

Chapter 2

History of the City: Changes in Its Functions and Demographic Processes, Transformation of the Ground Plan and the Settlement Structure

Abstract The impact of the geographical environment that changes with time, and the epochs used by historians were the foundations for the segmentation of the chapter in the history of Budapest. This way the chapter is a comprehensive summary of the development history of a metropolis for the readers. The most important pieces of information from the empirical research findings of considerable quantity were selected, in an easily understandable style. When comprehending the concept of the settlement, the authors focused on the historical changes of the interrelated and cooperating systems of natural, social, economic and infra-structural spheres. Based on their previous researches, the authors distinguished two types of spatial development: multi-core (multi-focal) and single-core (mono-focal) development types. In the base plan of the capital city we can thus see several types of base plan, which are the results of partly spontaneous and partly planned growth, or outcomes of ex-post interventions, irrespective of each other, in the different periods of time. Later these were amalgamated, due the increase in the size of the city, and developed into a radio-concentric base plan on the Pest side, and a system of more scattered city parts on the Buda side, due to the restricting impact of the orography. The description of the changes in population, functions and the base plan is made more comprehensible and plausible by maps and figures.

Keywords Form of base plan • Settlement structure • Multi-focal spatial development • Mono-focal spatial development • City core • Peripheral districts

2.1 Preliminaries of Urban Development

The physical geographical endowments promoting the development of a settlement into a city and then a capital city were actually utilised by the people living here, depending on the level of development they were at in the respective historical times, because practically each function of a settlement (place of residence,

workplace, recreation, and the operational combination of these) has a changing role and varied importance for people. Accordingly, when introducing the urban development of a city, in addition to the enumeration of positional energies, the functional and image character of the settlement must be taken into consideration as well, together with the demographic circumstances. All these are interpreted as parts of a development process, keeping in mind that each historical period was preceded by former phases of development. A settlement in a *system approach* then (i.e., a cooperating system of social, economic, infrastructural, and natural spheres based on interactions) is an entity that continuously changes in space and time (Tóth 2012). Its history can be interpreted in a simplified way as a process in which two opposite principles of urban development—territorial and network dominance—are effective. The *territory-oriented development phase* means the stabilisation of the settlement in the process: then the settlement first gains control over and then fills up and organises the space available for it. In the *network-oriented development phase*, on the other hand, it is the expansion and spread of the functions of the settlement that take place, so this is a ‘pioneer phase’.

The first ‘prehistoric peoples’ of whom we have written data and artefacts are a Celtic tribe called the Eravisci. Archaeologists excavated their handicrafts and trading settlements on the Gellért Hill. The first real town-building nation in the territory of Budapest, however, was the Romans who conquered Pannonia in the first years AD. and annexed the province to their empire. The border of the province towards the so-called Barbaricum was the Danube River, and a *limes* was built as a control zone along the river. The *limes* was actually a well-structured linear system with sporadic elements, soldiers’ cities, fortresses, and watchtowers. Several remains from this era can still be seen in Budapest, such as the Castellum in Tétény, Contra-Aquincum on the left bank of the Danube, on Március 15 Square, or the ruins of the palace of Governor Hadrianus on Hajógyári (shipyard) Island. The most significant of all these was Aquincum in the place of the present Óbuda (Fig. 2.1). Aquincum was one of the military and administrative centres of Pannonia, with a population of approximately 30,000. The military camp was responsible for the defence of the ferries and the citizens of the civil city, given the rank ‘colonia’ in 194 AD, located beside the ferry and who were able to trade with the peoples of the Barbaricum, using the advantages of these ferries.

Although the 2,000-year-old culture of the Romans is still influential, no continuity can be shown between the Roman towns and the towns founded after the Hungarian Conquest (Beluszky 2007). This is because of the different social roles of the town in the Antique Age and Medieval Times: the ancient town had administrative, military, cultural, and cultic functions in the Roman Empire, whereas the medieval town was created by the division of labour, as well as goods exchange between towns and villages, and its essence was autonomy. The decline of the Roman Empire in the time of the Great Migrations and the decay of the values and practices of Roman civilisation resulted in the fact that the medieval people could not evaluate the constructions of Roman culture; they considered them as foreign enclaves.

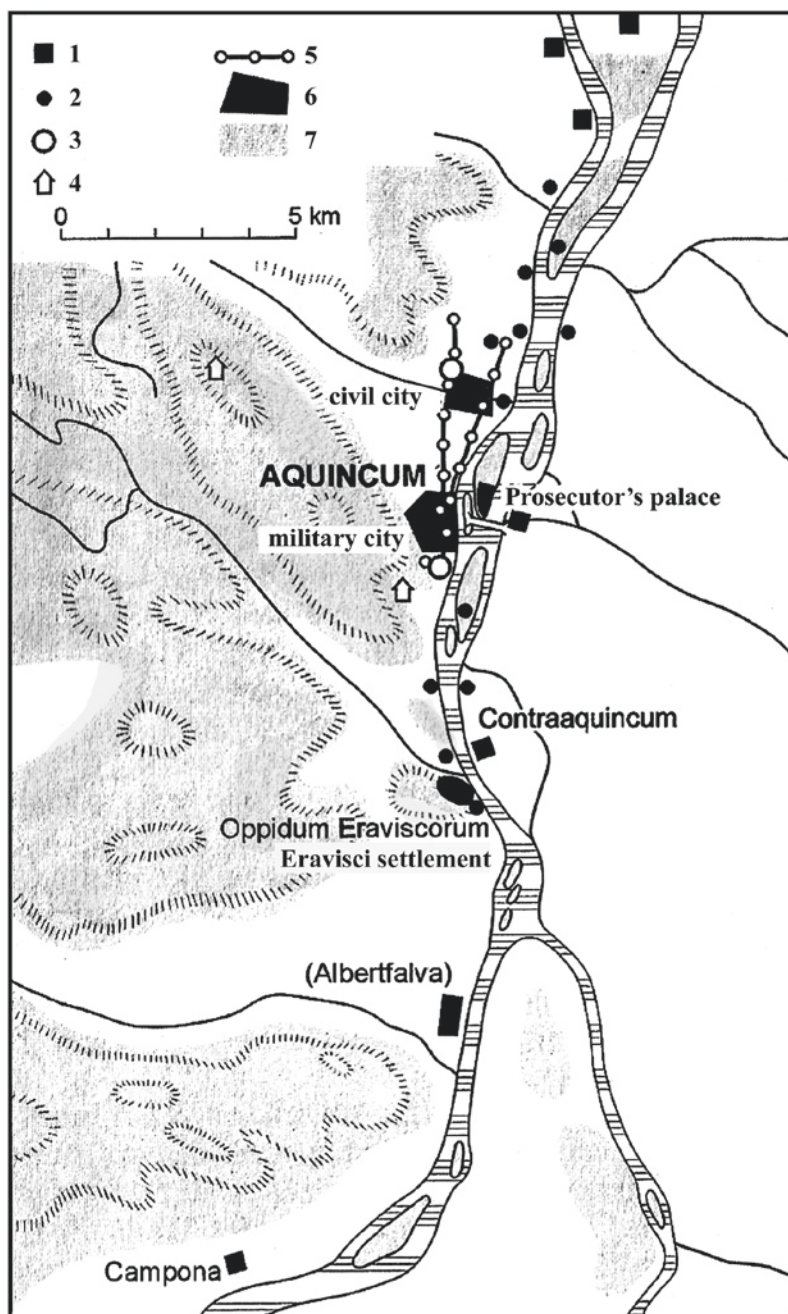


Fig. 2.1 Budapest and its environment in Roman times. 1 fortress; 2 watchtower; 3 amphitheatre; 4 villa; 5 water pipe; 6 settlement; 7 forest. Source Izsák (2003)

2.2 Roles in the Middle Ages

At the time of the foundation of the state after the Conquest, the development of the city practically started again. The geographical energies of the area of the settlement were evaluated again. This meant that although the geometrical centre of the Hungarian Kingdom built in the Carpathian Basin was not here but in the proximity of Szarvas, the most densely populated areas of Hungary in the Árpád Age were west of the Danube River heading southwards, which necessitated a more western centre compared to the geometric middle of the historical country. This centre, the wider environment of which was the domain of the rulers from the Árpád House, was actually three cities that shared the capital city functions at that time: they were Esztergom, Székesfehérvár, and Óbuda. Esztergom was the clerical centre and one of the most important residences of the Hungarian kings; they were crowned and buried in Székesfehérvár, the sacral centre, whereas Óbuda operated as the centre of the royal domain and had local administrative functions. Pest-Buda was not among these centres yet: they caught up with the previous three cities by the early thirteenth century, with the strengthening of their economic and defence functions. From this time on, goods transported from the North Adriatic ports across Transdanubia reached the Danube River at the ferry of Pest; simultaneously, the significance of the pilgrimage route to Jerusalem (and of Székesfehérvár) decreased. Busy animal fairs were held in Pest where, in addition to the livestock, mass products of the division of labour among the regions were also exchanged. A considerable number of South German craftsmen appeared in the settlement, in addition to the Ishmaelite merchants.

Pest and Óbuda were given free royal city status in 1231. Their development was interrupted by the Mongol invasion: Pest, Óbuda, and the nearby trading settlements were destroyed. King Béla IV, in fear of the return of the Mongols, ordered the construction of stone castles all over the country. The castle of Buda was one of the first ones, built in 1247. Following this, the surviving inhabitants of Pest and Buda were moved to Vár Hill, together with the new settlers of German origin. Pest, surrounded by a city wall, was resettled soon as well, although it existed as the suburb of Buda until the early fifteenth century. Fast recovery was not only due to the fear of another Mongol attack but also to the fact that the conditions of urbanisation—goods production and exchange—were by and large present in Hungary by the thirteenth century, from which Buda and Pest benefitted. The two cities were situated at the crossing of major trade routes, in the vicinity of a controllable ferry on the Danube River. This helped not only the stabilisation of trade but also promoted the economic progress of handicraftsmen's guilds. A sign of development is that King Louis the Great chose Buda as his permanent place of residence, and decisions on issues of national importance were made on the Rákosmező. On the south part of the Vár the royal court was built, and suburban settlements were built in the neighbourhood of today's Víziváros and Tabán for those remaining outside the city walls. The walled city of Pest kept in touch with the world outside through the gates built at the incoming roads. The lively traffic of roads and Danubian ferries marked an operation

different from that of the previous centuries: trade, the dominant activity of the city's economy, was built on the network of ferries and roads. Pest and Buda gradually got hold of the economic and political centre functions of Hungary in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries.

The pair of cities became the most populated settlement in Hungary: the number of inhabitants was 12–15 thousand in Buda and 10,000 in Pest, most of them Hungarians by ethnicity. Their merchants, among whom were many citizens from South Germany, Austria, and North Italy, were more and more integrated into international trade. They transferred goods from Western and Southern Europe to Bohemia, Poland, and Russia, and extended their operation to the total territory of Hungary: three-quarters of all goods arriving in Hungary were distributed by the tradesmen of Pest and Buda. They were the wealthiest citizens of Hungary. The industry of the two cities was organised by guilds. In the sixteenth century there were 25 guilds in Buda and 11 in Pest. From the time of the rule of King Sigmund, who held his court in Buda and moved national authorities here from Visegrád, a growing number of officers made the circle of Buda citizens more diverse, including several officers of national rank. Also under the reign of Sigmund, the international relations of Buda were extended, as the Hungarian ruler was also the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. This resulted in the strengthening of the power and administrative functions.

By the second half of the fifteenth century Pest and Buda with their diverse international economic and political relations were undoubtedly the capital city of the medieval Hungarian state. Their combined population was similar to those of the Central European capital cities, and contemporary foreigners considered the two cities as a single economic unit at that time. The development of the cities to the level of urbanisation of Western Europe, however, was jeopardised by several factors, of which we mention three. First, Buda did get closer and closer to the West but was predominantly the receiver and not the maker of these foreign relations. Its trade, as we could see, was distributing trade primarily, the profit of which was gained by the mediators and therefore the Hungarian merchants were able to realise smaller yields than their Southern German or Northern Italian counterparts. Second, the changes induced by the great geographical discoveries fundamentally altered in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries the many thousand-year-old system of world economy, including the European economic space. The major beneficiaries of the changes were on the coast of the English Channel: the Netherlands, England, and Northern France became the centre of world economy. The Rhine Valley of North Italy, among the most developed regions of Europe in the Middle Ages, still lived relatively well but the pace of their development soon started to lag behind the new centre, as they were bypassed by the main trade routes. This densely populated, urbanised, and industrialised macroregion was surrounded by a wide zone of semi-periphery (the Baltic Region, Central Europe including the Kingdom of Hungary, and the Mediterranean) where industrialisation and urbanisation halted and which became the suppliers of foods and raw materials to the centre, and a market of its industrial goods in exchange. The *coup de grâce* for the further development of the capital city of Hungary was the invasion of the Ottoman Empire.

