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Hlavným cieľom tohto článku je zhrnúť podstatu administratívnych zmien v Berehove v druhej polovici 19. storočia a poukázať na spoločensko-politické napätie, ktoré spôsobené mestskými udalosťami osvetľuje panujúce poľno-mestské pomery v krajine. Rozvoj mesta Berehova podľa administratívneho významu a kultúry bol podobný Mukačevu. Postavenie „Príkazová rada“ bolo výsledkom značného úsilia, po ktorom sa známky urbanizácie v meste sa zosilnili. Mimoriadny význam mal dopad požiaru z roku 1880, ktorý otriasol postavenie župného sídla, ale mestská správa dokázala z tejto nešťastnej udalosti profitovať. Na prestavbu mesta sa použila značná pôžička, ako je dodnes vidieť na zachovaných budovách, najmä administratívnych budovách. Nábožensko-etnické údaje ukázali, že používanie jazyka v meste bolo homogénne, keďže Židia voľne používali aj maďarčinu. Z výsledkov našich výskumov vyplýva, že hospodárstvo mesta bolo založené predovšetkým na vinohradníctve, ale s približovaním k 20. storočiu značné príjmy obyvateľstvu prinášalo mlynárstvo a tehlárstvo. Školský systém, vrátane zriadenia gymnázia, bol zásadný pre posilnenie buržoázie a postavenia mesta. Spolky, opísané v štúdiu, a ich činnosť jasne reprezentovali civilizáciu mešťanov. A napokon návštevy kočovných divadiel, predstavenie hier v hoteli Zlatý lev a herci, ktorí divadlá navštevovali, plne uspokojili vtedajšie kultúrne potreby.

Kľúčové slová: Berehove; Mukačevo; administratíva; urbanizácia; národnosť; náboženstvo; vinohradníctvo; spolky; tlač; divadlo;

Introduction

This paper examines a distinctive period in the history of Berehove¹, essentially the decades from the 1867 Compromise to the First World War. This scholarly approach to the history of the town is also timely, as there is no monograph or volume of studies on the history of Berehove. The seat of Bereg County, it was one of the towns of the North-Eastern part of Hungary with an orderly council and had to compete for leadership of the county with its eternal rival, the much larger and more important Mukachevo, mainly through political means, which happened several times. Our objective is to study the trends in socio-economic development, its natural and legal environment, including its characteristics and tangible results. A new social stratum, the bourgeoisie, began to emerge in contrast to the feudal conditions before 1848, which made Berehove the socio-political and cultural centre of the region, despite its partial backwardness, compared to the neighbouring, also peripheral, field towns. The changes after 1867 pushed the town towards development, above all in the economic sphere, after which the socio-cultural environment was slowly transformed.

There is a lack of summary synthesis about the history of Berehove in the age of dualism, the reason of which is that the topic could not be researched for a long time. The historiography of recent years has examined the social-historical characteristics of that age only from a descriptive or tourist point of view. Berehove, as the administrative centre of the county, underwent significant economic development at that time, which, in our view, was accompanied by a cultural development. The most populous city in the county during this period was Mukachevo, but similarly to the cities in the region, Berehove's industry and culture lagged behind the „big cities“ of the region, such as Košice or Satu Mare, compared to the national average.

¹ Today, it is a town with a population of about 23000 in the Transcarpathian region in western Ukraine.

Berehove as county centre

According to the descriptions from the period prior to the one that we are examining in this paper, in 1851 Berehove was inhabited by 617 Roman Catholic, 186 Greek Catholic, 6 Evangelical, 2175 Reformed people and 200 Jews.² Berehove, as a peripheral county centre of the era, was a town of contradictions primarily in terms of poverty and wealth. At the same time, we can highlight that it could be called a town with relatively good political conditions. The town, which had perpetually competed with Mukachevo, had always been able to maintain its political primacy, thanks in a large part to the support of the government policy represented by the central government. The politically and economically influential Lónyay family played a prominent role in strengthening this. The members of the family, blessed with good political sense, together with Prime Minister Menyhért Lónyay, made strong efforts to represent the political and economic interests of Berehove.³ This is evidenced by a letter from Menyhért Lónyay himself, dated 2 September 1879, in which, as a member of the local assembly, he assures the town of the protection of its interests.⁴

The politics of the time certainly did not want the county capital city to be in Mukachevo, ruled by the count Schönborns, thus strengthening the region's largest contiguous estate, the Mukachevo-Chynadiyevo dominion. Another aspect was that during the period of dualism, Berehove was almost entirely Hungarian-speaking, in contrast to the multi-ethnic Mukachevo.⁵

In the dualist era, the development of towns was determined not only by internal energies but also by a number of external factors. In economic life, the place of the county and region in the imperial division of labour was determined by the economic policy of the central government. As a peripheral town, Berehove made the most of its efforts to meet its agricultural needs, even if it proved insufficient to catch up with the region.⁶

In Berehove, bourgeoisification typically took place not due to industrialization but due to the county capital status. In contrast to Mukachevo, which was developing on the border between the Carpathian Mountains and the lowlands, it was the trading centre of the highland Ruthenian and lowland Hungarian peoples. It should be noted that the so-called private capital of the „Schönborn Estate“ also played a significant role in the development of Mukachevo. The transformation of administration after Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 meant the emergence of county and city institutions. In 1871 the Royal Tribunal and district court were organized. In 1875, the territorial system of the

² FÉNYES, Elek. Magyarország geographiai szótára [Hungary's geographical dictionary]. Ungvár 1998, p. 18.

³ The family of Prime Minister Menyhért Lónyai (1822-1884) included seven politicians. They were the chief lord-sheriffs of Bereg county for 13 years, of Ugocha county for 12 years and of Maramuresh county for 17 years. In addition, in Bereg, 12 of the 14 ordinary parliamentary elections held between 1865 and 1918 saw at least one member of the family elected (see CZIGER, András. *Érdekek és stratégiák. A helyi politikai elit érdekérvényesítési lehetőségei a kárpátaljai régió vármegyéiben a dualizmus időszakában* [Interests and strategies. The possibilities of local political elites to assert their interests in the counties of the Transcarpathian region in the period of dualism]. In Korall (Journal of Social History), 2003, no. 13 pp. 88-89).

