish reservations and reiterates his argument referring to Gdańsk and its conflict with the Polish king, Stephen Báthory. Still, he cannot avoid the binding political decisions that have been made in the name of protecting the freedoms of the Gdańsk *civitas* against the king (the city gave its backing to Maximilian Habsburg during the ‘dual’ election of 1576) with the particular interests of the Gdańskers. Again, *urbs* and *civitas* seem to be two important aspects of the city but not so easy to be reconciled in practice. If we keep in mind that the dialogue was written by one person, it is not hard to come to the conclusion that Górnicki’s contemporaries were quite acute in observing these difficulties and the possible consequences of diminishing either element of the city.

The experiment to recapture the energy of the city on the state level did not end up well, but it deserves attention as an extreme political answer to historical processes which are claimed to be responsible for having eventually destroyed the essence of the European city and producing in many historians and philosophers the ‘feeling of shortcoming or loss’ (Manent 2013: 18). In Polish republicanism, one can find a bold defence of the public sphere and a rather unique combination of individualism and collectivism. On the other hand, the eventual failure of the state-city project may be seen as a warning against all-too-quick extrapolation of ideas that we might want to adapt to our times. That is why, it may still be instructive since its fate suggests caution in treating economic development rooted in egoistic motivations as a threat to the sense of community as well as in seeing that development as an automatic gateway to producing it. In both cases,

the accompanying political appreciation of either *civitas* or *urbs* risks becoming merely an ideology and not a politically valid philosophy of the city.

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The Educational Policy of the Sopron Town Council in View of the Lutheran Lycée's Historiography

Kálmán TÓTH

PhD, National University of Public Service
(Research Institute of Politics and Government), Budapest, Hungary
e-mail: toth.kalman@uni-nke.hu

Abstract. In my study, through the example of the free royal city of Sopron, I am searching for an answer to the question how the Reformation influenced the political actions of the city's leading body and its room for movement within the frameworks of estates. I will attempt to show in sketches how the intellectual horizon that can be reconstructed behind the city's government is connected to the mentality of Lutheran Reformation. By focusing on one particular field, the educational policy of the town council, I will try to disclose how this manifested in practice in view of Sopron's new educational institution (the lycée) established and maintained by the town council without any aristocratic patronage, unparalleled at that time. Finally, in a short outlook beyond the boundaries of the investigated period and by focusing on the activities of one former teacher (János Ribini) and two alumni (Baron László Prónay and János Kis), I will give evidence for the continued existence of the lycée's mentality – which I will call confessional-patriotic – even after the town council had lost its supervision of the educational institution.

Keywords: Sopron, Lutheran lycée, town council, Reformation, Counter-Reformation

Introduction

It can hardly be disputed that the Lutheran Reformation had a significant impact on the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom firstly among the burghers of Western Hungary (including Sopron) and the Upper Lands and then the Saxons of Transylvania. That the burghers of the royal free cities (mainly those of German origin and language) decided to adapt the ideas of Reformation was most likely not based solely on the recognized truth of faith and the return to the teachings of the Bible as practical political considerations also played a

role in their decision. Commitment to Lutheran doctrines first of all created an opportunity to take properties and institutions of the church and place them under the management of the city and thus reduce the clergy's influence. Therefore, Reformation had proven to be an efficient means of maintaining and further increasing independence and privileges of the cities.

By eliminating the influence of the Catholic higher clergy this way, royal free cities, such as Sopron, depended only on the ruler indeed after joining the Lutheran Reformation, and in the period between the mid-16th century and the last third of the 17th century, with only a brief interruption, Sopron managed to maintain its self-determination within the framework of estates almost continuously. However, the Counter-Reformational intentions of the Catholic prelaty and the Jesuit order strongly intertwined with the Habsburg power strengthened by the expulsion of the Ottomans put an end to this. However, despite their difficult situation, the burghers of Sopron managed to negotiate some compromises, and, though they were forced to admit Catholics into the town council, the Lutheran church and its institutions were allowed to keep functioning in the city. (Unlike the hereditary provinces, where the Habsburgs strictly prohibited any kind of Protestant worship.) The aforementioned historic events make it obvious that in this context the use of the term Counter-Reformation seems by all means justified as in this case we cannot speak of the Catholic Church's renewal and the reshaping of its own identity but of recatholicization relying on the political power and military strength of the Habsburgs that did not even shrink back from the use of raw force, aiming at the complete elimination of Protestantism as far as possible. And yet, as history shows, Lutheran Reformation definitely increased the Sopron town council's room for movement. How was this possible?

The goal of my paper is to overview the changes in the policy of the city government in Sopron in the age of Reformation, referring to the position of Sopron and the conditions within the framework of estates. Focusing on the historiography of the Lutheran lycée founded in 1557 at the initiative of the Sopron town council, without aristocratic patronage – which was unprecedented in its time –, I will attempt to reconstruct its organizing principles, focusing mainly on the underlying Lutheran political philosophy according to which school is not only an ecclesiasticum but also a politicum. Luther attributed great importance to secular education, and in several of his writings called upon the aristocracy to promote a new, secular literacy. In his opinion, the flourishing of a town does not only depend on its economic and military power but on the number of educated, scholarly, and intelligent citizens that it raises for the benefit of the society. Another merit of the Reformer is that he put the reformation of the church in the first place and wanted to accomplish the social reforms by peaceful means, through the secular rulers that adopted the evangelical faith.

My study will briefly outline the impact of the Counter-Reformation on Sopron and the reopening of the school enabled by the laws passed at the Diet of Sopron in 1681, from which time the school was no longer maintained by the town council but by the Lutheran parish until 1853, well beyond our investigated period.

I will finish my lecture with Rector János Ribini and his powerful *Oratio* on the relationship of Latin Humanism and national language usage that became the norm by the mid-18th century in Western Europe. The main topic of the speech proved to be of high political relevance decades later, as I will attempt to show it through the actions of two Sopron alumni.

Every era has its own characteristic features. Those who lived then were trying to find and realize their goals and aims. Because of this, I will refer to some historical moments that could be perceived as trendsetting for the city government of Sopron.

My questions are the following:

How did the Reformation influence the town council's political activity and room for movement within the frameworks of estates?

What can we find out about the town council's educational policy regarding the new educational institution (the lyc ee) founded and maintained by the town council in view of its historiography?

Did the confessional-patriotic mentality survive?

The Effects of the Reformation on the Political Actions of the Town's Governing Body and Its Room for Movement

Sopron¹ as a free royal tavernical town had gradually expanding privileges within the framework of estates since 1277. Its delegates were invited to take part in crowning ceremonies and diets since the second half of the 15th century. From these facts, we can arrive at the conclusion that the city's leadership was carefully monitoring the events in their environment and interpreted that with prudence, all the more as they were successful in their political actions aimed at strengthening the town's position.

1 The area of Sopron has been inhabited since prehistoric times. After the Hungarian conquest, a new settlement was established here. Approximately between the 9th and the 11th centuries, the old Roman town wall was reinforced, and a castle was built. It was at this time that the town received its Hungarian name after its bailiff (Lat. comes) named Suprun and was already mentioned as an important fortress in 1153. During the 13th century, the settlement organized around the castle acquired the status of a city. The legal document of this, the charter containing the town's privileges dates back to the Czech–Hungarian war. In 1273, King Ottokar II of

For the individual, the city provides the opportunity to act. The implementation of this opportunity to act made possible and meaningful by the city is what we will consider to be politics.²

The following occurrence is a good example of the manifestation of *ratio civilis*³ in the politics of the town's leadership as it attests to their experience, wide intellectual horizon, and prudence, which they put to use for the benefit of their town. On 12 April 1464, King Matthias I, at the request of the town magistrate, the mayor, two council members, and the town clerk, had the most important points of the five charters that were handed to him copied into one document, reconfirming the privileges of the royal free town of Sopron (Házi 1926: 106). This political move can be perceived as one carefully thought out from multiple perspectives. In order to confirm and strengthen the position of their community within the framework of estates, they made the king aware of their city by asking him a favour, showing him their existing charters, making him remember that their city is a special one. Besides that, it was a very rational request because by recalling their existing privileges and merging them into a single document made these privileges more easily verifiable.

Bohemia occupied the castle by treason. Even though Ottokar had taken the children of the town's élite with him as hostages, Sopron opened its gates to king Ladislaus IV in 1277, who thus managed to retake it. As a reward, he made Sopron a free royal city. This charter was an important station of the city's development that led to Sopron's rise to become one of the most important tavernical towns of 14th-century Hungary. Free royal cities were only subject to the king and were considered as the king's property. Citizens of free royal towns, unlike inhabitants of market towns, had the right to enclose their town with a wall as part of their privileges. They could grant citizenship to people moving into their town. They could elect their own parish priests. Market and staple rights were important as well. Burghers were free to make their will. They paid their taxes to the king as a lump sum once a year (cf. Tóth 2008). The most important royal towns formed the group of the eight tavernical towns, which had the right of independent jurisdiction among their privileges. Tavernical towns were subject to the tavernical court. In these towns, the Buda city law code was in use, which had been developed from the Fehérvár city law code, and the master of the treasury (*magister tavernicorum regalium*) acted as judge. In civil affairs, their court of appeal was the tavernical court, which consisted of civil assessors. Cities belonging under the jurisdiction of the tavernical court were (from the 13th century until April 1848): Buda, Pest, Bártfa (today: Bardejov, Slovakia), Eperjes (today: Prešov, Slovakia), Kassa (today: Košice, Slovakia), Nagyszombat (today: Trnava, Slovakia), Pozsony (today: Bratislava, Slovakia), and Sopron. If delegates of less than five of these cities were present at the court's session, it could not be held (cf. http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/T/tárnoki_városok.html; <http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/T/tárnokmester.html>; http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/T/tárnoki_szék.html; last accessed on: 19/08/2019).

- 2 Ferenc Hörcher drew attention to the relationship between the city and the political action of the individual, adapted from Pierre Manent (see Horkay Hörcher 2017).
- 3 How urban elites tried to interpret their world (which we call 'reason of the city' – *ratio civilis*). In: Call for Papers for an International Conference in Budapest. Organized by The Institute of Philosophy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. 'Ratio Civilis'. The Transformation of Urban Political Cultures in the Ages of the Reformation, Budapest, 2017. See the homepage of the conference at the following link: <https://ratiocivilis.webnode.hu> (last accessed on: 19/08/2019). For more on the origins and the usage of the term, see also Viroli 1992: 28–32.

In the age of the Reformation, this city which embraced the new Protestant mentality not only was able to keep its privileges but also managed to exert widespread influence through its political actions. How?

In a hierarchical society, such as the society of estates in the 16th- and 17th-century Kingdom of Hungary, the stratified social order was protected by a religious-moral worldview based on the authority of divine revelation that defined all aspects of the society from the scientific description of the world to moral commands. An important characteristic feature of a stratified society⁴ is that it not just consists of unequal parts, but the highest part has to be capable of governing the entire society as well. Thus, it is required that one part of the society appears as representing the whole. The church, referring to divine authority, mediated to the public whether something was liked or disliked by God, whether it was according to His will or not. In contrast with this, Luther viewed the world as ruled by God. He pointed out the connections between spiritual and secular, religious and political things. His 95 Theses and his teachings did not remain without response; people understood the need for reformation in the Church and understood the political implications of Luther's thoughts, too. In his sermons and catechisms, Luther seriously stressed the worldly, secular vocation of every human being. For him, this meant that everyone should consider their entire earthly life, not just their subsistence or job as a service they owe to God since God is maintaining the order of the world this way. He stressed that everyone, rich or poor, ruler or soldier, peasant or burgher would be called to account for their actions by God. In the society of that time, even if not everyone took these thoughts to their heart, a large proportion of people were affected, and thus the life of the society was shaped by them. In his political statements, though, Luther never supported or opposed the power of certain persons, only their particular actions.

On the basis of this exposition, let us briefly overview the commencement of Lutheran Reformation in Hungary, in which town burghers have been playing a key role from the beginning.

In the royal free towns of the Kingdom of Hungary, German-speaking town dwellers cultivated a close relationship with towns of Germany. Merchants and craftsmen frequently visited Germany's big cities and thus got acquainted with the ideas of the Reformation. Furthermore, their fellow townspeople also got to know these beliefs not only from hearsay but first-hand as German merchants also visited Hungary's more noteworthy cities and brought literary products of the Reformation with them (cf. Zoványi 2004: 13). In this way, towns become strongholds of the Reformation from the beginning. After the lost battle of Mohács (in 1526), the Hungarian civilians of the cities also joined the followers of the gospel with equal zeal. The Reformation was above all a cause of the civilian

4 For more on the theory of social systems, see Luhmann 1997.

class. The cities had also sent young Hungarians⁵ abroad for education (cf. S. Szabó 1928: 22). Of the towns within the boundaries of modern Hungary, Sopron was the first to be affected by the Reformation, and very possibly with the greatest intensity (cf. Fabiny 1986: 11).

However, the ruling regime took measures to nip the spread of Protestantism in its bud.⁶ In spite of the retaliatory measures, first the citizens and then the majority of the town council committed themselves to Luther's theses. Since 1532, Lutherans exiled from Austria moved to Sopron in great numbers, which also contributed to the strengthening of Protestantism in Sopron. At the Sopron Diet of 1553, no anti-Protestant edicts were passed. This confirms that by the 1550s Protestantism gained prevalence among the estates of the realm despite all efforts of the clergy. The Reformation had such a huge impact that by the middle of the 16th century the Lutheran faith achieved an almost absolute dominance in Sopron.⁷

This process I tried to sketch stands in close connection with the process referred to with the term 'confessionalization', which took place in early modern Germany as the separation of Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist (or Reformed) confessions on the basis of clarifying their principles of faith, establishing their separate church organizations, and forming their own identity – the former two also had a crucial importance in early modern Sopron as well. The paradigm of confessionalization was developed by Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Criticism voiced against this concept led to several modifications of it.⁸ The term 'confession-building' (Konfessionsbildung), which was introduced by Walter Zeeden with religious and church-historical relevance, was connected by Reinhard and Schilling into the paradigm of societal history (Gesellschaftsgeschichte). 'In their view, the confessional divisions and conflicts of the early modern period did not only affect the area of religion and church but the entire social and political system. The concept "confessionalization" contains this political and societal dimension' (Lotz-Heumann 2001: 95–96). This process went hand in hand with the integration of state and society. Ute Lotz-Heumann stresses that according

5 That means citizens of the Kingdom of Hungary, not just of Hungarian but of German and Slavic origins as well.

6 E.g., in 1521, the Archbishop of Esztergom, György Szathmári had the papal bull excommunicating Luther proclaimed in Sopron and other towns as well. Royal commissioners were sent to several towns, including Sopron, to prevent the spreading of the Reformation and especially to ceremonially burn Lutheran books and writings confiscated from burghers on the marketplace (cf. Fabiny 1986: 11). The Diet of 1525 declared: 'All Lutherans shall be rooted out from the country, and wherever they are found they shall be fearlessly seized and burned either by clergymen or laymen' (Zoványi 2004: 13–14 [author's transl.]).

7 During the time of King Ferdinand I (1526–1564), most burghers of Sopron lived in accordance with the teachings of the Church of the Augsburg Confession, and in 1565 the first Lutheran congregation in the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom was formed here by Lutheran preacher Simon Gerengel (cf. Krisch 2017: 18).

8 On the concept's origins, critique, and its usefulness as an interpretative category, see Lotz-Heumann: 2001.

to Schilling's views 'confessionalization could also provoke confrontation with religious and political groups fundamentally opposed to this integration of state and society. The process of confessionalization took place between the two poles of state-building and confessional conflict' (Lotz-Heumann 2001: 97).

On the basis of this, it can be ascertained that in Sopron, during the period of our research, the Counter-Reformational efforts of the Catholic Church relying on the central power of the Habsburgs correspond to the aforementioned aim for integration of state and society, whereas the burghers of Sopron led by the town council can be counted among the group opposing this. From a religious standpoint, this is self-evident, but from a political perspective the situation seems to be much more complex. It is almost commonplace in historiography that cities were interested in a strong central power that guaranteed their privileges and protected them against the oligarchs' arbitrary measures. From a geopolitical standpoint, the burghers of Sopron were forced to seek good relations with the Imperial Court of Vienna (e.g. their close proximity to Vienna; Sopron belonged to the Kingdom of Hungary during the entire period of the Ottoman occupation), but they always tried to maintain it on the basis of mutual concessions. Although they were clearly not in the same weight category with the ruler, the city's economic and intellectual power could still provide an effective basis against the military power of the Catholic Habsburgs, who, from a financial standpoint, depended upon the estates. As long as the ruler did not put the confessional issue before this cooperation of mutual benefit, the town burghers cultivated good relations with him (cf. the appointment of mayor Kristóf Lackner⁹ as count palatine). The conflict always intensified at times when the ruler gave way to the pressure from the Catholic Church and undertook measures to suppress Protestantism in Hungary. This may seem like an oversimplification, but for the political line represented by Wittnyédy,¹⁰ guaranteeing the freedom of religion for Protestants, it may have

9 Kristóf Lackner (1571–1631) was born in Sopron. He had various professions and interests, being a valiant soldier, a polymath, mayor, town magistrate, a great jurist of humanist erudition, a scholar of theology with vast knowledge of the Bible, a proven orator, smart diplomat, writer, playwright and poet, a goldsmith, copperplate engraver, and drawing artist. He was awarded the following titles: imperial councillor, count palatine, assessor of Sopron County, and member of the inner council. He applied for and got ennobled by Rudolph I, King of Hungary. In addition to his political activity, he founded a learned society (Foedus Studiosorum, Studentenbund) in 1604 (cf. Payr 1932). Members of this learned society could be men with university degrees, noblemen, and council members, both clerics and laymen, and – unprecedented at that time – wives of members too, who were allowed to keep their membership as widows as well (Horváth 1971: 278). The Society played a key role in making wealthy Sopron burghers familiar with contemporary European culture.

10 István Wittnyédy (Vitnyédy) (1612–1670) was a Sopron lawyer, town clerk, delegate of the city, chief tax collector of Sopron County, and emissary in the Hungarian Diet. He was a close intimate of Count Miklós Zrínyi (cf. Szinnyei). István Wittnyédy had far-reaching political plans with the organization and development of the Hungarian school. In both Sopron and Csáktornya, he often conferred with Count Miklós Zrínyi on the possibilities of a two-front fight of Hungarians

been one of the main motives of their orientation towards the anti-Habsburg forces besides their sense of patriotism for the Kingdom of Hungary, which they did not consider part of the Habsburg Empire. They regarded the person of the common ruler as the only connection between the two, who, however, in that particular period (1660s and 70s), had not been able to undertake effective steps towards the liberation of the entire country from under Ottoman rule. Abuse on the part of the Habsburg military also contributed significantly to the Protestant inhabitants of the country more and more considering Muslim Turks – who were relatively tolerant towards them – as the lesser evil compared to the rule of the Catholic Habsburgs (cf. Imre Thököly's movement of insurrection).

The Educational Policy of the Town Council with Regard to the New Sopron Educational Institution (the Lycée) It Founded and Maintained

According to Tibor Fabiny's work on the lycée's historiography (Fabiny 1986), the founding of the lycée can be traced back to the occasion when the Sopron parish school was taken under the supervision of the town council.

In 1553, the Sopron parish school emerged from under the supervision of the town parish priest and the guardianship of the Catholic Church and was placed under the supervision of the town council. The year considered as the founding date of the Sopron Lutheran lycée is 1557. This is also the date on the school's old seal. At that time, three schools¹¹ educating in reformed mentality had already existed in Western Hungary, all three at the initiative of Palatine Tamás Nádasdy. The novelty of Sopron's new school was that, compared to

against the Ottoman and the Habsburg empires. He also raised and educated his protégés in a strong Hungarian patriotic mentality. After the death of Zrínyi in 1664, Wittnyédy's daring plans related to international and religious politics became even more intense. On the one hand, he was, together with Miklós Bethlen, István Petrőczy, and István Thököly, weaving daring secret dreams about overthrowing the rule of the Habsburgs, while, on the other hand, he devoted his efforts to organizing a Lutheran college that would have offset Pázmány's Catholic university of Nagyszombat (Tyrnau, Trnava). This plan became a reality in 1667 with the establishing of the college of Eperjes (Presov). The organization of such an institute was not possible in Sopron because of its proximity to Vienna. In the 1660s, when Wittnyédy's political career was at its height, Sopron possessed two flourishing Lutheran grammar schools (Fabiny 1986: 30). The Habsburg–Jesuit Counter-Reformation considered that the time had arrived for the great counter-attack. After the Peace of Vasvár in 1664, many agreed with Wittnyédy that putting out the conflagration of the Court is even more important than the necessity of stopping the impending Turkish flooding. Plans of several Lutheran noblemen met with the visions of a few leading Catholic patriots in a specific way, and this later materialized in the tragically ending Wesselényi-conspiracy.

