

A SHORT HISTORY OF BREWING IN HUNGARY

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Introduction

Hungary is usually perceived as primarily a wine-drinking country, but it also has a brewing industry. In Austro-Hungarian days there were many breweries in the country, although it is true that many of these were concentrated in the German and Slovak-speaking areas. From the 19th century the city of Budapest had large industrial breweries, mostly in the suburb of Kőbánya, Dreher's being the most famous. In the 20th century the Great War, the dismemberment of the Habsburg empire and the consequent economic crisis almost destroyed the brewing industry, and only a handful of breweries survived. After 1945 they were nationalised by the Communist government and controlled by the state. After the end of the Communist system, the breweries, still few in number, were privatised in the 1990s and mostly bought by international companies such as Heineken and SABMiller. They dominate the market, but new microbreweries have also been established.

This short history is based principally on the bilingual history published by Dreher for its 150th anniversary, architectural historian Martin Pilsitz's thesis on Budapest brewery architecture, brewing trade directories of various dates, and German-language newspapers, with some other sources, including the internet; however, information on Hungarian brewing history on the internet is incomplete, unreliable and contradictory. The breweries' corporate websites provide some information, but the history is generally selective at best: see www.dreherzt.hu, www.heinekenhungaria.hu, www.borsodisorgyar.hu and www.pccisor.hu. There are lacunae and probably inaccuracies in the account of the early breweries in Kőbánya in the 1840s and 1850s. Information on current microbreweries is based on the report compiled by Tony Fox-Griffiths of Crookham Travel for the Brewery History Society's visit to Budapest in April 2018.

It may be noted that applying GoogleTranslate to Hungarian texts is of little use except as a source of light entertainment.

The word for brewery is translated as 'bakery', 'sergeant' or 'serpentine', share company brewery becomes 'equestrian district' or 'stockpile', and the Royal Brewery becomes 'the King's Cross'.

This article generally – but not always – uses the Hungarian version of personal names with the surname first, e.g. Dreher Antal rather than Anton Dreher.

Early breweries

In the Kingdom of Hungary, in Buda and Pest, from the 14th century communal brewhouses were set up where the citizens who owned houses to which the brewing right was attached could take turns to brew. Brewing was controlled by the guild from the 15th century. It continued under Turkish rule after the battle of Mohács in 1526 and the conquest of most of Hungary (apart from Royal Hungary in the north and west and Transylvania in the east) by Suleiman the Magnificent. One such brewhouse (Boza Khane) was in the Tabán district of Buda, south of the castle; it eventually closed in 1815, by which time it was leased to Mayerffy Ferenc Xaverius and Petz János.¹

After the Habsburg conquest in 1686, a brewhouse was set up in Pest in 1687 by Proberger Jakab. In 1703 Emperor and King Leopold issued the Privilege of the Two Cities, conferring on Buda and Pest the exclusive right to operate brewhouses, which the cities leased to members of the brewers' guild.

Other 18th century breweries were the Ispotály brewhouse set up in Pest in 1768, with a name recalling a medieval hostel on the site, and the Óbuda brewery operated from 1786 by Franz Mayer, a Bavarian, the father of Mayerffy Ferenc.

Hungary in the 18th century was still a mainly rural economy with mining districts in Upper Hungary and Transylva-

nia but few large towns. Nevertheless, by the end of the century the population of Buda and Pest was growing and the existing small brewhouses could no longer meet demand; they were also a fire hazard. In 1810 the Buda buildings commission adopted regulations for breweries, as did the Pest improvement commission. In 1813-5 Mayerffy and Petz were authorised by the city authorities to establish new breweries on the edge of the then built-up area of Pest, Mayerffy in the north (where the Parliament now is) and Petz in the south.

As Martin Pilsitz noted:

In 1815, the sites of the two newly established breweries, Mayerffy and Petz, were at the diametrical extremities of the area in which breweries were located in Pest. The building of the new plants and their location outside the medieval city walls was due to the risk of fire associated with the old commercial buildings (fires in the Tabán and Viziváros districts in 1810). In the ensuing period, these two sites became the geographical starting points for industrial development along Váci Street and Soroksári Street. Both roads run parallel to the Danube and represent the southern and northern axes and supply routes between Budapest and the countryside.²

The breweries were close to the Danube. River water was filtered through sand and gravel and piped to the breweries, and their wastewater was returned to the river.

In 1832 the borough council of Pest offered for sale by auction the right to brew and sell beer, for ten years from 1 October 1833, to be granted to four (unconnected) individuals in four brewhouses.³ Two of these were presumably Mayerffy and Petz, and the other two the Józsefváros brewery of Török Ignác, which went bankrupt in 1838 but was continued until 1855 under new tenants, and the Ujlipótváros brewery of Tüköry (Spiegel) József.⁴

When the Danube burst its banks and flooded Pest in March 1838, Wenzel Nesvarba, brewer at Karl von Mayerffy's brewery, and his wife and daughter sheltered over a thousand poor people in the brewery for several days, slaughtered 18 pigs, baked over 400 loaves of bread, and cooked meat and soup in the brewing kettle. Brewery workers on makeshift rafts rescued hundreds of people from the floods.⁵ Later in 1838 Neswaba donated three barrels of beer, worth 18 convention guilders, to the soldiers of the 5th Artillery Regiment who had put out a fire in his brewery.⁶

Other Hungarian cities with breweries included Pozsony (Preßburg, now Bratislava, Slovakia) and Temesvár (Timișoara, Romania). Preßburg had a municipal brewhouse, and at least one private brewery: the brewery in the district of Zuckermändl, belonging to the heirs of Adam

Fischer was announced as for sale in 1798.⁷ A brewery in the market town of Szerdahely (Dunajská Streda, Slovakia) was also for sale in that year.⁸ The towns and villages of the southern parts of the kingdom around the lower Danube and Tisza, where many ethnic Germans had settled, had a comparatively large number of breweries.

A similar regime to that in Pest – municipally-owned brewhouses let by auction to the highest bidder – obtained in other boroughs in the early 19th century. For example, the brewhouse belonging to the royal borough of Eisenstadt (now in Austria) was to be leased by auction for six years in 1825, and again for six years in 1837.⁹ In 1840 the royal borough of Neusatz (now Novi Sad, Serbia) leased various regalian rights by auction, including the municipal brewery, for three years.¹⁰ In 1840 the royal borough of Arad (now in Romania) offered a tenancy of the brewhouse there for a term of twelve years to the highest bidder at auction.¹¹ In 1842 the municipal brewery of the royal borough of Bösing (now Pezinok, Slovakia) was to be let for a term of five years and four months. The announcement of the auction specifically stated that Jews ('Israeliten') were allowed to bid; this was evidently not self-explanatory.¹²

In contrast, the royal borough of Győr (in German, Raab) decided in 1822 to sell its brewery. It was announced that the brewery belonging to the town, built of good materials, in the main street of the outer town, with brewing equipment and a mill, was to be sold to the highest bidder. It could either be sold with the brewing rights and used as a brewery, or without them and used for some other trade.¹³

Outside the boroughs, brewing appears to have been a regality or monopoly of the king or manorial lord, who might operate a brewery on his own account or lease it to a tenant operator. The alehouses on the estate would usually be obliged to take the beer. Thus in 1822 the Imperial Royal Family estate in Hollitsch (Holíč, Slovakia) offered the regalian rights for lease by auction for six years, including the brewhouses in the villages of Koptschan (Kopčany) and Wradisch (Vrádište), also distilleries, one of which had the right to make potash, and a wine tavern with the Jewish meat shambles attached. The Koptschan brewhouse, which supplied 14 villages, had brewing equipment, but the tenant of the Wradisch brewhouse would have to provide his own.¹⁴

