



## Lutheran Network – Spiš (Szepesség) refugees in post-Trianon Hungary

### **Balázs Ablonczy**

Research Centre for the Humanities  
Institute of History,  
Hungary  
E-mail: [ablonczy.balazs@abtk.hu](mailto:ablonczy.balazs@abtk.hu)

### **Gábor Koloh**

Research Centre for the Humanities  
Institute of History,  
Hungary  
E-mail: [koloh.gabor@abtk.hu](mailto:koloh.gabor@abtk.hu)

### **Attila Bátorfy**

Eötvös Loránd University,  
Institute for the Theory of Art and  
Media Studies,  
Hungary  
E-mail: [batorfy.attila@btk.elte.hu](mailto:batorfy.attila@btk.elte.hu)

After the First World War, Hungary was defeated and lost approximately two-thirds of its territory. Of the occupied territories, one region, the Spiš (Szepes) region, which is now Slovakia, had a special situation. In both economic and social terms, Spiš was one of the most complex regions of historical Hungary. After the territorial settlements, a significant proportion of people from the other side of the border moved to post-Trianon Hungary. The people from Spiš were trying to preserve some sense of community, as evidenced by the Spiš Directory (Szepesi Címtár) published by the Spiš Association (Szepesi Szövetség) in 1931. This study examines and analyzes this source. Out of all the data in the Spiš Directory, the authors processed the gender, residence, social status and occupation of 3,745 people (87.1%) using the international standard classification (HISCO/HISCLASS).

The study has led to conclusions about the residence distribution of the Spiš refugees in Hungary, the correlations between denominational and spatial distribution, and urban and rural networks. The results show that the influence of the diaspora on the people of Felvidék (present-day Slovakia) was strong in general but especially among landowner refugees. In terms of religiosity, the country's traditional religion became dominant, attracting settlements that were not otherwise part of the country's more developed cities. The Spiš community presents a stronger, network-like pattern in its distribution within the capital, Budapest, typically concentrated in elite and working-class districts, even in this period. In examining the Spiš refugees, it is also important to emphasize that their arrival provided the country with considerable human capital benefits.

#### **Keywords:**

Trianon treaty,  
refugees,  
Interwar Period,  
Hungary,  
Spiš Region,  
social network

## Zipser Leute

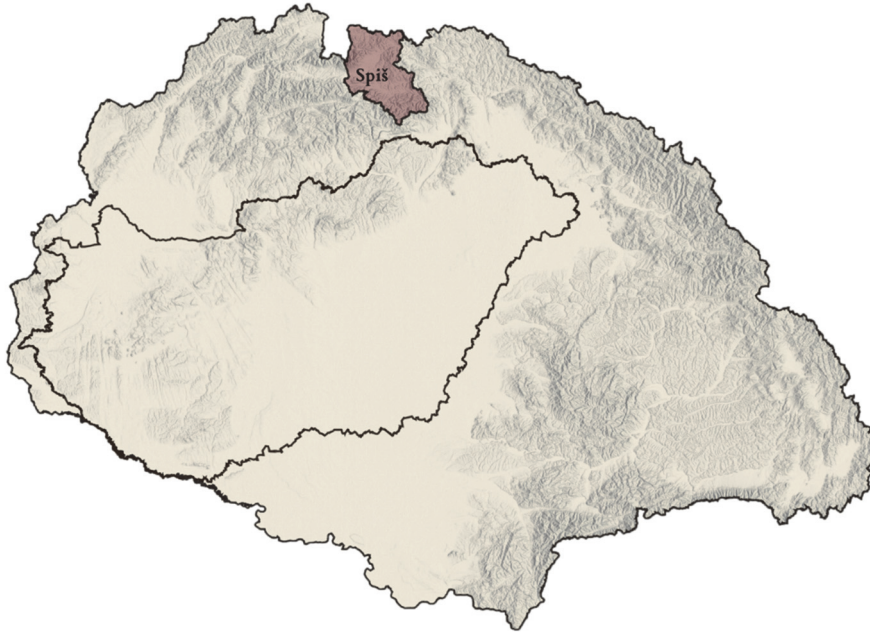
Spiš was one of the most complex areas of historical Hungary in terms of administration (Figure 1), religion, ethnicity and urbanization. The region went from being a sparsely populated frontier area in the Middle Ages to a very densely populated one in the 19th century. In 1876, before the (almost) final settlement of the borders of the county, there were 19 towns with different legal statuses, and even after the loss and reacquisition of the status of the town with a regular council, in 1910, there were still nine such settlements in the county, which in terms of size was at the lower end of the middle range in Hungary (Demeter 2020, [3]). Administratively, the resulting Szepes County (hereafter used as a synonym for Spiš, although there is indeed a slight difference between the areas covered by the two names) was as mixed as possible as represented by the following examples: the district of 'Tízlándzsás' (Ten Spears: territory with a specific legal status due to the frontier-guard duties of his inhabitants), which was only completely abolished in 1803; the separate administration of the XVI towns of Spiš, which were made up of thirteen towns annexed to Poland; the 'noble county'; the mining towns of the Gömör-Szepes Ore Mountains; the increase in tourism at the end of the 19th century; the presence of German, Slovak, Polish, Hungarian, Ruthenian populations, all combined to create a very complex county, whose cultural and architectural richness did not have favorable conditions. As a result, emigration began in the second half of the 19th century. Migration toward the center of the Carpathian Basin and overseas had been a hallmark of the northernmost county of historical Hungary (next to Árva County) since the mid-19th century. Partly as a result of the potato crisis and the subsequent famine, emigration to the United States caused a significant diaspora of people from Spiš. Between 1880 and 1890, the county suffered a loss of almost 20,000 migrants, and even in 1910, it had fewer inhabitants (171,725) than it had forty years earlier, in 1869 (173,769). In 1910, Hungarians made up 10.87% (18,658) of the population of the 3605 square kilometer county, Germans made up 22.38% (38,434), Slovaks 56.53% (97,077), Rusyns 7.18% (12,327) and Gypsies, Poles and others made up the remaining percent. In addition to a higher than national average representation of Catholics (68.42%), the share of the evangelical population of the county was 15.4%, which was double the national average (7.15%) and explained by local characteristics, mainly the German-speaking population. The proportion of Jews was slightly below the national average (4.35%).