11 In Sárvár, Németkeresztúr, and Csepreg.

these, the reorganization of the school took place without aristocratic patronage, at the initiative of the town council, whose members unanimously adopted Lutheran piety (cf. Fabiny 1986: 13). All this serves to confirm how great an impulse Reformation gave to the political ambitions of the civilian class of the cities to extend their room for movement, the basis of which was just as much of intellectual as of economic nature. An important aspect of the *ratio civilis*, the intellectual horizon that can be traced behind the political activity of town burghers, was the question of education that provided continuity and progress.

Educational affairs were discussed at the council's meetings. But as early as the mid-16th century, the need was seen to have an organization besides the council, the 'senatus ecclesiasticus',¹² which dealt solely with issues regarding the church and the school. A new consistory (Kircheninnung) was founded, which had 8 members, 3 pastors, and 5 senators. For the supervision of the schools, a separate school committee was established even before the founding of the consistory. All school classes were divided among the pastors, and inspectors were ordered at every pastor's side. Their duty was to visit the schools every month without appointment – from 1636, even as often as once or twice a week – to observe whether the director and the teaching staff did everything they can regarding the educational progress and the religious moral upbringing of the pupils, to point out unsuitable conditions, and, in case their reprimand was ineffective, to report it to the council (cf. Németh 2007: 13–14).

Historical sources have not left us enough data to outline a complete picture of the ideo-historical development of the school's first period. However, from the available data – such as which foreign universities the first teachers came from or where the first scholarship students went to –, it becomes evident that the educational practice of the Sopron school was based on the Melanchthonian-humanistic principles of Wittenberg University, the centre of Lutheran Reformation (cf. Fabiny 1986: 14). All this not only affected the theological and pedagogical relations but had practical political implications, too.

The Wittenbergian principles, according to which school is not only an *ecclesiasticum* but a *politicum* as well, arose from the fundamental perceptions of Martin Luther (1483–1546). Parallel to his theological and ecclesiastical reforms that are going back to the sources, the responsibility for secular education – to increase general education and to organize quality schools – received a special emphasis. He considered its practical promotion as a task of the secular authorities because it serves the good of the entire society. Therefore, it is an obligation of the council and the authorities to devote utmost care and attention towards the upbringing of the youth. A town's flourishing not only depends on how much treasure it collects or how strong walls are protecting it but on how

12 Essentially, this is the organization that under the name of 'convent' conducted the affairs of the congregation after the separation from the town council (cf. Németh 2007: 13).

many educated, scholarly, and intelligent citizens it educates for the community. The common ideal of Humanism and the Reformation was promoted by a close associate of Luther's, Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560). He considered a thorough knowledge of the classical antiquity absolutely necessary to the real understanding of Christianity. This gave him the urge to reorganize Latin schools and universities. A unique ramification of the Melanchthonian school type was Valentin Trotzendorf's (1490–1556) famous Goldberg school in Silesia. Its characteristics were the complete equality of students irrespective of national and feudal differences. Besides Melanchthon and Trotzendorf, another great humanist of that age, the first-class master of Latin style, Johann Sturm (1507–1589) from Strasbourg also had an impact on the Sopron educational institution. Sturm indicated the aim of school education in 'sapiens et eloquens pietas' (intelligent and eloquent piety). He based the material of education on classical languages, predominantly on Latin (cf. Fabiny 1986: 14). From this, we can conclude that the institution's models transmitted the highest possible level of freedom ascertainable within the frameworks of estates to the students, a mentality which could have been seen by the council members as the guarantee of the town's further progress.

In addition to the Latin education of the intellectual élite and in harmony with the reformed mentality, they also considered the native-language education of wider social classes to be important. Between 1569 and 1584, a German primary school (Volksschule) was functioning in the town, and in the seventies of that century a Hungarian school operated, too (cf. Fabiny 1986: 18).

Changes in the political situation, however, interrupted this rising process, and in order to ensure continuity significant institutional changes had to be made. Even if the first wave of the Counter-Reformational attacks¹³ were successfully fought back as the success of Bocskay's freedom fight (1604–1606) forced the Vienna Court to accept compromises, the second wave after the exposure of the Wesselényi-conspiracy¹⁴ definitively altered the confessional constitution of the

13 Sopron's Latin–German–Hungarian schools were under the patronage of the town council. However, the Catholic clergy could enforce its recatholicizing ambitions, and, if only temporarily, from 1584 to 1606, the institutions of education in service of the Reformation were taken into Catholic hands once again (cf. Fabiny 19). On the initiative of György Draskovich (Bishop of Zagreb and later of Győr, Governor of Croatia, later Chancellor) in the spring of 1584, Archduke Ernst von Habsburg summoned the seven-member Sopron council led by mayor Johann Steiner and town magistrate Johann Gering to appear in Vienna, and because the council refused to dismiss its pastors the leaders of the delegation were arrested. Mathesius, Grand Provost of Győr, even threatened with Sopron's armed occupation. The council was forced to dismiss the two German pastors still dwelling in Sopron. The intimidated town council was then forced to dismiss the schoolmasters too. Rector Abraham Schremmel and Conrector Virgilius Faedis had to leave the school that had been operating in reformed mentality for 25 years. The students were scattered by the despotism for more than two decades. Together with Sopron, the villages of its countryside lost their freedom of religion as well (cf. Fabiny 1986: 20).

14 The quelling of this movement and the following period of retaliation became known as the *Decade of Mourning* (1671–1681), which tragically struck Sopron as well. István Wittnyédy

town council, which made some radical changes necessary in terms of the lycée's maintaining background as well.

With the conclusion of the Peace of Vienna in June 1606, a new era began in the life of Sopron's Lutheran community. Despite all the attacks of the Counter-Reformation, it created a special situation in Sopron: The prevailing town council stood atop of the local church in the role of the presbytery, and it provided all the resources needed for the undisturbed functioning of the ecclesiastical and school life (cf. Fabiny 1986: 23).

During the 17th century, the Lutheran church, school, and town council became even more closely related. The council chose not only the teachers but the pastors as well. Salaries, rewards, and the travel expenses of teachers and pastors were partly covered from the town's money supply. The town council conducted the disciplinary affairs of the teachers, too (cf. Németh 2007: 13–14). The Lutheran school of Sopron was functioning consistently in the spirit of the *Confessio Augustana* (Confession of Augsburg), and its teachers too were chosen and invited in accordance with that. The teachers were mostly of German vernacular. The locations of their birth- and/or working places were: Tübingen, Regensburg, Amstetten, Neustadt, Jihlava, Königsberg, Westphalia, Hamburg, Coburg, and Wittenberg (cf. Fabiny 1986: 23). As we can see from this list, the Sopron town council could win over outstanding teachers even from distant locations for its educational affairs, generating rapid development. This development of the school to an ever higher level must be appreciated all the more as in this era its functioning was endangered by politics of religion and then by military occurrences. 'In the midst of political hard-pressedness and everyday danger' (Fabiny 1986: 24 [author's transl.]), Kristóf Lackner (see *Footnote 9*) attributed great importance to education. His pedagogical aim was to prepare young people to be able to carry the burdens of future public affairs. Lackner regularly inspected the school. He also issued a set of school regulations titled *Semproniensi Praescriptae Leges Scholasticae*. In this, he expected the school to be like an arsenal from which weapons of intellectual warfare can be drawn. He also referred to the school as 'seminaria virtutum' (vegetable garden of virtues) and 'officina pietatis' (workshop of piety) (cf. Fabiny 1986: 24–25). Not long after Lackner's passing in December 1631, the educational politics of the Catholic Restoration gained a strong momentum. In 1636, the Jesuits obtained an order from King Ferdinand II in Vienna with the help of Rome, and on the strength of it they opened their school in Sopron. The establishing of the

suddenly died at the beginning of 1670 at the shores of Lake Fertő (Neusiedlersee), István Petrőczy went into Transylvanian exile after hearing the news of his expected arrest, and István Thököly died at the end of 1670 at the besieged Castle of Árva. Based upon two letters of Wittnyédy with questionable authenticity, the Emperor's officials preferred charges against the Lutheran leaders, pastors, and teachers of Transdanubia and of the Upper Lands, considering them to be part of an anti-Habsburg conspiracy. In Vienna, it was decided to take away the churches and schools of the Protestants based on Wittnyédy's compromising letters (cf. Fabiny 1986: 31).

Jesuits' school in Sopron urged the town council to enforce immediate reform measures. On the initiative of István Wittnyédy (see *Footnote 10*) and mayor Erhard Artner, measures were taken in order to compensate for the Jesuit competition, which included steps to improve the level of education and students' discipline, who were told not to listen to the preachers of the Jesuits and not to get into any conversations with them (cf. Payr 1917: 367). The period between 1630 and 1650 is characterized by the noble competition between the Lutheran Latin school and the Catholic school of the Jesuits. On 14 May 1657, Richard Reichenhaller proposed that the interior council should set up a Hungarian school in Sopron, conveying the wish of the burghers (cf. Payr 1917: 397). The building of the new school was inaugurated on 11 July 1658. From July 1659, Pál Kövesdy, a teacher from Eperjes, who was recommended by Wittnyédy, became the school's first rector (cf. Fabiny 1986: 28). The Hungarian grammar school had three classes. Not only from Transdanubia but also from the Western and even from the Eastern part of the Upper Lands, many noble and refined young men visited the increasingly famous Sopron school. A syllabus from 1659 proves that the Hungarian language was strongly gaining ground. According to it, the same books and authors were to be used in the Hungarian as in the Latin grammar school, but the catechism was to be learned in Hungarian and biblical texts were to be read in Hungarian language, too. In this syllabus, there is a 'beautiful harmony' (*dulcis harmonia*) between the Latin and Hungarian grammar schools, but as the aim of this grammar school was a Latinity in accordance with the Hungarian language, the German language was to be completely banished. Students were only allowed to speak Latin and Hungarian; German was prohibited. On the occasions of school exams (*examen*), written essays of the students had to be submitted to the school inspector and the members of the board of examiners. The school's inspection took place every month, its findings were received by the mayor in written form (cf. Fabiny 1986: 29).

After the exposure of the Wesselényi-conspiracy (see *Footnote 14*), the town was forced to include Catholics first into the external (in 1672) and then into the internal council as well (in 1673), and it had to endure the removal of town magistrate Johann Serpilius (cf. Payr 1917: 429). With this, the Lutheran character of Sopron's administration, which had been managed to be maintained since 1556 for more than a century, came to an end. The citizens were forced to accept handing over the three Lutheran churches and both schools as well. The teaching staff of both schools lost their jobs (cf. Fabiny 1986: 33).

A new period began in the history of the lycée with the 1681 Diet of Sopron, where, despite the increasing pressure on the part of the clergy, the Vienna Court was forced to make concessions because of the military success of Imre Thököly. The Lutherans were allowed to reopen their grammar school in Sopron in the summer of the following year, on 9 July 1682 (cf. Fabiny 1986: 34). The main difference in the functioning of the school compared to previous times was the

change of the inspection and maintenance system. The maintainer of the school was no longer the town council but the local church as the council's composition had become confessionally mixed. This resulted in a completely different approach towards the ecclesiastical schools than during the time when all the council members were Lutherans. In 1749, Queen Maria Theresa banned all communal support given to churches. Among all the attacks against Protestant schools, this was probably the most dangerous one. The congregations had to produce all the financial means of their schools' maintenance (cf. Németh 2007: 15). In spite of all this, the mentality represented by the school did not change with the change of its maintainer, and the goal remained the same: to raise virtuous, well-educated, and patriotic citizens who can responsibly participate in public affairs.

All this exemplifies that the Lutheran urban élite was able to produce the necessary sources of the institution's maintenance within their own confessional framework, and even at the price of significant material sacrifices they considered it important to proceed with the heritage of the Reformation. They deemed this indispensable in maintaining the city's strength because, in accordance with Luther's principles, they regarded school not only as an *eccelesiasticum* but as a *politicum* as well. This mentality is discernible in later centuries, too.

Excursus: The Survival of a Confessional-Patriotic Mentality?

As we have seen, the Reformation strengthened the patriotism of Sopron's German burghers towards the Kingdom of Hungary. Defence of the shared faith brought them into a closer relationship with the Hungarian nobility fighting for the independence of the Hungarian Kingdom. The burghers of Sopron regarded their town, as member of the Kingdom of Hungary, a Hungarian town. German burghers were learning Hungarian. Ádám Lackner, a goldsmith who immigrated from Bavaria, said in the town hall with regrets that he could not answer in Hungarian, but he sent his son, Kristóf, to the school in Csepreg to learn the language (cf. Payr 1924: 895). The founding of the Hungarian grammar school (*Gymnasium Hungaricum*) by the town council in 1658 (see page 10) was an important step in this process. In 1682, the Sopron lycée was reopened in this school building and was deemed as the successor of the Hungarian grammar school (cf. Németh 2007: 131). Hence, the cultivation of the Hungarian language played a prominent role in the school, which Dániel Hajnóczy, rector of the school, formulated as: '*Linguae Hungaricae studium more antiquitus recepto urgeatur et continuetur.*' (The study of the Hungarian language shall be continued according to ancient custom and cultivated diligently.) This is confirmed by Kristóf Russ, member of the Lutheran convent as well: '*Linguae Hungaricae usus*

in omnibus omnio classibus commendatur, ut scholae nostrae, id est ungarische Schule et nomen et omen habeant.’ (The use of the Hungarian language is highly recommended in all classes so that our school will be by all means worthy of its name: Hungarian school.) (cf. Németh 2007: 130).

It is no surprise that a powerful speech was born in this environment, stressing the importance of the Hungarian language by János Ribini (1722–1788), rector of the school between 1747 and 1758, which he addressed to his students in 1751 (Ribiny 1992 [1751]).

In the speech he delivered under the title *Oratio de cultura linguae Hungaricae*, he praised the excellence of the Hungarian language he considered as domestic language, he expounded the duties towards it, and in the end he showed how it can be cultivated. In his opinion, the incomprehensible practice of the Latin language overshadowing the domestic language must come to an end, and he set the young noblemen studying in the school the task of making the latter flourish. For the cultivation of the language, he stressed the importance of writing and reading Hungarian literary works, making translations and, in case of lacking proper expressions, the creation of new words, together with the importance of patronage supporting Hungarian writers. With these, he was a precursor of the theses of the Language Renewal and of the Reform Age.

From his speech, we can relate to Ribini’s awareness of the possible political changes in the near future as there were indications that Maria Theresa would undertake a series of measures in order to modernize her empire. One characteristic feature of this was secularization. She would place worldly experts in positions that had been traditionally positions for clergymen. For the audience of the *Oratio*, the Hungarian noble youth, the preparation to take over these positions as worldly experts is not an end in itself but an instrument in order to be able to take part in the management of state affairs and have influence over making Hungarian the official language in the Kingdom of Hungary. The improvement of the Hungarian language and the support of its cultivators is also essential in making this possible. This speech arising from a clear political vision addressed to young noblemen can be seen as a manifestation of prudence.¹⁵

Ribini’s *Oratio*, and the school’s confessional-patriotic mentality which was represented by it did not remain without influence in decades to come, as the examples of two outstanding Sopron alumni who were forerunners of the aforementioned Reform Age show. Baron László Prómay – who appears in the dedication of Ribini’s *Oratio* as one of his pupils to whom Ribini addressed his exhortation to cultivate Hungarian language – became one of the leading representatives in the fight to make Hungarian the official language in the Kingdom of Hungary at the Diet of 1790–1791. He also played a key role in the organization of the 1804 competition on how to cultivate Hungarian language. The author of

15 More about the origins and the interpretations of prudence, see Horkay Hörcher 2006.

the prize-winning work, János Kis was also a Sopron alumnus, who later became an illustrious writer, poet, translator, a Lutheran pastor, later superintendent in Sopron, member of the arranging commission of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and one of its first regular members. He ‘reminded’ Hungarian readers of Ribini and his *Oratio* in an article (Kis 1830) he published in 1830, as an important preliminary of the pursuit aimed at making Hungarian the official language, stressing its timeliness.¹⁶ However, this already exceeds the boundaries of the period of our research.

Conclusions

Based on our investigation, we can conclude that adopting the Reformation undoubtedly increased the town’s room for movement within the framework of estates. The political thinking of the town council, especially regarding its educational policy, was influenced by the Lutheran mentality, according to which school is not only an ecclesiasticum but a politicum as well. Their confessional-patriotic mentality indicated that they considered their confessional identity and their belonging to the Kingdom of Hungary as equally important. The German burghers of Sopron strived for cooperation with the Protestant Hungarian estates as they considered the ensuring of their own freedom as inseparable from that of the Kingdom of Hungary. They aspired to maintain good relations with the Catholics, who tolerated their religion as well. The Hungarian language as domestic language played an important role in this process, too. As we have seen in the *Excursion*, the school was able to effectively transmit this confessional-patriotic mentality even after it emerged from under the maintenance of the town council.

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Politiae Sunt Opera Dei – Leonhard Stöckel's Doctrine of the Government

Barnabás GUITMAN

PhD, Senior Lecturer, Pázmány Péter Catholic University,
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Institute of History,
MTA BTK Lendület Long Reformation in Eastern Europe (1500–1800)
Research Group, member
e-mail: bguitman@gmail.com

Abstract. The cultural networks connecting Hungary to other parts of Europe, having developed in the late mediaeval period, worked on in the 16th century, and new points of contact were also formed after the Reformation. The most important elements in this network were the German-speaking citizens of the towns of the Hungarian Kingdom. This paper focuses on Leonhard Stöckel, born in the free royal town of Bardejov, Upper Hungary, who studied in Wittenberg and then returned home and headed the urban school according to Melanchthon's model. Besides teaching, he wrote several works, mainly for educational purposes, most of which were published only after his death, while a smaller part remained in manuscript form. From the chapters of his works, it can be clearly seen what he thought of governance, of the tasks and responsibility of the magistrate.

Keywords: Bardejov, Upper Hungary, early modern period, Lutheran Reformation, urban political thoughts, urban education

Introduction

In the 16th century, after the Battle of Mohács (1526), the Hungarian Kingdom sank into a serious political and economic crisis due to the Turkish conquest and domestic civil war conditions. All these, however, did not lead to instant cultural and religious decay. The strengthened cultural networks of the late mediaeval period, which connected the Hungarian Kingdom to the rest of Europe, continued to operate and were expanded with new elements after Luther's appearance. In this sense, the flourishing of the late Middle Ages was almost uninterrupted in some regions of the Hungarian Kingdom.

The most important elements in the mentioned networks were doubtless the urban citizens, who, although having German roots, self-defined themselves as

‘Hungarus’, or ‘Pannonus’. The city élite of the Hungarian Kingdom had especially tight economic, religious, cultural, and family relations with the neighbouring Polish, Silesian, Moravian, and Austrian urban citizens. The merchant citizens did not only act as intermediary of commodities, but they were also unavoidable factors in the spread of newer intellectual movements and cultural goods.

The cities of the Hungarian Kingdom had broad political and ecclesiastical autonomy compared to other European towns. In Hungary, the possibility of free election of priests in the cities and outside them was already a reality during the mediaeval period, and the demand and possibility was not brought by the Reformation. In the case of Bardejov, the first data of a free priest election comes from a royal charter issued by Sigismund of Luxembourg in 1391.¹

The close cooperation, alliance of the Upper Hungarian free royal cities started to solidify in the first quarter of the 15th century. They coordinated their steps at regular meetings and sought to represent common interests at the contemporary state assemblies. The members of the city alliance held meetings almost every year from the second half of the 15th century. At these meetings, the city representatives formed their common standpoint in the actual affairs. The time and place of the meetings and the discussed topics are found in the cities’ correspondence material (H. Németh 1999).