⁴ Derzhavnyi Arhiv Zakarpatskoji Oblasti (State Archives of the Transcarpathian Region, hereinafter referred to as DAZO), fund 721, archival list 4, storage unit 881, pp. 1-2.

⁵ SZAKÁL, Imre. *Gondolatok Beregszász elmúlt másfél száz évéről* [Thoughts on the last one and a half hundred years of Berehove]. In Szépirodalmi Figyelő, 2020, vol. 19, no. 1, p. 32.

⁶ If we compare the county or the town with other counties and towns, its lag in industrial-agricultural and cultural fields is immediately apparent.

courts was reorganized, the court in Uzhhorod was abolished and the area of the Tysa district in Ugocha was annexed to the court in Berehove. With this, Berehove's authority was administratively strengthened.⁷

The chances of development for the city were primarily in preserving its administrative status. The dualistic state power created a novel system of administration that was continually improved, making efforts to divide the branches of state power. The network of institutions of the county was settled in the emerging situation, and the strengthening of the judicial and prosecutor's office played a significant role here. The county tax office was transferred from Mukachevo to Berehove as early as 1869.⁸ Taking advantage of the legal possibilities, the Royal Tribunal was organized in Berehove in 1871 and, in parallel, the Royal District Court.⁹ Four years later, a reform of the court system could take place. The court was also abolished in Uzhhorod and Vynohradiv, so their entire territory was annexed to Berehove. With this, the administrative-regional status of Berehove increased significantly.

The town of orderly councils. Urbanization

In the dualist state, two years after the 1867 Compromise, the town was able to assert its expected rights, at which time Berehove was classified as a „town of orderly councils“. Its citizens were given the right to elect a representative body with a mayor in the lead. The first mayor was the former chief judge, Antal Jandrisics,¹⁰ who ran the town from 1869 to 1888. Half of the deputies were elected by direct vote, the rest came from the largest taxpayers.¹¹ During these years, the government wanted to attach Berehove and Bereg County to Uzh County and designated Uzhhorod as its seat. On January 10, 1874, a county committee meeting was convened, at which the bill on the amalgamation of the two counties was unanimously rejected, a 30-member delegation led by lord-sheriff István Horváth was sent to Budapest, and the amalgamation of the two counties was finally prevented.¹²

Berehove had to defend its county centre status again after the great town fire of 1880. The city of Mukachevo, based on its commercial, population and Schönborn-dominated superiority, made an offer to the government for the county centre status. It also offered a significant sum of money in favour of Berehove to deal with the consequences of the fire. The debate was decided by a vote in the county assembly when the political elite¹³ made a decision in favour of Berehove. In the field of urbanization, Berehove lagged behind its

⁷ LEHOCZKY, Tivadar. Beregvármegye monographiája. I. kötet [The Monograph of Bereg County. Volume 1]. Ungvár 1882, p. 333.

⁸ DAZO, fund 721, archival list 2, storage unit 815, pp. 1-45.

⁹ The rest of the district courts of the county was transferred to Mukachevo, Koson, Nyzhni Vorota and Irshava.

¹⁰ See about the life and activity of Antal Jandrisics: Bereg, 1888, vol. 15, no. 51, p. 1. Id. Jandrisics Antal halála [The death of Antal Jandrisics, Sr.], 1; See about his property: DAZO, fund 721, archival list 2, storage unit 847, 959.

¹¹ See a list of most taxpayers in Berehove: DAZO, fund 721, archival list 4, storage unit 805, 895.

¹² SZABÓ, Géza. Beregszász dualizmus kori társadalomtörténetének sajátosságai [Peculiarities of the social history of Berehove in the era of dualism]. In BOROS, László. Kárpátalja. A Nyírségi Földrajzi Napok előadásai. Nyíregyháza 1999, pp. 95-100. Beregszász dualizmus kori társadalomtörténetének sajátosságai, 97.

¹³ LEHOCZKY, Beregvármegye monographiája..., p. 335.

rival, Mukachevo's influence in finance and trade remained, of course, but the issue was removed from the agenda.¹⁴

Meanwhile, the urbanization process became noticeable in Berehove as well, which included the concentration of available capital. The first bank appeared (1870), which made the town's finances, among other things, more organized and transparent. Facilitating investment and the work of traders also contributed to the development of the chief town of the county.¹⁵ The town signed contracts with various companies to design a gas lighting system.¹⁶ More attention could be paid to the old wishes of the townspeople, the construction of pavements, in which the town lagged behind similar county centres.¹⁷ Bus traffic was regularized according to the requirements of the age, which first included the two county towns, Mukachevo and Berehove, in the national transport network.¹⁸

After the building works following the 1880 fire, the townscape was dominated by historicist neo-Baroque, eclecticism and Art Nouveau. In the space of thirty years, buildings that would have done the inhabitants of a much larger city proud rose up in a radius of about five hundred metres. These developments also required the right conditions. Under dualism, Berehove developed faster and more effectively than its resources or urban capacity could have justified.¹⁹

At the end of the century, attention was paid to the canalization²⁰ of the central part of the town and the construction of pavements, and the rules for cycling²¹ in the town were laid down for bicycle owners. It was planned to build several streets, which was gradually realized.²² As a result of the positive changes, Berehove became an increasingly leading city in the region.

Nationality and religion (in the light of statistics)

Berehove in the age of dualism also underwent a demographically significant increase. From 1869 to 1910, the population increased from 6,272 to 12,432. Due to demographic and urban administrative-construction processes, we can also observe a slow civilization process. From a county perspective, progress was much slower. If we compare Berehove with other urban ethnicity statistics, it can be stated that the processes of ethnicity and assimilation differed greatly. This can also be explained by the fact that the town was almost homogeneous from the point of view of language use, on the other hand, the assimilating effect of a proportionately large office population must be taken into account, and the majority of immigrants were of Jewish religion who were constantly assimilated.²³ (see Table 1).

¹⁴ Mukachevo's chances of gaining the county seat against Berehove, having a pro-government Hungarian population, were worsened by the influence of the manor, the overly mixed population (e.g. the number of Jews was nearly 40%), and the most pro-government taxpayers.

¹⁵ DAZO, fund 721, archival list 2, storage unit 851, p. 1.

¹⁶ DAZO, fund 721, archival list 1, storage units 688, 894.

