Eötvös Loránd University
Faculty of Humanities

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

THESIS

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Press-house and Cellar Culture in the Buda Area
Architectural and Social Ethnographical Approach (XIX–XX Century)

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Topic choice, the researched area

In the 1950’s and 60’s significant classifications and essays were born in Hungary in the theme of grape and wine culture thanked to István Vincze, and the first monographs of some subtopics (e.g. festivals of the calendar year, equipment stock) were also written. However, I cannot mention any work which introduces the buildings of a wine region, a smaller territory or an area in a detailed monographic manner. The majority of essays concerning this topic are mostly descriptive and analysing in nature, undertaking the examination of the buildings of one settlement, not putting these in a wider perspective. Neither was the world of press-houses and cellars placed in the limelight of vineyard life and community. Buildings were only examined as objects, perhaps – along the architectural description – the researchers showed interest in the work stages of grape processing and equipments used in it. The examinations rarely touched on the life inside them or their relations with society, even doing so only one element of these was highlighted primarily. However, the world of cellars and press-houses used to provide a secure and stable background for everyday vineyard life, they formed an integral part of it, being also tightly connected to local life and society. Disregarding the social ethnographic aspect and treating cellars and press-houses only as objects does not make it possible to study the topic thoroughly and appropriately. We have to look at these buildings in question as scenes of social life beside their objective reality. Both directions of research are needed, data supplementing each other offer the chance of a summary with monographic demand. In my dissertation I was making an attempt to use these two together, I tried to form my goals and enquiries taking these into account, hoping that a novel summarising work based on complex sources and methods would be born this way.

Research so far has been less interested in the history of the once famous Buda wine region, so neither of the Buda area, a part of it.\(^1\) However, the examination of this area can have great significance in many respects and can serve as a model. From the beginning, viniculture was playing an important role in the life of Germans, had been settled at the end of the 17\(^{th}\) and in the first half of the 18\(^{th}\) century, and the remaining Hungarians. It became one of the leading economic sectors by the 19\(^{th}\) century. Nevertheless, following the expulsions after World War II a rapid decline occurred, which continued with the collectivisation. It shows clearly the Germans played a significant role in the local viniculture, which makes it likely that this branch of cultivation was also characterized by ethnic attributes. Examining the area is also important because of the location of the villages and their history in the second half of the 20\(^{th}\) century that greatly affected the life of press-houses and cellars too. Phylloxera devastating at the end of the 19\(^{th}\) century, the expulsion of Germans half century later, and then the demolition of the small-scale agricultural system in the 1950’s ended significant viniculture once for all. The vicinity of Budapest contributed to these factors as well. As a consequence the population increased greatly in the last decades of the 20\(^{th}\) century, meanwhile the agricultural areas gradually decreased. These processes had a great effect on the fate of the buildings too. Some of them obtained a different function, but the derelict ones decayed in great numbers. Nevertheless, over the last few years more and more people, escaping the city, find an opportunity to relax at their cellars purchased in the area. However, this way the buildings, which survived the rigours of time, are receiving a totally new function. They fulfil a new role in the lives of individuals or communities, very often their main role will be providing rest. So, due to the locations of the settlements and historical events the buildings had unique lives.

Objectives, methods, sources

According to the highlighted directions of research my work was divided into two big parts. The first concerned the object approach of the examined buildings. Firstly, I covered the location of cellars and press-houses, the influencing factors of their construction work and the building types.

\(^{1}\) Above all I have taken Bertalan Andrásfalvy’s previous research as my starting point in circumscribing the Buda area. I have done my research in nine present-day places: Biatorbágy, Budajenő, Budakeszi, Budaörs, Etyek, Páty, Perbál, Tök and Zsambék.
Here I also made an attempt to categorize the press-house and cellar types in the Buda area, in addition to giving an account of previous results. The other two subchapters dealt with construction time and methods and building materials used in construction. The aesthetical characteristics of the buildings too got presented in this part. Keystones marked with date and monograms, wrought iron ornaments on doors and carved door frames bear great artistic and artisanal values.

