

The Friulian Presence in Hungarian Industry with Particular Regard to the Meat Industry of Debrecen in the 19th century

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ABSTRACT

Emigration has been a crucial experience for the inhabitants of the Italian Friuli region, at least since the 13th century when Friulian peddlers started journeying from country to country. When it grew into a mass phenomenon in the 19th century, an increasing number of Friulian workers arrived in Hungary, and were involved in industrial activities as both entrepreneurs and employed labour. They gained a leading role in the Hungarian meat industry with the establishment of salami factories that created the conditions for the spread of a new product, the salami. In Debrecen, two Friulian families pursued this activity with numerous Friulian workers and one of them, the Vidoni company, became the third-largest salami factory in Hungary. The activities of the Friulian factories are considerable not only for Hungarian industrial history, but also because they shed light on the migratory processes and broaden the horizon of historical knowledge on Hungarian-Italian relations.

Keywords: Hungarian-Italian relations, seasonal emigration, industrial history, salami factories, migrant workers, Debrecen, Friuli, Hungary

Introduction

This study presents data that resulted from the research on the history of the Vidoni salami factory in Debrecen owned by a Friulian family. Investigating the archival documents, several sources about other immigrants of Friulian origins in Hungary came to light. These data reveal the continuous immigration of the past centuries in the Hungarian territories and indicate many Friulians who kept mainly industrial activities, especially in the meat industry. The sources offer informations about this topic with many possible ramifications, while previous

research led to a history of only one family (Blaskó). This paper enumerates similar immigrants with all the currently available data about them. Even though some foreign scholars are engaged in Friulian emigration research, Hungary as a destination has never been examined previously, so this paper offers new informations that can be a starting point for future in-depth elaborations.

For centuries, emigration has been a central experience in the life of the north-eastern Italian territory of Friuli. This region, being a border area, was one of the most active European territories in the migration processes, especially in the 19th century. The oldest and most characteristic form of temporary migration departing from the mountains of that region was of the *cramârs* (peddlers) of the Carnic Alps. In the winter period, they crossed the Alps and journeyed from country to country as early as the 13th century to sell fabrics, medicines and spices. They had a distinguishing feature called a *crassigne* which was a storage device containing drawers carried pickaback (Davide et al. 2011, 17).¹ Their characteristics had already been mentioned in Fabio Quintiliano Ermacora's *De Antiquitatibus Carneae* and in Jacopo Valvason di Maniago's *Breve Descrittione della Cargna* which both describe their positions as traders and artisans looking for better opportunities and prosperity abroad (Valvason di Maniago 1869–1870, 176).

Their activities inspired other wayfaring craftsmen of the 18th and 19th centuries to be involved in this type of seasonal migration while many different conditions facilitated the migration processes. More and more people chose this way of working based on the experiences that previous emigrants shared with them through personal relations. Therefore, they created a chain migration route kept alive by this informational network (Baily; Baines). The construction of railways in the second half of the 19th century also contributed to the increase of emigration. With the direct connection of the Pontebba railway to Vienna, the journey became simpler, faster, and apart from directing immigrants to the Monarchy, remote destinations became more easily accessible. Therefore, the most significant Friulian migratory movement dates back fifty years before World War I when the growing labour market caused by European industrial development required enormous numbers of workers. This economic growth triggered migration processes in several countries of Europe, but in the Apennine Peninsula, emigration was particularly characteristic, in fact a necessity, due to economic and demographic conditions of the time. Besides internal migration, 20% of Italian people emigrated abroad permanently (Berend–Ránki 1987, 421–487).

The Friulian emigration differed from that of the other Italian territories, because most of the people chose seasonal emigration to nearby countries. Their social status not always changed after their homecoming, but through working a season abroad, they earned their families'

1 Supported by the National Talent Programme NTP-NFTÖ-21 scholarship.

living for some months (Cosattini 1983, 29–37). The official statistics available since 1876 record the trend of temporary migration: emigration in those decades had grown to become a mass phenomenon. Under the above-mentioned circumstances, the Austro-Hungarian Empire became the main destination of the movement, while in the years between 1892 and 1894 the primacy of Austria as a preferred destination was surpassed by Hungary. Cosattini's railway statistics (Cosattini 1983, 12–13, 126–138) show that 8% of emigrants chose this destination: Hungary accepted Friulian seasonal workers in various sectors of its industry between 1867 and World War I.

Friulian immigrants in Hungary

*„Polenta buona, formaggio del migliore, acqua più buona della birra!
Andiamo ragazzo a lavorare nelle fornaci dell'Ungheria!”*
“Good polenta, better cheese, better water than beer!
Let's go, boy, working in the Hungarian kilns! “
(Pellegrini 133)

Several examples of migration between the two countries are known since the Middle Ages (Jászay 2003) with that of the Friulians being significant among them. Three peddlers from Carnia worked in Hungary already in 1608, and it is also known that Giacomo Jacob and Antonio Duriguzzi were active in Nagyszombat (today Trnava in Slovakia), as well as other *cramârs* of Dierico, hamlet of Paularo (Ferigo 2010, 325–327). A survey of 1679 lists the residents of Carnia staying abroad and names 44 men in Hungary (Lorenzini 1997, 450–471).

