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## MASTER THESIS

*Mátyásföld: suburban villa district in the  
agglomeration of Budapest (1887 - 1914)*

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Hereby I declare that I worked out this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature, and I did not present it to obtain another academic degree.

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## Abstract

Thinking of the villa quarters of Budapest, Andrásy Road, Svábhegy or the Rózsadomd are the ones that first come to mind of many. These are the most well-known rows of villas of the capital, but in the green zone of the 16<sup>th</sup> district there is a less well-known but yet even more remarkable villa quarter: Mátyásföld.

Mátyásföld was founded in 1887 in the outskirts of Cinkota, part of the eastern agglomeration of Budapest at the time. Every source has recorded the circumstances of its establishment as legendary. However, its founder was a good businessman rather than a character from a fairy tale. He recognised the change of lifestyles typical of the era, and sought business opportunities. It became fashionable at the time that anyone who could afford to do so, created a second, representative home in the green area outside the city, but still within the reach of the centre. In the outskirts of the city, more and more holiday homes and villa quarters were established, and Mátyásföld was created also for this purpose.

The central issue of this dissertation is how Mátyásföld, founded in the agglomeration of the capital, was built and how it managed to fit into the urban development of Budapest, as well as the life of its inhabitants. Beyond its unique geographic and administrative situation, the role in the development of the villa quarter, and the regulatory system of the Villa Owners' Association of Mátyásföld, which controlled the villa quarters, is also represented. Furthermore, how the residents wished to represent themselves and the villa quarter.

Until now, there has not been a thorough urban and social history analysis of Mátyásföld. The aim of my dissertation is to fill this gap, to find answers to the questions it poses, and to serve as a basis for research into other villa quarters. My goal is to make Mátyásföld a memorable part of the city, to make it worth mentioning, just as the other villa quarters of Budapest.

## Abstrakt

Andrássy třída, Svábhegy nebo Rózsadomb jsou první čtvrtě, které přijdou na mysl při pomýšlení na vilové čtvrti v Budapešti. Jedná se o nejznámější řady vil v hlavním městě, ale v zelené oblasti 16. okresu se nachází méně známá, ale ještě pozoruhodnější vilová čtvrť: Mátyásföld.

Mátyásföld byl založen v roce 1887 na okraji obce Cinkota, která byla součástí tehdejší východní aglomerace Budapešti. Každý zdroj zaznamenal okolnosti svého vzniku jako legendární. Jeho zakladatel byl spíše dobrým obchodníkem než postavou z pohádky. Rozpoznal změnu životního stylu, typickou pro svou dobu, a hledal obchodní příležitosti. V této době bylo módní, že kdo si to mohl dovolit, tak si postavil druhý reprezentativní dům v zelené oblasti mimo město, ale stále na dosah od centra. Na okraji města vznikalo více a více prázdninových domů a vilových čtvrtí a pro tento účel vznikla i čtvrť Mátyásföld.

Ústředním tématem této disertační práce je, jak byl, Mátyásföld, založený v aglomeraci hlavního města, jak byl vybudován, jak se mu podařilo zapadnout do městského rozvoje Budapešti, stejně jako do života jeho obyvatel, její jedinečné geografické a administrativní situace a její role ve vývoji vilové čtvrtě a její regulační systém Svaz vlastníků vil v Mátyásföld, který ovládá vilovou čtvrť. Navíc, jak si obyvatelé přáli reprezentovat sami sebe a čtvrť jako takovou.

Až dosud nebyla provedena důkladná urbanisticky a sociálně historická analýza čtvrti Mátyásföld. Cílem mé disertační práce je vyplnění této mezery, hledání odpovědí na otázky, které vyvstávají, a posloužit jako základ pro výzkum dalších vilových čtvrtí. Mým cílem je, aby se Mátyásföld stal nezpochybnitelnou částí města, které stojí za zmínku, stejně jako ostatní vily v Budapešti.

## Introduction

At the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, the bourgeoisie once again discovered nature, and realised that there was life outside crowded city centres, and city walls. Whoever could, created a second, representative home in the green belt, just outside the city, but still within easy reach of the centre, which they used mainly during one particular part of the year – most often in summer. Early summer homes, and larger detached houses began to have more and more social and representative content, thus gradually becoming bourgeois villas. These suburban neighbourhoods met the needs of the bourgeois layer of a better financial situation. The presence of a suitable green area close to the city played an important role in the spread of these villas. With the development of transport, the increasingly distant areas of the centre quickly became easy to reach. Their heyday lasted from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the First World War.<sup>1</sup>

The suburban gardens, with their own villas, represented social rank, the escape from the everyday crowded urban life, and being close to nature. *“The summer home, and the larger detached house gradually became a bourgeois villa, as these social meanings attributed to possession, were gradually expressed in the building’s design elements, rich of symbolic meaning”*<sup>2</sup>, and in the villa quarter, or parcelled area of the city, in which they were built. It is important to highlight that the villa quarter is considered one of the typological antecedents of the garden city concept<sup>3</sup> developed by Ebenezer Howard (English founder of the garden city movement) only from an urbanistic point of view, and partly, considering its external construction. The garden city movement of a social background was not the continuation of the villa quarter constructions<sup>4</sup>.

The villa quarter was built along the existing urbanistic criterion system, according to specific construction rules. The villas were built to individual orders, based on plans developed by a designated architect<sup>5</sup>. During the development of the plans, the needs and expectations of the customer were fulfilled. In Budapest and in its vicinity, many villa settlements and summer resorts began to be built in the second half of the 1800s, which later became villa quarters providing permanent homes. This thesis intends to introduce the

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<sup>1</sup> Sármany-Parsons, 1992, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Sármany – Parsons, 1992, p. 179.

<sup>3</sup> Howard, Ebenezer: Garden Cities of To-morrow, London, 1902.

<sup>4</sup> Sármany-Parsons, 1992, p. 179.

<sup>5</sup> Sármany – Parsons, 1992, pp. 202 – 203.

first decades of the villa quarter of Mátyásföld, established in the vicinity of Budapest in 1887, from an urbanistic and social-historical point of view.

The aim of the dissertation, its research method, and the resources

The city is a complex, in terms of its interdisciplinarity, perhaps the most determining phenomenon. Geography, sociology, demography, statistics, history of architecture, urban planning and urbanism all deal with it.<sup>6</sup> Urban history writing has come a long way, from traditional local history (city biography) descriptions, to writing new urban history. Harold James Dyos urbanist has described the task of current urban history writing as follows: city history should be concerned with (social) processes and not with the historical events that the town had accidentally been the scene of.<sup>7</sup> The characteristics of the Hungarian urban history writing have been best summarised by historians Gábor Gyáni and Vera Bácskai.<sup>8</sup> In their writings, they shed light on the international and domestic development of urban history writing, its changing functions, its main thematic directions, emerging innovations and shortcomings in research.<sup>9</sup> Their works and methods of research have been of great help to me, as both of them have a special focus on Budapest and the processes involved in city development.

The birth of the villa quarter of Mátyásföld (despite the fact that the villa settlement was not a part of Budapest until 1950<sup>10</sup>) is in keeping with the development of the capital. The examination of the circumstances of the establishment of Mátyásföld provides an opportunity to partially present the development of villa and holiday quarters in Budapest and in its suburbs. During the investigation, an insight into the development of the agglomeration of Budapest and the system of relations of the social layer that bought land for either investment purposes or villa construction in this area. These processes and

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<sup>6</sup> Bácskai, 2006, p. 245.

<sup>7</sup> Bácskai, 2006, pp.246 – 247.

<sup>8</sup> Their major pieces of work:

Bácskai Vera: Bácskai Vera : *Towns and urban society in early nineteenth-century Hungary*, 1989.

Bácskai Vera: *Városok és polgárok Magyarországon I-II.*, Budapest, 2007.

Bácskai Vera: *Városok Magyarországon az iparosodás előtt*, Budapest, 2002.

Bácskai Vera–Gyáni Gábor–Kubinyi András: *Budapest története a kezdetektől 1945-ig*; Budapest, 2000.

Gyáni Gábor: *Hétköznapi Budapest. Nagyvárosi élet a századfordulón*, Budapest, 1995.

Gyáni Gábor: *Az utca és a szalon. A társadalmi térhasználat Budapesten. 1870-1940*, Budapest, 1998.

Gyáni Gábor: *Identity and the urban experience. Fin-de-siècle Budapest*, Boulder–Wayne–New York, 2004.

<sup>9</sup> Apart from them, the representatives of the new tendencies of Hungarian urban history, according to Gábor Gyáni are: Gyula Belényi, Gábor Czoch, Pál Germuska, Péter Güntner, Katalin G. Szende, Sándor Horváth, Éva Kovács, Mónika Mátay, Judit Pál, Mónika Pilkhoffer, Gábor Sonkoly, Gyula Szakál, Lajos Timár, Árpád Tóth, Zoltán Tóth

<sup>10</sup> The Greater Budapest was created in 1950 when the outskirt towns amalgamated into the city.



relationship networks have not yet been explored by researching, and primarily rely on archival resources. In this dissertation, I attempt to analyse these urbanisation and social phenomena and changes, from the formation of Mátyásföld in 1887 up to 1914.

The majority of my primary sources have been available by favour of the Garden City Collection of Local History. The Collection has digitised the documents that have so far been found in connection with Mátyásföld. Among the resources available are Mátyásföld's deed of foundation, the remaining minutes of the Villa Owners' Association of Mátyásföld, the local newspapers, and the postcards illustrating the villa quarter. However, the archives serving the preservation of the documents, and the files of the original records related to Mátyásföld, have suffered fire damage. The documents that have survived and thus have been available for me to use, have managed to exist and can be researched to this day, thanks to good fortune.

The other part of my primary sources was through the databases of Hungaricana and Arcanum (online databases of archives and libraries). Researching the currently available maps of Mátyásföld has been the most successful through them. I have found the information about the first plot owners, and ads, as well as articles of the properties in Mátyásföld, with the aid of these databases. However, the contents of both databases are constantly growing, so the background sources of the statements in my thesis may be continuously expanding as well.

According to my present knowledge, only three people have so far processed the history of the creation of Mátyásföld. On the occasion of the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the settlement, Tivadar Pozsgay, an official of the capital, summed up the events that had happened. However, only references can be found of Pozsgay's work. The 70-page book has not been found so far.<sup>11</sup> The second person to sum up the history of Mátyásföld on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the villa settlement, was Lajos Körmendy-Ékes. Körmendy, as president of the Villa Owners' Association of Mátyásföld, used the minutes of the General Assembly available at that time. Despite its complicated wording style, his work is of the utmost importance due to the resources used. As I have mentioned earlier, there is little remaining original documentation and Körmendy's work refers to documents that have already been lost.

The third one is Antal Lantos' work titled "The History of Mátyásföld", published in 2012. Lantos describes the history of not only Mátyásföld but also the later joining

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<sup>11</sup> Lantos, 2012, p. 7.

areas. However, he also based his data concerning the villa quarter, on the existing material of the Local History Collection and on Körmendy's work. Examining the works of Körmendy and Lantos, it can be established that their main endeavour was to describe the history of events, and the chronology of the development and life of the villa quarter. None of the authors above had ventured to carry out a more detailed analysis, to place the development of the villa quarter in a wider historical context, or to examine the social and investment intentions behind its foundation.

Beyond these descriptive historical works, there are two more writings that deal with a part of the life of the villa quarter. One of them is János Suba's article published in 2002, titled "The Villa Owners' Association of Mátyásföld"<sup>12</sup>. Suba explains the points of the statutes without any analysis, and presents the life of the villa quarter, as well as the Association, using Körmendy's writing. Based on the results of my own research, I believe that his writing contains incorrect (without citing the source) statements. For this thesis, Suba's work did not contain any new information, but was a useful addition to Körmendy's complicated wording style, through the transparent interpretation of the events.

The other piece of work by Orsolya Tóth, published in 2006, was titled "The Street Names of Mátyásföld (1887-2004)"<sup>13</sup>. For this paper, the first chapter of the study is relevant, in which Tóth investigates the street network of Mátyásföld between 1887-1919. However, the source of the study of street names only includes "street name encyclopaedia" and street name descriptions.<sup>14</sup> Contemporary maps that would serve as a basic source for such a description, have not been studied by the author. Already in his introduction, Tóth defectively defines the administrative position of Mátyásföld (describing it as a separate settlement when, in reality, it belonged to Cinkota), and in the rest of the study he continues to multiply his erroneous statements<sup>15</sup>. However, his work proved thought-provoking to further study the available maps, and to reflect on the background of how streets received their names.

In the present paper, I undertook to answer the question of how Mátyásföld developed and how it became part of Budapest's urban development. Also, to look at what the excursion to the capital, as well as the land and villa purchases meant to the citizens of

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<sup>12</sup> Suba, János, *A mátyásföldi nyaralótulajdonosok egyesülete*, in: Holló Szilvia Andrea, Sipos András (eds.), *Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából XXX.*, Budapest 2002, pp. 253 – 272.

<sup>13</sup> Tóth, Orsolya, *Mátyásföld utcanevei (1889-2004)*, In: *Névtani értesítő* 28, Budapest, 2006, pp.:105 – 112.

<sup>14</sup> Tóth, 2006, p. 105.

<sup>15</sup> Mátyásföld was founded in 1887 and not in 1889, as Tóth claims, there are 27 streets on the cadastral map of 1914, while Tóth claims that there were 38 streets until 1919 (because of the war it is unlikely that the villa quarter had grown to such an extent that 11 new streets would have been created)

the capital. My attention was focused on the special “border position” of the villa quarter. Mátyásföld lies not only geographically but also administratively between Budapest and Cinkota<sup>16</sup>. With regard to its function, it cannot be sharply defined, since the villa quarter that started life as a holiday resort, gradually became a permanent residence for some of its inhabitants. In the rest of my thesis, I examined the social composition of the owners of the villa quarter, the forms of their community appearance, and the manifestation of their social representation.

During my analyses, I relied on the train of thought, and research methodology of several pieces of work. One such work was Pál Beluszky’s writing about the development of the agglomeration of Budapest.<sup>17</sup> Beluszky deals in detail with the growth of the agglomeration and suburbs, and the owners of the land in the vicinity of Budapest. His work has helped me to place the foundation of Mátyásföld in the development of the surrounding areas, despite the fact that he does not make significant references to the villa quarter. The 4<sup>th</sup> Volume<sup>18</sup> of the series titled *The History of Budapest*, edited by Károly Vörös, ventured to give a more detailed presentation of the agglomeration of Budapest. The work, published in 1978, is still the most fundamental piece of writing on the comprehensive historical description of the capital. The work, covering every detail of the capital's life, spells out accurately the connection between Budapest and its integration into the city's life. From the volume it becomes apparent how the establishment of Mátyásföld (in spite of the fact that it is rarely mentioned) fitted in the suburban development process of Budapest. Although this volume of *The History of Budapest* series places the villa quarter in the more general context of urban development, the summary, due to its nature, could not undertake the detailed presentation of Mátyásföld, and could not elaborate on the characteristics that distinguished it from the other villa quarters that developed in the same era.

Common knowledge<sup>19</sup> refers to the green areas in the outskirts of the city as “suburbs”.<sup>20</sup> At the beginning of my research, I also liked to apply this definition to

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<sup>16</sup> Formerly, an agrarian settlement outside the eastern boundaries of Budapest, today part of the capital’s 16<sup>th</sup> district

<sup>17</sup> Beluszky, Pál: A budapesti agglomeráció kialakulása, in: *Társadalmi-gazdasági átalakulás a budapesti agglomerációban*, Barta Györgyi, Beluszky Pál (eds), Budapest 1999, pp.27 – 68.

<sup>18</sup> Vörös, Károly (editor), *Budapest története IV. – A márciusi forradalomtól az őszirózsás forradalomig*, Budapest, 1978.

<sup>19</sup> A great example for this is the slogan of the 16<sup>th</sup> District: “developing garden city”. There is not one part of the district where an area would have been built by having observed the notion of the real garden city, however, the concept of garden city has been applied to the suburban greenbelt. (<https://www.bp16.hu/>)

<sup>20</sup> Nagy, 2008, p. 80.

Mátyásföld. In the beginning, I even intended to find a connection between the garden city concept<sup>21</sup> of Ebenezer Howard, and the strict system of regulations governing Mátyásföld. However, reading Howard's *To-Morrow: The Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, published in 1898, in which he defined the foundations of the Garden City Movement, as well as an array of works listing international examples<sup>22</sup>, I discovered that Mátyásföld is certainly not part of the Howard-type suburbs<sup>23</sup>.

Howard's garden city concept combined the benefits of the city and the countryside that were beneficial to the working class. His theory is a self-sufficient settlement that is located at the border of the metropolis and the village (not only geographically, but also in terms of its commercial and economic function). He visualised a city that is less crowded and less polluted than big cities, and is not as rustic as rural areas. His idealised garden city would be 6,000 acres, of which 1,000 would be built in, and the rest would be agricultural land and green areas. Based on this concept, he planned his garden city to contain three proportionate zones: a residential, an agricultural and an industrial one. Along the zone borders, the main roads and ring roads would function as boundaries. Howard planned a garden, surrounded by public buildings such as a city hall, a library, a museum, a theatre and a hospital, in the centre of the concentric garden city, in the residential area. Based on his calculations, the ideal population of the garden city would be 32,000 people<sup>24</sup>. His concept was a planned, publicly owned city with an industry, and its own, independent trade, governed by a so-called Central Council.

Considering the Hungarian literature, the work titled *Kertváros-építészet – Az angol példa Magyarországon (Garden City Architecture - The British example in Hungary)*<sup>25</sup> by Gergely Nagy, deals with Howard's Garden City concept. Most of his work takes on English examples and tries to present domestic examples as well. However, Nagy lists estate-like urban developments mainly also. He classifies Mátyásföld as “a suburb

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<sup>21</sup> Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, London, 1902.

<sup>22</sup> Stanley Buder, *Visionaries and planners – The Garden City Movement and the Modern Community*, 1990. Terese Harris, *The German Garden City Movement: Architecture, Politics and Urban Transformation, 1902-1931.*, PhD dissertation at Columbia University, New York, 2012.

Ewart G. Culpin, *The Garden city Movement up-to-date*, London, 1913.

Brett Clark, Ebenezer Howard and the Marriage of Town and Country: An Introduction to Howard's Garden Cities of To-morrow, In: *Organization & Environment*, March 2003 vol. 16 no. 1, pp. 87-97.

José Geraldo Simoes Junior: *The Town Planning Conference (London, 1910): International Exchanges in the Beginning of the Modern Urbanism*, Sao Paulo, 2012.

<sup>23</sup> Garden cities built by the notion of Howard: Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City, United Kingdom

<sup>24</sup> Howard, 1902, pp. 20 – 37.

<sup>25</sup> Nagy, Gerely: *Kertváros-építészet – Az angol példa Magyarországon*, Budapest, 2008.

organised by civilians”<sup>26</sup> for understandable reasons. The establishment of Mátyásföld was not motivated by the solution of housing problems. The construction of the parcelled site as a holiday estate followed existing regulations. However, this rule can be related to the urban regulation of Budapest, and in no way to a settlement network based on the concentric structure set by Howard<sup>27</sup>, or its theoretical urban design<sup>28</sup>, which appeared 11 years after the founding of the villa quarter. Nagy correctly sheds light on the fact that the “built-up cities in Hungary can not be included in the same evolutionary line that eventually leads to the world of garden city landscapes.”<sup>29</sup> In his book he presents the domestic neighbourhoods in a similar vein as the English garden city. Mátyásföld might have found its way into his book due to its regulated and estate-like construction, and because the Villa Owners' Association of Mátyásföld played an important role in its founding (as in its later life). The central role of the Association directed the establishment and life of the quarter. Thereby, even if it is not clearly obvious, a relation to Howard's Central Council can be revealed.<sup>30</sup>

Instead of a social, estate-like construction garden city concept, I believe the Roman, and later Renaissance villas can be considered as antecedents of the 19<sup>th</sup>- and 20<sup>th</sup>-century holiday and villa quarter, in terms of architecture and lifestyle. The Roman ‘villa suburbana’ was a representative villa of wealthy urban citizens, built either in the countryside, or close to town<sup>31</sup>. The roman elite, bored of the bustling, noisy everyday life of the city, retreated into these suburban villas for recreation. The architectural design and interior decoration of the buildings represented the financial status of the owner.<sup>32</sup> Later, Roman villas and their associated lifestyles re-emerged in the Renaissance era in Italy, as an idealised lifestyle. The location of the villa close to nature, and its formal elements shaped with geometrical accuracy fit well in the humanist world-view.<sup>33</sup> Following the construction of baroque mansions and country houses, 19<sup>th</sup>-century villas continued the history of antique and Renaissance architecture and lifestyle.<sup>34</sup> At the time, villas

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<sup>26</sup> Nagy, 2008, pp. 95 – 96.

<sup>27</sup> Mátyásföld had started to build up in 1887, while the work of Ebenezer Howard: *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* was published in 1898

<sup>28</sup> Two unrealised city concepts of James Silk Buckingham (Victoria and Hygenia) had an impact on Howard  
<sup>29</sup> Nagy, 2008, p. 85.

<sup>30</sup> The Central Council is a body empowered by the population. The Council is responsible for the development of the settlement plan and for the operation of public functions, for the maintenance of the whole city.

<sup>31</sup> Koch, 2005. p. 292.

<sup>32</sup> Matyszak, 2007, pp. 15 – 16.

<sup>33</sup> Bentmann – Müller, 1992, pp. 50 – 53.

<sup>34</sup> Slapeta – Zatloukal, 2010, pp. 10 – 12.

functioning as second homes were built close to towns, surrounded by greenery and had a representative function, just like the villas built in Mátyásföld.

In the general overview of villa architecture, the work of Reinhard Bentmann and Michael Müller, titled *The Villa as Hegemonic Architecture*<sup>35</sup>, the book of Vitruvius *Ten Books of Architecture*<sup>36</sup>, and the writing of Vladimír Šlapeta, and Pavel Zatloukal *Great Villas of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia*<sup>37</sup>, have been of great help. The villa architecture of Hungary has been processed by Ilona Sármány-Parsons, though she misplaced the time of the capital's egression into the agglomeration with a few decades.<sup>38</sup> I consider the work of Eszter Gábor *Az Andrássy út körül (Around Andrássy Road)*<sup>39</sup>, as a great example to follow when describing a particular villa quarter. Eszter Gábor' writing focuses mainly on the architectural design and detailed description of villas, but it has been my guide as to which direction the expansion of research, concerning the villa quarters of Mátyásföld and Budapest, could take.