After the traditional architectural description of the buildings could their functions be analysed. My intention was to introduce the traditional role at first, namely the buildings as scenes of processing and storage. However, beside the primary function others were already observable in the previous centuries too. On the one hand, the buildings could be used to store crops, fruit and other things, on the other hand, they fulfilled an important role in their owners’ lives and different communal customs could be attached to them, moreover under exceptional circumstances they could serve as hiding places. Only little research of this type has been conducted so far, however, by asking these questions and receiving answers to them have we the opportunity to view and analyse press-houses and cellars as buildings, which fulfilled a significant role in the life of former communities and were adapted well to the changing circumstances, rather than introduce them only as slowly decaying objects with unchanged functions.

Among the different research methods I have to mention fieldwork in the first place, the significant part of my dissertation is built on material collected in the last two years. Beside participant observation I put the main emphasis on interviewing. The extensive photo documentation and architectural research also played an important role, with their help it became possible to introduce the main building types more accurately and illustratively.

I complemented memorial material collected in the field and recent observations concerning the present with works kept in the archives. On the one side, these handwritten collections provide information about previous periods, making it possible to complete an assessment of changes, on the other side, they include descriptions of such topics which today can only be examined on a smaller scale (life in cellar-dwellings, social life, etc.).

Among the used sources archive materials obtained a significant role. Firstly, they helped to back up data collected in my fieldwork, secondly they made possible to take a look of times before the 20th century that due to the diverse quantity and utility of the surviving documents and writings is present with varying importance in the given topic. I conducted this type of research in three archives. The Hungarian National Archives Pest County Archives has the widest material. Here I paid special attention to orphan’s court documents, socage related legal cases and maps beside local documentation, which can be found in a separate fond. The maps and socage related legal cases served as source of building localisation and helped me to answer questions about dates. The orphan’s court documents are indispensable sources because of the equipment inventories. These provide accurate data on vinicultural practices in the second half of the 19th century. The above mentioned material gave me the opportunity to follow the way of processing over one and a half century. I looked through similar material in the Hungarian National Archives Fejér County Archives, as Etyek, one of the examined villages, belongs here. The third scene of my archival research was the National Archives of Hungary where the examination of its map and plan collection was necessary, above all.

In regard to gathering material, at last I need to mention the literature on the subject which I tried to read as widely as possible. This gave the opportunity to place the material collected in the field in a wider, in many cases national system which provided the opportunity of comparative study. Hereby, I would remark that I regarded studying oenological and viticultural works important as well, besides reading ethnographical literature. The first books with oenological and viticultural themes, which are important for ethnographical research too, came out in the 19th century, mostly in its second half. Their topics ranged widely dealing with planting, cultivation processes and winemaking technology alike. The importance of storage is emphasised many times in these works and the making of right buildings too, which are necessary to preserve good quality wines. Construction is touched upon primarily from an oenological point of view, however, the authors often describe what a good cellar is like. This data is important because it gives an opportunity to
study to what extent all these were taken into consideration in villain-peasant constructions.

In the course of working on my dissertation I deemed the international view important too. I had the chance to receive it in the form of a two-month research scholarship in Freiburg, Germany (Institut für Volkskunde der Deutschen des östlichen Europa) between October and November 2013. I was able to look through Jenő Bonomi’s inheritance and all his studies. In his works I discovered important data that cannot be found in today’s research any more.

I used a particularly wide-ranging source material to build up my dissertation, besides fieldwork received a paramount role. This complex view showed up in the questions and process methods of my examination too. Amid these methods I need to stress typology, the classification in the first place which I applied many times in regard to the buildings.

During research and writing my dissertation I put a great emphasis on case studies too. A part of the observable phenomena in the field, processes in viniculture and life courses of the buildings characterized only one place, but I could manage several observations with general validity. I did not have the opportunity and felt necessary to list and analyse all these examples in this work. That is the reason why I decided to introduce certain processes and phenomena with case studies and descriptions of courses which can be looked at as typical.

The complex method is mostly visible in the topic approach. In addition to the description of their vernacular architecture as objects, I looked at the buildings from the point of view of social ethnography too. In all cases I tried to take the users of the buildings into account and study the changes of building functions and forms, mirroring the owners’ changing demands.

Above all, my research is a historical-ethnographic study. I chose the 19th and 20th centuries as my research period, nevertheless, on the basis of opportunities offered by the sources and fieldwork I was studying the different topics primarily from the phylloxera until the collectivisation. However, today’s research, mainly due to the great changes occurring from the middle of the 20th century, cannot avoid assessing changes or the present situation. Nevertheless, the framework of this dissertation didn’t allow a proper research of these. This can be thoroughly written up in a subsequent, independent work.

