German Identity in Hungary from 1526

Nicole Hein

GERM 495

Dr. Dailey-O'Cain

April 15, 2018

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Seit Stephan hat die deutsche Hand

Gar viel gewirkt mit Fleiß

Und in dem schönen Ungarland

Floß gar viel deutscher Schweiß.

Und gegen Feindesübermacht

Da brennt auch deutsches Glut

Und in der wilden Türkenschlacht

Floß auch viel deutsche[s] Blut.

- "T.G.S."

In 1526, the Ottomans defeated the Hungarian army at the Battle of Mohács, annexing a large portion of the Hungarian lands and leaving only the northwestern region to its own devices. During the battle, the Hungarians suffered the loss of their king, Louis II, who died while fleeing.[1] Having no legitimate heirs, the Hungarian nobility elected the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand I to rule what remained of the crownlands, beginning a four-hundred year Habsburg reign. Due to its location in Europe, the crown lands of Hungary had long functioned as a buffer between opposing parties and their ideals;[2] the Habsburg Empire appeared as only the most recent in a long line of great powers fighting to establish control of the land. The Habsburg Monarchy is perhaps the most noteworthy of them all; to maintain control of Hungary it warred

[1] Andrew Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs: Embodying Empire*(London: Penguin, 1996), 91.
[2] See Zoltán Dörnyei, Kata Csizér, and Nóra Németh, *Motivation, Language Attitudes, and Globalisation: A Hungarian Perspective*(Clevedon [England]: Multilingual Matters, 2006), 1.

not only against rival powers, but also against its own subjects. The Habsburgs brought major reforms to education, language, politics, and religion in Hungary as the Monarchy attempted to place its subjects within its ever-growing empire. After the retreat of the rival Ottomans in the 18th century, the Habsburgs encouraged the migration of German speakers to the crown lands in order to settle regions previously occupied by the Ottomans, leading to a large influx of German speakers that, together with working-class Slavs and Croats, ultimately turned the Hungarians into a minority in their own Kingdom.

The Hungarian subjects and their Hungaro-German counterparts, however, did not easily fit the mould that the Habsburgs had created, due in part to the fact that this mould often changed according to the Emperors' priorities. Many of the often oppressive reforms caused great discontent among the Hungarian and Hungaro-German subjects alike — oftentimes leading to revolt and revolution — but also allowed the Hungaro-Germans opportunities to determine their place in relation to the Monarchy and the Kingdom of Hungary. The contradictory policies of the 17th century provide a good example: Germans enjoyed opportunities that arose from Leopold I's anti-Hungarian bias, yet suffered along with ethnic Hungarians when he ignored their right of religious freedom and oppressed and persecuted Protestants throughout the Kingdom.[3] Thus, a "German" identity formed that was founded on shared hardship in Hungary and became increasingly distant from the Austrian Habsburgs.

With whom, then, does the Hungaro-German migrant's identity align most? How did they perceive themselves in relation to the German-speaking Habsburgs and the post-partition countries of Austria and Germany? Like all identities, the German migrant's notion of

[3] Robert A. Kann, and Zdenek V. David, *The Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands, 1526-1918*(Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1984), 136.

"Germanness" fluctuated from the moment of its inception in Hungary under Habsburgian rule and as new German-speaking countries emerged at the close of the First World War. The following thesis will explore how the various influences of culture, language, and religion of the past five hundred years affected German-speaking Hungarian identity in relation to other Germans and their Hungarian neighbours.

1. Habsburg-Hungarian Relations

By the time that they first entered written history in the early 11th century, the Habsburgs were living as courtiers in the Aargau region of what is now Switzerland, their family name derived from the *Habichtsburg*,a white tower built along a tributary of the Rhine.[4] Over the next few centuries and through carefully-planned bethrothels, the Habsburgs established themselves as a powerful German family, becoming Dukes of Austria and heirs with claims to the imperial throne. The German origins of the ruling family provides a starting point from which one can look at the identity of ethnic German migrants to Hungary.

Although German-speaking Hungarians have lived in Hungary for over three hundred years, German speakers nevertheless appear alongside Habsburg and German nationalist history due to their ethnic similarity.[5] However, to look at the German-speaking Hungarians as *German* in the ethnic sense only acknowledges their ethnicity and proximity to the rest of the Habsburg Empire and, later, the Third Reich, leading to prescriptive conclusions about identity formation on the basis of ethnic similarities. That the German migrants shared a common ethnicity with the Habsburgs does not necessarily mean that German speakers who lived in Hungary for many

[4] Wheatcroft, *The Habsburgs*,18.
[5] John C. Swanson, Introduction to *Tanglibe Belonging: Negotiating Germanness in Twentieth-Century Hungary* (Pittsburgh, PA: Pittsburgh University Press, 2017), 2. doi: 10.2307/j.ctt1n7qksw.7.

centuries protected from direct Habsburg influence identified themselves as "German" or embraced a notion of "Germanness" that was more in line with the Habsburgs than with their Hungarian neighbours. This conclusion creates the idea that German-speaking migrants belong more to German-speaking countries than to Hungary itself.[6]

1.1 Linguistic Considerations

Aside from ethnicity, there are other similarities between the German-speaking migrants and the Habsburgs that make it possible to analyse their connection to each other. Their common language, German, is often used to separate the migrants from the rest of Hungary. Linguistic differences underline speakers' foreignness outside of the land where the language is spoken by the majority, and the retention of the language in question creates the illusion that common language alone maintains strong connections to the motherland, *i.e.,* the land of one's mother tongue. However, the notion of nationalism on the basis of one's mother tongue was yet to be realized; additionally, prior to the conception of these ethnic-nationalist connections, Hungary was home to a great variety of ethnic groups and language families. By the time of increased migration under Maria Theresa (*r. 1740 – 1780*), the Kingdom was quite ethnically diverse, and was made up of a mixture of other nationalities such as Bulgarians, Croats, Germans, Roma, and Slovakians, among others. Neither was German the shared language of use outside of everyday communication; instead, Latin was the language of administration until Joseph II (*r. 1765 – 1790; King of Hungary from 1780*) implemented its use in 1781. The Hungarian language, Magyar, was the regular language used in conversation, and was spoken by Hungarians and

[6] Swanson, Introduction to *Tangible Belonging*,4.

ethnic Germans alike.[7] When necessary, the German language and dialects thereof were also used in Hungary, not only among ethnic Germans, but also among non-native speakers.[8]

The language situation in Hungary during this time period is evidence that simply speaking a particular language or a dialect in central Europe did not necessarily entail "a conscious loyalty to a larger ethnic or national grouping."[9] Additionally, often low-class peasants, German-speaking emigrants could not effectively communicate with other migrants due to the sheer variety of dialects that had followed them from their homeland. This lack of mutual intelligibility not only made it difficult to communicate in everyday life, but it rendered impossible the formation of a unified Hungarian branch of the German "nation" based solely on linguistic similarities. In fact, one scholar in particular has described the German-speaking communities of this time as "examples of disorder" and not — as one tends to think about anything that includes large numbers of German speakers — as examples of superb organisation.[10]

It also cannot be said that Joseph II encouraged solidarity among German-speaking Hungarians by introducing German as the language of administration. This reform came too late to unify German speakers simply on the basis of language use; by this time, Magyar nationalism had already taken root, juxtaposing Habsburgian absolutism, and German migrants stood with

---

[7] RJW Evans, "Maria Theresa in Hungary," in *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Essays on Central Europe, C. 1683-1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006): 26.
[8] See, John C. Swanson, "A Rural World, Before 1918," in *Tangible Belonging: Negotiating Germanness in Twentieth-Century Hungary*(Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017):26.
[9] AJP Taylor, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1809-1918*,new ed.(London: H. Hamilton, 1948),264; Gary B. Cohen, "Nationalist Politics and the Dynamics of State and Civil Society in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1867-1914," *Central European History* 40, no. 2 (June 2007): 261, doi: 10.1017/S0008938907000532.
[10] Swanson, "A Rural World, Before 1918," 26.

their Hungarian neighbours to advocate for the Kingdom's autonomy leading into the 19th century.

