

APPROACHES TO HISTORIOGRAPHY II.

Writing History under Dictatorships

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Editors:

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VILMOS ERŐS

with the contribution of

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VILMOS ERŐS

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VILMOS ERŐS

Foreword

The working group in historiography at the University of Debrecen (Faculty of Humanities, Institute for History) has been operating for about 15 years. I provided a detailed description of the foundation, the main goals and the main directions of our activity in the foreword of an earlier volume.¹ As mentioned there, besides giving lectures, holding meetings, preparing and discussing doctoral theses, an integral part of our range of work is organizing domestic and international conferences on a regular basis. These conferences are essentially the results of previous workshops and other aforementioned programmes, so they might as well be considered an organic continuation of, or even a kind of summary of these events. The present book belongs to a series of publications based on our events – and, the same as earlier volumes, it also comprises additional studies by authors who were not part of the conference, but were included due to some other occasion or consideration.

This volume contains material compiled from four different events. In October 2019, we organized our II. International Conference on Historiography, which we linked with the commemoration of two outstanding historians. One of them was István Szabó, the school-founding professor of the Institute of History at the University of Debrecen, who passed away in 1969, so we commemorated the 50th anniversary of his death.²

The other historian was Georg G. Iggers, an outspoken historiographer who passed away not long before our conference, and was internationally regarded as one of the most outstanding representatives of historiographic research in the 20th, but even in the 21st century.

In this spirit, professor György Kövér (corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, ELTE) gave a lecture at our conference on Hungarian economic history in the 1950s, a period primarily defined by the prevalent „planned economy”; in his presentation, Vilmos Erős (University of Debrecen) discussed the persecutions faced by István Szabó also in the 1950s³; finally, in his talk László Dávid Törő (University of Debrecen) addressed the border debates between

¹ Cf. “*A historiográfia műhelyében*”.

² On István Szabó, most recently cf. Erős, *Populus, plebs, rusticus*.

³ Cf. present volume.

- The Contested Nation (Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories)*, Eds. Stefan Berger, Chris Lorenz, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
- The Many Faces of Clio.* (Cross Cultural Approaches to Historiography, Essays in the Honor of Georg G. Iggers), Edited by Q. Edward Wang and Franz L. Fillafer, (New York Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2007).
- The Modern Historiography Reader.* Western Sources, Edited by Adam Budd, London and New York: Routledge, 2009.
- The Oxford History of Historical Writing. Beginnings to 600*, Volume 1, ed. by Andrew Feldherr and Grant Hardy, (General Editor Daniel Woolf) Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
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- Transnational Challenges to National History Writing*, ed. by Matthias Middel and Lluís Roura, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
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- Versions of history from Antiquity to the Enlightenment*, ed. by Donald R. Kelley, New Haven&London: Yale University Press, 1991.
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LÁSZLÓ DÁVID TÖRŐ

Border City in a Contested Territory: Historical Controversies about Sopron (Ödenburg), 1918–1945¹

In the following pages, I will present a case study about how the knowledge production of historians attempts to stabilise or disrupt power relations. As historical writing became increasingly professionalised during the 19th century, it was heavily influenced by the idea of historicism. According to Frederick C. Beiser, historicism means “to recognize that everything in the human world – culture, values, institutions, rationality – is made by history, so that nothing has an eternal form, permanent essence or constant identity which transcends historical change.”² Later, he highlights a crucial characteristic of the historian’s way of thinking: “Historicism involves a completely new attitude toward the past, one that makes the past part of the living present rather than something lost and gone forever.”³ Thus, if we consider the relation of the historian to the present, thinking historically can have two opposing results.

1. Writing the history of a specific subject (for example, a city or a nation) means that we trace back its origins far back in the past. By showing its far-reaching historical foundations, we give the subject legitimacy and power in the present.

2. Relying on history, however, can have a quite different effect: if everything is subject to change, it means that the present can be altered, too. This view easily leads to questioning seemingly stable identities, institutions, or even territories.⁴

My paper analyzes how historians took part in (de-)stabilising national claims on border city Sopron (Ödenburg, Hungary) after the first world war when scholars experienced enormous political and social changes. Although the war fueled the different territorial conflicts greatly, border regions of nation-states have always played an important role in constructing national identity.⁵ The nation as an imagined community⁶ relies both on territory and history. Borders clearly separate the national community from the Other, the „Us” from „Them”. But borders are contested as frequently as identities. This means that usually, two or more nations compete for the „historical rights” to a border region. It was an key task of the

¹ This study was sponsored by the following postdoctoral grant: OTKA–NKFI-134469.

² Beiser, *The German Historicist Tradition*, 2.

³ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴ These two qualities of historicism have been elaborated in: Moritz–Forkel, „Was ist Historisierung?”

⁵ Hadler–Frank eds., *Disputed Territories and Shared Pasts* (2011); Pittaway, „National Socialism”.

⁶ Anderson, *Elképzelt közösségek*, (2006).

national historical writing in the 20th century to nationalise the border regions, this way openly challenging the identity of a neighbouring country. The Alsace-Lorraine question clearly proves that debates over border regions ignited bitter conflicts in history. Border regions were essential and – at the same time – debated parts of the national master narratives, but it is especially this contested nature of regions that gives a great opportunity to analyse the relationship between historical writing and national identity.

The region „Burgenland” was transferred to Austria in 1921. After the First World War, the country was compensated with a territory that had previously been a part of Hungary.⁷ Since the „birth” of the region, it has been heavily contested mostly by Hungarian, sometimes Czech historians. Of course, Austrian historical writing was eager to integrate Burgenland into national histories. Two cities, Sopron and Kismarton were of utmost importance for the historians standing on the different sides of the border. These cities were popular topics of national historical narratives, but they also functioned as centres organizing historical research. There were libraries, museums, and archives in these cities, hence historians of the region (regardless of their nationality) had to visit them if they wanted to write professional histories. The problem of Sopron was an especially difficult case because, after the war, this border city was promised to Austria. However, as a result of a referendum (December 1921), the majority of the local population voted for Hungary instead.⁸ The Austrian historical writing contested the referendum and argued that the city has an essentially German ethnic character. Hungarian historians focused on the political-historical development to legitimize the referendum. The border city on the Austrian side, Kismarton (Eisenstadt), did not receive the same attention until it became the capital city of Burgenland in 1925. But later it served as the backbone of regional historical narratives.⁹ My study focuses on Sopron, and this topic is part of my current research program, which aims to give an overview of the Burgenland-debate of historians between 1918 and 1945.