In 1823 the Groß-Szent Miklos estate announced the lease by auction for a term of three years of the estate brewhouse in the market town of Groß-Szent Miklos (Sânnicolau Mare, Romania), with distillery, brewer's house and stables.¹⁵

In 1826 the Imperial Royal Lower Hungarian Grand Chamberlain's Office in the mining town of Schemnitz (Banská

Štiavnica, Slovakia) offered for lease by auction for 3½ years the brewhouse in Scharnowitz (Žarnovica), with accommodation for the brewer and servants, malting floor, Dutch kiln, brewhouse containing a 100 *Eimer* brewing pan, coolships and mash tuns, cellars, distillery, stables, wagon repair shop, wood store and two kitchen gardens. The beer was to be sold in the alehouses belonging to the royal mining lordship.¹⁶

In 1832 the brewery in Dunaföldvár, which belonged to the lordship, was offered for lease by auction for six years.¹⁷ In 1840 the Kalocsa Archiepiscopal Estate leased by auction for three years the brewhouse in Szent-István near the market town of Baja.¹⁸ Also in 1840, the Greek Uniate bishopric of Großwardein (Oradea) offered a brewhouse and other regalian rights for lease for three years.¹⁹ In the same year, the royal cameral prefect of Szolnok offered the tenancy of the brewhouse, together with the right to brew, for three years, again by public auction.²⁰ Similarly, in 1842 the bishopric of Waitzen (Vác) offered for lease the brewhouse in Verötza, a village on the Danube one hour from the town of Waitzen, with a hopgarden and the right to sell beer throughout the territory of the episcopal estate.²¹

It was normal for many breweries also to distil spirits and produce vinegar, in order not to have to cease activity in the summer months when brewing was not possible.

Industrialisation in the 19th century

In the 19th century Pest developed into the economic and industrial centre of Hungary; the first railway (to Vác) was opened in 1846, for example. The failure of the 1848 revolution, however disastrous politically, seems not to have affected the economic development of Hungary, which continued further after the 1867 Compromise creating the Dual Monarchy of Austria and Hungary.

In 1843 the old system of regulating the brewing trade in Pest was done away with. The guild's privileges were effectively abolished, and any citizen who paid beer duty could now operate a brewery. In 1843 'the former Mayerfy brewhouse, now Birly's, situated by the Danube' with its 'Fundus Instruktus' (equipment, utensils etc) was offered for lease.²² In 1844 Schmidt Péter, born in Pest but of Bavarian descent, who had studied brewing in Munich under Gabriel Sedlmayr senior, introduced Bavarian-style bottom fermentation in his new brewery in Üllői út in the Ferencváros district of Pest.

In the revolutionary year of 1848 there was trouble at Tüköry's brewery. In response to hostile press reports, the

workers protested that they were not troublemakers who had gone on strike for no reason, but well-intentioned patriots who had politely and modestly asked their employers for a monthly wage increase of five florins and a daily provision of four pounds of beef and two loaves of bread for the workforce. Their demands had been rejected, even though that payment had been made when the late Mr Spiegel was in charge of the business and the other brewery owners in Pest had already satisfied their workmen's claims.²³ Petz's brewery brewed 40,000 *Eimer* of beer in 1851/2, and a twelve-horsepower steam engine was installed in 1854.²⁴ By 1857 the brewery belonged to a Mr Rumbach. An unnamed brewery in Újpest was extended and equipped with steam engines in 1858.²⁵

A historic change in the Hungarian brewing industry took place in the 1850s. New breweries on a modern industrial scale were established in Buda and Pest (united as Budapest in 1873). They were typically no longer in the cramped city centre but in the suburbs, in particular Kőbánya (Steinbruch in German; the name means 'quarry'), which had several advantages as a location for breweries – a good water supply from deep wells which meant that brewers no longer had to rely on water from the Danube and, above all, the great network of limestone quarries.

As Michael Jackson wrote in *The World Guide to Beer*:

The *lager* revolution of Vienna, Munich and Pilsen boosted the popularity of beer throughout much of Austro-Hungary. By happy coincidence, the quarrying of stone to build Buda's twin town of Pest had left enormous rock caverns where beer could be *lagered*. This gave rise in 1854 to the Kőbánya brewery, in what is now part of Budapest. German and Austrian brewers came to Kőbánya, bringing their knowledge of the new technique ...²⁶

Schmidt Péter may have been the first brewer to discover the merits of the Kőbánya cellars. He brewed his bottom-fermented beer in Üllői út and took it to the rocky cellars to mature. The beer therefore became known as Kőbánya beer. Later he moved his brewing operations to Kőbánya as well. Tüköry József also used the Kőbánya cellars for lagering his beers and advertised his beers as Kőbánya beer.

In 1850 a group of investors founded the Kőbányai Serház Társaság (Kőbánya Brewhouse Company), and their brewery in Kőbánya started brewing in 1855 as a successor to Schmidt's. From 1859 the sole owner was Perlmutter Jakab. Dreher Antal (Anton Dreher) bought the brewery from him in October 1862.

The Dreher family originated in Pfullendorf in the Bodensee (Lake Constance) district of southern Germany. Franz Anton



Figure 1. Dreher Sorgyarak Kobanya Brewery. Photo by Jeff Sechiari



Figure 2. Dreher Sorgyarak Kobanya Brewery. Photo by Jeff Sechiari

Dreher (1735-1820) moved to Vienna in 1760 and bought the Klein-Schwechat brewery outside Vienna – said to have been founded in 1632 by Peter Descrolier, chamberlain to Archduke Matthias – in 1796. His son Anton Dreher senior (1810-63) ran the brewery from 1836. In 1833, with his Munich brewery friend Gabriel Sedlmayr junior and others, he had toured England and Scotland in order to study those countries' brewing methods, including in particular the use of the thermometer and saccharometer. They practised industrial espionage with the aid of hollow walking sticks for stealing samples of beer.²⁷

Dreher was one of the pioneers of lager beer. He acquired the nickname Beer King. After his death in 1863, only a year after buying the Kőbánya brewery, the business was run by Franz Aich senior and August Deiglmayr until his son Dreher Antal junior (1849-1921) came of age in 1870 and took over the management of the Schwechat and Pest breweries. In the 1870s Franz Aich junior and Julius Kracher were also involved with the Kőbánya brewery as managers, with J. Müller and Carl Widter as head brewers. The Dreher family also owned breweries in other parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, namely Měcholupy near Žatec in the main hop-growing region of Bohemia from 1860²⁸ and Trieste on the Adriatic coast from 1865.

The businessmen Barber Ágost (August Barber) and his brother-in-law Klusemann Károly (Carl Klusemann) – who owned corn mills in Pest and steelworks in Vienna, as well as being involved in several projected railways – built a brewery in Kőbánya on a large scale with steam power and up-to-date machinery. Brewing started in January 1854, so that it may be regarded as the first industrial brewery in Hungary. The brewery later became part of the Dreher group, and the year 1854 was therefore later regarded as the date of foundation of the Dreher breweries. In 1867 Barber and Klusemann were granted a concession to build and operate a horse-powered railway connecting their brewery with the Kőbánya station of the Hungarian Northern Railway.²⁹ In 1867 the firm was converted into a share company under the name Első Magyar Részvény Serfőződé Rt (First Hungarian Share-Company Brewery Ltd; in German, Erste Ungarische Actien-Brauerei), with Barber as chairman.