The defeat in the battle of Mohács and the subsequent anarchy were the end of life for the medieval Hungarian state: the undefended Hungarian capital city was occupied by the Turks in 1541. In the one and a half centuries following this Buda suffered five sieges, and although the Turks were able to keep the castle and the inner city of Buda each time, Pest was occupied several times and become an impoverished, insignificant, and derelict town. Óbuda and the Víziváros were destroyed, too (Beluszky 2007). Buda became a centre of a Turkish Vilayet; the Pasha of Buda was directly appointed by the court of the Sultan. This meant that Buda, a country centre with European relations became a province centre on the periphery of the Ottoman Empire, a border city under Turkish rule. The ethnic composition of the population of the garrison city and fortress changed, too. After the Germans, some of the Hungarians fled as well; Turkish troops were stationed in large numbers in Buda and smaller numbers in Pest. More exactly, some of the Muslim soldiers were Bosnian and Albanian by mother tongue; Turks were not the majority among them. The 'real' Turks living in Buda were mostly civil citizens, handicraftsmen, and merchants. The poorer population outside the city walls resided in the southern suburb of Buda, in the Tabán (Tímárváros). The reconquest of Buda in 1686 caused many casualties and much destruction. The final victorious charge of 2 September was followed by demolition and spoliation, after which 4,000 people were left dead on the streets of the Castle and almost 6,000 were captured. Buda and Pest, together with their suburbs, became uninhabited ruins.

2.3 Enlargement of the Ground Plan Within the City Walls

As we could see by the example of Budapest, it may happen several times in the history of a city that its functions change, the population is exchanged, and the demographic processes rapidly change. These elements of the history of a city in themselves are not enough then to define the circumstances of the birth of cities clearly. In order to understand the history of the birth of cities and the growth and spatial expansion of the city we have to find components that only change slowly, are effective for centuries, and thus they carry and reflect the marks of the spatiality of the settlement. The most suitable for this purpose is to look at the ground plan of a city, as the ground plan is a long living structure in the history of a settlement. The most important features of the ground plan include the character of the street network, the look of the blocks and sites surrounded by the respective streets, and the style of development. These features of the ground plan are extremely durable. The ground plan of the settlement is actually a top-view image that features proportionately the elements responsible for the spatial character of the settlement. The most important elements of the ground plan are streets, squares, public places, and the areas organised by the street network. The latter allows us to draw conclusions about the structure of the settlement. The ground plan of cities can be examined from two aspects: from a morphological viewpoint by the examination of the elements of the ground plan, and from the viewpoint

of genetics, that is, on the basis of the birth of the cities. The latter of these two enjoys priority, as this is the foundation of the birth of a city. The temporal examination of the ground plan, the look of Budapest, is thus the historical foreword to the settlement geography of Budapest.

There are two basic types of ground plans of cities: the group of naturally grown cities—they are older—and that of the founded cities. In the case of big cities such as Budapest it often happens that the ground plan of the city is complex and heterogeneous, involving different styles. The irregular ground plan of naturally grown cities evolves by concentration, on the one hand, and by extension outwards. In Buda this concentration was adapted to a natural element, the Buda Vár Hill, where the street network of the city built on a plateau followed the curves of the edge of the plateau. Later, as the city grew, it spread to a different area, to the areas at the foot of the plateau in the Middle Ages; see, for example, today's Víziváros and Krisztinaváros. This is why the ground plan of the latter differs from the street network of the Castle area (Fig. 2.2).

The straight streets of Krisztinaváros were built in the valley of the Ördög Ditch, and the streets of the Víziváros partly on the level curves of the northeast slopes of the Castle, and partly following the bank of the Danube River (Prinz, Gy.). Founded cities, however, have a regular, planned ground plan structure. Some say that the capital city of Hungary, as a young metropolis, is actually a planned city; think, for example, of the already mentioned radio-concentric structure of the Pest side of the plain, constructed after the Compromise.

The settlement structure of the Castle of Buda has remained basically unchanged since the thirteenth century. The ring of streets following the rim of the plateau narrowing down to the south finishes at Dísz Square. The northern, wider, part was divided into blocks by three streets parallel to each other. At the encounter of two of these, Országház Street and the ring, Szentháromság (Trinity) Square was built, with the Boldogasszony (Our Lady) Church (the present Matthias Church), the parish church of the German-speaking citizens, on it. There already stood a church for the Hungarian population on Kapisztrán Square, but only the ruins and the tower of the Magdalene Church have survived. The city gates were where they are now. The market street was the wider Tárnok Street, but daily and weekly markets were also held on the squares around the churches (Fig. 2.3).

Because of the growth of population, from the second half of the thirteenth century the district called Víziváros (Water City) was gradually built out between the castle and the Danube. In the Middle Ages five suburbs of Buda could be found in the place of today's Víziváros. The suburb called Szentpéter (St. Peter) in its medieval name had a busy trade in fodder and cereals. Some parts of it were called Tótfalu or Taschental. This is where the Danubian port of Buda was located and the road using the ancient Roman route, following the river, also ran here. The Castle District had medieval towns on its south as well that later grew into the city, like the districts called Szentistván and Szentmihály, increasing the territory of the present Víziváros again (Fig. 2.4).

The site of Pest was marked by the ferry at Tabán. The Pest bridgehead of this was already protected by the Romans with a fortress (Contra-Aquincum). This



Fig. 2.2 The street map of the Castle differs from both that of the Víziváros and Krisztinaváros (mainly due to the differences in elevation). *Source* Mendöl (1963)

fortification still has its impact on the present structure of Pest (Fig. 2.5). The ferry at the narrowest part of the Danube was appreciated for the first time in the history of Hungary when the 'Nagykörös' spillstream of the river was slowly filled up with sediment. The hollow called Rákossziget in literature sources became easily permeable in the century after the Hungarian Conquest. The oldest known shape of Pest resembles an irregular rectangle, the longer side of which followed the bank of the Danube and was very narrow in the north, at today's Kristóf Square, and continuously widened to the south, to the line of Irányi Street. The traffic was

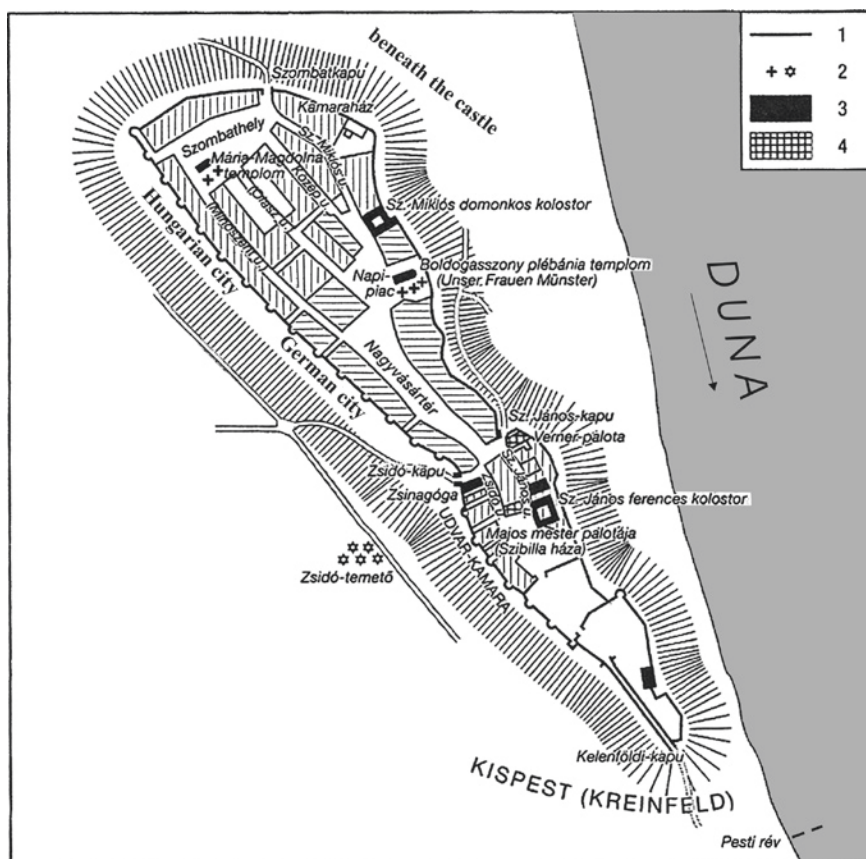


Fig. 2.3 Settlers in Buda Vár Hill in the second half of the thirteenth century. 1 Castle wall; 2 cemetery; 3 church; 4 palace. Source Györffy (1975)

managed by the main street parallel to the river, at the northern section of the present Váci Street, in a north–south direction.

The north gate of Pest was at the crossing point of the ferry, and the market-place was also at the streets meeting at the ferry. Along these streets was the basic structure of Budapest, the boulevards built in the nineteenth century (with the exception of Andrásy Street that was designed on a drawing board). The Parish Church of the city was the still existing—but many times refurbished—Downtown Parish Church at the Pest head of the Erzsébet Bridge. As a matter of fact, the territory designated by the ferry is still the heart of the country today, part of the inner city of Budapest (Fig. 2.6).

The origin of the names is interesting. This early urbanised settlement was first called Pest in the twelfth century. First the ferry at Tabán was called Pest Ferry (Pest-rév), which means a hot oven in Slavic language, as a reference to

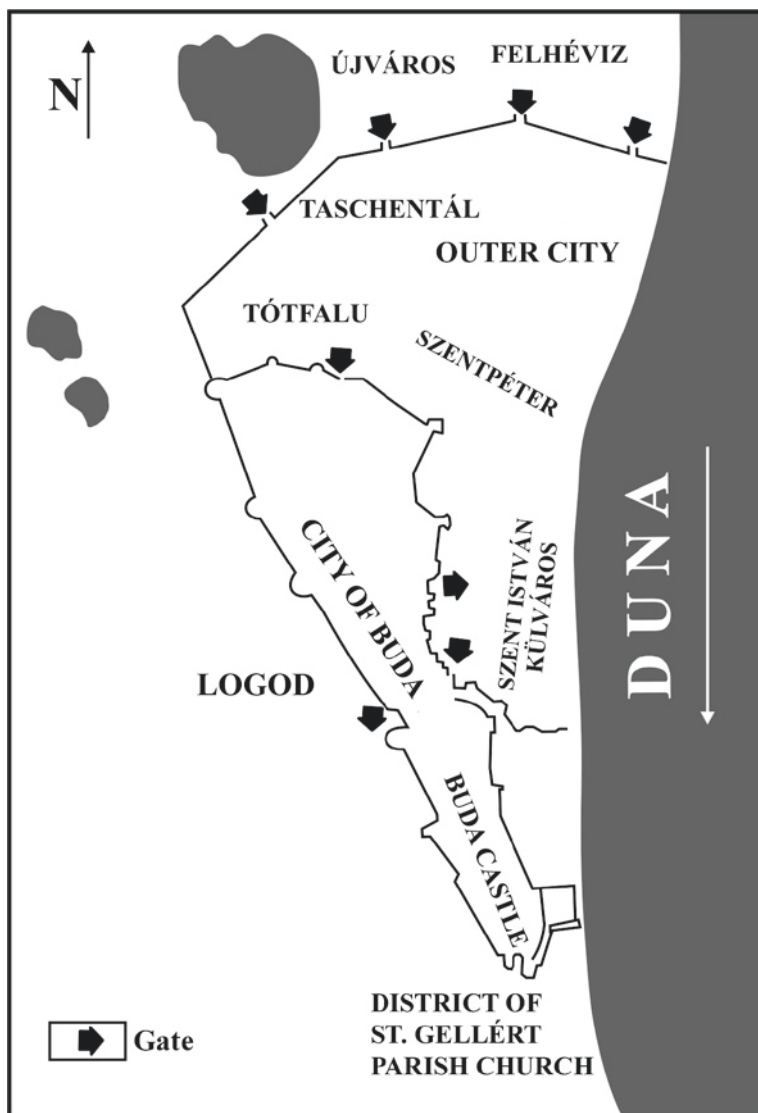


Fig. 2.4 Suburbs of Buda in the middle of the fifteenth century. *Source* Beluszky (2007)

the brick- and potmaking industry of the people living there. This became the name of the settlement on the left bank of the river in the end. When, after the Mongol invasion, the mostly German citizens of Pest were relocated to Castle Hill (to Újbuda, i.e., the present Buda), until the early fifteenth century Pest was



Fig. 2.5 The territory of Pest, Buda, and Óbuda in the present map of Budapest, before 1686.
Source By the authors, using the Urban Development Concept of Budapest (2011)

the outskirts of Buda with some municipal rights. The Hungarian name of Buda comes from the fact that it was born in the former territory of Buda, whereas in German it was called *Ofen*, which is the German version of the word ‘fireplace’, oven. The old Buda was called *Óbuda* (i.e., Ancient Buda) from that time on. Buda, anyway, was a widespread male name of unknown origin in the Middle Ages. On the basis of the typical way of giving names in the Hungarian language, the personal name used as a toponym, historians originate this name from the time after the Conquest (Györfy 1975).

