

**Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Humanities
Doctoral School of History**

PHD THESIS

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Guta HUNGARIANS of Medgyesegyháza

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I. Dissertation history, objectives, research methods

As a native of the town Medgyesegyháza with ancestry who live or lived in Guta and also with Slovak progenitors I have been affected by the event related to the Czechoslovak-Hungarian population exchange. My mother has ancestry from Ocsova because of the 18th century resettlements and also she is a Slovak native on her mother's side, my father who was born in Mezőhegyes but grew up in Medgyesegyháza decided to move to Békéscsaba in 1981. Since my early childhood I have spent my summers in Medgyesegyháza with my grandparents and relatives and this has given me the opportunity to get acquainted with the daily life of the town and also to study it. During my university years I have become interested in the settlement history and the population exchange of Medgyesegyháza besides the research of the 1848-49 Fight for Freedom III. Szeged Honvéd Battalion Association for Protection of Tradition and Culture My observations during the fieldwork, the participants and parts of the interviews are from this period and also from the couple of weeks' time spent there in the summers. Under the supervising of Dr. Judit Pihurik a thesis was written of the topic in 2004. at the University of Szeged, Faculty of Humanities, Department of History. As a doctoral student I have also been engaged with the various types of traditional Hungarian costumes since 2008. In 2011 the research of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian population exchange had motivated the members of the Local Municipality of Medgyesegyháza to offer me the opportunity of publishing my research result. They also asked for help with the gathering of the family names listed on the monument erected on the 26th of September, 2014.

The Czechoslovak-Hungarian population exchange is a tragic period of the history of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia immediately after the Second World War. In many aspects this period is still undiscovered and decades of silence surrounded the former persecutions. The "socialist historiography" assessed the measures imposed on the German and Hungarian minorities as part of the anti-fascist struggle. At the turn of the 1970-80's and later - especially in the two decades that followed the change of regime - more opportunities were given for the objective exploration of the events. However the obliteration of the Benes Decrees has not happened yet. The archives have been opened to researchers the sufferers recalled their memoirs of the period of their persecution. Therefore numerous monographs, studies, essays and conference proceedings were published by Hungarian and Slovak authors.

However, it can be observed that most of the authors attend primarily to the political background of the population exchange, its history of diplomacy and partly to the conduct of its procedure. The research of the ethno-cultural proceeding with its still present integration consequences of the local population exchange and its micro- and oral- historical aspects and overshadowed. Social historical researches in the last half a century tried to explore the characteristics of some local societies by micro-historical methods. Claiming that knowing the socio-economic processes can be achieved only by accomplishing accurate knowledge of the constituent elements would serve and make it credible. According to Gyáni Gábor *"The exploration of the average person's life, the governing norms of behaviour, the ethical principles, beliefs assume a entirely new method of the historiographical knowledge what is completely different from the traditional narrative of political events and the practice of the social science writings analyzing the both the structural and functional connections."* (GYÁNI 1997.) The micro-historians are convinced that the micro-history is the reconstruction of the underwent reality (experienced) in an attempt to track down the invisible structures and in terms of these and