Carl Rohrbacher had a brewery in the northern Pest suburb of Angyalföld, probably opened in the 1840s. The *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt* reported in 1858 that it had been taken over by the firm of Moriz Epstein & Co of Arad.³⁰ A newly built brewery at Ferihegy, described as 1½ hours' distance from Pest, was offered for lease in 1851.³¹

The brothers Heinrich (Henrik) and Karl (Károly) Haggenmacher from Winterthur (Switzerland) came to Hun-

gary in the 1850s and set up as millers and brewers. They were partners in Első Magyar Részvény Serfőződé. In 1867 Haggenmacher Henrik also bought a brewery being built in Promontor on the Buda side of the Danube from Frohner János; at that time Promontor was best known for its wine cellars. His son Haggenmacher Henrik junior ran it from 1880, with his uncle Haggenmacher Oszkár (1874-1942) as a partner from 1899. Henrik junior's sister Bertha Luisa married Dreher Jenő of the Dreher brewing family; the couple lived in Brunszvik Castle in Martonvásár, which was bought by the Dreher family with 7,500 hectares of land in 1897 from a Habsburg archduke.

Dreher's brewery was in trouble with the Hungarian tax authorities in the 1870s. It was reported in the press in 1877 that 80,000 *Eimer* had been brewed in 1876 without duty being paid, the unpaid duty amounting to 120,000 guilders, and that from 1871 income tax of 90,000 guilders had been evaded by false invoicing. Most of the firm's books had been sent to Austria, out of reach of the Hungarian authorities. However, Dreher had dismissed the 'alleged' infringement as a 'triviality'.³²

The case was still unresolved in late 1879, when Johann Asboth, the editor of the newspaper *Magyarország*, alleged that Dreher had used political influence to avoid having to pay more than 900,000 guilders in tax and penalties. Politicians and bankers became involved in the scandal, and one minister had to resign.

There were of course breweries elsewhere in Hungary, not only in Budapest. A trilingual directory of Austro-Hungarian breweries, *Adressenbuch der Bierbrauereien in Österreich-Ungarn*, published in Prague in German, Czech and French, undated but probably from 1880,³³ listed about 140 breweries in Hungary, 25 in Transylvania and 41 in Croatia and Slavonia.

Similarly, according to a broadsheet headed *Oesterreich-Ungarn's Bier-Production 1881*, produced as a supplement to the Viennese brewing journal *Gambrinus*, the nine breweries in Hungary with an annual production of 10,000 hl or more are listed in Table 1. Total beer production in Hungary (including Transylvania and the Military Frontier) in 1881 was 455,527 hl, which represented a per capita consumption of only 3 hl, compared to 93 hl in Bohemia and 166 hl in the province of Salzburg. Of this, 12° beer accounted for 251,935 hl and 13° beer for 100,218 hl. The two largest breweries in Budapest, Dreher and the Actienbrauerei (Actiengesellschaft), were not only far larger than the other Hungarian breweries, they were exceeded in size in the Dual Monarchy only by the great breweries of Vienna and Pilsen.

Location	Name	Production in hl	
		1881	1880
Hermannstadt (Siebenbürg)	Johann Habermann	13,800	-
Pancsowa (Militärgrenze)	Ig. Weifert	-	11,960
Pest (Steinbruch)	Anton Dreher	111,124	102,000
Pest (Steinbruch)	Actiengesellschaft	97,200	97,570
Preßburg	Spitzer und Deutsch	11,643	13,398
Preßburg	Stein und Iritzer	15,660	16,020
Promontor	Heinr. Haggenmacher	24,864	25,728
Temesvar	L. Riedl u. Comp.	15,180	11,220
Ungar. Altenburg	Sr. k. k. Hh. Erz. Albrecht	11,790	13,500

Table 1. Siebenbürgen is the German name for Transylvania (Erdély), the Militärgrenze or Military Frontier was a strip of territory abutting the Ottoman empire, Hermannstadt is now Sibiu (Romania), Pancsowa is Pančevo (Serbia), Preßburg is Bratislava (Slovakia), Temesvar is Timișoara (Romania), Ungarisch Altenburg is Mosonmagyaróvár.

Location	Name	Production in hl
Steinbruch	Anton Dreher	144,646
Steinbruch	1. ung. Actiengesellschaft	120,690
Promontor	Heinr. Haggenmacher	23,147
Temesvar	Schossberger & Deutsch	14,630
Pancsova	Georg Weifert	12,820
Hermannstadt	Johann Habermann	10,200
Preßburg	Gebr. Stein	10,140

Table 2.

Year	Number of breweries	Production in hl
1851	773	384,008
1860	490	665,113
1880	142	427,152
1895	108	1,500,000
1907	89	1,822,385
1912/13	71	2,847,100

Table 3.

A few years later, in 1888/89, the corresponding figures, as reported in the German-language Prague brewing journal *Der böhmische Bierbrauer* in 1891,³⁴ were as table 2.

The two big Steinbruch (Kőbánya) breweries were brewing much more, but production in the others had fallen. For comparison, it may be noted that Dreher's Austrian brewery was brewing over 400,000 hl a year.

The Hungarian brewing industry had been affected by the stock exchange crash and depression in the 1870s, but had since recovered. An important factor in the 1880s and 1890s was the damage done to Hungarian vineyards by phylloxera, which led consumers to change to beer as an alternative to wine; demand initially had to be satisfied by imports of Austrian and Bohemian beer until the Hungarian brewing industry expanded. Legislative changes, the development of a banking system and the appearance of share companies were also important. Table 3 shows production to statistics as quoted by Pilsitz.³⁵ The combination of falling numbers of breweries and increasing production is manifest.

Taxation was also a factor. According to an article which appeared in the British press in 1892, based on an Austrian source, the Hungarian brewing industry was suffering from excessive local taxes intended to favour the consumption of wine rather than beer. Following the damage caused to the vineyards by phylloxera, it would be preferable 'on moral as well as hygienic grounds' to encourage the consumption of beer, so as not to drive the working population to have recourse to ardent spirits. The State consumption tax also had an effect: since the raising of the tax in 1887 there had been a reduction both in beer production and also in the revenue obtained from the tax. In 1886-87 there were 109 breweries in operation in Hungary, with a production of 630,998 hectolitres (13,881,956 gallons), and the consumption tax yielded the equivalent of £110,243. In 1889-90 the number of breweries had fallen to 96, production to 12,024,518 gallons, and the revenue from the tax to £94,988. At the same time, however, because of imports actual beer consumption had not fallen, and there were moves to set up new breweries in the country with the hope of replacing imported beers.³⁶

Another brewery was established in Budapest (Kőbánya) in 1892, Kőbányai Polgári Serfőző Rt (Kőbánya Citizens' Brewery Ltd; in German: Steinbrucher Bürgerliche Brauerei), set up by Freund Vilmos Tózséggy (Wilhelm von Freund or Wilhelm Freund de Tószeg) and other investors as a share company with a capital of 1,250,000 guilders. The directors included two Budapest bankers (Max Beck and Julius Posch) and an Austrian brewer (Julius Thausing of the Simmering brewery).³⁷ Their beer went on sale in 1894.

Two years later, Király Serfőző és Gőzmalom Rt (Royal Brewery and Steam Mill Ltd) was founded in May 1894 as a limited company with a share capital of 4,000,000 crowns. The company built a new brewery in Kőbánya, but went bankrupt in 1900. The premises were immediately acquired jointly by the Dreher, Részvény, Polgári and Haggemacher breweries, which set up a maltings there, Kőbányai Malátagyár Rt, leased to Deutsch Zsigmond and his sons Artúr and Béla.