By the middle of the fifteenth century, the peak of the medieval development of Hungary, Pest-Buda was an equal partner for the Central European capital cities both in its number and population and its image. The royal court and the officers in Buda comprised approximately 1,000 persons who were important factors of city development and also were consumers. The palace of Sigmund and

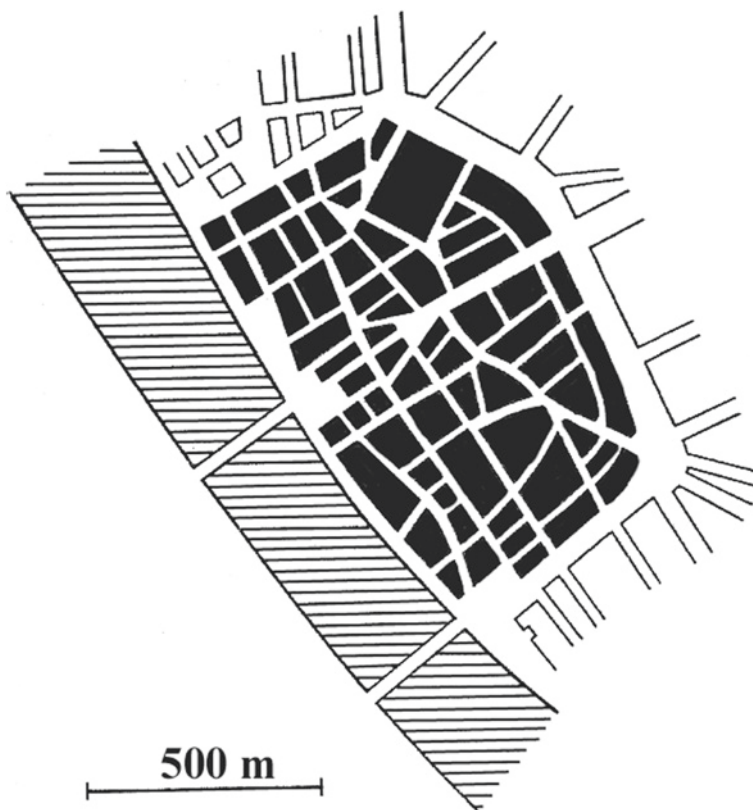


Fig. 2.6 Inner city of Pest. Flat land with street plan remaining mainly from the Middle Ages.
Source Mendöl (1963)

Matthias and the civil city around them, densely built up with multistorey houses, represented the heyday of architecture and ornamentation of medieval Buda. The Castle District actually preserved its structure from the late thirteenth century; during its spatial extension it did not reach beyond the limits created at that time. The building up of the suburbs, however, became denser; the multistorey houses built here gave them a more urbanised cityscape. In Pest, after the Mongol invasion a city ditch and then a city wall was built in the lines of the present Kiskörút (Small Boulevard) and Deák Ferenc Street, respectively. The frameworks created this way were filled up by the city by the middle of the fifteenth century, with the nonsystematic distribution of land sites. The Turks did not build much; what they left behind were usually Turkish baths. This is the time from which we still have Rudas, Rác, Király, and Császár Baths, symbols of the Turkish bathing culture. Most of the churches were converted into Djamis; they maintained the castle walls

and towers, but did not erect new ones. The royal palace of Buda was not used by the Pasha, because of the prohibition of the sultan. The Csonkatorony (Lame Tower) was used as a prison. During the one and half centuries of Ottoman rule, the image of the city worsened, buildings decayed, and the size of built-up areas decreased. There were still Christian and Jewish citizens in the Víziváros, however. Pest, shrunk to a modest small town, did not reach over the city wall; it had no suburbs. During the siege not only the towns but also their surroundings were destroyed, Pest was surrounded by swamps and sandy wasteland, and the vineyards of Buda started to decay as well. The environment of Pest-Buda thus could not become organic parts of the city rebuilt and extending in the next decade.

2.4 From the Restart After the End of Ottoman Rule Until the Compromise

Gathering the strength for a restart was blocked by serious difficulties. If we gradually turn our eyes from the middle of the country towards Europe, we can see the following in the early eighteenth century: 'Locally' not only Pest and Buda suffered from the occupation and the wars of liberation but so did their regional hinterland. A large part of the settlements in the territory occupied by the Turks was depopulated or destroyed, which evidently set back the re-strengthening of the urban functions of Pest and Buda. As regards their role in the country, we must not forget about the contradiction that after the expulsion of the Turks Hungary became part of the Hapsburg Empire, although theoretically it existed as a sovereign state. In practice the Empire was governed from Vienna, and the centre of the Hungarian state was Pozsony (the present Bratislava). This was where the Royal Council of Governor and the Parliament worked, thus the capital city functions were carried out by Pozsony instead of Pest and Buda.

We have already mentioned how Central Europe became a periphery of the continent, slowing down the unfurling of industrialisation and urbanisation in Hungary too. From this position and within these circumstances did the two towns have to join in reconstruction. This reconstruction process had two phases. In the first phase, from 1686 to 1790 repopulation and reconstruction took place, whereas in the second phase, in 1790 to 1867, economic and administrative central functions of the country appeared. By the end of the era, Buda and Pest rose from small-town status to the capital city of the country again. Their repopulation was problematic in the beginning, but parallel to the weakening of the military functions and the strengthening of the political and economic roles, a growing number of settlers arrived in the city both from abroad and from within the country. Foreigners usually chose Buda, traditionally the Germans, but a new element, the 'Rác' (Serb) immigrants fleeing from the Turks appeared as well, and settled down in the Tabán. The Hungarian in-migrants usually arrived at Pest and the suburbs of Buda from the western counties. The sparsely inhabited Great Hungarian Plain

was not a supplier of in-migrants, and its Protestant population was not allowed to settle down in Buda, anyway. The migration of Jews into free royal cities was also prohibited, so they chose Óbuda that had a country borough rank. The first large in-migration wave of Pest-Buda lasted for approximately 30 years. In 1716 the population of Buda was 13–16 thousand; the number of inhabitants in Pest was one quarter of this. The population growth continued during the century and had already increased to 47,000 by 1785 in Pest, Buda, and Óbuda, of whom 24,000 were registered in Buda and 21,000 in Pest. Following the repopulation and the construction of the economy the two twin cities had more and more diverse images. Buda became predominantly the conservative town of German-speaking Catholic officers loyal to the emperor and of viticulturists and handicraftsmen, with weakening positions in the economic competition compared to Pest. Pest was the home of the Hungarian-speaking and less affluent population, but the economy of the town was continuously growing due to the lively trade activity.

Of the resources that explain the rapid urban development of Pest and Buda in the subsequent period of time starting in 1790, we first have to mention trade, the logistic centre functions, and the increase of the administrative and intellectual functions. The trade of Pest and Buda had many aspects. The wholesale trade of agricultural goods (wool, cereal, and livestock) and of industrial goods was managed by ‘Greek’ merchants in the eighteenth century. These merchants, who actually came from the Balkans and were Serb, Bulgarian, and Albanian by ethnicity, were called Greek by the contemporary inhabitants because of their Greek Orthodox religion. They managed and possessed the profit of the trading activity of Pest until the end of the century. They left business life after the customs allowances were abolished in 1772 and not much later they were obliged to express their loyalty to the ruler; this way, however, they lost their properties in Turkey and a significant part of their trading and financial relations in the Balkans. They were soon replaced by the merchants living in the Jewish community of Óbuda. In the beginning of the nineteenth century they controlled the mediating trade of agricultural raw products, together with related activities such as storage and some processing activities.

The trade of Pest and Buda was also responsible for satisfying the national demand for handicraft products imported from abroad, and supplying the local inhabitants with products of other regions on market days and weekly fairs (meeting of market town lines!). For these trading activities the modern institutional system of trade was also built out in the course of time. By the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century the national traffic junction role of Pest-Buda became evident. Some of the mail roads, the top of the contemporary transportation network, crossed each other here, and the Danubian waterway became more and more significant too. Recognising the importance of the city as a trade and traffic junction, Joseph II decided in 1784 to relocate the central government offices, the Royal Council of Governor and the Royal Chamber, from Pozsony to this centre, Buda, as part of his centralisation activity. In the same year, the university that had been moved in 1777 from Nagyszombat (today’s Trnava in Slovakia) to Buda was relocated to Pest. Buda became the seat of the palatine and

the residence of the national archives as well. These changes indicate that Buda regained its administrative centre role by the early nineteenth century. The capital city functions, however, were carried out by Pest and Buda together. Buda as an officer city had national administrative functions, whereas Pest as a trading city was responsible for the economic and cultural tasks. The starting development reached its peak in the first half of the nineteenth century, especially in the Reform Era. Pest and Buda became the symbol of national ambitions and national feelings, representing modernisation in the eyes of contemporary citizens (Beluszky 2008). In this city, the number one city of Hungary, were built the institutions strengthening national feelings and expressing the self-esteem of the nation, such as the National Theatre, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and the National Museum. The construction of one of the emblems of the capital city, the oldest bridge providing constant connection between Buda and Pest, Széchenyi's Chain Bridge, was also a symbolic deed.

In the Reform Era the dynamic expansion of roles with national authority was promoted by further important changes: the first factories of large-scale industry appeared, and the spectacular improvement in transport conditions resulted in the strengthening of the traffic centre functions of the two cities. From the 1840s on—the enactment of the freedom of foundation of factories—the Hungarian manufacturing industry showed significant development. This was the time when factories including the Óbuda Shipyard, the Hengermalom (Roller Mill) Inc., the Ganz Foundry, and Vidacs's agricultural machinery factory started to operate, among others. In the mill industry the achievements of the industrial revolution were already used. Transportation was revolutionalised too, both its land and water branches. In the middle of 1830 there was steamship service between Vienna and Pest, multiplying the volume of passenger and goods transport within a decade and stretching the trading hinterland of Pest right to the lower reaches of the Danube River. Also, the very first railway construction plans focused on Pest-Buda as the centre of the railway system. The first railway lines were constructed after the launch of steamship navigation: in 1846 on the Pest-Vác line and from Pest to Szolnok in 1847. In the months of the revolution and war of independence in 1848–1849 Pest and Buda were formally made the capital city of the country as well. After the oppression of the war of independence the open despotism and then the neoabsolutism set back the administrative and political functions of Pest-Buda, but development was not stopped in infrastructure and services.

In the years between 1849 and 1867 the construction of the railway network started, with Pest-Buda at its centre, in accordance with the original concepts. After 1849 the first line was the Pest-Pozsony–Vienna line constructed on the left bank of the Danube, and the next major railway lines connected Pest with the large cereal trade centres of the Great Hungarian Plain: Debrecen, Szeged, and Temesvár (now Timișoara in Romania). The Buda–Nagykanizsa–Trieste line leading to the Adriatic Sea was opened too. Although it was a competitor of the railway, navigation on the Danube also developed rapidly, promoted by the regulation of the river. In the years until 1867 Pest-Buda became the major centre of finance institutions in Hungary, despite the fact that the removal of the so-called

Kossuth bank notes from the economy was a great financial loss for the banks, and the branch office of the National Bank of Austria opened in Pest and made a serious competitor. The full functioning of the finance institutions only came after 1867, in the time of the accumulation of capital. The trading sector of the capital city went through structural changes. The Pest Chamber of Commerce and Industry was opened, as was the stock and goods exchange. With these institutions Pest became the central actor in the distribution of goods in Hungary within the capitalist conditions. The construction of the railway network made Pest-Buda the most significant cereal trading city in Hungary, surpassing Győr that earlier had controlled the cereal market towards Vienna as long as the trade of cereal was managed by navigation. In addition, the flour ground in the mills of Pest was more valuable than cereal, and its market seemed almost limitless in Europe.

2.5 Functional and Demographic Processes of the Golden Age

The years between 1867 and 1918—the period of dualism—is deservedly called the golden age in the history of Budapest, as the city developed into a real metropolis in these decades. After the Compromise Budapest became the capital city of a country with almost 20 million population. An important political ambition in the time of dualism was to increase the economic and political weight of Hungary within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and so the political will not only made Budapest the centre of the newly built Hungarian political life and bourgeois public administration but, competing with Vienna, consciously wished to develop it into the cocentre of the Monarchy which, as a gateway to the Balkans, was also able to serve the tasks of the economic and political expansion to Southeast Europe (Enyedi 1998; Beluszky 2005). By the beginning of the twentieth century Budapest became the flagship of modernisation in the Carpathian Basin, integrating many novelties from foreign capital through the innovation-led technical civilisation to new social ideals and arts movements. It was actually without any real competitor in the Hungarian settlement network, as the regional subcentres of modernisation were very few and had limited functions in the early twentieth century (Beluszky and Győri 2005). The overemphasis of Budapest in the Hungarian settlement network appeared even then, in the territory of a country much bigger in size and with much larger population than today, so it is not only the consequence of the peace treaty of Trianon and the planned economy and redistribution in the socialist era (Beluszky 2013).