The self-conscious civilian élite did not only have interest in the practical but also in the theoretical dimensions of the secular and ecclesiastical governmental issues. The booklists of the citizens are witness to this (cf. Monok 2017, Čičaj 1993). The more educated were not only recipients of these elements of erudition but also added to it with their own works.

My research focuses on the history of the once Upper Hungarian free royal city of Bártfa (today Bardejov, in Slovakia). One of the most important people born here in the early modern era was Leonhard Stöckel (Cf. Schwarz 2010, Kónya 2011, Klátik 2012), who – after several years of studies in Wittenberg – returned to his home town and took charge of the city school following the Melanchthonian model, which already represented a high standard in the early 16th century under the famous Bavarian humanist poet, later city judge Valentin Eck (Škoviera 1992, Glomski 2006, Kiss 2010). Leonhard Stöckel wrote several religious and pedagogical works mainly in Latin, part of which was published posthumously, while other works survived as manuscripts.² Stöckel’s success in contemporary

1 ‘Vos pridem defuncto plebano vestro unum ex medio vestri vigore libertatum vestrarum pristinarum de communi consensu parochianorum prefate ecclesiae in vestrum concorditer ellegissetis plebanum.’ – Sigismund of Luxembourg to the Magistrate in Bardejov, Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár, 24.02.1391. Štátny archív v Prešove, pracovisko Archív Bardejov, Magistrát mesta Bardejov, Missiles (State Archives in Prešov, Department of Bardejov, Town Council of Bardejov, Missiles; hereafter: ŠAB MMB): Nr. 30., cf. Petrovičová 2011: 163.

2 Works of Leonhard Stöckel – see in the Appendix.

Europe is indicated by the fact that some of his works were published by famous foreign book publishers such as Johannes Oporinus from Basel.

Indications from his contemporaries and also his direct successors imply that not everything he wrote survived. There are works of uncertain origin attributed to him as well; several are known from manuscripts or prints that were created after his death. His writings and his reputation gained importance, and probably even more so when he lived, during the denominational confrontations in the last third of the 16th century. It is not impossible that his works were tampered with, edited, and updated or that certain works were even associated to him so that all these would support the orthodox Lutheran positions. He lived for 50 years, which does not seem short compared to the contemporary average lifespan, but despite his long life he did not leave a completed oeuvre.

I divided Stöckel’s thoughts on the state and government in the following way: firstly, the question of the government and the relations of the secular and ecclesiastical powers, secondly, about schooling and training, and in the third point I will talk about the question of the Turkish war.

Faith and Secular Government

Stöckel, similarly to Melanchthon, thought that the secular government ideal comes from God. God plants the thought of a necessary society system into the human mind. The division needs to be made between the godly state system and the people who gained government offices. Whilst the first one is good due to its godly origin, there can be gracious and pious or bad and evil sovereigns and governors as well. Stöckel mentions Nero as a negative, Augustus and Theodosius as positive examples. The greatest happiness, blessing in material life is if the states are governed according to the likeness of God. On the other hand, bad government is the consequence of the sins of its subjects. The survival of countries and empires are in the hands of God; countries perish due to the sins of their state governors and population. This is why the adequate tool against a tyrant is not rebellion but repentance, honest penance, and prayer so that through God the prince would repent or a new ruler would come to power (Steckelius 1561: 264).

In his works, Stöckel evaluates his own age’s political relations extremely pessimistically. He believes that the secular powers in his time do not meet the principles of good governance. They govern with tyrannical regulations, which resemble thunder. Civil law was subverted, eliminated. They acted not only against good men but against the existence of the laws themselves so that their tyranny would have no limits. According to Stöckel, this kind of governance is not durable but resembles the solidness of a house built of sand. He ascribes the responsibility of decay not only to the mighty one’s lust for power but also to

the educated people. The arguments of the educated and their barren litigations turned the attention of the secular leaders away from the true sciences and the protection of faith (Stöckel 1578: Preface).

The creed of the five Upper Hungarian royal free cities, the *Confessio Pentapolitana*, was most probably compiled by the first evangelical senior of Bardejov, Michael Radaschin, and not Stöckel although the creed's article does reflect on his views (cf. Suda 2001, Guitman 2017: 85–87). The 8th article of the creed deals with the church. It depicts the prevailing situation of the church inasmuch as it subordinates it to the secular power's task organizationally and financially, whilst in questions of faith the church is only responsible to God: 'Etsi vero Ecclesia corpore et rebus civili potestate subiecta est, tamen in religione nullum aliud caput agnoscit, nisi Christum' (Csepregi–Kónya 2013: 64). The text of the creed of the Upper Hungarian free royal cities was affected by their unique historical-political conditions. The *Confessio Pentapolitana* was formulated by the want to forward it to the deeply religious king, Ferdinand I, asking for its acceptance. In this regard, the organizational and financial subordination at this time did not seem such an unbearable dependency to eliminate; however, in questions of faith, they only recognized Christ's superiority.

The articles of the 1546 synod of Eperjes say that the city council is the guard of God's laws (see Bunyitay–Karácsonyi–Rapaics 1909: 522–524). Stöckel and Radaschin, just like Melancthon, did not imagine the church's direction under either a tyrannical power (that is, under the leadership of the Pope) or a democratic rule (that is, the Anabaptist model) (cf. Brecht 1996). They thought that a group of educated and scholarly élite should head the church, and the secular powers' task, in turn, would be to maintain this élite. Consequently, the main promoters of God's will and commands are not the ecclesiastical officials but the secular powers. The introduction of the Reformation was primarily in the hands of the city magistrates; thus, the church government – if not instantly in legal terms but practically covering all areas – became the authority of the city council, whose power within the city grew and became concentrated ever more due to its new tasks (ecclesiastical governance, care of the poor, marital matters) (cf. Schmidt 1992: 7).

Stöckel wrote more on the state in his work *Annotationes Locorum communium doctrinae Christianae Philippi Melancthonis* published in 1561. Based on Aristotelian and biblical foundations, he too set the base unit of society and the state on family. Families and the states built out of them offer a home and safe haven in this earthly world for the church. The devil, being an enemy of the church, attacks families through inciting arguments between spouses and states through tyrants or rebellions. Stöckel finds the marital bond, the contract the most important as this alliance is the origin of all other associations. A good marriage also reflects the connection between God and the people. He calls upon the city

councils to get acquainted with Melanchthon’s work on marriage so that they could protect pure marriage and suppress fornication. The task of the magistrate is comparable to that of the householder’s. A respectable marriage is the basis of social discipline and if it works it has positive effects also on the state (Steckelius 1561: 258–260). In one of his sermons, Stöckel makes it especially the task of the magistrate to ensure the laws through discipline.³

According to Stöckel, the good prince had five main tasks, obligations. Firstly, to mediate God’s law, the ten commandments, and the law of nature, which is above all other laws. The second task of the good prince is to not just spread the law but also to enforce it. In awarding and punishing, he pays attention to the proportions. Thirdly, the good prince establishes good laws that expand into every aspect of life. His fourth task is to ensure these laws are obeyed. His fifth and most important task is to establish schools and maintain them; without this, all the other duties would lose their meaning.⁴

The Importance of Education

In the following, I will shortly discuss the issues of education and schooling. Here, Stöckel also followed the Melanchthonian views: schools need to be established on God’s command; God is the one who leads and protects the studies. The leader’s, the sovereign’s highest task is the supervision of the studies and the broadening of learning opportunities under strict conditions. One of the basic factors of good governance is the priority handling of education and schooling affairs. Melanchthon considered education, tuition a basic anthropological phenomenon which distinguishes humans from animals. He put moral education in the focus; behaviour and attitude needs to be taught just as intellectual knowledge. The ideal is a hierarchically organized person in a hierarchical society. The leading idea is the adjustable acceptance to the ethical principles born with us; will is subordinated to it, which controls and moderates every instinctive emotion. The powers control the subjects in the interest of the common good; the subjects adjust willingly, by insight, and this requires education. Education needs to encourage and lead to social harmony. The ideal state’s ultimate aim is to lead its members to God through the awareness of the true faith. The church was interested in the creation of this kind of state (cf. Melanchthon 1528, Schmidt 1996). The interdependence and relations of the church, state, and education are the main

3 ‘Quae igitur lex verbo promittit et minatur, ea magistratus loco Dei in huius vitae exterioris disciplina exequitur, siquidem suum facit officium, quod nostro hoc tempore iam fere in desuetudinem abiit’ (Stoeckel 1596: 167v.).

4 ‘Summum autem munus inter haec quattuor est, scholas recte instituere et tueri, sine quibus caetera omnia officia plane sunt inutilia et imperfecta’ (Steckelius 1561: 264–266).

thoughts of one of Stöckel's letters to Lőcse (today's Levoča, in Slovakia): church, public affairs, and state cannot be solidified without sciences.⁵

The main task of education is for the student to recognize, learn the will of God and to follow it so that with one's life and unique capabilities one could serve God and the church. Every science, but mostly philology and grammar, served the purpose to correctly understand the Holy Scripture and with this knowledge lead people's lives on the way of God's will and commands. In his already mentioned work titled *Annotationes*, Leonhard Stöckel meditates on these things as follows:

The knowledge of different sciences is necessary for the correct and proper establishment of the church and schools. Correct and clear speech, the determination, subdivision, rethinking of the curriculum, and better than average eloquence are necessary for the addressed cases' dignity, for the inspiration, adjustment, and every other kind of stimulation of the population and the youth. All these so that they could be proper, come from not elsewhere but from the art of speech. Besides this, it is necessary for the teachers to know those things which are included in another philosophy (disciplines). There are such versions of parables, stories which are suitable for the smart studying of the church teachings. Not to mention other examples, but we only want to talk about the creation of things; then, the full examination of nature is needed, as it was written by the scientists. (...) Still, the doctrine of eloquence and the secular sciences should be cultivated in a manner that those should serve and not rule the Christian doctrines. (Steckelius 1561: 57)⁶

Leonhard Stöckel makes a sharp distinction between the reading of the Holy Scripture and the texts written by antique authors, the former containing the word of God, whilst the latter – though brilliant – are only creations of the human minds (Stoekel 1596: 410v). At the same time, science is not enough to understand the word of God. In the case of the judgement of the role of Judas, he wrote that the ancient pagan excellences do not give any help for the understanding of this question; the truths of faith can only be understood through the assistance of the Holy Spirit. 'But who thoroughly examines the mystery of this inexplicable mist, which no Aristotle, however sharp, can dissipate, by the grace of the Holy Spirit will finally get an explanation' (Stoekel 1596: 411r).

Stöckel's commitment to make education available for the whole community can be seen in his works published mainly in Latin and partly in German language. For the pedagogical goal, the most obvious example is the *Apophtegmata* edited

5 'Sine literis et doctrina neque ecclesiam, neque rempublicam stabiliri posse, quemadmodum nos magno cum malo nostro iam pridem sentimus.' – Bardejov, 30.03.1545. Škoviera (1976: 322).

6 Author's transl.

by Leonhard Stöckel, which the schoolmaster of Bártfa compiled following Erasmus. The preface reveals that the schoolmaster’s aim was not only to compile a simplified Erasmian textbook for the pupils but also to urge the parents to teach his work to their children, so thereby their moral would be ennobled (Stoeckel 1570).

In his preaching volumes, Stöckel also spoke about the teaching profession: the teacher’s task is to educate, warn, and encourage the child because due to its weak intellect and capabilities they do not understand anything yet. The teacher’s influence over the child does not last forever, only throughout childhood, as long as they cannot control themselves. On the one hand, through age and intellect trained by teaching, they will be suitable to take over his inheritance; on the other hand, after the teacher’s moving into the background, they will be free and become the lord and heir of possessions gained from their parents. The teacher needs to serve the child’s benefit based on just rigour and, if necessary, with wrath, but he needs to be careful not to make the smallest mistake during the education of the child or else serious damages can be made to the students (Stoeckel 1596: 46v–47r).

The *Leges Scholae Bartphensis*, the regulation of the Bártfa city school, was created in several stages throughout the 16th century, having survived in an 18th century copy. Having examined the text of the regulation, István Mészáros convincingly confirmed that what survived is a continuously extended, formed version edited over a longer period of time, which can only be partly considered the work of Leonhard Stöckel (Mészáros 1981: 51). The creator of the manuscript, or also – according to Klein – the author of the regulation, is Leonhard Stöckel. A popular Aristotelian quote in one of the points of the regulation which appears in other works of the schoolmaster of Bártfa implies Stöckel’s handiwork or at least his influence.⁷

The composition of the regulation follows the Melanchthonian principles. The emphasis, as in Melanchthon, is the harmonious fusion of knowledge and piusness, the humanist pedagogical practice and the Lutheran religious teachings (cf. Daxer 1909: 6–7, Breznyi 1883: I, 52–58). Besides this, language skills also have an important role. Correct human judgement and the linguistic expressive skills are inseparably intertwined, prudence and eloquence (*prudencia et eloquentia*) work well together, completing each other. According to contemporary beliefs, as Melanchthon formulated, the false or fanatic opinions are closely linked to bad style. The aim of the education of languages, beyond making the student able to express themselves clearly and understandably (*dilucide et perspicue*) in

7 ‘Aristoteles inquit: legem qui praeficit, deum praeficit, qui vero hominem, belluam.’ *Leges Scholae Bartphensis, Leges Astantium*. ‘De quo est insignis sententia Aristotelis: Qui legem praeficit, Deum praeficit. Qui vero hominem praeficit, belluam praeficit’ (Steckelius 1561: 264). Cf. ‘Therefore he who bids the law rule may be deemed to bid God and Reason alone rule, but he who bids man rule adds an element of the beast; for desire is a wild beast, and passion perverts the minds of rulers, even when they are the best of men’ (Aristotle, *Politics* 3:16).

classical languages just as in the vernacular, is that the student learns to think clearly, and with this their moral would be ennobled.⁸

Nevertheless, the school regulation also served the religious contemplation and the development of consciously experienced faith in the daily routine of the students. Besides advising a generally pious and gracious life, the first point makes morning prayer and the reading of holy texts before studying mandatory. The 6th point speaks about how to attend church ceremonies. Students must be present, in an orderly fashion – the smaller ones in the front, and the taller ones marching through the church behind them – and then return to the place of education. The 7th point prescribes the frequent reception of the Eucharist. The second point of the regulation on the elder students speaks about the thanksgiving according to the conventional formula before and after meals (cf. Mészáros 1981: 153–158).

Stöckel dedicated almost the entire preface of his preaching volume published in 1578 at Bártfa to arguing against the unrestricted freedom of book publishing. It is the secular power's responsibility and duty to maintain the pureness of the teachings so that no false teachers can corrupt the sciences, and particularly not the science of religion. He also requires from the secular government to give harsher penalty to those who spread false teachings than to traitors and sacrilegious sinners. It is the duty of state leaders to actively control the book publishers and printers so that they would not have the freedom to publish without supervision because that would cause huge damages: book publishing, a gift from God, becomes a curse. Stöckel thinks that a book should get a permit for publication based on the proposal of the people who are proficient in the topic, and not the general public. He thinks that democracy is especially harmful to both church and state and does not consider it correct that everybody, indiscriminately, should receive equal power. Accordingly, unlimited freedom should not be allowed either in book publishing or in teaching.

The Ideological Background of the War Against the Turks

Finally, we need to briefly mention the issues surrounding the war against the Turks. In Stöckel's Latin-language volume of postils published several decades after his death, the reader can find numerous references to the Ottomans. Turkish people and the Muslim religion mostly appear in his hermeneutics next to the Roman Holy See and the Papist enemy. Stöckel, the Lutheran follower, mostly consistently represented Wittenberg's position (cf. Raeder 2005). He named the papal and the Ottoman powers alike the empire of the Antichrist, but concerning

8 'Nam hoc fere communiter fit, ut cum erroribus et phanaticis opinionibus coniuncta sit orationis confusio ac deformitas. (...) Mentis character fere est ipsa orationis forma' (Melanchthon 1549: 865).

the purity of teaching – similarly to Luther – he considered false teachers within the church more dangerous than the Turks, who were open enemies of the Christian faith. He classified the Papists, Anabaptists, Calvinists, and the Antitrinitarian reformers as false prophets within the church.⁹

At the same time, Stöckel represented a clearer position in the question of war against the Ottomans than Luther. In one of the chapters of his manuscript *Apologia*, which is preserved in Vienna, he did not only condemn firmly and clearly those who trusted the Turks to help and protect them but also contested the humaneness of the Turks (‘non sunt homines, sed barbares a diabolo constituta’). In his rationale, he did not only use theological arguments, he also builds his thread on the evocation of the Hungarian heroes who died a heroic death in the struggles against the Turkish army and who were also respected in Wittenberg (Stoekel 1558: 59v–60v).

From the 40s of the century, the opinion that the Turks are the instruments of God’s grace appears more frequently among the propagators of the Reformation in Hungary, and many also hoped that the Muslim conquerors through their conversion would integrate into the evolving, renewed European Christianity (cf. Varga 2014: 227–230). The illusory dreams related to the Ottoman invaders’ practical religious policy appeared in Stöckel only as intolerable beliefs. The schoolmaster of Bardejov passionately argued against all who thought that the Turks could be used as a potential support for their political ambitions or in the promotion of Reformation. In one of his letters to Melanchthon, he wrote, for example, that in the chaotic situation developed due to the Turkish invasion and the betrayals, only a madman could think that this could be useful for Christianity.¹⁰

In his correspondence with his master, Melanchthon, Stöckel shares his bitter experiences with the Hungarian situation in a more personal tone. In a letter dated 25 August 1544, he draws a parallel between the towns and the prophet Daniel thrown before the lions (Škoviera 1976: 318–322). In his metaphor, the biblical lions represented the cruel mentality of the king, the inhumanity of the Ottomans, the wildness of the nobility, and the envy of the citizens. He described the pagan danger as a threat equal to the dishonour of the state leaders. In a letter

9 ‘Non intelligit eos, qui sunt extra Ecclesiam, ut sunt Turcici doctores, Judaeorum Magistri, et alii manifeste impii et adversarii doctrinae Christianae. Hos enim facile est cavere, si cui religio Christiana curae est, cum palam negent Christum, eiusque verbum reiiciant. Sed ostendit Pseudopropheta in ipsa Ecclesia esse. (...) Est ergo primus et praecipuus fructus Pseudoprophetarum, impia doctrina, etiamsi in aliqua parte doctrinae recte sentiant, quod facere coguntur ad fraudes suas tegendas. Sicut boni doctoris praecipuus fructus est, sana et integra doctrina, eiusque defensio. Secundus fructus impiorum doctorum est, insignis aliqua nota in moribus. Ut in Manichaeo, foeda libido. In Anabaptistis, quod civiliem societatem turbant, quod Magistratus damnant, quod rerum distinctionem tollunt. In Papistis quanta sit turpitudine vitae, nemo ignorat’ (Stoekel 1596: 258r–259v).

10 ‘Sed omnes alios furores hoc scelus antecellit, quod somniant hunc statum evangelio profuturum esse.’ Bardejov, 23.01.1557 (Škoviera 1976: 347).

of his sent in the autumn of 1551, he writes that so many forts have been lost that only the Northern Hungarian Saxon settlements have survived as Pannonia's bastions (Škoviera 1976: 326–328). By the winter of 1557, he started to think that the country was threatened by an inevitable, complete devastation. King Ferdinand's two battles with the Turks and the rebels had a fortunate outcome only at the beginning as due to a series of betrayals the operations were stopped (Škoviera 1976: 346–348).

Stöckel seems not to have subjected the war against the Turks to conditions as Luther did, but, in conformity with the contemporary zeitgeist, he incorporated it into an apocalyptic course controlled by God.¹¹ In one of his sermons, he writes that there is no escape from the difficulties and ordeals of the final times; they will catch up with those escaping from them in all countries of Europe because the coming of the end times does not depend on human will, but it takes place on divine order and will hit all parts of the world equally. Stöckel's words were justified by his life: in the chaotic times of the forties and the fifties, he would have several opportunities for a safe, well-paid job in Wrocław or further in the West. Ultimately, due to the persuasion of his fellow citizens, he chose the Upper Hungarian cities each time (Škoviera 1976: 323–328, 345–346).

