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**THE FARMING AND MANAGERIAL REFORM OF THE FESTETICS  
ESTATE AT THE END OF THE 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY**

*The summary of the PhD thesis*

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## 1. Antecedents of Research

The estate, better to say, the economic organization that was formed from several estates, the large estate, played an outstanding role in the history of our country and Europe; its stages of transformation and development had a strong link to the historic events and phases. The large estate was the most significant factor and organizer of the social, military and economic life, and because of its outstanding role, representatives of different fields of history have done research into its development. Writers of agricultural history have investigated its production methods, its transformation and influence in different periods while authors of economic history have dealt with its role and farming methods since its establishment.<sup>1</sup>

In the last decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century most of the land owners started to modernise farming on their estates due to the booming demand for agricultural products and the favourable price accompanied by it. One of them was Earl György Festetics, who moved to Keszthely to the centre of his neglected estates, after leaving the army. The most splendid part of the history of the town started at that time, the small market town became the cradle of the agricultural higher education in Europe by the foundation of the Georgikon in 1797; at the time of the Helikon festivals the most excellent scientists and artists of the country visited the town.

One of the first and most important steps of György Festetics was to appoint János Nagyváthy bailiff, who was a well-known agricultural writer of the era; who managed the Festetics estates as “*Director*” between 1792 and 1797. At that time he wrote his book titled “*Közönséges Instructio*” (*Common Instructions*), which was the first book in the history of work organisation to train farm managers. The reform of the management and the documentation system, the introduction of the double-entry book keeping and the reorganisation of the “*Directio*”, which was the main body of estate management, was established by the book and ideas of János Nagyváthy.

The books that were written about the historic background, and the general farming methods of the era could fill a library, but the number of studies dealing with the managerial and organizational problems of the large estate are relatively few, a significant part of the studies about the history of large estates

were not interested in this problem or wrote about it briefly. They did not examine farming on the estate of the Festetics family either, and apart from some shorter publications and the relevant chapters of the monograph of the family history written by Dezső Szabó, a great part of the material about estate management, which can be found in the archives, has not been examined. It has partly historical reasons, which could be a special feature of the research into agricultural history, that is, research is decided by the accessibility and survival of sources. Für wrote in connection with this phenomenon: “*the choice of the researcher is rather determined by pure chance: he can do research into the estate, the written material of which survived in one of our archives*”.<sup>2</sup>

In Hungary Sándor Domanovszky created a school with his activities of writing the history of estates, and this *Domanovszky school* established the definitions of “*Gutsherrschaft*” and “*Grundherrschaft*”. They raised the problem of the agricultural development in Eastern Europe namely that from the early modern times the producing large estate came into prominence. With the leadership of Domanovszky the Hungarian research into large estates reached the standard of the European historiography when a series of books, which were based on the research in archives, were published in 1933-39 dealing with the history of large estates.<sup>3</sup> In the volumes the economy, the society, the manor and the serfs are besides each other within the large estates, but they examined the society and manor separately.<sup>4</sup> Domanovszky and his students emphasized the similarities of the Hungarian development to the Eastern and Central European development mainly to the Czech and the Polish.<sup>5</sup>

Gyula Szekfű thought that large estates had different forms in the history of our country: In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries its main role was to defend the country, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century it was the building of the country and in the 19<sup>th</sup> century “*The large estate of Széchenyi (...) is a simple production plant that produces and sells grain, animals, leather, wool, and wine*”.<sup>6</sup>

Béla Szentiványi wrote about the problems of estate management and estate leadership in its Piarist book about the history of economy therefore his publication is ahead of its time.

The book about the Eszterházy estate in Tata and Gesztes, written by György Szabad (1956) represents a new era of historiography about large estates, in which the author investigates the era before the revolution of 1848 and after the emancipation of serfs. He compared the farming of the feudal

large estate, which started production for the market, with the farming of the estates after the emancipation of serfs, but he did not survey the results of the previous studies of historiography about estates. He wrote an individual book with a new approach and did not show much interest in the effects of estate management and estate leadership on farming.