The unification of the city took place in the political atmosphere following the Compromise, in accordance with the intention to develop Pest-Buda into a metropolis. The technical unification started years earlier when Act No XXXVI of 1872 ordered the amalgamation of the three cities, Pest, Buda, and Óbuda into a single administrative unit. In practice the date of the city unification is October 1873 when the municipality of Budapest was founded. The unification of

Budapest was both the recognition of the development of the previous decades and the precondition of further urban development efforts in the future. The restructuring of the economy in the coming decades was a motivation of the growth of the capital city. In addition to its national trading centre function its economy was enlarged with manufacturing industry and financial centre functions. The growth of Budapest was unconditionally supported by the Hungarian state, due to which Budapest became the number one winner of the newly started Hungarian modernisation, the economic and social 'boom' of the country. The trunk lines of the radially built railway network started from Budapest and therefore the capital city was connected to almost all counties and cities of Hungary; approximately three-fifths of the territory of the country was accessible from Budapest within 6 hours. Budapest was also the beneficiary of the tariff policy of MÁV, the Hungarian railway company.

The rapid accessibility of the capital city allowed Budapest to be the centre of the unified national market. This further increased the volume of goods exchange and trade done in Budapest. Budapest was the centre from where the increased agricultural export of the country was managed and an ever-growing share of the agricultural goods arriving at the capital city was processed here. Budapest also became the national centre of the goods distribution, and its trade activity supplied the 1,500 industrial facilities of the capital city with raw materials. On the other hand, trade was no longer the sole dominant sector in the economy of the city. Also meeting the needs of wholesale trade, Budapest became the centre of the Hungarian financial sector in the quarter of a century before the 1900s. Two-thirds of the capital stock and securities of the country and more than half of the mortgages were owned by financial institutions of Budapest. Each of the 15 largest Hungarian banks were in Budapest; through them Budapest had control over the financial affairs of the national economy. The expansion of manufacturing industry accelerated from the 1880s on, too, and its weight in the economy of the capital city almost reached the significance of trade in the year of the Millennium. Development started in the manufacturing industry of agricultural goods, the mill industry and meat processing; later heavy industry became the dominant industrial activity. The development of the industry of Budapest was greatly promoted by the industry development policy of the state with its tax allowances. This led to the birth of the largest manufacturing industry concentration of Hungary in Budapest. It was typical in this process that the large-scale companies were founded as joint stock companies and thus the large facilities were less and less bound to family businesses (Bácskai and Gyáni 1998).

In addition to the processes described above, the effectiveness of the integrating role in the Hungarian settlement network was also enhanced by the fact that Budapest became the centre of Hungarian intellectual life by the turn of the century. The cultural impulses arriving from Vienna found a sensitive medium in Budapest: a progressive intellectual and arts life unfurled with an impact on the whole of Hungary. More and more technical and scientific achievements were in the frontline of the world. The intellectual life of the capital city that was partly German speaking in the beginning of the period was fully Hungarian by the end

Table 2.1 Changes in the number of population of Budapest, 1869–1990

Year	Number of population (persons)		Percent of the census of 1869	
	In the territory of Budapest			
	Before 1950	Today	Before 1950	Today
1869	270,476	302,086	100.0	100.0
1880	355,682	402,706	131.5	133.3
1890	486,671	560,079	179.9	185.4
1900	733,358	861,434	271.1	285.2
1910	880,371	1,110,453	325.5	367.6
1920	928,996	1,232,026	343.5	407.8
1930	1,006,184	1,442,869	372.0	477.6
1941	1,164,963	1,712,791	430.7	567.0
1949	1,057,912	1,590,316	391.1	526.4
1960	–	1,804,606	–	597.4
1970	–	1,945,083	–	643.9
1980	–	2,059,347	–	681.7
1990	–	2,016,132	–	667.4

Source By the authors, on the basis of HCSO census volumes and Rédei (1998)

of the dualist era, a change that followed the fact that the population of the capital city became Hungarian by mother tongue. As an effect of the strengthening of the capital city functions in the nineteenth century, the population grew rapidly and the migration to Pest-Buda intensified. With some smaller ups and downs, the dynamic growth lasted from the 1840s until World War I. The combined population of Pest, Buda, and Óbuda exceeded 100,000 by 1840; two decades later it was over 200,000 and by 1910 the number of Budapest citizens was already 880,000. The population that was compatible with that of a small town at the time of the Compromise grew three and half-fold in only four decades (Table 2.1). This made Budapest in the dualist era comparable with the big cities of contemporary Europe in number of inhabitants, reaching position eight in Europe at the turn of the century. The dominant source of this extremely fast population growth was migration gain, an estimated 70–96 %. The largest proportion and also the more affluent part of the in-migrants—merchants, craftsmen, skilled workers, university students studying to become intellectuals—came from settlements in Transdanubia and the Small Hungarian Plain, and the southern region of historical Hungary. Employment opportunities in the capital city, on the other hand, attracted a large number of housemaids, day workers, and construction workers from the poorest parts of Hungary, for example, from Upper Northern Hungary, as well.

The complete structure of bourgeois society was born in the capital city in Hungary only by the turn of the century. The shift to the demographic processes typical of the ‘modern’ industrial societies is indicated by the fact that natural increase in Budapest in 1890–1910 surpassed the gain of the migration balance (Rédei 1998). This was a consequence of the improved living conditions,

the successful fight against epidemics, the decrease in infant mortality, and the improved level of health services. This decreased mortality suddenly, which was only followed by the fall in the number of births with some delay (the over 40 per mille mortality of the 1870s decreased to 20 per mille by the years after the turn of the century, whereas the rate of births only decreased from 44 to 30 per mille: natural increase thus was around 10 per mille).

2.6 From Organic Growth to Conscious City Development

The almost two centuries from 1686, from the reconquest of Pest-Buda to the bourgeois development in the dualist era (similarly to the reconstruction period involving the physical reconstruction of the settlement and the regaining of its national positions) can be divided into two phases from the aspect of the growth of the city and the progress of the urban structure. In the first phase lasting until the late eighteenth century little evidence of planned development can be seen; the slow expansion following reconstruction was characterised by a medieval-style organic development model. After this, the areas with urbanised functions and construction style reached beyond the city walls, and the new phase was determined by the demand and practice of conscious, planned urban development policy (Fig. 2.7).

In Buda, restoration works were started soon after taking back the city from the Turks. In the absence of a conscious and considerate urban development policy, however, the old conditions were restored only after the clearing up of the ruins. The ground plan of the residential area of the Buda Castle reconstructed in the eighteenth century hardly changed. By the breaking down of a few residential homes from the Middle Ages the present image of the centre of the district, Szentháromság Square, was achieved. The suburbs around Buda revived too, but without a single structure. The city wall was rebuilt around Víziváros in order for the suburb to serve as an auxiliary of the defence system of the Castle in the subsequent decades. In the proximity of today's Clark Ádám Square military storehouses were built, on Bomba Square (now Batthyány Square) and the ammunition of the castle artillery was stored there. The territory of today's Margit Boulevard was also built up, even though not continuously: the residential area of the suburb called Országút (Highway) was spotted by brickmaking facilities (at Széll Kálmán Square and Marczibányi Square) and wood stores. The settlement called Országút was adjoined on the north by a suburb called Újváros (New Town). The contemporary name implies the new foundation by Germans. Tabán was repopulated by the Serb inhabitants running from the Turks. The small houses of the Serbs (called Rác) and the irregular structure of winding roads gave the suburb a Balkan character. Krisztinaváros, on the other hand, was populated as holiday gardens of the inhabitants of the Castle District, although only in the 1770s. There were few connections among the suburbs; they lived their lives in isolation.

Similarly to Buda, spontaneous growth within the city walls started in the eighteenth century in Pest too, following the medieval ground plan. There were gardens

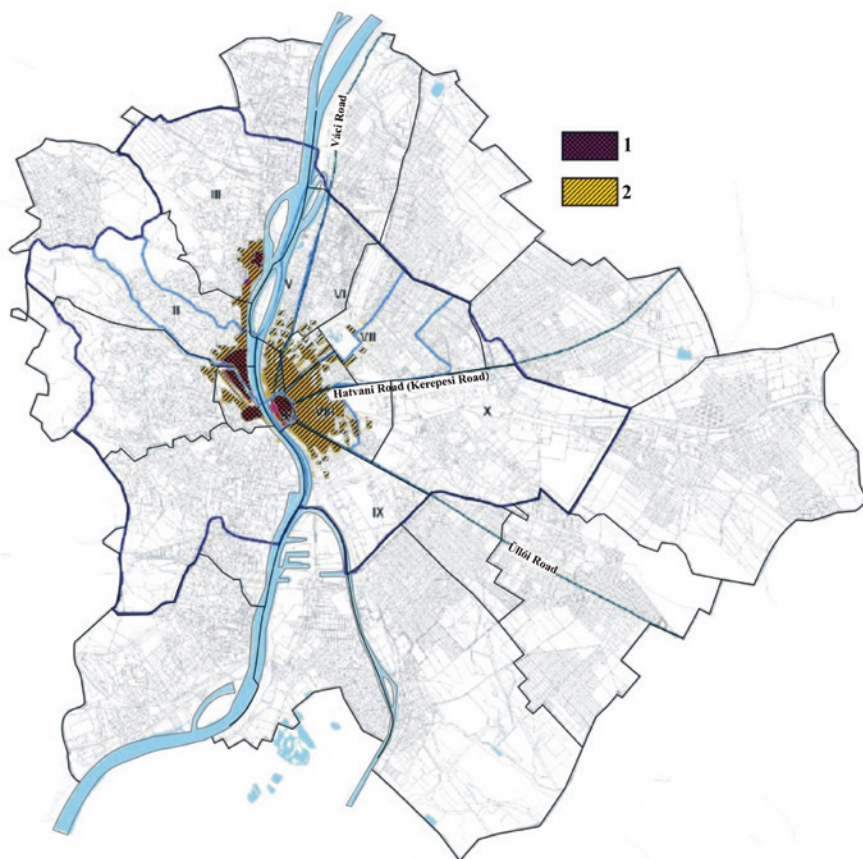


Fig. 2.7 Urban development between 1686 and 1873. 1 Built-up areas (1686); 2 built-up areas (1870). *Source* By the authors, using the Urban Development Concept of Budapest (2011)

between the city wall and the Rákos Ditch (the path of present Nagykörút), which were divided into plots later and along the roads the first residential homes with farmyards were built. Farther on, beyond the Rákos Ditch, on higher Pleistocene terraces there were plough lands suitable for farming and the manors of the bourgeois class of Pest. In 1730 the dismantling of the wall round Pest was started, as the increasing population did not have enough space among the city walls. These works were continued in the coming century; the last part of the wall, the Hatvan Gate was only broken down in 1808. Parallel to the start of the demolition work, the first suburban block—the so-called ‘Lerchenfeld’ (Pacsirtamező, i.e., Lark Field)—was established by the distribution of construction sites beyond the city walls, in the neighbourhood of today’s Horváth Mihály Square.

Territorial expansion was correlated to the rapid population growth of Pest: by the middle of the eighteenth century the number of inhabitants grew five-fold, whereas that of Buda ‘only’ doubled. Kerepesi Road running west to east from the Hatvan Gate divided the newly building suburb into two parts, a north and a south one. The former became the upper suburb, the latter the lower one. In accordance with the decision of the Magistrate of Pest, the upper suburb was named Terézváros (Theresa City) from 1777 on, after Queen Maria Theresa, and the lower suburb was dubbed Józsefváros (Joseph City) after the heir to the throne. In Terézváros owners were usually the Pest bourgeois; in Józsefváros they were aristocrats. The difference could be seen in the size of the land plots as well; this led to the fact that especially in Inner Józsefváros huge tenements and better quality homes were built, and in the subsequent decades several public buildings were erected on large sites, such as the building of the National Museum or the block of the Clinics. On the outskirts of Józsefváros a characteristic rural suburbia grew up to the line of Népszínház Street. The loosely built-up sites were occupied by the day labourers working in the manors of the urban bourgeois, several innkeepers, and the brickmakers of the town. (Because of the construction, a brick factory was established in the stead of present Rákóczi Square, using the clay close to the surface.) The present street structure of Józsefváros was by and large built by the end of the eighteenth century. From the trunk roads running out from the city side roads were built to the small streets leading to the built-up garden areas. The slightly curving direction of the streets on the boundary of these lands is preserved by the curve of, for example, Dob Street or Király Street (Fig. 2.8).