the resources the experienced reality is finally articulated. In other words, micro-history tries to interpret and estimate the individual and collective behaviour (practices) of the person from the past and it can be unravelled as proper sources. As researches aspire not only for the historical source supplements but also for the viewing of the whole personality their aim is the examination of the oral history and the life story (autobiography), although these two areas in both the social anthropology and history are distinct. Interview making is a method effectively used by several disciplines and only the application emphases show discrepancy as sociology, ethnography and anthropology are disciplines that traditionally study the groups and communities and not the individuals while the oral historian records and studies the personal experiences of the individuals. However, because of the effects of some changes rooted in the sociological phenomenology these disciplines incorporate the examination of the individual's life story and career acknowledging that the hidden but essential dimensions of everyday life can only be comprehensive with the help of the life-history researches. Today the validity of the oral history sources is indisputable as a part of the contemporary historical researches although the validity is brought into doubt from several aspects and thus its use. The oral history sources, of course, need to be under critical control just as much as the documentary sources. The historian must crosscheck the information with other sources of evidence and he may only use them in view of this. The oral history researches and the work construction on the results (also) with the use of the authentic testimonies of human life, the integration of the historical research of the groups that had been doomed for silence earlier, the official records, the verification and supplement of the archival documents can fill in a stop-gap function and allow a more subtle and complete historical cognition. But oral history has another, equally important objective, which poses a serious challenge to the academic historiographical tradition, and which goes beyond the scope of most traditionally functions attributed to the historiography. With the use of the subjective evidence it does not try to make history simply more alive but also hands over the possibility of the past exploration to the community members. Oral history makes history more alive and also reinforces ordinary people that they also shape history. The oral history as a method can serve two different aims. One of them is to reconstruct the past and the other is how people interpret the past, what picture emerges from history in the human memory. The narrative sources reveal what people of the bygone times did, how they thought, felt, what they believed in, why they believed in those things what opinion they had about the others, what kind of goals they had and just as important what is being thought today of their deeds. According to Pierre Nora "*Memory is life itself, which is always carried by live groups and therefore are constantly changing. It is subject to the dialectics of remembrance and oblivion. History is always problematic and it is the perfect reconstruction of what no longer exists. Memory is always a timely phenomenon, it is the experience of our connectivity to the eternal now the eternal now; but history is the representation of the past.*" Memory eliminated by history creates the memory locations. (NORA, Pierre 2010. 15.)

The micro-historical oral history study is particularly important in relation to the examination of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian population exchange the study of the problem of the migrants with Slovak origin from Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Romania to moving back to the Czechoslovakia - after the Second World War - called re-emigrants by the Czechoslovakia jurisprudence can expand the researcher's own natural culture image. In addition to this it also gives an opportunity for the research of specific problems, the analysis of their integration process allows the Slovak and Hungarian fold culture development in Hungary and Slovakia to the present. It also helps to monitor the changes emerging from the connection among the culture of the relocated ethnic groups and others with different culture. During the Slovak-Hungarian

population exchange the Slovaks at the time living in Hungary for two centuries changed places with the Hungarian population living Czechoslovakia for two millennia. But while the Hungarians living in Czechoslovakia were popularly and culturally integral part of the Hungarian nation : they had the same language, belief, traditions, morals and customs, etc. until the Slovak ethnicity-related deployments in the 18th century in Hungary emerged away from the coherent Slovak ethnic group and wedged into the scattered islands and islets of different ethnic groups. The circumstances among which the Slovaks arrived were entirely new compared to the preceding ones in their homeland. As a result, new elements appeared in their ancient material and spiritual culture that is the mutual exchange of the Slovak and Hungarian cultural values started. Explanation of changes in popular culture becomes complete when we get to know the culture and environment where the "re-emigrants" came from. The research of the migration processes also provides an opportunity to explain the impact of the different cultural processes, the conversion of the cultures and the processes of the integration, assimilation and acculturation. I observe all these in the context of family history during which I also touch upon the relocations of my Hungarian relatives from Guta and their personal history of resettlement and integration process highlighting my meeting of my grandfather from Guta and my grandmother with ancestors from Osova and also the lives of the descendants in the community.

During the long research I could try a variety of ethnographical, cultural anthropological and sociological methods. During my fieldwork I used the ethnographic, anthropological and sociological research methods to collect data such as participant, participant observation and questioning, qualitative and structured interviews, questionnaires. At the data recording and interviews I usually tried to feedback to the same people - a few years later - and asked them about the same topics several times. In cases of disagreement, difficulties in interpretation I have tried to take into more interviewees besides the "key interviewees" this way developed the "control group" who were asked checking and clarifying questions regularly. That contributed to the interviews and to the filtering of the subjective content memoirs. The interviews, memoirs as well as the data reporter quotes pasted into the main text in this thesis not only serve the aim to make my statements more natural or enjoyable but also to serve as case studies.