This thesis intends to present and analyse the villa quarters of Mátyásföld from its founding in 1887 up to 1914, in three major units. The first chapter intends to examine Mátyásföld from mainly an urbanistic approach. It presents its geographic and administrative situation, its relation with the capital, the circumstances and possible reasons for its establishment, and the “urban construction” regulation defining the development of the quarter. The second chapter maps the network of relationships of the first plot owners in the villa quarter. Through the determination of the first plot owners by occupation and place of residence, I try to elucidate the social status of the first inhabitants and landowners. In the last chapter, I will present a few examples of the manifestation of the representation of the villa quarter and its inhabitants. I hope that with this paper I will be able to expand domestic urban history writing, and contribute to the research of villa quarters.

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<sup>35</sup> Reinhard Bentmann and Michael Müller: *The Villa as Hegemonic Architecture*, London, 1992.

<sup>36</sup> Vitruvius: *Ten Books of Architecture*, London, 1914.

<sup>37</sup> Vladimír Šlapeta, Pavel Zatloukal: *Great Villas of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia*, 2010.

<sup>38</sup> Sármány – Parsons, 1992, p. 204.

<sup>39</sup> Gábor, Eszter. *Az Andrássy út körül*, Budapest, 2010.

# I. The Geographic Location of Mátyásföld

Mátyásföld today constitutes a part of Budapest's 16<sup>th</sup> District. Its present boundaries are from Budapest Road to Sarjú Road and its continuation, Nógrádverőce Street, Újszász Street, the western boundaries of Mátyásföld Airport, Jókai Mór Street, Futórozsa Street, right until Budapest Road.<sup>40</sup> (Fig.1.)

The currently administratively defined Mátyásföld consists of two parts, Ó and Új-Mátyásföld (Old- and New-Mátyásföld). The two parts are administratively separated by Veres Péter Road, the areas' development, its method of construction, and the social status of its residents, however, are separated also. The name Mátyásföld used to apply to the Ó-Mátyásföld area, when, in 1887, the area started to be developed into the villa quarter. The present thesis is concerned with Ó-Mátyásföld, constituting the core of Mátyásföld. Hereinafter, I shall use the name "Mátyásföld" with reference to the villa quarter established in 1887; the name "Mátyásföld" appearing later in the thesis shall so apply to the core of the present urban area.

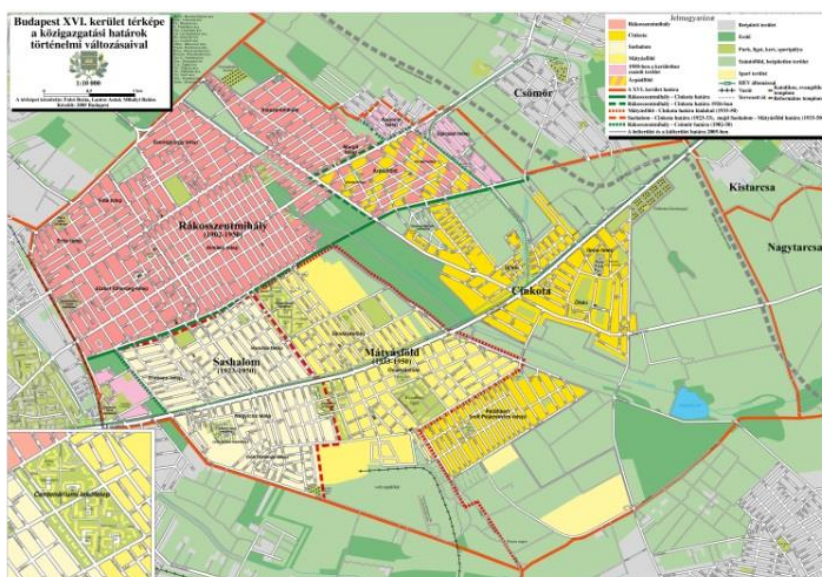


Fig.1: Map of Budapest's 16th District: changes of the administrative boundaries, 2005.

At the time of its establishment, Mátyásföld was part of a settlement called Cinkota, outside the boundaries of Pest. At the time, the village was in the possession of the count Beniczky family. As it is clearly visible on two maps (Fig.2., Fig.3.) from 1870, Cinkota

<sup>40</sup>Fabó, Beáta, Antal Lantos, Balázs Mihályi et al. "Budapest XVI. kerület térképe a közigazgatási határok történelmi változásaival." 2005.



was accessible from the capital along Kerepesi Road, surrounded by arable land and estates. It was along the right hand side of Kerepesi Road, in the trapezoid piece of land between the “Huskai Tanya” (Huskai Farm) and Cinkota, encircling the 40-acre<sup>41</sup> woodland area, where the parcellation of the land designated for the villa quarter, as well as the construction works began. The construction of Mátyásföld followed the territorial extension and form of the trapezoid shaped land. The built-up villa quarter has kept the shape of the original area to this day. Ó-Mátyásföld is still encircled by the same boundaries, which have been since named: Jókai Mór Street, Veres Péter Road, Nógrádverőce Street and Újszász Street.

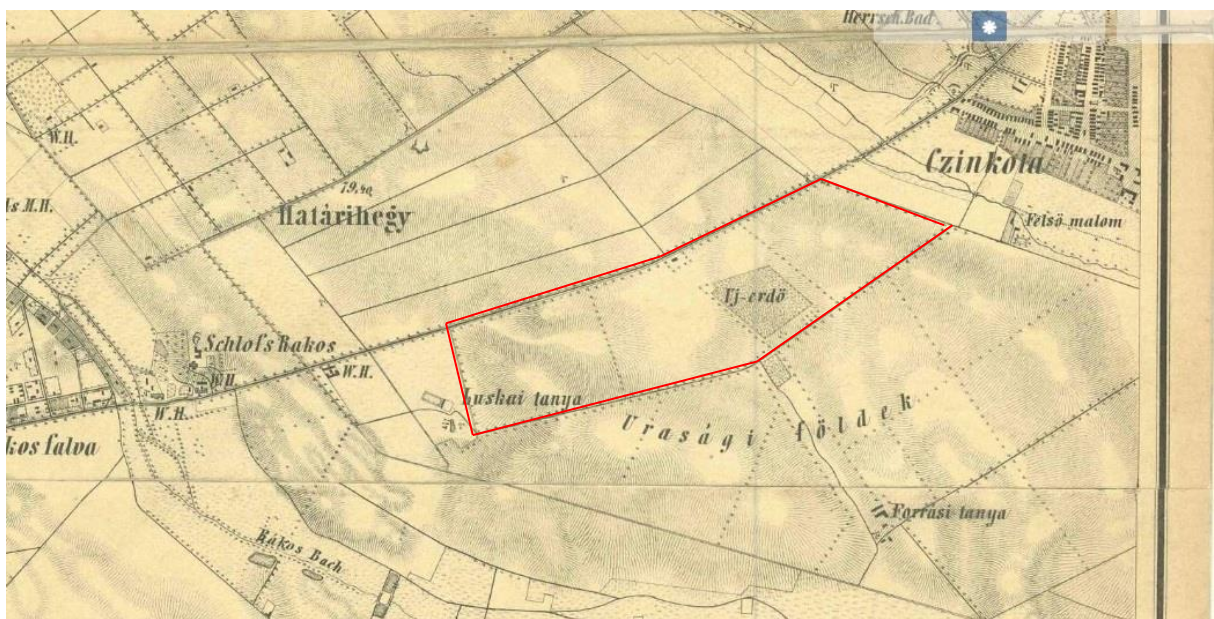


Fig.2: “Von Budapest, Blatt B” - Topographic Map: Pest-Buda and the surroundings of them, 1870.

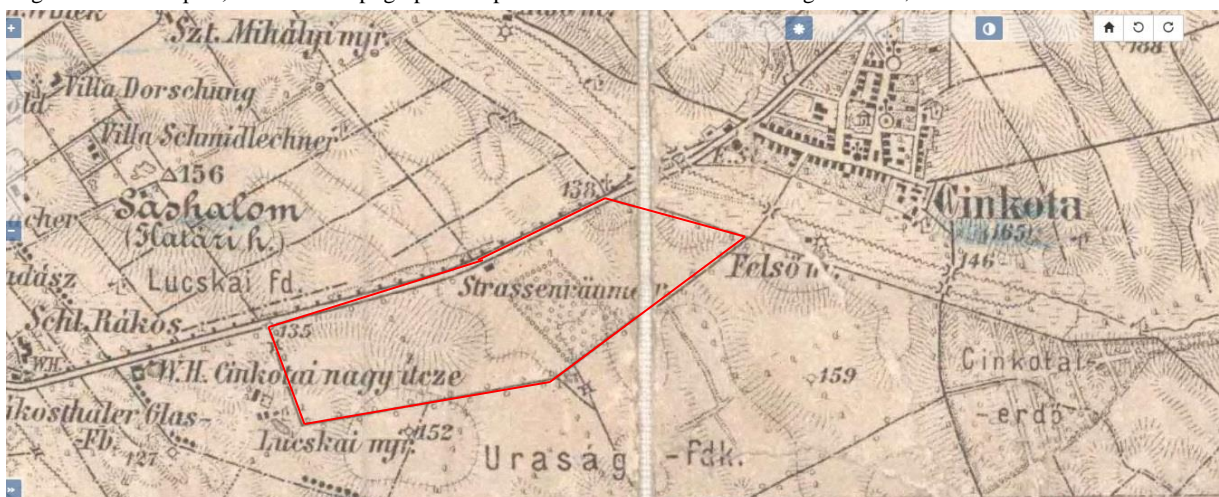


Fig.3: Topographic Map: South-Budapest and the south area of it, 1870

<sup>41</sup> Lantos, 2012, p. 15.



## ***1.1. On the Boundary of Budapest and Cinkota***

Beyond marking out the exact territory of Mátyásföld, it is an important aspect to highlight the location of the villa quarter, with respect to urban development. At the time of its establishment it was a part of Cinkota, however, rather as a public administration than an actual part of the village. This is reinforced by the fact that the Statutes of the Villa Owners' Association of Mátyásföld, which was organically involved in the foundation of Mátyásföld, was approved by the Minister of the Interior, thereby expropriating the decision-making rights of the settlement that would have been the privilege of Cinkota's representative body.<sup>42</sup> This was a unique phenomenon.

Nevertheless, since it belonged to a different settlement, it was not part of Budapest, but due to its proximity to it, it was considered the capital's agglomeration. This was further supported by the fact that in 1888, through the development of the Cinkota Suburban Railway (HÉV), it became an integral part of the capital's circulation. The villa quarter was able to exploit the advantages of the capital's proximity. It did not, however, have to comply with the urban bureaucracy and regulatory system and because of the statutes adopted by the Minister of the Interior, to Cinkota neither. In the territorial development of Mátyásföld, in the composition of its inhabitants and its relation to the city, being situated on the so-called boundary between Budapest and Cinkota, was of paramount importance.

However, the relation of Mátyásföld to Cinkota and Budapest is not a unique phenomenon. There were mainly agricultural settlements in the proximity of Budapest. These settlements made most of their living from serving the capital's need for agricultural products. Beside the traditional railroads, with the development of suburban railways (HÉV) their connection with the capital grew progressively, increasingly becoming a part of the city's life. Around the villages, and along the HÉV tracks, estates without any agricultural function started to appear. The society and lifestyle of the inhabitants of these developing estates differed significantly from the traditional agrarian communities. Urbanisation needs (sewerage, street lighting) that may be associated with the city, increasingly appear on these estates. Rákoscsaba (formerly an agrarian settlement, today part of Budapest's 17<sup>th</sup> District), where, from 1881, only primitive estates appeared on the

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<sup>42</sup> Lantos, 2012, p. 15.

outskirts<sup>43</sup> of the settlement, and became gradually inhabited and urbanised at a later stage only, is a good example. The case of Mátyásföld, which was founded in 1887 as a separate settlement of Pest county, intended to be used as a holiday quarter in the vicinity of Cinkota, is similar.

## ***1.2. Budapest Metropolitan Area***

Based on Pál Beluszky's research into the Budapest metropolitan area, in this section I am going to summarise the developmental stages of the Pest agglomeration. According to his representation, manorial estates flanked Pest like two enormous wedges. The southeastern part of the agglomeration used to belong to the Grassalkoviches (today's Kispest, Pestszenterzsébet, Pestszentlőrinc, and the northern part of the Soroksár border), while the northern part belonged to the Károlyis (both of which are an outstanding Hungarian aristocratic family). As he writes, during the parcelling of these estates, suburban residential quarters were established, such as Újpest, Kispest, Pestszenterzsébet, Pestszentlőrinc or Pestszentimre.<sup>44</sup> Beluszky, however, apart from the Grassalkovich and Károlyi families, does not mention any other landowners around Pest. Nevertheless, it is important for this thesis that the Beniczky family, originating from Upper Hungary, used to own the agrarian settlement of Cinkota, next to Csömör, which constituted part of the Grassalkovich manor.

Beluszky defines the development of the Budapest Metropolitan Area in three phases, of which the first one falls between 1850-1870. The unification of Budapest had not yet taken place by that time (Budapest became a single city by the mergence of Pest, Buda and Óbuda, in 1873). The economic and transport centre was defined by three towns Pest, Buda and Óbuda, which started to gradually have more and more influence on the surrounding settlements. According to Beluszky, this is the period when the development of the suburbs, concentrated mainly in the northern part of Pest, begins.<sup>45</sup>

The new lifestyle rising across Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century lies in the background of the emergence of suburbs. There was a rising demand among the inhabitants of crowded cities for a healthier lifestyle, and a more relaxed leisure time.<sup>46</sup> This was not a unique approach of foreign cities, but spread also among the people living in Pest and Buda. They began to

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<sup>43</sup> Vörös, 1978, p. 417.

<sup>44</sup> Beluszky, 1999, p. 33.

<sup>45</sup> Beluszky, 1999, p. 35.

<sup>46</sup> Kocsis, 2004, p. 3.

spend more and more weekends in the nearby groves and parks. Visiting garden restaurants outside the city boundaries, as well as organising holidays in village houses became a common practice among the citizens of the city.<sup>47</sup> In the vicinity, and in the wooded areas of Pest and Buda, the adequate environmental conditions were given. Building works that began in this area aimed to satisfy the needs of the middle and the upper-middle classes.<sup>48</sup> Villas, serving as second homes of wealthy inhabitants of the city, were being erected in the Buda Hills. Beluszky mentions also, although unfortunately without listing an example, that simultaneously with the villa constructions in Buda, attempts were made to establish villa quarters on the side of Pest as well.<sup>49</sup> Nonetheless, as Eszter Gábor, researching the villa quarter of Andrásy Street, claims, already from 1838 onwards, Városligeti Avenue (today situated in the 7<sup>th</sup> District of Budapest, but in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a suburban area) became an appealing area for a suburban holiday home and villa quarter, for the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy of Pest.<sup>50</sup>

Beluszky has placed the second phase of agglomeration between 1870 and 1895. Following the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, and the mergence of the three towns in 1873, Budapest went through a rapid development. Of course, the explosive growth of the population does not stop at the city's boundaries. Suburban development started to emerge in new areas. The parcellation of the aforementioned Grassalkovich manor started in the 1860s already, bringing about significant changes in the development of agglomeration. The pace of selling and building up the plots of land depended on the expansion of the transport system linked with Budapest. Quarters emerging at the time were established without any precedent or regulation. The latest inhabitants of the quarters were newcomers, not residents of the villages of the manorial estate. Depending on the conception of the owner, the method of parcellation (land area, building regulations), the composition of newcomers, and the natural resources, a mosaic of greater- and lesser-sized quarters developed. Beluszky specifically mentions that holiday quarters also were built in the parcelled land.<sup>51</sup> Even though, Beluszky does not illustrate this with any examples, the exact same process took place in the case of Mátyásföld, established in the territory of the Beniczky family, in the rural area to the east of Pest as well.

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<sup>47</sup> Beluszky, 1999, p.35.

<sup>48</sup> Körner-Nagy, 2004, p. 80.

<sup>49</sup> Beluszky, 1999, p.35.

<sup>50</sup> Gábor, 2010, p. 80.

<sup>51</sup> Beluszky, 1999, pp. 35 – 39.

The popularity of the trips made in the vicinity of the city, as well as the relocation movement were mentioned in several newspaper articles already in the 1890s, making reference to Mátyásföld as a specific destination:

*“The afternoons were of course meant to be for excursions, inasmuch as we have places to make excursions to. This is when it becomes really apparent what the 460 thousand people living in Budapest actually mean. (...) Zugliget and the Svábhegy have only just started to experience a higher public frequentation, not unlike the suburban railways, rendering a good service. These have been unable to transport commuters in and out of town. Soroksár, Haraszti, Aquincum, Békás-Megyer, Kaláz, Szent-Endre, Rákos-Falva, Cinkota, Mátyásföld, Pécel and Gödöllő have become almost part of the suburban area of the capital, and the zone system has been broadening this circle much to the satisfaction of the capital’s citizens.”<sup>52</sup>*

*“A column on holidays reports the following on the vacation habits of the citizens of Budapest: “If you want to talk to someone from Ferencváros, you need to go to Török-Bálint; you can find Józsefváros in Pécel, Mátyásföld and Haraszti, Erzsébetváros among the snowy mountains of Zugló, and Lipótváros on the Svábhegy. The other districts all over the country from Budakeszi to Gödöllő, a citizen from the capital, meant to be on vacation, suffers in each and every cottage.”<sup>53</sup>*

*The expansion of Budapest: “ (...) the city’s population has multiplied by hundreds of thousands of people (...) the City Park has been, so to say, occupied as an internal park, station buildings are no longer in the outskirts but in the centre, and the city of Budapest of a hundred and fifty thousand souls, has become surrounded by swarms of suburbs and quarters. Only two of these, Kőbánya and Rákosfalva, are situated in the rural area of Budapest. (...) Apart from these, many other villa quarters have been established in Szent-Mihály, in Mátyásföld, in Kamaraerdő, etc. All these are part of Budapest since their inhabitants are in the closest relationship with the capital, they commute here to*

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<sup>52</sup> Pesti Hírlap. no. 96, 8 Apr. 1890, p. 115.

<sup>53</sup> Budapesti Hírlap. no. 170, 22 June 1890, p. 269.

*work, to sell their produce, the shops and factories over there are owned by entrepreneurs of Budapest; the houses, gardens, and villas are being built or rented by the citizens of Budapest, these are connected by a circuit railroad, suburban railway, or horse tram to the road traffic, so these places are socially and economically nonautonomous settlements, they are an appendage to Budapest. (...) On the Pest side, however, it is almost impossible to draw a boundary between the listed settlements and the capital.*”<sup>54</sup>

*“therefore, those, who want to enjoy fresh air in winter and summer along with their family, and wish to live among fewer people, more freely, primarily in order to facilitate the physical development of their children, seek to move further out at all cost. (...) This is how the capital’s quarters have been established and develop from year to year. This is how Rákosfalva, Angyalföld, Zugló, and the quarter of artisans have been built within the territory of the capital, just like the József főherceg-quarter, and the aristocratic Mátyásföld, the Almássy and Vida quarters, Kispest, Erzsébet- Kossuth-falva within the territory of the administrative county, but all of them in the immediate vicinity of the capital.*”<sup>55</sup>

*“The development of various suburban railways already entailed the construction of several detached houses and villa quarters. Thus, in Haraszti, from the land of Földváry, sections for holiday homes are cut off; the villa quarter titled “Mátyásföld” was built on the Beniczky estate in Cinkota, along the capital’s afforestation boundary; several hundred fathoms have been marked out for the construction of detached houses along the boundaries of the capital, in Szt-Mihály puszta. These quarters attract part of the capital’s population and consumers away from Budapest.*”<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Budapesti Hírlap. no. 211, 31 July 1892, p. 408.

<sup>55</sup> Budapesti Hírlap, no. 282, 12 Oct. 1894, p. 190.

<sup>56</sup> Pesti Hírlap. no. 4, 4 Jan. 1889, p. 47.

As claimed by the newspaper articles above, we can say that Mátyásföld was considered, already by the contemporary mind, a villa quarter of the capital. Despite being situated outside the boundaries of the city, due to the development of the HÉV, it entered the capital's bloodstream. It is described not only as a popular recreational destination of the citizens of Budapest, but a permanent residential area also.

### ***1.3. The Establishment of Mátyásföld***

Based on the accounts still extant, the idea of founding Mátyásföld came about during a hunt in the rural area of Cinkota, as the brainchild of Imre Kunkel, the head of the Central Creamery of Budapest. Several newspapers detailed the story of its establishment on the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the villa quarter. The editorial of a local paper, *Rákos Vidéke*, gives the following account:

*“Mátyásföld was established by two hunters. One of them was Gábor Beniczky, the former landlord of Cinkota, the other one the deceased Imre Kunkel, the establisher and first director of the Central Creamery of Budapest. Inasmuch as both of them were passionate hunters, they became frequent visitors of this land, abundant in hare and partridge populations. Once Imre Kunkel came up with an offer. He said to Gábor Beniczky that he would like to build a hunting lodge in this area if he found a land for a reasonable price. Benicky replied in a jocular manner: ‘Why not? I’d sell it all.’ – ‘How much would you charge?’ asked the shrewd Kunkel. ‘Let’s say, 65 Kreuzers per négyszögöl<sup>57</sup>.’ - replied the landowner. The practical Kunkel thought of something, and the deal was thereby done. This bargain sale, just as the wonderful establishment, similar to that of the city of Rome, took place in the summer of 1887.”<sup>58</sup>*

According to several contemporary reports, the rural area around Cinkota was considered a popular hunting territory. The fact that hunting was a favoured “entertainment” of the upper class of society makes the slightly legendary-sounding story about the establishment of Mátyásföld credible. As we can get to know from the

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<sup>57</sup> an old Hungarian measurement still in use today to measure land units, 1 négyszögöl = 3,6m<sup>2</sup>

<sup>58</sup> *Rákos Vidéke*. vol. 12, no. 26, 1913.

representation, Imre Kunkel found the hunting territory in the vicinity of Cinkota suitable for the development of a holiday quarter.

What might have been the aspects based on which Kunkel found a 40-acre woodland and its surrounding lands appropriate? As a successful businessman, Kunkel sized up the opportunities resulting from the demand and the supply. As I have mentioned before, the green belt around the capital was a popular holiday and recreational destination at the time. He was, therefore, correct in assuming that for a carefully selected spot, he shall be able to find investors. The parcelled estates around Pest, as well as the earlier suburban villa quarter developments (Andrássy Road, Svábhegy), introduced in the previous chapter, must have given him the idea. The establishment of the villa quarter in the developing agglomeration might have possibly formed in his mind earlier on.