Conclusions

Although Stöckel did not create an independent state theory, a system of government – unlike his former teacher and friend Valentin Eck, who in his work titled *De reipublice administratione* explicates his thoughts on this (cf. Kiss 2010) –, but from some of the chapters, paragraphs of the work, the attentive reader can collect and reconstruct all that he thought and taught about the ins and outs of government and the tasks and responsibilities of the council. Not surprisingly, Stöckel follows the track of thought of his favoured and beloved teacher, Melancthon. Although the governing principles formulated by the schoolmaster of Bardejov could not be fully implemented in the given circumstances, they did serve as a kind of benchmark for the city leaders. In the chaotic times, the cities that became Evangelical sought the restoration of safety and order from the royal authority but mainly from religious renewal. They saw the ancient enemy in the Turks, with whom alliance was unacceptable. They did not imagine the

11 'Sunt praeterea non hominum onera, sed temporum, quae communiter omnes premunt, et quae nemini prorsus licet euadare. Non enim sunt vnus civitatis aut paucarum, unde liceat in alias fugere, neque unius nationis aut paucarum, sed simpliciter omnium: ut si velis ex Pannonia fugere in Poloniam, ex Polonia in Germaniam, inde in Galliam, Italiam, vel Hispaniam, ubique reperias idem onus, idque tecum per omnia loca circumferas. Eiusmodi mala sunt temporum mala, quae non tua sunt tantum, aut familiae tuae, aut vicinorum, aut civium, sed omnium locorum, et hominum quocunque te verteris' (Stoeckel 1596: 83r).

dissolving of the new denominational opposition within Christianity under the protective wings of the Turks. Due to the teachings of the Reformation, they looked forward with a refreshed faith, a kind of ‘apocalyptic optimism’ – they placed their trust in God’s grace.

Translated by Noémi Harding

Appendix – Leonhard Stöckel’s Works

Sermon Volumes, Commentaries

- STÖCKEL, Leonhard. 1578. *Formulae tractandarum sacrorum concionum per evangelia communium feriarum totius anni in usum ecclesiae Christi collectae*. Bartphae: Gutgesell (RMK II, 143, RMNY, I, 406).
1596. *Postilla seu enarrationes erotematicae epistularum et evangeliorum tam dominicalium quam festorum dierum, quibus etiam nonnulli sermones in festis sollemnioribus utiles adiuncti sunt*. Bartpha: Gutgesell (RMNY, I, 773).
- n.d. *Commentar super Joannem Evangelistam* (lost).

Textbooks, Lecture Notes, School Dramas

- STECKELIUS, Leonardus. 1561. *Annotationes Locorum communium doctrinae Christianae Philippi Melanchthonis*. Basileae: Oporinus. In: Melanchthon, Philip. 1561. *Loci Communes Theologici*. Basileae: Oporinus.
- STOECKEL, Leonhartus. 1570. *Apophthegmata illustrium virorum expositione latina et rhythmis germanicis illustrata per Leonhartum Stoeckelium, scholae Bartphanae rectorem*. Vratislavia: Ioh. Scholtius Filius (RMK, III, 607, RMNY, I, App. 36).
- STOECKELIUS, Leonartus. c. 1556. *Catechesis D. Leonarti Stoeckelii pro iuventute Bartphensis composita*, Bartfeld (manuscript; edition: Valčo–Škoviera 2014).
- STÖCKEL, Leonhard. 1559. *Historia von Susanna in Tragedien weise gestellet, zu vbung der Iugent, zu Bartfeld in Vngarn*. Wittenberg: Hans Lufft (edition: Szilasi 1918).
1572. *Meditatio passionis Christi Leon. Stöckelii tradita per D. Math. Toraconymus Briznensem in Gymnasio Tyropoliensi Anno 1572* (manuscript, Ústredná knižnica Slovenskej akadémie vied, Š A III. 281).
1574. *Compendium officiorum Ciceronis* (lost).
- STÖCKELIUS, Leonartus. 1567a. *Arithmetica Leonharti Stöckelij, scriptum Belae*. In: *Compendium* (manuscript, Lyceálna knižnica v Kežmarku, 38956, 144r–159r).

1567b. De Musica, scriptum Belae. In: *Compendium* (manuscript, Lyceálna knižnica v Kežmarku, 38956, 242r–253r).

Regulations

STÖCKEL, Leonhard. Leges scholae Bartphensis. In: *Kirchen prothocollum, oder copia der jenigen Schrifften, so jetzo bey der Ewangelisch-Lutherischen Kirchen in K. F. Stadte Bartfeld befindlich zusamgetrag im Jahr MDCCXXIII* (manuscript, Evanjelická cirkev augsburského vyznania, zborovy archív, Bardejov, without signature. Edition: Klein 1789: I, 332–341; Mészáros 1981: 153–158).

Religious Apologetics

STOECKEL, Leonhard. 1558. *Tractatus cuius titulus desumptus est ex 1 Ioan. 2,18 apologiam ecclesiae Bartphensis contitens contra barbarorum blasphemias, qui accusabant eam ut haereticam et propugnatricem idolorum* (manuscript, Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, 13034. Suppl. 388).

n.d. *De Antichristo* (lost).

Historiography

STÖCKEL, Leonhard. n.d. *Memorabilis et notatu digna Relatio Historica de Ministro Ecclesiae Libethensis et Scholae Rectore eiusdem, qui uterque (hic Veterosolii ad statuam publicam, ille vero inter castellum et oppidum Dobronam) sunt concremati et martyrii coronam consecuti. Anno a nativitate Christi MDXXVII* (manuscript, Evangélikus Országos Levéltár V. 57. Tom. XXVII, 161–164. Edition: Guitman 2017: 156–158).

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Urban Development – Spatial Differences



The Spatial Differences of Employment between the Settlements of Harghita County

Szilárd MADARAS

PhD, Assistant Professor, Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania (Cluj-Napoca, Romania),

Faculty of Economics, Socio-Human Sciences and Engineering,
e-mail: madarasszilard@uni.sapientia.ro

Abstract. This paper contains the analysis of employment in the settlements of Harghita County, using the GIS (Geographic Information System) analysis, Spearman's correlation, principal component analysis, and the cluster analysis methods. Based on the database of a set of indicators which describe the demographic, employment, and enterprise dimensions, remarkable spatial differences were observed between the settlements. The principal objectives of the county development plan regarding the employment were analysed, and a discussion took place on the possibilities of employment development in Harghita County.

Keywords: regional employment, Geographic Information System, principal component analysis, cluster analysis, employment strategy

Introduction

In this paper, we present the analysis of employment situation in Harghita County (NUTS3) in Romania based on the databases of the settlements. Previous studies have pointed out the special situation of this county compared to the others from the Central Region and the local problems which make the analysis relevant at the level of the settlements (Madaras 2009a).

Harghita County (NUTS3 region) is predominantly a rural region with relatively high agricultural employment, as previous studies have highlighted. In Harghita County, there is typically a rural settlement structure with a relatively high number of villages, and towns with a number of inhabitants ranging between 1,600 and 43,000 in 2017, according to the official statistics of INSSE. A previous study pointed out the ageing index as well as unemployment, both being higher in the small rural settlements of Harghita County (Madaras 2014a).

Previous research highlighted the importance of municipalities in the micro-region, these having a central role in entrepreneurship and employment. The municipality of Gheorgheni also ensured a wide palette of socio-economic services for the whole micro-region – for example, education and financial institutions (Madaras 2009b).

Although a demographic decline was characteristic throughout the period after 1990 in Romania, we observed remarkable regional differences in the natural reproduction and the net change of residence of the population in the regions of Romania. The share of net settlements was significant in those regions where the average income was high and employment in industry and service sectors was the highest such as in the Bucharest-Ilfov Region and the Western Region (Madaras 2009d, 2014b). In Harghita County, the share of urban population is lower than the regional average. Is the population's established residence in the settlements in connection with employment and the development level of enterprises?

Economic development in Harghita County achieved a relatively low level. The GDP per capita decreased and reached lower values than the national average, while the net average income is also lower than the regional and national average. Another important fact: agricultural employment is high, but the agricultural areas are relatively small; and the share of small enterprises is also high, but this generally represents individual enterprises or family businesses (Madaras 2014a). The results of Mezei et al. (2009), among others, indicate a high proportion of rural inhabitants in the case of Harghita, which affects competitiveness.

In this analysis, I proposed the following hypotheses:

- the main differences in employment in the settlements of Harghita County are connected with other socio-economic factors such as entrepreneurship, demographic migration, welfare (number of dwellings), and population density. Using the dataset of settlements, the spatial differences of this hypothesis can be verified using the GIS method and Spearman's correlation, while the identification of the main factors of employment and unemployment can be performed using the Principal Components Analysis.

- based on the spatial differences of employment, the settlements of Harghita County could be grouped into clusters as the cluster analysis method makes it possible.

The regional disparities in Romania and the intraregional spatial differences at NUTS III level (within counties) of economic development and employment were analysed by Goschin et al. in 2008. Harghita County reached values under the national average in the case of all regional indicators used in their study.

Fieldsend and Kerekes (2011) analysed the situation of rural employment in Bistrița-Năsăud County in comparison with a region from the UK, as a result of which a threat was formulated regarding the Romanian region in the SWOT

analysis: ‘International labour migration of the young people can lead to the depopulation of the villages.’

The principal component analysis is generally used in quantitative research based on questionnaire survey, but this method has a recognized place in regional analysis. The customers’ satisfaction with tourism services was analysed using this methodology proposed by Kulcsár (2010) in a tourism marketing research implemented in Romania. The factor analysis and the cluster analysis methods were used by Bujdosó et al. (2016) in the analysis of the spatial pattern of KIBS (Knowledge-Intensive Business Services) in relation with the economic development in Romania. The role of social cooperatives in the regional economic and social growth in Italy was studied by Carini et al. (2012) using the principal component analysis.

An alternative of the commonly used methodology represents the geographically weighted principal component analysis (GWPCA) in the regional economic development analysis, as Li et al. (2016) demonstrated it.

The Principal Components Analysis (PCA) method was used by Davidescu and Strat (2014) for the identification of regional poles in Romania, focusing on regional sustainable development in a new regional policy approach, and by Savić (2006) in the analysis of the employment situation in the regions of Eastern Europe.

A previous research focusing on the employment situation in the Central Region showed, among others, the significant spatial differences between employment and unemployment, which follow the ratio of the urban population of the counties (Madaras 2009a).

Another study suggested that the labour market of Harghita County appeared more vulnerable than that of Braşov during the 2008 financial and economic crisis. This fact was highlighted by the time series analysis of the monthly unemployment rate in both counties (Madaras 2009c).

The Database of Settlements in Harghita County and the GIS (Geographic Information System) Analysis

The database containing 7 urban and 54 rural settlements was set up with six indicators which describe the demographic, employment, infrastructure, and enterprise dimensions of Harghita County. The database was relied on the complete list of settlements in Harghita County although, due to the lack of data, some of the rural areas were eliminated (*Table 1*).

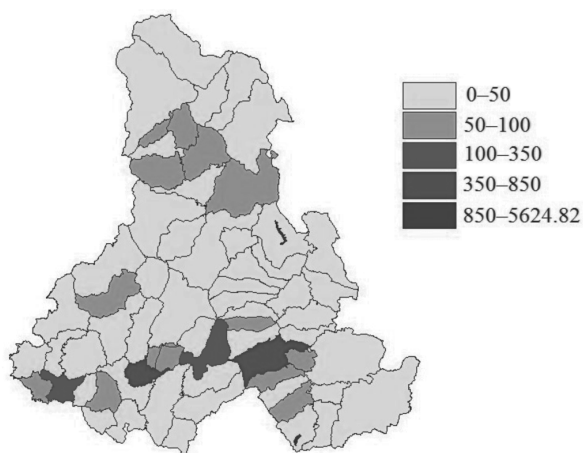
Table 1. *The settlement database statistics of Harghita County*

| | Population density | Number of employees per 1,000 inhabitants | Number of dwellings on 100 inhabitants | Net changes of residence per 1,000 inhabitants | Share of the unemployed from total labour resources | Number of enterprises per 1,000 inhabitants |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|---|--|--|---|---|
| Year | 2016 | 2015 | 2016 | 2016 | 2016 | 2016 |
| Mes. Unit | Inhabitants / Km ² | | | | % | |
| | Popden | Empl | Dwell | Settres | Unemp | Enterp |
| N | 61 | 61 | 61 | 61 | 61 | 61 |
| Urban/Rural settlements | 7/54 | 7/54 | 7/54 | 7/54 | 7/54 | 7/54 |
| Minimum | 8.680 | 24.363 | 32.528 | - 22.942 | 1.100 | 3.901 |
| Maximum | 891.005 | 580.447 | 74.863 | 21.679 | 20.000 | 49.703 |
| Mean | 76.668 | 98.854 | 42.571 | - 5.435 | 4.457 | 19.349 |
| Std. deviation | 152.351 | 108.541 | 7.303 | 8.139 | 3.798 | 10.078 |

Source: own calculations, INSSE

The GIS (Geographic Information System) Analysis

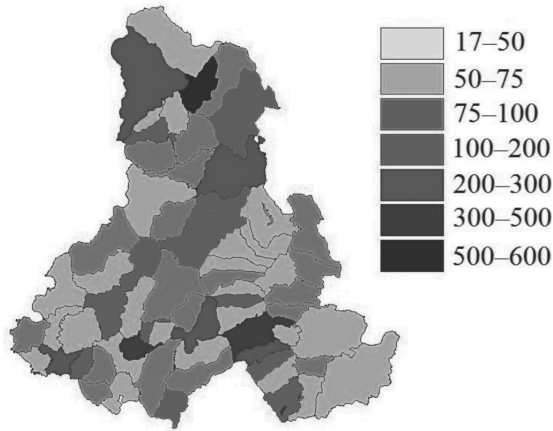
The spatial differences of the indicators included in the analysis were examined using the GIS representation. The average value of population density was 76.67 in 2016 – as we have observed, the majority of the settlements have lower values than that. The statistical map highlights the cities, municipalities, and local centres (*Figure 1*).



Source: own calculations, INSSE

Figure 1. *Population density in the settlements of Harghita County in 2016*

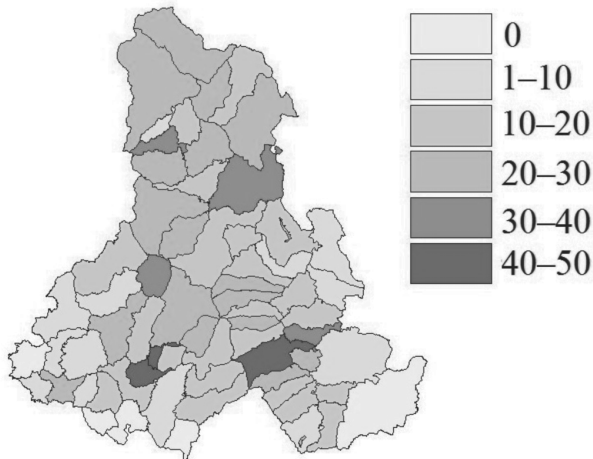
The highest concentration of employees in Harghita County in 2016 was structured in space especially in municipalities. We have observed a few cases where more than 300 employees were present in one city (in Borsec more than 500) per 1,000 inhabitants (*Figure 2*).



Source: own calculations, INSSE

Figure 2. The number of employees per 1,000 inhabitants in the settlements of Harghita County in 2016

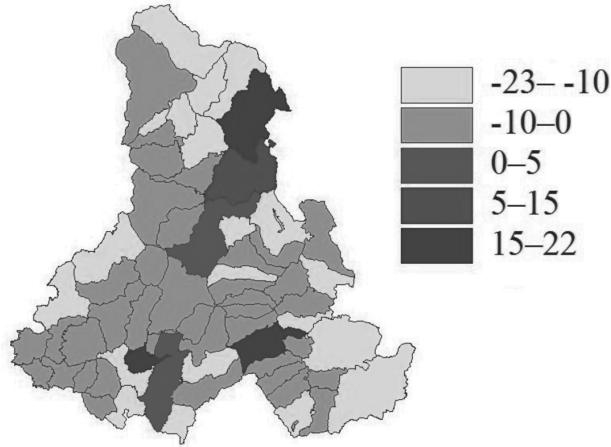
The map below shows the relative number of enterprises in the settlements of Harghita County. The enterprises are concentrated in space in the cities and municipalities and in other micro-regional centres (*Figure 3*).



Source: own calculations, INSSE

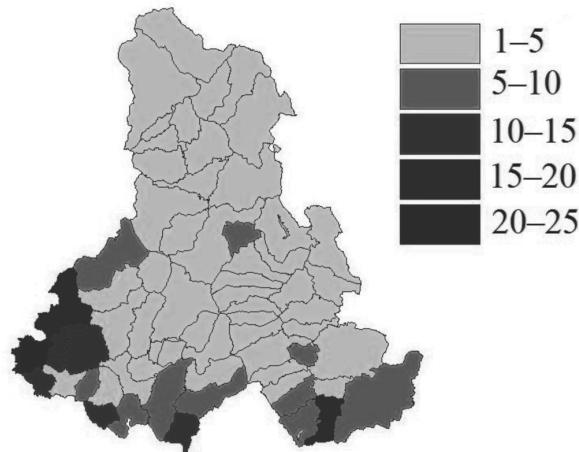
Figure 3. The number of enterprises per 1,000 inhabitants in the settlements of Harghita County in 2016

We presented the demographic decline in other studies (Madaras 2014a), but here we focus on the following question: which are those settlements where the population is moving out? In 2016, the net change of residence per 1,000 inhabitants indicator had positive values in 8 settlements, and in 59 settlements (88.06% from total) it had negative values (*Figure 4*).



Source: own calculations, INSSE

Figure 4. *The net change of residence per 1,000 inhabitants in the settlements of Harghita County in 2016*



Source: own calculations, INSSE

Figure 5. *The share of the unemployed from total labour resources in the settlements of Harghita County in 2016*

The relative number of the unemployed from the total labour resources reached high values in the south-eastern part of the county, in the periphery, and in the villages with long distances from the municipalities, while in the central part of Harghita it had lower values (*Figure 5*).

The Relationships between the Indicators Included in the Settlements' Database

The Spearman's correlation table was calculated in order to show the relationships between the indicators included in the settlements' database. There are no significant (close to -1 or 1) correlations between the indicators although for the tendency identification we make mention of the most important Spearman's correlation results as follows:

- between population density and the number of employees per 1,000 inhabitants is 0.559,
- between the number of enterprises per 1,000 inhabitants and the number of employees per 1,000 inhabitants is 0.517,
- between population density and the number of enterprises per 1,000 inhabitants is 0.421, and
- between the number of enterprises per 1,000 inhabitants and the number of the unemployed per 1,000 inhabitants is -0.405.

Table 2. *The Spearman's correlations table of the indicators included in the settlements' database*

| | Popden | Empl | Dwell | Settres | Unemp | Enterp |
|---------|--------|--------|-------|---------|---------|--------|
| Empl | .559** | | | | | |
| Dwell | -.002 | -.025 | | | | |
| Settres | .308** | .259* | -.162 | | | |
| Unemp | -.146 | -.187 | -.021 | .056 | | |
| Enterp | .421** | .517** | -.038 | .305** | -.405** | |

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Source: own calculations, INSSSE

Principal Component Analysis and Cluster Analysis

In the next part, the principal component analysis was used to identify the main factors of employment, unemployment, and entrepreneurship. The results indicated the presence of two components, which described more than 58% of the variance (*Table 3*).

Table 3. *The principal component analysis statistics*

| Component | Initial Eigenvalues | | | Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings | | | Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings | | |
|-----------|---------------------|---------------|--------------|-------------------------------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|---------------|--------------|
| | Total | % of Variance | Cumulative % | Total | % of Variance | Cumulative % | Total | % of Variance | Cumulative % |
| 1 | 2.322 | 38.693 | 38.693 | 2.322 | 38.693 | 38.693 | 2.309 | 38.484 | 38.484 |
| 2 | 1.169 | 19.491 | 58.184 | 1.169 | 19.491 | 58.184 | 1.182 | 19.700 | 58.184 |
| 3 | .961 | 16.021 | 74.205 | | | | | | |
| 4 | .688 | 11.459 | 85.665 | | | | | | |
| 5 | .480 | 7.993 | 93.658 | | | | | | |
| 6 | .381 | 6.342 | 100.000 | | | | | | |

Source: own calculations, INSSE

The first principal component was named *the entrepreneurship and employment component*, and it shows a relatively high positive connection with the following indicators: the number of enterprises per 1,000 inhabitants, the number of employees per 1,000 inhabitants, and population density (Table 4).