By the early nineteenth century Pacsirtamező grew into the only significant suburb of Pest. The swamps blocking further expansion were drained and only some parts of the newly gained land were built up; the rest was used as the green belt of the city, such as the Orczy Garden, the Tisztviselőtelep (Officers’ Colony), or Kerepesi Cemetery. The icy flood of 1838 resulted in huge destruction on the Holocene floodplain of the Danube River; the two-metre high water annihilated three-quarters of the houses. After the quickly started construction the already mentioned representative buildings of the public institutions of national significance were located in Inner Józsefváros, whereas Outer Józsefváros accommodated a growing number of factories and workers’ colonies from the middle of the nineteenth century. The residential area of Terézváros meanwhile reached beyond the Vác Gate, and the small land plots of its garden area were acquired mainly by cottars, day labourers, and craftsmen’s apprentices. The owners of houses built in larger undivided gardens were the bourgeoisie and the nobility. These houses were built mainly in the gardens closer to the city walls, between today’s Kazinczy Street and Károly Boulevard (Kosáry 1975). The sandy area beyond the Vác Gate was used for animal fairs—on today’s Erzsébet Square—and this was also where the Salt Administration operated with the salt and tobacco storage and the storage of the wood transported on the Danube River.

The intensifying expansion of the contiguously built-up suburbs reaching beyond the walls, with more and more urban functions, necessitated the first urban planning actions (Locsmándi 1998). These were first made north of the Vác



Fig. 2.8 The inner part of Erzsébetváros is flat land. Since the eighteenth century it has had an irregular street plan adjusting to the boundaries of agricultural areas. *Source* Mendöl (1963)

Gate of Pest, in Lipótváros. In the place of today's Szabadság (Liberty) Square, Joseph II had a military object built in 1786. The barracks called Újépület (New Building), north of the inner city, became a factor stimulating urban development, promoting the extension of the inner city along the Danube River.

The empty flat surface between the Újépület and the inner city was enlarged in a consistent and systematically planned manner. As a part of this activity was the ship bridge located more to the north, to better manage traffic, to today's Vigadó Square, diverting traffic outside the city walls. In order to ease the congestion of the densely built-up inner city a new marketplace was established at today's Erzsébet Square. This square was surrounded by blocks of flats with the same appearance. In the wide and straight streets of this area with a chess table-like ground plan, two- and three-storey classicist-style public buildings and tenements were built, and the big city image of Lipótváros started to appear (Fig. 2.9).

This was where the richest citizens of Pest moved, and Nádor Street became the residence of the aristocracy. The most prestigious part of the city evolved here. The first general physical plan determining construction in Pest in the nineteenth century was made by János Hild in 1805, on the recommendation of Palatine Joseph. The urban development activity of the palatine was motivated by several features: Hild wanted to make Pest the number one and most beautiful city of Hungary on the basis of its advantageous location and growing economy; on the

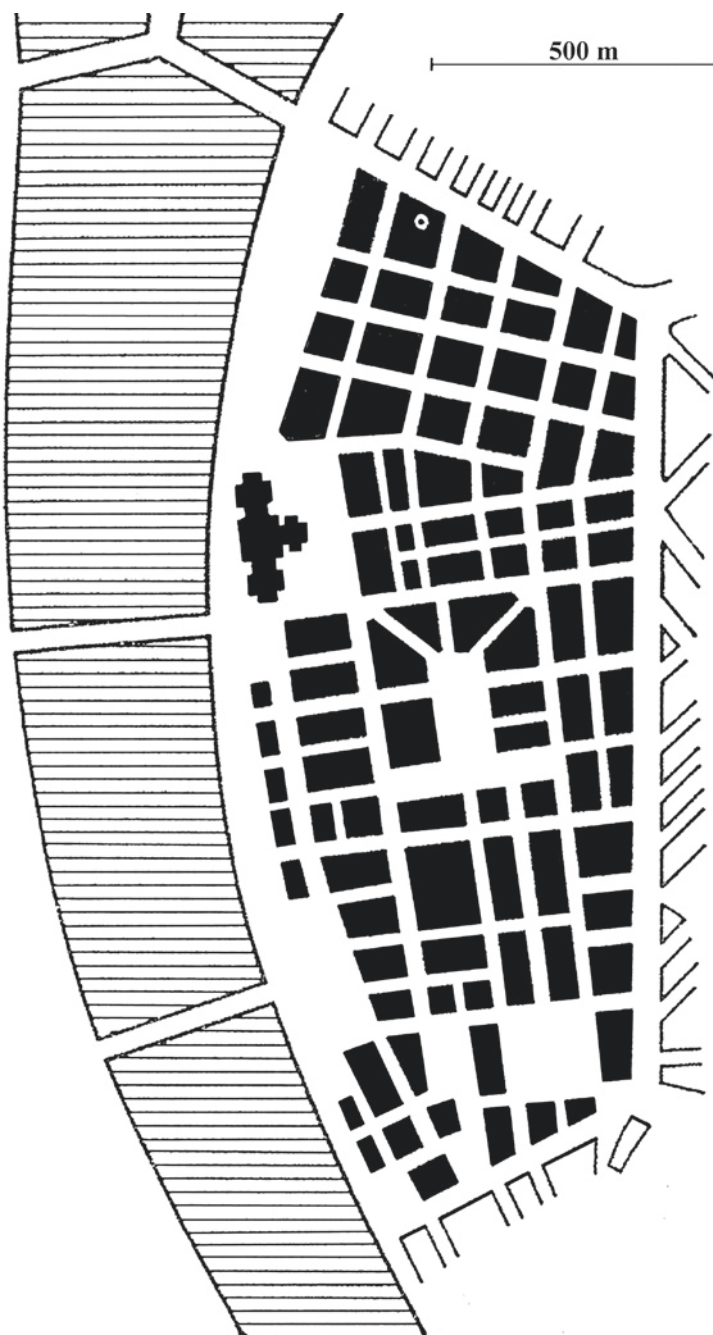


Fig. 2.9 Lipótváros is flat land, created in several phases in the nineteenth century, with a chess table-like street plan in some places. *Source* Mendöl (1963)

other hand, in the menace of the Napoleonic Wars Vienna paid more attention to the favourable endowments of Pest-Buda located east of the Austrian capital city. The implementation of the recommendations of the physical plans was controlled by the Beautification Committee. The Hild Plan handled the developments in Pest in a complex way: this plan is the basis of the structure of the inner city with streets perpendicular to each other, with József Nádor Square and Vörösmarty Square, but the plan also dealt, among other things, with water supply, flood protection issues, and the planting of trees. This was the time when the blocks of houses along the Danube bank were built in a single classicist style. In Buda as well a body similar to the Beautification Committee was founded; this was the Baucomission (Construction Commission) in 1810. From that time on urban planning was done in Buda too. The medieval street system of Óbuda, however, was not regulated. The diverse orography conditions on the Buda side postponed the regulation of urban construction in the settlements on the right bank of the Danube River to later times.

The development of Pest into a metropolis by European standards became a central issue of the Reform Era, the implementation of which was also promoted by the tireless activity of Count István Széchenyi. The suburbs went through significant expansion. Terézváros expanded beyond today's Nagymező Street and Jókai Street, reaching the line of Lövölde Square. In its parts adjacent to the Inner City and Lipótváros streets with closed rows of multistorey houses were constructed, with an urban look. A growing proportion of their dwellers were merchants—including the majority of the Jewish tradesmen of the capital city—and handicraftsmen.

The biggest obstacle to further expansion of the suburbs was the shifting sand that covered significant parts of their outskirts, because the alluvial sand around Pest was often blown above the city by the eastern winds. The city forest was planted to absorb the sand; later it was developed into a public park, by the example of the Prater in Vienna; this became the Városliget. The Városliget had an impact on modifying the structure of the city by attracting Andrásy Street, a representative boulevard of Budapest in the dualist era. A similar impact on the later city structure was that of the first railway station of Pest, the destination of the Vác railway in the place of the present Nyugati pályaudvar (Western Railway Station). The growth of Buda was less spectacular in the Reform Era. The Castle was and remained the elegant district of Buda. The government offices, moved from Pozsony to Pest-Buda, were located in the public buildings of the Castle. In addition to the dwellers of the high nobility's palaces, the tenements of the Castle District were inhabited by the illustrious employees of the government offices. Víziváros remained the centre of the commercial life of Buda, with its most beautiful houses at Fő (Main) Street; otherwise the district had single-storey closed rows of houses, typical of small towns. Krisztinaváros spread as a district of gardens and holiday homes, and it was easily accessible by the citizens of Pest as well across the ship bridge. It was Krisztinaváros among the suburbs of Buda that developed at the fastest pace in the Reform Era. The zigzagged streets of the village-like Tabán climbed up to Gellért Hill. It was inhabited by Buda vineyard

owners, day labourers, and handicraftsmen. Two large public gardens were created in Buda at that time: one of them was Horváth Garden, the treasure of Krisztinaváros, which, although surrounded by a wall, served recreation and entertainment as an open garden. Its structure followed the English style in one part and the French style in the other. The other large public garden was Városmajor Park, much bigger at that time than today. Between Horváth Garden and Városmajor was Tábornokrét (General's Field) located there for military purposes (now it is called Vérmező, i.e., Blood Field). It was used as a parade ground and for executions, and marches were also organised here. A large part of the outskirts of Buda was occupied by vineyards.

The city was accessible by trunk roads: from Promontor (Budafok) and Budaörs (these roads integrated the ones coming from Kovácsi and Hidegkút as well) and by roads coming from Óbuda. Buda started to spread out in the Reform Era to those parts of the Buda Mountains that were more easily accessible from the city. At that time mainly the holiday homes and summer houses of the Buda bourgeoisie, and excursion and leisure facilities were built in Kamaraerdő, above Kurucles, in Zugliget, Sváb Hill, and Orbán Hill. The spectacular urbanisation of the Reform Era did not reach beyond the contemporary boundaries of Pest-Buda-Óbuda until the middle of the nineteenth century. There were only two new settlements beyond these borders: Újpest right on the border to Pest and Albertfalva around Buda. The location of Újpest was very favourable for a new settlement, as it was situated along the Danube and crossed by the trunk road to Vác. Its rapid development, and the gaining of village status in 1840, was due to its excellent transport endowments and the proximity of Pest. The border of Pest was approached by two huge manors of landowners, which were later divided into land plots and turned into peri-urban housing estates (Frisnyák 2010). To the southeast was Grassalkovich manor (the managing organisation of the estate was in Gödöllő), and to the north the lands of the Károlyi family (the centre of their estates being in Fót). Around Buda, Albertfalva was made as the enlargement of the Budafok cottar colony; it was a single-street village with standard sites, whose name was given after the owner of the estate, Albert, Earl of Saxony-Teschen. In the Buda Mountains Buda was surrounded by a ring of villages inhabited by German settlers after the end of the Ottoman rule. These were closed communities that had privileges; their landlords had few sites in their own management. Accordingly, in the outskirts of Buda there were not enough divisible large estates, and so the process of agglomeration only started later and rather slowly.

After 1849, in the two decades of absolutism, no major changes occurred in the structure of the capital city; what could be said to summarise the development of these two decades is the renewal of the cityscape. The number of multistorey buildings increased, including buildings with new functions: railway stations, warehouses, department stores, and factories. The birth of a more diverse cityscape was also due to the more and more frequent appearance of new genres of architecture, including romanticism (which was short-lived in architecture), with neogothic style in it. One of the most significant buildings of Pest, the Vigadó was built in this style; architectural renewal in the 1860s was characterised by a

new style, eclecticism. Accordingly, the more densely built-up, urbanised areas in Pest reached the line of the later Nagykörút. In Buda the royal palace, which had been the most seriously damaged in the war of independence, was renewed, in the Baroque style so much liked by absolutism, to stretch as a symbol of the new absolutist power above the twin cities, under the protection of the guns of the Citadel on Gellért Hill. The Chain Bridge, opened with a large-scale ceremony in November 1849 (a twist of the fate of Hungary is that it was first crossed by Haynau who had suppressed the War of Independence of Hungary) and with the tunnel built in 1853–1855 became the new and emblematic elements in the cityscape. In Buda the construction of the tunnel and the establishment of the Southern Railway Station resulted in the accelerated development of Krisztinaváros.

The location of the new industrial zones in the city was determined by the transport possibilities: in the beginning of the era it was mainly the waterway of the Danube River, and after the middle of the century more and more it became the railway lines. An example for the former is Óbuda where the shipyard established on the Small Island in 1836 brought a brand new element into the life of the city, and led to the transformation of Óbuda into a manufacturing suburb by the period of dualism. (Its development was promoted by two other factors as well: one was that some of the Jewish entrepreneurs active in the county of Pest-Buda lived in Óbuda, because citizens of Jewish religion were not allowed to settle down in free royal cities before 1846. They invested their accumulated capital here. Another factor increasing the manufacturing industry of Óbuda was the construction of the large gas factory of the capital city, based on the nearby coal of Dorog in the 1910.) The latter is exemplified by the railway network of the Western railway station in Terézváros, surrounded by factories, mills, and wood-processing facilities but no residential areas at the time of the unification of the city. The extremely rapid industrialisation of Újpest was an effect of the large Danubian port, the railway line across Újpest, now running right to Vienna, and the trunk road from Pest to Upper Northern Hungary.