The Nagykanizsa brewery in south-western Hungary was founded in September 1892 as a share company, with Guttmann Vilmos Gelvei (Wilhelm Guttmann von Gelse) as chairman and Hans Jirsik as head brewer.³⁸

The Sopron brewery in western Hungary was founded in March 1895 as Első Soproni Serfőzde és Malátagyár (in German, Erste Ödenburger Bierbrauerei und Malzfabrik, 'First Sopron Brewery and Maltings'), a share company with a capital of 400,000 guilders. The chairman was Sigmund Hayek and the vice-chairman Samuel Lenk; Hayek was the manager of Erste Brünnner Actienbrauerei (in Czech, První brněnský akciový pivovar) in Brno (Moravia), and Lenk a local businessman. Other founding members were Albin Angermann, a director of the Actienbrauerei Hof (Bavaria), and Sopron businessmen and agriculturalists. Philipp Guttmann, also from Erste Brünnner Actienbrauerei, was to be the commercial director and Robert Löw the head brewer. The brewery was planned for a production of 30,000 hl a year and 80 to 100 wagons of malt.³⁹ By 1905 production was 13,200 hl. From 1917 it was Nyugat-Magyarországi Serfőzde és Malátagyár, Soproni gyártelep (West Hungarian Breweries and Maltings, Sopron plant).

As well as the founding of new breweries, the 1890s saw the expansion of existing ones; the Részvény brewery was extended in 1891-2, for example.

In 1895 Dreher Antal celebrated the 25th anniversary of his taking over the management of the breweries. The Vienna brewing trade journal *Gambrinus* devoted most of an issue to a lengthy description of the four Dreher breweries with illustrations of each and even a tribute in verse. Beer production in 1894 was 699,640 hl in Klein-Schwechat, 420,238 in Kőbánya, 50,360 in Měcholupy and 34,650 in Trieste.⁴⁰

According to *Gambrinus*, the Kőbánya brewery covered an area of 357,140 m²; it produced over 1,000 hl of malt a day in floor and drum maltings; the wort fermented in 640 wooden and 12 glass vessels holding a total of 18,000 hl; the lagering cellars extended to 20,930 hl and contained 2,360 barrels of 30 to 100 hl volume with a total capacity of

150,000 hl; the ice rooms could hold 400,000 centners of ice, and so on.

A feature in the German-language Budapest newspaper *Pester Lloyd* of 1896 described the Polgári brewery (Bürgerliche Brauerei in Steinbruch) in laudatory detail (one wonders if the journalist partook of the brewery's hospitality). After claiming that Hungarian wine drinkers were now turning to beer, and noting that the poorer classes were benefiting from drinking beer instead of spirits (beer being a nourishing drink because of its moderate alcohol content and its content of malt extract and hops, stimulating both body and mind), it sang the praises of the beer from the 'beer town' of Kőbánya, the Hungarian equivalent of Pilsen, Vienna and Munich:

Everyone knows the noble beer from Steinbruch, but few know how it is produced and what an enormous expenditure of capital and work, trouble and care its manufacture requires. The ideas of the beer-drinking public on beer and brewing are often very peculiar. ... [The brewery] was built in the year 1893 and put into operation in January 1894. Most joyfully greeted by all concerned, the beer was put on sale in May of that year; it swiftly acquired numerous friends because of its excellent quality, and quickly spread to the whole country, so that even in the first year of operation (1898) the brewery sold over 100,000 hectolitres and produced 123,000 hectolitres ...

The area of the brewery comprises 17,000 square *Klafter*. The establishment is linked with the Steinbruch station of the Royal Hungarian State Railways by a separate siding, on this, coal, barley, hops, empty casks and so on are transported into the brewery, and beer out of it in the brewery's own ice trucks. ...

The maltings are connected with the brewhouse by an iron foot-bridge. In the brewhouse is a modern double brewing set of 150 hectolitre brew length; above the brewhouse are situated the malt mills and the water tanks and the condensers and water-heating apparatus. Adjacent to the brewhouse building is the cooling plant with the coolships; beneath is the roomy hop store, and below that part of the fermentation cellar. ...

The lagering cellars can receive more than 60,000 hectolitres of beer, and in the brewery's fermentation rooms about 7,500 hectolitres of beer at once can ferment in 250 fermentation vessels. The beer for sale is raised by means of a lift and loaded either onto drays or into ice trucks, depending on the destination ...

[The *workmen's house*] is evidence that a truly humane spirit rules in the firm. It is a large building containing the spacious dormitories for the brewers and coopers, separate washrooms, the refectory, baths, the room for drying wet clothing, and the kitchen.⁴¹

In the same year, the Budapest Millennium Exhibition of 1896 awarded certificates to head brewers Carl Haust (Erste ungarische Actienbrauerei, Steinbruch), Adolf Krämer (Bürgerliche Bierbrauerei-Actiengesellschaft, Steinbruch), Carl Radon (Königsbierbrauerei-Actiengesellschaft, Steinbruch), Wilhelm Ernst Sefeloge (Brauerei Heinr. Haggenmacher jun., Promontor) and Anton Widter (A. Dreher'sche Brauerei, Steinbruch).⁴²

In the early 20th century, a German directory of the breweries of the world, *Adressbuch der gesamten Brauereien und Malzfabriken Deutschlands und des Auslandes*,⁴³ published in 1905, listed in its section on the Hungarian half of the dual monarchy – also known as Transleithania – 77 breweries in Hungary (including Transylvania) and 14 in Croatia and Slavonia. Similarly, Meyer's Encyclopaedia recorded that Hungary had '90 breweries, annual production 1.5 million hl, the largest ones in Steinbruch',⁴⁴ as well as mentioning breweries in its articles on some towns: Preßburg, for instance, had an 'important beer industry (three breweries)'.

These breweries included three breweries in Budapest: the share-company brewery (Részvény), Dreher and the Kőbánya Citizens' Brewery (Polgári); and, in Budafok (the new name for Promontor), Haggenmacher. Together they produced much more beer than in 1881, although at least in some cases production had peaked in the 1890s: thus Részvény produced 272,160 hl in 1897 and 246,240 hl in 1898. According to the 1905 directory, Részvény had an annual output of 216,720 hl, Dreher 203,930 hl, Polgári 113,520 hl and Haggenmacher 99,060 hl.

The largest brewery outside Budapest was Fabrikshof in Temesvar (now Timișoara, Romania), which produced 23,660 hl. It was followed by Bauernebel in Kaschau (Košice, Slovakia), Hirschfeld in Fünfkirchen (Pécs), the Erzherzogliche Brauerei-Verwaltung (Archducal Brewery Administration, owned by His Imperial Royal Highness Archduke Friedrich) in Ungarisch-Altenburg (Magyaróvár), Lepesch in Kaschau, Stein in Pressburg (Pozsony, now Bratislava, Slovakia), Agramer Aktien-Brauerei in Agram (Zagreb, Croatia), Gräfllich Schönbörn'sche Brauerei in Podhering near Munkács (now Pidhoryany in Mukacheve, Ukraine), Nagy-Kanizsaer Malzfabrik und Bierbrauerei in Nagykanizsa, Fischer in Csiklova (now Ciclova Montană, Romania), Grün in Neu-Sohl (now Banská Bystrica, Slovakia), Erste Ödenburger Bierbrauerei in Ödenburg (Sopron), the Herrschaftliche Brauerei in Arad (now Romania), the Aktien-Gesellschaft (share company) in Neutra (now Nitra, Slovakia), Erste Zipser Dampf-Brauerei in Poprad (now Slovakia), Czell in Kronstadt (Brasso, now Brașov, Romania), Deutsch in Pressburg, Scholtz in Fünfkir-

chen, Habermann in Hermannstadt (Nagyszeben, now Sibiu, Romania) and Bürger in Marosvásárhely (now Tîrgu Mureş, Romania).