1.2 Political Considerations

If multitudinal linguistic varieties among migrants and tardy administrative reforms made it impossible for German speakers to form a community built on linguistic similarities, then perhaps the hegemonial nature of the Habsburg Empire strengthened German migrants' ties to the Monarchy. Indeed, the Habsburgs "extended a kind of hegemony over Central Europe in a manner unprecedented before or after,"[11] and influenced many aspects of life in the lands over which they ruled as their political authority grew. However, the Habsburgs were unable to influence Hungarian daily life to the same extent as the rest of the Empire's subjects. The Kingdom was located outside of the Holy Roman Empire and had its own constitution, which protected the Hungarian nobles and impaired imperial intervention in many Hungarian affairs.[12]

Due to their relatively limited powers outside of the Holy Roman Empire, oftentimes the Habsburgs' reforms had only an indirect impact on Hungarian reality.[13] Over time, the presence of the Hungarian Constitution and the Habsburgs' consequent inability to implement laws conforming to the Emperor's wishes increased the gap between Royal Hungary and the rest of the Empire. The Habsburgs often overcompensated for their lack of power in the crownlands as they tried to obtain the same results within the confines of the constitution, even choosing to

[11] RJW Evans, "The Habsburgs in Central Europe," in *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Essays on Central Europe, C. 1683-1867,*(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006): 3.
[12] Cohen, "Nationalist Politics," 246.
[13] Evans, "Maria Theresa in Hungary," 18.

ignore or revoke it when possible,[14] creating a rift between German-speaking migrants and their ethnic homeland.

One of the fundamental rights protected under the Hungarian Constitution was the right to religious freedom, which was revoked by the Habsburgs as they sought to revive Catholicism in the crown lands in the 17th century. The Habsburgs' religious reforms were sporadic, but each "crusade" was met with renewed vigour under each new Habsburg King, its negative effects undiscriminating of ethnicity.

1.3 Confessional Affiliation

If German-speaking migrants did not unite on the basis of linguistic similarities, and were partly protected from the hegemony of the Habsburg Empire under the Hungarian Constitution, it may be easier to assume that similarities in confessional affiliation, if present, could provide a probable foundation upon which German migrants created a sense of a unified "German" community within Hungary. However, much like the linguistic dissimilarities among the migrant communities, differences in confessional affiliation undermined German speakers' abilities to form a unified community in the Hungarian Kingdom. Additionally, the Habsburg reaction to religious discontinuity would prove counter-productive to unifying the German migrants under one God.

At the beginning in the 17th century, the Habsburgs initiated constitutional reforms to religious freedom, effectively dividing communities according to religious differences and subsequently distancing Hungaro-Germans not only from the rest of the Monarchy, but from

[14] See Charles W. Ingrao, "Facing East: Hungary and the Turks, 1648-1699," in *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618-1815*,2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 59-104.

each other as well. Prior to the suspension of constitutional rights, religious freedom and the influence of the Ottoman Turks' islamic faith resulted in the emergence of non-Catholic denominations in Hungary. Protected under the Constitution, Hungarian subjects were able to follow other faiths without the threat of persecution, resulting in religious differences among Hungaro-Germans and creating a differentiation between Hungarian subjects and those in the rest of the Holy Roman Empire.

To what extent did these differences in religion change perceptions of identity within the Hungarian Kingdom, and how did they contribute to a sense of belonging within the Habsburg Monarchy? The Zipser Germans provide a good example of how non-Catholic Hungaro-Germans could more easily identify with the religiously-diverse Hungarian Kingdom than the Catholic Habsburg Monarchy. The Zipsers were German-speaking Lutherans who lived as integrated members of Hungarian society in the northeastern reaches of the Kingdom.[15] Interestingly, the Zipsers formed their own notions of German identity by combining characteristics from the Habsburg Empire with aspects that were shaped by Royal Hungary. The Zipsers did not share the same faith as the Habsburgs and the rest of the Holy Roman Empire, nor did they share the ethnicity or culture of their Hungarian neighbours. They did not share the same social status as the Slav peasant or Magyar noble, and yet, the Zipsers shared their world with them all, living in Hungary under Habsburgian rule. Of the many possible identities, the Zipsers were *German*-Hungarians who found a place in Hungarian society by incorporating their

[15] Balázs A. Szelényi, "From Minority to Übermensch: The Social Roots of Ethnic Conflict in the German Diaspora of Hungary, Romania and Slovakia," *Past & Present*196 (2007): 226, www.jstor.org.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/25096684.

ethnic, cultural, and societal identities that were not completely in line with the Habsburgs or the Hungarian Kingdom.[16]

2. Habsburgian Religious Persecution

While the Zipsers provide one example of how religious differences contributed to the creation of a unique German identity within the Hungarian Kingdom, the formation of other independent Hungaro-German identities not based on religion were still a century away. In the meantime, the Monarchy continued to change its opinion on religious freedom in Hungary and often persecuted non-Catholics, a matter that would preoccupy Hungarian daily life and affect the Habsburg's relationship with Germans and Hungarians alike.

The Habsburgs built their empire on a Roman-Catholic foundation, providing a unifying ideology that underscored their importance as the holders of the crown of the Holy Roman Empire. The Habsburgs fostered the connection between ethnic Germans and Catholicism to ensure that their reign continued.[17,18] In later decades, Queen of Hungary's Maria Theresa would utilize this connection to empower *German*Catholics in Hungary and strengthen a Germanized empire.[19,20]

---

[16] Szelényi, "From Minority to Übermensch," 229.
[17] Solomon Wank, "Some Reflections on the Habsburg Empire and Its Legacy in the Nationalities Question,"*Austrian History Yearbook* 28 (1997): 138, doi:10.1017/S0067237800016350.
[18] Ingrao, "Facing East," 100.
[19] Paul Ignotus,*Hungary*(New York: Praeger, 1972), 137.
[20] Wank, "Some Reflections on the Habsburg Empire," 139.

2.1 Leopold I

After the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in 1699, Leopold I (*r. 1658-1705*) appealed to Germans to settle the recently-acquired, now-vacant Hungarian plain in an effort to Germanize and Catholicize the land and instill loyalty on the basis of ethnic and religious similarity. He succeeded to such an extent that he was persuaded to ban further emigration.[21] As a result, Catholicism became a distinguishing feature of German migrants. The connection between German migration and the consequent increase in Catholicism in Royal Hungary did not go unnoticed, and the Habsburgs' encouragement of further German settlement of the crownlands was not unintentional. Leopold I's plan had its intended effect – by the end of the 18th century, close to half of the Hungarian population belonged to the Catholic Church, the majority of which were German.[22,23] Additionally, the sheer number of German migrants to Hungary turned ethnic Hungarians into a minority in their own kingdom.