Following the Compromise in 1867, the Hungarian part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy needed a single capital city. In the concept of the prime minister, Count Gyula Andrassy, Pest-Buda had to be developed not only into an economic and political centre but also a modern, representative capital city of the Hungarian state, modern in a technical sense as well. In order to realise this, an intensive legislative and urban planning activity was launched for the joint development of the cities and their unification. Act No X of 1870 ordered the setting up of the Council of Public Works in Budapest (Fővárosi Közmunkák Tanácsa, FKT), which secured the dominant role of the state in urban development and construction. This Council was responsible for the regulation of construction affairs in the capital city, and was given decision-making and supervisory authority in all issues of urban physical planning. The Council immediately started the technical survey of the capital city, and then announced an open tender for making the general physical plan of the capital city.

The still visible spatial order of Budapest was implemented later by the plans of the tender winner, Lajos Lechner. The essence of the concept was to organise the spatial structure of Budapest along the axes of wide and long boulevards and the radial streets crossing them. Lechner worked out a specific zoning system, including the big city centre, the tenement zone, the historical areas of the city (Castle), and a wide zone for modern manufacturing industry. The building up of the Danube bank was also his ambition. The implementation of the concept was served by the act on expropriation; the financial background was created by the credit of a French-Austrian financial group. On 23 December 1872 the act on the unification of Pest and Buda free royal cities, Óbuda country borough, and Margaret Island was announced. The total territory of the capital city, divided into 10 districts after the unification was 194.44 km².

After the unification of the city, the large-scale and until now perceivable interventions into the development of the city structure concerned the Pest side, and the regulation of Buda and Óbuda was a later and smaller scale event. In Pest the most spectacular deed of classic urban regulation was the designation of the place of Sugár Street (today Andrásy Street) and Nagykörút. In 1870 an act was passed on the construction of Sugár Street and the financing of the expenses, and by 1877 the street was completed. The approximately 2,300 m long street gradually widens from the present Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Street towards the City Park. Regulations were made regarding the palace-like, farther from the centre villa-like style of the eclectic architectural ensemble, the height of the buildings, and the planting of trees along the street. Nagykörút was built out, and as a continuation of its north section the Margaret Bridge was constructed. The second permanent bridge of the capital city was built between 1872 and 1876. This also meant that no navigable canal would be constructed in the place of the former Danube branch, as opposed to the plans by Ferenc Reitter, the engineer who made recommendations for the regulation of the bed of the Danube River and built the quays of Budapest (Berza 1993).

The construction of Nagykörút had several advantages: it allowed the connection of the boulevards running out from the city centre on a more outer curve, having a long-term impact on the city structure this way; and on the other hand it allowed the ventilation of the territory that had become densely built up by then. Finally the main collection canal of the Pest side was built with a 4 kilometre long arch. Building up was intensive both in the environment of Nagykörút and in the area between Nagykörút and the city ditch county (territory bordered by Haller-Orczy-Fiumei-Thököli-Dózsa György Streets). The regulation led to a metropolitan cityscape. Tenements of three to five storeys were built on the sites of the blocks, with small and deep courts in their middle. These tenements represented segregation; the larger homes of the bourgeoisie opened to the streets, and the small, one-room homes of the employees and workers to the inner yards. By the turn of the century the new focal point of the cityscape, the row of palaces along Danube Corso was built. By 1903 the Erzsébet Bridge was completed, which tore for good into two parts the formerly homogeneous medieval city core. This turned

the widened Kossuth Lajos Street into a traffic axis, together with Rákóczi Street that was rebuilt in metropolitan style. The new axis diverted the traffic of the middle of the city to the Eastern Railway Station (which was completed by 1884), more exactly, to Baross Square created in front of it.

On the Buda side, urban planning had three foci (Vörös 1978). On the Danube bank, the contrast of the houses of rural character and bad condition, climbing up Gellért Hill in the Tabán, and the waterfront opposite became more and more striking. The initiator here was the municipality of the capital city; by expropriation they acquired and demolished the old houses. The areas of Kelenföld and Lágymányos were challenges from another aspect. The first big change in this area was the construction of today's Szabadság Bridge. The bridge was inaugurated in 1896, in the presence of the ruler (even its original name was Ferenc József Bridge), who personally fixed the last rivet. At the Buda head of the bridge the building of the old Sáros Bath had to be demolished, at the same time work on the construction of Szent Gellért Square was started.

After the turn of the century the construction of Átlós Street (today Bartók Béla Street) was begun, in order to create the shortest connection between the inner city of Pest and Kelenföld; later it became one of the busiest routes in the south part of Buda. The path of the boulevard connecting this area to other parts of Buda started to appear as well: this is the route of today's Villányi Road and Alkotás Street.

More north of the naturally winding line of the medieval city wall of Víziváros (Bem Street and Margit Boulevard) was the Buda head of Margit Bridge, so the connection of the bridge to the network of roads had to be solved: this motivated the construction of the inner Buda boulevard (Attila Street, Vérmező, Margit Boulevard). The third focal point of physical planning in Buda was related to the Castle, the extension of the royal palace on its west side. In connection with these works, the group of houses between Dísz Square and Szent György Square was transformed in order to meet the demand of the Ministry of Defence and the Chief Command of the Army. In this era, the streets built up with closed rows of buildings penetrated into the Buda Mountains (Fig. 2.10).

Between the densely built-up residential and institutional-commercial district and the administrative boundary of the capital city, industrial and transport zones of large spatial demand were built one after the other by the turn of the century. The north Pest one, north of the line of Nagykörút, along Váci Road was one of the oldest, whose territory was continued in Újpest. In addition to engineering and metal processing, the presence of the MÁV Hungarian Railways was significant: Rákosrendező shunting yard, North stoke-hole, and Main Workshop of Istvántelek. Angyalföld became a suburb inhabited by workers. The location factors of the industrial zone of Józsefváros-Kőbánya were the railway lines, the stones for construction quarried in Kőbánya (i.e., Quarry), and the clay of the latter area, suitable for brick manufacturing. In addition to the pig farms and the derelict quarries, beer brewing facilities were located here (the former quarries proved to be excellent beer cellars), and this was the place for the penetration of the group of the Ganz enterprises (manufacturing of railway carriages and locomotives). The area

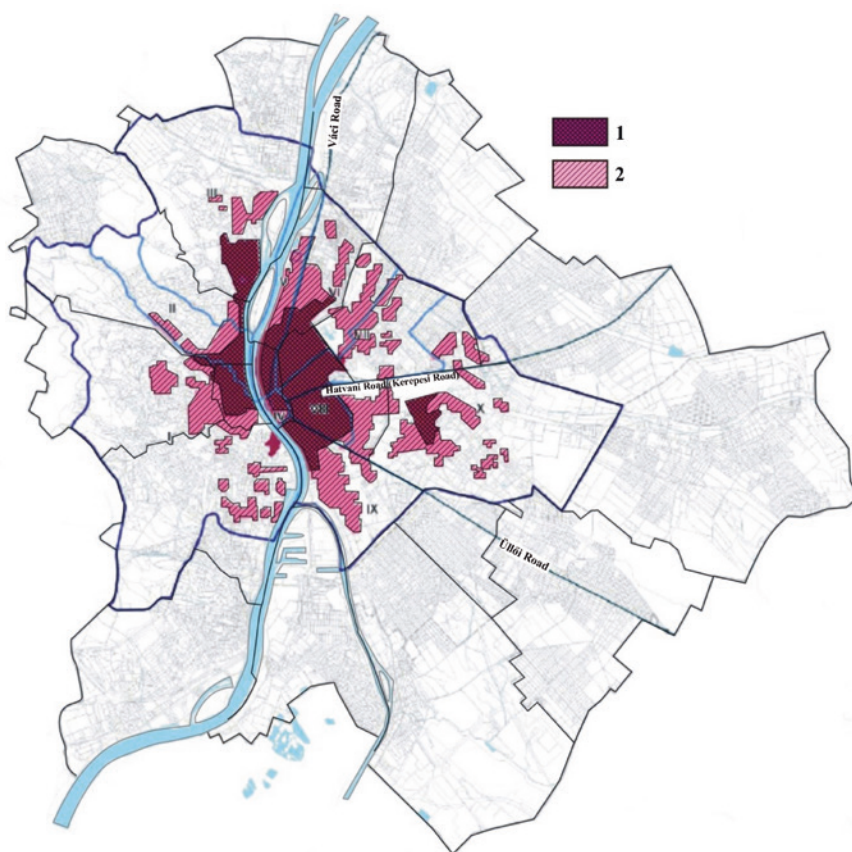


Fig. 2.10 Urban development between 1873 and 1930. 1 Densely built-up areas (1920); 2 loosely or noncontiguously built-up areas (1920). *Source* By the authors, using the Urban Development Concept of Budapest (2011)

between Gyömrői Street and the railway to Cegléd became a zone of the mechanical engineering and chemical industry. In the southern area of Pest, the industrial zone of Ferencváros was developed due to good transport connections to the Great Hungarian Plain (railway to the southern Bácska area via Szabadka, the now Subotica in Serbia) and the agricultural goods shipped on the Danube River. Steam mills, slaughterhouses, and salami and can factories operated here. The industrial zone was supplemented by an extended logistical (transport and storage) area, because by 1877 the busiest and most important railway connection of Hungary, the Southern Connecting Railway Bridge, was constructed over the Danube River and related to this the cargo railway station of Ferencváros was built.

2.7 Growth of the Agglomeration

In the first half of the nineteenth century Pest-Buda—despite its growth of national significance—had a modest impact on its environment. No suburbanisation had yet started at that time. After the middle of the century, however, the urbanisation processes of the city, now with approximately a quarter of a million inhabitants, did not stop at the administrative boundaries of the city; the city had more and more impacts on the neighbouring areas. The first phase of agglomeration started (Enyedi 2012). In the years between 1850 and 1870 this process was limited both in space and volume. There were settlements especially in the north sector of the Pest side where the increase of the population exceeded the average of villages, due to the proximity of the triple cities: examples are Újpest, Rákospalota, or Rákoskeresztúr. The population in Újpest in 1869 was already almost 7,000, and the population boom continued: by the turn of the century Újpest increased its population sixfold and reached the threshold of 50,000 inhabitants before World War I. As the attraction of Pest on the labour market was still insignificant at the time of the absolutism, the majority of the active earners of Újpest were employed by local industry.

The development of agriculture for the supply of the capital city, on the other hand, had a more significant impact. A growing area of the nearby villages was used by specialised horticulture to supply the markets of Budapest with fresh products. This city supply area reached right to Üllő and Csömör in the Great Hungarian Plain. Suburban development intensified in the 1870s, marking the start of the second phase of agglomeration which lasted until the turn of the century. The basis of this section was the division of the former Grassalkovich Manor into smaller land plots in the southern foreground of Pest. New blocks and settlements were born; suburban development sped up and intensified. A typical feature of this era was the structural connection between the capital city and its suburban zone, in which the construction of the peri-urban transportation network played a basic role. This allowed mass daily commuting and the establishment of new types of connection: the location of the inhabitants and the industrial activities into the peri-urban zone. Budapest had a strong influence on its environment, which sped up the development of the new settlements (Kispest, Erzsébetfalva, Pestújhely, and Pestszentlőrinc). The less affluent people who bought plots here combined the advantages of the capital city (employment opportunities, higher wages) and the cheaper rural life. Even very small plots were allotted, on which occasionally more than one home was built. Their local society was a ‘chance encounter’; they had practically no original dwellers. The peri-urban settlements, however, were not homogeneous; they were diverse in regard to their features and functions.

Among the junctions of the shaping agglomeration we find settlements with significant manufacturing industry and high population, such as Újpest or Csepel. Újpest had some of its own industry as well (as did Kispest or Pesterzsébet), and the Manfréd Weiss Ammunition Factory was relocated to Csepel in 1892; in World War I it became the second largest defence plant of the Monarchy. In 1910, 75 %

of all earners in Csepel were industrial employees. The geographical proximity of Budapest and the access of jobs created by the peri-urban transport made Újpest suitable for the location of industry from the beginning. Tanners and joiners settled down here. The traditional leather, textile, and furniture industries had a developmental impact on the whole of the settlement. Újpest became one of the largest villages of Hungary by the late 1870s with regard to its population; it was given town rank in 1907. At that time it already had a port, a hospital of its own, and a post office. Rapid economic development was accompanied by the construction of communal infrastructure. Roads were paved, and an electric lighting system lit the roads at night. Tapwater pipelines and sewage canalisation were built out, too. The fire brigade and police were responsible for the safety of the public and a slaughterhouse was built, but Újpest even had a court of justice and theatre. Several of its 38 industrial factories operating between the two world wars had national significance, especially in the modern sectors: in mechanical engineering, production of light bulbs, and the pharmaceutical industry.