Research results

The influencing factors of construction

Regarding the research of vernacular architecture it has been a question since the beginning: which factors influence it and how much do they do so? Attention was drawn to their role already at the start of research, but the factors were studied separately for long. It caused a further problem that some factors enjoyed a high priority, while others were forgotten about. At the beginning special attention was paid to the question of origin therefore the emphasis on ethnic characteristics came into the centre of research. In addition to this influencing factor the natural environment also played an important role, the advancing of it in regard with farm-buildings became even more visible. These buildings often were much more rudimentary than dwellings. There was less emphasis on the quality of materials. This is typical of the press-houses and cellars in the Buda area too. Due to the special forming of the presently examined group of buildings it was obvious to assign the main, perhaps the sole cause to the configurations of terrain. However, the economic circumstances, the agricultural system and the pecuniary and occupational complexity of society also have a significant role among the influencing factors of vernacular architecture.

Research done in the Buda area proved that it is not enough to study the geographical basis concerning the forming and location of the press-houses and cellars. Of course, they played a big role, as the right hillside is a basic requirement for a good cellar, but data was found to verify that the economic and social factors had a role too, both in location and types. Moreover, at first perhaps the different ethnic groups affected the architecture as well. The building type and used material is a clear reflection of the importance of the economic branch and the owner’s financial situation. In contrast, social status and land size are responsible for the building locations in Budajenő. Poorer
social classes living on smaller plots could establish their cellars outside their ground, meanwhile the wealthier farmers built them at their dwellings. The size of the cellar is also a clear reference to the owner’s financial situation. Although none of the types can be exclusively related with ethnic groups, it can be stated that the vaulted press-houses and the ones with rising walls and entrance on their short side (both regarded as “German type” by János Jankó) were common in the Buda area and nearby German settlements too. In spite of this they cannot be connected to one ethnic group, but it is possible that these two forms used to be more popular in the former German places.

The location and types of buildings

Various forms of building location are observable in the Buda area. The main building types provide a mostly homogeneous picture, but we can see some differences in the formation of the buildings yet. This diversity is present not only in the Buda area but often also more formations can be observed in a given settlement. I aimed to set up one system for both the location and types of buildings. There is a great need to research small areas. On the one hand, in every case we can create our typology considering the local circumstances. On the other hand, these supply the base for later classifications concerning greater areas.

In the Buda area a significant part of the buildings received their places on the edge of the inner area. Group (Páty) and line (Perbál) forms are both observable. To a smaller extent cellar groups can be also found inside inner areas (Etyek, Zsámbék), or sporadically on the outskirts too, and these buildings could be built at the end of wine-parcels as well (Etyek, Zsámbék). The press-houses and cellars show a various picture by their locations. This becomes even more colourful as there are some press-houses and cellars under dwellings too, which form is primarily a characteristic of free royal towns and country towns. Moreover, a relatively special location type is also known. It is observable in more places that the press-houses were formed separately in the inner plot or under the same roof with the house. According to research results so far this was more general in German settlements.

Similarly to the location of the buildings more forms are observable in regard with the building types too, but here we can see a bit more homogenous picture, the ruling form is the hole-cellar with press-house. However, more differences are visible in the formation of the buildings. On the one hand, we can speak about hole-cellars with press-houses which cellars have rising walls, on the other hand, about vaulted hole-cellars with press houses. The former is common all over the country, its essence is that it has built walls and roof. The hole-cellar with press-houses and rising walls had an absolute dominance in Budakeszi and Budăoars, supposedly in the other places their location played a role too. They can be found in smaller numbers in Tökö, in the “cellar village” on its outskirts and at the local fields this form is almost the only one. At the fields of Etyek and Zsámbék this is the dominant form too. The reason of this is almost certainly the practicality of constructing the vaulted hole-cellars with press-houses in a closed row – rarely they can be found on their own too –, because they supported each other this way. In these cases the cellars had to be built together, so they were made in form of communal work. Out in the fields, at the end of the vineyards it was not possible to do the same, there it was more practical to build cellars with rising walls. These can be divided into two other groups. They can have their entrance on the long or short side. The latter was really typical in Budakeszi and Budăoars, but some examples of it can be seen in Bia, Etyek, Zsámbék and Tökö as well.