According to Béla Pukánszky's book (1941), the identity of the German population of Spiš can be characterized by a strong 'Hungarus' consciousness, i.e., a strong attachment to Hungarian culture and language, which was different from that of the Transylvanian Saxons, for example, and which changed almost imperceptibly from Biedermeier imperial state patriotism to Hungarian patriotism in the 19th century. From the dualist period, there was a considerable migration of intellectuals

from the county toward the center of the country, mainly toward the capital. This led to the development of a good educational infrastructure (4 grammar schools, 2 secondary and higher girls' schools, 2 teachers' colleges, and 1 theological institute) but few career opportunities. This was the period of the emergence of the Spiš families (Habererns, Genersichs) in the administrative centers of the country, alongside the Hunfalvy and top intellectuals such as Dániel Irányi (Sváby 1901). Accordingly, the first Spiš associations did not appear in the center of the country after the Treaty of Trianon, but the Association of Spiš (*Szepesi Egyesület*) in Budapest was founded as early as 1876, followed by several other socially and professionally structured organizations in the capital. We do not know exactly how many people left after the Treaty of Trianon; in the refugee database on the website of the Lendület-Trianon 100 Research Group, 177 refugees out of the 15,000 people for whom we have data originated from Spiš County. If this group is proportionally compared to the total of approximately 400–450 thousand refugees (Mócsy 1983, Gyáni 2001, Karády–Kozma 2002, Csóti 2002, Zeidler 2009, Faragó 2011, Ablonczy 2011, Szűts 2012a, 2012b, 2017, Szilágyi 2018, Koloh 2021), it can be said that approximately 5,000 people of the county may have left for Hungary after 1918, which, together with the earlier Spiš diaspora, makes a considerable number. They were organized by the various student associations (from Igló/Spišská Nová Ves, Lőcse/Levoča, Késmárk/Kežmarok) and the Spiš Alliance (*Szepesi Szövetség*), founded in 1920, which in the period between the two world wars carried out extensive activities to maintain the identity of the Spiš, press, various associations, institutions (Hunfalvy Fraternity) and student exchanges and events (Szűts 2012a, 2012b, Ablonczy 2011). One of the culminations of this identity-preserving work was the *Szepesiek Címtára* (The Directory of the Spiš People), published in by the Spiš Alliance 1931 and edited by Rezső Förster, which attempted to unite the Spiš people living in Hungary. It not only published their names, but the second half of the volume also functioned as Golden Pages; it offered the addresses of Spiš hairdressers, butchers and cinemas, which can hardly be understood as anything other than an attempt to create a kind of virtual world of Spiš in the Hungary of Trianon.

