

BOURGEOIS DEVELOPMENT OF ROMA FROM THE REFORM AGE TO TRIANON (1825-1920)

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Abstract

This paper explores the topic of how Hungarian Roma¹ were integrated into the society of the Austro-Hungarian Empire during the period that stretched from 1825 to 1920. A period of transition, this era represented an important crossroads in the lives of both the Hungarian and Roma people as a capitalist economy was established and society subsequently became rearranged. As social and economic structures were reshuffled, more opportunities arose for some Roma families to acquire wealth or even start a business. This ability to gain upward mobility thereby allowed them to move towards the middle class. In principle, therefore, the marginalized social group of Roma could become equal members of society. The Hungarian reform age that began after 1820 marks a turning point in the lives of both the Hungarian people and Roma community. Later, as many Roma people took part in the 1848-49 revolution and the War of Independence as active actors, participating in Hungary's growing national movement also became another driving force to the increased assimilation of Hungarian Roma. In the period following the defeat of the 1848 Hungarian Revolution, the small and little-known social group of the Roma bourgeoisie² formed in Hungary. Although the laws in principle also provided Roma communities with the opportunity to ascend, the attitude of the majority society towards the Roma remained unchanged and the majority society did not consider the Roma to be a true nationality. Nevertheless, there were encouraging signs that some of the Roma in Hungary were becoming bourgeois, but the promising process was interrupted. The formation of the Roma bourgeoisie then was almost fully stopped by World War I and the Treaty of Trianon.

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Introduction

This paper explores the topic of how Hungarian Roma¹ were integrated into the society of the Austro-Hungarian Empire during the period that stretched from 1825 to 1920. A period of transition, this era represented an important crossroads in the lives of both the Hungarian and Roma people as a capitalist economy was established and society subsequently became rearranged. As social and economic structures were reshuffled, more opportunities arose for some Roma families to acquire wealth or even start a business. This ability to gain upward mobility thereby allowed them to move towards the middle class. In principle, therefore, the marginalized social group of Roma could become equal members of society.

The Hungarian reform age that began after 1820 marks a turning point in the lives of both the Hungarian people and Roma community. Later, as many Roma people took part in the 1848-49 revolution and the War of Independence as active actors, participating in Hungary's growing national movement also became another driving force to the increased assimilation of Hungarian Roma. In the period following the defeat of the 1848 Hungarian Revolution, the small and little-known social group of the Roma bourgeoisie² formed in Hungary. Although the laws in principle also provided Roma communities with the opportunity to ascend, the attitude of the majority society towards the Roma remained unchanged and the majority society did not consider the Roma to be a true nationality. Nevertheless, there were encouraging signs that some of the Roma in Hungary were becoming bourgeois, but the promising process was interrupted. The formation of the Roma bourgeoisie then was almost fully stopped by World War I and the Treaty of Trianon.

The general research question of my study is to understand the role and position of the Roma bourgeoisie in the Austro-Hungarian society of the given period. There are a number of questions in this regard. For example, people with less or poorly documented life histories are very difficult to identify authentically as Roma citizens. **How is it possible to study them in such a case?**

Another question is to what extent the very strong assimilation environment of the second half of the 19th century influenced the Roma individuals families entering the process of becoming bourgeois. It also needs to be investigated that although many Roma performed active military service in the Revolution of 1848-49 and the War of Independence, these people somehow still fell out of the memory of both the military and the bourgeoisie. The famous people of Roma origin who want to study in the research are Ferenc Sárközi (1820-1897) and Károly Boka (1808-1860). I chose them because, on the one hand, they went through a similar way of life, but on the other hand, the difference between rural Hungary and urban Hungary can be illustrated through them. My hypothesis is that the process created a thin social class consisting mainly of musicians, priests, and disarmed soldiers who, both consciously or spontaneously,

¹ I will use the word „gypsy” when talking about historical contexts where the Roma have been called „gypsies” or where they are also referred to as gypsies in the relevant literature, but I also understand that this word has a pejorative meaning today. Therefore, when I talk about modern history, I will use the word „Roma”. Hungarian Roma

² Due to differences in meaning in the study, I will use the term Roma bourgeoisie when talking about Roma families heading towards the middle class in general, although I know that the literature prefers the term middle class, so I will use the term „middle class” when referring to the literature.

set out on the path to becoming citizens and began to approach the middle class. In the second part of my thesis, I provide two biographical case-studies to support my hypothesis.