The settlement developing processes of the capital city had no impact on Csepel for a long while. It was not touched by the constructed railway lines, thus the settlement remained isolated; it was bypassed even by the local railway linking Pest to Ráckeve, built in 1887. Its only connection to Budapest was through Erzsébetfalva in the beginning. There were no public utilities, paved roads, or multistorey houses. In the territory of the village preserving its agricultural character there was no industrial activity until the last decade of the nineteenth century. This situation was changed by the effort of the capital city management to relocate industry from the congested inner areas to the settlement that later made the edge of the city. This was the reason for moving the factory of Manfréd Weiss and his brother to Csepel. The life of the small village inhabited by an ethnic minority was fundamentally changed by the spectacular development of the factory. Parallel to the rapid growth of the population, the preponderance of German-speaking ethnicity ceased to exist. A smaller share of the local population lived by means of transport, land sales, and trade done for the factory, but the majority became industrial workers. Agriculture, which had been the basis of living before, became negligible.

It was not only Újpest and Csepel where the growth of the 'own' industry of the suburbs accelerated at the turn of the century (Beluszký 2002). The large number of labour force in the suburbs, lower local taxes, smaller costs of the construction of public utilities and industrial sites made Kispest and Pesterzsébet (Erzsébetfalva) attractive locations for investors too. Their industrial facilities employed more than 4,000 people at the turn of the century. The cheap land sites offered for sale in the neighbourhood of Budapest were sold almost immediately. Some of the employees were forced to move to Kispest by the chronic shortages of homes in Pest. Another part of them came from the countryside, using the opportunity of getting a land plot close to their workplaces at an affordable price and not even having to abandon the previous rural lifestyle that they were used to. In Kispest large-scale industrial factories were erected, one after the other, in the manufacturing of agricultural machinery, metallurgy, and the textile industry. Industrialisation also led to the development of infrastructure in the settlement. Beginning in 1900 commuters

were transported to the Kispest electricity plant by trams along Üllői Street from Nagyvárad Square. Parallel to this the construction of public utilities was started. Trams reached Erzsébetfalva too. The routes of the trams were designed so that the tracks touched empty sites to be built up later and so their urban development impact could be utilised in the coming years. Two-thirds of the industrial employees of Erzsébetfalva commuted daily to work in the capital city, but cross-commuting from Erzsébetfalva to Csepel was also significant.

The other large group of the agglomeration included those settlements that practically had only residential functions, for example, Pestszentlőrinc, a garden city settlement with less than 10,000 population, or Rákospalota (a garden city-like settlement of the employees of the Hungarian state railway company), Rákoskeresztúr, or Tétény. Pestszentlőrinc was made up of settlements on the edge of the city; right after the turn of the century it had a more garden city-like character without major manufacturing industry. It was one of the settlements joining in the agglomeration process later that had a better environment than other suburbs were able to offer. Accordingly, a large number of Budapest officers and freelancers moved here from the city, partly because of their living conditions worsening in the capital city. This process had several consequences. The formation of the population coming from elsewhere, previously living in different settlements, into a local community was a slow process. The proportion of the local population after World War I, in 1920 was 17.4 %, a decade later not more than 10.2 %. The proportion of the middle class remained low all the time. After the turn of the century, with the creation of fast and comfortable local transportation, several officers, employees, railwaymen, and pensioners moved to Rákospalota. Rákospalota soon had a railway stop, already before the war of independence. At that time it was an agricultural village; its inhabitants produced for the markets of Pest. The number of handicraftsmen soon increased, however, and by the turn of the century the inhabitants of Rákospalota could work in the workshops of Újpest and the factories of Pest. One of the vehicle repair workshops of *máv* was also located here. This was the time when the settlement around the vehicle repair workshop—Pestújhely—seceded from the garden city-like village. The changes did not only transform the settlement structure of Rákospalota but also affected local society. Already at the turn of the century the industrial and transportation workers constituted the majority, whereas the village with only 3,000 inhabitants in 1870 increased its population tenfold by 1910.

The third type was those settlements where the majority of their population made their living from agriculture even at the turn of the century. These were the locations of agriculture supplying the capital city, where vegetables and primaries were grown for the easily accessible market with an almost unlimited capacity, but cattle and pig farms also operated here, and the processing of agricultural products was started by small enterprises as well. Their traditional rural society went through a peasant bourgeois development, for example, the local societies of Soroksár, Rákoscsaba, Cinkota, and Békásmegyér. The plough lands between Cinkota and Pest were bought for holiday sites by the better-off Pest families at the turn of the century and soon a contiguous chain was made by new settlements (Árpádföld, Mátyásföld, Nagycictelep, Sashalom, Rákosszentmihály). Among the former

agricultural settlements, Budafok went through a fundamental transformation that slowly turned it into the suburb of Budapest. This south Buda settlement became the centre of the wine trade in Hungary, utilising the extended system of cellars created previously. Its food-processing industry developed quickly, too.

The spatial expansion of the city spurred forward-looking city politicians in the decade after the turn of the century to make their stand about the amendments of the political borders of Budapest and to raise the idea of the formation of Greater Budapest in their analyses. According to the common concept of Mayor István Bárczy—whose name is the hallmark of an era in the administration of the capital city—and Ferenc Harrer, notary of the council of Greater Budapest, it was already a social fact; that is, the suburbanisation process going on in the territories adjacent to the contemporary borders of Budapest made the unification of the neighbouring settlements and Budapest reasonable. After 1872, however, no comprehensive development programme was made for Budapest and no general physical plan was completed, either, for almost seven decades. It is true, on the other hand, that the suburbanisation of Budapest in this period was special inasmuch as it was incomplete; it was mainly villages of Pest that developed and no major transformation occurred on the Buda side. All in all, the administrative division of the villages annexed to Greater Budapest later was constantly changing until the middle of the twentieth century, sovereign settlements were born and seceded from each other, or territories were annexed from one settlement to another.

This third phase of the agglomeration process was the development of the suburban and garden city zones between the two world wars. In these decades the growth of agglomeration was even faster than before. It was not only the population but also the economy of the suburbs and villages that grew, because after the decline following World War I masses of people were waiting to be employed in the only significant labour market of the country: in Budapest or its surroundings. The slowing down of the growth of Budapest, on the other hand, decreased the reception capacity of the capital city; at around the beginning of the century tens of thousands of new homes were built, however, this number dropped to 1,000 flats built in a year in the 1920s. The population in the suburban zone increased thus; the average population growth was 4.4 % annually, as opposed to 0.8 % in Budapest. A large number of people moved out from Budapest because of their worsening living conditions or in search of a better environment or cheaper living in the villages.

In the years between the two world wars more than half a million people lived in the agglomeration (the population of 'Smaller Budapest' reached one million by 1930). Industrialisation in the suburbs was promoted mainly by the newly founded textile factories and some large-scale state investments. The number of commuters to Budapest using daily suburban transportation increased too; their number reached 30 to 40,000 in the 1930s. The launch of bus service also led to the building of the Buda hillsides. Detached houses and villas dominated Farkasrét, Németvölgy, Rózsadomb, the area of Vérhalom or Sváb Hill, and in Pasarét the construction of an experimental housing block consisting of small homes marked the start of modern housing estate construction in Hungary. New garden city areas were born on the Buda side, including Budaliget, Máriaremete, and Remetékertváros. The villages

Within the administrative boundaries of Budapest—next to the villa district of Buda—construction concerning whole districts was going on: Újlipótváros and Lágymányos. In these two districts modern, six- to seven-storey tenements were built with elevators, open and closed balconies on the street front, and a luxurious reception hall on the ground floor. From the 1930s on this new architectural trend determined the homogeneous development of a few rows of houses on Krisztina Boulevard, at some sections of Margit Boulevard, and in Szent István Park. By the middle of the decade, the rural-looking houses of Tabán were all demolished, but the big city district planned in its stead could not be built, because of World War II. What was implemented, on the other hand, was the Miklós Horthy Bridge (now Petőfi Bridge) connecting Boráros Square to Lágymányos at the end of Nagykörút, in 1937.

The impact of this on the city structure was palpable just as much as that of the industrial district founded along Fehérvári Street and Budafok Street, or the construction of the new airport at Ferihegy, on the border of Pestszentlőrinc, Rákoshegy, and Vecsés (its predecessor, the airport of Budaörs could not be enlarged). The speedway running to the airport was built by 1943. On the whole, however, the built-up area of the capital city increased less than in the previous period, due to the economic difficulties of the city and the slowing growth of the number of its population.

2.8 Looking for a New Place Between the World Wars

After the autumn of 1918 the conditions for the development of Budapest, and its position in the division of labour of the Carpathian Basin fundamentally changed. Hungary was a loser in World War I; the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy disintegrated. The Trianon Peace Treaty, considering only the interests of the victorious superpower, drastically decreased the territory of the country: two-thirds of the former territory of the country was detached, and one-third of the Hungarian nation, then approximately 10 million altogether, was under foreign authority too. Budapest that had grown to be a metropolis as the centre of an organically evolving country became in 1920 the capital city of a country decreased to a third. Because of its oversize, the countryside started to call it a ‘water-head’ at this time. The external city ring of the Carpathian Basin was detached from Hungary; the functions of the members of this city ring were taken over by the cities of the internal ring: Kassa’s (now Košice in Slovakia) role by Miskolc, Nagyvárads (now Oradea in Romania) functions by Debrecen, the functions of Temesvár and Szabadka by Szeged, and those of Pozsony by Győr. What meant the birth of a water-head in the Hungarian settlement system was disintegration for the successor states at the same time: having lost the integrating power of Budapest they had to gravitate to the remote and sometimes weak centres of the new states (Gyenyizse et al. 2011).

The situation of the Hungarian capital city between the two world wars was ambiguous. It was stigmatised as a guilty city by the conservative political elite of the country after the fall of the Council Republic. Although Budapest was looking for a new position, the anti-Budapest feeling of public opinion remained palpable all through this period. The weight of Budapest within the country grew. In 1910, 4.8 % of Hungary's population lived in Budapest; this proportion grew to 16.6 % by 1930 and 18.4 % in 1941. Within the new borders the Budapest-centred character of the railway network became even stronger, which was further enhanced by the construction of the trunk roads. At the same time, the shrinking of its economic hinterland slowed down the growth of its economy. Although the economic pillars of the previous era remained, a marked shift of the proportions of the three major sectors—trade, financial institutions, and manufacturing industry—took place. Although Budapest still was the largest commerce centre of Hungary, the positions of trade within the capital city were weaker than in the dualist era. The finance institutions preserved their positions, but their area of operation was narrowed down by the decrease of the international prestige of Budapest. Manufacturing industry declined. The capacity of some of the industrial activities, such as the food-processing industry, was underutilised within the new borders after the Treaty of Trianon. The construction of public institutions almost totally stopped in the capital city. On the other hand, the previously accumulated knowledge, capital, and innovation allowed the modern sectors to develop, such as communication engineering, precision engineering, manufacturing of transport tools, and the pharmaceutical industry. The construction of the Free Port of Csepel and the electrification of the Budapest–Hegyeshalom railway were the implementations of previous modernisation plans. The sovereign customs area promoted the development of the deficient textile industry. The economic boom induced by preparation for the war from 1938 was not only an inspiration for the development of the economy of Budapest but also resulted in the influx of in-migrants towards the growing number of workplaces. By this time the inner agglomeration ring was born, whose settlements were integrated into Greater Budapest in 1950.

At the end of World War II, the population of the capital city suffered a 49 day siege, with disastrous consequences for Budapest. There was no physical connection between the two banks of the Danube River, energy supply was blocked, and public transportation did not work either. Also, the executive power of the country fell apart. As a result of the bombings and the siege by heavy artillery, the capital city suffered huge material damages. Of the total of 40,000 buildings in Budapest, only one-quarter remained intact by the end of the siege. The number of casualties was even more painful than the physical damages. There are only estimations of it: the population of Budapest decreased by more than 400,000, as a result of soldiers fallen in the war, deportations, the casualties of the siege and the bombings, and also due to the flight of people to the West or the countryside.

2.9 Power Centre in the State Socialist Decades

After World War II, the situation of the capital city was fundamentally changed again by becoming part of the Soviet bloc. Hungary was on the periphery of the Soviet empire that followed an ideology and political and economic practice totally different from the model of European social development. The essence of this was the elimination of private property, and the extreme concentration of power, administrative, and management functions. Consequently, in the state socialist era Budapest became a power centre with unprecedented weight and authority (Beluszky 2003). After 1948, the 'year of the turn', the Communist takeover, the practice of state intervention became widespread. The state controlled economic life. In the 1950s and 1960s, institutions operating in Budapest in the strictly hierarchical power mechanism decided on the important issues of the redistribution of goods produced; the party and state management supervised from the capital city each and every action of social and political life.