¹⁷ DAZO, fund 721, archival list 1, storage unit 615, pp. 1-60.

¹⁸ DAZO, fund 721, archival list 1, storage unit 943, pp. 1-49.

¹⁹ SZAKÁL, Gondolatok Beregszász elmúlt..., p. 32.

²⁰ DAZO, fund 721, archival list 1, storage unit 504, p. 1-11.

²¹ DAZO, fund 721, archival list 1, storage unit 548.

²² DAZO, fund 721, archival list 1, storage units 242, 690, 710.

²³ SZABÓ, Beregszász dualizmus..., pp. 98-99.

Religion	Population			
	1881 ²⁴	1890 ²⁵	1900 ²⁶	1910 ²⁷
Reformed	2762	3184	3341	4344
Roman Catholic	1516	1686	2163	2724
Israelite	1795	2100	2770	3909
Greek Catholic	824	1076	1289	1826
Augustinian Evangelical	25	29	37	118
Orthodox	7	3	6	10
Unitarian	-	-	20	1
Other	1	-	3	-

Table 1. Religious composition of the population of Berehove between 1881 and 1910 (based on statistical data). Sources: A Magyar Korona Országában az 1881. év elején végrehajtott... pp. 55-56.; JEKELFALUSSY, A Magyar Szent Korona... p. 110., A Magyar Szent Korona Országainak... pp. 218-219., A Magyar Szent Korona Országainak 1900... , pp. 216-217.

The proportions of religious composition did not change significantly over the decades. The Reformed were in the relative majority, followed by the Israelites, then Roman Catholics and Greek Catholics. According to statistics, in the town only the number of Evangelicals increased significantly, almost three times, that of Greek Catholics almost twice, and that of Israelites and Reformed less than twice (see Table 2).

Berehove had the highest proportion of Hungarians among the towns of orderly councils of the neighbouring counties (96.4%), but the proportion of Hungarians was also significant in Uzhhorod (76.8%) and Mukachevo (59.3%) due to the Hungarianization of the urban Jewish population.²⁸

²⁴ A Magyar Korona Országában az 1881. év elején végrehajtott Népszámlálás főbb eredményei megyék és községek szerint részletezve. [The main results of the Census conducted in the countries of the Hungarian Crown at the beginning of 1881, broken down by counties and villages] Vol. II. Budapest: Pesti Könyvnyomda – Részvény-Társaság, 1882, pp. 55-56. Berehove's population according to the 1881 census data was 6930.

²⁵ JEKELFALUSSY, József (ed.). A Magyar Szent Korona Országainak Helységnévtára [Location Directory of the Hungarian Holy Crown Countries]. Budapest 1892, p. 110.

²⁶ A Magyar Szent Korona Országainak 1900. Évi Népszámlálása. Első rész. A Népesség Általános Leírása Községenként [The 1900 Census of the Countries of the Hungarian Crown. First part. General description of the population by villages]. Budapest 1902, pp. 218-219.

²⁷ A Magyar Szent Korona Országainak 1910. Évi Népszámlálása. A Népesség Foglalkozása és a Nagyipari Vállalatok Községenként [The 1910 Census of the countries of the Hungarian Holy Crown. The main occupation of the population and large-scale industrial enterprises by villages]. Volume 48. Budapest: Athenaeum Irodalmi és Nyomdai R.-Társulat, 1913, pp. 216-217.

²⁸ MOLNÁR D., István. Perifériáról perifériára. Kárpátalja népessége 1869-től napjainkig [From periphery to periphery. The population of Transcarpathia from 1869 to the present day] Budapest 2018, p. 88.

Nationality	Population		
	1880 ²⁹	1890 ³⁰	1900 ³¹
Hungarian	6296	7735	9377
German	107	88	82
Slovakian	28	25	33
Romanian	5	4	2
Ruthenian	202	199	117
Croatian	-	-	-
Serbian	1	-	-
Other	-	27	18

Table 2. Nationality composition of the population of Berehove between 1881 and 1910 (based on statistical data). Sources: *A Magyar Korona Országában az 1881. év elején végrehajtott...* pp. 55-56., JEKELFALUSSY, *A Magyar Szent Korona...*, p. 111., *A Magyar Szent Korona országainak 1900. évi Népszámlálása...*, pp. 218-219.

The Jewish population of Berehove and Mukachevo in Bereg County, Uzhhrod in Uzh County and Sighetu Marmăției in Maramures County was 10,783 in 1869 and 24,870 in 1910, an increase of 130.6% over 40 years, while its share in the urban population increased from 31.0% to 36.3%.³² The Jews of the town of Berehove from the middle of the 19th century until 1944 were a dynamically developing community. In 1869, the town had 1,177 Jewish inhabitants (18.8% of the town's population), which by 1910 had grown to 3,909.³³

In the age of dualism, the town's Jewry also made a significant contribution to the economic development of Berehove. By the turn of the century, Berehove had become an important centre for wine investment and viticulture. The brick production, which concentrated considerable labour, was owned by the Jewish families Winkler, Kont, and Váry. The town's slowly growing citizenry and middle class were supplied with expensive textiles, fashion goods, and other consumer goods by Jewish merchants. Urban Jewry organized its own community and grouped into associations to practise their religion more deeply.³⁴

Representatives of all Jewish denominations lived in Berehove, from the Orthodox to the Hasids. Although the town's Jewry was often characterized by disagreements and strife, apart from this, they collaborated in caring for the poor: a number of Jewish associations were formed, of which the Jewish Women's Association was unique. Its members worked

²⁹ *A Magyar Korona Országában az 1881. év elején végrehajtott Népszámlálás*, ref. 24, pp. 55-56.

³⁰ JEKELFALUSSY, *A Magyar Szent Korona...*, p. 111.

³¹ *A Magyar Szent Korona országainak 1900. évi Népszámlálása...*, pp. 218-219.

³² LEHOCZKY, Tivadar. Valami a zsidóinkról [Something about our Jews]. In *Bereg*, 1900, vol. 26, no. 8, pp. 2-3.

³³ KONRÁD, Miklós. Demográfiai változások [Demographic changes]. In BÁNYAI, Viktória et al. *Zsidók Kárpátalján. Történelem és örökség a dualizmus korától napjainkig* [Jews in Transcarpathia. History and heritage from the age of dualism to the present day]. Budapest 2013, p. 19.