Unlike the Zipsers, who created their own unique identity built in part on religious differences, the Catholic Hungaro-Germans maintained their ties to the Habsburg Monarchy on the basis of religious similarities. During the 18th century, the term "Swabian" emerged to describe Germans peasants who settled in the regions previously occupied by the Ottomans.[24] While the Zipsers had created an identity that was not aligned with the Habsburgs on the basis of confessional affiliation, a "Swabian" embodied the Habsburg ideal of a lower-class citizen living outside of the Holy Roman Empire: a German-speaking Catholic – presumably of German

---

[21] Ingrao, "Facing East," 86.
[22] Gábor Vermes, "A Portrait of 18th Century Hungary," in *Hungarian Culture and Politics In the Habsburg Monarchy, 1711-1848* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2014): 48.
[23] Alexander Maxwell, "Hungaro-German Dual Nationality: Germans, Slavs, and Magyars during the 1848 Revolution," *German Studies Review*39, no. 1 (2016): 18, doi 10.1353/gsr.2016.0022.
[24] Szelényi, "From Minority to Übermensch: The Social Roots of Ethnic Conflict in the German Diaspora of Hungary, Romania, and Slovakia." *Past & Present*,no. 196 (2007): 227.

ethnicity – living in the Hungarian crown lands.[25] Unlike the Zipsers, the Swabians did not create their own identity within the context of Hungarian culture, but were ascribed one by the Hungarian nobility.

The presence of ethnic German Catholics provided justification for renewed efforts to Catholicize the Hungarian crown lands. Continuing into the 18th century, the persecution of non-Catholics divided Hungary along religious lines, fragmenting the Empire and undermining the Habsburgs' ability to rule as the overarching authority and protectors of the Catholic faith. In their attempt to unify their territories under God and maintain their control, the Habsburgs' persecution of non-Catholics distanced the Monarchy and the ethnically German subjects who happened to be non-Catholic. The fundamental ideas of the Holy Roman Empire could not take hold in Hungary if heterodoxy continued, yet the Habsburgs' attempt to eradicate it by force effectively undermined their ability to establish themselves as the ultimate authority.

In the mid-17th century, Leopold I disregarded the Hungarian constitution and began systematic persecution of non-Catholics in Royal Hungary in order to support the Catholicization of the kingdom, an act that would continue sporadically for almost two centuries. German-speaking non-Catholics were also swept up in the reforms, and were oppressed in much the same way as their Hungarian neighbours.

As the Habsburgs worked to fuse their Empire and Catholicism in Hungary, supported by the Catholic Church and wealthy Hungaro-German nobles, their aversion to include ethnic Hungarian subjects in their plans would prove divisive. To be Catholic in Hungary did not guarantee fair treatment and equal opportunity; the Habsburgs ruled under the conviction that

[25] Szelényi, "From Minority to Übermensch," 227.

they were German princes, protectors of the Catholic faith, and this imperial ideology "betrayed a particularist slant for the Germans."[26] As Catholicization of Hungary continued, Habsburg favouritism of *German*Catholics was sustained into the late 18th century, distancing privileged ethnic German Catholics from their disadvantaged Hungarian neighbours of the same faith. The favouritism and privileges of the German-speaking Catholics would strengthen the influence of the German language and culture more effectively than coercion at the hands of Ecclesia ever could. Upon seeing a connection between "Germanness" and privilege, many Catholic Hungarian nobles adopted the German language and culture,[27] further increasing its presence and influence in Hungary.

The Habsburg revocation of religious freedom in the 17th century had both positive and negative effects on the Hungarian Kingdom, drawing Catholic Hungaro-Germans closer while simultaneously pushing non-Catholics Germans and all Hungarians away. Whether or not the Habsburgs strengthened or weakened their relationship with their German-Hungarian subjects depended on the subjects' reception of these reforms, which itself was dependent on the confessional affiliation of the subject in question. As a result of the revocation of religious freedom and subsequent implementation of Catholicization, German-speaking Catholics, enjoying the privileges that came with this affiliation, could easier identify with the Habsburgs on the basis of shared faith. Non-Catholic Hungaro-Germans, on the other hand, could identify with their non-Catholic Hungarian counterparts as they enjoyed either constitutional freedom of religion within Hungary or experienced persecution under Habsburgian rule.

---

[26] Wank, "Some Reflections on the Habsburg Empire," 138.
[27] Ingrao, "Facing East," 99 – 100.

The constitution was eventually reinstated seventy-five years later as Leopold I's last-ditch attempt to stabilize the region on the brink of war. Consequently, religious freedom was again granted to Hungary, but the damage had already been done. In addition to engendering discontent among Catholics and non-Catholics alike, a general detestation of the "German" system of government arose, leading to increased support of an autonomous Hungary.[28]

2.2 Maria Theresa

The Habsburgs' continued rule over Hungary was threatened during Charles IV's (*r. 1685-1740; King of Hungary as Charles II from 1711)*reign, as he had no male surviving heirs. In an effort to ensure continued Austrian control over Hungary, the Pragmatic Sanction of 1723 was signed by the Diet of Hungary and Charles VI, allowing females to inherit hereditary lands in the absence of male heirs. When Charles VI died in 1740, his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, was crowned Queen of Hungary and Empress of the Holy Roman Empire.

Although her future position as Queen was contested before she was even born, Maria Theresa became known for her empathy and compassion for her Hungarian subjects, many of whom pledged their lives to protecting her kingdom. During her reign there was, for the first time in over a century, relative peace in the monarchy.[29] However, religion continued to play an important role in shaping the Hungarian Kingdom under Maria Theresa; she firmly believed in her rule as a monarch by divine right and in her duties as guardian of Catholic values. Her reforms further alienated non-Catholics; for all of her efforts to unite the Habsburg holdings, her

---

[28] Kann and David, *ThePeoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands*,138.
[29] RJW Evans, "1848-1849 in the Habsburg Monarchy," in *The Revolutions in Europe, 1848-1849: From Reform to Reaction*,ed. Robert John Weston Evans and Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 196.

refusal to embrace religious pluralism continued to keep Protestants and the Kingdom at a distance.

Although she held firm opinions about her non-Catholic subjects, Maria Theresa worked to improve the life of Hungarian peasants, seeing a direct relationship between their wellbeing and an increase in productivity and revenue.[30] Among other things, she reformed the Hungarian education system, making attendance mandatory for children up to the age of twelve. This was, however, not done entirely out of compassion. An increasingly literate society enabled increasingly sophisticated propaganda, which could be used to reinforce Catholic orthodoxy. The increase in literacy resulted in the usage of vernaculars in written documents, leading to reinforce not only religious doctrines but pride in one's own vernacular language as well, marking the beginning of Hungarian 'national awakenings.'[31]

2.3 Joseph II

Joseph II started his monarchical life off on the wrong foot by refusing to take the coronation oath as King of Hungary, a practice that would have required him to act according to the Hungarian Constitution;[32] his refusal to cooperate according to the Constitution would remain characteristic of Joseph II throughout his life. Like his mother, Joseph II advocated for a unified German monarchy, but was so avid in his efforts that the term *Josephism*came to denote his radical reforms as an advocate for Erastianism. Full-scale remodeling of the empire began with Joseph II at its helm as the authority presiding over all matters of state, including those

[30] Ingrao, "Discovering the People: the Triumph of Cameralism and Enlightened Absolutism, 1767-1792," in *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618-1815*,2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 188.
[31] Ibid., 218.
[32] Ignotus, *Hungary*,47.

previously under papal control, and required the Church to secure his official permission to correspond with the pope.[33] In May, 1784, assured of his position as the overarching authority, Joseph II ordered the replacement of Latin with German as the official administrative language, justifying its implementation by expressing that:

> The German language is the universal language of my empire. Why should I have my laws and public affairs fashioned in the national language of a single province? I am Emperor of the German Empire….If the Kingdom of Hungary were the first and most important of my possessions, I would make its language the main language of my land. But the real facts of the case are different.[34]

It is important to note that Germanization did not target the Magyars alone, and that Joseph II's decision to change the administrative language to German in the name of efficiency was not a direct attack on the Magyar language, but rather a reform aimed at removing non-German languages from positions of power.[35,36]

3. The Rise of Nationalism

"The fault of the Austrian Monarchy and Hungary is that God in his wrath joined them together."– Széchenyi[37]

---

[33] Maxwell, "Hungaro-German Dual Nationality," 23.
[34] As qtd. by Peter Burian, "The State Language Problem in Old Austria," *Austrian History Yearbook*6 (1970): 85, doi:10.1017/S0067237800010249.
[35] Ignotus, *Hungary*,137.
[36] Wank, "Some Reflections on the Habsburg Empire," 139.
[37] As qtd. in RJW Evans, "Széchenyi and Austria," in *History and Biography: Essays in Honour of Derek Beales,* ed. Derek Edward Dawson Beales, T. C. W. Blanning, and David Cannadine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 140.