Apart from the appropriate natural characteristics of the chosen land, its transport potentials were important as well. Cinkota was linked to the capital via Kerepesi Road, starting at the former station building of the Royal Hungarian Railways (receiving its current name, Keleti pályaudvar, in 1844). Due to the location, and utilisation of the station, it was regarded as one of the centres of urban life already at that time. The station played a major role also in the development of Mátyásföld, established 10 kilometres away. A letter of the Ministry of Public Works and Transport, in which the development of the suburban railway up to Cinkota, from Külső Kerepesi Road (today Kerepesi Road, starting at Keleti Railway Station, running in the direction of Cinkota), via Ferencz József Barracks (today Nagyicce HÉV stop), Rákosfalva (today part of the 14<sup>th</sup> District of Budapest) and Rákosszentmihály (today part of the 16<sup>th</sup> District of Budapest), was dated on 3 March 1886.<sup>59</sup> The permission to start the construction works<sup>60</sup> was granted the following year, in 1887, and in 1888, the certificate of occupancy also.<sup>61</sup>

There is no source available for indicating what the exact relationship of Imre Kunkel with Henrik Jellinek, the chief executive of the Railroad Company of Budapest (a company established in 1878, responsible for the rail traffic management of Budapest) was<sup>62</sup>. However, it is well known that Jellinek “*had been a strong supporter of the villa quarter’s development from the start*” of the establishment of Mátyásföld, and had been

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<sup>59</sup> Documents related to the Cinkota HÉV (1886) have been made available to me by the Kertvárosi Helytörténeti Gyűjtemény (Garden City Collection of Local History), without reference, in a digital form.

<sup>60</sup> Documents related to the Cinkota HÉV (1887) have been made available to me by the Kertvárosi Helytörténeti Gyűjtemény, without reference, in a digital form.

<sup>61</sup> Documents related to the Cinkota HÉV (1888) have been made available to me by the Kertvárosi Helytörténeti Gyűjtemény, without reference, in a digital form.

<sup>62</sup> Budapesti Czim- és Lakjegyzék. no. 5, 1888. p.77.

affectionately following<sup>63</sup> its advancement.<sup>64</sup> The company purchased 10 plots of land during the period of the first parcellations, and procured several rail discounts for the plot owners. In addition to the purchase of land and the discounts, however, the company's most significant contribution to the development of Mátyásföld was the establishment of its own stop on the suburban railway line (HÉV), launched in 1888.<sup>65</sup> Most probably without the involvement of Henrik Jellinek, this would not have been possible, at least certainly not one year after the parcellation of the plots in Mátyásföld. Therefore, in terms of both its natural characteristics and its (future) transport potentials, Imre Kunkel chose the area intended for the villa quarter well.

After having agreed with Beniczky upon the 65 Kreuzer per négyszögöl plot price, Kunkel had to find buyers as well. We can read from Körmندی that Kunkel shared his idea of the establishment of the villa quarter with his friends, and raised the idea of founding a community association, the Villa Owners' Association of Mátyásföld.<sup>66</sup> Entrepreneurs set up a preparatory committee for the purchase of land and the establishment of the Association. I will examine the role and task of the Association later in more detail. For the time being, it is only important to highlight that only those who were members of the Association, or enjoyed the permission of the Association to buy land, were able to become plot owners (for instance the aforementioned Railroad Company of Budapest).

On 6 November 1887, the preparatory committee submitted to the capital's mayor the Statutes of the Villa Owners' Association (Appendix 1). In the Statutes, the headquarters of the Association were indicated in Budapest, since at that time Mátyásföld did not yet physically exist. Nevertheless, the mayor of Budapest considered evaluating it to fall outside the scope of his authority, as the prospective villa quarter was situated outside the city. The Preparatory Committee of Mátyásföld, therefore, marked Mátyásföld as the headquarters of the association. Subsequently, the documents were submitted by the Alispán<sup>67</sup> of Pest County to the Minister of the Interior, who approved the establishment of the Villa Owners' Association of Mátyásföld, and thus of Mátyásföld itself.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Körmندی, 1938, p. 19.

<sup>64</sup> According to Suba (Suba, 2002, p. 255.), the "*chief executive officer of HÉV lived in the quarter as well*", he meant Henrik Jellinek, but this statement cannot be justified by any existing documents.

<sup>65</sup> Documents related to the Cinkota HÉV (1888) have been made available to me by the Kertvárosi Helytörténeti Gyűjtemény, without reference, in a digital form.

<sup>66</sup> Körmندی, 1938, p. 17.

<sup>67</sup> leader of the county's administration

<sup>68</sup> Körmندی, 1938, p. 22.



On 6 December 1887, the first buyers signed the first purchase contracts (Appendix 2) with Gábor Beniczky.<sup>69</sup> Original contracts are non-existent but according to Körmendy's representation, 57 contracts were born, in the value of 24,942.00 Forints and 36 Kreuzer. The founding directory, however, lists 65 names with 102 sites sold.<sup>70</sup> This suggests that the new area seemed to be an attractive investment, and the number of purchasers grew rapidly.

#### ***1.4. Parcellation, street network***

How did the parcelling of the designated land area and the construction of Mátyásföld take place? Unfortunately, there is no source available that would describe the planning, regulatory steps, or town-planning prefigurements of the resort, which they would have followed when developing Mátyásföld. By looking at the earliest map existing of Mátyásföld, from 1901, the original street network unfolds.

The villa quarter was designed to be established in one of the manorial estates close to Cinkota. There was woodland in the centre of the trapezoid piece of land. This piece of land abutted Kerepesi Road on the left, and was probably surrounded by dirt roads from the other directions. The construction of Mátyásföld followed the original trapezoid shape. (Fig.4) The woodland was encircled by three parallel streets, from three sides, while from the south, by one of the dirt roads. In addition to the three streets on the Cinkota side of the plot, a smaller, trapezoid piece of land was left intact, presumably for later parcellations. On the capital's side of the land, it can be observed that the second longitudinal street opens in the shape of a wedge at the second intersection. This design was presumably due to the trapezoid shape of the area, so that the size and shape of the plots would remain nearly the same. The 1914 cadastral map, which I found during my research, gives a more detailed account of the villa quarter's contemporary built-up density. In comparison to the conditions in 1901, the capital's side of the area was extended by an additional ribbon of land to be parcelled; and, based on this map, the built-up density of the plots can be more easily established, too.

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<sup>69</sup> Suba, 2002, p. 253.

<sup>70</sup> Suba, 2002, pp. 253 – 254.

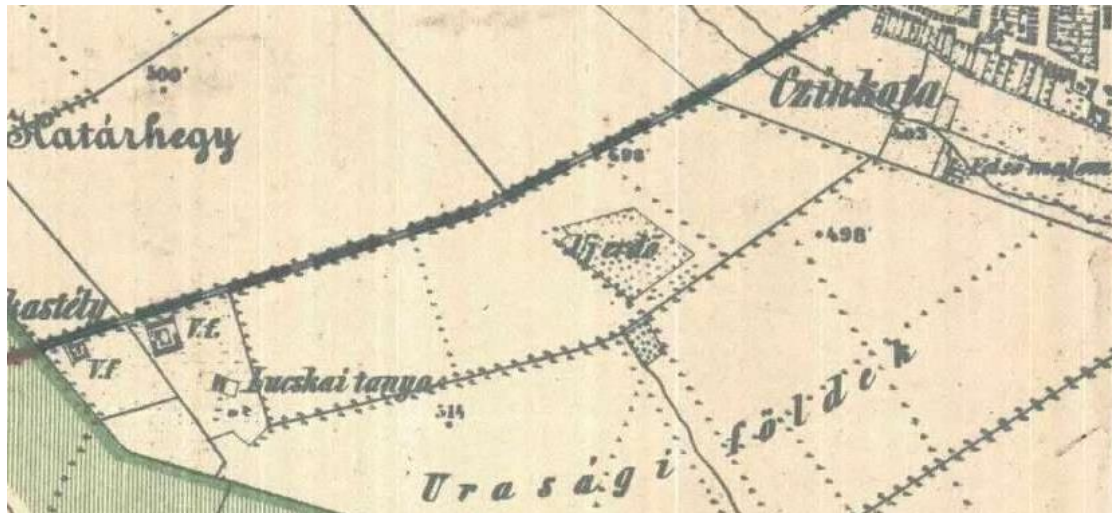


Fig. 4: Budapest and its surroundings, 1886



Fig. 5: cadastral map of Cinkota, 1914

From the creation of the villa quarter, until 1924, 27 streets had been built. We can find, for the first time, the list of the first streets<sup>71</sup> in the minutes<sup>72</sup> of the year 1889 annual general meeting. Then the 1914 cadastral map of Cinkota provides further evidence of the contemporary street names (a few changes had taken place by that time compared to the original names, and the area of Mátyásföld had gone through a significant expansion). On the basis of these comparisons, we cannot fully justify the claim that the streets had been named to commemorate both those participating in the establishment of Mátyásföld, and

<sup>71</sup> street names from 1889: Gesztenye sor (row), Beniczky utca (street), Hunyadi utca, Batthyány utca, Budapesti utca, Honvéd utca, Dózsa utca, Imre utca, Ilona tér, Szép utca, Huszár utca, Cinkotai utca, Akácfa utca, Teleky utca, Kárpát utca, Vasút utca, Árpád utca, Rózsa utca, Cserhát utca, István utca és Erdő sor

<sup>72</sup> Körmeny, 1938, p. 28.

the Hunyadi family.<sup>73</sup> In 1914, only five names of the 27 streets and two squares could be connected to the Hunyadis<sup>74</sup>, and five to the persons participating in the founding of the quarter.<sup>75</sup>

The connection with the Hunyadi family can be attributed to the appellation 'Mátyásföld' itself. The villa quarter was named after Matthias Corvinus (King of Hungary and Croatia from 1458 to 1490). Naming the villa quarter after the ruler presumably stems from the fact that the area was rumoured to have been the king's game reserve. On the other hand, researches and the description of Bonfini suggest that the king's game reserve was not located in the territory of today's Mátyásföld, but to the northwest of it. Some other documents claim that from 1259, the area was owned by Dominican nuns, therefore, it is unlikely that the king would have used the church-owned land.<sup>76</sup> It is, consequently, unknown how the villa quarter was named. Were there any other suggestions, or variant names? In any case, even if those attaching the name knew the legend's falsehood, naming it after Matthias Corvinus himself had a representative effect.

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<sup>73</sup> Tóth, 2006, pp. 105 – 106.

<sup>74</sup> Corvin utca, Hunyadi utca, Mátyás király tér (square), Szilágyi Mihály utca, Kinizsi Pál utca

<sup>75</sup> Beniczky utca, Batthyány utca, Ilona tér, Imre utca, Cinkotai utca

<sup>76</sup> Lantos, 2012, pp. 8 – 9.

## ***1.5. Urban development***

Budapest officially became the country's capital after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, or, more precisely, following the unification of the city in 1873. To be worthy of rank, and become the second largest centre of the Monarchy after Vienna, representation was essential also. In 1870, on the initiation of Count Gyula Andrásy (Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Hungary between 1867 and 1871), modelled on the London Metropolitan Board of Works, the Capital Council of Public Works was established.<sup>77</sup> Unlike the occasional decisions based on customary law, the organization sought to<sup>78</sup> make conscious city architecture, and create a uniform image<sup>79</sup> of the city.

For the purposes of this thesis, those decisions of the Capital Council of Public Works that apply to the suburban areas, the holiday and villa quarters of the city, are relevant. The existence and work of the Capital Council of Public Works constituted an important part of the city's life and development. Section 16 of Act X of 1870 stipulates that the Council, beyond its immediate tasks, exercises supervisory powers and appellate jurisdiction regarding issues concerning building construction and architecture within the boundaries of Pest and Buda.

Its further tasks are the following:

- “a) preparation of regulatory work concerning either the entire capital, or parts of it only, having plans drawn up (...)*
- b) implementing greater regulatory work either across the capital, or in parts of the town, either directly, or by commissioning companies, entrepreneurs*
- c) determining the trends and standard of roads and streets;*
- d) naming of streets and squares, regulating house numbers”<sup>80</sup>*

The Building Code of 1870 divided Budapest into four zones. The first one was the zone incorporating the city centre, while the second one the external zone, encircling the city centre. In these two zones terraced houses were allowed to be built only. The third

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<sup>77</sup> Siklóssy, 1931, pp. 11 – 12.

<sup>78</sup> Siklóssy, 1931, p. 549.

<sup>79</sup> The predecessor of the Capital Council of Public Works was the Beautification Committee of Pest, which called for and judged drawings of the facades of houses to be constructed, thereby influencing the development of a uniform cityscape.

<sup>80</sup> Law No X./14§ of 1870.

zone was formed of free-standing holiday homes, while the fourth zone applied mixed-use development in an area far away from the city centre.

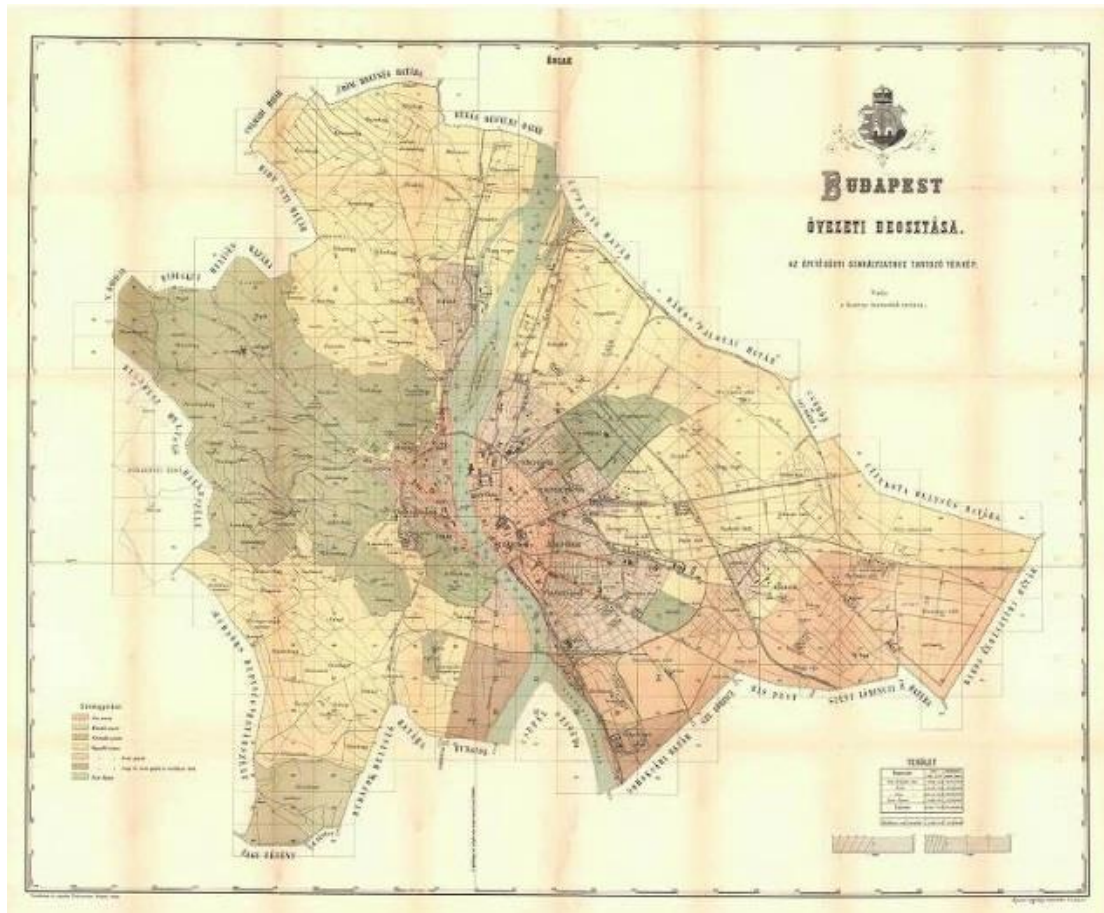


Fig.6: Building Code's map: Zones of Budapest, 1894

The minimum size of and the building methods applied on the sites situated in the different zones were specifically defined in the Building Code. The plots in the holiday zone of the Pest side had to be at least 600 négyszögöl.<sup>81</sup> Furthermore, it was stipulated that the plots had to be of a regular shape for the maximum rate of development. In this zone, only free-standing holiday homes and their annexes could be raised. The Building Code stipulated that buildings should be erected at least 5 metres from the street line, and at least 3 metres from the adjacent plot. With regard to the structure, it was determined that “buildings may be constructed applying either a firmer or a lighter constructional style, and, with the exception of the firewall, shall be finished with a pitched roof”.<sup>82</sup> The

<sup>81</sup> Building Code, 1899, p. 5.

<sup>82</sup> Building Code, 1899, p. 40.

Building Code discussed the building of stables as well. In Zone three, stables could be constructed and maintained only for the sole use of the owner's horses and cattle.<sup>83</sup>

Outside the capital, however, the building regulations were nowhere near as strict. In the administrative counties, the főszolgabíró,<sup>84</sup> who did not have a body that would verify the technical background of the constructions, was considered the building authority of first instance. In the absence of the monitoring body, each settlement of the country was built without any supervision or technical guidance. The lack of central control was most appreciable in the vicinity of the capital. Mainly two factors governed the building works in the area around the capital: the owner's own interest, and the greed of the people parcelling out the land.<sup>85</sup> In light of all this, the Mátyásföld villa quarter, established in the rural area of Cinkota, a settlement of the Pest agglomeration, is considered an exception. The Villa Owners' Association of Mátyásföld, which regulated the parcelling and construction of the area all throughout, was founded at the time of the establishment of the villa quarter.

### ***1.6. The Villa Owners' Association of Mátyásföld***

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, several housing companies, associations and foundations were established throughout Europe. There were profit-oriented ones among them, but there was one also that operated as a credit institution, where members could make savings.<sup>86</sup> From the second half of the 1800s, similar civic initiatives aimed at housing construction started to emerge in Budapest. Their membership organized the construction of a completely new residential quarter as an association or co-operative. Organizations mostly regulated the build-up of the site and the establishment of their public institutions themselves, but sometimes the capital helped them as well. The members of the organizations were characterized by the fact that they came from the same social stratum, and shaped the social life of the given settlement hand in hand.<sup>87</sup> In light of all this, the foundation of the Villa Owners' Association of Mátyásföld, which was established without external financial support, satisfied the needs of, and conducted regulation of the quarter.

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<sup>83</sup> Building Code, 1899, p. 81.

<sup>84</sup> Főszolgabíró: the leader of a town and its smaller settlements. Dealt with the administrative and judicial services of these settlements in the 19th-20th centuries.

<sup>85</sup> Körmendi, 1938, p. 8.

<sup>86</sup> Körner, 2004, pp. 22 – 23.

<sup>87</sup> Körner-Nagy, 2004, p. 92.

## ***1.7. The Foundation of the Association***

The Villa Owners' Association of Mátyásföld "is a social association with a unique character and a very special field of activity in the country".<sup>88</sup> Its foundation is closely related with the birth of Mátyásföld. The Association had stipulated in its Statutes that the existence of at least 60 members is required for its establishment, who shall undertake to acquire a total of 100 sites to comply with the Association's rules, and pay the membership fee.<sup>89</sup> It came to existence on 10 November 1888, when the government approved the Statutes of the Association.<sup>90</sup>

The aim of the Association as per the Statutes:

*"is to amass plot owners, enabling members of the Association by pursuing a common goal to establish comfortable collective holiday villas, or even a residence quarter along the Budapest-Czinkota Royal Suburban Railroad, on land originally purchased from landowner Gábor Beniczky in the outskirts of Cinkota; procuring all possible state, municipal, and railway discount, as well as support for the community; and lastly, protecting and facilitating the mutual interest of the villa quarter"*<sup>91</sup>

During the initial parcelling of Mátyásföld, the Association provided its members with the right of pre-emption. Accordingly, Gábor Beniczky could sell a plot to the Association only, as well as to such buyers whom the Association recommended. The initial purchase price of the plots was minimized per square meter to 65 Kreuzer. The amount of the purchase price in excess of the 65 Kreuzer was apportioned equally between Beniczky and the Association.<sup>92</sup>

All those, who wished to purchase a plot in Mátyásföld, were obliged to join the Association. *"Each buyer shall endure the ownership restriction on their plot, registered in the land registry at the event of transfer of ownership, that he shall be subject to the prevailing Statutes of the Association, as well as to the final decisions of the General*

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<sup>88</sup> Körmendi, 1938, p. 10.

<sup>89</sup> A Mátyásföldi Nyaralótulajdonosok Egyesületének alapító okirata, (The Statutes of the Villa Owners' Association of Mátyásföld) have been made available to me by the Garden City Local History Collection, without reference, in a digital form.

<sup>90</sup> original Statutes

<sup>91</sup> original Statutes

<sup>92</sup> Körmendi, 1938, p. 11.



*Assembly and the Board of Association.*”<sup>93</sup> The purpose of my thesis is not to discuss the operation of the Villa Owners’ Association of Mátyásföld in detail. The dissertation examines the role of the Association in regulating and developing Mátyásföld.

## **I.8. General rules**

Apart from the conditions of the Association’s operation and the obligation of members, the Statutes drawn up in 1887, discussed the regulation of the villa quarter as well:

*§24 Each member of the Association is obliged to surround at least the street front section of his plot with a standard fence within three months.*

*Should a member fail to fulfill this obligation within 15 days from the request of the Board of Association, - the Board of Association shall have the right to erect a standard fence on the owner’s land, at the expense of the owner himself.*

*§25 Any building activities have to be reported to the Board of Association, and the building plans to be shown, which the Board shall be obliged to return within 8 days, concluded.*

*§26 Since it is the aim of the Association to preserve the villa-like character of the entire quarter, nobody is allowed to:*

- a) apart from domestic animals and animals to be confined in a barn, intended for the owner’s own consumption, establish fattening, or breeding farms*
- b) open a pub at the villa quarter*
- c) open, without the consent of the Board of Association, a spicery, a slaughter house, or any other store*
- d) establish at the villa quarter any industrial establishment, factory, or houses intended for use by the workers*
- e) ultimately, from the point of view of cleanliness and public health, divert sewage or faeces to the street*

*§27 Buildings shall be erected at least 6 metres from the street line. Any type of building may only be erected at least 3 metres from the adjacent plot. Raising a building any closer may be carried out with the written consent of the neighbour only. This written consent should contain also that it may be registered in the land*

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<sup>93</sup> Körmendi, 1938, p. 11.



*registry as property of the person giving the written consent. Such measures shall be reported to the Board of Association at all times.*

*§28 Every plot, with the exception of those few that could not be enlarged according to the plan originally prepared, shall be at least 600 négyszögöl.*

*§29 In the event that the Association exceeds its powers outlined in the present Statutes, if the continuation of its operation would jeopardise the interest of the operation of the state or the members of the Association, it shall be suspended by the state; and, based on the result of the inspection ordered immediately thereafter, may be dissolved permanently, or may be ordered to strictly observe the Statutes on pain of dissolution.*

Comparing the regulations applying to the capital and Mátyásföld, several correspondences and several differences can be discovered. In compliance with the zoning system set by the Capital Council of Public Works, holiday plots in zone three had to be at least 600 négyszögöl. This size control and the development of regular-shaped plots are true for Mátyásföld as well. Further matching points are the free-standing character of the buildings, and the three-metre distance from the adjacent plot. Small difference is, however, that while in the capital buildings are required to be raised at least five metres from the street line, in Mátyásföld this distance is regulated to six metres. A further corresponding point is that, prior to construction, the building plans of the villas are to be handed in to be inspected. This is to ensure the villa-like character of the building to be constructed. Livestock keeping in Mátyásföld was strictly regulated. While in the capital, as we could see, the construction of stables was allowed with certain restrictions, in Mátyásföld, animal husbandry was forbidden. Another sharp difference was the existence of fences. Unless it was required by public safety or sanitation, the capital's ordinance did not make it obligatory to surround plots with a fence. Unlike in Mátyásföld, where everyone was obliged to surround at least the street front section of their plot with a standard fence.