At the processing of the historical and recent materials I have used the research methods of history, cultural history, ethnography, cultural anthropology and sociology and due to their diversity Kósa László called this method of research "modern diasporas research".

II. The structure and content of the thesis

In view of these research guidelines and procedures, firstly (Chapter 3) I briefly introduce the historical and political events that led to the Czechoslovak-Hungarian population exchange agreement from the first peace treaties closing the First World War to the declaration of the Košice government program and the beginning of the deportations. I also imply the committees conduction the population exchange such as the Czechoslovak Resettlement Commission (CSAB), the Anti-Fascist Front of the Slavs of Hungary (AFS) and the Hungarian Resettlement Steering Committee (MÁK) and also the circumstances of the reslovakisation and the unilateral evacuation plan of 200 thousand Hungarians The ethnical policies of Czechoslovakia and Hungary between the world wars from the perspectives of the Slovaks of Hungary and the Hungarians of Slovakia are also uttered.

After the discussing the historical background of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian population exchange, the history of Guta (Chapter 5) and Medgyesegyháza (Chapter 4) before the population exchange the period between the two world wars is also being presented. In case of the

Hungarians and the Slovaks from Medgyesegyháza I examined the language, culture, traditions, husbandry customs and their identity consciousness. I also examined according to Gyivicsán Anna the state of the language exchange, bilingualism and the assimilation processes first linguistic, economical and later intellectual ones accelerated by the Hungarian nationality policy and the mostly poor Slovaks with dual cultures.

The dissertation's mainstream (Chapter 6) is to demonstrate the practical realization of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian population exchange in the case of my home village Medgyesegyháza and the Czechoslovak Hungarian village, Guta that is 350 km far from Medgyesegyháza but became its "twin-village" as the result of the population exchange agreement. The study also explores the in- and out- settlings in 1947 and 1948 whether it conducted upon official request or voluntarily, when and how they happened and also the loss of intellectual, material values and personal ties resulted from these migrations. The study also includes the circumstances of the Hungarians arriving to Medgyesegyháza from Guta, their initial difficulties, the discriminatory actions and atrocities by the local authorities and the general public such as evictions, nicknames, the types of material benefits and organizations facilitating their integration.

After the practical realization of the population exchange I will speak about the integration process of the Guta Hungarians and their descendants in Medgyesegyháza (Chapter 7). And also of the modification of the town's distribution of nationality, language, religion, the methods of communication with their homeland, the development of their culture and its changes in the new environment, the existence and disappearance of the Guta customs, the group endogamy and religious characteristics of their marriages and the consequences of the "mixed marriages". I also present from mainly the point of view of the Hungarian nationality policy the still ongoing assimilation and integration process of the Slovaks who did not embrace the opportunity and did not leave their homeland. "Mixed marriages" have a great deal of importance in the view of the assimilation as for the language exchanges occurred the soonest within these marriages simultaneously with the change of consciousness and ethnicity as well. As a form of summary I would like to also discuss particularly with reference to the results of research of Béla Angyal and Magdalene Paríková the history of Guta after the population exchange.

In the last part of the thesis (Chapter 9) I deal with the events (commemorations, celebrations, meetings) and memorial signs (plaque, monument, statue, headboard, etc.) connected to the 50th and 60th anniversary of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian population exchange what by the disappearance of memory and the death of the experiencing those became dominant. This examination is particularly important as these incidences of population exchange were surrounded by decades of silence. Without the support of the existing political system there was no possibility for the under goers of the events for any type of remembrance or erecting any type of memorial marks. This opportunity they gained only after the change of regime and it still shows a growing tendency. A new holiday was born. The Hungarian National Assembly issued a resolution on the 4th of December in 2012 that announced the date of April the 12th to be the Memorial Day of the Evacuees of Upper Hungary. This date is the starting date of the deportations.