³⁴ DAZO, fund 721, archival list 1, storage unit 933, pp. 1-15.

to support the local poor. Interest-free Jewish aid associations existed in the town since 1890, mainly to help young people.³⁵

The legislation of 1848 paved the way for bourgeoisification in Hungary with the abolition of serfdom, the introduction of public taxation and the abolition of feudal privileges. Although the laws of 1848 were not accepted by Emperor Franz Joseph, they were not abolished, either. The development of Austrian and Czech industry required an ever-increasing amount of raw materials, so it was necessary to find a solution for fast and cheap transportation, which is why the town government supported the construction of a railway line through the settlement.

The development of the town's industry was facilitated by the enactment of the industrial freedom and the abolishment of the guild system by Act VIII of 1872. The industrial law regulated the rights and obligations of employers and employees.³⁶ Industrialization took place as a protracted process in Berehove.³⁷ In 1895, the brick factory of Manó Kont started operating, initially with 20 workers, who produced 500-600 thousand bricks a year. The other brick factory was built in 1897, which resulted in a significant concentration of labour.³⁸ In 1898, the construction of the power plant began, the complete construction of which took years.³⁹

The town on the Vérke Canal was characterized by the establishment of smaller factories. A good example of this was the establishment of the clay and stove factory of József Markovics. The clay factory, which started in 1907, was converted into a limited partnership business in mid-1909, after taking on a new name: Kaolinworks and Stove Works Limited Liability Company in Bereg County. The company worked with high quality chamotte material, the stoves were available to order in any colour and with popular enamels.⁴⁰

Industry also expanded on the outskirts of the town. In 1906, a hemp and flax processing workshop was set up. This facility began operating on a 50-acre site with construction requiring about one million crowns, working capital of 2 million crowns and permanent employment of 500 workers.⁴¹

The general statistics mentioned 302 craftsmen in the town of Berehovo in 1887,⁴² but there were already 311 in the list in 1891, by 1898 their number had increased to 330. The number of people working in industry was 1,639 in 1910, 87 in the domestic industry and three wandering craftsmen in Berehove.⁴³

³⁵ KOSZTYÓ, Gyula. A beregszászi zsidó hitközség német megsarcolása 1944-ben [German sabotage of the Jewish community in Berehove in 1944]. Source: <https://www.clioinstitute.hu/single-post/2020/01/11/a-beregszaszi-zsidó-hitközség-német-sarcolása-1944-ben> p.1. (Retrieved on 16/07/21.)

³⁶ CSANÁDI, György. Sorsfordító évek sodrásában [In the twists and turns of destiny]. Ungvár 2004, p. 37.

³⁷ About the industry, cf. VOYTOVYCH, Leontii. Берегове на українсько-угорському пограниччі: міфи та історія [Berehove on the Ukrainian-Hungarian border: myths and history]. In PATER, I. Угорсько-українське пограниччя: етнополітичні, мовні та релігійні критерії самоідентифікації населення [Hungarian-Ukrainian border region: ethnopolitical, linguistic, and religious criteria for population self-identification]. Lviv 2020, pp. 53–54.

³⁸ CSANÁDI, Sorsfordító évek sodrásában ..., p. 38.

³⁹ DAZO, fund 721, archival list 1, storage units 640, 860.

⁴⁰ DAZO, fund 721, archival list 1, storage unit 1018, pp. 23, 27.

⁴¹ DAZO, fund 721, archival list 1, storage unit 799, pp. 15, 17, 33.

⁴² DAZO, fund 721, archival list 4, storage unit 1039, pp. 68, 120, 130.

⁴³ A Magyar Szent Korona országainak 1910. évi Népszámlálása..., p. 432.

In 1871, the Berehove Steam Mill Limited Liability Company was established with 600 shares. This may have multiplied the processing of cereals, which was also of great importance in a region that was still essentially agricultural in nature.⁴⁴ In 1876, two distilleries were opened to meet the needs. The first book printing house started operating in Berehove in 1846 under the leadership of György Deák. He was notable for inventing the application of printing ink by roller. In 1880, Lajos Nagy and Gyula Sallay bought the printing house from him and newly equipped it. There was a kaolin mine on the outskirts of the town⁴⁵, and a quartz deposit was used on Nagyhegy.⁴⁶

Thanks to the railway transport, the streets of the town were also expanded, connecting the centre with the railway station, which was possible after 1875 with the construction of the station. Many already at that time recognized the blessing effect of the railway on the development of the town, and determined labour mobility as a result.⁴⁷ From the economic point of view, the Borzhava Valley narrow-gauge railway, which started in 1904 and operated between Berehove and Kushnytsia via Dovhe (76 km), was important, its basic function was the transport of timber, but it also handled passenger traffic. Berehove gave the wooden warehouses a home, which provided jobs.⁴⁸

As for the structure of agricultural branches of the town, the following data can be highlighted. In 1900, its area was a total of 7,831 acres, of which arable land 3946, garden 285, meadow 1150, vineyard 886 (of which inland 253, unused land 633), pasture 117, forest 1093, reeds 0, non-productive 354 acres. The town had a small border relative to its population. The number of people living from agriculture was 1572. The proportions of cultivation were clear: agriculture was extensive, as evidenced by the 1094 farms. After the destruction of phylloxera, the town's vineyards were partially replanted. Livestock provided outstanding indicators compared to the region. The ratio of earners to dependents in the agricultural population was favourable (909: 1663 in 1900).⁴⁹ The number of people working in agriculture in the town around 1910: 1153 earners, 1533 dependents. In 1900 the number of people living in industry: 1426, the proportion of dependents in agriculture: 944: 1482, 934 people from trade, credit institutions, 520 people from transport: the number of civil servants, the number of freelancers: 1424, and the number of domestic servants: 505 persons (479 earners and 26 dependents) the latter were mostly private, most of them immigrants from the area, and they certainly accounted for part of the increase in the number of Ruthenians and Greek Catholics.⁵⁰

From the listed data, it becomes clear that local production was not enough to support the population of the town. In the area, on the other hand, a very cheap labour environment developed; from here they went to the Great Plain as reaping migrant workers. The

⁴⁴ DAZO, fund 721, archival list 1, storage units 161, 405, 1076.