It is apparent from the comparison of the ordinances also that throughout the development of Mátyásföld the primary goal was the preservation of the villa quarter-like character of the area. They might have shifted the pertinent restrictions from the ordinance of the capital, or perhaps, adapted the existing points based on their own ideas. Having observed the activities of both Budapest and Mátyásföld, as well as the activities of the associations shaping them, the following statement is indeed true: *“It was not Budapest*

*that created the Council of Public Works, but the Council of Public Works has created a coherent Budapest.*”<sup>94</sup> The same can be said about Mátyásföld too, where it was not the villa quarter that ‘produced’ the Villa Owners’ Association of Mátyásföld, it was the Association that created Mátyásföld.

### ***1.9. The built-up density of the sites***

Based on the list of the first plot owners we know that at the time of the establishment of Mátyásföld, 102 sites had owners, and a total of 75 acres of land had been parcelled. However, according to a contract from 1889, Gábor Beniczky undertook to provide the Association with the right of pre-emption to a further 75 acres of land, in addition to the area already sold.<sup>95</sup> Such a large-scale land purchase in the second year after its establishment reflects that Mátyásföld enjoyed increasing popularity. By 1914, the end of the time period examined in this thesis, more than 260 plots had been parcelled.<sup>96</sup> The pace at which the sites exchanged hands, the time when, and the schedule based on which the owners built their villas, transcends the boundaries of this thesis. I can only illustrate, by using the available sources, the annual rate of construction. Based on the existing sources in the time period examined (1887-1914), the table (Table 1) below lists the number of plot owners, sites, and villas built. Column 4 shows the number of permanent residents, based on the available data.

Table 1. Lists the number of plot owners, sites, villas built and the number of permanent residents

|      | Plot owners | Sites | Number of villas built | Permanent residents |
|------|-------------|-------|------------------------|---------------------|
| 1887 | 65          | 102   |                        |                     |
| 1888 |             |       | 13                     |                     |
| 1889 | 74          |       | 18                     |                     |
| 1890 | 85          |       | 22                     |                     |
| 1891 | 100         | 139   | 34                     |                     |

<sup>94</sup> Siklóssy, 1931, p. 85.

<sup>95</sup> Körmendi, 1938, p. 26.

<sup>96</sup> HU MNL S\_78\_-\_Pest\_m.\_-\_Cinkota\_1883,\_1914,\_1927\_-\_1-76.

|      |     |      |     |      |
|------|-----|------|-----|------|
| 1892 | 105 |      |     |      |
| 1893 |     |      |     |      |
| 1894 | 120 | 179  | 45  |      |
| 1895 | 125 | 191  | 55  |      |
| 1896 |     |      |     |      |
| 1897 |     |      |     |      |
| 1898 | 139 | 220  | 83  | 771  |
| 1899 |     |      |     |      |
| 1900 |     |      |     | 855  |
| 1901 | 154 | 230  | 94  |      |
| 1902 |     |      | 107 |      |
| 1903 |     |      | 111 |      |
| 1904 |     |      | 117 |      |
| 1905 | 156 | 234  | 129 | 1117 |
| 1906 | 167 | 240  | 133 | 1210 |
| 1907 |     |      | 136 | 1264 |
| 1908 |     |      | 144 | 1298 |
| 1909 |     |      | 150 | 1359 |
| 1910 |     |      | 155 | 1506 |
| 1911 |     |      | 166 | 1634 |
| 1912 |     |      | 177 |      |
| 1913 |     |      |     |      |
| 1914 |     | >260 | 181 | 1600 |

Sources: Körmendi, 1938; Suba, 2002.

Even though the resources do not allow for a detailed annual overview, the available data can demonstrate the villa quarter's expansion. What can be established is that the number of villas built, even if not at an even pace, grew steadily from year to year. While in 1888 there were only 13 villas, three years later, by 1891, the number of villas more than doubled to 34. By 1902, they built more than a hundred villas, and by 1914, 181 villas were constructed. During the 26 years I have examined, an average of six new villas, and most probably many annexes, were built annually. The increase in the number of sites was due to the ever-expanding parcellations. The 102 sites at the time of the establishment

grew to more than 260 by 1919. This could not have materialised if it was not in this particular area that more and more people wished to buy new plots of land.

The 1914 cadastral map shows the built-up density of the sites. During the parcelling process, the 600-négyszögöl plot sizes defined in the policy were followed, but in some cases of ownership and built-up density, deviations occur. Several people owned two or even more adjacent sites. There is also an example when a 600-négyszögöl plot was halved, and in each plot the owners built a house. Apart from a few different cases, the distance from the street line and the adjacent plot of the more than 260 sites existing in 1914, as well as the villas standing on them, complied with the regulations of the Statutes.

### ***1.10. Installation of utilities***

The popularity of Mátyásföld was reflected in the land prices also. The initial price of 65 Kreuzer per négyszögöl had risen to over 3 Forints per négyszögöl within two years.<sup>98</sup> Data on the permanent residents of Mátyásföld is available from 1898. In 1898, Mátyásföld had 771 inhabitants, which grew to 1600 by 1914. Existing numbers, however, should be treated cautiously, since the villa owners did not live there in the same proportion in summer and winter. However, in the absence of adequate resources, we cannot distinguish between them. If we assume that in 1914, the villa quarter had 1600 permanent residents, we can conclude that compared to the aims set in the Statutes, a change had taken place in the function of the villa quarter. The initial holiday zone was slowly becoming a residential quarter. This required proper development of the buildings (heating), and the installation of utilities throughout the villa quarter.

As defined in the Statutes, already at the time of founding Mátyásföld, the Association aimed at making the villa quarter a permanent residence. To achieve this, and to increase the standard of the area, it was indispensable to bring utilities to the quarter as soon as possible. In 1893, 17 gas lamps were set up to illuminate the streets.<sup>99</sup> In 1894, the facilitation of the construction of a telephone connection with the capital began. In 1897, the plan to commence the construction of a 250-metre-long water pipe, starting at Ligeti sétány was approved. In the same year, the Association managed to convince the CEO of the post office that if the Association provided the right housing for a postal worker, the

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<sup>98</sup> Lantos, 2012, p.15.

<sup>99</sup> Körmendi, 1938, p. 31.

postal and telephone network would be built until 1 May 1898.<sup>100</sup> The post office, telegraph office and telephone network of Mátyásföld, although with a slight delay, were developed in August the same year. Also in 1898, they voted in favour of installing a lamp at every street corner, at the expense of a given owner. The Association itself undertook to pay for the petroleum. The resources do not elaborate on the supply of buildings, but it can be assumed that, parallel to the development of the site, the installation of utilities in the villas continuously developed as well.

In this chapter, I attempted to present the territorial location of Mátyásföld, the conditions of its establishment, and its ordinances of urban planning. It can be stated that, as a settlement in the agglomeration of Budapest, it cannot be considered a unique phenomenon. However, taking into account its own sovereignty measures and regulatory system, it stands out from the surrounding quarters. The researched time period represents the upward movement of Mátyásföld. During those 26 years, from an agricultural landscape it developed into one of the favourite holiday and residential areas of Budapest's population. Hereinafter, the first owners of Mátyásföld are going to be presented, without whom Imre Kunkel's conception could not have been born.

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<sup>100</sup> Körmendi, 1938, p. 39.

## II. The first inhabitants of Mátyásföld

At the beginning of this research, my impression was the opposite of the often cited references, which claim that Mátyásföld is an “aristocratic villa quarter”. At the initial stages of writing my BA thesis, my main focus was on five chosen villas of Mátyásföld. Only one of these five buildings was originally owned by a member of a noble family. I did not attach too much importance to this fact, because the rest of the four villas were originally owned by architects, merchants, and industrialists, which seemed to be a more determinative factor. In that piece of work, I had not carried out extensive research about the first members of the Villa Owners’ Association. Consequently, I began my MA thesis believing that the settlement had been created mostly by the upper middle class, but in the end, I had to realise that I was wrong. In the end of my research I had to realize that neither the “aristocratic” nor the “middle class” villa quarter is suitable definition. Both definitions are overly simplistic and categorizing while the determination of the inhabitants’ social status is a more complex task.

According to our present understanding, we know quite a lot about the first plot owners of Mátyásföld. Lajos Körmendy-Ékes, one of the former leaders (1930-1936) of the Villa Owners’ Association, wrote about the first 50 years of Mátyásföld. The book, titled *The 50 years old Mátyásföld*, is the only source containing a list of the first plot owners in Mátyásföld (Appendix 3.). “*The list that incorporates the crème de la crème of the society, authority and fortune, the warriors of intellectual work, the representatives of the industrial diligence*”.<sup>101</sup> This ‘crème’ comprised the first owners of the empty plots that later accommodated the villa quarter. The list presents 67 owners, their registered addresses (in most of the cases), and the number of the purchased plots. (It is important to highlight that the list only contains the plots, but not the villas themselves. They were built later.) With the help of this list, and the available archives, we can get to know further details of the owners’ professions, families and social statuses. This chapter intends to determine the owners’ social statuses and their purposes of purchasing a particular plot. Furthermore, it outlines a network of personal relations, a so-called fellowship, between the first plot owners.

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<sup>101</sup> Körmendy, 1938, p.19.

As the saying goes about the establishment of Mátyásföld, Count Gábor Beniczky handed the target land for the settlement over to Imre Kunkel. The businessman immediately put his mind to work, and visited his friends to share his idea of the villa quarter. He also raised to his friends the idea of bringing together a community of interest that later became the Villa Owners' Association of Mátyásföld. Kunkel and his friends, as the parliamentarian Ödön Szeniczey and his company, entered into a contract with Count Beniczky. All together, 67 contracts were born on 6/12/1887.<sup>102</sup>

But who was Count Beniczky? How did he meet Imre Kunkel? Did he really know as many wealthy people who were willing to purchase plots and later build villas? This chapter intends to give a portrait about the owners and shed light on the family and business relationships between them.

## ***II. 1. Fellowships***

As Körmendy claimed, the first members of the Villa Owners' Association of Mátyásföld were the friends of Imre Kunkel and Ödön Szeniczey. The list and the available information of the first plot owners, allows us to identify the three largest circles of friends. The first is the *Central Creamery of Budapest* (Budapesti Központi Tejcsarnok) and its head, Imre Kunkel. The next group gathered around Count *Gábor Beniczky*, who had a close relationship with the aristocracy and the life of politics, via his family. Lastly, the third group contained those who were members of the *National Railroad Company* (Nemzeti Vaspálya Társaság). These groups were determined based on the plot owners' profession, registered address in the capital, and their family connections. It is important to highlight that the available information of the owners is incomplete. Only 60% of the owners could be classified based on the criteria above, the rest of the members did not belong to any of the groups. All in all, it can be established that the first owners had got to know each other before the establishment of Mátyásföld, either through the National Railroad Company, Count Beniczky, or Imre Kunkel.

Until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, selling milk took place without any official controlling in Budapest. In 1882, to ensure the quality of milk sold in the capital, the Central Creamery was founded. The Creamery sold to many retailers around the city from its headquarters, located at 39 Rottenbiller Street, Budapest.

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<sup>102</sup> Körmendy, 1938, p.17.

About the history of the Central Creamery, the blog *bptejipartortenete*<sup>103</sup>, written by Zsigmond Tóth, the former head of Főtej Kft. (successor of the Central Creamery of Budapest), has proved to be a reliable source. Tóth has based his blog on a manuscript and some archive sources of the Central Creamery of Budapest.<sup>104</sup> As it can be read, 41 land owners from Pest county (including the landlord of Cinkota!) participated in the establishment of the Central Creamery, in 1882. The first director of the Creamery was Count Aladár Andrássy,<sup>105</sup> the first person on the members' list of Mátyásföld.<sup>106</sup> He was the brother of Count Gyula Andrássy<sup>107</sup>, the first Hungarian prime minister after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867. It is important to highlight that Gyula Andrássy was the main founder of the Capital Council of Public Works (Fővárosi Közmunkák Tanácsa), the main administrative organization, responsible for the construction works and the city planning in Budapest. The brotherhood between the capital's main patron and a plot owner in Mátyásföld may suggest that the planning of the villa quarter was perhaps highly influenced by Count Gyula Andrássy and/or the Capital Council of Public Works.

The general assembly minutes of the Central Creamery from 1884 include further members from the list of the first plot owners in Mátyásföld: Gábor Beniczky, Ödön Szeniczey and Géza Koppély.<sup>108</sup> What do we know about them? Gábor Beniczky the central figure of the second fellowship will be discussed later. Unfortunately, there is a lack of information about the landowner Géza Koppély<sup>109</sup>, making it impossible to map his further business or family connections. However, there is sufficient information about his activity as a member at the Creamery.

Ödön Szeniczey's networks are much more far-reaching. He was one of the central figures not only of the Central Creamery – of which he was the chairman<sup>110</sup> – but also of Mátyásföld's society.<sup>111</sup> Szeniczey was elected the first president of the Villa Owners' Association. The godchild of Ferenc Deák (Hungarian statesman and Minister of Justice), was elected a Member of Parliament several times, had a piece of land in Cinkota<sup>112</sup>, and

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<sup>103</sup> <http://bptejipartortenete.blogspot.cz/> (History of dairy industry of Budapest)

<sup>104</sup> <http://bptejipartortenete.blogspot.cz/2011/09/kozponti-tejcsarnok-1883-1945.html>

<sup>105</sup> <http://bptejipartortenete.blogspot.cz/2011/10/kozponti-tejcsarnok-szovetkezeti-rt.html>

<sup>106</sup> Körmeny, 1938, p.20.

<sup>107</sup> Halász, 1887, p.13.

<sup>108</sup> HU BFL - VII.200.a - 1884 - 0566

<sup>109</sup> HU BFL VII.168.a – 1885-0399

<sup>110</sup> Budapest Cím és Lakjegyzék, Budapest, 1888, p.151.

HU BFL - VII.200.a - 1887 - 1835

<sup>111</sup> Körmeny, 1938, p.22.

<sup>112</sup> HU BFL VII.200a-1886-1382



wrote articles in the Hunter and Race Journal (Vadász és Versenylap)<sup>113</sup>. The topic of this journal signifies its importance: the upper class has always enjoyed the popular “entertainment” of hunting. From this “exclusive” network of connections and the statement that some of the plot owners were his friends, we may conclude that the first inhabitants of Mátyásföld were of high social status.

Returning to the history of the Central Creamery, after its second year, Count Aladár Andrassy resigned from his position but remained an honorary chairman. He was succeeded by the founder of Mátyásföld Imre Kunkel, as chief executive officer, from 1885 until 1893.

From 1887, the Creamery’s central office was located in a two-story house at 31 Rottenbiller Street. At that time, Rottenbiller Street constituted the industrial outskirts of Pest. The ground floor of the building was occupied by Creamery. The first and the second floors were rented out.<sup>114</sup> Three members of the Mátyásföld plot owners, Miklós Gunszt, Mrs Bertalan Kramplics and Salamon Lövinger Jr were registered at 31 Rottenbiller Street.<sup>115</sup> The archives do not provide evidence as to whether they lived in one of the rental flats, or they were registered under the name of the Central Creamery. In 1900, Miklós Gunszt was a member of the supervisory board of the Hungarian Flagship Dairy Ltd. (Magyar Minta Tejtelep Részvénytársaság).<sup>116</sup> It is possible that he was an employee of the Creamery around 1887. According to the list of Budapest addresses of 1891, Mrs Bertalan Kramplics had a grocery store in the centre of the capital. She must have been a distributor of the Creamery.<sup>117</sup> Lövinger Salamon Jr, based on some archives from 1888, was an entrepreneur.<sup>118</sup> He must have been one of the distributors or other business partners of the Creamery as well. We can only assume that some of the Mátyásföld owners also had a similar distributor, or business partner, who employed connection with the Creamery and Imre Kunkel. If we follow the theory, however, that there was a business relationship also between the plot owners, we can strongly presume that the three people named above, appeared on the list of plot owners at the address of the Central Creamery.

The second fellowship grouped around Count Gábor Beniczky. The Beniczky family is one of the oldest families originating in Upper Hungary (today mostly present-day Slovakia), and the family members have been feudal landlords of Cinkota (a village

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<sup>113</sup> [http://temesvarijeno.blog.hu/2015/03/03/szeniczey\\_odon\\_portreja\\_az\\_1860-as\\_evekbol](http://temesvarijeno.blog.hu/2015/03/03/szeniczey_odon_portreja_az_1860-as_evekbol)

<sup>114</sup> <http://bptejipartortenete.blogspot.cz/2011/10/karpenstein-utca-18-20-az-also.html>

<sup>115</sup> Körmendy, 1938, pp.20 – 22.

<sup>116</sup> Budapest Cím és Lakjegyzék, Budapest, 1900-1901/12, p.390.

<sup>117</sup> Budapest Cím és Lakjegyzék, Budapest, 1891-1892/7, p.410.

<sup>118</sup> HU BFL VII.185-1888-1348

near Pest) from 1619.<sup>119</sup> There is no information about the date of birth of Gábor Beniczky. But from 1871, his name regularly appeared in the previously mentioned Hunter and Race Journal (*Vadász és Versenylap*)<sup>120</sup>. Consequently, he was also an active member of the high society with a far-reaching social network. It is known that in 1886, Beniczky offered his lands to accommodate the international greyhound-racing.<sup>121</sup> The race was not only a championship but a social event as well. These kinds of events enabled a certain part of the society to meet with each other and broaden their network of connections. This is proven by a report of a racing event, where Béla Fáy (the Fáy family is one of the oldest Hungarian noble family) took part as an organiser, and the previously mentioned Count Aladár Andrassy, as one of the participants.<sup>122</sup> Their names also appear on the list of the first plot owners of Mátyásföld. Knowing this fact, it cannot be attributed to pure luck that Imre Kunkel came up with the idea of the settlement during a common hunting practice around Beniczky's land. It was easy for Kunkel to convince Beniczky, who always had debts, to sell a few acres of land.<sup>123</sup> It is not known how the two founders of Mátyásföld met, but their friendship, even after the successful foundation, carried on to be fruitful. Beniczky did not only have profitable friendships, but also auspicious noble and political connections through his family. His wife, Countess Ilona Batthyány (1842-1929)<sup>124</sup>, was the former prime minister, Lajos Batthyány's daughter. This was the Countess's second marriage; she remarried, after her first husband, Count Béla Keglevich, passed away. From her marriage with Keglevich she had a son, and his son had two children: Pál Keglevich and a later plot owner in Mátyásföld: Ilona Keglevich.<sup>125</sup> Her uncle was Count Gábor Keglevich<sup>126</sup>, another member of the board of directors of the Central Creamery of Budapest.<sup>127</sup> It is apparent that the family and business connections intertwine between the fellowships.

There is also an intriguing family connection linked indirectly to Count Beniczky, namely to his wife's former husband, Béla Keglevich's family. Keglevich's sister was Emma Keglevich, who was married to Ármin Podmaniczky. Their daughter-in-law was

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<sup>119</sup> <https://elismond.com/2014/03/02/cinkota-az-ezereves-falu-pest-mellett/>

<sup>120</sup> The official journal of Hungarian horse-breeding from 1857 until 1919.

[https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/collection/muze\\_orsz\\_ttud\\_vadasz\\_es\\_versenylap/](https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/collection/muze_orsz_ttud_vadasz_es_versenylap/)

<sup>121</sup> *Vadász és Versenylap*, 26.08.1886 p.341.

<sup>122</sup> *Vadász és Versenylap*, 4.11.1886, p.442.

<sup>123</sup> <https://elismond.com/2014/03/02/cinkota-az-ezereves-falu-pest-mellett/>

<sup>124</sup> *Éble*, 1913, p.261.

<sup>125</sup> <http://cinkota.hu/index.php/component/content/article/42-toertenelem/56-grof-batthyany-ilona-1842-1929.html>

<sup>126</sup> HU BFL - VII.200.a - 1887 - 1835

<sup>127</sup> <https://www.geni.com/people/G%C3%A1bor-Keglevich-von-Buzin/6000000010961610834>

Fanny Tarnay, a later villa owner in Mátyásföld. Behind the complicated family connections, the name of the Podmaniczky family emerged. Ármin Podmaniczky was the brother of Frigyes Podmaniczky, the main developer of Budapest, and the director of the above mentioned Budapest Council of Public Works (between 1873 and 1905). Supposedly, the influence of Frigyes Podmaniczky and/or the Capital Council of Public Works on the development of Mátyásföld may be the same as that of the Andrassy brothers.

Another two members appear on the list of first owners, namely Baron János Stockinger and Dr Frigyes Ellevaux<sup>128</sup>, both also of noble origin, who probably got to know each other through the same circle of acquaintances as well. There is an eye-catching detail on the only known surviving list of first owners. With the exception of a few cases, the list, apart from enumerating the names of plot owners (Appendix 3.), contains their addresses and the number of purchased plots also consecutively. According to the roster, Count Aladár Andrassy is the first, the second one is Mrs István Bájó, followed by two owners sharing the third place: Count Gábor Beniczky and Dr Frigyes Ellevaux.<sup>129</sup> There is no further information about why they are shown together, but it may suggest that they had known each other before the establishment of Mátyásföld, and perhaps purchased a plot together.

The Railroad Company of Budapest (Budapesti Közúti Vaspálya Társaság) was responsible for organising the capital's transport. According to the available information, the third fellowship formed around the Railroad Company. It was founded in 1878, with Henrik Jellinek being the chief executive officer from 1883 until 1911. During his tenure, Mátyásföld became an urban agglomeration of Pest. Jellinek contributed a great deal to the expansion of Budapest's railway lines into the suburban zones. He proposed to build a suburban railway line between Budapest and Soroksár (former part of Pest's agglomeration, today part of Budapest's 23<sup>rd</sup> district), Szentendre<sup>130</sup> (a small town in Pest County, 25 km from Budapest) and Cinkota (a village near Pest). Henrik Jellinek appears in Károly Vörös' 'virilists' index.<sup>131</sup> (Károly Vörös was a Hungarian social and cultural historian who put together a list of the most important tax contributors, the so-called "virilists" in Budapest, between 1873 and 1917). Even if Henrik Jellinek was entered on the list of most important tax contributors, he was neither on the first list of the association

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<sup>128</sup> HU MNL OL A 57-68-0711 Királyi könyvek 68.711.