III. Literature and Resources

Regarding the Czechoslovak-Hungarian population exchange there are several monographs, studies, essays and conference proceedings that were published and also these publications show a steadily growing tendency. Important to mention the following works: Endre Arató titled

"Studies from the History of the Slovaks from Hungary between 1918-1975", Sándor Balogh's study of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak population exchange convention was published in 1979 in the periodical *Történelmi Szemle*. Also in 1979 the work of Kálmán Janics titled "The Years of Statelessness" was published in English and later also in Hungarian in 1989.

After the change of regime in 1990, Karel Kaplan was the first to publish about the Czechoslovakia national issues 1945-1948. Štefan Šutaj, a historian from Košice is the author of several very important works in Slovak. One of these writings is the first thorough critical analysis of the reslovakisation. In 1993 the author published a summery overview of the situation of the Hungarian minority from 1945 to 1948, in the same year he issued a small monograph about the history of the 1949 southern operation. In addition to this Šutaj released several other issues about the disenfranchisement of the Hungarians in Slovakia and other sub-issues. Ján Bobák' book is a well-documented and precisely composed but also written from a highly anti-Czech and anti-communist point of view and at numerous parts he is also nationally biased. The published work of Alena Bačova also falls into the category of the works carried out by the Slovak authors. In her book she examines the historical changes of the ethnical identity. The Slovak ethnologist Magdalena Paríková had carried out cultural anthropological researches among the Slovaks who were previously relocated from Hungary into Southern Slovakian villages. The results were published in Slovak and German languages. However the most comprehensive monographs were written by Catherine Vadkerty about the Hungarian communities in Slovakia's history from 1945b to 1948, about the reslovakisation, the deportations of the Czech Republic and the internal installations and the exchange of population. The merit of work is to present the major political decisions and their implementation at regional and local levels in parallel. Hungarian authors have also published a number of works on the subject since 1989. In 1992 Imre Molnár and Kálmán Varga published memoirs, documents in connection with the deportations in the Czech Republic. In 1995 László Tóth collected and composed the Hungarian political memorandums in Slovakia from the period. In 1988 Sándor Balogh and Margit Földesi edited the selected source materials of the wartime indemnification of Hungary including the reports of the Štrbské pleso from 1949. Agnes Tóth's book about the deportation of the Germans of Hungary and the contemporary consequences of the Hungarian-Slovak exchange of population also belongs to the monographic elaborations. Another professional summary of the history of the consequences of the population exchange was published in 2000 as the work of József Kugler which is primarily deals with the questions of the deportation of the Hungarians of Slovakia from the Southern Lowland.

In 1991 was published the book of Zoltán Újváry titled "My Homeland Homeless". The book presents the years of disenfranchisement and its historical, sociological and ethnographical issues through the reminiscence of a peasant man from Gömör. After the works of Imre Molnár, Kálmán Varga and Zoltán Újváry the memoirs of the stakeholders of the deportations of the Czech Republic and Hungary and other Hungarians from the highland were published in a selection collected by Zsigmond Zalabai in 1995 titled *Magyar Jeremiád* and edited in 2003 by László Szarka titled "The Memoirs of the Deportations of the Hungarians of Slovakia 1945-1948". This work contains various memoirs, studies and documentations. There are also some monographs that are worth of mentioning such as the one titled *Homeless Memory*, edited by Imre Molnár and László Szarka. It commemorates the 60th anniversary of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian population exchange. The other published conference volume titled "Trains North and South" what was published by the Nógrád County Archives and the National Ethnic Minority Research Institute in 2010 edited by Cecilia Szederjesi. It contains the works of 17 Slovak,

Slovak of Hungary, and Hungarian authors about the history of the Slovak-Hungarian population exchange following the Second World War.

However, the greatest interest and numerical development can be observed in the local historical literature. Many concerned Slovakian and Hungarian settlements issued occasional publications for the 50th and 60th anniversary of the deportations in which important documents were published. Among these belongs the work of Béla Angyal whose publication is engaged in the history of Guta between 1945 and 1948. From the Hungarian processing, the most successful ones are the regional and county based ones such as the works of Árpád Fazekas and Zoltán Horváth. The work titled "With White Sheets" and was written by Péter László. It explores the deportations of Tolna County and it was published in 2003. In 2011 the volume of history studies edited by Lajos Izsák was published about the history of Negyed. In this study the work of János Gombos touches upon the events related to the settlement's population exchange. The issue has also a very rich literature on the history of diplomacy among which the works Sándor Balogh, Lajos Izsák, Árpád Popély, Ágnes Tóth, László Tóth and László Szarka stand out. Besides the above mentioned ones there are numerous studies and journalistic writings were published about the topic in both countries Hungary and Slovakia.