Name	Place of origin	Year	Destination
Pietro Grasi, Francesco Grasi and his sons, Antonio and Andrea	Formeaso (hamlet of Zuglio)		Ongaria i.e. Hungary
Domenico and Giacomo Grasi (brothers)			
Beltramino Venuto			
Jacomo di Urban	Valle (hamlet of Arta Terme)		
Domenigo delle Corte			
Leonardo di Orlando	Zuglio		

Name	Place of origin	Year	Destination
Tomaso and Antonio Valesio (brothers)	Paularo		Ongaria superiore i.e. Upper Hungary
Leonardo and Antonio Valesio (brothers)			Ongaria i.e. Hungary
Pietro Gortano			
Antonio and Giacomo Valesio			Ongaria superiore i.e. Upper Hungary
Floriano Valesio			Ongaria i.e. Hungary
Antonio and Matia Valesio (brothers)			
Pietro Meneano	Villa Fuori, Mezzo and Riù (hamlets of Paularo)		Ongaria superiore i.e. Upper Hungary
Floriano Spiziario			
Pietro Spiciario (brothers)			
Biasio di Gleria			
Floriano Tarusio			
Leonardo del Moro	Chiasaso (hamlet of Paularo)		
Pietro Sartor	Dierico (hamlet of Paularo)	1676	Ongaria: Scaliz (=Szakolca, Hungary; today Skalica, in Slovakia)
Odorigo Fabiano		1677	Ongaria: Tirnavia (=Nagyszombat, Hungary; today Trnava in Slovakia)
Pietro Fabiano (his son)		1678	Ongaria: Modra (=Modor, Hungary; today Modra in Slovakia)
Dominico Lombardo		1676	
Jacomo and Domenico Dereiano (brothers)		1677	Ongaria: Stonfa (=Stomfa, Hungary; today Stupava, Slovakia)
Bertolo and Jacomo (brothers) and Bernardo Spiciar (grandson/nephew)		1678	Ongaria: Ternavia (=Nagyszombat, Hungary; today Trnava in Slovakia)
Daniel Dereiano			
Michel Raputino		1674	Ongaria: Tirnavia (=Nagyszombat, Hungary; today Trnava in Slovakia)
Jacomo Fabiano		1677	Ongaria: Ternavia (=Nagyszombat, Hungary; today Trnava in Slovakia)
Michel and Silvestro Sartori		1674	Ongaria: Stonfa (=Stomfa, Hungary; today Stupava, Slovakia)
Christofaro and Bortolo Sartor (brothers)		1676	Ongaria: Tirnavia (=Nagyszombat, Hungary; today Trnava in Slovakia)

Name	Place of origin	Year	Destination
Zuane Gasparo	Salino, Lambrugno and Castoia (hamlets of Paularo)		Ongheria i.e. Hungary
Antonio Poppisso			

Some sources mention emigrants from several hamlets of Paularo as residents in Hungary in the first decades of the 17th century together with the name of Federico Ulderico Fabiani from Dierico since he brought a copy of the miraculous painting of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Sasvár there. In 1741 he was in the city of Modor (today Modra in Slovakia, Moro 2004, 45–46). The Moro family from Ligosullo also lived in the Hungarian town of Sasvár (today Šaštín, in Slovakia) from the 1750s (Moro 1993, 84–85). At least from 1750, the chapmen from the valley of Natisone left for the Balkans and for the Eastern European territories in the winter to trade images of saints, books, prints, and decorated papers produced by the Remondini printing house of Bassano del Grappa besides other small articles from some Austrian businesses who were trading with Hungary (Kalc 2009, 18). In the first half of the 19th century, one of the main routes passed through Újlak (today Ilok in Croatia) and reached the region of Subcarpathia (today in Ukraine). Then, also from the 19th century some Friulians from the districts of Tarcento, Gemona, San Daniele del Friuli and Carnia settled in Hungary to process milk, and deal in cheeses in the Hungarian plain (Ciconi 1862, 419). Other Friulians – such as Domenico Savonitti from Urbignacco (hamlet of Buia) together with his father – dedicated themselves from 1840 to 1866 to the export of Friulian cheeses, for which they had warehouses and shops (Zanini 1964, 284). According to an old story conserved in the memories of the local communities, a cheesemaker called Patat from Maniglia (hamlet of Gemona) got into a disagreement over his Hungarian interests with one of his colleagues, who therefore killed him in Artegna. Near the building called the house of Comini, there was a cross still in the 1930s with the year 1788 engraved in a stone in memoriam of this case (Zanini 1964, 29). In the last decade of the 19th century Friulian women also emigrated and worked in Hungarian spinning mills, such as Ermenegilda Savio who betook herself every spring with 30 companions to Buia, Pontebba and even to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy to look for work (Varutti 2011). It's also known that at the turn of the 20th century the members of two families from Segnacco (hamlet of Tarcento), nicknamed the Suprians (Cipriani) and Baldassuz (Baldassi) traded animals between Friuli and Hungary (Pellarini).

The impact of these immigrants is revealed also in the Hungarian language: Hungarians used to call the Italian peddlers *bális*, or *bálizs*, “the itinerant merchants who come from Istria with their minute

articles”, “who walk from village to village carrying their merchandise in a closet” and “the cheese-maker Italians and the Carantanians who lease sheep from the *puszta* for milking in the summer and make salami in the wintertime” (CzF; MTsz.).