Beside the hole-cellars with press-houses and rising walls the other main type is the so called vaulted hole-cellar. In these cases the builders do not construct a normal house in front of the cellar, firstly they vault the building on which they will carry soil then. This type of hole-cellars can be seen in its greatest numbers in Páty and Perbál, it can be regarded as an exclusive type of this two communities. They are also a lot of them in Tökö, but many examples of it exist in Zsámbék, Bia, Etyek, Zsámbék and Tökö as well.

Beside the hole-cellars with press-houses the other appearing type is the hole-cellar, nevertheless, this kind of buildings are much less common. These are mostly associated with the
poor class. In several cases I received information about the buildings’ original state, they used to be only cellars and the press-houses were built in front of them later. We can draw the conclusion from this, that the number of hole-cellars could be higher earlier, but a processing building was put before some of them too, if the owner’s financial situation allowed it. In the Buda area hole-cellars could be found in their greatest numbers perhaps in Zsámbe, but a significant part of them already decayed by now. This type in a connected line can be still seen in Tök, in the Burgundia.

Dating the buildings and describing their architecture

One of the important chapters of my work deals with determining the ages of the buildings. As they were not obliged to obtain a building permission, it is difficult to determine precisely the time of their construction, therefore previous research very often did not address this question at all. However, examining building dates is really important, but to be able to relate buildings to age somehow, the fieldwork must be complemented with an extensive archival research. Beside the visible dates on press-houses, more rarely on cellars, maps and documentation of socage related court cases helped to answer this question. Of course, even these do not enable the researcher to determine exact construction times, nonetheless, they give an opportunity to put the forming of the different groups of press-houses in chronological order and find out in which period these buildings were created in their greatest numbers.

By the keystones, engraved dates on other parts of the buildings, maps and sources of socage related court cases it can be stated that a significant part of press-houses and cellars in the researched area was formed in the 19th century, this kind of architecture flourished from the second quarter of the century. There are former buildings in greater numbers in Budaörs and Páty, certainly owing to the fact that viticulture became a leading and important sector in these two places earlier than the other researched places. With the decline of the grape and wine culture the number of buildings did not rise further significantly. More new constructions took place from the 1910’s, first of all in Etyek, where a golden age started due to champagne production. Following the examination of the age of the buildings it can be clearly stated that ethnical characteristics are not observable concerning either their time of formation or their quantity, the dominant factor is the significance of this cultivation sector.

The description of their architecture came after binding the certain building groups to age. Here I dealt with the used building materials, layout forms and the economic function of the buildings, which was in a close connection with the types and layout forms. The construction methods and used materials are relatively similar, local building materials were used mainly. If these were not suitable, stones were delivered from neighbouring settlements. By the construction of press-houses mixed walls were common, along with stones and adobe, meanwhile stones were used at the vaulting of cellars by the 20th century then bricks came more and more into use. The buildings also show a similar picture by their layouts. It was common to detach the small room in press-houses with rising walls, meanwhile the vaulted press-houses have one space. Simplicity can be observed at cellars too, these are almost always one-branched, the type with a small side branch or niche can be found in Tök in greater numbers.

The economic function of the buildings

In regard to the economic function of the buildings I needed to study two areas. First, I was studying the course of grape processing and the equipments used in it, as these were integral parts of press-houses and cellars, their usage and storing affected the function and set up of the buildings. However, as they are interrelated, type and lay-out also influence the set of objects found in press-houses and cellars. Secondly, I was studying the storing function of the buildings. The reason why I found this extremely important is that nothing else but wine can be kept in cellars by generic opinion. Nevertheless, the press-houses and cellars could give place to several other things beside wine and wine processing equipments.
I did not endeavour to give a detailed analysis concerning the equipments, as it was not part of the subject. However, their examination was necessary to a certain extent, because the primary function of press-houses and cellars used to be grape processing and wine storage indeed. On the whole, it can be stated that the equipments used in wine processing show us a relatively homogeneous picture in the researched area, ethnical characteristics can only be observed by the presses, maybe in the use of water-barrow and in the names of equipments. Similar tendencies can be pointed out in the changes of equipments. The more important changes took place nearly at the same time. The expulsion of Germans was a turning point in the course of equipments to some extent. They have been kept in greater numbers in the Hungarian-inhabited areas so far, whereas they have suffered significant desolation in the settlements affected by the expulsion. In places where viticulture survived the equipments were used continuously, their gradual replacement started only in the last third of the 20th century. The replacement took place first among the presses, after that the tubs and dossers were replaced ending with the smaller pots. Equipments out of use were burnt or have been decaying in cellar bottoms, perhaps they live on as ornaments in a second function.