In 1806, the Habsburg Francis II (*r. 1792-1806; ruled as Francis I, Emperor of Austria to 1835*) lay down the imperial crown and abdicated as Holy Roman Emperor for fear that Napoleon would overtake the title and end the Habsburgs' long-lasting monopoly of the Empire. To maintain the Habsburgs' role as protectors of Catholicism, Francis II declared himself Emperor of an "Austrian" Empire, which he had created. This was done for two purposes: to ensure that Roman Catholicism could continue to keep the Habsburg holdings united on the basis of faith, and to ensure that the Habsburgs alone were tasked with its continued unification under their authority. Although an admittedly wise decision following defeat at the hands of the Napoleon-lead French army at the Battle of Austerlitz, Francis II/I's plans fell short. Although he had created a new, "Austrian" Empire, of which he had conveniently become Emperor, the Austrian Habsburgs were no longer protected by the imperial title that was established by Charlemagne in 800 AD. Moreover, the abdication of Francis II/I as Holy Roman Emperor demonstrated that even a powerful Emperor could be defeated if one were highly motivated and well-organized.

3.1 Magyarization

After the abdication of Francis II/I from the imperial throne, the monarchy "quickly appeared fractured like a broken jigsaw,"[38] and the Hungarians began to question the continued Habsburg presence in Hungary. One such subject, Móricz Szentkirályi, believed that Hungary was the centre of the Monarchy, and called for Habsburg appreciation of the kingdom, asking "Are we or are we not a conquered province of Austria? We gave Austria power and glory and

[38] Evans, "1848-1849 in the Habsburg Monarchy," 182.

what did we get back in return?"[39] Hungarians began to call for the "Magyarization" of the peoples in Royal Hungary, whereby the assimilation of minorities into Hungarian society would lead to a strengthened kingdom that could stand on its own two feet. However, instead of creating a unified Hungarian populace these opinions 'intensified the nationalism of the non-Magyar peoples.'[40] In 1844, Hungarian was made the official language of the kingdom, which symbolized the "successful fusion of cultural and political nationalisms," creating a linguistically-based national consciousness upon which national unity could be built.[41] During the same year, all schools in Hungary were to teach their subjects in the Hungarian language. The arguments for the mandatory use of Magyar in Hungary were very similar to those of the Habsburgs, namely that one common language could be used to unite the many different nationalities and to ensure the survival of the language and its country; it had relatively the same effect.

The Magyarization that encouraged Hungarian national pride and supported Hungary's growth as an autonomous kingdom threatened the continued survival of minorities living within its borders; in Hungary, it seemed, an idea could only take root at the expense of another. The Swabian peasants, for example, were less than happy about the positive effects that Magyar support had on Hungarians in positions of power, namely the nobles for whom they toiled. Additionally, many Germans as well as Magyars advocated for the survival of the German language and culture.[42] In 1848, a writer for the German-speaking *Morgenröthe* newspaper justified its own existence in Hungary by advocating for the continued use of German, which

[39] Gábor Vermes, "The Hungarian Age of Reform in the 1840s," in *Hungarian Culture and Politics In the Habsburg Monarchy, 1711-1848* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2014): 312.
[40] Wank, "Some Reflections on the Habsburg Empire," 143.
[41] Vermes, "The Hungarian Age of Reform," 311.
[42] Maxwell, "Hungaro-German Dual Nationality," 32.

was "the language of Schiller, Goethe, Lessing, Leibnitz, and Humboldt."[43] Moreover, maintaining a friendly attitude toward the German language and the Habsburg Monarchy was advantageous in some aspects, providing prestige, economic possibilities, and protection. However, ultimately it came down to the matter of protection and oppression versus freedom and the ability to establish one's own presence as a powerful Magyar nation that could protect itself.

3.2 Imagined Communities

Leading up to the 1848 Revolution, the Hungarian language represented both the ethnic identity and struggle of Magyars who were tired of subordination. According to Gal, the ability of a linguistic variety to convey solidarity "depends on a system of ideas and beliefs that provide a symbolic association between language and social group."[44] In addition, one's surrounding environment and its influences can have an effect on this linguistic-symbolic identity.[45] Hungarians saw their Magyar language in contrast to the Habsburgs' German, their Constitution in contrast to the Imperial Crown, and their ethnic and cultural identity in contrast to the hegemonial Austrian Empire and its Emperors.

Ethnic Hungarians were not the only ones to be swept up in the nationalist fervour; German speakers also found their place next to their Hungarian neighbours in their plight for autonomy. Much like the ethnic Hungarians, the German speakers' identities were influenced by their surroundings and strengthened through symbolic association. In contrast to Hungarian, for

---

[43] Ibid., 24.
[44] Susan Gal, "Cultural Bases of Language Use among German-Speakers in Hungary,' *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 111, no. 1 (January 1995): 94, doi:10.1515/ijsl.1995.111.93.
[45] See Peter Urbanitsch, "Pluralist Myth and Nationalist Realities: The Dynastic Myth of the Habsburg Monarchy — A Futile Exercise in the Creation of Identity?" *Austrian History Yearbook*35 (2004): 134, https://doi-org.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/10.1017/S0067237800020968.

the most part the German language and culture was not associated with isolation, but with inclusion; not with oppression, but with expansion; not with persecution, but with privilege and prestige. Their ethnicity linked them to their homeland, yet the other aspects of their identity were formed in Hungary among their ethnic Hungarian neighbours. The result was a Hungaro-German population that saw their identities as two sides of the same coin that on the one side, was influenced by the Hungarian state – the Constitution – and on the other by German culture. While Hungaro-Germans supported the plight of their underprivileged Hungarian neighbours, they insisted on doing so as Germans, and "imagined Hungary as a multilingual and multinational society which should respect German cultural distinctiveness."[46]

The Hungaro-German idea of a multinational society was based on their understanding of what a community built on solidarity could look like. According to Benedict Anderson, this idea of a "nation" was a response to the situation in which the Hungaro-Germans found themselves under Habsburg rule and Magyarization policies. Threatened exclusion from the empire on the basis of language, socio-economic status, or religion, influenced the Germans living in Hungary – and even the Hungarians in Hungary – to create the concept of an ideal nation in response to the Habsburgian hegemony that prevailed in the kingdom for over three hundred years. Anderson calls these conceptualized, idealistic structures "imagined communities," because "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship."[47]

---

[46] Maxwell, "Hungaro-German Dual Nationality," 32.
[47] Benedict Anderson, introduction to *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. and extended ed., 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 1991), 7.