The Friulian builders and construction companies of the 19th and 20th centuries were also well known (Merluzzi 2005). Zanini in his book *Friuli Migrante*, mentions an entire district (including a parish) inhabited by Italians on the hill of Buda. Most of them were painters, blacksmiths, tinkers or coppersmiths, bricklayers, stonemasons, stone-cutters and altar makers. So they all worked for the building industry (Zanini 1964, 85–88). A publication from 1902, though, reveals other Friulians who were staying in the Hungarian capital (Frangini 1902, 8–34). Luigi di Pol from Cavasso Nuovo set up his firm in Buda in 1860 dedicating himself to flooring and carried out works in the Royal Palace and in other important buildings in the capital. He conducted his activity in many castles, churches and schools in other cities throughout Hungary, including the city of Debrecen. Leonardo Melocco from Lestans (hamlet of Sequals) in partnership with his brother Pietro founded the Fratelli Melocco company in 1904. This enterprise specialised in works with cement, and was involved not only in mosaic works, for example in the Parliament or in the viaducts of the electric railway, but also in hydraulic works, contributing to the making of turbines, bridges and sewers on the Danube and the Tisza River. Fortunato Di Leonardo and his brothers from Resia, were known, on the one hand, in the commercial field. Their company was dedicated to the wholesale import of Italian food products (tropical fruits, other dried and fresh fruits, vegetables and legumes). Apart from these entrepreneurs, archival sources also mention artisans who worked with Zala György, an artist of the Millennium Monument of Budapest: Domenico Collino from San Rocco (hamlet of Forgaria), Celso Midena from San Daniele del Friuli and Antonio Del Piero from Nimis (Zanini 1964, 60). The Crozzoli brothers from Tramonti di Sopra, on the other hand, participated in the construction of numerous buildings and bridges in Budapest (Grossutti 2018: 115–116). Although the exact location of their activity cannot be identified from the register of the emigrants of Artegn, Giovanni Angelo and Pietro Leonardo Facini also worked as bricklayers in Hungary.² Besides them, birth records from 1883 mention the name of a mosaicist, Antonio Di Bernardo, and his wife, Maria Dozzo Mora.³

The dimensions of the Friulian migratory movement are also well demonstrated by the presence of other Friulian entrepreneurs even outside the capital, such as the Maion brothers from Villamezzo (part of

2 *Archivio dell'Anagrafe Comunale di Artegn*, based on the research of Elisa Della Mea.

3 Birth register of their daughter, Luisa Oliva. The godparents were Piazzoni János, manufacturer of salami and Dozzi Terézia. *Hungary, Catholic Church Records, 1636–1895*, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9Q97-YS85-BHY?mode=g&cc=1743180>. [last accessed: 06.06.2022]

Paularo) who in 1894 established their grinder workshop in Nagykanizsa (Maion 27–29). The documents of that period also mention the name of Luigi Copetti from Resia, a grocer who lived in Debrecen in 1890,⁴ while Valentino Zambon from Cavasso Nuovo was involved in works with cement in Sátorajújhely from 1899⁵ (*A magyar ipar almanachja* I. 205). His sons, Bálint and Miklós continued the profession of their father: Miklós Zambon took part in the construction of the chocolate factory of Szerencs, then participated in some building works of the capital city after he moved his business to Pesterzsébet (*A magyar ipar almanachja*, II. 145).

Besides the above-mentioned activities, in the Hungarian archival sources salami factories either founded by the Friulians or that employed Friulian workers are recorded not only in Budapest, but in Debrecen, in Szeged and also in Győr. These establishments were registered among the 43 Friulian food companies operating in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in the official statistics relating to the year 1906 (Ermacora n.d. 117).

The establishment of the first salami factories

Because of their competence in the field, Friulians easily found employment also in the meat industry. In the second half of the 19th century one of the more peculiar professions of the inhabitants of the Friuli Collinare and of the mountain districts (mainly in Tarcento, Gemona and Spilimbergo) was that of the *salamâr*. In the winter, 400–600 men, experts in the processing of (pork) meat-packing, emigrated searching for work in Austrian, Hungarian and Croatian factories for some months (Cosattini 1983, 66–67).

Their dispersal was connected to the activity of incumbent street vendors called *salamucci*,⁶ of whom there were many — from Artegna, Magnano, Tarcento, Forgaria and Maniago (Zanini 1964, 277–278) — at the Viennese Prater who sold cheese and salamis, products of the aforementioned factories. Their goods enjoyed such a popularity that they soon appeared in Pest-Buda⁷ as well, although their presence was still a feature of the Prater. Alongside the activity of a sausage maker (*botularius*) called Romboldi, the documents of an investigation in 1828 (Zanini 1964, 88) cited the list of *salamucci*, all from Friuli, operating in the Hungarian capital. Their presence can be traced up to the middle

4 The godparents of his son were Aloisio Beltrame, salesman and Maria Copetti. Hungary, Catholic Church Records, 1636–1895, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XZGN-GRS>. [last accessed: 06.06.2022]

5 Hungary Civil Registration, 1895–1980; <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-9P61-9HP1?i=4&wc=92SD-VZ9%3A40678101%2C50177701%2C44735902&cc=1452460>. [last accessed: 06.06.2022]

6 The expression *salamucci* was used in various Hungarian literary works and in journalism as a denomination of Italian street vendors of salamis and cheeses.