In our case, however, the directory is also useful in answering the following questions. Where did those who left Spiš come from and where did they go? What occupational structure and social status did they leave behind in Upper Hungary or recreate for themselves in post-1920 Hungary? Can we detect any denominational or ethnic specificities in this mass? In this study, we will try to answer these questions to draw valid conclusions about the migration caused by the Trianon Peace Treaty (Ablonczy 2011).

Figure 1

**Location of the Szepes (Spiš) county in the territory of historical Hungary****Sources and data**

The following study of the Spiš people is based on *The Directory of the Spiš People*, edited by Rezső Förster with the assistance of Jenő Krisch and published in 1931. The Budapest chapter of the Spiš Alliance makes it clear in its subtitle that the work is an alphabetical and specialized directory of the Spiš people living in post-Trianon Hungary. The Alliance drew attention to the Directory through the press, and who was listed in it and whether they entered their details correctly was entirely up to them. Understanding that phenomenon will help with the interpretation of the results. The editors' wording is also quite lofty and permissive, for example, they refer to the Spiš people as a 'native, descendant or resident of Spiš and who is patriotic for their country, which is rich in natural beauty, unique in its ethnic composition and patinated in its history' (Spiš Directory 1931, V.). By definition, this includes all those 'who arrived in the Spiš region without any family ties or preexisting connections, worked there for many years, or were perhaps married there' (Spiš Directory 1931. VI.). In addition, they included in the directory 'members of the Gründlers of Gölnicvölgy/valley of Hnilec from Mecenzéf/Medzev in the Abaúj-Torna county, as well as related Buléners/bulinerčina speakers from Dobsina/Dobšiná in the Gömör county' (Spiš Directory 1931. VI.).

The first part of the Directory contains data on a total of 3,990 persons. The honorary citizens of Spiš are marked with a star (\*) by the editors of the volume so that they can be easily distinguished. The research focuses primarily on the fate of the refugees of Trianon, so the data on honorary Spiš citizens were excluded, while that of the Gründlers and Buléners were included, as they are also considered refugees. Henceforth, when we use the term Spiš people, we refer to persons meeting these parameters, totaling 3,745 persons (87.1% of the total population).

Our analysis focuses on the sociostructural composition and spatial distribution of the population of Spiš origin in Hungary. The categorization of occupations in the Directory is based on the universal historical classification system, HISCO/HISCLASS. The system is essentially intended to be an international standard that aims to make different occupations comparable across people of different ages and people from different countries (van Leeuwen–Maas 2011). In addition to its undoubtedly beneficial objective, the system is essentially well suited for macro studies, which with its main groups mask subtle overlaps and sometimes transitions. As an example, we can take Dr. János Csiszárík, a Roman Catholic titular bishop, who, although was both an extraordinary minister and a plenipotentiary minister delegate, is classified as a cleric. In the same way, Dr. Zoltán Wein, who, although fled from Késmárk/Kežmarok and was a private university lecturer, is not classified as a teacher but rather as a hospital doctor. We decided to use the HISCO/HISCLASS system, however, because we do not examine and interpret the role of individuals in their place of origin together with other local residents but rather count them as mobile or a mobilized community even if they have been settled for five to ten years.

The GIS<sub>ta</sub> Hungarorum geographic information system has also enabled a nuanced interpretation of the results [1]. The OTKA project K 111766, led by Gábor Demeter, has, in recent years, recorded, among other things, the settlement-level data of the censuses during 1869–1910 and made them available online [2]. The database, which has great potential, has become important for us because of the data on the number of people living in the settlements, categorization of the settlements, counties, regions and proportion of Lutherans.

## Results

The gender structure of the 3,475 individuals from Spiš is shown, with more than two-thirds of the population being male (Table 1). Although the directory does not include information on age, it can be assumed that a significant proportion of the refugees in the source were young, unmarried men and therefore more easily mobile.

Table 1

**Gender distribution of persons in the Spiš Directory**

Male	Female	Total
2,352	1,123	3,475

Source: Förster–Kirsch (1931).

Among the recorded names, there are 616 cases where a scientific degree, name indicating nobility, or rank/valorous title is indicated (Table 2): the title *vitéz*/brave was an organization created in the Horthy-era, having signified military valor and political loyalty to the political régime). Of the titles or ranks, the most common academic degree was a doctorate, which was more popular among males than females. Among the nine female doctorate titles, we found one chemist, one teacher, six doctors and one person who did not specify their profession. There were 32 doctorate degrees where the noble's name was listed (the only woman among them was Dr. Borbála Kermeszky de Pusztabánréve, a doctor from Lublófürdő/Lubovnianske kúpele origin, living in the 1st district of Budapest with her parents and her sister).