The formation of the bourgeoisie, and The history of the Roma bourgeoisie in Hungary

Following Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social capital, I would like to make it clear whether the Roma involved in the struggles were able to use the social/connectional capital they gained there in relatively long times of peace and convert it into material capital. The other question in this regard is whether mere talent was sufficient to seize the opportunities for capitalist development.

To answer these questions, it would be important to define the concept of the citizen, and within that, the Roma bourgeoisie. What constitutes citizens is quite complex, as today's interpretation of the term citizen is not necessarily equivalent to a nineteenth-century interpretation. During the 19th century, a social middle class slowly emerged, in which the term citizenship meant a person / social group who was already clearly an economic entrepreneur and did not necessarily want to become a members of the traditional aristocracy, but rather exist in their own right, and seek to influence public affairs in proportion to their economic weight. This is the case in Western Europe.

In the Habsburg Empire, and later in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, a very special situation took place in terms of social development, which Miklós Szabó also writes about in his study on the liberalism of the Hungarian nobility³. When we talk about the liberalism of the Hungarian nobility, it is worth noting that the liberalism of the Hungarian nobility was quite different from the liberalism of the Western European states. Szabó highlights the Dutch, French and even American patterns. In addition, the differences seen in these can be traced back to a change in the real estate system and, as a result, an intention to ease the strict tax burden. However, Szabó consistently emphasizes that the type of development that has taken place in Hungary due to the change in the real estate system and the consequent reduction of the strict tax burden has not taken place in Hungary.

Instead of the patterns, found in the West, one can see different patterns in the Hungarian development model. Instead of the victory of the bourgeoisie, enlightened absolutism made an alliance with the Hungarian nobility, and thus the real landowner system remained unchanged. As an alternative, the progressive part of the Hungarian nobility tried to replace itself with a small number of Hungarian citizens. However, the lack of real citizenship and delayed civic development later led to serious social problems. These problems later became so great that Miklós Szabó also refers to Baron Zsigmond Kemény, who said that in 1848-49 the real liberals were pro-peace, because one of the fundamental elements of liberalism is the model of peaceful development. In addition, this brought with it the strengthening of nationalism (buying domestic products, strengthening the domestic market, strengthening the domestic culture ... etc.).

In this particular model of development, a thin rising layer began to form in the Roma community. This was not an organic development process, as provisions for the Roma were an integral part of 18th-century Habsburg imperial policy. These included, for example, mandatory settlement for Roma, penalties for the use of the Roma language, and a ban on the

³ Miklós Szabó: *Liberalism of the Hungarian Nobility Liberty and the search for identity : liberal nationalisms and the legacy of empires* / edited by Iván Zoltán Dénes (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2006)

wearing of traditional Roma clothing. Each of these pushes sought to place the Roma in serfdom.

From time to time, Roma communities also managed to place a talented Roma youth in an educational institution. As a result, in the 19th century, the Roma, mostly by appearing as musicians, soldiers, or even priests, tried to reach the middle class, for these occupations were the surest mean of social ascension. Entertainment activities made a lot of money in a short time, while the military and clerical professions enjoyed very high social prestige. In this respect the Hungarian example seems to be unique.

Balázs Szelényi⁴ also writes about such mistakes in connection with the development of Hungarian citizenship. The question arises as to how to build a developed civil society without supporting strongly citizenship. Such an attempt on the first glance seems impossible. Although another social class can temporarily replace non-existent citizenship, this social group can only achieve this at the cost of serious sacrifices. This is because liberalism is much more than a process of social change that can be described by a simple change of role. Liberalism, a particular system of ideas that needs to be understood. This system of ideas stretched the framework to which the Hungarian nobility was accustomed. Therefore, the liberal Hungarian nobility was unable to keep up with it, and from one moment to the next it found itself conservative. To justify their existence, they used the myth of '48, according to which they voluntarily renounced their noble prerogatives, which proves their virtue and wisdom, so they are worthy to lead the country.

As we know, the Austrian Hungarian Empire was a multinational state with two possible paths ahead, in the course of civic development, but the leaders of the two great nations that made up the state could not decide which path to follow. It follows from the indeterminacy that during the period under review, the families of the Roma persons surveyed had only limited opportunities to enter the middle class. In my research, I would also like to examine how historical processes have opened up this process to affected families, how minorities have participated in the state-building process, and what the country's leadership is with the Roma community. In my opinion, this indecisiveness and unclear intentions are recurring mistakes that are repeated from time to time in the development of Hungarian society.