7 Pest-Buda is the name of the Hungarian capital before the unification in 1873.

of the 20th century; they continued their activity until the 1940s in Vienna, but they were rare, likewise in Budapest.

Influenced by the selling expectations and based on their know-how in salami production, some street vendors founded workshops to make salami, such as the Fadini family from Tarcento, which – at the same time – also continued the activity of *salamucci* in Vienna. According to the sources, others with the same surname — probably relatives to each other — also did the same activity in the capital city: Fadini Giacomo from 1872 dealt with salami, and from 1882 he is indicated as an industrialist.⁸ Fadini Rodolfo and Carlo were butchers,⁹ (*Budapesti Czim- és Lakjegyzék* 518) while Fadini Giovanni in 1878 was registered among the salami makers.¹⁰

Rinaldo Vidoni, in his essay entitled *Origini friulane di un'industria ungherese* [Friulian Origins of a Hungarian Industry], sketched briefly the history of the manufactures of salami in Hungary linking it to the foundation of the Friulian factories (Vidoni 1932, 132–133). He wrote about a merchant and his assistant, Giovanni Piazzoni, who in 1854 left for the Hungarian capital, where he began to roast chestnuts brought from Friuli, and then built a small workshop for the production of salami. With the growth of production in 1875, he opened a factory, then financed a similar enterprise near Budapest with one of his acquaintances, Giuseppe Meduna of Castelfucchio¹¹ (province of Treviso); the factory remained in operation between 1877 and 1899.¹² According to Frangini's information, Giuseppe Dozzi also arrived in the capital at the invitation of his uncle, Piazzoni, in 1873 and then took over the factory in 1888.¹³ A certain “barbe Nane” from Budoia is also mentioned (Teja 2018), who arrived there in that same period of time as a bricklayer, and then opened a factory to produce salami, where — among others — the Dozzi brothers of Frisanco worked also (Zanini 1964, 88). Because the name *Nane* derives from Giovanni while *barbe* means ‘uncle’ in Friulian, the similarity that can be seen may not be a coincidence. The two occupations were seasonal, so it cannot be excluded that they could have been carried out alternately. Therefore, Giovanni Piazzoni and “barbe Nane” could be the same person.

The Dozzi family built a prosperous business in the meat industry. According to data from *Központi Értesítő*, the official magazine of the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, Giuseppe Dozzo registered his company in 1891 in Budapest, and changed his surname in the same year to Dozzi.¹⁴ In 1911, he was already working with 88

8 Budapest Főváros Levéltára (Budapest City Archives, from here indicated BFL) VII. 175. 1882. 611. t.

9 BFL VII. 105. 1872. 198. t.

10 BFL VII. 107. 1878. 95. t.

11 BFL IV. 1411. b. 106/1895.

12 BFL VII. 174. cs. 1876. 0192. t. and *Központi Értesítő*, 30 September 1877, 2 and 23 July 1899, 1.

13 Piazzoni died in 1888, at the age of 78. *Pesti Hírlap*, 3 April 1888, 7.

14 *Központi Értesítő*, 31 December 1891, 2215.

workers (54 Italians) and moved to Palotaújfalu, where the factory operated until World War II.¹⁵ The brothers employed about 30 people from Frisanco including Angelo and Silvano Luisa-Cont, Antonio Dreon Del Bus, Ennio and Pietro Beltrame and Rodolfo Rosa Rizzotto (Grossutti 1995, 278). In the middle of the 20th century, we find Giuseppe Dozzi (son of the above-mentioned namesake) at the famous Pick factory in Szeged, where he was involved as one of the great salami masters and did much for the modernization of manufacturing. Davide Dozzi was the head of the production of another large factory, called *Herz Ármín Fiai* [Sons of Ármín Herz] for 40 years (Vidoni 1932, 132–33), and member of the Forgiarini company which was in Erzsébetfalva.¹⁶ While Filippo founded a factory in Sinaia (Romania) where he created the famous *Sibiu salami* well known also today.

Other entrepreneurs of Budapest also had important factories in this sector. Pietro Del Medico of Tarcento arrived in Pest-Buda in the 1840s, and founded a factory there around 1850 which remained active until 1912 (Jekelfalussy 1892, 2426). Since the owner did not officially declare the company, no documentation is available. But when his son, who was born in Hungary, wanted to continue the business under the name *Del Medico Péter Fia* [Son of Pietro Del Medico] in 1881, he presented his birth certificate to the authorities indicating that his father worked as *salami confector* from 1860.¹⁷ Vidoni also reported data that other people were involved in the processing of salami, including Pietro Guglielmini¹⁸ and Luigi Molinari, both identified as Friulians. However, as can be seen from different contemporary sources, the first one (in the capital city at least since 1871) was a native of Verona. The only information about Luigi Molinari is that he owned a factory in Budapest since 1891.¹⁹ In another document, the contract of sale of the György Suberka factory in Kőbánya (today the 10th district of Budapest) contained as a requirement the maintenance of the positions of some previous workers, including Italians: Micheluzzi Giovanni, Dal Negro and Orlando Osvaldo.²⁰ Some other families were also involved in salami production such as the Braida (De) Paul family of Udine and the Merluzzi family which probably also had Friulian origins. (Horváth) Braida was active between 1853 and 1866, while Merluzzi worked between 1865 and 1874.