⁴⁵ DAZO, fund 721, archival list 1, storage unit 633, pp. 1-61.

⁴⁶ DAZO, fund 721, archival list 4, storage unit 826, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁷ ZUBANICH, L. L. Місто над Верке. Гортаючи сторінки історії [The town on the Verke: Turning the pages of history]. Berehovo 2002, pp. 29-30.

⁴⁸ BENES, Karel. Vasúti közlekedés Kárpátalján [Rail transport in Transcarpathia]. Budapest 1996, p. 18.; DAZO, fund 721, archival list 1, storage unit 633, pp. 1-161; DAZO, fund 10, archival list 5, storage unit 544, pp. 1-57.

⁴⁹ SZABÓ, Beregszász dualizmus..., p. 99.

⁵⁰ A Magyar Szent Korona országának 1910. évi Népszámlálása, ref. 27, pp. 430, 432.

dominance of small companies was typical in the fields of industry, the handicraft and home industries were the dominant ones.⁵¹

Viticulture in this region provided exceptionally good yields and secure benefits for their owners. A significant part of the vineyards was concentrated in the hands of large landowners. From the centuries-old history of viticulture, two important people of this age are highlighted here who established themselves in the history of Berehove as good farmers and practitioners-experimenters. Count Ervin Schönborn-Buchheim played a significant role in the production of good quality wines from the vineyards around Berehove. The Count's wines won three gold and ten silver medals and eight commendatory diplomas at the 1st Highland Wine Exhibition held in Košice on September 16–20, 1880.⁵² The surcharge in wine production came in 1881, when phylloxera reached the Berehove wine region, which completely destroyed the vineyards in one year. Typically, Berehove used its own remedy for the grape disease. In 1885–1886, Nándor Czeiner experimented with the green graft he named, which he grafted into the thick-textured American vine species, thus succeeding in replanting a significant part of the plantations. Czeiner was the founder and first president of the Berehove Wine Community and the Berehove Vine Export Cooperative, and the Association of Hungarian Viticulturalists.⁵³

The town citizenry was happy to cultivate plantations on the hills near Berehove, which was considered a prestige in the town. In 1856, the most common grape varieties were: Furmint, Bereg rose, Ezerjő, Italian Riesling, Sauvignon, Seillon, Purchin, Oporto, Cabernet, Merlot, Verdot. The following grape varieties were already the most popular on the list compiled around 1875: Furmint, Rózsásbakator, Járdovány, Szerémizöld, Juhfark, Budaikék, Hárslevelű, Riesling, Muskotály (Muscat), Sárfekete. The abundant harvest allowed the winegrowers in Berehove not only to sell the wines locally but also to target the well-paying markets of Lviv and Vienna.⁵⁴ Viticulture remained a leading economic sector even after the fight against phylloxera. A professionally designed market brought significant revenues to vineyard owners.⁵⁵ The wines and wine producers of Berehove achieved excellent results at the national exhibition held in Budapest in 1896⁵⁶ and then at the world exhibition in Paris in 1900.

The nature of Berehove's status as a capital town became most conspicuous when a number of dignified public buildings were built, especially after the fire of 1880, when the town centre was almost completely rebuilt. It was then that most of the administrative and public education buildings that still function today were erected, of course with the help of state loans. The most significant of these are highlighted below.⁵⁷

⁵¹ DAZO, fund 721, archival list 1, storage unit 930, pp. 1-98; DAZO, fund 721, archival list 4, storage unit 1099, pp. 1-4.

⁵² CSANÁDI, Sorsfordító évek sodrásában..., pp. 110-111.

⁵³ KOVÁCS, Elemér. Beregszászi tükör: Útikönyv [Berehove Mirror: A travel guide]. Ungvár 2007, p. 55.

⁵⁴ DAZO, fund 721, archival list 2, storage unit 827, pp. 1-4.; KOVÁCS, Elemér. Szőlészet, borászat Beregvidéken [Viticulture and winemaking in Beregvidék]. Ungvár – Budapest 2009, pp. 8-9.

⁵⁵ DAZO, fund 721, archival list 2, storage units 1126, 1157.

⁵⁶ DAZO, fund 721, archival list 1, storage units 542-543.

⁵⁷ CSATÁRY, György. Beregszász a 18-19. században [Berehove in the 18th and 19th centuries]. In GALAMBOS, Sándor et al. Szabolcs-Szatmár-Beregi levéltári évkönyv [Szabolcs-Szatmár-Beregi archival yearbook]. Vol. 17. Nyíregyháza 2006, pp. 293-294.

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the role of the customs police expanded, so instead of the old scarce excise officer building, the construction of a financial administration palace was sharply proposed to comfortably accommodate the accounting and tax supervision department and the cash desk.⁵⁸ Although construction began in 1878, the finance office was later rebuilt several times. Finally, based on a plan submitted by the town's chief architect, Samu Méhes, the old buildings belonging to the finance department were reconstructed and new premises were added. The buildings could only become a continuous palace based on the plans of the urban architect Mihály Tvaroska. The financial palace was completed by the deadline of May 1904.⁵⁹

The two-storey county hall of Bereg County, which burned down in 1880, was built with the donation of Count Ervin Schönborn-Buchheim. In the big fire in the town, 44 houses burned down. Berehove took out a loan of HUF 320,000, demolished the burned-out buildings, including the shops and houses in the area, and erected ornate buildings and halls in their place. The new county hall was built in 1895.⁶⁰ The ceremonial hall was the scene of many important historical events. The lord-sheriffs and vice lord-sheriffs of the county were inaugurated here in a solemn framework, the famous guests of the town were received here, and the general assembly of Bereg County held its meetings here.

The town was able to start designing the courthouse from the sums it received from the state. A tender was announced for the design of the building, for which well-known architects applied. The winner was Ferenc Jablonszky, who submitted his plans for the architectural design competition in 1907. Finally, based on the successful work of architects István Kopasz and János Kopasz, as well as engineer István Erdélyi, the masterpiece could be built in 1908-1909.⁶¹

In 1873, the first state civil school was opened in the town, and in 1874 it was transformed into a state-aided, municipal civil school. In 1883, the Hungarian Minister of Public Education, Dr. Ágoston Trefort, finally declared the educational institution a civil boys' school which already had six classes in the 1886-1887 school year.⁶²

The Hungarian Royal Elementary Boys' School is the largest neo-baroque style building in the county, built in 1898-1901 according to the plans of architect Ödön Lechner. Its facade is decorated with folk motifs and bird ornaments. To this day, it serves public education purposes.⁶³

In the 1880s, the town authorities repeatedly applied to the ministry to open a grammar school in Berehove. Finally, the petition of the county superintendent Ferenc Halász proved to be successful, who, with the help of lord-sheriff Baron Zsigmond Perényi, justified in detail the need to open the grammar school. His request was also supported by

⁵⁸ DAZO, fund 721, archival list 2, storage unit 1159, pp. 1-9.