In regard to the subject, the study of *Gyula Szekfű's Three Generations and What Comes After*⁵ seems very important. This reinforces the idea that the Hungarian nobility could never really identify with the liberal idea, but only saw it as a means of survival. As a result, nationalism intensified as the leadership of the country demanded wise and virtuous patriots. In this unfolding strong nationalist atmosphere, the typical capitalist entrepreneur appears in the public consciousness as a cosmopolitan. This also explains why priestly and military careers with serious social prestige have become popular among the small number of Roma communities aspiring to the middle class.

This was very important because in 1867, while saving the Hungarian nobility itself, it did not make the Hungarian Parliament the only source of legislation. The nobility authorized the king to override the laws, return them, limit the budget... etc. Only a financially independent person

⁴ Balázs A. Szelényi: The Failure of the Central European Bourgeoisie <https://epdf.pub/the-failure-of-the-central-european-bourgeoisie-new-perspectives-on-hungarian-hi.html>

⁵ Szekfű Gyula: Három nemzedék, és ami utána jön Budapest, 1920. „Élet” Irodalmi és Nyomda R.T. Kiadása <https://mek.oszk.hu/06800/06899/06899.pdf>

could have an opinion on the liberalism of the domestic nobility. In addition, financially dependent people were thought to be excluded from the political community.

Szelényi's argument is very close to Szabó's position, but he follows a different logic. Szelényi focuses on urban development. He argues that the decline of European civilization coincided with the decline of cities, and that his resurgence was linked to the growth of cities. The cornerstone of his theory is Carsten's *Origin of Prussia*, in which the author claims that Europe has been divided into at least two main development zones. The most developed parts of these zones were the states of Western Europe, where after the rise of the cities, the bourgeoisie defeated the aristocracy.

Szelényi mentions the formation of the second serfdom as one of the important but not decisive reasons for the decline of the eastern zone. It should be mentioned here that after the victorious war against the Turks (1699) the economic life of the depopulated parts of the country had to be restored. Therefore, the Habsburg dynasty demolished the redundant fortifications, dismissing their soldiers, and putting farmers in the that on depopulated areas. Among other things, Roma, who has wanted to be forced into serfdom.

According to Szelényi, this was not the decisive factor for the second serf, because, for example, German society was able to overcome this disadvantage over time.

Cities were needed by both the state organization and the economy. However, due to the decline, there were not enough cities in these areas. When the manufacturing industry appeared in the area, huge differences emerged. In Hungary, the law prohibiting the free movement of serfs made it difficult for them to move into cities. However, job opportunities, financial centers, administrative offices; commercial centers were all concentrated in cities.

Szelényi refers to Prienne's study that both colonization and the production of slaves contributed to the temporary decline of Eastern European cities. In Central Europe, in the absence of colonies, the peasantry became "white slaves". He called this second serfdom. Another main reason for the decline of Hungarian cities was the decline in Levante trade. The social role of cities is also gradually changing from east to west. A former serf who moved to the city was paid for his work. In Central and Eastern Europe, this type of development has been delayed. However, the new type of capitalist development also had to be coordinated by someone. In the absence of a sufficient number of citizens, the Hungarian nobleman suddenly found himself in the role of a capitalist entrepreneur, whose task is to organize his own daily routine as well as that of his employees.

According to a very conservative estimate, the number of successful Roma families could be 3-400 families. I believe that the life story of the most famous member of such a successful family can be evidence of successful civic development, while the good reputation guaranteed by success has provided an excellent foundation for some Roma to move from the lower classes of society to the middle class. With the successful Roma example of two communities, I would like to show the development of this community. In the 19th century, the profession of musician became the most popular among the Roma. This was no accident, because in the Age of Reform, listening to Hungarian music was a patriotic thing. The local Roma bands with excellent instrumental knowledge served the needs of the Hungarian nobles in this matter. For Roma musicians, putting their musical knowledge at the service of a noble resulted in a serious improvement in their quality of life. However, Roma musicians found themselves in a very strong assimilation environment among the nobility. It was no coincidence that the external

appearance of these bands, as well as their clothing, had specifically Hungarian characteristics, which have been preserved to this day.

The bands led by the best Hungarian Roma musicians were among the first to join the Hungarian Defense Forces in 1848. It is no coincidence that one of the important means of keeping national emotions awake, for example, during the years of persecution, was Roma people-mediated Hungarian music in coffee houses. This is how the literary name of the genre comes from: *Gypsy Music in the Coffee House*

The golden age of the genre lasted until the year of the compromise between Hungary and Austria (1867). After that, the social esteem of Roma musicians slowly began to decline. Some combined a career as a musician and a military. Such were Pali Rácz, Ferenc Sárközi or Károly Boka. These musicians were able to convert their connectional capital gained in the army into material capital that gave them a chance to enter and stay in the middle class.

