

From
Borderland
to
Burgenland

Science, Geopolitics, Identity,
and the Making of a Region

FERENC JANKÓ

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Translated by Iain Coulthard

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It would have been impossible to grow up in the Hungarian city of Sopron on the Austrian-Hungarian border without thinking about Austria. I was able to look over to Austria from the window of our house in Bánfalva (Wandorf in German), to the “Kogel,” the hilly highland between the villages of Marz and Draßburg in Austria, which, since then, has become one of my favorite hiking places. Austrian trains passed by the scene of childhood games and mischief, the former “village,” which became really a suburb of the city then (Fig. 1). My childhood memories include shopping in Austria, the excitement of crossing the border, the uncomfortable sight of the armed border guards on the wooded green border in the mountains or the family’s involvement in *Schwarzarbeit* (i.e., unreported employment).

Since then, my image of Austria has become more subtle after visiting Vienna, Lower Austria and the other Alpine provinces, as well as Burgenland, with its unique name and history, just over the border from Hungary. The reasons behind Burgenland becoming a research topic involve Sopron University and the perspective offered by its education development and research project fourteen years ago. There are many names I should mention when expressing my thanks, and here, first and foremost, I am referring to the reflection and dialog with my colleagues Laura Bertalan and Imre Tóth. I wrote a book with Imre Tóth relatively soon, in 2008, in which we endeavored to set down the common history and geography of the Austrian-Hungarian border region. An important enterprise undertaken with my colleagues in Sopron was the *Burgenland* volume published later, in 2017, in the series *Kárpát-medence régiói* (The regions of the Carpathian basin) due to the work of Attila Fábrián. However, at that time it was already apparent that there were great opportunities for research in the

region, and Sándor Békési pointed out a possible direction in his thought-provoking book published in 2007, in which he writes about the cultural history and perception history of Lake Neusiedl. I would also like to express my thanks to Imre Tóth, one of the reviewers of the Hungarian edition, and to Katalin Szende, József Kücsán, Mrs Imre Varga and the others from whom I had the opportunity to learn, to a certain degree, how to research history. Special thanks to Dear Gyöngyi, Imréné Varga (†), who helped to unravel the seemingly unfathomable handwriting of the Sidaritsch autobiography.

Indeed, initially it seemed that there was relatively little written about the geography of Burgenland, in other words that few authors trained in geography had written about the province. Then as the research progressed, and, first, I became acquainted with the collection of the Eisenstadt regional library (just moved to Mattersburg), where I must especially thank the assistance of Doris Widlhofer and Michael Hess, this preconception changed significantly. It holds a unique impression of the geography of the province, such as the series of yearbooks of the association of Burgenland geographers published between 1977 and 2009, the, unfortunately, last published volume of which was about Sopron. At that time, I worked closely with association officials Emmrich Gager and Karl Trummer, and became acquainted with Vienna geographer Ingrid Kretschmer, who also played a part in the development of my thinking about Burgenland, but I could also mention the participants of the 2009 Vienna *Geographentag*, who travelled to Sopron on a study trip. Thanks also to Petra Svatek for sharing her work and for the Bodo photograph and reviewing the English manuscript of the book, and to Herbert Brettl for the discussion on Lawrence Martin.

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Fig. 1. Greetings from Bánfalva. Picture postcard, circa 1898.

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Most recently, during my continuously accumulating work, the idea arose to shape this research into book form, in which, of course, a large role was played by the approaching 100-year anniversary of the creation of Burgenland. In addition to this, the most important thing was the fact that I became a member of the “10 Generations” Project Lendület Research Group of the MTA Research Center for Humanities headed by Gergely Krisztián Horváth, where Gergely motivated me to examine the transformation of rural Hungary over the course of some 250 years, but especially during the twentieth century, through an in-

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vestigation of Burgenland, ensuring me of his selfless support, and, what is perhaps the most important, he set deadlines for the writing of this book. I hereby thank the members of the research group for their support in the production of the manuscript, Gábor Demeter for help with the preparation of the maps, and I am very grateful to my university department colleague, Zsolt Bottlik for the cartographic work, who created the maps with great patience and professionalism. Also, many thanks to the translator of the book, Iain Coulthard, for his careful and thorough work. I also owe my thanks to the staff of the CEU Press, Emily Poznanski director, Linda Kunos senior editor, Christopher Cox language editor, Sebastian Stachowski designer/photo editor, who with their work played an important role in the preparation of the English manuscript for publication.

Finally, I would like to thank my family for providing the loving background for my work, I wrote my book for them too, and although I had not counted on much interest, in fact hoping that they would not notice, but, unfortunately, they did notice when and how the book was completed.

INTRODUCTION

There has always been interest in Burgenland, primarily from the point of view of historical research, not only from Hungarian and Austrian workshops, but also from further afield. All this is represented in the work of numerous researchers right up to the present day. From the aspect of the history of politics and diplomacy, the way the province came about is enthralling, as is how the people there experienced this change of sovereignty and how the everyday social and economic relationships were transformed. In addition, it is important to identify and examine how the assessment of the landscape and social configuration of an area is influenced by drawing a new borderline between two countries, and thereby creating a new territorial formation on the map.¹ It is worthwhile emphasizing that the annexation of the former German-Western-Hungary (*Deutschwestungarn*) to Austria and the creation of Burgenland became an exciting research topic especially after World War II, after the Iron Curtain came down.

A good example of the geographical research history of the province is provided by Andrew F. Burghardt, who in the scope of American academic scholarship was performing research in Burgenland and Vienna at a time of historic upheaval, between September 1956 and April 1957, processing the history and workings of the province through the collection and analysis of natural and social facts using a positivist American political geography approach. As a result,

1 Haslinger, *Der ungarische Revisionismus*; Haslinger, "A regionális identitás"; Tóth, *A nyugat-magyarországi kérdés*; Békési, *Verklärt und verachtet*; Vares, *The Question of Western Hungary*; Jankó and Tóth, *Változó erővonalak*; Pittaway, "Making peace in the Shadow of War"; Imre, "Burgenland"; Murber, "A burgenlandi imperiumváltás"; Murber, *Határtörténetek*; Murber, *Grenzziehung*; Tóth, *Két Anschluss között*; Törő, "Az osztrák és a magyar történetírás."

in his work he discussed in fine detail the historical background, the establishment of the province, the Sopron referendum, the naming process, the search for a capital, the construction of the provincial infrastructure (roads, railways), as well as the various problems of the economic, political and cultural life there. In this work he turned to the Hungarians with the oriental-romantic approach of someone from the New World, and to the Austrians, the Burgenlanders with understanding. With this study he acquired a doctoral degree at the University of Wisconsin (this institution will also be important later), which was published in 1958 in the form of a typed manuscript with the title *The Political Geography of Burgenland*. Burghardt continued his research in Austria in 1961 and even visited Hungary, in this way shaping the document into a book, which was published in 1962 under the title *Borderland: A Historical and Geographical Study of Burgenland, Austria*; it may be said that no similar work on the province has been published ever since.²

Burghardt was a geographer in an age when it was still believed that by grasping Burgenland with the then conventional scientific tools it was possible to assemble an objective picture from the geographical characteristics of the province. Still acknowledging the accuracy of his research, his analytical objectivity and impartiality, it is easy, however, to realize that this image offered by him is, nevertheless, subjective and relative. Subjective, because he approached the topic with a unique educational background, cultural roots and a set of scientific tools selected based on this, and relative even more so because he examined Burgenland at an unrepeatable historical moment, and in given social (economic, micro- and macro-political) circumstances.

This book, which explicitly refers to Burghardt's work with its title, is about how those studying Burgenland, the creators of the geographical knowledge about it, saw and represented the province; how they grasped the geographical characteristics of the region through their own perspective, influenced by their own professional positions, individual careers, motivations, and by the broader historical and social medium.

* * *

Among my introductory comments I believe I must provide an explanation about the method of writing the place names appearing in this volume. Placing the aspects of uniformity into the foreground, I have characteristically indicated place names in the language of the country to which they belong today.

2 Burghardt, *The Political Geography of Burgenland*; Burghardt, *Borderland*.

In doing so, however, I also try to avoid anachronism with the names. Naturally, in the case of the names of landscape units this is not always clear, in this case I will be essentially using the German names. If a geographical name exists in English and is in common use, I will use that. In other cases, the index will provide information on the Hungarian or German equivalent of a given geographical name, in this way I do not burden the text with place names given in parentheses or in other ways.

Approaches of the book

The book, as the subtitle suggest, is about the geographical discovery of Burgenland, and I am inviting the reader to travel with me on a kind of journey, together, in the imagination, but not as a guidebook visiting the prettiest attractions, or even the most interesting geographical locations of the province, instead presenting the most important geographical processes. It is true though that geographical discoveries appear before many of us in the form of explorers of continents, distant, exotic lands and empires. However, we will see that in the period after the creation of Burgenland in the territorial-political sense, one may feel the moment of literal discovery, talking of the actual “discoverers,” who came from outside endeavoring to get to know and invent the region. In this book I will be illustrating the pursuit of drawing up the geographical profile, of grasping the essence of Burgenland, especially in the exciting context of the interwar period, with the participation of primarily geographers and other thinkers from other disciplines graced with a geographical approach, such as historians, teachers, artists, engineers, and lawyers.

At the same time, I also undertake an analysis of geographical scholarship, where the interesting question arises about how the territory transformed from Hungarian to Austrian, and what knowledge-transformation practices may be identified in, for example, the treatment of the Hungarian heritage of the territory. Another question concerns the extent to which this was a harmonized, institutional process. It will be apparent that after a time an explicit provincial identity policy was formed and practiced, as the provincial government used its own resources to control and facilitate the (academic) discourse on Burgenland.

We must now dwell for a while on the expressions “knowledge creators” or “epistemic workers” and “knowledge-making.” It is important to realize that knowledge, about any object, phenomenon or even a geographical region, is created by someone, and that there have always been the decorated participants in this. In the latter case these were the geographers, ethnographers, histori-

ans; however, even one hundred years ago it was not only they who were exclusively entitled to carry out the knowledge production process. Today, in the age of news and social media, it is not even a little like this. However, we are aware that the development and shaping of the public discourse of many subjects is important for certain groups, such as academic communities or political formations. What is understood as Burgenland is important for the prevailing academic and political elite there. The reason for this is that the prevailing knowledge in connection with the province may determine and influence our actions and thoughts, for example when we choose a school, workplace or place to make a home, our economic investments, where we travel for tourism purposes, and even our well-being.

Our knowledge of a given region or landscape may seem ready-made for the layperson, because the natural environment or society, at least on the meso- and macro-scales, does not appear to be in visible motion or transformation. However, the writing of the history of Burgenland also has a history (historiography), and this is no different in the case of the creation of geographical knowledge either. In this way this book fits in the latter, in the series of works on the history of geographical knowledge, on the acquisition of geographical knowledge about given regions, naturally at times digressing over to the overlapping field of historiography as well.³ Using these analogies the creation of the geography of Burgenland: its discovery or invention was, as it will be seen below, at once both a mission and an academic undertaking. This “project” simultaneously mobilized financing resources, publishers and institutions, and, in the same way, written sources, books, studies, statistical data, paintings, photographs, poems, along with landscapes, villages and towns, and, naturally, authors and epistemic workers and communities.

Geographical discovery, or the history of the creation of geographical knowledge, is one of the approaches taken by the book, the main aspect of which is a detailed understanding of the past, the exploration of the past in its own richness, which may also involve lessons to be learned by the present. This represents a step backward from the “present,” as we do not wish to only deal with the past from the viewpoint of the present, nor only those things which are interesting in the past that help to explain the present. We are not only curious about what was added in the past to the picture of Burgenland recognized to-

3 Atkinson, “Geographical Knowledge and Scientific Survey in the Construction of Italian Libya”; Bowd and Clayton, „Emmanuel de Martonne”; Golinski, *Making Natural Knowledge*; Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition*; Winichakul, *Siam Mapped*; Withers, “How Scotland Came to Know Itself”; Withers, *Scotland since 1920*.

day, but, in completeness, about how the witnesses of the various ages saw the province with their different motivations, qualifications, and thought-ideology frameworks, as the actors of the institutions they represent and the epistemic workers writing-commenting on various forums. Those who in their own age cultivated their disciplines culturally embedded their own historical-social context, objectively according to their own beliefs, yet still, were in actual fact, subjectively engaged. In other words, the essence of the approach is that it is not only the knowledge created that is of interest, and certainly not only the part of it that is relevant today, but the process and circumstances of the creation. To achieve this, to the extent possible, the careers of the authors and the historical development of their work had to be explored, with constant consideration to the context of the appearance of the academic work, the writing. By comparing, linking and analyzing a great many individual studies, research projects, and academic endeavors relating to a given region, i.e., Burgenland in the present case, an exciting geographical dialog, a history of academic discipline and mentality, in other words an academic discourse will emerge. To be more precise we will be able to identify a plurality of discourses, because, especially in the various ages, the perspectives, the explanations of reality have all grasped the geographical essence of the province in different ways. Thus, a geographical region may be considered a cultural product, the geographical representation of which, its conception, perception and vision, existing in a state of continual change, and it may be that as we approach the present, we become more and more the captives of our own perspective.

It is here that the other approach used in the book comes into play. I present today's image of Burgenland through my own discovery, my own perspective, with this examination feeding mainly from the conventional, empirical-positivist academic picture. The reason for this is that I am curious as to how the present geographical image of Burgenland developed, and I will focus on those aspects of the past that explain the present. In other words, here I will attempt to explain the present geographical profile, including its development, of a province, Burgenland, annexed to and becoming a part of Austria. In chapter seven dealing with this I provide a frame for the chapters coming before it, a subjective closure with my own, subjective picture of Burgenland established in this way. In the same chapter, I will also take the Burgenland discourse of the second half of the twentieth century up to the present day with its development and modernization in focus. There will be no lack of context here either: the points of comparison of this investigation mobilizing statistical data being the bordering regions of Lower Austria, Styria and the areas of western Transdanubia.

Burgenland celebrated its centenary in 2021 and has an extremely eventful 100 years behind it, the interwar period being especially hectic. Its birth was not easy either, because the aspirations toward autonomy, then the Czechoslovak-Yugoslav corridor plans attempted to divert Austria's ambitions, until finally the Hungarians achieved at least a minor success by securing and then "winning" the Sopron referendum amid the trauma of Trianon and the dismemberment of their country. It is attributed to this that Burgenland caused a feeling of loss on the Austrian side. However, the ordeal did not come to an end with this; just think of the *Anschluss* between Germany and Austria, and with this the division of the province between Lower Austria and Styria, or its post-war recreation, the Soviet occupation until 1955 and the decades of the Iron Curtain.

So, this emerging story is considerably complicated and multidimensional. The Austrian aspiration, the geographical conception and discovery of Burgenland, aimed at the legitimization of Burgenland and at the creation of a geographically and historically substantiated system of arguments as a response to the Hungarian territorially defensive and revisionist endeavors, may be interpreted as a part of a broader project taking place over several geographical scales. The province did not only have to be given an identity, including knowledge on local history and a tourism image, but this also must be integrated into the new "truncated" Alpine-Austria identity, because of which the latter also had to be amended. In addition, a place had to be found for Burgenland in the Pan-German context, as well as in the Nazi geopolitical endeavors. (Later on, this was replaced by its search for a place in Europe and Central Europe.) In other words, all this demanded a political role undertaking. A good example of the impacts of this is the headway made by German geopolitical, i.e., *völkisch* ideologies from the 1930s, which carved a significant part from the geographical discourses of Burgenland. In parallel with this we will see how multifaceted the process of creating geographical awareness was. Accordingly, various discourses were formed about the province, about the geographical characteristics of the province and its landscapes,⁴ indeed the legitimization of the annexation, the loss of the territory around Sopron, the *Landeskunde* or *Heimatskunde* (local history, geography, or cultural and regional studies) and tourism literature and the pan-German geopolitics created a different textual reality about Burgenland.

These, naturally, became all mixed together, therefore the relevant parts of the book are not built along these lines: the text is fundamentally arranged

4 Békési, *Verklärt und verachtet*.

based on the forums of the epistemic workers and knowledge-making. In this way, first I will examine those few outstanding, primarily academic “discoverers” for whom the actual, real meaning of the word discovery applies, but there will also be those whom I present when concentrating on the main forums of local history and tourism literature, or Pan-German geography. In other words, I will analyze the process of the geographical discovery of Burgenland, the formation of its geographical discourses through an examination of these three forums, in which I will mention the role of the Austrian (and the American) discipline of geography in the peace negotiations closing the First World War in the creation of Burgenland. As a background and introduction to this I will briefly examine the geographical profile of the broader western Hungarian region in the Age of Dualism from which Burgenland was “removed,” with separate emphasis primarily on the Austrian and the Hungarian lines of thought.

* * *

What was not removed did remain, so, in this way the territory remaining in Hungary resulting from the referendum in Sopron and in its surrounding settlements has also arrived at its centenary, including the city of Sopron and the eight neighboring villages.⁵ There was reason for celebration and sorrow too on both sides of the Austrian-Hungarian border. I confess, however, that the time has come to step beyond these obsessions; it is also the essence of the approach of the book that it wishes to understand, document the events that took place, and with respect to the main part of the work, to unravel the circumstances, motivations and aspirations of the creation of geographical knowledge. If any criticism or even acknowledgement springs forth from between the lines, I will endeavor to measure this with respect to the actors themselves or their peers and distil something of the reactions of the latter. It is also necessary for me, as far as possible, to break down my own positioning, my partiality, if any, and place this in parentheses. On no account is it my objective to display one side or the other in a better or worse light. I only give a little room to my own position in the final chapter, when I show my own image of Burgenland resulting from my own (subjective) discovery (Fig. 2).

5 According to the results, altogether 65.1% of the voters voted for Hungary, 72.8% for Sopron alone, with a turnout of 89.5%. It means that in the bilingual Sopron, where the ration of Germans and Hungarians were 51% and 44% respectively, a significant part of the Germans must have voted for Hungary.

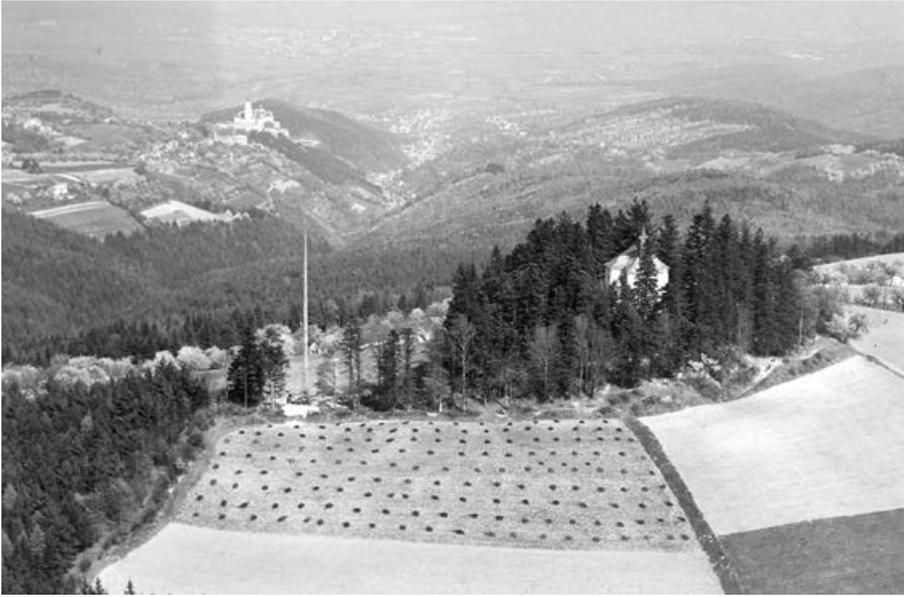


Fig. 2. Aerial photograph: Rosalia Chapel and Forchtenstein, circa 1955-1960 (?).

Pictures of Burgenland

Numerous images of Burgenland or Burgenland discourses have been created over the course of its one hundred years of history, with some becoming sharply contrasted and then fading into obscurity over the years. In the chapters of the book we will see the “Land of the *Heinzen* and *Heidebauern*,” the German ethnic groups giving character to the region, who were identified by ethnographers well before the creation of Burgenland, and who were considered as one of the possible elements able to give identity to the province. However, at the time of the peace negotiations it was more often *Deutschwestungarn*, i.e., German Western Hungary or simply just *Westungarn* (Western Hungary) that appeared on the documents, and this, of course, could not have entered consideration when establishing the final name for the province.

We will also see that the fact that the province had at least two more or less clearly separate sub-regions caused a problem for the division of Burgenland already at the time of creation. Indeed, these territorial differences constitute a part of the image of Burgenland or, as it were, of the discourse on Burgenland to this very day. However, what counts as a problem in the economy or society at the same time becomes a thing of value, an attraction in terms of tourism. The tourism specialists of one hundred years ago also realized that it would be

good for the image of the province, and of Austria as a whole too, if Burgenland were to be presented as a land of contrasts. In other words, if the image of Alpine Austria were to be supplemented with the image of the *Puszta* or *Pusztta* (*Pusztta* in Hungarian; *-steppe*).

We talk of Burgenland images, and it is true, it was not only texts and descriptions that established the geographical identity of the province, a world of pictures also belongs to it. Photography existed even at the time of the birth of Burgenland, photographic documentation may be studied in the same way as the texts, as they too tell a story. It is this world of images that was able to play a role in the Hungarian equivalent of the name of Burgenland, the mirror translation of *Várvidék* (land of castles) becoming widely used in Hungary, as one of the most frequent Burgenland illustrations used between the wars was Forchtenstein Castle, and, perhaps, it still is today. It is quite possible that this name Magyarization is a mistake, as the province derives its name from the “-burg” suffix of the Hungarian counties affected, namely the western parts of three counties, Moson/Wieselburg, Sopron/Ödenburg and Vas/Eisenburg. I note here that it was, perhaps, the Hungarians living in *Wart* (Southern Burgenland, the area around Oberwart) who, in a small book, started to use the name *Őrvidék* (literally: guard country) for the entire region, in other words extending the name of a smaller ethnological landscape to the entire province.⁶ This solution, although disputable from the point of view of historical loyalty,⁷ was embraced in the Hungarian geographical discipline,⁸ and today one may meet this designation in the atlases used in public education as the actual geographical name of the landscape. It is easy to see that geographical names play an important role in the development of identity and geographical concepts.

To mention an additional example, the borderland nature of Burgenland also played an important role in history. But this appeared in the interwar geopolitical visions in a completely different way than during the Cold War, or during the period of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Indeed, in the way tourism forms the contrasts of the landscape into value, the barbed wire and the minefields also became tourist attractions at this time. Viewed from the other side of the Iron Curtain, the Hungarian side, for decades Burgenland represented the proximity of the West, the direct contact, although Hungarian shopping

6 Szeberényi and Szeberényi, *Az őrvidéki magyarok*.

7 Tóth, *Két Anschluss között*.

8 Kocsis, *Az Őrvidék*.

tourism in Austria blossomed at the dawn of the political transition and many of its participants did not stop until reaching Vienna.

One of the imprints of the contrasts also present at the social level is the lack of towns in the province, the dominant nature of the villages, where initially the transformation of the large estates, then the development of agriculture became an important subject. Also relevant here and, at the same time an old element of the identity of the province, is commuting, which throughout Austria is at the highest level in Burgenland. Similarly to agriculture, sustainable energy and sustainability have recently become important landscape- and image-shaping factors, especially because of the great amount of wind turbine power generation and the protected natural areas. Returning to tourism, we can finish this non-exhaustive list of positive image elements with cycling and sunlight, as today the province advertises itself as the sunny side of Austria, and the historical background of this will turn out below.

These various Burgenland images will all be discussed in the chapters to follow, and eventually, I hope, an individual geographical collage of Burgenland will come together for each reader in one constellation or another.

THE ROMANCE OF THE MONARCHY

Following the age of world descriptions, travel writing, and state geographies, in the Age of Dualism geography became an instrument of nineteenth-century rallying nationalism and the related nation-building process. In similarity to other dynastic European state entities, the cultivators of nation-building in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy endeavored to satisfy the demand for this through the geographical representation of royal power and the demonstration of the dimensions of the Empire. The new state format created with the *Compromise* between Austria and Hungary received special significance from the point of view of the Monarchy, as the royal family participated explicitly in the “cultural creation” of the Empire. The series of volumes discussed below, entitled *The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in words and pictures*, was published in both Hungarian and German. It is also referred to as *Kronprinzenwerk*, i.e., crown prince work, in the Austrian literature since it came into being as a result of the powerful influence and collaboration of the ill-fated Crown Prince Rudolf.¹ The physical geography and ethnic variety of the Empire made it almost an obvious step to fill the work with graphical geographical content. In this way the Monarchy could be presented as a state of contrasts, even if this ethnic diversity appeared as an obstacle in the age of nation building, and as the primary cause when the Monarchy fell apart.²

In his foreword Crown Prince Rudolf (the third child of Franz Joseph I and Elisabeth) made no secret of the function of the work: with it he wished to pro-

1 Varga, “Egy össze nem álló kép”; Zintzen, “Das Kronprinzenwerk”; Bendix, “Ethnology.”

2 Csáky, “Culture as a Space of Communication.”

mote unity in the Monarchy, the peaceful cohabitation of its peoples and to bring them closer together.

The study of the races living within the borders of this monarchy does not only open a wide horizon before the scientist but is of no shallow practical significance in raising the level of general love for one's homeland.

The more intensely we examine the good characteristics and unique features of the individual ethnic groups, in the same way as their mutual spiritual and material dependence, the greater will their feeling of affinity to each other strengthen, with which the peoples of our homeland may become connected.

Those peoples that have become isolated from the other parts of the population due to their languages, customs and partially different historical development are sure to be pleasantly touched by the academics of the monarchy duly recognizing their national personality, and through this, at once, to be called upon to search for their spiritual center within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

It is precisely because of this that the cultivation of knowledge of the peoples and associated arts is of great importance in our homeland; as long as these, distant from all incomplete theories and bias, collect only those materials with which it is possible to perform an objective comparison and just evaluation of the various races. [...]

And for such a great work as this does a state exist, in the contrasts of the formation of its landscape, combining such richness, such great variety of nature, landscape and climate between its borders, a state that could offer a more interesting picture in the ethnological composition of the different peoples than our monarchy? It is this that drove us to undertake this work. An entire group of Austrian and Hungarian writers and artists will depict our beloved home in words and pictures, inviting the readership to take a tour through widespread countries, among races of many tongues, welcomed by constantly changing pictures.³

Geography, becoming institutionalized just a few decades previously, and searching for its position and purpose among the disciplines, found itself a place to spread its wings for a good while. According to the evidence of the forewords to the works, the descriptions of the countries and landscapes were not borne

3 Rudolf, "Előszó," 5-8.

of internal motivation, but of ministerial request. In this way, although numerous Monarchy descriptions were produced on both sides of the River Leitha, characteristically for reasons of local heritage and for schools, it is understandable that the Austrians were more touched by the geographical praising of the Empire than the majority of Hungarian geographers, who were not in favor of the joint monarchy. This is why more such works may be found in the German language, and why there were more German authors who dealt with geography as their profession. It is also true that one of the reasons for this was the fact that the Austrian half of the Empire had a decade and a half advantage in terms of the institutionalization of the discipline. While the first geography department was set up in Vienna in 1851, this only took place in Budapest two decades later in 1870, and while the society of geographers in Vienna (k.k. Geographische Gesellschaft in Wien) was founded in 1856, the Hungarian society was only established in 1872.⁴

In this way in the country descriptions geography became connected to the disciplines of history and ethnography, which had also undertaken nation-building endeavors. In these enterprises it was important to be able to make use of the knowledge accumulated by the fields of geology, meteorology, statistics and surveying-cartography, which served the state apparatus of the nineteenth century in a much more direct manner. Thus, in the Austrian-Hungarian state it was in the second half of the nineteenth century that the great cartography, geology and hydrology mapping works were performed, and it was also then that these fields of science became institutionalized.⁵ These frameworks also identified the main targets of the works: the presentation of historical development, the details of the physical geography and landscape, the analysis of the hydrological conditions, and of the minable mineral resources, and then social and economic statistics investigations of various emphasis, ethnographic descriptions, the scale of which could be national, provincial, county-level or even municipality level as well.

Through a series of selected examples this chapter endeavors to present how Western Hungary was seen and portrayed by Austrian and Hungarian geographical works in the Age of Dualism. In this way this part also creates a context for further analyses, as it shows the geographical conception of the region from two different points of view, in the time before Burgenland was born. This issue is worthwhile examining for multiple reasons.

4 Kretschmer, "150 Jahre"; Hilbert, "A földrajztudomány"; Mattes, "Imperial Science."

5 Umlauf, "Länderkunde"; Szilágyi, "A tudományos nacionalizmus."

On the one part, this approach may be used as a basis to form a comparison about how the standpoint of the Austrian geographical discourse shapers changed in connection with the westernmost region of the then Kingdom of Hungary, the later Burgenland, and how the act of territorial demarcation was transformed into connection-searching, inclusive, identity-forming practices. Or, in other words, how Western Hungarian counties belonging to Hungary became a Burgenland not belonging to Hungary. Indeed, reading the writings of the nineteenth century we obtain a view of the start of a process when, from the point of view of the Hungarian state apparatus, a considerably geographically peripheral ethnic group, the *Heinzen* in the north and the *Heidebauern* in the south, became interesting for both the Austrian-German and the Hungarian parties. The various writers and editors of Monarchy monographs executed a nation-state mission when they “discovered,” marveled at, and formed opinions on the ethnic Germans of the region. In a discursive way, knowledge-making, in other words, placed them and integrated them into their own frame of interpretation, using the power of language. In the case of the Hungarians this frame was obviously the then emerging, multicultural, and thus territorially and politically conceived nation-state, while what worked for the German-Austrian authors was to link these German-populated areas to the state of Austria, to the Austrian sphere of influence using a series of small intellectual acts.

On the other part, light may also be shed onto the background of the arguments in connection with the development or lack of development of the later Burgenland, which, within the framework of the Austrian state even today, is a determinant element of the geographical identity of the province. On the third part, focusing on the territorial disputes of the peace negotiations closing the First World War, we will also have the opportunity to study the background to the Austrian and Hungarian geographical arguments with which the Austrians endeavored to acquire the territory and legitimize this acquisition, while the Hungarians endeavored to undermine and question it.

Seen from Cisleithania

In the Age of Dualism a common characteristic of the “imperial” geographical descriptions coming from the pens of Austrian authors was that their treatment of the country regions beyond the *Erblände* (hereditary provinces) was very succinct, discussing Bukovina or Hungary at the same level as an Austrian province. Another important characteristic of the monarchy monographs written from the Austrian point of view was that in these the discussion of the landscape of Hun-

gary was very poor. Indeed, this is no surprise, as the Alps were usually in the center of their focus, and the authors characteristically linked the hills of Western Hungary to the Alps, both in terms of geography and geology, as well as the names they used. The orography of the entire Transdanubia region was usually divided into four parts. The otherwise insignificant Leitha Mountains were symbolic in the dual monarchy and were often mentioned separately (1). The Alpojka region (foothills of the Alps) of today was mentioned with various names, nevertheless, of its separate ranges only the Rosalia Mountains and Geschriebenstein in the Güns Mountains were identified (2). In the case of the Transdanubia Mountains, the region of Bakony was always mentioned in the writings (3), and the region to the south of Lake Balaton was noted as the Mecsek Mountains, and sometimes as Baranya Mountains (4). In addition to these we may also come across the contemporary German name of the Little Hungarian Plain (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3. The landscape segmentation of Western Hungary in Austrian monographs of the Age of Dualism.

The first identification of the German population of Western Hungary reaches back to the ethnographic monograph written by Czech-born Austrian statistician Karl Freiherr von Czoernig, who synthesized the German ethnic groups of Sopron and Vas Counties under the name of *Hienzen* (*Heanzen*, *Heinzen*). Czoernig explained the creation of many of the German villages as being the result of the settlement of the Bavarians and Franks during the Carolingian Dynasty,

who had remained following the Hungarian Conquest of the Carpathian Basin. At the same time their similar dialect suggested they had originated from Austria and East Styria and pointed to unbroken ethnic links with the main block of German peoples in the neighboring Austrian provinces. It is also important to note that Czoernig had also discussed the Western Hungarian territories that had become pledged to the Habsburgs in the fifteenth century, with whom, in his opinion, the ethnic Germans of the region forged closer ties in this period. The interpretation of the fate of these areas, as will be seen later, played an important role in the legitimizing of the creation of Burgenland, when the history of the province was written.

Baron Czoernig's monograph must have been an important source for later works, although due to the lack of citations it cannot always be traced.⁶ In addition to Czoernig, earlier works may also be found in the history literature, indeed a number of short monographs on the counties also indicate interest in and pro-German views on the Western Hungary region.⁷ Among these Lutheran pastor from Oberwart (in present day Burgenland) Gottlieb August Wimmer wrote a booklet about the county of Sopron largely describing the physical geography conditions, however it did include noteworthy sociographic content, attractive color illustrations and a map of the county. Wimmer called the Germans and Croats simply the natives and the Hungarians the immigrants, and highlighted the Germans in his short ethnographic description.

It was they who established and lived in the towns. One may find friends of commerce and industry, education and culture, as well as pilgrims among them. The peasants also display these features in their landscape culture, the folk art of their dwellings, and through their honesty and behavior they stand apart from the other residents of the county. The peasant does not easily allow his child to grow up without learning to read and write.⁸

However, he was much more critical of the Germans because of their three-field crop rotation as well as their *Hutweide* (grazing) system, as much land remains uncultivated (Fig. 4).⁹

6 Czoernig, *Etnographie der Österreichischen Monarchie*, 191–92.

7 Major, *Statistik des Wieselburger Komitates*.

8 Wimmer, *Das Ödenburger Komitat*, 10–11.

9 Wimmer, *Das Ödenburger Komitat*, 7.



Fig. 4. Etching of Eisenstadt.

One of the first Monarchy handbooks to be discussed is the work written for secondary school students by Josef Renhauser, which reflects the above in terms of its territorial division. Hungary received a total of 12 pages in the book, with the main settlements in the counties being described in terms of a list of keywords. Renhauser differs from his contemporaries in that he identified the German settlement area of Western Hungary as a part of the broad German-populated region, however no reference to Czoernig's work may be found.¹⁰ According to his definition the German-speaking area "includes an area of Hungary between Lake Neusiedl, the River Danube and the Raab River, as a wide band of territory that is connected to Lower Austria and Styria from Sopron to Szentgotthárd."¹¹ Another author worthy of note is Ferdinand Grassauer, who, in addition to writing a similar overview of Hungary, also provided the reader with knowledge on public administration and history. Interestingly though, in his landscape segmentation, he identified the ancient Styrian-Hungarian mountains, with the main massif being the Wechsel Mountains, to which he attached the *Bucklige Welt* and even the aforementioned four Hungarian mountain ranges.¹² Compared to this, the book written by Richard Trampler for secondary school students represented a step backward, which even neglected to discuss

¹⁰ Renhauser, *Handbuch der Geografie*.

¹¹ Renhauser, *Handbuch der Geografie*, 100.

¹² Grassauer, *Landeskunde*.

the Hungarian landscape, with the description of the country extending to just nine pages with a list of the main settlements.¹³

Anton Steinhauser's geography and ethnography (*Vaterlandskunde*) monograph was also originally written as a grammar school textbook. Steinhauser was already considered a prominent geographer, and was 10th president of the Vienna Geographical Society in the year of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise (1867).¹⁴ In his work he also used the same linking technique in the segmentation of the landscape, describing the Leitha Mountains as a part of the Alps, the Güns Mountains as the vanguard to the Alps, and the Pannon Mountain Range, i.e., the Transdanubia Mountains and the Mecsek Mountains of today, as the continuation of the mountains of Styria. He mentioned Western Hungary, in other words the territory of Burgenland today, as the most densely populated region outside of the capital city, then during the presentation of the main settlements the reader was given a short overview of the counties as well. In the cases of Sopron and Vas Counties the author mainly mentioned the settlements located in the western parts. Nor did he dwell on the fact that the western territories were populated by German majority, only calling attention to this in one place, in the case of Sopron and its 97% German population.¹⁵

Friedrich Umlauf was another very popular and productive geography writer in the Age of Dualism, he was responsible for numerous guidebooks, country descriptions/textbooks, and school maps. In his Monarchy monograph, of which two editions were published, he identified the region of today's Alpokalja (*Östliche Vorlagen*) extending from the Leitha to the Sava as a separate territorial unit, the segmentation of this, however, brought little new, and his general description of Hungary going on to describe each of the counties also failed to go beyond that of his contemporaries.¹⁶ In addition, another early work of his focusing on aspects of tourism and history, showed a series of characteristic landscape images of Hungary only featuring the Carpathian Mountains, certain prominent regions of Transylvania and the *Puszta*.¹⁷

Johann Heinrich Schwicker was a teacher at the Royal Joseph Polytechnic University, predecessor of today's Budapest University of Technology and Economics. He took his teacher's examination in German language and literature, geography and history. He published numerous works in these fields, and, as an

13 Trampler, *Geographie und Statistik*.

14 Kretschmer, "Präsidenten der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft," 35.

15 Steinhauser, *Geographie*, 213–46.

16 Umlauf, *Die Österreich-Ungarische Monarchie*.

17 Umlauf, *Wanderungen*.

ethnic German originating from the Banat region, almost exclusively in German, with his books being published mainly in Austria and Germany.¹⁸ Nevertheless, he is still not completely treated as a representative of the Austrian point of view, as the approach to Hungary in his writings was essentially empathic. In 1877 a volume of his was published in Stuttgart (*Statistik des Königreiches Ungarn nach den neuesten Quellen*) in which it was not natural history but statistics from the most up to date sources of the Hungarian Kingdom that received the emphasis. This book of several hundred pages of demographic and economic statistics analyses may be viewed as one of the most outstanding statistics-based enterprises of both the author and of the age, breaking with the general viewpoint in this period that geographical work was merely the placing of maps into words. An important part of this work is its discussion of the nationality issue, which Schwicker called the Achilles heel of the State of Hungary. Schwicker even quoted contemporary Hungarian thinkers, such as József Eötvös, Ferenc Deák, István Széchenyi, and cited from earlier works, from Pál Hunfalvy, Károly Keleti, and Sándor Konek, and one may even find Czoernig among his sources. In his conclusion he presented his somewhat pessimistic standpoint in connection with the future of Hungary.¹⁹

At the same time, in the discussion of the economic situation, another interpretation emerged about the German ethnic group. Namely Schwicker adopted the thoughts of Reform Era writer János Csaplovics and the concepts of Heinrich Ditz in his work written in German on Hungarian agriculture²⁰ when he described the German population as more enduring, more experienced, who, along with the Slovaks, were more utilitarian than other ethnic groups. In addition, in the chapter on industry he portrays the Germans as the founders of the development of the sector, as custodians of modernization and trade, and shared the view according to which the ethnic German group was the basis of urban civil society and the custodians of urban development. Also, the following quote suggests a more cultivated German bucolic picture:

The abundance of trees, for example, differentiates the German village from the Hungarian. The German does not only plant fruit trees in his courtyard and garden, he is also fond of them as a provider of cool shade in front of the house, where everyone in the house, both young and old may gather in

18 Németh, "Schwicker Johann Heinrich," 55–56; Szinnyei, *Magyar írók élete*, 784–88.

19 Schwicker, *Statistik des Königreiches Ungarn*, 144–61.

20 Ditz, *Die ungarische Landwirtschaft*.

their breaks from their labors. [...] The villages and houses of the German are interwoven with arbors and gardens; yet one may see into the Puszta homesteads of the Hungarians lacking in any tree or fence.²¹

Based on all this, reading between Schwicker's lines, not only is the issue of cultural superiority palpable here, but it is also an explanation for, to use a modern expression, the regional differences.²²

A unique, perhaps still to this day, enterprise was the *Die Völker Österreich-Ungarns*, which was published by the Karl Prohaska Publishing House based in Vienna and Cieszyn (Teschen) between 1881 and 1885 in 12 volumes to celebrate the ethnic diversity of the Monarchy. Schwicker was given an important role in the work, as not only did he write about the ethnic Germans living in Hungary and Transylvania but also about the Roma population. The readers were given a much richer description in the book on the Germans than anything discussed to date, and following the historical overview Schwicker presented the geographical locations of the ethnic Germans. With reference to Czoernig he described the Germans of Western Hungary as the oldest German group in the country, and graphically revealed the mixing of the Heinzen with the other ethnic groups in Sopron and Vas Counties in the same way as the Heidebauern all the way from Moson to the region of Bratislava (Pressburg or Pozsony at that time).²³

Schwicker in essence treated the territory of Burgenland today as a single unit, as, interestingly, in the chapter on the Heinzen he first discussed them jointly with the Heidebauern and then mixed the Heidebauern with the Heinzen, finally devoting a separate chapter to the latter. According to his findings the Heinzen and the Heidebauern together constituted a band along the western border of Hungary of some 250 thousand Germans, and discussed all those factors that became the cornerstone arguments of the legitimacy of Burgenland created 40 years later. In other words, the settlement of the Heinzen before the Hungarian Conquest at the time of Charles the Great, or the Hungarian estates that had been pledged to the Austrian treasury in the fifteenth century, which, later, were interpreted by numerous Austrian historians as the antecedents to Burgenland.²⁴ At the same time, he emphasized the differences in the dialect of

21 Schwicker, *Statistik des Königreiches Ungarn*, 280.

22 Schwicker, *Statistik des Königreiches Ungarn*, 295–96, 346–47.

23 Schwicker, *Die Deutschen in Ungarn*, 199, 228.

24 Házi, "Történelmi jogunk"; Kring, "Burgenland"; Schlag, *Aus Trümmern geboren*; Bariska, *A szent koronáért*; Törő, "Az osztrák és a magyar történetírás."

the Heinzen and Heidebauern in comparison with the neighboring Austrian German population. In addition to these issues Schwicker presented the main castles and settlements of “*Heanzenlande*” in a historical framework, including the most significant Sopron, and yes, this expression now turns up in text, with his descriptions going on to mention the language of the people, their dress, religion, homes and eating customs. The rich system of connections of the Heinz people in Lower Austria and Styria emerges in connection with the description of the details of commercial life and the main occupations. In connection with the latter the issue of the considerable level of “commuting” also arose, i.e., the undertaking of seasonal agricultural work far from their homes, on the lands of the Heidebauer people, for example, or industrial work in Vienna and Budapest.

From the detailed ethnographic commentary, it became apparent that the author saw the Hungarian loyalist Western Hungarian Germans as progressive, and it was because of them, in his opinion, that this region of the country was more advanced than the others. Despite them enjoying smuggling tobacco, wine and other goods over the Austrian-Hungarian border, “the Heinzen are a good and honest people; they are in no lack of cunning nor of God’s practical virtues, such as loyalty, diligence and thrift. The Heinzen are no less loyal sons to their Hungarian, and love their mother tongue and ancestors no less.”²⁵ The marks of development may be found on their houses, as according to how Schwicker sees it “although there are wooden houses everywhere, they are disappearing every day, just as the straw-thatched roofs are replaced by shingles or tiles.”²⁶ In Schwicker’s eyes the Heidebauern are an almost flawless people, loyal, God-fearing, spirited, living in tidy villages with gabled houses of stone, with a bench under a tree in the garden. In his description of the Heidebauern Schwicker also pointed out that they are the most cosmopolitan German people in Western Hungary, who get on well with the other ethnic German groups, and if they do not earn their living as farmers, then they do so first as haulers, or traders “on the road.”²⁷

Both Umlauft, who we have already mentioned, and Schwicker worked together as well. The former edited the *Die Länder Österreich-Ungarns in Wort und Bild*,²⁸ which was not only the forerunner in terms of its title of the *Kronprinzenwerk* but also in its structure, although each of the 21 volumes (6 general and 15

25 Schwicker, *Die Deutschen in Ungarn*, 218.

26 Schwicker, *Die Deutschen in Ungarn*, 214.

27 Schwicker, *Die Deutschen in Ungarn*, 220–22.

28 Friedrich Umlauft, ed., *Die Länder Österreich-Ungarns in Wort und Bild*, I–XXI. Band, Vienna: Carl Graeser, 1879–1889.

regional volumes) of the series published between 1879 and 1889 were relatively short (each having some 100 pages), so in terms of length they were even much shorter than the volumes of the *Die Völker Österreich-Ungarns* series as well. A different author presented each province and country. The Hungarian part was written by Schwicker, and was one of his final geographical-historical works. He again made important findings in the paragraphs discussing the situation of the ethnic minorities: for example, that the Magyars were in the minority everywhere along the borders of the country, and that the peoples living there fostered close connections with their brothers on the other side of the border, such as the Germans in Western Hungary with the Germans in Lower Austria and Styria. The level of detail of the book, which, however, did not reach that of the *Kronprinzenwerk*, is demonstrated well by that the section dealing with Western Hungary, essentially Transdanubia, consisted of 26 pages. In this Schwicker quickly travels through the more significant towns and regions, mainly following the railway lines. He devoted special attention to the history of Sopron, to the presentation of its architectural heritage and economy, and to the description of “a region rich in beautiful landscape,” of what he refers to as upper Vas County (*Ober-Eisenburg*), rather than Moson County, in other words broadly of the Southern Burgenland of today. Here, reaching back on occasion to his earlier book, over the course of a few paragraphs he also deals with the Heinz people, in this way showing once again his interest in ethnography. In this work he again lumped together the “*Gebirgsheanzen*” and the “*Hadbauern*” (*Heidebauern*) peoples, and described the entire western border region, some 5,754 km² according to his calculations, from Moson, through Körmend all the way up to the Styrian border, in other words from the Moson Plain to the Lafnitz valley as the territory populated by the Heánc or Heinz people. He described the German population of 250 thousand people as follows:

Apart from the 40,000 Protestants who migrated here in the 16th and 18th centuries the Germans are all Catholic. These Germans are among the oldest residents of Hungary, and at least some of them are the descendants of Bavarian colonists, who after the fighting with the Avars settled in the Ostmark at the time of Charles the Great, all the way to the Raab River. The Heánc people have retained much that is unique of their language, demeanor, homes, dress and acumen, as a result of which they differ considerably from the German peoples of Lower Austria and Styria.²⁹

29 Schwicker, *Das Königreich Ungarn*, 119.

It is in Schwicker's works that we find those first monographic studies that, in all events, significantly shaped and established the relationship of Austrian opinion to German-populated Western Hungary.

Seen from Transleithania

In similarity to Austria, on the Hungarian side of the Monarchy numerous geographical descriptions were published serving the function of textbooks. Before addressing these works, it is interesting to investigate the earlier geographical country or county descriptions. These all together, starting from the great pioneering county series of Matthias (Mátyás) Bél, created a more-or-less congruent picture about Moson and Sopron County depicted as the most developed countries in Hungary, with Vas County slightly behind them, mainly because of the lower soil quality. Among the positive factors, the presence of the diligent German population, and with the rise of industrial development the proximity of Austria and Austrian markets must be highlighted. On the other hand, a cumulation of negative factors, bad soil quality, agrarian overpopulation, lack of arable land and migratory worker habits, caused a significant backwardness in the south-western part of Vas County, the present-day South-Burgenland.³⁰

After the rise of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy I briefly discuss the monograph of János Jablonszky published in 1877 for secondary school students,³¹ in which one may find similar asymmetry to that in the abovementioned Austrian works, only in these it was the discussion of Hungarian territories that was deeper and longer. Following a shorter general part, the author presented the more important landscape features and settlements. He writes in a somewhat more nuanced way in connection with Western Hungary when discussing the landscape link with the Alps, otherwise using a similar landscape breakdown to the Austrian authors. In his opinion the German people living here arrived in the region during the immigration period in the twelfth century (cf. the Austrian position discussed above). Jablonszky dealt with the area of today's Transdanubia under the name "The southwestern mountainous hilly region," which he cited as "Hungary's most important and interesting region" and listed it among "Europe's most interesting and fairest of regions." He belittled the presence of the Germans in the Transdanubian context saying that "there

30 E.g., Bél, "Vas vármegye"; Bél, *Az újabbkori Magyarország földrajzi-történelmi ismertetése*; Bél, *Sopron vármegye I. and II*; Grailich, "Moson"; Tilcsik, "Kunits"; Fényes, *Magyar országnak s a hozzákapcsolt tartományoknak mostani állapotja*.

31 Jablonszky, *Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia leírása*.

are only a few Germans in the bleaker western regions,” with this very much distancing the ethnic Germans and placing them on the periphery, haughtily forgetting about the German peoples of the Transdanubian Mountains and of Tolna-Baranya Counties (*Schwäbische Türkei* or *Swabian Turkey*). In his opinion the Transdanubian people “are the most receptive both to material and intellectual advances; the much more withdrawn and, in all respects, conservative people of the Great Plain only slowly follow the people of this region in the material and even intellectual fields.”³² When discussing the counties Jablonszky only expressed any link to Austria in terms of landscape transitions with no word at all of the local German population.

The grandiose undertaking of the *Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in words and pictures* was essentially a joint Austro-Hungarian venture, with the Austrians writing about the Austrian territories and the Hungarians about the Hungarian. This is the reason why I am discussing this work when presenting the Hungarian position relating to Western Hungary. The series was published in the Hungarian language in 21 volumes (24 in German) between 1886 and 1901 (and between 1886 and 1902), the parts involving the region appeared precisely in the year of the Hungarian millennium (the celebration of the thousandth anniversary of the founding of the state). The German-language version: *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild I-XXIV. Wien 1886-1902*. The volume in question was the 4th volume on Hungary and was published as the 13th volume in the Hungarian edition and the 16th volume in the Austrian.

In line with the fashion of the age the landscapes, towns and villages of Western Hungary were brought to life in a mostly color geographical, ethnographic, historical, and cultural framework. The counties are fundamentally broken up in terms of natural history, and in the more detailed descriptions the districts fill a similar role. The landscapes demonstrate the geographical unity of the areas: the Sopron or Ödenburg Mountains as a part of the Alps or the Rosalia Mountains,³³ the Bernstein and Güns or Kőszeg Mountains form a single mountain group as the mountains of Vas County, and the Güssing hills end in the hills of Szombathely, and in the same way Kemenesalja is the offshoot of the Neuhaus hills.³⁴ The practices of the author in the Vas County volume of the Borovszky country description (only this county was published from the region) were similar, with the difference that he also linked these mountains to

32 Jablonszky, *Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia leírása*, 35-36.

33 Bella, “Sopronmegye.”

34 Balogh, “Vasvármegye.”



Fig. 5. The lands of Western Hungary in the "Kronprinzenwerk" and in the "Borovszky."

the corresponding ranges of the Austrian Alps, showing them as starting from these Alpine ranges. In this way the southern and middle branch of the mountains of Vas County are the foothills of the Fischbach Alps, while the northern branch was interpreted as being the foothills of the Rechnitz peaks (today Güns Mountains) and of the Wechsel, as are the Rosalia Mountains (Fig. 5).³⁵

A forerunner of the description of these landscapes and mountain ranges may be found in the writing of János Hunfalvy, the first professor of Hungarian geography, who in his *Egyetemes földrajz* (Universal geography) similarly characterized the mountain ranges of the western borderland of the country. This work is not a Monarchy monograph, but a description of Europe in three volumes, which remained incomplete because of the author's death, with his student, Gusztáv Thirring, going on to publish the third volume. An interesting feature of the work is that Hunfalvy placed three panorama descriptions next to one another: from Sonnenberg of the Leitha Mountains, from the Rosalia Chapel in the Rosalia Mountains and from Geschriebenstein in the Güns Mountains, favoring the latter the most, as actually, from this point the entire border region may be seen or, in other words, placed into a visual unit.

35 Ebenspangler, "Vasvármegye," 3-4.

There is a fair view from the highest peak of the Leitha Mountains, Sonnenberg, rising behind the town of Eisenstadt, perhaps a broader and more diverse panorama may be seen if one looks around while standing next to Rosalia Chapel; from the one point one sees the rippling territory of Sopron County, the sparkling mirror of Lake Neusiedl, and the plains of Moson County, and from the other the flats of Wiener Neustadt and the high peaks bordering it from the west; both here and there innumerable towns and village gesture to us. But the mountainous region spreading along the western border of the country may only be viewed in its entirety from the peak of the Geschrieben Stein. Toward the north one may see the pretty valley of Kőszeg spreading beneath us, in which a smiling village appears at every bend in the river, surrounded by plough lands and fruit orchards. Beyond the wide fertile valley flats of the Rabnitzbach rise the Rosalia Mountains with its forested heights, on the distant horizon the broad peak of the Sonnenberg darkens. In the east one's eyes pick out the town of Kőszeg, behind it from among the swarm of hills and rises, here and there the green thread of the Raab shines through. Toward Szombathely one may glimpse the hills lining the Zala valley, and from Sárvár the solitary Ság Mountain beckons. In the south and west dark pine forests cover the hillsides, only in the Lafnitz valley does the plain extend to the foot of the hills. Toward the west the high peaks of the Alps, the Wechsel and the craggy neighboring heights close off the horizon.³⁶

While in Hunfalvy's country description there is only a short reference, via Schwicker, to the Heidebauer and Heinz peoples of the western counties, the German character of villages is rarely referenced in the description of each of the counties. Perhaps it is no accident that the slightly more complex description of the landscapes on the pages of the *Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy in words and pictures* concentrated on grasping the Hungarian landscape features, the German population only appears rarely, with the texts mainly celebrating the achievements of the Hungarian elite and the estate owners in the listing of the main events of the country's history. According to this it was they who civilized the region, they taught and assimilated the ethnic groups: "where these peoples meet, in the region of low hills to the south of Lake Neusiedl the Hungarians have assimilated and still assimilate to this day the other two peoples. In this region we find one of the finest kinds of the people of our homeland."³⁷

36 Hunfalvy, *A magyar birodalom földrajza*, 301.

37 Bella, "Sopronmegye," 418.

Jenő Rodiczky described Moson County in a slightly different way, with his comparison balancing out the previous chapters. He found it important to state that this county was the only place in Hungary where the German people were in the majority, and that the Germans had even taken the positions of the disappearing Hungarian elite. Thus, the author wrote in celebration of the richness of the Heidebauern, of their intelligence and advanced farming techniques, wine production, perhaps returning the opinion of Johann Heinrich Schwicker.³⁸

The asymmetry about the Heinzen in the part concerning Vas County is resolved by a separate sub-chapter on the local German population. Its author, Antal Hermann, was a founding member of the Hungarian Ethnography Society, and took Schwicker's position on the origin of the Heinz people almost word-for-word, on their origin from the time of Charles the Great, and on the later proliferation of the local German peoples. Schwicker's words are reflected again and again in the ethnographical description (character, customs, anthropological features). And the same is true of the similar chapter written by Ernő Vende in the Borovszky country description.³⁹ Hermann described the language of the



Fig. 6. Heiligenkreutz, straw-thatched peasant dwelling house (no. 42), circa 1900.

38 Rodiczky, "Mosonmegye," 439-64.

39 Vende, "Heinczek," 379-84.

Heinzen as being related to that of the Germans of Styria, Lower Austria and Moson County, but Vende found it related to Bavarian; at the same time Hermann took the standpoint, based on language, that Sopron did not belong to the territories of the Heinz people, only to the Germans from around Lake Neusiedl, in other words the northern limit of the Heinzen territory was more or less the Ödenburg Mountains and the southern shore of Lake Neusiedl, in this way judging their settlement area to be somewhat smaller than that estimated by Schwicker (Fig. 6).

This unique dialect provides a basis for the determination of the extent of the territory of the Heinz people. However, in this respect the investigations have not come to a general agreement. Some include Moson County (Heidebauern) as well, others all of Sopron County. In actual fact, however, only its parts to the south and southeast of the city of Sopron belong here (the southern part of Lake Neusiedl: Spiegelheanzen). The eastern border is the region of Kőszeg, the southern Neuhaus and Szent-Gotthárd. The majority of the Heinz people occupy the hill region of west Vas County and southwest Sopron County, and call it (as do the Szeklers their own homeland) the crooked country (Puglâte Welt = humped country).⁴⁰

This latter region is today's *Bucklige Welt*, which both Hermann and Vende referred to, and which today also represents a broader area, even including the neighboring hills of Styria. That this region, at the time still separated by the border, belonged together later became an important argument for the transfer of Burgenland to Austria.

It is important to note that both Hermann and Vende too argued for the Hungarian identity and loyalty of the Heinz people, searching for those factors with which the belonging of the territory to Hungary could be reinforced. They say the Heinzen

call Liszt, the king of the piano, one of their own, and Hyrtl, the prominent anatomist too. And they all self-consciously profess to be Hungarians, although they do not know Hungarian: so the Heinz who insists on his language is generally fond of the Hungarians, gladly learns Hungarian, and frequently sends his children to learn the Hungarian word: "ins tuife Ingerland" (to the Little Hungarian Plain).⁴¹

40 Hermann, "A Heinczek," 395.

41 Hermann, "A Heinczek," 396.



Fig. 7. Heinz houses in Rechnitz.

What is more interesting is that Hermann, in his own way, really did make reference to the regional differences in the modern sense when he wrote “when arriving from a Croatian region one is surprised at the neatness, cleanliness of the Heizen houses. However, on arriving to the land of the Heinz people from the west, after the castle-like, tall buildings of the rich Styrian peasant the house of the Heinz seems petty.”⁴²

The demand even for tourism appeared at the end of the analysis: “the land of the Heizen is fair and interesting. It offers rewarding, comfortable and pleasant journeys, and is very suitable for a holiday.”⁴³ Although the emphasis of Burgenland tourism was always in the north, at Lake Neusiedl, the southern regions have nothing to be ashamed of, in other words Antal Hermann saw the opportunities well in advance (Fig. 7).

Although the Monarchy monographs discussed did not bring geographical knowledge-making in the era before the First World War to a close, they do more or less illustrate the geographical endeavors and standard of the age. First of all the work of Johann Heinrich Schwicker may be highlighted from the Age of Dualism as a form of “direction sign,” although he was not a geographer, with him not even being included in the overview written by Ferenc Fodor discussing the history of Hungarian geography,⁴⁴ he still, in a very mod-

42 Hermann, “A Heinczek,” 397.

43 Hermann, “A Heinczek,” 402.

44 Fodor, *Amagyar földrajztudomány története*.

ern way, even ahead of his time wrote, among other subjects, about the subject of this book, the western border region of historical Hungary. His writings did not only play a role in the perpetuation of the essence of earlier works, but they also represented the foundation of the geographical knowledge of the beginning of the twentieth century. The *Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in words and pictures* may even be perceived as the highpoint of the geographical representation of the Monarchy. Albeit it must be recorded that in the spirit of Dualism, the imperial representation was, in itself, also dual, in other words it had two points of view. In addition, the fact that the series also fitted into the geographical tradition pioneered by Hunfalvy, the following generation, i.e., Fodor had considerably negative views of this encyclopedic undertaking on the region and its culture, which has now fallen into obscurity, and in which the representatives of the Hungarian discipline of geography played little part.⁴⁵ However, the close of the First World War brought nation-building geography into a radically different position: the romantic country and landscape descriptions were replaced, partially and for a time, by geography logic systems in conflict in connection with the peace negotiations, the geographical analyses becoming crucial when the borders of Europe were redrawn.

45 Fodor, *A magyar földrajztudomány története*, 145, 385–86.

DISCOVERERS

The process of the creation of scientific or local knowledge may never be removed from the historical context, as this obviously has an impact on the activities of the knowledge communities. In the case of Burgenland the main circumstances of the creation of the province by their nature influenced, placed a frame on the political and, at once, the geographical thinking about the region of Burgenland. In this way the awakening of the local German population, the conceiving of the Austrian, then Czechoslovak-Yugoslav territorial demands (Slavic Corridor), the weak autonomy endeavors, short-lived states (*Heinzenland*, Leitha-Banat), the peace treaties at Versailles, the irregular fighting for the region from the Hungarian side, which resulted in the rising Western Hungary question, then the Sopron Referendum closing the territorial issues but eliciting many more disputes, and the circumstances of the search for a name are all factors that determined the individual geographical narrative of the region. Thus, these factors created a framework for the emerging geographical discourse about the province and had to be shaped with the writings that were created, which could then be reflected on.

Here I once again highlight the terms geographical knowledge-making and knowledge communities, as these, again, make reference to the fact that the knowledge of the world and things is never obtained as a finished product, instead knowledge is always created by someone, by actors who have common spoken or unspoken goals, motivations and interests, using the common language and methods of cognition. And I will again underline that it was not only geographers who participated in this process; in the following chapter we will see that the numbers of geographers and of non-geographers among the prominent participants are nearly the same. However, if one were to include all the actors in

the balance, it would clearly tip in the direction of the latter. But the emphasis is not on this, instead on the creation of geographical knowledge and its histories.

For a great deal of time one of the important sources of geographical knowledge was the map. Although we had to wait for the first officially published maps of the province of Burgenland for a year or two, just imagine that practically anyone could have drawn the outline of the province onto a map of Hungary at home using a pencil. Just as, initially, official bodies had used the maps of the 3rd military mapping survey of Austria-Hungary as their basic map. By looking at the map, or just by imagining it, we may rightfully say that of course we recognize the mountains, the hill regions, the plains, the provincial capital of Austria's easternmost and smallest province Burgenland, as well as Lake Neusiedl. Perhaps most people, both in Hungary and in Austria, know that the territory had once belonged to Hungary. At first glance there is nothing special about that when we list Burgenland's main geographical features. But still, if we more closely examine how the province of Burgenland came about, if we once again imagine what the people of the time experienced, what they were witnesses of and what they went through when drawing it on a map at home or glancing at a map outline in the newspaper or pamphlet at the time thinking what is this region. What is this Burgenland, the border of which starts from under Pressburg (Bratislava) toward the south then curves around and cuts through Lake Neusiedl, goes around Sopron, cuts through the Ödenburg Mountains (or still before the referendum: turns to the south at Sopron), crosses the Güns Mountains, and in the Pinka Valley reaching all the way to Szentgotthárd, where it goes half way around this small town, until it reaches the border of the Kingdom of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs? Studying just the borders we can understand and imagine the excitement and importance of the geographical discovery of the region from the aspect of the birth of the province.

The importance of map-making strengthened with the emergence of nation states. It was more and more important to know the spaces inhabited by peoples and nations. Cartography thus found its place with geography among the state-serving disciplines. The military and cadastral mappings in the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy in the 18-nineteenth century or the post-WWI peace conference in Paris indicate this process.¹ But maps are always unique creations and often subjects of personal imagination.² Mapping as a new form of geographical knowledge and tool of geographical discourses, became important not only

1 Szilágyi, "A tudományos nacionalizmus."

2 Monmonier, *How to Lie*.

for strategic and economic reasons; the cartographic shape, the geo-body, gained importance by itself, as a source of national or regional identity.³ As we will see in the case of Burgenland.

The excitement of discovery is no less when we first step into a territory. Naturally this geographical sensation also works when we travel for pleasure, as it is not difficult to draw parallels between the romantic expeditions of the age of colonialism when the great geographical discoveries were made, or in the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, and the “discoveries” that people have made, and still are making, from the nineteenth century until today when travelling as tourists. Now we still imagine this in the case of Burgenland in the way that the makers of the film did that was shown in the intermission of the traditional New Year concert of the Vienna Philharmonic. One of the threads of the short film celebrating the 100th anniversary of Burgenland⁴ imagined that American geographer Lawrence Martin, as a member of the Coolidge Mission, supposedly travelled around, explored, studied the region, drew maps, took photographs, in other words collected data and impressions about Western Hungary so that after this he could make a proposal for the peace negotiations regarding the border amendments. This form of discovery too will come to life in the following chapters.

We must realize that the geographical knowledge creation on Burgenland has its own history, we should not view geographical knowledge as being finished or given. Perhaps the word discovery does not completely reflect the concept I wish to express, perhaps invention would be a better word: in the former case the result of discovery seems, in many cases, to be ready-made, but those who invent fill the subject of the invention with content.

From language territory to territorial claim

The monographs discussed in chapter two also indicate that a German-inhabited Western Hungary had slowly taken root in German-Austrian geographical thinking. This is shown, for example, in that the inscription “Hienzen” may be found on the maps of the turn of the century published under the name of Paul Langhans, stretching from Szentgotthárd to Sopron, and the inscription

3 Winichakul, *Siam Mapped*, 16–17, 129–39.

4 Happy Birthday Burgenland 1921–2021. Film by Felix Breisach. Director: Karin Veitl. ORF, Felix Breisach Medienwerkstatt, 2021.

“Heidebauern” to the east of Lake Neusiedl.⁵ Attention toward the Heinzen and Heidebauern did not flag in the decades following the appearance of the *Kronprinzenwerk* either, and a dispute even emerged regarding their origin.⁶ At this point the Carinthia-born teacher and curator János Rajnárd Bünker must be highlighted, whose ethnography work encompassed the Austrian-Hungarian border region and the broader period in question.⁷ Apart from this it must also be mentioned that, in parallel with the scientific work, it was at the beginning of the century when the first writings were published on the question of the annexation of German-occupied Western Hungary. Namely, Aurel Constantin Popovici’s federalization proposal *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Groß-Österreich* (The United States of Great-Austria), and Josef Patry’s *Westungarn zu Deutschösterreich* (West-Hungary to German-Austria) article im *Alldeutschen Tagblatt*. The Romanian journalist and the Viennese teacher proposed the same, the transfer of West-Hungary to Austria.⁸

The aforementioned Paul Langhans was a prominent German editor, geographer-cartographer, although his work in the literature was clouded by his engagement with the anti-Semitic German radical nationalist movement well before World War I. and Nazi party membership and activity as expert in the final decades of his life. He was editor of the prominent periodical *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen*, in addition he was founder of the short-lived journal entitled *Deutsche Erde, Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde* published between 1902 and 1915 that was an important medium for early research on German ethnic questions.⁹ All this also shows that German “folk research,” reaching its peak at the time of Nazi Germany, which I will deal with at length later on, has a much longer history. A theorist of one of the trends in this field, *Volks- und Kulturbodenforschung* (“folk and cultural soil” research), the otherwise Alps-specialized geomorphologist Albrecht Penck was also a member of the editorial board of the magazine. However, what is more important for us is that it was here that the young lawyer, Richard Pfaundler (1882–1959) published his series of studies examining the Germans of Western Hungary (Fig. 8).¹⁰

5 Langhans, *Deutscher Kolonial-Atlas*; Langhans, *Justus Perthes’ Alldeutscher Atlas*. However e.g., Rothaug’s secondary school Monarchy atlas did not identify the region (Rothaug, *Atlas des Habsburger Reiches*).

6 Dachler, “Die Besiedlung”; Dachler, “Zur Herkunft”; Thirring-Waisbecker, “Volkslieder der Heanzen.”

7 Bünker, “Das Bauernhaus”; Bünker, “Heanzische Volkslieder.”

8 Popovici, *Die Vereinigten Staaten*; Dujmovits, “Die Haltung,” 62; Tóth, *Két Anschluss közzött*, 44–47.

9 Meyer, “Paul Langhans.”

10 Pfaundler, “Das Verbreitungsgebiet.” An other series of papers by Pfaundler addressed here the Germans of Southern Hungary.



Fig. 8. Richard Pfaundler

How did this career turn come about? From Pfaundler's biography¹¹ we learn that between 1906-1908 he had worked as an intern at the *k.k. Statistische Zentralkommission* (Imperial and Royal Central Statistics Commission), and it is presumably here that he was given the task of creating the ethnic map of the region, presumably in connection with the abovementioned first territorial proposals by Popovici and Patry. In fact, Pfaundler, although born in Innsbruck, capital of the province of Tyrol, also dealt with the ethnic composition of Styria in addition to Western Hungary, it is true though that he obtained his law degree in Graz. This lawyer, who later went on to create a career as official in the ministry of finance, with the publishing of his studies was immediately recognized as a specialist of the region, as at the beginning of the twentieth century almost everyone started with a "clean slate" in the investigations of the territory, this is evidenced by two of his works discussed below. However, Burgenland only played a role in the development of his career at the time the province was established.

At the beginning of his series of articles Pfaundler emphasized that this is the only uninterrupted German-populated area in Hungary, and, in addition is contiguous with the main German-populated regions, "at the borders of West-

11 Ehs, "Finanzwissenschaft," 608-9.

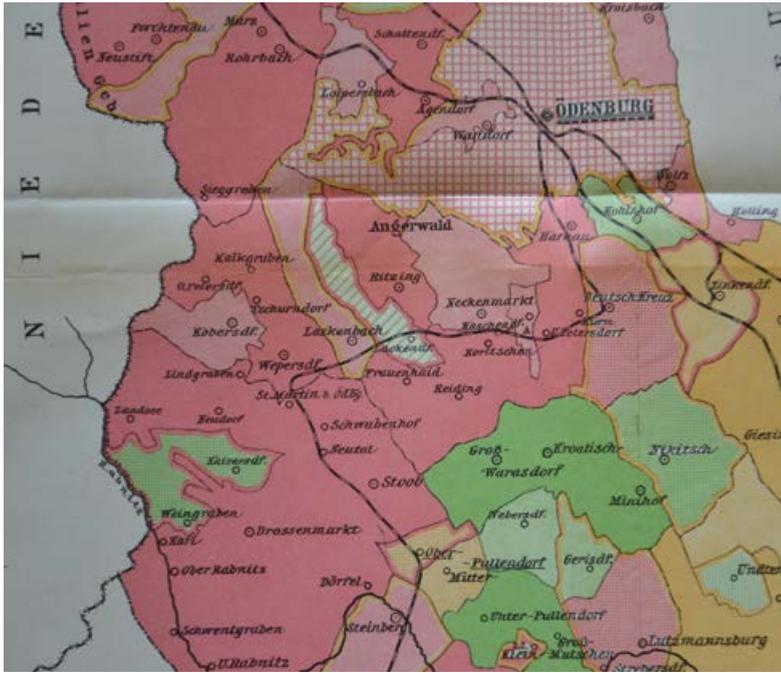


Fig. 9. Map detail from the work of Pfaundler, Sopron County. In the original the red areas represent the Germans, the yellow the Hungarians, the green the Croats, the blue the Slovaks and the Slovenes. The hatching depicts the majority ethnic group between 39 and 100 percent up to the appearance of the solid color. Presence above five percent is referred to by the color of the line outlining the territory of the given settlement. In communities with three or more languages Pfaundler indicated the proportions of the non-majority ethnic groups between 5 and 39 percent in order of size with the numbers 1 to 5.

ern and Eastern Europe.” He identified the German language territory as a region populated by an absolute or relative majority of Germans and including the linked German communities or those living in language islands, he identified 345 thousand Germans in the four counties (Pozsony, Moson, Sopron and Vas) of Western Hungary, in its area of 4350 km². This work provides a good indication of that Austrian history and geography thinking had a ready-made system of arguments to justify the future annexation of the region, as Pfaundler used the basis of the literature, partially discussed above, to discuss the question of the earlier German settlement, and the history of the private estates pledged to Austria, in which the Austrian historians gladly discovered the antecedent to Burgenland later on.

Following this he turned to the explanation of the methodology background: he had access to the statistics of the 1900 Hungarian census and other statistics at community level, with dual-language tables, all he had to struggle with



Fig. 10. Map detail from the work of Pfaundler, Moson County

were the Hungarian names of the settlements, for which he received efficient assistance from Hungary. His ethnic mapping method was detailed and fair: depicting the ethnic groups with an absolute or relative majority with hatching, while indicating the other groups with a population over 5% with an outline of the appropriate color on the settlement border, with the percentages indicated in numbers. Based on his data, he depicted and analyzed the German-settled area, the language borders, and the language islands on a separate map of the four Western Hungary counties, with all this being placed in the context of the local social and economic processes supplemented with historical sources (Fig. 9, 10 and 12).

In the district of Sopron the Hungarian minority grew significantly in the communities of Wolfs¹² to the south of Lake Neusiedl, Deutschkreutz (considerable Jewry!), Loipersbach, in Wandorf¹³ next to Sopron, and in Lackenbach (considerable Jewry!), while a reduction occurred in Haschendorf. The population of Hungarians also increased with respect to the Croats in the villages of Baumgarten and Klingebach. The German population signifi-

12 Now: Balf, part of Sopron.

13 Now: Sopronbánfalva, part of Sopron.



Fig. 11. Deutschkreutz picture postcard: 1. Esterházy Castle, 2. Catholic church, 3. Synagogue, 4. Clergy house, 5. Rudolf (Rezső) spring. Designed by: L. Kummert, Sopron circa 1900

cantly dwindled in Nagycenk, contrary to this, however, in Croatian-German Lackendorf the Germans, who in 1880 only constituted four tenths of the population nearly became the majority (287 opposed to 294)¹⁴ (Fig. 11).

Following this he turned to detail the ethnic processes, presenting the migration, the increase in the population of the Hungarians, the schooling problems, which he depicted as the main cause of the decline of the German people. At the end of his study, he summarized his conclusions as follows:

The census performed at the end of 1910 will surely substantiate the success of the officially promoted magyarization policy in numerous communities. The larger towns along the language border that had retained their German majority to date are especially at serious risk, including Pozsony, Moson, Sopron, Kőszeg. What is quite improbable though is the Hungarians successfully penetrating into the closed German language territory at any time, where the agricultural population resiliently retains its national character; what is more probable is the continued depopulation of Western Hungary through migration to Vienna and Lower Austria, and so there will be space for in-

14 Pfaundler, "Das Verbreitungsgebiet," 45.

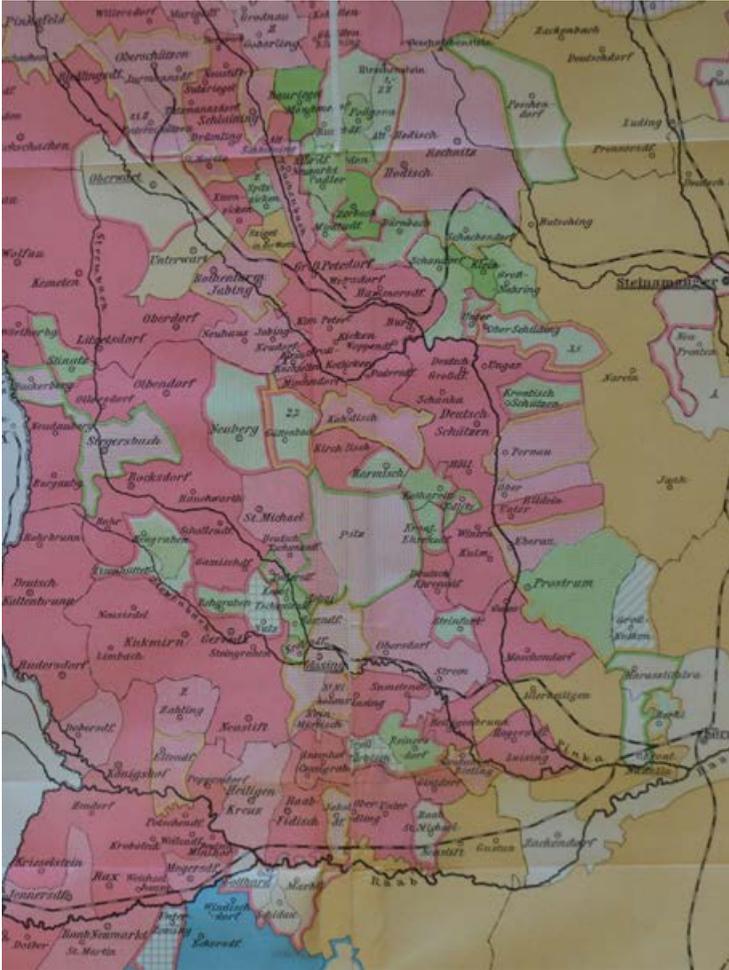


Fig. 12. Map detail from the work of Pfaundler, Vas County

coming settlers. On the other part, there is no doubt that the integration of the dispersed Croats into the neighboring German peoples will continue, just as the expected weakening of the German peoples along the language border will be balanced out with internal reinforcements.¹⁵

This quotation also underlines that Pfaundler wrote his work with the motivation of concern for the German people, and not of all the annexation of the territory to Austria. But still, it is very probable that Pfaundler became the back-

15 Pfaundler, “Das Verbreitungsgebiet,” 12.

ground expert for the Austrian government because of this work when, a decade later, he put together a study in support of the work of the peace delegation sent to Paris, which was later followed by another, final work.¹⁶ Moreover, it may be presumed that the ethnic maps in connection with Western Hungary were drawn up based on his earlier work and with his collaboration.¹⁷

The background work of the preparations for peace was carried out in the Foreign Ministry, here in November 1918 the *Vorbereitungsdienst*, i.e., the peace preparation working group was set up under the leadership of Franz Klein.¹⁸ The reins were partially in the hands of the legal specialist responsible for ethnic issues, Professor Rudolf Laun, who himself was a member of the delegation. Laun endeavored to satisfy the political demand for information with the involvement of the *Statistische Zentralkommission* and the *Militärgeographisches Institut*. During the work a 1:200,000 scale map depicting the ethnic picture of the Monarchy was created, where the population of the individual settlements that constituted the ethnic majority was shown with absolute numbers, and the nature of the ethnic group was indicated with the color of the figures. Here, similarly to the color selection of Pál Teleki's "Carte Rouge," the numbers of the own ethnic group, here, the Germans were indicated in dark red. According to the mapmaker, Richard Engelmann it played no role in the peace conference and was not used. Several versions may have been made, at least on Western Hungary, as the ethnic distribution appears slightly differently on each of the maps that I have inspected. A separate map was made of Lower Styria and Carinthia, here Richard Pfaundler's 1919 map was used because of the lack of time (Fig. 13).¹⁹

In addition to Laun's team, an ethnic minority protection department, and linked propaganda service, was set up in the Chancellery in December 1918, which was headed by August Ritter von Wotawa, who had studied history and geography but had developed a career in politics. This organization published the series, with forty issues promised, entitled *Flugblätter für Deutschösterreichs Recht* (pamphlets for the justice of German-Austria), certain issues of which were also published in the English and French languages, in addition to German. The authors of these booklets discussing territorial issues did not really include geographers, Pfaundler however, did not only draw up the pamphlet on Western Hungary, but participated in the work as active contributor to several

16 Pfaundler, *Die Zukunft der Deutschen*; Pfaundler, *Das Burgenland*.

17 Svatek, "Ethnic cartography," 105.

18 Rathmanner, "Die Pariser Friedensverhandlungen."

19 ÖSTA Friedensdelegation Kar. 19, Fasz. 1; Engelmann, "Sprachminderheiten," 141-43; Svatek, "Ethnic cartography," 103.



Fig. 13. Ethnic map detail, Austrian peace preparations. Presumably Richard Engelmann's map. The numbers (originally in color) show the population of the majority ethnic group based on the 1910 census.

issues, also discussing the border questions of South Tyrol, Styria and Carinthia in separate publications.²⁰

Pfaundler's later works serve as a good indication of the change that influenced the academic rhetoric at the time of the peace negotiations following World War I and when Burgenland was born. Pfaundler, who in his previous work had analyzed reservedly and objectively, now made use of his previous work and the data of the new census. Speaking from a radically different position in his 1919 writing, he emphasized the principle of ethnic group self-determination and spoke as a committed patriot advocating the settlement of the Western Hungary issue and the reversal of the fate of the German peoples living there who were resisting the Magyarization attempts, in addition to being against the Slavic Corridor plans,²¹ and essentially listing the ethnic argu-

20 ÖSTA Friedensdelegation Kar. 19, Fasz. 1.

21 The linking of the northern and southern Slav areas, i.e., Czechoslovakia and the newly established Kingdom of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs with a corridor carved out of Transdanubia,

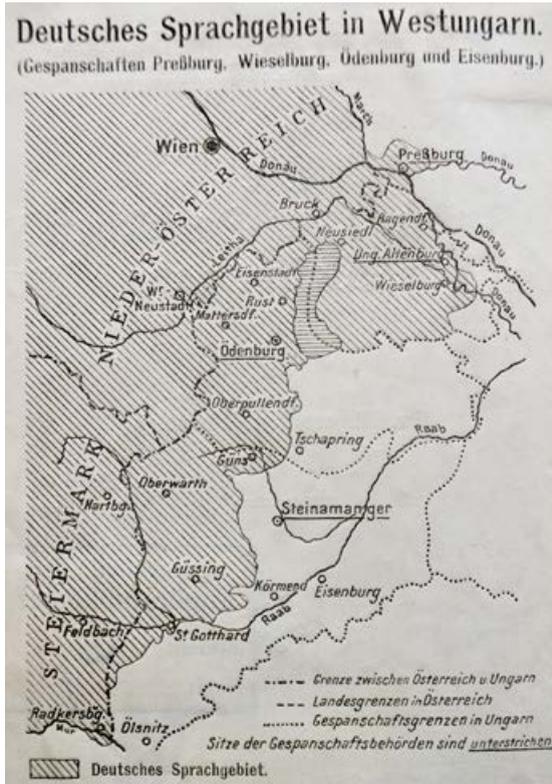


Fig. 14. Pfaundler's map of the German language territory of Western Hungary

ments. He wanted to settle the issue of belonging via a referendum, but he had no doubt about its expected outcome. For this 1919 publication he used his previous series of studies to create a generalized, tiny German language territory map, which generously forgot to depict the Croat peoples, suggesting a possible borderline in the case of annexation to Austria (Fig. 14).²²

As his motto Pfaundler used the declaration of the Austrian National Assembly of November 22, 1918, which expressed its claim to the annexation of the region of settlements populated by Germans in the counties of Pozsony, Moson, Sopron and Vas “on the basis of geography, economics and ethnicity”; these economic arguments also mentioned the region’s role in the food supply of Vienna.²³

the possible legitimization of which was given by the Croats living along the Austrian-Hungarian border. See Tóth, *Két Anchluss között*, 48–51; Popély, “A nyugat-magyarországi szláv korridor.”