Table 2

**Distribution of the persons listed in the Spiš Directory by academic degree, nobility and merit**

Denomination	Male	Female	Total
Academic degree			
<i>Doctorate</i>	385	9	394
Gentry			
<i>Gentry</i>	117	68	185
<i>Baron</i>	1	2	3
<i>Count</i>	2	1	3
Merit			
<i>Order of Vitéz</i>	31	0	31

Source: Förster–Kirsch (1931).

Of the members of the Raisz family of Késmárk/Kežmarok and Lócse/Levoča, mostly living in Késmárk/Kežmarok and Lócse/Levoča, and the Várady-Szakmáry family of Kísszalók/Malý Slavkov and Lucsivnai/Lučivná, mostly living in Lucsivna/Lučivná and Hollólomnic/Holumnica, nine and nine members, respectively, fled to the Trianon territory. Of the Görgeys and Petróczy families, seven and seven members, respectively, arrived in the Trianon territory. Among the members of the noble families, no occupation was recorded for the women, with the exception of Franciska Görgey, an assistant ministerial officer, while the men were predominantly civil servants, which is in agreement with the distribution of occupations discussed later. Among the families of noble rank, several came from the Csáky family of Count Csáky, such as Imre Csáky, retired Foreign Minister, and Károly Csáky, retired Minister of Defense. In the case of baronial and count rank

holders, where indicated, the proportion of those in public and private service was dominant. Of the thirty-one men who received a Legion of Merit (LOM), the only one with an academic degree and noble last name was Dr. István Bielek, a lawyer from Dezsér who fled from Szepesszombat/Spišská Sobota to Budapest.

The occupational structure classification based on the HISCO/HISCLASS grouping categorized the persons registered in the Directory into the following groups: private households, pensioners, students and persons with no occupational data (Table 3).

The largest unit is represented by those marked as 'No data'. This group consist of 93.5% women who were predominantly recorded as the spouse of men with a declared occupation and thus includes mainly heads of household. In 545 cases, the husband's occupation was indicated, and if we categorize them according to the occupation of the living or deceased husband in the same way as above, we observe a higher distribution than if we categorize them according to male occupations. The difference is due to the presence of women living in the same household (whether unmarried or widowed).

It is a well-known fact in the field that most of people with the occupations reported fled from the civil service to Hungary (Ablonczy 2020, Csóti 2002, Gyáni 2001, Szűts 2012a, 2012b). The break down of the number of civil servants and private employees from assistant civil servants to management positions to those in more senior management positions requires a separate analysis; here, we will draw conclusions from comparing them with the others. In this category, the proportion of women is moderately high, with approximately 14.5% of the inhabitants of Spiš being women. After civil servants, the next distinctive group is the so-called intellectuals (teachers, teachers, lawyers, etc., ranked 2nd in our table), which consisted of more females (more than one in five) than that in the former group. A lower proportion, but still several hundred, of the Spiš people identified as real intellectuals are included in the Directory. Among them, the number of women is significantly lower, accounting for only 3.3%. The proportions of the other occupational categories range from 1 to 4% in round figures and consist predominately of men (the iron and metal workers group consisted of only men), with the exception of the distribution of those classified as other unskilled workers; the few women who appear in summary as maids change the proportions somewhat. Among the other categories, there is a strong male predominance among retired persons and apprentices: 9.1 and 3.0%, respectively. However, the highest proportion of women is in the private sector, second only to the “other” category. Almost half of the latter are listed as widows exclusively under their maiden name, and their husbands are not listed as having an occupation.

Looking at the table, although the largest group of persons in the Directory were civil servants, there were also an approximate number of intellectuals who came to Hungary. The number of real intellectuals and pensioners was the same, while the smallest groups were the clergy (who were more strongly tied to their community),

agriculturalists (who depended on their land for their livelihood), and other or unskilled laborers (who were easily mobile). Categories with the most females (not living on an annuity, and therefore had occupational data) were clerical and humanities occupations and other unskilled labor. This distribution, although in agreement with the overall figures, does not compare to the higher proportion of men.

Table 3

### Occupational distribution of persons in the Spiš Directory

Main occupation	Male	Female	Total
Engineer, doctor, pharmacist	292	10	302
Teacher, teacher, lawyer, artist, journalist	459	122	581
Public and private administration	579	98	677
Clergy	31	0	31
Trader, business owner	134	14	148
Police, gendarmerie	111	1	112
Living from agriculture	35	3	38
Craft industries	129	8	137
Iron and metal workers	91	0	91
Other, unskilled labor	39	8	47
Private	10	42	52
Retired	297	18	315
Student	90	14	104
No data	55	785	840
Total	2,352	1,123	3,475

*Source:* Förster–Kirsch (1931).