In 1950 Greater Budapest was created, after the capital city could administratively devour the inner ring of the agglomeration. Behind this action there were ideological and political considerations; this was to secure the preponderance of the working class within the capital city. Later, when in-migration to Budapest was administratively limited (in order to slow down the growth of the population and the concomitant extensive growth of the capital city) and the out-migration from the countryside was strong, for several reasons, the new agglomeration ring evolved at an incredible speed. Still later, in the 1980s the number of those moving out from Budapest to the agglomeration ring gradually increased. Parallel to the new phenomenon of decrease in the population in the capital city, this ring now has half a million people, owing to the suburbanisation processes. In the 1950s forced economic development still increased the industrial production of Budapest, but hardly any resources were allocated for the development of infrastructure, and no state-owned homes were built. The share of Budapest from the industrial output of Hungary already started to decrease at this time. In 1960, Budapest was responsible for half the industrial output of the country and employed more than one-third of the industrial labour force, whereas the share of the latter decreased to 20 % three decades later. After the exhaustion of the labour and infrastructure reserves of the capital city, countryside industrialisation actions were carried out in order to limit the volume of industry in Budapest. The headquarters of most of the companies, however, remained in Budapest, and so the capital city was still able to assert its interests. This situation was fixed by the National Settlement Development Concept of 1971, as the capital city with its two million population stood out from the urban network in all respects. It obtained financing for large-scale infrastructure and housing construction projects. As the state did not have the financial power to develop the designated 'counter-poles', the relationship of the capital city and the country did not become more balanced in the 1970s and 1980s either. Until the regime change the power positions of Budapest were excessive within the country.

2.10 The Contradictory and Periodical Change of the Ground Plan Image of Greater Budapest

Following World War II the most important task was the restoration of war damage in the city bearing the marks of destruction. Reconstruction started soon but was not complete: the most urgent things to do were the restoration of homes and the creation of the most basic living conditions, as well as the construction of the bridges. The empty sites in place of the destroyed buildings worsened the cityscape even decades later. The renovation started from the inner areas and was continued towards the outside. In these circumstances the idea of creation of the Greater Budapest was raised again quite soon, by the summer of 1945. The issue became a matter of political debate: the Hungarian Communist Party already wanted to create a big city of industrial character, but this was not supported by the smallholders' party leadership of the capital city. After the year of the turn, however, the issue of the unification of the capital city was soon on the agenda. The issue was finally settled by Act No. XXVI of 1949 which opened up a new chapter in the history of the capital city from 1 January 1950. The Act ordered the annexation of seven towns (Budafok, Csepel, Kispest, Pestszenterzsébet, Pestszentlőrinc, Rákospalota, and Újpest) and 16 villages (Albertfalva, Békásmegyér, Budatétény, Cinkota, Mátyásföld, Nagytétény, Pesthidegkút, Pestszentimre, Pestújhely, Rákosszabab, Rákoshegy, Rákoskeresztúr, Rákosliget, Rákosszentmihály, Sashalom, and Soroksár) to contemporary Budapest.

The territory of the capital city grew by more than twofold, and its population rose by 50 %. Parallel to the unification, the independence of the towns and village annexed to Budapest was soon eliminated, and their names were no longer used either. The capital city that had consisted of 14 districts before was now divided into 22 districts, including the new territories. Some towns such as Újpest and Kispest made districts on their own; in other cases several settlements were integrated to make a new district. This was just the reason for the change in the number of districts decades later, when Soroksár and Pesterzsébet were separated from each other in 1994, and the now independent Soroksár made a new district of the capital city: District XXIII. The new administrative border in 1950 reflected the previous expansion of the capital city. The ground plan of the city was basically changed by the fact that much larger territories were annexed to the city on the Pest side than on the Buda side, as this was the area where the growth in the proportion of built-up areas was very fast and the population also increased rapidly. The problems on the border of the administrative boundaries were not solved, however; outside the new borders of the city the formation of a new agglomeration started almost immediately. The statistical designation in 1971 already listed 43 settlements to this new agglomeration, but actually many more settlements were part of that in reality. Greater Budapest in the 1950s—apart from war damage—was actually the continuation of the areas built up before the war (Novotný Pletscher 1998).

Parts of the new big city were quite heterogeneous from this aspect. On the Pest side, the Inner City (now District V) was the city centre, concentrating the most important administrative, touristic, and commercial institutions. The areas of the

districts of Budapest surrounding District V (Districts VI, VII, VIII, and IX) reaching to the industrial zone were the most congested built-up areas of the city, at rather heterogeneous technical levels. Their development was determined by urbanisation and the construction of new institutions. Outer districts were shaped by housing construction and in some places the settling down of industry. Angyalföld was an unplanned area with mixed development, with industrial facilities and houses including several workers' homes. Zugló was not built up at that time, apart from the areas occupied by detached houses. In Kőbánya—the largest workers' district in Budapest—low-comfort housing blocks, the housing estate of the MÁV Hungarian Railway Company, and a block of small homes could be found. The city core of Buda was more heterogeneous than the Pest one; the urban-style structure with closed rows of buildings spread, in accordance with the endowments, towards the valleys. The outer areas of Buda showed a different picture than their equivalents in Pest. Óbuda preserved its special character, with stronger development in outer areas. In Szépvölgyi Road detached houses were built, and also between Szentendrei Road and Nánási Road. Római-part was still a popular area for water sports. The population of the villa district in Buda was largely exchanged after the war and the function of many villas changed too.

The settlements on the outskirts, newly annexed to Budapest, were quite different from one another too. Újpest was a district with industrial character. The old rural core of Rákospalota was surrounded by an area built up with one-storey buildings in closed blocks or in the form of detached houses. In Pestújhely the housing estate of the MÁV and the territories of detached houses were quite different. In the continuation of Kerepesi Road, Rákosszentmihály, Mátyásföld, and Sashalom were dominated by detached houses, whereas Cinkota had a village-like image. The central rural core of Rákoskeresztúr was surrounded by blocks of detached houses. In the towns on the south Pest rim—Kispest, Pestszentlőrinc, Pestszenterzsébet—detached houses dominated, but in Kispest there was a block of different character: this was the Wekerletelep (Wekerle Block) equipped with public utilities. Soroksár preserved its village-like style. Csepel was even less urbanised in the years after the war, and its newly settled part, Királyerdő, lacked conscious planning at that time. In South Buda, Budafok had a small-town core, surrounded by an area loosely built up with detached houses, and the cave homes were still inhabited at that time. Nagytétény showed the image of a rural suburban settlement based on agriculture. Békásmegyer and Pesthidegkút also preserved their rural character, but in the latter the areas occupied by detached houses grew fast as well. The difference in the quality of the old city area and the underdeveloped territories annexed to it increased the number of tasks of urban development.

Development in the subsequent decades, however, was contradictory and interrupted. The growth in population necessitated the mass construction of new homes in the capital city. The spatial distribution of the population within the city, however, was significantly modified by the large-scale construction of housing blocks by the state, as 67 % of the new homes were built in the blocks. The construction of housing blocks was started in Budapest on the basis of the physical plan approved in 1960, first using block technology and then prefabricated elements. It was mainly

the non-built-up areas of the outskirts, or their areas to be regenerated, that got built up, typically with ten-storey residential buildings. This increased the proportion of homes in the outer districts. However, even the construction of approximately 330,000 homes in the 1950–1990 period was not enough to keep up with the growth in population. In addition, homes in the housing estates had small ground areas; the ideology behind that was the assumption that socialist people lived a community life and so the role of the home was of secondary importance to them (Beluszky and Kovács 1998). Housing estates were scattered in many cases, without sufficient considerate evaluation of the endowments in the territory of the capital city (Fig. 2.12).

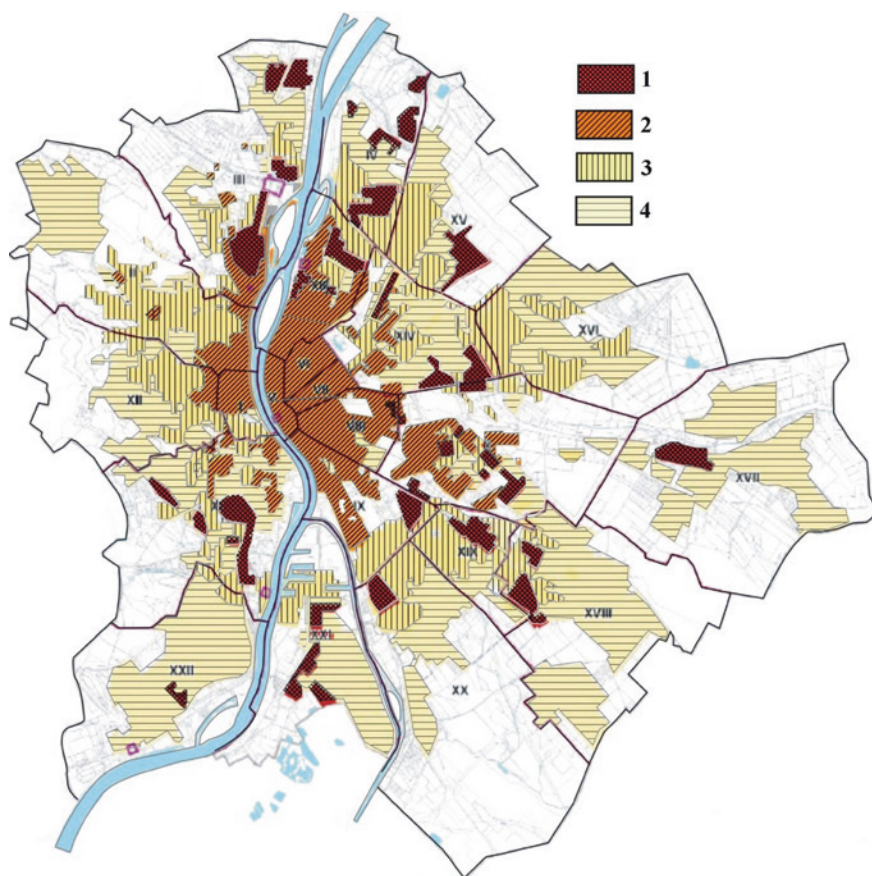


Fig. 2.12 Urban development in Budapest in the state socialist era, with the sites of the housing blocks. 1 Housing estates of Budapest; 2 densely built-up areas (1940); 3 loosely or noncontiguously built-up areas (1940); 4 considerable built-up areas (1990). *Source* By the authors, using the Urban Development Concept of Budapest (2011)

Housing blocks in the largest numbers and size were built in Óbuda, Békásmegyer, Újpest, Káposztásmegyer, Kőbánya, Kelenföld, Gazdagrét, Angyalföld, Zugló, Újpalota, and Csepel. The peak of block construction was the 1970s, when half of all homes in blocks built in the 1950–1990 period were completed. Large-scale housing block construction started by the second half of the 1950s in Zugló, in Nagy Lajos Király Street, in Angyalföld in Thälmann (today Fiastyúk) Street, and in Lágymányos. In District IX, by the elimination of the Mária Valéria block, the József Attila housing estate was built in this decade. The 1960s saw the start of construction of the Kelenföld housing block; at the end of the decade construction of the blocks in Óbuda, Újpalota, in Füredi Street in Zugló, and Leányka Street in the centre of Budafok were launched. The large-scale construction of the 1970s included the building of the housing estates in Békásmegyer, Józsefváros, Kőbánya-Újhegy, Órmező, Fehérvári Street, and Újlipótváros. This was also the time when the estates were built in Sashalom, Rákoskeresztúr, Pestszentlőrinc, Kispest, Csepel, and Budatétény. Regeneration of the city centres of Újpest, Kőbánya, and Budafok was also finished.

Parallel to the decrease of budgetary resources in the 1980s, fewer housing blocks were built; major construction of this decade included the building of the housing estates in Kaszásdűlő, Gazdagrét, Újpest, Káposztásmegyer, in Vizafogó Street between the Danube and Váci Road, in Pestszenterzsébet and in Szentlőrinci Road, and also in Csepel. The consequences of building up the formerly free, available sites of the capital city (e.g., the Buda Mountains or the area along the Rákos stream) had a very bad impact on the environment of the capital city. The channels of the northwestern winds so important for the microclimate were blocked, and the extended, valuable green surfaces and intensively farmed horticultural areas were built up. As the formerly relatively balanced spatial structure of the capital city disintegrated, the transportation systems constructed for the access and servicing of the large new housing estates had significant expenses as well (Kőszegfalvi 1997).

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