Apart from these 24 breweries, no Hungarian brewery achieved an output of more than 10,000 hl. At the other end of the scale, the brewery in Aracs managed 48 hl a year, and that in A.-Löwö only 36 hl. Breweries outside Budapest and the larger towns typically had outputs of around 5,000 hl.

The beginnings of industrialisation are visible, in that a few breweries now took the form of limited companies, and that in Poprad called itself a 'steam brewery'. Many, however, were still hand-operated.

One can also see how radically the borders of Hungary were to be changed by the Treaty of Trianon. Cities such as Timişoara and Sibiu are now in Romania, and Bratislava and Košice in Slovakia.

In the early 1900s the economy recovered and demand for beer increased. Total output of the 70-odd breweries in Hungary rose from 1,853,000 hl (1,681,404 hl according to another source) in 1905/06 to 2,571,000 hl in 1910/11. However, the annual meetings of the Hungarian Brewers' Society typically voiced complaints of high taxation, inflation, rising wages and fuel costs.⁴⁵

In 1905 Dreher Antal converted his business with its four breweries into a public company. In 1907 the Kőbánya brewery was separated from the main company for tax reasons and became a Hungarian company. The shares were retained by the family; Dreher Antal was chairman, his son Dreher Jenő was vice-chairman and general manager, and Jenő's brothers Antal Jenő (Anton Eugen) and Tividar (Theodor) were also directors.⁴⁶ Jenő lived in Hungary, while the others were based in Schwechat. A new brewhouse and other buildings were built in 1910. The manager was Aich Ferenc.

In 1907 the Haggenmacher firm likewise became a share company, Haggenmacher Kőbányai és Budaföki Sörgyárak Rt. They built a new brewery in Kőbánya, which started production in 1912. Részvény also rebuilt and enlarged its brewery; the new brewery was designed by Bavarian architects Ganzenmüller and Rank.

In 1912 another new brewing company, Fővárosi sörfőző-részvénytársaság Kőbányán (in German: Hauptstädtische Brauerei A.G. in Steinbruch, 'Capital City Brewery Ltd in Kőbánya'), was set up by sugar refiners and corn millers Deutsch Ignác (Ign. Deutsch & Sohn) together with Reitzes, Toth and other firms, with the backing of Hazai Bank

(Vaterländische Bank). Baron Alexander (Sándor) Hatvany-Deutsch was the chairman and Edmund von Sztanyí the vice-chairman.⁴⁷ Production in their brewery on the former Király site in Kőbánya started in 1914. Budapest thus now had five breweries, all in Kőbánya: Dreher, Részvény, Haggenmacher, Polgári and Fővárosi. Polgári, Haggenmacher and Részvény were neighbours on Maglódi út, and Fővárosi and Dreher were close by.

As to Polgári, a feature in the *Pester Lloyd* in 1913 claimed that it exported almost five times as much beer as all the other Hungarian breweries together, mainly to eastern Mediterranean countries but also to the USA and Argentina. Its speciality was a strong pale beer sold as Dupla Malátásör Szent István or St. Stefans Doppelmalzbier ('St Stephen Double Malt Beer').⁴⁸

Not everything in the Dreher family ran smoothly. Dreher Antal's second son Tividar (Theodor), as mentioned above, was a director of the company, and also managed the brewery in Trieste. He was better known in Austrian society as a sportsman of extravagant habits and one of Austria's most prominent motorists. In 1913 he borrowed large sums from a Viennese moneylender named Alfred Alten. When his father Antal, who in the previous year had already had to pay his son's debts of two million crowns, discovered this, he had the moneylender arrested and had Theodor placed under spendthrift guardianship with his brother Antal Jenő as guardian. Announcements in the press informed the public that no further debts of Theodor's would be paid.⁴⁹

Theodor died in April 1914, following a road accident near Klagenfurt; his chauffeur, driving at high speed, came off the road and the car crashed into trees and overturned. He was aged 40, and was married to Edlud Irmengild Hildegard, Countess Bopp zu Oberstadt; the Countess's mother Elisabeth was the daughter of Mr Schoenhofen, a Chicago brewer, and her father Count Bopp managed the brewery.⁵⁰

Theodor was in the news again after his death, when his first marriage became the subject of a sensational criminal trial in Vienna. Count (if he really was a Polish count) Severin Potworowski was accused of procuring his wife's bigamous marriage. He was said to have eloped to London with a certain Ilse von Oppen and married her under the false name of Baron Alfred von Wedelstädt. In 1913, when his money ran out and Theodor Dreher fell in love with his wife, the Count forged a Romanian death certificate for himself and arranged for the supposed widow to marry the rich young man in a secret ceremony in a small town in the depths of Galicia. She died soon after the marriage, and Theodor remarried a few months later. Perhaps unexpectedly, Potworowski was acquitted, as the court considered that it had not been proved

that he and Baron von Wedelstädt were in fact the same person, and the Galician marriage was therefore to be regarded as valid.⁵¹

The Great War and after: decline and concentration

While it may not be the case that the Great War was fought with the sole purpose of destroying breweries, the fact remains that the brewing industry sustained damage, whether as the direct result of fighting or indirectly because of restrictions and shortages of materials.

Thus a hop merchant called Wendler appears in Jaroslav Hašek's classic Czech novel *The Good Soldier Švejk*: in the course of collecting his errant wife from Lieutenant Lukáš's residence (probably much to the Lieutenant's relief), he embarks on a diatribe about the losses he is suffering because of the war:

Do you know that at Combres and Woevre near the Marche three breweries have been burnt down, where we used to send every year more than five hundred sacks of hops? And in the Vosges the Hartmansweiler brewery has burnt down and the enormous brewery in Niederspach near Mülhausen has been razed to the ground. That means the loss of 1200 sacks of hops for my firm every year. Six times the Germans have fought the Belgians for the Klosterhoek brewery. There you have a loss of 350 sacks of hops a year.

After mentioning Zagreb, Constantinople and Warsaw he adds:

The Hungarian breweries in Sopron and in Nagykanizsa bought from my firm for their export beer, which they exported as far as Alexandria, an average of a thousand sacks of hops a year. Now they refuse to order anything on account of the blockade. I offer them hops thirty per cent cheaper but they don't order a single sack.⁵²

The Hungarian breweries' problems during the Great War were essentially problems of raw materials and official regulations. As in other belligerent nations, barley, the principal raw material for brewing, was reserved primarily for bread production and the armed forces. Thus a typical regulation issued in 1915 limited the amount of barley that could be used for malting and brewing; the Hungarian breweries were allocated quotas based on their 1913/4 production.⁵³ The breweries had to brew weaker and weaker beer from all sorts of substitutes such as horse beans or sugar beet.

Far more serious for the brewing industry in Hungary were the effects not of the war but of the peace. As part of the dismemberment of the Dual Monarchy and the creation of

successor states, the Treaty of Trianon (1920) created a new Kingdom of Hungary with a much smaller area about one third of the size of the previous kingdom, and with much reduced industrial and natural resources. Of the 69 breweries operating in 1914, only 15 were within the new borders, and the four Dreher breweries were now in four different countries. The Budapest brewers lost a large part of their sales territory, although they dominated the city of Budapest and central Hungary; the more important remaining regional breweries were in Sopron, Nagykanizsa and Pécs, all in the Transdanubian (western) part of the country.

By the early 1920s only four breweries outside Budapest were still in operation, and the Kőbánya breweries were running at only 10-15% of capacity. Dreher's pre-war (1914) output of 667,330 hl fell to 154,336 hl in 1920 and 86,996 hl in 1923, for example.