Similar factories arose in other Hungarian cities where there was availability of raw materials. According to the sources, the first to deal with the manufacture of salami in Szeged was Giuseppe Orlando, who

15 *Központi Értesítő*, 1 June 1911, 1346.

16 Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (National Archives of Hungary, from here indicated MNL OL) K 70 1919. B. 10/32285.

17 BFL VII. 2. e. 267 (1882).

18 *Budapesti Közlöny*, 22 July 1871, 3799.

19 *Központi Értesítő*, 9 April 1891, 1.; BFL VII. 185. 1891. 2887 and BFL VII. 185. 1892. 1107.

20 The first name of Dal Negro is unidentified in the source or it is Osvaldo, and coincides with Orlando's. BFL VII. 175. 1895. 0496 t.

produced sausages as early as 1839²¹ together with Leonardo Facini who was occupied in salami making from 1824. Although the exact date is not included in the official documentation, the registers show that Péter Facini also carried out this activity as an “Italian salami maker” at the birth of his son (Lajos Antal) in 1846.²² Orlando’s and Facini’s artisan activities would not be followed by a larger salami factory related to Italians for about four decades. Although the Pick company dates its formation to 1869, the exact date of its establishment cannot be substantiated by an official document. Márk Pick received an industrial license to produce salami in 1886 only, but produced it in larger quantities only from the beginning of the 20th century, while he started the exclusive production of salami only after World War I²³ (Kirsch et al. 1986, 313).

At the end of the 19th century large Friulian businesses were located also in Szeged. The company of János Haris with the brothers Luigi and Leonardo Brollo (Marjanucz 1987, 348) from Gemona was established in 1887, and the company of *Brollo és Társai* [Brollo and Partners] in 1889. Between 1922 and 1927 a Del Medico salami factory was also active in the city, called *Del Medico Jób Antal és Lóránd Gyula Szalámigyára* [Salami factory of Antonio Del Medico Job and Gyula Lóránd] (Blazovich 2014, 93). Among the Friulian factories of Szeged, the most significant was Giovanni Forgiarini from Gemona who carried out such activities since 1899 together with his ice factory operating only in 1902.²⁴ Already in 1905, though, he sold his company to Francesco Tiani and partners: Alfonso Crovatto from Vienna, Francesco Valzacchi from Wiener Neustadt, Giuseppe Pittini (his father-in-law), Luigi Isola, Giovanni Battista Madile and Francesco Patat from Gemona.²⁵ The plant changed hands yet again in 1907 when the Pick family bought it and moved its production to this new location (Bálint 1974, 115). The very early re-sale may be related to the death of Tiani, whose Viennese business was bought from his widow exactly at this time by the Vidonis, a fact that is mentioned in their family correspondence.

The presence of Italian workers in Szeged is also traceable. The salami factory of János Torossy, a grocer from Pest, employed an “Italian expert” in 1853, and in 1864 a local newspaper, *Szegedi Híradó* reports that: “to avoid any mistake, our ingenious butchers have already acquired the most skilful Italians to lead the sausage production this year”.²⁶

21 *Hungary, Catholic Church Records, 1636–1895*, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XXK19-L5W>. [last accessed: 06.06.2022]

22 *Hungary, Catholic Church Records, 1636–1895*, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:9396-CBWS-T?cc=1743180&personUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AX295-QLR>. [last accessed: 06.06.2022]

23 MNL CsML XI. 35. A szegedi Pick Szalámigyár iratai (1893–1949).

24 Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Csongrád Megyei Levéltára (National Archives of Hungary Csongrád County Archives, from here indicated MNL CsML) IV. B. 1407. b.

25 *Szeged és vidéke*, 4 December 1904, 313.

26 *Szegedi Híradó*, 30 January 1864, 34.

Moreover, the statistics of 1910 record 17 Italians who had their own chapel in the Pick salami factory (Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények 1913, 1010–1011).

In addition to the factory of Szeged, Forgiarini's plant in Győr began operating in 1867, however, the company was not officially registered until 1892. The sources name Forgiarini Ferenc, Cedaro Amadio Antonio and Vidoni Tobia, all residents of Győr, as members of the management.²⁷ Other factories were also established in the city. In 1903, Károly Halbritter bought a salami factory in the city centre (from the majority Austrian ownership of Redlich and his partner) which exported 90% of its products to Austria, and founded a company called the *Győri Magyar Szalámigyár* [Hungarian Salami Factory of Győr]. The plant produced under the cartel agreement with Herz in Budapest until 1912, and employed 65 workers from Udine (Havas 2004, 78 and 191–192). Udine in this case probably refers to the province of Udine, although it was not possible to determine the origin of the workers more precisely.

Friulians in Debrecen

In the second half of the 19th century two relevant companies of Debrecen managed by Friulian families, the Boschetti and the Vidoni, gained importance in the meat industry. The presence of Italians in the city is not well documented, censuses only being available since 1850 when only 2 Italians were registered in Debrecen (Dányi 1993, 64–65). The censuses of 1870 and 1881, on the one hand, do not register Italians as a separate group, but as part of the “other nations” category. On the other hand, some questionnaires stored in the archives contain useful information about the Boschetti family business, and the industrial statistics account for the Italian presence in more detail. The statistics of 1891 report a salami factory with 30 employees, while the censuses of the same year already show 16 Italian men and 3 women in the city (Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények 1893 I, 56). Cosattini's information of 60 workers in 1904 seems to be confirmed by the statistics of 1910 that account for 58 Italians in Debrecen (Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények 1913 II, 1044–1045). 51 Italians worked there in 1913, but 61 men and 16 women were registered in the town (Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények 1913 II, 70, IV 128–129, V 118), so most of the Italian presence was linked to industrial activities.