<sup>129</sup> Körmendy, 1938, p.20.

<sup>130</sup> Pallas Nagylexikon [http://www.kislexikon.hu/jellinek\\_a.html](http://www.kislexikon.hu/jellinek_a.html)

<sup>131</sup> Vörös, 1966, p.170.

members of Mátyásföld, nor did he appear among the later inhabitants of the settlement. Even though he did not live there, his activity helped to integrate Mátyásföld into the capital's transport system. The Company had already bought 10 plots either as an investment, or to provide space for the planned suburban railway line. There were 10 plot buyers who were certainly connected to the Railroad Company. Such as Ignác Irsay, the Company's chief inspector<sup>132</sup>, Menyhért Polyák, a member of the company's board of directors<sup>133</sup>, Ernő Hikisch, a retired chief engineer<sup>134</sup>, István Kertscher<sup>135</sup> and Ferenc Veninger<sup>136</sup>, also chief engineers, and Antal Ulrik, a stationmaster<sup>137</sup>.

Mátyásföld was not just a place for relaxation, but the place for the association for the protection of common interest also. Members would give preference to each other, conducted their businesses and worked on common projects together. Even though it was beyond the period (1887-1914) I chose to research, I would like to mention that in 1915 Henrik Jellinek, the chief of the Railroad Company of Budapest, entered into several contracts of property sale with the pharmacist János Filó, who was also a plot owner in Mátyásföld<sup>138</sup>.

It is worth investigating the connections between the first members. Based on the available archives, from the 67 people, 22 can be connected undoubtedly to the fellowships (Table 1.), but there must be even more. The network of connections, already present at the birth of Mátyásföld, constituted the basis of the later emerging concept of "settlement consciousness", which established the villa quarter's power of community. As Körmendi wrote: *'The cordiality between the dwellers and the patriarchal relationship that grows from it, was the attractiveness for the citizens (of Budapest). Not only do they pay regular visits to Mátyásföld for recreation and pastime activities, but most of them purchase a plot here as well.'*<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> HU BFL - VII.176.a - 1897 - 1930

<sup>133</sup> Budapesti Czim- és Lakásjegyzék, 1913/25 p.405.

<sup>134</sup> Budapesti Czim- és Lakjegyzék, 1888/5 p.161.

<sup>135</sup> HU BFL VII.151-1893-0075

<sup>136</sup> HU BFL VII.171.a 1935-0280

<sup>137</sup> HU BFL VII.152.a-1889-0235

<sup>138</sup> HU BFL - VII.151 - 1915 - 0667

<sup>139</sup> Körmendi, 1938, p.39.

Table 2. Fellowships

| Fellowships  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| Imre Kunkel<br>Budapesti Központi Tejcsarnok<br>(Central Creamery of<br>Budapest)  | Count Gábor Beniczky  | Nemzeti Vaspálya Társaság<br>(National Railroad<br>Company)   |
| Count Aladár Andrássy*<br>Count Gábor Beniczky*<br>Miklós Gunszt*<br>Géza Koppély<br><br>Mrs Bertalan Kramplics<br>Imre Kunkel*<br>Vilmos Longauer<br>Salamon Lövinger jr<br>Ödön Szeniczey* | Count Aladár Andrássy*<br>Dr Frigyes Ellevaux<br>Béla Fáy<br>Countess Ilona<br>Keglevich*<br>Imre Kunkel*<br>Dr Ármin Neuman<br>Baron János Stockinger<br>Sándor Strelisky<br>Ödön Szeniczey* | Mrs István Bájó<br>Ernő Hikisch<br>Ignác Irsay<br>István Kertsher<br><br>Nemzeti Vaspálya Társaság<br>Menyhért Polyák<br>Antal Urlik<br>Ferenc Veninger |

Sources: Appendix 5

## ***II.2. Profession***

Based on the archive sources and with the help of the list of association members, it is possible to define the first owners' professions (Appendix 4.) The Budapesti Czim és Lakjegyzék<sup>140</sup> (Address and home inventory of Budapest) and the database of the hungaricana (a well-known website of Hungarian archives, museums and libraries) have proved to be the most valuable sources to identify not only the inhabitants' professions, but also their addresses. Most of the identified sources were notary deeds. These notary deeds showed the plot owner's name, profession and registered address.

\* the members who were included in another society

<sup>140</sup> The Franklin Company published 30 editions of the address and home inventory of Budapest between 1880 and 1929. The volumes contain the list of houses and plots in Budapest, names of the owners, representatives and state authority organizations, office information. Furthermore, they contain the index of associations, companies and professions. The list of the servant industry and the address inventory of Budapest's dwellers in alphabetical order can be found in the volumes.

[https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/collection/fszek\\_budapesti\\_czim\\_es\\_lakasjegyzek/](https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/collection/fszek_budapesti_czim_es_lakasjegyzek/)

The research, however, ran into some difficulties. Some of the first owners cannot be found or identified, based on the available information. Károly Kintner's case is a good example to illustrate this problem. On the list of first landowners, his address was indicated at 17 Vas Street in the 7<sup>th</sup> district, but only a lady called Erzsébet Kintner was listed in the inventory. She was a midwife and lived at the same address.<sup>141</sup> There is no more information about their relationship, or, in fact, any further documentation to help find out more about Károly Kintner. His profession is not stated.

A further difficulty arises from the variable date of the available information. In some cases, the information comes from a period either much earlier, or much later than the establishment of Mátyásföld. Therefore, we have to take into account that at the time of the establishment of the villa quarter, a given plot owner might have had a different occupation, or had been registered at a different address than that appearing in the surviving document. For instance, there is the case of Géza Koppély. According to a document dated from 1885, he was a land owner.<sup>142</sup> Later, in a document from 1909, he was mentioned as a member of the board of directors of the Hungarian National Wine-Growers' Cooperative (Magyar Bortermelők Országos Szövetkezete).<sup>143</sup> In similar cases, the document dated closest to 1887, the establishment of Mátyásföld, has served as a basis. Therefore, during my research, I aspired to use the most relevant information, closest in time to the establishment of Mátyásföld (1887) as well. In the relevant documentation, Géza Koppély is, hence, listed as a landowner.

The Hungarian social and cultural historian, Károly Vörös provides information in a three-volume work, about the most important tax contributors, the so-called "virilists"<sup>144</sup> in Hungary between 1873 and 1917.<sup>145</sup> The detailed list includes the tax payers who had property in the capital and their income also came from Budapest. The index, however, does not take into account the factory- and industrial plant owners in the suburban area, and the tax on suburban land ownership. This factor is offset by the fact that if the income

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<sup>141</sup> HU BFL. VII.175-1882-0599

<sup>142</sup> HU BFL. VII.168a.-1885-0399

<sup>143</sup> HU BFL. VII.168a.-1909-0027

<sup>144</sup> Virilist: an administrative classing from 1871. The index contains the highest tax payers, who become members of the city council, based on the amount of tax payed. (in: Magyar Néprajzi Lexikon <http://mek.oszk.hu/02100/02115/html/5-1392.html>)

<sup>145</sup> Vörös Károly: *Budapest legnagyobb adófizetői 1903-1917. Adalékok Budapest társadalomtörténetéhez a dualizmus korában I.*, In: Tanulmányok Budapest múltjából XVII, Budapest, 1966, pp. 145 – 196.

Vörös Károly: *Budapest legnagyobb adófizetői 1873-ban. Adalékok Budapest társadalomtörténetéhez a dualizmus korában II.*, In: Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából XVIII, Budapest, 1971, pp. 249 – 308.

Vörös Károly: *Budapest legnagyobb adófizetői 1888-ban. Adalékok Budapest társadalomtörténetéhez a dualizmus korában III.*, In: Tanulmányok Budapest Múltjából XIX, Budapest, 1972, pp. 359 – 392.

coming from this property was taxed in Budapest, the basis of tax assessment of a plot owner in Budapest would have not decreased significantly. Vörös described in detail the possible circumstances of somebody's missing from the index of the largest tax payers. Those who did not register to vote in the town's elections did not make it to the list. Furthermore, those nobles who were connected to Budapest but according to the election law, had a different financial status from the "virilists". Vörös highlighted the flaws of the index.<sup>146</sup>

In his work, Vörös differentiated 23 profession groups<sup>147</sup> according to the examined largest taxpayer jobs.<sup>148</sup> The primary purpose of Vörös was to get acquainted with the economic, political and social leadership of the capital. He studied the largest taxpayers of the era based on their source of income, and how their income was generated. According to these criteria, he created the aforementioned 23 profession groups according to the groups' occupation<sup>149</sup>. However, Vörös's extensive research involving hundreds of people did not seem to be applicable to the villa owners in Mátyásföld. In my research, I have categorised the plot owners according to the occupational groups he has created (Appendix 4). By this, I tried to demonstrate how similar were the 65 plot owners by profession to the largest taxpayers. However, this comparison is more indicative rather than truly usable.

As far as our sources are concerned, Vörös obtained information about Budapest's largest taxpayers based on the tax registry<sup>150</sup>. By contrast, I was able to determine the occupation of the plot owners based on the method mentioned above, mostly through notarial documents, and on this basis did I intend to cast light on their financial position. Among the first 65 inhabitants, only the Neuschloss family appeared on Vörös's 1873' list of 'virilists'.<sup>151</sup> This means, the rest of the first association members did not reach that tax payer level of the 1200 highest taxpayers in Budapest that Vörös mentioned in his study.<sup>152</sup> However, despite this, even if they were as wealthy as to make it to the list, they might have paid their tax outside the capital. It is also worth considering that if they were taxed in

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<sup>146</sup> Vörös, 1966, pp.148 – 150.

<sup>147</sup> Largest tax payers professions by Károly Vörös: house owner, factory owner, architect, industrialist, merchant, restaurateur, spa director, carter, banker, corporate director, chief executive officer, doctor, pharmacist, lawyer, engineer, civil servant, professor, notary, book publisher, journal publisher, theatre director, stockholder, other

<sup>5</sup> Vörös, 1956, p. 150.

<sup>6</sup> Vörös 1966., pp . 149 – 150.

<sup>148</sup> Vörös, 1956, p. 150.

<sup>149</sup> Vörös 1966., pp . 149 – 150.

<sup>150</sup> Vörös, 1966, pp. 147.

<sup>7</sup> Vörös, 1966, pp. 147.

<sup>151</sup> Vörös, 1971, pp. 268 – 275.

<sup>152</sup> Vörös, 1971, pp. 249 – 251.

the capital, they still might not have been listed among the largest taxpayers, during the time period researched by Vörös. This does not mean that at a later stage they might not have reached this level.<sup>153</sup> On the other hand, it is also possible that some of them should be regarded as ‘virilists’ but were not registered, or were missing from Vörös’s sources.

In his work, Vörös highlighted the network of relations among the ‘virilists’, which can be seen in the case of Mátyásföld. He also touches upon the subject of the house and land ownership of the bourgeoisie. It is the uncertainty of industrial investments that underlies property investments. He points out that the possession of a property functioned as a reserve capital for the ‘virilists’, most of all for corporate directors.<sup>154</sup> Already from 1873, the speculative empty land purchase was apparent among the ‘virilists’. The Városliget (City Park), Zugló (former suburban area of Budapest, today its 14<sup>th</sup> district), meadows around the Rákos creek (running along the eastern part of Pest), and the outskirts of the city were the most popular choices of investors.<sup>155</sup>

Vörös’s research provides an insight into the capital’s society of industrialists, economists, bankers, as well as intellectuals; just below the level of the richest, but still able to afford buying a holiday plot outside of Budapest. With it, it is possible to have a kind of view of Mátyásföld’s first plot owners wealth and social status. Even if they were not among the largest taxpayers in Budapest, they were members of a wealthy group of aristocrats, noblemen, intellectuals, entrepreneurs and merchants.

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<sup>153</sup> e.g.: Lajos Hikisch, in: Vörös, 1971, p. 274.

<sup>154</sup> Vörös, 1965, p.156.

<sup>155</sup> Vörös, 1971, p.259



### ***II.3 The plot owners' place of residence in the capital***

As detailed by the list of the first owners, and having delved into the archives, I have revealed the addresses of 60 to 65 inhabitants, based to their registration of place of residence (Appendix 3.) Out of these, 41 addresses can still be found on a contemporary map. The remaining 24 street, or simply, location names are either incomplete (e.g.: missing either the house number and the street name, or just the house number itself, as in Vecsés; István Square), or they have been renamed, and are, therefore, unidentifiable today (e.g.: Karpfenstein Street, Pálffy Street). On top of that, some street names are too vague, and do not allow us to pinpoint the exact registered address of a certain owner (e.g.: Zöldfa Street). Apart from two addresses (117 Üllői Street and Indóház), we have 39 places of residence in the centre of Budapest. There are four addresses where more than one person was registered: four owners at the 31 Rottenbiller Street, two at 6 Színház Street, two at 2 Régi Posta Street, and also two occupants at 30 Teréz Boulevard. Having dealt with 35 different addresses and their 38 occupants, observing the map we can see that four of the dwellers lived in the 1<sup>st</sup> district, seven of them lived in Lipótváros (part of the 5<sup>th</sup> district in the city centre, named after King Leopold II), nine owners lived in Józsefváros (part of the 8<sup>th</sup> district in Budapest, named after Emperor Joseph II), nine in Terézváros (part of the 6<sup>th</sup> district in Budapest, named after Queen Maria Theresa), and ten in Erzsébetváros (part of the 7<sup>th</sup> district of Budapest, named after Queen Elisabeth).

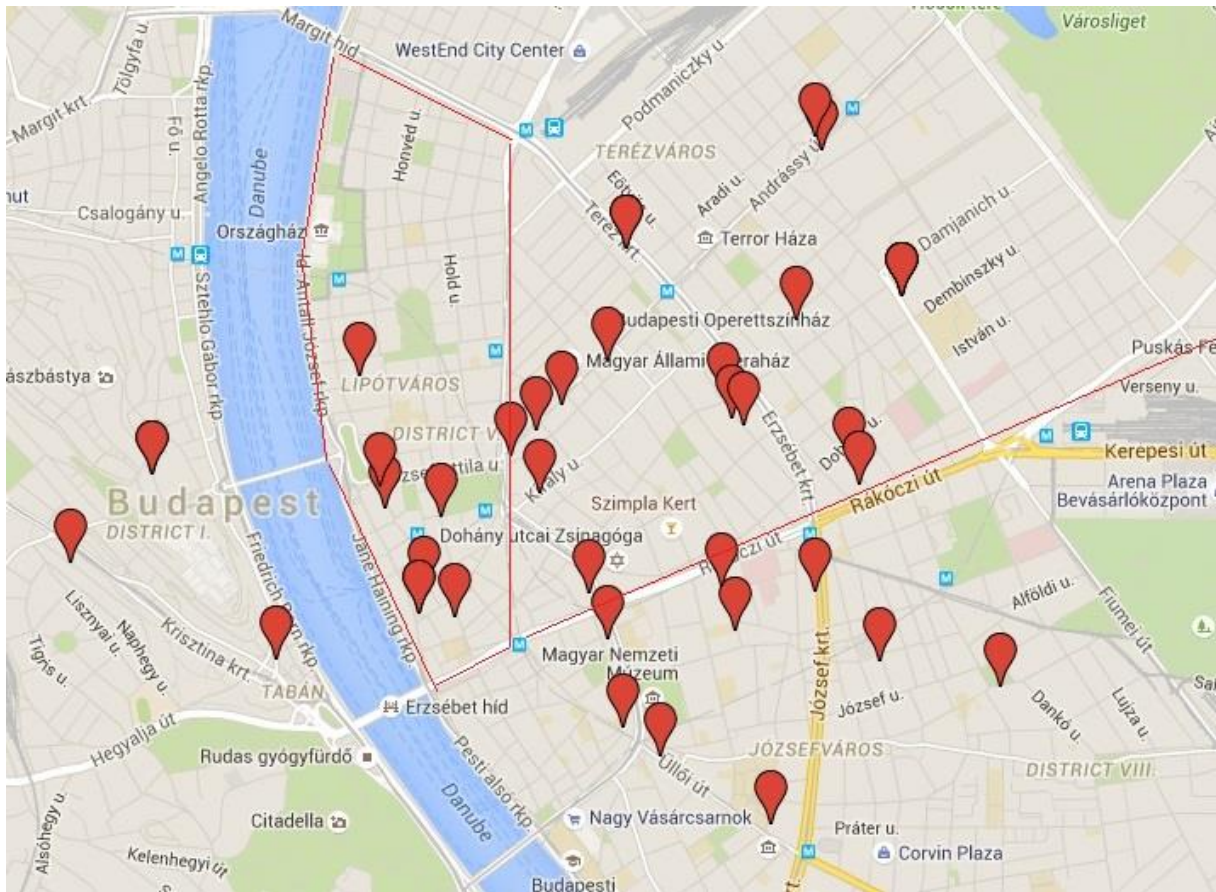


Fig.7: The distribution of the first plot owners in the inner city of Budapest

|               |    |      |    |
|---------------|----|------|----|
| Terézváros    | 9  | Buda | 4  |
| Józsefváros   | 7  | Pest | 48 |
| Erzsébetváros | 10 |      |    |
| Lipótváros    | 3  |      |    |
| Inner City    | 7  |      |    |

The distribution of the first plot owners in the inner city of Budapest

It is interesting to note that most of the first landowners lived in the centre of Pest, and only four in Buda. This may be explained by the fact that people living in Buda bought a villa in the nearby Svábhegy, while the residents of Pest found the villa quarters in their neighbourhood, and in the vicinity of Pest, more attractive. Most of the landowners lived in Erzsébetváros and Terézváros, inhabited by craftsmen and merchants, and the fewest in Lipótváros, where the Jewish petty, the middle-bourgeois, the wealthy merchants, officers and intellectuals settled down.<sup>156</sup> By the research of the place of residence I tried to

<sup>156</sup> Hanák, 1999, pp.18 – 51.

examine that is there any sign of the neighbourhood between the first plot owners and consequently any acquaintance between them. By the research of the place of residence I aimed to reveal whether the first plot owners held neighbour relationships, and consequently, if there was any acquaintance among them.

Relationship by place of residence can be found at the 31 Rottenbiller Street address, mentioned earlier. There are 4 tenants listed under this address, however, there are no sources indicating whether they were actually living here, or they were only employees of the Central Creamery of Budapest, operating under the same address. There were also two people living at 6 Színház Street, two at 2 Régi Posta Street, and two occupants at 30 Teréz Boulevard. In Színház Street, the couple Anna and János Mehlhofer lived. In Régi Posta Street, Ferenc Oszetzky and Ferenc Schmidt, in Teréz Boulevard, widow Mrs. Pál Markó and Ignác Irsay. The relationship between them is just a presumption (friendly, business), and, it is possible that the same address and the purchase of land in Mátyásföld, is a coincidence.

By the research of the first plot owners' place of residence I can make two statements which complete the previous examination about their social status and the network of relations among them. Firstly, it can be identified only in a few cases that their permanent address marked areas close to each other and as I mentioned, it is possible that the same address and the purchase of land in Mátyásföld, is a coincidence. Secondly, the major part of the first plot owners mainly lived in Pest's civic, middle class districts. Mátyásföld was not really attractive for the wealthy inhabitants of Buda.

#### ***II.4 The social classes that formed Mátyásföld***

The definition of the middle class differs from region to region, from country to country, and has been constantly changing through time. The definition and the composition of middle class is different in France, in England, and in Germany. Observing Hungarian history, the middle class of the country shares the most similarities with that of the German concept.

The German social historian, Jürgen Kocka, differentiates between two types of the middle class: the economic middle class (Wirtschaftsbürgertum), and the educated middle class (Bildungsbürgertum). According to his concept, the economic middle class consists of bankers, entrepreneurs, manufacturers, merchants, rentiers and their families. The intellectuals, doctors, lawyers, professors, officials in public and private bureaucracies are

part of the latter type. The people from the lower classes (manual workers, peasants) and the nobles are not included in the definition of middle class, but there is an eternal debate about the boundaries of the social levels. In Kocka's interpretation, the 19<sup>th</sup>-century middle class consists of the self-employed, and those people who receive a regular salary. Basically, those who held various market positions. They had a social distance from the aristocracy, but at the same time, adopted some noble principles. As he wrote, "*this culture implied a postaristocratic modern vision of life, frequently advocated with outright criticism of the old order and the aristocracy.*"<sup>157</sup>

It has to be highlighted, that this thesis focuses on the Hungarian cases and the time period between the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, it does not dwell on the emergence of the middle class, or give a general overlook of the European social circumstances. The bourgeois, middle-class lifestyle flourished in the cities, but this piece of work intends to explain, how the suburban areas got integrated into the lifestyle of a certain part of the middle class, as a place for recreation.

The situation of the Hungarian nobility had particular characteristics compared to other countries in Europe.<sup>158</sup> The high number of Hungarian noble families was considered a national feature. This was due to the fact that in Hungary, it was relatively easy to acquire a noble title in various ways: marital relations, or family ties; the amount of wealth acquired, as well as the quality of public and political involvement. Such a widening of the nobility resulted in an internal social division between the "new" and the existing "old" aristocracy. The rapid dilution and division of the aristocracy, among other things, had an impact on the lifestyle of the old aristocracy.<sup>159</sup>

A part of the old aristocracy continued to increase their seclusion and retreat from public life. "*This further enhanced the special prestige of their lifestyle and habits, which heightened interest in outsiders and created a wondrous (...) reaction.*"<sup>160</sup> It was characteristic of their lifestyle that besides the city palace, they often retired to their country chateaux, where they could live their everyday lives away from the "public", in seclusion. A more modest, and a result of its distance, more convenient version of this

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<sup>157</sup> Kocka, 1995, pp.785 – 799.

<sup>158</sup> see more: Fábri Anna: *A művelt és udvarias ember: a társas viselkedés szabályai a magyar nyelvű életvezetési és illemtankönyvekben, 1798-1935*, Budapest, 2001.

Tar Ferenc: *Egy arisztokrata család mindennapjai. Visszaemlékezések a herceg Festetics család és alkalmazottainak életére*, Keszthely.

Baji Etelka, Csorba László: *Kastélyok és mágnások. Az arisztokrácia világa a századvégi Magyarországon*, Budapest, 1994.

<sup>159</sup> Fábri, 2015, p. 145.

<sup>160</sup> Fábri, 2015, p. 145.

lifestyle was the possession of a representative real estate in one of the suburban villa quarters.<sup>161</sup> The first noble or aristocratic landowners of Mátyásföld had probably bought land for their later villa with a similar intent. In any case, it is apparent that the circle of first aristocrats and noble purchasers consisted of a narrow circle of acquaintances. Being able to maintain their intimacy in this relatively close circle might have played a role in making their decision, while also having the opportunity to participate both in the common social events of the villa quarter, and in the bustling life of the capital.