Early reactions to the referendum

Since the treaty of Saint-Germain (1919) granted Sopron to Austria, the early voices from Vienna were filled with celebrational tones. The first book which welcomed the newly born region was the “Burgenland – Festschrift”; edited by a jurist named

Eduard Stephan.¹⁰ This volume was a cooperative work of the Austrian cultural elite. The book opens with an illustration of Sopron as at that time, both the editor and the authors thought it would be the future capital of Burgenland. In the chapter about administration, we can read about a plan, according to which a new university will be established in Sopron to promote German culture and language.¹¹ This optimism regarding Sopron soon disappeared, because as a result of the referendum, the city remained in Hungary. The Austrian national narrative did not accept this outcome. The pamphlet of Viktor Miltschinsky, *Das Verbrechen von Ödenburg* (The Crime of Sopron – 1922), stated that the election was manipulated by the Hungarians and demanded ‘justice’ Miltschinsky was a member of the Ödenburger Heimatdienst, which was responsible for distributing pro-Austrian propaganda before and after the referendum. In his booklet, he tried to convince his readers that Burgenland (and Sopron) is an ancient German territory and the assimilation policy of Hungary between 1867 and 1918 was not successful here.¹² In Miltschinsky’s interpretation, ethnic background determines a person’s political thinking. According to him, all ethnic German citizens living in Sopron must have voted for Austria; and we do not know the actual results of the referendum as the election was orchestrated by the Hungarian officials without the supervision of Austrian delegates.¹³ In his concluding remarks, he portrayed Hungary as a neighbour who just ate from Austria’s flesh (ie wrongfully took Sopron): “Austria can not accept that it is always treated as some kind of sacrificial animal and that a piece of flesh is cut out from it’s body every time the wild neighbour feels hungry.”¹⁴

We can observe the sorrow over the loss of Sopron in the writings of Otto Aull, too. A school teacher in Wiener Neustadt, Aull was one of the most famous local historians in Burgenland at that time. He eagerly attacked the Hungarian national narratives in newspaper articles and books. In the 1920’s he repeatedly argued that Austria has a historical right to Sopron, so the country should take steps to retake the city. He wrote two short articles about this topic in 1924. His “O, Ödenburg!” has been published in the *Volkszeitung* and was aimed at a Viennese readership. Aull condemned the past policies of the Habsburgs as they had never supported the German population in Sopron, although the city was loyal to the rulers of Austria even at times when Hungarian rebel troops attacked its walls in 1704. He was also critical of the counter-reformation measures of the Habsburgs since they alienated the German protestant community from Austria. “As the imperial government

⁷ On the political history of the „birth” of Burgenland, see: Schlag, *Aus Trümmern geboren...*, (2001); Tóth, *Két Anschluss között*, (2020); Murber, *Grenzziehung zwischen Ver- und Entflechtungen*, (2021); Murber, *Nyugat-Magyarországtól Burgenlandig*, (2021).

⁸ Ormos, *Civitas fidelissima*, (1990).

⁹ About the memory politics in Burgenland see the works of Martin Krenn. Krenn, „...in weite, bisher davon unberührte Kreise”, (2014); Krenn, “nicht Nachhut, sondern Vorhut”, (2016).

¹⁰ Stephan, ed., *Burgenland*, (1920). About the genesis of this volume, see: Jankó, *Burgenland földrajzi felfedezése*, 74–84.

¹¹ Davy, „Verwaltungsfragen”. Davy was appointed by chancellor Karl Renner in 1919 to oversee the administrative problems regarding the annexation of „German West-Hungary”.

¹² Miltschinsky, *Das Verbrechen von Ödenburg*, 7–8.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 106.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 115. The translations from German to English are the works of the author.

persecuted everything that was Lutheran, both nationalistic Magyars, and Germans loyal to the emperor, it pushed the suffering citizens to the side of national Magyar parties, which were led by talented individuals of the Hungarian estates [...].¹⁵ The critique ended with a warning that Sopron (the „head” of Burgenland – as Aull called it) will „die” if it remains on Hungarian territory.¹⁶ As „taking Sopron back” seemed less possible by the day, Aull later concentrated more and more on the history of the new capital (Kismarton). This short analysis of the early Austrian reactions shows that these authors based their arguments on an ethnic concept of the nation; they evaluated historical figures and developments according to this historical thinking.

Contrary to this position, some Hungarian historians, jurists, geographers, and politicians argued that there is no such thing (and there never was) as „Burgenland”, as this territory of western Hungary has always been an integral part of the Hungarian state; thus ethnic identity does not matter in the region’s history. One of the first books celebrating the referendum of Sopron tried to defend the concept of an integral Hungarian nation-state. This volume (*Sopron. Civitas fidelissima* – 1925) was edited by Gusztáv Thirring, an expert at geography and demography. He was born into a German-speaking family but was a Hungarian nationalist. Thirring is an excellent example of a public intellectual: he was active in multiple tourist organisations, but also held important positions in the Hungarian Geographical Society and the Hungarian Statistical Association.¹⁷ In *Sopron. Civitas fidelissima*, historical argumentation played an important role, although we can spot interesting differences between the opinions of certain authors.

While Thirring emphasised¹⁸ that the German population of the city became loyal to the Hungarian state by the end of the 19th century, publicist László Rábel attacked the ethnic Germans in a hostile tone.¹⁹ Rábel wrote about them that “the language of the nation [the Hungarian – L.T.D.] was alien to their ears. They started to learn it only recently, not out of love, but rather because they needed it.”²⁰ Nevertheless, this kind of ethnicist approach was rare. Baron Béla Liphay stressed that the referendum was just a „spontaneous manifestation” of a historically evolved national sentiment. According to him, the citizens of Sopron were always

¹⁵ Aull, „O, Ödenburg!” Aull repeated the same thoughts in his other article: Aull, „Grufß an Ödenburg”.

¹⁶ It was a general tendency of the newspapers in Burgenland to portray Sopron as a dying city in Hungarian „captivity”. The Austrian national narrative regarded Sopron as the „organic” centre of Burgenland, which should not be separated from its „natural” environment. Haslinger, „Die Ungarnrezeption”. The loss of Sopron made several Austrian geographers worry if Burgenland is viable („Lebensfähig”) at all. Some of them proposed that the region should be divided between Styria and Lower-Austria: Jankó–Jobbitt, „Making Burgenland”.

¹⁷ Jankó, *Burgenland földrajzi felfedezése*, 188–196.

¹⁸ Thirring, „Sopron.”

¹⁹ Rábel, „A megcsontított vármegye.”

²⁰ Ibid., 17.

loyal to the Hungarian crown (ie the nation-state), even in the middle ages.²¹ It was a common feature of the different chapters to include well-known national heroes in the city’s history. Two authors mentioned a brief moment when the paths of Franz Liszt (the famous composer) and Sándor Petőfi (poet and a revolutionary of 1848) crossed in Sopron 1840 as the soldier Petőfi listened to one of Liszt’s concerts there.²²

The persons discussed above were not professional historians, but they shaped the discourse about the city, and historians often worked together with them. In the next chapter, I will concentrate on the historian „guild”.