⁵⁹ DAZO, fund 721, archival list 1, storage unit 728, pp. 1-108.

⁶⁰ DAZO, fund 10, archival list 5, storage unit 194, pp. 6-8.; DAZO, fund 10, archival list 5, storage unit 74, pp. 1-4.; DESCHMANN, Alajos. Kárpátalja műemlékei [Monuments of Transcarpathia]. Budapest 1990, pp. 74-75.

⁶¹ DAZO, fund 721, archival list 1, storage unit 324, p. 1-55.

⁶² FRING, Erzsébet. A beregszászi 6. számú Általános Iskola. Az iskola történetéből. [Primary School No. 6 in Berehove. From the history of the school]. In *Közoktatás* (Journal of the Transcarpathian Hungarian Pedagogical Association), 2006, vol. 13, no. 2-3, pp. 13-14.

⁶³ PAPP, Lajos. A Beregszászi Állami Polgári Fiúiskola évkönyve [Yearbook of the Berehove State Civil Boys' School]. Beregszász 1940, pp. 4-5.

the 1887 General Assembly of Bereg County. The town council approached the ministry with a request to have an eight-grade grammar school in the town instead of a sciences school. The plan came to fruition in 1895, when Dr. Gyula Wlassich, Minister of Religion and Public Education, agreed to transform the sciences school into a grammar school.⁶⁴ On September 15, 1895, the 1st class of the Berehove State Grammar School opened with 66 students. In 1896, the town council bought plots of land. In the early years, however, it could operate in cramped conditions.⁶⁵ On August 25, 1899, a decision was made to build the main building, which was completed in 1901; the plan of the building was prepared by Samu Pecz, a public professor at the Technical University.⁶⁶ The new building of the grammar school was inaugurated on October 5, 1902 in a ceremonial setting.

The idea of establishing the Bereg County Casino stems from Tamás Eötvös second vice lord-sheriff. After the association was founded in 1841, the venue for the gatherings was one of the upstairs corner rooms of the Golden Lion Inn. The Statute of the casino was adopted and in 1884. Mihály Medvigy, who was President of the association at the time, raised the need to build their headquarters together with its plans. However, the settlement of the issue did not move forward for a long time due to the lack of the necessary financial resources, so money collection was organized. The plan of the building was prepared by engineers József Pum and Zsigmond Szilágyi, so the building could be completed by November 1890.⁶⁷ A decade later, however, this board made a decision to expand the building. On October 3, 1911, the town announced a tender for the design of a new casino building. The judges approved the plan of Gyula Beszenszky, an architect from Mukachevo.⁶⁸ The tender for the construction was won by Samu Méhes, an architect from Berehove. Demolition and construction took a year. The grand opening of the casino took place on July 6, 1913, after which the county balls and cultural gatherings were held here.⁶⁹

The political and economic elite of the city and the county were united in the casino, which had about one hundred and fifty members, starting with the lord-sheriff, it meant officials, landowners, doctors, etc., who wielded considerable influence in the region. Personal questions related to politics were often decided here.⁷⁰

Associations with city or county jurisdiction could operate and institutionalize for a public benefit purpose, basically with the voluntary support of private individuals, over which the authority exercised only supervision.⁷¹ The conditions for granting an operating

⁶⁴ DAZO, fund 721, archival list 1, storage unit 502, pp. 1-73. Also cf. SIYARTOVA, G. I. – SPIVAK, B. I. Беґерове [Berehove]. In BELOUSOV et al. Історія міст і сіл Української РСР. Закарпатська обл [The History of Cities and Villages of the Ukrainian SSR]. Kyiv 1969. pp. 116-117.

⁶⁵ DAZO, fund 10, archival list 5, storage unit 160, pp. 1-15.; DAZO, fund 10, archival list 5, storage unit 237, p. 64.

⁶⁶ DAZO, fund 721, archival list 1, storage unit 569 „a“, pp. 1-144.; See BENDA, István – OROSZ, László (eds.). A Beregszászi Magyar Gimnázium története [History of the Berehove Hungarian Grammar School]. Budapest 1990, 282 p.

⁶⁷ ZUBANICH, The town on the Verke..., pp. 29-30.

⁶⁸ DESCHMANN, Kárpátalja műemlékei..., pp. 111-112.

⁶⁹ CSANÁDI, Sorsfordító évek sodrásában..., pp. 42-43.

⁷⁰ KOZMA, György. A Beregmegyei Kaszinó százéves története [The hundred-year history of the Bereg County Casino]. Budapest 1941, p. 129.

⁷¹ DOMANICZKY, Endre. A jogállam és a civil szektor, különös tekintettel a helyi önkormányzatokra [The rule of law and the civil sector, with special respect to local governments]. Doctoral thesis manuscript. Pécs 2008, pp. 18, 33.

license were laid down by law, but they gave the authorities a wide margin of discretion. The regulation of associations was almost without exception by decrees. From the 1870s onwards, social associations gradually gained ground, at which time a total of 43 associations operated in the town, 10 of which were of general county interest and the rest for the dissemination of local charity or common interests.⁷² The already mentioned Bereg County Casino was founded in 1841,⁷³ later in 1845 the Bereg County Readers' Association was established by the town intelligence on the initiative of Tamás Eötvös, second vice lord-sheriff. Later, the Bereg Readers' Association merged with the Casino. In addition to conversing and entertainment, the association's goal was to spread reading and educated behaviour.⁷⁴ The statutes of the Bereg County Readers' Association were adopted in 1880 by the Ministry of Home Affairs under number 51743. In 1881, it had 104 members, with an annual membership fee of HUF 6.⁷⁵