3.3 The Austro-Hungarian Compromise

The Hungarian Revolution proved unsuccessful, and resulted in even stricter regulation of Hungarians and the execution of some of the more well-known revolutionaries. However, not twenty years later, Emperor Franz Joseph I signed the Austro-Hungarian *Ausgleich* (Compromise) in 1867 under pressure to calm at least one group of increasingly hostile citizens, many of whom were revolting throughout the Empire, creating the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in the process. During this period and until the end of World War I, both the House of Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary ruled as co-equals.[48] However, instead of quieting its subjects, Habsburg concessions to Hungary – which included increased support for the Magyar language – allowed the national identity question to resurface.

There were many debates about to whom the increased power should be given under this new dual monarchy. While the Habsburgs' succession of power to the Hungarians quieted them for the time being, it also raised the possibility of autonomy. Of course, there were many contesting ideas regarding what shape this autonomous Hungary would take, and many Hungarians advocated for the creation of a multiethnic political state "whereby all ethnicities living in the Hungarian half of the Dual Monarchy were members of the nation."[49]

Regardless of what shape the liberals wanted Hungary to take, the autonomous state of their collective imagination was shaped by the Revolution which, though unsuccessful, remained for the people a vivid memory of the time that large numbers of regular men and women voiced their opinions in the street, together, as one. For the first time they had stood up, collectively, to

[48] László Marácz, *Hungarian Revival: Political Reflections on Central Europe* (Nieuwegein: Aspekt, 1996), 269.
[49] Nagy, "Defining the Nation," 79.

their authority and demanded that their voices be heard;[50] the revolution itself had contributed to the formation of a collective national identity among Hungarians and Hungaro-Germans alike.

4. Hungary in the Early 20th Century

As the events of the past two centuries showed, Habsburg rule in Hungary stood in opposition to everything for which the Hungarians aspired: liberal reforms, social change, and, in the end, national independence.[51] This is in keeping with the opinions of many historians who do not regard Habsburg oppression of nationalism within its territories as the sole cause of its demise. Instead, the multinational character of the Habsburg Empire – the multinational foundation upon which the empire was built – was itself its own undoing.

4.1 The First World War

In 1871, the German Empire was established, arguably more *German*than the Habsburgs' Austrian Empire. As such, the citizens of the German Reich belonged to an empire that was less multinational and multicultural, encouraging the creation of new notions of identity that differed from the Austrian Habsburgs characteristically. Of course, those belonging to the *German*empire looked to the other *German*minorities that lay beyond the border of the Reich,

---

[50] See Alice Freifeld, "The Cult of March 15: Sustaining the Hungarian Myth of Revolution, 1849-1999", in *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present*(West Lafayette, IN.: Purdue University Press, 2001): 256.

[51] Robert Nemes, "The Revolution in Symbols: Hungary in 1848–1849," in *Constructing Nationalities in Central Europe*,ed. Pieter M. Judson and Marsha L. Rozenblit (New York, N.Y.: Berghahn Books, 2005), 46.

worrying about their well-being as a part of their nation.[52] The German citizens saw the ethnic German minority in Hungary as fellow counterparts who belonged to their German nation; this notion was not always shared by both parties.

Nevertheless, the Habsburgs joined the German Reich and, surprisingly, the Ottoman Empire, against the Allied Powers in the First World War. For the purposes of this thesis, only the effect of World War I on Central European powers will be discussed, namely the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire following their defeat. The dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the implementation of reparations according to the Treaty of Trianon was aimed at reducing further ethnic-national conflict, but peace and the creation of new nation states brought a number of new problems to the fore.

4.2 The Interwar Period

After the end of the First World War, diplomats from over 30 countries and nations gathered in Paris for the Peace Conference of 1919, where they would decide on reparations and other peace terms for the defeated Central Powers to be outlined in the Treaty of Trianon and signed in July 1921. The Peace Conference also changed the borders within Central Europe, now redrawn to reflect ethnic boundaries. The creation of new nation-states according to perceived national identity lead to an race for territory justified by the presence of ethnolinguistic populations who had previously existed as minorities in the Austro-Hungarian and German empires. This, in turn, lead to "crisises of identity, instability, contesting ideologies, irredentism,

[52] John C. Swanson, "A Unique Identity, 1930s," in *Tangible Belonging: Negotiating Germanness in Twentieth-Century Hungary*(Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017):201. doi 10.2307/j.ctt1n7qksw.11

migrating states, fluid borders and, eventually, the most violent years of genocide in European history."[53]

The division of previously-Hungarian lands was based largely on the presence of other national minorities within Hungary, whereby the land on which they lived was redistributed to the majority's homeland or to a newly-established country. Therefore, the Hungarian government of the 1920's saw multiculturalism as a threat to the future of Hungary, and assimilation became the key to the nations' survival.[54] Much changed from the mindset of the post-Revolution years, interwar Hungary's policy on multiculturalism was less than inclusive, and the government treated minorities in a manner similar to the Habsburgs, seeking to tamp down rising notions of nationalism and assimilate foreigners, adopting a mindset akin to "strength through unity." The German people, therefore, risked becoming victims of the war on multiculturalism, and their language had also taken a fall from its position as the language of high culture and privilege. With the notion of a unified Hungary in mind, the Hungarian government opposed the creation of German political parties, garnering much the same effect in Hungary as with the Habsburgs of only a few years earlier.

5. Identity and Belonging in Hungary to the Mid-20th Century

The first half of the 20th century was characterized by change and the emergence of new ways of thinking about identity and belonging. Yet, before Hungary had even lost the First World War along with the German Empire, exacerbating the effects of the formation of new

---

[53] Szelényi, "From Minority to Übermensch," 216.
[54] Ulrich Merten, "The Expulsion of the Ethnic German Population from Hungary," in *Forgotten Voices: The Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern Europe after World War II* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 2012): 178.

national identities, Hungaro-Germans had began to form their own opinions about what it meant to be "German" in Hungary. Returning to the Swabians for examples, below are some of the main influences on German identity from the early-to-mid-twentieth century.

5. 1 Economic Status

The Swabians are a good example of how a change in one's economic status can influence one's perception of belonging within the Hungarian context. Prior to the modernization of the rural areas of Hungary, the Swabians had established an identity on the basis of their economic status as peasants, and spent their days working for the Magyar nobles. After the introduction of modern farming equipment, the peasants' days were no longer filled with work, but allowed them time to interact with others, using recently-improved modes of transportation to reach them. According to Swanson, the introduction of this new technology improved the Swabians' economic status as peasants, allowing them to "reframe perceptions concerning belonging."[55] Instead of working in the fields all day, the Swabians now had greater access to the country as a result of improved infrastructure, and could use both their spare time and modernized modes of transportation to interact with other people in the villages, not as a workers in a field but as a member of society.

5.2 Language

The Swabian language is not the standard German language and could not be understood by speakers of High German and vice-versa. The implementation of German as the language of

[55] Ibid., 139.

administration under Joseph II and consequent Magyarization in the years of Franz Joseph I contributed to a spreading conviction that a language was the property of the speakers of that language, and could be used to determine who was entitled to privileges that were associated with it.[56] While it is possible that this could have a unifying effect on multiethnic subjects on the basis of shared language, the previous pages of this thesis have proven that this was not a possibility within the context of Hungary under Habsburgian rule. Instead, as Habsburg history has shown, the notion that language and identity were related effectively separated citizens according to their language and consequent notions of identity; whether these notions were ascribed or prescribed did not alter the divisive effect. The Swabians, therefore, found themselves caught between two worlds that they were equally loyal to, where the usage of one language was seen as a loyalty to a certain nation and thereby a betrayal to the other.