22 Pfaundler, *Die Zukunft der Deutschen*, 2.

23 Pfaundler, *Die Zukunft der Deutschen*, 3.

This marks the starting point and the date of issue of Pfaundler's work, when the Austrian initiatives basically involved annexation based on the self-determination of the region. In this way, for example, considering the language borders of those Croatian language islands that were wedged between the Germans and the Hungarians, Pfaundler would have entrusted the decision on whether to join *Deutschwestungarn* or Hungary to the population, of course, in knowledge of the fact that, due to the close economic ties with the Germans and their German language knowledge, these Croats found it important to join the German territory. With geographical sensitivity he warned that

it is not very feasible to deprive German Western Hungary of its natural centers, of its towns that as the seats of the authorities and schools, market centers, and the collection points of trade and transport cannot be separated from its hinterlands without tearing apart the natural connections, and in this way damaging both the town and its hinterland too.²⁴

He based his fears on the fact that in the last decade the German people had fallen into the minority in some of the towns in Western Hungary, or their majority had strongly declined.

Table 1. Variations for German Western Hungary according to Pfaundler

	Germans		Hungarians		Croats		Slovaks		Total
German language territory and Hungarian or Croatian language islands surrounded only by German settlements									
with Bratislava	297 000	71.1%	76 000	18.3%	30 300	7.3%	13 900	3.3%	417 200
without Bratislava	259 000	77.8%	44 000	13.1%	30 300	9.1%	-		333 300
German language territory, with those Croatian language islands between the Germans and the Hungarians without disturbing the line of the borders									
with Bratislava	299 700	68.5%	79 200	18.1%	44 500	10.2%	13 900	3.2%	437 300
without Bratislava	262 600	74.3%	46 500	13.1%	44 500	12.6%	-		353 600
German language territory with those Croat villages and German language islands that are only separated from the main German language territory due to the towns that appear to have become Magyarized in the recent decade (Magyaróvár, Moson, Kőszeg, Szentgotthárd)									
with Bratislava	309 400	65.5%	93 700	19.8%	56 000	11.8%	13 900	2.9%	473 000
without Bratislava	272 300	69.9%	81 100	15.7%	56 000	14.4%	-		409 400

Source: based on Pfaundler, *Die Zukunft der Deutschen*, 7–8.

24 Pfaundler, *Die Zukunft der Deutschen*, 6.

As a result of its appearance in the *Flugblätter für Deutschösterreichs Recht* series Pfaundler's 1919 work may be viewed as a kind of proposal made by the Austrian government. Indeed, Pfaundler put six proposals on the table at the time when the fate of the area around Pozsony (Pressburg), the later Bratislava was still uncertain: with Bratislava and without Bratislava, with the Croatian language islands on the language border and without them, with the recently Germanized towns and without them, he proposed German populated territory variations of between 260 and 310 thousand square kilometers for consideration by the participants of the peace conference (Table 1).

Pfaundler's work of 1923 in the series published by the Graz *Südmark* preservation society founded in 1889 (*Flugschriften des Vereines Südmark über des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschum*) was the first to be issued. As a result of this framework, i.e., the series of publications undertaking the presentation of the territories on and beyond the border populated by Germans in the spirit of pan-Germanism, Pfaundler's rhetoric become even more patriotic. In his earlier work, perhaps for strategic reasons, he did not use the folk name of the German peoples of the region, as if they have a separate name this may also indicate division, as Pfaundler had always argued in favor of a unified German language territory. However, by mentioning the Heidebauern and Heinzen, here the emphasis was on taking the reader closer to the ethnic character of the region. Nevertheless, the work concentrated on the discussion of the losses (Bratislava, Sopron) when analyzing the broken-up province. In this way he states in his last sentence "Burgenland can only become the new eastern province of the German people (Ostmark) in truncated form," which was also his last officially published sentence on Burgenland.²⁵

However, there is a typed Pfaundler manuscript in the Burgenland provincial library that, according to the testimony of the text, may have been written for the tenth anniversary, presumably upon request. In its introduction Pfaundler, striking a sentimental note, emphasized the moment of the discovery of the province.

If the wanderer on a summer's day looks to the east from one of the peaks rising above the plain of the Alpine foothills of Lower Austria he may see forested ranges of hills looming in the blueness, fertile meadows, the thatched roofs of houses surrounded by fruit trees and a broad mirror of water sparkling silver in the distant mist: this is Burgenland. But to greet this enticing land with its forest, field and lake in its simple beauty, it was still not a desti-

25 Pfaundler, *Das Burgenland*, 8.

nation a few years ago. Close to Vienna, its people were still remote and unknown, and lived there slumbering in peace and dream.²⁶

As we can see the government based its position, and the submittal of the Austrian territorial claims on the scientific results of Richard Pfaundler's ethnic mapping work. In this way it is understandable that this work was not left unnoticed, and references and maps to be found in multiple contemporary works bear witness to this.

As Austrian attention turned toward Western Hungary, so academic interest in the region grew. After Pfaundler's pamphlet came off the printing press at the beginning of February,²⁷ the work by writer and journalist Albert Ritter was published under the pseudonym "K. Winterstetten" entitled *Heinzenland*.²⁸ On the basis of the references made in the text Ritter's piece was written still at the beginning of the year, around March or April, and the text reflects well the expectation that arose with respect to the annexation of *Deutschwestungarn*.²⁹ The aforementioned Pfaundler map on the German language territory is also to be found in Ritter's work, although Ritter only referenced Pfaundler's 1910–11 article. Ritter depicted the joy of the annexation of West-Hungary in the pan-German context, which helped suppress the memories of the war and territorial losses. In addition to this, explicit discovery may also be found in Ritter's work: according to the author's reasoning for a long time the German people did not know that there was a strip of land populated by Germans in the neighboring country linked to the main German settlement and language territory, which now, with the collapse of Hungary, seems to be fleeing Magyarization. Ritter's work is also interesting with respect to the history of Burgenland's naming, as in it, and naturally already with its title, he was clearly in favor of the name *Heinzenland*. The general argument against this was that this name does not cover the territory of the Heidebauern in Moson County.

The map, which we have attributed to Pfaundler, may also be found in two works written in 1919 by Vienna teacher Benno Imendörffer. What is interesting, however, is that the title of the maps is no longer "German language territory in Western Hungary," but instead "German Austria's Western Hungary territorial claim" (*Deutschösterreichs Anspruch auf Westungarn*), which provides

26 Pfaundler, "Burgenlands Heimkehr," 1.

27 ÖSTA Friedensdelegation Karton 13. Faszikkel 1.

28 Winterstetten, *Heinzenland*.

29 According to Sinowatz *Heinzenland* was published in January 1919, but Sinowatz must have misunderstood this (Sinowatz, "Zur Geschichte," 125).

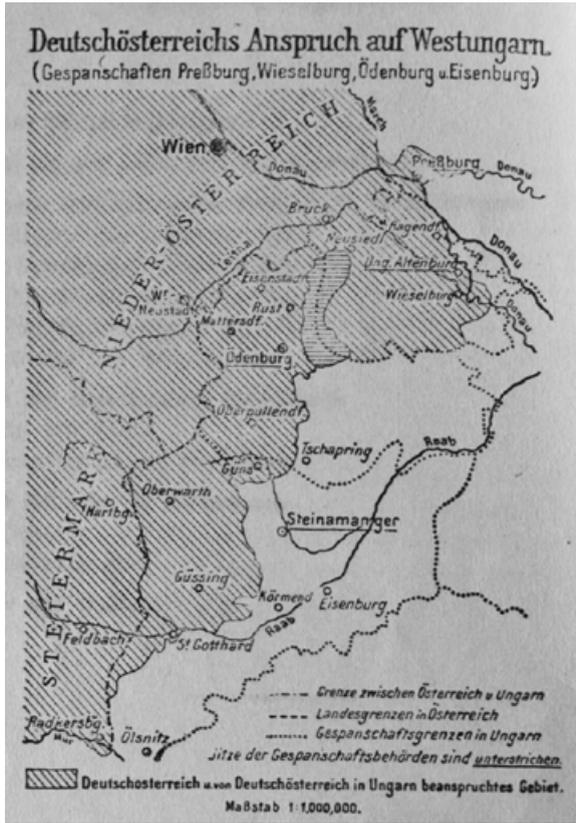


Fig. 15. Pfaundler's map modified by Imendörffer

a good reflection of the process during which a map may receive additional political meaning. On the other part, it references the developments of the previous six months in connection with the region: Imendörffer was now discussing just three counties, as in the meantime the Czechoslovakians had occupied Bratislava, and the author even mentioned the name *Vierburgenland*, which had begun to be used. The shorter of Imendörffer's works was published in the Berlin periodical *Deutsche Rundschau*, and the longer, more detailed version was also published in Berlin in the periodical of the *Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland* (association for Germans abroad).³⁰ In the latter it is obvious even without any reference that Imendörffer had created simplified versions of Pfaundler's ethnic maps of 1910–11 in black and white (Fig. 15).

³⁰ Imendörffer, "Deutsch-Westungarn"; Imendörffer, *Deutsch-Westungarn*.

Among the writings of those participating in the discursive fighting for the territory of Western Hungary on the part of the Hungarians, the work of Banat Swabian author Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn,³¹ who was in favor of annexation, and the book written by active agitator³² and hairdresser-journalist Géza Zsombor³³, who endeavored for greater objectivity and made arguments against annexation, do not now include Pfaundler's map. These do, however, include Hungarian census data. It is worth thinking about why among Austria and Hungary only the latter published settlement-level data in connection with the 1910 census that they both carried out, at the same time, but using a slightly different methodology. With no doubt this omission must have been advantageous for those arguing for the annexation. These statistics data and the Hungarian maps made from them will be dealt with in the following chapter.

A tentative boundary recommendation

At the time of the Paris peace negotiations geographer Lawrence Martin, who was known as the founding father (*Gründervater*)³⁴ or midwife (*Geburtshelfer*)³⁵ of Burgenland in the Austrian media, analyzed the situation of the region on behalf of the Americans so they could draw up their territorial proposals. These metaphors and the short film shown at the 2021 New Year's concert we have already referenced indicate that there is a demand for "discoverers," a demand for a region, born amid modern-age ethnic, nation-state and war conflicts, to able to present those actors and factors who and which assisted with the birth. Many have examined the creation of the name of Burgenland or of the provincial anthem in this way to date.³⁶

It is well known that some 150 academics, geographers and historians, mostly from the larger universities on the East Coast of the United States, worked in the American peace preparations. The Inquiry, set up in September 1917 by President Woodrow Wilson, was headed by American geographer Isaiah Bowman from the summer of 1918. Harvard history professor Archibald Cary Coolidge was also a member of the Inquiry, who previously had directed the work of

31 Müller-Guttenbrunn, *Wohin gehört Westungarn?*

32 Tóth, *Két Anschluss közzött*, 54–56.

33 Zsombor, *Westungarn*.

34 Brettl, *Amerikanischer Wissenschaftler*.

35 Österreich-Bild: Der Geburtshelfer – Auf den Spuren von Major Lawrence Martin. Gestalter: Stefan Schinkovits, Mitarbeit: Herbert Brettl. ORF Landesstudio Burgenland, 2019.

36 Oberhammer, "Burgenland"; Oberhammer, "Der Name Burgenland"; Sinowatz, "Zur Geschichte"; Winkler "Das verordnete Landesbewußtsein."

the Austrian-Hungarian research group based at Yale University, later with he and others becoming members of the committee participating in the peace negotiations. It was here that the Coolidge mission was formed, in the scope of which Coolidge and his team of 11 arrived in Vienna on 5 January 1919.³⁷ Lawrence Martin, a close friend of Bowman's, was also an expert member of this mission; he served in the *Military Intelligence Division*, and headed its geography team, and was not officially a member of the peace delegation. In the February of that year Coolidge asked Martin to study the Western Hungary region and assess the situation there.³⁸

Lawrence Martin was born in 1880 on the American East Coast, in Massachusetts. He attended Cornell then Harvard universities, and latter studied under geomorphologist William Morris Davis, which is interesting from the point of view that, like most geographers of the period, Martin too arrived at human geography from the field of physical geography. Martin worked at Wisconsin University from 1906, during which time he was also an employee of the *U.S. Geological Survey*, and his works were primarily linked to physical geography: he researched glaciers in Alaska, participating in several expeditions, and in addition to this he wrote a book on the physical geography of the State of Wisconsin.

However, in the penultimate year of World War I he first undertook a voluntary position in the military teaching cartography, afterward receiving a position in the *Military Intelligence Division* initially with the rank of major and then going on to become colonel. His biographer described Martin as a character blessed with a sense of humor and diplomatic discretion, who worked tirelessly, and rested little. However, he took long walks at his weekend house, spending his time cutting firewood and collecting driftwood.³⁹ He remained in state service even after the war, becoming an expert on border issues first in Italy, then in the Middle East. From 1924 until his retirement in 1946 he headed the Maps Division of the *Library of Congress*, while lecturing at numerous universities.

He published no work on his experiences in the peace preparations, only the two-volume work collecting the peace treaties ending the war,⁴⁰ and within that the preliminary study on the legal background and the drawing of the maps are linked to his name (Fig. 16). Due to this the main sources of his work in connection with Western Hungary come from archive materials and works

37 Glant, *Az Egyesült Államok útja Trianonhoz*, 15–41.

38 Vares, *The Question of Western Hungary*, 55.

39 Williams, "Lawrence Martin," 357.

40 Martin, *Treaties of Peace*.



Fig. 16. Martin's map of the Austrian territorial settlement. The side-map is incorrect, it suggests as if Burgenland had been annexed from Austria (black areas). The hatching on the main map indicates the referendum territories.

analyzing these. Certainly by no accident the first to deal with the subject was Jon D. Berlin, who was writing his doctoral thesis at Wisconsin University and researching the American sources as a result of which work the position in the literature was that the activities and border proposals of the American mission were decisive in the shaping of the fate of the region, although it may be true that those using other sources, such as Mária Ormos, preferred to emphasize the role of the British and the French. The latter and the Italians approached the case of Western Hungary from the point of view of the German question and the Yugoslav problem.⁴¹ It is beyond doubt, however, that it was the Americans alone who performed scientific data collection in the Western Hungary region, so their role in the border issue eventually being put on the table at the peace conference cannot be underestimated. Starting from February 1919 Coolidge and Martin included the issue of the annexation of the German-populated territory in several reports, although it is true that the Coolidge Mission proposals and the territorial claim conceived by the slowly awakening Vienna government only arrived in June, which was caused by the Slavic Corridor proposal,

41 Vares, *The Question of Western Hungary*, 55; Ormos, *Civitas Fidelissima*, 20, 28–30.

the Hungarian Soviet Republic,⁴² but also by the fact that after Coolidge had returned to Paris he remained a member of the peace delegation, and participated in the shaping of the decisions.⁴³ This is how the question of the border amendment was placed on the table at the peace conference, and the first peace and border proposals were submitted to Austria in July 1919.⁴⁴

The Coolidge Mission in Austria represented a balance between Wilsonian political idealism, the American notion of democracy and of practical power politics. They studied all of Austria's borders, with Martin not only dealing with Western Hungary, but also with the Carinthian and Styrian border sections as well as with the Czechoslovak-Ruthenia-Romania border question.⁴⁵ Their reports bear witness to the fact that their scope extended from the changes in the extent of the force of the superpowers to consideration of the opinions of the local peoples. They also saw the fate of Western Hungary in various scenarios played out in Austria as state,⁴⁶ and the superpowers, including America, were in favor of Austria not merging (*Anschluss*) with Germany in any form whatsoever. And the annexation of *Deutschwestungarn* also offered a solution in connection with dealing with the idea of the lack of viability (*Lebensunfähigkeit*) of the future small state.⁴⁷ Coolidge first raised the issue of the annexation of the region in his reports on 29 January, saying that "the Germans in western Hungary had attracted little attention," and listed the historical and economic arguments of the Austrians in favor of annexation, and the Hungarian counterarguments as well.⁴⁸

Coolidge approached the issue of the region with care, this is why he instructed Martin, the "competent, professional geographer"⁴⁹ to study the region at the end of January 1919. The Coolidge Mission had travelled to Budapest already in the middle of January, and the Hungarians viewed the work of the American delegation with great expectations.⁵⁰ Even delegations of local Ger-

42 Tóth, *Két Anschluss között*, 61.

43 Vares, *The Question of Western Hungary*, 56, 99.

44 Berlin, "The United States and the Burgenland," 42-48.

45 Magyarics, "Amerikai missziók," 11; Brettl, "Lawrence Martin."

46 FRUS Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace No. 53 Vienna, January 30, 1919. (Paris Peace Conf. 184.01102/50)

47 Tóth, *Két Anschluss között*, 34-38; Vares, *The Question of Western Hungary*, 99-100; Imre, "Burgenland," 225, 234, 242; Brettl, "Lawrence Martin."

48 FRUS Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace No. 49 Vienna, January 29, 1919. (Paris Peace Conf. 184.01102/45½)

49 FRUS Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace No. 80 Vienna, February 14, 1919. (Paris Peace Conf. 184.01102/91)

50 "Békeszerződés"; Magyarics, "Amerikai missziók," 9.

mans from Western Hungary visited them in Vienna, argued in favor of annexation, and submitted complaints in connection with the Hungarian troops stationed there, requesting Allied military supervision, as well as the initiation of a referendum to decide the future of the region.⁵¹

In his subsequent report on the region Coolidge describes that at his request Lawrence Martin had studied the region, and attached Martin's results to his report.⁵² I provide the source memorandum below so the reader may study how an American geographer from Wisconsin saw the geographical characteristics of the region, and how he argued for the border amendment he had proposed.

Major Lawrence Martin to Professor A. C. Coolidge
Vienna, February 28, 1919.

Subject: Tentative recommendation regarding final Hungarian-Austrian boundary, with a suggestion of immediate relief for the food-crisis in Vienna.

1. In accordance with your direction, I submit the following discussion of the geographical, economic, and ethnic factors affecting Heizenland, or German West Hungary, and the boundary between the Hungarian Republic and the Republic of Deutschösterreich. It affects 22,000 square miles, populated by 389,400 persons, and involves a boundary 256 kilometers long.
2. This recommendation is based upon a study of maps and documents, but has not been preceded by a visit to the area affected. I append a number of maps and exhibits, and refer to several others which I know to be available in the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, in Paris.
3. This tentative recommendation I take to be chiefly for your information and that of our commissioners in Paris; I do not need to say that our experience in drawing the Line of Demarcation in Carinthia, where we found many Slovenes who wished to be governed by the Austrians rather than the Yugoslavs, affects my judgment to such an extent that I should feel a great mistake were being made if the wishes of the Deutsch-Westungarn people were not carefully canvassed by a neutral commission before a final boundary is determined. The Heinzisch language is not pure German but somewhat di-

51 FRUS Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace No. 90 Vienna, February 17, 1919. (Paris Peace Conf. 184.01102/110½)

52 FRUS Major Lawrence Martin to Professor A. C. Coolidge Vienna, February 28, 1919. In: Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace No. 122 Vienna, March 3, 1919. (Paris Peace Conf. 184.01102/173).

alectic (see Exhibit B, accompanying). I do not feel sure to what extent they have been Magyarized.

4. The economic factor is likewise a tremendously important one, as it appears to involve the victualling of the city of Vienna to a notable extent.

5. This memorandum brings up the Slav Corridor scheme between the Republica Československa and the S. H. S. Kingdom, as the area includes the Sprachenarchipelago of Serbo-Croats upon which the Bohemians and Jugoslavs place so much stress.

6. Heinzenland, the district in western Hungary here discussed, is shown upon the two small maps on this page. [Here follow two maps which have not been reproduced.] One of these indicates the physical features and shows in red the tentative Hungarian-Austrian boundary which I recommend. The other map roughly indicates the German-Magyar ethnic distribution, but willfully omits the Sprachenarchipelago of Serbo-Croats. The latter, however, are shown upon other maps of Austrian compilation herewith and the Hungarian Map 9, as well as on the 4 sheets of the 200,000 scale map appended, upon which the boundary recommended is shown in detail.

7. The region involved is divided between two larger geographical districts: (a) the Alpine foothills, including (1) Leitha Gebirge, a narrow ridge connecting the Alps at Semmering Pass with the Carpathians north of Pressburg, and (2) the eastern extension of the [Page 266] Grazhügel; (b) the western extension of the plain of Hungary—KL Ungarische Tiefebene—lying between the Bakony Wald and the Alpine foothills. Part of this is the Hansag, a swampy plain. The Little Hungarian Plain has an altitude of 130 to 150 meters, while the Alpine foothills rise to 476–883 meters above sea-level, or 800 to 2300 feet above the plain.

8. The mineral resources of the district involved include three basins of lignite or brown coal, two pyrite mines, and one antimony deposit.

9. The main occupation of the district is agricultural, and 60% to 70% of the land is arable; the soil is good; and the climate favorable (July temperature 20°–21°, January temperature 2°–1°; rainfall 500–700 mm.) This is a very productive part of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. It has an average population of 40 to 80 persons to the square kilometer, rising above 120 per square kilometer near Ödenburg (Sopron). The foodstuffs produced in the northern half of the district are largely consumed in Vienna under normal conditions. Professor Brückner of the University of Vienna asserts that statistics support the estimate that 35 to 42 percent of the necessary food im-

port of Niederösterreich, including Vienna, was brought from the German-inhabited strip of West-Hungary before the war.

10. Manufacturing is not an important industry in any part of the area. Transportation relationships are shown upon the appended maps and will be discussed in subsequent paragraphs.

11. This district includes parts of four Hungarian Komitats, but I shall disregard their boundaries, as only the western portion of each one is involved, and discuss the tentative boundary recommended under four geographical divisions, (a) from Hill 404 (see recommendation of Permanent Boundary in Carinthia and Styria, Feb. 12, 1919) to the valley of the River Raab near Szentgotthárd (St. Gotthard); (b) from St. Gotthard to Fertő Tava (Neusiedler See); from Neusiedler See to Pozsony (Pressburg); (d) north of Pressburg.

12. The southern area, which is very small, may be dismissed with the statement that I am not familiar with the terrain and its population and resources, from personal observation, but I feel that the permanent boundary should be drawn in relation to ethnic distribution and minor divides, somewhat as shown in red on Szombathely sheet, 1:200,000, appended, after an impartial field investigation has determined the wishes of the German, Croatian, and Magyar peoples in this hilly region. Szentgotthard I give to the Hungarians, as it is overwhelmingly Magyar. Its north and west hinterland will be German; its southwest hinterland Slovene; but what else could one do with a city close to the Yugoslav-Hungarian-Deutschösterreich frontier corner?

13. For the district from the River Raab at St. Gotthard to Neusiedler See there appears to be a simple situation. The ethnic boundary is generally parallel to the base of the foothills at the edge of the upland forest (see accompanying Wien and Szombathely sheets, 1:200,000, Map 11); if the Germans west of this line really wish to belong to Austria rather than Hungary, I think a permanent boundary could be drawn along some such line as I have indicated on the detailed map, without any complications or hardships, other than those involved in relation to railways and town markets at the base of the upland. The railway line between Körmend, Szombathely (Steinamanger) and Zinkenfeld (southeast of Odenburg) would lie wholly within Hungarian territory, so that part of the products from the rolling country inhabited by the Germans might have to be shipped to market through territory controlled by the Hungarians. I see no way to avoid this. This does not involve any hardship for trunk-line railway transportation between Vienna and Agram, or Vienna and Belgrade. Of the foothill cities, Kőszeg (Güns) is most perplexing. Its population is mixed, but with 2 Magyars for 1 German,

besides a handful of Slovenes and Serbo-Croats. It lies in a valley under the forested ridge of Írott-kő and Karlshöhe, the best bit of military strategic frontier in western Hungary. I believe we shall have to give the city to the Hungarians, unless field investigation shows that its minority of Germans are the merchants and that they, as well as the Croat farmers on the north and German farmers on the west prefer that it belong to Deutschösterreich; this, however, would involve hardship for the Magyar farmers to the east where there is more level land and less forest. Szombathely (Steinamanger) and Körmend are overwhelmingly Magyar and must be Hungarian, though this may temporarily inconvenience the German and Croat farmers on the upland to the west (Fig. 17).

14. In this district we face squarely the relationship of the Serbo-Croat Sprachenarchipelago to the Corridor scheme. No one of the ethnic-linguistic maps attached to this memorandum appears to me to represent the distribution of the small number of scattered Serbo-Croats adequately. The number of islands of these people isolated in the midst of the German population is best seen upon sheets 9, 10, 19, and 20 of the *Carte Ethnographique de la Hongrie*, scale 1:200,000, prepared under the direction of Count Paul Teleki, and transmitted by me in package No. 15, January 20, 1919. Count Teleki's 1:1,000,000-scale map, appended, indicates the density of population as well as actual distribution; but, as it omits the factor of topography in relation to the transportation line which the Czechoslovaks and Jugoslavs propose to build, if they obtain their Corridor, I have roughly indicated the distribution of the centers of Serbo-Croat [Page 268]settlement, (in blue spots and circles, without boundaries), on the four sheets (Wien, Pressburg, Szombathely, and Pápa; *General-karte von Mitteleuropa*, K. K. Militargeographisches Institut, 1:200,000) on which I have drawn the boundary which I recommend, and which accompanies this memorandum as Map 11.

Realizing that I make the statement without adequate discussion, I cannot resist stating that the distribution of the scattered islands of this Serbo-Croat Sprachenarchipelago, on a highland with transverse railway lines but no possibility of longitudinal railway construction, because of deep valleys, strengthens my opposition to the Corridor scheme, even if there were not strategic, economic, and other objectionable features.

I do not feel that the presence of these detached areas of Serbo-Croats raises an objection to the drawing of a new frontier which shall unite the Germans of West Hungary with those of Austria. I do not believe that the Serbo-Croats in the area under consideration should be united with the Hungari-



Fig. 17. Tauka, 1925. Postcard. Photo: Rudolf Andrecs, Jennersdorf

ans rather than with the Germans; either is an antagonistic race; a Viennese book-dealer characterized the Croats and Magyars to me today as “Feuer und Wasser.” The Croats near the proposed Hungarian border should not, in my mind, form Alien-halbinseln projecting from the Hungarian state into the new Austrian republic; these Slavs, even in the areas north of Güns (Kőszeg) and west of Steinamanger (Szombathely), are so situated that their market-relationships can be equally as good with the Germans of the surrounding upland as with the Hungarians of the plain to the east. For the Serbo-Croats north of Kőszeg this point is debatable.

One feature of the pamphlet by Dr. Richard von Pfaundler, *Die Zukunft der Deutschen in Westungarn*, is a discussion of what shall be done with these Serbo-Croats. He says, in effect, that the percentage of Croatian population will not exceed $1/7$ of the total, no matter which way these Slavs are handled. As 306 of the communities have a majority of Germans, and 297 communities constitute an undivided language-district it appears to him that the Serbo-Croats would be equally as happy and comfortable under a German as under an Hungarian administration. Dr. Pfaundler states that a large proportion of these people speak one language beside their own and that they are friendly to the Germans.

If a field investigation should demonstrate that these Serbo-Croats speak German as their second language, which seems natural in view of their market-relationships, I should have no question of the wisdom of giving them to Deutschösterreich, provided, of course, the Corridor scheme is, as I hope, to be laid on the table.

With regard to the isolated areas of Hungarians living within German West-Hungary there appears to be no way of attaching them to the Republic of Hungary, and they can doubtless continue their business relations equally well with the Germans of the surrounding country if German West-Hungary becomes part of Austria.

The new boundary recommended in the district between the Raab River and the Neusiedler See (Fertő Tava) is not as satisfactory a geographical-strategic line of demarcation in some respects as the old one, since it is nearer the foothills than the old Hungarian-Austrian frontier on the upland (blue-shaded line on appended 1:200,000-scale maps). Nevertheless, as the ethno-linguistic boundary coincides fairly well with the base of the foothills, lying everywhere in the foothill slope, I have drawn my suggested line as fully as possible in relation to the minor topography and forests. I regard this proposed new international boundary as satisfactory in its combination of an ethnic-linguistic frontier, a geographical line of demarcation, a good military frontier, and a line which does not transgress any great laws in relation to economic factors.

15. The proposed boundary from Neusiedler See (Fertő Tava) to Pressburg goes through the swampy plain of the Hansag north of the Rabnitz River, and then turns northward to the Kleiner Donau. It avoids complication with the Rinser Canal, leading from Neusiedler See to the Danube. It terminates on the Danube just west of Pressburg at the mouth of the River March (Morva), forming as good an international boundary as one can possibly make along a series of rivers and uninhabited swamps. The proposed new frontier would be vastly inferior to the old ridge-frontier of the Leitha Gebirge-Pressburg Carpathians, overlooking the plains on either side, from a military point of view if we still used bows, arrows, and catapults, instead of modern artillery and airplanes. Nevertheless the Final Frontier here proposed is excellent, for it traverses an almost uninhabited area, the Hansag (see white area, Count Teleki's 1:1,000,000-scale map), for many miles, and then follows a small stream, partly-canalized, to the Danube.

The district thus set off, although a plain, is much less populous than the rolling country southwest of Neusiedler See, having a maximum of only 40

to 50 persons to the square kilometer, while the upland has 70 to 80 to the square kilometer. This is because the region is swampy, but possibly sand, malaria, and other factors are involved. The large estate of Archduke Friedrich is here also. It is a district of mixed population, however, containing a minority of Hungarians and a few Serbo-Croatians in the midst of a German population. The extent to which its products go to Pressburg rather than Vienna as a market is not clear without further investigation.

I have attached to this memorandum Exhibit D, prepared by the Magistrate of Vienna to show the food relationship of this region and of the Ödenburg district west of Neusiedler See to the city of Vienna. He says several hundred dealers in 50 small places in the Hungarian Comitats regularly supplied the daily and weekly markets in Vienna. In 1913 the Vienna Great Market-Hall and the Central Cattle Market St. Marx received 139,000 cattle, 635,000 pigs, 118,000 calves, lambs, and young slaughter animals, etc., etc. Obviously much of this came from parts of Hungary farther east than Heizenland, as did the flour from Hungarian corn; but the daily milk supply, amounting to 100,000 to 150,000 liters, sold in Vienna, and imported from Hungary, did come from German West Hungary or Heizenland. This also applies to green vegetables, 327,000 q. (meter zentner or 100 kilos) in the year 1913, and to fruits, 107,000 q., and some of the 28,464,000 eggs.

The great complication that immediately arises, however, is involved with the trebly complex question as to who is to control the city of Pressburg (Pozsony). (a) It is at present in the hands of the Czechoslovaks; (b) the Hungarian census gives it a majority of Germans; (c) the Hungarians are likewise anxious to retain it for themselves. As it lies on the north side of the Danube, however, its trade-relationships are more with the Hungarians on the east and the Czechoslovaks on the north than with the mixed German-Croatian-Hungarian population in the area under discussion on the south. I know of no plot of land in Central Europe, however, whose future more urgently demands an impartial field study than this particular district. The study of this district will bear upon the final disposition of Pressburg. I very much hope that the wishes of the local population may be freely consulted by Americans or other neutrals before a determination is made. At the time of writing this memorandum, however, one thing is clear: Since Pressburg is in the hands of the Czechoslovaks, and since Vienna needs food-products from the upland between Neusiedler See and the Danube more urgently than any Hungarian city does, especially as the suffering among the poor of Vienna is intense, I recommend without reservation that the whole district

between Neusiedler See and the Danube, as indicated on my map appended, be considered as more likely to go to Austria than to remain a part of Hungary. The present trade of Pressburg with the region to the southwest will naturally be diverted either to Vienna or to a new German river-port opposite Pressburg, but it would never go to a Hungarian city.

16. The area north of the city of Pressburg where Germans live is ridiculously small, compared with what is shown upon the two Austrian ethnic maps accompanying this memorandum. The Atlas of Hungary alluded to before (1:200,000) shows this distribution more fairly than any other map I know. I do not feel that it is within my province to discuss the future of Pressburg. I can only state that although, according to the Hungarian census, which was independent of Austrian control or direction, it has a majority of Germans, I can see many economic reasons for giving the Czechoslovaks this river-port; I feel that if the Germans in Pressburg do not desire to continue to live there, in case the Peace Conference gives Pressburg to the Czechoslovaks, it would be very easy to build a rival German town directly across the Danube at Engerau, and that this would take care of the marketing facilities of the German population in the plain (Haidboden) and on the hills (Leitha Gebirge).

17. I earnestly recommend for consideration, as an immediate measure of relief for the Viennese, the establishment of a tentative boundary along the line indicated on the four attached sheets of Map 11, scale 1:200,000, giving the Germans of West Hungary to the Austrian Republic for temporary administration, pending the establishment of a final boundary by the Peace Conference. If it be true that anywhere near a third or a half of the food of Lower Austria normally comes from German West Hungary, we have a weighty argument in favor of this emergency measure. At least I am convinced of the truth of the Austrian claim that the district in Hungary southeast of Vienna, inhabited by Germans, is an important part of the hinterland of Vienna for the supply of local food. None of this now gets to Vienna except by *Schleichhandel*. If we could reduce the number of sick in the Viennese hospitals who are dying daily of starvation, and the number of poor in Vienna who are suffering acutely from malnutrition, if we can bring to babies in Vienna a few thousand liters of milk, out of the 150,000 liters of milk that came daily to Vienna from the southeast before the war, by immediately shifting the Hungarian-Austrian frontier from the ante-bellum boundary to the one here recommended, we should be performing a service for humanity. I am inclined

to think that neither⁵³ the poor in Pressburg nor the poor in Raab or Budapest would suffer if this emergency measure were investigated immediately and then put at once into effect. This appears to be a case where a tentative demarcation line is almost certain to coincide with the permanent boundary determined after the principle of *Selbstbestimmung* has been applied to the local population.

Lawrence Martin

Even without the unavailable maps it is very exciting to read how Martin sought to analyze the region accurately, with the use of his knowledge of geography, and justify the nature of the annexation proposal. Before assessing his text, it should be stated that although the Austrian film and literature interpretations suggest Martin visited the region, he drew it up without performing any fieldwork on site, he himself stated this in section 2. We do not know if he performed any inspections on site later on, and no other annexation proposals of his are known of either, with reference to this proposal being made in later reports. In his second memorandum of March 14, he reports of a journey through the region by rail made on March 3, again to Budapest, where he met with Eisenstadt representative Ferenc Bolgár and Zurndorf representative Károly Cserny. The large part of his report contains the Hungarian data and the opinions they provided against the annexation of the region. At the end of his report, he stated that the information provided by the Hungarians had confirmed his belief that the border proposal of February 28 was good. He also found that the new border, at least where the train crossed it, would be good where he proposed it should be. Otherwise, as he had the opportunity to observe from the train between Hegyeshalom and Győr, it was apparent that Hanság (a wetland east of Lake Neusiedl) was under no circumstances like a desert and was not particularly marshy. He was also told during his journey that many of the Croats spoke Hungarian, not German, and he was informed at the stations that Hungary had supplied milk and vegetables to Vienna before the war.⁵⁴

Another just as important factor that Martin emphasized multiple times was that the local population should be asked about where they want to belong and that investigations should be performed on site. As we know, a referendum was only held in and around Sopron, and experience in the field mainly obtained

53 Original text includes a grammatical error: "I am not inclined to think that neither..."

54 FRUS Major Lawrence Martin to Professor A.C. Coolidge. Vienna March 14, 1919 In: Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace No. 151 Vienna, March 16, 1919. (M-367, 404/0180-0185) In: Berlin, *Akten*, 55-58.

by a member of the Halstead Mission, Arthur Wood DuBois during his travels at the end of November 1919 and in the middle of March 1920, both limited to Sopron and the villages around Lake Neusiedl. His reports included a detailed description of the opinions he heard from the locals, about who is attracted to which country and why. Based on these, the German people, the peasantry and the workers reported having greater friendship toward Austria, while the Hungarians and the Croats, in general from the top layers of society, of their intention to keep with Hungary.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, he too recorded that a final decision should only be made on the basis of a referendum, although, in another opinion, he reported on the increasing level of Hungarian propaganda in the region, and that a referendum would end in a Hungarian victory.⁵⁶

Returning to Martin's report, the geographical determinism of the American is easily palpable in his text, when he lumped together the role of the railway lines, the strategic geographical position, the forests and the foothills with the natural factors when justifying the course of the proposed border. At the same time, he painted a considerably simplified picture of the geographical make-up of the region, over-dimensioning the Leitha Mountains and nearly forgetting about the roles of the Güns and Ödenburg Mountains in the structure of the region, even after proposing the annexation of the district of Sopron. These factors only arose when considering the situation of the town of Kőszeg, in this way interpreting the entire southern territory as the eastern extension of the hill region of Graz. The situation of Sopron in fact was no question for him, Martin gave the city to Austria without mentioning its name. However, Martin trod carefully with respect to the ethnic situation and Magyarization, mostly emphasizing the necessity for fieldwork. It is very remarkable that he too used and appended Teleki's renowned *Carte Rouge* map, which was drawn up and released from the printers at the end of 1918, beginning of January 1919, amid Hungary's military collapse.⁵⁷ He also referenced a 1:200 000 scale Hungarian ethnic map, which can be no other than the map produced by Károly Kogutowitz, which was drawn up even before the red map.⁵⁸ The reference to these maps and their objectivity indicates that Martin preferred to use these cartographic works instead of Pfaundler's ethnic maps mentioned above, although it

55 FRUS Memorandum by Mr. A. W. DuBois No. 36 Vienna, December 1, 1919. (Paris Peace Conf. 184.011102/682); FRUS Memorandum by Mr. A. W. DuBois No. 82 Vienna, March 20, 1920. (M-367, 476/0415-0418) In: Berlin, *Akten*, 134-35, 223-24, 282; Tóth, *Két Anschluss között*, 155-56, 161.

56 Berlin, *Akten*, 134-35.

57 Ablonczy, "Pál Teleki," 49; Seegel, *Map Men*, 64-66.

58 Segyevy, *Térképművek Trianon árnyékában*.

is true that he made reference to Pfaundler's work in connection with the Croat issue, he did not refer to it in the question of the annexation of the towns; he left Szentgotthárd, Kőszeg, Magyaróvár and Moson to Hungary. On this basis, we can determine that the Allies used the Teleki and Kogutowitz maps, only not in accordance with their original purpose, instead to substantiate Hungary's territorial losses, at least on this border section.

Another important point is that Martin judged Vienna's food supply to be of decisive significance, and his proposed solution was to place the territory under immediate, temporary Austrian administration. Here he referenced geographer Eduard Brückner, and the memorandum from the Magistrate of Vienna. Berlin endeavored to check Brückner's data, but without success.⁵⁹ Brückner was also a glacier researcher and geomorphologist, and at that time president of the Vienna Geographical Society, and, by all accounts, had become friends with Martin. Later, it may be read from the correspondence between Brückner and Isaiah Bowman how pleased Brückner was to meet Martin, but after this was unable to maintain communications with him, even with Bowman's help.

It must be understood that at the time the world's leading geographers were all acquainted with one another, and these were not merely casual relationships. Many had forged friendships during the Transcontinental Excursion of 1912, which was the idea of Martin's former mentor William Davis, it was he who led the group, which included 43 European geographers, among them two Hungarians, Jenő Cholnoky and Pál Teleki. The Americans Bowman and Martin both participated in the Excursion, and the invitees also included Alan Grant Ogilvie, Lucien Gallois, Albert Demangeon and Emmanuel de Martonne, who also carried out background work for the peace delegations for the British and French. Also, there were the Austrians Eduard Brückner, who was mentioned above, and Eugen Oberhummer, both of whom will be mentioned again. The occasion for the journey was the sixtieth anniversary of the American geographical society of New York.⁶⁰ During the trip Martin kept a "diary" entitled *Transcontinental Bulletin* to report on the excursion, which had even caught the attention of the press (Fig. 18).⁶¹

59 Berlin, *Akten*, 34–35.

60 Seegel, *Map Men*, 11–12; Győri and Withers, "Trianon and its aftermath.," Győri and Withers "Trianon és a brit földrajz I.," 204–206; Győri and Withers, "Trianon és a brit földrajz II.," 300.

61 Williams, "Lawrence Martin," 360; AGSNY United States, Davis, William Morris, *Transcontinental Excursion of 1912*, bulletin, 1912 AC 1, Box 271, Folder 4.



Fig. 18. Group photograph of the Transcontinental Excursion at Niagara Falls. Bowman and Martin at the extreme left and right with Brückner, Cholnoky and Teleki sitting in the middle.

Although Brückner, as representative of the defeated nation, corresponded with Bowman with a degree of gaucherie and embarrassment,⁶² his network of connections, as well as that of his contemporaries, was diverse, both on the side of the victors and the vanquished. At the time of the peace negotiations the defeated, such as geographer Pál Teleki, endeavored to mobilize their western connections, which is evidenced by the extensive correspondence between Teleki and Bowman, for example. When Lawrence Martin, at Coolidge's side, visited Budapest a meeting was organized with the American by the *Területvédelő Liga* (territory defense league) partially established by geographers, including Teleki and Lajos Lóczy sr.⁶³ But those on the side of the victors, the Polish, Romanians, Czechs, and Yugoslavs, also did this, making use of the fact that the Americans endeavored to take steps to reorganize Europe via the work of the *Inquiry* and the peace delegation with the force of science. It is true though that the geographers were soon disappointed: politics listened to them but made the decision based on their own interests.⁶⁴

In the meantime, still on March 10, 1919, Archibald Cary Coolidge reported again on the Western Hungarian question in his memorandum discussing the borders of the entire Monarchy. In this he once again determined that the territory in question, it seemed, should be annexed to Austria, but, if possible, he felt that a neutral referendum would be a good idea. In the end he confirmed that he agreed with the borderlines proposed by Martin.⁶⁵ On March 16 Lawrence Martin submitted his third memorandum, which his superior passed on saying it was not for him to judge. In this it seems as if he wished to express his friendship with Teleki and the Hungarians, as the memorandum had a considerably friendly tone with respect to the Hungarians, and with this Martin's role in the events may be nuanced even in the eyes of posterity. Already at the beginning of the text "I challenge our good faith" Martin had indicated that he was bringing up a different topic. Accordingly, placing the situation of the Hungarians into context, he started his reasoning by saying that Hungary's neighbors were all already negotiating in Paris, but that the Magyars were not yet there, and that they are not considering the partitioning of multilingual countries, such as Belgium or Switzerland, and no one thought seriously of the Yugoslavs

62 AGSNY Correspondence between Isaiah Bowman and Edward Brückner 1919–1923 AC 1, Box 183, Folder 2.

63 "Békeszerződés."; Ablonczy, "Pál Teleki," 50; Seegel, *Map Men*, 82; Brettl, "Lawrence Martin."

64 Seegel, *Map Men*, 91; Györi and Withers, "Trianon and its aftermath"; Györi and Withers, "Trianon és a brit földrajz II.," 305–306.

65 FRUS Memorandum by Professor A. C. Coolidge March 10, 1919. (Paris Peace Conf.185.212/5).

or the Greeks handing over territory populated by Bulgarians to Bulgaria. On this basis, he determined that it seems the borderlines would be drawn by economic and strategic arguments and not by purely ethnic considerations. Due to this he called the attention of the peace negotiation community to that “[t]he present stage of work in Paris, with boundaries more or less settled upon in a tentative way, is a time to consider most carefully all relationships involved; it can never be too late to re-consider until the final treaty is signed.” In the second section of his memorandum, he endeavored to depict the extent of the loss of territory the Hungarians were about to suffer using American analogies, in order for his words to be better heard. After this, praising the national causes of the peoples surrounding the Hungarians, he spoke openly in their support, and volunteered to act on their behalf as spokesman whom the allies would listen to more closely than to a similar Hungarian expert.⁶⁶

However, there is no trace of him playing such a role. In addition, it is important to understand the depth of the relationship between Martin and Teleki that must have justified the writing of such a memorandum, as their friendship lasted until Teleki’s death. It is well known that shortly after the Trianon decision Teleki became prime minister, going on to resign from the position in connection with Habsburg Charles IV’s Easter return attempt in 1921, and thereby ending his political career for a time. Throwing himself into geographical work, in the August of that year Teleki visited Washington on the invitation of the now Colonel Martin and held lectures in Williams College Massachusetts, where at the time Martin held a position in the political science department. Prominent geographers, such as Bowman, attended Teleki’s lectures, and he even visited the White House, while in the meantime he continued to develop his thinking on ethnic issues and Hungary’s revisionist geography. His lectures given during his visit in America appeared in written form in 1923 under the title *The Evolution of Hungary and its Place in European History*, to which Martin wrote the foreword.⁶⁷ In this Martin praised Teleki’s career, an interesting part of which was that news of Teleki’s apparent death in 1915 had spread in the United States, and Martin only discovered that Teleki was still alive in 1919 when he visited Hungary. Apparently, the maps that he had used, and which he valued greatly in the foreword, he had received directly from Teleki himself when visiting Budapest. They met on several future occasions, at the time of the Hungarian So-

66 FRUS Major Lawrence Martin to Professor A. C. Coolidge Vienna, March 16, 1919. In: Professor A. C. Coolidge to the Commission to Negotiate Peace No. 156 Vienna, March 17, 1919. (Paris Peace Conf. 184.01102/229); cf. Magyarics, “Amerikai missziók,” 12; Brettl, “Lawrence Martin.”

67 Ablonczy, “Pál Teleki,” 98; Seegel, *Map Men*, 113–14.

viet Republic in Bern, then in Vienna, and although Martin remembered Teleki's role in the peace negotiations, he politely avoided their important point of contact, Western Hungary.⁶⁸ They met once again in America in 1935, for the third time, when Teleki held a lecture in Washington. It is no accident that Martin was asked to write a laudation of Teleki on his 60th birthday in *The Hungarian Quarterly* periodical, which was published in Hungary and aimed at developing Hungarian-British-American ties.⁶⁹

As I have already mentioned, the panels of experts at the peace conference had, on several occasions, decided to retain the old Austria-Hungary border, in this way the text of the peace plan submitted to the Austrians on June 2 had left the old border between the countries. Nevertheless, the mood changed with respect to this question, and an important circumstance in favor of the Slavic Corridor was that since March 21, 1919, the Soviet Republic in Hungary had increased the Bolshevik threat in Austria too, from which the government of Austrian Chancellor Karl Renner attempted to forge an advantage.⁷⁰ It was only the repeated protests from the Austrian delegation and Coolidge that convinced the decision-makers to consider the annexation of the territory. Namely, after Coolidge had consulted with Renner for the last time when, at a committee meeting in the middle of July where Austria's borders were specifically under debate, he recommended Martin's border proposals to the attention of the decision-makers. It was in this way that the new proposal for Austria's borders of July 20 was born, in which now the German-inhabited strip of Western Hungary appeared in Austria. Martin drew up an additional memorandum for Coolidge on July 19, in which, summarizing his earlier arguments, he underlined the more important ethnic, economic and strategic reasons for the annexation adding that the annexation process would not be problematic, because the Hungarians will not fight to keep their Germans, who will gladly join Austria. Only the Hungarians of several mixed-population towns will be disappointed, such as half of the residents of Sopron. In other words, he guessed the future right, at least partly.⁷¹

68 Martin, "Preface," x-xvii.

69 Martin, "Count Paul," 205.

70 Murber, *Határtörténetek*, 64-81.

71 FRUS Major Lawrence Martin to Professor A.C. Coolidge. Memorandum Paris, June 19, 1919. In: Archibald Cary Coolidge, Allen W. Dulles, Charles Seymour to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace No. 389. June 20, 1919 (M-820, 377/0066-0069) In: Berlin, *Akten*, 94-95; Berlin, "United States," 44-48; Vares, *The Question of Western Hungary*, 131; Tóth, *Két Anschluss között*, 65-72; Brettl, "Lawrence Martin."

The most Austrian geographer

The Austrian peace delegation had one geographer member, Graz professor Robert Sieger; there were no geographers among the so-called territorial experts.⁷² Transylvanian Saxon lawyer Ernst Friedrich Beer, head of the *Verein zur Erhaltung des Deutschtums in Ungarn* (Society for the retention of Germans in Hungary) founded in 1907 was responsible for Western Hungary, whom I will mention in more detail later. The peace treaty period is a grey area in the history of the Vienna Geographical Society operating as the predecessor of the Austrian Geographical Society, they were not particularly involved in the peace preparations, as not even Sieger was among the members of the society.⁷³ This lack of activity may find confirmation in the fact that the then head of the society was glacier and ice age researcher Eduard Brückner, although, based on the examples seen till now, this would not have been a reason for exclusion.⁷⁴ The earliest document related to Brückner held at the archives of the American Geographical Society is a letter dated in 1919, which in its first sentences reflects upon a letter received from Isaiah Bowman three years late; their correspondence was interrupted during the war and was not immediately restarted in connection with the work of the peace delegations.⁷⁵ In addition, the Austrian Geographical Society's publication does not include any works like the study *Manifesto of the Hungarian Geographical Society to the Geographical Societies of the World* published in the Hungarian Geographical Review.⁷⁶ All that was published was a reserved report on the territorial changes.⁷⁷

Somewhat more active was the *Kartographische und Schulgeographische Zeitschrift* (journal of cartography and school geography), in which Georg A. Lukas and Hugo Hassinger, to be discussed later, reviewed the Freytag & Berndt publishers on several occasions, who were releasing numerous ethnic maps at the time. Lukas in fact pointed out the importance of these maps in connection with the Austrian territorial claim for Western Hungary.⁷⁸ Leo Helmer, university professor in Vienna, published a short article about Burgenland in the same journal. The map at the end of the study showed an approximation of the area given

72 *Bericht über die Tätigkeit*, 1–3.

73 Kretschmer, "150 Jahre"; Mattes, "Imperial Science."

74 Kretschmer, "Präsidenten," 43–45.

75 AGSNY Correspondence between Isaiah Bowman and Edward Brückner 1919–1923 AC 1, Box 183, Folder 2.

76 "A Magyar Földrajzi Társaság."

77 Hecke, "Das neue Staatsgebiet Österreichs."

78 E.g., Lukas, "Freytags."; Hassinger, "G. Freytags."; Svatek, "Ethnic cartography," 102.

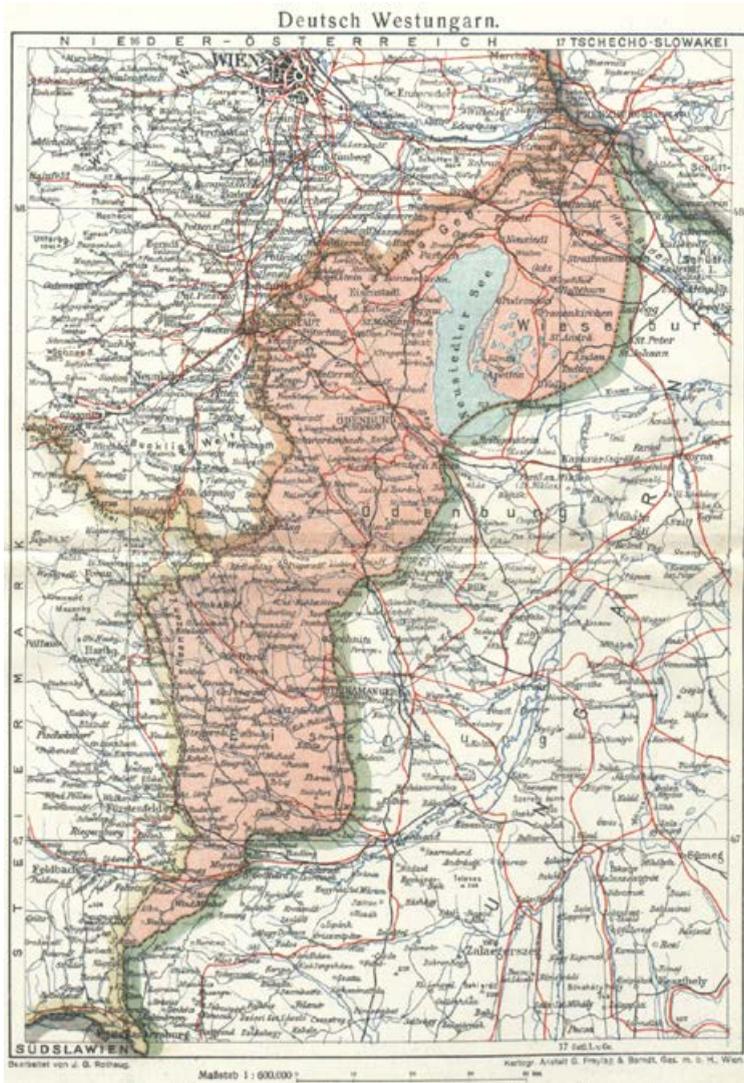


Fig. 19. Leo Helmer's map of Burgenland. An interim map with Hungarian county names and partly Hungarian settlement names.

to Austria by the peace conference, well before the Sopron referendum. In the short text, Helmer underscored the importance of publishing maps about Burgenland for schools and children to make the new province known by young people (Fig. 19).⁷⁹

79 Helmer, "Burgenland."

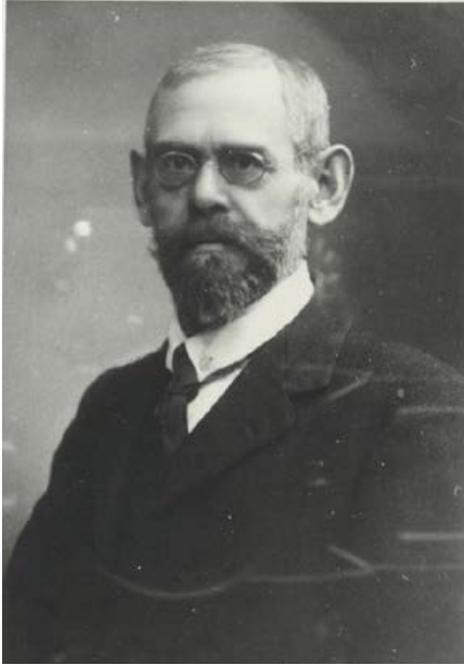


Fig. 20. Robert Sieger circa 1910

Robert Sieger was born in 1864 in Vienna as the son of a printer. Originally, he had studied history and linguistics at university in Vienna, however, due to the influence of Albrecht Penck, who was already teaching but was just 5–6 years older, he started research in physical geography, with Sieger later gladly referring to himself as Penck’s student. Then, also a result of Penck’s advice, Sieger, concluding his university studies in Berlin under the guidance of Ferdinand von Richthofen, continued with his commitment to physical geography. In 1890 he spent time working with Alpine and glacier researcher Eduard Richter, not guessing that he would be taking on the position of professor in the now 150-year-old institute of geography becoming vacant in Graz 15 years later in 1905 due to Richter’s death. With this move Sieger, having completed his habilitation, left his position at the Vienna trade academy⁸⁰ and wrote this of the change: “now I must be a geographer in Graz, without the advice or assistance of friends [...] and I do not wish to emulate neither Penck, nor Ratzel, nor Richter, merely enforce my small Sieger”⁸¹ (Fig. 20).

80 Morawetz and Paschinger, *Das Institut*, 12–16; Mayer, “Robert Sieger.”

81 ÖNB SHD Autogr. 632/17-10. Sieger’s letter to Karl Peucker, 7.13.1905.

As was usual at the time, Sieger had a broad university teaching-researching career and initially dealt with the water level fluctuations of Scandinavian, American and African lakes related to climate fluctuations. He also researched the works of Brückner, resulting in the development of international contacts. His habilitation work was also written on this subject.

Following this he increasingly turned towards historical and anthropogeography, and, due to his workplace, he also dealt with economic geography. A work he co-authored, *The geography of world trade*, is considered one of his main contributions. His diverse sphere of interest is already indicated by the subjects he taught at Graz University: physical geography, regional geography and human geography, but the wide spectrum of his works and the distribution of his students among the then three subject areas of geography are also indicative of this. For example, he successfully turned his interest in physical geography into urban and rural geography with the study of Alpine mountain pastures and settlements. It should be added that at this time the roots of urban morphology lay within a physical geography-geomorphology approach.⁸²

However, the breakout of World War I very much directed Sieger's interest toward political geography, and during these years he wrote innumerable political geography works, primarily in connection with the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as state. All this goes to explain why he travelled to Paris as an expert member of the Austrian peace delegation. He too is surely to have been led by the disappointment following the peace pact to participate in several organizations that cherished revisionist ideas. In this way board member and then vice president of the Graz-based *Südmark*, and member of the *Deutschen Schutzbund für die Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschen* (preservation society for Germans in the borderlands and abroad) founded in Berlin in 1919 and the *Mittelstelle für zwi-scheneuropäische Fragen* (office for inter-european questions) established in 1923 (see chapter four).⁸³ He also achieved important positions in the academic world: in 1921 he was elected corresponding member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, and was Rector of Graz University in the academic year of 1925/26. At the end of October 1926, perhaps at the peak of his career, he went to hospital of his own volition for surgery, but due to complications he died unexpectedly.⁸⁴ His position in the field of geography is shown by the contributors to the

82 Erben, "Robert Sieger."

83 "Univ-Prof. Dr. Robert Sieger."

84 Brückner, "Robert Sieger"; Zeilinger "Geopolitische Begründung"; Ginsburger, „L'expertise"; Mayer, "Robert Sieger"; Oberhammer, "Robert Sieger"; Mell, „Robert Sieger"; ÖSTA UM 678.17 Sieger, Robert, Professorenakt 1893-1903; ÖSTA UM 940b.5 Sieger, Robert, Professorenakt, 1905-1921.

volume published in celebration of his 60th birthday (Albrecht Penck, Viktor Paschinger, Norbert Krebs, geographers from German universities),⁸⁵ the writers of his obituary (Brückner and Oberhummer, presidents of the Vienna Geographical Society), in addition to the great number of his students. Proof of the common obituary phrase “irreparable loss” is that they were unable to fill his position for a long time, with Hugo Hassinger, to be mentioned below, preferring the University of Vienna.⁸⁶ Among those stating their admiration of him, Eduard Brückner’s words are worthy of particular note: “With Sieger’s death Austria has lost the most Austrian of geographers.”⁸⁷

Compared to his peers Sieger was very productive, publishing more than one hundred articles, with a number of these appearing in daily and weekly newspapers. A review of some of his work will better illustrate his research personality and his approach to problems. Sieger started his work in political geography in the footsteps of the founder of the field, Friedrich Ratzel, and of Rudolf Kjellén, viewed as one of the first proponents of geopolitical thinking, and cites them in almost all of his works. In this way geographical determinism and organic state theory formed the framework of his thinking, in which from the boundaries provided by nature, the formations and units of nature, he reached the idea of the nation and of statehood. One of his first political geography works dealt with the borders of Lower Austria, starting from the units of physical geography he analyzed the structure and origin of the border sections: the extent to which they may be called natural boundaries or not. In connection with the Hungarian border he basically concentrated on the present status, and did not deal with the question of the estates that had been pledged in the fifteenth century to Austria. All he made reference to in the historical background was that he viewed the Hungarian border as being the result of conflicts and wars, in this way essentially confirming the natural origin of the border as being related to the Rosalia and Leitha Mountains.⁸⁸

His political geography work really started to take shape in connection with World War I, and with this was quite alone in Austria, nevertheless he was skeptical with respect to geopolitics.⁸⁹ A sign of this was that he did not attempt to give practical or strategic advice to the cultivators of foreign policy. Neverthe-

85 Geographenverein, *Zur Geographie*.

86 Morawetz and Paschinger, *Das Institut*, 16.

87 Brückner, “Robert Sieger,” 282; Mayer, “Robert Sieger.”; Sölch, “Robert Sieger”; Oberhummer, “Robert Sieger.”

88 Sieger, “Die Grenzen Niederösterreichs.”

89 Svatek, “Geopolitische Kartographie,” 303.

less, finding the shaping of public opinion to be important, he published numerous articles in daily newspapers, then collected these writings and published them for the academic community.⁹⁰ Later when appointed rector at Graz University, during his inaugural speech he reviewed the link between geography and the state.⁹¹ From the point of view of his geography it is important to note that in his earliest work on the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy he did not share the view widespread abroad, here also referencing at one point the work of A. C. Coolidge, that the Monarchy is an agglomeration of various peoples predestined to fall apart, instead he aligned with those who argued that the Monarchy was a geographical unit.

Here one should not primarily think about patriotism, as Sieger's writings, rhetorically, in the lack of geopolitical argumentation, are quite neutral. With his political geography approach permeated by the concept of environmental determinism, he found that over the course of history the geographical impact factors (both natural and human) had operated with varying historical and political efficiency to forge the territory of the Monarchy into a state. Although its territory, in his opinion, was fragmented into core countries and peripheral countries, their unification being encouraged by the mission of history, by the role of bulwark against the challenges of the east. From this perspective, Hungary too appears as a perfect geographical unit for Sieger, who visibly adopted the principles of Hungarian geography of the time, such as of Jenő Cholnoky, whom he references. Although he was aware of the significance of the ethnicity question, starting from this geographical basis he considered the structure of the Monarchy to be so strong that an unfortunate war could not even shake it, as he wrote at the beginning of the war.⁹² The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, as geographical ideal, as the idea of a pan-regional state presiding over nations remained in Sieger up until the end of the war, and attributed a leading role to the German people and Austria in the reorganization of the region even in his work dated July 1918.

In the history and culture of Central Europeanness the role and cultural work of the Germans of Austria and many other circumstances leave no doubt as to the method of mediation: the "Ostmark mission" must protect, and the

90 Sieger, *Aus der Kriegszeit*; Sieger, *Was sie uns einreden wollen*.

91 Sieger, *Die Geographie und der Staat*.

92 Sieger, *Die geographischen Grundlagen*, 6–10.

cultural mission must disseminate western, and especially central European-ness, all this is Austria's historical heritage.⁹³

Moreover, Sieger, in defiance of historical reality, felt that this Central European mission would have been even more feasible with the creation of a unified German state, thinking here of the unification of the Monarchy and the German Empire: and with this the idea of *Anschluss* appeared. Nevertheless, he was very much involved in the issue of Austrian statehood and pondered at length about the problems concerning the peoples of the Monarchy, the ethnic movements, the ethnic politics, even considering various versions of a federalist structure. However, the fate of the German people living on the border of Austria and Hungary failed to get Sieger's attention; he saw that the natural border only more or less existed in the north, that it was missing in the hill region of Styria, and saw that the territory was under the intense effect of Vienna, but he did not really raise the future question of the fate of the German people living here. Only as an aside, in connection with Croatian tribalism and Yugoslavia, did he mention "there is talk of various political claims, of the retrieval of the German-inhabited territories of Western Hungary that were taken from Austria in the 17th century."⁹⁴ In other words, he was neither highly informed nor overly motivated to address this question. The conclusion in all Sieger's works is similar, namely that he believed that this diverse state may be kept unified under the leadership of the German people. Even after the actual breakup of the Monarchy he found a looser political and tighter economic cooperation between the "successor states" probable, and not in the scope of the Monarchy but in a broader Central European framework.⁹⁵

His personal mood, his thinking in the new circumstances is evidenced in letters written to his friend Anton Mell in October-November 1918.

I sometimes feel like a fossil in these new circumstances. But I am sure that if these upheavals do disturb advancement, they will be unable to destroy it, and what I have been working on in the recent years, perhaps not too late, may once again be applicable. [...] We may mourn the old Austria, and see the effect of the disintegration of natural and historical relationships in the dis-

93 Sieger, "Staatsgebiet und Staatsgedanke," 16.

94 Sieger, *Staatsgedanke und seine geographischen Grundlagen*, 61, 76; Sieger, "Grundlagen der politischen Neugestaltung Österreichs," 445.

95 Sieger, "Der österreichische Staatsgedanke"; Sieger, "Ungarische Gravamina"; Sieger, *Staatsgedanke und seine geographischen Grundlagen*; Sieger, "Grundlagen der politischen Neugestaltung Österreichs."

turbance of the advancement of the German people and the international situation. One thing, the pure feeling of joy remains for us, that this “we” now gains a new interpretation, and that our people will not be thrown together with the other peoples. [...] It will also be good that in this time before us, in this time that will weigh heavily upon us we will not have so many hours to think about the present. The historian may escape to the past, the geographer to the strong natural basis of the past and future events, if the politicians of the day are once again of the mind to transform the world and the people in the most fundamental of ways purely from a grey theory.⁹⁶

Sieger became a member of the peace delegation at the end of the war at the request of Foreign Minister Klein, and although he did not write in the *Deutscher Reichs Recht* propaganda pamphlets, he was not inactive at the time (Fig. 21). This is indicated by the fact that in 1919 he wrote an analysis of the status of his own region, Styria, which the senate of the Academy published as a memorial, and based on the contents of his work on the territorial settlement



Fig. 21. The Austrian peace delegation. Sieger, second row, second from the left. In the front Chancellor Renner in a light suit, in the rear Ernst Friedrich Beer in a circle of bearded and mustached men.

⁹⁶ Mell, “Robert Sieger,” 127–28.

proposals in the closing chapter, e.g., in which territories should a referendum be held, and which territories may be released without one, it dates back to before the Austrian peace conditions were submitted. On the basis of the memorial it can be seen that Sieger was not working in a vacuum, but collaborated with Richard Pfaundler, who was writing in the aforementioned *Flugblätter* series, and who gave Sieger his language distribution map of Lower Styria showing the dominant ethnic groups in colors and produced in a simpler way than the map of Burgenland.⁹⁷ In the study Sieger examined the natural and transport conditions of the province, the ethnic distribution of the Germans and the Slovenes at the level of detail and using an approach similar to that of his contemporaries, and focusing on the ethnically mixed Lower Styria, he separately discussed the history of the local German people, and their cultural, economic and political ties with the Slovenes.⁹⁸

Robert Sieger and the Austrian delegation arrived in Paris on May 14, 1919. Two days later they were discussing the territorial issues within the delegation, even Sieger gave a talk on the geographical questions. Having completed their tasks a group of the specialists, including Sieger, returned to the imperial capital already on June 10.⁹⁹ However, before boarding the train, Sieger submitted an expert opinion dated June 7, 1919, presumably in reaction to the draft peace treaty of June 2, with the title *Geographische Kritik der Grenzlinie des Vertragsentwurfs* (geographical critiques on the borders of the peace treaty proposal). In this the professor from Graz determined that: the planned borders correspond neither to the language borders, nor to the borders derived from the self-determination of the peoples, nor to the natural borders. Thereby they cut into two the existing natural, related regions, the transport connections and economic regions. In his work he dealt in detail with the language boundary questions, providing information on the numbers of Germans transferred to neighboring states because of the new borderline, then argued that the large proportion of the Ladins living with the Germans, and Slovenes of Carinthia and Lower Styria are friends of Austria. The time he wrote this work, as a reminder: on June 2 the peace conference had voted in favor of the old Austrian-Hungarian border, is reflected in his text, in his visible disappointment and his succinct report on the territory.

97 According to a later work, Sieger (1921, 142) wrote "I had to include it."

98 Sieger, *Die Südgrenze*.

99 *Bericht über die Tätigkeit*, 1–4.

There will be territorial losses on the eastern border of our state, while the transfer of Deutschwestungarn, which would significantly improve this situation and would secure Vienna, is not in the plans.¹⁰⁰

He did not argue ardently in favor of the annexation of the territory, which shows that he did not believe he could have any influence on the outcome of the processes. Instead, in his work he concentrated on emphasizing the losses, the course of the new boundary going contrary to the laws of geography and its negative effects on the economy and transport. At the same time, in his closing thoughts, arguing that the country lacked viability, he too underlined one of the main arguments for the annexation of the German-occupied region of Western Hungary.¹⁰¹ Sieger performed a review, although again fleeting, of the boundary status of Burgenland in a later work, determining that the new border hardly fulfills the requirements of the natural borders.¹⁰²

A letter from Sieger may be found in the documentation of the peace delegation, which he wrote on July 2 to the delegation from Graz. In this letter he spoke in support of what he found to be popular suggestion of the annexation of Western Hungary to Styria, or at least of the regions along the border.¹⁰³ The letter bears witness to the fluidity of the question, but also evidences Sieger's ignorance or rather lack of information. In other words, we cannot believe Sieger had any significant effect on the events. His obituary writers¹⁰⁴ and the letters he wrote to the German and American geographers Alfred Hettner and William M. Davis bear witness to this, in the latter he mentioned his work as expert lasting just four weeks, and stated that he was not viewed primarily as a consultant, merely as someone who was familiar with the maps.¹⁰⁵ Sieger was also quoted by Georg Lukas, later to become the focus of a separate sub-chapter, in a book he co-authored, accordingly "the experiences of the Austrian delegation were similar to those of the German, who were 'interned in the same way,' and French personnel sneaked around them, it was difficult for them to enter into conversation with the representatives of the victorious powers, and only five of them at a time were only allowed out for a coffee, to the shops, or to church accompanied by uncouth detectives. And to this was added the insig-

100 Zeilinger, "Geopolitische Begründung," 74.

101 Zeilinger, "Geopolitische Begründung," 67-77.

102 Sieger, "Die neuen Grenzen," 102, 109.

103 ÖSTA Friedensdelegation Kart. 8, Fasz. 1/1/c D.

104 Mayer, "Robert Sieger," 22; Sölch, "Robert Sieger," 310; Oberhummer, "Robert Sieger," 199.

105 Ginsburger, "L'expertise," 119.

nificant role given to the defeated delegates and experts, who could only comment on the negotiations in writing.¹⁰⁶

Knowing to a certain extent the goings on behind the scenes, preparations were already under way to give the Western Hungary region occupied by Germans to Austria, and the Austrians were informed of the course of the new border on July 20. American experts Archibald C. Coolidge and Lawrence Martin must have played the prominent role in this, as stated further above. In other words, except for the annexation of Western Hungary, Sieger was greeted in Paris by nearly finished peace conditions, which is evidenced in his memoirs. However, by the time the question of *Deutschwestungarn* was placed on the table, he had already returned home, therefore he played no actual role in the events around the annexation of the region.

However, Sieger was very much occupied with the academic work carried out in the background of the peace treaties. An impression of this is represented by the study and annexes published in the *Kartographische und Schulgeographische Zeitschrift*.¹⁰⁷ From Sieger's letter written to his friend and cartographer-geographer Karl Peucker, the editor of the a journal and the, even then, prominent publishing house Freytag & Berndt, it turns out that he sent the manuscript on July 9, 1921, to which he promised a map to be created by his student and colleague Marian Sidaritsch, and a short explanatory text. Sieger very much commended the diligence and skill of Sidaritsch, who had also participated in the propaganda cartography of the lost German and Austrian territories. Further interesting details may also be found in this letter, e.g., at the end Sieger asks Peucker if he had a map showing the final borders of Austria that he might inspect in Vienna after returning from his summer holiday.¹⁰⁸ In the letters to follow we are able to follow the shaping of the manuscript to its completion. At the end of July, after the professor returned from his excursion to the Dachstein and Radstädter regions, he wrote another letter, in which, as a result of the questions addressed to Peucker, we are able to determine the links between the participants up to this point: "I heard about a population map by count Teleky (sic!), which does not depict the unpopulated areas. Do you know about it? I hope to obtain it from Dr. Haltenberger. It would be an important addition to my article."¹⁰⁹ After Sieger had travelled to his summer house in Upper Austria and Sidaritsch to

106 Lukas and Oberegger 1926, 9–10.

107 Sieger, "Sprachenkarte"; Sidaritsch, "Begleitwort"; Sieger, "(Nachtrag)."

108 ÖNB SHD Autogr. 632/17-18. Sieger's letter to Karl Peucker, 7.9.1921.

109 ÖNB SHD Autogr. 632/17-19. Sieger's letter to Karl Peucker, 7.27.1921.

he did succeed in obtaining it, and informed Peucker about this fact in his October letter,¹¹¹ and after studying the map he was able to complete the supplement to his article. Then the correspondence to follow this up until the middle of January concerned the detailed explanations of his repeated corrections. A letter from Sidaritsch was also found in Peucker's legacy, which contains the assistant professor's detailed correction requests linked to the map.¹¹² Sieger even inspected the correction while holding a lecture for Penck in Berlin and discussed the question of ethnic maps. This was the first occasion when the map of Burgenland incorrectly drawn by the cartographers was discussed.¹¹³ The work of Sieger and Sidaritsch was finally published, theoretically in the final double issue of 1921. However, as it may be seen from the correspondence and the Burgenland map at the end of the article, in which Sopron and the area around it are now in Hungary, the work must have been finally published after the Sopron Referendum, namely at the beginning of 1922 (Fig. 22).

Thus, in his study Sieger performed a review of the problem of language-ethnic cartography, in response to which attention was directed at the post-war Austrian borderline. Realizing that the indication of the dominant ethnic groups on the maps, without consideration to population density and the uninhabited areas, distorts reality (which is actually true of all maps), he suggested better solutions, including showing the numerical values of the real ethnic group ratios and the uninhabited areas on the settlement-level maps, and taking population density into account. Sieger browsed through those maps that appeared to be promising attempts in this respect, mentioning, for example, the maps of Andreas Lutz, who had worked for the *Südostdeutsches Institut* (Southeast German Institute) in Graz.¹¹⁴ Lutz left behind a valuable scientific collection, which depicted the three Burgenland ethnic groups separately, expressing the size of the population with the size of the circles (Fig. 23).

However, Sieger primarily focused on the question of maps that delimited the unpopulated areas, and his review even included Teleki's *Carte Rouge*. In connection with this he determined that the Teleki map marked unpopulated areas more rarely on the steppes between the Danube and Tisza rivers than in Western Hungary, but, in addition to this, he also called attention to numerous, more profound methodology problems on the map: the territorially-proportionate

111 ÖNB SHD Autogr. 632/17-21. Sieger's letter to Karl Peucker, 10.07.1921.

112 ÖNB SHD Autogr. 632/15-1. Sidaritsch's letter to Freytag & Berndt, 12.26.1921.

113 ÖNB SHD Autogr. 632/17-22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28. Sieger's letters to Karl Peucker, 10.19, 12.7, 12.12, 12.21.1921, 1.13.1922.

114 Promitzer, "Täterwissenschaft," 99.

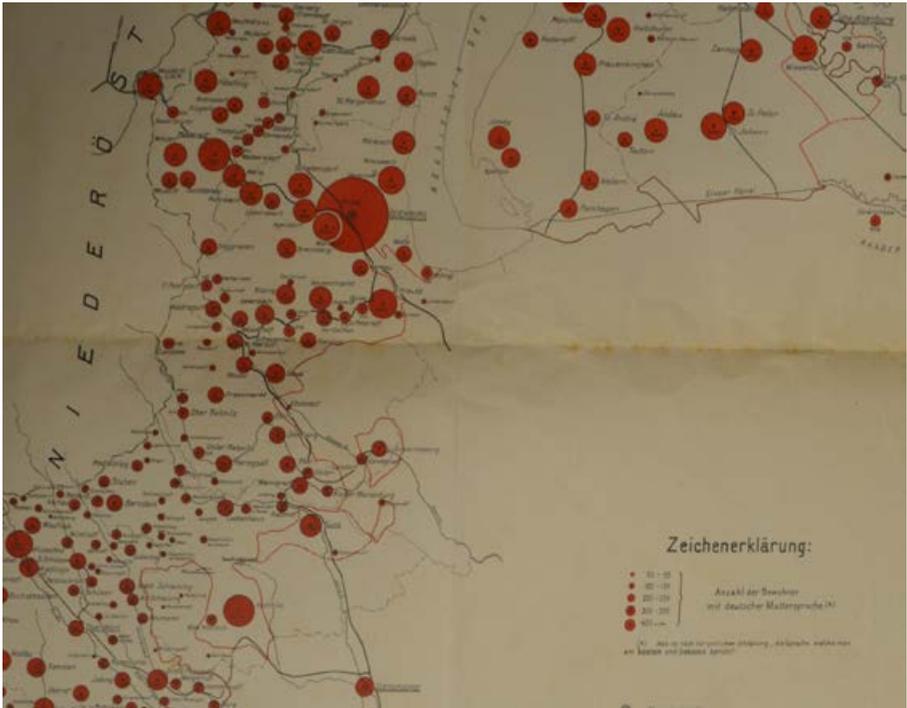


Fig. 23. Lutz's ethnic map, 1910. Germans, detail. The author depicted the Hungarians and the Croats on separate maps, therefore they are less suitable for ethnic visualization. Andreas Lutz.

depiction of the population on the map conceals the real, i.e., the absolute and relative population relationships of the individual regions. Going beyond the solutions presented, Sieger made a proposal for a gridded depiction at the end of this study, and as illustration for the article he included Sidaritsch's three maps, South Tyrol, Styria-Carinthia and the aforementioned Burgenland ethnic map, to which the author wrote an accompanying text. Among the sources used for producing the maps Sidaritsch only mentioned by name the population density maps appearing in the Alpine Austria monograph of Norbert Krebs. In connection with the map of Burgenland it was found that

[t]here is no continuous language boundary in Burgenland where the Germans and the Hungarians come into contact with each other. In the south the Germans are separated from the Hungarians by the uninhabited ridge of the Güns Mountains, while in the north it seems to be the Hanság and Lake Neusiedl that is the dividing line between the two peoples. In this case the

waters of Lake Neusiedl, being so unsuitable for navigation, and its marshy eastern shore do not act as a link but as a divider.¹¹⁵

In other words, similarly to the Teleki map, Sidaritsch selected a method of population depiction that also delimited the uninhabited areas but that was not in proportion with territory. Obviously, this was less problematic on such a high-resolution map.

From the texts mentioned to this point it may be seen that although Sieger handled the matter of the new province of Burgenland with caution, his attention still gradually turned towards it; he saw an opportunity in it for geographers and those interested in geography for an experience incomparable with anything, an opportunity for discovery.

When local civil groups approached Graz University in the March of 1922 in connection with the local history aspects (*Heimatkunde* in German) of the “Burgenland question,” the university set up a committee. It was none other than Sieger who reported on the question to the committee, which went on to accept his recommendations. According to Sieger’s review, the civil groups proposed that expert groups be set up or a series of lectures organized to explore the local and cultural issues of Burgenland. Although quite a piquant idea, Sieger dismissed the setting up of a separate Burgenland research institute in Graz, which would have the task of researching “the territories joined to our state and those neighboring German-occupied territories that have remained in Hungary” because, among other reasons “Burgenland as a province is unable to support itself, instead it should be divided amongst Styria and Lower Austria.” Nevertheless, he felt that the organizing of a series of lectures should be considered, but primarily in such a way that the lectures be on Austria, and then discuss Burgenland from this approach. Because “Burgenland is not a whole,” argued Sieger, which indicated that Sieger was quite skeptical about the new province in 1922 because of the loss of Sopron, preferring to support the linking of the former Western Hungary territories to Lower Austria and Styria. However, seeing the strategic importance of the matter, Sieger underlined that the individual lectures should reinforce the feeling of belonging together on both sides. In addition, “as the province is still unknown territory for us,” he spoke about his plan to organize study trips to Burgenland in the summer, to increase local and cultural knowledge of the territory.¹¹⁶ Because “when Burgenland merged with Austria, Aus-

115 Sidaritsch, “Begleitwort,” 148.

116 UAG PF 1067, 4.14.1922.

trian geography was also presented with the task of becoming closer acquainted with the territory.¹¹⁷ This plan was actually implemented, however, it was primarily organized and put into action by assistant professor Marian Sidaritsch. Due to this, this story will be continued in the section dealing with Sidaritsch.

Burgenlandarbeit

In the period around the peace negotiations academically trained geographers, such as Martin and Sieger, and self-trained geographical knowledge producers who found themselves in a position, such as Pfaundler, attempted to collaborate as experts bent over their maps on the rotating stage of history. In the meantime others, such as Lower Austria-born Eduard Stepan (1874–1953)¹¹⁸ owner-editor of a local history publishing house working onsite from the grassroots, using his own resources, participated in the geographical knowledge creation process. The essence of his agitation work performed in the interest of the annexation of the region was to increase the sense of belonging of the local population and provide support for the annexation of the territory by presenting the region of *Deutschwestungarn* as a whole.