After World War II, the editor, Vilmos Lázár, published the Review of Agricultural History, which gave detailed account of the questions the history of agriculture, and publications also appeared about the farming of large estates. The leading historians of this journal were Imre Wellmann, Emil Niederhauser, Péter Gunst, János Varga, István Sinkovics and István Szabó.<sup>7</sup> The latter had a decisive role in the historiography after World War II because he represented and continued a fundamentally analytical trend in social history in a scientific era which was interspersed with ideology. Besides all this, he applied the related sciences as well, (e.g. linguistics, ethnography, geography). The most outstanding historians of the century, Domokos Kosáry and Kálmán Benda also dealt with certain periods and problems of the history of large estates. Imre Wellmann and István Bakács followed the attitude of the Domanovszky-school but the traditions of the Hungarian historiography between the two World Wars survived as well.

From the 1970s György Ránki and Iván T. Berend established a new approach to the research into social and economic history, who “examined the Hungarian development from a Central and Eastern European point of view and experimented the analysis on the basis of the “centre-periphery theory” of Wallerstein for the first time”.<sup>8</sup> Tibor Tóth examined farming on the estate of Mernye for a century and in his opinion “all the social and economic misery of the agricultural development that started with the establishment of the estate that produced for the market (...) resulted from the delaying-delayed capitalist development which was determined by the mainly independent decisions of the authority which were largely independent from the basic laws of the economy”.<sup>9</sup>

Summarizing the above mentioned information we can see that the history of the large estate was a very interesting topic for the Hungarian historiography of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Kovér (1999) listed the most important scientists: “Gyula Székfű, the members of the Domanovszky school, from Jenő Berlász to Imre Wellmann, György Szabad, Szabó István’s students From Lajos Für to József Oláh and nowadays Tibor Tóth and his followers.”<sup>10</sup> From the point of view of the history of

economics the research into the history of large estates has an outstanding importance because capitalism in the eastern part of Europe – in Hungary as well – developed under the aegis of the large estates of noblemen.<sup>11</sup>

## **2. Aim of Research**

Examining the managerial and farming reform of the Festetics estate at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century I dealt with the following topics:

- 1) The characteristics of the different branches of Hungarian agriculture:
  - a) the characteristics of plant growing
  - b) the characteristics of animal husbandry
  - c) the control of the market and its main characteristics
- 2) The presentation of the managerial practice of the Festetics estate:
  - a) the examination of the organizational construction, managerial and other functions
  - b) the survey of the accounting system of the estate
  - c) the establishment and operation of the “Oeconomica Directio”
- 3) The presentation of farming on the estate
  - a) the survey of the production before the reform
  - b) the modernization: the introduction of “new” technologies, and methods
  - c) the survey of profitability according to the sources of archives
  - d) the examination of manpower utilization (the number of socage service days)
  - e) the change of the volume of villain socage
  - f) the evaluating analysis of the economic instructions of the estate

The topic of research can be drawn up in this way as well: The influence of the managerial and leadership transformation of a feudal large estate on farming and the influence of the practical application of scientific methods on the farming of large estates at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

### **3. Applied Methods of Research**

In my thesis I did primary and secondary research, as it deals with economic history I did primary research in libraries and archives and my secondary research also took me to libraries, then I analysed and systematized the data of research.

I collected sources in the Archives of the Festetics family in the Hungarian National Archives, in the library and archives of Csokonai Vitéz Mihály Calvinist Secondary Grammar School in Csurgó, in the database of the Balaton Museum and in the library of Festetics Stately Home in Keszthely, and in Deák Ferenc County Library.

The documents, including those in connection with managing the estate, which were kept in the Festetics archives, could not avoid the tempests of history, they were transferred several times in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, were classified and transported from Keszthely to Budapest.<sup>12</sup>

Despite of this, a suitable quantity of the documents survived, I could examine the process of the estate reform, the practise of farming on Festetics estate at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century on the basis of the relating documents in the Hungarian National Archive; the economic modernization took place on the basis of “*Common Instructio*” and the correspondence and records of those who carried out the reform.