The second principal component, *the unemployment and the population migration component*, is connected positively with the indicators: the share of the unemployed from total labour resources and net change of residence per 1,000 inhabitants and negatively with the number of dwellings per 100 inhabitants (Table 4).

Table 4. *The rotated component matrix of the principal component analysis*

| | Component | |
|-----------------|-----------|-------|
| | 1 | 2 |
| Zscore(Enterp) | .820 | -.091 |
| Zscore(Empl) | .796 | .075 |
| Zscore(Popden) | .750 | .150 |
| Zscore(Settres) | .450 | .645 |
| Zscore(Dwell) | -.031 | -.616 |
| Zscore(Unemp) | -.486 | .592 |

Source: own calculations, INSSE

The two principal components describe the employment situation in the settlements of Harghita County: a high level of employment is present where entrepreneurial willingness and population density are also higher, while unemployment is high in settlements where inhabitants are moving out from.

We received a more accurate picture about the differences between the settlements using the cluster analysis method, i.e. the cases with the similar indicators form one group. In the following, the classification of the settlements was performed based on the K-means cluster method, for five clusters (Figure 1 from the Appendix).

The first evaluation of the results indicates that the settlements are grouped as urban or rural areas, but the average values of the indicators included in the database highlight the differences between these clusters. In cluster number 4, where the relative number of enterprises as well as the relative number of employees is high, there are those municipalities where the population is moving in. There, the share of the unemployed registered a low value. The other, major part of settlements are grouped in three clusters based on the differences between the relative number of enterprises and the share of the unemployed from total labour resources (*Table 5*).

Table 5. *The statistics of the clusters in the settlements of Harghita County, 2016*

| Settlements/ Number of Cases | Nr. Clust. | Population density | Net changes of residence per 1,000 inhab. | Share of unempl. from tot. labour res. | Nr. of enterprises per 1000 inhab. | Nr. of employees per 1000 inhab. |
|---|---------------|-----------------------|--|---|---|---|
| | | Pop.den. average | Sett.res. average | Unemp. average | Enterp. average | Empl. average |
| Mun. Miercurea Ciuc. Mun. Gheorgheni; Mun Odorheiu Secuiesc; Tulghes | 4 | 319.375 | 16.117 | 2.650 | 37.987 | 293.705 |
| Băile Tuşnad; Borsec | 1 | 468.065 | -12.390 | 1.600 | 26.040 | 455.604 |
| 7 | 2 | 40.219 | -4.876 | 13.157 | 8.307 | 71.175 |
| 4 | 3 | 27.089 | -4.504 | 7.000 | 14.681 | 75.688 |
| 44 | 5 | 47.119 | -7.252 | 3.136 | 19.531 | 71.434 |

Source: own calculations, INSSE

The clusters are presented on a GIS map. Cluster 1 includes the towns Băile Tuşnad and Borsec, which are in a special situation, both of them being touristic destinations.

– In Cluster 2, we can observe the lowest relative number of enterprises, while the share of the unemployed was the highest. Geographically, this is formed by the settlements from the south, south-western part of Harghita County.

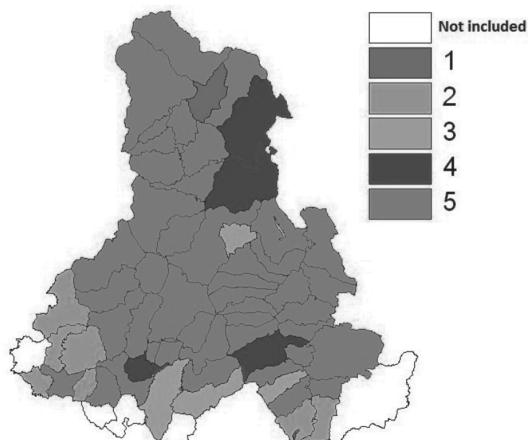
– In Cluster 3, the population density is the lowest.

– Cluster 4 is formed from three municipalities and one village, but there the net changes of residence per 1,000 inhabitants was positive.

– Cluster 5 contains the remaining 44 settlements from the database.

From the socioeconomic situation of Harghita County's settlements, we obtain more important information by examining Cluster 5 because this one contains 44

rural settlements. There, the relative number of net changes of residence in average has a negative value, unemployment rate and the relative number of enterprises are relatively low, and a little more than 71 per 1,000 inhabitants work.



Source: own calculations, INSSE

Figure 6. *The cluster membership of the settlements*

Strategic Objectives of Employment in the Medium-Term Economic Development Programme 2012–2020 for the Council of Harghita County

This 2012–2020 Economic Development Programme was elaborated in 2012. In the following, we will analyse the strategic objectives regarding the employment. The strategic document gives a comprehensive analysis of the socioeconomic situation; here are some relevant statements we wish to draw attention to:

- The development plan highlights the relatively low activity and employment rate in Harghita County.
- This plan identifies the wood industry and the food industry as main job-creating sectors, but the other sectors, such as tourism, are presented as job-creating possibilities.
 - It attaches high importance to local products where self-employment is high.
 - The plan contains the micro-regional analysis of the employment.
 - The relatively high HDI index is compared to the regional level.
 - It reveals a low level of unemployment.
- There is a lack of large companies in the country, and this has a negative effect on occupation (source: Medium-Term Economic Development Programme 2012–2020 for the Council of Harghita County).

Some of the components of the SWOT analysis in connection with employment are presented in the following:

Human resources.

– existence of the local education institutions and other professional training programmes,

– good relationship to work (high work ethic).

Possibilities.

– the promotion for knowledge-based and innovative enterprises,

– the synchronization of professional training systems according to the market needs (source: Medium-Term Economic Development Programme 2012–2020 for the Council of Harghita County).

The 7th priority of the development plan entitled *Employment and Labour Market Integration* enumerates those actions which could be done in the future to reduce the negative impact of the 2008 financial and economic crisis on local employment: the development of the education systems as well as of the professional training systems, including practical professional trainings; the development of the education possibilities for the wood industry; the labour training integration actions for the ethnic Roma population of the county (source: Medium-Term Economic Development Programme 2012–2020 for the Council of Harghita County).

Discussion about the Employment Situation and the Possibilities of Workplace Creation in Harghita County

The results above highlight the importance of the municipalities related to employment in Harghita County. The relative number of enterprises as well as the number of employees per 1,000 inhabitants show a concentration in these settlements. A previous research has pointed out that the ageing index and unemployment are higher in small rural settlements situated far from municipalities (Madaras 2014a). One important question has to be answered in the future: why do people move out from such rural areas of Harghita County?

What is the situation of the employees in this region? The statistical data from 2016 showed the relatively low proportion (65.18%) of employees in the private sector in Harghita County. The high share of services (57.33%) includes those working in public administration (4.1% from total), education (9.8%), and human health and social activities (7.92%), i.e. those who are public or state employees (34.82% from total) (own calculations, INSSE –Table 6).

Table 6. *The number of employees by activity of national economy and the by ownership types in the Central Region and Harghita County in 2016*

| Economic sectors | | |
|------------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| | Central Region | Harghita County |
| | (%) | (%) |
| Agriculture | 2.3 | 2.76 |
| Industry | 35.8 | 33.63 |
| Construction | 7.04 | 6.28 |
| Services | 54.86 | 57.33 |
| Hotels and restaurants | 4.01 | 4.34 |

| Ownership types | | |
|------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| | Central Region | Harghita County |
| | (%) | (%) |
| Private | 58.77 | 65.18 |
| Other (public, state, mixed) | 41.23 | 34.82 |

Source: own calculations, INSSE

The tourism sector was considered a growth point in rural areas in the analysis of the Gheorgheni micro-region in Harghita County, but additional analyses have pointed out that this sector does not create the required number of jobs in rural areas (Madaras 2014c). In 2016, a relatively low number of employees were registered (4.34% from total have worked in the hotels and restaurants sector) (own calculations, INSSE).

Municipalities have a central role regarding micro-regions as in the case of the Gheorgheni micro-region has been proved through the large number of social, educational, economic, and financial services operated. The analysis of the employment structure in the Gheorgheni micro-region highlighted the fact that the workplaces are concentrated in the municipium, which means that the employees in some sectors are moving in from other settlements in the area (Madaras 2009b).

In municipalities, the innovating enterprises in the IT sector are also present. In Harghita, Covasna, and Mureş counties, the enterprises in the IT sector formed a professional association named IT Plus Cluster, which includes more than 30 firms and has provided jobs to approx. 350 workers in the field of computer science. According to the statistical reports of 2016, in Harghita County, there were 1,354 employees registered (2% from the total number of employees; source: INSSE) in the information and communication sector, part of them being IT specialists.

Most of the enterprises in rural areas operate in the wood industry, food industry, construction, and tourism sector. There are also a growing number of family businesses producing local products (food, handicraft, and others). Previously, the importance of professional training was analysed, and a dynamic

approach of education in Harghita County was highlighted (Madaras 2014a). Complemented with the analysis of the present situation, we can state that the workplace-creating possibility through a local employment development action plan could be achieved in the following two ways:

- professional training and education with education institutions adapted to market conditions in municipalities and other settlements included in clusters 1, 2, 3, and 4;
- development of tourism in settlements included in clusters 1 and 4;
- development of enterprises and local products, including the marketing activities in rural settlements as included in Cluster 5.

In this way, the central role of municipalities and other micro-regional centres mentioned above could be extended to human resource development, but initiatives launched in rural areas are embraced as well.

Conclusions

The aim of this paper was to analyse the spatial differences and the impact of these on employment in Harghita County using the GIS method as well as cluster analysis based on the dataset of the settlements. In the database of the settlements, six indicators were included regarding the demographic, employment, infrastructural, and enterprise dimensions of this county for a total of 61 cases representing the 7 cities or municipalities and the 53 villages.

GIS analysis results indicate the important role of the municipalities and other micro-regional centres in entrepreneurship and employment. Besides that, we charted the presence of settlements in rural areas where unemployment rate is high and where the population is moving out from. Spearman's correlation table results did not show significant relationship between the indicators.

Two components resulted from the principal component analysis, which describe the employment and unemployment situation in Harghita County. These are *the entrepreneurship and employment component*, having a highly positive connection with entrepreneurship, the relative number of employees, and population density; *the unemployment and population migration component* are positively connected with the relative number of the unemployed and the net change of residence per 1,000 inhabitants and negatively connected with the number of dwellings per 100 inhabitants.

The hierarchical cluster analysis results showed the real differences between the settlements: the five groups were formed, including the three municipalities and one village in Cluster 4, where the net settling indicator was positive; in another cluster, the touristic destination towns Băile Tuşnad and Borsec, which are in a special situation; in Cluster 2, the settlements where the relative number

of enterprises was the lowest and the share of the unemployed the highest; thirdly, one cluster for those settlements where population density is the lowest; and, finally, in one cluster, the remaining 44 settlements from the database.

Remarkable differences were identified between the settlements: not only in the urban–rural, or central–peripheral term but primarily regarding employment and job-creating capacities. Concerning this topic, we have found two categories: the municipalities, where the predominant part of the enterprises are (an emerging and innovative IT sector, investments, innovations, and developments are also present there) and, secondly, the micro-regional centres where enterprises and workplaces are concentrated.

The negative value of the net change of residence per 1,000 inhabitants in the villages of Harghita County are in line with Fieldsend and Kerekes's (2011) findings for Bistrița-Năsăud County.

The surprising results of the GIS research consist in the identification of those rural settlements where the net change of residence per 1,000 inhabitants was negative (*Figure 4*) and unemployment was high (*Figure 5*), which indicates that in the period under study the population was moving out especially from those villages where there was a lack of workplaces and enterprises. The results of the cluster analysis proved this statement although primarily those groups of settlements were identified where on average high values were reached for population density, the relative number of enterprises, the relative number of employees, and touristic potential. From this approach, the GIS analysis and the cluster analysis complement each other because the first one gives more information about the rural settlements included in Cluster 5.

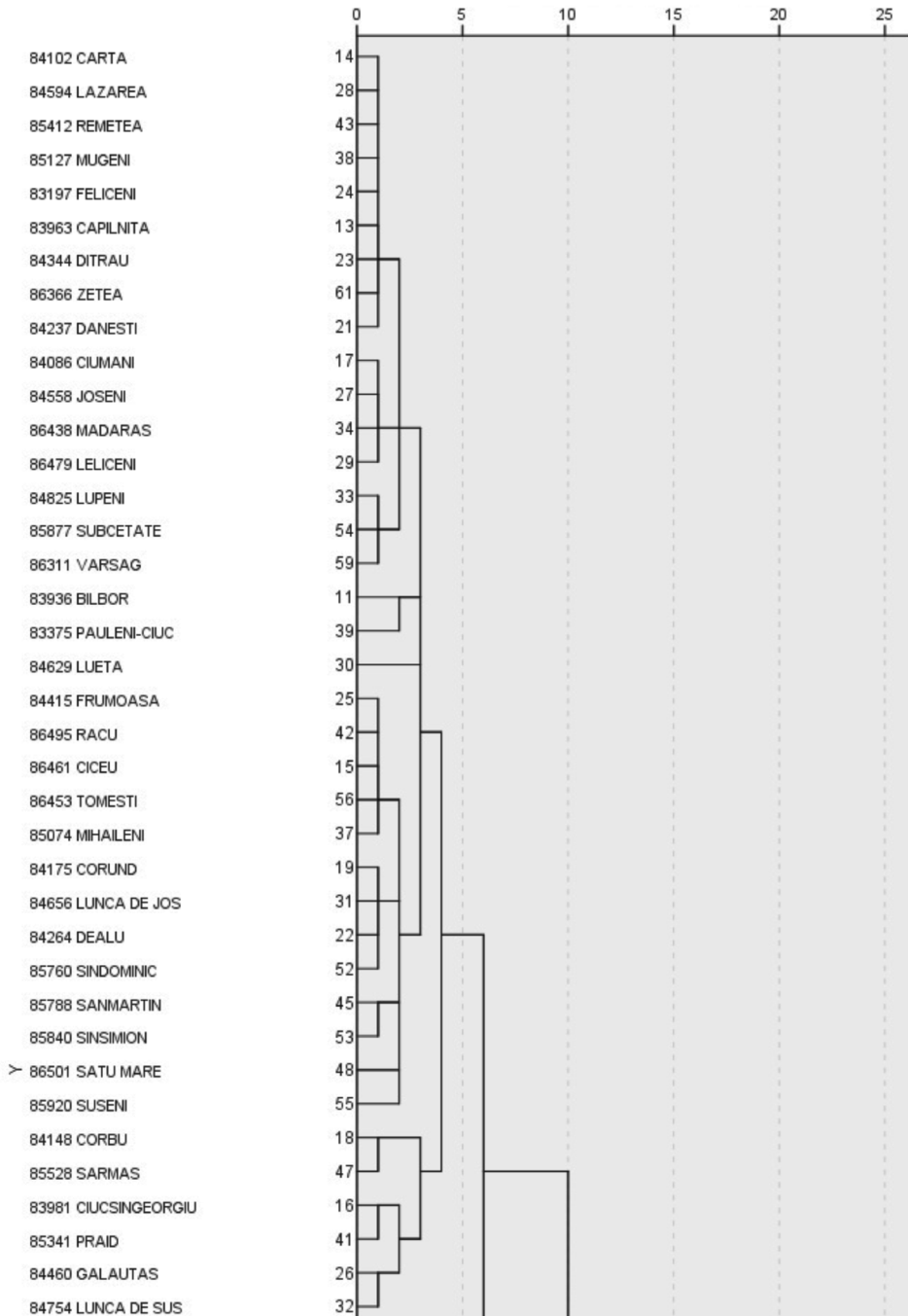
The possibilities of workplace creation through a local employment development action plan were discussed in the final part of the paper, where two possible ways were specified: 1) market-adapted professional training and education in urban areas and 2) the tourism of local product development in rural areas.

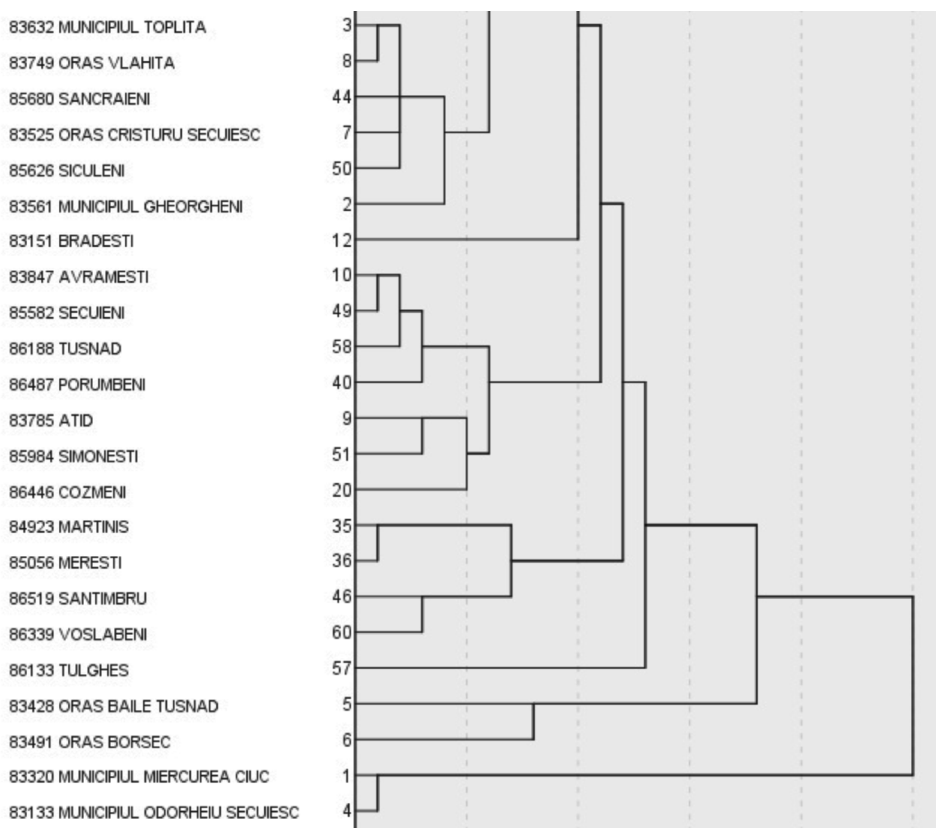
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Appendix





Source: own calculations, INSSE

Appendix 1. The dendrogram of K-means hierarchical clustering of the settlements; Harghita County, 2016



The Necessity of Planned Urban Development

László BAJNAI

National University of Public Service, 1083 Budapest, Ludovika Sq. 2.
Senior Research Fellow, e-mail: bajnai.laszlo@uni-nke.hu

Attila JÓZSA

National University of Public Service,
Doctoral School of Public Administration Sciences
1083 Budapest, Ludovika Sq. 2.
PhD student, e-mail: attila@sapientia.ro

Abstract. The necessity of planned urban development might seem self-evident, but in reality is far from being so – particularly in former socialist countries turned into EU Member States such as Hungary or Romania. In Hungary, for instance, prior to EU accession, there was no generally accepted public opinion supporting the necessity of a planned urban development controlled by the public sector. However, the substantial resources – that in Hungary, e.g., involve impressive amounts – placed at the disposal of urban development within the framework of European Union development policy are not sufficient by themselves to answer the question as to why planned urban development is truly necessary. Based on the most recent research results on the topic and some relevant earlier Hungarian and foreign studies lesser-known in Central Europe, the present paper seeks to answer this question. It analyses the international literature as well as certain Western European, Hungarian, and Romanian cases in order to define the general objectives of urban planning and uses them as a starting-point to demonstrate the necessity of planned urban development.