The growing interest in the history of Sopron

It is not surprising that Hungarian historical writing paid a bigger deal of attention to the history of Sopron. Regarding the question of Burgenland/Western Hungary, two influential historians should be mentioned. Sándor Domanovszky was the vice-president of the Hungarian Historical Association (1916–1946) and the editor of the historical journal *Századok* (1913–1943): he polemized with Austrian politicians (Karl Renner) and historians about Western-Hungary²³ but also ordered some of his students to pursue topics like the history of the region.²⁴ Another important figure was Jenő Házi, who worked as an archivist in Sopron and was responsible for coordinating the research regarding the history of this city.²⁵ These two historians had similar views as they both understood their work as a ‘mission’ when it came to the Burgenland question. As early as 1920, Domanovszky made a few recommendations to Házi about a research program:

To answer your question, I am in favour of your plan that you wish to be engaged in the local history of Sopron. As a city archivist, it is your duty and if you will enrich our literature with publications or syntheses relying on the materials found in your precious archive, you will do a great service to Hungarian historical writing. When it comes to urban history, naturally the history of the local constitution, the history of law, and the economic history are those factors that deserve special attention. Partly because these are the most important aspects of the life of a city in the middle ages, and partly because our historical writing dealt less with these topics so far.²⁶

²¹ Liphay, „Burgenland”.

²² Kelényi, „Sopron újabbkori története”, 74.; Berecz, „Sopron a magyar irodalomtörténetben”, 112.

²³ About the historical and political views of Domanovszky, see: Erős, „Menekülés a hallgatásba”; Erős, „A kereszténység védőbástyája”.

²⁴ Miklós Kring was a student of Domanovszky who won scholarship to Vienna in order to study the history of Western Hungary. Kövér, „Levelek Bécsből”.

²⁵ It should be noted that Jenő Házi and Gusztáv Thirring were close friends: Dominkovits, „Párhuzamos polgári életutak Sopronban”.

²⁶ A letter from Sándor Domanovszky to Jenő Házi on the 2nd of March, 1920. Published in: Dominkovits, „Egy vidéki tudós kapcsolatrendszerének”, 97–99.

During the interwar period, Házi worked tirelessly on editing sources that concerned the economic, social, and legal history of Sopron in the middle ages. His source collection *Sopron szabad királyi város története* (The history of the royal free city Sopron) amounted to 13 volumes which were published between 1921 and 1943. These volumes received positive reactions on the Hungarian side of the border. Two of these books were reviewed in 1925 by Elemér Mályusz, a young historian of the middle ages.²⁷ One student of Domanovszky, Miklós Kring, wrote a critique about the next few volumes for the journal *Századok* in 1933. Kring subscribed to the Hungarian nationalist narrative when he stated that the referendum of 1921 was the inevitable result of a long historical development, which has its origins in the middle ages. In his opinion, the sources that Házi published prove the loyal character of the German population. In Kring's opinion, Házi was totally „objective” although he was influenced by recent political events. He added that this is a good example of a healthy relationship between life and science, though historians should place scholarship above politics.²⁸ On the other side of the border, however, reactions were different. Even the conservative and tolerant journal of Burgenland, the *Mitteilungen des Burgenländischen Heimat- und Naturschutzvereins* condemned Házi's hostile tone against Austria as his words – according to the editors of the journal – are “not appropriate for a scientific work.”²⁹

Besides his source publications, Házi also wrote numerous articles about Sopron. In these articles, he regarded the state-oriented political thinking of the German population as a more significant historical factor than their ethnic background.³⁰ One of his studies deserves a closer look as it has awakened the interest of Austrian historians. The paper *Határszéli viszályaink az osztrákokkal a Jagellók uralkodása alatt* [Our border conflicts with the Austrians in the age of the Jagello dynasty] was published 1931 in the Yearbook of the Hungarian History Institute in Vienna. The yearbook usually gave space to those Hungarian and German historians who were either members of the institute via a scholarship or researched Austro-Hungarian historical topics.³¹ Házi analysed the border conflicts between the two states at the end of the middle ages. He portrayed the western border of the Hungarian Kingdom as a territory that has been constantly threatened by the economic and political rivalry with Vienna. If these antagonisms were not contained by adequate diplomatic steps, a full-scale war could easily break out. In

²⁷ Mályusz, „Házi Jenő: Sopron”. Házi was grateful for this review as Mályusz pointed out the ‘unselfish’ character of Sopron. See his letter to Mályusz on the 28th of November, 1925. Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (I will use the following abbreviation: MTA KK). Ms 6400/341.

²⁸ Kring, „Házi Jenő: Sopron”.

²⁹ „Buchbesprechungen”, 10.

³⁰ Házi, „Sopron város története”.

³¹ Ujváry, *Tudományszervezés – történetkutatás – forráskritika*, (1996).

the study of Házi, Sopron is depicted as an autonomous „agent”: the city usually tried to take a neutral standpoint in the conflicts to avoid useless destruction.³² One year later, this paper was translated into German by Adolf Bogati at that time Landesamtssekretär (secretary in a regional government office) in Burgenland. Bogati sent his handwritten translation to the regional government, which then forwarded it to the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna.³³

The interest in Házi's writing shows that Vienna and Burgenland cooperated in translating and – if necessary – debating the written products of the Hungarian historical writing. We can follow these controversies in the local journal of the regional government, the nationalist-oriented *Burgenländische Heimatblätter*.³⁴ Since the goal of this journal was – among others – to closely watch and dispute Hungarian writings about Burgenland, it published several critical reviews regarding the Sopron question. I will discuss the book review on László Veszelka's work as an example. In 1934 young linguist László Veszelka wrote a book on the population history of Sopron in medieval times. To complete his research, Veszelka won a scholarship to the Austrian capital (1932–1933) and attended lectures of the Germanist Walter Steinhauser at the University of Vienna. He visited city archives in Vienna and Sopron, plus he received funds from the mayor (Mihály Thurner) of Sopron for publishing his work.³⁵ At the beginning of the book, Veszelka called Sopron an “old Hungarian city”: “Geographical factors influence the prospects, the proximity of commerce roads determine the viability, and the political role defines the history of a settlement. This theory is proved by the cultural history of Sopron, an old Hungarian city.”³⁶ As the author proceeded in his analysis, he examined toponyms to find out if the city had a German or Hungarian character originally. He concluded that Germans did not arrive there in considerable numbers until the 14th century because, considering the centuries before, one can observe mainly Hungarian and Slavic settlement names near Sopron. With this statement, he openly questioned the findings of Walter Steinhauser, who argued that the city had a German majority among its population from the very beginning.³⁷

³² Házi, „Határszéli viszályaink”.

³³ It can be found in the manuscript collection of Lothar Gross, an archivist in the State Archive of Vienna. SB Nachlass Lothar Gross 6-5, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien. As far as I know, there are no published reactions to the paper of Jenő Házi.