In order to realize the aims of research, the descriptive-static approach, which was wide-spread in the Hungarian research of estate history, could not have been used therefore I tried to examine the farming of the estate in a systematizing way. While preparing our thesis I applied the classical “descriptive” and the “quantitative” methods of historiography as well. “Traditional” historiography tries to find causal relation with localized events in time and place, its most important tool is narration, the introduction of a chosen “hero” or period and although it sometimes uses the tools of statistics, it just supports the description. Quantitative historiography emphasizes measuring, which is connected with the application of economic theories, it examines structures, (the complex of economic events), it shows and analyses economic phenomena with the method of statistics instead of certain events and people, it concentrates on elements and structures and it builds up measureable hypothesis. The advantage of this approach is that it is able to

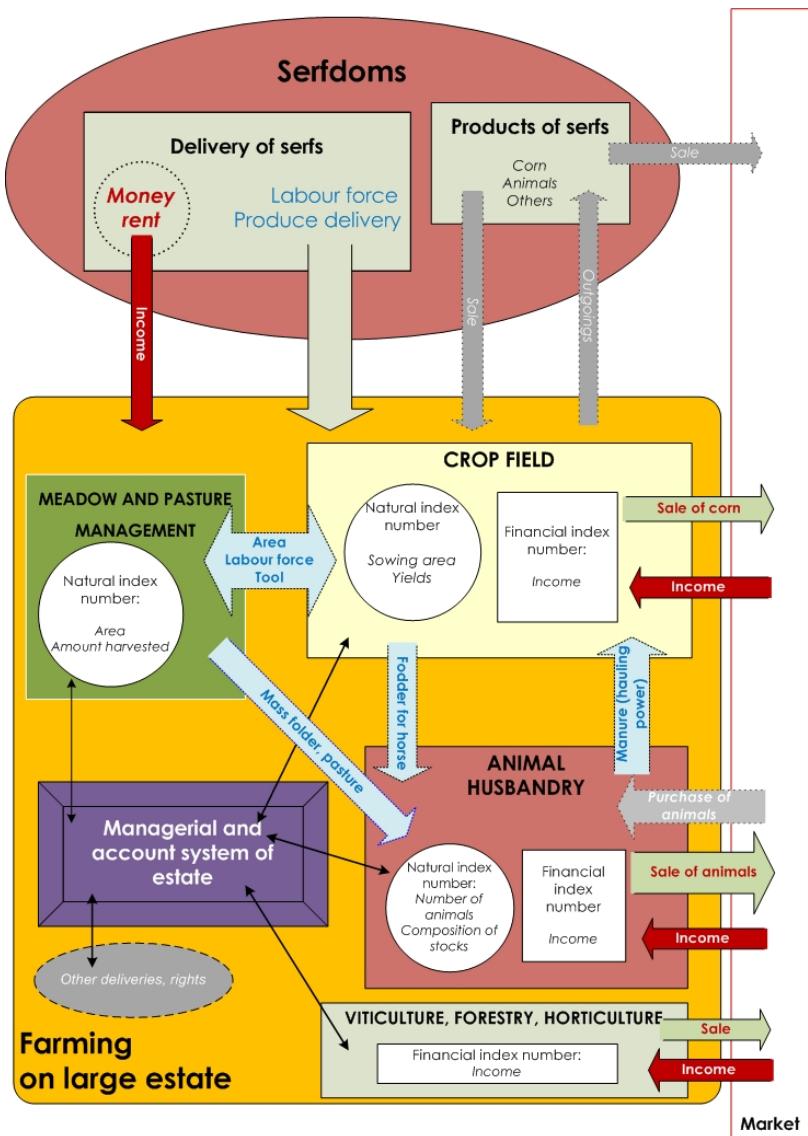
make deeper analysis based on data, but it neglects the effects of accidental economic factors (historic events), and it ignores the influence of outstanding personalities and quality changes.<sup>13</sup>

The examination of economic and social systems is more difficult than that of the natural systems because of their complexity and it is very much true when we analyze changes that took place in the past. I approached the topic of research from an interdisciplinary and methodical point of view.