The main characteristic of the social composition of the first plot owners is, however, as we have seen, that besides some of the representatives of the nobility and the aristocracy, most of the buyers came from the wealthy intellectual and employee class, as well as the capitalist entrepreneur middle class. Mátyásföld was attractive to them as an investment as well, but it was certainly an attraction that aristocrats and distinguished nobles also bought land here. The presence of the latter certainly increased the prestige of Mátyásföld, and by their way of life they could show an example to the citizens who became villa owners in the area.

I believe that when Mátyásföld was founded, it was lying not only on the geographic and administrative, but also on a kind of social border. All the inhabitants here belonged to the higher layer of the social hierarchy, though to its various strata. At the same time, these people, who were not exactly of the same social statuses, did not only share a common geographic area as landowners, but through the association of plot owners, formed an institutionalised community; furthermore, as we shall see, they also operated community institutions in which Mátyásföld plot owners of various social circumstances could make direct contact and mix, or could represent themselves as a community. Thus, based on the analysis, the villa quarter cannot be regarded simply as an aristocratic quarter, or the holiday resort of the upper middle class or the bourgeoisie. Its main feature is that among the owners, besides the aristocrats and noble families, we can find the members of the upper middle class, the *Bildungsbürgertum* (educated classes) and the *Wirtschaftsbürgertum* as well. Mátyásföld was a villa quarter set up for a diverse “elite” circle.

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<sup>161</sup> Molnár, 2015, p.73.

### III.Representation

In this chapter, I intend to examine the image the villa owners of Mátyásföld, and the inhabitants of the villa quarter strove to establish of themselves, as well as of their neighbourhood. In addition, I would like to establish, what kind of image was formed of them among the contemporary general public. My analysis focuses on the collective, social representation of the inhabitants of Mátyásföld. The notion of social representation derives from French sociologist Émile Durkheim. During his investigation, Durkheim separated the collective and individual representations. In his view, collective representation “has to be understood as a model of practices that shape the social world”.<sup>162</sup> He argues that collective representation is a set of things that are common to society. Nobody acquires all the details in their entirety, but they have a compelling power over the individual.<sup>163</sup>

Further considering Durkheim's concepts, French historian Roger Chartier claims that the development of social identity should be examined through “collective representation”. For this purpose, Chartier, as historian Gábor Czoch sums up his train of thought, suggests to examine three factors: “*The first is the social activity aiming at the division, and classification of society. In doing so, the various groups of society (...) construct the social reality surrounding them. The second one is the social practice and action that seek to have an identity recognised (...) and symbolically represent a social status and rank. Finally, the third factor to be considered includes the institutionalised forms by which the group makes itself visible and continuously proves its existence.*”<sup>164</sup>

Zsombor Bódy also points out the importance of this third factor when he emphasises that “the representation of a social group means not only the mental representation of the group but also many institutions in which the group is socially embodied.”<sup>165</sup> Based on these chapters, I look at what kind of community spaces the inhabitants of Mátyásföld themselves formed. What kind of image of the appearance of the residential area, and the constructed environment implied of the quarter’s residents. Furthermore, what advantages and characteristics had been pointed out in connection with Mátyásföld in real estate newspaper adverts. In addition, how the villa quarter and its

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<sup>162</sup> Chartier, 2009, p. 47.

<sup>163</sup> Bódy, 1999, p. 1.

<sup>164</sup> Czoch, 2009, p. 15.

<sup>165</sup> Bódy, 1999, p. 1.

residents were depicted in contemporary newspapers and humour magazines. With the help of the resources available, I seek to define the social identity of the inhabitants of Mátyásföld.

### ***III.1 A place for the community: the “Mátyás Vendéglő”***

Mátyásföld had a kind of inn or community house, called the Mátyás Vendéglő. This building functioned as a restaurant, a hotel, a concert hall and a place to hold public events at the same time. It was located in the middle of Mátyásföld and was surrounded by Ilona square<sup>166</sup>.

In 1889 Mátyásföld was only two years old, but - as I mentioned in the first chapter - its popularity was already noticeable at that time. The parcelling of the purchased vacant area and the villa constructions were ongoing. The Villa Owners' Association of Mátyásföld may have recognised the lack of a community space (in time). A central building that could be both an attractive day trip destination, and a place for holding community events for the locals. To this end, in 1889 the Villa Owners' Association concluded a new contract with Gábor Beniczky.

According to the contract, Beniczky undertook to build an inn to satisfy the taste and needs of the citizens of Budapest. The architectural plans of the building had to be approved by the Association and had to be suitable to accommodate a casino or club at a later stage. The inn had to be constructed and operated by from Beniczky's own fortune. He encumbered all the expenses, but, of course, enjoyed all the profit as well.<sup>167</sup> Two years later, in 1891, the Association bought the building from Beniczky with unbounded, eternal property rights and free rights of disposal.<sup>168</sup> The organization renovated the building and regulated the park in front. The park was like a forest (in the middle of Mátyásföld, later to become Erzsébet Park), enclosed by wire fence for the sole use of pedestrians.<sup>169</sup>

From the early life of the building, representation was its main purpose. It is clearly visible in the 1889 contract<sup>170</sup>, in which the Association's regulation stipulates the appropriate appearance of the building. Moreover, its location also indicated its purpose: it was in the middle of the settlement, near the suburban railway line– the Imre Street stop,

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<sup>166</sup> Ilona Park was named after count Beniczky's wife, count Ilona Batthyány.

<sup>167</sup> Körmendi, 1938, pp. 25 – 26.

<sup>168</sup> Körmendi, 1938, p. 27.

<sup>169</sup> Körmendi, 1938, p. 30.

<sup>170</sup> Körmendi, 1938, p. 17.

(right by the park), which connected it directly to the main railway station. The inn was originally constructed from wood, but, along with the settlement, was later developed. The material a building is made from is the indicator of not just the building's but also its guests' character. In order to strengthen the structure of the building, first the two wooden annexes were reconstructed, then later the main facade (Fig. 8). The quality of the materials used did not only show the wealth of the settlement, but the reconstruction itself did away with the previous look of the inn as a public house in the countryside (Fig. 9). What is relevant for this work is the social function it played in the life of the settlement. The building included a restaurant, a concert hall, rooms for rent on the first floor, and rooms on the ground floor (Fig. 10).

In reflection of the advertisements, the location of the inn was one of the most important elements of representation. The fresh air, the good connection with Budapest and the beautiful environment were the key words of the short advertisements, listed below. They showed Mátyásföld as an ideal picnic destination in the daytime, while at night, it turned into a venue of cultural balls and social events.

*For the attention of the day-tripper! In Mátyásföld, near Cinkota. The King Mátyás Restaurant is located in a beautiful place with spacious premises, in the middle of a pleasant park, indoor skittle ground, pleasant furnished rooms for one month renting, fine Hungarian cuisine, delicious wine from Csömör and Penc, beer from the "Részvény" brewery, prompt service, low-cost public transport via the suburban railway. Night balls, fireworks and free entry. Implying for your visit: Lajos Podruzsik restaurateur.<sup>171</sup> (1889)*

*Mátyásföld is located in the vicinity of the capital. By way of Cinkota (hourly departure from the "Indóház" stop, next to the central railway station. Carriage traffic from the Károly barrack.). It is highly recommended for the public of the capital as the prettiest and most comfortable picnic destination. This is the perfect place to hold picnics and family events. Elegant interior at the restaurant and the café. Rooms for one month renting available for a reasonable price. Fine and low-cost Hungarian cuisine, excellent wines. Gipsy music every public holiday and Sunday.<sup>172</sup> (1890.)*

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<sup>171</sup> Budapesti Hírlap, no. 191, 14 July 1889, p. 164.

<sup>172</sup> Budapesti Hírlap, no. 143, 25 May 1890, p. 351.



*Restaurant for “Matthias Corvinus” in Mátyásföld (Cinkota railway line)*

*Pretty meadows of Mátyásföld, does anything rival with them around Pest? I dare to recommend it, the balls and picnics will prove it. Its spacious rooms offer a suitable venue for associations, and club parties. There is free entry for our public to the concerts of the popular band of Sándor Horváth from Gödöllő, on Wednesdays, and every market day, as well as on public holidays. Yours truly, János Németh – previous renter of Nagypipa and restaurateur of Mátyásföld.<sup>173</sup> (1894)*

*Beauty spot of Mátyásföld! Ladies and gentlemen, I have the pleasure to inform you that to satisfy today’s needs, I have transformed and extended my restaurant and beer garden. Having relied on my experiences as manager of many years in Margaret Island, I will serve top quality dishes and drinks. (In view of these facts) I hope that with this new business I will have your support. Excellent music has been arranged! Yours truly, Mátyás Némethi - hotelier and restaurateur<sup>174</sup> (1897)*

*Hotel for rent. In the villa settlement of Mátyásföld, along the Cinkota railway line, a newly built restaurant and hotel is available for rent for 3 years, commencing on 1 March 1898. The building is located at the entrance of the 45-Hungarian acre park, in the centre of the settlement. It contains 18 spacious host rooms, bathrooms, a decorated, one-storeyed hall for 200 dance partners with a stage and a dressing room, 5 restaurants, comfortable lavatories and several cellars. An aqueduct and gas lighting have been installed. Closed proposals are to be sent to the “Villa Owners’ Association of Mátyásföld” until 15 September in the current year. For detailed information contact: József Paulheim vice-president (owns a villa in Mátyásföld) at the afternoons.<sup>175</sup> (1897)*

It was not only the architecture and the function that were part of the inn’s representation. The front park was just as important as the facade. A map from 1914 shows the layout of

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<sup>173</sup> Budapesti Hírlap, no. 152, 03 June 1894, p. 48.

<sup>174</sup> Budapesti Hírlap, no. 157, 06 June 1897, p. 108.

<sup>175</sup> Budapesti Hírlap, no. 226, 15 August 1897, p. 238.

the park (Fig. 11). In addition, we can see some images of it in some contemporary postcards. In the first dated postcard (Fig. 12) a park, looking like a French formal garden is portrayed. The view from the inn shows two small circles with flower-beds in the centre. The promenade leads the eye along Imre Street until the suburban railway station. Its vegetation was looked after by the Association's gardener. The denominator, Matthias Corvinus's statue was unveiled in 1895, in front of the inn (Fig. 13). The pictures continue to strengthen the idealistic picture of the inn and its environment portrayed in the advertisements mentioned above. The orderly park for relaxation, the restaurant for a pleasurable lunch, the ball hall for a merry night. It is within easy reach of the capital and a pleasant place for those who want to spend several days here.

The restaurant was indeed a representative institution for both Mátyásföld and its residents, and for those arriving here for recreational purposes. Its existence raised the standard of the villa quarter and became part of its collective representation. Villa owners were able to organise community events and meet with each other here. These social occasions all shaped and strengthened the collective identity of Mátyásföld. Those who only came to Mátyásföld for a rest and entertainment, and went to the restaurant, could, at the same time represent their own social status: for them, the time spent in the restaurant, could symbolise their belonging to the middle and upper classes.

### ***III.2 Green spaces***

Public parks, as we know them today, are the creations of the modern era. They became more widespread with the intensified urbanisation and embourgeoisement. More and more parks emerged in crowded cities as oases in the daily rush. The history of Hungarian city parks goes back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but they flourished in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The first public parks were either supported by the ruler, or were private initiatives (e.g.: Orczy-kert in Budapest). While the early closed parks in Budapest, like Margaret Island (Margit sziget), became free to use for the public step by step, in the countryside, public parks were nonexistent, they only had promenades.<sup>176</sup> After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, and the birth of Budapest in 1873, there was a boom in

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<sup>176</sup> Sisa, 2014, pp. 26 – 28.

the development of public parks. Each city had its own gardener and nursery.<sup>177</sup> The landscaped gardens became the symbol of civilised urban culture.

As detailed in the first chapter, Mátyásföld was born in the outskirts of Cinkota. It was situated along the right hand side of Kerepesi Road, in the trapezoid piece of land between the “Huskai Tanya” (Huskai Farm) and Cinkota, encircling the 40-acre<sup>178</sup> woodland area, where the parcellation of the land designated for the villa quarter, as well as the construction works, began. During the territorial planning of Mátyásföld, the park in the centre was preserved.

The 1889 contract between Gábor Beniczky and the Association stated that the plot owners could use the settlement’s institutions, promenades and parks free of charge.<sup>179</sup> This measure shows that the mentality of Mátyásföld’s inhabitants did not want to follow the old entrenched habits. They were part of the new emerging bourgeoisie and the civilized urban culture.

In the minutes, the park is referred to as a “forest” for a long time, even though, from 1898, it was probably already named after Queen Elisabeth who died in the same year.<sup>180</sup> It is confirmed by the fact that after the Queen’s death, Ignác Darányi the Minister of Agriculture made a nationwide call to plant trees along alleys, and also to commemorate the Queen’s death. His statement was followed by a countrywide movement, and an array of country parks, alleys, and promenades named after Elizabeth were created.<sup>181</sup> The first two dated postcards about the forest are from 1899 (Fig.14.-15.) with the inscriptions: Main road of Erzsébet-liget (Elizabeth Park), and: A part of Erzsébet-liget.

As British historian Peter Clark said: “*After the 1890s, the range of green spaces was extended by the spread of villa estates, which usually combined areas of private house gardens with a planned public space.*”<sup>182</sup> According to him urban and suburban green spaces are increasingly recognised as important ecosystems on a local scale. He distinguished the urban-, green- and the public space. If we apply these subdivisions to Erzsébet-liget, we can say that the park answers to the description of all three groups. It is an urban space because it is divided and regulated by modern urban planning. According to its dynamic function developing it can be said that it is also a green space.<sup>183</sup> Furthermore,

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<sup>177</sup> Sisa, 2014, p. 31.

<sup>178</sup> Lantos, 2012, p. 15.

<sup>179</sup> Körmendy, 1938, p. 26.

<sup>180</sup> It is interesting that in the 1914 map, the park had not yet been named

<sup>181</sup> Sisa, 2014, p. 33., Vasárnapi Ujság, no. 48, 27 Nov. 1898, p. 834.

<sup>182</sup> Clark, 2006, p. 23.

<sup>183</sup> Clark, 2006, pp. 1 – 29.

with the established Lawn Tennis Club (1897) and the open-air swimming pool (1902), Erzsébet-liget is a public space also (Fig.16).

Parks are public spaces and cultural symbols at the same time. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the most important function of Budapest's parks was to provide space for social gatherings, social events, and often serve as kind of 'merry-making gardens'. Families, friends and relatives enjoyed going out to the green 'islands' of the city. During the time spent here, it was possible to revive old acquaintances and to make new ones. There were common entertainments, balls, and performances of plays in the restaurants and cafés here.<sup>184</sup> Erzsébet-liget along its development from a forest into a regulated park<sup>185</sup> is one of the representations of the high life of the settlement and the symbol of urbanised cultural life.

### ***III.3 Streets***

The street image is one of the most important elements of the villa quarter's representation. For both residents and visitors, the surroundings of the villages are the most significant experience, created by the way the streets are designed and arranged. The most fundamental regulation of Mátyásföld stated that the buildings and the city planning have to "*encourage and save the common interest of the villa quarter*". The postcards that show panoramas or street views of the villa quarter are the real representation of the Association's regulation, mentioned in the first chapter. (Appendix 1)

One postcard from 1900 illustrates this ambition well (Fig.17). Here the gardens and the rear sections of the villas can be seen. In the gardens there are a few lower quality buildings. They were used as outdoor kitchens, and gardener's lodges. The wood fences with brick columns along the street and the villas keep the regulated distance from each other. They served the existence of a unified street image, and thus strengthened the collective representation of the villa quarter. The orderly street image was given by the regular 15 metres width of the streets and their wooded edges. Only in 1894 was a regulation born about the afforestation of the plots, while the streets were lined with trees right from the beginning. This regulation had to be complied with to such a degree that, for

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<sup>184</sup> Magyar, 2008, p. 8.

<sup>185</sup> Mátyásföld also had its own gardener (depending on the financial status of the Association, not on a regular basis, rather with shorter or longer interruptions)

instance, when one of the landowners had planted a few seedlings outside his fence in good faith, they asked him to remove them.<sup>186</sup>

Beniczky Street can be seen in a postcard from 1901 (Fig.18), in which the good condition of the street can be observed. This minor road is well-maintained and 15 metres wide, according to the fundamental regulations. The afforestation also follows the Association's regulation, just like the fenced plots and the street names. From 1889, every street was named and every plot was numbered, which appeared on street signs. But the most important detail in the picture is the lamp-post on the street corner. According to an 1897 resolution of the Villa Owners' Association's assembly, the plot owners had to install lamp-posts at their own expense. This means that in the first decade of the existence of Mátyásföld, there already was public lighting.<sup>187</sup> This is a representation of the inhabitants, rather than a public security measure. In Mátyásföld, one<sup>188</sup> watchman was employed from 1889, and two from 1892<sup>189</sup>, to ensure the safety of its inhabitants.<sup>190</sup> Lamps may have helped their work, but they were probably installed with a decorative, rather than a practical purpose. Their presence raised the standard of Mátyásföld, and represented the social status of its inhabitants.

A postcard dating from 1903, shows the view of Imre Street (Fig.19) from the railway. There are 12 people who stand in the front, while in the background, there is a restaurant. The two sides of the street are planted with trees, and the wood fences are visible along the street. The photo might have been taken in autumn because the leaves have fallen off the trees. The picture shows a well built-up street that is clean and orderly. The place looks like its habitable in winter, because the streets are full of people from every age. They do not look like tourists who have just come for a visit to Mátyásföld. Another evidence is a chimney sweep in the front. His presence means that there are houses with chimneys that have to be cleaned before winter. On the left street corner, at the edge of the image, there is an advertisement board. The text is unreadable but it shows bottles and glasses, which might be an advert of the local restaurant. On the left hand side of the picture, next to the lamp-post there is a street sign with the caption: Mátyásföld. Unfortunately, the rest of the text is not visible but the same board can be found from a later time. There is an undated postcard (Fig. 20) with the same scenery from years later. In

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<sup>186</sup> Körmendi, 1938, p. 38.

<sup>187</sup> In 1896, only 2565 oil lamps and 10,000 gas lamps illuminated Budapest

<sup>188</sup> Körmendi, 1938, p. 28.

<sup>189</sup> Körmendi, 1938, p. 30.

<sup>190</sup> In 1906, there were four watchmen already (Körmendi, 1938, p. 59.)

this picture there are two more boards. One of them is a warning: “*Speeding is prohibited!*”. In 1905, the State Architectural Office undertook the watering of the main dirt road to alleviate the disruption caused by the traffic (dust).<sup>191</sup>

The points of the Statutes mentioned several times before, as well as the examples above illustrate well how important the aesthetic look of Mátyásföld had been for its inhabitants. For the comfort of the owners and the uniform appearance of the plots, the 6 metres distance from the street front and the distance of 3 meters from the adjacent plot were strictly kept. The outdoor kitchens and garden storerooms occupied the less visible, rear section of the plots. Thereby, observed from the street, their placement did not ruin the views of the gardens. The connection of the plots to the street was also unified. Everyone was obliged to build a fence. According to the postcards, early picket fences were later replaced by more ornamental, and more elaborate ones.<sup>192</sup> These represented the wealth of the residents also, and thus the standard of the villa quarter at the same time.

### ***III.4 Villas***

At the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, the bourgeoisie once again discovered nature, and realised that there was life outside crowded city centres, and city walls. The era brought about the desire to escape, and to retire into ones private space. Whoever could, created a second, representative home in the green belt, just outside the city, but still within easy reach of the centre, which they used mainly during one particular part of the year – most often in summer. Early summer homes and larger detached houses with gardens were replaced by smaller and larger villas. Architecturally higher and higher quality villas were being built, which embodied the representation of the social layer that built them.<sup>193</sup>

This work does not concentrate on the architecture of the villas because that exceeds the limits of the thesis. This chapter only focuses on the archive sources that give visible or written descriptions of the buildings, such as postcards and advertisements. In the research period of 1887 to 1914, 181 villas had been built and circa 72 are shown in postcards. Not a single one of the postcards shows the interior, only the facades. In most cases, we can get to know the name of the owner, since it is written in the frame of the cards.

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<sup>191</sup> Kőrmendy, 1938, p. 57.

<sup>192</sup> [http://index.hu/urbanista/2017/01/25/haidekker\\_kerites\\_matyasfold/](http://index.hu/urbanista/2017/01/25/haidekker_kerites_matyasfold/)

<sup>193</sup> Sármany – Parsons, 1992, p.179.

Typically, most probably the owners among their family are depicted standing in front of their houses. The gardens are always visible. In some cases, the plants are showed as the villas' surroundings, but in some others, they are in the focus. It is known that some villas had their own gardener, so these postcards, by illustrating the beautifully landscaped gardens, also had a representative function. The first known postcard directly taken of a particular villa is from 1904. It shows Szurmay's villa from the street (Fig.21).

An advertisement has to give detailed information of the product sold. It is a short summary, in which all of the positive features are lined up. The advertisement of Mátyásföld's villas appeared in the Pesti Hírlap and the Pesti Napló (both of which were Hungarian newspapers). From the period stretching from 1890 until 1914, circa 150 advertisements have been found. From these short, mostly two-sentence texts, we can get an overlook of Mátyásföld's representation. What were its main characteristics that they aimed to highlight? How did they position Mátyásföld?

*In Mátyásföld, along the Cinkota railway line, a fairly big villa, habitable in winter is available half price if paid in cash, either for sale or for rent. More details at the publisher.<sup>194</sup>*

*Villa for sale. In Mátyásföld, along the Cinkota railway line, 5 rooms, 2 halls, lavatories, fine drinking water, on a 600-square-foot plot with a garden in good condition, favourable payment terms. More details at the publisher.<sup>195</sup>*

*Villa for sale in Mátyásföld due to death, near the railway station at nagykörönd, mezzanine building, 4 rooms, 2 kitchens, 2 larders, 2 house maid's rooms, gardener's lodge, bathroom, 2 verandas, 1.150-square-foot land, pinewood and, with or without rose garden, aqueduct, paraffin-motor and bowler, 600-square-foot fruit-garden vineyard and kitchen garden. For more information contact: R. Schön architect, 3<sup>rd</sup> floor, 9 Bajnok Street<sup>196</sup>*

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<sup>194</sup> Pesti Hírlap, no. 49, 18 Feb. 1894, p. 362.

<sup>195</sup> Budapesti Hírlap, no. 97, 08 April 1894, p. 140.

<sup>196</sup> Budapesti Hírlap, no. 14, 04 Sept. 1894, p. 325.