³⁴ About the history of the journal, see: Seedorf, „50 Jahre Burgenländische Heimatblätter”.

³⁵ Veszelka, *Sopron régi németisége*, (1934).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 27–28. Steinhauser was very critical of the authenticity of Hungarian toponyms appearing in medieval written sources as he thought that the Hungarian authors of these charters often used Hungarian name forms even if they wrote about a German settlement. That's why Steinhauser did not accept the method of Veszelka, who used the toponyms in written documents as authentic sources to determine the ethnic proportions in a certain region. For the line of reasoning of Steinhauser, see: Steinhauser, „Die Ortsnamen des Burgenlandes”.

Two years after it was published, the book of Veszelka received a negative review in the Burgenländische Heimatblätter. Hans Karner discussed it at a remarkable length.³⁸ He dismissed Veszelka's method and argued for the theory of a continuous existence of the German population throughout the middle ages:

Of course, we don't want to deny that there were a few Magyar settlements in the wider environment of Sopron. And we regard an advance of the Magyar population in this commercial centre as not impossible. But we must emphasise that precisely with difficult toponyms, one should proceed very carefully because a linguistic argument alone can not decide whether a settlement was German, Slavic, or Magyar.³⁹

His final remarks were crushing: "We can only say that neither the toponymic nor the population history can profit from this work."⁴⁰

As we have seen, historians on both sides of the border laid „claims”⁴¹ in this city. It is remarkable that even though a state-centred nationalism was present in the first reactions of the Hungarian historians of Sopron, they also tried to prove that Hungarians preceded the Germans in the city as if state-nationalist arguments weren't enough for them. However, it was not until the 1930s that more nuanced and coordinated research on the population or local history of Sopron began to gain momentum.

The impact of the German Südostforschung and Volksgeschichte

The German Südostforschung (Southeast European studies) viewed Burgenland as a vital bridgehead for future cultural and – later – political expansion.⁴² The goal of these German Southeast studies was, on one hand, to collect all kinds of data on Germans living abroad and, on the other hand, to support research in connection with their history, anthropology, economy, and sociology. This complex knowledge was then utilised to support the territorial expansionism of Germany. The institute coordinating the related research (Südost Institut) was established in München, 1930. From 1936 on, the institute published an official journal called Südost-Forschungen, which became a new scientific and political forum for Austrian historians.⁴³ For example, local historians from Burgenland (Otto Aull, Hein-

³⁸ Karner, „Veszelka Ladislaus”. Karner debated other Hungarian scholars about population history, too: Deák, „Änderungen in der ethnischen Zusammensetzung”, 80.

³⁹ Karner, „Veszelka Ladislaus”, 81.

⁴⁰ Karner, „Veszelka Ladislaus”, 83.

⁴¹ Nationalizing (homogenising) otherwise culturally heterogeneous territories was one important characteristic of the nation-building throughout Europe: Gyáni, „A tér nemzetiségítése”.

⁴² Jankó, *Burgenland földrajzi felfedezése*, 111–155.

⁴³ About the main figures (Fritz Valjavec, Harold Steinacker) of the German Südostforschung and their debates with Hungarian historians, see: Orosz, *Tudomány és politika*, (2014); Törő, „Harold

rich Kunnert, Ernst Löger, Bernhard Zimmermann) could publish their articles there – even in the first volume in 1936, we encounter several Burgenland-related articles.⁴⁴ Besides Südostforschung, there existed a vast network of research groups in Germany that supported an ethnic (völkisch) view of history (Volksgeschichte) – it is important to mention, however, that this historical thinking was virulent even before the Nazis came to power. These research groups were called „Volksdeutsche Forschungsgemeinschaften” (Ethnic German Research Communities) and they had six different centres.⁴⁵ One of them (Südostdeutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft – which was not the same as the Südost Institut in München) was established in Vienna, 1931. The head of this Forschungsgemeinschaft was Hugo Hassinger, a professor of geography at the University of Vienna.⁴⁶ Hassinger can be considered a historian, too, since his interest covered both historical and geographical topics. His group was very influential because it was not only supported financially by Germany but also managed to connect Austrian historians living in Vienna and Burgenland. The Südostdeutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft had members in the State Archives of Vienna (Lothar Gross), in the Institute of Austrian Historical Research (Hans Hirsch, director of the institute), and the Regional Archive of Burgenland (Heinrich Kunnert). Those local historians in Burgenland who subscribed to the völkisch view of history had their scientific career secured and had better publishing opportunities.

At that time, the leading representatives of the Volksgeschichte – Ernst Klebel, Otto Brunner, Otto Albrecht Isbert, and Konrad Schünemann – published articles and books about the history of the German population in Burgenland. The main narrative elements of this approach can be illustrated with the writing of Otto Brunner from 1932. In *Das Burgenland*, Brunner emphasised that the region rightfully belongs to Austria but not because of a diplomatic treaty or as a political result of the war. Burgenland has always been an integral part of the German Volksboden; thus, the Hungarian rule was only a transitional period in its history. According to Brunner, it is true that the elite was Hungarian, but the majority of the population spoke German. Therefore it was the peasantry that preserved the German character of the territory. Now the main task of Austrian historical writing is to complete the integration of Burgenland by writing its cultural and ethnohistory.⁴⁷

Although these scholars centred their arguments around an ethnic concept of the nation, Volksgeschichte was not the same as ethnohistory in a strict sense of

Steinacker történetfelfogása” (I.), Törő, „Harold Steinacker történetfelfogása” (II.).

⁴⁴ For example: Löger, „Zur Geschichte”. Between 1936 and 1939 the name of the journal was Südostdeutsche Forschungen, later it was changed and the word „German” was removed from the title. The editors thought that „Südost-Forschungen” would sound much more neutral.

⁴⁵ Fahlbusch, *Wissenschaft im Dienst*, (1999)

⁴⁶ Svatek, „Hugo Hassinger”.

⁴⁷ Brunner, „Das Burgenland”. About the career of Brunner see: Blänkner, „Otto Brunner”.

the word. I will illustrate my point with the „Burgenland-Westungarn article” of the *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtums*.⁴⁸ This article was a result of interdisciplinary cooperation of Austrian (Ernst Klebel, Otto Aull, Heinrich Kunnert), German (Otto-Albrecht Isbert, Konrad Schünemann), and sometimes Hungarian (the Germanists Béla Pukánszky and Elemér Moór should be mentioned here) scholars. In a way, *Volksgeschichte* was a kind of total history, where culture, geography, economy, politics, religion, ethnicity, and race all play a significant role. Utilising new types of sources like maps, city plans, surveys, statistics, toponyms was an integral element in this approach. It was, however, far from an innocent scientific program: anti-semitism and an ethnicist argumentation can be observed in the pages of the *Handwörterbuch*. In the following section, I will show how the authors of the *Handwörterbuch* interpreted the history of Sopron in the framework of *Volksgeschichte*.