From his autobiography we know that Stepan graduated in law from Graz University, and already during his university years was a member of various cultural and sport associations and got involved in the hiking movement.¹¹⁹ After gaining employment in state administration, he expanded his association work founding numerous societies and periodicals, and in the scope of these became a frequent author and speaker in local history topics. In 1905 he established the *Deutsche Heimat* society and the periodical under the same name for the fostering of German ethnography and local history (*Heimatkunde* in German), which he ran for ten years. When completing his non-battlefield military service during the war, he was also involved in local history and the publishing of a new periodical, and, perhaps, this became the *Deutsches Vaterland* first published in 1919. Not long afterward he obtained a position as legal advisor in the war office, from where his official duties ever more frequently took him to Western Hungary. It was here he got into contact with his relatives in the district of Neusiedl, with his cousins even at one time rescuing him from the clutches of Béla Kun's forces (the leader of the Soviet Republic in Hungary).

117 Sieger, "Eine geographische Studienreise," 434.

118 Rauscher, "Dr. Eduard Stepan."

119 Stepan, "Mein Lebenslauf."

In other words, through his aunt and her relatives he started to become interested in the German people of Western Hungary, and soon jumped into the agitation work for the territory, for which, later, both the ministries of internal and foreign affairs thanked him.

I put together a lecture with photographs on the territory, which I gave at all the larger local communities, and when the annexation of the region to Austria became the center point of disputes, I published a series of studies in my periodical. I even gave the lecture on multiple occasions in Vienna and the larger Austrian cities. At that time I was on the road for weeks at a time in order to raise the voice of the population of the later Burgenland, and deepen their feeling toward Austria. I even held several lectures in the towns of Germany at the request of the foreign ministry, because there they were afraid that the annexation of the territory would sow discord between the two countries. I held informative lectures for the Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland and at official events. When the Hungarians occupied Burgenland again, I was ordered to be arrested when I entered the country. But I had been warned in time, and I was still able to get from Kirchsschlag to Kőszeg and from Bruck to Neusiedl, and survey the mood of the population, and reassure the people.¹²⁰

In his monthly publication entitled *Deutsches Vaterland* starting in July 1919 Stepan published four studies in sequence on the German people of Western Hungary, which writings were among the first periodical articles on the history of the province (Fig. 24). The first article discussed the history of the settling of the German people from the Roman to the modern age, with the argument of earlier settlement than that of the Hungarians and with a short discussion of the pledged territories. The second part of the series used the works of Richard Pfaundler to emphasize the problems involved with Magyarization, with explicit reference to the background of the ethnic-demographic processes and the course of the language boundary. The third article discussed the northern part of the region, primarily the landscape framework of the Neusiedl region, which included a little geology, botany, agriculture and tourism too, while the fourth article concentrated on the southern areas, supplemented with landscape geography and a review of the developing ethnology-ethnic aspects of the province. Stepan's geographical linking practices are quite apparent in the latter: the

120 Stepan, "Mein Lebenslauf," 26.

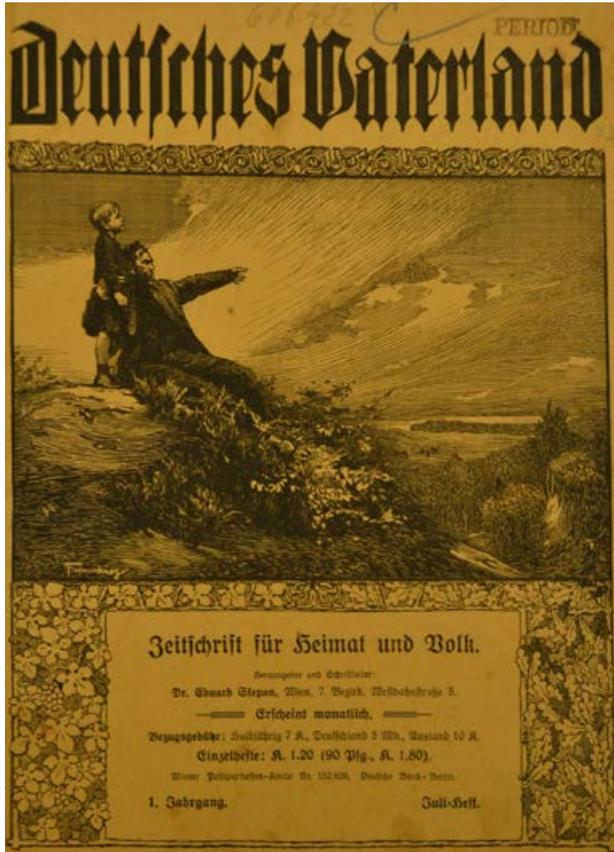


Fig. 24. The cover page of the first issue of *Deutsches Vaterland*

southern lands being parts of the Austrian-Styrian Alps, the Bucklige Welt reaching out over the territory between the Pitten and Pinka rivers in the direction of Wechsel, and the charming district of Sopron reminded Stepan, in many respects, of the Vienna forest. At the end of the article, he brought up the question of the Roma ethnic group, which, in his opinion, is something new and will be a challenge for Austria; Stepan's opinion of the Roma people was very crushing and condemning.¹²¹

Stepan wove his laudation of the German people of Western Hungary into the last article; however, he had already been continuously working on a celebratory study volume during 1919. The ordeal around the publication of the book entitled *Burgenland – Festschrift aus Anlaß der Vereinigung des Landes der Heide-*

¹²¹ Stepan, "Das deutsche Westungarn."

bauern und Heinzen mit Deutschösterreich (Book of respect on the occasion of the union of the Heidebauer and Heinz peoples with German Austria; hereinafter: *Festschrift*) chimed in well with the difficult circumstances of the creation of the province of Burgenland: the postal coaches transporting the books to Sopron, from where Stepan had wanted to organize distribution, were held up by the advancing Hungarian troops, and so they were forced to return to Wiener Neustadt. There, however, the books were unloaded at the livestock market, which Stepan only found out about very much later, and half of the books became damaged. Additional books were lost during later postal deliveries as well, meaning the entire book issue made a loss.¹²²

Despite these difficulties it is without doubt that compared to the works discussed above, the single-author articles of varying length published a year previously in 1919, the *Festschrift* was a much more earnest undertaking.¹²³ Grasping its significance, even the country's leadership placed their trust in Stepan's work; Chancellor Karl Renner awarded 50 thousand krone toward the publishing of the book.¹²⁴ The 146-page work was not only Burgenland's first really serious volume, but for Stepan too, with his references up to this point only in-



Fig. 25. The first pages of the Burgenland Festschrift showing Sopron's main square

122 Stepan, "Mein Lebenslauf," 26.

123 Stepan, *Burgenland*.

124 Stepan, "Mein Lebenslauf," 26.

cluding a 70-page local history compilation on his hometown (Göstling an der Ybbs) and two periodicals on local history. In the light of this Stepan's pride, which he expressed in the prolog, was not without justification, as it was he, with the help of collaborators and sponsors, who had "illuminated [the province] in new light" before the eyes of Austria (Fig. 25).

If we inspect the list of names of those writing the studies in the book, we will find authors, historians, an archives director, librarian, university professors, ministerial councilors, engineers, teachers and artists, but hardly a geographer. Almost all of them were representatives of the then Austrian academic and cultural elite, mainly from Vienna and Graz. However, there are still a few among the contributors, either whom we have met on the pages of this book already, or who played an important role later in the shaping of Burgenland's geographical discourses. For example, the first salutation was written by poet Wolfgang Madjera, and the "farewell" to Hungary by Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn, whom we have already mentioned. The renowned authors include Alfred Walheim (1874–1945), who was province governor twice, and although later writing little about the province his role did prove to be important. One of his longer poems, originally written in December 1918 and which played a role in the naming of Burgenland, was also included in the *Festschrift*, as it was in many other publications between the wars. It may be observed in this poem, as well as in the shorter study dealing with the poetry of the Heinz people, that Walheim, on the basis of his choice of wording, preferred the name Heinzenland and even proposed it for the province, however, interestingly the lines of his poem, where Burgenland only appeared as a kind of rhyme-word, also played a role in the name of Burgenland being finally selected.¹²⁵ In addition to these two works, the *Festschrift* was ended with Walheim's thunderous anthem, which was addressed to the, in his opinion Magyarized, youth of the region to call attention to the importance of German identity.¹²⁶

There is another interesting author listed in the contents, this is the contributor whose title only fitted on two lines, because Stepan wrote of him being an expert member of the German Austria peace delegation in St. Germain. He was no other than the Transylvanian Saxon Ernst Friedrich Beer, who was born in 1887 in Beszterce (now Bistrița, Romania), who had studied law in Kolozsvár (now Cluj-Napoca, Romania), then in Germany (Kiel, Berlin), and then history

125 Oberhammer, "Burgenland"; The first three lines of the poem: Heinzenland, / Burgenland, / Kehrst du wiederum zu uns zurück?

126 Walheim, "An die studierende Jugend."



Fig. 26. Ernst Friedrich Beer

in Vienna (Fig. 26). After graduating he gained a position in finance, which explains him dealing with the province's banking and financial issues in the *Festschrift*, which, from the point of view of Burgenland's geography and the work of the peace delegation, was very much irrelevant. After becoming a member of *Verein zur Erhaltung des Deutschtums in Ungarn* in addition to his work, he soon became much more familiar with Western Hungary. The effectiveness of this activity is shown in that the Austrian peace delegation elected him as the regional expert responsible for Western Hungary.¹²⁷

In his personal recollections Beer found the work of the societies dealing with cultural, regional, ethnic and home defense issues (*Südmark*, *Deutscher Schulverein*, etc.) to be important in maintaining the question of Western Hungary in the focus of attention, which, in his opinion, played a role in the conference dealing with the issue. Even before travelling to Paris, Beer compiled a document in connection with the territory, and then Alfred Walheim wished him much success on the station platform. Beer even describes what they ate on the train, in connection with the then pervading food shortage, how he and Chancellor Renner spoke about the modest prospects at the Paris negotiations. At the same

¹²⁷ Zimmermann, "Dr. Ernst Friedrich Beer."

time, his memoirs, in line with Sieger's recollections, and with the reports of the delegations of other vanquished states, confirm similar situations: the minimal opportunity to influence events. The delegation spent the entire month of May waiting and with "preparations," then after the first peace proposal arrived the regional experts returned to Vienna. Renner only called Beer back to Paris following the successful lobbying for Western Hungary and after the border proposal containing its annexation was drawn up, on July 21, so he could assist in the response to the proposal. Thus, it seemed, Beer saw little of the events happening behind the scenes, and all he wrote about the role of the Americans was how much interest President Wilson had shown in Western Hungary.¹²⁸

Only one more work of Beer's about Burgenland has surfaced, in which, however, he reported on the results of the peace negotiations. This, also linked to Stepan, was published in the first volume of *Deutsches Vaterland*. It is here we find reference to the work of the Austrian peace delegation, where Beer, perhaps going beyond the general narrative of the time, described the territory of Burgenland before the Sopron referendum as maimed or truncated.

The strong and deep arguments of the Austrian peace delegation were unable to dissuade the world powers from the artificial dismemberment of the enclosed German language territory, including Western Hungary. And in this way, the German people of Burgenland, finding their way back after long foreign oppression, return as an imperfect mechanism, a torso, with important parts of which being excluded from their territory for no apparent reason whatsoever.¹²⁹

His study, in the spirit of this, reviewed the territorial settlement of the German-populated Western Hungary based on the 1910 census data, the German language areas that had passed over to Austria or Czechoslovakia, or that had remained in Hungary, with separate mention of the problem of Magyaróvár and Kőszeg. This study mainly consists of tables of statistics and includes Pfaundler's outline map discussed earlier. It may be presumed that the work published as the final issue of the series entitled *Flugblätter für Deutschösterreichs Recht* with the same main title is also Beer's work, although no author is indicated.¹³⁰

128 Beer, "Erinnerungen."

129 Beer, "Deutsch-Westungarn," 10.

130 *Deutsch-Westungarn nach dem Friedensvertrag*.

It was mainly the topics of cultural history and ethnology that were strong in the *Festschrift*, however among the studies of a geographical nature there is Stepan's study written about Lake Neusiedl, which is not merely a detailed cultural history review, Stepan was also one of the first to wonder at the beauty of the landscape in the midst of the new border conditions. However, he also mentioned the problem of the low water level of the lake, Lake Neusiedl had last dried out in the 1860s, and the possibility of water replenishment.¹³¹ The parts of this study relating to the present were also published later on in a tourism publication.¹³² Additionally, discussions of the hydrography, the flora and fauna, the mineral resources and agriculture were all given a special place in the book. It is also possible to find politically charged statements among the more or less objective statistical analyses, which endeavored to legitimize that the territory belonged to Austria. The studies were basically of a descriptive nature and strove to emphasize existing values. Familiarization was given great emphasis, the acceptance of the new residents, towns and villages within the framework of Austria, as was the reinforcing and support of the sense of belonging to Austria, while the Hungarian characteristics deviating from this remained mainly veiled in the mists of obscurity. Yet an orientalist approach is also very characteristic: the territory appeared as a kind of exotic, eastern territory, although occupied by Germans that, under Hungarian rule, had suffered a kind of backwardness and lack of development compared to the Germans of the west. In parallel with this the most frequent point of view of the writings is from the outside, from historical Austria to Burgenland, coupled with a pathetic-sentimental rhetoric.

Presumably due to editorial suggestion, in the book the territory is on many occasions referred to as the land of the Heidebauer and Heinz peoples, although this did not subsequently become overly widespread. These names were also indicated as landscape names on the map at the end of the volume, which may be viewed as one of the first professional, publicly available cartographic depictions of Burgenland.¹³³ Indeed, this shows the status before the Sopron referendum, so inevitably the question "what would have happened if?" occurs to a reader today (Fig. 27).

131 Stepan, "Der Neusiedler See," 30–36.

132 Stepan, "Der Neusiedler See," 195–98.

133 This opinion is also confirmed by Oberhummer (Oberhummer, "Burgenland," 261).



Fig. 27. Burgenland map in the *Burgenland Festschrift*. Here the name Heinzen seems almost to be in competition with the name Burgenland. This map too indicates the boundary of the German language area with a broad line, as if it were correcting the planned line of the country border, even in places such as the uninhabited Lake Neudsiedl. In addition, the unknown cartographer envisioned and drew the planned railway connections between Burgenland and the neighboring provinces to better express its link to Austria.

Below I provide a brief review of the relevant chapters. It was in the study on agriculture that the metaphor of Burgenland “the Mecca of the Viennese”¹³⁴ appeared, which was similar to, but much more positive than “the vegetable

¹³⁴ Ziermann, “Die Landwirtschaft,” 61.

garden of the Viennese” referring to the region’s role in Vienna’s food supply. Max Vancsa, director of the Lower Austria archives and library, gave an example for the legitimization argumentation with his statement at the end of the historical overview (Fig. 28).

[The] German people have maintained a presence in this region for 850 years, or for even longer, and as an integral area of German settlements it constitutes an uninterrupted advance post of the German Alpine provinces. But these territories have been drawn to Austria and especially to Vienna for centuries, and now have become essential to it.¹³⁵

Ferdinand Baumann remembered the “culture work” of the Cistercian monks in his work, in which he presented the German monks as cultivators of wild nature, and in the German people of the region of Lake Neusiedl saw the tammers of raw nature, culture workers making the barren lands fertile, glorifying their work of centuries. This is how he contributed to the historical legitimization of the territory.

Therefore, German, if you travel in the blessed land of Burgenland think of the monks of Heiligenkreuz im Lafnitztal, who prepared the land with several hundred years of work so the grapes grow green, and the golden ears of grain ripen, so that friendly, pious churches, bright houses greet you from the green hills wreathed in dark forests, so that happy people can create all this there where once wild nature ran rampant and barren lands spread broadly; think of the friars of Heiligenkreuz im Lafnitztal, who took the lead for the German settlers as shining examples, teachers and wise men in the culture of the new motherland and of the spirit.¹³⁶

In the introduction on the chapter of mineral resources, Hans Mohr, geologist at Graz technical college, can be seen to identify the importance and role of geographical knowledge-making. Mohr described the Germans as touching pioneering settlers, and one can almost feel the orientalist approach in his writing.

According to language, customs, origin and faith the residents of Burgenland belong to us. The settlers from the core German regions are those who,

135 Vancsa, “Zur Geschichte des Landes,” 17.

136 Baumann, “Die Kulturarbeit,” 28.

forming a kind of vanguard, left the hostile mountains in the west, and migrated to the fertile plains. And why then did they not live with us in a single political unit, it barely becomes clear, only through the geographical study of the position and structure of their home.¹³⁷

Mohr's geology and physical geography logic provided good support for the annexation of the territory to Austria, presenting, as a physical geography argument, that, except for the Leitha and Rosalia Mountains, the former Austrian-Hungarian border was not a natural boundary. Although the new border, not being morphologically better, is still much better with consideration to that the ethnic-cultural picture is now settled on the two sides of the border, as there was no difference in the character of the landscapes in Styria and *Heinzenland*, and that its mountains may be classed with the Alps in the geological sense.

After the *Festschrift* was published, in the early 1920s several articles on Burgenland appeared in the issues of the *Deutsches Vaterland*, but Stepan only cooperated in these works as editor. The same is true of the volume *Neu-Österreich* (new Austria) published in 1923, also with Stepan as editor, however, this has no separate chapter on Burgenland, and only contains references to the region.¹³⁸ This book, also published with government support, did not only review the position of the truncated Austria created from the peace treaties, its chapters dealing with nature protection and the arts also proclaimed the level of development of Austrian culture. We can read the brief, sour words of Karl Brockhausen, ministerial legal councilor and university professor, about Burgenland in the first chapter of the book (Fig. 28).

The peace brought at Saint-Germain did not only bring about losses of territory for German Austria, it also awarded it a region that had formerly belonged to Hungary, Burgenland. The gain is not great: after it has lost its seas, industrial areas, sugar, oil and coal regions, a vegetable garden is offered in compensation at Vienna's gate.¹³⁹

In the third chapter Heinz Steinrück assessed the entire post-war situation of Austria. His orientalist approach of the West looking down upon the East is quite apparent in his joy for Burgenland. Examining the circumstances of

137 Mohr, "Des Burgenlandes Mitgift," 44.

138 Stepan, *Neu-Österreich*; A short excerpt of the work was also published in English: Brockhausen, *Austria*.

139 Brockhausen, "Der Friedensvertrag," 9.



Fig. 28. St. Andrä am Zicksee: a cart travelling to Wallern, the village church in the background. Today the village of Wallern uses the phrase: "Gemüsegarten Österreichs" (vegetable garden of Austria).

the loss of Sopron and the possibility of obtaining the German-occupied areas that remained in Hungary, he also applied the narrative of territorial loss and revision, finally he linked the region to Austria with a short, sentimental text.

This otherwise young maimed state only became greater than the Empire in one direction: it was able to push the border of human civilization in the eastern direction. [...] The color of Burgenland is black, red and gold. Three hundred thousand Germans and four thousand square kilometers, a third of Alsace-Lorraine, once again under exclusive German administration. The German language territory still penetrates far into Hungarian state territory: another thousand square kilometers and one hundred and sixty thousand Germans awaiting liberation. [...] Rust lies on the shore of Lake Neusiedl, the oldest free royal town, the town of vineyard slopes, which has the best wines after Tokaj. Sunlight glimmers on the lake surface, the heron cries in the reeds, which nod sleepily on the shore. This province too is a land of dreams, of the same blood as Austria.¹⁴⁰

140 Steinrück "Das Werden Neu-Österreichs," 61–63.

With several years of work behind him Stepan wrote himself into the history of Burgenland's birth. During his three remaining decades of writing and editorial work he published books about nearly all the regions he had links to (Waldviertel, Mühlviertel, Ybbstal, the Styrian Erzberg, Vienna), but, to my knowledge, he produced no more work about Burgenland.

Pionierarbeit

It probably does not happen too often that the obituaries of a “teacher” and a “student” appear in the same place, namely on consecutive pages of the *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen*, at the same time, and in such a way that the student's obituary, Marian Sidaritsch's was written by his teacher, Robert Sieger. In his short obituary Sieger primarily praised Sidaritsch's academic performance and his university teaching work, writing “his results to date, which he achieved with the iron will of a weak body, made great expectations of him.”¹⁴¹ The description of another student of Sieger from Graz, Morawetz, chimes with this: his severe shortsightedness, weak physique was coupled with a meticulous scientific attitude; he always wished to help other, although he himself frequently needed help.¹⁴²

Sidaritsch, who was professor Sieger's assistant during the Burgenland study trips, was born in Graz in 1895. The former way of writing his name (*Sidarič*) well indicates his Lower Styria origin, the territory awarded to the Kingdom of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs following World War I. However, he demonstrated his German nationality in his single-page curriculum vitae, which was appended to his application for habilitation and presents the main milestones of his short life. The appended list of subjects certifying his teaching practice painted the broad spectrum of teaching expected at the time, from introductory geographic studies, through landscape, rural, urban and transport geography, up to viticulture and the geography of the Alps. But he also advertised lectures on the geography of Burgenland, the historic landscape geography of Middle Burgenland, and even on the methodology of ethnic cartography, which all reflected his research experience.

141 Sieger, “Marian Sidaritsch,” 281; Brückner, “Robert Sieger.”

142 Morawetz and Paschinger, *Das Institut*, 31–32.

Curriculum Vitae

As it may be seen in the certificate of baptism I was born on February 20, 1895 in Graz, this same document includes a note on the change to the spelling of my name made in 1919, as the responsible expression of my belonging to Graz. In addition, I would add that my nationality is German. After completing four years of elementary school, in the autumn of 1905 I became a student to the then 2nd state grammar school (now provincial grammar school). It is here I received full grammar school instruction, and where I graduated with honors on July 11, 1913. Following this I continued my studies in geography, history and German studies at the Faculty of Philosophy of Graz University, however, I increasingly turned toward geography, for which I had felt a special desire from early childhood. On the basis of my (unpublished) thesis, on the boundaries of Salzburg, their geographical units and historical background, and completion of the final examination, I became a doctor of philosophy with honors on July 26, 1917. On June 11, 1918 I obtained permission to teach in the German language the main subjects of history and geography at secondary school. The plan to acquire a teaching permit for the German language as well was prevented by repeated and extended illnesses and an increasing desire to perform academic geography activities. Although a manuscript of my professionally reviewed work was complete “On the geography of Goethe’s journey in Italy.” I spent the academic year of 1918/19 as candidate and assistant in the then 2nd state (today: provincial) secondary school, in Graz, and simultaneously deputized for assistant professors in the institute of geography of Graz University. It was in this institute that I was appointed assistant professor on October 1, 1919. I have been in this position uninterrupted since then. As an additional position, between 1919–1922 I was assistant in the private secondary school for the blind, and from February 1, 1921 to February 1, 1925 I was secretary of the committee for general educational lectures at the university.

Dr. Marian Sidaritsch¹⁴³

He started his doctoral thesis, on the provincial borders of Salzburg, originally based on Sieger’s Lower Austrian border analyses, however, he endeavored to go beyond this in terms of methodology in the work Sieger had classed as excellent.¹⁴⁴ In addition to border issues, he primarily dealt with urban and rural

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geography (*Siedlungsgeographie* in German), with his first work discussing the origin of the Styrian circular villages (*Rundling*) and their morphological features, and the main work of his 31st year may be viewed as his monograph entitled *Geographie des bauerlichen Siedlungswesens im ehemaligen Herzogtum Steiermark* (The geography of the rural settlements of the former Duchy of Styria). Sidaritsch's geography drew partly from German urban geography concentrating on morphology and layout.¹⁴⁵ The framework of this was formed by a landscape geography approach making use of the essentials of physical geography, where, in the footsteps of professor Sieger, he used the concept of *Lebensraum* (life space) originally conceived by Ratzel and then Kjellén, and shaped further by numerous German geographers on the landscape scale. Using this he reached the concept of natural spaces and landscape units (*natürliche Räume, Landschaftseinheiten*), akin to the French milieu theory. These are not merely physical geography concepts, the person and culture also lies within them; their essence is that the basic geographical units of the social apparatus must be sought and may be found in a landscape framework. And just as these concepts were suitable for basing the judgment of the new Austrian borders on, these also represented the theoretical framework of the scientific approach in the course of the examination of Burgenland.¹⁴⁶

In the context of the background and historical framework presented in the section dealing mainly with Robert Sieger, the institute of geography of Graz University made fieldtrips to Burgenland under the leadership of Robert Sieger and Marian Sidaritsch. They organized two excursions to the southern territories, two to the north, and one to Middle Burgenland. From the aspect of geography it was especially the southern half of Burgenland that was a grey area, as opposed to the northern part close to Vienna, this was why they visited the territories of the south first of all. "Little geographic research has examined the surface formations, the circumstances of its settlements are less known, and its natural structures have not yet been identified,"¹⁴⁷ argued Sieger. In the cases of the fieldtrips to the north the professor targeted the interpretation of the cultural landscape unit organized around Lake Neusiedl and connected to the Vienna Basin through two gates and the examination of its development. These fieldtrips were supported both financially and actively by the province, e.g., by organizing accommodation and local guides during the journey, however, the

145 Sidaritsch, "Runddörfer"; Sidaritsch, "Landschaftseinheiten."

146 Sieger, "Die neuen Grenzen"; Sieger, "Natürliche Räume"; Sidaritsch "Landschaftseinheiten."

147 Sieger, "Eine geographische Studienreise," 434.

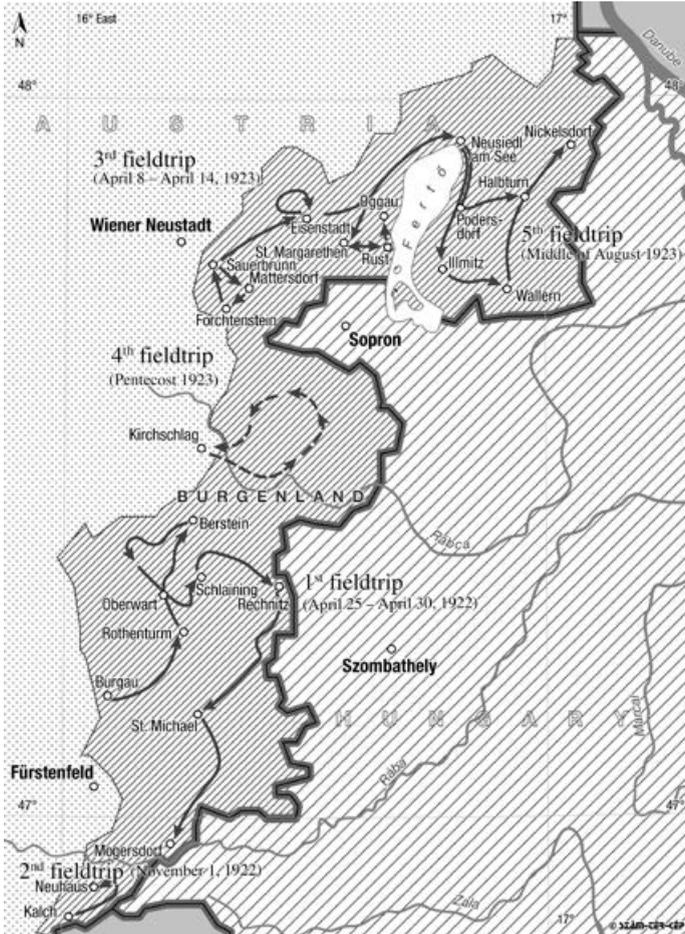


Fig. 29. The Graz University fieldtrips in Burgenland. The Middle Burgenland journey has been merely reimagined and is marked with a broken line.

planning of the fieldtrips and the administration of the research became the task of the young Marian Sidaritsch.¹⁴⁸ Both Sidaritsch and Sieger published several studies on the basis of the fieldtrips, however, this emerging Burgenland workshop ceased to exist with their deaths in 1926. According to the recollections of a student, Otto Guglia, the material they had collected, together with Sidaritsch's own and purchased photographs, could have formed the basis of a larger, summarizing work. Guglia recalled that the photographic material of the fieldtrips was placed in the collection of the library of the geography insti-

148 Sieger, "Eine geographische Studienreise," 434; Guglia, "Freunde."

tute of Graz University,¹⁴⁹ this material, however, was never recovered from the depths of the libraries and archives. It is possible that the geography institute and its library had been damaged by bombing and that the subsequent fire¹⁵⁰ caused the disappearance of this certainly very exciting source (Fig. 29 and Table 2).

Table 2. The Graz University fieldtrips in Burgenland

1st fieldtrip	<i>April 25 – April 30, 1922</i>
Day 1	Burgau – Stegersbach – Olbendorf – Rothenturm
Day 2	Rothenturm – Unterwart – Oberwart – Unterschützen – Tatzmannsdorf – Mariasdorf – Bernstein
Day 3	Bernstein – Pinkafeld – (railway) – Oberwart – Eisenzicken – Drumling – Schlaining
Day 4	Schlaining – Goberling – Glashütten bei Schlaining – Hirschenstein (862 m) – Rechnitz
Day 5	Rechnitz – Schachendorf – Schandorf – Hannersdorf – Burg – Kohfidisch – Kirchfidisch – Sankt Michael
Day 6	Sankt Michael – Deutsch-Tschantschendorf – Tobaj – Güssing – Mogersdorf
2nd fieldtrip	<i>November 1, 1922</i>
	Kalch – Bonisdorf – Neuhaus
3rd fieldtrip	<i>April 8 – April 14, 1923</i>
Day 1	Sauerbrunn
Day 2	Sauerbrunn – Mattersburg – Forchtenstein – Sauerbrunn
Day 3	Sauerbrunn – Eisenstadt
Day 4	Eisenstadt – Müllendorf – Leitha Mountains – Eisenstadt
Day 5	Eisenstadt – (railway) – Sankt Margarethen – Rust – Oggau – (railway) – Neusiedl am See – Podersdorf – Halbturn
4th fieldtrip	<i>Pentecost 1923</i>
	Middle Burgenland
5th fieldtrip	<i>Middle of August 1923</i>
	Neusiedl am See – Illmitz – Wallern – Halbturn – Nickelsdorf

Source: Sidaritsch, “Eine Studienreise”; Sieger, “Eine geographische Studienreise”; Guglia, “Freunde”; UAG PF 179. Sieger’s report of the 1921/22 academic year

149 Guglia, “Freunde.”

150 Morawetz and Paschinger, *Das Institut*, 23.

The first fieldtrip started at the end of April 1922. The participants crossed the Styria-Burgenland border at Burgau, and travelled on foot for the first day through the hilly region along the course of the Strem stream. Where “just like in central Styria, tilled fields, meadows, and orchards come one after the other, with patches of forest wedged in between them here and there,” described Sidaritsch.¹⁵¹ However, his attention was not only caught by the similar use of the landscape and the similarities of the terrain in the two province parts, but also by the hardly changing profile of the settlements and the land use around them. At other times the views reminded him of the region of his birth, Lower Styria. In other words, in addition to the shapes of the settlements and the architectural styles, during the journey Sidaritsch concentrated on observing and identifying the landscape units. At Stegersbach he noticed the gabled and thatched houses, elsewhere the sparse and lonely settlement structure (*Weiler*), the *Vierseithof* (*house or houses forming a square*) common in parts of eastern Styria and village structures similar to the circular villages of Styria. It is especially the first Sidaritsch study on Southern Burgenland that displays the “excitement of discovery”; it is without doubt that one of the most outstanding points of the first fieldtrip was when they came across the Roma settlements, as a kind of oriental impression (Fig. 30).



Fig. 30. Markt Allhau: straw-thatched house with fence and stables (no. 7), circa 1930–35

¹⁵¹ Sidaritsch, “Eine Studienreise,” 110.

Before Stegersbach we caught a glimpse of the first gypsy village on a hillside. In the following days we came across gypsy settlements even more frequently, which were usually on the sides of valleys. On seeing the dilapidated hovels patched together from adobe and woven branches the visitor wonders how it is possible to live here at all.¹⁵²

Just as exciting was their arrival in Oberwart precisely at the time of the bustle of the market, where their knowledge of ethnic statistics looked to being rewritten through their own subjective experience, because

the liveliness of the groups of German peasants overwhelmed the local Hungarian majority. Otherwise, even if only temporarily, it often occurred that we came into contact with the peasantry, because the alert and somewhat curious, but decidedly friendly and likeable Burgenland peasants frequently joined us during our wanderings, and everywhere helpfully pointed us in the right direction.¹⁵³ (Fig. 31 and 32)



Fig. 31. Spitzzicken: 1. church, 2. school, 3. village view, before 1938.

152 Sidaritsch, "Eine Studienreise," 110.

153 Sidaritsch, "Eine Studienreise," 111.



Fig. 32. Eisenzicken: village scene with the church, picture postcard. Posted on: 2.3.1934.

Sidaritsch achieved the “pure” tone of an academic in his writings, having no interest in the claim for legitimization of Burgenland. A pleasant trace of the slight bias similar to that mentioned previously was when the “expedition” chose its direction on one occasion. “We chose neither the Hungarian-occupied Siget in der Wart nor the Croat-occupied Spitzzicken, instead we visited the village of Eisenzicken, with its clean, sometimes gabled long houses.”¹⁵⁴

The second fieldtrip in the district of Jennersdorf lasted just a single day, and there is not much information available about it (Fig. 33). The circumstances of the fourth are similar, and all that is known is that it took place in Middle Burgenland; if the travellers, as they had until this point, approached the region by train, without entering Hungary, they should have travelled from the direction of Wiener Neustadt–Mattersburg or Aspang–Kirchschlag. However, the impressions onsite of the third fieldtrip are brought to vivid life in Sieger’s report. We learn, for example, that the journey in April was started while it was snowing, due to this they were only able to set off from their starting point of Sauerbrunn the following day, then due to the impassable roads they had to cancel their visit to the lignite mine in Pöttsching, instead they wondered about the regressive erosion of a tributary of the Wulka, about how due to this, on reaching the Leitha valley and tapping its waters, a river would once again flow

¹⁵⁴ Sidaritsch, “Eine Studienreise,” 112.



Fig. 33. The village of Bonisdorf, circa 1930, picture postcard

through the Weiner Neustadt gate. They received the “customary” tour around the town of Eisenstadt guided by the local leaders, which was followed by a visit to the Leitha Mountains and the shore of Lake Neusiedl, a tour around Rust, and a study of the Wulka confluence at Oggau. They also inspected the Neusiedl plain from the tower of the Catholic church in Rust and from the ruins of the Tabor watchtower of the town of Neusiedl am See.

We arrived in Podersdorf quite late, which was due to the diverse time spent on an adventure with a small viper, conversations about the lake and observation of the vegetation, as there is much new for those from Graz in Burgenland in general, but especially here on the steppe.¹⁵⁵

Although in the meantime they had succeeded in obtaining transport, they still arrived in Halbturn quite late, disappointing those who awaited them with their hospitality. They felt their mistake even more after heading home the next day through Vienna, when they realized that the structure of the town of Podersdorf was quite unique and of a type not observed before, however, they had no time to study it (Fig. 34).

155 Sieger, “Eine geographische Studienreise,” 435.



Fig. 34. Podersdorf, aerial photo, 1934/37

If only we could do a little geographical pioneering work in the better researched Northern Burgenland, [not]¹⁵⁶ like last year in the south, as in this historically richer part of the province we are confronted with a great many geomorphological and rural-urban geography problems. If only one of us could have fulfilled our great desire to have the opportunity to thoroughly examine this territory once again.¹⁵⁷

However, in the second Sidaritsch article on the northern region we almost miss the local impressions; nevertheless, the chapters still more or less reflect the script of the fieldtrip. Accordingly, Sidaritsch first dealt with the watershed of the Wulka plain and the Wiener Neustadt gate, then with Eisenstadt, the Leitha Mountains, the hills of Rust, and then with Lake Neusiedl and the Parnsdorf plain.¹⁵⁸ The literature review to be found at the beginning of the study provided a good indication of the range of works that has already been partly discussed (Pfaundler, Stepan, Penck, Bünker) or will be discussed later (Thirring, Krebs, Hassinger), in which the studies of the geographers of Graz fitted well. In addition we can also see evidence of geographical intuition in the case of the unique *Seewinkel* (-lake corner – Fig. 35).

156 The word “not” in the text is probably the result of a typographical error. Sidaritsch actually made reference to these confusing errors in Sieger’s article (“Das nördliche Burgenland,” 15).

157 Sieger, “Eine geographische Studienreise,” 435.

158 Sidaritsch, “Das nördliche Burgenland.”



Fig. 35. Illmitz: Baroque peasant dwelling with well sweep, Söllnergasse 4, circa 1935

The boundary between the alkaline lake region and the cereal-producing land is not sharp. The transition is formed by meadows dotted here and there by a poplar tree. However, the considerable herds of cattle, the well sweeps usually still in use, the windmills of the region poor in surface waters, and the possibility that your gaze may stretch far beyond the state borders convinces visitors that they are now standing on the northern Hungarian plain.¹⁵⁹

Both of Sidaritsch's studies ended with a discussion of the landscape units. The first article ended with a positive assessment.

The inappropriate course of the border has visibly cut up the Raab-Lafnitz region into pieces; despite this Southern Burgenland comprises a good unit. The Pinka gorge above Eisenberg is the artery for the entire Pinka region, it can be reached easily even by the residents of the Strem valley. The two part-regions together actually form a closed unit or life-space.¹⁶⁰

159 Sidaritsch, "Das nördliche Burgenland," 23.

160 Sidaritsch, "Eine Studienreise," 114.



Fig. 36. Marian Sidaritsch's map of the energy of relief of Burgenland.
The state borders, with their dotted lines, are difficult to discern.

The sorrow felt by many was brought forth in connection with the northern region. “The new state border [...] does not only cut a unified landscape into two, but a unified people too.”¹⁶¹ However, if we place Sidaritsch's additional findings onto the balance, it becomes clear that he saw the problem of division, of lack of coherence from the bottom up; still, viewed from afar he was able to view all three main parts of Burgenland as good geographical units.¹⁶²

These two studies comprised the background work for his piece presenting the landscape structure of the whole of Burgenland, with which he extended Sieger's program to the entire province. It was obvious for Sidaritsch also that the three-part structure of the province represented three separate life-spaces

161 Sidaritsch, “Das nördliche Burgenland,” 23.

162 Sidaritsch. “Eine Studienreise”; Sidaritsch, “Das nördliche Burgenland.”

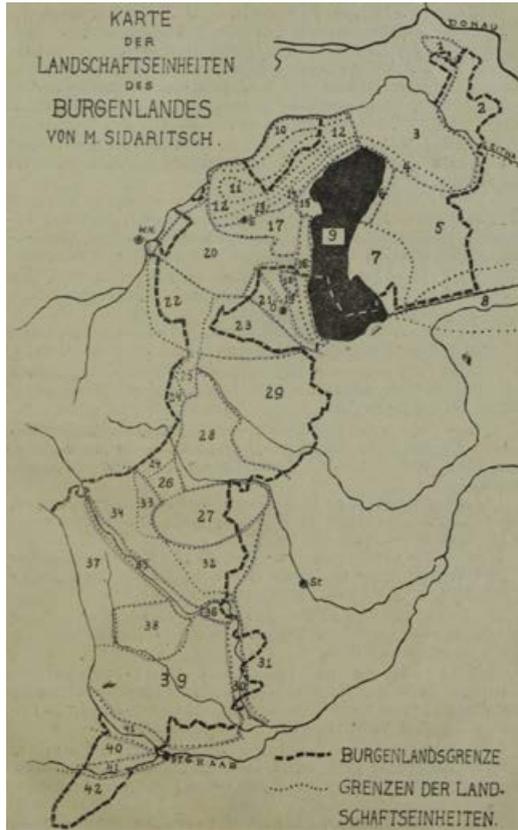


Fig. 37. Marian Sidaritsch's map of the landscape units of Burgenland. The landscape classification primarily extends to Hungarian territory at Sopron, for obvious reasons.

(*Lebensraum*) for the population, these parts, however, conceal within themselves landscape units of a more or less different character.¹⁶³ Geographical determination may be felt in his approach, as he primarily took the elements of nature into account when delimiting the life spaces, and viewed the human and cultural elements as secondary. Nevertheless, he endeavored to use a modern approach in his methodology, thus when identifying the landscape units, in addition to the geology, soil and climate conditions, the plant geography structure, the building materials of the houses and roofs and the formation of the courtyards, he also took into consideration the concept of energy of relief, which was new in the literature at the time (the difference in elevation for a unit of area), all in comparison with that experienced on site (Fig. 36 and 37). To men-

¹⁶³ Sidaritsch, "Die landschaftliche Gliederung," 118.

tion an example: on the basis of the energy of relief map he underlined that the mountains framing Middle Burgenland from the west do not form an independent mountain range, instead they are to be interpreted as a part of the Bucklige Welt. These many factors resulted in a considerably divided landscape structure, which is perhaps why this is not seen in later literature, although, he did finally unify the landscape units into landscape types.¹⁶⁴

Thus, Sidaritsch was the first to publish the initial results of the fieldwork. However, other students and colleagues of Sieger went on to develop Sieger and Sidartsch's scientific heritage a little further. Franz Wehofsich performed the rural geography investigations through his doctoral research, who, perhaps, realized in the province what Sidaritsch had in connection with Styria. In terms of rural geography Wehofsich described Burgenland as a relict landscape, where the ancient formations have remained, because the province did not become sufficiently linked to the trade of the Middle Ages nor to industrialization due to the railways.¹⁶⁵ But Sieger's department colleague, Robert Mayer, publishing similarly in the diverse fields of natural and social geography, also turned to Burgenland, performing a penetrating examination of the physical geography features of the central part of the province. It was Mayer¹⁶⁶, born in 1879, with interests including soil geography, and the urban geography of Graz and the towns of the Hungarian Great Plain, who brought the term "Alpine Burgenland," in reference to the central part of the province, into common use in the literature and which also played a role in the shaping of the province identity. For Mayer it was the Bucklige Welt that represented the link to the Alps as well as the "turntable" or "hub" for the other mountain ranges also.

Thus the Bucklige Welt appears as an intermediately massive mountain region, from which four mountain range branches protrude in the four directions of the compass; the highest among them runs back to the main body of the Alps, the Rosalia and the Bernstein Mountains branch off to the north and to the south, and the Ödenburg Mountains stretch to the east, which is repeated to the south by the independent island of the Güns Mountains.¹⁶⁷

164 Sidaritsch, "Die landschaftliche Gliederung," 139.

165 Wehofsich, "Zur Siedlungsgeographie des Burgenlandes"; Wehofsich, "Das Burgenland."

166 Morawetz and Paschinger, *Das Institut*, 30–31.

167 Mayer, *Morphologie*, 2.

Before his death Robert Sieger was able to review the geography of Burgenland in one or two studies, where the role of the fieldtrips and his interest in the province may be still felt. Noteworthy is his thorough, primarily human geography analysis written for the Berlin publication *Deutsche Rundschau*. In addition to visibly using the generally adopted narrative about the historical background of Burgenland and the Sopron referendum in this article, Sieger importantly recognized that people had become comfortable with the name of Burgenland, because “mainly if they do not know of its origins, the name suggests the fairest adornments of the province, its castles and ruined fortresses.”¹⁶⁸ With his geographer’s vision he noticed the transport and railway difficulties imposed by the new border, the disintegration of the hinterlands, and pointed to the splitting of the province into two or even three parts, because “not even one good road goes through it” at Siegraben, and because “the eastern end of the Güns Mountains has remained in Hungarian hands, they separate Middle and Southern Burgenland.”¹⁶⁹ Due to all this he proposed the division of the province among Styria and Lower Austria and the governing of the region from Wiener Neustadt, he did, however, see the counterarguments too, which do not make these things possible: the common history of the region, its unique legal and institutional apparatuses and the strengthening provincial identity. The impressions of the last fieldtrip of August 1923 are also palpable in this article: his experiences in the field, his observations of the life of the settlements, of the use of the landscape, and of the agriculture with the awe of a person further from the west may all be seen, in juxtaposition to all this he placed those statistics that bear witness to the drastic fall in the agricultural produce available in the region needed to feed Vienna due to the inappropriate drawing of the borderline.

The eastern half of the Lake Neusiedl is a treeless region of plough lands and meadows, Burgenland’s grain store, which is the land of Seewinkel or Heideboden, scattered with its many small lakes, reed marshes and ponds.¹⁷⁰ That this is a part of the Little Pannon Plain becomes the most apparent, perhaps, during an excursion at harvest time, which I too made in the middle of August. The eye may freely wander on the flat or gently rolling fields of stubble, on which one may still see the work of the reapers. Here and there the dark green of the un-harvested maize fields, the greenish yellow of the

168 Sieger, “Vom Burgenland,” 266.

169 Sieger, “Vom Burgenland,” 267–68.

170 In the source: Lacken.

reed beds or the bright mirrors of the small sundrenched lakes interrupt the single-tone yellowy brown. Here and there solitary well sweeps point to the sky, or a double line of fruit trees, most usually mulberry trees, show the routes of the roads. The horizon is lined with broad villages with their fruit orchards, farmsteads of varying size, and with stooks of cereal towering as high as houses on the open areas near the villages. Close by herds of cattle and horses graze, the driving of which through the village street in the morning and evening provides a very dynamic picture.¹⁷¹

The weak industry, mineral resources, commuting to outside the province, and the problem of the Hungarian-owned estates all appear in Sieger's thorough examination, and based on these he indicated that the development of agriculture was of prime importance. One of the main endeavors of ethnic characterization may be felt in the use of words: now it is not the Heidebauer and Heinz people that are discussed, instead the Burgenlanders, who need, as additional main areas of development, a good state, good transport connections, a solution for the lack of officials and capital city, improved education, religious life, all so the connection with the mother country may become deeper. This is how he underlined the pressing tasks at the end of his article, where we may find the seeds of Burgenland's discourse of development (or, more precisely, lack of development).

Austria undertook a great obligation with Burgenland, and has done much work over the one and a half years so far in the interest of the province. This is work to the benefit of the German people. And it will succeed, because it will accomplish it with the people of Burgenland. [...] Till now Austria has made little profit from Burgenland. There are many expenses still to come to uncover the unexploited treasures. It has taken on a neglected territory with a backward economy and education. But if this province learns to stand on its own feet, learns to be its own master, and uses the Burgenland identity for this to actively mobilize all resources to make up the deficit, if it makes use of the working methods and working tools of Central Europe in the service of economic recovery, then in the not too distant future this province will become an economically valuable region. Then we will be able to say that in at least one place the fateful peace of St. Germain did not only bring about freedom, but also progress for a quarter of a million Germans.¹⁷²

171 Sieger, "Vom Burgenland," 270.

172 Sieger, "Vom Burgenland," 279–80.

The evidence that Sieger observed the events in Burgenland from close up may be seen in another study that also appeared in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, in which he analyzed the election struggles of 1923 in detail.¹⁷³ Then a year later he took a stock of the German peoples of the wider Austrian territory, including the Germans of Burgenland, for a short monograph published under the auspices of the *Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland* organization. It may be seen in the bibliography here that, in addition to his own onsite experiences, while writing Sieger also made use of literature already largely discussed (Pfaundler, Winterstetten, Stepan, etc.). Most of the text consisting of just a few pages dealt with the situation of Burgenland in a similar way to that mentioned above. It is as if we catch a glimpse of an increase in his optimism toward the existence of the province in his following words.

Many in Austria and the German Empire say that we should not have taken on the territory, thereby obstructing the goal of the Entente to drive a wedge between Austria and Hungary, and ensuring the friendship with Hungary, but not weakening the German people remaining on the Hungarian side either. I will not be discussing these fears, as only the German people are aware of them, no one else. Those that have visited Burgenland know that much there is still unsatisfactory, but they also know that this people belonging to the core German territory, who retain their old customs rejoice from the heart that the German language may once again be heard in office and school, and that in the short time since the handover of November 1921 the feeling of Burgenland belonging has developed quickly.¹⁷⁴

In this work Burgenland and its German people now specifically appear in the same context as the German people of the other Austrian-German language area and of the lost regions of South Tyrol and Lower Styria, in the same way as in the writing found from the year of his death that was published in the periodical *Volk und Reich* on the regions of Austria.¹⁷⁵ These studies display Sieger's pan-German thinking. For a professor believing at one time in the unity of the Monarchy, the idea of a unified German space represented a real alternative. With this he was by no means alone, and together forms a connection in the direction of chapter four. The study mentioned last does the same, which was published once again after a decade in a new context.

173 Sieger, "National Lehrreiches."

174 Sieger, *Das Deutschtum*, 28.

175 Sieger, "Deutschösterreich und seine Landschaften."

Explorers of north and south

In addition to the discoverers presented up to this point, we find others in the academic forums, i.e., on the pages of scientific periodicals and books, who dealt with the geography of Burgenland, if only just in one article. For example, Marian Sidaritsch, in his article determining Burgenland's landscape structure, juxtaposed his findings with an article published in 1922. The author of this latter work Heinrich Güttenberger (1886–1946) was a school supervisor in Wiener Neustadt and no other works of his are known of that deal with Burgenland; during his life he essentially published in the subjects of teaching and school affairs. Similarly to Sidaritsch's work, Güttenberger's article was also published in the journal of the Vienna Geographical Society, where already in the first line he pointed out that "the integration of the new, southeastern region of the country is important in terms of the regional studies."¹⁷⁶ This regional/cultural "incorporation" (*Eingliederung*) may be understood to mean that the territory must be reinterpreted within Austria's geographical framework, be linked, in landscape geography terms, to the Alpine region, but it may merely mean that attention has to be paid to it. As "its fragmented spatial configuration makes knowledge of the landscape and human activity attractive, because the diverse interaction of these shapes the individual characteristics of the region."¹⁷⁷ In his short work he endeavored to grasp a human geography view of the present, and set down in words the fundamental problems of Burgenland that continue to crop up in later historical and geographical analyses. According to his explanation the Sopron referendum was a "stab in the back" for the transport geography unity of the province, in this way Burgenland was split into two at the just 4 km wide Siegggraben "narrows." In his work Güttenberger called these two parts the Lake District and the Raab District (*See- und Raabgau*), then essentially devoted his writing to a comparison of the two parts of the province and their landscape structure based partially on Hungarian statistics from 1910, in the case of Raabgau he used the concept of "fossilized cultural landscape" to describe Burgenland. In the case of the northern part of the province he described it as having natural landscape unity, with Lake Neusiedl essentially dividing it into two additional parts: the Eisenstadt basin and the area of plain land known as Heideboden. With respect to the southern region he linked its lands to the Bucklige Welt and to the hill country of Styria. For his comparisons he made use of the

¹⁷⁶ In original: *Landeskunde*.

¹⁷⁷ Güttenberger, "Der anthropogeographische," 47.

sectoral distribution of the population, the land cover on the basis of Joseph II's military land survey, the agricultural land use, and the data on the building materials used for the houses and roofs. In this way he drew a very dimensioned view of the province, of the overpopulated agrarian hill region of *Raabgau*, and of the slowly industrializing-urbanizing western part of *Seegau*, with its archaic, unique steppes in the east. A characteristic example is that nature too (here: the wind) connects the southern part of Burgenland to bordering parts of Austria:

The vines that festoon every sunny hilltop of Seegau are rarely seen here, and have even lost ground on the islands that may be precisely traced since the Joseph survey. In exchange the fruit trees provide rich decoration as the treasures of nature, and the opulent harmonies of the hum of the forests blow the fresh breath of green Styria and the forests of Pitten in every valley.¹⁷⁸

He also performed an analysis of the statistics on the national level. The population density of Burgenland was between that of the values for Upper and Lower Austria. The proportion of its arable land was more or less like that of Lower Austria in that the proportion of meadow land was the same "on both sides of the Leitha," there was less forest, while the areas of vineyards and steppes were relatively more extensive in Burgenland. Based on the different land use, religious and population composition, and the historical tradition of the border vanguard function, he highlighted the peripheral nature of the province, the use of the land and population development different to that in the mountain regions, and its buffer zone (*Prellbock der Volksbewegungen*) and border guard character. In his final conclusion Güttenberger determined that the historical development of the settlements of Austria may be better understood through an examination of the region, because "an examination of the conditions in Burgenland throws light on the development phases of the rural settlements of Austria and on its progressive development cycles resulting from the large-city-western effect in respect of the origin of the settlement profile."¹⁷⁹ It is important to realize that Güttenberger's analysis, which included tables of statistics on two pages, did not only contain a strategy for integration into Austria, but also an emphasis on the regional differences, in this way in his writing we may also discover further roots of the narrative of backwardness, which may also be partly viewed as an implicit grasping of the Hungarian heritage of the territory.

178 Güttenberger, "Der anthropogeographische," 51.

179 Güttenberger, "Der anthropogeographische," 55.

The work of Viennese geography teacher Johann Kaindlstorfer (1882–1944) is also among the earliest, as it was published even before Sidaritsch’s very first article in the periodical *Kartographische und Schulgeographische Zeitung*. In his work *At Burgenland’s borders* Kaindlstorfer highlighted precisely that moment in his introduction that I too mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the geographer’s wonderment at the map.

Cisleithania-Transleithania! A few years ago these were the names used to denote the border between Austria and Hungary. [...] However, let us disregard for the moment the events of history and study this border, or rather this border region with the eyes of a geographer. Then we shall see that not only does the river Leitha, from whence the name, follow the line of the border, but also a series of typical lands that arch from the border of Styria all the way to the Danube.¹⁸⁰

And in actual fact the author, hunched over the map, analyzed the course of the border taking into account the geology data, the paleogeographic features of the watercourses, the orientation of the valleys, the relative heights of the mountains, and imagined the different perspectives of “if we look from a mountain to the east” or “look from the east to the west” in order to better understand the separation of the landscapes and analyze the quality of the borderline given by nature. He also approached the subject of agriculture via geology and the issue of land use, in this way briefly dealing with the western connection of the region’s economy, e.g., the question of Vienna’s food supply. At the end of his study he placed the province in a very interesting historical context, which was completely different to the dominant narrative of the time. Accordingly, the German peoples flowing into the region both before and after the solidification of the borders of the Kingdom of Hungary played a role similar to that of the north-south and east-west connection of the geological features of the region, i.e., the pre-Alps: the German people living here were not only halted by the advance of the Hungarians, but also became a part of Hungary and prevented the creation of the connection between the northern and southern Slavic peoples (disregarding the role of the Croats settling later on). Further, the Swabian people settling here in the seventeenth century formed a counterbalance in the Heideboden region against the Hungarians and the Croats.

180 Kaindlstorfer, “An der Grenze,” 36.

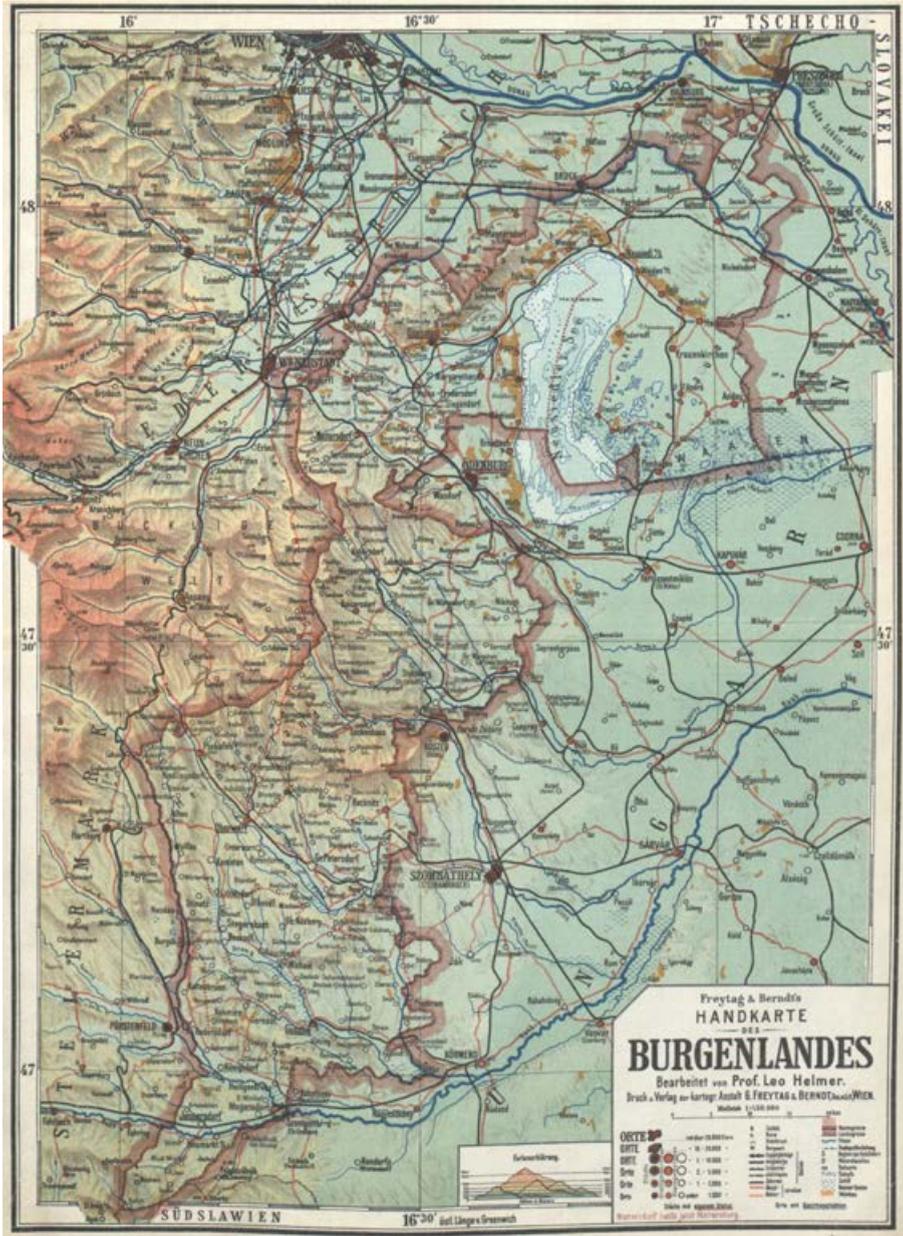


Fig. 38. Burgenland map, Freytag & Berndt, 1922. Originally the map was to have been attached to Kaindlstorfer's article, but in all probability it was not available at the time. The actual publishing of the map may have been in 1923 (the periodical was delayed), because the course of the borders reflects the final status fixed in 1923. The dotted line indicates the area affected by the Sopron referendum. Visually, the map also literally underscores that the province capital is Ödenburg/Sopron.

And these diverse people thrown together were tied to the Hungarian capital through the Hungarian administration and education systems up to the most recent times. This status has ceased to exist, however, one should not forget that although ethnic affiliation points to the west, from the point of view of the land this peripheral region belongs to the geographical unit of the Hungarian plain.¹⁸¹

It may be that here Kaindlstorfer set down his thoughts primarily on the basis of Northern Burgenland, which, however, turned out very generalized and diverged from the usual geographic narratives (Fig. 38).

Kaindlstorfer's article was a work born from a local viewpoint. Interestingly, the Austrian geography monographs published between the two world wars discussed the new Austrian province using significantly differing approaches, presumably due to the positions held by the authors. We have already seen this, actually, in the volume edited by Stepan when reading Brockhausen's condescending words.¹⁸² The geography book of Norbert Krebs (1876-1947), whom we have al-



Fig. 39. Norbert Krebs (c. 1930).

181 Kaindlstorfer, "An der Grenze," 39.

182 Brockhausen, "Der Friedensvertrag."

ready mentioned in brief, was the first explicitly specialist monograph written by a practiced author (Fig. 39). Krebs was also Penck's student, and attended several universities (Vienna, Würzburg, Frankfurt, Freiburg, Berlin), and, as a result of his political geography work, was viewed as a Central Europe and Balkans expert, as an applier of the *Lebensraum* theory on the pan-German scale.¹⁸³ It was he who reported on Austria's territorial losses following World War I in the *Geographische Zeitschrift* periodical, where he discussed the later Burgenland under the name of Western Hungary or Heanzenland using Pfaundler's studies of 1910–11. In his short analysis covering the territory he emphasized the problem of the blurring of the formerly sharp language boundary that had been linked well to the landscape borders and forest areas, indicating the settling of the Croats and the Magyarization of the towns as the main cause of this. An additional problem he referred to was the economic ties of the German people to the east, toward the Hungarian territories, the cause of which being the transport network dependent on the relief features. In his opinion the only solution to this was migration from the area or links with the neighboring German people.¹⁸⁴

Krebs published the book entitled *Die Ostalpen und das heutige Österreich* (The Eastern Alps and the Austria of today) now as professor in Berlin. In this work he took a more skeptical stance on the existence of Burgenland indicating his reservations with the discussion of the northern and southern halves of the territory in separate chapters, calling the endeavors to keep the province together political shortsightedness until they are able to provide good economic and transport connections to the territory split up by the Ödenburg and Güns Mountains not just into two parts, but into three. He saw the causes of the disintegration of the province in the transport deficiencies and in the problems caused by the artificial borders. In his opinion these problems would have to be remedied and education and religious life would have to be improved in order to be able to tie the province to Austria. In connection with this he also marveled at the shape of the province on the map, calling the narrow part at Siegraben a wasp's waist (*Wespentaille*).

It is only possible to create a connection by rail between the provincial government seated in Sauerbrunn next to Wiener Neustadt and the provincial parliament meeting in Eisenstadt and the southern half of the province via

183 See e.g. Krebs, *Atlas*.

184 Krebs, "Deutsch-Österreich," 80.

Semmering and Graz or via Hungary. Just as the waters of the rivers, the transport routes too flow in the eastern direction towards the upper Hungarian plain. The transport hubs may be found at its periphery, and these, from the north to the south are the following: Sopron, Szombathely and Kőrmend. In an extreme case Szentgotthárd next to Kőszeg and the Raab may be considered as a transport hub. As these locations have remained in Hungarian hands, Burgenland has been broken up into a whole series of small regions that can only find connections with their western neighbors, in Lower Austria and Styria. This means that keeping these together as a single province is political shortsightedness¹⁸⁵ (Fig. 40).

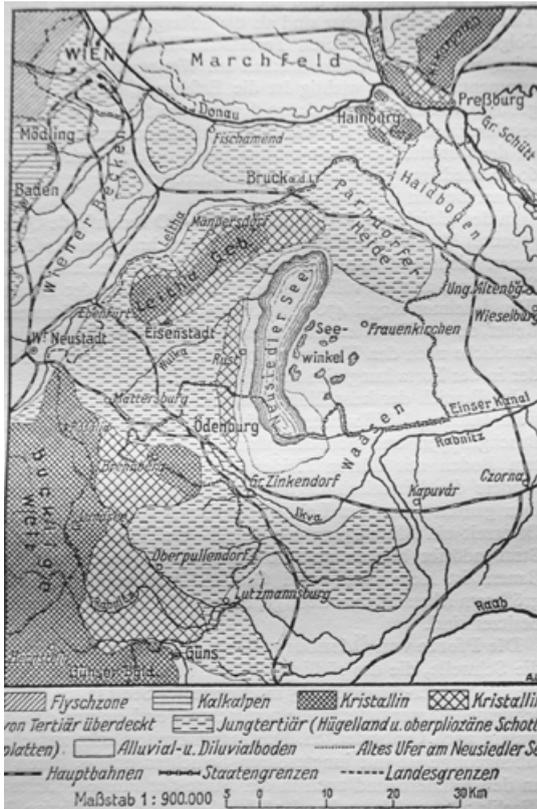


Fig. 40. Krebs map entitled “the Hungarian gates.” Essentially a geology map, but it clearly visualizes the political belonging of the Northern Burgenland region. The Rosalia, Ödenburg and Güns Mountains appear as parts of the Bucklige Welt.

185 Krebs, *Die Ostalpen*, 256.

Nevertheless, Krebs took a problem-oriented, perceptive approach to the analysis of the southern and the northern parts. In the case of the former he discussed the phenomena of migration and commuting, the lack of roads in general, and the problem of illiteracy. In the case of both regions, starting from the history of the German settler movement, Krebs searched for the connections and similarities between the economies, populations and settlement forms of the neighboring territories. In the chapter discussing the northern part he emphasized the importance of belonging to Vienna and Lower Austria, which already very much represented a living relationship due to the existing transport connections as opposed to the southern territory. His short analysis of Sopron is also interesting, in which, according to the wording used by the author, the large squares remind one of the agricultural towns of the plains, and then made reference to the theft of territory by the referendum. In his opinion the district of Sopron penetrated the territory of Austrian Burgenland as a cornucopia or horn of plenty. In the description of the area there are clear signs of the search for elements that delimit and differentiate, pointing out the Hungarian heritage, and for those that display similarity and sameness.

Today most of the Parndorf plain has been subjected to the plough, and so the flocks of sheep that formerly dominated the landscape have disappeared. But in remote areas, to the east of the lake animal husbandry is still blossoming. Here on the land of the large estates you may come across flocks of sheep, herds of horses, cattle and buffalo. More than a third, in places more than a half of the houses have thatched roofs. All this, and the openness of the landscape give a true Hungarian character to the region. However, to the west of the lake the diverse relief and the innumerable forms of farming remind many of the south German settlement region.¹⁸⁶ (Fig. 41)

Returning to the journal of the Vienna Geographical Society, following the articles by Güttenberger and Sidaritsch nothing is published about Burgenland for quite a while. The discussion of the territorial losses received greater scope in the 1920s, and for some the geographical “incorporation” of Burgenland may even have seemed a done thing. We know that it did not happen like this, the shaping of the geographical discourse of the province continued in other forums (see chapters four and five), in which the legitimization of belonging and geographical identity creation gained the leading role. Fieldtrips also provide

¹⁸⁶ Krebs, *Die Ostalpen*, 357.



Fig. 41. Parndorf, windmill, circa 1932

evidence that the desire for the discovery of the province had not waned. Although the 25th German geographers' conference to have been held in Vienna in 1933 (*Geographentag*) along with the two planned Burgenland fieldtrips did not take place, many did actually visit the newborn province in the same year resulting from the fieldtrip organized by the *Südostdeutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft* (research community of southeast Germans, see Chapter four).¹⁸⁷ Former president of the Vienna Geographical Society, Munich-born Eugen Oberhummer (1859–1944), whom, similarly to Krebs, we have already mentioned, wrote a study discussing the origin of the Burgenland name in 1933 and already at the beginning of the article¹⁸⁸ he sent a warning to geographers, including a little criticism:

187 Wehofsich, "Das Burgenland," 231; Berninger, "Deutsche Geographentag," 332; Svatek, "Fritz Bodo," 329.

188 Brief prelude: Oberhummer. "Burgenland'."

The name of Austria's youngest province has sounded familiar for some time now, as if it has always been like this. However, we must remember that Burgenland did not exist before the borders of Hungary were changed.¹⁸⁹

The generation of geographers raised in the age of the Monarchy did not forget Burgenland's Hungarian heritage, and even used this to identify the territory. An example of this may be found in the work of Rungaldier (1892–1981). Rungaldier, similarly to Sidaritsch came from southern Styria and was a student of Robert Sieger. For the majority of his life, he taught in Sieger's former workplace, the Vienna trade academy (*Hochschule für Welthandel*) with his works primarily dealing with Central Europe. For many decades after the Second World War, it was almost only he who provided the Austrian Geographical Society with studies in connection with Hungary and was even the president of the society at the end of the 1960s. The motif of meeting the European East also appears in his work about "Pannonia," where he mentioned the Hungarian landscape heritage of Burgenland in connection with the tourism obscurity of Hungary. "Since acquiring Burgenland we too own a small piece of the 'Hungarian landscape', but this is merely the gentle breath of puszta romanticism."¹⁹⁰ Indeed, Rungaldier really was in love with the soft breeze of the puszta, and evidence of this is his monograph written about the Danube-Tisza Interfluve.¹⁹¹ It is also important to acknowledge that Rungaldier was one of the geographer heralds of the Pannonia discourse emerging after the Second World War, which also received an important role in tourism in connection with Burgenland.

In addition to Krebs' works I also mention the book *Länderkunde Österreichs* (Austria's regional geography) written by Vorarlberg-born Innsbruck geography-history professor Hermann Gsteu (1899–1977), which lived through several editions and was another substantial synthesizing work from the period between the wars. The metaphor of *Grenzland* (borderland) appears immediately at the beginning of Gsteu's book, which intensified throughout the geopolitical discourses of the 1930s (see the next chapter). Gsteu, somewhat similarly to Krebs, discussed the province by dividing it into three parts, with all this, however, compacted into a single chapter. In his brief history review he too mentioned Sopron, calling it "*Burgenland's best part.*" Gsteu's approach to Burgenland was by all means positive, and he praised the province for the development seen in the

189 Oberhummer, "Burgenland," 257.

190 Rungaldier, "Städte und Landschaften," 178.

191 Rungaldier, *Natur- und Kulturlandschaft*.

towns and villages, the buildings, and in agriculture and industry despite its initial backward state and burdensome Hungarian heritage. He separately highlighted the economic benefits given to Austria, where he used the metaphor of “Burgenland as granary.”

Fertile hill region, with wide, high lands above narrow floodplains, the innermost valleys in the mountains, far from the noisy plains, nearby the transport gate between the Alps and the Carpathians, with a pleasant lake, enticing hillsides, this all has attracted people since ancient times. [...] Close to Vienna and Graz, as a province rich in cereal, as a grain store playing a special role in the Austrian economy.¹⁹²

But due to the “charming fortresses and castles of the province, the god-blessed lands and the *sea of the Viennese*” he also gave an account of the development of tourism.¹⁹³ Gsteu was also touched by the unique atmosphere of Seewinkel “the Haide, as a particular contrast to the region of the Alps,” where “the central part of the region with its delightful characteristics, with the well sweeps, *where the herons stare at the sky in the deepest desolation*, with the windmills and their sails that complain of loneliness.”¹⁹⁴

In his text Gsteu on many occasions endeavored to convey his experiences from the field, although his use of the literature can be felt in very many places, these are signified by the sections in quotation marks, but without reference to the source.

At the Brenntenriegel narrows we step into Middle Burgenland on a simple mountain road. Today this is the only road that links the two parts of the province. To the right, to the west lies Rosalia Chapel at an elevation of 746 meters, which gave its name to the forest-covered fault block mountains, and the location of which *has long been famous for its good view*. The eye can see to the Fischbach Alps, to the Styria-Lower Austria Limestone Alps and all the way to Vienna, then is lost far away on the Hungarian Plain.¹⁹⁵ (Fig. 42)

192 Gsteu, *Länderkunde*, 253, 256.

193 Gsteu, *Länderkunde*, 272. Highlight in the original.

194 Gsteu, *Länderkunde*, 259. Highlight in the original. Here the author is most likely quoting from the work of Maria Mundprecht.

195 Gsteu, *Länderkunde*, 261. Highlight in the original.



Fig. 42. A cow nearby Rosalia Chapel, photograph pre-1938

Continuing his line of thought, he also made reference to the tourism-culture image of the province.

On its northern side the castle of Forchtenstein reigns on a steep dolomite cliff 150 m above the village of Forchtenstein. Every province has its own jewel. For Burgenland this is Forchtenstein Castle. This is often seen in the pictures of descriptions of the province, or the Burg Schläining, most of the time on the first page of guidebooks.¹⁹⁶

This same storytelling practice, when the writer guides the reader around a location was used in description of the surface formations in Southern Burgenland.

From the Pinka to the south corner of Kalch *the land becomes equal to a sea of waves*. During our wanderings we may think it will never come to an end. You think this will be the last hill, but there is the next already on the horizon. Only the Strem valley breaks the monotony of the ups and downs in its somewhat wider, flatter part with its marshy valley bottoms.¹⁹⁷

196 Gsteu, *Länderkunde*, 261.

197 Gsteu, *Länderkunde*, 266. Highlight in the original.

Gsteu also gladly made use of comparisons, drawing parallels between Burgenland and, to a degree, Vorarlberg, and between the Güns Mountains and the Bohemian Forest. He compared the Pullendorf basin in Central Burgenland to the Graz basin. In the case of the central and southern parts of the province he generally remained with physical geography emphasizing in this respect the orientation of the transport system to Hungary. In this latter case, compared to Sidaritsch and Güttenberger, he got into trouble with the landscape structure; he saw Southern Burgenland as a territory of transition between the Graz basin and the plain, in which, at most, the main valleys and their regions are worthy of mention (Pinka, Strem, Lafnitz, Raab).

At the end of his work, following a brief description of the peoples of Burgenland, in which he had just a few positive, romantic words for the Hungarians living in language islands, and who in many cases had Hungarian citizenship, Gsteu also reported on the Burgenland identity, which had been established in a short time and had forged the three peoples into one, a successful geographical identification process.

An enclosed ethnic identity has been created from these differing ethnic groups. All of them identify as *Burgenlanders*, and this was established in a very short amount of time. One of the finest tasks of the Austrian people has been the unification of the peoples. This has once again taken place.¹⁹⁸

Here, on the one part, Gsteu was referring to the mission of the Austrian people during the Monarchy, which we have also seen in the thoughts of Crown Prince Rudolf and Sieger. On the other part, from this quote we can read a message of success regarding the identity policy “forced” by the local Burgenland elite, which, if true to a certain extent, did not only replace the ethnic and regional identities of Western Hungary but also had the result of creating an identity against Austria. In other words, “being a Burgenlander” was not coupled with the feeling of “being an Austrian,” which I will once again refer to in chapter five.¹⁹⁹

198 Gsteu, *Länderkunde*, 275. Highlight in the original.

199 Haslinger, *Der ungarische Revisionismus*; Haslinger, “A regionális indentitás.”

DISCOVERERS OF BURGENLAND AND GERMAN GEOPOLITICS

Suffering from territorial losses after the war Germany saw an increase in revisionist political and academic thinking from the 1920s, and geography scholars also played an important role in this in the Weimar Republic. It must be acknowledged that maps had gained special significance in the united German nation-state created in the second half of the nineteenth century as they served as a visual representation of this unity.¹ This “tradition” also became important in revisionist politics,² just like in Hungary.³ One of the central, initial concepts of Germany, of the geographical existence of the German peoples, the *Lebensraum* (living space) originated from the founder of political geography, Friedrich Ratzel.

Ratzel’s work received much attention; the organic state theory, also encompassing the concept of living space, was applied and developed on both the international and national levels. The Ratzel state theory, the concept of state as organism, became the basis of global geopolitical-geostrategic thinking, the basis of the discourse on the colonial-imperialist relationship complexities via the work performed outside of Germany by Halford J. Mackinder, Rudolf Kjellén, and Alfred Thayer Mahan. Although the German-Austrian *Anschluss* endeavors were thwarted for a time following 1919, their literature did give birth to the spatial concept of a continuous, regional, i.e., pan-German living space, the *Deutscher Raum* (German space). Geographers worked at providing further theoretical explanations to the geographical characteristics of German-occupied

1 E.g. Langhans, *Deutscher Kolonial-Atlas*; Langhans, *Justus Perthes’ Alldeutscher Atlas*.

2 Herb, *Under the map*.

3 Gyuris, “Human Geography.”

territories and derived geopolitical objectives from these. One of the essential elements of this concept of German space was that it enclosed all of the German people of the globe, whether they be minority, ethnic Germans, or those with German roots, into a collective unit. It was in this way that the concept of borderland and outlander Germans was created (*Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtum*), and a corresponding policy was formulated to support these Germans to avoid their emigration or assimilation.⁴ As shown in the previous chapter, this provided a framework for the dominant narratives of the German people of Western Hungary, which stated that the Heinzen and the Heidebauern had returned home to the German people, where they had always belonged, and from where they had been torn away.

More broadly the German folk (*völkisch*) movement was formed and was followed by innumerable preservation societies from the end of the nineteenth century, and perhaps the earliest were the *Deutscher Schulverein* (1881 – German school association) and the *Verein Südmark* (1889 – Association Südmark); it was from the framework of these organizations that research into the German people and the territories occupied by the Germans emerged after World War I. The logical, progressive basis for this was first offered by the *Volks- und Kulturboden* (national and cultural soil) theory that also conceived *Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtum* research, and the *Geopolitik* trend (hallmarked with the name of Karl Haushofer), followed by a number of new institutions, organizations and forums, many times in diverse relationship as well as in competition for human and financial resources.⁵

Karl Haushofer is taught in the Anglo-Saxon political geography textbooks as the person who in his geopolitics created a basis for the Nazi war and expansionist endeavors, but in fact he was not alone in this role. It is true he cleverly combined geo- and ethnopolitical ideas; the idea of pan-regions, i.e., of centers of power and spheres of interest, with Ratzel's living space concept, Kjellén's concept of *autarky* and Mackinder's *Heartland* theory. In the latter particular significance was given to Russia, the Heartland and the key to it, the region of Eastern Europe and the notion of Germany possibly aligning with the *Heartland* thereby gaining access to its resources. However, Haushofer was not so influential for the Nazi-regime, rather before it came to power.⁶

4 Murphy, *The Heroic Earth*; Oberkrome, "Regionalismus"; Jureit, "Lebensraum."

5 Tilkovszky, "A weimari Németország," 219; Eisler, "Auslandsdeutschtum"; Laba, "Stiftung für deutsche Volks- und Kulturbodenforschung."

6 Herwig, "Geopolitik"; Koops, "Karl Haushofer."

The national and cultural soil theory as an emerging research paradigm simultaneously enabled the territorial-spatial expansion of the German people and supported the interpretation of the cultural effect and the culture of the German people as progress. And not least, because of this theory, territorial claims could even be made to regions that had only been occupied by Germans at one time or another in the past, irrespective of the current ethnic profile. The national and cultural soil theory is linked to prominent geographer of the age Albrecht Penck, and to Wilhelm Volz,⁷ in connection with the map published by Penck in 1925, although the basis for this map is linked to the name of his doctoral student from before the First World War, Ervin Hanslik.⁸ The association founded in 1923, the *Mittelstelle für zwicheneuropäische Fragen* (from 1925: *Mittelstelle für Volks- und Kulturbodenforschung*), already mentioned in connection with Robert Sieger, became an integrative institution for numerous actors, i.e., scientists, politicians, activists, in Germany, Austria and beyond. The successor of the *Mittelstelle* was the *Stiftung für deutsche Volks- und Kulturbodenforschung* (foundation for the research of German national and cultural soil) established in Leipzig in 1926, the president of which was Penck.⁹

In the mainstream German geopolitical discourse, hence, the scarcity of the German living space and the demand for its expansion became an existential question already in the period of the *Weimar Republik*. Although in Hitler's personal geopolitical vision it was the concept of the soil, the land that was initially more important, land that may be Germanized through cultivation, the living space was transformed into a concept of order in the racial-biological sense. German territorial expansion, the extension of space, instead of formulating colonial illusions-plans, was directed in the direction of the east-central and eastern European region populated by significant numbers of Germans.¹⁰

The *Stiftung* had an even stronger mission to support the official aim of the German foreign affairs of the *Weimar Republik* after 1926, namely the revision of the Paris peace treaty. But as the radical, far-right (i.e., the Nazi) movement strengthened, the German expansionist territorial claims and anti-Semitic policy initiatives came into the foreground represented by growing number actors well beyond the *Stiftung* in Leipzig (e.g., Karl Haushofer, Max Hildebert Boehm, Karl Christian von Loesch). The opposition between the supporters of the for-

7 Laba, "Wilhelm Volz."

8 Svatek, "Geopolitische Kartographie," 307-11; Henniges, "Naturgesetze."

9 Pinwinkler, "Hier war die grosse Kulturgrenze."

10 Herb, *Under the map*; Oberkrome, "Regionalismus"; Jureit, "Lebensraum."

mer, moderate endeavors of the Weimar regime (like Wilhelm Volz), and the latter, radical Great-German vision (Friedrich Metz, Emil Meynen) lead to the dissolution of the *Stiftung* in 1931, however it is considered as decisive for the later progress of the radical German folk science and geopolitics.¹¹

Seen from Austria, the idea of the *Anschluss*, the desire for the unification with Germany, also fuelled party politics as well as geographical research. But with the rise of the Nazis in Germany moderate political wings gave up their *Anschluss*-plans. As the Dollfuß-regime paved the way for an independent Austria, a particular Austrofascist state, the radical trends in Germany and in Austria increasingly propagated the *Anschluss* and envisioned Ostmark (i.e., Austria) as the land in the southeast. Consequently, a group of Austrian, German and Swiss researchers established the *Alpenländische Forschungsgemeinschaft* in Innsbruck (research community of the Alpine region) and the *Südostdeutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* in Wien in 1931 as successors of the *Stiftung für deutsche Volks- und Kulturbodenforschung*. This orientation of geographical and spatial research is also indicated by organizations for other regional directions, and they built a network together having also some links with local universities and colleges or party politics. But in the case of the southeast, a *Südost Institut*¹² was similarly established in Munich in 1930, but writing related to Burgenland can hardly be found in its yearbook published from 1936, the *Südost-Forschungen*, despite the head of the institute, Fritz Valjavec, having Hungarian Swabian roots, who was very active to imagine and postulate the *Südostdeutschtum* (southeast Germans) and a particular German land in the southeast. The work of the *Südostdeutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* was organized in the so-called publication office (*Publikationstelle* Wien), particularly after the establishment of several branches in the successor states during World War II. Back in 1938, after the *Anschluss*, the *Südostdeutsche Institut* in Graz came into being. These organizations and their actors, most of which will have some moments with Burgenland, gained important roles in Austria in administration, science and education after the *Anschluss*, more broadly they were important factors of Nazi nationalist, ethnic and anti-Semitic policies and preparing for the war, the revision and the *Anschluss*.¹³

11 Haar, "Stiftung"; Henniges, "Albrecht"; Koops, "Karl Haushofer."

12 Earlier: *Institut zur Erforschung des deutschen Volkstums im Süden und Südosten* - Institute for research of German nation in the south and the southeast.