*In Mátyásföld along the Cinkota railway line, 55 minutes from the capital, a 5-room villa, habitable in winter is for sale, on a 600-square-foot plot. Address at the publisher.*<sup>197</sup>

*Villa in Mátyásföld for sale, facing the forest, 852-square-foot plot, 3 floors, and a loft, bathroom, toilet, outdoor kitchen, closed veranda, gardener's lodge, cellar and aqueduct, and a 300-square-foot vineyard. Address at the publisher.*<sup>198</sup>

In the focus of the ads lies the proximity of Mátyásföld to Budapest. In several cases, they also highlight the good traffic conditions, saying that the Cinkota suburban railway reaches the villa quarter. In addition, the good quality drinking water and the quality of the air are mentioned several times. The appearance of these details reflects on the crowded housing in the capital, the stench of the streets and the quality of the water. The villa as a building type provides and symbolises a healthier lifestyle. There are several advertisements showing the size of the garden surrounding the villa, the presence of fruit trees and vineyards. Generally speaking, the green environment and the proximity of the city is the most attractive feature of the villa quarters.

Due to the financial situation of the owners, the villas were equipped with high standards of hygiene (bathroom, plumbing) and comfort.<sup>199</sup> This is reflected in the lists of rooms in the ads. Many of the villas advertised were habitable during the winter period, which implies the existence of a suitable heating system. Several ads mention that there is a separate maid's room and a lodge for the gardener. These villas were not intended only for the scene of private life. Both the exterior and the interior design served a representational goal. The image that emerges from the ads confirms that the appearance of Mátyásföld, and the living standards of its inhabitants were not lagging behind any of the other distinguished villa quarters around Budapest, especially those on the Buda side.

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<sup>197</sup> Pesti Hírlap, no. 64, 05 March 1896, p. 106.

<sup>198</sup> Budapesti Hírlap, no 76, 17 March 1896, p. 314.

<sup>199</sup> Sármany-Parsons, 1992, p. 188.



### ***III.5 Journals***

The appearance in newspapers is also part of the social representation that has an impact on shaping the identity of the community. Through the newspapers, the wider public also heard about the life of Mátyásföld. They read reports about the past events and received invitations for future happenings. At the beginning of the settlement's life, the articles found were published in three Budapest-based journals: *Pesti Hírlap*, *Budapest Hírlap* and *Borsszem Jankó*.

The *Pesti Hírlap* was a popular and high-quality newspaper in Budapest. It was the one that released the first report of Mátyásföld. The article was about the opening ceremony held on 22 September 1888. The members of the Association and the invited guests arrived by the special service of the suburban railway. The pretty train carriages and a triumphal arch fascinated the guests. The feast started at 7 p.m. and took place at the inn. Running across the length of three rooms, there were two-rows of tables with 100 place settings. Many representative guests were invited also, e.g.: count István Szapáry Lord Lieutenant of Pest county, Mihály Földváry deputy-lieutenant of Pest county, István Thay town-clerk of Pest county, Beniczky Lajos honorary town-clerk, and Bossányi László national representative of Gödöllő. The article highlighted that women also attended the ceremony ending at dawn.<sup>200</sup>

It is not surprising to read about Mátyásföld in the columns of the *Pesti Hírlap*. As a daily newspaper in Budapest, it had been constantly reporting on the events in the capital and its surroundings. However, the content of the article illuminates important details. The establishment of Mátyásföld was not indifferent to the actors of political life. Their invitation to attend the opening ceremony and their participation in the ceremony showed the status of Mátyásföld. The founders, as well as the first plot owners who belonged to the top stratum of society, must have played a role in this. The beauty of the opening ceremony was enhanced by a 100-seat reception at the restaurant, not to mention the HÉV special train. The opening ceremony and the newspaper article about it also represent Mátyásföld. However, despite the myriad of guests and the grand reception, so far only one single newspaper article has been unearthed that tells of the event.

A feuilleton was published in the *Budapesti Hírlap* with the title: *Holiday*. The article, which was released in 1890, gave a report about the citizens' summer habits.

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<sup>200</sup> *Pesti Hírlap*, no. 265, 25 Sept. 1888, p. 325.

According to this, in summertime, everybody goes to the nearby countryside to take some rest. The inhabitants of Ferencváros go to Török-Bálint, people from Erzsébetváros go to Zugló, residents of Lipótváros go to the Svábhegy, while the dwellers of Józsefváros go to Pécel, Haraszi<sup>201</sup> and Mátyásföld. An annual rotation takes place in the city: in summer, the dwellers of Pest go to the countryside to take some fresh air and relax. In the meantime, the crowded Pest is empty, and the inhabitants of the calm Buda side come here in turn for a visit. It is a shame not to leave the dirty, and unhealthy city behind and take a vacation in the green, clean suburbs.<sup>202</sup>

This article pictures the lifestyle already presented earlier. The inhabitants of the crowded city seem to escape to the green area near Budapest. The article describes Mátyásföld as a favourite destination of the residents of Józsefváros (inner city of Budapest, today's 8<sup>th</sup> district). However, this is not representative based on the permanent residential addresses of the first land owners, introduced in the previous chapter. Of course, for the (perhaps wealthier) artisans of Józsefváros<sup>203</sup>, Mátyásföld was the most popular holiday destination, but they were not the ones who bought most of the villas in the area. In any case, the popularity of Mátyásföld is reflected in the fact that the article mentions it as an attractive destination for the inhabitants of the capital.

Borsszem Jankó (Peppercorn Jack) was the most popular humorous, satirically illustrated journal between 1868 and 1938. Its articles were written in a critical tone, and were illustrated with humorous pictures, caricatures.<sup>204</sup> The target audience was mainly the citizens of the upper middle-class. For the journal the aristocracy was a separate social group with their own lifestyle and eccentric behaviour. In their point of view, the bourgeois civilization was the driving force of the political and economic development. From 1890 onwards, they focused on the hypocrisy of the middle-class, everyday life situations and social problems.<sup>205</sup> This preference can be observed in the poems and essays in which Mátyásföld is mentioned:

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<sup>201</sup> names of the parts of the city center and the outskirts of Budapest

<sup>202</sup> Budapesti Hírlap, no. 170, 22 June 1890, pp. 269-270.

<sup>203</sup> <http://jozsefvaros.hu/egyetemvaros/1/jozsefvaros-tortenete>

<sup>204</sup> [http://www.rubicon.hu/magyar/oldalak/1868\\_januar\\_5\\_eloszor\\_jelenik\\_meg\\_a\\_borsszem\\_janko/](http://www.rubicon.hu/magyar/oldalak/1868_januar_5_eloszor_jelenik_meg_a_borsszem_janko/)

<sup>205</sup> Fabó, 200, pp. 34-45.

*(...) At other times we take a trip to Svábhegy, Zugliget or **Mátyásföld**,  
Our secret word is “have more fun”  
And there was no fear to be bored  
But there is one word that chills my blood: September. (...) <sup>206</sup>*

*(...) Where is Klári Kürty, Juczi, Panni, Tecze, Sári  
and the rest of our celebrities,  
pride and jewels?  
Where do they walk, where do they go,  
Until the summer ends?  
Where does **Mátyás Feld** spend his holiday?  
In Soroksár or **Mátyásföld**? (...) <sup>207</sup>*

The poems reveal Mátyásföld as a popular holiday quarter. The villa quarter of Pest is mentioned at the same time as the Svábhegy and Zugliget in Buda, which recognises the value of Mátyásföld, since the villa quarters of the Buda side had always embodied wealth, good quality of life and a beautiful environment. According to the poem, theatre actors liked to spend their vacation in Mátyásföld as well, presumably either in their own, or in a rented villa. Another article of the paper compares the slow building of the National Theatre to the development of Mátyásföld and the agglomeration:

*(...) – There is no money! It is needed for the construction! We are building a new National Theatre! <sup>208</sup>*

- *When? – I asked hastily.*
- *Next time. In 50 years. And where? Nobody has asked where? So I shall tell you. In Mátyásföld.*
- *What? At the **Mátyás Feld**? – I moaned in fright.*
- *Budapest is developing. By the time the new National Theatre is built, the city will expand so much that the city centre will be in **Mátyásföld** <sup>209</sup>. (...) <sup>210</sup>*

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<sup>206</sup> Borsszem Jankó, no. 32, 06 August 1899, p. 8.

<sup>207</sup> Borsszem Jankó, no. 27, 08 Julz 1900, p. 4.

<sup>208</sup> The National Theater of the time was statically unsuitable and planned to be rebuilt, and relocated

<sup>209</sup> In reality, in 1905, 50 years after the article was released, during the unification of Budapest did it become a part of Mátyásföld

<sup>210</sup> Borsszem Jankó, no. 22, 28 May 1899, p. 11.

The self-portrait of the inhabitants of Mátyásföld materialises best through the newspapers they issue. In my research period (1887-1914), three local journals were published. The Mátyásföldi Hírlap, the articles of which were written by some prejudiced local inhabitants, was released in 1898, when the inn was inaugurated. These were reports about the opening ceremony of the inn, and some light-hearted texts about the local life. The print lived only one edition.<sup>211</sup> The newspaper titled “Vegyem meg” was the next local journal, which was released in 1903, but only lived two editions. It was also a humorous, unserious journal, just like the “Mátyásföldi Bajharsona”, the only edition of which was published in 1910. All of the tree journals had a humorous tone. They were meant for the locals only who would understand the jokes and the hidden allusions. These newspapers show the “settlement consciousness” and the unity between the dwellers.

However, the wider impact of the representative function of the papers of Mátyásföld is difficult to judge. These publications were mainly addressed to the residents of the community, not to external readers. In any case, the fact that in the name of a villa quarter – whose inhabitants do not even live there permanently – they issue more than one newspaper that are only about community events and the inhabitants of the villa quarter, is noteworthy. None of the papers aimed at more, or to expand. Their appearance is probably the result of the hobby of a couple of residents. On the basis of all the above, we can consider them more as a tool for strengthening the local community. The idea of establishing Mátyásföld, the localization of the villa quarter, and our knowledge of the first plot owners confirm the assumption that the villa quarter was intended for an exclusive social circle. This exclusivity has been preserved and has become a representation tool of the quarter. This shaped the social identity of its residents. Their collective representation through different institutions and forums has always been quite consistent: the first green zone close to Budapest, an orderly, comfortable place of residence that is easily accessible by the local suburban railway. An attractive holiday and residential area for the wealthier stratum of society, with a vibrant social life. The “villa-like character” included in the Statutes of Mátyásföld has been preserved all throughout, not only architecturally, but also in its distinguished lifestyle.

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<sup>211</sup> Mátyásföldi Hírlap, no. 1, 1898, pp. 1 – 4.

## Conclusions

At the beginning of this dissertation, my basic argument was that the development of the villa quarter of Mátyásföld, the social circumstances of its first inhabitants, and its connection to the urban development of Budapest could be regarded as a lesser-researched topic, which I found worthy of elaborating on in two respects: this villa quarter has managed to preserve to this day its external appearance and its exceptional beauty, different from the other suburban areas of Pest, which, in itself, arouses interest in its development. At the same time, the history of Mátyásföld also offers an opportunity to learn more about the development of holiday and villa quarters in the proximity of the capital, appearing in the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In my analysis, I tried to reveal the circumstances of Mátyásföld's formation, and how, regarding its function (holiday, residential), it gradually fused into the development of the agglomeration of Budapest. In this respect, as we have seen, the traffic situation of the quarter had a decisive role. By establishing Mátyásföld's own stop on the Cinkota Suburban Railway Line, the area could soon become a popular holiday destination for the population of Budapest. Its popularity and rapid development were largely contributed by the founders, the agility of the first owners, investors, their skill, their individual initiatives, and the way in which their existing networks of personal contact were activated in order to make the quarter flourish. As a result, Mátyásföld entered Budapest's bloodstream within a mere few years. The organisation of the Villa Owners' Association of Mátyásföld, forming an integral part in the foundation of Mátyásföld, was not a unique case. However, the purpose, the activity and the "quarter-consciousness" created by it, contributed to the creation of the unique character of Mátyásföld. The geographic and administrative features place the Mátyásföld villa quarter in a special place among the other villa quarters gradually evolving around Budapest, since its strange, "cross-border" role between Budapest and Cinkota introduced in the first chapter, and its autonomy gained by the approval of the Minister of the Interior, was indeed a unique phenomenon.

Finally, it is worth making a comparison between the villa quarter in Mátyásföld and the roughly simultaneously developing villa quarter of Rózsadomb on the Buda side, which then became the most well-known, and the most exclusive villa quarter of the capital in the 1920s. Until the 1873 unification of Budapest, Rózsadomb belonged to two Buda suburbs. However, even after the unification of the city, it was considered a difficult-

to-access area away from the city centre. *“The whole area gave a bare impression, trees and groves were scarce; it was divided by wild ditches and gullies.”*<sup>212</sup> It was only from 1880s that the formation of the villa quarter began in the field of vineyards and modest summerhouses. The reason for its late parcelling was its lack of natural beauty compared to that of the nearby Svábhegy and Zugliget. And for the people of Pest, there was the easily accessible Andrásy Avenue<sup>213</sup> (and perhaps Mátyásföld). However, Rózsadomb's position changed significantly after the construction of Margit Bridge (1876) and the 1880's phylloxera vine-pest epidemic. After the phylloxera vine-pest epidemic, the abandoned vineyards were sold as construction sites. With the construction of the bridge, it became easily accessible by the city's residents. Regarding its natural features, it could still not compete with the villa quarters near Buda, but the panoramic view from the area meant a real attraction to those who wanted to buy land. *“Rich builders and bankers, apart from a few exceptions, had not yet discovered the countryside at that time. In the 1880s and 1890s, a large number of holiday home and villa owners came from among the intellectuals and middle class employees.”*<sup>214</sup>

Comparing the two villa quarters, Mátyásföld was considered even more attractive as a holiday resort and villa quarter during this period. Due to its favorable natural, transport and architectural features, it left Rózsadomb behind. Here, in the last years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the conditions were such that *“in the midst of the terrain and the road conditions of the time, great drive and determination was needed for someone to go on such vacations (...) or to live there (...) the roads were mostly narrow, bumpy dirt roads, and even deep, washed out roads and ditches.”*<sup>215</sup>

As we can see from the analysis, among the first landowners of Mátyásföld, beside the few aristocratic and noble families, we find primarily the representatives of the upper middle class. At the same time, it is evident from the examination of the virilist lists that although at the time of its establishment the villa quarter had many favourable conditions, it still did not become popular among the largest taxpayers of Budapest. Another possible direction of the research could be to look at the situation and prestige of Mátyásföld and the social composition of the owners in more detail, by comparing them with other villa quarters, and by expanding the chronological framework of the analysis, and look further

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<sup>212</sup> Gál, 1998, p. 232.

<sup>213</sup> Gál, 1998, p. 234.

<sup>214</sup> Gál, 1998, p. 242.

<sup>215</sup> Gál, 1998, p. 242.

into the question of why this villa quarter in the Pest side could not become a true rival of the splendid villa quarters of the Buda side.

# Pictures



Fig.8: "Mátyás Vendéglő" 1901



Fig.9: "Mátyás Vendéglő" 1904





Fig.10: "Mátyás Vendéglő"



Fig. 11: Layout of the Ilona park, Cadastral map of Cinkota, 1914



Fig.12: Ilona Square, 1900

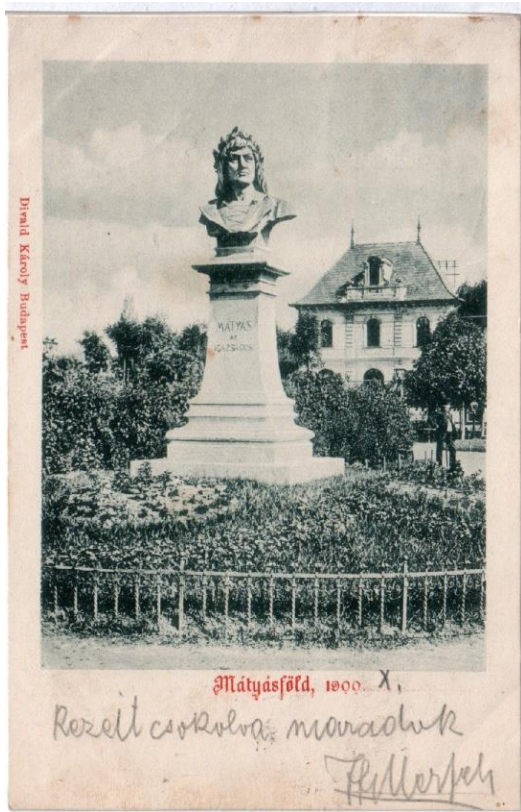


Fig. 13: Matthias Corvinus' statue, 1900



Fig. 14: Main road of Erzsébet-liget (Elizabeth Park), 1899





Fig. 15: A part of Erzsébet-liget, 1899



Fig. 16: Open-air swimming pool in Erzsébet-liget, 1900





Fig. 17: Greetings from Mátyásföld, undated



Fig. 18: Beniczky Street, 1901





Fig. 19: Imre Street, 1903

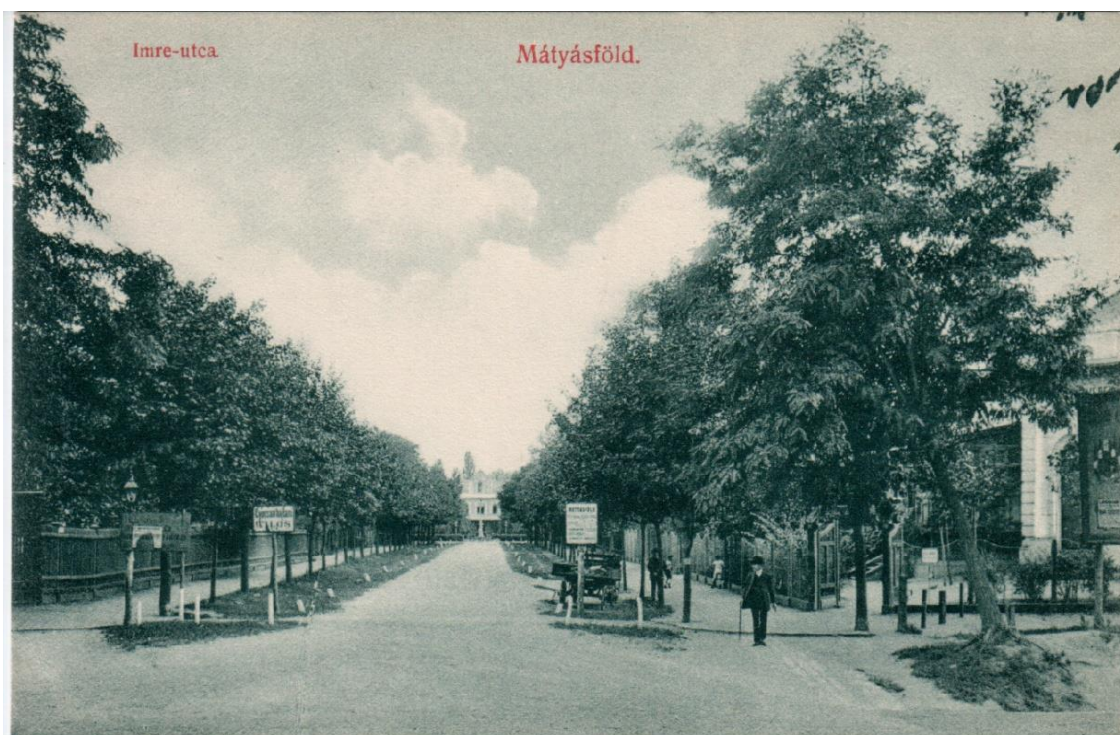


Fig. 20: Imre Street, undated



Fig. 21: Szurmay's villa, 1904

## Appendix 1

The Statutes of the Villa Owners' Association of Mátyásföld<sup>216</sup>

The aims of the Association:

- §1 The address and the stamp of the Association: "The Villa Owners' Association of Mátyásföld", headquarters: Mátyásföld.
- §2 The aim of the Association is to amass plot owners, enabling members of the Association by pursuing a common goal to establish comfortable collective holiday villas, or even a residence quarter along the Budapest-Czinkota Royal Suburban Railroad, on land originally purchased from landowner Gábor Beniczky in the outskirts of Cinkota; procuring all possible state, municipal, and railway discount, as well as support for the community; and lastly, protecting and facilitating the mutual interest of the villa quarter.

The foundation of the Association:

- §3 The Association was formed as soon as at least 60 such members applied that are collectively the owners of 100 plots, and have consequently paid a fee according to the present Statutes.

The objective of the Association:

- §4 The Association exists either until the quarter becomes a municipality, or until the dissolution of the Association, detailed in §23 and §24 of the present Statutes, realises. In the meantime, commencing on 10 November 1888, it is formed for 30 years, from the time of the approval of the present Statutes by the High Government.

Membership:

- §5 Any person, society, company or a legal entity of an irreproachable character that owns at least one plot of land at the holiday quarter designated in §2, and has been accepted by the Board of Association, may become a member of the Association. Should an application be denied, the applicant has the right to appeal to the General Assembly.

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<sup>216</sup> The Statutes of the Villa Owners' Association of Mátyásföld have been made available to me by the Garden City Local History Collection, without reference, in a digital form.



In such instance if the person, society, company or legal entity is a member of the Association, his proven representative, or if there are several of them owning a single real estate, only one of the owners reported to the Directorate may be eligible, and bound by the Association; in case of an underage person, the guardian, and in case of a person under guardianship, the publicly appointed custodian.

If the member of the Association is a female, she may be represented by her husband, her adult son, or any other member of the Association, regarding he is in possession of the relevant authorisation.

§6 Withdrawal of members:

- a) the membership ends upon death; the legal successors, however, shall be submitted to the Statutes of the Association
- b) if the member dispenses with his plot, holiday home or residence
- c) a member can be expelled by the Association if his behaviour damages the interests of the Association, both morally and in material terms; however, the expelled member is only deprived of his right as member, he still has to comply with the obligations of the Association.

The rights of members:

§7 Each and every member of the Association has the right:

- a) to build a holiday home or a residential building on his plot/plots, complying with the building regulations, subsequently to be determined
- b) to enjoy all the discounts and benefits that the Association occasionally procures for the villa quarter either from individuals, authorities, or a society, and especially from either the original owner of the land or his legal successor
- c) to attend general assemblies and to practice his right to vote to the extent determined in the present Statutes
- d) each and every member has the right to vote, if he has fulfilled his obligations to the Association, and if this member is an adult male, he may be elected also.

Such members that have failed to fulfill their undertaken obligations towards the Association 8 days prior to the general assembly, or at the same time have not paid their membership fee, are deprived from their right to vote.

The ownership of each plot entitles to one vote. However, no more than four votes can be exercised by anyone after his own plot.



Participation and the right to vote in the general assembly may be exercised either in person, or in writing, by another member of the Association. However, each member of the association may, in addition to his vote or votes, represent only one other member's vote or votes.

The obligations of members:

§8 Each and every member of the Association is obliged to:

- a) pay 2 Hungarian koronas registry fee per each négyszögöl, for each plot of land he owns at the quarter. Even those buying their plot of land from an existing member of the Association are obliged to pay the registry fee, regardless of whether they had been members of the Association themselves before.