The history of the urban development in Western Hungary/Burgenland was elaborated by Konrad Schünemann.⁴⁹ His overview set the standards for placing Sopron in an urban historical context. Schünemann argued that in medieval Hungary, it was the Germans who played a major role in city foundations. It is not surprising that he emphasised the ancient Germanic character of Sopron; in his opinion, the German settlements around the city did not disappear after the reign of Charles the Great but remained there centuries after. Since Sopron was also a royal castle district during the first centuries of medieval Hungary (there existed a castle and a settlement not far from each other), a Hungarian „castle warrior” class lived in the territory and provided military services.

Around the late 13th century, due to the disintegration of the system of castle districts, many castle warriors became citizens of Sopron, but they were quickly assimilated into the ranks of the Germans. Parallel to these social changes, the city of Sopron overtook the function of a „border fortress” from the abandoned castle.⁵⁰ Hungarians did not arrive in the cities of Western-Hungary until the invasion of the Turks (16th century) began when a large number of Hungarians came to these places as refugees. It was only the age of dualism (1867–1918) when Sopron saw a ‘magyarization’ of its population on a larger scale, which was the result of the nationalistic policies of the Hungarian State.

Schünemann also wrote about the Jewish inhabitants of smaller towns. They enjoyed the protection of Hungarian landlords, but according to the author, their privileged status had a negative effect on the prospects of the German bourgeoisie.

⁴⁸ About the *Handwörterbuch*, see Oberkrome, „*Geschichte, Volk und Theorie*”. Three volumes of this enterprise have been published between 1933 and 1938. It was supported by the Deutsche Auslands-Institut in Stuttgart, the Institut für Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtum in Marburg and the Ibero-Amerikanische Institut in Berlin.

⁴⁹ Schünemann, „*Städtische Entwicklung*”.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 684.

“This gaining of space of the noble-protected Jewry in the country settlements limited the living prospects of the old city bourgeoisie, which was descending more and more into a role of farmer-bourgeoisie as Hungarians filled the ranks of intellectuals, academics, and bureaucrats in the cities. Ödenburg represented a certain counterbalance [against the Hungarians and Jews – L.T.D.] because it had a character of a garrison city and this way many Austrian officers came here and after their retirement they often stayed there until the end of their life.”⁵¹

Schünemann was productive in other fields of research, too; he was responsible for writing the economic history of Western Hungary. For him, it was crucial to analyse the economic development as the region became an independent territory because of its commercial ties to Vienna.⁵² Not every author saw the effects of Hungarian nationalist policies on Sopron in a pessimistic light. Helmut Klocke (assistant lecturer in the Hungarian Institute of Berlin) explained that around the turn of the century, the majority of Germans belonged to the worker’s class so they managed to resist the „magyarization” policies since they did not participate in middle or higher education (where otherwise the Hungarian nationalist ideas would have influenced them).⁵³

The „Burgenland-Westungarn article” of the *Handwörterbuch* was not the only professional product of the German *Volksgeschichte* and *Südostforschung*. When Hugo Hassinger met the esteemed teacher and cartographer Fritz Bodo during a „field trip” of Austrian scholars to Burgenland in 1933, they came up with the idea of the *Burgenlandatlas*.⁵⁴ The Atlas consisted of dozens of high-quality maps and lengthy commentary texts explaining the historical events depicted on the maps. Many authors who participated in the *Handwörterbuch* joined this enterprise, too. So we meet again with the names of Ernst Klebel, Heinrich Kunnert, Otto Aull, Fritz Bodo etc. From a cartographical point of view, the Atlas was very modern; as it depicted the flora and fauna, the market and economic zones of Burgenland, and the church, military or cultural history of the region. We can encounter several maps portraying Sopron and events related to its history. The referendum of 1921 appears on two maps, which were sketched⁵⁵ and interpreted by Viktor Miltschinsky.

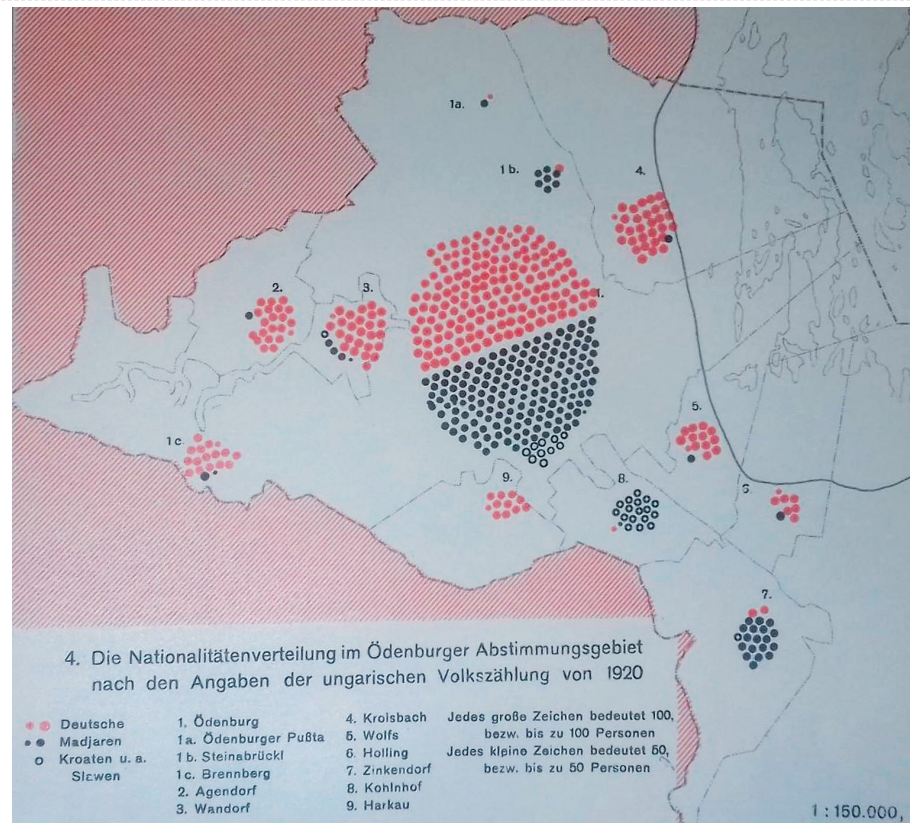
⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 687.

⁵² Schünemann, „*Wirtschaftsgeschichte*”.

⁵³ Klocke, „*Entwicklung der Sozialstruktur*”.

⁵⁴ Svatek, „*Der Burgenlandatlas*”.

⁵⁵ The sketch of the maps were made by the different authors of the Atlas. It was, however, Fritz Bodo, who, using the sketches, created most of the maps in their final forms.