In September 1870, the Masonry Lodge „Light“ was established in Berehove. It had 65 members and was approved by the government in November 1870.⁷⁶ The Berehove and Rural Women's Association was founded on March 30, 1873 with 180 members. It had 25 founders, 33 supporters, 43 regular and 58 other members, with an annual fee of HUF 6. Mrs. Sándor Gönczy was elected president, who was awarded a gold cross in 1879. Its aim was to promote public education, and home industry.⁷⁷ The Bereg County Economic Association was founded on February 24, 1875 in Berehove, on the initiative of István Horváth, the county lord-sheriff. Its purpose was to support the economic interests of the county. That year, with 270 founding, ordinary and supporting members, it had a total of HUF 733 from the annual membership fee and it had a foundation capital of HUF 800.⁷⁸

The enlightened nobility of the county also contributed significantly to the formation of the public cultural life of the town. The Hungarian Public Culture Association of Bereg County also stood out with its versatile activities. The aim of the association was to spread the Hungarian language and culture in non-Hungarian-speaking areas. The association helped non-Hungarian-speaking residents to learn Hungarian.⁷⁹ Around the turn of the century, twenty-two associations were established in the country, creating conditions for the non-Hungarian speaking population to learn the state language.⁸⁰

After preliminary organization, the Hungarian Public Culture Association of Bereg County held its founding general meeting on May 16, 1883.⁸¹ At that time, the association had 13 founding members, 172 regular members, and 148 supporting members, with a

⁷² LEHOCZKY, Beregvármegye monographiája..., pp. 123-124.

⁷³ KOZMA, A Beregvármegyei Kaszinó..., pp. 1-183.

⁷⁴ The first library of the casino was created from the donation of the first vice lord-sheriff of Bereg county, the poet György Bay (1792–1849).; CSATÁRY, Beregszász a 18-19. Században..., p. 104.

⁷⁵ Bereg, 1890, vol. 16, no. 41, p. 3. Kaszinó megnyitás [Opening the Casino].

⁷⁶ Beregi Újság, 1904, vol. 1, no. 13, pp. 6-7. „Világosság“ Szabadkőművesek Beregszászban.

⁷⁷ TÚRI, Gréta. Egyleteink a Bereg hasábjain [Our associations in the columns of Bereg]. In Közoktatás (Journal of the Transcarpathian Hungarian Pedagogical Association), 2010, vol. 17, no.1-2, p. 24.

⁷⁸ LEHOCZKY, Beregvármegye monographiája..., pp. 122-124.

⁷⁹ Pesti Hírlap, 1883, vol. 5, no. 31, p. 3. Magyar egyesület Beregvármegyében [Hungarian association in Bereg County].

⁸⁰ Pallas nagy lexikona, [The Pallas great lexicon]. Budapest: Pallas Irodalmi és Nyomdai Részvénytársaság, 1900, p. 190.

⁸¹ Nemzet, 1883, vol. 2, no. 30. p. 226. Egyesületek és társulatok [Associations and societies].

total of 333 paying members. The officers of the Mukachevo-Chynadiyevo dominium increased the number of regular members of the association by 31 people.⁸² The statutes developed by superintendent Ferenc Halász⁸³ were adopted. Among them were the leaders of the county intelligentsia, who declared their task to be the dissemination of the Hungarian language without any coercion, and the improvement of the material and moral situation of the population.⁸⁴ They saw no task in the dissemination of the Hungarian language in the town itself, due to the almost completely homogeneous linguistic environment.⁸⁵

At the beginning, they received significant financial support from lord-sheriff baron Zsigmond Perényi, the Berehove Credit Institute, the Berehove County Defence Association, the Berehove Reading Association and other individuals.⁸⁶ The Berehove County Public Culture Association, primarily as a school organizer, rewarded teachers and students, monitored the processes that had an impact on public culture, and was also involved in the fight against alcoholism and the development of cottage industry.⁸⁷ Under limited financial conditions, they implemented the policy of the state by maintaining kindergartens and schools, in parallel with the spread of the Hungarian language. Teachers and students who successfully mastered the state language were rewarded.⁸⁸ They started a movement for the systematic training of employed kindergarten teachers in the methodology of Hungarian speech teaching.⁸⁹ The activities of the association were interrupted with the outbreak of the First World War.

The county-town weekly was published as an expression and defender of intellectual civilization and the interests of the town. The background of this process was not only the need for intelligence, but also the assertion of interests against Mukachevo. In 1874, the first newspaper entitled *Bereg* was published as a publication of the county administration. It started as a weekly newspaper of social and county interest, and then became the official gazette of the county education inspectorate, and at the same time was the mouthpiece of many non-governmental organizations, including the Economic Association. The paper played a role in shaping the county's intelligence and forming its opinion. It may have appeared until the Soviet Republic in 1919. Among the famous editors, we highlight Sándor

⁸² *Bereg*, 1883, vol. 10, no. 14, pp. 2-3. Vegyes hírek [Mixed news]; SZARKA, Tivadar. Jegyzőkönyv [Minutes]. In *Bereg*, 1883, vol. 10, no. 35, pp. 1-2.

⁸³ Halász (Fischer) Ferenc (1849—1910). He was a teacher until 1882. He graduated from the law academy in Kassa. In 1876, he became a school inspector in Bereg County, and from 1895 he was the head of the public education sub-department in the Ministry of Religion and Public Education.

⁸⁴ The patron of the association was Count Ervin Schönborn Bucheim, its president was Baron Zsigmond Perényi, the county chief, its vice president was Béla Hunyady, its director was Ferenc Halász, its secretary was Tamás Szalay, the prosecutor was Dr. Kamil Buzáth, and its treasurer was Béla Nagy. The central board and committee members were: Gyula Jobszty, Ödön Tájnel, István Kovács, István Bloksay, István Horváth Hetei, Antal Pasqual, Károly Peterdy, János Deskó, József Pap, János Merényi, Elek Szeles, Tivadar Lehoczky, Ferenc Guthy, Gyula Horthy, Károly Buzáth, Pál Berzsenyi, Sándor Katona and Endre Péchy.

⁸⁵ *Bereg*, 1883, vol. 10, no. 5, p. 2. A „beregmegyei magyar közművelődési egyesület” szervezésére kiküldött bizottság első gyűlése 1883. jan. 30. [The first meeting of the committee sent to organize the „Bereg County Hungarian Public Culture Association” January 30, 1883].