5.3 Education

As a result of Habsburgian repression of revolutionaries after 1848 and the creation of new nations following the Austro-Hungarian defeat in the First World War, the Hungarian government remained steadfast in its opinion that the continuation of Hungarian-speaking education for all would ensure the continuation of magyarization, for which they had been fighting for the last hundred and fifty years. By the 1920s, the goal of the Hungarian government was to 'create a citizenry loyal to the state,'[57] and Hungarian policies on language use in education had begun to have its intended effect. The support of minority languages revoked,

[56] Benedict Anderson, "Official Nationalism and Imperialism," in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*,rev. and extended ed., 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 1991), 84.
[57] Swanson, "Minority Making," 146.

Hungaro-Germans were being effectively assimilated into Hungarian society, becoming Hungarian-speaking Germans instead of German-speaking Hungarians.[58]

During the same decade, a cultural association known as the *Volksbildungsverein*gained approval from the Hungarian government (as had become mandatory for all minority cultural associations), and began to support and encourage both the culture and language of the German minorities "in order to foster their version of Germanness in Hungary."[59] Similarly, the *Volksbund der Deutschen in Ungarn*(VDU) was also granted power over German affairs following the 1940 Second Vienna Award,[60] and advocated for the creation of German-language schools at all three levels: elementary, and junior and senior high schools. Thus there existed a sort of tug-of-war between the German *Volksbund*and the Hungarian government, each advocating for the education of 'their' people in the language to which they belonged.

5.4 Religion

As the influence of Catholicism had not yet faded following the 1867 *Ausgleich*,there still existed a large proportion of Catholic Germans in Hungary. According to Swanson, marriages between Hungarians and Germans who shared the same Catholic faith were more common than inter-faith marriages between members of the same ethnicity,[61] resulting in an intermixing of these ethnicities, further tangling the web of connections that influenced identity and belonging in Hungary. As Catholicism was often related to Habsburg absolute rule and the oppression of Hungarian Protestants, following the First World War the church supported

---

[58] Ibid., 150.
[59] Ibid., 170.
[60] Among other things, the Second Vienna Award, signed in August of 1940, saw the transfer of Transylvania to Hungary from Romania, in exchange for allowing the *VDU's*to represent German minorities in Hungary.
[61] Swanson, "A Unique Identity," 211.

Hungarian, nationalist ambitions, a bias in keeping with post-war Hungarian opinions about multiculturalism. In a manner reminiscent of Habsburg erastianism, the Hungarian government decreed that all church services throughout Hungary were to be conducted in Hungarian. This, in turn, upset the Hungaro-Germans, but not because they didn't understand the language; in fact, the services conducted in Hungarian were usually understood by the entire congregation. Instead, this policy of exclusion offended the Hungaro-German population on the basis of principle; the exclusion of their language was based on perceived solidarity and the fear that this solidarity threatened the creation of a unified Hungary. In frustration, the Hungaro-Germans became more included in cultural associations that were supporting the German language and culture, the VDU among them.

6. Hungary During the Second World War

After the First World War, Hungary was enjoying its freedom following the dissolution of the Dual Monarchy and attempting to form their own identity, to figure out what it was to be Hungarian; its policies against multiculturalism surely showed what Hungarian was *not*.As National Socialist sentiments arose in neighbouring Germany, Hungaro-Germans were provided the opportunity to find their own place in the post-war era, looking beyond its borders to their so-called "Fatherland," in which they had not lived for many hundreds of years. During this time of binary ethnic-national identity, the Volksbund seized their chance to unite the German minorities with their ethnic homeland.

6.1 National Socialism

As with the First World War, this thesis will only look at the result of the aftermath of World War II and the effect that National Socialism had on the German-speaking populations in Hungary. As a result of the stigmatization that arose out of Germany's involvement in WWII and subsequent defeat, German speakers were seen as enemies of the state, and for a time lost their rights of citizenship within Hungary.[62] Some scholars argue that the treatment of Germans under Magyarization created a feeling of discontent among them, leading them to look for a way out of their position and into one of higher power.[63]

The Nazi government was looking toward the German minority in order to advance its own agenda, and the Second Vienna Award certainly helped the German Reich to establish itself outside of its borders without resorting to military action. By allowing the presence of the VDU in Hungary, the Hungarian government – perhaps a little unwittingly – gave the Reich unlimited access to the German minority in the country, an important cog in the war machine that had just come off the assembly line. Often downtrodden by the Hungarians and the Austrian Habsburgs before them, it is not hard to see that the German minorities would more than happily accept recognition from a country that shared their nationality and told them that they were important. From the very beginning the VDU sought out rural Swabians, telling them to separate themselves from non-Germans and those who did not recognize their superiority.[64]

However, contrary to their rhetoric but completely characteristic of the dictatorship, the Reich was not kind to the German-Hungarians; after all, they were to be used to increase the

---

[62] Gal, "Cultural Bases of Language Use," 96.
[63] See Szelényi, "From Minority to Übermensch," 243.
[64] John C. Swanson, "The Volk Triumphant, the Second World War," in *Tangible Belonging: Negotiating Germanness in Twentieth-Century Hungary*(Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017): 252. doi: 10.2307/j.ctt1n7qksw.12

productivity of the German Empire. In the 1930s and 1940s, German agitators arrived in Hungary, seeking out Swabian peasants and other German-speaking villagers and offering them wonderful opportunities in Germany, along with German citizenship. The Hungaro-Germans were told very few details about these opportunities, and upon their arrival in Germany they were placed in an SS camp and trained to be soldiers. Over time, this ruse was not as effective as was necessary, and the VDU began calling on the German-Hungarians to fulfill their duty as members of the Reich and support their fellow Germans as they rose to the position of a world power.

By the end of the Second World War, the enlistment of Germans – whether voluntary or not – was seen as German-Hungarian cooperation with Germany, which could then be used to justify the advocation for German expulsion from a devastated Hungary. Imre Kovacs, a member of the National Peasant Party believed that the German-Hungarians were responsible "for having brought Hungary into a disastrous alliance and war, allied with Nazi Germany, resulting in the destruction of the nation."[65]

6.2 The Post-War Period

In 1945, Soviet troops entered Hungary on the tale of retreating Swabian and Hungarian forces, and began to exact their revenge on the German Reich by pillaging the Hungarian towns and punishing the townspeople, the perceived allies to Germany. The mistreatment of Hungarians at the hands of the Soviets certainly did not help the Hungarians' view of the German Reich, and the Hungaro-Germans were similarly affected. To be punished on the basis

[65] Merten,"The Expulsion of the Ethnic German Population," 174.

of one's cooperation with another country whose out-of-country recruitment strategy was built on trickery and coercion did not place Germany in a very flattering light. To make matters worse, German-speaking Hungarians were again categorised on the basis of their ethnolinguistic identity by the Allies, and the information provided by Hungarian census data from years previous was used to determine not only the number of Germans living in Hungary, but as a means to the systematic deportation of the over 170,000 individuals who declared German as their mother tongue while simultaneously reporting Hungarian nationality.[66]

In December 1945, Kovacs demanded the expulsion of the ethnic Germans for being traitors to Hungary, saying that

> The Swabs who came to this country with one bundle on their back should leave the same way. They cut themselves off from the fatherland as they demonstrated with their actions that they sympathized with Hitler's Germany. Let them now share the fate of Germany.[67]

The Allied Powers appeared to share the same sentiments, and in 1946 and 1947, the expulsion of Hungaro-Germans to the American and Soviet zones of occupation began, respectively. An estimated 35,000 Hungarian Germans were deported to the Soviet Union,[68] and in total, 239,000 Swabian Germans were forced to leave Hungary.[69]