Keywords and phrases: urban development, urban tissue/fabric, systematicity, urban planning, urbanization, integrated settlement development strategy

1. Introduction – Is Planned Urban Development Necessary?

Until more than a decade after the regime change, it was by no means clear in Hungary whether there was a need for planned urban development in market economy and whether or not it was feasible under market conditions. In the

public opinion of a country newly freed from the shackles of planned socialist economy operated based on dictatorship, there was a prevailing view in the 1990s that in a market economy functioning in the conditions of a democratic rule of law there was no need for the public sector's planned intervention in shaping the physical reality of the urban landscape. This general view was not characteristic of non-specialist audiences alone. It permeated both public policy decisions concerning urban development and part of the manifestations of scientific and professional community with a significant impact. The majority claimed that the market would settle everything, including urban development.

In Hungary, faith in the omnipotence of the market system was destroyed by joining the European Union. Apparently, changes in mentality took place overnight. Starting from 2004, on the theoretical level, everyone agreed that one of the major duties falling to the public sector was the conscious, planned shaping of the urban tissue. This fast-paced and general paradigm shift was probably not independent of the fact that from the very first moments of the 2004 EU accession urban development/urban rehabilitation became and has since remained one of the focus areas of Hungarian development projects enjoying large financial support, co-financed by the EU. The significant funding of the integrated local development projects aimed at reshaping the physical reality of settlements was not accidental. Nevertheless, it was not an inevitable outcome either – a consequence that automatically follows from the enforcement of a certain European Union mechanism – since not every Central and East European country joining the Union in 2004 came by regular financial support of substantial amounts starting from the very first years of EU membership in order to bring into being the complex settlement development and settlement rehabilitation ideas of its municipalities.

For instance, in Romania too, where urban development underwent a temporary slowdown following the 1989 regime change, major renovations took place in several regions owing to European Union grant opportunities – the secessionist downtown of Oradea being the most telling example –, while they were making efforts to meet the housing demand as a concomitant of population dynamics by launching various programmes such as the NHA (in Romanian: ANL) housing programme.¹

Naturally, EU requirements were also of great consequence for the Romanian legal order. Thus, for example, Act 151/1998 on regional development came

1 For literature on urban development in Romania, see: Veselina Urucu–L. Dobraca–Bianca Dumitrescu. 2005. Orașele. In: Dan Bălțeanu (coord.), *România. Spațiu, Societate, Mediu*. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române. 206–225; József Benedek. 2006. *Területfejlesztés és regionális fejlődés*. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană. 130–145. On the regional urban development concepts of the Romanian–Hungarian border region, see: Egon Nagy. 2015. *A román-magyar határregió és határmenti együttműködések a Kárpátok Eurorégiójában*. Cluj-Napoca: Kolozsvári Egyetemi Kiadó. 81–88.

into force specifically at the request of EU institutions. The Law provides an opportunity exclusively for county councils to establish regional cooperation structures. At the same time, local councils can also make themselves avail of the possibility to associate with the county council to draw up microregional development plans. Foundations or associations can serve as legal entity forms for these partnerships. (Balogh–Pop 2010: 50)

Both the seemingly overnight paradigm shift that came along with EU membership and supporting the public sector's urban development activities in Hungary from ERDF resources are owing to the persistent preparatory activities carried out throughout the last fourteen years as part of the country's European integration process.

At the same time, the urban development experiences of the past three decades in Hungary indicate that now, 15 years after the EU accession and one and a half years before the new, EU 2021–2027 multiannual financial framework would enter the implementation phase, some fundamental issues worth addressing.

In addition to the fact that obtaining EU grants for urban development and urban rehabilitation requires action plans, which assumes a systematic nature of budgetary planning, is a planned urban development plan suitable for the given type of urbanization and to be carried out based upon real urban development plans actually necessary (in what follows, planned urban development is understood as such that takes place based on actual urban development plans and in accordance with the nature of urbanization)? Are there any real, more profound reasons for the necessity of planned urban development? Or, indeed, merely obtaining a few financial planning documents – needed for the scheduled calls on the national or municipal budget and European Union funding sources in order to have a planned provision of financing the state's and the municipalities' local construction activities – would meet all the necessary requirements? Can the task of planning local construction activities carried out by the public sector be truly considered as completed by itself just because the project list of one or another city's construction investments is drawn up on the budgetary planning level by the simple enumeration of the forecasted resource estimates of the projects at hand? Could a planned development truly make do without a basis provided by an urban development plan that has beforehand harmonized the spatial, technical-physical characteristics of these projects as well as their corresponding financial content (the necessary urban development expenses and the potential direct revenues from urban development) with the specific physical, social, and economic features and possibilities? Would any urban development planning that reaches beyond the mere outlining of construction projects be some sort of a deluxe package and would in fact be unnecessary should the EU not tie granting support for local construction projects to integrated urban development or regional development strategies? In this context but taking a

slightly different approach, the same question could also be raised as follows: is indeed justified to go with the existing established routine in Hungary and treat urban development, settlement development, and regional development as a separate area in planning at the Member State level the utilization of the EU's multiannual financial framework for the period of 2021–2027 in the same manner as, for example, transport, economic development, or climate protection so that, based on its significance similar to the them, it would be awarded grants 'in its own right' from the Structural Funds? Anyway, is urban development, urban rehabilitation such a high-profile issue that would necessitate a special consideration in allocating the European Union and government funds at a level similar to, e.g., transport or economic development?

The upcoming 2021–2027 development period of the EU makes the topic of planned urban development particularly relevant, and in support of this it is useful to take stock of the current situation. In this context, the analyses of our study do not aim at exhaustively addressing the above formulated questions as those would require further research of considerable volume, a larger apparatus, and much broader frameworks. In consideration of the available frameworks, we can only embark on pointing out the potential answers – resulting from the research carried out – to some questions and drawing attention to our analyses, conclusions, and suggestions so as to promote a success rate of the EU's 2021–2027 development period in terms of urban development and urban rehabilitation, which rate is even higher than the current one or the ones before; and not only in Hungary but, through the emerging ideas and exchanging experiences, in Romania, too, as well as in other European Union Member States of Central and Eastern Europe.

2. Planned Urban Development Is Necessary

2.1. Planned Urban Development Is Necessary

The present study has a clear answer to the key question asked in the *Introduction*: planned urban development *is* necessary.

To be more specific, its necessity does not only derive from the fact that the scheduled call on the national budget and on the European Union financing resources needs financial supporting documents to subsidize the local construction activities of the state and of the local governments, but such planning is indispensable precisely in order for the said construction activities of the public sector to be able to truly make people's lives better in cities and smaller settlements. That is to say, as a basic principle, the mentioned construction activities constitute by definition an integral part of shaping the urban tissue, namely of the regulation-based and operational urban development carried out by

the public sector. Therefore, on the theoretical level, it is an essential instrument of achieving the urban development objectives of public interest. If construction activities take place in practice, too, as an integral part of implementing the regulation-based and operational urban development plans, then these can truly meet the specific urban development requirements set by them and serve the public interest. After all, it is hard to imagine a construction investment of public purposes theoretically at the service of public welfare that is practically inconsistent or not in conformity with urban development plans. This means, in turn, that the public sector's undertaking of a local construction activity implies that it must be a planned action also in the sense that one should be able to trace back the justification of the construction activity of public purposes to the given city's urban development plans. In other words, the pure existence of local construction investment activities itemized in the public sector's draft budget entails a planned urban development and the necessity of urban development planning representing its factual prerequisite.

This line of approach would, of course, still make possible such a formal interpretation of planned urban development according to which a systematic nature suiting the common good is fulfilled as soon as an urban development plan is built up around the establishment of public facilities meeting the already well-grounded demands, which plan, by definition, would thus correspond with the project list containing the public sector's planned construction investments. However, planned urban development rendered as indicated in the *Introduction* is necessary for much more profound and complex reasons, making it a far more complicated task.

In addition to those already mentioned, planned urban development and urban development planning at its service are necessary most of all because urban development, by shaping the urban fabric, must promote the achievement of such essential objectives whose complexity, level of difficulty as well as the spatial dimension, substantive complexity, and long duration of the activity necessary for achieving them, its high-volume and highly complex financing all presuppose that it can be successfully realized through planned activities alone. Furthermore, these planned activities can only be carried out by the public sector through pursuing the complex system of objectives of general interest, and their accomplishment cannot be expected of the private sector's construction and real estate development companies. To make this allegation conceivable, in the following, we will look over the universally valid objectives of urban development and, in the light of them, point out the necessity of planned urban development.

In the territory of Hungary, research carried out at the University of Pécs and at the National University of Public Service (Bajnai 2011, 2018) addresses the definition of the universally valid – essential – objectives of urban development that are built on the foundations of urbanism and architecture renewed by

Francoise Choay (Choay 1996). As conclusions of the aforementioned research indicate, there are certain *general objectives* that *once concretized, the most relevant specific objectives appropriate to local conditions can be defined practically in every case.*

Besides the specific objectives derivable from the said general objectives, legitimate decision makers can define as much and as many types of ad-hoc specific objectives – that perhaps cannot be necessarily inferred from the key objectives – for urban development as they can and deem justified based on the circumstances; in this sense, the scope of specific urban development objectives can be widened almost indefinitely in principle. The need to realize ad-hoc objectives that complement specific goals derivable from general objectives further increases the necessity of planned urban development. In addition, specific objectives that can be inferred, based on local conditions, from general objectives make up the vast majority of real-life urban development objectives which are encountered in practice. Therefore, in what follows, we will focus on general objectives so that we can point out the necessity of planned urban development in the light of them.

The aforementioned general objectives also issue from the general theory of urbanism, the global insights of recent years, the nature of urban development, and – in the case of Hungary – the regulatory framework. The first two groups include those with general applicability according to research, which, at the same time, are related to the essence of European culture. Consequently, they are relevant in every European Union country. Those directly deriving from the Fundamental Law in Hungary also stem from the nature of urbanization and the fundamental values of European culture, wherefore – similarly to those mentioned above – they are valid in the rest of the European countries as well. Furthermore, it is extremely important to indicate in this context that the central objectives issuing from the general theory of urbanism can also be deduced from the Fundamental Law of Hungary, and they serve as a silver thread for legal regulations on construction and urban development. In terms of the present study, however, this is not their most important feature but the fact that they come from a context of history of ideas and practical urban development looking back to cca. five and a half centuries, from which the general theory of urbanism emerged 152 years ago (Cerdá 1867). Legislations are the products and results of this underlying process and not the other way round. It could also be interesting to show how general urban development objectives and legal regulations are built upon one another or how universal principles and goals define the way general urban development objectives derivable from the Fundamental Law of Hungary are presented in Hungary's constitution and laws, but these are not intended for discussion in our study. We aim to look into general objectives to present in view of them the unavoidable necessity of planned urban development.

2.1.1. General Objectives of Urban Development Based on the Theory of Urbanism

General fundamental objectives of urban/settlement development that can be derived from the theory of urbanism (Cerdá 1867, Choay 1996) and from its history of ideas (Choay 1965, 1996) as well as, in accordance with Françoise Choay's categorization, from:

- the treatise of Alberti (1485) and *Utopia* (More 1516) underlying the emergence of the concept and theory of urbanism (Cerdá 1867),
- treatises and utopias following them,
- theories bearing features of treatise and utopia as well as theories on urban planning (in essence and nature),

from creations exemplifying the lasting achievements of urban architecture, also serving as models for it (Pogány 1965, Claval 2014, Lacaze 1995), and, regarding Hungary, from the letter and spirit of the laws on urban planning and building affairs (1937), building affairs (1964), and shaping the built environment (1997) can be formulated as follows:

The central objective of urban/settlement development is the creation of an urban fabric that makes a

- beautiful,
- healthy (hygienic),
- convenient-to-use, and well-functioning urban environment (Bajnai 2011).

The concept of urban fabric (Bajnai 2009) is used here in the same sense as in our previous study (Bajnai–Józsa 2018) and as used in Hungary by the policy guidance on urban development, the *Városfejlesztési kézikönyv* [Handbook on Urban Development] (Aczél–Bajnai–et al. 2009). According to the said sources, the urban fabric is the aggregation of buildings and built spaces defined by buildings, the physical framework of the local society's life and functioning, the tangible medium of urban life (Bajnai 2009).

2.1.2. The General Objectives of Urban Development Based on the Challenges of Sustainable Development

Relying on the research results published in recent years (Bajnai 2016, 2018), we can formulate the claim that for purposes of sustainable development and sustainable urbanization the objective of urban development through transforming the built physical reality of the city/settlement is *addressing the challenges of*:

- environmentally sustainable development,
- socially sustainable development, and
- economically sustainable development.

2.1.3. *The General Objectives of Urban Development Based on Additional European Approaches and on the Fundamental Law of Hungary*

Art. P) in the Fundamental Law of Hungary says that – along with other values listed therein – cultural values constitute a nation’s shared heritage whose protection, maintenance, and its preservation for future generations is the duty of the state and everyone in it. Architectural heritage represents the irreplaceable expression of the richness and diversity of Europe’s cultural heritage (CoE Convention 121, 1985). Following the regime change, in 1991, Hungary acceded to Convention 121 of the Council of Europe, that is, the Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe signed by the Member States of the Council of Europe in Granada on 3.10.1985. In Art. 10 of the Convention, all signatories commit to accepting such public policies for supporting the integrated preservation of architectural heritage that conform to the provisions of the Convention. Consequently, the state and local government activity’s general objective of creating a new or renewed piece pertaining to the urban tissue, that is, of urban development is the integrated protection of architectural heritage, which in Hungary directly follows not only from the general European principles and European conventions but also from the Fundamental Law.

Pursuant to management principles applied in developed democratic constitutional states operating based on market economy, Art. N), par. (1) of Hungary’s Fundamental Law states that ‘Hungary adheres to the principle of a balanced, transparent, and sustainable budget management’, while par. (3) stipulates that ‘in the performance of their duties, the Constitutional Court, the courts of general jurisdiction, local governments, and other public authorities are obliged to comply with the principle referred to in par. (1)’.

It therefore follows that the state and local government activity aimed at creating a new or renewed piece pertaining to the urban tissue, that is, at urban development must also meet that objective in order to follow the principle of a *balanced, transparent, and sustainable* budget management.

Title I., Art. 3 of Romania’s Constitution currently in force discusses the country’s territory, art-s 120–123 of Chapter 5, Part Two are on local administration bodies, and Art. 148 of Title VI. deals with the necessary measures to be taken for the country’s European integration – including the acceptance of the *acquis communautaire* –, but it does not contain a specific provision concerning the necessity of regional development.² However, there are a number of laws that refer to regional development in general, such as:

2 The Constitution of Romania – in Romanian language – can be accessed on the website of the Chamber of Deputies at the following link: <http://www.cdep.ro/pls/dic/site.page?id=339>. Accessed on: 30.03.2019.

- Transport Routes (Law 71/1996),
- Waters (Law 171/1997),
- Protected Areas (Law 152/2000),
- Settlement Network (Law 351/2001), or
- Natural Risk Areas (Law 575/2001) (Benedek 2006).

Further to this, it is worth pointing out a few passages of the laws listed above, without being exhaustive, illustrating their complex content comprising significant forward-looking elements. E.g., Art. 1 of Law 350/2001 on spatial planning and urbanization indicates the fact that *the entire territory of Romania needs the promotion of a sustainable development that benefits every citizen of the country, while Art. 2 requires as mandatory caring for the country's territory in the interest of the communities.*

Pursuant to Art. 4, urbanization, urban development as a process and activity is operational, integrative, and normative (regulatory). Art. 13 defines the following as the main objectives of urbanization processes:

- promoting the quality of life,
- ensuring special conditions for children, the elderly, and people with disabilities,
- efficient land-use,
- protection and marketing of natural and built heritage,
- ensuring the quality of natural and man-made environment, and
- protecting the settlements from the effects of natural disasters.

One can see that in Romanian legal regulation on urbanization and urban development the general objectives of urban development become visible just as in Hungary. Art-s 21–24 of the latter provide for the urbanization competences of county authorities while art-s 25–27 for those of the local administration. Later, Government Decree 27/2008 was adopted to supplement Law 350/2001, which provides for several aspects of its legal implementation, such as the existence of required documentation and naming the bodies responsible for compiling the documentation.

2.1.4. *Summing up the General Objectives of Urban Development*

Pursuant to the theory of urbanization, the challenges of sustainable development, and a number of further European approaches as well as the Fundamental Law of Hungary, the general objectives of urban development are:

- the creation of an urban fabric that makes a beautiful, healthy (hygienic), convenient-to-use, and well-functioning urban environment;
- the promotion of an environmentally, socially, and economically sustainable urbanization by addressing the challenges ahead;

– implementing the integrated protection of monuments and built heritage as well as adopting the principle a balanced, transparent, and sustainable budget management.

2.2. Why Is Systematicity Necessary in Realizing the General Objectives of Urban Development?

The limitations of the present study do not permit to give a detailed demonstration for each and every case of all ten general objectives as to the impossibility of achieving them without a planned urban development – not even in a universal approach –, let alone the indispensable systematic approach when it comes to reaching specific goals derived from general objectives. Due to the aforementioned limitations, we will discuss below the implementation of a single general objective and show how achievement through planned urban development is analogously valid for the rest of them.

Our selected key objective of the total ten is the oldest and – apparently – the simplest one, the very first of them, according to which *the general objective of urban development is to succeed, as a result, in creating an urban fabric that makes a beautiful urban environment.*

In the following, we will resort to lessons drawn from the history of urbanism to demonstrate that in historical periods and places when and where the prevailing goal of the activities what we may call today urban development was to create a more beautiful urban environment, achieving this objective was possible by way of long-term, continuous planned activities. Further, we will show why the general objective of a beautiful urban environment must be ‘translated’ into specific local development objectives and how, in relation to this, planned urban development becomes necessary.

Due to space limitations, we must also refrain from discussing the period, manner, and reason regarding when, how, and why, respectively, the general consensus has come to an end as to what we consider a beautiful urban environment within the boundaries of western civilization or, in the narrower sense, of Western and Central European culture. It is, however, to be noted that this took place during the historical period of the general agreement on the essence of the beauty of urban environment, before the last decades of the 19th century.

2.2.1. The Necessity of Planned Urban Development in Order to Create a Beautiful Urban Environment, in the Light of Lessons That the History of Urbanism Can Teach Us

Within the period of four centuries giving rise to urbanism and urban development in the modern sense, we can identify a period and location whose studying

enables us to see crystal clear that a beautiful urban environment can be created through the planned transformation of the urban fabric and that intention alone is not enough to achieve this goal. This period includes the one and a half centuries between the final decades of the 16th and the first decades of the 18th century with Paris serving as the location.

In this context, systematicity cannot be interpreted, of course, as a concept exactly corresponding to present-day urban development planning since the latter has developed in its essential richness and dimensions precisely owing to the results achieved following the period under discussion, among others, in the very period analysed here. Therefore, the historical analysis of the present study attributes a systematic character to those interventions adopted prior to the development of urbanism as a concept that upheld the core principle of planned urban development. In accordance with this interpretation, the present study enumerates the following urban development actions among the historical examples of planned urban development:

- building complexes, royal squares, boulevards, avenues, roads, streets, parcelling/subdivisions, parks, and promenades, whose design and building in was realized based on concrete plans and according to specific alignments, on the sites of demolished town walls and building complexes or on undeveloped lands, as envisaged by the king, the queen, or the chief minister (Richelieu, Mazarin);
- related to the abovementioned, public space interventions (designing new streets on undeveloped areas or by the demolition of already built-up areas, widening, regulating existing streets, etc.) and associated parcelling.

In the period between the last decades of the 16th century and the first ones of the 18th, Paris became the most influential location of the urban development activity that unfolded in the 16th-century Florence and Rome (Claval 2014) for the beautification and ennoblement of cities in accordance with the architectural principles of the Italian Renaissance (Wittkower 1986). The city of Paris, where the French architectures of the 12th century built the most famous Gothic cathedral of all times, Notre-Dame de Paris, had been under the influence of the Italian Renaissance since the end of the 15th century (Blunt 1983).