The history and the culture of the Slovaks of Hungary is a topic of which many historical, ethnographical, sociological literary works, studies, essays, monographs and publications were dealing with. The recommendatory bibliography of these works was prepared by Ferenc Radványi which serves as a source for researches on the subject. Despite the abundant literature it can be concluded that quite a few historical processes were made of the Hungarian Slovaks up till today as opposite to the assimilation, migration, identity and culture investigation of the Slovaks of Hungary of which a large number of jobs were carried out. From the period before the democratic transformation, from the works with the reference to the county Békés the most outstanding one is the work of Lajos Haan titled The History of Békéscsaba. This monograph is prominent because it is bilingual (Slovak and Hungarian) and it initiated the publishing of similar type of works. It is also important to mention the work of Mihály Zsilinszky who was in the first half of the 20th century the Secretary of State and supported the preservation and the scientific cultivation of the Slovak folk culture and played a significant role in the formation of the museum of Békéscsaba. Adolf Pechány commissioner's reports provided in-depth information about the assimilation of the Slovaks in Hungary. The first results of the ethnographic collection and processing of scientific research, were published in 1975 and since then 12 volumes have been issued in the series of *Národopis Slovákov v Maďarsku* (Ethnography of the Slovaks of Hungary). An International Folk Ethnicity Research Conference series was held in Békéscsaba in the 1970s and 1980s. The presentation summarizing volumes process the research ethnographic conceptual and methodological issues, the Hungarian-Slovak coexistence of assimilation, acculturation implications of the Slovak folk culture change and in addition the problem of "repatriated" and the possibilities of its research. Among the socio-historical works of Zoltán Ács, Endre Arató, Alajos Kovács, Imre Polányi, Ferenc Szabó, Lóránt Tolkovszky, and from the investigators of the migratory processes János Sirácky should be mentioned.

Because of the initiative of the Slovak intellectuals the Slovak Research Institute (Slovenský výskumný ústav) was established in Békéscsaba with the support of the Association of Slovaks in Hungary in 1990 after the change in regime. The Institute is responsible exclusively for the research of the past and present of the Slovaks in Hungary from historical, linguistic, ethnographical and sociological perspectives. So far two major publications appeared in Hungarian and Slovak languages, in 1993 the „Atlas slovenských nárečí v Maďarsku” (The Atlas of the Slovak Dialects in Hungary) and in 1996 the „Atlas ľudovej kultúry Slovákov v

Mad'arsku" (The Atlas of the Folk Culture of the Slovaks of Hungary). The ethnographical works are enriched with the work of András Krupa who collected the beliefs, habits and folk tales of the county Békés, the folktale and custom collection of Lami István published in 2002, the works of György Tábori, János Koppány and the musicological activities of György Ando. About the cultural and linguistic status of the Slovaks there are some works that give us a comprehensive picture such as the volume written by Anna Gyivicsán published in 1993 titled "Native Language, Culture and Community", the corporate work of Anna Gyivicsán and András Krupa titled "The Dimensions of National Life and Culture" in 2003 and the book "The Slovaks in Hungary" published in the 16. volume, of the *Változó világ*. The studies of János Gombos and István Tóth, about the language Mária Zsilák and Klára Fazekasné Bárh give plentiful information about the history of the Slovaks in Hungary and the works of János Gombos and József Kugler give abundant information about the processes of migration. Related literature to the assimilation of the last decade is Gábor Gyáni's "The Concept of Assimilation in the Hungarian History of the Society". The volumes published in 2004 by the Board of Central Statistical Office of County Békés deal with the demographic characteristics of the Slovak population in Hungary in which new studies or parts of some previous studies can be found by György Ando, János Gombos, Anna Gyivicsán, Erzsébet Hornokné Uhrin, András Krupa és Mátyásné Palyusik.