This is also, what the Susan C. Andersoon-Bruce Tabb⁶ is talking about when they analyse the changing roles and the emergence of a new consumer culture in relation to the use of medicinal waters. The responsibilities of the nobles changed to operate the noble estate more efficiently. As part of this, they also had to organize the lives of the workers minute by minute. They had to do this primarily for control, satisfaction, and consumer reasons. Because some companies raised their working hours too high, they had to offer something to their employees in return. That is why leisure was invented. Furthermore, it is good for other entrepreneurs if the employee spends his salary in his spare time in his restaurant. So in order to achieve better performance and higher profits, working hours need to be limited. In this way, employees spend money on their own free time, thereby increasing the profits of entertainment places.

This theory fits perfectly with the role of Roma musicians in the emerging entertainment industry. “All the more so because if a reputable musician also appears on the market as an independent brand and attracts employees and middle class members to the entertainment places. This also encouraged the market entry of some Roma entrepreneurs. For example, the opening of the Sárközi family soda bistro in Budapest is also connected to this logic. This logic of medical waters and entertainment places included, in addition to entertainment places, the development of national and international baths, which of course also employed the best Roma musicians, where significant incomes they could get. Even in these places, elite Roma musicians were able to acquire the necessary social connections to forge them into material capital. We must not forget: emperors, ministers, military officers, writers, poets, artists, aristocrats, wealthy entrepreneurs visited these places. This is where the bourgeoisie meets the aristocracy, the leading politicians, and the representatives of the high culture.

As a result, the importance of spas extends beyond nations. Entire industries began to rely on spas. With the decline of gypsy music in the café, with the advent of modern music, Roma musicians were pushed out of hospitality and the SPA, as well as all their other traditional occupations. In other words, they lost their income, as the sociologist Zsolt Csalog⁷ and then Mihály Máté⁸ pointed out in their studies

⁶ Susan C. Andersoon-Bruce Tabb Water Leisure and Culture-European Historical Perspectives (Leisure Consumption and Culture)

⁷ Csalog Zsolt: <http://szociologia.hu/dynamic/9301csalog.htm> A cigányság a magyar munkaerőpiacon Szociológiai Szemle 1993/1.

⁸ Máté Mihály: http://nevtud.btk.pte.hu/sites/nevtud.btk.pte.hu/files/files/gs17_kotet.pdf Tematikus bibliográfiák II. Cigány foglalkozások, Cigány Mesterségek

Historical background in the mirror of the biographies of two successful Roma person

In the following, I will connect in more detail the biographies of two famous Roma bourgeois, Károly Boka and Ferenc Sárközi, to the historical processes and events I indicated in the previous part.

Károly Boka (1808-1860) was born in Debrecen and has always esteemed this city highly. His family has already excelled in music, especially his uncle, Károly Boka. Young Károly had a remarkable talent and played the violin in his father's Samuel Boka band.

As mentioned above, Károly Boka was a member of an old Gypsy musician dynasty in Debrecen. His father is Samuel Boka. His musical talent became evident very early, and he was more interested in the violin than books. This was the result of organizing a band from his schoolmates and gaining popularity in Debrecen. He got married young. His wife was called Anna Vékony, and they had nine children. With the support of this large family, the young head of the family could manage well his duties. The handsome and virtuoso orchestra conductor was invited to many places. Especially during trade fairs, where large landowners and even foreign investors were always present. These were fairs, at which huge sums of money were circulating, were extremely what important to the prosperous city, and the city's famous hotels, the Arany Bika, and the Fehér Ló Hotels. During the big fairs, the Boka band was employed for weeks, the rich young nobles who occupied the Arany Bika.

Soon he became Debrecen's and countryside Hungary number one musician, well ahead of Martinovich's good reputation Roma Orchestra. For centuries, the Gypsies who live there in Debrecen could obtain citizenship without any problem, which greatly helped the development of their careers. Károly Boka was not drunk from success and lived a modest life. As a result, he became wealthy. He had a vineyard on the outskirts of the city and a valuable house on Váradi Street. In 1845, the city council added him to the town's citizens, which was a tremendous appreciation for the artist and the man. In addition, his service has made many friends for him.