If we also categorize the individual settlements listed as places of residence, we can easily distinguish three groups, Budapest, cities and smaller settlements, which we refer to here collectively as municipalities (Table 4). One of the characteristic images of the 1920s was that of refugees living in wagons, so it is not surprising that more than half of the people included in the Directory lived in Budapest (although it is worth clarifying that of the 3,475 people included here, only three lived in a Budapest railway station, and they were MÁV employees).

Of the 78 towns in the Directory, Debrecen was the most popular choice of residence, although many people also lived in the settlements around Budapest, such as Kispest, Újpest and Rákospalota, which were still independent at the time (Figure A1 and A2 in the Appendix). The second most rural settlement was Miskolc, the third most rural settlement was Salgótarján, and the fourth most rural settlement was Nyíregyháza, followed by the main towns in the south, center and west of the country. The earlier assumption that the Directory's participants also tended to live in villages closer to the historical Felvidék was confirmed by the data (Ablonczy 2011). The data of the municipalities – a total of 258 settlements were included in this category – confirms the same observation that apart from the smaller settlements around Budapest, Ózd, Diósgyőr and Szerencs had the most refugees. In the case of towns



and villages, it is also worth noting that among the latter, the number of persons included in the Directory was more dispersed, with 175 of the 258 settlements (65.9%) having only one person reported, while in the case of towns, there were proportionally fewer towns (21.7%) with only one reported Spiš resident.

Table 4

#### Distribution of individuals in the Spiš Directory by place of residence

Denomination	Male	Female	Total
Budapest	1,278	662	1,940
Cities	680	291	971
Small towns	394	170	564

Source: Förster–Kirsch (1931), [1].

The analysis by macroregional distribution confirms the above results, showing that the northern part of the country was the primary place of settlement for the persons surveyed (Table 5). After the northern regions, South Transdanubia and West Transdanubia had the largest numbers of Spiš residents. In the former, Pécs and Kaposvár were the most popular place of settlement (one-third to one-quarter of those moving to the Greater Region settled there), while in Western Transdanubia, the distribution of respondents is more evenly spread between Sopron, Magyaróvár, Győr, Szombathely and Zalaegerszeg. In the Southern Great Plain, the amount of settlers in Szeged was even more than that in the former, with Orosháza and Baja also standing out. In Central Transdanubia, the northern part of which, especially Esztergom and Komárom, would seem to be more popular, Pápa and Székesfehérvár were the most frequent places of residence, while Esztergom had a total of eight inhabitants and the remaining Komárom county had none, according to the data in the Directory.

Table 5

#### Macroregional distribution of the place of residence of individuals in the Spiš Directory

Major regions	Male	Female	Total
Budapest and Pest County	1,589	815	2,404
North Hungary	264	108	372
Northern Great Plain	135	65	200
Central Transdanubia	59	22	81
West Transdanubia	119	31	150
Southern Great Plain	74	25	99
South Transdanubia	95	42	137
No data	17	15	32

Source: Förster–Kirsch (1931), [2].

It is then worth reviewing the occupational and municipal categories by gender (Table 6). Although thus far we have seen that the majority of the persons in the Directory lived in Budapest, the table below gives a more nuanced picture. Real

intellectuals, clerks, traders, tradesmen, industrialists and other people with occupations were indeed concentrated in Budapest (as were private households, pensioners, students and the undocumented), but the majority of clergy and agricultural workers did not live in Budapest. Comparing their numbers with the macroregional distribution, many of the agriculturalists, given their proximity to Upper Hungary, were more likely to live in settlements in Northern Hungary, such as György Ujfalussy (a landowner in Heves), Margit Kéler (a vineyard owner in Mád), and József Kozsély (a certified farmer and chief administrator of the manor in Detke). In the case of the clergy, the spatial distribution in the countryside and the denomination of the people surveyed were related. In Budapest, both Roman Catholics (such as parish priest Rezső Alexy, titular bishop János Csiszárík) and Lutherans (see Adolf Gusztáv Broschko, deacon-pastor, Ervin Fürst, pastor) found a place to live. In the countryside, in agreement with the distribution of Lutherans, Lutheran pastors were mostly found in the Transdanubian region, especially in the Western Transdanubian region (Ágfalva, Balf, Harka), while Catholic parish priests were mostly found in Northern Hungary (Gyöngyöspata, Markaz, Mezőnyárád).