The implementation in Paris of the Florentine Renaissance was directly promoted by Lorenzo Medici's granddaughter, Catherine de' Medici, Queen Consort of France, who was the wife of King Francis I's son: King Henry II, the first wife of King Henry IV, and Marguerite de Valois's mother, who commissioned Philibert Delorme in 1564 to start the construction of the Tuileries Palace. The palace built outside the city walls, several hundred meters from the mediaeval castle of Louvre was a few decades later connected via the Grand Gallery built by Henry IV to the building complex of the renewed royal residence. This direct Florentine influence was further reinforced by Henry IV's second wife, queen consort Marie de' Medici. Acting as a regent, she had Salomon de Brosse build the Luxembourg Palace and

Gardens between 1615 and 1621, thus creating the prototype of the 17th- and 18th-century French palaces built between ‘the cour d’honneur and the garden’ (Claval 2014) that would fill the upscale parts of Paris in the next one and a half centuries, such as Faubourg Saint-Germain (Pogány 1965).

However, Henry IV himself was this period’s most influential figure of the process leading to the reconstruction of the 16th- and 17th-century Paris started by the Renaissance ruler, Francis I. Louis XIII, his son from his marriage with Marie de’ Medici, and Louis XIV, his grandson, carried on this legacy in Paris and Versailles. The construction activities of Philip Augustus at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries and of Charles V one and a half centuries later were still focused around protection and fortified city walls, whereas they were little preoccupied with the comprehensive design of the city’s physical reality inside the walls.

Henry IV and his descendants continued along the path laid out by Francis I – who received the aged Leonardo da Vinci into Amboise, his residence by the River Loire – by designating Paris as the capital city in 1528 instead of his Châteaux of the Loire Valley (Ferrero 1996) and launching the Renaissance reconstruction of the mediaeval Louvre by issuing a commission to Pierre Lescot in 1546.

As a result of the contemporary scientific achievements of the Florentine Renaissance Neoplatonic thought and architectural principles (Wittkower 1986), the projective geometry – perspective and cartography –, Henry IV and his descendants already considered the city as an objectified built world whose buildings and built spaces they wished to consciously transform according to their worldview and concepts of beauty, with the expressed purpose of making it more beautiful, and thus more noble, through their interventions (Claval 2014). Their endeavour meant a full-on paradigm shift as compared to mediaeval rulers’ and citizens’ position towards the development and transformation of the city’s physical reality. In his book entitled *Breve histoire de l’urbanisme* (ibid.), Paul Claval reveals in detail the development and implementation dynamics of the new mentality emerging with Renaissance and, on the heels of it, the Baroque. The internal logic of the spatial organization of the Italian and French Renaissance as well as of the Baroque is best illustrated in Hungarian literature by Zoltán Szentkirályi (Szentkirályi 1983).

One of the pivotal moments launching on its way the era under discussion was that in the 15th century the ascendants of Italian origin of the queen consorts to France, the Medicis of Florence, found a new strategy to legitimize their power. Their authority was derived from the company of humanists, and they put the spectacular shaping of the physical frameworks of their lives in the charge of a new figure, who was an artist, architect, and engineer at the same time: his expertise in the new science of projective geometry, his architectural and engineering knowledge and taste enabled him to design the fortification of a city just as to build a palace or organize a celebration. Making use of perspective

and respecting the proportions of antique monuments guaranteed the quality of his creations. Soon, all prominent figures of the age would be imitating the Medicis: to ennoble their existence, they would spectacularly embellish their built environment serving as the theatrical framework of their lives spent under public scrutiny. This paradigmatic shift brought along new ways of designing buildings, roads, streets, squares, gardens, districts, and towns. It served as the genesis for urban architecture inspired by aesthetics, whose first theoretician was Alberti (Alberti 2004), while its true philosophical and architectural principles were revealed by Wittkower (Wittkower 1986), disproving at the same time misinterpretations – sometimes emerging even today – in works on Renaissance.

The French kings of the era, operating in the spirit inherited from the Italian Renaissance, were preoccupied with transforming the physical reality of Paris throughout one and a half centuries expressly to make it more beautiful, and thereby more noble. The complex sanitarian, functional, and sociological criteria of urbanism in today's modern concept existed only at an initial stage in those times, and they crystallized in the complexity of our era in the second half of the 19th century, which, however, could not take place without their grandiose creations of urban construction. This opens up the opportunity for us to gain a deeper knowledge and understanding of what and how happened in that period of time when shaping the urban fabric took place with the intention in mind to make the physical frameworks of urban life more beautiful.

Within the context of urban construction activities – in modern terms, operational urban development – organized and coordinated by the state, the Crown worked towards achieving its objectives by transforming, expanding the royal palace, the Louvre building complex, building royal squares and then demolishing fortified city walls, building avenues, boulevards, promenades, alleys, bridges, and quays, constructing new urban roads, creating new building lands, widening and arranging existing streets, or creating gardens and parks.

In the second half of the 16th century and in connection with the Paris constructions, the oldest means of the planned, that is, regulation-based and of operational urban development appeared: determination of the alignment (Merlin-Choay 2010). The very first edict on this came on 14 May 1554 followed by the decrees of January 1560, 22 September 1600, and then December 1607. Articles 3, 4, and 5 of the latter one lay down essential provisions that would survive in the following three centuries (Ferrero 1996). Determination of alignments separating the public space occupied by roads and the properties lining them were used for purposes of creating new roads, streets, and squares, opening them up in built-up areas, widening existing ones, or eliminating obstacles to traffic or those protruding into their cross-section. They were approved by royal decrees (letters patent) or orders of the royal council. Drawing up a regulation plan valid for the entire city was decided by the royal council only in 1765, two centuries after

they first determined alignments on a case-by-case basis. The comprehensive regulation plan is the work of Edme Verniquet – it was made ready on the eve of the Revolution and was brought into force by the Directory on 2 April 1797.

From the analysis of textual as well as cartographic sources (Ferrero, Freres Lazare, Merian, Turgot, 1842 map), we can conclusively establish that operational urban development interventions and regulations, also referred to herein, aiming at the urban tissue were adopted according to specific plans.

Place Dauphine and Pont Neuf (New Bridge), Place des Vosges, Place des Victoires and Place Vendome, the expansion of the Louvre, building in the Île Saint-Louis, demolishing the city walls of Charles V and Louis XIII, the Grands Boulevards, the Tuileries Garden, creating the parks and avenues of the Champs Élysées, today's Place de la Concorde, marking the transverse axis of the Palais Bourbon and today's Rue Royale, forming of the Dauphine Street on the left bank, the Luxembourg Palace and Garden, the Dôme des Invalides as well as opening new streets and cases of parcelling related to the above-mentioned are all outcomes of documented planning work known from several sources. Nevertheless, based on literature interpretations, one rather gets the picture as if (Claval 2014) the said urban architectural creations of the era, inspired by aesthetics, had not actually led to significant changes regarding the whole of the vast city's building jungle as, according to this approach, they were far too small-scale and insular 'products', wherefore their influence finally faded in the metropolis. On the other hand, recent research results (Bajnai 2019) indicate the exact opposite. They reveal that the tremendous urban development work carried out in the course of the one and a half centuries under discussion for the beautification and ennoblement of the city played a crucial role in the development of modern-day Paris – and in the present-day beauty of the world's most visited urban tourism destination. Owing to the development of digitalization and information science, it has now become simple to access and analyse those cartographic and textual sources (*ibid.*) that were previously difficult, and next to impossible for researchers in Hungary, to become acquainted with and examine. As recent research results relying on the sources referred to above indicate (*ibid.*), the urban architectural creations of the era discussed here have significantly increased the city's built-up area – even if with development activities of lower intensity at the beginning – and had decisive influence on the development of Paris as a whole. On the 1735 Turgot map made with axonometric projection, research analyses showed urban architectural creations whose design and construction were commissioned directly by the king and that are linked with the names of Henry IV, Louis XIII, and Louis XIV. They managed to identify them by a comparison with the urban tissue represented on the 1615 Merian map as well as based on literature (Pogány 1965, Lacaze 1995, Ferrero 1996, Claval 2014) (hereinafter: Group 'A'). They also included in the map those development works, street openings and extensions,

and subdivisions that were realized in connection with the previous ones and that, without the royal constructions, could not have been connected at all – or only under far worse conditions – to the existing urban tissue (hereinafter: Group ‘B’). On this elaborated image, we can clearly distinguish Place Dauphine and Place des Vosges, the town – basically still developed with the mediaeval building stock – existing as early as 1600, before the construction of the first royal squares, and the territory of those districts that were realized as parts of groups ‘A’ and ‘B’ between 1600 and 1730. Disregarding qualitative changes, it can be clearly seen in terms of quantity that Group ‘A’ realized in just over a century’s time means an enormous change in itself. The extension of the new urban tissue falling within this corresponds to 38% of the mediaeval town’s territory bordered by the one-time walls built in more than one and a half thousand years, even if it had a lower development intensity on the average. On the other hand, the total area of the new urban territory covered by Group ‘B’ amounts to 31% of the area taken up by the original urban fabric. This means that in just over a century we experienced a 69% increase in the territory of the city shaped in more than one and a half thousand years.

In the process, the urban fabric of the area already built-up in 1600 underwent a total change in terms of quality. The largely replaced building stock’s typical number of floors increased to 4-5 as compared to the 2-3 floors visible on the 1615 Merian map. The architectural design of the new buildings was greatly influenced by regulation and the architectural style adopted in royal constructions. Thus, the operational urban development actions of the Crown significantly changed the city’s spatial extent and structure in their own right. Street openings and subdivisions realized in the wake of these activities exploited the new development opportunities created by the royal constructions and made the best of them within the new urban structure frameworks created by the interventions of the central power. In the course of the plot-by-plot reconstruction of the urban fabric, designing the new buildings was determined by regulation and the architectural style of public constructions.

The expansion of the Louvre accomplished in three century’s time, the tracing of the Grands Boulevards’ western sections, shaping the axis and starting-point of the Champs Élysées, or marking the spot for the later Place de la Concorde around the other four royal squares all attest to the same kind of conscious and planned transformation of the urban structure as Fontana’s urban construction works before them, through which he knowingly transformed the structure of the city of Rome to ennoble it and make it more beautiful, therefore serving as a model for the Paris constructions. The main difference consists in the fact that three generations – Henry IV, Louis XIII, and Louis XIV – managed to carry through urban restructuring activities of a much larger scale than in the case of Rome, in just over a century’s time. Taking a holistic view, the specific kind of

urban management/urban development plans in the modern sense was inexistent in those times, and it appeared only along the development of the concept and theory of urbanism in Paris and Barcelona in the mid-19th century. Yet, the urban architectural accomplishment achieved during the urban development of Paris between 1600 and 1730 bears witness to an intergenerational, long-term planning urban development thinking and a consistent urban construction activity. Long-term urban development thinking is also evidenced by a fresco dating from around 1600, which can be found in the Galerie des Cerfs inside the Palace of Fontainebleau and depicts the grand plan of King Henry IV on building the Louvre (Baziani–Lebrat–Bezombes–Vincent 1989). In bird’s-eye view and looking west from the city centre, one can see the completed Cour Carrée, the Grand Gallery, the Small Gallery, the Tuileries Palace as well as the area between the latter and Cour Carrée, featuring a contiguous park and wings (annexes) connected to the building complex of the palace. At the time the painting was made, only a quarter of Cour Carrée was ready of the above-listed items – Louis XIII would carry on the construction activities that were ultimately completed by Louis XIV. The Small Gallery had already been there, and the Grand Gallery was finished later, in the life of Henry IV. Likewise, the Tuileries Palace was already standing. The area between Cour Carrée and the Tuileries Palace was, however, occupied by the urban fabric – the ‘faubourg’ du Louvre – built up along the streets perpendicular to the Grand Gallery (Baziani–Lebrat–Bezombes–Vincent 1989, Ministère de la Culture 1989), which ‘faubourg’ was pulled down during the urban development/urban planning works under Napoleon III, in the period of 1852–1866.

2.2.2. Why Must the General Objectives of a Beautiful Urban Environment Be ‘Translated’ into Specific Local Development Objectives and How Does Urban Development Planning Become Necessary in Relation to This?

By the nature of things, even in the historical period of the general agreement on the criteria of the beauty of urban environment, before the last decades of the 19th century, answers varied as to what beautiful urban environment is. For example, it depended on whether it was a small town or a big city, whether it was an area developed with high or low intensity, etc. But in order to give a universally valid answer to the question formulated in the subtitle, we must leave the realm of historical examples for a while and we must set out from the fundamental concepts of urban development and their context, as we will further elaborate below.

Let us suppose that, based upon a common agreement, we have a general idea of how a beautiful urban environment looks like. As mentioned above, there has not been such kind of general agreement since the end of the 19th century, not even regarding the theoretically comparable categories of urban fabric such as the

metropolitan downtown area developed with high intensity or the metropolitan green-belt garden suburb developed with a lower intensity. The argument below, however, does not build upon the lack of general agreement on the concept of beauty, but it shows that, taking the basic concepts and fundamental connections of urban development as a starting-point, the specific criteria of the beautiful urban environment would be subject to individual definitions even in the case of a common agreement on the general interpretation of the concept of beautiful urban streets, squares, and buildings. That is a fortiori the case when there is no common agreement even on the generally accepted meaning of the concept of beautiful urban environment.

Considering the relevant key concepts and inherent relations of urban development, we can state the following. As defined by the policy guidance in Hungary (NFGM 2009) and the publications providing the foundation for it in this respect (Bajnai 2009), *urban development is creating a new or renewed piece pertaining to the urban tissue. The urban fabric is the aggregation of buildings and built spaces defined by buildings, the physical framework of the local society's life and functioning, the tangible medium of urban life* (Bajnai 2009), *with which it exists in interaction* (NFGM 2009).

The definition implies that, due to the reasons detailed below, no two areas with identical urban tissues can be delineated in either different cities or within the same city. Not even areas developed with physically, architecturally, or technically identical urban tissues or physically identical vacant building lands can be delineated. The technical-physical, geotechnical characteristics of the soil, the physical and geodesic features of the ground level, its surface environmental context as well as, connected to this, the topographical features and solar exposure conditions of the area as a whole and its parts, the wind exposure conditions depending on the area's specific location and spatial context, and the area's functional connections to the city as a whole and its surrounding parts are all subject to change from territory to territory with respect to some of the aforementioned features. And this change inevitably entails the larger and smaller deviations of the realized or realizable developments. Technically-physically and functionally different features will give rise to technically and functionally different developments, even if, e.g., the most extreme uniforming efforts were adopted during the implementation phase in relation to the architectural design of an existing urban fabric. As for the materialization of the latter intentions, the housing estates built throughout Europe after World War II serve as fine examples. Despite their apparent uniformity, however, their urban tissues are far from being physically uniform thanks to the aforementioned physical-technical and the soon-to-be-mentioned functional reasons. In the context of Hungary, recent research (Bajnai 2018) indicate that this is well demonstrated by the morphological plans, too, that were drawn up in cities with county rights during the background

studies on the integrated settlement development strategies approved in 2014 (Bajnai 2016). Further, the fabrics of the various definable urban areas are not only physically different from one another following from the basic definition. The urban fabric as a concept and physical reality is not interesting purely for its own sake regarding urban development. Besides its physical features meaningful in isolation, its role inseparable from its essence is just as interesting as those features – which role it fulfils as the tangible medium of urban life, *the physical framework of the local society's life and functioning*. And if we look upon the urban tissue as the framework of the local society's life and functioning (and, within that, e.g., of the functioning of local economy), as a physical reality in interaction with the local society and its functioning (e.g. with local economy), then the expected qualitative and quantitative characteristics of this physical reality cannot be defined independently of that local society and its functioning whose life it carries and with which it is in interaction. It follows that the urban tissue of two delineated urban areas could be considered as identical if and only if, beyond their physical uniformity, the urban life carried by them, that is, the local society made up of people living within their physical frameworks as well as the functioning of this society would be identical from place to place. But all experience and scientific knowledge indicate that no one in his right mind can doubt that we can technically exclude all cases where any two urban areas could be defined as accommodating local societies that would differ from each other in no respect. They would not show any difference in terms of their biological, demographic, sociological, ethnic, or cultural composition, in their customs, morals, religious or political characteristics or regarding their functioning as a local society or as part of a higher-level social organization and not even from the perspective of changes in social characteristics and their dynamics. As for one of the crucially important dimensions of the local society's life and functioning, which is local economy, again, we cannot assume that the local economies functioning within the physical frameworks of the urban fabric of two distinct, delineated urban areas would be identical in every respect. The divergences in the local economy of different urban areas have repercussions on the above, non-exhaustively enumerated characteristics of local society as well, and they in themselves lead to the fact that even the seemingly identical local societies differ from each other in reality.

Given that urban life – the local society's life – carried by the urban tissue also varies from area to area, it becomes obvious that the interaction existing between the urban tissue as the tangible medium of urban life and the urban life carried by it will show differences too. This means that the needs of the particular local society with regard to the actual condition of the urban tissue and its transformation are not the same across different urban areas. In respect of its own cultural, social, and economic conditions, the local society of an

area will consider important other specific aspects concerning the realization of a beautiful urban environment than another area pertaining to the same local society. Consequently, the question as to which existing state of a given piece of the urban fabric or, by way of transformation, which one of its achievable goal states can induce specific compliance with the general objectives of a beautiful urban environment can only be answered by drawing up urban development plans that are based upon the satisfactory knowledge of the actual local physical, social, and economic reality.

2.2.3. Why Must the Other Nine General Objectives Be ‘Translated’ by Defining Specific Local Development Objectives and How Does Urban Development Planning Become Necessary in Relation to This?

In the light of what has been set out in the previous paragraph, it becomes clear that even a ‘simple’ general objective as the urban development goal state of a beautiful urban environment can only be defined as the result of urban development planning addressing the particular local physical, social, and economic reality.

Of the ten general urban development objectives summarized in Subchapter 2.1.4, each one of the following nine were established along the path leading to the development of the present-day concept and theory of urbanization, in a later period of the 20th-century development of the theory of urbanism, and, from a certain point of view, they imply much more complex objectives than the apparent simplicity of a beautiful urban environment. The attributes of these nine objectives are presented in detail in the literature (Cerdá 1867, Choay 1965, Choay 1996, Merlin–Choay 2010, Bajnai 2016) listed in the *References* section. Within the limitations at our disposal, we cannot attempt even a schematic overview of this vast subject. Concerning them, what have been outlined in the previous paragraph are especially true regarding, on the one hand, the reasons why the translation of general objectives into specific goals appropriate for local conditions is necessary in order to effectively realize the objective of a beautiful urban environment and, on the other hand, how urban development planning becomes necessary in relation to this. After all, if the objective which is the longest-running – for over four centuries – regularly implemented ‘simpler’ goal of the activity called urban development in the modern sense can be achieved through planned urban development alone, then, naturally, the attainment of more complex objectives cannot be possible either without urban development plans specifically defining the goal state or without urban development interventions adopted according to plan and seeking the implementation thereof.

2.2.4. Urban Development Is about the Simultaneous Realization of the Ten Urban Development Objectives When the Transformation of the Urban Fabric Happens at a Particular Place and Time. Its Outcomes regarding the Necessity of Planned Development

In the above, we have presented the ten general objectives of urban development. It has also become clear that these ten general objectives are not automatically achieved in the course of interventions implemented on a particular urban area in a particular period. So far, discussion of the aforementioned elements has taken place through distinct approaches to each objective apart. Nonetheless, in the everyday practice of urban development, these objectives should not be interpreted in isolation or perhaps selectively. The essential point of these ten general objectives is that whenever urban development activities take place all ten of them must be adopted concurrently and in interaction in a particular area and period of time – and, as far as possible, not to the detriment of one another. This is rendered more difficult by the fact that the specific interpretations of the general objectives corresponding with local conditions are inevitably and regularly contradictory. Examples of this are well known both from practice and literature, what makes their concrete presentation unnecessary here if only because their schematic overview would alone break the limits of the present study. Nevertheless, the issue comes into view here with respect to the necessity of planned urban development. Are objectives defining the goal state of urban development necessary and do we need a planned, concerted urban development activity in order to realize the desired state?

If we set out from the facts that:

- the analysis of a shining historical instance demonstrates that not even the oldest and ‘simplest’ one of the ten general objectives is automatically achieved without plans and planned actions *and*

- it is even less possible to realize the other nine, later developed and more complex objectives without plans and planned actions,

then can it be logically and realistically expected that the initially inevitably contradictory ten objectives will be realized at the same time and place and to the greatest extent possible without such complex urban development plans and planned actions seeking the implementation thereof that have the ability to resolve or manage contradictions, make the necessary compromises, and thus attain all ten essential objectives in the goal state to the greatest extent possible?