I collected the economic data of two decades: I examined the years both before and after the start of the estate reform, from 1785 to 1807. The starting date was determined the conditions of the Festetics estate: a system of accounts was created that made it examination of each branch possible. The closing year was settled as a result of outside changes: During the Napoleon wars at the end of the 1810s inflation increased enormously in the empire and it would deform the financial data (income and expenditure).<sup>14</sup>

The analyses were done at two “levels”: I examined the six domains, which belonged to the estate during the whole period plus the domains which were purchased later, therefore I examined the “whole” estate and I could eliminate the changes due to the extension of the resources. I analysed the collected data with the method of linear trend calculations. The time periods that I examined were formed as the resultants of several influences. In my opinion the most important factors of them are the change of the market, the control of the commerce of agricultural products. I write about both of them in a separate chapter. Among the inside factors the most important factors are the technological improvement, the expanding organizational and managerial knowledge, the modernization of the account system that is *the process of the estate reform*, besides the expansion of the resources of production. I analysed the data lines with linear trend calculation because in the traditional agriculture and in the pre-capitalist market of the examined era the quick non-linear changes were not typical.

Before collecting data and classification I created a model which helps to examine the prosperousness of the estate reform.



(Source: Figure by myself)

Figure 1: The schematic model of the inside and outside system of the connection of the large estate

Figure 1 shows the schematic model of the most important connections of production and sale of the large estate that I used during the examination.

In my thesis I analysed the financial processes with financial index numbers and the real processes with natural index numbers. Besides the main profitability changes of each branch, I also examined the changes of the volume of production. Some processes in connection with the serfdoms (marked with a grey arrow) must have been recorded precisely but I could not analyse them because of the lack of sources but their influence on the analyses of the estate reform was negligible.

**The managing and account system of the estate** had the most important role in the completion of the estate reform it coordinated, arranged and controlled production. I showed its operation in a descriptive way and besides the functional analysis I concentrated on the qualitative changes on the basis of partly the “*Common Instructio*” by Nagyváthy and the sources of archives. In the production of the examined period – just like today – besides the tools used in production, the practical application of science and the knowledge of those who took part in production played an important role. It is mainly reflected on the account and managerial system of the estate.

**Serf farms** served the large estate with their work force, tools and forced labour and their money and produce deliveries were important sources of income therefore I show their changes as well. As I lack the exact sources, I do not analyze the quantities of produce which were sold for the large estate or the market but it must have been significant. As subsistence farming was carried on, they might have sold their surplus, unused and marketable products (to the large estate as well, which could trade with them). The main aim of this activity was to earn money in order to pay the taxes.

According to Kaposi the Hungarian large estates and serf farms were social-economic units therefore their common examination is reasonable.<sup>15</sup> István Szabó referred to it as well: He suggested examining farming on the estates and serf farms without separating each other rigidly.<sup>16</sup>

In these types of agricultural organizations the monopolies of noblemen had a distributional function “*the distribution of products assumes their previous collection, the seizure of leather and crops and the purchase of salt. Noblemen had a disposal of certain proportion of the goods produced by the serfs and the allodial plant. These products and the ones outside the borders of the estate got into the process of distribution.*”<sup>17</sup>

The inside production system of the **estates** were examined in each branch. Apart from some small-scale estates they dealt with plant growing, and animal breeding as well. The extent and the intensity of the latter determined the volume and the intensity of grazing management. However intensive arable fodder production became a competing branch of plant growing from many aspects (e.g. main resources: area, labour force, and tools), because they were used in both branches. Less important branches, which met local requirements, also appeared in the estates e.g. horticulture, viticulture and forestry. In the case of estates with a special position these branches could earn significant income, but their role in the estates as a whole was marginal.

Under the term of “**other services and rights**” I mean different rights which still existed and were leased at the end of feudalism (fishing, pannage, grazing, mills and inns). According to the sources of technical literature they could earn significant income for the large estate but I did not examine them because in my opinion they are given conditions the profitability of which could be improved by a successful reform, but they do not belong to the “farm” in the closest sense of the word therefore they are not important when the success of the reform is justified.

The transformation and expansion of the **market** is a decisive factor for the success of the estate reform, therefore I summarized the demand for the most important products and the features of the most significant branches, mainly on the basis of technical literature.