13 Fahlbusch, *Wissenschaft*; Fahlbusch, "Südostdeutsche"; Beer, "Wege"; Seewann, "Das Südost-Institut"; Promitzer, "Täterwissenschaft"; Svatek, "Wien als das Tor"; Svatek, "Südostdeutsches Institut Graz"; Popa, "Fritz Valjavec"; Schuster, "Südostdeutsche."

Although Burgenland was also part of the southeast, these organizations now played a smaller role in its geopolitical discourse, because by the middle of the 1930s, especially after Burgenland was broken up, the province was barely a subject of scientific interest. This statement even stands true in the knowledge that the southeast researchers of Vienna were responsible for an important part of this chapter, the *Burgenlandatlas* (atlas of Burgenland). Nevertheless, Burgenland became the subject of symbolic, discursive colonization due to the characteristic turns of phrase, concepts and impressive maps of the pertinent articles, primarily by Georg A. Lukas and Otto A. Isbert highlighted below, and gained new interpretation in the scope of the geopolitical thinking in this direction. The aforementioned trends were followed by academic communities, research institutes and foundations, their periodicals and books, a good few of which will come up below.

The Empire comes back

Georg Alois Lukas (1875–1957) was born in Graz but spent his childhood in *Weidenau* (Austrian Silesia). This village was cut into two by the Austrian-German border during the peace of Hubertusburg of 1763, which, by all accounts, was an important border experience for Lukas. Lukas returned to Graz for his university studies, where as a student of Richter he studied geography and history, and then wrote his doctoral thesis on the topography of Bosnia and Herzegovina.¹⁴ After graduating he obtained a position in the state secondary school, but for the purpose of obtaining his habilitation he remained in contact with both the university and Richter. He gave up this plan due to the death of the professor (although this goes contrary to him being referred to as professor in several of his publications). Nevertheless, without a university professorship he still published very actively as secondary school teacher. From the start of the twentieth century, he mainly concentrated on the writing of school textbooks, however, his long urban geography study of 1909 gives an indication of his importance in Graz: in the first footnote Robert Sieger thanked Lukas for undertaking a lecture and study in the subject.¹⁵ With the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and as a member of the board of the *Südmark* preservation society, his attention turned to the German border regions (Lower Styria, South Tyrol, the Memel Territory, Danzig (now Gdansk), Alsace-Lorraine (now Alcase-Moselle)

14 UAG DA Georg Alois Lukas

15 Lukas, "Die Stadt Graz," 415.

and Western Hungary.¹⁶ On the basis of his studies, due to his pan-German narrative Lukas thought in terms of a unified German space, and after a time he started using the vocabulary of the “national and cultural soil theory” in his works. On innumerable occasions he compared Burgenland with other border territories or with German-occupied regions of disputed sovereignty. From the viewpoint of the revisionist narrative Burgenland could not only be interpreted as a territorial gain, but also as a territorial loss due to the Sopron referendum and the German-occupied territories that had remained on the Hungarian side. Lukas’ works also provided good examples of this.

Georg Lukas too was a “discoverer” of Burgenland, he wrote one of the earliest works about the region, and perhaps the most studies in the interwar period. Although, on reading his work, one gets the feeling that he did not build primarily on his own experiences in the field, but rather added his own thoughts to the literature. From the very beginning Lukas thought in terms of the pan-German space, and his writings were seeped with this ideological approach; this too justifies his place in this chapter. He wrote the above short study still during the period of Burgenland transition, in October 1921, before the Sopron referendum, for the Gotha *Geographischer Anzeiger* (geographical gazette), where he used all three names (Deutsch-Westungarn, Heizenland, Burgenland) for the territory. He too felt the geographical mission, writing at the beginning of his study that “the regional geography of Austria and Germany, our narrow and broader homeland, must now acknowledge this [Western Hungary], and clarify the facts,”¹⁷ then brought up the known geographical and historical arguments primarily in support of the annexation of Burgenland to Austria. Indeed, perhaps he even went beyond his peers by describing the four western counties (Pozsony, Moson, Sopron, Vas), because of the “burg” suffix, as the *Karolingermark* (Carolingian Empire) eastern line of defense, as the carrier of German culture, protecting the German territories against the wild peoples of the steppe. Starting from this he saw the old Austrian-Hungarian border as artificial, as unbalancing the geographical unity of the province.

Thus, geopolitical thinking had already appeared in this work, both in the historical and contemporary perspective when, comparing it to Alsace-Lorraine, he described the territory as a transition or bridge region (*Zwischen- oder Brückenland*), where the western and eastern cultures meet, where on finding the least resistance both the Germans and the Hungarians endeavored to real-

16 Straka, “Georg Alois Lukas.”

17 Lukas, “Deutschwestungarn,” 57.

ize their territorial objectives. In the main part of the text, without much basis, Lukas gave voice to his joy that, although the majority of the Western Hungary towns had remained in Hungary, the Roman Age north-south transport corridor may be revived in the territory annexed to Austria, and the expansion of the Alpine foreground in the eastern direction would be useful in terms of the economy. At the same time, in the postscript added to the article following the Sopron referendum, Lukas, to his disappointment, believed the best solution would be to divide up this now “crippled” Burgenland.¹⁸

Verein Südmark, based in the Styrian capital Graz, originally focusing on the German-occupied regions of the Monarchy, then following the First World War, on the Balkans and the lost territory of Lower Styria, became an important player in the geographical discovery of Burgenland, especially after its merger with the German preservation society (*Deutscher Schutzverein*).¹⁹ Using his ties to the organization Lukas published many of his works in the society’s *Grenzland* and *Alpenländische Monatshefte* (monthly journal of Alpine regions) periodicals.²⁰ *Grenzland* was becoming the main forum of Austrian geopolitical thinking, but the latter also provided forum for such writings: it was Lukas who drew attention to the need for geopolitical analysis after the war.²¹ An other example of Lukas’s early texts from 1923 is the co-authored work *Das neue Europa* (the new Europe), which is a brief textual and cartographic review of the Central European region after the war, in which the border between Burgenland and Hungary, for the most part, shows the status before the Sopron referendum.²² His booklet presenting Austria and the Austrian provinces follows a similar theme.²³ I mentioned the *Südmark* series when discussing Pfaundler; it was published from 1923 and dealt with the German peoples living in the border regions and abroad. Here, in 1924, Lukas wrote a review dealing with all relevant German-inhabited territories, and also made a brief mention of the Burgenland situation.²⁴ Additional short Burgenland monographs may also be found among the publications in the series, such as the work of Hans Jürgen (about whom we know nothing apart from his name), which used the same argumentation for the legitimization of the annexation of the territory and primarily focused on a his-

18 Lukas, “Deutschwestungarn,” 61.

19 Promitzer, “Täterwissenschaft.”

20 Svatek, “Geopolitische Kartographie,” 311.

21 Lukas, “Anschauliche Völker- und Länderkunde.”

22 Lukas and Gratz, *Das neue Europa*, 11, 15.

23 Lukas and Gratz, *Heimat- und Vaterland*, 20–21.

24 Lukas, *Übersicht über das Grenz- und Ausland-Deutschtum*, 12–13.

torical overview and the question of education, which included a report on the youth work performed by *Südmark* in Burgenland.²⁵

Returning to Lukas, mention must be made of another work discussed earlier in connection with the peace negotiations, which presented the circumstances of the peace treaty, its legal background and the conditions of peace. Here Burgenland appeared in the context of the loss of the other territories, and with the remark that many Germans had remained beyond the border, although Lukas did acknowledge that the new border was better than the old from the ethnic point of view. "Burgenland is merely a slice of the much larger German Western Hungary." This article is also interesting because it was here that Lukas first used the expression "German national and cultural soil" in connection with the towns in the border region that had remained in Hungary but were interpreted as being a part of this.²⁶

It is important to indicate here that Lukas' work fitted in the broader geopolitical discourse emerging in the middle of the 1920s. To illustrate this field of literature I mention here several works, such as a review, like Lukas' and from the middle of the 1920s, written by Max Hildebert Boehm (mentioned in the intro of the chapter). At that time Boehm was leader at the *völkisch* (ethnic, national) German research institute set up in 1920, the *Arbeitsstelle für Nationalitäten- und Stammesprobleme* (office for nationality and tribal problems), and was the founding director of its successor, the *Institut für Grenz- und Auslandsstudien* in Berlin – institute for border studies and foreign countries). But later his name was also linked to numerous similar institutions. In similarity to Penck's national and cultural soil theory, Boehm became known through his own "national theory," and then after 1933 as the radicalizing ethno-political voice of Nazi ideology. He summarized his ideas in a work entitled *Das eigenständige Volk* (The independent folk, 1932), and formulated several concepts about ethnic groups having community, action space, spirit, historicity, mission etc.²⁷

In the referenced work Boehm used the concepts of *Grenzland* (borderland) and *Grenzvolk* (border nation) as the framework of his investigation. With the former he made it possible to view regions separated by political borders as a unit, and then fill them with national politics content. He also wrote that the main characteristic of these regions was that they were never racially pure, that several peoples

25 Jürgen, *Das Burgenland*; cf. Berka, *Burgenland*.

26 Lukas and Oberegger, *Das Friedensangebot*, 15–16.

27 Prehn, "Die wechselnden Gesichter," 137; Elvert, "Max."

are mixed and form the *Grenzvolk*.²⁸ In this interpretation for Boehm Burgenland clearly extended beyond its current borders, in this way the Germans that had remained on the Hungarian side were able to form a bridge (*Völkerbrücke* – bridge of nations) to the southeastern direction, toward the other German people of the region. Here, contrary to Lukas, the bridge metaphor did not refer to natural elements but to the connection between the peoples. Essentially his work emerged as an irredentist concept of a “Greater Burgenland”; in the north the Czechoslovaks and in the south the south Slavic state had taken a part of its territory, and the eastern towns had remained in Hungary, in this way Boehm portrayed a suffering, impoverished German population of Burgenland that had been crippled by Hungarian politics and the Sopron referendum terror. He illustrated all this with the picture of the main square and the town tower in Sopron attached to his study, with the caption: “Ödenburger Stadtturm (Burgenland),” and with an extract from the Pressburg (Bratislava) land registry from the fifteenth century.

No songs or legends may be heard from our border region Burgenland, at the periphery of the Hungarian national soil. The German people of this old border region have fallen into the deep, century-long sleep of Sleeping Beauty. The clever Hungarian propaganda network enforced this fate, carefully weaving a net around it. No prince came to wake up the German people sleeping on the shore of Lake Neusiedl. In the recent decades the German spirit has not searched for miracles and fairy tales, but for raw materials and markets. Now in the midst of border opening and revolutionary upheaval our lot is the discovery of a new border region.²⁹

This same “Greater Burgenland” concept emerged in a work on a very similar theme written by Leipzig professor Karl C. Thalheim. Apart from the foundation of the territory of Burgenland, there was hardly a whole paragraph devoted to a description of the province; in it the author constructed a narrative of a suffering people of Burgenland with mention given to the large Hungarian estates.³⁰ The dissertation written by Otto Mintel at the University of Königsberg (now Kaliningrad, Russia) is also worthy of mention, which, with considerable rhetorical exaggeration, saw Burgenland’s main political geography problem in the detached territory of Sopron.

28 Boehm, *Die deutschen Grenzlande*, 15–16.

29 Boehm, *Die deutschen Grenzlande*, 144.

30 Thalheim, *Das Grenzlanddeutschtum*, 77–80.

The political geography problem of Burgenland is the separation of Sopron, and will remain so as long as Burgenland is an independent province. Here we are not talking only of foreign policy problems with Hungary, but also about the transport system of the province, which needs to be reestablished, linked to Austria, because, at the moment, it is in complete disarray due to the loss of Sopron.³¹

Thus, due to the loss of Sopron, the territories that had remained in Hungary, and those annexed to the neighboring Slavic states, it became clear that the Burgenland border region had become a target for German revisionist politics. This loss narrative may be first observed in the work of Viktor Miltschinsky,³² and it is no accident that it was in German geopolitical writing where it really gained strength, going on to become actual territorial claims after 1938, and then even after 1945 (Fig. 43).³³ Indeed, it must be noted that the name “*Ostburgenland*” (Ost = east) relating to territories under Hungarian sovereignty continued to crop up for decades. However, Lukas’ writings do not contain claims as strong as this and did not go as far as to “claim the return” of Sopron, or to put territorial revisionism ideas into words.

For about a decade from the middle of the 1920s Georg Alois Lukas was a very frequent author on the subject of Burgenland, in fact taking up the position that had become empty due to the deaths of Sieger and Sidaritsch. However, the forum of his works was not strictly academic journals, but general periodicals and magazines focusing on local history and culture, and tourism, however he wrote his texts mainly upon request. Obviously, in his many articles it is not always possible to write something completely new; authors, in such cases, frequently reuse earlier texts, transform them and build on them. This can be seen in the case of Lukas also, with the same thoughts greeting the reader in numerous articles. Such as, for example, in the periodical *Alpenländische Monatshefte* (monthly journal of the Alps), after a five-year break in 1927 he starts with the same ideas he used in 1922, slightly changing his words on the artificial nature of the old Austrian-Hungarian border. Then, after the loss of Sopron, he too found the transport geography situation of Burgenland to be lacking and wrote of the province being divided into three parts. Similarly, to Krebs, he also mar-

31 Mintel, “Politische Geographie von Deutsch-Österreich,” 18.

32 Miltschinsky, *Das Verbrechen von Ödenburg*.

33 Botlik, “Ödenburg”; Schlag, “Die ‘Ostburgenlandfrage’ nach 1945”; Tóth, *Két Anchluss közzött*, 390–400.



Fig. 43. Viktor Miltschinsky's Burgenland map, still with the borders of 1922. This map includes the largest German language territory according to Pfandler. The map has the same Freytag & Berndt frame as the Sieger-Sidaritsch map (Fig. 21.) and has a geopolitical "loss narrative" by highlighting the settlements remaining in Hungary.

veled at the shape of Burgenland as depicted on the map: Lukas compared it to an eastward-facing seahorse.³⁴

One of the exceptions among Lukas' works is his study written for the *Geographische Zeitschrift*, which is a fair literature review from the end of the 1920s, and so largely covers the authors and literature discussed in this book but goes beyond those. Lukas refers to a smaller scope of authors more or less continuously in his studies, yet there are few citations made to his works, such as Oberhammer and Wehofsich, who actually referenced Lukas with the intent of cor-

34 Lukas, "Unser Burgenland."

recting-supplementing his work.³⁵ All this may mean that he was not a member of academic circles in the stricter sense. Returning to his study, Lukas primarily concentrated on a description of the physical geographic elements, dealing with the structure of the landscape, the towns, villages and land use. He quoted Sidaritsch at length in connection with the landscape of Middle Burgenland, and referenced Güttenberger on several occasions, with an inclination to use his naming of the north and south parts of the province, *Seegau* and *Raabgau*, even in his later studies. In addition, on one occasion he includes a long quote from Robert Mayer, from the Graz *Tagespost*, whose cited words, graphic observations of the landscape and settlements testifying onsite experience, provided a good addition to the article. The periodical publication framework here fundamentally determined what Lukas had to say: there are no geopolitical ideas or arguments, and he only mentioned the bridge metaphor in a physical geography context, and legitimization of the annexation of the province using historical reasoning was not stressed in the study.³⁶ However, this is not the case in his study written for the *Geographischer Anzeiger*, which is essentially a collection of the arguments for the annexation of Burgenland to Austria. Hungarian geographer Ernő Wallner, who had links with Sopron, also wrote an article in connection with this subject, however, I will be discussing this work in more detail in chapter six, which deals with how Hungarian geographers addressed Burgenland.³⁷

Lukas' legitimization endeavors were an essential part of his work; he frequently wrote about the German settlers being the first to arrive in the territory using the words "there was an enclosed German language territory here even before Árpád's horsemen entered the Great Plain,"³⁸ and also found it important to prove their belonging to Austria in historical perspective.³⁹ Lukas strove to challenge the approach of Hungarian geography, which emphasized the geographical unity of the Carpathian Basin, on the local scale of Burgenland-Western Hungary.⁴⁰ In a recurrent, favorite simile Lukas had contrived using the history of the pledged Hungarian estates, he called Burgenland the Alsace-Lorraine of the east, suggesting with this that the Hungarians had actually possessed the territory for a long time illegally, and so its "homecoming" to Austria was frequently

35 Oberhummer, "Der Name Burgenland," 162; Wehofsich, "Das Burgenland," 231.

36 Lukas, "Das Burgenland."

37 Lukas, "Die burgenlandische Frage"; Wallner "A burgenlandi kérdés."

38 E.g. Lukas, "Das Burgenland und der Anschluß," 66; Lukas, "Die geopolitische Lage des Burgenlandes," 124.

39 E.g., Lukas "Geschichte."

40 Lukas, "Das Deutschtum"; Lukas, "Heimgekehrtes Grenzland."

used by Lukas. In this context the history of the region could be told as a constant struggle between the Hungarians and the Germans for the control of the bridge-like territory. He brought up the metaphor of the bridge region, an intermediate or buffer region, in many studies, occasionally adapting it.⁴¹

That here they had spoken of Hungarian Alps, and today they speak of the Austrian puszta characterizes the transitional territory that separates two essentially different worlds. Because Burgenland forms a bridge between the highland and the lowland, between the local climate and that of the steppes, between the Alpine and the Pontic vegetation, the alm and the puszta. This is an addition to and completion of the economic and social life of the eastern Alps, a valuable member of the entire German people in Central Europe.⁴²

The region of Lake Neusiedl received an important role in this respect, which Lukas grasped with an orientalist approach; the Puszta, or even, with symbolical possession, the "Austrian puszta"⁴³ now belongs to the mystical east, and the people of the Alps must give in to the attraction of this land. These thoughts were also reused in a touristic paper placing Burgenland in the context of the neighboring southeastern provinces, Carinthia and Styria.⁴⁴

In addition to generosity the uniqueness of the Heinz and Heidebauer people comes from an unmistakable primordial nature. With one foot on the edge of the Alps and the other on the puszta. The plain of Heideboden is visibly very strange for us with its rearing well sweeps, where the mice and ground squirrels peek out of their dark burrows on the dry, brown meadows, salty lakes provide healing water, and beasts graze freely in herds on the unending steppes. But the people are not real 'Magyars' in this world so unknown to us, indeed they are real Germans who settled in a land that has been German for more than a millennium, just as South Tyrol has been. Its loss is particularly painful for us because only there on the ancient national soil were the Germans able to enjoy the beauty and comfort of the climate and greenery on the only German sunny southern side of the Alps. Likewise we now have a piece of German national soil bulging out to the Orient in Bur-

41 Lukas, "Deutschwestungarn"; Lukas, "Das Deutschtum"; Lukas, "Heimgekehrtes Grenzland"; Lukas, *Geopolitik*; Lukas, "Das burgenländische Raum."

42 Lukas, "Die burgenländische Landschaft," 177.

43 Lukas, "Heimgekehrtes Grenzland," 104.

44 Lukas, "Die deutsche Südostmark."

genland, on the eastern side of our Central European living space. Because this offers something else than the Prussian eastern province. Here a more fiery wine is made, gypsies live here, here the reed rustles melancholically, which Nikolaus Lenau sang out. The huge waters of Lake Neusiedl, with its reed beds full of birdlife, this deep steppe lake, with warm waters and strong swells and with its infinite horizon continuing to the plain is of particular attraction to the people of the mountains.⁴⁵

After a time, Lukas placed Burgenland within the German space in a more sophisticated way. For this he created the concept of the German quadrangle (*das deutsche Viereck*), in which Austria or rather Burgenland played the role of the southeastern corner, or he at least reinforced this concept. This theory was elaborated in the middle of the 1920s in several studies published in the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* (journal for geopolitics) established by Karl Haushofer.⁴⁶ In other places he wrote that Burgenland represents the German springboard into the south-east.⁴⁷ Along with this he also made use of the border region (*Grenzland, Grenzmark*) metaphor, which, in fact, is contradictory to the bridge metaphor, but could be more easily filled with geopolitical content, indeed the reason for this could be easily limited to this one factor.⁴⁸ Later on Sieger's student Wehofsich must have made reference to Lukas' work when arguing in a study that Burgenland's borderland character is much more diverse, for example, in terms of its biogeography, climate, cultural landscape, settlement profile and land use.⁴⁹ Lukas also did not only use the border region concept in the geopolitical sense, but also in terms of its level of development (the border region as periphery), which the Hungarians had consciously left as a wasteland zone (*Ödsaum*), and to overcome this, argued Lukas, conscious building work is required in the development of the provincial identity and the feeling of belonging, not only in infrastructure and buildings, but also in intellectual terms, using the tools of education.⁵⁰

These concepts, the German quadrangle, border region, bridge metaphor, are also to be found in his summary monograph. In this pioneering geopolitical and political geography book, Lukas actually joined the aggressive wing of the

45 Lukas, "Die burgenländische Landschaft," 178–79.

46 Lukas, "Die burgenländische Landschaft"; Lukas, "Heimgekehrtes Grenzland.," Lukas, *Geopolitik*; Lukas, "Das burgenländische Raum."

47 Lukas, "Heimgekehrtes Grenzland."

48 E.g., Lukas, "Das Burgenland und die deutsche."

49 Wehofsich, "Das Burgenland."

50 Lukas, "Das Burgenland und die deutsche," 5–6.

Haushofer *Geopolitik*, arguing for German rebirth and territorial revision, and for the German-Austrian *Anschluss*.⁵¹ He found *Anschluss* important for Burgenland because from it he hoped for a higher level of protection against the Slavs and Hungarian revisionist aspirations (Fig. 44 and 45).⁵²



Fig. 44. Map illustrating the threats to Austria. Political messages on the map: Forbidden Anschluss and undecided relationship with Hungary.



Fig. 45. The German "people's southeastern headland" and the dispersed German population of the southeast. The map depicts the more limited German "national soil" (black) and the broader "cultural soil" (hatching).

51 Lukas, *Geopolitik*.

52 E.g., Lukas, "Das Burgenland und der Anschluss," 66.

made by the main figure in suggestive geopolitical cartography, Arnold Hillen Ziegfeld, as several of them include his artist's signature: his middle name with a small symbol of a church on it. These maps also demonstrate that cartographic and other graphical depictions had an important role in the geopolitical academic-propaganda activity both in Germany and Austria. Thus, the role they had in Paris during the peace negotiations was continued, what is more, the maps became weapons in the hands of their creators.

Friedrich Lange represents a good example of the more notable cartographers with similar thinking to that of Lukas, who also published a German quadrangle illustration (*das deutsche Quadrat*) in his booklet aimed at, among other sectors, public education, and which saw a total of four editions.⁵⁵ Lange's booklet also created resonance on the Hungarian side, only in the negative sense, as his maps and explanations could be interpreted as a basis for German expansionist policy (Fig. 47 and 48).⁵⁶ Again, it is worthwhile emphasizing that this form of geopolitical-geostrategic thinking has earlier roots



Fig. 47. Burgenland split up into four parts. Lange, the author, left his signature in two forms on the map (DDR and DrDrF.Lg.)



Fig. 48. Burgenland's transport problem - the eleven-fold road fragmentation.

⁵⁵ Lange, *Volksdeutsche*, 64.

⁵⁶ Tóth, *Két Anschluss közzött*, 364.

(see the nineteenth century *Drang nach Osten* movement) and did not appear only after the Nazis took power, and additionally it was quite diverse with ties to the innumerable different German trends, intellectual movements and institutions indicated in the chapter introduction.⁵⁷

It was no accident that with this background Lukas' third Burgenland study was published in the specialist journal *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*. Despite the framework given by the periodical, the work is still more conventional, with geopolitical visions lacking in this article bearing the title *The Space of Burgenland*, and it even has trimmings of natural and human geography. The structure reflects the main subjects of Lukas' articles published to that point: the Alsace-Lorraine comparison, the description of the landscape in its position between the Alps and the Pannonian Basin, its geographical location, settlement and history, transport, its size and the borders. In his landscape descriptions, as I have quoted above, he preferred calling the Ödenburg and Güns Mountains the "Hungarian Alps" (after Gusztáv Thirring, see chapter 6). On this analogy, however, it was in this study that Lukas first pointed out: this is now the "Alpine Burgenland"⁵⁸ that, as I mentioned above, Mayer reaffirmed.⁵⁹ His geopolitical thinking is illustrated well in the following lines.

Our region is held tightly by a fork-shaped frame of mountains; the Alps and the Carpathians in the north, and a branch of the Dinarides in the south. It is precisely in the middle, between these mountain ranges framing the Danube basin like teeth that the southeastern corner of the "German quadrangle" may be found, which, as the "folk headland" of our nation's enclosed Central European language territory, penetrates from Radkersburg into the Slavic-Hungarian-Romanian populace. The Burgenland space is close to this special point, and stretches to the north, thereby reinforcing the northern leg of the German southeastern border periphery, and due to this has no little significance in the consolidation of the border periphery and the entire German living space behind it.⁶⁰

Another Graz-Burgenland related study appeared in the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* in the same year as the Lukas study. This was the work of the editor of the

57 Herb, "Persuasive"; Herb, *Under the map*; Svatek, "Geopolitische Kartographie."

58 Lukas, "Das burgenländische Raum," 609.

59 Mayer, *Morphologie*; Lukas, "Das Burgenland, Österreichs," 217-18.

60 Lukas, "Das burgenländische Raum," 611.

publication Graz University geography professor Otto Maull, who succeeded Sieger in his position and enjoyed greater popularity,⁶¹ and of historian Helmut Carstanjen, later to become director of the southeast German institute in Graz. *The crippled borders* is essentially an analysis of the Austrian border regions, in the context of the borders, the natural history circumstances and the German national soil. In the case of Burgenland, in contrast to Lukas, they used a very objective approach to the situation, and even described the territory as a gift following the world war.

The position of Hungary as neighbor, which was faced with a similar fate at the end of the war, explains why the old German people's territory received a gift at the eastern periphery of a cut back and truncated Austria: German Western Hungary is a thin periphery province the southern part of which represents the continuation of the Styrian mountain region, while, contrary to this, its northern part constitutes a more independent form to the east of the Central Alps falling to the depths, but is linked to Lower Austria by comfortable routes.⁶²

The customary Lukas script was expanded everywhere, transformed somewhat, always striving to integrate the most recent literature into his texts. For example, in his article written in the journal of the *Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland* he theorized about the changed geopolitical role of the Vienna Basin after the collapse of the Monarchy and about the origin of the name of the province and reported on the results of the most recent archaeological excavations. In addition, he even inserted texts on rural geography, or to be more precise, land use based on Wehofsich's work, and again dealt with commuting and agricultural production in detail. In the closing section he directed the attention of the reader to the important role of geographic knowledge.

Geography teaches us, be it a map or nature itself that impacts on us, that this pleasant land, where the high German mountain region descends quietly to the plain, constitutes the boundary territory of the Eastern Alps, and is linked tightly to it with its geological structure and flora and fauna. No obstacle at all separates it from neighboring Styria – Lower Austria. In the north, where the endless plain brings a new element to the province, the land

61 Morawetz and Paschinger, *Das Institut*, 17–24.

62 Maull and Carstanjen, "Die verstümmelten Grenzen," 60.

of the Heideboden is separated from the people of the Hungarian steppes by lake and marsh, in this way the German people have remained stronger in this most dangerous of places.⁶³

Taking all of his work into account it may be stated that Lukas played the most active role in the legitimization of the province, although in the lack of a university professorship he carried out his work in relative isolation. Depending on the forum in places he discussed the geopolitical location derived from the essentially natural framework, and in others, through an emphatic analysis of the literature, he himself functioned as a node, a mouthpiece of his colleagues, a dissipater of their thoughts. In connection with these not only did he theorize on the important geopolitical role of the province, but also found it important to highlight the benefits that Burgenland had brought for Austria. These endeavors are also featured in his last piece on Burgenland, at least the last I was able to discover; a literature summary on the physical geography, and on the rural and urban geography characteristics of Burgenland, a celebration of its existence as province and repeated illumination of its role in geopolitics.⁶⁴

Following Lukas' works it was the *Südostdeutsche Institut* led by Carstanjen in Graz, as the main setting of the knowledge creation relating to Burgenland, that continued the tradition of research into the region, although it was not long before Burgenland ceased to exist. Two maps and map explanations were born of this work on the ethnic structure of the former Burgenland (Fig. 49 and 50). In addition to the three main ethnic groups, the Roma community was depicted as a pressing issue, however the Jewry was not shown. The explanation given for this is that the Jewry disappeared from the province without a trace following the national socialist "breakthrough." Another feature of the maps is that ethnic distribution was also indicated for the towns beyond the border – Magyaróvár, Moson, Sopron, Kőszeg, and Szentgotthárd – but still belonging to the enclosed German settlement area according to the interpretation of the authors. Apart from this they found that "From the ethnic biology aspect German Western Hungary is the healthiest region in Transdanubia."⁶⁵

63 Lukas, "Das Burgenland als deutsche Landschaft," 64.

64 Lukas, "Das Burgenland, Österreichs"; Lukas, "Ist im Burgenlande"; Lukas, "Die geopolitische Lage des Burgenlandes."

65 Neunteufl and Straka, *Eine Sprachenkarte des steirischen*; Neunteufl and Kunnert, *Eine Sprachenkarte des ehemaligen*.

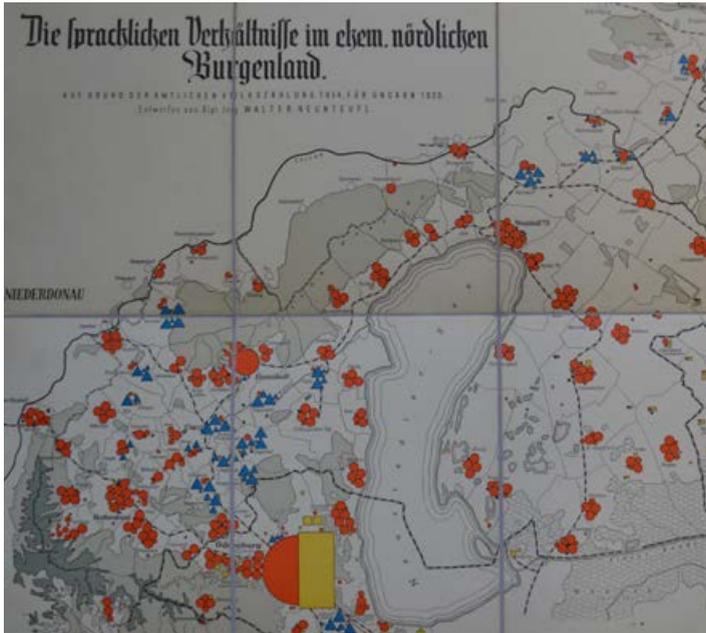


Fig. 49. Detail of the Northern Burgenland ethnic map (originally colored). The map was drawn up on the basis of the Austrian census of 1934 and the Hungarian census of 1930.

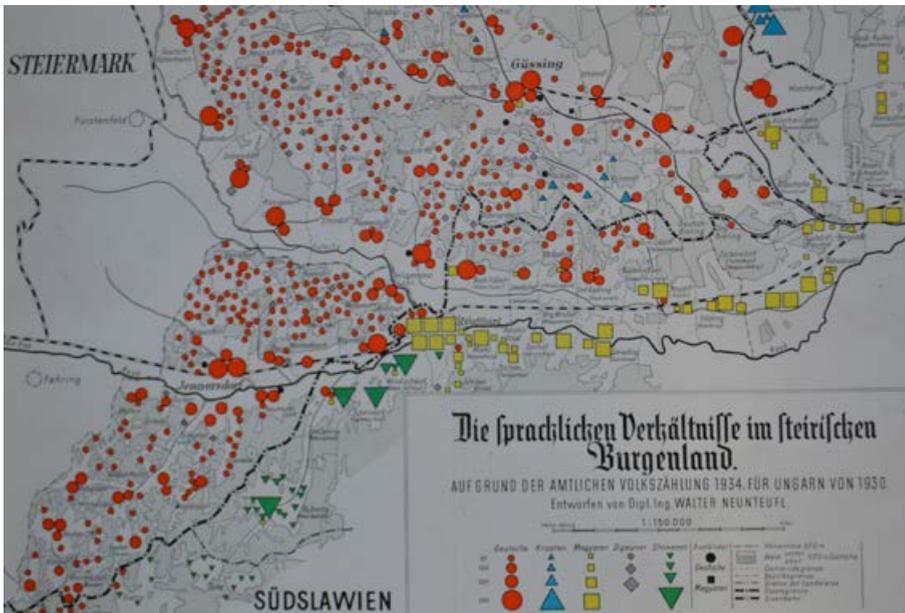


Fig. 50. Detail of the Southern Burgenland ethnic map (originally colored). The map was drawn up on the basis of the Austrian census of 1934 and the Hungarian census of 1930.

Hands up, yogi!

Another “border researcher” who carried out much work in connection with Burgenland and even Hungary was Otto-Albrecht Isbert (1901–1986). He was the youngest of all the discoverers discussed to this point, and his academic career will be the guideline in this section. Similarly to Lukas, Isbert experienced the existence of borders almost from the moment of his birth, as he was born in the small town of Hagenau in Alsace (today Haguenau, France) close to Strasbourg. Alsace and Lorraine changed ownership several times over the course of history, until the Treaty of Frankfurt of 1871 ending the Franco-Prussian War annexed it to the German Empire under the name Alsace-Lorraine. In other words, at the time of Isbert’s birth the province was under German sovereignty, and remained so until the treaty at the end of World War I. After studying folk studies (*Völkerkunde*, in practice ethnography and geography⁶⁶) in Freiburg, he became a member of staff of the Hungarian Institute at Berlin University, from 1928 to 1935. Following this he worked as head of department at the *Deutsches Ausland-Institut* (institute of German foreign areas, DAI) in Stuttgart, and then at the *Institut für Grenz- und Auslandstudien* in Berlin (IGA), later, during the war he had a position in the Vienna branch of the DAI. These institutions put the Germans in foreign countries (DAI) and in border regions (IGA) in the focal point of interest: research, education, propaganda, consultation (emigration advice), information and documentation center. The DAI became especially important after the beginning of the Nazi regime; it had more than 150 employees in 1939, e.g., working and collecting personal, “race biological” data in kinship research, and had crucial role in documenting the resettlement of 900 thousand “folk Germans” in Germany and in the areas to be Germanized, operated by the SS during the war.⁶⁷

As Isbert had become acquainted with spiritual teachings in his youth, after World War II he started a radically new life based on these: he established the Stuttgart and then the Freudenstadt German yoga institutes and became a celebrated yoga teacher throughout Germany. In the second half of his life, he wrote numerous books on yoga; if we look at the relevant Wikipedia entry, essentially, he became known through yoga, with there being hardly any reference to his life before the war. Nevertheless, he had not entirely broken away from his former life, which is evidenced by the review he wrote at the end of

66 Tilkovszky, “Törekvések,” 426.

67 Korb, “Institut”; Seckendorf, “Deutsches Ausland-Institut.”



Fig. 51. Isbert's German identity card, 1944.

the 1950s in the subject of Hungarian ethnography. Although it seems strange at first, yoga, present in Germany already from the nineteenth century, drawing from the Hindu culture and religion, also received a prominent role in the national socialist period. Its stripped down teachings, along with occultism, were widespread in the highest Nazi circles and contributed to the transposition of race theory into practice, and to the promotion of body culture; although it is true that the practice of yoga was banned in 1942.⁶⁸

Despite his roots, it was not Alsace-Lorraine that Isbert dealt with between the wars, it was Hungary. The reason for this is somewhat obscure, as not much is known of Isbert's life before he started work at the Hungarian Institute in Berlin. However, some conclusions may be drawn on the basis of information released in the press. A bulletin was published in 1926 in one of the issues of the police journal *Rend* (Order) regarding the whereabouts of Isbert as a foreign citizen leaving Szombathely, in fact the description related to a "student," as certification had not arrived from his new place of residence.⁶⁹ Based on this one may guess that he had spent an extended amount of time in Hungary, and, if the information is correct, he was there to study, and so it was then that he

68 Tietke, "Yoga im Nationalsozialismus"; Mildenerger and Gugler, "Yoga in Deutschland."

69 "A külföldiek ellenőrzése," 8.

must have learned the Hungarian language.⁷⁰ Isbert published almost continuously in subjects related to Hungary and Burgenland and participated in study trips to Hungary and to the returned territory of North Transylvania, e.g., in 1942 or 1944 (Fig. 51).⁷¹

Initially Isbert researched the history and conditions of German settlements in Hungary.⁷² In this way he became acquainted with Jakob Bleyer,⁷³ who supported him in his work.⁷⁴ Isbert published articles on several occasions in the journal of the Hungarian leader of the German ethnic minorities, the *Deutsch-Ungarische Heimatsblätter* (German-Hungarian journal for local history). His research fit well into the large-scale program on German peoples abroad in the 1920s. The German viewpoint made it possible to place the territorial grievances of Hungary, Austria, and of Burgenland on the same table. In this way, for Isbert the Hungarian-occupied territories taken away from Hungary as a result of the Treaty of Trianon and the German-occupied territories cut off from Burgenland, i.e., not annexed, particularly Sopron, were subjected to the same judgment.⁷⁵

The subject and Isbert's divisive method of communication, the ideas served up with the German national theory may be the reasons that he got involved in multiple disputes with Hungarian historians and geographers that also shows the Hungarian elite observed the rise of radical German ideologies with considerable distance. Although not entirely linked to Burgenland these disputes do, however, help us place Isbert's Burgenland work into context. He first caused a serious scandal with his writings in 1932–1934, which even reached diplomatic circles.⁷⁶ Three years later there was an exchange of articles in a dispute with Elemér Jakabffy⁷⁷ related to the Magyarization of the Germans, and in connection with his chapter written for the planned volume *Das Königreich Ungarn* there was an exchange of letters between the German culture propaganda leadership and Bálint Hóman, the leading Hungarian historian of the age and minister for religion and education. The reason for this was Hóman had expressed his dislike for Isbert's piece because of its nationalist content, the Magyarization accusations, and his proposals for a federalist solution to the ethnic ques-

70 Eckhardt, "A külföld," 88.

71 "O. A. Isbert Magyarországon"; ÖSTA NOAI

72 Isbert, "Beiträge"; Isbert, *Das Deutschtum*; Isbert, "Ein Kapitel."

73 Bleyer, *Das Deutschtum*.

74 Tilkovszky, "Törekvések," 426.

75 Isbert, *Das Deutschtum*, 10–11.

76 Isbert, *Das südwestliche*; Isbert, "A magyarországi."

77 Jakabffy, "Umvolkung."

tion, and, along with foreign minister Kálmán Kánya, he threatened to withdraw his own work. In the end, the book was not even published.⁷⁸

Within the population of Hungary Isbert primarily dealt with the German people of the Transdanubian Mountains.⁷⁹ His monograph examining the peasant village conditions in the mountain range and the population there received especially great attention in Hungarian specialist journals; it was only at this time that many people realized that any Germans lived in the region at all.⁸⁰ Isbert drew attention to the latter elsewhere too: among the Germans of Hungary the least known were the Swabians of the Transdanubian Mountains and the Heinzen of the western border periphery who, at least in part, had remained in post-Trianon Hungary.⁸¹ Although Isbert was employed at the institute in Berlin with the title of doctor, it may be presumed that his work dealing with the German people of the Transdanubian Mountains was written as his doctoral thesis. We may make this conclusion from the foreword of his monograph dedicated to the memory of Robert Sieger, where Isbert wrote that it was Sieger's idea to investigate the subject and had started it in 1925 with the help of Sidaritsch. However, the supervisors' deaths had very much delayed the research, which he had carried out in Hungary in the Budapest national archives, and in the libraries of the abbeys in Györszentmárton (today Pannonhalma) and Zirc. The essence of the monograph was an analysis of the landscape features, the landscape opportunities of the villages, the territorial ethnic distribution of the population, and the house and plot morphology of the villages all embedded in the German national soil and cultural soil theory. Through the application of this folk theory, he endeavored to prove the primary and ever stronger presence of the German people, the superiority of German culture, and the aggressively assimilating nature of the Hungarian social environment (Fig. 52).⁸²

The first Hungarian reaction to appear in the literature was an article published in the *Debreceni Szemle* (Debrecen Review) by Tibor Mendöl, who may be rightfully called the most influential Hungarian urban and rural geographer of the twentieth century.⁸³ The review written by Mendöl, who in the 1930s was still an assistant professor in Debrecen, was no accident; from Ernő Wallner's memorial of Mendöl we learn that Isbert had asked Mendöl for help with

78 Ujváry, *A harmincharmadik nemzedék*, 250–51, 399.

79 Isbert, *Das südwestliche ungarische Mittelgebirge*; Isbert, "Bevölkerungsrückgang."

80 Illyés, "Magyarok."

81 Isbert, "A magyarországi németiség," 233.

82 Isbert, *Das südwestliche ungarische Mittelgebirge*.

83 Györi, "Mendöl."

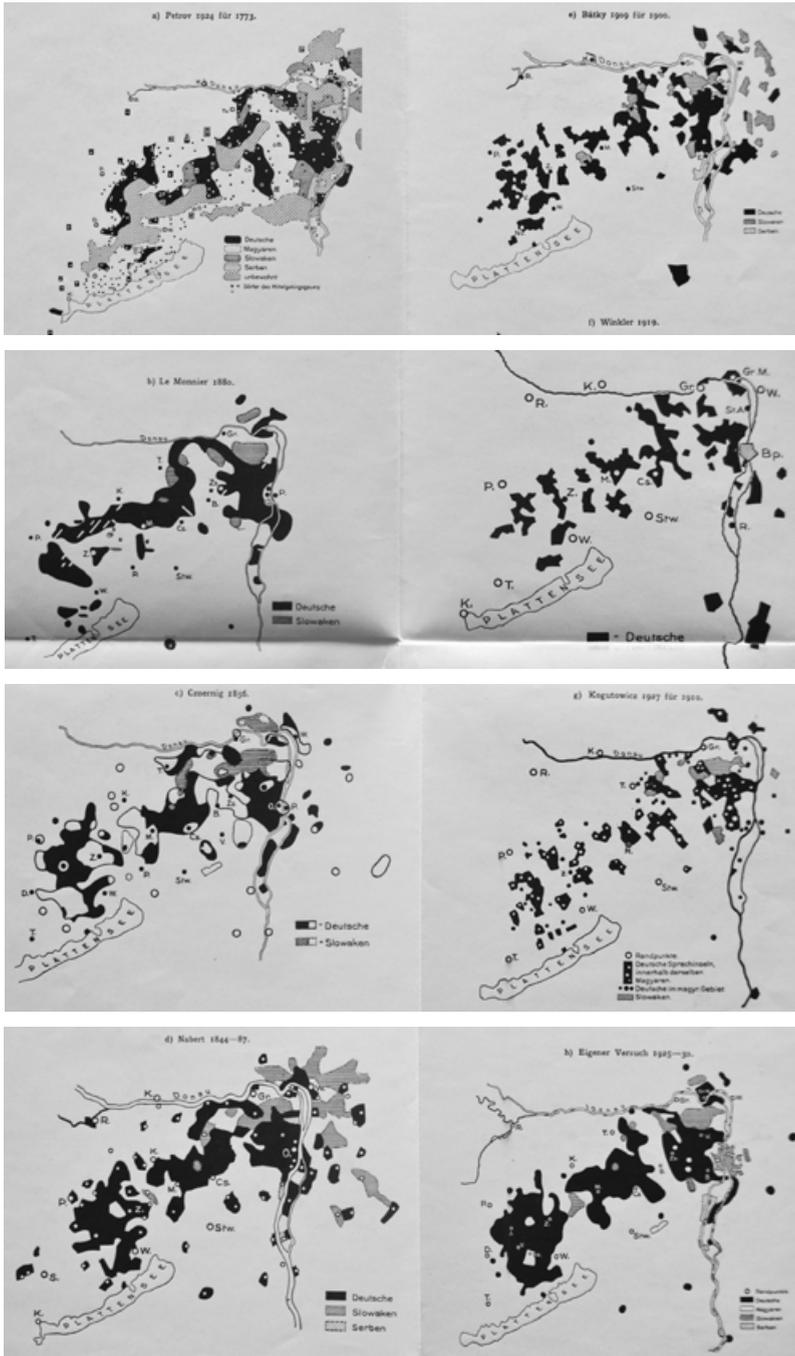


Fig. 52. Various depictions of the German settlements in the Transdanubian Mountains. It is well worth comparing the maps produced by Isbert (h) and Kogutowicz (g), where the former depicts the largest the latter the smallest extent.

his work and that he perform a review of the monograph. A later book⁸⁴ written by Isbert, who worked as an observer for the German Empire, also shows he knew Hungary well and was also familiar with the Hungarian and related Austrian geography literature, citing not only Mendöl but Gyula Prinz, István Györffy, Ferenc Fodor, Károly Kaán, as well as Rungaldier and Sidaritsch. According to Wallner, Isbert acknowledged Mendöl's criticism, and later on even helped him publish a German language study.⁸⁵ Thus, Mendöl very much appreciated Isbert's penetrating field studies, urban geography analyses, and his graphic presentation of settlement profiles. However, going into great detail Mendöl did not only confront Isbert with his errors and exaggerations in methodology and depiction in the statistical and cartographic examination of ethnicity, he, despite his apolitical standing, tore to shreds Isbert's accusations of the Hungarian assimilation policy based on the folk theory, and pointed out the contradictions in Isbert's argumentation.⁸⁶

However, Mendöl's critique written and published in Debrecen failed to call attention to the book. What was necessary for this was Isbert's address in Hungarian to the community of Hungarian historians on the pages of the *Magyar Szemle* (Hungarian Review). In line with the title of his article he wrote in the plural in the name of German folk researchers explaining the essence of the German folk theory and its implications from the point of view of the Germans living in Hungary and German-Hungarian relations. It may be said that the Hungarian translation of this essay is light reading, but contrary to this the specialist jargon of folk theory makes German texts quite burdensome. Although Isbert endeavored to separate thinking about a unified German people, the "German national experience," from state expansionist endeavors, because the state and the people are not the same, the Hungarians still saw the threat of this in his writings. In reaction to Isbert's article prominent scholar of the Middle Ages of the time Elemér Mályusz drew up his critique not directly based on this latest article but, instead, targeted a work on the *Burgenland* Saxons and, even more so, Isbert's monograph discussing the Germans of the Transdanubian Mountains, as well as the editors of the book series, including Jakob Bleyer. "Isbert's book is now aggressive; it presents nationalism not in rest state, but in a fighting stance."⁸⁷ Isbert's cultural nationalism and ethnic cartographic techniques

84 Isbert, "Probleme der Siedlungskunde in Ungarn."

85 Wallner, "Emlékezés Mendöl Tiborra," 178.

86 Mendöl, "Otto Albrecht Isbert."

87 Mályusz, "Az új német," 245.

enraged Mályusz as they may serve as a basis for more intense ethnic demands in the future. However, his conclusion did not constitute complete rejection, instead he claimed Hungary too required a new nationalism in the place of the old: in the interest of peaceful ethnic coexistence in Hungary and to save the Hungarians beyond the country borders. Along with this he urged a renewal of history so that it has a ready Hungarian history position in all disputes, and so that it may take steps against foreign interests.

The number of reviews multiplied after Mályusz's article, nevertheless the opinions of the Isbert book were not only negative. Tihamér Vanyó, for example, wrote in the *Pannonhalmi Szemle* (Pannonhalma Review) "we find it unfortunate that this book was not written by a Hungarian,"⁸⁸ and basically Károly Kogutowicz also spoke appreciatively of the work containing a good few errors, incorrect approaches and biased findings. He then went on to point out numerous examples of these problems and presented the problems with Isbert's ethnic maps on alternative maps he had drawn up himself.⁸⁹ However, the dispute did not stop here. Although nearly two years later, in parliament Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky demanded an explanation from minister of culture Hóman Bálint and prime minister Gyula Gömbös because of Isbert's monograph and the maps included in it, and called for an explanation for the assistance provided by the head of the Hungarian institute in Berlin.⁹⁰ Director Gyula Farkas, who had not even been in the position when Isbert's work was published, had to appear before the minister responsible for German education affairs to consult on the matter. Not long after this Isbert left the Hungarian institute, and the reason for this, beside that already mentioned, may have involved that the institute was increasingly out of favor: various German organizations, such as the *Volksbund für das Deutschtum im Ausland* (national federation for Germanness abroad), and the *Deutsches Ausland-Institut*, Isbert's next workplace, with the support of Isbert's machinations, launched an attack demanding that the institute be reorganized into a *Südosteuropa*-institute.⁹¹

The German nationalist movement was obviously connected to the developments in Germany, to Hitler's rise to power. In other words the history of the movement, for a few short episodes, revolved around Isbert's works, and in connection with this tensions rose between those observing the radicalization

88 Vanyó, "Isbert, Otto-Albrecht," 84.

89 Kogutowicz, *Dunántúl II*, 73, 97.

90 "Magyar pénzen."

91 Ujváry, *A harmincharmadik nemzedék*, 249–56.

of the Germans with trepidation (e.g., Bajcsy-Zsilinszky, Elemér Mályusz, Gyula Szekfű) and those dissatisfied with the minority rights of the Germans in Hungary, the slowly radicalizing pro-German camp that was now feeling the assimilation processes, and was headed by Jakab Bleyer, who led the German ethnic minority until his death in 1933. These struggles were not independent of the Burgenland question, as the formulation of territorial or federalization demands for the German-inhabited Transdanubian Mountains or for the “Swabian Turkey” territory of Baranya and Tolna Counties were just one step away from irredentist demands for the territorial “appropriation” of Burgenland.⁹²

I mentioned the central role of the periodical *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* in forming the academic basis for Pan-German and then Nazi ideology and in its dissemination in connection with Georg Alois Lukas. In this respect other journals like *Volk und Reich* (nation and empire) should also be highlighted. The publishing house, going by the same name, had links to several German national research institutes, and was even specifically sponsored by the Nazi regime to publish propaganda.⁹³ In the meantime in the 1920s the German government had taken careful steps not to interfere in the Austrian-Hungarian Burgenland issue, however the pro-*Anschluss* head of the German delegation arriving in Burgenland in 1928 still figuratively aligned the entire German people behind the province in his speech. Hungarian Prime Minister István Bethlen arriving in Sopron for the anniversary of the referendum did not remain silent about this and emphasized that Hungary had not given up regaining the annexed territories of Western Hungary. The entire affair stirred things up somewhat, as Burgenland was a sensitive subject in the relationship between Hungary and Germany: the Hungarians expected support for their own revisionist endeavors and the Germans expected support for *Anschluss* with Austria. Deputy province governor of Burgenland Ludwig Leser, who was actually a social democrat against the pan-German trend in party politics, played an important role in the affair that caused the Hungarian objections, and so after this his lecture tour in Germany organized by the *Volk und Reich* publishing house was seen as dangerous ground. German diplomacy and, soon after, the Vienna ambassador endeavored to force Leser to keep away from anti-Hungarian rhetoric in his lectures, which, in the end, was more or less successful.⁹⁴

92 Tilkovszky, “Törekvések,” 470; Tilkovszky, “A weimari Németország,” 207; Spannenberger, *A magyarországi Volksbund*.

93 Herb, *Under the map*, 82–93, 161.

94 Tóth, *Két Anschluss között*, 302–318.

Volk und Reich actually published a separate Burgenland issue in connection with this lecture tour, and its articles placed the province definitively within the unified German space using pan-German geopolitical rhetoric. For example, in his foreword Hans Schürff, a member of the Austrian government (*Grossdeutsche Volkspartei*), in addition to the usual historical-geographical legitimization, called the regaining of Burgenland the first step on the path to create a unified Central European German “settler soil.”⁹⁵ The work by Wolfgang Rohte used the folk theory to display Burgenland as the land of the peasantry, and so as a part of the German national soil, a front leading toward the southeast (Fig. 53).⁹⁶ Kleo Pleyer, who also strove to place Burgenland within the German Empire, was an active national socialist academic and assistant in the Boehm-led *Institut für Grenz- und Auslandsstudien*, and then worked beside historian Martin Spahn at the time of the publishing of the *Burgenland-Heft*.⁹⁷ But his work failed to bring about anything new compared to the other contributors, perhaps just a few rhetorical novelties at the most. However, in reaction to Bethlen’s speech he stated that if in the future Germany and Hungary together decide to once again deal with the bor-

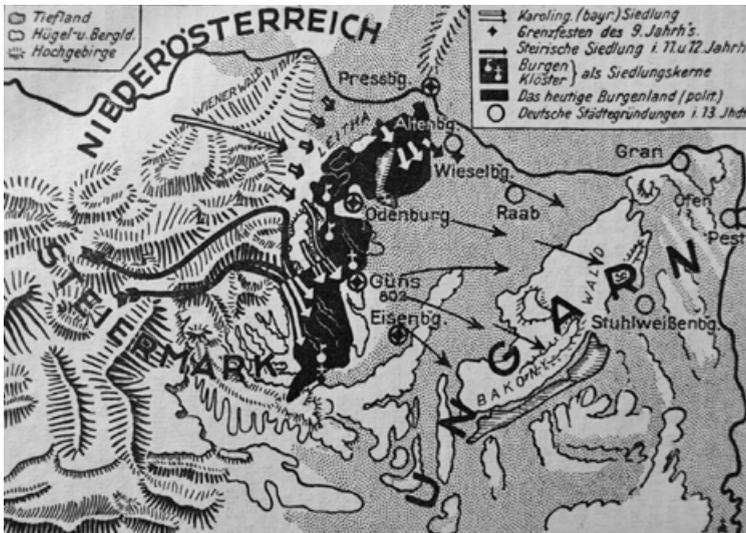


Fig. 53. The German colonization of the Burgenland territory. Noteworthy is the map’s strong anachronism: Burgenland appears as the mediator of German colonization directed toward the interior of Hungary. The circles indicate the towns founded by the Germans and the rhombuses within them indicate those with fortifications.

95 Schürff, “Geleitwort,” 3.

96 Rohte, “Aus der Geschichte,” 3.

97 Weiß, “Pleyer, Kleo.”



Fig. 55. The threats to the German settlement area. This map now includes the threat from Hungary. The black and the white areas highlight both the separated and threatened German territories. The text on the arrows: the main direction of impact and pressure of the energies of the neighboring countries.

sues in Burgenland,¹⁰¹ Otto Aull discussed cultural questions,¹⁰² while Viktor Miltschinsky and Paul Eitler dealt with the creation of the province, once again. The latter included the Sopron narrative widespread at the time: Burgenland, in one way or another, will remain and will even develop without Sopron, and the town, without its hinterland, is destined to waste away.¹⁰³

This issue of the *Volk und Reich* was illustrated with impressive geopolitical maps. The H monogram with the small church pictogram sitting on it appearing on the maps again refers to Arnold Hillen Ziegfeld, the suggestive geopolitical cartography theorist and greatest craftsman, who worked at the *Volk und Reich* publishers at the time.¹⁰⁴ The black and white maps with arrows depicted on them inspired dynamism, and displayed the conflict and the aggression well—the latter was, however, inventively directed at the German people, toward Burgenland. The maps almost come to life, as the individual map forms, firstly the shapes of the various territorial units, their positions and situations

101 Heger "Sieben Jahre Aufbauarbeit im Burgenland"; Streeruwitz, "Die Wirtschaft des Burgenlandes."

102 Aull, "Die Stellung des Burgenlandes in der deutschen Kultur."

103 Miltschinsky, "Die Landnahme"; Eitler, "Der Kampf," 76.

104 Herb, *Under the map*, 81–93, 200–201.

determine their relationship with the neighboring territory, and so their fate as well (Fig. 53, 54 and 55).

Five years later the political environment around Burgenland had changed significantly. Otto Isbert also entered the scene in the subject of Burgenland at the *Volk und Reich* publishers; his study on the German-Hungarian border region was included word for word and in the same format in both the periodical and a volume of studies issued by the publisher. The collection of studies entitled *Die südostdeutsche Volksgrenze* discussed the geopolitical situation of each of the regions starting from around Bratislava, through Radkersburg, to South Tyrol. Robert Sieger's work from eight years previous found a new place and context in the landscape structure analysis, as Sieger's political geography, indeed even geopolitical conclusions loaded with environmental determinism, provided a good framework for the publication even in unchanged form. Sieger drew attention to the threat to Burgenland just by looking at the map and seeing the territorial protrusion of Sopron.¹⁰⁵ The transport analysis by Karl Berndt viewed the province as a problem that demands a solution and brought up the question of it being divided between the two neighboring provinces.¹⁰⁶ And it was Isbert's study that specifically targeted the Burgenland region, voicing his concerns as follows:

Not all national borders mean as much as this here, between the two tri-borders from Bratislava to Szentgotthárd. As in terms of the landscape it falls on the line that separates the Alpine region from the Carpathian region or rather merges them, and where the Danube separates the German and the Hungarian lands. And the ethno-political significance of the border lies in that it keeps the northern and southern Slavic peoples far from each other. Looking from Germany the southernmost of the three German corner points of the closed German national soil comes to an end here in the eastern direction. Broadly viewed, not only is the central and most important part of the southeastern German people's border to be found here, not only a "border," but an opening, a gateway to Southeastern Europe. [...] Viewed from Hungary this is an open section of the Carpathian wall, which represented a link with the great German territory with which it was historically and culturally linked, and from which it always wished to distance itself.¹⁰⁷

105 Sieger, "Deutschösterreich und seine Landschaften" (Reprint), 92; See: Sieger, "Deutschösterreich und seine Landschaften."

106 Berndt, "Verkehrsprobleme," 115.

107 Isbert, "Der deutsch-magyarische Grenzraum," 136.

Isbert analyzed the isolated language areas in detail, and then the present and historical extent, as well as the borders of the German national soil, and determined that the interim zone of mixed peoples was at the same time a landscape of transition (*Übergangslandschaft*), indeed neither the Alps nor inner Hungary. But Burgenland created with the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, *Grenzland*, still cannot be an independent province according to Isbert, as with the tearing away of the Sopron region it fell apart into two parts belonging to Lower Austria and Styria. Despite this, the development of a future provincial identity was started in this territory granted independent administration, however, with Isbert also referencing Alsace-Lorraine and then the cited book by Krebs (1928), the provincial administration had no easy task as there was still no unified regional/cultural literature on the territory. He also strove to prove the German origin of the “Hungarian puszta,” to underline the primacy of the German impact in the case of Seewinkel. After all this, Isbert arrived at a surprising conclusion: the people and territory of Burgenland did not join Small Austria (*Kleinösterreich*), but Greater Germany, and until the integration of the province into Austria is complete, the appearance of this German-Hungarian ethnic border in the folk awareness represents “integration into the closed German national soil.”¹⁰⁸ In other words, according to Isbert, it was much simpler for Burgenland to join the unified German space than it was to join Austria.

It was Ziegfeld’s student and style imitator Dora Nadge who produced the maps for the volume, and so for Isbert’s work too, her monogram NDG may be seen on the maps. The most interesting of her works is undoubtedly the map depicting the border region (Fig. 56). We will deal with this in detail in the following, as a revised version of this map was used in the article by Isbert discussed below, further enhancing its suggestive and aggressive nature.

Although only for almost a decade, one of the main institutions dealing with national and cultural soil research was the abovementioned government-supported foundation *Stiftung für deutsche Volks- und Kulturbodenforschung* established in Leipzig in 1926, with the president Albrecht Penck. One of the main undertakings of the foundation was the publishing of a dictionary of the Germans in the border regions and abroad (*Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtum*), although this three-volume work was only issued after the foundation was wound up in 1931.¹⁰⁹ The publishing of the volumes theoretically issued between 1933 and 1938 was assisted by, among other organizations, the *Deutsche Ausland-Insti-*

108 Isbert, “Der deutsch-magyarische Grenzraum,” 168.

109 Laba, “Stiftung.”



Fig. 56. The German-Hungarian ethnic front.

tut (Stuttgart), the *Ibero-Amerikanische Institut* (Berlin), and the *Institut für Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschum* (Marburg). The main message of the work of the 800 authors and 46 co-editors was outlined by the chief editors in the foreword of the first volume issued in 1935 (this is why the publishing date of 1933 is strange) using three terms: border history, border destiny and border questions. Accordingly, the articles emphasize a historical approach, and so the large part of the 78-page Burgenland “entry” presents the time before the province was created, in other words various aspects of the history of Western Hungary.¹¹⁰ Otto-Albrecht Isbert was also among the authors, who, linked to the subject of his study discussed

110 Ruth et al., “Burgenland-Westungarn.”

above, worked with Franz Wehofsich to present the historical development of the Austrian-Hungarian border,¹¹¹ and the population and ethnic groups.¹¹²

In his articles about the German-Hungarian border region, such as the *Die südostdeutsche Volksgrenze* book mentioned above and the dictionary, Isbert opposed and criticized the Hungarian ethnic geography maps by Zsigmond Bátky and Károly Kogutowicz, which depicted Western Hungary as a zone of mixed ethnic population. Later, Károly Kogutowicz wrote a critique in connection with the Isbert studies and maps (chapter 6), but despite this, Isbert very much appreciated the cartographic methods of his critic.¹¹³

In his work Isbert applied the national and cultural soil analysis methodology in the Burgenland – Western Hungary territory. A unique feature of this is that national soil appears in the work as an independent being: in one place pushing forward, in another jumping back, and is, in fact, the verbalization of the appended map. Isbert attempted to visualize the ethnic borders as dynamic formations, and also used warfare metaphors for this. As Fig. 56 and 57, the two variants of Isbert's maps show, Germans and Hungarians fight on the people's front. But the map appearing in the dictionary, i.e., Fig 57, does include some significant changes. The essentially black and white maps, i.e., gray shading, give a contrasted impression, better demonstrating the conflict zones on the map, with the black coloring, the color of aggression, always indicating the Germans, although in many other works it was the threat directed at the Germans that they strove to visualize, see, for example, the maps of Lukas (more precisely Ziegfeld) and Lange in the previous section. The differences between the two versions of the map indicate that Isbert was, perhaps, uncertain about the outcome of the ethnic-population processes; namely which ethnic group would gain territory at the expense of the other. In his articles, he wrote about the expansion of the Hungarian ethnic area, on the updated Fig. 57, however, the small white arrows indicate the forward pressure coming from the closed German national soil, marked in black, in the direction of the Hungarian national soil, perhaps the direction of liberation (these did not appear in Fig. 56). Indeed, in the case of towns with a larger German population, Bratislava, Hegyeshalom, Moson, Magyaróvár, Kőszeg and Szentgotthárd, stronger, thicker arrows penetrate forward, in the easterly directions, these were identified as points of confrontation. Interestingly, there are no arrows at Sopron, because

111 Wehofsich and Isbert, "Raum und Grenzen."

112 Isbert, "Bevölkerung."

113 Isbert, "Volks- und Kulturbodenforschung"; Isbert, "Kartographische."

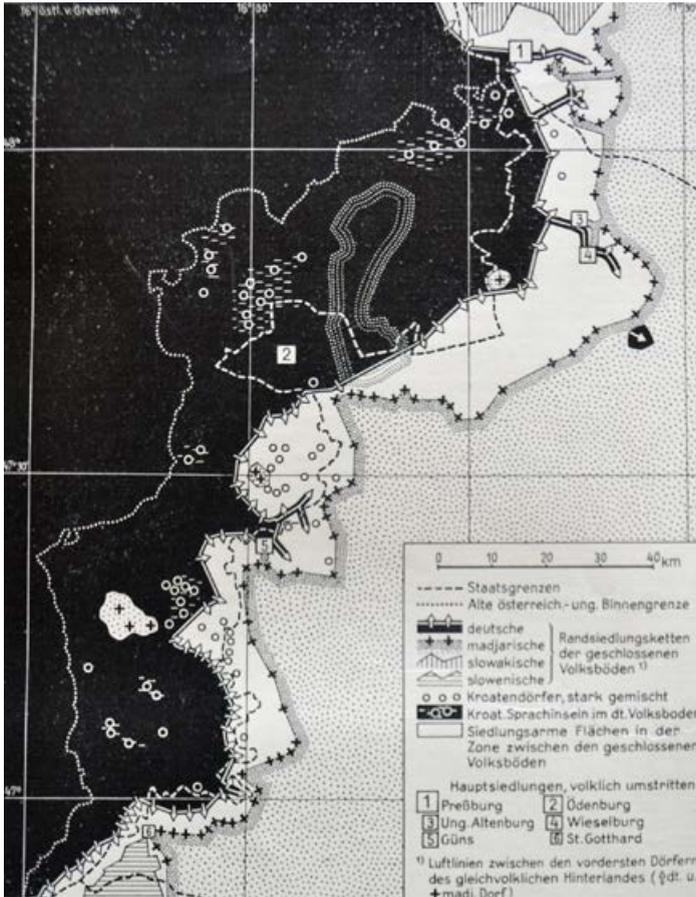


Fig. 57. The German-Hungarian ethnic border. Cf. Fig. 56. Not only has the extent of the German territory changed (see the southern half of Lake Neusiedl), but the legend is also different.

Sopron was depicted as a part of the closed German national soil, especially on the improved map in accordance with the original border drawn in Paris. Although Isbert wrote about a city with a Hungarian mind and character, one that was torn off from the German ethnic soil.

In fact, the white arrows also symbolized the peripheral settlement zone at the edge of the closed German national soil; this same line appeared as a line of defense depicted with small black crosses in the case of the Hungarian national soil, this is the periphery shown as the *Volksfront* (national front) on the map. Another interesting feature of Isbert's map is the neutral zone indicated in white, which runs between the two enclosed national soils as a trench, interestingly the towns indicated, only shown with numbers, fall in this zone. De-

spite this, according to Isbert this was an area with few settlements, with only Croatian villages being shown.¹¹⁴

In parallel with this text Isbert also wrote two other shorter sections in the dictionary, the one being about population movement and migration, and the other about the border situation of the period.¹¹⁵ In this latter short essay, Isbert once again started with the narrative of neglect: the old Hungarian-Austrian border had turned into a cultural and transport border only in the past hundred years, as the Hungarians had left the German-occupied Western Hungary counties without any transport links to their Austrian hinterland, i.e., in great neglect. In the context of the dictionary, it is interesting to see the territorial demands of the Austrian peace delegation on the maps included in the section, which Richard Pfaundler had also put down on paper; however, Isbert was not demanding the validation of these demands in the text. To the contrary, compared to the border proposal of the Treaty of Saint-Germain he illustrated those sections where the ethnic or transport role of the border had been damaged; Isbert then finished his thoughts by highlighting the threats to the territory with mention of the Slavic corridor plans and Hungarian revisionism. This too was a general rhetorical tool used in German geopolitics of the time; the German threat was not expressed unequivocally, instead they strove to emphasize the threats to the Germans of the border and living abroad, thereby legitimizing any later territorial aggression.

The *Burgenland-Westungarn* entry is, in fact, a detailed study written by several authors. The other authors, writing much more of the study than even Isbert, include members of the academic elite of the Austrofascist and the Nazi regime, who also had significant institutional positions. Just to mention a few: population statistician Wilhelm Winkler,¹¹⁶ anthropologists, race researcher Otto Reche¹¹⁷ and Arthur Haberlandt, geographer Hans Schwalm, and the historians Ernst Klebel, Otto Brunner,¹¹⁸ Helmut Klocke, Hans Zimmermann, and Konrad Schünemann, whose position in the Hungarian institute in Berlin was taken over by Isbert. Additionally, the authors also include members of the political and cultural elite in Burgenland (Karl Heger, Bernhard Hans Zimmermann,

114 Isbert, "Bevölkerung," Isbert, "Der deutsch-magyarische Grenzraum."

115 Isbert, "Die heutige österreich-ungarische Staatsgrenze"; Isbert, "Natürliche Bevölkerungsbewegung."

116 One of his main works, in fact a predecessor of the *Handwörterbuch*, was the *Statistischen Handbuchs des gesamten Deutschtums* (Statistical handbook of the entire German nation) published on behalf of the *Stiftung für deutsche Volks- und Kulturbodenforschung* and the German statistical society. Pinwinkler, "Wilhelm Winkler."

117 Geisenhainer, "Otto Reche."

118 Kortüm, "Otto Brunner."

Heinrich Kunnert, Otto Aull) as well as representatives of the ethnic German elite in Hungary (Béla Pukánszky, Franz Riedl). Fritz Bodo, who will be introduced in the next section, wrote a piece on the economic geography of Burgenland.¹¹⁹ Also, the bibliographies to be found at the end of each of the parts constitute a rich summary of the literature on the region from the interwar period. Because of all this, it may be said that from the aspect of the authors and the literature the *Handwörterbuch* was a node in the endeavors related to the presentation of the geography-history of Burgenland.

The works of Isbert discussed here indicate that he professed views very similar to those of his contemporaries, such as Georg Lukas. The *völkisch* and pan-German perspective appeared very strongly in his standpoint, and in this way continued to shape the geopolitical perception of Burgenland. From the aspect of defense, the province had the important function of separating the Slavic peoples of the north and the south, while in consideration of the German expansionist aspirations Isbert imagined Burgenland as a gate to the southeast. Isbert, however, was not only a user but also a developer of geopolitical vocabulary. As a staff member of the *Deutsche Ausland-Institut*, then of the *Institut für Grenz- und Auslandsstudien* he also performed population investigations and data collection work, which formed the basis of his theoretical-summary work. At the beginning of this book, he conceives the term national front for the national and cultural soil theory.¹²⁰ Here Burgenland appeared as the southeastern section of the German national front, in other words as an important element of the German geo-body. Geographical spatial structure was also important for Isbert, but perhaps a more significant aspiration was to link Burgenland to Austria.

The southern part of the province is a part of the eastern Styria mountains, the middle part is made up of the last vanguards of the Alps: Geschriebenstein at Kőszeg, behind it the Bernstein and Landsee hills, Brennberg at Sopron, behind it the Rosalia Mountains and Wechsel. The eastern half of the northern part is Hungarian puszta, with a small piece of Lower Austria on the western side.¹²¹

In the following year after *Anschluss* Burgenland was divided up after all. Isbert had no part in this, however the academics in favor of dividing up the prov-

119 Bodo, "Handel."

120 Isbert, *Volksboden*.

121 Isbert, *Volksboden*, 53–54.

ince most likely had some part in this through the shaping of the discourse. Possibly just because of this Isbert looked for other subjects. He became involved with ethnic cartography,¹²² and again turned to the study of Hungary. His short monograph on Hungary is interesting simply because its subject was the territory of the country now enlarged with the First and Second Vienna Awards.¹²³ The geographer András Rónai, Pál Teleki's colleague and director of the Political Science Institute Teleki founded, wrote a short review of this work by Isbert in the *Hungarian Geographical Review*. Rónai's critique again points out the leanings in ethnic issues visible from the moderate Hungarian viewpoint.

He too is unable to rid himself of many prejudices, a good number of frivolous keywords and is mainly unable to achieve professionalism and precision when judging the people and ethnic groups of Hungary, indeed in this respect the author travels such a well-trodden and, we may safely say, mistrodden path that one would have to be either a great personality or have almost a revolutionary spirit to remain objective. Perhaps such a small popular guide as this is not the framework in which German writers can transform their mistaken understanding of the Hungarian conditions in the field of ethnic and national questions.¹²⁴

In addition to the book there is another Isbert study that is important in this topic, which was published in the periodical *Ungarn* of the Hungarian-German Society in Hungary. Here Isbert deliberated on the future of Hungary, the future role of the Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin.¹²⁵ In other words, with this book and this study one may say things may have returned to the way they once were, however, the war came to an end, Germany (and Hungary) collapsed, and so he could not continue this subject, and this last work proved to be a swansong. Therefore, he started a new life as a yoga teacher.

A German borderland in the southeast

At the end of September 1933, the *Südostdeutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*, established in Vienna two years previously, organized a fieldtrip to Burgenland mainly for

122 Herb, *Under the map*, 138.

123 Isbert, *Ungarn*, 65.

124 Rónai, "Isbert, Otto."

125 Isbert, "Ungarn."

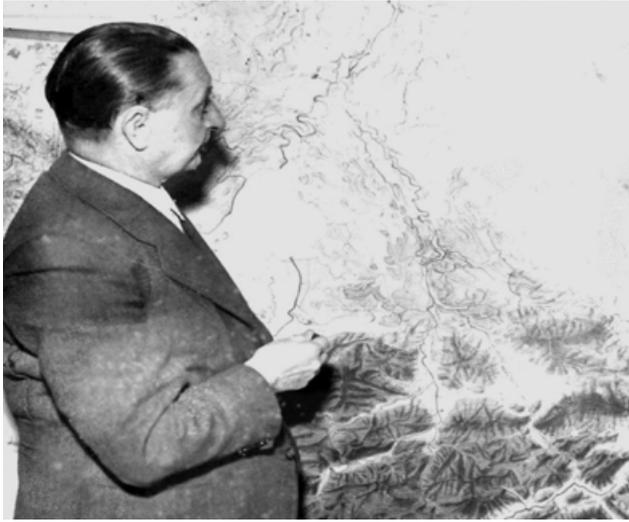


Fig. 58. Fritz Bodo.

university teachers from Vienna. It was on this occasion that the co-founder of the research foundation, geographer Hugo Hassinger (1877–1952) and self-taught cartographer Fritz Bodo (1893–1978) met each other. Eight years later this meeting resulted in the cartographic work called “*Burgenlandatlas*,” the subject of the present section, the fine details of the creation of which may be learned from the research performed by Austrian historian Petra Svatek.¹²⁶

Fritz Bodo was born in Neunkirchen, Lower Austria, in the foothills of the Eastern Alps, in the area known as Steinfeld bordered by the Hohe Wand, the Schneeberg, the Semmering Pass region, the Bucklige Welt and the Rosalia Mountains. The river running through the small town is the Schwarza, which is one of the tributaries of the Leitha, in addition to the Pitten arriving from the south. This small landscape framework had its effect on Bodo, and it was through this that he was able to discover Burgenland,¹²⁷ observe the fate of the province from up close, and, through his work, become a part of it (Fig. 58).

Fritz Bodo was a teacher in Wiener Neustadt, latterly at the teacher training college, then after 1945 he too thought it better to start a new life (we will see why later) and settled in Deggendorf beside the Danube in Bavaria and set up a small cartographic publishing business. He started getting involved in map-making in the 1920s, without ever studying the subject in university. It may be

126 Svatek, “Fritz Bodo”; Svatek, “*Burgenlandatlas*.”

127 Bodo, *Das Steinfeld*; Bodo, *Wanderfahrten*.



Fig. 59. Bodo's transport map from 1931.

assumed that this self-taught cartographer had become acquainted with cartographers and geographers from the cartography section of the Vienna Geographical Society; evidence for this may be seen in his illustration methods similar to those of the university cartography professors. Karl Peucker, whom we have already mentioned as a friend and correspondent of Robert Sieger, joined the editorial team of the *Burgenlandatlas*, although he did not live to see its publishing. Bodo devoted his first maps to his broader homeland, which were mainly economic maps of the Wiener Neustadt region and of the southern part of the Vienna Basin; he then went on to make economic maps of Lower Austria and Vienna with Heinrich Güttenberger.¹²⁸

According to the evidence of his publications Bodo already had material published on the transport, trade and agriculture of Burgenland at the beginning of the 1930s (Fig. 59).¹²⁹ Hassinger came up with the idea of creating a Burgen-

128 Svatek, "Fritz Bodo," 328.

129 Bodo, "Die Verkehrslage.," Bodo, "Handel."

land atlas after hearing Bodo's lecture in these subjects held during the fieldtrip and seeing his finished maps.¹³⁰ It may already be seen on these maps of the time that Bodo had a very good feel for thematic maps, not only visualizing numbers and amounts in their territorial extent, he also strove to depict processes, and so these works progressed from the role of illustrations to the leading part in the analysis.

Hugo Hassinger was born in the Austrian imperial capital, and attended the university there at the turn of the century studying not only geography but history also. He too was a student of Albrecht Penck, as well as of Wilhelm Tomaschek, Oswald Redlich, Eduard Sueß and, perhaps, even the young Robert Sieger.¹³¹ He completed his doctorate in 1902 in physical geography, as was common among his contemporaries, dealing with the geomorphology of the Vienna Basin. While teaching in various schools in Vienna and Mährisch-Weißkirchen (Hranice, Czech Republic) he worked on his habilitation in a subject related to Moravia. In 1915 he was appointed as private lecturer (*Privatdozent*) at Vienna University, he moved to Basel University in 1918 and then became professor at Freiburg University in 1927. After rejecting a position at Graz University, he returned from Freiburg to his alma mater, the institute of geography at Vienna University to take the position left vacant by Oberhummer. It was here he became an internationally recognized pioneer of cultural geography,¹³² and a prominent personality in Austrian geography: from 1933 he was vice president and then, from 1936, president of the Vienna Geographical Society, in the same year he was appointed director of the institute of geography at Vienna University, and from 1931 he was first a corresponding member and from 1934 a full member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences.¹³³ In other words he was at the peak of his career at the time he met Bodo (Fig. 60).



Fig. 60. Hugo Hassinger. Drawing: Robert Fuchs

130 Svatek, "Fritz Bodo," 329.

131 Svatek, "Hugo Hassinger," 123.

132 Svatek, "Hugo Hassinger," 123–24.

133 Svatek, "Hugo Hassinger," 143.

His research and writing took him from the backdrop of the Monarchy to the national socialist regime. His Moravia period may have been decisive in him turning away from physical geography toward ethnic issues. On returning to Vienna his attention was caught by urban geography, including cityscape development and the issue of protected monuments, leading to an interest in urban planning questions. A result of this work and his archive research was the Vienna art history atlas (*Kunsthistorischer Atlas der k. k. Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt Wien*). His other research subject at this time was the Central Europe problem, and he too had observed the geography-cartography efforts at the end of World War I. He was interested in the interdisciplinary nature of geography, in collaboration with related fields (natural sciences, history), and in the concept of cultural landscape in his capacity as culture geographer.¹³⁴ It was more or less with this background that his professional career came to include the foundation and leadership of the *Südostdeutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*, and the Burgenland atlas undertaking, which really was an interdisciplinary project within the framework of the southeastern research organization. The atlas was originally produced for use in schools and by government officials, however, the internal reports of the foundation reveal that it also functioned as a counter to Hungarian revisionist propaganda.¹³⁵

When the *Burgenlandatlas* was being produced, Hassinger functioned as strategic manager, while Bodo was left with the organization and collaboration work. However, in an Austria progressing towards gaining a radical right-wing apparatus, the publishing of the atlas was delayed by several years due to financial and mainly political reasons. In the years when the Nazi party was banned (June 1933 to February 1938) the otherwise Austrofacist government viewed the atlas workgroup with suspicion as it had been supported by national socialist funding from Germany. Many of the contributors to the atlas were NSDAP (National German Workers' Party) members, including geographers Walter Srzygowski and Egon Lendl, even Fritz Bodo held a leading position in the Wiener Neustadt party organization. He was arrested and banned from teaching twice in 1934.¹³⁶

However, after the national socialists gained power in Austria in 1938 and the two states were merged as a result of the *Anschluss*, the division of Burgenland questioned the rationale behind the atlas. Bodo "reported" on the atlas in

134 Svatek, "Hugo Hassinger," 124-43.

135 Svatek, "Südostdeutsches Institut Graz," 2058; Svatek, "Hugo Hassinger," 143-45.

136 Svatek, "Fritz Bodo," 332.

various announcements in the years before publication, in which the predecessors of certain maps from the atlas may also be seen.¹³⁷ Bodo working in this way with Hassinger was how they strove to underline the importance of the atlas even in these new circumstances. Indeed, their efforts to present the atlas in its position in the process of learning about the province to that point, including its geographical discovery, involves significance for this book also. Bodo argued, for example, that the maps could be used in territorial planning, ultimately in the “rebuilding of the homeland.” The maps of the former Burgenland territories in many cases also illustrated the conditions in eastern Lower Austria, or showed, via the depiction of commuting, the importance of the Burgenland workforce in the economies of Vienna and Lower Austria. But also, he referred to Eduard Stepan, who at this time wrote a summary monograph similar in nature to the atlas in the *Waldviertel*.¹³⁸

Hassinger eventually did obtain funding for the publishing of the atlas, as it also seemed important for Nazi regional planning: the territory had been selected as a possible resettlement area for the populations of the dispersed southeastern German language islands. Ultimately the volume planned for publication in 1936 came out of the printing press in 1941 only for “official use,” in other words it was not publically available.¹³⁹ Then, while the national socialist regime was placing Bodo in leading public administration positions, he and Hassinger launched another joint venture: they started work on an atlas for Lower Austria, which had been extended with Northern Burgenland—renamed the Lower Danube Region (*Reichsgau Niederdonau*)—and Moravian territories. This, however, did not progress beyond the manuscript stage, with the archives only retaining a number of maps sheets.¹⁴⁰

We must realize that the work with the *Burgenlandatlas* combined the efforts of both academics and local epistemic communities. More or less equal numbers of social scientists and natural scientists participated in the creation of the atlas, with the largest group being the geographers, historians, ethnographers, German studies professors from Vienna University as well as representatives of other specialist bureaus in Vienna. Although more than a half of the contributors came from Vienna, there was a good number of officials, natural scientists, archivists, teachers from the former Burgenland and other parts of

137 Bodo, “Ein Burgenlandatlas”; Bodo, “Wirtschaft”; Bodo, “Die Entwicklung.”

138 Hassinger, “Das Burgenland”; Bodo, “Der ‘Burgenlandatlas’”; Bodo, “Burgenlandatlas.”

139 Svatek, “Fritz Bodo,” 332.

140 Svatek, “Fritz Bodo,” 334.



Fig. 61. Section of a relief map of the territory of Burgenland. Designed by: Karl Peucker.