We cannot claim that. Planned urban development is necessary in order to adopt the ten general objectives of urban development in conformity with the specific local conditions.

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Book Reviews



Policy-Making Civilians

A Review of the Volume

Attila Antal (ed.): *A civilek hatalma – a politikai tér visszafoglalása*

[The Power of Civilians: Recapturing the Political Space]¹

Barna BODÓ

Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania (Cluj-Napoca, Romania),
Department of International Relations and European Studies
e-mail: bodobarna1@gmail.com

Whose job is policy making?

This becomes an inevitable question when we think about what kind of opinions there are on NGOs in the Hungarian public sphere. It is very thoughtful if the spokesman of a government (in any case; in our case, the Hungarian) declares:

Legitimately, only elected politicians can make politics; so, civil society should not be involved in politics, in public affairs. As if someone who does not hold any political office could be the sole object of politics, no matter what. As if someone who does not hold any political office cannot be a political actor. At the same time, it also must be noted that if an editor addresses a scientific work on civil society specifically to the political left, for those who seek to ‘contribute to the progressive thinking process in Hungary’, it would mean that only the political left may be the key of social progress. This raises serious questions, especially if modern politics is becoming increasingly shattered. (author’s transl.)

The editor and the authors of the volume entitled *A civilek hatalma – a politikai tér visszafoglalása* (The Power of Civilians: Recapturing the Political Space) published their work with the intention to contribute to the redefinition of political space and to help civilian movements in their efforts to recover politics. The texts that make up the volume are divided into three chapters (*I. A civil társadalom elmélete és szerkezete*, *II. Civilek, közhatalom és közbizalom*, *III. Civil esetek* [I. Theory and Structure of the Civil Society; II. Civilians, Public Power, and Public Confidence; III. Civil Cases]), and these are closed by a summarizing

1 Published by Noran Libro, Budapest, 2016.

study by Kuti Éva: *Tartós trendek vagy múló zavarok? Változási folyamatok a civil szférában* (Long-Lasting Trends or Transient Disturbances? Processes of Change in the Civil Sphere).

The first and most significant study of the volume is Attila Ágh's analysis of the defensive society (*Vitairat a „civiliek hatalmáról” – A védekező társadalom, avagy a civilek hatalma: töprengések a magyar civil társadalom helyzetéről* [Discussion Paper on 'The Power of Civilians' – The Power of the Defensive Society, or the Power of Civilians: Reflections on the Situation of Hungarian Civil Society]). As a theoretical introduction, the author returns to the ideas of Locke, Montesquieu, and Tocqueville and refers to Almond, Polanyi, and Habermas to reach one of his fundamental ideas: a member of the civil society is a movement man. Ágh, referring to Donatella della Porta's work (*Social Movements in Times of Austerity*, 2015), claims that nowadays we live the transition from the structure to the action. At the same time, elimination and preservation make up the task, which is a complex one due to the transition. The theory of informal institutions has come to the fore as a sign of the fact that the sharp contrast between the institutions and political culture has been largely resolved. A multilevel pyramid of institutions is drawn, describing the three larger 'floors' as follows: on the top, there are the government/state institutions, in the middle, the large social mediation systems, while at the bottom civil society. At the bottom level, informal behavioural rules, customs, and traditions are essential. The study emphasizes that the basic level of civil society and the fully formalized 'big politics' include public life, or public space, with the systems of mediating political will. Referring to the work of Rupnik and Zielonka (*The State of Democracy 20 Years on: Domestic and External Factors*), the author adds the statement according to which the crisis of democracy in the CEE region can be explained by the fact that informal practices and networks are particularly strong due to the weakness of formal institutions. It is noted that the contrast between formal and informal institutions and the erosion of democracy mirror the weakness of CEE civil society; yet, some new civilian strength is emerging. The following section discusses the thesis of the CEE triple crisis (disintegration as social exclusion, fragmentation, and impoverishment) and an increase in inequalities, an increase in social anomy.

Instead of continuing the thought process, let us stop for a remark. The author considers that the cause of the CEE situation is the different functioning of the mid-level section of the presented pyramid structure compared to Western democracies, but this does not explain the weakness of civil society in CEE countries. If formal institutions are strong, it does not indicate at all that civil society, the base level, as Ágh determines, would become strong. The nature of the relationship between formal and informal institutions does not affect directly the nature of the civil base. Moreover, if the informal nature is strengthened, it may be a chance for civilians.

Referring to Western scholarly literature, the author analyses the development of advanced civil society, the challenges of participatory democracy, the effects of global crisis, and the functioning of the social space. If the existence and nature of democracy were the central issues of the volume and the study, it would be worth following Attila Ágh's comments. But what is more important for us is the situation of civil society. Many have found that the roots of the current crisis of democracy lie in an increasingly unbalanced and unequal relationship between markets, governments, societies, and the media that mediate between them. Concerning this, the analysis elaborated by Attila Ágh is a remarkable one. However, in the present volume, the question concerning the civil society theory and structure is the extent to which it transforms civil society. I am not interested in what happens to democracy in this case but in what happens to civil society. Attila Ágh primarily examines the situation of democracy.

His work is completed by analysing the perspective of bottom-up democracy. The following questions are included in the analysis: Are civilians able to organize themselves into strong movements in Hungary? What does the traditional Hungarian anti-politics mean? How does the new policy relate to the principle of moral superiority? What does democratic opposition politics mean? And then comes a comment: in the paper and the volume, the connection between opposition and democracy is systematically created as if there were a general rule that the matter of democratic power exercising could not be risen at all by the right wing. In the final paragraphs of his work, the author discusses the situation of democracy – he discusses actual chances and does not talk about civil society.

The second study of the volume is written by the editor himself, Attila Antal. His work, *A közjó és a civilek* (Public Good and Civilians), begins with the statement that liberal democracy has become inadequate to represent the public good; it cannot be represented but by institutions alone. According to the author, the Hungarian civil society felt the processes taking place in our time and wanted to protect the public good from the negative effects of representative democracy. The formulation and representation of public good can only be the result of political processes, and the failure of liberal democracy has shown that institutions are only partially suitable for the realization of public good. According to the author, the public good can only arise as a result of a discursive process, and he assumes the existence of a politicized society. There are very interesting explanations about depoliticization (politicizing the theory) as well as its criticism. Among other things, the third chapter of the paper deals with the Hungarian civil society. It is worth quoting the final statement: after 2010, the social forces that were depoliticized and parked on the parking lot in the past two decades could no longer bear the false (Fidesz) promises of 2010. His conclusion is that the public good cannot evolve in a bureaucratized environment or in a context that is massively depoliticized instead of repoliticization.

According to the author, after 2010, the articulation of the public good of civilians has emerged on three levels: mass demonstrations, organizations representing public good on certain issues, and critical professional non-governmental organizations against the government. The author cites a specific example for each one. At the end of his analysis, he concludes that the organizations presented are bound by the rejection of the Orbán government's perception of public good. During the decades of the regime change, there could not be formed a political culture according to which the civil sector would not only be a kind of a 'third sector' but a link between the private and public sectors, which could significantly contribute to the development of public good.

The editor of the book included two further papers in the first chapter. István Sebestény (*Fél évtized – egészen új környezetben. Kormányzati szándék és eredmény a civil szféra NER-konformizálásában* [Half a Decade – In a Completely New Environment. Government Intentions and Results in the NER Conformation of the Civil Sphere]) describes the general situation of the civil sphere and analyses the new civil support system and its effects. Szabina Kerényi (*Mozgalmi ciklusok és az alulról szerveződő mozgalmak strukturális csapdái* [Movement Cycles and Structural Traps of Grassroots Movements]) examines bottom-up movements and their institutionalization in a context where these movements are strengthening at a global level, noting that these movements have difficulties in crossing social cleavages and having serious concerns about their sustainability.

The second chapter consists of four papers. Endre Bíró analyses the legal regulation of non-profit organizations in 2010–2016, Ádám Nagy recalls in his discussion paper the deadly crimes of the Hungarian state against civil society, Daniel Oross discusses the chances of a youth participation model, and Ferenc Péterfi examines the chances of civil society in a time when society has lost balance and trust. The theoretical yield of these papers is moderate, the strength of these works is that, when analysing a certain question or area, we get new examples of why the Hungarian civil sphere does not work well and at what levels it is stressed against power.

The opening study of the third chapter (Fruzsina Tóth: *Hétköznapi ellenállások* [Casual Resistance]) deals with everyday forms of resistance in connection with the housing crisis. Her work is refreshing in the context of the volume as it does not judge power according to a predetermined choreography (see Ádám Nagy's text too); instead, he examines a new situation by presenting the appropriate theoretical framework, while also formulating general questions about different forms of resistance. Further case studies: Orsolya Lehotai analyses genderism, Áron Varga examines the GONGO phenomenon in Hungary, and Péter Zsolt examines groups and certain categories of civil society, raising the question of losers and winners. His interesting analysis is about the possibilities of becoming a community, presenting cooperation in a way that deserves attention. Judith

Torma analyses a number of controversial complexes of proceedings against the Norwegian Fund in a thorough study.

The closing study by Éva Kuti (*Tartós trendek vagy múló zavarok? Változási folyamatok a civil szférában* [Lasting Trends or Transient Disturbances? Changes in the Civil Sphere]) would be a necessary and appropriate ending of the volume if the data used for the analysis were from Hungarian research and not from a university in Vienna or if these data could be compared with the results of a similar Hungarian research.

The image featured by the volume published at Noran Libro about the situation of (Hungarian) civil society is not at all positive, and I myself agree that this is a period of crisis for the civil sphere. The subtitle of the presented volume refers to the struggle to take possession of the political space, and this is an important issue not only for Hungary but also for the Central and Eastern European countries. The inevitable question is: what other signs and movements can be observed beyond the general problem of malfunction?

It is important to pay attention to such theoretical issues and day-to-day work on civilian practice since the interpretation of political space and the analysis of civil roles have the potential to develop the practice of representing the public good in all the relevant actors over time.



An Economics of Multilingualism?

A Review of the Volume

Hogan-Burn, Gabrielle: *Linguanomics: What Is the Market Potential of Multilingualism?*¹

Erna Aletta WEGHOFER-VAD

National University of Public Service

Doctoral School of Public Administration Sciences

e-mail: weghofererna@gmail.com

The long-awaited work of Gabrielle Hogan-Burn outlines with all the power of attention and thoroughness the relationship between multilingualism and the economy. The professor at the University of Bristol has been researching the relationship between migration and multilingualism, minority language use, language policies, and the economy for many years, primarily in the European context. Most of her work presents the situation in Eastern European states.

In this book, she scrutinizes the perfect Babylonian multilingualism shaped by globalization, the Internet, and mass tourism. She is looking for answers to questions about the costs and benefits of present multilingualism worldwide. What challenges need to be met, what are the disadvantages of the situation, and what are the objections to multilingualism in globalization? The author rightly raises the question: can our only advantage or disadvantage be a single language in this situation, a common language policy that unites language diversity? Discussions about present-day multilingualism are often overshadowed by errors and prejudices. In her work entitled *Linguanomics*, Gabrielle Hogan-Burn is looking for answers to these questions, keeping an objective distance from the subject.

The title itself is a talkative play on words: the term *linguanomics* mixes the English words *language* and *economics*, and the author stresses the economic utility of language in the title.

Who is this book directed to? According to the intentions of the author, the target is a heterogeneous readership, i.e. it strives to address a large number of legal professionals, language policy makers, economists, academics, and university students. She is trying to point out from different perspectives the economic aspects of multilingualism, demonstrating it with a wide range of descriptions, using resources from both the online and the offline world.

1 Edited by Bloomsbury Academic Publication, 2017.

Reading Gabrielle Hogan-Brun's work, I would like to draw attention to three positive aspects of the volume: behind all the words, statements, and conclusions of the author, there lies a solid professional understanding that makes the work itself and its conclusions absolutely authentic. The discussion of the facts and issues presented shows serious, prepared, and up-to-date professionalism. The author is not biased against the issue that is presented as she analyses the relations between languages and economic actors from a sufficient distance.

The work is relatively short compared to an average book: it is only 168 pages long; the preface is followed by five major chapters, the afterword notes, glossary, bibliography, and index.

The five main chapters are preceded by an opening, introductory section whose title is also out of the box and highly suggestive: *Setting the Scene*. Using examples from everyday practice, it points out the usefulness of knowledge of more than one language, illustrating typical problems of businesses in the absence of language skills. With this short introduction, the author intends to influence the readers by encouraging them to formulate their own thoughts on the relationship between multilingualism and economy. The afterword of the volume will return to this introduction, summarizing all the findings and information that the readers may need in forming their own opinion.

The first chapter, *Trading across Cultures: Then and Now*, follows the historical development of the economy, emphasizing the necessary relationship between the economy and languages. She identifies multilingual communication as the basis for effective operation from the ancient Egyptians to today's economic organizations, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the South East Asian Free Trade Area (AFTA). At first, the author focuses on the Middle East and the famous trade routes, including the Silk Road, and then she details the relationship between trade and power, the effects of mobility (travel). The second part of this chapter focuses on Europe-related colonialism, giving special attention to the detailed analysis of the concept of *lingua franca* in the last subsection.

The second chapter, *Economic Aspects of Languages Today*, switches from the past to the present. From many perspectives, it reveals the economic realities of multilingualism that characterize today's society. Going beyond national contexts, it analyses and evaluates the language policies of international organizations.

In the third chapter titled *Managing Multilingualism*, the author outlines the importance of multilingual communication through the example of mistakes and disasters taken from practical life, but at the same time she feels the need to highlight the value of the costs incurred. She also highlights the language policies adopted and applied by different educational institutions, schools, and universities and outlines the challenges and opportunities for society and the business environment in terms of mono- and multilingualism. Finally, she draws

attention to an important and current problem, namely, the relationship between the language repertoire and the supply of labour.

In the fourth chapter, the author hits a more personal note. She is looking for answers to the question as to whether it is worth learning foreign languages. She points out that the demand for certain languages is revived or even slackened by the influence of some market players and that this marketable knowledge exacerbates or even disadvantages the employee. At the same time, some personal limitations may prevent the acquisition of additional languages or the improvement of a language spoken at a basic level, thereby reducing the employee's chances on the market.

The fifth chapter is entitled *Languages in the Marketplace*. In this chapter, the author analyses the opportunities offered by language management in the workplace, interpreter services, language teaching, and tourism. She also points out the pitfalls and opportunities of computer science, programming, and technological development that can all greatly influence the market position of languages.

The monograph concludes with a short, concise afterword, in which the author summarizes the main points of her theory and outlines the potential opportunities intrinsic to multilingualism.

The present book is not necessarily research-oriented. The structure and language of the text is not just for the professionals, the content is made available by the author to anyone who is interested in the subject independently of their profession and has a certain level of knowledge of the relationship between multilingualism and the economy. It does not build on new research but rather synthesises linguistic and economic knowledge in order to assess the relationship between different languages and economic aspects.

The strength of Gabrielle Hogan-Brun's writing lies in her intrinsic, less technical, rather descriptive language. She bases her argument on a combination of linguistic and economic aspects. In fact, she offers a kind of alternative view of why we should prefer language learning instead of giving it up for different reasons.

The used literature consists of up-to-date works, is international in its nature, and encompasses and corroborates the aspects and issues discussed, thus stressing the authenticity of the author's pioneering work.



Dilemmas of Social Movements

A Review of the Volume

Antal Attila (ed.): *Mozgalmi társadalom*¹

[Movement Society]

Eszter SIMON

National University of Public Service
Doctoral School of Public Administration Sciences
e-mail: eszter1991@yahoo.com

In almost every case, the social movement refers to a community enterprise where several individuals are grouped together in order to achieve a common goal and a better lifestyle. In fact, the volume starts with this thought, explaining the importance of socio-movement phenomena by putting the emphasis on the Hungarian politics and presenting a situation that is not so easy.

The cover of the book illustrates the key theme of the volume: movement society. The colourful, obscured, and dotted photo on the cover page that shows a smaller crowd reflects the idea that the main role in this book is intended for civilians – those civilians who can jointly renew the concept of modern society and who can introduce some social changes that either bring disagreement, conflict, or define a whole new direction of social life.

The volume is just over 300 pages, and it includes the research of twelve authors: Attila Ágh, Attila Antal, András Bakó, István Benedek, Áron Márk, Eszter Farkas, Ágnes Gagyí, Bálint Missetics, Dániel Oross, Réka Papp, András Pásztóy, and András Tóth. All of these studies have a common feature: the need for movement research and political organization. All the authors who appear in this volume try to focus on the aspects of the movement idea, taking into account the historical process, the current situation in East-Central Europe or Latin America, and from here on the Hungarian characteristics are also emphasized, starting from the activity of the *Kétfarkú Kutya Párt* (Two-Tailed Dog Party) or from the strategies of the *Momentum* movement.

The volume is structured into the prologue and two other main parts: the first part contains 3 studies and the second part seven. The studies in the first part discuss the theoretical and actual issues of social movements and also the theory

1 Noran-Libro Publisher, 2018.

of movements. The second part contains the studies that attempt to analyse the movement society from the international and Hungarian perspective, including the possibilities and constraints that can truly affect the movement society. The volume ends with a brief presentation of the authors.

The common feature of the first three studies is that they all start out from the theory of movement and examine the situation in Europe, most of all, in Central and Eastern Europe.

According to Attila Ágh (*Generációs metszetek és társadalmi mozgalmak Magyarországon – Az európai kihívás és a kelet-közép-európai válasz* [Generation Engravings and Social Movements in Hungary – The European Challenge and the Central and Eastern European Response]), Europe is characterized by a kind of intergenerational separation in which every new generation tries to separate itself from the previous one. There appears a change in the system of thoughts, and so there is no meaningful dialogue between the two generations.

In her study, Ágnes Gagyí examines the theory of movement based on the characteristics of World War II, while at the same time she explains the notion of social movement not as a phenomenon of countries but as a different system of world economy.

In the following writing, Attila Antal (*Posztdemokrácia és a populista társadalmi mozgalmak* [Post-Democracy and Populist Social Movements]), the author, writes about the fall of the 20th century's liberal democracy, which lately turns into global democracy with the help of which a transnational political subject can be created. According to him, the transnational movement subject required for the further development of democracy must be created by transnational populism, which presupposes a nation-wide structure that can extend beyond the borders of the nation-state.

The second part of the volume focuses on Hungary and its current movements such as the Hungarian trade union movement or the 2017 protest wave.

The introductory study of the second part (András Bakó: *Populista mozgalmak a félperiférián – Latin Amerika és Kelet-Közép-Európa összehasonlítása* [Populist Movements on the Half-Periphery – Comparison of Latin America and Central and Eastern Europe]) may appear slightly out of line at first sight because it does not focus on Hungary. It tries to compare two Latin American and East Central European elected populist governments. Although this study does not fit into this section at first reading, it discusses a line of thought that makes it quite similar to other studies. With the help of these international-themed studies, we can get an international outlook that makes the Hungarian situation much more realistic. In this section, there appear the studies of more or less well-known authors such as András Pásztyó, Dániel Oross, Bálint Misesics, Márton Márk Éber, András Tóth, or István Benedek.

Let us admit that the movement society, its characteristics and typologies can be read in detail and carefully: this book gives us the opportunity to do so. Not only is it professionally capable of providing a solid point of reference for those readers who are particularly interested in the various segments of social movements, the style of the authors and the way the works are structured to make the book readable and understandable for the readers who are less likely to have a deeper understanding of the issue are also noteworthy. In a word, the volume can be useful to everyone.

This work is indicative, wherefore I think that it is advisable to continue. The civil sphere offers a wide variety of topics, especially nowadays, when there are serious changes taking place. Society and, above all, the movement society must always be dealt with, whether it would be a movement, a research, or education. The issue of the movement society is definitely an issue that is not only interesting on a theoretical level, but it is also an experiment which is able to dissolve the scepticism and a series of negative prejudices on the subject. In my opinion, the book is definitely useful. I recommend reading it to those who are really interested in this topic.

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Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, European and Regional Studies
Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania
RO 400112 Cluj-Napoca, Romania
Str. Matei Corvin nr. 4.
E-mail: acta-euro@acta.sapientia.ro

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