Besides the transformation of the economic and managerial system of the estate, I also illustrate the most important features of and changes of the account system. On the basis of the sources of the archives I survey the changes in the practice of farming and as a new approach I analyze the changes not only at the level of each domain but on the whole estate as well. The results of my thesis show how the reform of the Festetics estate led to the foundation of the first agricultural higher educational institute, Georgikon, in 1797. On the basis of the practical results of the reform we can evaluate land steward Nagyváthy’s work and answer the question whether his book the “*Instructio*” helped farming improve.

## 4. Scientific results of research of research, points of thesis

Hypothesis is an assumption referring to the nature, processes and connections of a thing, which is deduced from a theory, exactly determined and controlled. According to Somogyi (2002) it reflects the solution of the problem which is under research and it can be understood as the researcher's opinion about the problem. On the basis of the aims of research and methods described above, I drew up the following hypotheses:

1. *The transformation of economic and managerial system of the Festetics estate was established according to János Nagyváthy's conception and it resulted in verifiable changes in the account and managerial system.*

According to Nagyváthy's conception the basis of the modernization of the large estate was the development of animal husbandry "*the basis of farming is the bay and fodder production and animal breeding (....)*"<sup>18</sup>, he recognised in time - which was proved by researchers later - that "*the development of animal husbandry resulted in the increase of agricultural production for the market and it had a favourable effect on the level of plant growing.*"<sup>19</sup> Nagyváthy concluded *that flourishing breeding shows that the farmers are wealthy there because breeding requires capital.*"<sup>20</sup> However on the Festetics estate there were no means of capital investment therefore the different branches could be made profitable by the modernization of the technical side of production, technology and with careful planning. Besides developing production Nagyváthy assigned an important part to animal husbandry in improving profitability. Apart from emphasizing to reach the highest profit possible he pointed out that from the stocks "*as many must be sold at the best price as the number that can be substituted by breeding*", and in this way future replacement was not risked.<sup>21</sup> The planning and organization of production became much easier by it because it was calculable how much "*the income is this year or even in the next year apart from the different animals which were gathered for trading.*"<sup>22</sup>

Besides favouring the development of animal husbandry, he demanded a complex word organizational practice: the complex development of plant

growing and animal husbandry was in the centre of his concept: “*On the one hand the farmer strives for good and abundant yield, on the other hand he must insist on breeding cattle and other animals*”.<sup>23</sup> He recognised that plant growing could not be intensive in a short time due to the applied technology, and tools – serfs provided the labour force, and a great part of the tools. In order to develop production he encouraged the expansion product connections between the branches and suggested growing new products. He emphasized the role of fertilizing in the improvement of allodial plant production and called manure and manuring “*the heart and soul*” of plant growing. He stated that “*One cart of mature manure ploughed in the right time is better than six cart of immature manure, and every spring the mature must be collected in the folds and let it mature for a year*”.<sup>24</sup>

*2. Farming in the Festetics estate produced for the market and became profit oriented by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.*

Besides the knowledge of production, the owners of the estates had to learn how to grow new plants “*which were not usual and comparing their yield to the quality of the soil they brought more money into the cash box.*”<sup>25</sup> Nagyváthy put tobacco, saffron, types of beets, medic and vetch and he remarked in general “*that all farmers must produce plants which have the highest yield and can be sold best for money*”.<sup>26</sup> He ordered to change the branches of plant growing to be profit oriented “*fields and areas, where peas, lentils and millets grow especially well and sell at a good price, must be found and these plants must be grown not only for domestic use but for sale as well*”.<sup>27</sup> Arable fodder plant growing, which was new at that time, and intensive grazing management appeared in Nagyváthy’s economic system and he thought that the spread and naturalization of new farming methods are indispensable on the estate. He gave detailed instructions about improvement and organized exploitation of meadows and pastures and he gave an important role to the expansion of this kind of cultivation.