Salami production was launched in Debrecen by Boschetti. The Boschetti workshop, founded in 1830 in Vienna (Zanini 1964: 29) is not mentioned in the family's memoirs, but those contain some information on the circumstances of the arrival and the activities carried out in Debrecen. Maria, Andrea, Domenico, Giuseppe and Paolo Boschetti

27 BFL VII. 217. 1905. 0205 t.; BFL VII. 186. 1905. 0629 and 0630 t., *Központi Értesítő*, 1 March, 1892, 333.

arrived in the city around 1850 from Collalto (hamlet of Tarcento) together with Maria's second husband, Paolo Ceschia. Since the family became impoverished due to a dispute over the construction of a railway section that crossed their land,²⁸ they were forced to seek a new life abroad. They chose Debrecen, where a strong tradition in the preparation of meat already existed and which was famous for its livestock farming, especially of the Hungarian pig breed known as *mangalica*. The Boschetti family tried to prosper with various activities such as trading in grain and the breeding of silkworms. Moreover, they had a brick producing factory, a stone quarry and an artisan workshop for the manufacture of salami.

According to archival sources, Andrea Boschetti was involved in silkworm farming (Szűcs 1992, 244) and brick making (Szendiné 1994, 225) and was also an agricultural trader.²⁹ His kiln with 25 workers produced 250,000 bricks a year, although the manufacture was suspended in the winter months (Debrecen története 242). Giuseppe Boschetti had a stone quarry³⁰ and a factory for the production of salami that in 1880 produced 4,000 quintals of commodities with 20 workers (Mózes 1991, 136–156). Since the manufacture of salami took place only during the winter, the (Friulian) workers of the brick factory could join in the production process of this factory, having therefore a job for the whole year.

This rotation of assignments was confirmed by Valentino Revelant, who, according to the census of 1870, was a butcher, but was registered in another source as a kilnsman.³¹ According to information from the family, the Boschettis opened a grocery store in the city centre with four assistants, giving the cashier work to Teresa and Luisa Ceschia. There they sold products prepared by their own baker (probably Angelo Fantini), bottled wine imported from Italy, cheeses and citrus fruits.³²

According to the census of 1870,³³ many people lived with the Boschetti family, so the surveys contain valuable information about the activity of the inhabitants of Andrea Boschetti's house. The form's record not only mentions the name of the persons, but also the profession, year of birth, and place.

28 Based on the research of Csapó Katalin, descendant of the Boschetti family and on the memories of Vörös Ilona (great-granddaughter of Maria Boschetti).

29 *Központi Értesítő*, 14 September 1876, 592.

30 *Központi Értesítő*, 17 February, 1895, 259.

31 The birth register of her daughter, Giuliana (born in Debrecen) mentioned his occupation. His wife was Erzsébet Borcsino, the godparents were Andrea Boschetti and Sára Marinka *Hungary, Catholic Church Records, 1636–1895*, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XZGD-GMK>. [last accessed: 06.06.2022]

32 Based on the research of Csapó Katalin, descendant of the Boschetti family and on the memories of Vörös Ilona (great-granddaughter of Maria Boschetti).

33 Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Levéltára (National Archives of Hungary Hajdú-Bihar County Archives, from here indicated MNL HBML) IV. B 1109/1 102.

THE FRIULIAN PRESENCE IN HUNGARIAN INDUSTRY

	Name	Occupation	Year of birth and place of origin	Present name of the place of origin
1.	Boschetti Andrea	salami maker	1816, Collalto	Tarcento
2.	Boschetti Andrea	assistant salami maker	1851, Debrecen	Debrecen
3.	Boschetti Domenico	master brickmaker	1830, Collalto	Tarcento
4.	Boschetti Paolo	blacksmith	1835, Collalto	
5.	Ceschia Pietro	assistant salami maker	1835, Magnano	Magnano in Riviera
6.	Ceschia Giovanni	salesman	1852, Magnano	
7.	Ricci Paolo	salesman	1851, Magnano	
8.	Anzil Luigi	merchant student	1853, Collalto	Tarcento
9.	Marini Pietro	assistant salami maker	1835, Collalto	
10.	Danielis Giuseppe	assistant salami maker	1850, Collalto	
11.	Revelant Valentino	assistant salami maker	1840, Magnano	Magnano in Riviera
12.	Palmino Lorenzo	brickmaker's assistant	1848, Brazzacco	Moruzzo
13.	Facchini Giuseppe	brickmaker's assistant	1848, Brazzacco	
14.	Sabbadini Giovanni	brickmaker's assistant	1849, Brazzacco	
15.	Lavia Fernando	brickmaker's assistant	1848, Brazzacco	
16.	Driussi Pietro	brickmaker's assistant	1854, Brazzacco	
17.	Driussi Cesare	brickmaker's assistant	1849, Brazzacco	
18.	Driussi Valentino	brickmaker's assistant	1838, Brazzacco	
19.	Fantini Angelo	baker	1820, Cividale	Cividale del Friuli