Haggenmacher Henrik died in 1917, his son Henrik junior soon after, and his brother Károly in 1921. The firm was then run by Haggenmacher Oszkar.

In 1922-3 Dreher Antal Serfőzdéi Rt, Haggenmacher Kőbányai és Budaföki Sörgyárak Rt and Első Magyar Rézsvénysörfőzde Rt bought shares in each other to form the Concentration (Concentráció) under Dreher's leadership. It may be relevant that the Dreher and Haggenmachers were related by marriage. Outside Budapest, Dreher also bought breweries in Nagyvárad (Oradea, Romania) and Nagykanizsa in the 1920s.

Dreher Antal died in 1921, in Schwechat, aged 71. His obituary in the *Pester Lloyd* of course mentioned him as a brewer, but also as a landowner and, above all, the owner of a stud and stable of racehorses.⁵⁴ His death was also reported in the British press; the *Scotsman*, for example, under the headline 'Prominent European Brewer Dead', stated that 'Anton Dreher, one of the greatest brewers in Europe, died on Saturday at the age of 71. Besides owning breweries in Vienna, Budapest, and Trieste he took great and active interest in horse racing in Austria.'⁵⁵

His son Dreher Antal Jenő succeeded him as chairman of the Dreher breweries. He died in 1925, and was followed by Dreher Jenő. Dreher Jenő sold the Schwechat brewery in 1926, thus severing the family's ties with their original brewery,⁵⁶ and the Trieste brewery in 1928,⁵⁷ while the Měcholupy brewery ceased brewing in 1926/7;⁵⁸ he retained only the Kőbánya brewery.

The Hungarian economy recovered to some extent in the later 1920s, but worsened again in the general economic crisis from 1929. In 1933, when the Hungarian beer market



Figure 3. Dreher Sorgyarak Kobanya Brewery. Photo by Jeff Sechiari



Figure 4. Fővárosi Serfőzőé. Photo by Jeff Sechiani

was at its lowest (160,000 hl) and the production of the Dreher 'concentration' was only 7% of what it had been in 1914. Dreher bought out the other two companies, creating a new merged company, Dreher Haggenmacher Első Magyar Részvény Serfőződe Rt. Only the Részvény brewery was actually used for brewing, while the Dreher plant was used as a maltings, and the firm diversified into chocolate and liqueur production. The ex-Haggenmacher brewery became a cotton mill.

In 1935 Dreher bought Fővárosi Serfőződe Rt, giving him some 75% of the national beer market. The remaining 25% was accounted for by Polgári and the Sopron and Pécs (Pannónia) breweries. Beer sales were low, as many people changed to drinking cheap wine because of the economic crisis. Demand then rose for a few years, and Hungary also grew in size again with the reannexation of part of Slovakia and Transylvania following the Vienna Awards of 1938/40, so that Dreher sold over 1 million hl and Polgári about 350,000 hl in 1941, but production then fell sharply again as a result of wartime conditions. Raw materials were in short supply, and breweries were damaged in bombing raids. In 1944-5 Budapest was besieged by Soviet and Romanian armies and much of the city destroyed or damaged.

The Communist period

After the Second World War, with a Communist government in power in Hungary and the Trianon frontiers restored, Polgári was nationalised in 1946 and all companies with over 100 employees, including Dreher, in 1948. Dreher Jenő died soon after. In 1949 Hungarian industry was reorganised, and the state-owned company Kőbányai Sörgyárak Nemzeti Vállalat (Kőbánya Breweries National Company) was set up to operate the breweries and maltings, while the liqueur, chocolate and other businesses were allocated to other national companies. Fővárosi closed.

In 1956 a new brewery was opened in Nagykanizsa to replace the one which had closed in the 1940s. Old equipment from the closed Fővárosi brewery was used. In 1959 a new state-owned company was established, Magyar Országos Söripari Vállalat (Hungarian State Brewery Company, MOSV), combining the operating breweries and the brewing research group. Investment was concentrated on the regional breweries. In 1971 MOSV was replaced by a new organisation, Söripari Vállalatok Trösztje (Brewery Trust, SVT), likewise subject to the Ministry of Agriculture and Food.

A new brewery was opened in Böcs, a village near Miskolc in Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county, in 1973. So, as Michael

Jackson observed, in the 1970s there were five breweries in Hungary: the surviving old breweries in Budapest, Pécs and Sopron, and the two new breweries built during the communist period to supply other parts of the country, in Nagykanizsa and Böcs.

From 1982 SVT was in turn replaced by five separate brewing companies with a certain amount of independence, although still subject to the ministry. The antiquated Kőbányai (ex-Dreher) brewery was finally modernised, at least in part, after years of neglect. The first foreign beer, Tuborg (Denmark), was brewed here under licence, but the emphasis was still on quantity more than quality. From 1984 Holsten (Germany) was brewed under licence in Nagykanizsa, and from 1988 various Brau AG (Austria) beers were brewed under licence in Sopron.

Another new brewery was opened in Martfű (a village on the river Tisza near Szolnok) in 1985 by a group of farmers' cooperatives and State farms (Első Magyar Szövetkezeti Sörgyár Rt., First Hungarian Cooperative Brewery), and one in Komárom (on the Danube) in 1983, originally as a bottling plant, but producing its own beer from 1988.

In the mid-1980s company councils were set up, comprising employee representatives, managers and a ministry delegate, with powers to make management and investment decisions that had previously been made centrally. In 1985 the compulsory partitioning of the market was also abolished, so that breweries were now free to sell their products anywhere in the country. In practice, they had little spare capacity, and beer sales remained regionalised.

The Kaltenberg brewpub in Budapest was opened by Papp Dénes in 1985. As the name indicates, it was connected with the Kaltenberg brewery of Prince Luitpold of Bavaria, and the beers were brewed according to Kaltenberg recipes with German hops. Annual production was around 600 hl.

By the end of the communist period, the breweries were said to be generally in a wretched state, as they had been exploited for the generation of tax revenue, without proper maintenance of the brewing plant. They none the less managed to produce record volumes of beer; beer consumption per capita in Hungary was about 100 litres a year in the 1980s, its highest ever (it is now about 70 litres).

Privatisation and internationalisation

The post-communist government which took office in 1989 decided to privatise the brewing industry. In July 1992 the seven breweries were converted into share

	1996	1998	1999	2000	2001
Amstel	519,000	508,000	520,000	520,000	520,000
Borsodi	2,098,000	1,850,000	2,009,300	2,152,231	2,158,000
Brau Union	1,585,000	1,656,000	1,756,000	1,928,000	–
Dreher	2,543,402	2,400,000	–	–	2,111,000
Pécsi	517,000	525,000	509,000	590,000	431,000

Table 4.

companies, with the shares held by the State and local authorities until they were sold, under the supervision of the Állami Vagyongynökség (State Property Agency). Kőbánya (Dreher), after unsuccessful negotiations with Tuborg, was sold to South African Breweries in November 1993. Borsodi (in Bőcs) went to Interbrew (Inbev). Komárom went to Heineken, operating under the name Amstel Sörgyárak Rt. Sopron and Martfű went to the Austrian brewing group BBAG (Brau Union from 1993), which then also passed to Heineken. Pécs came under the effective control of the Austrian brewery Ottakringer.