The Hungarian government as well, it seemed, was against the continued presence of *any* Germans in Hungary, not only including those who had been members of the Volksbund,

---

[66] Pieter M. Judson, "Frontiers, Islands, Forest, Stones: Mapping the Geography of a German Identity in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848-1900," in *The Geography of Identity*,ed. Patricia Yeager (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 104.
[67] Peter Kenez, *Hungary from the Nazis to the Soviets: The Establishment of the Communist Regime in Hungary 1944-1948*(New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 214.
[68] Kenez, *Hungary from the Nazis to the Soviets*,213.
[69] Merten, "The Expulsion of the Ethnic German Population," 203.

voluntarily or not, but also those who had taken no part in the radical National Socialist ideology that had swept across Europe only a year before. Much like the German Reich, the National Peasant Party used the Swabians to advance their agenda, and leaders sought the deportation of Germans in order to redistribute the Hungarian lands widely among the landless Hungarian peasantry.[70] In the late 1940s, there appeared no one group who wanted to have anything to do with German-speaking Hungarians, and the people with whom they had shared their Hungarian homeland turned their backs on them as well.

The Hungaro-Germans who were deported to Germany were not safe within the borders of their ancestors, either. Germany itself was a shell of the country that it once was, its infrastructure in ruins and its masses miserable and starving; it was into this environment that the Hungaro-Germans arrived from their centuries-long relocation. Additionally, the German populations that had existed in Hungary had evolved in their isolation, leading to problems that arose on the basis of differences in background, religion, and education.[71] The road to reintegration into this country that the Hungarian-Germans neither knew nor fit into would be long and hard indeed.

7. German-Hungarian Identity after 1990

After the Fall of the Iron Curtain, Hungary was able to take advantage of opportunities to exchange goods, people, and knowledge with other countries in the West. As a result, multilingualism within Hungary regained both support and prestige, and has since led to an

---

[70] Ibid., 190.
[71] G. C. Paikert, "The 'Great Homecoming': Settlement in West Germany," in *The Danube Swabians: German Populations in Hungary, Rumania, and Yugoslavia, and Hitler's Impact on their Patterns* (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1967): 231. doi: 10.1007/978-94-011-9717-5_17

increase in the prevalence of German language in Hungary. However, in many cases the importance of the German language is no longer based on identity and cultural heritage; instead, German is valued for its usefulness in an international context.[72]

7.1 Identity According to Census Data

According to Patrik Tatrai, between 2001 and 2011 there was a significant change in the ethnic composition of Hungary based on census data, whereby the number of minorities increased.[73] This, he explains, is the result of the wording of census questions and the respondents' ability to decline answering certain questions, a possibility that replaced mandatory, single answers to often ambiguous questions relating to one's perceived identity.

Before it was changed, the Hungarian censuses were worded in such a way that it would be easy to ascribe a particular identity to a set of people based on their answers. Ascribing identity on the basis of ethnicity, for example, would make it easier to lay claim to these groups of people in whatever manner deemed necessary; the presence of the minority groups could change the political agenda of politicians and parties, for example. However as this thesis as well as history has shown, this practice results in less-than-accurate assumptions regarding ethnic minorities and perceived identity within a certain region or nation, which can have a divisive effect. Following the Second World War, the Hungarian government had difficulty obtaining accurate census data in Hungary, as the respondents from the pre-war censuses remember the misuse of data by the Hungarian government, the story of which continues to this day.[74]

---

[72] Gal, "Cultural Bases for Language Use," 100.
[73] Patrik Tátrai, "Transformations of the Ethnic Structure in Hungary After the Turn of the Millennium," *Human Geographies*9, no. 1 (May 2015): 79, doi:10.5719/hgeo.2015.91.6.
[74] See for example, Swanson, introduction to *Tangible Belonging*.

8. Conclusion

So to whom, then, do the German-Hungarians belong? The answer is certainly not easy to obtain. The German-Hungarians have alternated their affiliation with Austria, Germany, and Hungary, voluntarily and involuntarily, and were victims of German and Hungarian misuses of power. The German-Hungarian identity was contested by the Habsburgs who sought to keep them in their empire, accepted by their Hungarian neighbours on the basis of the German culture and privilege. Prior to the 1848 Revolution, the German-Hungarians were renounced by radical Magyars. Leading to the Second World War, Hungaro-Germans were supported by the VDU, whose trickery and outright coercion saw the often involuntary enlistment of German-Hungarians in the German Reich to advance the dictatorship's agenda. The end of the First World War reduced Germans to a minority after the Treaty of Trianon, and the Second World War turned German-Hungarians from members of a privileged ethnic group into refugees in the Soviet Union and their own ethnic homeland.

In the 21st century, German-Hungarian preference to eschew modern censuses is the result not only of the past misuse of information at the hands of powerful individuals, but also due to the ambiguously-phrased questions of years prior. Additionally, German-Hungarian notions of belonging were formed, reformed, and reformed again according to necessity and under the authority of rulers who oftentimes did not consider their presence important, or considered it paramount, to such an extent that the same effect was achieved: alienation of the Germans from those in power, from their country, and their ethnic homeland. Ultimately, this alienation also occurred within German-Hungarian communities from time to time, at first due to a lack of linguistic similarities and, later, on the basis of religious differences. However, although

there were times of disunity among these communities, the German-Hungarians experienced everything together, and were certainly seen by the overarching authority to belong to a homogeneous group. The issues that have surrounded the German-Hungarians throughout the past five hundred years has certainly shaped their sense of belonging, but it also makes it difficult to describe. At present, there appears no perfect answer to census questions, whereby one's anwer would adequately describe the situation of German-Hungarian populations throughout history and within the Third Republic of Hungary. If the opportunity does not arise for an accurate and complete response, the German-Hungarians will only ever have one answer to the question, *To whom does the German-Hungarian belong?*:

Themselves.

Bibliography

Anderson, Benedict Richard O'Gorman.Introduction to *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* Rev. and extended ed., 2nd ed. London: Verso, 1991.

Anderson, Benedict Richard O'Gorman. "Official Nationalism and Imperialism."*Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* Rev. and extended ed., 2nd ed. London: Verso, 1991.

Bahn, Karl F. "Beyond the Bourgeoisie: Rethinking Nation, Culture, and Modernity in Nineteenth-Century Central Europe." *Austrian History Yearbook*29, no. 1 (1998): 19-35. doi:10.1017/S0067237800014788

Burian, Peter. "The State Language Problem in Old Austria." *Austrian History Yearbook*6 (1970): 81-103. doi:10.1017/S0067237800010249

Cohen, Gary B. "Nationalist Politics and the Dynamics of State and Civil Society in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1867-1914." *Central European History* 40, no. 2 (June 2007): 241-278. doi: 10.1017/S0008938907000532.

Dörnyei, Zoltán, Kata Csizér, and Nóra Németh. *Motivation, Language Attitudes and Globalisation : A Hungarian Perspective.* Clevedon [England]: Multilingual Matters, 2006.

Evans, Robert John Weston. "Széchenyi and Austria." In *History and Biography: Essays in Honour of Derek Beales*,edited by Derek Edward Dawson Beales, T. C. W. Blanning, and David Cannadine. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Evans, Robert John Weston. "1848-1849 in the Habsburg Monarchy." In *The Revolutions in Europe, 1848-1849: From Reform to Reaction*,edited by Robert John Weston Evans and Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Evans, Robert John Weston. "The Habsburgs in Central Europe" In A*ustria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Essays On Central Europe, C.1683-1867.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Evans, Robert John Weston. "Maria Theresa in Hungary." In A*ustria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Essays On Central Europe, C.1683-1867.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Fenyo, Mario D. *Hitler, Horthy, and Hungary: German-Hungarian Relations, 1941-1944.*New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972.