Giuseppe Boschetti lived in another house with his wife and daughters where he had a workshop for the production of salami and also ran an inn with a Friulian employee.³⁴

34 MNL HBML IV. B 1109/I 89.

	Name	Occupation	Age and birthplace	Place of origin (present name)
1.	Boschetti Giuseppe	master salami maker	35, Collalto	Tarcento
2.	Székely Amalia	housewife	30, Debrecen	Debrecen
3.	Boschetti Amalia		8, Debrecen	
4.	Boschetti Etelka		4, Debrecen	
5.	Boschetti Irma		6, Debrecen	
7.	Dreussi Valentino	waiter domestic	15, San Daniele	San Daniele del Friuli

In the conduct of family business, Giovanni Ceschia should have succeeded Andrea Boschetti by virtue of his entrepreneurial skills and by the trust he had gained among their workers. But due to his early death, the company passed into the hands of his son, also named Andrea, who left the business and moved to Máramarossziget (today Sighetu Marmătiei in Romania) with his wife, Teréz Kolda (Teréz was from the Kaderász family, also of Italian origins, whose members founded the first patisserie in Debrecen). There they dealt with real estate investments³⁵ (Kálnási 2005, 248).

In addition to the already mentioned family members, the sources reveal another Boschetti, who was interested in the production of bricks and tiles. Several advertisements mention Krisztián Boschetti ("Death notices"), husband of Lujza Ceschia (daughter of Maria Boschetti), who also had interests in Kaba (1892) and Püspökladány (1894–1895). According to the family legend, after entrusting his factory to his foreman, Krisztián Boschetti returned home to Friuli with his family, where they spent 11 years. After that, they went back to Hungary and sold the factory, then they bought a smaller plant in Püspökladány. The story is also confirmed by advertisements posted in the press during that period.³⁶

But the true fame of the Friulian entrepreneurs is due to the Vidoni family. The three 'brothers' arrived in Debrecen from Sornico (hamlet of Artegna) in the first half of the 1880s. The precedents of their arrival date back to 1800 when Giovanni Vidoni's grandfather carried out the occupation inherited from his father, that is, the production and sale of cheeses in the Hungarian plain. Following his father's example, Giovanni went to Hungary and Bavaria to work as a brickmaker, then in the winter, he devoted himself to the sale of roasted chestnuts. Like his uncles, who had already been in Vienna for 30 years, he also worked at the Prater with other Friulians. There they sold the products of the Boschetti factory of Debrecen and then decided to start a similar business purchasing the equipment of Boschetti, who in the meantime had

35 Based on the research of Csapó Katalin, descendant of the Boschetti family and on the memories of Vörös Ilona (great-granddaughter of Maria Boschetti); *Központi Értesítő*, 11 November 1876, 1.

36 *Debreczen-Nagyvárad Értesítő*, 27 November 1892, 2. and 28 April 1895, 5.

retired from business (Zanini 1964, 281–282). According to the memoirs, the women of the Boschetti family who remained in Debrecen worked for the Vidonis, washing the workers' aprons, in order to earn at least a small amount of income after the closure of their factory and after having dispersed the family assets.³⁷

The Vidoni brothers founded their company in Gemona del Friuli with the partners Giovanni Fabbro of Artegna and Osvaldo Moro of Treppo Carnico, ex-worker of the Andretta salami factory in Ljubljana, both already residing in Debrecen in 1886.³⁸ They began manufacturing in a small workshop then bought the land between Magos *utca* [street] (from 1929 Monti ezredes *utca* [street])³⁹ and Domb *utca* [street], where they built their new factory. Thanks to the success of their goods in 1926, they founded a new factory in Himberg, under the direction of the family members residing in Vienna (Zanini 1964, 283).

We only have some hints about the networking and the recruiting strategies of the Friulian entrepreneurs. They brought most of their workforce from Friuli, therefore we can suppose they had good connections in order to find the workers suited for the job. The sources examined for this research mention the fact that the Vidonis gathered the experts through recruitment organised by the Contessi family of Gemona. Renato Contessi, like his father and grandfather, visited the families every autumn to find the most suitable people to work in the Hungarian, Viennese and Eastern European factories. One of the uncles (Antonio Giuseppe or Michele) worked in the Debrecen factory and his father, Tarcisio, was employed in the Vidoni company. The ledger kept in Artegna is also a very precious source because it contains information related to the family's activities and workers.⁴⁰ Since it contains notes related to the Debrecen factory, more than 30 Friulians had been identified who came from Artegna, Buia, Gemona, Majano, Tricesimo and Udine. In more than 20 cases, their profession or job was also reported.

	Name	Occupation	Period	Place of origin
1.	Boezio Francesco and his brother Angelo	salami maker	(1902–22)	(Borgo) Zucco Borgo Zuch
2.	Colaone Giovanni and his brother	salami maker Debreczen	(1907–20)	di Mont(e)

37 Based on the research of Csapó Katalin, descendant of the Boschetti family and on the memories of Vörös Ilona (great-granddaughter of Maria Boschetti).