Table 6

**Distribution of the place of residence of the individuals listed  
in the Spiš Directory**

Main occupation	Budapest	Cities	Towns	Total
Engineer, doctor, pharmacist	178	74	50	302
Teacher, teacher, lawyer, artist, journalist	251	206	124	581
Public and private administration/sector	402	181	94	677
Clergy	7	7	17	31
Trader, business owner	83	48	17	148
Police, army	53	47	12	112
Living from agriculture	8	11	19	38
Craft industries	93	26	18	137
Iron and metal workers	53	21	17	91
Other, unskilled labor	25	14	8	47
Private	32	12	8	52
Retired	194	75	46	315
Student	74	26	4	104
No data	487	223	130	840
Total	1,940	971	564	3,475

*Source:* Förster–Kirsch (1931), [1].

Looking at the distribution of occupations by district, we see that more than a fifth of the people in Spiš found a home in District 1 in Budapest (Table 7, Figure A3 in the Appendix). Clerical workers, such as those without data, were evenly spread out in all districts, with only districts 4 and 5 having a higher proportion people with other occupations than clerical workers (not analyzed nor documented in this study).

Apart from them, humanities and retired workers were more popular in districts 1 and 2, and intellectuals were more popular in district 3. In district 4, the proportion of people with a scientific background was higher, and in district 5, the proportion of people with a humanities background was higher. Meanwhile, the proportion of industrialists, traders and the unskilled slowly increased, but only in districts 9 and 10 are industrialists the predominant group in terms of district proportions. According to the Directory, clergy and agricultural workers were barely present in Budapest.

In the 6th district, the highest number of respondents lived in Andrásy út, followed by the 7th district in Damjanich utca, the 8th district in Baross utca, the 9th district in Üllői út, and then the 10th district in Ferenc körút. Üllői út was the most popular of all, followed by Baross utca (Figure A4 in the Appendix).

Table 7

**Distribution by district of residence in Budapest of individuals  
in the Spiš Directory**

Main occupation/district	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total
Engineer, doctor, pharmacist	32	17	5	16	15	14	17	23	22	8	169
Teacher, teacher, lawyer, artist, journalist	57	30	6	12	28	16	22	28	27	12	238
Public and private official	87	50	14	13	21	54	39	55	29	26	388
Clergy	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	6
Trader, business owner	12	2	4	7	3	11	8	15	14	6	82
Public guard	18	5	2	4	4	5	3	1	6	3	51
Living from agriculture	2	0	1	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	8
Cottage industries	4	4	3	4	8	12	17	15	18	7	92
Iron and metal workers	3	1	1	1	1	8	5	12	5	13	50
Other, unskilled labor	1	1	1	0	1	4	4	7	2	2	23
Private	12	2	1	1	0	5	4	6	1	0	32
Retired	55	28	3	9	10	14	21	21	15	13	189
Student	20	6	1	2	3	3	4	8	12	6	65
No data	110	51	12	22	32	35	59	77	42	31	471
Total	416	198	54	94	126	181	205	270	193	127	1,864

Source: Förster–Kirsch (1931), [1].

Finally, if we look at the extent to which Lutheran affiliation played a role in the place of residence, we see that it did not in the case of cities and certainly did in the case of villages (Table 8). The table shows that among the municipalities in the Directory, the only ones with more Lutherans than the national average are the communes (the proportions for 1931 may be somewhat modified by the fact that the values are calculated on the basis of the 1910 census). On this basis, it cannot be said that a strikingly strong Lutheran communal pull influenced the Spiš people's choice of where to settle with the exceptions of the clergy and, to a small extent, the intellectuals (where again, the teachers and teachers were more likely to be mentioned).

Table 8

**Census of 1910 and the distribution of residence by evangelicals  
in the Spiš Directory**

Settlement	Proportion of Lutherans, %	
	Country	Place of residence
Budapest	4.9	4.9
Cities	8.0	8.0
Towns	6.4	8.2

*Source:* Förster–Kirsch (1931), [1].