There are countless historical, ethnographic, literature and work of sociology, studies monographs and publications dealing with the history, culture and relations of the Slovak-Hungarians. With regard to the population exchange the work of János Liszka is outstanding. It was published in 2002 under the title of "The Ethnography of the Slovak Hungarians". In his work Liszka calls the attention to various problems such as the incompleteness of the ethnographic researches of the Slovak-Hungarians, its methodological problems, impasse of the archaism and the peasantry oriented research method, and also the gaps in the research of the changes, interactions and phase-shifting in time of the social stratification of folk culture. The book fills a gap on this issue, which in addition to the presentation of ethnographic research in the history of the region, also reviews the effects on the popular culture. The author also draws a comprehensive picture of the popular culture of the Hungarians in Slovakia restricted to the regions. After this he is discussing the changes resulting from the imperious changes on the popular culture in the 20th century. The study of the life of people from Guta in this thesis is based on the works of Béla Angyal and Magda Fehérváry which was published in 1992 titled "The Traditional Husbandry of Guta in the first part of the 20th Century". In this volume of studies there are also works of some other authors such as Gudmon Ilona writes about the agriculture of Guta, Ildikó Gaál about the fruit gardening, Lídia Varga about the nutrition and József Liszka about the fairs traditions. Other notable publication from 2009 is the series of the local history and ethnography of Guta and its region published by the Viktor Palkovich Society.

However the literary sources of the local history and folk culture are not as incomplete. The traditions of Medgyesegyháza there are hardly any description. We can have description of those only by the fragmentary recollections made by Mihály Karsai who was a local librarian and from the notes of Ádám Zsilinszky who was a local of Medgyesegyháza. The sociological studies of Károly Zsilinszky, a minister of the evangetic church gives us an insight into the period before the First World War of the traditions and customs of the Slovaks of Békéscsaba. The only study that is about the history of Medgyesegyháza was carried out by Ferenc Szabó and was published in 1993. Some other studies deal with the following topics, Imre Szatmári and Csaba Vágó studies the early history of the settlement, Ferenc Szabó studied the life of the 18th -19th century here, László Halasi dealt with the formation of the parishes and congregations, Ádám Zsilinszky

about the trading and marketing of the village. Also in this volume there are the writings of János Pintér and László Baross about their world famous wheat improvement, Sándor Hévizi's about the history of the place names of the outskirts settlements and -the already mentioned - Károly Zsilinszky 's social studies.

In addition to the technical literature there are also several volumes of contemporary, period press materials, publications and statistics that can serve as sources. Among the press materials the numbers of the Békés County Releases, the Békés County news, the People of Békés, the Newspaper of Medgyesegyháza, the New Home, the Sloboda, the Slovenska Jednota (Jednota) and the Viharsarok were added to the research. Numerous analysis of agricultural, ethnicity, native language, occupational and religious figures are built into the thesis with the help of the Central Statistical Office (KSH), the Hungarian Statistical Publications (MSK). The result of the census from the years 1991, 2001, 2011, and the census referring to the native language from the year 1910, 1920, 1930 were used and also the draft of the factories of the Hungarian agriculture from the year 1935 and the population, land- and animal census of the highland from the year 1938. Also the publications of the Historical Statistics Volumes (TTA) were used from the year 1941 the census with the occupational, religious, native language details.