This is how the spring of 1848 arrived, when he himself enthusiastically joined the Hungarian Defence Forces. He served in a military camp as a bandleader for a while, and when the government moved to Debrecen in January 1849, he became the Kossuth favourite musician of Boka. This fact had a serious influence on the possibilities of Roma musicians of later ages. In all likelihood, Boka was the first Roma musician to successfully convert his social relations into material capital. The slowly developing Kossuth cult, a representative of the music genre that kept national feelings awake during the years of persecution, also helped rebuild his career.

Boka had some abilities by which the citizen could be recognized. For example, he was moderate, he cared about his community, he felt responsible for his city, and he considered learning important. He also served in the military during the revolution. Boka often hosted Kossuth and his private circle at his house, and even the government held confidential political discussions at Boka's house.

Time of the Independence War, Boka lost his possessions because he had been robbed. However, his entrepreneurial spirit made him restart his career. He travelled with the concerts in the Polish, German, French, and British lands to rebuild his wealth. Therefore, as a person of responsible thinking, he committed himself to unfolding capitalist development. At the same time, he hard-working life because he also bought a larger vineyard land on the border of Debrecen.

The restless, much tired, overnight lifestyle finally grinded his vitality, and in 1860 on July 11, he was died. He was buried by the city council as his own dead.

Ferenc Sárközi (1820 – 1897) was a rare case of the Roma entrepreneur, or today we would say “businessman.” Sárközi’s father served as a musician for the prince Pál Esterházy. The young Ferenc Sárközi studied music and was supported in it by Esterházy Pál, for whom he later on served as a musician. He remained in Pest until the outbreak of the revolution.⁹ He was the first Gypsy musician and he was a leader of the orchestra for the Hungarian Defense Forces. Such an orchestra played a very important role for soldiers and was very esteemed by them and also by the military aristocracy, because the orchestra aroused patriotic emotions.

Sárközi played music with his own gypsy band in the times of revolution, and Béni Egressy, the music writer of the Szózat, funded the expenses. Lajos Kossuth made him the chief conductor of all the "freedom fighter Roma musicians" and recognized his merit as a lieutenant.¹⁰ After the War of Independence, Sárközi and many other Roma musicians, like Ferkó Patikárius, played a major role in keeping the national feeling alive. Sárközi and his band appeared at all major cultural events in Pest. He even reached the imperial court in Vienna. It may have been a very interesting situation when Ferenc Sárközi, a military musician promoted to the rank of Lieutenant by Kossuth, appeared on the corridors of the Vienna imperial court eight to ten years after the national tragedy.¹¹ The former freedom fighter lieutenant brought with him his violin into the courtyard of József Ferenc, which strengthened national self-confidence.

However, he also supported this idea with the mourning spirit that had emerged and prevailed, which, despite all previous prohibitions, was enthusiastic about everything that was Hungarian. Including cafe Roma music, which served as an expression of national sentiment during this period. Because music is for millions of people. Particularly with regard to music transmitted by Roma musicians, this was true.

Even in the darkest persecutions in the Bach era, it is understood that musicians at the time held national performances and welcomed musicians embodying the Hungarian national consciousness and the future with their songs everywhere.

However, the future has been the development of bourgeoisie and the adoption of the bourgeois way of life. Because of the obvious signs of this, even the best of the gypsy musicians went in this direction unconsciously. It was visible at Károly Boka, Pal Rácz, and according to the

⁹ Sárközi Ferenc (szócikk) - [Magyar nagylexikon](#) XV. (Pon–Sek). Főszerk. Bárány Lászlóné. Budapest: Magyar Nagylexikon. 2002. 810. o. [ISBN 963-9257-14-1](#)

¹⁰ *Roma Sajtóközpont, 2016. március 14. (Glinda Roma Gyermekek és Ifjúsági Magazin melléklete alapján): Cigány zene és roma zenészek II.*

<https://anzdoc.com/ciganyzene-es-roma-zeneszek-a-xix-szazad-magyarorszagan.html>

¹¹ D'artagnan.: Budapest 1898. április 30. 17.o. Országos Hírlap: Egy Palota emlékei <http://epa.uz.ua/00200/00242/00161/pdf/00161.pdf>

lawyers' records of the Pest home purchases, for example at Ferenc Patikárius too. However, the childless Sárközi couple went further from buying a house. They started a business and started running a soda bistro on Erzsébet Square in Budapest. It was a modest enterprise, which in terms of size and income it obviously could not compete with the larger enterprises of 19th century Hungary, but it was nonetheless an enterprise.¹²