38 Archivio di Stato di Udine (State Archives of Udine from here indicated ASU) Atti dei notai, Parte moderna, Pontotti Pietro, Busta 676. and 700., fasc. 1090. and MNL HBML VII. 4/d. 96 d.

39 Colonel Alessandro Monti's Italian legion was aligned in Debrecen and fought alongside the Hungarian forces in 1848–49 independence war. To his homage the Vidoni salami factory's street was renamed *Monti ezredes utca* in 1929. MNL HBML IV. B. 1405/b.

40 Data obtained from the documentation of the family property, and published with the permission of Barbara Vidoni.

	Name	Occupation	Period	Place of origin
3.	De Monte Marcello (Brother-in law of Giovanni Battista Vidoni, foreman between 1919 and 1940)	salami workmanship	(1907–13)	Artegna
4.	Goi Giovanni	worker and domestic in Debreczen	(1906–13)	Sornico
5.	Goi Giuseppe	salami maker	(1913–14)	Sornico
6.	Jacuzzi Maria		(1902)	Artegna
7.	Menis Giovanni	salami maker	(1905–14)	
8.	Menis Pietro and his brother Co(g)gio	salami maker	(1905–14)	
9.	Valza(c)chi Giuseppe and Eugenia (his daughter)		(1902–17) (1914–19)	Sornico
10.	Giacomini Luigi ⁴¹	worker Debreczen	(1907)	Buja
11.	<i>Fratelli</i> Alessi (brothers)	salami makers Debreczen	(1907–8)	Colosemano (sic!)
12.	Piemonte Giovanni	salami maker	(1915–17)	Buja
13.	Blasotti Pietro	salami maker	(1913–14)	Campo
14.	Copetti Emilio Angelo	worker	(1905–12)	Gemona
15.	Copetti Francesco	salami maker	(1912–15)	
16.	Cucchiero Luigi	salami maker	(1911–14)	Gemona Campo
17.	Gubiani Leonardo	worker in Debreczen	(1907)	Gemona
18.	Lepore Giovanni Moschion	salami maker	(1913–14)	Goud
19.	Marchetti Lorenzo	salami maker	(1913–23)	Gemona Campo
20.	Toffano Ferdinando	salami maker; in Debreczin	(1905–14)	Gemona
21.	Bertoldi Francesco Bertoldi Francesco	salami maker	(1913–14) (1907–13)	Beivars (Chiavris Udine) Felettano
22.	Tosolini Antonio	salami maker Debreczen	(1906–22)	Felettano
23.	Mattioni Giuseppe	salami maker in Debreczen	(1914)	?
24.	Calligaro Tomaso	salami maker Debreczen	(1907)	–

41 This occupation is traditional in the Giacomini family; they are still running a butcher's shop in Tarcento where two photos of the workers of the Vidoni factory of Debreczen can be seen.

In other cases, in the absence of registration of the activity, the type of relation shall be based only on the financial statements:

	Name	Time period	Place of origin
1.	Adami Sebastiano	(1893–1911)	Artegna
2.	De Monte Giovanni Battista	(1908–21)	
3.	Foschia Luigi	(1912–14)	Sornico
4.	Fratelli Giacomo e Isidoro Goi-Dreulin	(1902–20)	
5.	Picco Giuseppe	(1907–25)	Artegna
6.	Comoretti Domenico	(1903–22)	Buja
7.	Sava Arturo	(1906–10)	
8.	Lepore Antonio Barbin	(1898–1914)	Borgo – Gemona
9.	Madile Giuseppe	(1904–13)	Maniaglia
10.	Madile Ottavio Margarit	(1916–23)	
11.	Sangoi Leonardo	(1895)	Ospedaletto
12.	Plos Giacomo	(1909–20)	Treviaco (sic!) Majano

Apart from the ledger there are also other sources containing data of the factory workers. Thanks to these, the list of employees can be completed with the names of Adami Ilario-Leopoldo, Giovanni Battista Sava (from Buja) and Guglielmo Ca(n)doni, butcher, present in the last years of the Debrecen factory. It is also worth mentioning Giacomo Copetti, who worked in the Himberg factory.⁴² Thanks to local research, we know the name of Antonio Forgiarini, who worked all his life for the Vidonis, and of his son, Antonio jr., who was also an employee of the salami factory (Gubiani n.d. 48).

Conclusions

The sources containing information on Friulian seasonal workers are multifarious and they offer an overview of their activity and of the Friulian emigration towards Hungary in general. The mass migration of the time and the immigrants continuously arriving in large numbers until the outbreak of World War I were significant especially in some sectors, such as construction and meat processing. The aforementioned firms and entrepreneurs from the meat industry played an important part in the diffusion of a new product in Hungary: the salami. It should be emphasised that apart from Budapest and Szeged, Debrecen also played an important role in this field, given that, alongside Pick and Herz, the Vidoni company was one of largest salami factories in Hungary at the time.

42 ASU Partito Nazionale Fascista, B. 7. fasc. 44.

It clearly emerges that entrepreneur families have played an important role in initiating and keeping the Friulian migration process towards Hungary employing Friulian workers. The activities of the Friulian factories are considerable not only from the point of view of the industrial history, but also for a better understanding of the migratory processes. Finally, the collected data help to broaden the horizon of historical knowledge on Italian-Hungarian relations and help to reconstruct a part of Debrecen's history.

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