⁸⁶ DAZO, fund 675, archival list 1, storage unit 1632, p. 1.

⁸⁷ *Bereg*, 1883, vol. 10, no. 12, pp. 1-2. A Beregmegyei magyar közművelődési egyesülethez (Vége.) [To the „Bereg County Hungarian Public Culture Association (End.)”]

⁸⁸ *Bereg*, 1883, vol. 10, no. 33, p. 1. Megyei Hivatalos Közlemény [County Official Statement].

⁸⁹ DAZO, fund 10, archival list 5, storage unit 86, pp. 6-10.

Janka⁹⁰ and the poet Sándor Kóródy.⁹¹ *Bereg* was followed by *Bereg County Education Department* (Beregmegyei Tanügy) from 1886 as the official monthly bulletin of the Teachers' Association. There were also weekly newspapers with iris life, which did not appear for even a year, including the *Bereg Inspector* (Beregi Ellenőr), the social-educational weekly or the *Bereg County Monday Paper* (Beregmegyei Hétfői Újság) in 1911. The *Official Gazette of Bereg County* (Beregvármegye Hivatalos Lapja) was published as the official announcement from 1903.⁹²

The theatre in Berehove, during this period, was embodied by travelling actors. In the absence of a proper theatre building, their performances were usually held at the Golden Lion Hotel. Typically, in the tighter spring times, the town intelligence showed less interest in acting. Theatrical performances always had to be authorized by the town leadership.⁹³ The audience was able to find out about the performances of the travelling actors in the press columns.

In the 1870s and 1880s, the most successful theatre company was the one led by Ignác Krecsányi, where the first heir member of the National Theatre, Kornélia Szerdahelyiné-Prielle, also performed. Actress Laura Gyöngyössyné-Mátray presented eight performances to the town, which were a great success with her performance of „Romeo and Juliet“. Vilmos Lászy theatre director's company was also supported by the population. Lászy gave several performances in Berehove in the early 1880s. In 1881, the theatre season began on July 30, with the tragedy of „László V“, in the Great Hall of the Lion's Restaurant.⁹⁴ The experience was that in the spring the visiting theatre directors, such as István Fodor, Lajos Károlyi, Gyula Miklossy, Andor Gerőfi, regularly closed the season with a loss. In conclusion, one theatre season proved to be enough for the residents of Berehove, and that, too, in the autumn period. On July 14, 1884, the actress Laura Helvey made a detour to Berehove during her trip from Uzhhorod to Sighetu Marmăției and gave a successful performance for the town. The dramatic actress starred in „Iron Factory Owner (Vasgyáros)“ and „Fedora“ and, thanks to her reputation, the public showed a keen interest in the theatre.⁹⁵ Despite the varying successes, it is typical that old-fashioned performances became rewarding when people were organized for the performances. Therefore it was important to set up an association that patronized theatre performances. Led by Sándor Kóródy,⁹⁶ who wrote several articles in the columns of *Bereg* in 1893, the foundations of the Literary and Art Supporters' Association were laid on March 25. The aim of the association was to

⁹⁰ Bereg, 1901, vol. 27, no. 1, p. 1. Janka Sándor [Sándor Janka].

⁹¹ GERGELY, György. Kóródy Sándor emlékezete [Memory of Sándor Kóródy]. In *Bereg*, 1908, vol. 34, no. 52, pp. 5-9.

⁹² LÁSZLÓ-SZARKA, Ágota (ed.). Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg megye (a történelmi Bereg, Szabolcs, Szatmár, Ugocsa és Ung vármegyék) sajtóbibliográfiája (1845-2000) [Press bibliography of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county (the historical counties of Bereg, Szabolcs, Szatmár, Ugocsa and Ung) (1845-2000)]. Nyíregyháza 2002, pp. 27-35.

⁹³ DAZO, fund 721, archival list 2, storage unit 1101, p. 1.; DAZO, fund 721, archival list 2, storage unit 711, p. 1-18.

⁹⁴ Bereg, 1877, vol. 4, no. 31, p. 3. Színészet [Acting].

⁹⁵ Further articles about the Berehove theatrical performances: Bereg, 1881, vol. 7, no. 31, p. 3. Színészet [Acting]; Bereg, 1884, vol. 10, no. 29, p. 3. Színészet [Acting].

⁹⁶ Bereg, 1893, vol. 19, no. 18, pp. 2-3. A Beregmegyei Irodalmi és Műpártoló Egyesület alapszabályai [Statute of the Literary and Art Supporters' Association of Bereg County].

support and help literacy culture, including literature and the performing arts.⁹⁷ After that, the theatre performances became much more successful. The theatrical company of Ágh and Beránek,⁹⁸ the company of Péter Deák in 1898, the company of Sándor Krémer in 1901 were already financially successful.⁹⁹

An interesting highlight of the town's theatrical life was the Edison Theatre, presented in 1902, which projected images to the audience. The town intelligence collected money for an impressive theatre building over several years, however, until World War I, this plan failed to materialize.

As long as the city could borrow at reasonable interest rates, it undertook high-cost investments in construction and urban planning, but war preparations halted the inflow of money and the development of the city.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the town entered a qualitatively new era during the period under review, which, despite its downsides, shows significant positive aspects. If we compare the data from Berehove with the changes in the neighbouring cities, it is clear that progress was modest, but the natural and economic conditions in the neighbouring cities were different. Berehove successfully combined the meagre economic advantages with the influence of his politicians, thanks to which it was able to maintain its status as a capital city and, even if in a peripheral position, it was able to provide its citizens with a living, the possibility of urbanization and, in parallel, the future.

This study is the result of the first part of our research on Berehove, and will cover the town's historical periods in the 20th century. The next part will examine the 20 years of the Czechoslovak Republic by exploring the social and economic features that influenced the town's multifaceted development, with the help of hitherto largely unknown primary sources.

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⁹⁷ Bereg, 1893, vol. 19, no. 12, 1-2. A Beregmegyei Irodalmi és Műpártoló Egyesület [Literary and Art Supporters' Association of Bereg County].

⁹⁸ Bereg, 1897, vol. 23, no. 9, 3-4. Színészet: Ágh és Beránek társulata Beregszászon [Acting: Ágh and Beránek's company in Berehove].

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