### Summary

Although the presence of the Spiš people in the center of the country is not a post-Trianon phenomenon but rather a stage in a long intellectual migration, the Directory of the Spiš People in 1931, which was used to try to reveal the territorial and occupational structure of the Spiš community in Hungary, is an important tool for the research of their history between the two wars. Having survived the change of country in 1918, the Spiš people also survived the change of location, and they were deeply embedded in the society of the period, especially in the urban-capital milieu. More than half of the Spiš people living in Hungary chose Budapest as their place of residence, and within this district, more than a third of the Spiš people living in the capital lived in districts 1-2 (Buda side of the capital city). Among the rural towns, Debrecen, with its population of 78 Spiš residents, was home to fewer Spiš people than the vast majority of those living in Budapest districts. Generally, however, the rural population settled mainly in northern Hungary, while the proportion of Szepes people in Trianon County dwindled as they moved from north to south. Examination of the occupational structure shows a predominance of civil servants and teachers and humanities intellectuals, although the third largest group was pensioners due to the characteristics of the directory and perhaps the community. Although special attention has been given to them, evangelical networking can only be traced in the case of the communes. The highly educated urban origin group, while retaining its connection with the former county of Spiš between the two world wars, was even able to reconnect to some extent. Nevertheless, in conclusion, it is important to note that the flow of human capital from Spiš to post-Trianon Hungary had a clear positive impact on the economy of the country (for the latter, see Tomka 2020).

### Acknowledgment

The Hungarian version of this study is supported by the Lendület (Momentum)–Trianon100 Research Group.

**Appendix**

Figure A1

Migration route of the Spiš people in the Spiš Directory

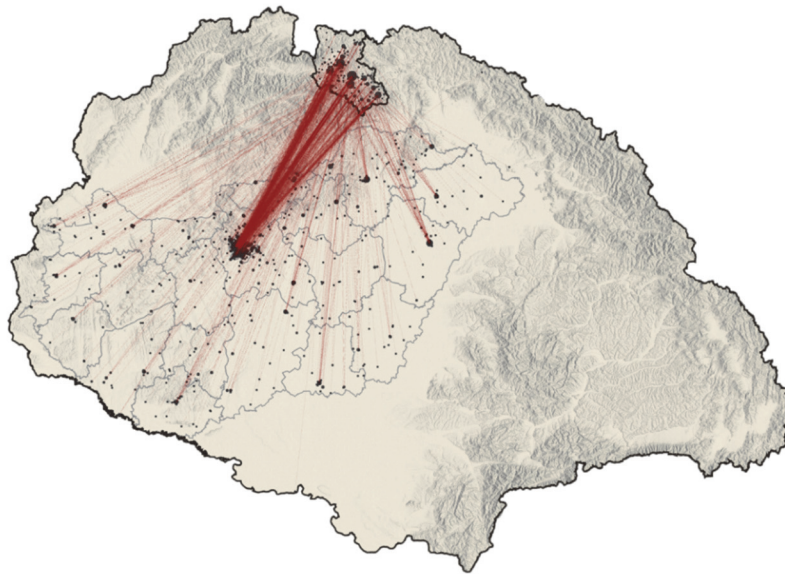


Figure A2

Number and migration route of the people descended from Spiš settlements in the Spiš Directory