*3. The transformation of farming on the estate was carried out in an individual way because neither capital inflow nor the expansion of production funds were possible, therefore productivity and efficiency were increased by the application of the knowledge of modern technical literature of the era which could be adapted to the conditions here in Hungary.*

The corn boom that appeared in the last decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the improving sales opportunities resulted in the modernization of large estates owned by aristocrats. Modernization was mainly carried out by the aristocrats who did not sell the corn that they got for the usage of the free estates but they got their income from the manor and in this way they were more open to apply paid work, which was more expensive at the beginning but it was also more productive. In the production of the modernized large estates the level of manorial farming soon exceeded the level of serfdoms. Most of all the educated West Hungarian aristocrats took the risk of the modernization because they had some capital and their allodiums were located in the part of the country where market opportunities were more favorable.

Economics as a science was born when Adam Smith published his book in 1776, titled *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. The new science and the application of the principles spread very slowly in our country. According to Kautz (1868) “*the first experiments of economic organization*” could be observed but the lag was significant. The book *Grundsätze der rationellen Landwirtschaft* by Albrecht Daniel Thaer had a decisive role in the application of economic knowledge in agriculture.

In the publications of the representatives (e.g. G. Berzeviczky, J. Szapáry, J. Podmaniczky, S. Tessedik, M. Schwartner, M. Pankl, J. Nagyváthy) of Hungary’s scientific life we can discover the basic principles of economic thinking but the theory spread very slowly in practice.

Changes were necessary at “Micro level” so that they could benefit from the expansion of the markets and production. Instead of the application of the new scientific results extensive production was preferred, the territory of allodium was increased more socagers were employed (“*first way*”). In some exceptional cases they changed the way of production by enormous capital investments and they increased the output. (*second way*). “*The third way*” of transformation could be established by intensive production, the development

of human capital, the strict economic accounts, the expansion of trade and monetary policy, the reduction of production costs. All these principles were established in the Festetics estate at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. I introduce the most important principles of “*the third road*”, and its success according to research in libraries and archives.

*4. In the life-work of János Nagyváthy the period of working as a land steward had decisive importance*

János Nagyváthy, the outstanding person of our agricultural history was born on 19<sup>th</sup> January 1755, in Miskolc. After leaving the Protestant secondary grammar school in Miskolc, he studied law and theology in Sárospatak. At the Protestant secondary grammar school in Losonc he became a 'Subrector', that is, the teacher of poetry. Due to a serious illness affecting his eyes he left this job and went to Pest for medical treatment. During the long therapy he visited the lectures of Mitterpacher Lajos, who was the most excellent theoretical agricultural specialist in the country. In 1782 he took military service for four years, in the Duka cavalry regiment, where he reached the rank of a captain and he was garrisoned in Belgium, Italy and Austria. As a commissariat officer he got to know the more developed agriculture of Europe, and it was at that time that he studied agricultural technical literature. In 1786 he had a relapse of his eye disease therefore he left the army and tried to find a cure in Vienna. Here he got acquainted with Jordán Péter, director of the domains of the court, who employed him as an assistant. During the time he spent in the domain of Vöslau, he could completed his academic knowledge with practical experience. In 1788 he moved to Pest where he made friends with Kazinczy, Batsányi, Verseghy and Széchenyi Ferenc, who were the representatives of the most progressive group of nobility. He became the member of the 'Maganamitas' Masonic Lodge. In 1790 he published four pamphlets anonymously called 'The change of religion', 'Civil prediction from the stars', 'The red friend', 'Hours of joy in the life of a true Hungarian patriot'. In 1791 he published 'The diligent farmer' in two volumes on 1213 pages recommending it to the 'sweaty Hungarian farmer'. In this book he wrote about all his experience and the regularities regarding animals and plants discovered by the developing sciences. His main source is 'Elementa rei

rusticae' by Mitterpacher but he also mentioned 51 different books as sources, (34 of them in the section about plant cultivation). Plant cultivation had the same importance and number of pages as in the work of Mitterpacher but animal husbandry had twice as many pages. He wrote about the breeding of all farm animals but it was not the chapters on animal husbandry that pointed ahead but his remarks to help the rationalization of farming and the fact that he wrote about plant cultivation and animal husbandry as a whole. The book made him well-known in the country. He was offered the post of a land steward by Széchenyi Ferenc and Festetics György. Accepting the latter he moved to Keszthely and he took over the management of the domain of 162 000 acres. The earl left the army at that time and started to restore his neglected domain. Nagyváthy managed the the Festetics estates as „*Director*” between 1792 and 1797. He wrote then his book titled „*Közönséges Instructio*” (*Common Instructions*), which was the first book in the history of work organisation to train farm managers.