Austria. The team also included two contributors from Graz and two from Germany. Peucker, mentioned above, gave Bodo general advice in connection with the atlas. Apart from him, among the “geographical epistemic workers” mentioned above or to be mentioned below and receiving various roles, there was Wiener Neustadt college director Otto Aull, historian Otto Brunner, Paul Eitler from Eisenstadt, archivist Heinrich Kunnert, Graz geographer Robert Mayer, Vienna college director Viktor Miltschinsky, and Vienna geography professor Franz Wehofsich. The career of the latter actually became very unpleasant later on, in several respects: as a member of the NSDAP then of the SS he had a career in the military, working for organizations such as *Stiftung Freiherr vom Stein* (Hamburg) and the SS-organization, *Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle* responsible for the German people living outside Germany (which became the umbrella organization for the other ethnic German research institutes), then becoming cul-

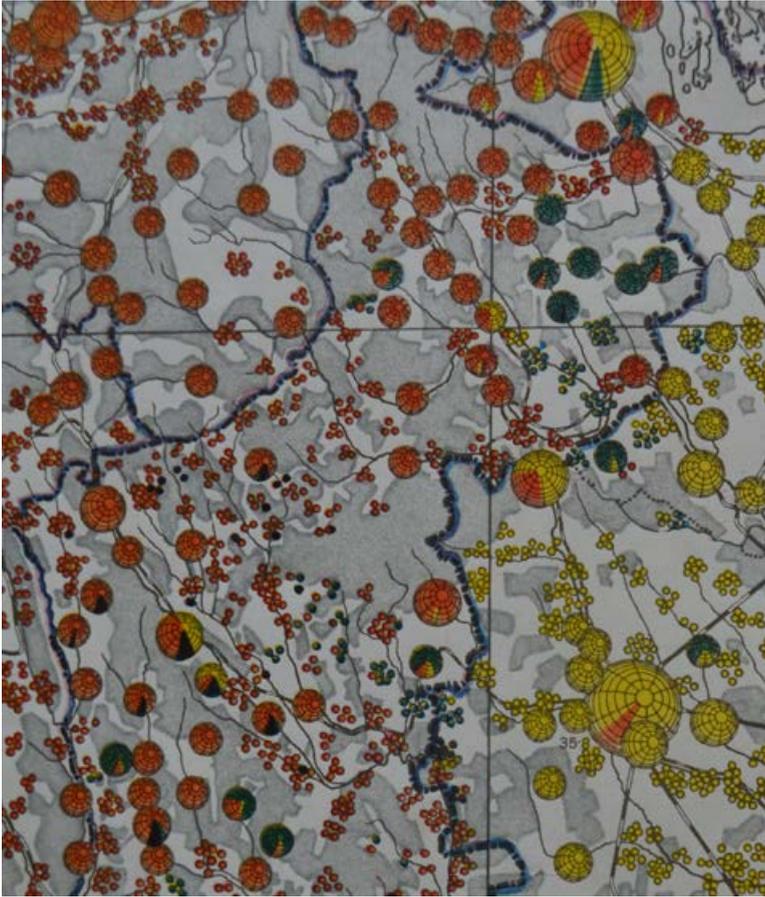


Fig. 62. Section of the ethnic map of the territory of Burgenland.
Designed by: Fritz Bodo.

tural rapporteur in the occupied Netherlands, and worked his way up to the rank of *Obersturmführer* in the SS.¹⁴¹

Some of the data was collected in 1934 with the help of questionnaires sent out to the towns and villages and various institutions, e.g., hospitals, church parishes, schools, and industrial facilities. In this way they obtained primary data in the areas of tourism, migration, agriculture, industry, public utilities, education, etc., which formed the basis of the considerable scientific value and novelty of the atlas.¹⁴²

141 Lumans, *Himmlers*, 77; Harten, *Himmlers*, 353–54; Boissou, “Stiftung FVS.”

142 Svatek, “Der Burgenlandatlas,” 126–27.



Fig. 63. The landscape use of the Wulka basin and the region of Lake Neusiedl. Designed by: Fritz Bodo and Ing. Fritz Bodo.

As was usual, each of the authors drew up the map outlines and the accompanying text in their own subject, and then Bodo used this to draw the final maps. Remaining with the examples of the above authors, Peucker and Mayer created geomorphology, soil and relief maps, Wehofsich, as he had done in the *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtums*, drew the maps of the land structure and use in and around the settlements (*Hof- und Flurformen*), Kunnert and others created the maps on how town rights were distributed, on the wars in the Turkish period, and education. Eitler and Miltschinsky helped Bodo draw the maps of the annexation of the province to Austria, and Otto Aull was also responsible for the economics, transport, and even art history maps. However, it was Bodo himself who designed and produced most of the maps, sometimes with the involvement of co-authors: Lake Neusiedl, ethnic distribution, places of pilgrimage, economics, industry, agriculture, transport, the economic status of the population, hinterlands, workforce migration, emigration, settlement profile transformation, population development, housing conditions, and public administration.

The work is professional, both in terms of its appearance and content, with innovative solutions in certain places. The atlas may be regarded as a particularly great piece of work in the knowledge that Bodo had not studied cartography at university. Among the maps we can find conventional color-scale the-

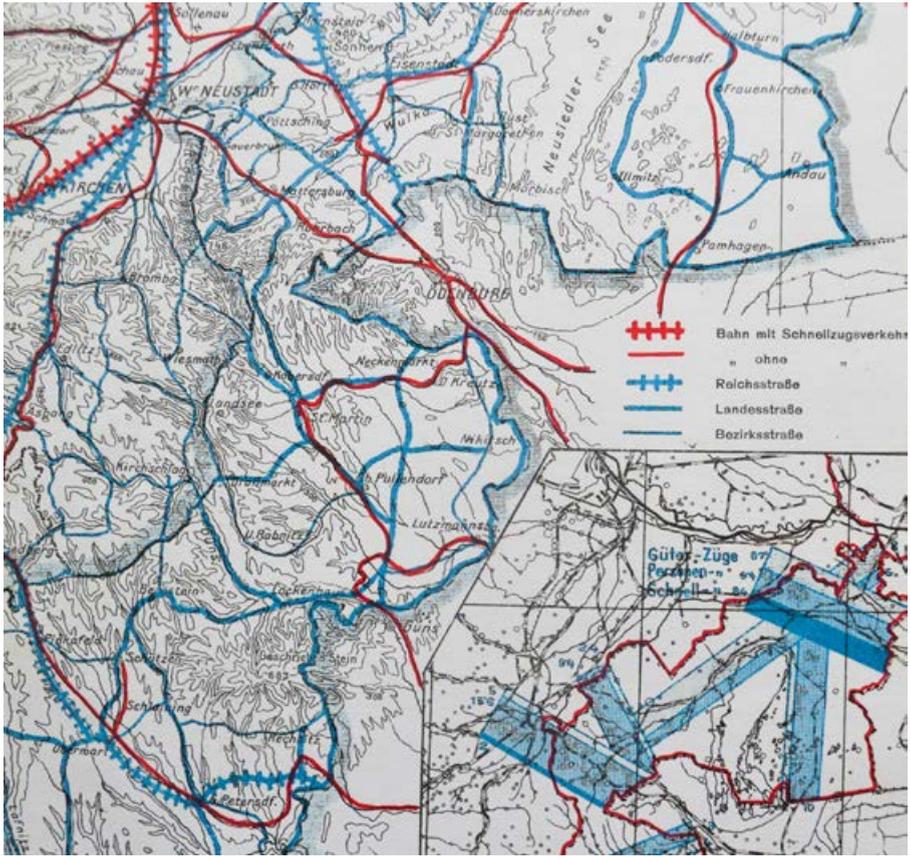


Fig. 64. A section of the transport map of the territory of Burgenland. Designed by: Fritz Bodo.

matic maps; maps that use various pictograms, symbols, and pie charts; maps using isolines, arrows and flow directions, and combinations of these. The main map–annex map feature is used frequently, as are map–diagram pairs.

The ethnic geopolitical discourse does not dominate in the maps, and the keywords characteristic of this are only apparent in the structure of the book and in the titles of a number of maps. Also, we should not forget about the title either, *Burgenland. Ein deutsches Grenzland im Südosten* (Burgenland. A German borderland in the southeast), as this too gives an authentic impression of the age when it was produced. In this way block A has the title “Space and people in the present,” where Burgenland is immediately positioned in the space of the German people, state, tribe and dialect. Block B is entitled “Space and people in the past,” here under a map compilation entitled *Der Volksboden im Zeitenwandel* (national soil in the change of the ages) the maps include an illustration

of ethnic distribution and show the Magyarization process drawn up based on an ethnography monograph by Czoernig. Then block C bears the title “Building and changes since 1921.” An important feature is that multiple ethnic and economic maps were produced with cartographic content that extended to the Hungarian territories indicating German attention and preparation for whatever lies in the future.

Naturally, the explanatory texts, especially in connection with the maps mentioned, include descriptions of Burgenland typical of the period, such as the southeastern rampart of the German people, the only section of the eastern German people’s front where Germans encountered the Hungarians (Egon Lendl). The anti-Semitism of Heinrich Kunnert and Bodo also emerges in the texts. The latter wrote of the Jewry in a similar way to the staff of the *Graz Südost Institut* in connection with their maps published at the same time as the *Burgenlandatlas*: the problem of the Jewry has been solved in Burgenland, “today Burgenland is practically free of Jews” (Fig. 65).¹⁴³ Seemingly a minor detail but still characteristic is that Bodo indicated the Jewry in yellow on the religion



Fig. 65. The Deutschkreutz synagogue demolished by the Nazis, February 16, 1941.

¹⁴³ Bodo, *Burgenland*, Textbeilage, 13.

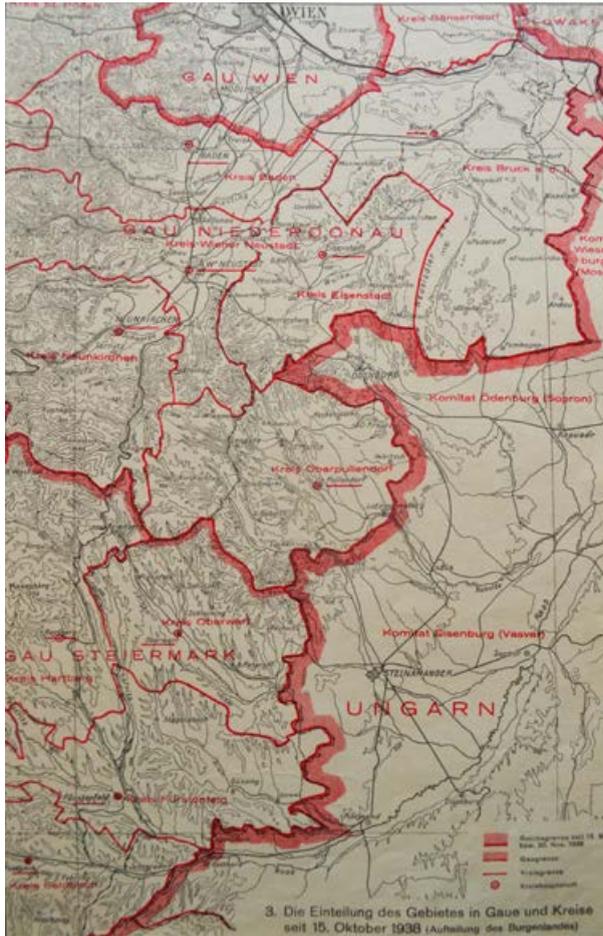


Fig. 66. The divided Burgenland. Designed by: Fritz Bodo.

maps, and the Roma in black on the ethnic maps. The text in the atlas describes the latter as a serious burden for Burgenland, a small number of whom were taken on by Burgenland from Hungary when the province was created, however, due to governmental tolerance and support “they over-multiplied.” They are described as antisocial, congenitally sick, undesirable elements that should disappear from the province.¹⁴⁴

The *Burgenlandatlas* symbolically closes the interwar period of geographical knowledge-making about the province (Fig. 66). As Hassinger wrote in the foreword:

144 Bodo, *Burgenland*, Textbeilage, 45.

Maybe the name of Burgenland can live on as part of the Ostmark of the Great German Empire, if nothing else than as the heritage of a province that was known in Austria from its annexation in 1921. Our atlas provides knowledge about this southeastern province, especially as this relates to the people, their history, their relation to the soil, and their cultural and living forms. Just as the political Anschluss of Burgenland to the German Empire was realized in the spirit of National Socialism, so too might this atlas establish a connection to the science of Greater Germany.¹⁴⁵

Thus, the atlas and other works too show that in Austrian geographical-geopolitical efforts the *Südost* represented the main direction of expansion in the creation of a German Central Europe.¹⁴⁶ Within this the Danube region (*Donaupraum*) the Danube as watercourse originating in Germany, linking multiple countries, became a symbol linking German colonization in the eastern direction and of the German peripheral areas and language islands located in Central and Eastern Europe. But the Raab and the Raab Basin too became a similar unit of analysis on a smaller regional scale. In this perspective the situation of the former Burgenland and Vienna became interpretable in a multiple border zone: it stood on the border of the pure German language territory and the mixed Slavic-Hungarian-Romanian territory, of the industrialized West and the agricultural East, on the border of the western and eastern cultural spheres.¹⁴⁷ In other words, Vienna and Austria in the Third Reich was once again able to enjoy its former Monarchy role of gateway and mediator; in this way reviving the “Ostmark mission.”

145 Bodo, *Burgenland*, foreword.

146 Murphy, *The Heroic Earth*; Thörner, “Der ganze Südosten”; Svatek, “Wien als das Tor.”

147 Lendl, “Die donauschwäbische Kulturlandschaft”; Lendl, “Die Siedlungslandschaft des Raabebckens”; Hassinger, “Wiens deutsche Sendung.”

IDENTITY AND TOURISM

Tourism is becoming increasingly diverse and controversial and has transformed many aspects of life. To this very day it influences what we see in the landscape, in cities, on what we think about them, but tourism has generated far-reaching changes even on the physical level. It is very interesting to see the roots of tourism, as a cultural phenomenon, in the Industrial Revolution and Enlightenment. With the end of agricultural societies, the middle class expanded and gained more free time, the condition for modern tourism. The railways and other modern methods of transport offered increasingly faster and comfortable ways to get to places for ever-larger numbers of people. In addition to bringing about modernization and development, the industrial regions and smoky industrial towns lowered the quality of life and alienated their residents from nature. However, it was not only the thermal spas and spa towns that offered people a remedy, but also the new philosophical trends, especially the trend of romanticism, stemming from the bases of Enlightenment. The romantic artistic trends, poetry and landscape painting overthrew the idea of wild nature, and through its glorification these trends created a longing for being in or returning to nature. In parallel with this the concept of the modern (nation)-state appreciated the importance of practices that created and reinforced identity. In turn, there were two main sources of regional or national identity: the one was architectural, urban culture, on the basis of which the *Grand Tour*, the tradition of young western European aristocrats visiting a “bucket list” of cities was established in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries. At times even the capital city of the Monarchy, Vienna, had belonged to this list of decorated cities. The other source became nature, and so in this region the emblematic mountain ranges, the Alps and the Carpathians, became the main objects of identifi-

cation. This is not just about urban and monument protection, and how the nature protection movement was born, leading to the listing of monuments and protected species and the designation of national parks, but also how tourism came into being.¹

Tourism in the Monarchy developed in parallel with the trends in Western Europe. Health tourism was linked to the ancient practice of religious pilgrimage, with the history of certain spas reaching far back, to Roman or even the Turkish times in Hungary. This was also true of spas in the territory of Burgenland, such as Tarcsafürdő (now Bad Tatzmannsdorf) and Savanyúkút (now Bad Sauerbrunn).² Naturally, in this region too, the material conditions for the development of mass tourism were access by rail, and the infrastructure to cater for the guests' needs. An outstanding example of the Austrian trans-alpine railway projects was the Semmering railway completed in 1854. These lines did not only create a physical and symbolic connection between the regional centers and Vienna but were also useful in the development of tourism.³ The railway companies also became involved in the development of tourism, for example, the southern railway company built hotels on the Semmering pass.⁴ So, health tourism only really started from the second half of the nineteenth century, although the Habsburg monarchs recognized the importance of developing the spas and exerting central control over them already during the reign of Maria Theresa.⁵ Tourism in the Alps started from the Enlightenment with the first scientific expeditions, and then continued in the nineteenth century with the sport of mountain climbing. In the Age of Romanticism, the myth of the unreachable wild mountains was broken once and for all; mountain hiking, walking in nature in parallel with spa culture contributed to the emergence of health culture. The first Alpinist and hiking clubs were established in the 1860s, initially being only for a small elite group.⁶ Tourism in Vienna was also emerging at this time, although the 1873 Vienna World's Fair, culminating in a cholera epidemic, nearly bankrupted the city. Despite this Vienna's international repute grew continuously, although the number of visitors there was much lower

1 Williams and Lew, *Tourism Geography*, 34–46.

2 Hetfleisch, *100 Jahre*, 7–8.

3 Cottet Dumoulin and Schueller, "Construction."

4 Steward, "The Spa Towns," 102.

5 Steward, "The Spa Towns," 91.

6 Lauterbach, "The mountain."

than those in the capital cities further to the west with the city mainly attracting people from the territories of the Monarchy.⁷

Tourism contributes to the development of the identities of its participants through contact with different cultures. The opportunities lying within it were identified not only on the local, but on the regional and national levels too.⁸ In addition to spectacular, state-funded tourism developments and urban construction endeavors, other features of tourism included picture postcards, which were introduced in the Monarchy in 1869, as well as the publishing of guidebooks and tourism magazines.

The development of tourism in the Age of Dualism hardly paused during World War I, although the new borderlines did not only cause changes in how tourism was promoted, but also in tourist flows. Tourism, and thereby the development of national identities, in the interwar period became even more important for state nationalist politics.⁹ In these circumstances the development of tourism in Burgenland started almost at the same time as its academic acknowledgment, which, narrowed down to the forums of knowledge-making, meant that the presentation and advertising of the province started in various Austrian and German popular, cultural and tourism periodicals. All this was a part of a broader culture and education program that extended to numerous fields of life. Indeed, in the even broader context, it must be realized that all this was carried out under the aegis of a national politics endeavor, as was already palpable in the above chapters in connection with Robert Sieger. Instead of the state ideal of the multiethnic Monarchy, of an imperial identity interwoven with the Habsburgs, a national identity was required to Austria in addition to the individual provincial identities, in which tourism received an important role.¹⁰

So Burgenland had to develop its provincial identity, including all the associated instruments, starting from symbols representing the province, the political and cultural institutions and physical infrastructure, all the way to knowledge of geography and history that all helped to imagine the province as a whole, as a community.¹¹ The province tourism association was established in

7 Steward, "The Potemkin City"; Steward "Gruss aus Wien"; Steward, "Tourism in Late Imperial Austria"; Ablonczy, "Védkunyhó," 508–510.

8 Steward, "The Spa Towns," 117; Steward, "Tourism in Late Imperial Austria," 116; Lauterbach, "The mountain."

9 Baranowski, "Radical Nationalism"; Semmens, "Travel in Merry Germany."

10 Johnston, "A Nation"; Steward, "Tourism in Late Imperial Austria," 122; Peniston-Bird, "Coffee, Klimt and Climbing."

11 Haslinger, *Der ungarische Revisionismus*; Haslinger, "A regionális identitás"; Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.



Fig. 67. The open bus of the “Österreichisches Verkehrsbureau” (Austrian office for transportation) on the Rosalia highway completed in 1930, with the Forchtenstein castle in the background, 1931.

1924, and a separate propaganda department operated within the Burgenland administration under the leadership of Paul Eitler (1887–1976).¹² For example, the province helped with the organization of traditionalist events, provincial exhibitions, and various associations were set up,¹³ but a great many academic projects, book releases, Burgenland lectures, radio programs, press visits, and Burgenland fieldtrips made by scientific societies were also organized with government help. A short film was also made in 1925 entitled *Austrian Burgenland*.¹⁴ In addition, popular book primers on cultural and regional subjects for school pupils were published, in which children could read about geography and his-

12 Eitler, “Fremdenverkehr”; Hess, *Brave Beamte*, 332–59.

13 Békési, *Verklärt und verachtet*, 164–65.

14 Leser, “Die wissenschaftliche”; Hetfleisch, *100 Jahre*, 20–23.

tory, and included tales, legends and poems.¹⁵ And here and there, from the references under the illustrations, it can be seen that the pictures, and perhaps the information too, were taken from Stepan's *Festschrift* or from the popular periodicals and travel guides also to be discussed here, in other words knowledge transfer was working (Fig. 67).¹⁶

Burgenland idyll

The point of view of the regional/cultural and tourism periodicals was determinant, as the goal was essentially to present the province to non-Burgenland readers and gain its acceptance, and the authors conformed, more or less, to this objective in their articles. Already in the case of Stepan's works and the field trips made by the Graz academics we have seen that the Burgenland government also gladly funded scientific projects. However, this was much truer of the popular periodicals, where the special issues were not only financed, editors and authors were also employed and recruited, and seeing the recurrent illustrations, picture material was also provided. Most of the articles appeared in special Burgenland editions, and these are listed at the end of this section, additionally I have placed them, along with articles I found in periodicals appearing independently of these, in a database for the purpose of numerical comparison and analysis. These do not include the regional popular periodicals and articles published within Burgenland, as there the viewpoint was again different. The database includes 168 pieces of writing of varying length written by a total of more than one hundred authors, among whom 26 wrote at least two. The most prolific author, already discussed in depth, was Georg Alois Lukas with 11 studies, followed by Otto Aull, and then Paul Eitler.

It is worth examining the cover pages of the Burgenland special issues (when still available) as well as the illustrations of the articles. In the interwar period the possibilities for sharing visual content were obviously much more limited, however we should not underestimate their significance even if the quality of the printing was poor on occasion, and the number of color illustrations negligible, as there were few other forums for showing visual information apart from books and other printed products. In fact, Burgenland's visual discourse emerges from these images, from which conclusions may also be drawn regarding the self-identification of the province, as the readers inevitably identified

15 E.g., Parr and Lustig, *Deutsches Lesebuch*.

16 Karner, *Das Burgenland*.

Burgenland in themselves with these pictures, and these pictures built up the province's symbolism. This was important for "foreign" readers in the process of the development of the province's image, these pictures became the previews of Burgenland before a journey there, just as the texts contributed to how the readers identified the province, and how they placed it within Austria or the German language territory. The images displayed to the local people helped them develop and reinforce their community identity, their sense of place or place attitude. In other words, some of the pictures displayed symbols, characteristic illustrations, and buildings of a symbolic nature. Other pictures provided a historical account and displayed the *genius loci* in connection with prominent natives of the region, or told a story of the local people, of their everyday lives. Then the landscape illustrations shown without people served to display the unique provincial character and atmosphere, in many cases through the works of landscape artists sensitive to this, some also having local ties, such as Albert Kollmann and Eduard Adrian Dussek from Eisenstadt.¹⁷ Additionally professional photographers travelled throughout the province, such as Franz Swoboda and Alois Sedlacek, searching for characteristic moods and typical compositions, in which they saw and grasped the essence of Burgenland.¹⁸ So there really was not much point in many tourism articles referring to Burgenland as the "land of contrasts," because by appropriate selection of the images it was quite possible to create a unified ambience for the province. This was the purpose of those photographs that brought the romantic "Burgenland idyll" to life with the depiction of the landscape and of peasant villages and dwellings, irrespective of whether they were taken in the Lake Neusiedl region or in the southern territories.

In most cases it was the Forchtenstein castle that was displayed on the cover pages, with other symbols appearing only in one or two cases, such as Schlaining castle, a farmyard in Mörbisch or the St. Andrä am Zicksee windmill, with the latter only actually being shown on the inside cover. The windmill was a frequent subject in this photography and in Eduard Adrian Dussek's landscapes in the literature of the interwar period. Among the paintings Dussek's "Burgenland idyll" and Vienna artist Karl Borschke's Burgenland allegory were used on several occasions. Unfortunately, despite being renovated,¹⁹ the St. Andrä windmill fell into ruin, as did its use as a symbol, in its place the windmill of Podersdorf fills a similar function today (Fig. 41 and 68).

17 Aull, "Bilder aus dem Burgenland.": Kollmann et al., *Gedächtnisausstellung*.

18 Fertl and Münzer, *Burgenland*.

19 Leser, "Die wissenschaftliche Erschließung," 33.

Forchtenstein castle was shown on the cover pages in many ways. For example, the *Österreichische Illustrierte Zeitung* placed the castle, Burgenland's proposed symbol, among the symbols of the other Austrian provinces (Fig. 69). Graphic works were also common on the cover pages, which made it possible for multiple sym-



Fig. 68. Photograph of the St. Andrä am Zicksee windmill

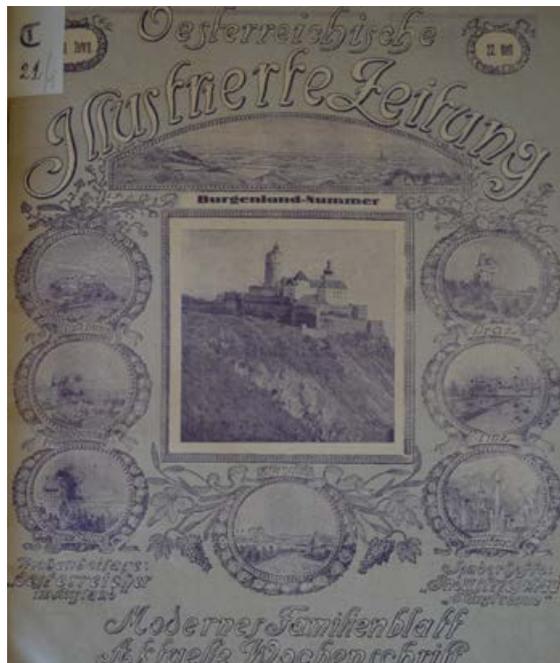


Fig. 69. The cover page of the *Österreichische Illustrierte Zeitung*, 1923.

bols to be shown in one image. A good example of this is the cover page of the *Bergland*, where the central female figure symbolically presents the essence of the province: the Forchtenstein and Schlaining castles, the vineyards and the cultivated lands (Fig. 70). The cover page of the Burgenland farmer's calendar from 1938, not discussed in detail here, is in a similar topic, where grape pickers and harvest workers are working in the foreground of Forchtenstein castle (Fig. 71).

As a result of the overrepresentation of Forchtenstein castle on the cover pages, it is inevitably underrepresented in the illustrations of the articles in the database. This meant the castles of Schlaining and Güssing appeared in multiple images, while other regional symbols, e.g., Bernstein, Landsee, Lockenhaus appeared as often as Forchtenstein. It stands to reason that with the loss of their function these castles remained merely symbols, as they can be seen as landmarks from afar, radiating strength and the, questionable, glorious past, but still, in the case of Burgenland they inevitably led to the misinterpretation of the name of the province, the assumption that the territory received its name from the castles (see Chapter one). At the same time the picture editors of the content of these special issues also strove to create an image of Ei-



Fig. 70. The cover page of *Bergland*, 1931.

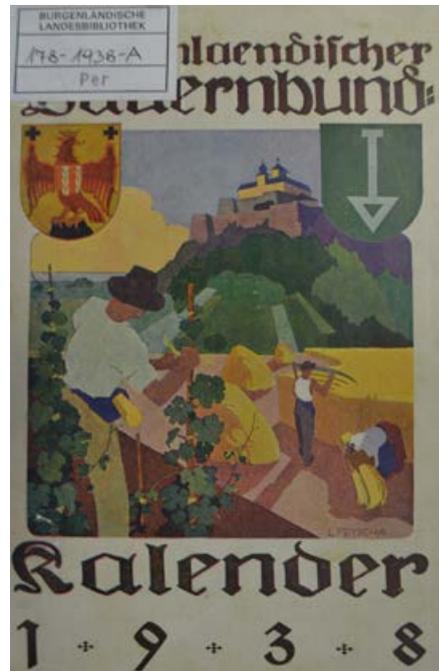


Fig. 71. The cover page of the *Burgenländische Bauernbündel-Kalender*, 1938.



Fig. 72. A frequent illustration: Grosspetersdorf, peasant plowing with oxen, circa 1925.

senstadt, which had been awarded the title of provincial capital. This is manifested in that I counted more pictures of Eisenstadt than those of castles: these include the hill church, the Haydn heritage and the palace, the cathedral, the Unterberg Eisenstadt ghetto and the provincial parliament building appearing in more or less the same number of pictures (4-6).

If we compare the number of photographs of the castles, of Eisenstadt, the Lake Neusiedl region (the settlements on the lakeshore, Seewinkel and the lake), and of the remaining territories of Burgenland it is clearly Lake Neusiedl that comes out the winner, which gives a good indication of the role of this unique landscape in Burgenland's and in Austria's geographical-cultural-tourism identity. Photographs of the lake itself, Neusiedl am See, Rust, Mörbisch, Podersdorf and St. Andrä am Zickse were the most frequent. Out of the remainder of Burgenland, the most popular subjects were Tatzmannsdorf, Raiding, and Sauerbrunn. It is notable that both Sopron and the surrounding German villages appeared in a good few photographs. Of the total number of 242 photographs taken into account seven were specifically of Burgenland peasants and four depicted Roma people, in addition to people otherwise occurring in the photographs of the towns and villages; the peasant tilling the land in front of Schlaining castle and the Mörbisch peasant courtyard with its pipe-smoking bridesman occurred several times, in other words the photographs primarily depicted Burgenland's bucolic, rural character (Fig. 72 and 73). It must also be noted that the

landscape illustrations were almost without exception limited to the region around Lake Neusiedl, particularly to its eastern part. In other words, in the choice of the pictures the main motivation was to display the differences and characteristics, and not a search for similarities to the surrounding Austrian regions.

Comparing the individual Burgenland issues, it is apparent that the magazines grouped the articles on the province depending on their profile. So, the *völkisch*-geopolitical periodicals already mentioned, such as *Volk und Reich*, *Heilige Ostmark* and *Grenzland*, largely grouped articles based on territorial and ethnic issues, education, and the fate of Burgenland. But the *Alpenländische Monatshefte* collected political opinion

articles in its Burgenland issue, despite defining itself as a family magazine, although we know that it was also published by *Verein Südmark*.

Referring once again to the selection of the pictures, it is important to note that almost all of the Burgenland issues had an article dealing with Lake Neusiedl, and reading these it is interesting to see the links between the texts, and how a good idea lives on in later articles. The way the Neusiedl discourse develops is easy to follow. Sándor Békési performed a review of the history of the mentality and perception of Lake Neusiedl in a separate book; and, examining a broader timespan, Békési pointed out that Lake Neusiedl as landscape perspective appeared consecutively in parallel discourses. One may sense the discovery of the beauty the Neusiedl region in nineteenth century romantic nature depiction, and, taking the utilitarian approach, at the same time also sense the rejection of the values of the landscape and the formulation of large-scale nature transformation plans (drainage), the latter, and last to date, being related to the lake drying out in the 1860s. Similarly, in the Lake Neusiedl discourses emerging in the new period of history following the birth of Burgenland one may not only find positive, receptive, laudatory opinions, but negative opinions



Fig. 73. A frequent illustration: Mörbisch, master of ceremonies for weddings, circa 1925.

also, contrary to those demonstrated to this point in the book. These primarily utilitarian, engineering approaches fantasized about the regulation of the lake, its partial drainage, and even about the construction of a bridge between Mörbisch and Illmitz, then, following World War II, with the blossoming of tourism overuse also caused rejecting Lake Neusiedl region opinions.²⁰ An article in the Burgenland special issues made reference to the Lake Neusiedl regulation dispute in the interwar period, in which Eisenstadt museum director Alfons Barb performed a historical retrospective review of the plans.²¹

It is in this conflict of views and out of concern for Lake Neusiedl that provincial government member Alfred Ratz wrote his sentimental article, comparing the endeavors to dry out the marshland of the Hanság (Waasen) with the social benefits of Lake Neusiedl.²² But a duality may also be found in the writing of local history teacher Viktor Jovanovich, who imagined the lake as the capital of health, which work includes a description of the beauty of the landscape, reveals various points of view, and also considers the economic benefits.²³ Graz local historian Robert Baravalle took an approach from the mountains, viewing Lake Neusiedl from Rosalia Mountain. In his lengthy article he too wrote of the draining plains and the dry periods, contrasting these with the values of the landscape. We could continue, even referring back to the early Eduard Stepan article already mentioned.

Multiple periodicals commissioned people from the world of the arts to write about Lake Neusiedl. In this way the *Heilige Ostmark* interrupted its political writings with a poem written by dramatist Franz C. Franchy and his romantic essay on the lake. Franchy pondered on the strangeness of the lake (*seltsamer See*), this then was adopted by others, albeit the adjective had already been used by Baravalle.²⁴ An artist, Eduard Adrian Dussek, was also given space in the “*Der Fährmann*,” who otherwise had dedicated much of his work, landscape paintings, to Burgenland, primarily to the Seewinkel region (Fig. 74). His name is also linked to an advertising campaign, using the slogan “the sea of the Viennese,” and he even painted a nude with the lake in the background. In this piece he presented the background of Lake Neusiedl looking from the east: with the peaks of the Eastern Alps seen from here, in this way visually linking the two contrasting landscapes, i.e., Burgenland with Austria.

20 Békési, *Verklärt und verachtet*; Békési, “Fennségecsolya.”

21 Barb, “Der Neusiedler See”; Békési, *Verklärt und verachtet*, 214–18.

22 Ratz, “Der Neusiedler See.”

23 Jovanovich, “Der Neusiedler See.”

24 Franchy, “Ein seltsamer See”; Baravalle, “Neusiedler See.”



Fig. 74. Neusiedl am See bathing beach, artist at work (possibly Eduard Adrian Dussek), circa 1929

This lake, the Neusiedl, still sleeps as Sleeping Beauty in its virginal purity! A broad reed bed conceals its beauty from curious eyes. Only Podersdorf am See can boast to be free of the jealous blanket of reed. Here one may find the most beautiful view of the lake, and, you will hardly believe me, of the Schneeberg and of its uncles and aunts: of the Hohe Wand, the Semmering and the Rax. Yes! The snowy body of the mountain giant rises straight, in the west, from the endless sea of water, just as Apelles' Venus Anadyomene! One can hardly imagine a more attractive picture than this lake, with this background and this view!²⁵

The painter compared the colors of Lake Neusiedl that change with the season and weather conditions to the changes of a woman's eyes, and in comparison to other lakes he stated that "my painter's eyes were not always so intoxicated than here at the steppe lake, so full of the silky glimmer of the constantly changing silver platter!"²⁶ And he would have continued on to the castles, but returned to his steppe, and with the characteristic orientalist approach noted that one may still see half-wild herds of horses and cattle grazing on the puszta, well sweeps and picturesque gypsy hovels, "the last remnants of the dying East."²⁷

25 Dussek, "Das Burgenland," 308.

26 Dussek, "Das Burgenland," 308.

27 Dussek, "Das Burgenland," 310.

But still, the windmills gave him the impression of the Low Countries, and turning again to the south, to the “land of the castles,” he highlighted the “Italian” early vegetables and chestnuts taken by the province to the Viennese markets. At the end of the essay Dussek summarized the opportunities for painters of landscapes, portraits and animals, here his remarks such as the Roma “as the most picturesque people in the world” and the “Egyptian birdlife” demonstrate well that in terms of culture-art or the touristic representation of the province there are no negatives.

A comparison between the mountains and the lake, especially the sea, may also be found in the article by Leopold Fink. According to Fink, however high the mountains are they can still be climbed, the peaks can be reached, while the sea is endless and boundless, which feeling the author experienced at Lake Neusiedl in connection with the merging of the surface of the water and the horizon, which is how he endeavored to reinforce the “sea of the Viennese” metaphor.²⁸ But this is not the last article on the lake in “*Der Fährmann*.” Alexander Hübner linked the poetry of the romantic poet Nikolaus Lenau (1802–1850) to the region, as we have already read in a quote from Lukas. There was a pursuit to declare the Banat-born Lenau, who was in the Döbling asylum near Vienna at the same time as the “Greatest Hungarian” István Széchenyi, where his life came to an end, the poet of Burgenland and the German region, and to apply his puszta poems to the region of north Burgenland. With the anachronism characteristic of the age, according to Hübner Lenau was, perhaps, the first Burgenlander to immigrate to America. It is true though that the poems of the otherwise Hungaryophile poet primarily dealt with the great Hungarian plain, although he had studied in Magyaróvár, located on the Little Hungarian Plain, in his younger years.²⁹

The *Bergland* periodical dealt with the province over two consecutive years; similarly, the *Österreichs Illustrierter Fremdenverkehrs- und Reisezeitung* had articles in connection with Lake Neusiedl running in several years. While the former periodical, resulting from its image, placed the Neusiedl landscape in contrast with the mountain region, the latter in the course of 1934 took Burgenland into Austria’s landscape contrasts, or landscape symbols, in one of its photo compilations with a photograph showing the puszta and a herd of horses.³⁰ In both periodicals the key was an article written by Maria Mundprecht, an employee

28 Fink, “Vom Meer der Wiener.”

29 Hübner, “Lenau und der Neusiedlersee”; Békési, *Verklärt und verachtet*, 168–69.

30 “Österreichs landschaftliche Gegensätze...,” 16.

of the Austrian state traffic office (*Österreichisches Verkehrsbureau*), in other words a tourism specialist of the period (although in the case of the one article we can only presume she was the author because of the identical first paragraph). In her travelogues Mundprecht described the province's tripartite nature and used a musical simile to portray the contrast of its lonely, melancholic steppe, the lively, pleasant but strange Neusiedl, and the "resonant" mountain region.³¹

The landscape of Burgenland has three tones: in the east the melancholy and loneliness of the steppe, and in the north it is the liveliness and pleasantness of the strangest of lakes, Lake Neusiedl that give the tone and base color of the landscape, but in the south the broad melody of the hills resonates with joy. And so Burgenland, even within its narrow borders, from its steppe and lake, to the mountains and castles, is the province of great contrasts.³²

It is easy to sense that Mundprecht painted the beauties of the landscape, the shimmering horizon of the puszta, even the wailing song of the gypsies, the archaic nature of the east in Dussek's footsteps. And just like the painter, she too grandiosely forgot about Southern and Middle Burgenland almost in their entirety. Nevertheless, she did return to discuss the southern half of the province in another article attributed to her, where she further enhanced the differences between the three parts identified by her, here we should realize that these are not the same as the general north, central and south divisions used by geographers! According to Mundprecht the minor of the loneliness and melancholy of the puszta changes, through the pleasantness and vitality of the lake region, to the joyously ringing major of the landscape of the southern part of the province, which rushes over the mountain ranges of the south with ringing chords. Nowhere is there anything hard, sharp or angular, in the gently rolling peaks of the hills, where castle follows castle and ruin follows ruin, there is nothing disturbing or heroic. Small peasant houses nestle on the hillsides and meadows, and streams rich in trout spring forth from the dimness of the forests, sawmills and watermills clatter, and everywhere multicolored fields and fertile plow land interpose between the chains of hills. "The whole landscape is like a special, heartening detail for our Lord's glorious picture book."³³ This is how the landscape becomes unified for Mundprecht, only briefly highlighting the

31 Mundprecht, "Burgenland."

32 Mundprecht, "Burgenland," 25.

33 (Mundprecht), "Im burgenländischen Hügelland," 14.



Fig. 75. Neckenmarkt: Peasant woman at a well in a farm with pigs and chickens, before 1938.

castles and Tatzmannsdorf in the text. There is no other discursive strategy; the basis of the comparison for her was not Austria, but the puszta of the northern Neusiedl landscape and Seewinkel (Fig. 75).

This approach was more of an exception among the authors. As opposed to this, local historian Otto Aull clearly used the strategy of connection to Austria when he created and later used in his work the expression the Burgenland (Pre-) Alps,³⁴ which is in line with Lukas' "Alpine" Middle Burgenland. Taking the province as a whole, however, is in many cases allegorical in tourism writing. Such as when Paul Eitler in the 1931 anniversary issue of *Bergland*, as sole author, wrote of the lost child (Burgenland) returning home to his mother (Austria).³⁵

34 Aull, "Wanderungen"; Aull, "Das Rechnitzer Gebirge."

35 Eitler, "10 Jahre," 11.

In summary it may be said that the studies appearing in the publications with a more varied selection of topics were themselves more diverse, and dealt with the state of the economy, for example. Such were the compilations of the *Österreichische Illustrierte Zeitung* from 1923 and then from three years later, which put together the first Burgenland magazine issues. The seeds of the topics of the later magazines appeared in these, including recurrent subjects and authors too, who even include local politicians. In this way a reader of the period, apart from seeing the advertisements for the multitudes of ships setting off for America, could read about the history of the creation and naming of Burgenland, about the main tourist attractions, about Lake Neusiedl and its villages, Eisenstadt, the castles, about the province's economy and its famous personalities. Robert Sieger also wrote in this issue about the fieldtrips made from Graz, as did deputy provincial governor Ludwig Leser, who had formerly been a journalist and founder of the short-lived *Vierburgenland* periodical, here he attempted to provide a comprehensive characterization of the people of Burgenland.

Leser published at least on another two occasions, and in his article, slightly rewritten for the third time, he depicted Burgenland as a diverse province from the aspect of the ethnic types, with the central focus being on social problems. In the north he compared the villages of the Heidebauern to the Swabian settlements in Banat, where the industrious "people have an open countenance, as does the land too that raised them." He continues to describe the landscape as being overpopulated because of the large estates, and so described it as a region producing laborers and masons. He presented the people of the wine region between Lake Neusiedl and the Letha as generally jovial but compared to the other residents he also made note of arrogant landowners and a significant number of commuting industrial workers. Commuting was particularly prominent in the Croatian villages. But this was no different, he found, in the land of the Heinzen, where the large estates hold back the people even more. The Heinzen are constantly travelling, on foot and bicycle too, and wander even further afield, and so bring the civilizing effects of other regions home with them. There is no other province in Austria where the people are in such constant motion, records Leser, and it is this that shapes the Burgenland spirit the most. In the third version published he supplemented all this with a prayer, in which, inspired by the German *völkisch* theory, and recalling the beauties of Eisenstadt and the greats of the province, he welcomed the return of the province to the German cultural soil.³⁶

36 Leser, "Der 'Burgenländer'," 435-36, 291-93, 176-77.

Similarly to Ludwig Leser, Eisenstadt museum director Alfons Barb also strove to describe the characteristics of the people of Burgenland. Barb started with an important claim returning to it at the end of the article too, calling attention “to the most interesting sociological result of the past 10 years”: to the birth of the people of Burgenland, not merely as a theoretical construct, but as a concept full of life, just as with the people of the other provinces. Perhaps he borrowed a few ideas from Leser when, in a similar way, he derived the character of the peoples of the region primarily from the features of the landscape, but he also went beyond this, as he also took the minorities into account. Admitting in this way the Hungarian heritage of the territory, in connection with the interaction between the peoples he goes on to mention the hospitality originating from the Hungarians. Examining the origin of the name of the province he writes about the popular belief that the Croatian name of the province “Gradisce” was in use even before the war (grad = castle, town) because of the castle characteristic of the region, and that this expression was also known to the Germans “as Burgenland.”³⁷

Fritz Heinz Reimesch, Transylvanian Saxon and Berlin-based journalist with pan-German leanings, did not view the people of Burgenland with such romanticism in his article written in the *Der Fährmann*, with orientalism being something negative for him. Chastising the people, he lamented on the problems of the identity heritage of Burgenland: there are still too many Hungarian links in the “Hungarian oriented” Burgenland, there are many Hungarian estate owners and intellectuals. The social environment with its gypsy music and goulash, the comfortable attitude to life of the east and the memory of the shining Hungarian kingdom all make the spiritual break from Hungary more difficult. Due to this he recommended more intense education, tourism support, and avoiding treating Burgenland as a kind of colony to where disagreeable official and teachers are exiled.³⁸ This article shows that the question of Hungarian heritage, its landscape and social representation divided the writer’s contemporaries.

As it may be seen in the Table 3 at the end of this section, the focus of the popular tourism magazines was directed toward the Burgenland region mainly at the turn of 1920s–1930s. The most colorful compilation was published in the 1927 special issue of the *Österreichische Monatshefte* – “*Der Fährmann*,” mentioned already on multiple occasions, which did not only contain short pieces by provincial political leaders, such as the aforementioned article by Leser, and

37 Barb, “Der Burgenländer.”

38 Reimesch, “Das Burgenland als grenzdeutsches Erlebnis.”

the articles on Lake Neusiedl already discussed, but also statistics, poems, short stories and particularly travelogues grouped around a certain town or region. Among these the short essay written by library and archives director Paul Eitler entitled “The Discovery of Burgenland” is worthy of special attention. The reason for this is that this piece explicitly reflected on the process and necessity of the discovery of the region as tourist destination, and as we have seen above there were certainly endeavors in this respect in the markedly geographical-scientific discourse. But this was also a result of Eitler’s workplace duties mentioned above; he was responsible for almost all the culture in Burgenland, including tourism.³⁹ So, the strategy with which Burgenland could be attached to Alpine Austria by emphasizing the contrasts is very palpable in his article.

In the wake of the annexation, when Austrians can once again say that the soil of the Heidebauern and Heinzen belongs to them, many have come to know our new brother. They have come to know not only the people of Burgenland, but Burgenland as well. [...] Once we, the citizens of Austria, came to realize that this region was rich in landscapes, and that as a country we have gained something new and special as a result of our annexation of Burgenland, it became impossible not to familiarize ourselves with it. The typical image of cows grazing in Alpine meadows beside a mountain lake surrounded by snow-capped peaks is a romantic picture that is of course common to the rest of Austria. But in Burgenland there are endless prairies, flat and smooth like a calm sea, with well sweeps popping up here and there like giant grasshoppers. Here are bright little lakes, clumsy cattle, and nimble horses. In the Alpine regions there are lakes whose ice-cold water reflects the surrounding icy mountains. But here in Burgenland there is water that seems to stretch to infinity, salty and warm, like a southern sea. There are castles that tell stories about a glorious history. The tales they tell are not just about past storms, but rather tell us of a former German province finding its way back home.⁴⁰

39 Eitler, “Die Entdeckung des Burgenlandes.”

40 Eitler, “Die Entdeckung des Burgenlandes,” 295.

Table 3. The content of the Burgenland special issues

1923	
Österreichische Illustrierte Zeitung	
Alfred Rausnitz	Die Vorbereitung und die Einrichtung der Verwaltung des Burgenlandes
Robert Sieger	Eine geographische Studienreise im Burgenland
Ludwig Leser	Der "Burgenländer"
Franz Stesgal	Burgen und sonstige Baudenkmäler im Burgenland
Viktor Kienbod	Staatswirtschaft und Volkswirtschaft
Karl Vougain	Das Burgenland und das Bundesheer
Adolf Parr	Das burgenländische Schulwesen
Karl Buchinger	Die Landwirtschaft des Burgenlandes
Alfred Ratz	Der Neusiedler See
Josef Reichl	Ban Kürbiske(r)nsetzn
<i>No author</i>	Burgenländische Kurorten und Sommerfrischen
1926	
Österreichische Illustrierte Zeitung	
Josef Rauhofer	Willkommen im Burgenlande!
Alfred Walheim	Wie das Burgenland zu seinem Namen kam
Anton Silberbauer	Geschichte des Burgenlandes
Anton Dachler	Sitten und Gebrauche
<i>No author</i>	Hervorragende Männer des Burgenlandes
Josef Reichl	Burgenland
Paul Eitler	Fremdenverkehr im Burgenlande
Viktor Jovanovich	Der Neusiedler See
<i>No author</i>	Die Vogelwelt des Neusiedler Sees
<i>No author</i>	Seegemeinden
<i>No author</i>	Neusiedl am See
<i>No author</i>	Rust
A. Bogati	Eisenstadt
Anton Silberbauer	Sauerbrunn
Hermann Alzner	Bad Tatzmannsdorf
Otto Aull	Burgen und Schlösser im Burgenland
Hans Morawitz	Burgenländisches Sparkassen und Kreditwesen
<i>No author</i>	Baugewerbe im Burgenland

1927

Alpenländische Monatshefte

Josef Rauhofer	Das Burgenland gehört zu Österreich
Georg A. Lukas	Unser Burgenland
Otto Aull	Burgen und Schlösser im Burgenland
Oskar Cautezki	Eisenstadt
Robert Baravalle	Der Neusiedler See
Anton Silberbauer	Unser Ödenburg
Viktor Miltschinsky	Minderheitendebatte im ungarischen Parlament

Österreichische Monatshefte "Der Fährmann"

Leopold Steiner	Burgenland
<i>No author</i>	Das Burgenland
Josef Rauhofer	Burgenland
Ludwig Leser	Der "Burgenländer"
Paul Eitler	Die Entdeckung des Burgenlandes
Fritz Heinz Reimesch	Das Burgenland als Grenzdeutsches Erlebnis
Alfred Walheim	Heinzenland (poem)
Eduard Adrian Dussek	Das Burgenland im Auge des Malers
Mathes Nitsch	Unterm Apfelbaum
Otto Aull	Burgen und Schlösser im Burgenland
Wenzel Artur Beza	Über die Voraussetzungen und den gegenwärtigen Stand des Bildungswesens im Burgenlande
Leopold Fink	Vom Meer der Wiener
Viktor Jovanovich	Eisenstadt im Burgenlande
Otto Aull	Die Freiestadt Rust am Neusiedler See
Alfred Walheim	Balladen aus dem Burgenland
Alexander Hübner	Lenau und der Neusiedlersee
Otto Morascher	Oberschützen
Hans Ambroschitz	Das Burgenland als Begriff
Ed. Lichtscheidel	Forchtenstein
Josef Thüringer	Burgenland - eine Wiege deutscher Tonkunst

Österreich Fremdenverkehr und Wirtschaft

Anton Schreiner	Aufbauarbeit im österreichischen Burgenlande
Paul Eitler	Fremdenverkehr im Burgenlande
Otto Aull	Weinlese im Burgenland

Hermann Alzner	Herz- und Frauenheilbad Tatzmannsdorf
No author	Bäder Burgen Sommerfrische und Ausflugsziele im Burgenland

1929

Bergland, Illustrierte Alpenländische Monatsschrift

Heinrich Kunnert	Wie das Burgenland entstanden ist
Alfons Barb	Der Burgenländer
Maria Mundprecht	Burgenland - das Land der Gegensätze
Franz C. Franchy	Burgenland

Heilige Ostmark

Franz C. Franchy	Neuland (poem)
Georg A. Lukas	Heimgekehrtes Grenzland
Ludwig Leser	Das Burgenland und seine Menschen
Otto Aull	Zeugen von einst
Franz C. Franchy	Ein seltsamer See
Karl Heger	Deutsche Aufbauarbeit

Volk und Reich

Hans Surff	Geleitwort zum Burgenlandheft
Wolfgang Rohte	Aus der Geschichte des Burgenlandes
Kleo Pleyer	Burgenland und Reich
Friedrich König	Burgenland und Elsaß
Ludwig Leser	Die politischen Gliederung des Burgenlandes
Viktor Miltschinsky	Die Landnahme
Karl Heger	Sieben Jahre Aufbauarbeit im Burgenland
Ernst Streeruwitz	Die Wirtschaft des Burgenlandes, ihr Aufbau und ihre Entwicklungsfähigkeiten
Otto Aull	Die Stellung des Burgenlandes in der deutschen Kultur
Paul Eitler	Der Kampf um Ödenburg

1931

Donauland Monatshefte

Franz Vogl	Was wir im Burgenland erlebten
Karl Horak	Deutsches Brauchtum im Burgenland

Grenzland

Friedrich König	Unser Burgenland
Alfred Walheim	Heinzenland (poem)

O. Kernstock	Festspruch
Georg A. Lukas	Das Burgenland und der Anschluß
Karl Buresch et al.	Grüße der Landeshauptleute an das Burgenland
Karl Homma	Über die kroatischen und madjarischen Minderheiten im Burgenland
Wenzel Artur Beza	Das mittlere Schulwesen im Burgenland seit dem Wiederanschluß an Österreich
Otto Aull	Ungarn und das Burgenland
Paul Eitler	Gerechtigkeit für Ungarn
Franz Vogl	Was wir im Burgenland erlebten
Wiener Landwirtschaftliche Zeitung	
Engelbert Dolfuß	Zehn Jahre burgenländische Landwirtschaft
Anton Schreiner	Zehn Jahre Burgenland
Alexander Kugler	Der Aufbau der landwirtschaftlichen Hauptkörperschaft des Burgenlandes
Hans Sylvester	Landwirtschaftsförderung im Zeichen des Aufbaues und im Zeichen der Krise
Heinrich Kunnert	Aus der Geschichte des Burgenlandes
Hans Graf	Höhenlage, Boden und Klima des Burgenlandes
Fritz Bodo	Verkehrslage des Burgenlandes
Alfons Kromer	Das landwirtschaftliche Schulwesen des Burgenlandes
Anton Bohuslav	Vom landwirtschaftlichen Genossenschaftswesen im Burgenlande
Ernst Streeruwitz	Die Landes-Hypothekenanstalt für das Burgenland
Edwin Beigl	Die Urbarialgemeinde
Karl Barfuß	Burgenlands Pflanzenbau und seine Förderung
Karl Rigal	Burgenlands Zuckerrübenbau und Zuckerindustrie
Hans Bauer	Burgenlands Weinbau
Fritz Bodo Ing.	Der Obstbau des Burgenlandes
L. Kopetz	Der Gemüsebau im Burgenland
Heinz Bitter	Die Rinderzucht im Burgenlande
Heinz Bitter	Die Pferdezzucht im Burgenlande
Heinz Bitter	Die Kleintierzucht im Burgenlande
Alphons Kromer	Geflügelzucht im Burgenlande
Sepp Schmid	Die Bienenzucht im Burgenlande
Franz Strobl	Die Waldwirtschaft im Burgenlande
Karl Hofeneder	Wasserbauten und Meliorationen

1932

Österreichischer Wandervogel

Gero Zenker	Die Geschichte des Burgenlandes
Wilhelm Opellik, Gero Zenker	Landwirtschaft und Wirtschaft
Gero Zenker	Die Minderheiten des Burgenlandes und ihre Bedeutung für das Deutschtum
Anton Plügel	Das Burgenland als Mittler zu den Deutschen im Südosten
Gero Zenker	Kunst im Burgenland
Gero Zenker	Berühmte Deutsche Westungarns
Karl Pagani	Spielfahrt ins Burgenland
Karl Pagani	Die Volkstümliche Überlieferung im Schrifttume des Burgenlandes
Karl Pagani	Aus den Berichten über den Spielfahrten der Jungdeutschen Schar des öst. Wandervogels ins Burgenland in 1931 und 1932

1936

Grenzland

Otto Brunner	Das Deutschtum am Alpenostland
Georg A. Lukas	Die geopolitische Lage des Burgenlandes
Viktor Miltschinsky	Der Kampf um das Burgenland
Heinrich Kunnert	Aufbauarbeit
Ferdinand Matras	Das Burgenland und das Schutzarbeit
Heinz Bagl	Unser Jugend im Burgenland
Fritz Bodo	Wirtschaft und Verkehr im Burgenlande
Othmar Koura	Rosa Werner geb. Stern aus St. Martin ad Raab

1938

Wochenblatt der Landesbauernschaft Donauland

<i>No author</i>	Burgenlands Weinbau
Fritz Bodo Ing.	Das nördliche Burgenland ein Obst- und Gemüseparadies
Heinz Bitter	Die Tierzucht im Burgenlande
Paul Eitler	Burgenland - Deutsches Land
Erich Riener	Deutsche Grenzmark Burgenland
Heinrich Kunnert	Bauerliche Burschenschaften im Burgenland

Landeskunde, Heimatkunde

The German language uses the words *Landeskunde* and *Heimatkunde* for studies related to the history, geography and various aspects of culture of smaller or larger regions and which is generally reflected in the term: local history, or regional and cultural studies. In Burgenland it was already 1927 when the time arrived for the launching of the first periodicals, initially two, designed for the cultivation of local history. The homeland and nature protection association published the magazine entitled *Mitteilungen des burgenländischen Heimat- und Naturschutzvereines*, while the provinces collections (*Landesarchiv, Landesbibliothek, Landesmuseum, Landesvolksbücherei*) launched the publication *Burgenland. Vierteljahreshefte für Landeskunde, Heimatschutz und Denkmalpflege*. Then, after a period of five years, these two periodicals were merged under the name *Burgenländische Heimatblätter*, which is still published today under the care of the province archives and library. In other words, through its predecessors the *Heimatblätter* is actually 6 years older than the *Vasi Szemle* (review of Vas County) and 10 years older than the *Soproni Szemle* (Sopron Review) launched on the other side of the border in 1933 and 1937 respectively.

These publications did away with the standard perspective of local history, as it were, with studies on history, urban architecture and art history, and in favorite topics such as Eisenstadt, Haydn and Lake Neusiedl. It was primarily “dilettantes” and “lay experts” interested in local history, authors and even university and official specialists who were mobilized, but specifically geography studies were rarely published, for example, *Burgenland*, started with a well-known poem by Alfred Walheim followed by a geology study on the extinct volcanoes of Southern Burgenland.⁴¹ From time to time a geographically oriented article of sorts would also be published in the *Landeskunde* column, such as a statistics report on the foundation of the province and its key data⁴² or a climate and hydrography analysis.⁴³ An article more worthy of note from our point of view was the piece written by Hermann Roth on the transport geography problems of the province. The geographer from Rust, who wrote his doctorate in urban geography in Vienna in 1923,⁴⁴ came to the conclusion that it is impossible to identify a “natural” transport development objective for the province: he stated

41 Winkler-Hermaden, “Erloschene Wulkane.”

42 Guttman, “Burgenland”; Guttman, “Die sprachliche.”

43 Graf, “Hydrographie.”

44 Hassinger, “Landesforschung,” 36.

that it is not north-south transport that needs developing, instead the orientation of transport must be switched from the east to the west in parallel with the economic interests, in this way these territories, particularly Middle and Southern Burgenland, may even profit from the new border situation.⁴⁵ Later on other urban geography studies may be found from Wehofsich⁴⁶ from Graz, for example, who we have mentioned on several occasions and who wrote his doctorate in the subject, and from Vienna engineer Karl Ulbrich,⁴⁷ which indicates the increase in interest toward settlement forms different from those found in the Alps. However, these studies did not add much that was new to the knowledge available on the province, even the picture material of these publications overlapped the images published in writings about Burgenland outside of the province, as they primarily participated in the process of the transfer of the knowledge on the region and its culture. But still, in themselves the physical geography articles, for example, promoted the strengthening of the province's unity, its uniqueness and ties to Austria. The reason for this is that by merely discussing the climate of the province, as a matter of course the climate is partially a cultural and partial and statistical construct, or by merely acknowledging, considering the geological similarities and relationships with the Alpine or Styrian regions, they strengthened the provincial identity and the feeling of affinity.

The German national (*völkisch*) ideology appeared at the end of the 1920s in parallel with the happenings in Germany, and became increasingly the norm in the articles, which is an indication that the ideology had reached the lowest level of knowledge transfer, and strove to exert its effect. Evidence of this is provided by the short work written by a prominent official of the *Deutscher Schutzbund für das Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtum*, Karl Christian Loesch⁴⁸ in 1929 in the *Burgenland* periodical, who, alongside Max Hildebert Boehm, was founder of the Berlin-based *Institut für Grenz- und Auslandsstudien*. Loesch informed the people of Burgenland that their province had the most important geopolitical role in Central Europe, and reviewed the geopolitical status and the political tasks deriving from this (reconciliation with the Hungarians, expropriation of the large estates).⁴⁹ In paral-

45 Roth, „Lage und Bedeutung.“

46 Wehofsich, „Zur Siedlungsgeographie des Burgenlandes.“

47 Ulbrich, „Siedlungsformen.“

48 Retterath and Korb, „Karl Christian von Loesch.“

49 Loesch, „Das Burgenland.“

lel with this line of thought articles reinforcing the historical legitimacy of the German people of Burgenland were also published.⁵⁰

After some time, it became a tradition in Burgenland to celebrate the anniversary of the creation of the province, with volumes of collections of studies being published in connection with this. The first such compilation was published by and with the support of the provincial government, and included the processing of a multitude of public matters, categorized according to sector. We learn how the provincial public administration and the education system were constructed, how the economy works, how the roads were built, and how electrification spread. The rich picture material of the volume largely depicts the new public buildings built in the modernist style displaying a Mediterranean-Italian influence, as well as the infrastructure developments, and next to these there were photographs reinforcing the province tourism and geographical image.⁵¹ In this way the themes of the publication are very similar to those of the 1931 issue of *Bergland*.⁵² However, provincial identity building did not only come from pictures, there were a number of studies also written for this cause. One of these was Paul Eitler's article on the ethnic minorities, where the author concluded: the mission of the Croats could be to build a bridge between the Slavic peoples and the Germans and not between Slavs and Slavs.⁵³ Maria Mundprecht also wrote an article on the landscape of Burgenland, in which she combined the work of two of her previous studies mentioned above.⁵⁴

An important element of Burgenland local history and the promotion of tourism, as well as of travel guides is the conservation of monuments, as the history of the province is manifested in its monuments, indeed, in many cases these act as the stops or stations in traditional guidebooks. Dagobert Frey⁵⁵ drew up the first monument topography of Burgenland, which had a greater impact on the Hungarian side (see the following chapter). Frey, upon discovering Burgenland as a new world of art history, interpreted the chain of castles in the province as a rampart of the Alps' line of protection against the East, using this

50 Litschauer, "Zur Geschichte"; Lendl, "Der Anteil des Burgenlandes"; Brunner, "Die deutsche Besiedlung des Burgenlandes."

51 Burgenländischen Landesregierung, *10 Jahre*.

52 Eitler, "10 Jahre Burgenland."

53 Eitler, "Die Minderheiten im Burgenland," 21.

54 Mundprecht, "Die burgenländische Landschaft."

55 Frey changed to Germany in 1931 and joined to serve Hitler's regime later to represent the viewpoints of arts and arts history in the expansionist policy towards the east. Among his activities, his involvement in the registration, takeover and preservation of German art and cultural treasures could be highlighted after the invasion of Poland. See: Arend, "Dagobert Frey."

same strategy of linking to Austria, although not seeing it as being so significant in terms of art history, he viewed Medieval church building within the frame of south German-Austrian style development, which fits into the general history endeavors of his contemporaries. The emphases of the book developed accordingly, integrated, in effect, into the trends of the twentieth century. In this way the churches were given a lesser role than the castles and palaces, and only one or two illustrations of vernacular architecture and industrial monuments were included in the book, such as the Podersdorf windmill and a peasant dwelling in Kleinpetersdorf. Although the author did manage to smuggle *puszta* romanticism into the work with the herd of cattle and the well sweep in the foreground of Engerau castle (Fig. 76 and 77).⁵⁶

Among the efforts aimed at the popularization of tourism, I still must mention the guidebooks. There were guidebooks covering the entire country, of which Burgenland was only a part.⁵⁷ One of the earliest compilations includes a short description of the province concentrating on the castles and Eduard Stepan's Lake Neusiedl essay.⁵⁸ One of the first guidebooks dedicated solely to Burgenland was published by *Südmark*, and according to the introduction Max



Fig. 76. Kleinpetersdorf: straw-thatched peasant house circa 1930

⁵⁶ Frey, *Das Burgenland*.

⁵⁷ Schmidt, *Deutsch-Österreich*.

⁵⁸ Fadrus, *Unser Alpenland*.



Fig. 77. Eberau: Cattle at a well sweep, the castle in the background, before 1938

Hoffer, the author, was a true explorer, who had intended to go on hikes in the Southern Burgenland region already in 1921, on his first attempt, however, he was prevented in this by the Hungarian irregulars fighting against the annexation of the territory (Fig. 78). Thus, he made his first hike around Güssing and Oberwart in the first days of 1922. Subsequently he visited the region on many occasions and was even a participant in the fieldtrips made by the Graz group under the leadership of Robert Sieger. He climbed the Hirschenstein in the Güns Mountains, visited Landsee Castle, Rosalia Chapel and hiked along the ridge of the Leitha Mountains, from where, looking to the east, he saw how “the German mountains finally fade into the Hungarian puszta.” It is quite palpable in the introduction written by the author (Hoffer’s wife drew the illustrations) that this Styrian-Austrian hiker from Graz was searching for and discovered the magic of the east in the cultural landscape of Burgenland. After the short geographical overview taken from the work in the discipline published in the first half of the 1920s, Hoffer provides practical advice and informs the reader of the very few possibilities for obtaining food and accommodation at that time in the province. This is followed by the descriptions of the routes planned by the author traversing the province in the west-east direction, mostly with starting points in Styria and Lower Austria and ending points in Hungary.⁵⁹

59 Hoffer, *Das Burgenland*.

Otto Aull also wrote several guide-books, which primarily focused on smaller areas, and so this local historian from Wiener Neustadt wrote descriptions concentrating on Eisenstadt, Rust, and the Güns Mountains and also Eisenberg, Bad Tatzmannsdorf and the Bernstein Mountains.⁶⁰ After these works, the first to encompass the province in its entirety was the *Burgenland-Führer* published in 1932 and edited by Paul Eitler and Alfons Barb, provincial library and museum directors, with a foreword by Ludwig Leser. The introductory study of its geography was written by Hermann Roth. In this work Roth now developed a much more detailed physical geography view of Burgenland split up into the three sub-regions, social geography, however, was only present in a discussion, once again, of the slowly improving transport geography conditions there.⁶¹ The attractions described in the guidebook were grouped according to five main landscape units: Eisenstadt, the Leitha Mountains and the Wulka Plain; Lake Neusiedl and the Heideboden; the Rosalia, Ödenburg and Landsee Mountains with the Rabnitz region; the Bernstein and the Güns Mountains with the Pinka Valley; as well as the Southern Burgenland hill country. The booklet included a separate chapter on the ethnographical, cultural, agricultural, viticultural, forestry, mining and political characteristics of the province, written by local authors and by others from Graz and Vienna. August Ginzberger, for example, called attention to Burgenland's near-natural condition, and within this, to the uniqueness of the Eastern European character of the Lake Neusiedl region within the German settlement area,⁶² and Hans Sylvester reported on the various blossoming sectors of agriculture, which were catching up to the other Austrian provinces.⁶³



Fig. 78. The cover page of Max Hoffer's hiker's guide.

60 Aull, "Das Rechnitzer Gebirge"; Aull, "Tatzmannsdorf"; Aull, "Eisenstadt"; Aull, "Rust."

61 Roth, "Geographisch-geologischer Ueberblick."

62 Ginzberger, "Pflanzenwelt."

63 Sylvester, "Die Landwirtschaft."

From this brief review it may be seen that there was no lack of guidebooks either, although, as I see it, it was primarily not these publications that took the lead in the creation of the provincial image, instead it was much more the thematic Burgenland special issues published in cultural and tourism magazines outside of the province.

THE DISCOVERY OF BURGENLAND IN THE SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL PERSPECTIVE

Many articles in the Hungarian periodical *Turistaság és Alpinizmus* (Hiking and Alpine Climbing) dealt with Western Hungary after the plan to annex the German-occupied territories to Austria came to light. This was how the Hungarians mourned their territorial loss, which was a natural reaction from them,¹ albeit this feeling was soon to be replaced with revisionist spirit. The magazine was founded in 1910 by the Budapesti Egyetemi Turista Egyesület (Budapest University Hiking Association), and further additional associations chose it as their main publication channel. Apart from the *Turisták Lapja* (Letters of Tourists) this periodical, which focused on tourism and regional and cultural matters and was edited and published by János Vigyázó and his staff, became the most important factor in the golden age of the Hungarian hiking movement. The reason for this was that the promotion of hiking was linked to the presentation of the Hungarian landscape and its attractions, which obviously contributed to the reinforcing of the Hungarian identity, and to its basis in the romantic landscape. In other words, the motivations in this respect did not differ too much on either side of the border. Co-editor Román Komarnicki published his thoughts at the beginning of the only issue published in 1921 and gave a compelling description of the mystery of the Hungarian landscape, and of the changing mission of the creative community behind the publication in the context of a Hungary after the Treaty of Trianon.

It was always the land of our beautiful country that stood closest to our hearts
– the Hungarian plain with its deceiving mirage, the hill country with its

1 Békési, *Verklärt und verachtet*.

whispering forests and the immense rampart of the Carpathians that has braved all the storms of a millennium for us, protected us with its rocky shoulders, with the flag-holding majestic peak, the Tatra at its forehead. For this wretched homeland, to which we cling with even stauncher loyalty in its sad fate, and which when robbed and torn apart remains unified and indivisible for us, — for this old, great Hungarian homeland we will devote the best of our work, the soaring momentum of our words of laudation at the beauty of the Hungarian land, the noblest of feelings of our love for nature enriched with deep love for our country.

Although most attention was visibly paid to the Tatra Mountains in the issues of the time, the issue published in 1921 also included diverse content about Western Hungary. We should not forget that Austria only submitted its claim to the German-occupied territory of Western Hungary after Hungary received the news of the loss of the other territories; this explains the surprise of the authors of the articles when learning that this territory too may be lost. Samu Graf, headmaster at the time of the Lutheran school in Sopron, wrote reports of hikes on the Leitha Mountains. As I have already indicated the symbolic role of the Leitha Mountains, embodying the border of Austria and Hungary, is much stronger than its actual appearance, as it is a rather small, low range of hills and could only be termed a mountain range with a certain degree of wishful thinking. Graf also wrote of how the mountains were neglected, where few go to hike, and is not so well known, but “this too, although small, is a strong pillar at Hungary’s enormous natural border. The great Creator placed it there as a mountain boundary.”² In his article he blended idyllic, romantic images, descriptions of picturesque forests and panoramas with weather events displaying sadness, passing and menace, which, in addition to the grim atmosphere of the world war, also symbolized the coming turn of fate of the region when the article was published.

I have taken the following quotes from Graf’s article to introduce this chapter, a chapter that puts the geographical discovery of Burgenland into perspective in two respects, spatial and temporal. First of all I present the territorial imprints of Hungarian geography and history, and even the Hungarian reception of Austrian geographical and geopolitical knowledge-making, its geographical and historical criticism. And following this I outline the main milestones of Burgenland knowledge-making after World War II, particularly the

2 Graf, “A Lajtahegység,” 79.

developing geographical discourses. In fact, this section will act as a transition to chapter seven.³

A cool autumn morning. The rays of the rising sun struggle though the misty air and bathe the peaks of the Ödenburg Mountains in a rusty brown. Sun and mist battle with each other.

Two hikers from Sopron with backpacks standing on the platform at the Sopron station of the Győr–Sopron–Ebenfurth railway silently watch the fight between light and dark. All at once a third force becomes involved in the battle. Gusts of the sharp north wind shake the windows and sweep colorful leaves onto the platform. The grey patches of fog quickly disappear and the life-giving rays of sun transform the millions of dewdrops into as many shining diamonds.

We board the happily puffing local train from Sopron to Pressburg⁴, which then joltingly sets off toward the sunlit Schattendorf plain. The fields in their parched, worn vesture are warmed by the feeble autumn sun. The land is grey and brown, only the fat green color of the beet fields shows that there is still the force of life under the cold sods.

We get off the train in Eisenstadt. A dear friend is there for us at the station, court judge Josef Zechmeister, who travelled to Eisenstadt on the previous day, and joins us now. We set off on the rise planted with vines, and we soon remove our coats. The hill and the sun have their effect, but soon our way once again leads downwards. We descend along a steep shady path into the valley of a small stream. There we lose the trail markers. Two deep trails lead up to the ridge. We, of course, as usually happens, do not choose the true one. However, we soon realize our mistake, and are not so bothered at the short waste of time. As God's nature is pleasant, even where there are no signs. And anyway, we do have plenty of time.

We progress upward among short, dark green oaks. The way is sunny, but this is what we search for in the autumn. After five quarters of an hour of wandering we reach the ridge, where we pass into an "Allée" lined with pretty oak and beech. The sky, clouded over in the meantime, once again clears, and the clouds race frantically to the southeast. We walk on along the ridge in our shirtsleeves for a good quarter of an hour, until a narrow trail

3 In what follows, we remain consistent in the use of geographical names, although this will cause particularly incongruous situations when quoting Hungarian texts on Burgenland.

4 Later: Bratislava.

joins our route from the left. We take this trail, and after a few hundred steps we are standing on Buchkogel.

An 8–10 meter (26–32 feet) cone protrudes out from the ridge; its sides are covered with dense undergrowth and has a grassy top. A dilapidated triangulation structure rises from the highest point, and if you want to enjoy the wonderful view, you must climb up the rotting beams, because from the base one can only see out to the south and the west. But from these two directions there was enough to see that we did not listen to our rumbling stomachs for a quarter of an hour, but wondered at the not everyday panorama that spread out before us on that beautiful, exceptionally clear autumn day. The contrast appearing in the light and the colors was particularly gripping. Above us the languid rays of the autumn sun flooded from the dark blue sky onto the dying nature.

The light green pyramids of the red pine and the dark green of the common pine, the silver-shining treetops of the huge beech fit for a primeval forest, the white trunks of the yellowing birch and the bright red leaves of the wild cherry took an autumn atmosphere into the green and rust-brown of the oak forests of the gentle hilltops. At the foot of the hills the yellow-grey Steinfeld spread beneath us in the autumn glare with its white guardhouses and munitions stores. Fantastic shadows chase over it, as the wind blows a shred of cloud through the sky. To the west the Steinfeld is bordered by the long line of hills of the Wienerwald. The great painter, Autumn, has dipped it into pure sky blue. Blossoming villages at its feet, a smoke cloud at the end: Vienna. To the southwest the Schneeberg and Rax dictate the boundary for the eyes, with a dark wreath of cloud at their rocky heads. And above all this a unique atmosphere, lightless rays of sun, wilting grass and falling leaves: resignation, renunciation, clipped wings of hope, grey foreboding....

We raided the treasures of our backpacks, then for better or worse climbed up the rotting beams to the top of the structure from where we could see to the north and east. Though we could not see far neither to the east nor to the north as white mists crouched above the grey waves of Lake Neusiedl and the endless marshes of the Waasen, and the steppe of the Little Plain disappeared in swirling fog. And because the rickety structure shook dangerously on the slightest movement, we soon descended onto firm soil.

We continued our wanderings on the trail with yellow markers heading to the west. This next part of our hike consists of some 7 km [4.5 miles] along the ridge. The trail is almost level from Buchkogel to the highest point of the Leitha Mountains, Sonnenberg. The part of this trail leading to the hunting

lodge called the “Pretty hunter” is known to be the most comfortable and pleasant walk in the Leitha Mountains, the “Fürstenweg.” [...]

We rested on the benches on the fresh meadow in front of the hunting lodge and ate our lunch. The mists brought a transparent grey veil to the sky that moments ago had been still dark blue, and through this the sun blinked wearily at us orphaned wanderers. We lit our pipes and talked quietly at length. We talked of spring, pleasant, merry days, times long past. And we talked of the sad present, of our friends, hiking partners, who are struggling, suffering, dying up in Galizien or down in Serbia...

We shouldered our backpacks and headed toward Sonnenberg. Sonnenberg—sun mountain! Just saying this word felt good in the dismal greyness in which we started our journey. Cold mists rose from the valleys, and small blisters of haze adhered to grass and tree, our clothes and faces. Then slowly the blisters became droplets, and gently started to fall.

At the hunting lodge we left the yellow markers, which lead down to Eisenstadt, and followed the green signs leading further on along the ridge. We progressed along this trail in the wet grass. In the meantime the weather cleared and were able to once again welcome the sun on this sun mountain. From there, unfortunately, one sees nothing other than sky and forest, because the bushes surrounding the peak have grown to three meters in height [10 feet]. So we did not linger for long, but descended to the charming Müllenbach valley and from there to Müllendorf. We enjoyed the pleasant view from the hillside above the village, from the common incised with gullies to the numerous villages of the flats of the Wulka and Leitha, to the Ödenburg and Rosalia Mountains and to the snowy peaks of Austria, above which the weary, blood-red autumn sun came to rest. Though from the north dark storm clouds approached, and dull thunder could be heard from behind the Leitha Mountains. We picked up our step, hurrying away from the approaching storm toward the village, where we were heartily received in Thomas Fromwald’s inn. Our friend and Eisenstadt district judge Kálman Kund awaited us there, who at one time had been speaker of the hiking committee in Sopron. Four good friends came together in this way, due to which we did not trouble at missing the 7 o’clock train, and were only able to head to Sopron at 10 o’clock. Only my friend Sándor is still sorry not to have purchased one the three-crown rabbits offered to us by the innkeeper. Then he thought it too dear, today he would surely buy it at that price.”⁵

5 Graf, “A Lajtahegység,” 71-74.

We came to bid our farewells

Not much attention was paid to the western Hungarian or western Transdanubian region in Hungarian geography before World War I. Of course, in part, the phrasing is wrong, as the region itself did not actually exist. This regional designation, as a quasi-landscape name, was not in use. This is why many grumbled,⁶ among them geographer-statistician Gusztáv Thirring that “The charming regions of Transdanubia, the gentle hills of the Hungarian Alps, from which our deceitful neighbors made “Western Hungary.”⁷ In other words, the problem he saw in the concept of Western Hungary, and not just in German Western Hungary (*Deutschwestungarn*), was that the naming process itself creates a region. Thus, one of the defense strategies of Hungarian geographers after World War I was that they did not even recognize Western Hungary as an independent region.

As mentioned previously, at the threshold of collapse Hungarian geography launched itself into the peace preparation work under the leadership of Pál Teleki, which included analyses and ethnic group mapping. It is presumed that it was Teleki himself who wrote the text *Manifesto of the Hungarian Geographical Society to the Geographical Societies of the World*,⁸ which, along with the maps, was submitted at the peace conference in January 1920. It was the physical geography, hydrography and economic arguments that were the most important in terms of the protection of Hungary’s territorial integrity. Although for prosaic reasons there was no mention of Western Hungary in the Geographical Society’s Manifesto (at the time the text was written Austria had not yet submitted its claim to the territory), for the arguments it contained could be adapted for this region too. However, it was not the most prominent university and academic figures of Hungarian geography of the time that took part in the struggle for the territory, as had happened in the cases of Transylvania (today part of Romania) and Upper Hungary (today’s Slovakia), instead it was primarily geographers who had ties to the region, but who were nonetheless prominent.⁹ In addition to these scholars there was a greater number of historians and similar academics involved, who concentrated on analyzing the arguments for the historical legitimacy of Burgenland.

6 Györi, “A nyugatmagyarországi kérdés,” 151.

7 Thirring, “Nyugatmagyarország,” 44.

8 “A Magyar Földrajzi Társaság.”

9 Györi and Jankó, “Burgenland.”

When writing of the geographers first mention should go to Gusztáv Thirring (1861–1941), who was born to a German-speaking family in Sopron. He graduated in physical geography from Budapest University as a student of János Hunfalvy, and it was Thirring who took his professor's work to the press after his death. Additionally, he studied anthropology under Aurél Török. Thus, it was at the department of anthropology that he became assistant professor. His university doctorate dealt with the climate of Sopron. (He did not break away from meteorology later either, being a member of the Hungarian Society of Meteorology.)