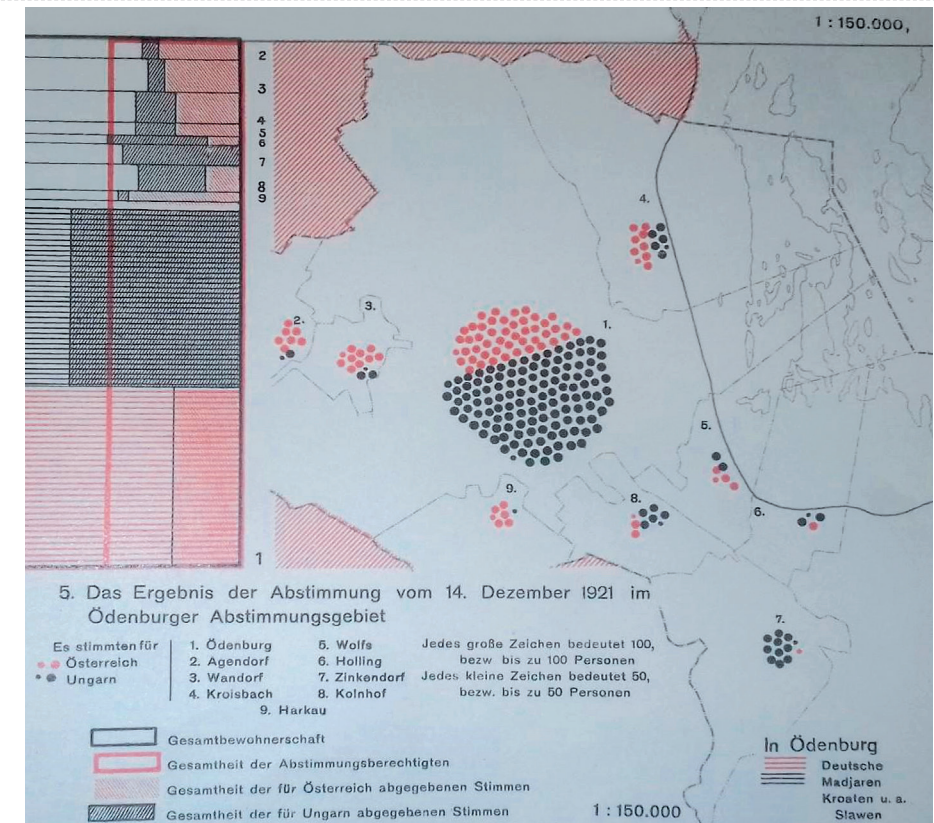
Map 1.

Map 1. shows the ethnic proportion of Sopron according to the Hungarian census of 1920.⁵⁶ The colour red shows the Germans, while black refers to the Hungarians. The white circles represent Slavic people, mainly Croats. At that time it was a common practice of cartographers to use dominant colours (usually red) to visualise people of their own.⁵⁷ In a white background, red stands out, but colour black also has its role. Black and red are two easily distinguishable colours that's why German and Austrian cartographers often used black to depict Gypsies or Jews.⁵⁸ If we look at the map closely, the ethnic „blocks” are standing against each other like two armies in a standoff. The depiction of ethnic relations as a war undermines the Hungarian concept of a politically united Sopron.

⁵⁶ The two maps that will be discussed can be found in: Bodo–Hassinger, eds. *Burgenlandatlas*, 72.

⁵⁷ Krasznai, *Földrajztudomány, oktatás és propaganda*, (2012).

⁵⁸ See the example of Wilfried Krallert and his „Volkstumskarte”: Segyevy, *Térképművek Trianon árnyékában*, 145.



Map 2.

On the second map, we can see the spatial representation of the referendum, where a black „army” of pro-Hungarian votes defeats the pro-Austrian side. According to Miltschinsky, if we compare the two maps, it becomes clear that the voting process was manipulated, and the pro-Hungarian side is overrepresented since ethnic Germans living in Sopron must have voted for Austria. The pro-Hungarian side only managed to win this referendum by counting in the votes of the dead or people who were not residents of Sopron.

Once again, we see that in Miltschinsky's historical thinking, the ethnic background determines political and national orientation. As the German Wehrmacht intended to use the *Burgenlandatlas*, this representation of the referendum had a destabilizing effect as it depicted an ethnic „war” inside the city. In the next section, I will discuss how Hungarian historical writing reacted to these new challenges posed by the *Volksgeschichte*.

A new local history of Sopron in the shadow of Volksgeschichte

During the 1930s, we can observe some considerable shifts regarding the topic of Sopron in Hungarian historical writing. First of all, a series of books were published. Gusztáv Thirring published a well-founded book on the social and economic history of the city.⁵⁹ Art historian Endre Csatkai wrote about the monuments around Sopron.⁶⁰ Historian János Belitzky accomplished the first volume of the history of Sopron county.⁶¹ A new church history of medieval Sopron by Jenő Házi was published.⁶² A talented young scholar, Károly Mollay, examined the population history of Sopron and the origin of its name.⁶³ He also experimented with completely new ways of local history; that's why his works are at the centre of my present chapter. It is also worth mentioning that local historians gained a new and essential forum to express their ideas as a new local journal, Soproni Szemle (Sopron Review) was founded in 1937.

The monograph of Gusztáv Thirring did not polemise openly with Austrian historians, and the author's tone was modest, neutral in this respect.⁶⁴ Thirring examined the 18th century Sopron with methods derived from social sciences: he used city maps, sketches, statistical data; and attempted to reconstruct the names of the families living in Sopron at that time. In his historical narrative, he praised the self-sacrifice of the citizens as they defended Sopron against the rebels of Francis II Rákóczi at the beginning of the century.⁶⁵

After the troubled first years, the 18th century marked a period of progress. Sopron quickly became the most modern city in Hungary, and Thirring wrote that even the cities of Eger or Kecskemét seemed as „villages” compared to the rapidly growing Sopron. The author examined how many apartments a house consisted of and how many rooms an apartment included. Thirring then compared these numbers with those of the other cities of Hungary and concluded that Sopron was the most urbanised city in the 18th century.⁶⁶ In his almost 400 pages long book, he wrote only a few pages about the nationalities living in Sopron.

⁵⁹ Thirring, *Sopron városa a 18. században*, (1939).

⁶⁰ Csatkai, *Sopron környékének műemlékei*, (1932).

⁶¹ Belitzky wanted to prove that the name Sopron was of Hungarian origin and he openly contested the Austrian historians of Burgenland with this statement. His main thesis was, however, that it was not ethnicity but shared historical experience that shaped the fate of this border region. The common task of the different ethnic groups was to defend the territory of the country and this historical process contributed to the forming of Sopron county. Belitzky, *Sopron vármegye története*, (1938).

⁶² Házi, *Sopron középkori egyháztörténete*, (1939).

⁶³ Mollay, *Ödenburg. Helynévfejtés és településtörténet*, (1942).