The equipments used to be kept in the press-houses because the cellars were too damp and there was not really enough space for them next to the barrels. In addition to this, the changes regarding the equipments and function of the buildings also affected their places. As the press-houses fulfil more and more a hosting role and fewer and fewer people cultivate their vineyard, a part of the press-houses are losing their economic function or this function is being driven back into the cellar. Therefore most of equipments find their place in there.

Although the primary function of press-houses and cellars was wine procession and storage, they could be utilised to store other crops as well as farming equipments. However, the importance of viticulture and the types of the grape processing and wine storing constructions greatly determined this function of the press-houses and cellars. Páty is the best example of the influencing role of the significance of viticulture. After the phylloxera a part of the buildings in Pincehegy (Cellarhill), which lost its economic importance, obtained a new role. Some of them started to be used as cellar-dwellings, other buildings became general storage places, because wine were kept in them only in very small quantity.

The social role of the press-houses and cellars

On the basis of my research results I attempted to place the certain events and customs into a system. I differentiated five groups of these:

1. individual going out, spontaneous meetings
2. friends meetings not related to any occasion
3. meetings on occasions (name days, New Years Eve, etc.)
4. role played in vineyard customs
5. temporary accommodation, shelter

The meetings belonging to the first group are those when the vineyard owners go out alone to their cellars, but meeting others they can come together for a glass of wine later. It is a mutual characteristic of these events that not a bigger company of friends, relatives or colleagues meet at a time organised in advance, rather the vineyard owners go out independently of each other, and mostly owners of neighbouring cellars sit down together for a shorter period of time. This going out is more typical of the older generation, as it was earlier too.

On the contrary the meetings of the second group are those when a company, whose members know each other well and regularly party together, meets at an arranged time and place. In contrast to the spontaneous occasions, here the time spent together is longer and in many cases cooking can be also part of the joint wine drinking. However, what is very important that these meetings are not fixed to a concrete occasion either, rather they are usually organised at the same time every week.

The third form of the meetings when also a company of friends, perhaps the extended family come together, but the organisation of these events are thanked to a concrete occasion (name day,
New Year’s Eve, etc.). However, due to the group forming, arranged time and place they are in close relation with the events of the second group.

Lastly, regarding cellar meetings we need to mention the group which concerns the whole community. This used to be mainly related to the festival of the patron saint of the local vineyards at many points of the country. Although it was mostly a religious event, a profane part belonged to it as well, the venue of this was the cellar or the press-house, in contrast with the chapel and sculpture providing place for the liturgy. On these occasions every cellar was open, smaller and bigger family and friends parties were going on everywhere. Recently, beside the saint’s days of vineyards, local festivals and community events have an increasing role, which often have the cellars and press-houses too as their venue. Due to this fact their research is also necessary, because the examined buildings often obtain a new function.

The fifth and last, social type of function of the grape processing and wine storing buildings greatly differs from the formers. Here, this is not only about a social gathering related to a fixed occasion, rather the buildings become living spaces by certain reasons. I studied the cellar-dwellings, which had a role in Budakeszi, Páty and Zsámébék until the middle of the 20th century, then after World War II in Budakeszi and Budáörs, where the locals started to use the abandoned grape processing and wine storing buildings. Secondly, I paid attention to the role of the buildings in the war, how they could provide the inhabitants with shelter and protect their belongings.

My research clearly shows that press-houses and cellars – built to process grape and store wine – had and have several other roles, in addition to their economic function. They were the most important place of amusement in the men’s lives, they could be venues of festive occasions beside the everyday spontaneous meetings and regular weekend gatherings of friends. Moreover, they gave shelter for thousands and meant survival in crisis periods and before approaching disasters. There is some known data on these roles in my research area and these clearly show that these functions always existed through the centuries, but not unchanged. The buildings were always adapted to their users’ demands and they could obtain a new function considering the historical and economic changes. Due to this fact, the role of press-houses and cellars in social life has to be studied in the context of these processes.