His first article in the *Hungarian Geographical Review* on the Rosalia Mountains was published in the year of his graduation, 1884; it was actually a contemporary travelogue, a hike review, in which he described the Rosalia Chapel as the most beautiful destination one may travel to from Sopron, and he too praised the view from there.¹⁰ From 1888 Thirring was employed at the Budapest statistics office, and so demographics became the main, if not only field in his career. Indeed, Gusztáv Thirring was an amazingly diverse geographer, however his effect in Hungary, not being a university professor, cannot be measured in terms of his students. Although he did teach demographics at Budapest University in Lajos Lóczy's department from 1897, and even political geography in his last year there in 1909. The one generation younger yet contemporary Ferenc Fodor wrote the following of his work:

He started with geography, and with a short diversion to anthropology he went on to demographics, and although he loyally maintained his organic and organization connections to geography to the end of his life, he became an internationally renowned scholar of Hungarian demographics. Toward the end of his life he again took a deep dive into the field of geography through historical demographics, because for him this science had also become historical geography. He was our only scholar, filled with the spirit of Hunfalvy, who lived through and understood the geographical approaches of the following ages, the approaches of Lóczy, Cholnoky and Teleki, and was able to appreciate them all in such a way that it seemed as if he had forgotten those coming before. Thirring left a deep impression in the history of Hungarian geography with his enormous work in service of knowledge of the region and its culture, establishing Hungarian academic tourism literature.¹¹

10 Thirring, "A Rozália-hegység."

11 Fodor, *A magyar földrajztudomány története*, 142.

In addition to focusing on Budapest, a significant part of his work on tourism and local history, just like his work on statistics, and historical and urban geography, concentrated on Sopron and its region. Thus, not only did he use statistics to explore the innumerable processes and geographical phenomena in Budapest, and not only did he write guide books about the Budapest region, he also took these two subjects to Sopron with his academic works there including writing on the Sopron housing conditions, its population development, Sopron in the eighteenth century, Sopron's houses and house owners, etc., and his guidebooks including Sopron and the Hungarian Alps, Upper Transdanubia (to mention just a few). However, his work did not only involve writing; he also held leading positions in organizations, such as in the Hungarian Statistics Society, the Hungarian Society of Geographers, the Hungarian Hiking Association, and the Transdanubian Association of Hikers.¹²

Although he lived in Budapest, he kept up to date with the events unfolding in his hometown. Thus, at the end of World War I when the matter of Western Hungary was under discussion, he and his wife “playing at home” attempted to mobilize academics and their contacts in the interest of saving the region and Sopron. Many saw Thirring's work as important in the organizing of the Sopron



Fig. 79. The inaugural meeting of the Western Hungary League November 10, 1919. From left to right: state secretary Géza Zsombor, acting president Aladár Petrik, president Thirring Gusztáv, secretary Károly Bründl, colonel Antal Lehár.

12 Heimler, “Thirring.”

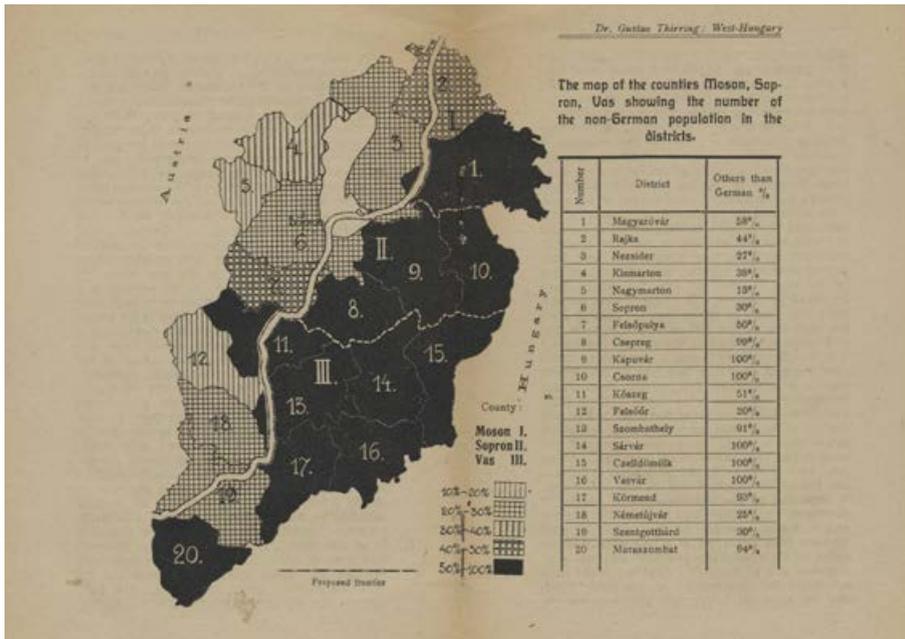


Fig. 80. Ethnic map according to Thirring. Thirring, *West-Hungary*, 4-5. The map was also kept for 1925 with the line of the border planned in 1919, and then published once again in Hungarian: Liphthay, "Burgenland," 35.

referendum, which turned out successful from the Hungarian viewpoint.¹³ So it was no accident that Gusztáv Thirring became president of the Western Hungary League (a branch of the Territory Protection League – Fig. 79), and it was in this position that he wrote the English language article¹⁴ on the territory published by this propaganda organization in the series entitled *East European Problems* (a similar series to the *Flugblätter für Deutschösterreichs Recht*).¹⁵

How did Thirring see and present this territory? In this mainly hill country territory stretching from the Danube to the Raab with its population of 360 thousand, contrary to the approaches of the Austrian geographers and ethnographers, he emphasized how different the Heinz people were to the Austrians. In addition to this, and by no accident, he presented a district-based ethnicity map to prove that the ethnicity principle was being violated in the territory awarded to Austria, because in places the non-German population either comprised a significant minority or even a majority (Fig. 80). Referring to statistics, although

13 Krautt and Hatvan, "Nyílt levél."

14 Thirring, *West-Hungary*.

15 Glant, "Some facts."

not presenting the details of these, he endeavored to underline that the Germans, just like the Croats, had lived in the territory in unchanged numbers for centuries, in other words, there was no indication whatsoever of their culture being in danger under Hungarian sovereignty. Because the local German peoples had “succeeded in making their home a center of well-being and civilization for the whole country, where people could lead a comfortable, content and happy life.”¹⁶ Thirring voiced his concerns in connection with the future of the ethnic minorities of the region in this way: “it is to be feared that the Hungarian and Croat bulks, isolated among the Germans, will be divested of their national traits, so jealously guarded up to the present, under Austrian rule, and thus all that Hungarian civilization and German and Croat culture, progressing in peaceful cooperation with it, have brought forth in the course of centuries, will be destroyed or, at least, affected to such a degree that it will mean regression of some decades in the people’s culture so homogeneously developed hitherto.”¹⁷

As the head of the hiking associations Thirring also strove to mobilize his immediate environment in the interest of Western Hungary. As a result of this, as I have already mentioned, many travelogues in connection with the territory were published in *Turistaság és Alpinizmus* (Hiking and Alpine Climbing). At the beginning of these Thirring wrote two calls for action, arduously arguing, “Today the fate of Hungary will be decided in Western Hungary. What takes place here will be the fate of the entire country! If we are unable to save Western Hungary, to which no enemy of any kind has and cannot have any right under any name: we will have lost Hungary.” Addressing the locals he described the region as follows: “You peaceful people of the gentle lands of the Hungarian Alps: You conscientious Heinz, You ancient ardent Hungarians, You strong Croats of south Neusiedl, who have lived in brotherly understanding for centuries, would you be able to break away from a homeland that has made it possible for you to retain your ancient customs, language and traditions to this day?”¹⁸ In his manifesto to the community of hikers he calls upon them to give up dissent and join forces for the sake of saving Western Hungary and regaining those territories already lost.¹⁹

Thirring had long been using the term “Hungarian Alps” instead of the Austrian-Styrian border mountains” and other names, with a clear objective to dis-

16 Thirring, *West-Hungary*, 7.

17 Thirring, *West-Hungary*, 8.

18 Thirring, “Nyugatmagyarország,” 44.

19 Thirring, “Új feladatok előtt,” 69–70.

tance and differentiate.²⁰ Although his contemporaries, somewhat understandably, only saw tourism advertising in this,²¹ this name received new meaning after Trianon. And as we saw in the case of Lukas and Aull, we can also see the important role these mountains and their names had from the point of view of symbolic space occupation. Today we view the name “Hungarian Alps” as being in the same spirit as the landscape name *Alpokalja* (literally: Alpine foothills). Along with this name in this period the mountains and landscapes of the region all received names that are, more or less, still in use today and with which their naturalization progressed significantly.²²

In addition to the articles written by Thirring, Samu Graf, mentioned in the introduction, wrote about hiking in the Leitha Mountains,²³ and Aladár Hensch discussed his wandering in the Rosalia Mountains; the latter took place in the framework of the propaganda visit made by the Hungarian Hiking Association to Western Hungary, the purpose of which was “to keep alive the idea of irredentism.”²⁴ It is very interesting that Hensch too describes the feeling occurring even today in many Sopron hikers and residents of the Little Plain about whether we will see the *Schneeberg* from a higher point, by climbing up a viewing tower. In connection with this it can be said, referring back to Dussek, that for the population of the region the *Schneeberg* represents yearning for the west, and a symbol of belonging or desire to the Alps. These are sentimental travelogues interwoven with farewells and concern, which, however, are not overcome by a strategy of annexation to Hungary at all costs. Because *Sieggraben*, for example, reminds the author of a Styrian village, and, in fact, along with the neighboring village of *Schwarzenbach*, land use here was very similar to that in the *Bucklige Welt* and the more southern regions in Styria – and still is today. Additionally, the view from the *Rosalia Chapel* also places the hiker on the dividing line of the two large landscape units, both then and today: “And as much as we admired these forerunners of the Alps, it was just as pleasant to observe the peaceful, blessed land of *Transdanubia*.”²⁵

Architect *Virgil Bierbauer*’s piece on the monuments of the region is interesting because it shows the Hungarian perspective of those same monuments, primarily castles and the monuments in Sopron, that *Dagobert Frey* saw as the

20 Thirring, *Sopron és a Magyar Alpok*; Thirring, *Felső Dunántúl*.

21 Prinz, *Magyar földrajz*.

22 Kogutowitz, *Dunántúl II*, 222–312; Bulla, *A nyugati*; Prinz, *Magyar földrajz*.

23 Graf, “A Lajthaegység.”

24 F.-H., “A Magyar Turista Szövetség.”

25 Hensch, “Gerincvándorlás,” 83.

carriers of German culture and German history. Naturally, for Bierbauer “the monuments remaining intact bear witness to how Hungarian culture received the assets of foreign cultures, to how it wished to and was able to learn from foreign peoples, and what unique things it was able to make from what it had inherited [...] [T]he unique historical position of the region is projected into the monuments of Western Hungary: the friendly cohesion and collaboration of the Hungarians and the West only disturbed by purposeless political intrigues in the past and the present.”²⁶ Thus, the strategy of the Hungarian authors was clear: not to deny the German roots and relationships of the culture of the region, instead to emphasize the peaceful cohabitation of the peoples living here, as Hungarian authors were unable to rely on the principle of nationality, in this way they were only able to emphasize the identity and political cohesion of the peoples of the country.²⁷

Indeed, continuing this path, with the use of ethnographic research they strove to isolate and differentiate the local German peoples from the Austrians. We may remember that different responses were made to this question in the Age of Dualism, following World War I the Austrian-German discursive endeavors clearly insisted that the Heinz and Heidebauer peoples belonged to and displayed language relationships with the Austrian-German groups living more to the west. I have already referred to the dispute regarding the origin of the Heinz people, in which Anton Dachler believed that the Heinz people were Frankish settlers based on the evidence of their dialect and construction methods. In contrast to this Irén Thirring-Waisbecker, in agreement with Elemér Schwartz, advocated the Bavarian dialect theory, remarking that increasing numbers of Bavarian settlers had arrived from the 9th century beside the Frankish peoples, who had become weakened and had retreated to the hills at the time of the Hungarian Conquest. Schwartz, however, had a more polarized opinion in that the occupying Magyars had forced the Germans out, in other words the Conquest had created a clean slate in the region and that the Germans had only started to resettle the territory after this. The Austrian narratives contrary to this, and which we have mostly already discussed, originate from the relevant German literature and state that the Germans had not only settled earlier in the region at the time of the Carolingian Dynasty, but had been present there on a continuous basis.²⁸

26 Bierbauer, “Nyugatmagyarország műemlékei,” 85, 88.

27 Törő, “Az osztrák és a magyar történetírás,” 19.

28 Dachler, “Die Besiedlung”; Dachler, “Zur Herkunft”; Thirring-Waisbecker, “Volkslieder der Heenzen”; Schwartz, “A nyugatmagyarországi németek”; Thirring Waisbecker, “Néhány szó”; Schmidt,

The Hungarian reasoning, therefore, partially rested on the work of Gusztáv Thirring's wife, Kőszeg-born Irén Thirring-Waisbecker (1868–1957), who had dealt with the territory in depth before the Trianon decision, in fact in the footsteps of János Rajnárd Bünker (Fig. 81). She was a schoolteacher and in addition to collecting tales and folksongs, she performed ethnographic studies, the latter primarily among the Heinz and the Wend peoples. In Waisbecker's earliest work, which was published by Antal Hermann in his ethnography periodical, she wrote a summary of the existing literature, referencing, for example, the works of Karl Freiherr von Czoernig and territory ethnographer János Rajnárd Bünker, and examined



Fig. 81. Irén Waisbecker in 1889, two years before her marriage to Gusztáv Thirring.

the ethnographic characteristics of the Heinz people, regarded by her as being among “Hungary’s most intelligent ethnic groups, with her even differentiating between the Heinz people of Sopron and of Vas Counties.²⁹ In 1919 she too naturally argued with solemn rhetoric against the separation of Western Hungary. She emphasized the friendship displayed by the Heinz people toward the Hungarians, the differences in language compared to the German of Styria and Lower Austria, and how “wonderful the effect of the Hungarian and German peoples was on each other” seen in the mixing of the languages. She also emphasized the economic and historical significance of the Heinz people, as well as their dependence on Hungary as an economics argument.³⁰ In an Austrian publication a year later she gave a detailed account of the history of the settlements of the Heinz people based mostly on Hungarian literature and strove to qualify the ideas found in the Austrian literature.³¹ In the issue of *Turistaság és Alpinizmus* discussed previously she too wrote a short article; in this, drawing a paral-

“Die deutschen Mundarten.”

29 Thirring-Waisbecker, “Zur Volkskunde der Hienzen,” 15.

30 Thirring-Waisbecker, *A nyugatmagyarországi németek*, 4.

31 Thirring-Waisbecker, “Die Geschichte der heanzischen Niederlassung.”

lel between the Heinz people and the Szeklers, she examined the ballads of the former, and on the basis of these she once again emphasized the friendship of the Heinz people toward the Hungarians and their mixed German-Hungarian language, as “Hungarians and Germans had stood guard shoulder to shoulder in peace for centuries.”³²

After the issue was decided at the peace conference, Thirring did not only bid farewell to the region in words. He made one last hike to the highest point of the Güns Mountains with his sons and János Vigyázó.

We came to this proud view tower to survey once more in freedom the beautiful Hungarian mountain region sentenced to death, to Austrian subjugation: the Ödenburg, Rosalia and Leitha Mountains are bathed in bright sunlight far north above the castles of Bernstein, Lockenhaus, and Landsee, there the enigmatic region of Lake Neusiedl twinkled before us, and yonder we are greeted by Pinka Valley, Schlaining Castle, and Rechnitz. We came to bid our farewells, to fill our spirits with the never-ending beauty of nature, to fill our hearts with pure hatred for the nation-receiver of stolen goods: but we did not think we would even say goodbye to Geschriebenstein! Who would have thought that the hikers’ tower raised by Hungarian society at the highest point of Transdanubia would be given away at the feast of Trianon!³³

In fact the observation tower, as a result of a subsequent border correction, fell precisely on the borderline.³⁴ Luckily the new border did not become impenetrable, and so the sadness of farewell or even the joy of visiting “the Hungarian mountains of Burgenland” or returning to them once again, and the comical anecdotes pointing out the rich bilingual nature of the region, its bilingual culture found their place once more in later hiking accounts.³⁵

After reviewing the Hungarian texts of the struggle for and the farewell to the province, there are two additional works from Thirring that take us to the discussion of the Hungarian reception of the emerging Austrian academic and local history work carried out after the creation of Burgenland. Firstly, in 1925 he dedicated an edited volume to the *Civitas Fidelissima*, loyalist of towns, Sopron, in which Béla Liphthay had written the chapter on Burgenland. In ad-

32 Thirring-Waisbecker, “A hegyek és a ballada,” 90.

33 Vigyázó, “Búcsú az Írottktől,” 218.

34 Suba, “Adalékok,” 306–307.

35 Sztrókay, “Schloss Forchtenstein.”; Anker, “Kirándulás”; Herdinand, “A nyugati.”

dition to discussing the circumstances of the naming of the province, Liphay questioned the historical arguments for the annexation of Burgenland on the basis of the works of certain historians (e.g., Jenő Házi), and even strove to refute the economic arguments (the role of the region in Vienna's food supply).³⁶ Secondly, it is interesting to observe that in the foreword to Gusztáv Thirring's guidebook *Felső-Dunántúl* (Upper Transdanubia), in addition to the glaring case of knowledge-making or rather "knowledge transfer," he made an interesting remark from the point of view of the premise of this entire book:

I am glad to see that Burgenland literature has made great sacrifices in the interest of the presentation (or almost 'discovery') of the part of our country torn away from us and has produced numerous works, the best of which, the works of Dagomar Frey, Max Hoffer and Andre Csatkai, I have made use of in my own work (with indication of the source). However, I cannot ignore the dealings of Burgenland author Friedrich Kramer, who was not loath to writing a large part (nearly the largest part) of his book entitled 'Führer durch das Burgenland' published in Eisenstadt in 1926 word for word from my Sopron guide ('Führer durch Sopron und die Ungarischen Alpen', Sopron, 1912) without any mention of the source whatsoever!³⁷

Thirring's selective view on the Burgenland literature is also notable, what is more he seemingly referenced Endre Csatkai as an Austrian author in this piece. We should know that Csatkai, born near Sopron in a Jewish family, later the legendary director of Sopron Museum and the post-WWII editor of the *Soproni Szemle* (Soproner Review) had a balanced view on the West Hungarian question and made no testimony for either side. His approach to history, his contributions to the monumental topographic works of Burgenland, as well as his origins placed him in a category apart from both the Hungarian and the Austrian scientific communities.³⁸

Ernő Wallner (1891–1982) born in Königsdorf near Szentgotthárd, and with ties to the region, and to Sopron too through his later position as school-teacher and headmaster, was not at the forefront of Hungarian geography, neither before nor after World War II, although he did acquire a university professorship in the 1940s (Fig. 82). However, with his work focusing on in-

³⁶ Liphay, "Burgenland".

³⁷ Thirring, *Felső Dunántúl*, 4.

³⁸ Törő, "Művészettörténet határhelyzetben."

vestigation in the field and later with his principled standpoint he contributed to the continuation of the tradition of empirical urban and rural geography hallmarked with the name of Tibor Mendöl, even in those decades when Mendöl was officially criticized for ideological reasons, and the urban geography cultivated by him had been qualified as bourgeois pseudoscience.³⁹ So, perhaps, it is no surprise that Wallner was among those who performed primary research work in the field in Burgenland. One of his earliest works, and the only one related to the region of Burgenland, *A felsőőrvidéki magyarság települése* (The settling of the Hungarians in the Oberwart region) dates back to the times even before Mendöl arrived on the scene, yet still bears much of value manifested in the jointly developing Hungarian rural geography and ethnography of the time and hallmarked with the names of Zsigmond Bátky and István Györffy. It is no use searching for ideological principles in this work by Wallner, in its purely academic approach he presented the history of the founding of the Hungarian majority settlements, their current geographical circumstances, and their economic opportunities originating from this. In connection with this all he noted, without knowledge of the Austrian standpoint in the matter, was that “the settlements of the Hungarians had no strength for Magyarization, they were unable to become a center rising above the local significance of the region. For centuries they had remained a tiny Hungarian island.”⁴⁰ In the second part of the study, he examined the statuses of the farms, their development and the connections between the landscape and land use in the settlements one by one, then in the third part he examined the buildings in the villages. In other words, it was the ethnographic approach that was stronger in his work. The author’s intent only becomes apparent in the last two para-



Fig. 82. Ernő Wallner, as headmaster of Sopron Grammar School of Economics, 1951.

arrived on the scene, yet still bears much of value manifested in the jointly developing Hungarian rural geography and ethnography of the time and hallmarked with the names of Zsigmond Bátky and István Györffy. It is no use searching for ideological principles in this work by Wallner, in its purely academic approach he presented the history of the founding of the Hungarian majority settlements, their current geographical circumstances, and their economic opportunities originating from this. In connection with this all he noted, without knowledge of the Austrian standpoint in the matter, was that “the settlements of the Hungarians had no strength for Magyarization, they were unable to become a center rising above the local significance of the region. For centuries they had remained a tiny Hungarian island.”⁴⁰ In the second part of the study, he examined the statuses of the farms, their development and the connections between the landscape and land use in the settlements one by one, then in the third part he examined the buildings in the villages. In other words, it was the ethnographic approach that was stronger in his work. The author’s intent only becomes apparent in the last two para-

39 Czirfusz, “A geográfus.”

40 Wallner, “A felsőőrvidéki magyarság,” 7.

graphs of the work, the documentation of the characteristics of settlements threatened by assimilation.

The Hungarian villages of the Pinka Valley are today burdened by the yoke of Austrian occupation. Their economic ties with the Hungarians have been almost completely eliminated. If the connection to the railway line connecting the Lafnitz Valley with the Leitha Valley is constructed they will be taken into the industrial sphere of influence of Lower Austria. The large percentage of the population speaks German, and so will easily fall under foreign influence. The Calvinist Hungarians of Oberwart, along with the others, rigorously insists on their language, but in the lack of schools it is doomed to slowly waste away. The immigration of Germans has increased since occupation, and in the district seat Oberwart one may firmly feel the Germanizing endeavors of the newly installed Austrian officials.⁴¹

Four years later, in response to an article written by Georg A. Lukas in the *Geographisches Anzeiger*, Wallner once again put pen to paper and got involved in the criticism of Burgenland's geographical knowledge-making, although only to the extent of a brief polemic article. "This article is not geography, it is politics, and it has no place here in a geography journal, only in a political periodical at the most," says Wallner, voicing his crushing opinion not only to Lukas but to German geopolitics as a whole. After this he addresses the seven arguments with which Lukas legitimizes Austria's sovereignty over Burgenland:

1. As there was no referendum in the whole of Burgenland, it cannot be proved that the population wanted the annexation, and the result of the Sopron referendum also challenges this.
2. Similarly, the leaning of the Croatian population toward Austria cannot be proven either.
3. The accusation of Magyarization is without grounds, as large numbers of Germans had remained throughout the centuries. It is natural that knowledge of the Hungarian language contributed to the prosperity of the people in Hungary, just like the German language skills of the Styrian Slovenes had contributed to their prosperity in Graz, for example.
4. The argument that Burgenland belongs to Austria in terms of physical geography is questionable, as is the "rounding out" of the foreground of

41 Wallner, "A felsőőrvidéki magyarság," 31.

the Alps. Robert Sieger's findings are much truer regarding the partially natural, partially practical nature of the former Lower Austrian border. Only a small part of Burgenland has an alpine character; it is connected to Transdanubia with its water network. The "Österreichische Puszta" can only be tied to Austria with ethnographic arguments.

5. Burgenland is not superfluous for Hungary in the agricultural sense; see, for example, the importance of the forests. The agricultural produce of Burgenland is not sold more easily in Vienna, Wiener Neustadt and Graz, than in Sopron, Szombathely, and Kőszeg, etc. The Northern Burgenland region is not able to produce a considerable cereal surplus, and the southern region never has had a surplus of cereal crops, and is even forced to import.
6. Hungary did not neglect the western border regions. The Szombathely–Pinkafeld railway was built before the Hartberg–Friedberg line, it was not the Hungarians who should have built a railway on Austrian territory, this is why the two lines were not connected. The Hungarians did not neglect Lake Neusiedl either, as a many Hungarian works had been carried out there. Investing in Lake Neusiedl tourism is a doubtful enterprise due to the fluctuating water level. (Here Wallner's opinion is undoubtedly well-founded in the context of the period, but we now know that, luckily, he was not right.)
7. The historical arguments are without grounds and uninformed, with reference to the literature of Hungarian and German authors.⁴²

Among the writings of Hungarian geographers two other works must also be addressed, the one is the two-volume monograph entitled *Dunántúl és Kisalföld írásban és képen* (Transdanubia and the Little Plain in words and pictures) by Károly Kogutowicz. After the war Kogutowicz, a geography professor at Szeged University, had been asked by Teleki to draw up ethnographic maps (partly with Zsigmond Bátky) to help with the geography work for the peace preparations. In the referenced work he criticized the German national geopolitical literature in general.

Cut off the bad shoots of the new notion, then the healthy stem will remain, the discovery of the values of ethnicity, their enhanced validation in the national society. [...] Which in this respect is good if we can turn it to our ad-

42 Wallner "A burgenlandi kérdés."

vantage. It is without doubt that the Hungarian nation can only profit if attention is paid to the questions of existence of the Hungarian people, if the dormant forces lacking in attention are brought to its service. The strengthening of the people's identity, its culture, and the involvement of broad masses of people into the life of the nation: this is an important task. If we can recognize this, we will understand the desires of other peoples too.⁴³

He separately pointed out the unsustainability of the theories of Otto A. Isbert and Albrecht Penck, in connection with which he too voiced serious criticisms regarding Burgenland: "The hostile attitude surging to us from the geographical descriptions of the Western Hungarian territories, 'Burgenland' is outrageous. It is already nearly tiresome that every German geographer-author feels the calling to subject Hungarian ethnic policy to severe criticism, to accuse the official Hungarian statistics of falsification, to mention aggressive Magyarization, the consistent, merciless oppression of the ethnic groups at every turn."⁴⁴ Following this he dealt with multiple authors, rejecting Penck's notion that Transdanubia is a part of the German national soil, and then refuted Lukas' aggressive thoughts, which even Wallner had strove to destroy, and examined the question of German settlement. But then he turned away from Burgenland, only returning to it in his chapter presenting Western Transdanubia, or rather the region beyond the Raab. Here, however, in the presentation of physical geography he now uses the tried and trusted Hungarian geographical strategy: he referred to the territory as a whole, with consideration to the former country border and the natural landscape borders in the landscape-based descriptions. Once again, with his maps he reacted to the Ziegfeld-style German geopolitical maps treating them almost as a caricature. What he did was to reverse the color coding, using black to depict the Hungarians. So it was in this way that he drew the map of the territorial spread of the Hungarian and German peoples in the fifteenth century, and, in conflict with the Austrian standpoint, he strove to present the continuity of the presence of the Hungarians, and the impacts pushing the Hungarian ethnic group back (Fig. 83).⁴⁵

In the discussion of the question of ethnicity, Kogutowicz once again targeted the work of several Austrian-German geographers, such as the Burgenland sections of Krebs' Austria monograph, analyzed previously, and particularly

43 Kogutowicz, *Dunántúl II*, 67.

44 Kogutowicz, *Dunántúl II*, 69.

45 Kogutowicz, *Dunántúl II*, 222–32.



Fig. 83. Kogutowicz's map on the territorial distribution of the Hungarians and the Germans up to the fifteenth century.

Isbert's Burgenland piece, which I also examined in detail. Here Kogutowicz's "anti-maps," which pointed out the strange features of Isbert's maps, are especially interesting (Fig. 84 and 85). In addition, he also made an alternative ethnic map, which actually illustrated that both parties should be pleased about the new borderline: the Austrians because in comparison to the Hungarian side the Burgenland districts were nowhere near as ethnically pure; and the Hungarians because the Trianon border goes further west in several places than the actual language border (Fig. 86). It must also be mentioned here that a color ethnographic map produced by Kogutowicz with a partially similar message had also appeared in the first volume of this work. So Kogutowicz, in my opinion, had dealt with the matter of the province with considerable objectivity. His sobriety was particularly apparent when he placed the birth of Burgenland into the balance from the points of view of economy and nationality (Fig. 87).

We acknowledge that the situation of 'Burgenland' has changed entirely since Trianon. This was a peripheral territory of Hungary, three or four times more distant from the center of the country than from the Austrian capital. By joining Austria it has become closer to Vienna, the purely economic connections have now broadened and have become closer. [...] In the long run the Germans of Burgen-

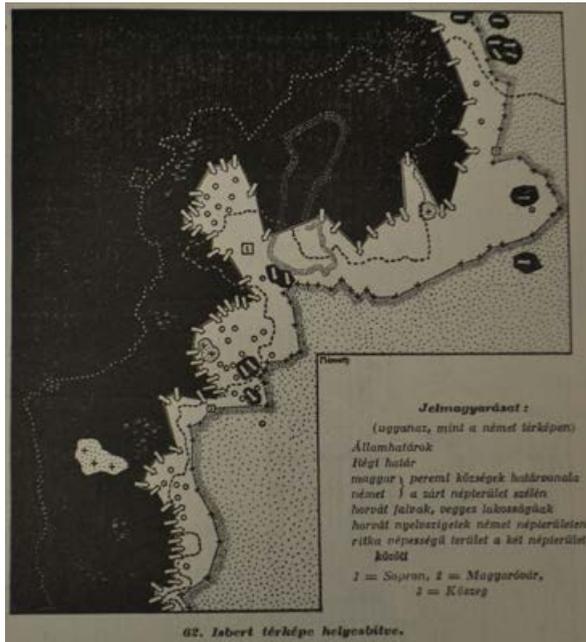


Fig. 84. The Isbert map corrected by Kogutowicz.

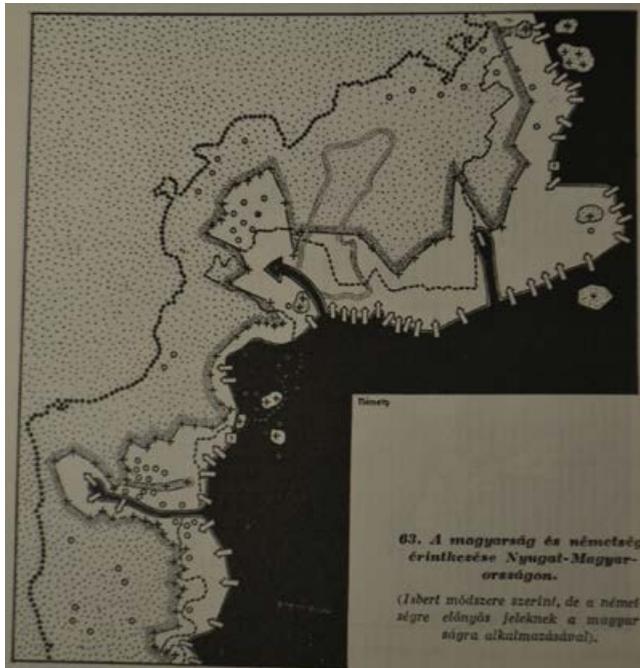


Fig. 85. The Isbert map reversed by Kogutowicz.

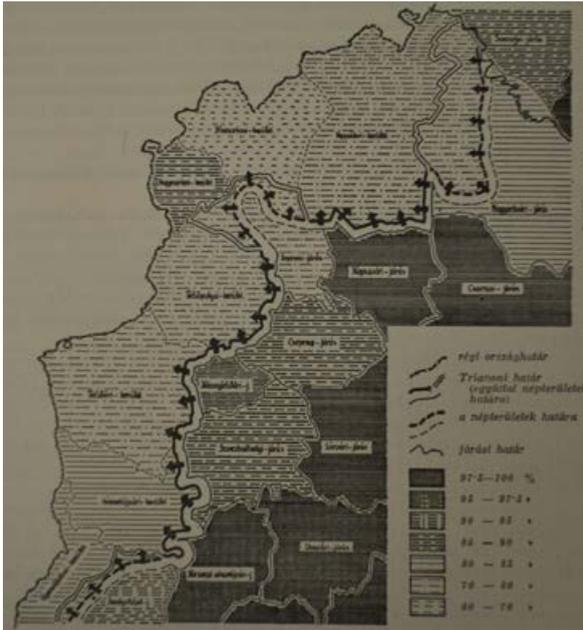


Fig. 86. Kogutowicz's map on the Hungarian and German ethnic territories.

land, or should we say the German people of the former Western Hungary must count these advantages along with the at least equally serious losses. The low number of German citizens of the towns in Western Hungary and the low German intelligence in the German villages would have stood up against the voluntary or unstoppable Magyarization for a great deal longer [...] The situation of the Hungarians stuck in the territory of Burgenland is not dissimilar to the former situation of the German people. Today, cut off from the Hungarian territories in the upper valley of the Rabnitz and the Pinka, they have got into a closed, peripheral situation in Austria similar to that bemoaned from the German point of view.⁴⁶

In addition to Kogutowicz, Béla Bulla wrote about Transdanubia on a similar scale, where, in theory, the province of Burgenland might be found between the lines, although it no longer existed on paper when the work was written. From 1941 Professor Bulla was head of the physical geography department, contemporary and friend of Mendöl, at Budapest University, and it was this same year that his educational booklet was published. Bulla's strategy was very much one of denial, he hardly paid any attention at all to the current political borders and preferred to remain with the old borders (the Leitha and the Rosalia

46 Kogutowicz, *Dunántúl II*, 240-241.

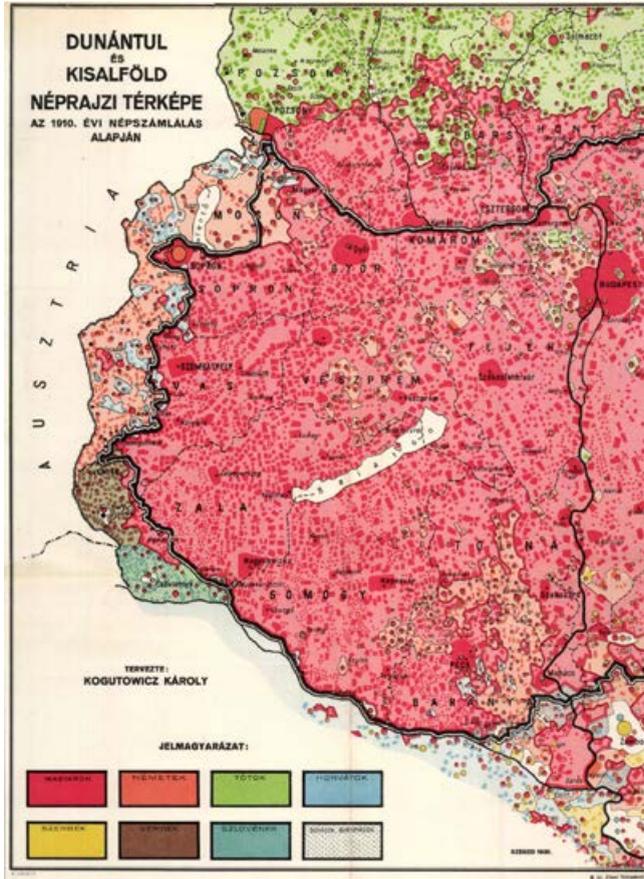


Fig. 87. Ethnographic map of Transdanubia and the Little Plain. This Kogutowicz map also shows how ethnic cartography plays with colors: Kogutowicz nuanced the mixing of the population with circles and squares swimming in a sea of color. Sopron's large (originally) orange (German) circle swims in the red Hungarian sea and not vice versa. Just as in Magyaróvár, Moson, Kőszeg, etc.

mountain ranges lie on the country border). He only referred to them in certain side remarks, such as the western border of the Hungarian life space being marked out by the mountains of the Eastern Alps, or that the resources of certain mines are now beyond the border because of the Trianon decision. Bulla's closing remarks indicated that Hungarian geography had not given up on the lost peripheral territories of the western regions of the country, as this region had always been of particular political importance: "The western gate region, the most sensitive point of Hungary in terms of state geography, gladly took in the fruitful cultural effects that made the Hungarian land and spirit European, but it was precisely in this part of the country where the Hungarians had to

be constantly on their guard so that their European country remains Hungarian and independent.”⁴⁷

Following World War I both the geographers and the historians of Hungary observed the Burgenland research carried out by the Austrians with considerable criticism, doubt, and sometimes concern, sensing the program behind it and its main goals. As at the time of the creation of the province historical legitimization was given a key role, the Hungarian community of historians had observed the happenings in Burgenland closely, perhaps even more so than the geographers. The first reactions from the historians were by no accident related to the narratives of the German history of Burgenland. Jenő Házi, Sopron archivist and history-geography graduate, and Sándor Domanovszky, Budapest University history professor and history expert with the Hungarian peace delegation, had both rejected the Burgenland historical construct based on the territories pledged to Austria in the Middle Ages in their newspaper articles published in 1920.⁴⁸ The conflicting standpoints, such as the prior arrival of the Germans, appeared in numerous works.⁴⁹ Then at the end of the period Domanovszky's student Miklós Kring (later Komjáthy) wrote a critique summarizing the cardinal points of Burgenland history. While at the end of the 1920s there was still a considerable dispute in progress on the question of the German orientation,⁵⁰ which was still true at the beginning of the 1930s in connection with the Isbert affair, following 1933 the political atmosphere and the international situation changed fundamentally, and the German geopolitical threat weighed increasingly heavily over Hungary in connection with the ethnic Germans in Hungary, which could be felt distinctly in Kogutowicz's text.⁵¹ Kring wrote his piece at the middle-end of the war, yet he still produced an analysis that was very much independent of the context, as well as reserved and neutral. After graduating from university Miklós Kring won a scholarship to the Hungarian History Research Institute in Vienna, which afforded him the opportunity to study Austrian-German historical literature in detail.⁵² From this point onward he observed the literature produced in the German language territory, and criticized the historical errors, false historical approaches and political orientation of Austrian and

47 Bulla, *A nyugati országrészek*, 76.

48 Házi, “Történelmi jogunk”; Törő, “Az osztrák és a magyar történetírás,” 21–22.

49 Kubinyi, “A burgenlandi”; Traeger, “Az elszakított nyugati részek”; Schwartz, *A nyugatmagyarországi német helységnevek*; Kapossy, “Burgenland”; Polány, “A Burgenland magyar neve.”

50 Bleyer, “A magyar”; Gratz, “Magyarország.”

51 Kogutowicz, *Dunántúl II*, 63–69.

52 Bélay, “Komjáthy.”

German authors in numerous book reviews.⁵³ His work we are currently discussing may have been written in precisely this way, and thus Kring performed a review of a number of main questions in terms of Burgenland history, and the related geographical investigations, the core of which came from the studies of the *Handwörterbuch*. The first issue was the settling of the region and its process, in connection with which Kring did not find the arrival of the Franks during the Carolingian Age and the continuous presence of the Germans during the Migration Period to be sufficiently demonstrated. He also dealt with the process of the development of the so-called *Gyepű* (the Hungarian border protection system) and large estate system, with the pledged territories, with the urban Jewry and Germans, and with the Magyarization of the latter. At the end of his study, while discussing the problems of the *Anschluss*, not only did he make a smart reference to the existence of Burgenland, but, similarly to Thirring, he made a remark also worthy of note from the point of view of this book.

As a matter of fact this change of administration drew the same political conclusions as that already recognized by German historical science in the past: the province formed from the western band of three Transdanubian counties had never been a single unit, neither in the historical nor in the geographical sense. Today it is still difficult to decide what effect the elimination of political Burgenland had and will have on those German endeavors that set the scientific research of this territory as their goal. In any case it is very probable that the outbreak of World War II represents a break here too.⁵⁴

The problematic question of Austria taking cultural possession of the formerly Hungarian territories emerged in connection with Dagobert Frey's monument topography. Many mentioned it with bitterness while others reviewed the book with criticism,⁵⁵ among them Szombathely-born archivist János Kapossy, who with good sensibility pointed out that after "political occupation" the second step is "cultural annexation." However, he was not blaming Frey: "we understand and commend Vienna in how it is throwing itself with greedy interest at the unknown monuments and treasures of the newly acquired province,"⁵⁶ in other words although harshly criticizing the process, he was not at all surprised

53 E.g., Kring, "Eitler."

54 Kring, "Burgenland."

55 Peitler, "Das Burgenland," 62; Nagy, "Nyugatmagyarország Ausztriában," 629.

56 Kapossy, "Burgenland," 153.

at Frey's practice of "cultural occupation." On the contrary, he blamed the Hungarian community of art historians, who had failed to perform similar investigational work and appropriately publish the results: "Indeed, Dagobert Frey's small book, if one counts them well, publishes more first class photographs of unknown monuments in one fell swoop than those appearing in the sum total of the dilettante Hungarian literature on the art history and art memorials of Western Hungary to date, including the illustrations in both books and periodicals."⁵⁷ Therefore, in his final words he called upon his contemporaries to research the monuments on the annexed territories of Hungary and evaluate these monuments with a Hungarian approach. However, this was not the only politics of memory conflict between Hungary and Burgenland. Another similar affair was the differing judgment of Franz Liszt and Josef Haydn on the two sides of the border, particularly the question of whether Liszt was a Hungarian or Austrian composer.⁵⁸ Based on similar experiences, Elemér Mályusz urged the acceleration of Hungarian-approach research: "Indeed, there is a need for investigation with a Hungarian purpose and performed in a Hungarian spirit, however, this must be completely unbiased."⁵⁹

The lines quoted here from Kapossy and Mályusz indicate that many had felt the competition, the struggle over the Hungarian memory of the territory's physical and intellectual heritage. Cistercian monk and German place name researcher Elemér Schwartz (1890–1962) voiced similar concerns (Fig. 88). He was born in Rotenturm, and so a "native of Burgenland," and after World War II became a German language and ethnography professor at the university in Leuven.⁶⁰ Schwartz, who had dealt with the subject already while a student, documented the Austrian efforts to create knowledge on Burgenland with a certain degree of irony, separately mentioning the work of Eduard Stepan.

Annexation has only been recently mentioned, and already the Austrians were viewing the new territory with interest. Teachers, geologists, photographers, etc. came to our west and researched it all over. Soon after articles were published on 'Heinzenland', which they threw among the people in circumvention of all political tendencies. The population gladly read these, as they were about them, and there were many who ordered the magazines of

57 Kapossy, "Burgenland," 154.

58 Törő, "Az osztrák és a magyar történetírás," 23–26.

59 Mályusz, "Az új német," 253.

60 Galambos, "Száz éve."



Fig. 88. Elemér Schwartz (2) among his Cistercian brothers.

Graz and Vienna precisely because of this. The damaging consequence originating from this was that the western Germans absorbed not only these articles on ethnography but the Austrian politics too, and soon got closer to the neighbors in terms of their sensibilities as well. On seeing this, the Austrian pan-Germans did not fail to grab any opportunity to create and maintain a perpetual link with our people. To not miss out on their pound of flesh the attention of the imperial pan-Germans was directed at this piece of Hungarian territory, and Eduard Stepan, after the Trianon award, held lectures and projected illustrations on Burgenland in Munich already in 1919. When after much just opposition in 1921 Western Hungary finally fell under Austrian sovereignty, a lustrously produced album entitled *Deutsches Vaterland-Burgenland* (Vienna, 1920) was presented to every school and authority, in which, with bright illustrations, the history, geography, nature, folk traditions, etc. of new territory was presented to the Heinz people. The book had such a great influence (it was prescribed in the schools as a textbook!) that the people started to submit to the Austrians not only emotionally but also in terms of culture, even if they were unable to completely cut the ties to Hungary that had existed for five thousand years.⁶¹

61 Schwartz, "A szülőföld kultusza," 61.

This same irony may be found when he “celebrated” the activities of the Burgenland regional and cultural publications,⁶² and Schwartz did not only point out that the Austrians do things better, a common opinion in Hungary even today, and that it would be worthwhile learning from them, i.e., learning regional and cultural propaganda, but, similarly to Kapossy, he also sensed the competition posed by “the Austrian scientific expeditions” from the point of view of Hungarian researchers. As he wrote, now they are competing with “the weapons of intelligence” in the legitimization struggle for the territory, and so he too published his research work ahead of time just so that he could defy the similar publication issued on the other side of the border for the tenth anniversary of the province.⁶³ Apart from the question of the pledged territories, as mentioned above, Schwartz was also interested in the problem of the prior arrival of German settlers. One of the options available for carrying out investigations, which both Schwartz and others made use of,⁶⁴ was a linguistic approach to the research of settlement history. Beside this main work of his, Schwartz also criticized the naming of Burgenland, and on examining the legitimization role of the name he dismissed the use of Hungarian versions of the name based on a mirror translation.⁶⁵ His following conclusion may even be applied to name disputes of the present day:

Whatever they think in Austria of the name of Burgenland, and how much they abhor all of its Hungarian implications, one thing is certain, whether they accept its origin from the three ancient Hungarian counties or from the western outposts that our ancestors built against the incursions of the Austrian princes in defense of the homeland, however they derive the name, the name of Burgenland itself will act as monumental proof of the ancient Hungarian right and as the most incontrovertible refute of the Austrians’ “historical right.”⁶⁶

In other words, the historians and geographers were very much occupied with defense, with many of them writing critiques of the studies the Austrians had published. To mention more of these: Güssing notary Elek Kubinyi wrote very critically of everyday life in Burgenland on the fifth anniversary issue of

62 Schwartz, “A Burgenland néprajzi folyóiratainak iránya.”

63 Schwartz, *A nyugatmagyarországi német helységnevek*, 6–7.

64 E.g., Polány, “A Burgenland magyar neve.”

65 Schwartz, “A Burgenland magyar neve.”

66 Schwartz, “A Burgenland név,” 487.

Stepan's *Festschrift*, and of the *Österreichische Illustrierte Zeitung*, as well as of how public affairs were organized, and, naturally, exposed the shortcomings of the many claims made in these publications. An example of the culture fighting:

The Austrians do actually discover, out of flattery, a whole bunch of writers, especially poets in the *Festschrift*, although largely either Austrian or born in postwar Hungarian territory, but if they have spent just twenty-four hours in today's Burgenland they already count as Burgenlanders and enrich the literature of Burgenland. [...] The *Festschrift* enlists many more Hungarian-born German writers to join the famous of Burgenland, but writes disapprovingly of them that although they wrote in the German language they did so in the Hungarian spirit.⁶⁷

Using a similar approach Ferenc Olay, official at the ministry of religion and education, analyzed the Burgenland textbooks and readers on regional culture. "Concealing the Hungarian nationality of Liszt and Kitaibel, horrifying with the terrors of the Huns, disregarding the Hungarians in the world war, the annexation of Burgenland as highlight; how Sopron regressed remaining Hungarian, the centuries of foreign Hungarian rule, etc. are repeated in this book like so many other injurious and purposeful lessons."⁶⁸

There were also others who examined the province using a more general approach.⁶⁹ Pinkafeld-born ministerial legal advisor Ernő Traeger, for example, discussed the lack of oppression of the Germans of Western Hungary and the lack of grounds to the accusation of Magyarization. He then went on to review the economic problems occurring as a result of the new borderline. He even pointed out examples at the village-level, such as the separation of lands and their owners, the disturbance to efficient farms and sectors (sugar production, cattle trading, etc.), as well as the situation in which the interacting economy between the hill and mountain regions was rendered impossible. However, he not only portrayed this in relation to each side of the border, but also wrote about how the province cut into two by the Sopron referendum had made Burgenland unviable. In other words, here he went no further than the findings of certain Austrian and German authors. At the end he did not forget to add

67 Kubinyi, "A burgenlandi," 255–56.

68 Olay, "A múlt nyugalma," 268.

69 "Burgenland"; Nagy, "Nyugatmagyarország Ausztriában."

a few words of ironic praise: in his opinion, in fact anything good originates from the Hungarians.

You have to hand it to them, the government does actually intend to satisfy the demands of the population in all respects and, in intellectual-cultural and economic terms, maintain the new province at that high standard Hungarian rule had raised it to. The people of Burgenland are healthy, religious, moral, diligent, honest, thrifty, intelligent, wish to learn and like to cultivate themselves. In a word they have retained all the virtues and characteristics due to which this land and its people constituted one of the most valuable parts of Hungary.⁷⁰

Put another way, in addition to rejecting the Austrian academic endeavors viewed as propaganda, these articles maintained the overall view that things are not going so well in Burgenland, the local government is not at the top of its game, that the support the province received from the federal government generated a loss, that the locals were not so prosperous, in other words that the situation could only be solved by reversing the annexation. In this way, on the two sides of the border, not surprisingly, two separate Burgenland discourses were established, where the different viewpoints, the different positions of the speakers determined the logic and rhetoric of the arguments.

Grenzland reloaded

It cannot be said of any geographical formation that its geographical identity remains unchanged over time. Following the commotion of the decades between the wars, the Burgenland discourse became much simpler following World War II, for which there are several reasons. On the one hand, the political environment of knowledge-making changed radically with the lowering of the Iron Curtain. Austria became a part of the “West,” minefields were established twice on the Austrian-Hungarian border, before and after the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, the mines being taken out on one occasion in the meantime, then again, and for decades the touch-sensitive electric signaling system “guarded” the border. With the radical change of Burgenland’s geopolitical situation, the *Grenzland* (Borderland) metaphor gained new meaning. Soviet troops were stationed in Burgenland until 1955, and as Hungary was now in another world system,

70 Traeger, “Az elszakított nyugati részek,” 184.

the main point of reference of the 1920s, Hungary, very nearly ceased to exist from the point of view of knowledge-making. Hungarian attention directed at the territory diminished, and, in the same way, the issue of the Hungarian ethnic minority beyond the border and of the Hungarian heritage in general had almost become a taboo subject. However, the time perspective also grew, and, along with this, the shadow of Hungarian territorial revisionism was no longer projected onto the region. In the same way, there was no longer any chance of territorial adjustment at Sopron, which was made even more redundant by the expulsion and relocation of the Germans of Hungary. Some eight thousand Germans from the city of Sopron alone were forced to leave their homeland. Therefore, the Burgenland identity construct now looked almost entirely inward, but the relationship with the perpetual provinces of Austria also changed. In the interwar period not only had there been the chance of Hungarian revision, but also the division of the province and its connection to the neighboring provinces hung over Burgenland like the Sword of Damocles. The latter eventually happened in 1938. However, after the province was reestablished in 1945 there was no longer any rationale for this, which had an impact on the narrative of the bipartition of the province. The emphasis on the two faces of the province as a tourism resource received an increasingly important role, nevertheless the narrative of the developed north and the undeveloped south in the economic sense encouraged first federal and then, much later, European Union support.

Related to this, the other important factor is that in the economic sense Austria had become a full member of the developed West, and today has even become one of the richest states, which had a strong impact in Burgenland too. Palpable economic development, increasing prosperity placed the development of the identity of the province and public discourse about it onto the agenda, which also had a noticeable effect from the point of view of geographical knowledge-making. In other words, there remained plenty of work for historians and geographers who were developing the identity policy: facilitating the closer integration of Burgenland with Austria, in both material and intellectual respects.⁷¹

As I have already mentioned in places, starting already from the 1930s multiple assessments of the geographical discovery of Burgenland, i.e., its scientific acknowledgement was published on the Austrian side too, almost without any temporal perspective. But the work of the Graz discoverers Robert Sieger and Marian Sidaritsch could also be appreciated in this way.⁷² The large-scale works

71 Widder, "Under Construction"; Artner, "Land der Dörfer."

72 Leser, "Die wissenschaftliche Erschließung," 32.

of the *Handwörterbuch für Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschum* and the *Burgenlandatlas* as broad synthesizers of the literature published up to that point also gave cause for the evaluation of the scientific “discovery work” about the province.⁷³

New accounts of the developments in this respect were published for the 25th and 30th anniversaries, when a publication with a very similar topic to that issued on the 10th anniversary was called to life in 1946, and the volume of studies entitled *Burgenland Landeskunde* was published in 1951. Concerning the latter, the provincial government was noted as the “editor,” and the members of the editorial board were only listed in the foreword. Half of the 44 contributors were Vienna-based, 18 were from Eisenstadt (and there was one author from each of the settlements of Rust, Neusiedl am See, Leoben and from London). What is also interesting is the lack of Graz authors on the list. Provincial chief archivist Josef Karl Homma and later archive and library director August Ernst wrote several chapters as the connecting tissue of the articles. In other words, the proportion of local authors contributing to the work had grown significantly compared to the 1920 *Festschrift* or the *Burgenlandatlas*, for example. Nevertheless, the volume has a descriptive style, the geographical approaches are mainly present in the natural sciences section, and there is no longer any sign of the need to legitimize the transfer of Burgenland to Austria seen in the interwar period, nor, naturally, of any geopolitical language.

Hugo Hassinger’s reevaluations of the status of Burgenland research, with minor differences, were published in both volumes. How, from the perspective of several years, did he write his memories of Burgenland research, particularly of work on geography and local history? Naturally by filtering out the burdensome heritage of the national socialist regime from the story.⁷⁴ Following the presentation of the academic institutions in the province and the forums (periodicals) in which the work was published, he firstly praised the Sieger school of Graz, mentioning Wehofsich, Lukas in connection with his articles on “geography and geopolitics” and the hiking book editor Hoffer. He similarly praised the geography research work performed by Vienna University, which primarily saw the light of day in the form of doctoral theses. In addition, he also made mention of the travelogues, the Burgenland special issues published by periodicals, and the Burgenland monument studies of Frey and Endre Csatkai. On the Hungarian side he cited the works mentioned above of Kogutowicz and Bulla, however, he referred to the language history studies of Elemér Moór and Ele-

73 Hassinger, “Das Burgenland.”

74 Hassinger, “Landesforschung”; Hassinger, “Die Wissenschaft.”

mér Schwartz as “not consistently objective” works. As I have highlighted further above, Hassinger too viewed the *Handwörterbuch für Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtum* and the *Burgenlandatlas* as the two great summarizing works of the interwar period. After praising the latter, in which he too worked as intellectual leader, he stated with satisfaction that “no other Austrian province has anything similar, and in this way small Burgenland caught up in the area of the sciences, and today can look back at the past 25 years with pride.”⁷⁵

Apart from the German national geopolitical theory, the Burgenland discourse in these works did not change suddenly. This means that the main narratives in connection with the creation of Burgenland, its annexation, and the expression of the historical right to the territory had remained.⁷⁶ An example of this and a curiosity at the same time is the foreword by Chancellor Karl Renner, in which he saluted the Heinzen and Heidebauern, who now “had been liberated in perpetuity,” and “*Burgenland is here again*” (*das Burgenland ist wieder da*).⁷⁷ Geographer Konrad Wiche drew up the province’s concept in the *Landeskunde*, who at this time worked beside Hassinger as associate professor at the institute of geography at Vienna University. Wiche called Burgenland one of the small component parts of Central Europe, thereby placing the province into a new context, and, at the same time, gave an early frame to the rethought regional role of Austria and Burgenland within it after 1945.⁷⁸ “Central Europe is in a transitory position between an intensely divided West turning to the Atlantic Ocean and its peripheral seas and the more closed regions of the East. The innermost essence of our life space lies in this mediatory role, this represents its noblest of roles. Not only does Austria’s future depend on the performance of this mission, but that of the whole of Europe too,” and conveying the difficulty of the task he continued saying “in the present political conditions.”⁷⁹ In his interpretation the life space in the quote is Burgenland, which, according to Wiche, is a multiple border region, not only between physical geography units, climate zones, biogeography zones, and peoples, but also between “national and cultural spheres of interest.” But this geographer, essentially concentrating on the explanation of the geomorphology, did not venture any further than this regarding political geography.⁸⁰ Indeed, the entire book is quite apolitical, the only ex-

75 Hassinger, “Landesforschung,” 37.

76 Brunner, “Der burgenländische.”

77 Renner, “Der Bundespräsident.”

78 Tóth, “Fagyból a tavaszba.”

79 Wiche, “Lage, Grenzen und Gliederung,” 33.

80 Wiche, “Die Oberflächenformen.”

planation for which may be that Burgenland was under Soviet occupation until 1955. Nevertheless, the name *Grenzland* used frequently by the authors of the work gained new meaning: it represented the dividing line between the East and the West in the context of the Cold War.

In the quarter-century anniversary volume, in line with the earlier analogies, prominent sculptor and poet Gustinus Ambrosi from Eisenstadt was asked to grasp the landscape characteristics of Burgenland. Similarly, to his predecessors Ambrosi made use of the instrument of comparison, he contrasted the beauty of the land of the country, of Burgenland with his personal experience of a “thousand lands.” Ambrosi placed many personally sensed images next to one another but did not form a single provincial concept. As he arrived from Hornstein, by approaching it ever closer he attempted to grasp the uniqueness of the landscape with undulating hilly terrain that the peasants had artistically shaped over time, with a cavalcade of colors. “I’m at Debrecen! – Oh, no, I’m at Illmitz in Burgenland,” he proclaimed at one place. But Ambrosi did not stop at the Austrian steppe resembling the Hungarian *puszta*. He admirably guided the reader through the landscapes of Burgenland, where nature is the painter; everywhere, searching in his memories for where he had seen such sights before. For example, he writes the following of the Mattersburg region: “Am I beyond the Wachau? At Bad Gleichenberg, in Styria? Or is this Teplitz? Maybe I am mistaken, but this is somewhere between Langeac and Le Puy in the Loire region of today! Oh, but this is an enchanted land: and if you continue onward perhaps you will reach Sempach in Switzerland, because the hills soon become mountains.”⁸¹ Whatever it may be, he pushed it strongly to the west, and with this linked the region to the West.

After mentioning him in the introduction of my book, at the end of this chapter I once again return to the work of Andrew Frank Burghardt and with this to the geographic workshop of Wisconsin, who is of special significance for the province (Fig. 89). It is quite certain that it was the work of Burghardt that placed Burgenland on the international map, and in the middle of the fifties, early sixties it is this work that stands out among the results of geographical knowledge-making. This American geographer was born as the child of Hungarian immigrants in New York in 1924. This explains his choice of subject for his PhD research, and the framework in which he arrived in the region in 1956–57, one year following the passing of Lawrence Martin. He performed his research in Vienna, in various collections and at various locations in the

81 Ambrosi, “Burgenland,” 21–22.

province. He received much help from local cultural institutions, interviewed a great many people, and even went out into the field in search of information. His thesis was published with the title *The political geography of Burgenland*, then after a few years he continued to develop the work and published it as *Borderland. A historical and geographical study of Burgenland, Austria*. The latter work, split into three parts, uses a style and approach still valid today and analyzes the historical background to the creation of the province, its creation, and its current political geography problems, the Burgenland-idea, and the success of the shaping of its identity. After obtaining his doctorate Burghardt continued to teach for a few years at Stanford, then from 1961 he started teaching at the Canadian McMaster University, where he was professor emeritus from his retirement in 1989 until his death in 2020.



Fig. 89. Andrew Frank Burghardt while a university student, as president of the Catholic Newman Club, 1951 (second from the right in the seated row).

In his doctoral thesis he searched for an answer to the question of how it is possible that after losing Sopron, its main center and candidate-for-capital, and being split physically into two or rather three parts, the province was still successfully built and remained viable. What was the force that even after 1945 undoubtedly prevailed in the formation of the province once again? Using the still essentially environmental determinist Hartshornian American political geography approach, he strove to find an answer to these questions, firstly through an examination of the borders and the functions, and he even implemented this research agenda in the examination of the district seats (Fig. 90 and 91). First,



Fig. 90. Burghardt's Burgenland map. The map's environmental determinism: it blends the environmental elements, public administration and transport. The map also promises castles, but it looks as if the majority were forgotten.

he pointed out that the independence of Burgenland was not the result of a single decision made by the ruling power, instead the intent built up gradually becoming reinforced from below, in other words the historical, economic, landscape, ethnic, etc. characteristics constituted a sufficient basis for the shaping of the identity of the province, for "the idea of Burgenland as province." Indeed, this occurred in such a way that the decision for the existence of an independent province was made before Sopron was lost to Burgenland: this questioned independence but was unable to prevent it. Added to this was the political motive of the occupation of Burgenland: Austria wished to avoid the appearance of annexation due to the principle of self-determination. Burghardt also establishes that Burgenland was joined to Austria at precisely the "right time" in order to become a unified province: the development of infrastructure and motoriza-

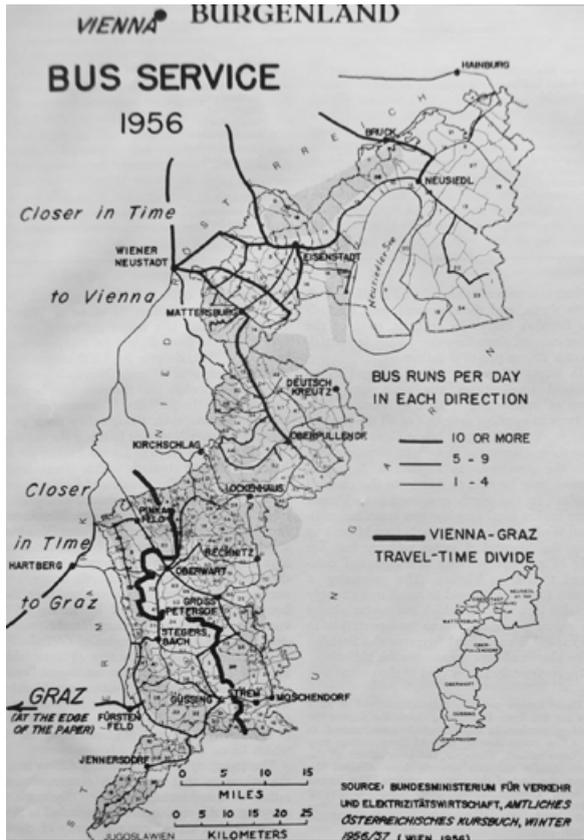


Fig. 91. Burgenland bus transport map, 1956. The essence of the map is the Vienna-Graz journey time dividing line, which, interestingly, indicates that the larger, eastern half of Southern Burgenland was also closer to Vienna in terms of journey time.

tion proved to be an important nation-building and province-building force, as, in the place of the railways, it was the development of the roads and the long-distance buses that linked up the districts of the province, and in the same way reinforced the connections to beyond the province, particularly with Vienna. Added to this was the thirty years of common history, which, as Burghardt saw it, was sufficient for the writing of a joint “history of suffering,” for the shaping of a community with a common destiny, partly through the striking context “in the border region” (*Grenzland*) and the feeling of neglect in Austria (*Stiefkind* – stepchild).⁸²

82 Burghardt, *The Political Geography of Burgenland*.

But how did Burghardt himself see Burgenland and the people of the province in the 1950s, 1960s? He was very exact in the drawing of the natural relationships and presented Burgenland within a very broad framework: the Eastern Alps, the Vienna Basin, and the Little Plain. And his thoughts too in connection with Lake Neusiedl are worthy of attention, as they clearly show the conflict between the various approaches to the lake: utilitarian, scientific, aesthetic.

Few natural phenomena have intrigued European geographers as much as has Lake Neusiedl. Between 1919 and 1949 almost two hundred published works dealt specifically with this body of water. [...] Despite its great interest to students and writers the lake has been until recently of little economic value to the people living around it. The waters were formerly used for the production of saltpeter, and the dense stands of reeds are still utilized by local craftsmen in the making of baskets. Fishing is obviously poor and hunting is discouraged in the interests of preservation of the rarer species of birds. Within the last few years 'baths' have been established at several points along the lake shore. Although swimming is out of the question in such shallow water, the lake has become a favorite beach area for the Viennese; it is within an hour's drive, there is much sunshine, and the cost is low. The villages along the shore have attempted to increase tourism by holding flower festivals, and in Mörbisch an outdoor theatre has been built. The puszta look is being emphasized more and more, and the Mörbisch theatre has presented operettas with a Hungarian setting. Every September crowds of Viennese come to the lake shore to sample the famous 'Ruster' wine or its Mörbisch or Oggau counterpart. Very few of these 'tourists,' however, stay overnight within Burgenland; few even order a large meal at one of the village Gasthäuser. The lake still contributes relatively little to the economy of the surrounding villages"⁸³ (Fig. 92).

From these lines by Burghardt we can see that he was very interested in the multicultural character of the region. This strikes the reader more in the descriptions of the people and the settlements, as Burghardt argued that the East and the West become mixed in the territory, and that this causes a certain ambivalence in the Austrians' attitude to Burgenland (Fig. 93 and 94).

Though Burgenland is predominantly German-speaking, its appearance is distinctively Hungarian. The language came from the west, but the clothing

83 Burghardt, *Borderland*, 15-17.

and the house and village types came from the east. [...] Though in the north some of the ‘Hungarian look’ extends into the Vienna basin and Marchfeld, further south the line of contrast between the village types suggestive of the steppe and those of the mountain is sharply drawn along the line that for over nine hundred years separated Austria and Hungary. [...] To the man of mountains the world of the steppe has always seemed alien. Even the Viennese feel this. Though the traces of the steppe penetrate to the vicinity of their city, the Viennese feel themselves a part of the mountain world. To them the windy, dusty plains, the low sprawling villages, the flocks of geese, the heavy boots and black clothing are not only quaint but also somewhat



Fig. 92. Neusiedl am See, two women boating on Lake Neusiedl in the 1950s

distasteful. Vienna is an outpost of the West, and though Burgenland, the borderland, is now within Austria, it still seems to be a part of the East.⁸⁴

Here Burghardt linked two elements of the Burgenland identity construct. On the one hand, the eastern, oriental heritage in the settlements of Burgenland, although many did marvel at the natural reality of the steppe to the east of Lake Neusiedl, remained largely unnoticed in the cultural sense in the inter-war period. Burghardt identified this characteristic with good sensibility, and it seems that a change also took place in the tourism and cultural reception of Burgenland at the time.⁸⁵ This may be seen in the 1963 Burgenland issue of the Hamburg travel magazine *Merian*, where the “Pannonian landscape” metaphor may be found in the article written by Austrian author Gerhard Fritsch, which now occupies a central position in the tourism image of Burgenland.

The character of this landscape is Pannonian, eastern in all seasons: the deep horizon under the tall sky, with splendid cloud formations, the vibrating hori-

⁸⁴ Burghardt, *Borderland*, 17–18.

⁸⁵ Artner, “Land der Dörfer.”



Fig. 93. Apetlon, cattle on the village's main street, with peasant houses with partially Baroque facades in the background, circa September 1960.



Fig. 94. Tadten, upper main street with the village lake, ducks and geese. The Catholic church in the background, pre-1955. Picture postcard.

zon, the breadth of which is also reflected in the village squares, around which the houses crouch lowly like a flock. And last but not least the thorny locust tree, enticingly sweet, with its fragrant blossom in May, and, apart from the alder lining the channels and the fruit trees of the gardens, this tree alone dares to enter the loneliness of the plain.⁸⁶

At the same time the people of the 1960s must have witnessed dramatic changes in agriculture, land use, and, due to this, in the profiles of the villages, and so the old building methods, the village house, the traditional village image mellowed into something of value, into a monument. Not only most of the illustrations in the special issue of the *Merian* but many of its articles also described or made use of this unique character, naturally with the focus being in Northern Burgenland and Lake Neusiedl, with the moment of discovery still occurring in connection with the latter.⁸⁷ Art historian Alfred Schmeller, who had lived in Burgenland at one time during his life, realized the dangers of development and wrote a warning that although the Gothic and the Baroque monuments would remain the center of human culture, the house and courtyard, the cellar and the store would disappear. "Within a few years a completely new Burgenland will come about, and the most beautiful villagescape in Central Europe will disappear."⁸⁸ (The village-landscape term in the original: *Hauslandschaft*.) Contrary to the northern part Franz Taucher painted a picture of a peasant world still in existence in Southern Burgenland, with people migrating away from the rural setting and the homesickness of the commuter and of those who had moved away.⁸⁹ However, in the Burgenland issue of the *Merian* in 1980 Helmut Grosina recorded the sad fact of the province-wide destruction of the traditional villagescape.⁹⁰ Thus, it was rather the dark side of development and modernization that appeared in the writings. But it was not only the rural setting that lost out following modernization and development, but nature too. By the 1970–80s concern for disappearing natural values also appeared in the articles.⁹¹

On the other hand, as written in the Burghardt quote above, it is still worthwhile evaluating the border region concept; the Iron Curtain narrative received an important role both in Burghardt's work and in the 1963 *Merian* special issue. Ilse Leitenberger wrote of the experience of crossing over the Iron Cur-

86 Fritsch, "Eine vergessene Geographiestunde," 12.

87 Scheibenpflug, "In der Sodastepppe," 57.

88 Schmeller, "Fortschritt," 63.

89 Taucher, "Ein Zipfelchen Schicksal," 36.

90 Grosina, "Der Untergang."

91 Kofler, "Bauern.," see also Békési, *Verklärt und verachtet*, 250–68.

tain when on the occasion of the 1963 Sopron cultural festival it was possible to cross the border at Klingenbach with a 24-hour visa. Leitenberger approached the essence of Burgenland through her personal episode stories: the experience of the still ruinous Sopron (after the bombings in 1944–45), the Hungarian Jew migrants returning from America to search for the graves of their relatives in the overgrown Jewish cemetery, visiting friends in Illmitz. The journalist's line of thought does not only feature "stories of suffering" in a discursive role that "were vitally important to help the youngest and poorest province of the Second Republic gain recognition and prosperity,"⁹² but, in addition, sought to draw Burgenland's image with more precision, the essence of which in fact goes beyond and much further than the Iron Curtain period.

The easternmost province of this small European republic is, after all, more than the do-gooders of the Saint-Germain peace negotiations had imagined with a single stroke of a pen. More than a geographical curiosity, steppe lake and puszta romanticism, windmills, well sweeps, storks' nests on the roofs, gypsy music, yes, even much more than the example of the peaceful and self-evident centuries-long coexistence of the Austrians, Hungarians and Croats. [...] A small piece of the eastern world, the heritage of which is taking part in everything that happens on the other side of the barbed wire and minefields and watchtowers.⁹³

The experience of coming into contact with barbed wire and minefields is also a striking part in Burghart's book, as he recalls how the Hungarian refugees crossed the border in the autumn of 1956 over the site of the minefields that had been removed during the political thaw at the beginning of the year and how the Burgenland peasants helped the refugees. And it is also very interesting how all this became built into the everyday lives and self-reflections of the province and its people.

If one drives along the eastern boundary of Burgenland (as is possible in several places), one is struck by the continued appearance of a "dirt road" in Hungary, immediately adjacent to the boundary. In and out of all the involved convolutions of this border the "dirt road" runs. This, one comes to realize, is the mine field. Along this strip are strands of barbed wire, and just behind, at frequent intervals, especially where the boundary cuts through forest, stand the wooden watchtow-

92 Leitenberger, "Ein Stück östlicher Welt," 66.

93 Leitenberger, "Ein Stück östlicher Welt," 66.

ers. The mined strip does not appear to be a wide barrier, but for the Hungarian it is a complete barrier. The cemeteries in the Burgenland border villages contain the graves of those who died in the attempt to cross this strip. And yet this boundary has known the largest mass migration of the past decade. Within three months in the winter of 1956–57 almost 200,000 Hungarians crossed into Austria. This was possible only because for a few months the border was not sealed. [...] The peasants of Burgenland often act as if the boundary were just another feature of the terrain; they farm to within a few feet of the mines and seem scarcely to concern themselves about the fact. Yet the boundary remains strongly in the consciousness of the province and its people. They know that they are at the end of a world. As one person put it, “here is Europe, there is Asia.”⁹⁴

The idea of the border region, the neglect and rurality linked together take us to the discussion of the later emerging advancement-development discourse. To present this, firstly I make use of the yearbook of the Burgenland geographical society (*Vereinigung Burgenländischer Geographen*), which lived through 33 issues between 1977 and 2009. In this the emphasis now clearly shifted to local initiative, there are many locals among the contributors, characteristically geography teachers, as the membership of the society was drawn mainly from the teaching profession. The modernization discourse emerging in tandem with actual modernization is apparent in the works produced in the period, in line with modernization theory: development primarily depends on the internal resources of a region, in this case Burgenland, and local traditions also play a part in this and can block it. Along with this the then popular geographical approach of the use of statistics and quantitative examinations became dominant. The golden age of the spatial science trends in geography and of regional planning resting on this was the decades between 1960 and 1980. In this way the border province (*Grenzland*) became a border space (*Grenzraum*), and the main language of development, as I have already mentioned, became numerical data, as development and growth may be very easily and spectacularly expressed with numbers. All this was also very apparent in the language.

The development of agriculture in the whole of Austria is striking but most conspicuous in Burgenland. The general growth trends in our province go hand in hand with its endeavors to catch up. [...] This development was made possible by research, education and last but not least by the open perspective of Burgenland farmers.⁹⁵

94 Burghardt, *Borderland*, 189–90.

95 Knabl, “Veränderungen in der Wirtschaftsstruktur des Burgenlandes,” 34.

Burgenland has not achieved total economic connection to the Austrian standard of living. But it is at least many times closer. The planned measures give strong impulses to the province and the economy to alleviate the effect of the extreme peripheral situation from the point of view of economic geography. With respect to added value and structure the three large sectors of agriculture, industry and tourism have gone through frantic development. Future development depends on whether the outflow of the population can be prevented in the individual regions with well-harmonized economic measures based on clear and indisputable objectives.⁹⁶

But certainly, there was also a predilection for depicting agricultural development with pictures: an ox-drawn cart here, and a modern truck or a car there symbolize sharp changes. Agricultural development is also particularly conspicuous in the annual issues of the Burgenland farmer's almanac, which was first issued in 1938 and then continued from 1948. The almanac was published and edited jointly by the Lower Austria and the Vienna province organization up until 1988. In this way the almanacs for the individual provinces had a common denominator (the calendar function, tales, stories, specialist articles), and they also included articles relating to the specific province. The almanac was published on a yearly basis from 1954 and, starting from the same year, included an annual selection of photographs from the province, encompassing the work, culture, customs, and living environment of the rural population, and included snapshots of the political work of the farmers' federation. All this was maintained until the beginning of the 1990s.

By placing these annual photograph selections next to one another what emerges from it is a history of the peasantry in Burgenland. Indeed, a history in which at the start the hardened peasants produce their daily bread and make their living through physical labor in alliance with their animals. With motorization and the advent of industrial farming, the animals too were turned almost into machines: installed into buildings they disappeared from the landscape. So, we see how the traditional world of the peasants disappeared, how it receded from everyday life, going on to serve merely as decoration on holidays, festivals, and harvest processions. We see how the tractor and the farm machine, the industrial crops (including the sunflower, which today has become one of the symbols of the province), the modern store building, modern dairy farming, the modern home, and with this how manual sowing and reaping, the horse, the herds of cattle, the traditional dress and the thatched village roofs disappeared. Most

96 Titz, "Zur Wirtschaftsentwicklung," 98-99.

of this has been placed in village museums, and only survives through emerging tourism and partially resulting from the protection of nature. The editors of the publication reflected on these processes, although by the 1980s photographs of politicians dominated the picture collections.⁹⁷ Another similar example: special issues were published when 1,000, 2,500 and 3,000 kilometers (about 1864.11 mi) of asphalted agricultural road (*Güterweg*) were completed, and since then, in 2019, the four thousandth kilometer was laid at Haschendorf.⁹⁸ In the acknowledgements of these issues the agricultural roads were called “milestones of development” and “lifelines of rural spaces,” and it must also be mentioned that these roads have contributed much to cycling tourism too.

The agricultural and rural development of Burgenland can also be analyzed from a different viewpoint. If we use the local history monographs of villages and towns as local discursive sources, the receptions of development from a bottom-up perspective could be drawn. Especially, if we do this on the Hungarian side of the border too. Such a study shows how different the narrations of development and modernization were on the two sides of the Iron Curtain after 1945 largely due to the different political, economic, and social environments. While in Hungary the liberation by the Red Army in 1945, the organization of collective farming or the demographic erosion of the villages were frequent themes, it was mayoral elections, general motorization and growing wealth in Burgenland. In this regard, depopulation and aging of the Hungarian rural countryside was linked to the conflicts with collective farming and with institutional emptying of the villages that contrasts the indeed significant agricultural development and related increase of well-being. Contrary to this, the development, in all economic sectors, was much more organic in Burgenland; the changes thus in local communities (workplaces, commuting, aging, settlements, land use) were not so conflicting and dramatic. However, similar topics were also present on the two sides: e.g., agricultural mechanization, the changes in residential environments and in social structure and habits. Hence, capitalist and socialist development led to more or less similar results (more on this in chapter seven).⁹⁹

In the modernization, development discourse, the metaphor of border region, border landscape, etc. is a narrative that confirmed the validity of external economic support. As I pointed out, this is a radical change of meaning compared to the German geopolitical interpretation. However, through the uncritical use

97 Burgenländischer Bauernbund, *Bauernbund-Kalender*.

98 Burgenländische Landesregierung, *Der 1.000ste*; Burgenländische Landesregierung, *Der 2.500ste*; Burgenländische Landesregierung, *Der 3.000ste*.

99 Jankó, “Eltérő utakon.”

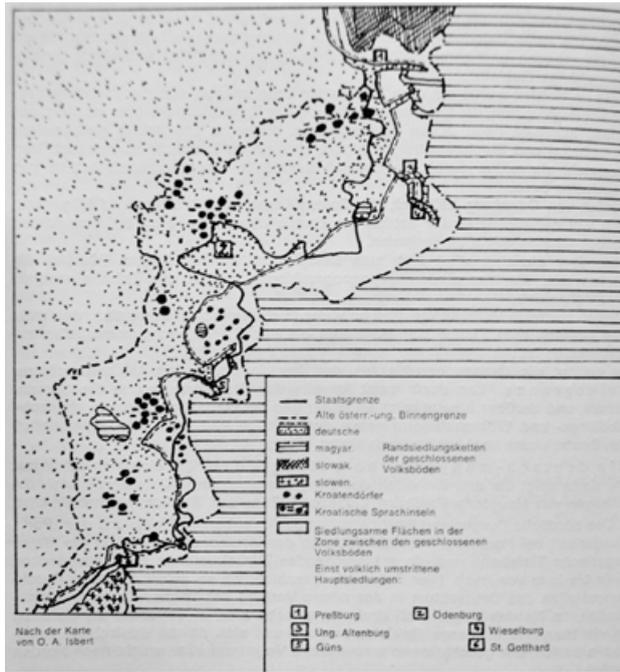


Fig. 95. Kirnbauer's map based on Isbert's original. Cf. figs. 56-57.

of literature, such as, for example, in the college essay of a teacher from Gols, unwary authors could easily confuse the two interpretations. Sieglinde Kirnbauer even republished Isbert's map, discussed on multiple occasions above, in a somewhat clarified form, in terms of its colors too, and attempted to apply it to the settlements overall, using the original set of concepts. The fact that this was published displays the certain degree of provincialism of the yearbook (Fig. 95).

However, the image of a settlement was not a place where "development" was easy to celebrate. Kirnbauer too wrote about the "lack of culture" of the constructions of human civilization, the ridiculous mimicking of the city character in connection with the problems of settlement images observed in small towns and villages, such as the construction of the multistory building in Oberwart. And this, of course, is just one example of the different nature of the problems that modernization brought to the surface in the place of those problems that it "solved." However, it has surely transformed the very basis of the Burgenland image. But now, from the perspective of two generations, this too is old history, which I undertook to show for only a moment. The collapse of the Iron Curtain and accession to the EU now represent new milestones for Burgenland from the point of view of geography.

PRIVATE DISCOVERY

The west-east divide, which is also valid for the Carpathian Basin and even for the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, is well known throughout Europe.¹ In other words, these developmental differences have historical roots, and the differences gained contrast with the lowering of the Iron Curtain and the shaping of the different political-economic apparatuses on both sides.

Regional contrasts are also present in Austria. To demonstrate these territorial differences Elisabeth Lichtenberger, a prominent figure in Austrian geography, compared Burgenland to Voralberg in her Austria monograph written at the turn of the millennium. Among the similarities between the two regions, she mentioned their late formation as provinces, the outward-oriented (to Switzerland and Hungary) transport networks, and the fragmented farm structure with its associated social impacts. Of course, the differences are much greater. Lichtenberger highlights that the insignificant Leitha river is still a social-economic dividing line of the first order in Austria; Burgenland is still poor in terms of industry, which EU support has not helped very much. The province, particularly its southern half, was the main source of emigration in Austria, and Lichtenberger identified daily and even weekly commuting as a characteristic process, which, along with being tied to the land, led to the “destruction” of rural spaces and the urbanization of the villages and the village image. From the point of view of the housing situation and the quality of housing Burgenland, with respect to rural settings, it became the most developed in the whole of Austria. In addition, the tourism of Lake Neusiedl, “the Sea of the Viennese,” with *puszta* romanticism, the radiating, dynamic effect of the Vienna agglom-

1 Good, “The Economic Lag”; Katus, “A tőkés,” 961.

eration and the swarming out of the urban population determines the lives of the villages of Northern Burgenland. In contrast with this, in Southern Burgenland, especially in the areas with poor transport features, emigration has not slowed, and the populations of the towns and villages are dwindling. This, then, is the Burgenland image outlined by Lichtenberger.²

The following section, my own Burgenland discovery, fits in with this image and the image of a developing Burgenland outlined at the end of the previous chapter. I wish to be able to seize the territorial context in which Burgenland was born, how the formerly politically unified Western Hungary region was divided along the new border, and what social and political processes were involved in this. Further, how Burgenland's connection to Austria may be portrayed, what the geographical characteristics were that made it resemble Austria, and those that differentiated it from the adjacent Hungarian territories. For this, I first outline the settlement network in the broader Western Hungary region up until the creation of Burgenland, particularly the development of the network of towns, then direct attention to the ethnic processes. In two additional subsections, I summarize the geographical problems of the formation of Burgenland as well as its social and economic consequences. Then, in another two sections concentrating on the twentieth century, I closely follow the transformation of the cultural landscape, the spatial structure, and the economy of the province up until the turn of the millennium.