A first attempt to privatise Kanizsa Sörgyár Rt., of Nagykanizsa, whose main products were Balatoni világos and Holsten, failed in 1990 when Australian investors Les Mechtler and Vanbrew Ltd did not meet their financial commitments. Another attempt was made, targeting foreign investors such as brewing companies Holsten (Germany), Steirerbräu (Brau AG) (Austria) and Courage (United Kingdom). In the end, however, a holding company was set up and sold to a combination of management and employees in 1992.⁵⁹ The company's prospects looked favourable, but in 1994 it was acquired by South African Breweries and merged with Dreher, and brewing ceased in 1999. Production figures for the big breweries from 1996 to 2001 are shown in Table 4.⁶⁰

In 2004 Hoppenstedt's brewing directory⁶¹ accordingly listed six industrial breweries in Hungary and the Kaltenberg brewpub. The industrial breweries were Dreher Sörgyárak Rt, in Budapest, belonging to South African Breweries, production (2002) 1,969,792 hl; Borsodi Sörgyár Rt, in Bőcs, production 2,280,000 hl; Amstel Sörgyárak Rt, in Komárom, belonging to Heineken, production 500,000 hl; Pécsi Sörfözde Rt, in Pécs, part-owned by Ottakringer (Austria), production 473,060 hl, and Brau Union Hungaria Sörgyárak Rt, in Sopron and Martfű, belonging to Brau-Union, production 1,945,400 hl.

Microbreweries

In the first years after the end of communism, a remarkable number of microbreweries were set up in Hungary; it seems that unfiltered beer was free from excise duty. According to Paso Turkki, writing in the Finnish beer magazine *Olut*:

After the end of communism the microbreweries, tax-free to begin with and starting with low transport costs, looked at the market economy with bright optimism. In country towns as much as three-quarters of the thirst for beer was satisfied by tax-free unfiltered beer from microbreweries. ... 360 to 420 microbreweries – according to different estimates – were set up in the country in the years 1989-1993, more per head of population than in any other country.⁶²

However, a combination of factors, in particular changes in tax law and rising energy prices, but also uneven beer quality and the advent of international brands and marketing by the big breweries, meant that many microbreweries closed, and the brewing equipment was sold off to Eastern Europe and China. Their share of the beer market fell from a reported peak of 20% to 2.5%. By 1996 there were said to be 260 at most, and possibly as few as 60, still in operation. An association of microbreweries was set up in 1994 by Vaskó György.⁶³

According to the introduction by Daniel Šabík to a list of 96 Hungarian breweries in *Pivovarský kalendář 2009*:

The beer market is dominated by three large companies with a total of four production plants. The main players are: Borsodi Sörgyár, a member of the InBev group, Dreher Sörgyárak, a member of SAB-Miller, and Heineken Hungária Sörgyárak with two plants in Sopron and Martfű. ... On the other hand, a great number of microbreweries exist in Hungary, and many of them are relatively large, with their own bottling plants and regional distribution. The biggest of them is the Ilzer brewery from Monor, whose output is around 200,000 hl.

The great majority of Hungarian microbreweries, however, do not correspond to the classic concept of a microbrewery that we are used to in the Czech Republic or Germany. In Hungary microbreweries are often hidden away in a shed or an annexe of a family home, the beer is distributed in local pubs or shops in unbranded glasses, without the least advertising, or at most in a bottled version in PET bottles. In many cases the beer is a filtered pale beer of a gravity of 11 to 11.5°. If you are not an expert on local conditions or do not speak Hungarian, you do not notice that you are drinking beer from a microbrewery. Classic brewpubs are indeed very rare in Hungary.

He added:

The Hungarian breweries produce over 7 million hectolitres of beer annually; in 2007 the figure was 7.55 million hl (excluding microbreweries not counted, whose total annual production is unfortunately not known). Consumption hovers around 70 litres a head, the current figure refers to slight growth to 75.3 l (as recently as 1990 consumption was 105.1 l per capita). Hungarian consumers give priority to bottled and canned beer. They have market shares of 47% and 39.3% respectively. Only eight years ago canned beers had a market share of less than 8%. There is a continuing decline of interest in draught beer, which has a market share of only 11%. Paradoxically, that does not correspond to the development of microbreweries. The reason for the microbrewery boom was, however, the wretched quality of draught beer in the eighties and nineties. Quality has admittedly rapidly improved, but it has not been possible altogether to overcome the consumer's lack of confidence.⁶⁴

Šabík listed microbreweries in Ajka (Házi), Balassagyarmat (Széles & Széles), Békéscsaba (HBH, Sárkány), Békésszentandrás (Jäger), Budakeszi (Novotny és Fiai), Budapest (Gerbeaud, Harmath, Kaltenberg, Lehmann, Mister, Petersbrau, Rizmajer), Csákvár (Jäger), Császártöltés (Báth), Csurgó (Sör-Coop), Dabas (Bálint), Debrecen (Jakab, Pacsirta), Dombóvár (Dombó-Sör), Dunaharaszti (Frankó Ferkó, Kellers), Dunakeszi (Keszi-Sör), Dusnok (Obsitos), Ecser (KO-CSE), Eger (HBH), Érd (Első Érdi, Joker), Felsőzsolca (Serforrás), Fót (Osterbräu), Győr (Likócsi, Rácz és Társa), Győr-Ménfőcsanak (Tichy és Társa), Gyulaháza (BNB), Hajdúsámson (Obsitos), Hetényháza (Blonder), Jászapáti (Blonder, Sörker-T), Jászdózsza (Rampa), Kalocsa (Kovács és Vargacz), Kazincbarcika (HBH), Kerekegyháza (Domján), Kiskunfélegyháza (Bader), Kiskunhalas (Aqua-Coop), Kiskunmajsa (Majsa-Sör), Kunhegyes (Mogi Jager), Lajosmizse (Eck's), Lánycsók (Rittlinger), Lébény (Csete és Marosi), Magyarhertelend (Kapucinus), Mályi (Mályi Ászok), Medgyesbodzás (Varga), Miskolc (Baráthegey, Gyertyános, Levente, Lővei), Miskolc-Hejcsaba (Osterbrau), Monor (Ilzer), Nagyatád (Takács), Nagygyőr (Alpesi), Nagykáta (Bauer), Nyíregyháza (Kurbely), Nyíradony (Bajor), Okány (Deri), Orgovány

(Jager), Oroszlány (Mészáros), Ózd (Bolyki), Pécel (Osterbrau), Pilisvörösvár (Rotburger), Polgárdi (Kiss), Rácalmás (Tobiás), Sátoraljaújhely (Kastélykert), Soltvadkert (Topkf), Szabadegyháza (Zétényi), Szarvas (Szarvasi), Szeged (Szögedi), Szeghalom (Hajú & Nyéki), Székesfehérvár (Bierbrau, Sermen), Szentmártonkő (Kék Laguna), Táborfalva (HBH), Tápiószecső (Tápióbiér), Tapolca (Stari-Ker), Tihany (Kolostor), Üllő (Franzberger), Vassurány (Rácz és Karai Házi), Vonyarcvashegy (Blonder), Zalaegerszeg (Sümegei), Zámoly (Pedro), Zsámbok (Runner) and Zsombó (Fenyves).

Current breweries

The four 'industrial' breweries account for over 90% of beer produced in Hungary.

First, Dreher Sörgyárak Zrt., belonging to Asahi, brews in Budapest (Jászberényi út 7-11, 1106 Budapest X). As noted above, the Dreher brewery traces its origins back to 1854 and was bought by Dreher Antal in 1862; it was nationalised in 1949, and converted into a share company, Kőbányai Sörgyár, in 1992. It was bought by South African Breweries (SAB) in 1993.

The company was renamed Dreher Sörgyárak Rt. (Dreher Breweries Ltd) in 1997. The brewery in Nagykanizsa was closed. In 2002 SAB merged with Miller Brewing of the United States to form SABMiller plc. As a consequence of SABMiller's merger with AB Inbev, Dreher (together with other central European breweries) was sold to Asahi Breweries of Japan in 2015. The brewery's brands include Dreher, Arany Ászok, Kőbányai and D24 non-alcoholic beer, as well as Pilsner Urquell, Kozel, Hofbräu München and Kingswood cider.