Another great unit of the sources are the archival reports which in case of Medgyesegyháza are fragmentary. The 1921-1950 documents of Medgyesegyháza had belonged to the county of Arad and some of the archives burned but at the beginning of the 20th century all the remains were obtained to the county of Békés. In 1977 the documents of the Medgyesegyháza Grand County Council Executive Committee 1950-1989 were transferred to the Hungarian National Archives of County Békés in Gyula. However, most of the dossier can be found in the BÉML Bureau of the Békés County Archives. From the records between 1920 and 1950 primarily the protocols and administrative documents of the general meetings, and in the case of the documents from 1950-1989, the reports of the Permanent Committee meetings, the minutes of birth, the election, census, land records, cadastre were examined which were complemented and the expanded the so far unexplored history of Medgyesegyháza. Additional data was given by the Hungarian National Archives, Budapest in connection with the population exchange, migration records, directories, statistical reports and also from the National Széchenyi Library and Manuscript Collection the three volume historical work of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak population exchange published by Károly Szabó and his colleagues.

The marriage registrars of the Medgyesegyháza Lutheran Church and Catholic Church were also an indispensable help in the examination of the information on the "mixed marriages" and the endogamy of the denominational group of the Guta-born Hungarians after the population exchange. A great deal of additional data was gained about the marriages of the Catholic Hungarian of Guta from the I. Volume of the Parish Register of the Jurymen of Medgyesegyháza (October 3, 1922 from December 25, 1955) and the II. volume about the newly-baptism (1956-present) from the II volume of the Parish Register of the Medgyesegyháza Roman Catholic (1968 to January 1, 1945 onwards), the III. volume of the marriages between the Slovaks of Medgyesegyháza and the Hungarians of Guta, and the 1891-1994 A/4. volume of the Lutheran Church of Medgyesegyháza.

Finally, to make my research more colourful and lively I have used the documents (birth certificates, letters, data sheets and photography) in my own possession and also the ones given by my relatives and the people of the settlement in connection with the population exchange.

IV. Summary

On 27 February 1946, the Czechoslovak-Hungarian population exchange agreement was signed in Budapest, which "was born under duress". It was seen as a glory and a unity by the Czechoslovak government and the press however it did not solve the ethnic problems created by the Second World War. The population exchange arrangement did not go smoothly. Under the convention, the Slovaks volunteered for resettlement, while the majority of the Hungarian families was appointed and was forced to relocate according to the setup census offices. As the Czechoslovak party appointed the properties for exchange and the transportations on the basis of their registry in most of the cases they did not conjugate families with equal properties of value and the wealthier Hungarian families were primarily relocated. However the Czechoslovak party did not comply with the agreement that was suggested by the Hungarian government. This agreement maximised the capitation therefore this violation resulted in the continuous turnover of the total inventories. During the relocation of 1947 and 1948 all together 472 families, or 2,026 people were relocated from Guta far from their homes in Hungary to places such as Pitvaros, Mezőberény, Medgyesegyháza, Kondoros, Tótkomlós, Békéscsaba. Between 1947 and 1948 in the aggregate 77 families or 323 people were resettled from Guta to Medgyesegyháza. As a result of the population exchange the figures of religious, native language, ethnic data and also the living conditions changed drastically. Although basically because of the settlement employments, the compensations and the specific financial benefits the proportions of possession conditions have not changed,

Because of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian migration two towns with different historical backgrounds and cultural traditions came into contact with each others. In Medgyesegyháza the majority of the population was Slovak and Hungarians lived there in a smaller ratio. The Protestants who arrived from Békéscsaba in the 19th century living in poorer financial circumstances, dual identity and language Slovak population, changed places with the Roman Catholic people with Hungarian identity from Guta, Great Rye Island who lived there since the Middle Ages and were on a higher level of the civic movement therefore the members lived in relative prosperity and engaged in tradition Hungarian farming community. While the Hungarians of Guta were an integral part of the Hungarian nation, the Slovaks of Medgyesegyháza lived far from the cohesive Slovak ethnicity in islands and islets wedged into the multi-ethnic under living conditions that compared to the previous ones in their homeland were quite new. New elements appeared in their ancestral material and spiritual culture and the exchange of the cultural values of the local Slovak and Hungarian population, the assimilation and integration process commenced. Over the times the differences between the two ethnic groups made an appearance only in the denominational affiliation (Augsburg Lutheran, Roman Catholic) and language (Slovakia, Hungary).