⁶⁴ For example, in his book he did not quote those writings of Austrian or German historians which were published after 1918. However, we can also interpret this silence as a way of polemics.

⁶⁵ Thirring, *Sopron városa a 18. században*, 3.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 52.

He claimed that the population of Sopron was originally Hungarian, and Germans arrived only in the 14th century, but most of these Germans soon became good patriots of the Hungarian state.⁶⁷ Thirring stated that regarding the 18th century, one could not decide who should count as German or Hungarian even if we look at their family names, because “already at that time there were families of German origin who spoke German but harboured completely pro-Hungarian feelings, thus, despite their German names we should count them as Hungarians.”⁶⁸ The Austrian historical writing, of course, did not overlook these few pages when reviewing the book.

Bernhard Hans Zimmermann, a historian of religion and population from Graz, wrote a critique about Thirring's book in the journal *Südostforschungen*. He called the book „unusually thorough” and had a high opinion of it. Zimmermann's only objection was that Thirring did not mention the German element in Sopron regarding the 14th century. He thought that the Hungarian scholar overestimated the presence of Hungarians among the population of the city.⁶⁹ Gusztáv Thirring was a representative of an older generation, and he died in 1941, just before the recension of Zimmermann was published.

The protagonist of this section, Károly Mollay, belonged to a new generation of scholars in Sopron. He was, among others, a historian of urban topography, a philologist, and a devoted local historian, who closely followed the results of Austrian and German historical writings.⁷⁰ Mollay – together with Károly Maár – published a detailed article about the new ways of local history in the *Soproni Szemle* just when he was 25 years old.⁷¹ Mollay cited the historians Károly Tagányi⁷² and Elemér Mályusz as positive examples. It is crucial to know that Tagányi was one of the first historians in Hungary to advocate social and economic history writing and instead of the state, he preferred the county as the centre of his historical narrative.⁷³

Elemér Mályusz was open to the methods of the German *Volksgeschichte*, and he tried to use this scientific toolkit against Austrian and German historians while debating their narratives about population and urban history. Mályusz propagated an ethnic concept of the nation. Thus, in contrast to many other Hungarian historians contesting the Austrian Burgenland-narratives, he did not rely solely on

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 101.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 101.

⁶⁹ Zimmermann, „*Thirring Gusztáv: Sopron városa*”.

⁷⁰ About Mollay's works on urban topography, see: Szende, „*Mollay Károly*”.

⁷¹ Mollay–Maár, „*A soproni és sopronmegyei helytörténetírás*” (I.); Mollay–Maár, „*A soproni és sopronmegyei helytörténetírás*” (II.).

⁷² Károly Tagányi (1858–1924) was an influential social historian in the age of dualism, and editor of the first journal of economic history in Hungary, the *Gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle* (Economic Historical Review).

⁷³ For the history of Hungarian local history writing see: Kövér, „*Van-e, volt-e vidéki történetírás?*”

the idea of a political nation.⁷⁴ Besides Volksgeschichte, Mályusz also had expertise in county history and historical geography, which Mollay found inspiring for his new research program.

Although the examples of Tagányi and Mályusz were important to him, Mollay tried to learn from the methods of German and Austrian historical writing as well. He condemned the German nationalism of the Handwörterbuch, but he thought that the authors of the article „Burgenland-Westungarn” combined geography with history in an exemplary way.⁷⁵ Mollay urged the historians of Sopron to get to know the results of Austrian and German historical writings to be able to „fight” them. This fight will be fought in libraries and archives, as he put it.⁷⁶ In this war of historians, Sopron plays a special role: “Sopron is *porta regni Hungariae*, today even more than in medieval times. A frontier city, for the sake of which it is important to know what happens on the other side of the border.”⁷⁷

As for the scale of historical narratives, Mollay advocated a local history that is not just a part of the political history of the nation. In his view, the history of Sopron is not solely a mirror of the history of Hungary but an independent unit of historical analysis. Historians of Sopron should collect all kinds of sources from family Bibles to birth certificates. They must transcend the old, „positivist” treatment of sources and actively take part in „recreating” the past based on data. “Publishing his [the local historian’s – L.D.T.] data is not the same as evocating the past. His data are *accidental* and *fragmentary* representatives of a life manifestation, whose *form* and *content* should be recreated by him based on his data, just as the archaeologist tries to reconstruct an antique vase using shards he dug up.”⁷⁸

Mollay fiercely debated Austrian⁷⁹ and Hungarian scholars alike. He was not satisfied with the above mentioned book of János Belitzky. Mollay and Belitzky polemicized in the journal Soproni Szemle: Mollay contended that much of Belitzky’s book is political event history and a collection of irrelevant facts.⁸⁰ Belitzky replied angrily and stated that political history should be an integral part of the history of Sopron county.⁸¹ Mollay acknowledged that political history should not be left out from county histories, but he added that there is no need for

⁷⁴ About the involvement of Mályusz in the Burgenland-debates, see: Törő, „Történészek népi határkonstrukciói”. For the Hungarian reception of the German Volksgeschichte in a greater context, see: Romsics, „Nép, nemzet, birodalom”; Erős, „Szellemtörténet versus népiségtörténet”.

⁷⁵ Mollay–Maár, „A soproni és sopronmegyei helytörténetírás” (II.), 18–19.; Mollay, „Sopron vármegye középkori történelmének”, 234.

⁷⁶ Mollay–Maár, „A soproni és sopronmegyei helytörténetírás” (II.), 19.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 19.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 21.

⁷⁹ See his critical review about the first official bibliography regarding the history and ethnography of Burgenland. Mollay, „Litschauer, G. Fr.: Bibliographie zur Geschichte”.

⁸⁰ Mollay, „Sopron vármegye középkori történelmének”, 234–235.

⁸¹ Belitzky, „Sopron vármegye középkori története bírálathoz”.

a detailed description of political or military events (like the Hungarian conquest of the Carpathian Basin in the 9th century), because this way regional history will only be a part of national political history.⁸²

Between 1941 and 1942, Mollay taught at a gymnasium in Salgótarján but soon started to work at the newly-founded Hungarian Historical Institute, which was the historical section of Teleki Pál Institute. The mission of this institute was to fight off German nationalistic approaches, thus it supported Mollay’s work and published his thorough study about the origin of the name Ödenburg (Sopron).⁸³ Mollay served as a „bridge” between historians living in Sopron and Budapest.

József Deér (an adherent of Geistesgeschichte) and Miklós Kring wanted to cooperate with Mollay and Jenő Házy in order to publish a source collection regarding western Hungary. This source collection would include the toponyms of this territory and would be a joint work of linguists and historians. This joint enterprise would follow the example of German research communities (Mollay mentioned the name Hermann Aubin in one of his letters).⁸⁴ These plans, however, were not realised as he was drafted in Mai 1944.