The centralised management was the best organised on the estates of the Festetics family, the basis of which called the „*Oeconomica Directio*” was created in 1792 on the advice of Nagyváthy and Earl György Festetics. The great advantage of this relatively late introduction was that they could take over some of the good, practical tricks of the management of the other large estates. At the same time different innovations can be seen on this estate (e.g. the scientific education of the land-stewards, the introduction of double entry book-keeping, profit oriented approach, and the demand of saving in costs).

Nagyváthy's main task was to improve farm management. He introduced strict accountancy and applied double-entry book-keeping for the first time and Hungary and his main principle was to put down all farming activities in writing. The farm managers were not suitable for this task so he convinced Festetics to found a school for them and an other secondary grammar school in the other centre of the estate in Csurgó. By 1797 the condition of the estate improved significantly and the Earl founded 'Georgikon' the first agricultural college in Europe though without the land steward who favoured the idea of enlightenment (the court in Vienna would not approve it). After the expiration of his contract he retired and moved to Csurgó, where he inspected the secondary grammar school as a secular inspector. He spent the last 22 years of his life here 'hard working in respectable poverty'. He died on 24th February 1819 at

Csurgó. His posthumous books are as follows: 'Hungarian housewife on the farm' (1820), 'Hungarian Practicus Cultivator' (1821), 'Hungarian Practicus Breeder' (1822), 'Hungarian Land Steward' (1822).

*5. János Nagyváthy played an outstanding role in the development of farming and organizational sciences, the foundation of agro-economic knowledge and its practical application in Hungary.*

The reform of the management and the documentation system, the introduction of the double-entry book keeping and the reorganisation of the "Directio", which was the main body of the estate management, was established by the book and ideas of János Nagyváthy. He introduced modern economic principles in an age when the theoretical connection between cost rationalization and profit growth were not known, the Hungarian economic education was of bad quality, therefore he was one of the founders of Hungarian economics.

## 5. Publications

### Book, book chapters

Lukács Gábor: „Nagyváthy János élete és munkássága, különös tekintettel birtokigazgatói tevékenységére és a „Közönséges Instructio...” című művére”.

In: „Diákok a tudományos kutatás kapujában”, 53-103. p. Szerk.: Gazda István, Magyar Tudománytörténeti Intézet, 2004., ISBN 963 9276 43 X.

Lukács Gábor: „Nagyváthy, a Festetics-birtok tudós „Directora”.

In: „Nagyváthy János emlékkönyv”, 85-122. p. Szerk.: Lukács Gábor – Kocsandi József. Keszthely, 2007., ISBN 978-963-9639-23-2.

Lukács Gábor: „Egy feudális magyar nagybirtok vezetési és szervezési gyakorlata”.

In: „Horizont és tudásmódok” 333-340. p., 361.p. Szerk.: Dr. Csányi Erzsébet. Vajdasági Magyar Felsőoktatási Kollégium. Újvidék, 2005. ISBN 86-85245-03-6

Lukács Gábor: „Nagyváthy János birtokigazgatói tevékenysége”.

In: „Tavaszi Szél 2005” 260-263. p., Szerk.: Csizmadia József, Doktoranduszok Országos Szövetsége, Budapest, 2005. ISBN 963 218 368 1

Lukács Gábor: „A nemzeti felemelkedés reformgondolatai Nagyváthy János műveiben”. Állam és nemzet a XIX-XX. században. 267-278. p. Debrecen, 2006.

### International Paper, Proceeding, Article

Lukács Gábor – Lukácsné Pető Judit: „Nagyváthy, az első magyar mezőgazdasági szakíró élete”. Journal of Central European Agriculture /JCEA/ 2001 Volume 2 Number 1-2. 33-47. p. ISSN 1332-9049

Lukács Gábor: „Egy magyar nagybirtok munkaerő-felhasználási jellemzői a XVIII. század végén”. VI. RODOSZ konferencia, Közgazdaságtan Tagozat. 2005. március 18-19. Kolozsvár

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