The effect of the economic, political and social changes

The economic, political and social changes had a strong effect on viticulture, within it on the buildings, the equipments and the life of vineyards and cellars. The studied settlements did not always react to these the same way, they followed different paths due to the forcing circumstances. All this show well that even in a smaller area like this, in spite of the same viticultural grounds, totally different forms and functions could be generated, the history of viticulture could take a different course in even two neighbouring places. At the end of my dissertation I summarized this, by choosing four settlements I introduced the special ways and those significant economic, political, social processes, which led to these differences. I undertake phylloxera, the expulsion of Germans and aftermath of collectivisation in more details, because these fundamentally changed the state of the grape and wine culture in some places.

Those settlements belong to the first group where the restoration after phylloxera took place only on a minimum level, so there were changes in the life of the buildings. Only Páty can be ranked among these in the researched area. The way of Páty is unique, because despite of a significant part of the former wine processing and storing buildings losing their earlier function, their close location to the village made it possible for them to live on in a new role. Besides storing small quality of wine they were suitable to become generic storing places. As a consequence they remained in use in great numbers, so their devastation was not serious at all. The vineyard life did not disappear either, the daily outgoing also survived to a certain extent to our days, because wine in smaller quantity has been still kept in the buildings.

The phylloxera devastated the economy and society in other places too, of course, but due to the reconstruction viticulture remained significant, even if not to the same extent. The majority of the
buildings kept their original function. The most drastic change was the expulsion of Germans in the history of these settlements. It includes Budajenő, Budakeszi, Budaörs, Perbál, Zsámbék and today’s Biatorbágy, first of all its Torbágy part. This course could be demonstrated most clearly through the example of Budaörs, but all settlements suffered serious losses. In a relatively short time almost total devastation took place in Budaörs and Budakeszi, a great part of the buildings with economic function before were abandoned and another parts of them started to be used as dwellings. Only a small part of the press-houses and cellars were able to keep their original function. A significant part of the buildings lost their previous purpose too in Budajenő, Perbál, Torbágy and Zsámbék. Nevertheless, these happened to be in great numbers on residential plots where they could become storage facilities. In Perbál there were hole-cellars with vaulted press-houses, so they were not transformable. They were rather abandoned, so they have been preserved in their original form. Beside Budakeszi and Budaörs the devastation was the biggest in Zsámbék. Here the 72 pieces of cellars of Józsefvárosi hole (Josephstown hole) were almost totally perished and the cellar rows on the outskirts of the village also suffered serious damages. Among the once German-inhabited villages and towns only the history of Etyek took another turn regarding viticulture.

After World War II the buildings fell victim to significant destructions and devastations here too, it caused a problem as well that the new residents did not really have the necessary skills to cultivate vineyards. However, the profit made on wines suitable for champagne production caught the attention of the local agricultural co-operative too, so here the collectivisation did not result in the decline of a cultivation branch, but brought its prosperity. As a result Etyek has been probably the best known and most significant place of the wine area up to our days, which surpasses other places of the neighbourhood in point of its festivals related to the cellar rows.

An example of the forth course is Tök. Its main characteristic is the continuous cellar culture. This opportunity presented itself only in those areas where replantation took place after the phylloxera, the community was not affected by expulsions after the Second World War, fields were not taken away during collectivisation and the relatively closed set-up mostly protected the vineyards from modifications. This continuous culture showed up well during my research too. In contrast to the other places, here old equipments have survived in relatively great numbers. It was still possible to collect a rich material about cellar events and their roles played in the life of the community.

According to my hope, in many respect a novel summary was born about the press-house and cellar culture of the Buda area, which has a complex point of view and reaches monographic level. However, there is an opportunity to continue concerning both the territorial and time limits. Although I studied the recent changes too, such richness is noticeable concerning all these that it would be worth conducting a separate research. In term of area the examination could be extended to the former Buda wine region and likewise it could raise further interesting questions, if other once German-inhabited Hungarian areas came under similar investigation.
The candidate’s topic related publications

2010


2011


2012

The grape culture of Esztergom then and now. (A sketched history of viticulture.) Az esztergomi szőlőkultúra egykor és ma. (A szőlőművelés vázlatos története). Borászati Füzetek XXIII/5. 10–12.

The grape culture of Esztergom then and now (II.). (Social occasions.) Az esztergomi szőlőkultúra egykor és ma (II.). (Közösségi alkalmak). Borászati Füzetek XXIII/6. 18–19.


2013


The grape culture of Esztergom then and now (III.). (Press-houses and cellars). Az esztergomi szőlőkultúra egykor és ma (III.). (Présházak és pincék). Borászati Füzetek XXIV/1.


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