Furthermore:

- b) pay to the treasurer of the Association an annual membership fee by the end of June every year, or within 8 days of the request being made, set in the amount of 1 Hungarian korona per négyszögöl for each plot of land.
- c) reporting to the Board of Association his possible intention of selling, by stating his civil occupation and the location of his real estate
- d) resignation of members from the Association may only take place under the conditions and within the time period set in §4 – with the exception of cases detailed in §6 – and only with the consent of the Board
- e) on the land of the villa quarter, outside his plot, owners can have their trees watered and they can attend to them; the right to prune them, however, is the privilege of the Association. Should a member fail to fulfill his said obligation, the Association shall be authorised to carry out these tasks at the member's loss and expense.
- f) finally, all members are obliged to submit to the decisions of the quorate General Assembly, established under the Statutes as well as to the decisions made by the Board of Association elected by the Assembly.

General Assembly:

§9 A General Meeting should be held annually, in the month of May the latest.

The Board of Association, as well as the Audit Committee, however, may convene an extraordinary general meeting as often as they consider appropriate. Should 20 members hand in a written request, a general meeting may also be convened at any

time. Invitations, containing the agenda, to the general meeting are advised to be sent out to the members 8 days prior to the meeting.

§10 The General Meeting is quorate if 1/3 of the members of the Association are present. Should the General Meeting not be quorate, another meeting, concerning the same subject, shall be convened within 15 days, which shall be quorate regardless of the number of members present. Decision-making requires a simple majority; voting takes place by either standing up, or by a roll call vote. To resolve personal matters and other issues, should 6 members request, a secret voting may take place.

Minutes, which shall be signed by the Chairman, the Secretary, and two members present, previously requested for the authentication process by the Chairman, should be taken at the meeting.

§11 Tasks of the General Assembly:

- a) election, removal, or dispensation of the chairman, the two vice-chairmen, the Board of Association, the secretary, the treasurer, and the auditor, from among the members of the Association
- b) decision making about the annual report submitted by the Board of Association, and about the statements audited and approved by the Audit Committee
- c) increasing, decreasing, or erasing the contributions set in the Statutes, decision making about the release or division of new ones, setting the annual budget, as well as granting a dispensation to the Board of Association and the Audit Committee
- d) decision making about the possible proposals of the Board of Association or the members, the latter to be submitted to the Board in writing by 15 April
- e) handling any appeals
- f) having the Statutes chosen, or making a decision about the dissolution of the Association, about the obtainment, divestiture, rightful and expedient distribution of the Association's capital, for which, however, the presence, or the representation of 2/3 of the total number of votes, as well as 3/4 of the votes of the attendants, is required.

The Board of Association:

§12 The Association's affairs are managed by the Board of Association, which consists of the Chairman, two vice-chairmen, a secretary, a treasurer, 18 regular and 6 substitute members. These being honorary positions shall not entail any pay or benefit; the

secretary and the treasurer, however, are entitled to an honorary fee in proportion to their performance, which honorary fee shall be set by the Board of Association.

§13 The Board of Association shall hold office for three years, besides the Chairman, the two vice-chairmen, the secretary, and the treasurer who are elected to hold office for three years – 1/3 of the members of the Board of Association resigns on an annual basis, namely, those elected during the first two general assemblies, by sortition – and the later ones by the order of their election. Those elected by lot, or resigned may be re-elected.

§14 The Board of Association, as the agent of the Association's members, perform all the tasks of the Association, which are not reserved to the General Assembly, on pain of accountability and responsibilities – it is the Board of Association also that decides upon the exclusion of members.

§15 The Association is represented towards the authorities and third parties at the meetings of the Association by the Chairman; general assemblies are convened and presided also by the Chairman, he leads the debate, declares decisions, and decides in case of an equal distribution of votes – signing documents, resolutions, and contracts requires the countersignature of the secretary and two members of the Association; he supervises the execution of the resolutions, may inspect cash management, provided two members of the Association are present, at any given time but twice a year on an obligatory basis.

Should the Chairman be held up, the rights and obligations listed above shall be extended to either the first, or the second vice-chairman.

§16 The presence of 6 members of the Board of Association is required at general assemblies to reach a decision.

§17 Distribution of funds – with the exception of managerial and office needs that are within the scope of the Chairman – requires the decision-making of the Board of Association.

§18 The activities of officials and the rules of procedure of the Board of Association shall be determined by the Board of Association itself.

The Audit Committee:

§19 The Audit Committee comprises three members, and is elected for a one year term by the General Assembly from among the members of the Association. Its tasks are the following: supervising the monetary management of the Board of Association, in order

to do this, inspecting the treasury several times, thoroughly inspecting, at the end of the year, the annual account prepared by the Board of Association, and creating a report of the results to the General Assembly.

The Audit Committee is to be invited to attend the meetings of the Board, where, with the exception of its own propositions, it has the right to vote about issues related to submissions, debates, and auditing.

The Audit Committees' rules of procedure shall be set by the Committee itself.

The assets of the Association:

§20 The assets of the Association are made up as follows:

- a) registration
- b) annual membership fees
- c) any other income

§21 Should, at the end of the financial year, after deductions from the expenses have been made, any amount of these assets remain, it shall be transferred to next year's account.

Dissolution of the Association:

§22 At the time of the Association's dissolution, the Association's assets shall be allocated among the members based on the ratio of the area of the registered plots.

§23 Before being implemented, the General Assembly's resolution, concerning the dissolution of the Association, as well as the issue of allocating the Association's assets, shall be submitted to the Hungarian Royal Ministry of the Interior.

General rules:

§24 Each member of the Association is obliged to surround at least the street front section of his plot with a standard fence within three months.

Should a member fail to fulfill this obligation within 15 days from the request of the Board of Association, - the Board of Association shall have the right to erect a standard fence on the owner's land, at the expense of the owner himself.

§25 Any building activities have to be reported to the Board of Association, and the building plans to be shown, which the Board shall be obliged to return within 8 days, concluded.

§26 Since it is the aim of the Association to preserve the villa-like character of the entire quarter, nobody is allowed to:

- f) apart from domestic animals and animals to be confined in a barn, intended for the owner's own consumption, establish fattening, or breeding farms
- g) open a pub at the villa quarter
- h) open, without the consent of the Board of Association, a spicery, a slaughter house, or any other store
- i) establish at the villa quarter any industrial establishment, factory, or houses intended for use by the workers
- j) ultimately, from the point of view of cleanliness and public health, divert sewage or faeces to the street

§27 Buildings shall be erected at least 6 metres from the street line. Any type of building may only be erected at least 3 metres from the adjacent plot. Raising a building any closer may be carried out with the written consent of the neighbour only. This written consent should contain also that it may be registered in the land registry as property of the person giving the written consent. Such measures shall be reported to the Board of Association at all times.

§28 Every plot, with the exception of those few that could not be enlarged according to the plan originally prepared, shall be at least 600 négyszögöl.

§29 In the event that the Association exceeds its powers outlined in the present Statutes, if the continuation of its operation would jeopardise the interest of the operation of the state or the members of the Association, it shall be suspended by the state; and, based on the result of the inspection ordered immediately thereafter, may be dissolved permanently, or may be ordered to strictly observe the Statutes on pain of dissolution.

31 May 1893 Mátyásföld – Cinkota

Chairman of the Association: Ödön Szeniczey

Secretary of the Association: József Fehérváry

Seen by the Royal Hungarian Minister of the Interior, with the additional remark that §4 has been deleted officially, and that those resolutions of the General Assembly referring to the modification of the Statutes shall be extended to the Royal Hungarian Ministry of Interior for approval.

4 April 1894 Budapest, by Ministerial Adviser on behalf of the Minister

## Appendix 2

Contract of sale<sup>217</sup>

Concluded at the stated location and time, between, on the one hand, Gábor Beniczky seller, and on the other hand ..... buyer, presiding in ..... Street, Budapest, District ..... under the following conditions:

1. Gábor Beniczky sells and ..... buys the real estate belonging to the former, entered in the Cinkota Land Registry No. .... (1746.1748-1763)/ under lot number ....., of ..... négyszögöl real estate, for the amount of sixty-five kreutzer, in total ..... forint, and ..... kreutzer.
2. By signing this contract, the seller shall acknowledge that the buyer has paid the purchase price in full, as well as any expenses arising from the registration of the real estate in the land registry, and at the same time, shall undertake to immediately implement the unencumbered registration in return for the receipt of the sum paid for the registration in the land registry of ownership.
3. Since this contract has been concluded through the mediation of the Villa Owners' Association of Mátyásföld, and the aim of the said Association is to protect the villa-like character of the quarter, the buyer shall be bound by the Statutes of the named Association, and is especially bound by:
  - a) only villa-like or residential buildings for a residential purpose may be erected on the purchased plots, and, before implementation, the building plans are to be shown to the Board of Association to seek their approval;
  - b) the building to be erected on the plot shall be built at least 6 metres from the street front line in a way that it is at least 3 metres from the adjacent plot. Raising a building any closer may be carried out with the written consent of the neighbour only;
  - c) apart from domestic animals and animals to be confined in a barn, intended for the owner's own consumption, buyers are not allowed to establish fattening, or breeding farms;
  - d) buyers are forbidden to open a pub at the quarter both at present and after the lawful purchase of practicing jura regalia;

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<sup>217</sup> HU BFL - VII.151 - 1893 - 1019

- e) buyers may not open a slaughter house, or any other store without the consent of the Board of Association;
  - f) may not establish any industrial establishment, factory, or houses intended for use by the workers.
4. The seller shall agree to have the real estate detailed in point 1, without any further declaration about the ownership rights, however, with the indication of constrains and restrictions set forth in subpoints a)-f) of point 3 of the contract, registered in the land registry for the benefit of the buyer.
  5. Since the seller shall permit that the family members, relatives, residents, and guests of the buyer may take a walk, as well as freely use for recreational purposes, at any time, the area of the woodland – provided its plantations remain undiminished and uninjured – in the proximity of the sold real estate, registered in the Cinkota Land Registry No. .... (1746, 1748-1763)/ under lot no. ....: he hereby agrees that for the said real estate, for the benefit of the plot of land sold in the present contract, to the extent of the usufruct described above, the easement shall be registered in the land registry.
  6. From this day onwards, the buyer shall be obliged to pay the levies after the purchased real estate, as well as the treasury fee after the sale.
  7. With this day, the purchased real estate becomes the property of the buyer, and he becomes the sole beneficiary of it.
  8. Any dispute arising from the present contractual relationship is to be settled at any Royal District Court of Budapest appointed by the plaintiff, by summary procedure. This contract is issued in duplicate, one of which is handed to the buyer, and the other one to the seller, in order to be able to effectuate registration.

6 December 1887 Budapest

## Appendix 3

The only known first member list of the Villa Owner's Association of Mátyásföld

|     | number of plots | name of the owner             | original address          |
|-----|-----------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1.  | 1               | count Aladár Andrássy         | -                         |
| 2.  | 1               | Mrs Isván Bájó                | 3. Pálffy Street II.      |
| 3.  | -               | Gábor Beniczky                | Cinkota                   |
|     | 1               | dr. Frigyes Ellevaux          | 13. Hársfa Street         |
| 4.  | 1               | Béla Fáy                      | 89. Andrássy Avenue       |
| 5.  | 1               | János Filó                    | 3. Mátyás Square          |
| 6.  | 2               | Keresztély Filó               | 7. Harmincad Street II    |
| 7.  | 1               | dr. József Grünvald           | 3. Király Street          |
| 8.  | 2               | Miklós Gunszt                 | 31. Rottenbiller Street   |
| 9.  | 1               | Ernő Hikisch                  | 9. Andrássy Avenue        |
| 10. | 1               | Zsigmond Henrik Hirschler     | 94. Andrássy Avenue       |
| 11. | 1               | Ignác Irsay                   | 30. Teréz Boulevard       |
| 12. | 1               | János Kacsvinszky/Kaczvinszky | 29. Víg Street            |
| 13. | 2               | count Ilona Keglevich         | 21. Váci Street           |
| 14. | 1               | Elek Kerekes                  | 9. Múzeum Boulevard       |
| 15. | 1               | István Kertsher               | 12. Gellérthegy Street I. |
| 16. | 1               | Mrs Ignác Khély widow         | 2. József Square          |
| 17. | 1               | Károly Kintner                | 17. Vas Street            |
| 18. | 2               | Géza Koppély                  | 31. Andrássy Avenue       |
| 19. | 10              | Public Railway Road Company   | -                         |
| 20. | 1               | Jakab Krak(k)auer             | 117. Üllői Street         |
| 21. | 1               | Mrs Bertalan Kramplics        | 31. Rottenbiller Street   |
| 22. | 1               | Lajos Kraul                   | 8. Dorottya Street        |
| 23. | 3               | Imre Kunkel                   | 31. Rottenbiller Street   |
| 24. | 1               | Gusztáv Lassé                 | 30. Aréna Street          |
| 25. | 1               | Vilmos Longauer               | 7. Jósika Street          |
| 26. | 2               | Salamon Lövinger jr.          | 31. Rottenbiller Street   |



|      |   |                               |                               |
|------|---|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 27.  | 1 | András Makó                   | 4. Üllői Street               |
| 28.  | 1 | Mihály Makó                   | 8. Károly Boulevard           |
| 29.  | 1 | Mrs Pál Markó                 | 30. Teréz Boulevard           |
| 30.  | 1 | Vidor Masa                    | 7469. Indóház X.              |
| 31.  | 1 | Béla Mátray                   | National Theatre              |
| 32.  | 1 | Anna Mehlhofer                | 6. Színház Street             |
| 33.  | 1 | János Mehlhofer               | 6. Színház Street             |
| 34.  | 1 | Károly Mihályfy               | National Theatre              |
| 35.  | 1 | Béla Móczár                   | 3. Vas Street                 |
| 36.  | 1 | dr. Gyula Móczár              | 13. József Square             |
| 37.  | 1 | Ferenc Nemes                  | 4. Hársfa Street              |
| 38.  | 2 | dr. Ármin Neuman              | 1. Andrassy Avenue            |
| 39.  | 2 | Károly Neuschloss and his son | -                             |
| 40.  | 2 | Marcell and Ödön Neuschloss   | -                             |
| 41.  | 1 | János Niklay                  | 56. Mária Street              |
| 42.  | 2 | Ferenc Oszetzky               | 2. Régi posta Street          |
| 43.  | 1 | Bódog Pick                    | 28. Statio Street             |
| 44.  | 1 | Ferenc Phozer                 | 91. Csömöri út                |
| 45.  | 1 | Menyhért Polyák               | under 67. l.                  |
|      | 1 | Tivadar Pozsgay               | 24. Zöldfa Street             |
| 46.  | 1 | Sándor Prenoszil              | 9. Miksa Street               |
| 47.  | 1 | Antal Refeld                  | Bank society of Budapest      |
| 48.  | 1 | Mrs János Simkovics(ts)       | 71. Csömöri Street            |
| 49.  | 1 | Ferenc Scmidt                 | 2. Régi posta Street          |
| 50.  | 1 | József Schön                  | 8. Diófa Street               |
| 51.  | 1 | Clemens Schwipper             | 33. Kertész Street            |
| 52.  | 2 | baron János Stockinger        | 6. Nagy János Street          |
| 53.  | 1 | Mátyás Storch                 | 13. Barcsay Street            |
| 54.. | 1 | Mrs Gyula Strikó/Strihó       | 15. József Boulevard          |
| 55.  | 1 | Sándor Strelisky              | 13. Dorottya Street           |
| 56.  | 2 | Béla Szalay                   | Vecsés village                |
| 57.  | 1 | István Szécskay               | 14. István Square             |
| 58.  | 1 | Lőrinc Szemlér                | 12. Karpfenstein Street VIII. |

|     |   |                     |                          |
|-----|---|---------------------|--------------------------|
| 59. | 3 | Ödön Szeniczey      | 14. Kecskeméti Street    |
| 60. | 2 | Károly Szőke        | 4. Apród Street I.       |
| 61. | 1 | Kálmán Terstyánszky | 32. Kertész Street       |
| 62. | 1 | Sándor P.Tóth       | 32. Óriás Street VIII.   |
| 63. | 1 | Antal Ulrik         | 62. Aréna Street         |
| 64. | 1 | Béla Vajdafy        | 25. Kertész Street       |
| 65. | 2 | Ferenc Veninger     | 1. Külső Kerepesi Street |

Sources: Körmeny, 1983, pp.20 – 22

## Appendix 4

The qualification of first members of the Villa Owner's Association of Mátyásföld and their profession according to Vörös's methodology<sup>219</sup>

|    | name of the owner             | qualification   | profession according to Vörös's methodology |
|----|-------------------------------|---|---|
| 1  | Count Aladár Andrássy         | noble, corporate director, parliamentarian, stockholder | corporate director, stockholder             |
| 2  | Mrs István Bájó               | civil servant   | civil servant                               |
| 3  | Gábor Beniczky                | noble, corporate director                               | stakeholder, corporate director             |
|    | Dr Frigyes Ellevaux           | noble, person of independent means                      | stockholder                                 |
| 4  | Béla Fáy                      | landowner   | stockholder                                 |
| 5  | János Filó                    | pharmacist  | pharmacist                                  |
| 6  | Keresztély Filó               | retired financial counsellor                            | banker                                      |
| 7  | Dr József Grünvald            | doctor  | doctor                                      |
| 8  | Miklós Gunszt                 | journal publisher, company's supervisory board member   | journal publisher, other                    |
| 9  | Ernő Hikisch                  | retired engineer  | engineer                                    |
| 10 | Zsigmond Henrik Hirschler     | architect   | architect                                   |
| 11 | Ignác Irsay                   | chief inspector, corporate director                     | corporate director                          |
| 12 | János Katzvinszky/Kaczvinszky | wine merchant   | merchant                                    |
| 13 | Countess Ilona Keglevich      | noble   | stockholder /landowner                      |
| 14 | Elek Kerekes                  | lawyer  | lawyer                                      |
| 15 | István Kertscher              | engineer  | engineer                                    |

<sup>219</sup> sources: Appendix 5.

|    |                               |  |                                    |
|----|-------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|
| 16 | Mrs Ignác Khély (widow)       | merchant, person of independent meaning, house owner | house owner, merchant, other       |
| 17 | Károly Kintner                | -  | -                                  |
| 18 | Géza Koppély                  | landowner  | stockholder                        |
| 19 | Public Railroad Company       | -  | -                                  |
| 20 | Jakab Krak(k)auer             | wood merchant  | merchant                           |
| 21 | Mrs Bertalan Kramplics        | merchant, grocer                                     | merchant                           |
| 22 | Lajos Kraul                   | ironmonger   | merchant                           |
| 23 | Imre Kunkel                   | chief executive officer                              | chief executive officer            |
| 24 | Gusztáv Lassé                 | gardener   | other                              |
| 25 | Vilmos Longauer               | officer at the Central Creamery                      | other                              |
| 26 | Salamon Lövinger jr.          | ironmonger   | merchant                           |
| 27 | András Makó                   | person of independent means                          | other                              |
| 28 | Mihály Makó                   | ironmonger   | merchant                           |
| 29 | Mrs Pál Markó                 | person of independent means                          | other                              |
| 30 | Vidor Masa                    | civil servant, house owner                           | civil servant, house owner         |
| 31 | Béla Mátray                   | actor  | other                              |
| 32 | Anna Mehlhofer                | carpenter's wife, landowner                          | stockholder                        |
| 33 | János Mehlhofer               | carpenter  | other                              |
| 34 | Károly Mihályfy               | actor  | other                              |
| 35 | Béla Móczár                   | savings bank officer                                 | banker                             |
| 36 | Dr Gyula Móczár               | dentist  | doctor                             |
| 37 | Ferenc Nemes                  | officer  | other                              |
| 38 | Dr Ármin Neuman               | professor, lawyer, parliamentarian                   | professor, lawyer, parliamentarian |
| 39 | Károly Neuschloss and his son | chief executive officer, merchant                    | chief executive officer, merchant  |

|    |                             |   |  |
|----|-----------------------------|---|--|
| 40 | Marcell and Ödön Neuschloss | chief executive officer, merchant                 | chief executive officer, merchant      |
| 41 | János Niklay                | photographer                                      | other, corporate director              |
| 42 | Ferenc Oszetzky             | entrepreneur                                      | other, corporate director              |
| 43 | Bódog Pick                  | bank accountant                                   | banker                                 |
| 44 | Ferenc Phozer               | road inspector                                    | civil servant                          |
| 45 | Menyhért Polyák             | civil servant, member of directors board          | civil servant corporate director       |
|    | Tivadar Pozsgay             | auditor   | civil servant                          |
| 46 | Sándor Prenoszil            | teacher   | professor                              |
| 47 | Antal Refeld                | bank officer                                      | banker                                 |
| 48 | Mrs János Simkovics(ts)     | paver, person of independent means                | other                                  |
| 49 | Ferenc Schmidt              | -   | -                                      |
| 50 | József Schön                | civil servant                                     | civil servant                          |
| 51 | Clemens Schwipper           | house owner, captain, corporate director          | corporate director, house owner, other |
| 52 | Baron János Stockinger      | land owner, corporate director, banker            | land owner, corporate director, banker |
| 53 | Mátyás Storch               | teacher   | professor                              |
| 54 | Mrs Gyula Strikó/Strihó     | stenographer's wife                               | civil servant('s wife)                 |
| 55 | Sándor Strelisky            | photographer                                      | corporate director, other              |
| 56 | Béla Szalay                 | -   | -                                      |
| 57 | István Szécskay             | professor   | professor                              |
| 58 | Lőrinc Szemlér              | carter, person of independent means, entrepreneur | carter, other                          |
| 59 | Ödön Szeniczey              | land owner, corporate director, parliamentarian   | land owner, corporate director         |
| 60 | Károly Szőke                | -   | -                                      |
| 61 | Kálmán Terstyánszky         | pharmacist  | pharmacist                             |
| 62 | Sándor P.Tóth               | architect   | architect                              |

|    |                 |               |           |
|----|-----------------|---------------|-----------|
| 63 | Antal Ulrik     | stationmaster | other     |
| 64 | Béla Vajdafy    | teacher       | professor |
| 65 | Ferenc Veninger | engineer      | engineer  |

## Appendix 5

The sources of the habitant's profession

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14. Budapesti Czim- és Lakjegyzék, 1888, p.205
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24. Budapesti Czim- és Lakjegyzék, 1880-1881, p.156
25. Budapesti Czim- és Lakjegyzék, 1891-1892, p.613
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31. Budapesti Czim- és Lakjegyzék, 1896-1897, p.161
32. HU BFL VII.173a.-1890-1718
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35. Budapesti Czim- és Lakjegyzék, 1888 . P.381
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37. HU BFL VII.173a.-1897-2924
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created by: Beáta Fabó, Antal Lantos, Balázs Mihályi, Budapest, 2005.

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