Between towns

Little is known of the early settlement structure of the territory, in the Roman Age and even earlier; according to archaeological finds it was mainly Illyrian and Celtic tribes that lived in the area, who were then forced into the mountains when the Romans arrived. After the Roman province was set up by the 1st century the settlements of Savaria, Scarbantia and Carnuntum developed into towns along the trade route running before the foothills of the Alps, following the line of contact of the different landscapes, along the Amber Route linking the Baltic and Adriatic seas, the latter town being a part of the military defense line protecting the Roman Limes, along with Vindobona, Brigetio and Aquincum. The Romans created blossoming agriculture primarily in the territory between Lake Neusiedl, the Danube and the Alps by cultivating the land and growing fruit and grapes, as well as with water supply construction works.

2 Lichtenberger, *Österreich*, 360–62.

With the decline of the Roman province, which a considerable earthquake in 456 may have accelerated, Markcomanni, Lombard and then Avar tribes appeared in the region, mixing with the Roman population that had remained there. The Avars retained and passed on the Roman heritage, including the settlements, to a certain extent, and, in the meantime, also encountered the Franks from the west. The Avar Empire teetered due to the attacks of Charles the Great, which resulted in the annexation of territory stretching from Lake Balaton to the Duchy of Bavaria. However, the power vacuum or “*Deserta Avarorum*” created in the area was beneficial for peoples arriving from the east, including the conquering Magyars at the end of the 9th century.³

The development of the Hungarian-settled area and of the western marches took place over multiple waves. The Hungarians first occupied the land up to the Hanság (Waasen), then after this they occupied the western shore of Lake Neusiedl up to approximately the end of the 11th century. At the time of the Hungarian invasions of Europe the territory under their control extended much further to the west, but after the Hungarian incursions failed, the western marches fell back to the line of the Leitha and Lafnitz rivers. Although for just a short time (between 1030-43) the territory between the Leitha and the Fischa rivers also fell under Hungarian control, but later the Hungarian Empire would never again be able to push its western border fully onto the mountain region. It is true however that the attacks of the German Empire were also unable to force the border further to the east. Largely leaving the question of “who was here first” unanswered, an important factor in the legitimization of Burgenland as shown in the previous chapters, it may be said that the western border territory of the Kingdom of Hungary was established partly because of military events and partly due to competing Hungarian and Bavarian colonization.⁴

The western marches developed as a multilevel defense zone, which included the fortification of lands where there were few natural defense opportunities, the damming of watercourses, the creation of marshes in valleys, and the construction of ramparts, which were established primarily on Szigetköz (Kleine Schüttinsel), and along the Raab and the Rabnitz rivers. Wieselburg (Moson) Kobrunn (Kapuvár), Lutzmannsburg (Locsmánd), Kotenburg (Sárvár), Ikervár, Eisenburg (Vasvár), Deutsch Kaltenbrunn (Némethidegkút) may have been parts of this defense zone being established as early castle districts or strong-

3 Kocsis, “Adalékok,” 289–291; Huber, “Die Provinz Pannonien,” 34–35; Huber, “Das Reich der Awarer,” 50–53.

4 Kocsis, “Adalékok,” 290; Mollay, “A vármegye,” 37–38.

holds. In addition to this it was significant that soldierly peoples, notably Szeklers (Székely) and Pechenegs (Besenyő), were settled in the region, and by all accounts it is the memory of their presence that is retained in the German and Hungarian settlement names, where “őri” refers to guard, “Wart” to observation point, “lövő” to shooter and “Schützen” to protection, and “gyepű” to the marches: Oberwart (Felsőőr), Unterwart (Alsóőr), Oberschützen (Felsőlövő), Unterschützen (Alsólövő), Siget in der Wart (Őrisziget), Kohfidisch (Gyepűfüzes). The village names of Pötsching (Pecsenyéd) and Bezenye (Pallesdorf) refer to the Pechenegs or Besenyős. However, the majority of the territory of the Burgenland of today belonged to the sparsely populated area before the marches (*gyepűelve*). It was not long after this that the county (literally castle district) system was set up, which was then consolidated during the reign of Stephen I, the first Hungarian king. It is at around this same time that the first wave of German settlers arrived.⁵

In addition to the importance of the positional advantage provided by the trade route, almost all significant settlements were established where rivers or streams ran out from their valleys to the plain or where their valleys widened. Szentgotthárd developed next to the Raab, Kőszeg next to the Güns, Sopron beside the Ikva and Rák streams, Güssing on the Strem, Pinkafeld, Oberschützen and Stadtschlaining on the Pinka. The locations of Moson and Magyaróvár also provided a similar positional advantage being established on the road leading between the Moson-Danube and the marshes of the Hanság.⁶

Numerous interesting questions have engaged and still do engage researchers of the early Hungarian state apparatus and its settlement history. One of these questions relates to the colonization of the Hungarian people and the development of their settlement forms. Intense debates were caused at the beginning of the twentieth century when a German researcher argued that German merchants had founded the towns of Hungary. Naturally, Hungarian scholars disputed this approach. On the one hand, history had made new findings regarding the social and economic circumstances of Hungarian colonization, and, on the other hand, urban geography had provided much new data relating to the characteristics unique of Hungarian settlement and urban development. It is probable that the Hungarians created an eastern-type settlement network. In other words, the image of the towns, according to certain ideas, was deter-

5 Jankó and Tóth, *Változó erővonalak*, 43–45; Huber, “Die ungarische Staatsgründung,” 64; Huber, “Ansiedlung,” 66–69.

6 Beluszky, “A társadalmi,” 80; Bulla and Mendöl, *A Kárpát-medence*, 223; Kogutowicz, *Dunántúl II*, 227–30.

mined by construction from the earth, a single-story character and expansiveness. More intensive German colonization in the western peripheries and in the larger towns dates to around the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with western-type urban development only starting at that time.⁷

Another theory in connection with the early Hungarian settlement structure was posited by Jenő Major, a geographer and historian born in Felsőszakony (near Sopron). In his opinion, initially several settlements supplementing each other in terms of function constituted an organic unit. In other words, the merchants (*vásárhely* settlements, a frequent Hungarian place name suffix, approx. market place), the craftsmen, the soldierly peoples, and the farmers were grouped in separate villages, possibly around a castle, royal or landowner's center, or monastery. Examples of these *vásárhely*-type settlements may be found in the region, and the day the market was held even appeared in the place name, such as Vásárosfalva, Répcekehely, Rábakkehely (ket=kedd=Tuesday), as may towns and villages that have at one time born or even today still bear the name of Szerdahely: Zagersdorf, Kőszegszerdahely (szerda=Wednesday), Kukmirn, and one of the three villages combined to make Fertőszentmiklós also bore this name. Várbalog was previously known as Csütörtökkehely (csütörtök=Thursday), and many settlements received their names from their Saturday (szombat) market day: Szombatfalva, Magyarzombatfa, Fertőfőszombathely (later Neusiedl am See) and Szombathely (Steinamanger). A similar example is the predecessor of today's Horvátzsidány, Zsidány (= Jew), which indicates the one-time existence of a core of such traders in the settlement, closely linked to and forming a functional unit with the nearby settlement of Tömörd, which "specialized" in iron production. According to Major's investigations these settlements, and other settlements located in other parts of the country and not referred to here, lay and still lie on the periphery of the early occupied Hungarian territory, or occasionally on ethnic borderlines linked with the Szekler (border guard) settlements and smith villages of the time.⁸ In many places, these settlement groups were destroyed or broken up following the Mongol Invasion. Among the *vásárhely* settlements many became insignificant, while others acquired the rank of *mezőváros* (Latin: *oppidum*) or market town (e.g., Neusiedl am See). Szombathely continued its development as the castle of the bishopric of Győr, receiving its first charter in 1407 from Bishop János Héderváry. It was also common when the various groups of people were settled in the towns. The smiths, the merchants, and the various

7 Major and Perényi, "Városépítés," 242-45; Mollay, "A vármegye," 38-43.

8 Major, "A magyar városok," 66.

craftsmen and tradesmen lived in separate town quarters (see, for example, the street names today in Sopron, Kőszeg, Győr).

Differentiation between the units in the settlement network of the region occurred in parallel with the development of the social-territorial division of labor. After the Mongol Invasion, the title of royal town did not necessarily acknowledge the economic significance of a settlement. Instead, it highlighted military importance; the kings granted this title (mainly Béla IV) to encourage and support urban development in Hungary. It was at this time that Győr in 1271 and Sopron in 1277 received the title of royal free city. The privileges of the former faded and were lost during the reign of King Sigismund and Győr only regained them in 1743. Kőszeg was awarded the title of town in 1328 but never achieved the rank of county seat, indeed, at times it even lost its privileges, and frequently sank to the level of market town.⁹ A more intense influx of German settlers occurred after the Mongol Invasion, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which also meant a shift in the language borders further to the east. A mixed region populated by Hungarians and Germans was created from Kőszeg to Magyaróvár. Naturally, the German-speaking population also brought along their own settlement structure and economic customs, e.g., grape production, which benefitted the development and urbanization of the region. Simultaneously, the noble counties started to be set up, and the manors, as well as the arable and livestock farms, were established. In the counties it was the royal free cities and the estates of the nobles that played the leading role in the state power and economic apparatus. The market towns probably gained their independence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; these had certain town rights and independence from the power of the landlords.

There were excellent opportunities for the development of agriculture in the plains region, on the Little Plain and the areas immediately to the west and east of Lake Neusiedl, and so emphasis was placed on arable farming, and grazing was reduced. Crafts were developing in the market towns and royal free cities. Grape production and winemaking, which had been introduced by the Romans, gained special significance in the agriculture of the western areas. The development of the region was sustained by the profit originating from the supply of agricultural products through its link to long-distance trade and the trade in wine to western territories. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the price of wine multiplied many times due to the development of the western markets, which raised the rank of and enriched the towns of West-

9 Lelkes, *Kőszeg*, 10–21; Mollay, “A vármegye.”

ern Hungary involved in the wine trade, above all Sopron, Kőszeg, Eisenstadt and Rust.¹⁰ It was partially due to this that Kőszeg regained its royal free city rank in 1648, however, the crafts industry was also developed in Kőszeg and Sopron, with the latter also being involved in long-distance trade. Its merchants took industrial goods and livestock to the markets of Lower Austria and Vienna.¹¹ For many years Kőszeg was the most important town in its county, and in the eighteenth century it had the eleventh largest population in the country, with Szombathely only surpassing it in 1850.¹² Eisenstadt obtained privileges in the same year as Kőszeg followed by Rust in 1681; these towns were sustained almost entirely by the wine trade, as were a number of other market towns around Lake Neusiedl.

Another factor in the success of the towns of the region was that the Western Hungary region had remained within the Kingdom of Hungary while the country was split into three parts in the Turkish age, its towns, although sometimes suffering from Turkish military incursions, were able to develop in relative peace. Then, as the capital city, Buda, fell under Turkish dominion, the region's links became stronger with Vienna, in other words the local economy turned toward the Austrian capital.¹³

The territory on which the other emblematic plant of the region, the sweet chestnut, was produced rivaled that of the vine. The chestnut forests were established with the selective felling of the "other" trees of the oak-chestnut forests (*Castaneto-Quercetum*), leaving only the chestnut trees.¹⁴ These occupy the higher parts of foothills and hill regions, and there are valuable production areas from Szentgotthárd, through Kőszeg, Sopron, and Forchtenstein up to the Leitha Mountains, with the Forchtenstein chestnut becoming, perhaps, the most famous, and the produce did not only serve as a source of food for the people, but also as a source of supplementary income.¹⁵ Apart from this the region produced other fruit that was taken to market; apricot, peach, and cherry production were common in the Lake Neusiedl region, especially around Donnerskirchen. Because of the widespread cherry and sour cherry plantations, the area to the northeast of the Rosalia Mountains was even called *Kirschenland*.¹⁶

10 Beluszky, *Magyarország*, 40, 70.

11 Thirring, *Sopron a 18. században*, 202.

12 Lelkes, *Kőszeg*, 56.

13 Horváth, *Bécs vonzásában*, 27–39.

14 Illés, "A Vasi."

15 Csapody, "Sopron," 248–52.

16 Bodo, *Burgenland*, 33–34; Thirring, "A Rozália-hegység," 249.

Initially, it was the merchants from the towns and market towns that participated in long-distance trade, then from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the estates of the nobles became increasingly involved in this form of trade through the Jewish merchants in their employ. In addition to all this the goods surplus originating from the feudal manors was sold in the town markets.¹⁷ An important factor impacting settlement development was if a town or village operated as the center of an estate, as these performed administrative, judicial, and economic organization tasks, and this is where the castles of the landlords were built. Examples of these included, e.g., Kapuvár, Sárvár, Körmend, Magyaróvár, Jánosháza, Eisenstadt, Stadtschlaining, Rechnitz, and Pinkafeld. Many of these later received town privileges as well. In other places the diminishing of the function as center of an estate involved a reduction in the importance of the settlement.¹⁸

It was around the middle of the eighteenth century when the locations of the seats of the county assemblies were determined, although the towns that were the actual county centers did not change at that time. The title of district seat was transferred from Moson to Magyaróvár in 1271, which even acquired Buda town rights for a time in 1354, however, after becoming a Habsburg dominion its rights were continuously undermined. The episcopal chapter of Vasvár was moved to Szombathely in 1578, which, in practice, was equivalent to the relocation of the Vas County seat. It was at this time that the institution of noble county started to decline, which was due to a series of Austrian centralization efforts, it is known that Josef II even transformed the territorial administrative system for a time.¹⁹

The development of the towns involved in the wine trade only halted in the second half of the eighteenth century, when the War of the Austrian Succession cut off the Silesian, the Saxon, and the Prussian markets from Hungarian wine. This hit the towns specializing in wine (Rust, Eisenstadt) hard. But even the western market for live animals was stagnating, instead there was an increase in demand for cereal crops and, lesser so, for wool, with the cereals boom just starting to develop. As a result of this the magnitude of area involved in arable farming increased in general, firstly at the expense of the forests. Cereal crops were supplied to Vienna and Lower Austria through the western region. Naturally, this also brought about changes in the towns in Transdanubia. Towns

17 Györi, "Térszerkezeti változások," 88–89.; Györi, *A térszerkezet átalakulásának elemei*, 47.

18 Györi, *A térszerkezet átalakulásának elemei*, 48.

19 Aszt, "Mosonmagyaróvár," 12–15; Csapó and Kocsis, *Szombathely*, 14; Hajdú, *Magyarország közigazgatási földrajza*, 109–112.

gaining national or regional significance in the cereals trade, such as Moson, prospered, and the towns that had previously been prominent in the wine trade, wine production or live animal export fell into decline. The restructuring of the end of the eighteenth century progressed even further from the second half of the nineteenth century due to the railway network developing partly in line with the new agricultural structure.²⁰

From this overview it is clear that the most important towns of the former Austrian-Hungarian border, beside Pressburg (Bratislava), which also had the function of capital city up to the nineteenth century, were Sopron, Kőszeg and Szombathely, while opposing them on the Austrian side of the border stood the market centers of Hainburg, Bruck, Wiener Neustadt, Friedberg, Hartberg, Fürstenfeld, and Radkersburg.²¹ In addition to the towns of Sopron and Kőszeg, which have been discussed at length, Szombathely operated as a smaller market center up until the eighteenth century; its prominence enjoyed in the Roman Age had, for many centuries, faded. Although it was a “fortified” settlement, and the bishop had assigned it town rights in 1407, the county seat was still Vasvár for many years. However, it only started to really prosper later in 1777, when the Roman Catholic Diocese of Szombathely was established, and it became the bishopric seat. As the methods of trade and transport changed so its role as town grew further: being located at the transport geography center of the county it soon saw a huge amount of traffic, and surpassed Kőszeg in terms of trade before exceeding it in terms of population. And with its sudden development not only was it an obstacle to the economic progress of Kőszeg but also to the urbanization of Sárvár and Körmend.²²

Nationally the Western Hungary region was at the forefront of nineteenth century modernization. The leader of the reforms and modernization efforts was the Western Hungarian Count István Széchenyi, and his example setting and organizing work gave important impetus to the modernization of farming. But, of course, the markets in Vienna also played a role in that the farms in the region moved on early from fallow farming to crop rotation, to the production of animal feed, stabled livestock farming, and then agricultural higher education emerged in Keszthely and Magyaróvár. By the turn of the nineteenth-twentieth century the northern part of the region was primarily characterized

20 Beluszky, *Magyarország*, 76; Horváth, *Bécs vonzásában*, 50–53.

21 Prickler, “Burgenlands Städte.”; Prickler, “Die österreichisch-steirischen.”

22 Beluszky, *Magyarország*, 142–43; Bulla and Mendöl, *A Kárpát-medence*, 224; Győri, “Térszerkezeti változások,” 91–92; Tilcsik, “Szombathely kereskedelmi szerepe”; Tiefenbach, “Industrielle Entwicklung,” 204–207.

by a produce structure that served the foodstuffs industry and had an above-average cattle stock and high production yields of industrial plants, particularly sugar beet. Because of the latter several sugar factories were built, two of which are in the territory of today's Burgenland. The Moson part of the region around Lake Neusiedl, the Heideboden had an especially characteristic agriculture economy, which increasingly specialized in milk production. This mainly involved pastoral cattle farming, with the grazing pastures used by productive stud farms. New phenomena could also be observed in traditional viticulture and wine production. In addition to the regions of Tokaj-Hegyalja, Eger, Kassa (now Košice) and Gyöngyös, the producers of Sopron, Eisenstadt, and Kőszeg experimented with the use of more specialized wine production techniques, and vine planting and pruning methods. The monetary capital accumulating due to the farming boom was also beneficial for industrial installations; steam-powered mills, engineering works, textile mills and workshops were established in this region first in the country. However, many went bankrupt due to Austrian competition and customs duties, and because of the production and technology difficulties.²³

The Western Hungary region was among the first to take advantage of the new rail transport. In addition to the originally more important north-south trade routes, due to the railways the role of the east-west direction became even stronger. The southern, Vas County areas were attracted to Styria, while the northern regions were primarily oriented toward Vienna and Lower Austria, playing a key role in the food supply to these territories, although after some time northern, Polish grain represented serious competition for the Hungarians. Multiple roads led into Austria from the territory of Vas County, particularly to Graz, and in the north the waterway of the Danube, and the land route bypassing the Ödenburg Mountains to the north and Lake Neusiedl and its marshes to the south ensured the east-west connection. Simultaneously with this the north-south route running along the foothills of the Alps lost much of its former (e.g., ancient) significance. Just fifty years after the completion of the railway line between Wiener Neustadt and Sopron, railways were now present throughout the entire region. The Vienna–Győr–Újszöny line was opened in 1855, ten years before the Sopron–Nagykanizsa line built by Déli Vaspálya Rt. (southern railway company), and GySEV opened the Sopron–Győr section in 1876, which even survived the nationalizations following World War II, and

23 Nagy, "Magyarország mezőgazdasága," 338; Thullner, "A Moson megyei Heideboden"; Horváth, *Bécs vonzásában*, 53–60; Brettl, "Landwirtschaft," 204–207.

remained in private hands. In addition, the entire region slowly became interwoven with local railways as well. As a result of the construction of the railways whole regions started to become more developed, as the railway junctions involved the addition of an important central function, and the areas along the railway lines were able to get involved in profitable goods-producing agriculture. The prominence of Győr in the region may be partially explained by it becoming a main railway junction, while Sopron's relative stagnation is at least partly due to the relatively slow development of its railway connections. In Vas County it was Kőszeg that remained the underdog in terms of the bulk goods trade (grain, live animals, produce, lumber, construction materials) compared to Szombathely, which had prospered at the beginning of the nineteenth century and become more dynamic due to its railway connections. Kőszeg played no part in this, remaining with the wine and crafts products trade, and so its development was also delayed. It was also the railways that made commuting possible at the turn of the century possible. However, because of industrialization and the restructuring of the workforce released from agriculture, i.e., the increase in the proportion of those working in industry and services, significant numbers left the rural districts and moved into the towns.²⁴

The changes in the prominence of the towns, their rise and decline, have also been reconstructed in the scope of historical settlement hierarchy research.²⁵ Aside from the railways, from the middle of the nineteenth century it was the reform taking place in civil public administration and the capitalization of the economy (agriculture now producing goods for sale and the manufacturing industry) that transformed the system of relationships existing between the settlements and their catchment areas. Certain towns became stronger, while others lost functions, creating more hierarchy in the system of towns and villages.²⁶

The category of market town was eliminated in the transformed Hungarian public administration system, and the county borders were adjusted. Among the royal free cities only those with a population reaching 12 thousand were awarded the title of town with municipal rights (e.g., Győr, Sopron), with which they had to undertake to provide certain town functions and services. With this rank these towns now fell outside the scope of county-level administration. The other royal free cities and the larger market towns became borough towns (*rendezett tanácsú város*), these included Szombathely, Kőszeg, Eisenstadt, and Rust,

24 Beluszky, *Magyarország településföldrajza*, 139–43; Beluszky and Győri, *Magyar városhálózat*, 57–61; Győri, “Térszerkezeti változások,” 88–92; Tilcsik, “Szombathely kereskedelmi szerepe.”

25 Gyimesi, *Városok*; Bácskai and Nagy, *Piackörzetek*; Győri, “Térszerkezeti változások.”

26 Beluszky and Győri, *Magyar városhálózat*, 62–65.

which meant that they were independent of the district administration. This is how it happened that the county seat of Moson County, Magyaróvár, became classified as a village and only obtained the rank of town much later, in 1921. For the smaller towns it was the district seat function that was important, these settlements administered their neighborhoods through district courts and administrative courts presided over by noble judges (*ludex nobelium*), e.g., Neusiedl am See, Rajka, Mitterpullendorf and Oberpullendorf, Eisenstadt, Mattersburg, Oberwart, Kiscell (today Celldömölk), Körmend, Kőszeg, Muraszombat, Güssing, and Szentgotthárd. This rank, however, was not usually enough for these settlements to gain actual town rank.²⁷

Győr enjoyed a most outstanding level of urban-industrial development in the last decades of the nineteenth century, yet Sopron merely stagnated in comparison to its status at the beginning of the nineteenth century. With the creation of the German Customs Union in 1834, Sopron was no longer able to export wine to the German states, but the halting construction of the railway lines did not help the town either, and although the line leading to the imperial capital was built early, this was to no avail. Many felt this development brought Viennese traders, the competition they represented and an increased Vienna influence on the town. Because of its controlling role in the so-called Bach era, for many years Sopron was known as a transgressor and due to the lack of governmental support many attempts to set up factories there failed until the turn of the century.²⁸ Larger factories were only established there after this (brewery, carpet factory, metal goods factory), primarily resulting from German and Austrian investment, or only after World War I with respect to the textile industry. The fact that the country's first coal mine had been operating nearby the town in Brennbérg since the end of the eighteenth century was of no import, and did not attract industry, and no large labor force developed in the town either.²⁹ In the territory of today's Burgenland, in addition to the mine in Brennbérg, other smaller coal outcrops were mined in the vicinity of Pötsching and Tauchen. Originating from long before these was the mining of copper ore and sulfur found in the Bernstein Mountains, sites worked from as far back as the Middle Ages. Ultimately, we can also highlight the antimony mining in the Güns Mountains next to Stadtschlaining and Neustift bei Schlaining and the asbestos mine in Rechnitz. However, no significant industry was based on these

27 Győri, *A térszerkezet átalakulásának elemei*, 62; Hajdú, *Magyarország közigazgatási földrajza*, 120–33; Szigeti, *Község, város, jogállás*, 146–47.

28 Horváth, "Idegen (külföldi) tőkések," 216–20.

29 Horváth, "Sopron," 232–35; Kelényi, "Sopron," 308–14.

either, with there being just a smaller crafts industry in the region in the first half of the nineteenth century, then, in the second half of the century a number of textile mills, canneries, and one or two engineering works and chemicals factories were built, primarily in the Eisenstadt–Neufeld an der Leitha and Pinkafeld districts.³⁰

With its superb geographical features and location in the center of its county Szombathely strove for a regional role. As the railways were built it became a developed market center and increased its catchment area. This was aided by the fact that the Vas County railway network was constructed with Szombathely at its center (Szombathely–Kőszeg [1883], Szombathely–Hegyeshalom–Pozsony (Bratislava) [1891], Szombathely–Rum [1894], Szombathely–Pinkafeld [1898]). This was also manifested in the railway vehicle repair facility with its five hundred workers becoming the town's largest employer and not an industrial company. An example of the extraordinary growth taking place in the Vas County seat is that its population grew fivefold between 1850 and 1910.³¹

Compared to Sopron Magyaróvár saw significant industrial development and was able to increase its regional importance. After the short-lived textile mill, the Kühne farm machine factory was built in the town in 1856, and in the first year of the twentieth century, the predecessor of today's MOFÉM, the hunting cartridge, detonator and metal goods factory started operations. The foundations of significant industrial development were laid by the gunpowder factory built between 1910-18, which, although not being completed, later provided premises for numerous other facilities because of its buildings and infrastructure (alumina factory, several textile mills). The agricultural profile of the town was always strong because of its position as center of the Habsburg grand ducal estate, there was a ducal mill and brewery here, and an academy of agriculture was founded in 1818. In addition to these, numerous foodstuffs industry plants were opened in the interwar period. In other words, Magyaróvár saw significant territorial and population growth, primarily resulting from the industrial development taking place there, and in connection with this growth in 1939 it became merged with the former market town of Moson, half of the population of which was comprised of German farmers.³²

Kőszeg, however, which had been counted as one of the more developed towns at the beginning of the century, began to fade due to foreign competition and

30 Schuch, *Zur Geschichte des Bergbaus*; Tiefenbach, "Industrielle Entwicklung," 194–97.

31 Győri, *A térszerkezet átalakulásának elemei*, 68; Csapó and Kocsis, *Szombathely*, 20–22; Kerekes, "Szombathely," 19.

32 Major, "Mosonmagyaróvár."

the strengthening of the western Transdanubia market centers, mainly Szombathely. It was largely left out of the economic development of the nineteenth century, and even the main railway lines avoided the town. At the beginning of the twentieth century, it had become a form of settlement that only affected the life of its catchment area, and no significant industry came to the town either. At the same time, several settlements that had become railway junctions were able to achieve a significant degree of urban development (Kiscell, from 1903 Celldömölk, Sárvár, Csorna). A counterexample of this process was Körmen, which due to its conservatism missed out on a good few investments and urban functions. To the contrary, open-minded Szentgotthárd realized significant developments through the opening of the grammar school, which had been originally planned for Körmen, and the arrival of numerous industrial employers, especially after the Szombathely–Graz railway line was built in 1873.³³

In other words, overall, there were few settlements on the territory of today's Burgenland that were able to develop themselves into proper towns, with good intent all we can speak of are town initiatives. The cause of this was partly the radiation of the Hungarian towns located further to the east and partly of the towns in Austria (Szombathely, Kőszeg, Sopron, and Graz, Vienna, Wiener Neustadt). As I mentioned above, Eisenstadt and Rust had received the royal free city title in the seventeenth century, apart from this it was mainly wine production that had raised a number of settlements to the rank of market town, first of all in the region around Lake Neusiedl (Breitenbrunn, Draßmarkt, Donnerskirchen, Hornstein, Kobersdorf, Deutschkreutz, Lutzmannsburg, Rechnitz, Purbach, Neusiedl am See, Gols). Although Eisenstadt had become a royal free city, it had in fact remained under the control and domination of the Esterházy family, and this factor held back its development, and while it had become the center of a huge estate, it failed to manifest significant development. In Rust, because many citizens of Sopron had bought up land and houses there, the owners were reaping most of the profits of the wine produced. The later industrialization was less significant in these towns and most of the manufacturing there (foodstuffs industry, light industry) was short-lived, or distributed between the towns and villages.³⁴

The social and economic developments discussed above were also embodied in the changes in the settlement hierarchy. The leading town of the region was Győr, Sopron took up its permanent position behind the seat of Győr County,

33 Győri, *A térszerkezet átalakulásának elemei*, 69.

34 Prickler, "Burgenlands Städte," 34–36.



Fig. 96. Jennersdorf main square with the Catholic church and clergy house. Right: school, Mandl store, restaurant (zur Weintraube), left: two buses in front of the Raffel restaurant, 1946/50.

although it still preceded Szombathely. Kőszeg, due to its decline, along with Magyaróvár fell among the small towns with county center functions, although we know that with this the town's downhill slide had not yet come to a halt. Due to its industry and county center function Magyaróvár rose from among the small towns, and although Rust did have the rank of town it did not actually perform town functions, similarly to e.g., Jennersdorf (Fig. 96).

The most urban settlement at that time on the territory of today's Burgenland was Eisenstadt, although it was only in 183rd position in the Hungarian ranking of settlements with town status. Nevertheless, the town network of the territory can be said to be quite proportionate, there was no dominant regional center, as Győr did not dominate over the entire region. The network of medium-sized towns was lacking; however, this town level is an uncertain category in the Carpathian Basin: the medium-sized towns between the county centers and the small towns were either county seats in decline and lacking functions, or settlements with a larger population and a larger number of small-town functions.³⁵

The town development outlined to this point illustrates how western Transdanubia had become a region with a certain level of internal economic cohesion. The start of this region formation process stretches back to the age of Turkish

35 Beluszky, *Magyarország*, 154–59; Beluszky and Győri, *Magyar városhálózat*, 201–204.

occupation, when due to the internal development characteristics of a Hungary split into three parts the connections of the Little Plain were strengthened with Vienna, the structure of agricultural production was transformed, and the settlements here developed in a unique way. Due to the dynamic development occurring in the Age of Dualism, by the beginning of the twentieth century considerable regional differences had emerged in the territory of historical Hungary, where one of the regions undergoing modernization was Western Transdanubia, and particularly its northern half.³⁶

The Hun, the Heinz, and the Croat

The conquering Hungarians, who had come to settle in the region, as we have already learned above, forced the Franks, who had defeated the Avars, further to the west when the borders of the Principality of Hungary were established. The first settlers may have been Szekler and Magyar border guard peoples. The Magyars mainly occupied the valleys and the plains; the forested hills and highlands remained mostly unpopulated. There were also smaller villages of Slavs scattered around the region, however, these people merged with the Hungarians over the course of a few centuries. In the middle of the 11th century Pechenegs were brought to the country as settlers to protect the border marches and repel the intensifying attacks of the Holy Roman Empire. A present-day aspect of this is the belief among the Hungarians from the district of Oberwart that they are the descendants of Szeklers; indeed, certain Hungarian local history writers who accept Gyula László's dual conquest theory believe them to be pre-Hungarians settling with the Avars. László Somogyi attempted to substantiate this theory with an investigation of the geographical names.³⁷ Nevertheless, both the guard land (Őrség) – Szekler parallel, and the dual conquest theory are disputed.³⁸

Initially, the Germans arrived on the invitation of the king and the church; among the latter, leading roles were played by the Cistercian monastery of Klostermarienberg, which had branched off Heiligenkreuz Abbey, and the Augustinians of Marz, who had branched off from Sankt Pölten. German settlers, primarily Bavarians, started to arrive in larger numbers after the marches system had broken up: knights, nobles, artisans, farmers, merchants arrived, whose resettlement was assisted by royal permits, privileges, and grants of land, with many of these

36 Győri, "Térszerkezeti változások," 84–87; Győri, "Bécs kapujában," 235–38; Demeter, *Magyarország; Demeter, Kézikönyv*.

37 Somogyi, *A burgenlandi magyarság*.

38 Beluszky, *Őrség*, 41; Herényi, "Párhuzam"; Csapó, "Őrség," 326.

becoming determinant in the region for centuries. The populations of the German villages became slowly Magyarized between the Hungarians and the Pecheneg border guard people. Initially, the German population only remained over a larger territory of settlements in the region of today's Eisenstadt and Oberpullendorf, with new German populations arriving there from nearby Lower Austria. Even larger waves of German settlers came to the territory after the Mongol Invasion, from the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries in parallel with the recurrent Hungarian-German border wars, and in effect as a part of the broader west-east migration that was a consequence of the western European overpopulation of agricultural peoples. In this way, the ethnic border shifted slightly to the east and became less defined. The German peoples became increasingly important elements in the composition of the population of the towns and played a very significant role in the economy and in the shaping of the image of the settlements (we can see the development of this narrative from Schwicker to Isbert).³⁹

At the very latest it was during the reign of King Matthias I when the Hungarians finally became the minority in the territory of today's Burgenland. According to calculations made by Károly Kocsis, by the end of the fifteenth century in the northern parts, in Sopron and Moson counties the dividing line between the settlements with a Hungarian majority and those with a German majority had shifted more or less to the east of the Moson-Sopron line, with the exception of Seewinkel, which, at that time, was completely Hungarian. In the southern territories, in the western districts of Vas County, where the population density was particularly low, the Hungarians occupied a large, unified area in the Pinka and Strem valleys, which was not a language island but the western end of the Hungarian-occupied territory.⁴⁰

The territory occupied by the Slovenes was located to the south of the Raab river, later on, however, the Slovenes were forced out of the district of Gyanafalva (now Jennersdorf) in today's Burgenland. In contrast, the Wends of the Vendvidék (formerly Tótság), i.e., the Land of the Wends to the south of Szentgotthárd, now mostly located in Slovenia, who speak a unique, old dialect of Slovenian, have remained to this day. Their origin is disputed similarly to that of the Szeklers. They may have settled in the area already in the 6th century at the same time as the Avar conquest (according to some the Wends are Avars integrated into the Slavic peoples), then reached their present home in large num-

39 Kocsis and Wastl-Walter, "Ungarische und österreichische Volksgruppen," 170; Huber, "Die ungarische," 66–69.

40 Kocsis, *Az Órvidék*.

bers after the Hungarian Conquest as a result of the founding of the Cistercian monastery in Szentgotthárd. This means that the Wends are the most ancient native people of the border region.⁴¹

However, the advance of the Turkish through the Balkans redrew the ethnic map of the region. One effect of this threat was the mass immigration of Croats in the sixteenth century to the Western Transdanubia of the early modern period, but in addition to fear of the Ottoman forces the Croatian peasants had also been forced to leave their homeland due to economic reasons. As for the Hungarians, the joint effect of the blossoming agricultural boom of the beginning of the sixteenth century on the estates in Western Hungary, and the lack of sufficient labor due to the temporary drop in population, motivated the landowners to bring as much manpower as possible to work on their lands. In other words, there was a process of both resettlement and escaping the Turkish advance, but one may also say it was a convenient situation for the Batthyány, Nádasdy, and Erdődy families, who at times had also employed agents of a sort to help the Croats resettle and escape the Turkish. By the middle of the sixteenth century, several tens of thousands of Croatian and Slavonian nobles and peasants settled in the region, particularly in the areas around Güssing, Körmend, Rechnitz, Szalónak (Stadtschlaining), Eisenstadt, Sopron, Vienna and Pressburg (Bratislava). Those arriving frequently populated deserted villages, or depopulated quarters of villages and towns, and even established new settlements. These new settlements, characteristically forest-clearing villages, were usually created in return for certain privileges lasting for a specific amount of time (e.g., tax exemption), which, although the Croatian settlers were Catholic, helped them retain their original identity, and slowed or even prevented their incorporation into the surrounding Hungarians or Germans (Fig. 97).⁴²

An important circumstance is that it was first of all the Hungarians living in the valleys, i.e., those standing in the way of the marching troops, that were eliminated during the Turkish campaigns (1529, 1532, then 1664, 1683), so many in fact that by the end of the seventeenth century only the districts of Oberwart, Unterpullendorf and Oberpullendorf, Güssing and Taden remained Hungarian majority areas. It is presumed that the Hungarian border guard peoples had been able to remain in the in the Wart (Őrség) area due to the privileges of the nobles, which prevented the settling of foreigners.⁴³

41 Beluszky, *Őrség*, 44–45; M. Kozár, “A magyarországi szlovének,” 492–93.

42 Pálffy 2000, 184–85.

43 Kocsis, *Az Őrvidék*.

In the sixteenth century, most of the population of the region converted to the Protestant religion, except for the newly arriving Croats. At this same time, the German Protestants fleeing religious persecution because of the religious war taking place on German territory were also arriving in the region (in Sopron, Oberschützen, the district of Bernstein, and Moson (*Heideboden*)). Among the population already here it was essentially the Evangelical Lutheran religion that had become widespread, yet, as opposed to the Germans and the Wends, significant numbers of Hungarians also joined the Calvinist Reformed Church. The re-Catholicization occurring at the end of the century was extremely successful due to the support of the estate owners. Those that were able to resist this trend and remain aligned with their Protestant belief system were characteristically from the villages of the minor nobility far from the towns (in Rabnitz plain, the middle of the Little Hungarian Plain and in the south of Vas County), and the population of Őrség, who enjoyed certain privileges at the time.⁴⁴



Fig. 97. Croat from Zagersdorf.

Similarly to the Germans, the Jews too played a very considerable role in the economic life of the settlements. Initially the authorities of the towns only permitted the settling of Jewish merchants, who started appearing in the thirteenth century, on the peripheries of the towns, later, however, they were allowed to move to within the town walls. This coexistence and tolerance lasted for a few centuries. Then, partly because of the weakening of the power of the monarchy, and partly due to the appearance of religious intolerance, and a decline in trade, by the time of the Ottoman occupation the Jewry had been ousted from most towns, and there were even bloody pogroms in certain locations (e.g., Buda, Nagyszombat [today Trnava]). The Jews had been banned by decree

44 Jankó and Tóth, *Változó erővonalak*, 131.

from the perpetual provinces of Austria already at the end of the fifteenth century, many of whom found refuge in the towns of Western Hungary, particularly in Eisenstadt; and the Jews banished from Sopron in 1526 were taken in by Mattersdorf (later Mattersburg). The second wave of Jewish settlers in Western Hungary started after Leopold I once again banned the Jews from Vienna and the entire territory to the east of the Enns River in 1670–71. Up until the adoption of statute 29 of 1840, the law forbade Jews from settling in towns in Hungary too, however many Jews banished from Moravia and Austria found refuge on the large estates of Western Hungary, such as on those owned by the Esterházy family. As a result of this by around 1700 some three fifths of Hungary's Jewry lived on the western periphery. The Jews, working as army purveyors, merchants, and doctors, or as artisans of a certain craft, lived segregated, usually next to the towns in separate settlements. In the cultural sense the Jewish communities of Eisenstadt's periphery held a leading function in alliance with the "seven settlements" (*Sieben-Gemeinden*, Hebrew *Seva Kehilot*) under Esterházy protection: Kittsee, Frauenkirchen, Eisenstadt, Mattersburg, Deutschkreutz, Lackenbach, Kobersdorf. A considerable Jewish population also lived in Gattendorf, also part of the Esterházy estates, and in Rechnitz, Stadtschlaining, Güssing, and Körmend under Batthyány patronage.⁴⁵

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was now not Croatian but German settlers that expanded the population of the region, Hungarian settlers were rare (e.g., in 1747 in Oberpullendorf). In the wake of all this, by the time of the first Josef II census (1784–85) a 77% German majority had been established on the territory of today's Burgenland, with 18% Croats and 2% Hungarians. At this time there were 75 villages with a Croatian majority and just seven with a Hungarian majority. In contrast with these 29 villages with a majority German population were located on the Hungarian territory of today. The area populated by the Croats, similarly to that of the Jews, reached its greatest extent at the end of the eighteenth century, therefore the period lasting up until the first half of the nineteenth century can be said to be the most diverse in terms of ethnicity and religion throughout recorded history.

As a result of the grain boom of the beginning of the nineteenth century destitute domestic workers were brought from Rábaköz and Csallóköz to the manors of the estates in Seewinkel in Moson County, which resulted in an increase in the proportion of Hungarians in this area, specifically around Apet-

45 Beluszky, "Zsidó lakosság," 319; Reiss, "Die ehemalige jüdische Gemeinde Eisenstadt," 85–87.

lon and Frauenkirchen.⁴⁶ However, the privileges granted the nobles in Wart (Őrség) were ceased, and so the Hungarian population there went into decline. The slow Germanization was delayed by the Compromise; with the development of public administration, economic growth, the creation of the Hungarian school system and the modernization progressing in parallel, the proportion of Hungarians mainly in the towns grew, and by the turn of the century most larger settlements had a Hungarian majority, or at least the number of the Hungarian approached that of the Germans. Another factor in this process was the greater proportion of German emigration and slow assimilation. One “symptom” of this assimilation was mass name Magyarization, which was outright expected for officials. The most famous example of this was the German Franz Liszt, whose father had still written his name as “List.” Indeed, the Magyarization process was even apparent in the switching of the German place name and street name signs. Along with this the people of the towns were generally bilingual, or even trilingual in some places, which was a positive aspect of this coexistence. The ethnic structure changed less in rural regions and the language border remained unchanged, but a striking piece of data is that every third person could speak Hungarian in the territory of the soon-to-be province.⁴⁷

The Germans of Western Hungary had much dislike for this period, with the Austrian historians describing it using the term “Magyarisierung,” i.e., Magyarization. However, in light of the ethno-political atmosphere of the entire Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, it is understandable that the Hungarian people strove to be able to use the Hungarian language in the course of official business and in schools within the territory of their own country to counterbalance the German absolutist efforts. This, in turn, suppressed the similar efforts of its own minorities, meaning the Germans and Croats living in Western Hungary. Hungarian language nationalism also gave new force to the ideal of the Hungarian state. All this however, just as many other things in the history of Hungary, happened late: language nationalism was already spreading in the middle of the nineteenth century, manifested in many places as pan-Slavism, the Illyrian movement, and pan-Germanism. The Hungarian official language introduced in 1844, the Hungarian education in schools made obligatory in 1879, the checking of the Hungarian language knowledge of teachers in higher education from 1883, and the famous Apponyi school legislation of 1907 were all fuel to the fire of language nationalism. However, if we examine the statistics

46 Somogyi, “Die sprachlichen Minderheiten,” 115–17, Somogyi, *A burgenlandi magyarság*, 126–32.

47 Baumgartner, “A burgenlandi magyarság,” 48.

these measures were successful: the proportion of Hungarians rose steadily up to the beginning of the twentieth century. This same process also occurred in the territory of later Burgenland and Western Transdanubia, and it was because of this that Hungarian became the language of educated society, culture, and of intercultural relations.⁴⁸ The German groups resisting this sought refuge in the support of organizations in Transleithania, and then under the umbrella of the social liberal parties. The Croats found their refuge mostly in their Catholic religion and through their Church.⁴⁹ In the meantime, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Hungarians attempted to tie the Slovenes of Hungary, i.e., Wends, to Hungary with the theory “Wends are not Slovenes,” which found no support among the Lutheran Wends, who wished to defend their religion, against the Catholic Wends who favored the Habsburgs. This theory gained popularity once again at the time of Trianon, when used in the service of revisionist policy.⁵⁰

The population of the Jewry grew constantly in the nineteenth century as a consequence of the allowances in connection with moving and settling down, but at this time Western Hungary was no longer the main migration destination. Due to the immigration from the Jewish settlement areas of Galizien and Poland the preferred target areas shifted to Upper Hungary, Northeastern Hungary and Budapest. However, the trend resulting in larger proportions of the Jewish becoming town-dwellers was also valid in the territory under examination. The internal migration of the Jews was in close relationship with the economic rise and decline of the towns. In the period of 1880–1930 there was an absolute drop in the numbers of this ethnic group in both Körmend and Mattersburg, for example, but significant increases in the numbers of Jews were seen in Celldömölk, which had become a railway junction town, and in Szombathely, which was being rapidly urbanized. The effect of the Trianon treaty could also be felt; in Sopron, which had lost its hinterland, their population dropped by 24 percent, and in Nagykanizsa the number of Jews fell by 22 percent between 1920 and 1930. At the time of the 1910 census, when the population of the Hungarian Jewry had reached its peak, there were 26–27 thousand followers of Judaism living in Western Transdanubia. The most populous communities were in the largest towns, but there were congregations of several hundred in the territory of today’s Burgenland in Frauenkirchen, Eisenstadt, Mat-

48 Burghardt, *Borderland*, 143–53; Kocsis and Wastl-Walter, “Ungarische und österreichische Volksgruppen,” 181–82.

49 Reiterer, *Wohlstand und Identität*, 51.

50 M. Kozár, “A magyarországi szlovének,” 492–95, 506.

tersburg, Kobersdorf, Lackenbach, Deutschkreutz and Rechnitz. Among the urban communities of Jews, the Eisenstadt colony created an independent settlement in 1871 named Unterberg-Eisenstadt. Only the Jews of Mattersburg, then still known in German as Mattersdorf, were able to achieve something similar, but the Jewish village there was attached to Mattersburg in 1903, however, Unterberg Eisenstadt remained independent all the way up until 1938, when the Jews were expelled from Burgenland.⁵¹

Centers, hinterlands and transport

In the previous two sections I reviewed the main processes taking place up until the creation of Burgenland in the towns and villages, the economy and the ethnic groups. The creation of Burgenland and the new Austrian-Hungarian border obviously brought about a new situation for those living in the region. This section, also reflecting on the Burgenland topics of the geographical discoverers, takes a geographical approach to briefly summarize what all this means from the point of view of the settlements, transport and human relations. Therefore, I rely much on the work of Burghardt, for example, who assessed the fate of the province in the interwar period from a perspective of decades.

There is no dispute in that the drawing of the Austrian-Hungarian border was the fairest from the ethnic point of view, as only 25% of the population of Burgenland did not speak German as their native language. Nor is it disputed that with the loss of Sopron Burgenland was very much lacking in towns when it was created 100 years ago. At the time of the 1910 census Eisenstadt had a population of 3,000, while Sopron, which had substantial urban institutions, had a population of 35,000; if we calculate using the settlement structure of today, including the villages connected to both towns over the past century, then the populations were 7,000 and 38,000. In the light of this it is no surprise that the selection of the provincial capital was a relatively longwinded affair. But even before this, the creation of the province, the organizing of public administration and the question of the name still involved several twists. The removal of Sopron shook not only the question of the provincial capital but also of the political unity of the entire territory. Suddenly the independence of territory

51 Beluszky, "Zsidó lakosság," 324-31; Burghardt, *The Political Geography of Burgenland*, 300; Reiss, "Jüdisches Leben," 115; Reiss, "Die ehemalige jüdische Gemeinde Eisenstadt," 90.

treated separately from the perpetual provinces of Austria due to its origin and initially called *Deutschwestungarn*, then *Heinzenland* was put to question.⁵²

The most populous settlement in the province, Oberwart with its population of 3,800, could not even be considered as the provincial seat as it was the center of the Hungarian-populated area, however industrially advanced Pinkafeld could be, but its isolation in transport terms, and its “mental distance” from Viennese circles were important counterarguments during the later decision-making. In the north more serious consideration was given to Sauerbrunn, the seat of the temporary provincial government, and to Mattersburg, a resort favored by the Austrian upper classes, as well as to Eisenstadt, which were all thrown into the “hat.” The doubters, however, could have even imagined government from Vienna, Graz or Wiener Neustadt. Eventually the urban atmosphere of Eisenstadt won the vote, and so the title of “provincial government seat” was placed next to the name of the town in 1925.⁵³

The effect the new Austria-Hungary border was primarily the cutting from the hinterlands of the real towns that had remained in Hungary. While on the Hungarian side it was almost solely Magyaróvár that had increased its economic catchment area, on the Burgenland side of the border many small towns and villages gained from the change of the course of the border, with Eisenstadt, Mattersburg, Oberpullendorf, Oberwart, Pinkafeld, Güssing, and Jennersdorf being among these.⁵⁴ The settlement of Deutschkreutz also now found itself in a unique position; initially it had been able to profit from the new situation by obtaining a part of the trade in livestock from Sopron. Its population grew by three hundred between 1923 and 1934 to a total of 4,220 and was the most important market center in Middle Burgenland. The settlement had a direct rail connection with Vienna via Sopron, as it has today, and after Mattersburg had the second largest Jewish community in Burgenland of some four hundred people, which is also an indication of its commercial strength. By the end of the 1930s it was surpassed by Oberpullendorf, which today has a smaller population, but a better location; the population of Deutschkreutz had dropped by 400 due to the expulsion of the Jews before the start of the war.⁵⁵ The settlement of Rechnitz found itself in a similar situation in the shadow of Kőszeg and Szombathely. In 1923 it was the second largest town in Southern Burgenland and the fourth

52 Jankó and Tóth, *Változó erővonalak*, 108.

53 Burghardt, *Borderland*, 232; Paul, “Mattersburg,” 263–64.

54 Győri, “A határ.”; Győri and Jankó, “Nyugat-Dunántúl.”

55 Burghardt, *Borderland*, 197.

largest in the entire province, however it was unable, not even temporarily, to take on an organizing role in local trade. Being forced to the periphery of the trade routes Oberwart, even with its more favorable location, failed to make much progress in terms of urban development, in contrast with Pinkafeld and Großpetersdorf, which is also indicated by the fact that the population level of the Jewry, the controllers of commercial life, was halved between 1923–1934, and the famous Rechnitz boot production also went bust.⁵⁶

A protracted crisis developed on both sides of the border, in both countries to be precise, until the markets were able to adapt to the changed conditions. Supply problems, goods shortages, blossoming smuggling because of this, tighter market competition, new competitors, lack of capital, duties, as well as import and export restrictions all made the lives of the people on both sides of the border more difficult, and Burgenland waited for years for financial support from the federal government to no avail. The people of Burgenland strove to boycott Sopron trade, while the Hungarians tried to sabotage the Burgenland farmers by not handing over the land title deeds, but what is even more indicative of the situation is the fact that the majority of the large farm estates in the province remained the property of Hungarians, such as the Esterházy family.⁵⁷ Interstate treaties were concluded in an attempt to consolidate the situation, e.g., the travel permits issued in the 15-km zone along the border to make border traffic easier, and agreements were made in numerous other questions: in the issue of the local traffic among the villages of the Pinka Valley, about access to Geschriebenstein, in questions related to the water supplies of Sopron, Kőszeg, and Szombathely (which partially came from Austrian territory). Up until World War II several former Moson County villages were supplied with electricity from Hungarian territory. An agreement also had to be concluded in the matter of the Brennberg coal mine, as a shaft was transferred to the Austrian side. In accordance with the agreement the right to work the Brennberg mine was left in Hungarian hands, with the Hungarian party receiving all the rights.⁵⁸

As we have already seen the new border resulted in the fragmentation of transport network and of the catchment areas along with it in the Burgenland – Western Hungary region. Viewed from the perspective of Burgenland, the roads and railways of the province were oriented outwards toward Hungary, Lower Austria and Styria, the network elements providing the internal connections

56 Burghardt, *Borderland*, 200.

57 Burghardt, *Borderland*, 204; Sallai, “Az osztrák–magyar,” 160–61; Tóth, *A nyugat-magyarországi kérdés*, 121–24; Tóth, *Két Anschluss között*, 249–64.

58 Bodo, *Burgenland*, 39; Sallai “Az osztrák–magyar,” 162–70; Tóth, *A nyugat-magyarországi kérdés*, 125–29.

were lacking, or the border cut them off. Due to Sopron remaining in Hungary, for example, the Sopron-oriented road network of the region was also damaged, the border here cut through three higher and four lower ranking roads, as well as three railway lines. Indeed, the primary, higher quality public road connections from multiple Burgenland villages led toward Sopron. The situation of the Oberpullendorf district was similar to that of “Sopron’s sack,” almost all the routes there were cut into two by the border, and even the Amber Road was no exception. In other words, it may be said that the Trianon border had hacked up the region’s traditional north-south transport axis, and certain sections of the Sopron–Kőszeg–Szombathely route were degraded to having merely local significance. The everyday problems in connection with these issues were examined in detail by Burghardt in the middle of the 1950s.⁵⁹

The connection between the southern, formerly Vas County districts and the north, i.e., Vienna and Sopron was difficult to begin with, as the Güns Mountains, and the Ödenburg and Rosalia Mountains represent a substantial obstacle, and due to this commercial and economic connections had not really developed in this direction. With the creation of Burgenland, however, at the very minimum there was an administrative demand to create good links between the various parts of the province. Nevertheless, many areas had become almost isolated with the new borderline. The highway leading over the Güns Mountain pass between Rechnitz and Lockenhaus was only completed in 1947, and the route between Lockenhaus and Liebing had to be rebuilt. For many years the Siegraben pass between the Rosalia and Ödenburg Mountains at its 500 meters, relatively low by Alpine standards, was insurmountable, and the only alternative was via Wiener Neustadt until the section of road through the pass was built in 1929 (Fig. 98). Two generations later the Burgenland S31 highway was completed and runs through here, over four viaducts. The border cut through both the road and the river running through the Pinka Valley several times, so a new north-south connection had to be constructed on the Austrian side. On the Hungarian side a new road had to be built for Szentpéterfa, this ran to the east through a section of forest toward Szombathely. To the north of Szentgottárd the Trianon border broke the routes between the Lafnitz river and the Raab Valley, i.e., between the Güssing and Jennersdorf districts, here the new road, built by the Hungarians, was completed in 1926, precisely on the border.⁶⁰ Later another highway was built elsewhere over the high ground between the

59 Burghardt, *Borderland*, 231–35.

60 Burghardt, *Borderland*, 203.



Fig. 98. Motorcar near to Siegggraben pass, before 1938.

Raab and Lafnitz rivers, in other words the transport difficulties lasted only in the initial period, and with the highway construction technologies available today only minor difficulties have remained. Nevertheless, access to Southern Burgenland from the north was not implemented through the province itself, but through Lower Austria and Styria, which, at the beginning of the 1920s, diverted most attention to the construction of the Pinkafeld–Friedberg railway. The situation remains the same to this very day, to reach Southern Burgenland quickly from Vienna, you take the A2 expressway linking Wiener Neustadt with Graz, after construction of the Burgenland S31 highway was not continued over the Güns Mountains (Fig. 99).

Turning to the railways, the most useful lines remained in the district of Eisenstadt. To the north and the south, the Oberpullendorf railway (the former Sopron–Kőszeg line) went straight into the international border and cut through it twice. It was not easy to find an alternative route through the perpetual provinces and the Alps. For this reason, multiple railway lines were planned in the province, even through the Siegggraben pass, but only the Szombathely–Pinkafeld line was extended up to Friedberg in Styria, in this way the district of Oberwart gained a direct railway link with Vienna.⁶¹

61 Burghardt, *Borderland*, 232–33.



Fig. 99. Pinkafeld, railway construction (Friedberg–Pinkafeld), Roman ceramics found in an archaeological excavation, 1924.

The progress in Northern and Middle Burgenland was made by Austria and Hungary being able to use each other's territory as the result of a toll agreement; the Austrians had access to Oberpullendorf and Seewinkel from the south, while the Hungarians were able to travel from Sopron to Kőszeg. Passenger transport was allowed in this section up until the beginning of the 1950s. However, the other branch lines were not so lucky. Passenger transport came to a stop on the Austrian section of the Sárvár–Répcévis–Oberloisdorf line in 1933. The trains travelling on the railway running from Szombathely through Rechnitz to Pinkafeld switched passengers and personnel in Bucsu, while those on the trains from Körmend travelling to the other Batthyány estate center of Güssing were switched in Strem, after this the trains continued on to their terminus. Later, after World War II the Güssing–Körmend line was closed, and passenger transport was also stopped on the large part of the Pinka Valley line by the 1980s. Then, from 2011 trains no longer run between Friedberg, Pinkafeld and Oberwart either.⁶²

62 Majdán 2001; Sallai, "A magyar-osztrák határ," 298.

From emigration to expulsion

For many years the ethnic-religious ties and identities in the border region cut into two by the Trianon border served as a link between Burgenland and Western Hungary, between the Germans, the Croats, the Jews, the Roma and the Protestant religions. At the same time, being an ethnic minority involved numerous difficulties in this new situation. The Hungarians of the territories annexed from Hungary following World War I were shocked once again as a result of the mass moving of people, which mainly affected those living in the towns and those scattered around in the countryside. Some 10 thousand people moved from the territory of Burgenland to Hungary, especially after the province started to discourage the use of the Hungarian language in education.⁶³ As a result, according to the Austrian census, the 25 thousand Hungarians recorded in the Hungarian census of 1920 had dropped to 15 thousand by 1923 due to mass migration to Hungary.⁶⁴

Initially the Croats did not really feel at home in the new province, and the propaganda expecting them to declare their loyalty was a great burden on them. However, the Croats were not even unified in the question of their allegiance at the time Burgenland was created, and later neither when their political division rose to the surface: the majority of the Croats in the north, close to Vienna were industrial workers, and therefore had become socialist voters and pro-Austrian, while the Croats of Southern Burgenland remained mainly pro-Hungarian and Christian democrat voters.⁶⁵

Transatlantic emigration also represented a great setback for the population of the new Austrian province. Initially, agricultural overpopulation was the main factor, as after the serfs were liberated land ownership had become rather fragmented. However, the proportion of large estate farms remained high, which, coupled with a high natural reproduction rate, increased land-hunger from the nineteenth century up until the first half of the twentieth century. In the interwar period the economic slump and recession added to all this, and so many thousands, mainly Germans and Croatians searched for a new home, primarily in the New World. Even before World War I about 27 thousand "Burgenland residents" had left their homeland, many of these, however, later returned. In the interwar period, especially at the beginning of the 1920s, multitudes of people

63 Baumgartner, "Burgenland tartomány," 115.

64 Berlin, "United States," 40.

65 Burghardt, *Borderland*, 256–59.

left their homes, with those settling in the USA, Canada, Argentina and Brazil exceeding 20 thousand. Because of this process larger communities were created in Chicago and New York than in any of the towns in the present province.⁶⁶

Burgenland's Lutheran population found themselves in Catholic Austria. Paradoxically, even still these Lutherans had wished for the merger of Western Hungary into Austria, while the Catholic clergy of Burgenland, some of whom had Hungarian roots, had later worked in support of Hungary. As a result of their minority position, the Lutherans developed a strong anti-Catholic sentiment, which also influenced which political party they supported; they voted for the peasants' party and not for the Christian party. Religious life in Burgenland was particularly unbalanced at the time of *Anschluss*. Driven by fear of Bolshevism or by anti-Semitism the Catholic and Lutheran Church leaders welcomed the Germans, but this was to no avail as they too were subjected to persecution later on. The Lutherans, apart from being positive about the union with Luther's country, also supported the *Anschluss* because in the Third Reich the Lutheran Church had become the largest denomination. Naturally, the Hungarian and Croatian peoples did not only suffer at the time of the *Anschluss* because their church life had been repressed, which was so important from the point of view of the survival of their language, but instead because the Nazi ethnic policy enforcing assimilation had restricted the use of their language and closed numerous ethnic group schools. All this was despite the fact that many Hungarians, particularly among the poor, had joined the Nazi party, the NSDAP and supported the *Anschluss*.⁶⁷

As discussed in the section on the *Burgenlandatlas*, the persecution of the Jews before World War II and the Roma at the end of the war had led to mass deportations. Already in 1934 there were only four thousand Jews in Burgenland due to the constant persecution (Fig. 100). The literature writes of 3000 deported Jews, but we also should not forget about some seven thousand Roma who were interned in a camp next to Lackenbach.⁶⁸

In Hungary the horrors of the war were followed by relocations. Roughly 35 thousand Catholic and Lutheran Germans living in the border region in Hungary were expelled from Győr-Moson-Pozsony, Sopron and Vas counties, with about 15 thousand being relocated from each of the two former counties. Eight thousand Germans were expelled from Sopron alone, where whole town

66 Kirnbauer, "Bevölkerungs- und Siedlungsgeographie," 132; Dujmovits, "Die Auswanderungslandschaften"; Brettl, "Landwirtschaft," 206.

67 Burghardt, *Borderland*, 268–71.

68 Baumgartner, "A burgenlandi magyar kisebbség," 180–81.



Fig. 100. Koberdorf (a Jewish center in middle Burgenland), forest mill with Pauliberg mountain in the background, circa 1930. Picture postcard.

quarters died out for a time. This deportation was especially tragic for Sopron because those Germans and their descendants were also forced to leave their homeland who had voted to stay in Hungary in 1921. Sopron's political leaders were powerless to do anything. Such lofty arguments had no effect against Volksbund membership, German nationality admitted in the 1941 census, or against those eyeing the valuables of the houses of the rich.⁶⁹ However, there were some locations, such as Vaskeresztes and Pornóapáti in Vas County where relocation only affected a small German population. The large majority of those deported were sent to West Germany, with fewer going to East Germany, nevertheless, there were some who returned, at least to the Burgenland side of the border. As a result, the German population dropped to a fraction of its former level on the Hungarian side of the border; in this way too the return of Sopron to Burgenland became devoid of purpose.

In Burgenland after World War II the 30 thousand Croats and 5 thousand Hungarians, according to their admission, were stigmatized because of the communist regimes in the home countries and suffered political disunity and the process of assimilation partly deriving from this. The emerging economic recovery following the signing of the Austrian State Treaty and the withdrawal

69 Krisch, "A soproni németek."

of the occupying Soviet troops accelerated the migration processes and the relocation of people from the villages to the towns. For the ethnic minorities all this led to cultural transformation, cultural exchange and, finally, to assimilation. The State Treaty only gave rights to the Slovenian and Croatian minorities, although the higher school education guaranteed for the Croats never saw light of day. Indeed, the 1962 schools act reduced the duration of the ethnic schools from eight years to four, in other words the 10–14-year age group no longer received education in their native language. The Hungarians and the Czechs were only recognized as minorities in the nationalities act of 1976, which brought about some improvement in the lives of the two ethnic groups (but the Roma were omitted on this occasion too).⁷⁰

The assimilation process accelerated as urbanization progressed in Burgenland, and the emigrants of 1956 hardly increased the numbers of the Hungarians living here, and so by 1981 their total population had dropped to just four thousand. However, the favorable processes taking place in Hungary, like the beginnings of the political and economic changes were beneficial for the self-identity of the Hungarians of Burgenland: in the census of 1991 some 6,700 people declared their native language as Hungarian. By the turn of the millennium the population of Hungarians in the province had become essentially stable, however, the processes behind this include the 21% drop in the rural population of Hungarians in the district of Oberwart and the immigration from the other side of the border compensating this, i.e., from Hungary primarily into the towns. At the time of the 2001 census there were just two settlements with a Hungarian majority: Unterwart and Siget in der Wart, in addition to these there were larger communities living in Oberwart, Oberpullendorf, where the Hungarians had lost their language majority already in the 1950s, and in Eisenstadt and Frauenkirchen.⁷¹

The population of Croats had dropped to 26 thousand by 1961, and then to almost 19 thousand by 1981, after this there was a temporary increase in their numbers, with their population being stable in the decade of 1991–2001. A phenomenon like that occurring with the Hungarians happened to the Croats: the drop in the population of native Croats was concealed by immigration from the mother country. In 1910 there were 55 Croatian majority settlements, in 1991 27 and in 2001 just 23. Their largest communities (with populations of

70 Münz, "Zwischen Assimilation," 34; Szeberényi and Szeberényi, *Az őrvideki magyarok*, 12–18.

71 Szeberényi and Szeberényi, *Az őrvideki magyarok*, 9–19.

700-1000) may be found in Siegendorf, Klingebach, Wulkaprodersdorf, Güttenbach, Stinatz and Trausdorf.⁷²

Based on language affiliation in Burgenland before the war there were approximately 6,500 Roma, but, as I mentioned above, most of them were deported. In 2001 just 303 people spoke one of the Roma languages. Their main settlement area was around the Hungarian ethnic group, primarily in the district of Oberwart. In Hungary Győr-Moson-Sopron and Vas counties are not among the main settlement territories of the Roma, but this situation is changing as the level of development of the territory within Hungary is having the effect of attracting those from poorer regions, including the Roma.

The Trianon borders did not leave the Land of the Wends untouched either. According to the public administrative position valid today six villages remained in Hungary, Alsószölnök, Felsőszölnök, Orfalu, Kétvölgy, Apátistvánfalva, and Szakonyfalva, the others are now in Slovenia.⁷³ In addition the peace treaty placed numerous Hungarian villages in Slovenia from the Muraszombat district of Vas County and the Alsólendva district of Zala County, so the new borders did not entirely follow the ethnic dividing line here either. The six villages listed above, with the exceptions of Szakonyfalva and Alsószölnök, even today have a considerable, about 50% Slovene population, and to this day are a very closed community and mix little with other nationalities. Alsószölnök, mentioned above, had a unique ethnic structure, as it was a German-Wend-Hungarian village, with none of the nationalities having an absolute majority before the world war.

It may be stated that a few decades after the Trianon borders were drawn the language border nature of the state border had been reinforced because of the relocations and assimilation. The ethnic structure became more homogenous; now perhaps only the Croatian villages can be seen on the ethnic maps. A total of 4/5th of the Croatian population of 25 thousand live in Burgenland and 1/5th on the Hungarian side; the number of German villages in Western Transdanubia and the number of Hungarian villages in Burgenland are negligible.

72 Since the census in 2011, language data is no longer available. Kocsis, *Az Órvidék*; Kocsis et al., *Etnikai térfolyamatok*, 139–48; Kocsis és Wastl-Walter, "Ungarische und österreichische Volksgruppen, 194–99.

73 I might add that originally there were nine Wend villages, as Újbalázsfalva was attached to Apátistvánfalva in 1937, and Rábatótfalu was merged with Szentgotthárd in 1983, and Ritkaháza and Permise were combined between 1944 and 1946 (with the name Vashegyalja), then after separating they merged once again in 1950 and took on the name of Kétvölgy.

From peasant houses to the alpine-type houses

The diversity of the settlements and of the profiles of the settlements in the border region originates from the transitional nature of its physical geography, its duality, i.e., the meeting point of mountain and plain, as well as from the ethnic diversity discussed above. Over the course of history agricultural life, the shaping of the cultural landscape, and the structure of the settlements were strongly determined by the natural frameworks. In this way the method of the use of the homestead plots and of the farmland surrounding the villages, and the construction methods were influenced by the level of technology, the role of the settlement in the division of labor in the area, its function in the settlement network, the available building materials, and the ancient building traditions “brought” by the ethnic group or even learned from other peoples. Accordingly, we find different settlement structures in each ethnographical and natural landscape, however, the superstructure of the settlements, the form of the buildings, their functions change much more quickly than the settlement structure, therefore the past half century, particularly the accelerated rate of urbanization has brought about an acute reshaping of the profiles of the settlements.

In the Burgenland – Western Transdanubia region, i.e., in the former Western Hungary, it was a general truth that a settlement structure was created consisting of larger villages on the plains and of smaller villages in the mountainous and hilly regions. However, the quality of the lands also had a considerable influence on the land’s carrying capacity, in this way in the poorer, stony areas, such as in the Nagyerdő region of Sopron County or the territory of the Őrség–Vasi-Hegyhát region, sparse village networks were created, while the largest villages were established on the territories with the best land quality, such as on the Moson plain (Heideboden), where large manor farms were established and operated on the surrounding farmland.⁷⁴ The aforementioned large-estate farming system established in the Seewinkel area also contributed to the development of the unique village–manor settlement structure, the origin of which should not be confused with the market town–farmstead (*tanya*) network on the Great Plain. Initially, these farmsteads were not permanently occupied and functioned as an organic part of the market towns; the manors, however, were created as a result of the operation of the large farm estates. It was not only the servants who lived in the manors of Moson and in those of Transdanubia in general, but also the farmer and the tenants, and in some places, there was also

74 Bulla and Mendöl, *A Kárpát-medence*, 191–92.

a chapel, school, and store in the settlement arranged around the central rectangular space. Examples of these may be seen at Paulhof, Alberthof, Wilhelmshof, and Mönchhof, the latter of which grew into the size of a village. This last example indicates that in special cases these could even become independent settlements. The other manors in the territory were usually solitary settlements, in other words only consisting of one residential building and the associated farm buildings.⁷⁵

Small villages dominated in the hill regions; and just as on the Hungarian side where these small villages were more characteristic of Vas County, in Burgenland too they are (were) characteristic of the southern areas, primarily in the districts of Güssing and Oberwart. However, in Burgenland we can now only find approximately 15 settlements with a population of under 500 (16 according to the 2001 census and 15 in 2011) and just one village with a population of under 200, Tschanigraben with its population of 72 in 2011. The reason for this, and for the past tense in brackets above, is that an administrative reform was carried out in most provinces in Austria in 1971, and so in Burgenland too, and in the scope of this the local governments of many settlements were merged, in other words the problem of these small villages was “solved” in terms of both administration and statistics too. As a result of this reform the number of villages dropped from 319 in 1961 to 138 in 1971.⁷⁶ Small settlements only reappeared in the statistics via the village demergers taking place in 1991. In other words, if the map of the small villages were to be drawn based on the 1960/61 censuses the result would be more detailed (see the next section). Of the more than 300 administratively independent settlements at this time 40 had a population of under 200 (12.5%), and an additional 97 villages had populations of between 200 and 500 (30.4%). In comparison: in Vas County, which has just 20 thousand fewer residents than Burgenland, the population in 43 villages did not reach 200 in 2011 and did not reach 500 in an additional 94 (meaning there were 137 villages with fewer than 500 residents), thus the proportions would be very similar.

An important difference between the villages of Burgenland with respect to their morphological features is that some of them are closed and others are open and exposed. The first type may be found in the northern areas, to the west of Lake Neusiedl, where the fashion is enclosed construction from stone. This may be explained by the demand for protection and, presumably, by German influence, but in addition those involved in vine growing had little need

75 Somogyi, “Die sprachlichen Minderheiten,” 115–18.

76 Lichtenberger, *Österreich*, 47.

for large barns and animal stalls and other farm buildings and could make do with less space. In many cases these villages have a somewhat urban profile, and, because of their past as market towns, may even have town walls, such as Fertőrákos and Purbach. Frequently there is a barn building at the end of the plot, both in Austrian and Hungarian territories, which also performed a defensive function and gave a sense of being enclosed. The shape of the houses is the same as that of the Moson Germans, i.e., gable roofed, long houses were common around Lake Neusiedl, occasionally with a veranda, but mostly without due to the German influence (Fig. 101). In contrast with this in the Hungarian villages on the Little Plain it was traditional for the houses to have hip roofs. It also happens in German and Croatian villages that several residences are built along the plot for the new members of the family. In the Hungarian settlements alleys frequently developed on these plots, going on to become streets, however this was rarer in the German villages (*Hofgasse*), there part-houses (*Geschwisterhof*) were more frequent, and strip land plots developed fragmenting into many small parts, which is mainly characteristic of Sopron and the surrounding area. In Burgenland Mörbisch and Rechnitz are famous for this type of house, and in the latter settlement there are gates separating the individual courtyard parts.⁷⁷ Here and there even today one may find the urban prototypes of eighteenth-nineteenth century village houses in the former historical suburbs of the towns, and, in places form bucolic quarters in Sopron and Kőszeg. In the small towns of Burgenland, which were formerly villages, these rural town quarters have remained in both the outer and inner parts of the settlements.⁷⁸

In the southern part of Burgenland, in the Wart (Upper-Őrség) region, similarly to the Hungarian (Lower-) Őrség region, the villages are exposed or open and have a loose structure: this is known as the *szer* or *szeg* village structure. A single village is made up of several *szer* units, which make delicate use of the landscape and straddle the tops of hills, because the marshy banks of the streams were not suitable for building houses. In the larger settlements, such as Oberwart, the developed area of the village is split up into *szeg* and *szer* units. The *szeg* units, Felszeg and Alszeg in Oberwart, were established by different clan branches, and were separated from each other by wide, undeveloped spaces. The *szer* units, i.e., Pinkaszter, Patakszer, Malomszer, Tüskevár, Ballaszter, and Alomszer in Oberwart, and Siskaszter, Baksaszter, Alszer, Kovácsszer, etc. in Óriszentpéter represented the residential district of the families, and frequently bore the names of the families,

77 Jankó, "A soproni részházak"; Kirnbauer, "Bevölkerungs- und Siedlungsgeographie," 152.

78 Bulla and Mendöl, *A Kárpát-medence*, 224; Jankó, "Történelmi külvárosok."



Fig. 101. Andau, the main village street, with straw-thatched peasant houses, before 1938.

and in the case of Oberwart they were separated by wider streets or elsewhere by land (woods, fields), and within them there were narrow alley-like streets. This settlement structure originates from the guard peoples settled here, who put down roots in clearings on the hilltops and river terraces on the lands granted to them. The result is that families were separated from each other, with no unified developed area, nor village center or real streets created in the village. Streets may only have developed resulting from subsequent densification due to a limited amount of land, or in the case of those settlements that were progressing towards urbanization. Now, of course, this pronounced settlement structure is no longer implemented and would not be immediately obvious to the uninitiated observer. This is especially true of Oberwart, as this settlement lying on a road junction has set off on the path toward becoming a town, and its main street paints a particularly urban picture. However, even today certain urban geography features may be discovered in connection with the *szeg* units, such as the spatial separation of the Hungarian and German ethnic groups. The former live in the more village-like, enclosed *szeg* units, in Felszeg, while the latter live in the more town-like parts, primarily in Alszeg.⁷⁹

79 Somogyi, *A burgenlandi magyarság*, 99–109.

It should also be noted that this *szer*-unit settlement structure is not an exclusive characteristic of this region, as it also occurs in neighboring Göcsej region, and perhaps tourism literature has overly exaggerated the *szer* system in Őrség.⁸⁰ However, in the settlement territory of the “native” Slovenes, i.e., the Wends the dwellings were originally scattered in solitary locations, and in many places this phenomenon can be still seen today. Here the houses stand independent, perhaps in small groups (in other words representing a form of transition to the *szer*-unit system, toward group distribution), surrounded by the farm, the meadows, the arable lands and for the most part by forest on hillsides and hill-tops, but never in the valley bottoms where there is the risk of floods. However, a characteristic of both Őrség and the *Vendvidék* or Land of the Wends was that originally there were no fences; the demand for defense was fulfilled by the curved, or fence-like or U-shaped farmstead, which accommodated the residential part and the farm buildings. Naturally, because of the lack of stone, the people built with wood for a long time (Fig. 102).⁸¹



Fig. 102. Landsee peasant courtyard, before 1938.

80 Csapó, “Őrség,” 322–23.

81 Balogh, “Die Haus-, Siedlungs- und Flurformen,” 10–13; Tóth, *Az őrségek népi építészeté*, 34–44.

To put the above in a broader perspective, the fact that the settlements or settlement parts sat on the tops of hills is by no means unique. Both isolated distribution and group distributed villages (*Weilers*) also occur in the Styrian hill region in the Bucklige Welt, and in the Middle and Southern Burgenland areas linked to these.⁸²

The most common types of settlement layout in Burgenland are the more regular shaped road village, which has German origins, and versions of the *Angerdorf*, with the houses and farmsteads in this case being arranged around a common grassed area. The villages resettled or newly established after the Turkish occupation were usually arranged in a checkerboard grid.⁸³ Then, similarly to the process in Hungary, after 1950 in Burgenland too it was the standardized homes of agricultural lifestyle reform and the *zeitgeist* that “helped” modernize the way the villages looked. These houses varied little, having only some larger shape variations, and slightly different uses of materials, which contributed largely to the “alpinization” of the village, and, unfortunately, to its uniformity. Here I understand alpinization of the village profile to mean the use of standard alpine-type house designs, but in addition to this, unique architectural designs using alpine mass formation techniques, house and roof shapes, materials, etc. to shift the profiles of the villages toward an alpine ambience. This increased uniformity in the settlements meant that community ties became undone, community building standards and local standard designs were no longer observed, and as architectural trends came from greater geographical scales, even from the global level, the villages lost their local or regional character and increasingly came to resemble one other. This process becomes more prominent as movement increases, the population is replaced, or a new population moves in. Along with this, the urbanization of Austrian villages is in an advanced state, the settlement profile in the main streets has become entirely compact and in some places the buildings have several floors, and the number of multiple-home buildings is multiplying. This is especially true of the Northern Burgenland areas considered part of the Vienna agglomeration.⁸⁴

It should be emphasized that the towns of the region established along the trade route were among the most urban, western-looking settlements in Hungary

82 Floiger, “Entwicklung der Dörfer,” 190.

83 Balogh, “Die Haus-, Siedlungs- und Flurformen,” 14–18; Bodo, *Burgenland*, 15–18; Kirnbauer, “Bevölkerungs- und Siedlungsgeographie,” 136–158; Somogyi, “Die sprachlichen Minderheiten,” 113–18; Ulbrich “Das Siedlungsbild,” 400–406; Wallner, “A felsőőrvidéki magyarság,” 9; Floiger, “Entwicklung der Dörfer.”

84 Dujmovits, “Die Entwicklung,” 93–95; Kirnbauer, “Bevölkerungs- und Siedlungsgeographie,” 159–61.

historically. They stood out from the settlement network of Hungary in terms of their compactness and height, and their town centers. Even their suburbs were, on occasion, protected by a town wall or at least by a reinforced earth rampart. Even today many houses originating from the Middle Ages may be found on the spool of streets of the generally ovoid-shaped Baroque settlement cores of the former royal free cities of Sopron, Kőszeg, Eisenstadt, and Rust, for example. These were during the destruction of the Turkish occupation, although there were frequent fires, and in some locations (e.g., in Sopron) there was considerable devastation due to World War II.⁸⁵

Urban homogenization processes also occurred in towns. The modern architecture, “socialist modern” in Hungary, emerging in the spirit of the Athens Charter after World War II brought about buildings with similar mass formation, and created similar urban fabrics. In this case, naturally, the use of materials was more differentiated: on the Austrian side the various forms of apartment building in the housing projects were built with more variety and with a richer use of forms. Because of their size the towns of Burgenland are comparable to the small towns of Hungary, and it is perhaps surprising that we can find similarities here too: both “socialism” and “capitalism” used medium-rise and high-rise buildings in the same way to prove the viability of the political system and the urban nature of the settlements, presumably through the function architecture has in the creation of symbols of power (e.g., Eisenstadt, Mattersburg, Oberwart).

Even today the Trianon border still fails to represent a dividing line in the structural profile of the villages, however, despite the similarities among the phenomena mentioned above, the Hungarian and Burgenland territories may be easily identified on the basis of the external appearance of the buildings, the image of the villages and, in certain cases, the shapes of the houses. Indeed, more broadly one may say that the Trianon border also became a cultural landscape border. The reason for this should not only be sought in the different forms of development after 1920 and especially after 1945, in the construction of the different standard buildings, and not only in the different agricultural production system and land use. The cultural landscape difference also lies in the lifestyle differences of the Austrian and Hungarian populations and in the better financial opportunities of the former. The level of refinement of the Austrian

85 Prickler, “Burgenlands Städte”; Bulla and Mendöl, *A Kárpát-medence*, 223–25; Jankó, “Történelmi külvárosok.”

side of the border is quite outstanding, with respect to the orderliness of both the towns and villages and of the land.

Naturally the most recent settlement-shaping processes, primarily in the towns, also exert their impact in the direction of urban and landscape homogenization. One should not only consider the advertising surfaces appearing in the town centers, the displays and logos of the multinationals, but the commercial and logistics centers, etc. proliferating at the edges of the towns, which create very similar “spaces” throughout the world. As a result of the much more advanced urbanization and motorization in Austria, commuting is a considerably greater phenomenon, and so the future of the residential village settlements in the northern parts of the province, which are suburbanized as a part of the Vienna agglomeration, is ensured in the longer term.