Freifeld, Alice. “The Cult of March 15: Sustaining the Hungarian Myth of Revolution, 1849-1999.” In *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present*,255-285, edited by Maria Bucur and Nancy M. Wingfield. West Lafayette, IN.: Purdue University Press, 2001.

Gal, Susan. “Diversity and contestation in linguistic ideologies: German-speakers in Hungary.” *Language in Society*22, no. 3 (1993): 337-359. doi:10.1017/S0047404500017279.

Gal, Susan. "Cultural Bases of Language Use among German-Speakers in Hungary." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 111, no. 1 (January 1995): 93-102. doi:10.1515/ijsl.1995.111.93.

Gans, Herbert. “Symbolic ethnicity: The future of ethnic groups and cultures in America.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*2, no. 1 (1979): 1-20. doi 10.1080/01419870.1979.9993248.

Gans, Herbert. “Reflections on Symbolic Ethnicity: A Response to Y. Anagnostou.” *Ethnicities* 9, no. 1 (2008): 123-130.
www.jstor.org.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/23889910.

Ignotus, Paul. *Hungary.*New York: Praeger, 1972.

Ingrao, Charles W. “Facing East: Hungary and the Turks, 1648-1699.” In *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618-1815*,2nded. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Ingrao, Charles W. “Discovering the People: the Triumph of Cameralism and Enlightened Absolutism, 1767-1792.” In *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618-1815*,2nded. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Judson, Pieter M. “Frontiers, Islands, Forest, Stones: Mapping the Geography of a German Identity in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848-1900.” In *The Geography of Identity*,edited by Patricia Yeager. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.

Kann, Robert A. and Zdeněk V. David. *The Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands, 1526-1918*.Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington Press, 1984.

Kenez, Peter. *Hungary from the Nazis to the Soviets: The Establishment of the Communist Regime in Hungary 1944-1948.*New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Komjáthy, Anthony, and Rebecca Stockwell. *German Minorities and the Third Reich: Ethnic Germans of East Central Europe between the Wars.*New York: Holmes & Meier, 1980.

Lupaș, Ioan. *The Hungarian Policy of Magyarization.*Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Cultural Foundation, 1992.

Marácz, László. *Hungarian Revival: Political Reflections on Central Europe*.Nieuwegein: Aspekt, 1996.

Maxwell, Alexander. "Hungaro-German Dual Nationality: Germans, Slavs, and Magyars during the 1848 Revolution." *German Studies Review*39, no. 1 (2016): 17-39. doi: 10.1353/gsr.2016.0022.

Merten, Ulrich. "The Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern Europe after World War II." In *Forgotten Voices: The Expulsion of the Germans from Eastern Europe after World War II*.New Brunswick, N.J: Transaction Publishers, 2012.

Nagy, Zsolt. "Defining the Nation." In *Great Expectations and Interwar Realities: Cultural Diplomacy in Horthy's Hungary*.Budapest: Central European University Press, 2017. http://www.jstor.org.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/10.7829/j.ctt1t6p6dx.7.

Nemes, Robert. "The Revolution in Symbols: Hungary in 1848–1849." In *Constructing Nationalities in Central Europe*,edited by Pieter M. Judson and Marsha L. Rozenblit. New York, N.Y.: Berghahn Books, 2005.

Paikert, G. C. "Political and Organizational Textures of the Swabians from the Rise of Hitler to the End of World War II: The Course of Nazification." In *The Danube Swabians: German Populations In Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia, and Hitler's Impact On Their Patterns*.Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1967. doi: 10.1007/978-94-011-9717-5_9.

Paikert, G. C. "The Swabians and the Third Reich: Nazified and Co-ordinated: Recruited for the Waffen SS." In *The Danube Swabians: German Populations In Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia, and Hitler's Impact On Their Patterns*.Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1967. doi: 10.1007/978-94-011-9717-5_10.

Paikert, G. C. "The 'Great Homecoming': Settlement in West Germany." In *The Danube Swabians: German Populations In Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia, and Hitler's Impact On Their Patterns*.Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1967. doi: 10.1007/978-94-011-9717-5_17.

Spolsky, Bernard. "Attitudinal Aspects of Second Language Learning." *Language Learning* 19, no. 3-4 (December, 1969): 271-283. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-1770.1969.tb00468.x.

Swanson, John C. Introduction to *Tangible Belonging: Negotiating Germanness in Twentieth-Century Hungary*.Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017. doi: 10.2307/j.ctt1n7qksw.7

Swanson, John C. "Minority Making, 1920s." In *Tangible Belonging: Negotiating Germanness in Twentieth-Century Hungary*.Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017. doi 10.2307/j.ctt1n7qksw.10

Swanson, John C. “A Unique Identity, 1930s.”In *Tangible Belonging: Negotiating Germanness in Twentieth-Century Hungary*.Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017. doi 10.2307/j.ctt1n7qksw.11

Swanson, John C. “The Volk Triumphant, the Second World War.” In *Tangible Belonging: Negotiating Germanness in Twentieth-Century Hungary*.Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017.doi: 10.2307/j.ctt1n7qksw.12

Szelényi, Balázs A. "From Minority to Übermensch: The Social Roots of Ethnic Conflict in the German Diaspora of Hungary, Romania and Slovakia." *Past & Present*196 (2007): 215-251. http://www.jstor.org.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/stable/25096684.

Tátrai, Patrik. "Transformations of the Ethnic Structure in Hungary After the Turn of the Millennium." *Human Geographies*9, no. 1 (May 2015): 79-96. doi:10.5719/hgeo.2015.91.6.

Taylor, Alan John Percivale. *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1809-1918. A History of the Austrian Empire and Austria Hungary*.New ed. London: H. Hamilton,1948.

“T.G.S.” “Der deutsche Knabe in Ungarn.” *Pester Zeitung*,April 5, 1849, 5499.

Urbanitsch, Peter. “Pluralist Myth and Nationalist Realities: The Dynastic Myth of the Habsburg Monarchy — A Futile Exercise in the Creation of Identity?” *Austrian History Yearbook* 35 (2004): 101-142. https://doi-org.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/10.1017/S0067237800020968

van der Plank, Pieter. “Effects of Habsburg educational policies measured by census statistics.” *Jezikoslovlje*13, no. 2 (2012): 373-393. *Scopus*®,EBSCO*host*(accessed March 13, 2018).

Vermes, Gábor. “A Portrait of 18th Century Hungary.” In *Hungarian Culture and Politics In the Habsburg Monarchy, 1711-1848.*Budapest: Central European University Press, 2014.

Vermes, Gábor. “The Hungarian Age of Reform in the 1840s.” In *Hungarian Culture and Politics In the Habsburg Monarchy, 1711-1848.*Budapest: Central European University Press, 2014.

Wank, Solomon. “Some Reflections on the Habsburg Empire and Its Legacy in the Nationalities Question.”*Austrian History Yearbook* 28 (1997): 131-146. doi:10.1017/S0067237800016350.

Wheatcroft, Andrew. *The Habsburgs: Embodying Empire*.London: Penguin, 1996.

Woodlard, Kathryn A. “Language variation and cultural hegemony.” *American Ethnologist*12, no. 4 (1985): 738-748.doi:10.1525/ae.1985.12.4.02a00090.

Zahra, Tara. “Imagined Non-Communities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis.” *Slavic Review*69, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 93-119. doi: 10.1017/S0037677900016715.