It is nevertheless interesting to analyse one paper of Mollay where he once again returned to the problem of local history and posed new questions. Published in 1943, this study shows how much he has deepened his theoretical knowledge about the sociological, geographical, and linguistic aspects of history.⁸⁵ Mollay argued in favour of social sciences and relied on the new results of talent research. According to him, it would be interesting to examine the sociological and geographical conditions of talent development and visualise the findings on „talent maps”.⁸⁶

We can also observe the impact of the Hungarian Geistesgeschichte on Mollay. One recurring problem of his study was the presence of a special „local spirit” in Sopron. In his opinion, it would be fruitful to analyse what kind of patriotism took historical roots among the city’s population.⁸⁷ Although he still admired the scientific methods of his German contemporaries, his objections against the German völkish historical thinking became louder: he rejected the idea that during the middle ages, the opposition between Hungarian and German citizens was actually an ethnic antagonism. He wrote the following: “In the middle ages, however, we can’t even find the seed of an ethnic way of thinking that would transcend state borders. A sense of belonging to the state, more precisely to the head of the state, to the Hungarian king, penetrated the ranks of civil society.”⁸⁸

⁸² Mollay, „Válasz Belitzky Jánosnak”.

⁸³ Mollay, Ödenburg. Helynévfejtés és településtörténet, (1942).

⁸⁴ Turbully, „Egy tudósbarátság mérföldkövei”, 377.

⁸⁵ Mollay, „Újabb szempontok”.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 161–164.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 169.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 165.

Sopron as a target of rival national narratives

Historians played a big role in stabilising the results of revolutionary changes. However, evoking the past could be used to question the historical legitimacy of these changes as well. While the Austrian and German historians emphasised a 1000-year-long German ethnic continuity in the history of Sopron, Hungarian scholars held the ethnic component as less important and relied on a political concept of the nation. The antagonism between an ethnic and a political nation-concept was not unproblematic. As we have seen, all Hungarian historians were eager to prove that the population of Sopron originally had a Hungarian ethnic majority, thus at some level ethnicity played an important factor in nearly every historical narrative centered around this topic.⁸⁹

It is also remarkable that the more professional a historian was, the easier it became for him to advance his career and participate in national historical debates. It was not rare that precisely those local historians of Burgenland could work together with Austrian and German historians in the long run, who were also frequent opponents of Hungarian authors – like Heinrich Kunnert, Otto Aull, Viktor Miltschinsky, and Bernhard Hans Zimmermann. These historians had a better chance to take part in huge scientific and political enterprises like the *Handwörterbuch* or the *Burgenlandatlas*.

Among the local historians of Sopron, it was Károly Mollay who was probably one of the most innovative thinkers but he also took the „fight” against other national historical writings to the next level and this is one reason why the Hungarian Historical Institute in Budapest cooperated with him. It is also interesting to observe the question of „objectivity” in these debates. Miklós Kring did not see a contradiction in being patriotic and objective at the same time. However, when it came to debating the „Other”, the demand for objectivity could serve as an argument to delegitimize the historians on the other side of the border. As we have seen, this was the case with the reception of Jenő Házy in Burgenland. We can understand this „contradiction” if we take into account that the professionalisation of history has never meant to leave perspectivism behind. Historical writing intended to be both science and art at the same time.⁹⁰

The referendum of 1921 was at the centre of many national narratives. It was the peak or the lowest point in the history of Sopron, depending on which side of the border an author lived. For the Hungarian nationalists, this event made every history

⁸⁹ The relationship between the political and the ethnic concept of the nation has been discussed in a new light by Rogers Brubaker. He warned that the idea of a political („civic”) nationalism can also lead to homogenisation both in theory and practice. Brubaker, *Nacionalizmus új keretek között*, (2006). See also: Berger–Lorenz, eds. *The Contested Nation*, (2011).

⁹⁰ Beiser, *The German Historicist Tradition*, 7. For the connection between civic engagement and historical writing, see: Berger, „*Historical Writing and Civic Engagement*”.

of Sopron a kind of theological fulfilment of historical destiny. This interpretation (which – in new forms – is still with us in present-day Hungary) silences the fact that not everyone acknowledged the legitimacy of this referendum.⁹¹ The Austrian side often tied political views to the ethnic background of the population, thus limiting the possibility of free thinking outside ethnic determinants. By highlighting the ethnic division in the referendum of Sopron, they attempted to destabilise the right of Hungary to the city.

About the author

László Dávid Törő defended his dissertation about the historical writing of Eckhart at the University of Debrecen (Hungary) in 2018. He has also written a book on the subject, which was published in 2020 at the Ráció publisher. He specializes in modern historiography and his current research field is the Burgenland-debate between Austrian and Hungarian historians in 1921–1945. Currently he is writing a book about the history of this debate. László Dávid Törő is a research fellow at the University of Debrecen.

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⁹¹ The referendum was not only contested by pro-Austrian historians on the other side of the border, but the population itself was divided in this respect. Murber, *Nyugat-Magyarországtól Burgenlandig*, 175–176.

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CSABA LÉVAI

A Classic in Social History, or a Masterpiece of Microhistory? The Genesis of „Salem Possessed. The Social Origins of Witchcraft” by Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum

It was in 1974 when the first edition of the classic study of Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum about the famous witch trial in Salem village, Massachusetts in 1692 was published. The book proved to be a great success. The *Organization of American Historians* initiated a survey among the historians of the United States about the historians or other intellectuals, who influenced their work the most. Almost one thousand scholars answered the queries and they named ninety-nine authors. On this list Boyer and Nissenbaum could win the twenty-sixth place, and they outran such prestigious authors as Henry Adams, Charles A. Beard, Carl L. Becker, Fernand Braudel, Thomas S. Kuhn, or David McCulloch. The most prestigious scholarly journal of colonial American history *The William and Mary Quarterly*, devoted a special issue to the discussion of the impact of *Salem Possessed* on the profession in 2008.¹

As it is well-known, Boyer and Nissenbaum came to the conclusion that behind the curtain of the witch trials there was a sharp division line within the highly divided community of Salem village. According to them, the overwhelming majority of the accusers were living in the western half of the village, and the inhabitants of this part were mainly occupied in agriculture, and held traditional community values. On the contrary, the overwhelming majority of the accused witches and their defenders inhabited the eastern, commercially oriented half of the village who introduced the new values of commercial capitalism into this traditional community, and who were oriented towards the prosperous seaport city of Salem town. In the opinion of the two authors the conflict of these value systems laid behind the eruption of the witchcraft mania in Salem village in 1692.

The Hungarian historian István M. Szijártó published a book about the evolution of the school of microhistory in 2014. He classified *Salem Possessed* as a pioneer work of the emerging school of microhistory. According to him, all works of microhistory

¹ Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed*, 1994 (original edition 1974); Thelen, The Practice of American History, 933–960, 1175–1217. Forum: Salem Repossessed. *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. (2008) 65, No. 3, 391–534.