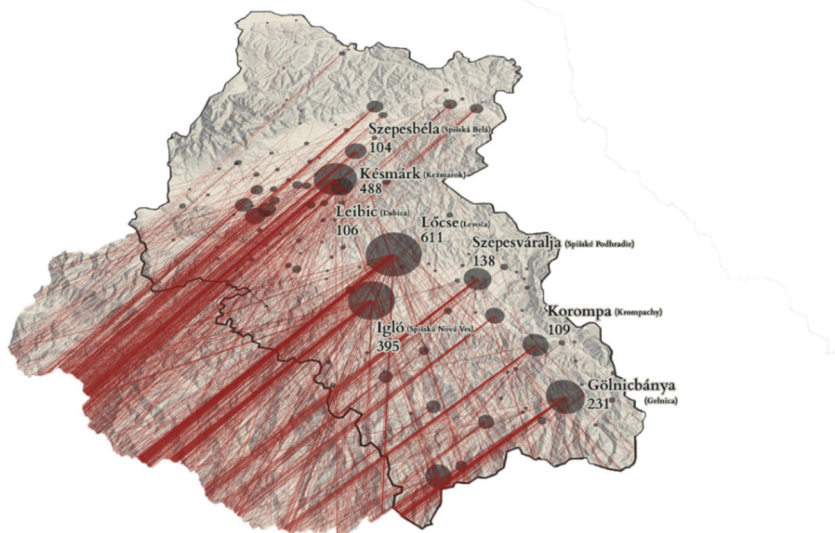


Figure A3

## Distribution density of Spiš people in Budapest in the Spiš Directory



Figure A4

## Spiš people in Budapest in the Spiš Directory



## REFERENCES

- ABLONCZY, B. (2011): *Nyombiztosítás – Letűnt magyarok. Kisebbség- és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok*. Kalligram, Pozsony, Bratislava.
- ABLONCZY, B. (2020): „Kétlétűek”? A Trianon utáni menekülés és annak rajzai a korszak irodalmában *Korunk* 31 (5): 110–121.
- CSÓTI, CS. (2002): A menekült köztisztviselők társadalmi integrációjának keretei 1918–1924. *Limes* 52: 25–39.
- DEMETER, G. (2020): Estimating regional inequalities in the Carpathian Basin – Historical origins and recent outcomes (1880–2010) *Regional Statistics* 10 (1): 23–59.  
<https://doi.org/10.15196/RS100105>
- FARAGÓ, T. (2011): *Bevezetés a történeti demográfiába* Budapesti Corvinus Egyetem, Budapest, Hungary.
- FÖRSTER, R.–KIRSCH, J. (eds.) (1931): *Szepesiek cimtára. A trianoni Magyarországon élő szepesiek betűrendes és szakcimtára* Szepesi Szövetség, Budapest.
- GYÁNI, G. (2001): Magyarország társadalomtörténete a Horthy-korban. In: GYÁNI, G.–KÖVÉR, GY.: *Magyarország társadalomtörténete a reformkortól a második világháborúig* pp. 189–390., Osiris, Budapest, Hungary.
- KARÁDY, V.–KOZMA, I. (2002): A mozgalom szerkezetváltása a Horthy-korban. In: KARÁDY, V.–KOZMA, I. (eds.): *Név és nemzet. Családnév-változtatás, néppolitika és nemzetiségi erőviszonyok Magyarországon a feudalizmustól a kommunizmusig* pp. 115–173., Osiris, Budapest.
- KOLOH, G. (2021): The number of Trianon refugees *Regional Statistics* 11 (4): 170–181.  
<https://doi.org/10.15196/RS110408>
- MÓCSY, I. I. (1983): *The effects of World War I: The uprooted: Hungarian refugees and their impact on Hungary's domestic politics, 1918–1921* Brooklyn College Press, Brooklyn.
- PUKÁNSZKY, B. (1941): *Német polgárság magyar földön* Franklin, Budapest.
- SVÁBY, F. (1901): *A Szepesség lakosságának sociológiai viszonyai a XVIII. és XIX. században* Reiss Nyomda, Lőcse.
- SZILÁGYI, Zs. (2018): Vándormozgalom a trianoni Alföld területén a 20. század első harmadában *Századok* 152 (1): 85–126.
- SZŰTS, I. G. (2012a): „Kiköltözők regényei”. A trianoni menekültek két korabeli ábrázolása és értelmezése. *Kisebbségkutatás* 1: 22–42.
- SZŰTS, I. G. (2012b): A szepesi menekültek sajtója 1920 és 1944 között *Fórum Társadalomtudományi Szemle* 14 (1): 23–24.
- SZŰTS, I. G. (2017): Egy káplán patriálásai, 1919–1922 *Pro Minoritate* 26 (3): 32–43.
- TOMKA, B. (2020): The economic consequences of World War I and the Treaty of Trianon for Hungary *Regional Statistics* 10 (1): 82–100.  
<https://doi.org/10.15196/RS100101>
- VAN LEEUWEN, M. H. D.–MAAS, I. (2011): *Hisclass: A Historical International Social Class Scheme* Leuven University Press, Leuven.
- ZEIDLER, M. (2009): *A revíziós gondolat* Kalligram, Bratislava, Slovakia.

---

## INTERNET SOURCE

Interactive version of our dataset: <https://atlo.team/lutheranus-halo/>  
(downloaded: January 2023)

## WEBSITES/DATABASES

- [1] GISTA HUNGARORUM: The Historical Geography Subcommittee of the MTA Scientific Committee on Social Geography: <http://gistory.hu/g/hu/gistory/index>  
(downloaded: January 2023)
- [2] OTKA 111766 PROJEKT: <https://www.gistory.hu/g/hu/gistory/otka>  
(downloaded: January 2023)
- [3] TRANQUILLINUS, N. (2016): Magyarország legbonyolultabb vármegyéje – A Szepesség közigazgatása. Pangea – Minden, ami a földtudomány, 2016. április 17.  
[https://pangea.blog.hu/2016/04/17/szepesseg\\_kozigazgatasa](https://pangea.blog.hu/2016/04/17/szepesseg_kozigazgatasa)  
(downloaded: February 2022)