Despite of the early process of achieving middle-class status the Slovaks and the Hungarian population of Guta have preserved many archaic elements in their popular culture. However, it was not as traditional as for examples the neighbour settlements such as Nagybánhegyes (neighbour village of Medgyesegyháza) or the neighbour Naszvad (neighbour village of Guta). Due to the Slovak-Hungarian population exchange those Slovaks who left Medgyesegyháza who insist on their traditions more than those who did not intend to relocate. They preserved certain cultural features over the times therefore they could integrate easily into the Hungarian nation who outnumbered other ethnicities because of the population exchange.

From 1949 with the "mixed marriages" in Medgyesegyháza the tradition that the same ethnic group of the same denomination marry slowly receded into the background. As for earlier the Slovaks married the Slovaks, The Hungarians the Hungarians, the Lutheran the Lutheran and the Roman Catholics married the Roman Catholics. This tradition slowly faded away. Because of the dominance of the majority language and the public schools the initial language differences and the resulting conflicts no longer exist. In the settlement the literary use of the Hungarian language became the commonplace to the detriment of the central Slovakia dialect type of Guta Hungarian which was a dialect mixture from the north-Danube, the Great Rye Island and the Slovak population's dialect from the Great Hungarian Plain. Today, the earlier bilingual Slovaks who earlier had dual culture have the typical features of exchanged native language, only speaks Hungarian, only fragments remained in their memories of the earlier spoken Slovak language preserved bilingualism but in the everyday communication they use the Hungarian language and the Slovakian is used only within the family. The growing generation except for some cases have not mastered the language. The conscious language skills complicate the language use. Nowadays in County Békés there are three versions used of the Slovak Language. The most common dialect is spoken by the elder population, the second type is the literary language which was acquired in school by the younger generation and the third one is used by the Lutheran Church which is an archaic biblical version of the Czech language. The (Lutheran) Church, however, does not play a decisive role in the preservation of identity and language in the county anymore. But the Slovak language is becoming increasingly widespread in the high culture and it appears in new fields such as the media, science, politics etc. Thus the Slovak language's functional stratification was expanding and narrowing at the same time as well.

In addition to the linguistic assimilation, cultural assimilation process also took place. The linguistic and cultural assimilation happened at different phases while the cultural assimilation was longer than the linguistic one. The ethnic cohesive power of the minority culture can be experienced when the native language is less present as such a factor. In addition to the mother tongue education, the public cultural institutions, traditional societies, the national government will establish the basis for the development of the national culture. The same tendency is shown in case of the Slovaks of Medgyesegyháza. While today their national authorities, public educational institutions, traditional associations have a large effect on the development of national consciousness, ethnic traditions and culture, of language acquisition it still does not lead to actual conscious linguistic skills or language use. The Slovak population gradually took over elements of the Hungarian culture, but their habits and traditions of between the two world wars and the socialist system nationalities policy did not favour to them so the once important part of everyday life traditions which revitalize the traditional associations live only in the memory.

The Slovak-Hungarian population exchange resulted in not only two geographically remote village's population displacement but also speeded the process of the Slovak population, their integration into the Hungarian population. On the other hand, it also provided for the resettled Guta Hungarians the existence in the nation-state framework but it had torn them away for good from their homeland, original culture which resulted in the loss of certain characteristics.

The integration decades, however, was not easy. The events were surrounded by silence for decades without commemorations there were no opportunities for any commemorations supported by the existing political system. The first commemorations of the population exchange in Slovak and Hungary all over the countries started on its 50th anniversary after the democratic transformation. There were commemorations after this year by year and also at the 60th and 65th

anniversary. These events became dominant more and more together with the disappearance of the experienced peoples' memory. Both in Medgyesegyháza and Guta the descendants consider it very important to commemorate events, erect statues, plaques and memorials besides the building of the town twinning connections. Remembering our ancestors, who suffered years of statelessness full social, economic, political and cultural disenfranchisement and as a warning example for the future - for fear of history repeat itself, or from the opposite direction - that the ethnic conflict cannot be resolved by force.

V. Bibliography

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