The risk of undertaking a business is a citizen's specialty and one of the citizen's qualities. At the same time, these emerging dynasties of music have become, through their growing fame, wealth, influence, and social esteem, the link between the majority society and the Roma masses. They were a kind of positive example of talent, and these emerging dynasties of music were constantly revolving around the social elite, court, noble-aristocratic, and in civilian circles. They learned their language, their attire, their behavior, and their use of language. The Sárközi couple also wanted to enter this future. At the same time, there was a serious obstacle: the Sárközi couple did not have children to whom they could leave their property. That is why Sárközi's goddaughter, the later famous actress Aranka Hegyi, was adopted.¹³

Sources show that the soda business was very profitable in the 19th century.¹⁴ That is why it was subject to state regulation as early as the 1840s since. There were three reasons for its great popularity: its resemblance to mineral waters, the supply of the emerging entertainment industry to the lower middle class, and the poor quality of the water resources. Because people believed in the healing power of soda water. This, of course, was not true, but soda water was affordable for poor people as well. Poor people also wanted to look like the rich. That is why entertainment places have become restaurants where, for example, people could have a cold drink in the great heat. Therefore, all market segments show that the soda water business was profitable. In addition, the Sárközi family was brave enough to start this business.¹⁵

Meanwhile, the years have passed and Ferenc Sarkozy's band has become one of the most popular bands in the whole country, and beyond the borders, the eminent artists of the era know his name too. Sárközi also tried to make use of his foreign knowledge, and his wife gave big lunches at which Gypsy musicians could meet famous actors, artists, and other famous people. Of course, the Sárközi family was not alone, as other musician families, wishing to become bourgeois did so, making them the forum for such lunches, dinners, and rising musicians. In which the musician wives played a very important role, studying the rules of civilian dress, the standards of civic manners, behaviour, the rules of civil household and parenting at that time.

Later, many of these musicians' family members became intellectuals and priests: engineers, chief judges, military officers, officials, clerks became the children of famous bandleaders and musicians. Ferenc Sárközi's popularity soared in the 1860s that his band played at the coronation luncheon of Franz Joseph too. He was that person who first having toured on the overseas with his bands and stepped on the stage of contemporary Europe. The World

¹² Zerkwitz Emil (Magyarország, 1901. november (8. évfolyam, 259-284. szám)1901-11-13 / 269. szám https://adtplus.arcanum.hu/hu/view/Magyarország_1901_11/?query=sz%C3%B3daipar&pg=216&layout=s

¹³ Ybi P. 2015. december 9.: Akit Elfeledtek: Hegyi Aranka <http://www.gradsubotica.co.rs/akit-elfeledtek-hegyi-aranka/>

¹⁴ Magyar Szó, 2010. április 26 (67. évfolyam, 75-99. szám) Bújóska a mûzsák kertjében https://adtplus.arcanum.hu/hu/view/MagyarSzó_2010_04/?query=sz%C3%B3dav%C3%ADz&pg=526&layout=s

¹⁵ Budapesti Közlöny 1912. július 24. https://adtplus.arcanum.hu/hu/view/BudapestiKozlony_1912_07/?query=sz%C3%B3dav%C3%ADz&pg=201&layout=s This reference illustrates that by the end of the period under review, the soda business had already become a huge business that required state regulation

Exhibition in Paris in 1867 was a very remarkable year in the whole career of Ferenc Sárközi, because at that time the diversity of the Hungarian musical life could be seen by the audience - and after that other, for example including at international exhibitions overseas too. He spent the last years of her life in Losonc, with his other adopted child who had a name János.

Conclusion

Reading the relevant literature, I finally concluded that the further development of the promising Roma bourgeoisie was significantly hindered by some factors. Such factors were, for example, the defeat of World War I and the change in mainstream music culture. Due to the defeat in the war, the Austro-Hungarian Empire disintegrated. Many small nation-states were established on the site of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. After that, Hungary no longer had the resources to ensure its former economic prosperity.

The defeat also affected Hungarian music life. Gypsy music in the café began to decline as major changes in the mainstream of musical culture took place and the habits of the former elite slowly went out of fashion. The modern elite was already going to the movies, not cafes. People watched American movies in elegant cinemas, jazz in restaurants, and listened to French chansons. Together, these factors had halted the promising process of Roma civilization. Formerly successful Roma musician families gradually abandoned traditional music and switched to jazz music. Unfortunately, very few managed to reach the middle class either in the 19th or in the 20th century.

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