In addition to the discussed settlement transformation and urbanization processes, the transformation of the economy was also an important driving force for the changes in landscape and land use. On the basis of the land cover assessment of the 2nd military survey we find out that in the middle of the nineteenth century, when the transition from feudalism to capitalism was well under way in the region, from self-sufficient to goods-producing agriculture, cultivated land (arable land, vineyards, fruit plantations, gardens) was already relatively the most important form of land use in the territories of today’s Northern and Southern Burgenland. In the case of the former this meant a little more than one-third of the land (38.5%), while in the case of the latter precisely 42%, with forests here covering just nine tenths of a percent more area. By 2006 the proportion of arable land, gardens, vineyards, etc. in the north had risen to 60% and in the south to 46.4%, while the ratio of meadow, scrubland and water surfaces in the north had dramatically dropped. It is also important to realize that the ratio-magnitude of developed areas had exploded: from 0.2% to 7.2% in the north, and from 2.4% to 6.7% in the south. The numbers and these processes do not only show the intensification of agriculture, but particularly in the north, in the Seewinkel area there were also great changes in land use, such as the disappearance of the smaller lakes, the reduction in grazing livestock farming and the increase of arable farming, horticulture and vineyards. One might also say that the agriculture of Burgenland itself became more important in Austria. Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that in addition to these impacts it is urbanization that became the most important landscape-shaping factor, as may be seen in the considerable increase in territories removed from agriculture.⁸⁶

86 Berki and Konkoly, “A tartomány természetföldrajza,” 141–43.

Thus, the most drastic landscape changes in the province, and even in the broader border region may be seen in Seewinkel, as contemporary authors also warned. Horticulture took shape there already at the turn of the 19-twentieth centuries, just as it had in the region south of Lake Neusiedl and in Szigetköz in Hungary, but intensive grape production and, in places, fruit plantations had also become common place by the middle of the twentieth century. In parallel with this grazing land being ploughed up smaller saline lakes were drained, resulting in the disappearance of half of the lakes of Seewinkel. We should again not forget the parallel processes on the other side of the border: the similar water regulation works, the multiple attempts to drain the Hanság, the intensive, large-field arable farming, and the proliferation of housed livestock farming compared to grazing. An important difference, however, is that in Burgenland the fragmented farm structure, visible in the cultural landscape, had largely remained intact; it developed in the middle of the nineteenth century when the feudal farm system broke up and the serfs were liberated. It is partly because of this that the original or near-natural surface covering types are more interwoven in the landscape structure; this is particularly important in the more urbanized northern territories.⁸⁷

Between two borders

As I have stated multiple times in the chapters to this point, I emphasize it here also: the Trianon borders after World War II first became a language, ethnic, then political-ideological, and finally social and economic dividing line. The present section wishes to explore this line of thought. The purpose of this section in more detail is to evaluate the one hundred years of Burgenland's development compared to the neighboring territories of Lower Austria, Styria and Hungary. In terms of modernization, where did the territory start from and where did it get to? What processes lie behind the underdevelopment-development discourse in connection with the province? Not only did I search for evidence to answer these questions in the literature, but I also performed my own statistical and cartographic analyses. For these investigations I primarily made use of the Hungarian and Austrian census data from 1910, 1960–61 and from 2001. The reason for choosing mainly the latter year of 2001 was that for 2011 and 2021, when the last two census was carried out, the Austrian statistics agency published very little data at the settlement level. The same was true for

87 Brettl, "Landwirtschaft," 204–207; Supper, "Der Landschaftswandel."

the Austrian census in 1910, in which not only was the spectrum of the data narrow, but there was also a complete lack of data published at settlement level. Although I essentially performed the quantitative analysis with the use of settlement-level data, in the case of the year of 1910 I was thus only able to use data for the districts (in Austria: *politische Bezirke*, in Hungary: *járás*).

So, the examined territory, apart from Burgenland, includes the counties of Győr-Moson-Sopron and Vas in the east, and the districts of Lower Austria and Styria located along the border with Burgenland and their settlements, according to the administrative status of 2001. In Lower Austria this meant: Baden, Bruck an der Leitha, Mödling, Neunkirchen, Wiener Neustadt (town), Wiener Neustadt (region), and Wien-Umgebung. In Styria: Feldbach, Fürstenfeld, Graz (town), Graz-Umgebung, Hartberg, Mürzzuschlag, Radkersburg, and Weiz.

I entered the data, often manually, into a database to depict the data cartographically. In the case of both 1960–61 and 2001–2011 the data had to be homogenized for the same set of municipalities. The reason for this was that over the course of time innumerable villages had been combined, or attached to a larger municipality, primarily in Austria in the scope of the above-mentioned public administration reform of 1970. Numerous similar municipality changes took place in Hungary too. This process went even further in Styria and Lower Austria in 2015, with even districts being combined, however the impact of this cannot be seen on the maps, so it must be noted that the maps primarily reflect the public administration status of 2001.

Thus, the first-time perspective of the analysis was 1910, when at the end of the year censuses were carried out in both Austria and Hungary, although with different methodologies, and, as I mentioned above, with a very different data scope. In contrast with Austria, on the Hungarian side there were and are extremely detailed statistics available at settlement level, covering the native language of the population and even the material used for the roofs of the houses. However, because of the lack of data at district level in the Austrian territories for 1910 it is not possible to make in-depth comparisons. But from earlier studies it is possible to see what data we can work with on the Hungarian side of the Austrian-Hungarian border of the time and obtain an outline of the configuration of the then Western Hungary. This is demonstrated by the research performed by Róbert Győri, who set up a development index consisting of six indicators: these are the level of literacy over the age of 6 years, the ratio of stone or brick-built residential houses or with stone or brick foundations, the ratio among the earning population of those not employed in agriculture, the ratio among the deceased of those receiving medical attention before their death, the

migration balance (1901–1910) and the cadastral income index per agricultural worker.⁸⁸ Based on these it was apparent that despite having a relatively unfavorable settlement structure, and yet also as a consequence of its ethnic composition, Western Hungary counted as one of the most developed regions of a transitioning Hungary. However, it was not these factors that played the main role in establishing the level of development of the region but the proximity of Vienna, which is shown by the emerging settlement-level configuration, and the fact that the more developed towns and villages were located close to Vienna, which displays the existence of a north-western – south-eastern slope of development. The research shows that the northwest part of Sopron County and the western part of Moson County, as a unified area, came to be more highly developed than the average. Although somewhat more mosaic than this, the third of Vas County to the west of Sárvár and to the north of Szombathely was still more or less above average in terms of its level of modernization.

There were multiple underdeveloped areas in the southern part of Vas County, such as the district of Güssing, the center of which was unable to elicit a positive effect on its environment. To the south of this, there were additional developed settlements along the Raab river, but then further to the south less-developed villages occurred once again with only Muraszombat (Murska Sobota) standing out. The more easterly areas of Sopron and Vas counties had a much more diverse structure. It should be noted that the developed industrial center of the region, Győr was less able to impact its hinterland, with the area around Győrszentmárton (today Pannonhalma) being particularly underdeveloped.

The maps we have drawn up show all this regional structure within a broader region, in a scope including the Austrian territories then bordering with Hungary. It may be easily seen that the districts with the larger population clusters are primarily located in the southern hinterland of Vienna and around Graz, exceptions to this are the districts of Oberwart and Muraszombat (Fig. 103). In the short term the region was generally characterized by an increase in population, but there was a slight drop in numbers in the first decade of the twentieth century mainly in the districts in the territory of today's Burgenland. Literacy also showed the contrasts between the north and the south, although there was a greater "rift" between the north and the south on the Hungarian side than on the Austrian, and in this respect the hinterland of Győr belonged more to the underdeveloped south (Fig. 104).

88 Győri, "Bécs kapujában," 233; Győri and Jankó, "Nyugat-Dunántúl."

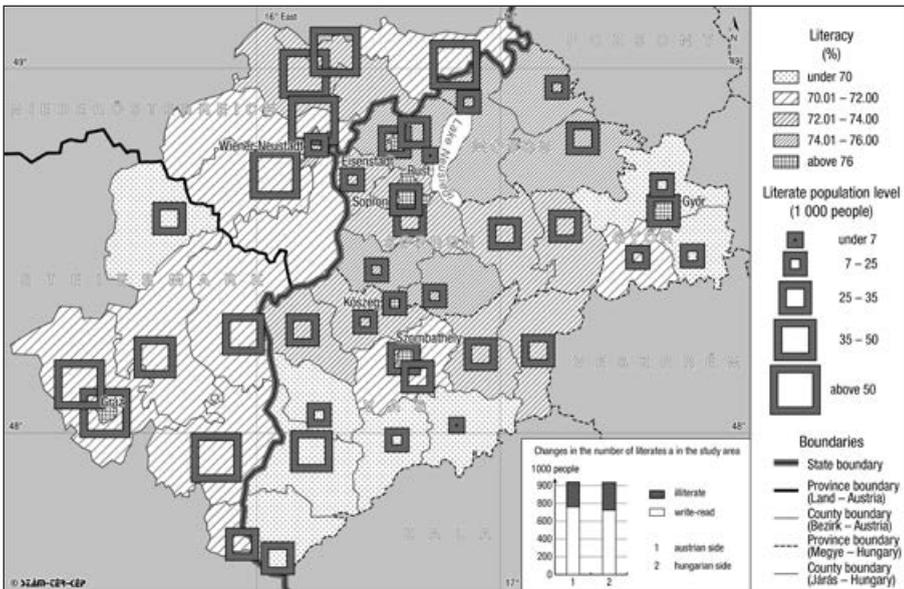
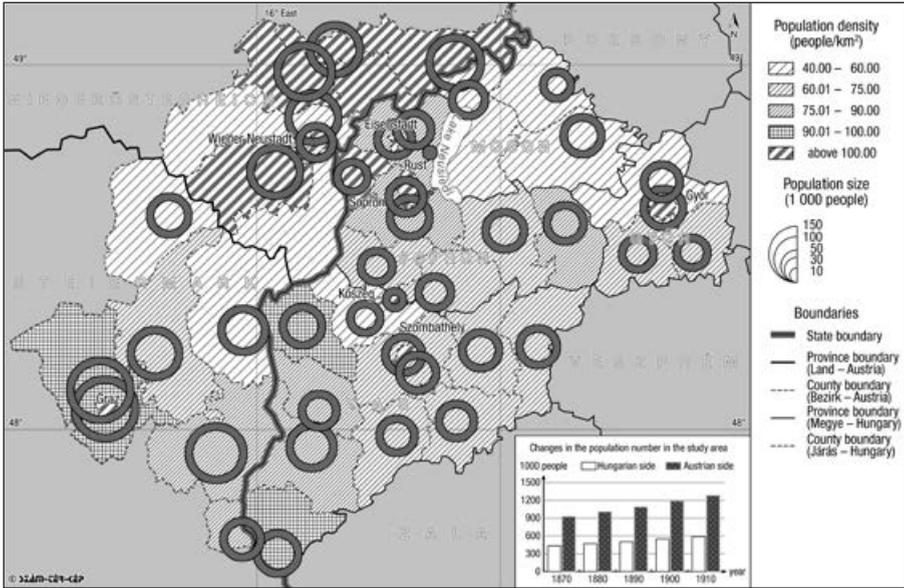


Fig. 103. The relationships between population number and population density, 1910.

Fig. 104. Literacy level and ratio, 1910.

The employment data provide a good indication of the relatively high level of development of the districts in Lower Austria, i.e., the level of industrialization and the greater significance of services. The data show that in 1910 Graz and its surrounding area were considerably behind in terms of industrialization. It is quite apparent that the Semmering Pass region, presumably due to the railway, was much more advanced than the Styrian capital in this respect. In Hungary only the district of Mattersburg, Győr, the district of Eisenstadt and Sopron reached the level of Lower Austria. More or less the same may be said of the services sector, while the proportion of agricultural workers actually shows the opposite of industry and services. In relation to this, the size of the agricultural population (earners and dependents) with respect to the number of agricultural earners and the size of the territory used for agriculture showed a similar picture. The difference was very acute on the two sides of the Leitha-Lafnitz border; usually there was a larger population and a smaller area per agricultural earner on the Hungarian side. This indicator may be related to that a greater proportion of women were recorded as being earners on the Austrian side (this may also be a methodology-derived difference), and due to the greater population density in the north there is less agricultural area to begin with. The map showing the employment statistics combined identifies the types of districts as well: employment in the services sector was clearly dominant by this time in the larger towns forming a separate statistical unit. The entire eastern part of Lower Austria, the region of Graz and Mürzzuschlag in Styria, and the district of Nagymarton (Mattersburg) had a largely industrial workforce, while Western Hungary and the rest of Styria were dominantly agricultural (Fig. 105).

As it was also demonstrated in the previous chapters, there was no pronounced regional change in the interwar period in the processes taking place on the Austrian and Hungarian sides of the border region, i.e., the tendencies remained the same. Almost all of the settlements in the territory of Burgenland lost some of their population due to the mass emigration already discussed; only the major urban centers had any positive migration balance.⁸⁹ As a result of the border changes the southern half of Burgenland fell into deeper depression, but the northern half of the province suffered less; the majority of the northern settlements increased their populations between the censuses of 1923 and 1934. Thus, while the new settlement communication systems were being created in the 1920s, there was a fallback in the region's economy, at least in the otherwise peripheral, Southern Burgenland areas. The explanation seems obvi-

89 Bodo, *Burgenland*, 89–90.

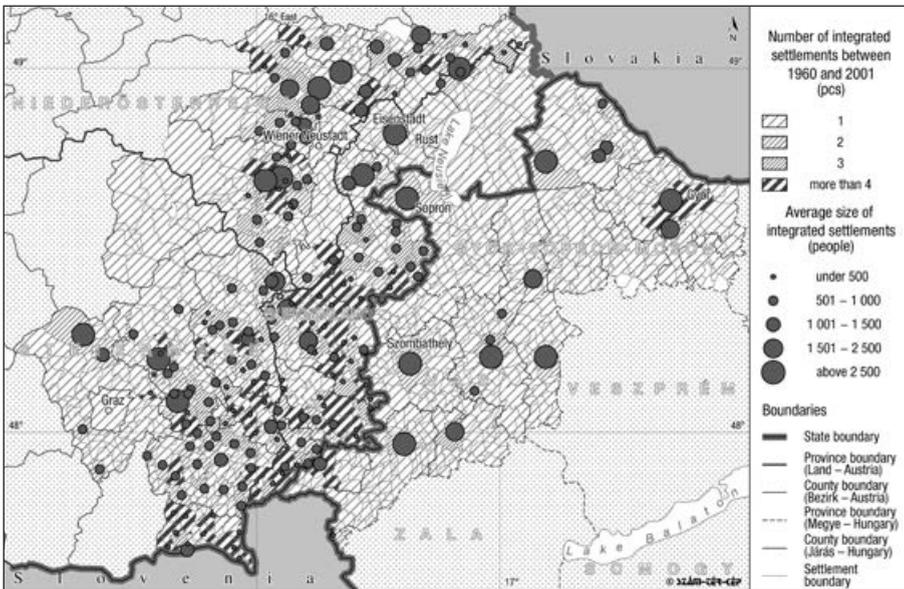
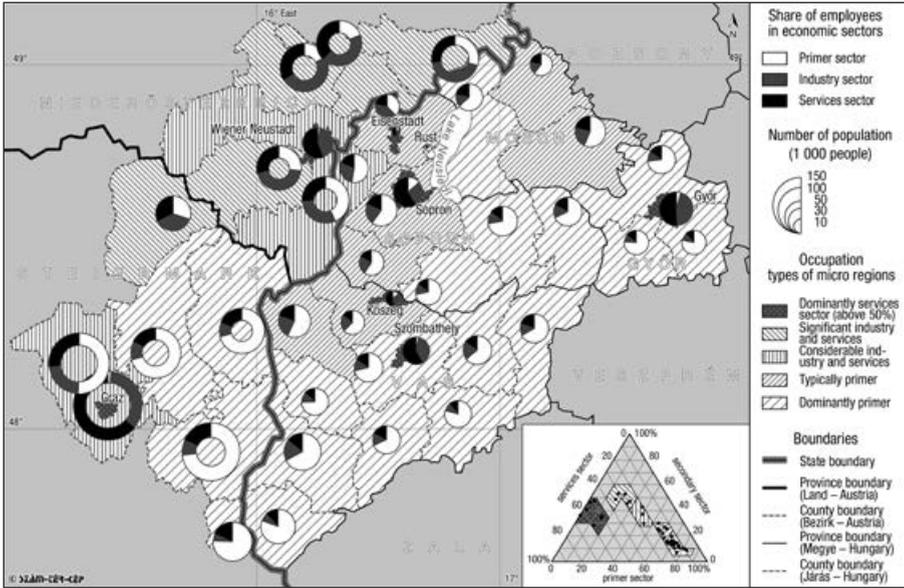


Fig. 105. The distribution of employees among the sectors, the employment types in the districts, 1910.

Fig. 106. Settlement mergers, 1960–2001.

ous: on the Hungarian side of the border region, it was the towns that had remained there that mitigated the crisis-situation developing because of the border changes, and in Northern Burgenland it was the proximity of Vienna and the good communications that eased the problems, although the railway network did not help recovery there either. In addition, the completion of route 50 creating a proper highway connection between Southern and Northern Burgenland was still years, only completed after World War II. So, in this way the divide between the north and south in the region was reinforced even further.⁹⁰

I have already mentioned that the border demarcation had deformed and changed the catchment areas of the majority of the towns. The big losers, e.g., Sopron and Kőszeg, were in Hungary, while the “winners” were in Austria; Eisenstadt, Mattersburg, Neusiedl am See, Oberpullendorf, Oberwart, Güssing and Jennersdorf, etc. had to grow into their catchment areas, and develop their town functions. This proved to be the most problematic for Jennersdorf, which had been granted the rank of district capital. The transport geography problems made progress difficult, and so not everything could be organized in one fell swoop, and because of this, for a long time these tiny administrative entities were unable to act fully as district centers for their potential hinterlands. In the south initially it was only Oberwart that was able to profit from the new situation and become the center of Southern Burgenland, with Jennersdorf and Güssing suffering due to the loss of their former orientation towards Szombathely and Körmend.⁹¹

On the 1960–61 maps it is now possible to outline the social configuration at settlement level in Burgenland’s broader Austrian-Hungarian environment. The population clusters were quite visible; continuous rural areas were almost on the Austrian side, in the hill region, in Southern Burgenland, in the area between Lake Neusiedl and Szigetköz, and in the small region of Vasi-Hegyhat (southern Vas County). The settlement mergers on the Hungarian side between 1960 and 2001 primarily involved settlements being declared towns and villages being linked to towns. In eastern Austria, however, it is visible that the administrative rationalization taking place there had primarily addressed the problem of the small villages, meaning, in fact, that the depopulated villages could actually be removed from the list of settlements and so even from the statistics. In Middle and Southern Burgenland, and in the Eastern Styria hill region the average population of the combined villages in many cases still did not reach

90 Knabl, “Veränderungen in der Wirtschaftsstruktur des Burgenlandes,” 23–24.

91 Burghardt, *Borderland*, 235–37; Seger et al. “Der Regional- und Systemvergleich,” 64.

even five hundred, and in the district of Oberwart there was hardly a village that was not affected by the combining process. In addition, there were a significant number of new communities that were created from at least four villages. In Burgenland, for example, Tobaj, Sankt Martin an der Raab, and Mischendorf were made from six villages, Pilgersdorf from seven, and Weiden bei Rechnitz from eight, in the case of the latter the average population was 160. In Styria Deutsch Goritz was formed from seven villages (average pop. 200), Halbenrain from eight, Radkersburg Umgebung and Ilz from nine, and Straden from 12 villages (average pop. 200). These settlements were also those that were consolidated from the smallest units, in Lower Austria the only similar merger was the twin village of Natschbach-Loipersbach with its population average of 204. In Western Transdanubia only Győr and Szentgotthárd can be mentioned, with four villages being attached to the former and five villages to the latter, in other words they were created from five and six settlements, however, here the motivation was entirely different, for example, this was how Szentgotthárd achieved the population of 8,000 required for town status (Fig. 106).

However, focusing on the small villages, i.e., dwindling village populations, and on the related map it may be seen that rationalization corresponding to that occurring in Austria could have been carried out on the Hungarian side too, as the population erosion in the small villages there was similar. In the area under examination in 1960-61 seven villages on the Hungarian side had populations of less than 200 while on the Austrian side there were only two such villages. Similarly, in Győr-Sopron County there were 23 villages where the total population did not reach 500, in Vas County there were 64 villages, in Burgenland, following consolidation, there were 25 (137 before consolidation), in Lower Austria 21 (83 before consolidation), and in Styria 66 (188 before consolidation). The broad extent of this phenomenon can be seen, primarily in Vas County. It should be added that older building stock were hand-in-hand with low population in villages.

The most striking social process behind this phenomenon of dwindling village populations on both sides of the border was the decline in the population living from agriculture and the related emigration. As a result of its more rural settlement structure Burgenland had a much larger agricultural population, and this figure only dropped below the combined data for the two Hungarian counties by the time of the 1970-71 census. Thus, the picture here, showing much more extensive agriculture-dominated rural areas in Western Transdanubia in 1960, is misleading. The reduction in the significance of agriculture was closely related to settlement size, with the highest proportions of those living from ag-

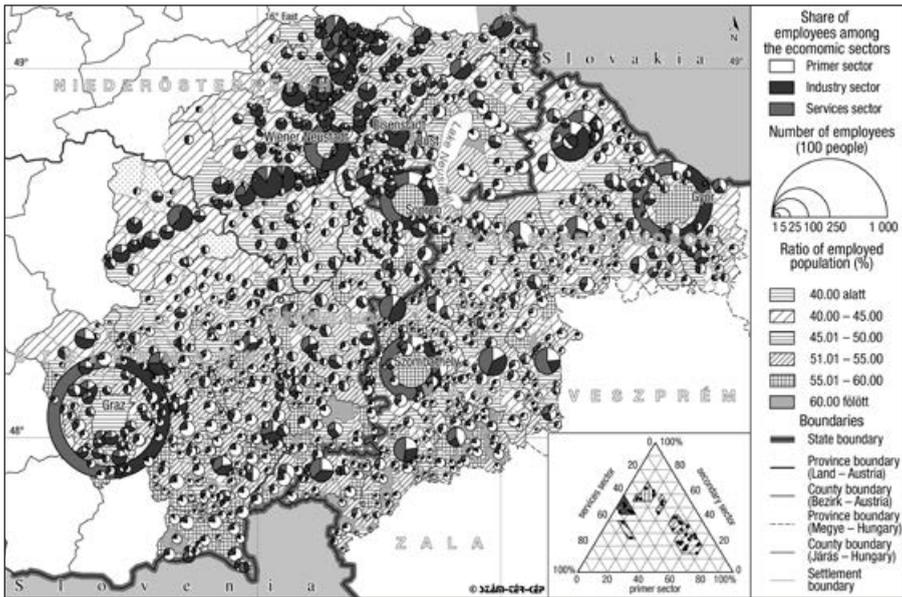


Fig. 107. Employment rate and the distribution of the population among the sectors of the economy, 1960/61.]

riculture living in Vas County with its many small villages, in the southern part of Sopron County, in the districts of Güssing and Jennersdorf in Burgenland, at the foot of the Güns Mountains, in the Lake Neusiedl region and Seewinkel with its many manors, and in the villages of East Styria (Fig. 107).

However, the process of the reduction of the proportion of agricultural workers took place much quicker in Austria, and there, by the time of the change of regime in Hungary, the proportion of agricultural workers was half of that in West Hungary, approaching the average level of Western Europe. All this took place with a smallholding system being established in both countries after the division of the large estates, however in Burgenland the family farm system remained, even during the decade of Soviet occupation, while in Hungary most collective and state farms used a large-field, large-scale agricultural production system.⁹²

Compared to the time cross-section of 1910 industrial development in the Vienna agglomeration, and in the entire eastern part of Lower Austria had progressed hugely in the 1960s, as it had in the area around Mürzzuschlag, and then continuing through Eisenstadt and Mattersburg in the direction of Oberpullendorf, even though at that time there were still no freeways or highways any-

92 Lichtenberger, *Österreich*, 261; Seger et al., "Der Regional- und Systemvergleich," 50–53.

where. In the same way there was spectacular industrialization in the Mürz Valley near Graz (route 67) and in Pinkafeld and Oberwart and in Rechnitz lying to the south of the Güns Mountains. Although we know that industry was slow to start in Burgenland. By the eve of World War II Eisenstadt still had no important industrial employer, and within the industry of the province only the sugar factory of Hirn and Siegendorf and the textile mills (Pinkafeld, Neufeld an der Leitha, Neudörfl an der Leitha) had any significance greater than fulfilling local demands.⁹³ The Soviet occupation had a significantly negative impact on development for many years, putting the new province at a disadvantage until 1955, with hardly any of the Marshall Aid getting here and investors avoiding it for a long time. The occupying forces, however, got involved in agriculture and farmed some 40 thousand hectares.⁹⁴ Even in the 1960s it was the textiles industry that was the largest employer, although the metal, mechanical engineering, and electrical industries were emerging: between 1956 and 1960 33 new plants were established and a further 40 between 1961 and 1963, creating four thousand new jobs. The province remained essentially agricultural for a long time, but due to the wave of industrialization the proportion of industrial workers eventually exceeded that of the agricultural workers by the middle of the decade. The growth in Burgenland of the number of industrial workers



Fig. 108. A different view of development and modernization. Demonstration at Sieggraben pass against the opening of the S31 highway. In the photograph FPÖ (Freedom Party of Austria) member, Dipl.Ing. Wolfgang Pelikan gives an interview, 1982.

93 Bodo, *Burgenland*, 39–40.

94 Knabl, “Veränderungen in der Wirtschaftsstruktur des Burgenlandes,” 30.

was significant, particularly in comparison to the Hungarian counties on the other side of the border. The reason for this was the much more intensive motorization and the infrastructural development that enabled this: by the 1980s a modern, good quality network of highways had created the north-south connection in the province (Fig. 108).⁹⁵

All these factors contributed to the spread of commuting and to the expansion of the outreach of the daily commuting zone. By contrast, the industrialization of Győr-Sopron and Vas Counties was held back for political reasons, due to their position on the border, and in the 1960s pronounced industrialization, in terms of the occupation structure of the population, was only to be found in the region around Győr. It was due to this that the proportion of industrial workers in more northern Hungarian county, similarly to Burgenland, stood at 35%, while in Vas County this figure was 24%. Meanwhile, the service sector only had any significant role in employment in the towns.

A significant proportion of the Burgenland population was still forced to commute, mainly to Vienna and Lower Austria, only now it was industry that was the main employer among commuters. At the time of the census in 1961 there were some 37 thousand commuters in the province. Of these 24 thousand travelled to work beyond the borders of Burgenland. However, the attraction of Graz and Styria, the jobs available there remained at a low level, with only 2,200 commuting to Styria, in contrast with the 14 thousand travelling to Vienna and the 7,000 to Lower Austria. All these factors had a negative impact on the development of Southern Burgenland, meaning that their weekly commuting remained significant, and is even frequent today. The phenomenon of commuting did not diminish after this either, in 1981 of the 63 thousand commuters 32 thousand travelled to jobs outside of the province, and at the time of the 2001 census these numbers rounded up were 87.5 thousand and 41.6 thousand, or to put it another way of the 122 thousand Burgenland workers more than two thirds commuted, and about one third travelled to outside the province. In other words, the number of the latter did not decrease, however, their proportion compared to all commuters dropped to under 50%.⁹⁶

Meanwhile, the closing of the borders in the period of socialism held back the development of the regions along the Hungarian border. Up to the 1970s there were hardly any investments at all, neither in the economy nor in the

95 Krenn, "Das Burgenland."

96 Knabl, "Veränderungen," 27-28; Titz, "Zur Wirtschaftsentwicklung," 70; Windisch, "Das südliche Burgenland," 54-55.

field of public infrastructure. However, in Burgenland in the case of the latter the developments were at a very advanced stage, and by the 1960s modernization within the home caused very significant differences in the standard of living between the two sides of the border. Consequentially, by 1960 in Burgenland it was not single-room homes that were in the majority, and the construction of the electricity and water networks in the villages was also at an advanced stage, with respect to the latter it was only Middle Burgenland that was lagging visibly behind, but overall the province was not at all at a disadvantage compared to Lower Austria and Styria. It could be easily seen that these public infrastructure developments did not follow the economy; the modernization of the settlements was largely implemented independently of the industrialization process. Then looking over to the Hungarian side of the border it could be said that although the village electrification program in Hungary had been announced in the 1950s, the electricity cables were making their way around Hungary only slowly, moreover the mains water supply and even running water in the home was spreading even more slowly. The proportion of village homes with mains water reached 50% in the villages of Győr-Sopron County in 1980 and only by the time of the 1990 census in the villages of Vas County (Fig. 109 and 110).

The more intensive economy and infrastructure developments starting in west Hungary from the 1970s were primarily concentrated in the county seats and towns. The investments implemented in the 1970s resulted in fast growth in production for the following decade; technical and technological development accelerated in the region. The region's previous disadvantageous geographical position had started to become advantageous. Western technology appeared, joint ventures were established, and shopping tourism started. In certain towns, such as Sopron, Mosonmagyaróvár, Kőszeg and Győr a diverse and blossoming service sector had started to develop. Then, after passports became freely available, workers increasingly travelled to Austria for work, illegally. Development was very strongly influenced by the fact that the highways and railway lines linking Western Europe and Hungary passed through the region. The latter were of special significance from the point of view of transit traffic.

Most of the land of the region is good from the agricultural point of view, nevertheless the socialist modernization of the villages may have been the achievement of agricultural productivity, but as stated above the state developments mostly avoided the villages. A kind of balance may be drawn of this modernization on the basis of the population development in the era. Increases in population can almost only be seen in the towns on the Hungarian side of the

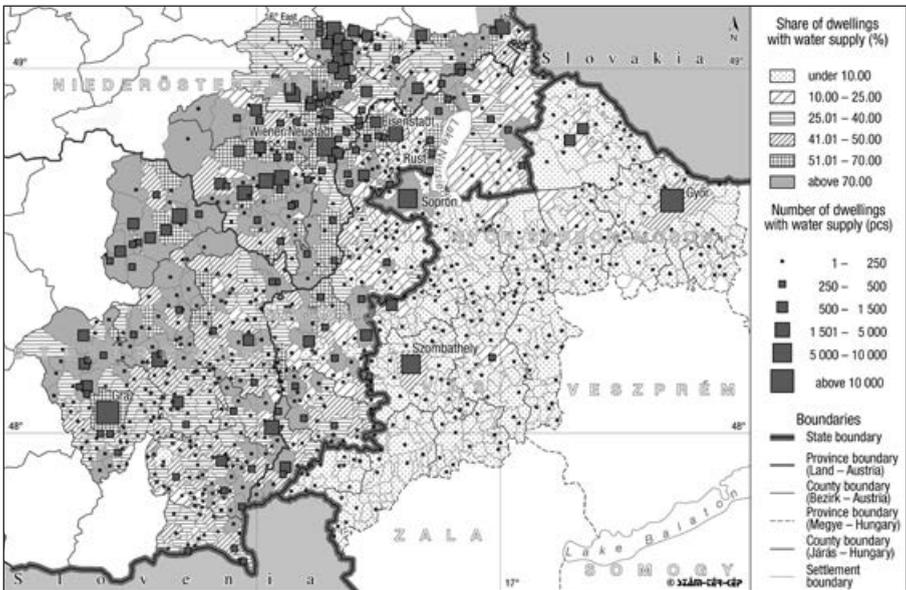
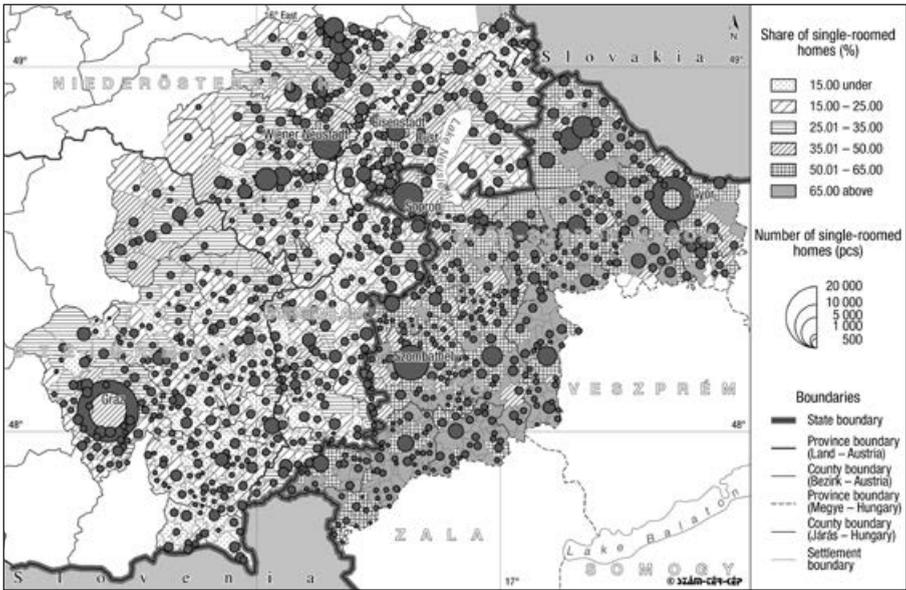


Fig. 109. The number and ratio of single-room homes, 1960/61.
 Fig. 110. The number and ratio of homes with mains water supply, 1960/61.

border. Rural regions suffered general population erosion, and the southern parts of the two Hungarian counties were especially impacted by this process.

The development in West Hungary outlined above was far behind what was achieved in Burgenland, the most underdeveloped province in Austria. After World War II the economy throughout Austria recovered only with difficulty and, consequentially, unemployment dropped only very slowly. However, in the 1960s there was intensive industrial development throughout all of Austria driven by the construction of the infrastructure networks. It was at this time that Burgenland fused to the other Austrian provinces (Fig. 111). This is true mainly of the northern part of Burgenland, which, in addition to the creation of commuting possibilities, became part of the recreational zone around



Fig. 111. Is there progress where there is competition, and is there competition where there is progress?
14th Burgenland-Rundfahrt road cycling race, 1969.

Vienna and a popular internal tourism region. In contrast with this, development in Southern and Middle Burgenland remained the slowest with there being little industrial investment there, and the low wages continued to motivate the men to travel for work. In other words, the result was a heightening of the differences between the north and the south. In the 1970s the federal government gave greater support to the province and in 1974 the development directions were marked out within the framework of the cooperation program, and the continued development of the local infrastructure had a beneficial effect on

investments. However, a substantial proportion of these investments required a large, low-skilled workforce (primarily electronics, metal and textile industry investments), and the economic value produced in the province remained relatively low. Due to this, curbing the ever-present migration resulting from the limited regional labor market was a very slow process.⁹⁷ Accordingly, it was not the most dynamic sectors that settled in Burgenland first, instead light industry companies came here, but with more advanced technology, while in Hungary the symptoms of the socialist economy, low productivity and level of technology, waste, etc., afflicted the western border region too.⁹⁸

As a result of the processes taking place the role of the urban centers in the area examined, particularly in the southern hinterland of Vienna, was reinforced. Based on the regional population trends, the agglomerations of Vienna, Graz, and of the much smaller Győr and Szombathely were becoming increasingly defined, while the group of municipalities around Sopron increasingly became a part of the Vienna agglomeration after crossing the border was made easier. It is important to note that after 1990 suburbanization also started around the larger Hungarian towns—medium-sized and large towns in Hungary—meaning the urban population moving out to the surrounding settlements. This process may also be seen in the commuting data. The map of workers commuting from these settlements shows the many smaller employment centers and the surrounding villages characterized by more intensive outward commuting (Fig. 112). Based on this map, it is visible that the Graz and Vienna agglomerations are split up into several smaller components, and smaller employment sub-centers may be observed around Graz and to the south of Vienna, where the roles of Wiener Neustadt and Eisenstadt are especially important. This is similarly shown by the ratio of local employees to locally resident local employees or by the balance of incoming and outgoing commuters in the proportion of employees living locally. All these show that today even small Burgenland towns function as large workforce attraction centers and the numbers of settlements recently being transformed into towns followed the development taking place in this respect. Also, the commuting mobility index presents those settlements in which the employees are exchanged the most: how many incoming and outgoing commuters there are in total for 100 employees living locally. This number is high where there are very many people commuting away from the settlement,

97 Lang and Polsterer, "Burgenland," 94–95; Titz, "Zur Wirtschaftsentwicklung," 69, 83–91; Trummer, "Das mittlere Burgenland," 25–29; Kiss, "A tartomány ipara."

98 Rechnitzer, "Az osztrák–magyar," 83–86; Seger et al., "Der Regional- und Systemvergleich," 54–55, 63–66; Szörényiné, "A női egyéni vállalkozások," 247–250.

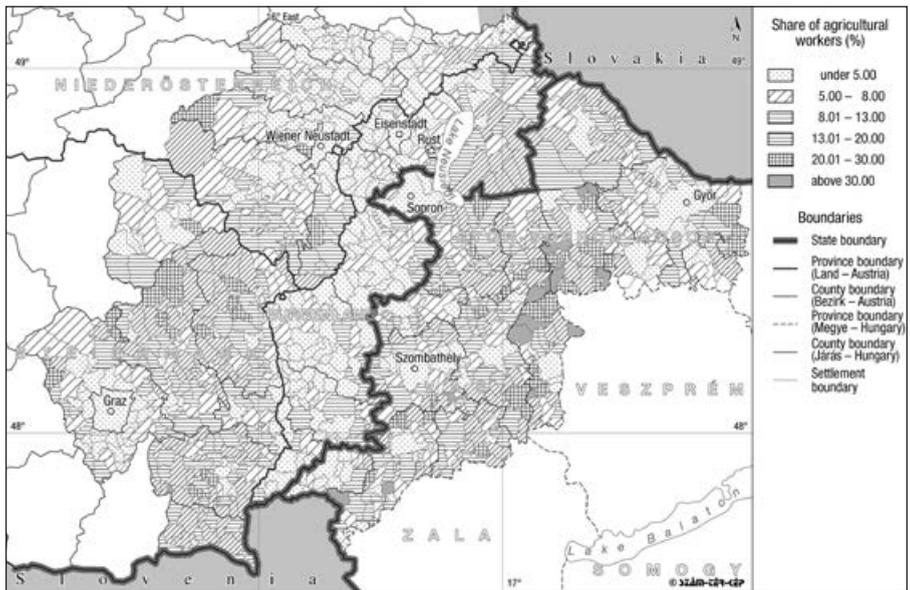
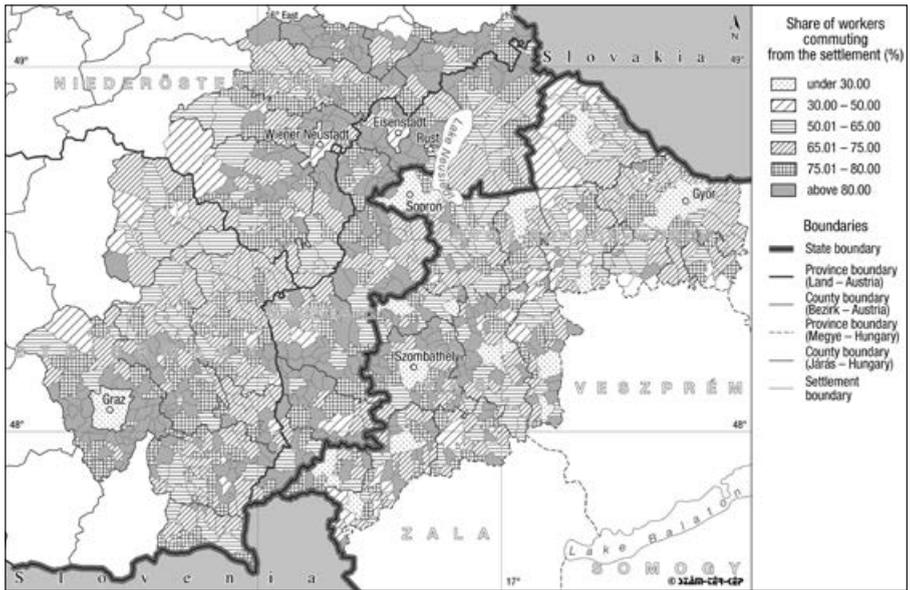


Fig. 112. The proportion of workers commuting from settlements, 2001.

Fig. 113. The proportion of agricultural workers, 2001.

but many people also commute to the settlement, which is especially characteristic of the Austrian suburban regions: the vicinity of Graz, eastern Styria with Southern Burgenland and the Vienna agglomeration, including Northern Burgenland. In contrast with this, a lower rate of commuting was more characteristic on the Hungarian side, with respect to both the villages and the towns, although it is true that the significance of commuting has gradually increased after the turn of the millennium.

It is striking that twice as many, more than ten thousand people, travel to work in Eisenstadt than to Sopron, which has four-to-five times the population, nearly as many as those who live in the town itself. Thus, the provincial capital's role as employment center is prominent, which speaks much of the success of the urban development taking place in Eisenstadt. The data clearly show Sopron's inability to attract a workforce, which is a consequence of the Trianon border demarcation: at the turn of the millennium the town had five thousand fewer potential commuters. Naturally there is the additional reason in the background that the rate of commuting in Burgenland is much greater, the numbers in Hungary at the turn of the millennium were way below those in Burgenland, although, since then the situation has changed in this respect. The reason for this is the EU accession of 2004, and especially the opening of the Austrian labor market in 2011 and the Austrian job market developing following the post-recession boom, a result of which was Sopron becoming a great migration destination within Hungary and a center of outgoing commuters in the past decade.⁹⁹

It was in this way that Eisenstadt, with its constantly growing population, improved its position in the Austrian town hierarchy. Despite its small-town population the rank of provincial capital brought innumerable regional functions, and the town is a prominent migration center within the Vienna city region. However, most small towns in the region have a growing population, with Neusiedl am See being particularly outstanding, and the small towns with a stagnating or decreasing population are only in the south (Jennersdorf, Güssing).¹⁰⁰ On the Hungarian side of the border though by the 1960s Sopron, which had lost a large part of its catchment area and then its role as county center, had temporarily sunk to the level of a medium-sized town. A greater decline than this could only be seen in Kőszeg; its development had come to a halt already at the beginning of the nineteenth century and today, on the basis of its func-

99 Pogátsa, "Ingázó munkavállalás"; Kiss et al., "Nyugat és Kelet"; Bertalan, "Határ menti fejlődési utak."

100 Kovács, "Burgenland."

tions, it only counts as a small town. Sopron, however, primarily because of the economic functions being revived after the change of regime, today once again counts as a county center with restored regional functions and organizes the life of its region.¹⁰¹

From the development of the past decades, it may be clearly concluded that while Burgenland turned towards Vienna and less so to Graz, Western Transdanubia turned to the east until the 1970s. With the relaxing of the political climate in the 1970s economic connections between the two regions, which had been strictly separated by the border until then, started to revive (tourism, shopping, etc.), then at the time of the change of regime in Hungary these connections saw explosive growth. Austrian capital, as it had done a hundred years previously, undertook a significant role in the modernization of the economy of the region, through the privatization of old companies or the establishment of new enterprises, even at the cost of jobs in Burgenland or Austria in some cases. In addition, companies with invested foreign capital, i.e., from Germany and Austria, played a significant role in the integration of the economy of the border region. The converging of the Hungarian and Austrian markets also meant that the competition between companies on both sides of the border region intensified, which in the long run resulted in the market and the population both being better supplied in Hungary too.¹⁰²

An iconic phenomenon in the region is shopping tourism, in which both parties participated mutually, the Hungarians primarily sought household and electronic appliances, which were in short supply. The peak point of this was immediately following the opening of the border, at the turn of the 1980-1990s when many flocked to *Mariahilferstraße* in Vienna to buy Gorenje refrigerators. This phenomenon may still be observed today, even if only because Hungarians who work in Austria prefer to do their shopping close to their workplaces. According to some the trade in quality goods in the towns along the border, especially in Sopron was slow to develop, because those layers of society that sought quality products shopped in Austria. The Austrian shoppers initially came to Hungary for the cheap, state-subsidized foodstuffs, clothing and for personal and healthcare services (dentists, hairdressers, auto mechanics, etc.). Following its peak, which was also in the middle of the 1990s, Austrian shopping tourism declined, becoming hardly visible in certain towns (Kőszeg, Szombathely), with it only being sustained by elderly shoppers with more modest purchasing

101 Beluszky and Győri, "Fel is út," 20, 25-26.

102 Grosz, "Vállalati együttműködések," 43.

power compared to the Austrian average and by those seeking better quality, fresh Hungarian foodstuffs. Nevertheless, it may be presumed, and is even somewhat visible in Sopron, that with the continued improvement of transport connections the catchment areas of the centers along the border have been rehabilitated to a certain degree, at least with respect to trade. At present only dental tourism and a few personal services (e.g., hairdressers) are blossoming, however, all over Hungary these services have now found new markets (United Kingdom, Ireland, Germany, etc.), so foreign shopping tourism is certain to remain in the longer term. The reason for this is that due to the health insurance and financing characteristics of Western European countries it is well worth patients travelling to Hungary by air for a holiday and over the course of two weeks have dental treatment or, most recently, cosmetic surgery at the same time.¹⁰³

Although Burgenland was for a long time considered an underdeveloped region by Austria and the West, this statement is increasingly less true of the northern part. Following Austria's accession to the European Union on January 1, 1995, the country was able to achieve spectacular results with the use of the incoming funding. Due to its low level of economic development Burgenland became one of the EU's especially subsidized regions (*Ziel-1 Gebiet*), meaning it received significant support from the Union's structural funds. Although the opening of the eastern border shook the economy somewhat, with many of the textile plants closing and moving to the east, the region endeavored to make use of the subsidies to attract multinationals that produce more knowledge-intensive, high-added-value products and services.¹⁰⁴ Today Burgenland counts as a region of average development in the EU with respect to per capita GDP, although this is true because of the Union's eastern expansion. It is striving to reap profit from this expansion with a technology-intensive development policy, investment in tourism, and development of the energy sector based on renewable sources, which is lending a unique character to the economy. There are many spectacular examples of the exploitation of renewable energy sources, such as the several hundreds of wind turbines installed on the Parndorf plateau on the northern shore of Lake Neusiedl, the bioenergy center in Güssing and the sugar factory in Siegendorf transformed into a bio-power plant.¹⁰⁵

103 Lang, "A vasfüggönytől," 147–48; Michalkó, *A bevásárlóturizmus*, 28, 70–76; Rechnitzer, "Az osztrák-magyar," 94–95; Horváth-Saródi and Mándli, "Fogászati."; Bertalan, "Határ menti fejlődési utak."

104 Kiss, "A tartomány ipara."

105 Binder and Rupp, "Technologiezentren"; Lang and Polsterer, "Burgenland," 95–96; Pappné Vancsó et al. "Természeti erőforrások."

The striking regional development level differences in the Austrian-Hungarian border region are outlined well by the social statistics indicators. The tertiarization process is more progressed in Burgenland and the other two eastern Austrian provinces, with the proportion of industrial and agricultural workers only reaching a higher level in a small number of industrial or farming areas. So, the rural character of Seewinkel and Northeastern Styria can still be seen (Fig. 113 and 114). The proportion of industrial workers at the turn of the millennium was only high in the Hungarian region, since then there has been a significant drop in this figure in this area too and then there was slight growth once again, probably due to the disappearance of the impact of the 2008 crisis (Fig. 115).

However, the infrastructural differences remain, and in some respects, these have even become more defined. Today there are no differences in basic infrastructure (water and electricity supplies), however in Burgenland and more to the west it is hard to find a home that has fewer than four rooms, while in the Hungarian parts of the region in 2001 there were numerous settlements where one fifth of the homes had just one room (Fig. 116). Pre-1945 residential buildings were also common in Hungary at the millennium, particularly in Vas County and in the southern part of Győr-Moson-Sopron County. The heightening of the differences is a consequence of the much more dynamic home construction that took place in Burgenland with a similar process taking place in Hungary only in large and medium-sized towns and in the suburban zone villages scattered around them. At the same time a significant proportion of the homes in the central and southern parts of Burgenland, and in almost the entire area of Győr-Moson-Sopron County were built in the period between 1945-1990, which is an indication of the relatively better situation of the time and the slight slowdown that has occurred since then (Fig. 117). In parallel with all this the homes built after 1990 are again only a characteristic of the more dynamic regions: Lower Austria, the region of Graz and Northern Burgenland.

All this may also be related to the age structure, as the elderly do not build houses: compared to both neighboring regions (Lower Austria, Styria and Western Transdanubia) the society of Middle and Southern Burgenland has become older, and the ratio of those in childhood is low. Only the southern part of Vas County and the towns and villages along the border in the two Hungarian counties suffer more from an ageing population (Fig. 118 and 119).

In connection with the education level of the population, an indicator of social status, due to the data available we are “only” able to show a peculiar discrepancy, the data show a characteristically lower value in Austria. As the distribution of those with higher education observed at district level in Austria

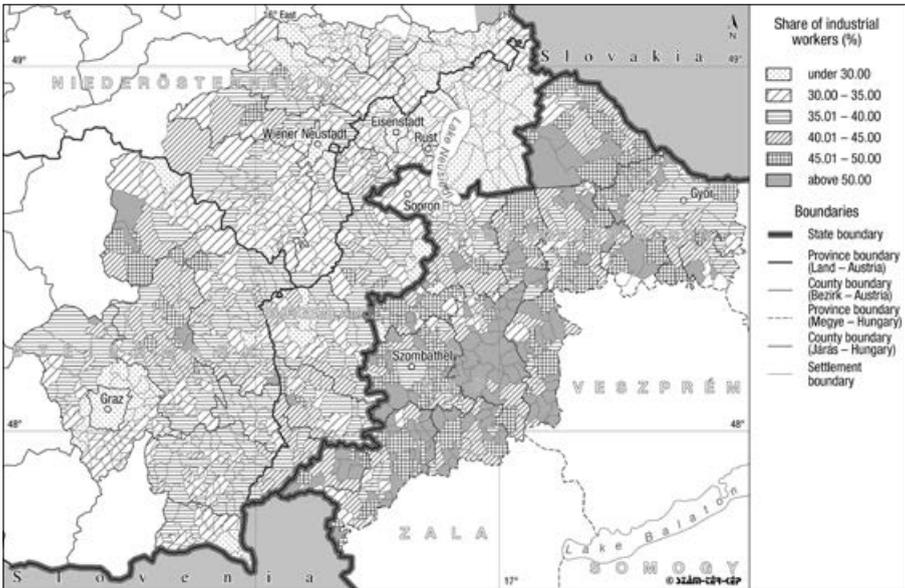
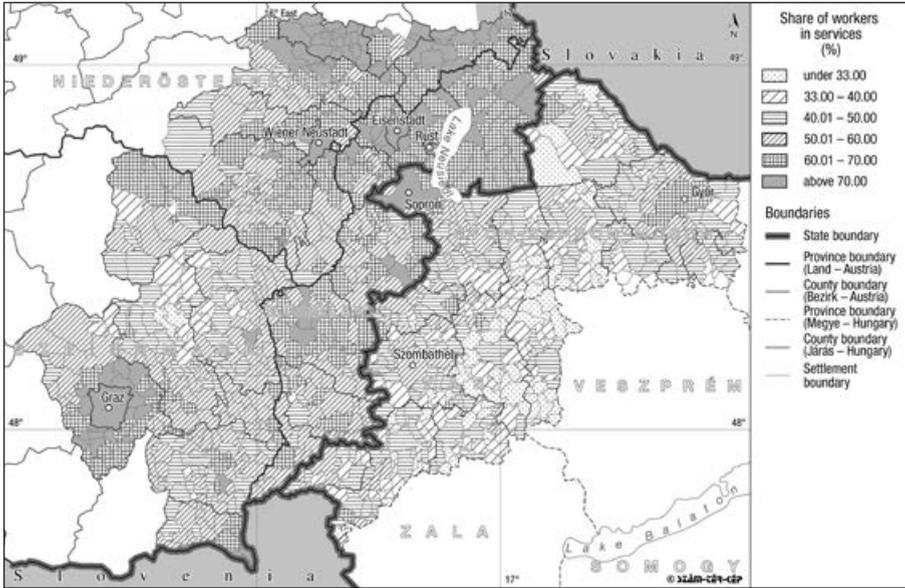


Fig. 114. The proportion of tertiary sector workers, 2001.
 Fig. 115. The proportion of industrial workers, 2001.

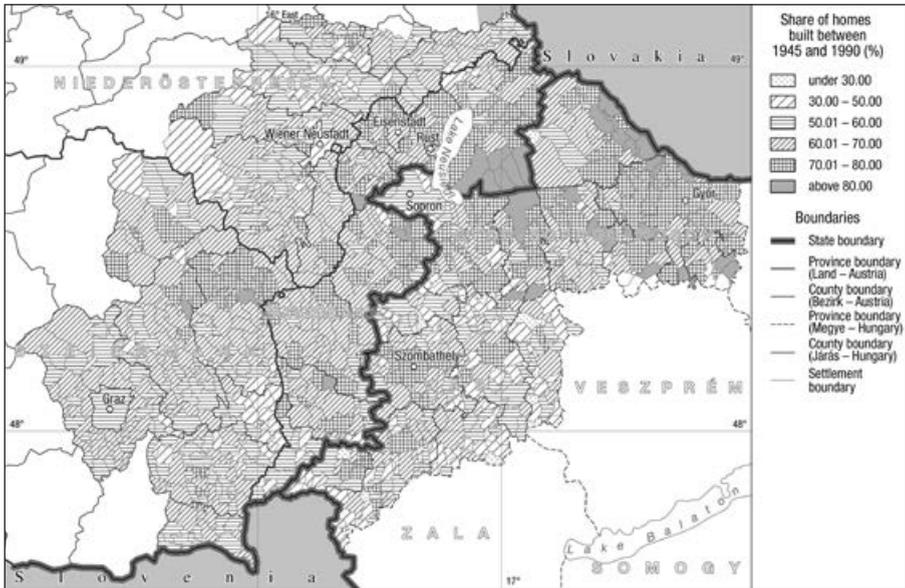


Fig. 116. Proportion of homes with four or more rooms, 2001.
 Fig. 117. Proportion of homes built between 1945 and 1990, 2001.

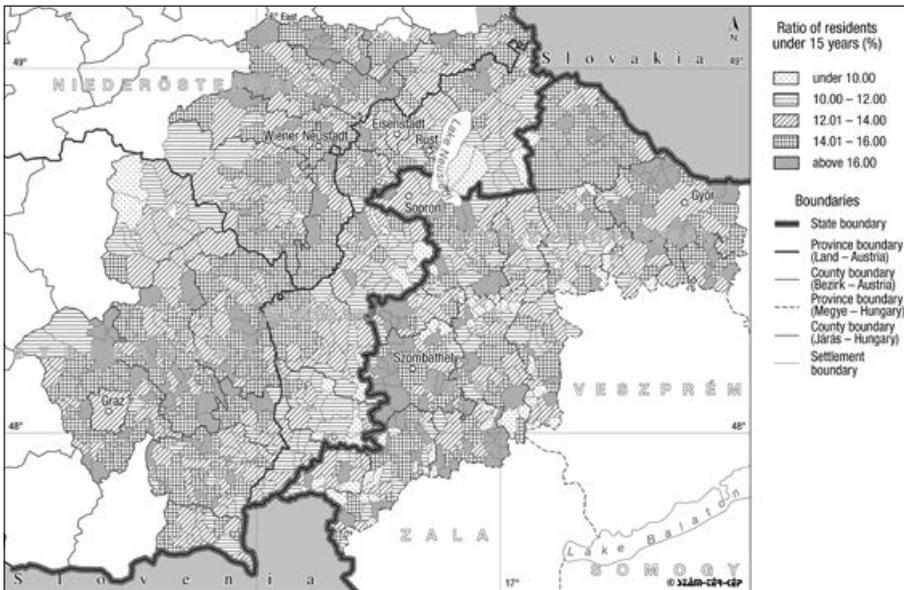
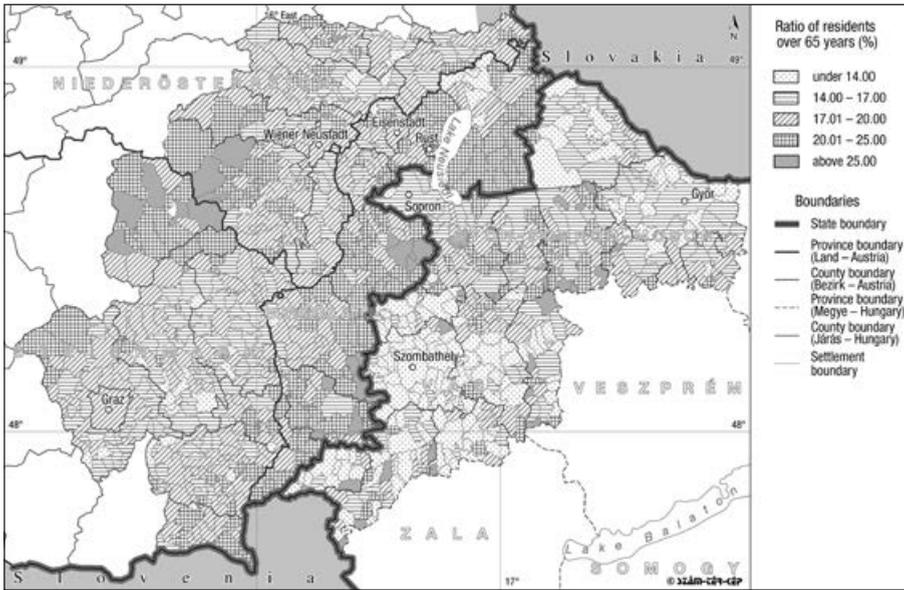


Fig. 118. The ratio of elderly people, 2011.
 Fig. 119. The ratio of residents under 15 years, 2011.

shows similar proportions to those in Hungary, the large difference may only in the proportion of those graduating from high school. And this shows that this qualification does not have such high prestige in Austria.

The population processes following 1990 are reflected well in those that have not changed direction at all. The strong north-south contrast may be observed particularly on the Austrian side, with a population decline and then a very slow recovery, and then a sharp drop being seen in Middle and Southern Burgenland. In Northern Burgenland the Seewinkel area of the former Moson County with its strong agricultural character looks to be polarizing; a slight population increase has occurred in the past ten years or so in those locations with a central role. The north-south contrast is perhaps less striking in the Hungarian Győr-Moson-Sopron and Vas Counties, but it is still present. For example, most of the villages along the now reopened Austrian-Hungarian border have seen an increase in population since the change of regime. The line of the Raab river though remains a sharp dividing line, with significant population erosion taking place to the south of the river, as well as at the inner periphery of the two counties, i.e., in the areas closer to Veszprém County: in Kemenesalja, Répce plain and the southern half of Rábaköz.

The north-south differences are even quite visible over a larger timescale. In the period of the censuses—between 1870 and 2011—the population center-point in Burgenland moved from the south to the north, in other words the population grew in the northern towns and villages and declined in the south. However, between 2001 and 2011 this center-point moved sharply to the west, which indicates the strengthening of the Vienna and Graz catchment areas, in other words population growth in the western parts of the province at the expense of the eastern settlements along the border.¹⁰⁶

In the light of this it is no surprise that the towns and villages in the southern half of today's Burgenland, in Southern Burgenland and the southern part of Middle Burgenland, had the greatest population around the turn of the century, i.e., during the period of the Kingdom of Hungary (Fig. 120). For example, the present district seat of Jennersdorf has a thousand fewer residents today than at the time of its population peak in 1890, when the town did not yet have its district seat function. The reason for this very probably needs to be sought in the unique features of the settlement configuration of the region. The regions of small villages presumably lost their ability to retain their populations at the turn of the century because of the reduced need for manual la-

106 Győri and Jankó, "A regionális fejlettségi különbségek," 418–20.

bor in agriculture. This is despite the fact that most of the settlements in the region had positive population growth in the period of 1870–1910, notwithstanding that some 25 thousand people migrated from the area of the later Burgenland to the New World up to the start of World War I, as I have already pointed out in multiple perspectives. According to the map of the periods of population maximum, such regions in Austria may only be found around Radkersburg in south-eastern Styria, and in the hill regions of Lower Austria and Styria, such as in the eastern half of Bucklige Welt. Around these settlements, on Fig. 120, settlements are also visible with their population peak between 1920 and 1940, but the same thing may also be seen in the northern half of Middle Burgenland. It is striking, however, that on the Hungarian side there are much more extensive areas that belong to this category, Vasi-Hegy-hát (southern Vas) with its small villages, Kemenesalja, Rábaköz and a part of Moson also. This means that the population erosion in these regions started already in the interwar period, but by 1950s at the latest. The process was of such an extent that the population of these villages did not even reach half in 2001 of the maximum registered in the given census period. The same extensive areas may also be found in the rural southern region of Burgenland, however, more to the west only in the Lower Austria and Styria border region and in the district of Radkersburg. Perhaps that shows the population ratio in 2001 and 1910 portrays the different courses of the settlements better (Fig. 121). The picture is deceiving: it is as if the whole of Southern and Middle Burgenland were Szombathely's emptying hinterland, which at least indicates that these rural regions, Austrian for some 100 years now, suffer population depletion and ageing, just like extensive areas of Vas County and the southern districts of Győr-Moson-Sopron County. On the other hand, however, the extensive areas of the Vienna and Graz agglomerations are clearly visible, which almost touch each other in this respect in the vicinity of the A2 freeway. The spread of the Graz agglomeration, though, seems as if it had just run out on approaching the Burgenland border.

Summarizing the lessons of this section demonstrates that it is apparent the impacts of the north-south and the west-east fragmentation occurred at the same time in the broad Austrian-Hungarian border region, and thus sharp differences were formed concerning certain, mainly developmental-infrastructure characteristics between the Austrian and Hungarian sides. Although in relation to this, the phenomenon of commuting is much stronger on the Austrian side, this was not able to turn around the population trends in the Southern Burgenland region and only slowed down the population decline. With re-

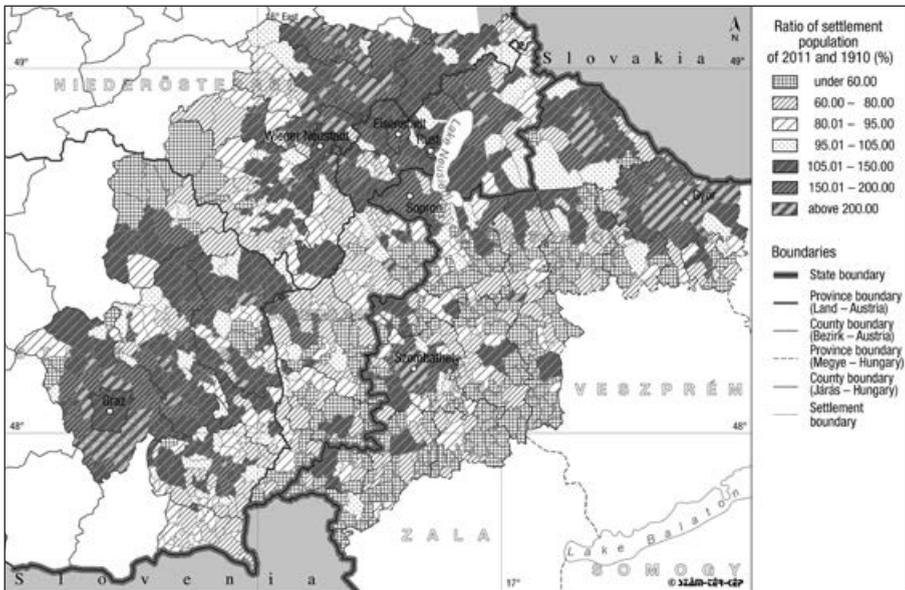
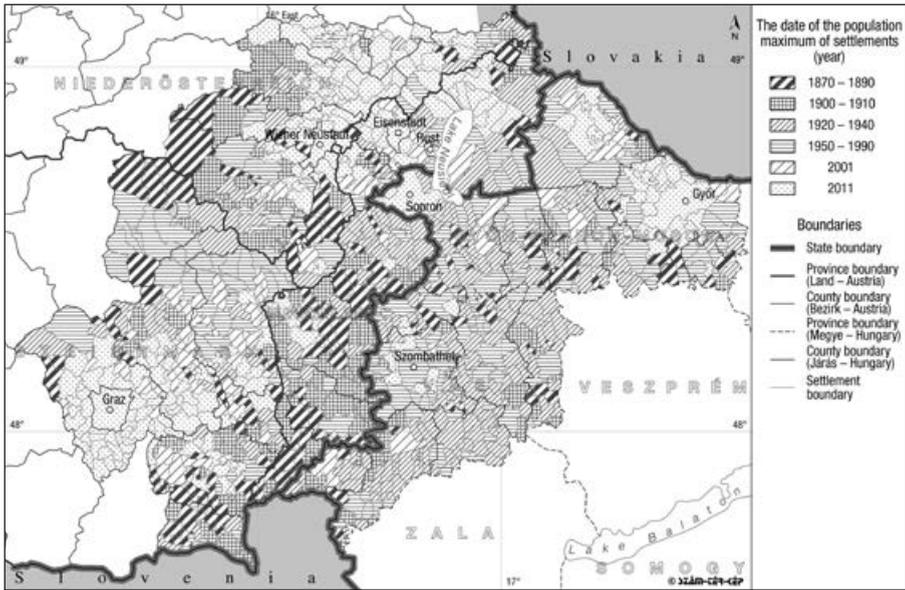


Fig. 120. The date of population maximum of the settlements.
 Fig. 121. The population ratio of settlements in 2011 and 1910.

spect to aging, population decline and in terms of their settlement structure these areas continue to resemble the Hungarian side more. However, since certain demographic indicators and commuting Northern Burgenland and linked to it, the northern parts of Győr-Moson-Sopron can feel their belonging to the Vienna region.

SUMMARY

This book has aimed to prove that the geographical discovery and invention of Burgenland was very literally an existing endeavor in the interwar period. Many people, not only geographers, representing diverse institutions and schools worked on this “project,” many pondered on the geographical configuration of Burgenland both in the physical and intellectual sense. Various motives, some even personal, have played a part in this, which have been identified through the investigation of the careers of the geographical thinkers (I repeat, not only geographers were involved) who, because of their work, were purported to be the main actors. But in many cases, it was only the written sources that could be used to reveal the shaping of how the individual authors thought.

Geographical knowledge-making blossomed in Burgenland in the interwar period. This, however, may be deceptive, for as I focused on this period, I endeavored to contrast this period with the geographical picture outlined from just a selection of the literature from the period before the birth of Burgenland and from the time after 1945 when the province was once again established. But still, perhaps I am not mistaken if I say that the interwar period was the golden age of geographical knowledge-making for Burgenland, as it was at this time when there was the most burning need for geographical knowledge from the point of view of the province; this was demanded by the annexation of the territory, the necessity of building the provincial identity, the local history (*Heimatkunde*) movement, and by the development of tourism. It was a golden age also because it was at this time that the true expeditionary character was forged in knowledge-making, the discovery in the literal sense, which on the Hungarian side was more the subject of criticism. I must add that in Hungary the geographical knowledge production of revisionist politics was also impor-

tant, however there were much more important regions than Burgenland. In other words, in the broader context the generation or so between 1918 and 1945 was the last great period of nation-building geography; after World War II geography had completely new tasks waiting for it, such as economic development and territorial policy.

With respect to the background, it may be said of the geographical approach of the Age of Dualism that in the sensing and visualization of the physical geography framework of the Western Hungary region the only slight difference between the Hungarian and the Austrian/German authors was in the details. However, the representation of the landscape frameworks slowly changed, making the linking of the orography of the territory to the Alps as universal and logical. Up until the Trianon decision there was no considerable difference between the Hungarian and Austrian approaches, although in the case of the former the landscape boundary nature of the old Leitha–Lafnitz border arose more emphatically, and then became even stronger after 1920.

It is important to realize the significance of the gradual focus aimed at the Germans of the territory, and that a core of knowledge was slowly developed, and then by the time of the end of World War I this knowledge was ready to supply clear, primarily historical, and ethnic arguments to Austria in the interest of the annexation of *Deutschwestungarn*. Even if the idea of annexation had not been formulated in the early works, the basis did exist from where after the creation of the province the huge outflow of writings in the subject could start. However, the discussion of the German people of the province did not take an ethnopolitical approach, their subject arose when the developmental-cultural circumstances of the territory were being analyzed. Initially for the Austrian authors it was always, without exception the ethnic situation, particularly the presence of the Germans that represented the main factor of and the condition for development and refinement, and this was even frequently the case for the Hungarian authors also. This point of view was pushed into the background on both sides with the border changes of Trianon and emerged once again in a new form using tourism and local history approaches steeped in an orientalist perspective. At the same time within Austria new light was shed onto Burgenland's regional and economic problems, and the examination of the situation of Western Transdanubia brought about more nuanced results in the period between the wars.

The Iron Curtain descending after 1945 rearranged Burgenland's position in the intellectual sphere also. The need for territorial legitimization was pushed into the background in the thinking about the geographical structure of the province, nevertheless the Iron Curtain and its dramatic, physical implementa-

tion lent an extreme identification element to Burgenland's geographical identity construct, which was currently turning increasingly inward. The exploration of this, just like the examination of the tourism career of the "Pannonian landscape" or of the few decades of recent past still lacking in perspective, is a task for the research of the future.

*

The example of the "discoverers" highlighted in the book involves numerous lessons. Richard Pfaundler's contribution to the geographical knowledge on Burgenland, i.e., the thorough analysis of the Germans of the then Western Transdanubia is proof that in an Austrian governmental office the demand appeared to research the Germans beyond the Austrian border. This is an important fact that shows Pfaundler did not start dealing with the subject due to a mere whim. And he did this so well that he received a significant role in the Austrian peace preparations work, and his work formed the basis of the Austrian geographical Burgenland discourse. Another lawyer, Eduard Stepan, in contrast with Pfaundler, is an example of how something significant can be created through a grassroots initiative: something with impact, a milestone, which also caught the attention of those on the Hungarian side of the border. It is interesting to note, however, and this is not only shown by Stepan's example, but by that of numerous other geographers, that in many cases this involvement with Burgenland was just a one-off impulse.

Before World War I the territories beyond Austria's eastern border under Hungarian sovereignty were, nevertheless, a grey area for Austrian geography, and the German national movement was not yet so penetrating for hiking and cultural fanatics to flock to the land of the Heinzen and Heidebauern. This is how it was possible that the province had to be discovered, and from this point of view the criticism of the Hungarian geographers and historians seems justified. The phenomenon of scientific "expeditions" is most present in the work of Robert Sieger and Marian Sidaritsch. But even Sieger paid little attention to the territory in his works prior to 1919, and did little toward the acquisition of *Deutschwestungarn* in his position as a member of the Austrian peace delegation. However, he did contribute greatly to its possession in terms of geography. Vigorous scientific work emerged in Graz, resulting from the fieldtrips organized with Sidaritsch, but this largely came to an end with their sudden deaths.

Discovery may also be found in the works of the foreign, primarily American geographers. Lawrence Martin was also given the mission to investigate the

German-populated territory of Western Hungary, and to make a proposal for the amendment of the border, which resulted in, according to the judgment of posterity, the fairest border demarcation for the whole of Hungary. The result of his work, although whether he worked in the field is doubtful, coupled with his good political sense in the balancing of Hungarian relations with Pál Teleki, and his representation of Hungarian interests as far as possible in the border demarcation work, has elevated Martin within the world of geographers. However, this work of the geographer from Wisconsin is not yet sufficiently recognized in the eyes of posterity and is worthy of additional academic attention. Interestingly, Andrew Burghardt came to Burgenland many years later also representing the geographers of Wisconsin University. That said, he too had the opportunity to discover: Burgenland counted as a test subject for state or, more precisely, provincial development, in addition its life and functioning became particularly interesting for the external geographical observer in the shadow of the Iron Curtain.

The work of Georg Alois Lukas and Otto-Albrecht Isbert, fueled by various personal motivations, provided examples of how the pan-German local history movement developed with the application of the increasingly aggressive German national theory in geopolitical thinking and in regional expansion politics. With respect to its institutional background and the political leaning of the individual participants, in this sense we should also mention Fritz Bodo and Hugo Hassinger's *Burgenlandatlas*, however, the fact that this kind of thinking left minimal trace in the material of the atlas speaks much of the professionalism of the authors.

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We should also examine the frameworks of geographical thinking of the time, through which we may also sense the link between the individual participants. Many of the geographers discussed dealt with social and political geography issues with a physical geography background, however, this was a particular feature of the age, the geographers of the beginning of the twentieth century do not much resemble their specialized colleagues of today. But even the dominant intellectual current of environmental determinism influenced their geographical thinking, and so their geographical conceptualization of Burgenland as well. In this way from Martin, through Sidaritsch to Lukas the physical geography framework, with close consideration of the landscape boundaries, was embodied not only in the border demarcation but also in the geographical narratives

related to Burgenland. And each in their own way strove to link the ethnic circumstances to this, with later a unified framework being found for all this in the German *völkisch* theory, and in Penck's *Volks- und Kulturboden* theory. While Robert Sieger, still before World War I, endeavored to grasp the geographical perfection of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, with its collapse he too was shifted toward pan-German thinking, as the diverse state of the German-led Monarchy could be relatively easily switched for thinking in terms of a unified German space, and the concept of German dominance in Central Europe. This seemed to leave out the physical geography framework; however, thinking in terms of the abstract space, homogenous spatial-social processes also originate from this scientific approach.

The Austrian and German geographers and historians were hugely receptive to these ideas, and in many of their careers this receptiveness culminated in Nazi party membership, even in the performance of various functions in the national socialist regime, and even in a military career. In this way very many of them became the founders and promoters of the German expansionist plans, and advocates of antisemitism and Jew-hatred. However, after the war a kind of amnesia came about in German geography, and anyone who was able strove to retain their university chair.¹ But similar involvement may be spoke of in academia as a whole, even in the whole of society, I did not mention the Nazi past of all the actors emerging in the book, and it was disturbing how many of them were involved. But still many of them, even if forced to retire for a time, were able to climb back into their prewar positions, or were able to live in similar respect in another lifestyle. I have attempted to judge and understand the scientific performance of those involved, and their contribution to the geography of Burgenland on professional grounds.

In this way the German national-geopolitical ideas exerted a significant effect on the Burgenland geographic discourse. Derived primarily from the objective features of the province's geobody, Burgenland's bipartite and tripartite nature first appeared as a disadvantage in the narratives of the initial, analytical geographical approaches, with many reaching the idea of splitting up the province. This, however, seems to have had little significance in the dismemberment of the province in 1938. The disunity of the province could, on the one hand, be counterbalanced based on ethnicity, by rightly demonstrating that the whole territory was largely occupied by Germans. This was strongly supported by the German national theory. On the other hand, the historical arguments for

1 Kost, "Anti-Semitism."

Burgenland's right to exist were called upon to tackle this problem, and with the historical deficit as well, as not only did the territory's geography have to be created, but its history had to be also. A certain paradox lies in the fact that it was precisely the Nazi regime that divided up Burgenland, and it was to no avail that the province appeared as one of the bases of Nazi geopolitical thinking, and of easterly territorial expansion, and the bulwark or bridgehead of the German eastern front, and that, actually, some had even conceived territorial demands for the creation of the irredentist Greater Burgenland. It was to no avail also that the Nazi head of the province Tobias Portschy had argued similarly for Burgenland's easterly mission, it must have been more important to nip the Hungarian revisionist endeavors in the bud.² Due to this we may feel that this part of the German geopolitical Burgenland discourse was not successful.

The border region narratives derived from the natural-environmental framework, also reflecting a determinist approach, actually represented the objective basis of this. This is so objective that even today it cannot be left out of consideration in the judgment of the province's situation, although it is true that the border's functionality has changed innumerable times in the 100 years of its history. So, it is also worthwhile acknowledging that the seeds of the discourses emerging after the Iron Curtain had dropped had even existed before the war. The scientifically substantiated narrative of the divided province or the objective narrative of the border region became the basis of the discourse of a converging, developing, progressing, but rural and bucolic Burgenland that, in addition, was neglected and suffering in the shadow of the Iron Curtain.

Beside the scientific-geopolitical discourses, we must, however, isolate the local history – tourism discourse, as this recognized resources in those features that the former discourse treated as disadvantages, albeit certain knowledge makers frequently confused and conflated these characteristics. In other words, for tourism and those involved in the study of the culture and the region the contrast between the characters of the landscape of Lake Neusiedl of Northern Burgenland and of the southern part of the province romanticized as an archaic peasant land was seen as an advantage. With this the linking of the province to Austria was implemented within a complex strategy,³ in addition to the national-ethnic argument and the principle of self-determination they made use of the argument of common history, of historical right, of the physical geography-geology and economic arguments, the symbolic occupation of the space

2 Tóth, *Két Anschluss között*, 371–76.

3 Békési, *Verklärt und verachtet*.

and the emphasis of the contrasts. As a result of the latter the Hungarian physical and intellectual profile of the province could be concealed, however, in my perspective it became apparent that post World War II Burgenland knowledge-making became much more inclusive toward the Hungarian heritage: the result of this in tourism and the province's self-image is the partiality for the use of the concept of the Pannonian landscape.

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The act of taking possession of Burgenland, the various signs of life of the operation of the province, the authorities, the schools, and the business world naturally brought about conflicts, as there is no change of sovereignty that has no losers. Western Hungary, i.e., Burgenland was up there too on the list of the losses that historical Hungary suffered as it collapsed as a result of the Trianon decision, and there is nothing surprising about the majority of Hungarians at that time and many today also displaying criticism and lack of understanding toward the youngest, but, in 2021, 100-year-old Austrian province. There is also no real surprise in that the upper class of Burgenland, those in various official positions, their institutions or even their self-appointed creators worked in the interest of the intellectual creation of the province in one of the main periods of nationalism in the western world. Despite his position of narrator even this book and its author may be accused of overly heroizing those who, not merely once, raised extreme, even abusive, or, from the Hungarian perspective, unjust and offensive views in the interest of the creation of the province's identity. The discussion of the criticisms formulated from the Hungarian perspective was also aimed at attenuating this. Was Robert Sieger a champion of geographical science? Were Georg Lukas or Otto Isbert leading geopolitical theorists-practitioners in connection with Burgenland? Hardly. The stories about them, these science histories wanted to understand the era and teach the lessons to the present; to show how many subjective factors scientific endeavors have, or factors over which they have no control, even if lofty goals are there before our eyes. That it is not the natural environment, but primarily the cultural, social and historical context that influences our functioning as researchers, the questions we ask, and our methods.

It is hardly possible to judge or investigate how the people of the time received the messages that the geographical knowledge makers put down on paper, if they reached them at all via one channel or another. This depends on how much of the scientific or tourism literature found its way into education,

at least partly. It is not wrong to ask the question “what would have happened if” in studying history of today.⁴ It is relatively easy to imagine that those people who in 1921 found themselves in Austria’s embrace, or at least their children ultimately benefitted from annexation to Austria. And, not in the least, escaped relocation too. In everyday conversation in Sopron the question sometimes crops up, what would have happened if Sopron had voted in favor of Austria one hundred years ago? (And how it would vote today is an even more interesting question when a good proportion of the town earns their living in Austria.) Of course, historical alternatives are merely games or wishful thinking, but there is no point at all in grieving neither over them nor over the events that took place in the past.

The Burgenland image, the geographical idea of the province, was formed in diverse ways over the past one hundred years. Out of this period the book has focused essentially upon a generation’s worth of time, and my own overview of Burgenland bridging over even more than 100 years served as the framework for this. The period between the two world wars launched the geographical discourse on Burgenland. The first achievement, contribution of this was the recreation of the province in 1945, then the period of modernization to follow, based on which Burgenland may certainly be called a success story, a success in the making of a region. My own discovery concentrated on this latter period, after the endeavors to join intellectually to Austria to show the process of material annexation.

Although, in fact, we may also admit: the entire book was a discovery from a personal perspective, the discovery of Burgenland and its discoverers.

4 Ablonczy, “1920. Ha nincs Trianon”; Gyarmati, “1947. Ha a szovjet csapatok.”

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- ENRC: The Ecology and Natural Resources Collection, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey Digital Collection
- FRUS: Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, The Paris Peace Conference, 1919, Volume XII <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1919Parisv12/>
- UAG PF: Universitätsarchiv Graz Philosophische Fakultät Fakultätsakten
- UAG DA: Universitätsarchiv Graz Doktoratsakten der Philosophische Fakultät
- ÖNB SHD: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken
- ÖSTA Friedensdelegation: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Deutschösterreichisches Friedensdelegation St. Germain
- ÖSTA NOAI: Nachlass Otto Albrecht Isbert, 1944-1945.
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* *From Borderland to Burgenland* *

„*From Borderland to Burgenland* is a wonderful achievement. In eight expertly translated chapters, each beautifully illustrated and extensively referenced, Ferenc Jankó takes us on an absorbing journey into the contested historical geographies of a fascinating region. Our companions are a diverse and disputatious cast of teachers and tourists, artists and photographers, scientists and surveyors, and (perhaps most importantly) geographers and historians, all brilliantly analyzed in these elegantly written pages. From their fractious debates about languages and landscapes, societies and economies, and identities and cultures emerged a powerful idea of Burgenland as a ‘natural’ border region, an exemplification of the complex history and geography of Central Europe in the 20th century.”

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