Secondly, Heineken Hungária Sörgyárak Zrt., belonging to Heineken, brews in Sopron (Vándor Sándor u. 1, 9400 Sopron). The Sopron brewery, founded in 1895, was nationalised in 1949. In 1992 it was privatised and sold to BBAG of Austria (later Brau-Union), who initially took 37.5% of the shares with an option for the remainder. In 1997 the Sopron and Martfű breweries merged as Brau Union Hungaria Sörgyárak Rt. In 2003 Brau Union, including its Hungarian breweries, became part of the Heineken group, which also included the Amstel brewery in Komárom. Brewing in Komárom ceased in 2004. The name changed to Heineken Hungária Nyrt. in 2007 (Zrt. from 2008). Production in 2007 was 1.8 million hl in Sopron and 720,000 hl in Martfű.

Brewing in Martfű (Szolnoki út, 5435 Martfű) ceased in 2018. At one time it was intended that the Martfű would

continue to be used by Heineken as a logistics centre, but in October 2018 it was announced that it would close completely.

Incidentally, Heineken's red star symbol has caused legal problems because of its resemblance to Communist symbols that are now prohibited.

Thirdly, Borsodi Sörgyár Zrt., belonging to Molson Coors, brews in Bőcs (Rákóczi út 81, 3574 Bőcs. The Borsodi brewery was founded in 1973. In 1990 it was converted to a share company, and in 1991 it was privatised and sold to Interbrew (later Inbev). In 2009 it was sold to CVC Capital Partners (Starbev) and in 2012 to Molson Coors.

Fourthly, Pécsi Sörfőzde Rt. brews in Pécs (Alkotmány út 94, 7624 Pécs). The brewery was founded by Hirschfeld Sámuel in 1848 and is therefore the oldest in operation in Hungary. It was renamed Pannónia Sörfőző Rt in 1911. Since privatisation in 1993 it has been part-owned by the Austrian brewery Ottakringer. The principal brand is Szalon; other brands include an unfiltered Pécsi sör.

As regards microbreweries, the list in Appendix 3 is an indicative list compiled essentially from Tony Fox Griffiths's list⁶⁵ and some information from Hungarian websites such as www.sorcikk.eu and www.kezmuvektorok.hu. It does not claim to be complete or free from error. There are also flying or cuckoo breweries – the Hungarian term appears to be *gerilla sörfőzde*. A comparison with Šabik's list from 2009 shows that approximately half the breweries he mentions are still in operation and about half have since closed; despite numerous new ventures, the total number of operating breweries has fallen. The greatest concentration of microbreweries is in the city of Budapest.

Appendix 1

List of breweries in Hungary c.1880, from *Adressenbuch der Bierbrauereien in Österreich-Ungarn – Adresář pivovarů v Rakousko-Uhersku – Livre d'adresses des brasseries à Autriche-Hongrie*

TRANSLEITHANIA

Hungary

Place name(s) as in directory	Modern place name and country (Hungary unless otherwise stated)	Brewery
Aló-Lő	Lővő	Carl Wolf
Alt-Becse (<i>O-Becse</i>)	Bečej (SRB)	Ferdinand Gerber
Alt-Orsova	Orșova (RO)	Alexander Raichl
Apatin	Apatin (SRB)	Aman & Co. Eduard Nagel
Arad	Arad (RO)	V. Samuel Prinner
Banát	Comloșu Mare (RO)	Mor. Derenci
Bartorkesz	Bátorove Kesy (SK)	Salomon Büchler Bes. Fürst Palffy (Prince Palffy, owner)
Belényes	Beiuș (RO)	Julius Stuller I. Weiss
Bistritz (<i>Bestercze</i>)	Bistrița (RO)	S. Rohrlisch & D. Brecher
Budapest	Budapest	Anton Dreher Erste ung. Act. Brauerei Peter Seller & Comp.
Csakovár	Ciacova (RO)	Carl Morawetz
Csávós	Grănicerii (RO)	M. Tauber
Csenej	Čenej (SRB)	Felix Rosenfeld
Csik-Sereda	Miercurea-Ciuc (RO)	Josef Szikszay
Debreczin	Debrecen	Michael Panajoth
Deutsch-Bogsán (<i>Német Bogsan</i>)	Bocșa (RO)	
Deutsch-Écska (<i>Német Écska</i>)	Ečka (SRB)	Gebrüder Brettschneider
Eisenbad (<i>Vihnye</i>)	Vyhne (SK)	Carl Böhm
Eisenstadt (<i>Kis-Martón</i>)	Eisenstadt (A)	B. Job jr.
Eperjes	Prešov (SK)	C. Baumbel
Ercsi	Ercsi	Josef Heidecker
Facset	Făget (RO)	David Hischl & Alex. Hirschl
Felka	Veľká (Poprad) (SK)	Bartsch
Felső-Banya	Baia Sprie (RO)	Johann Hafner
Felső-Helbény	Horné Chlebany (SK)	Moritz Reichenthal
Fertő-Szt. Miklós	Fertőszentmiklós	Josef Wittmann

Franyova	Vranjevo (Novi Bečej) (SRB)	J. Felger	Leutschau (<i>Löcse</i>)	Levoča (SK)	Bes. Bürgl. Braugesellschaft (burghers' brewing company, owner)
Freistadt (<i>Galgócz</i>)	Hlohovec (SK)	David Popper & Comp.			J. Florian
Fünfkirchen (<i>Pécs</i>)	Pécs	Leopold Hirschfeld & Sohn			Filipp Rosenberg
Georgenberg	Spišská Sobota (SK)	Anton Scholz & Sohn	Malaczka	Malacky (SK)	Leopold Spitzer
(<i>Szepes-Szombat</i>)		G. Majunka	Margita	? Marghita (RO) or Margita (SRB)	J. Zach
Gross-Becskerek	Zrenjanin (SRB)	Hugo Zoldy	Miava	Myjava (SK)	Jos. Bohata
		Franz Rozsa	Miskolcz	Miskolc	Johann Zurik
Gross-Kanizsa	Nagykanizsa	M. & A. Somarer	Nagy-Atád	Nagyatád	Moritz Nitscher
(<i>NagyKanizsa</i>)			Nagy-Bittse	Veľká Bytča (SK)	Samuel Epstein
Gross-Schützen	Veľké Leváre (SK)	Josef Stern	(<i>Velke Bice</i>)		
(<i>NagyLevárd, Hrubé Levary</i>)			Nagy-Károly	Carei (RO)	Bes. Gf. Károly (Count Károly, owner)
Gross-Wardein	Oradea (RO)	Dr. E. Guttman			Gg. Just
(<i>Nagy Várád</i>)			Neczpál	Necpaly (SK)	P. Oravica
Heiligen Kreuz	Križovany (SK)	Adolf Schlesinger	Nemet Csiklova	Ciclova Montană (RO)	M. G. Fischer
(<i>Szent Kerest</i>)			(<i>Csiklovabánya</i>)		Anton Rotter
Högyész	Högyész	Vincenz Rauschenberger	Német-Próna	Nitrianske Pravno (SK)	Bes. Gf. R. Zselensky
Homona	Humenné (SK)	S. Braun	Neu-Arad	Aradu Nou (RO)	(Count R. Zselensky, owner)
Horvát-Cseneje	Cenei (RO)	Josef Grünbaum	(<i>Uj-Arad</i>)		Jos. Schuneritsch
Hosszu-Hetény	Hosszúhetény	Carl Raithl			
Igló (<i>Neudorf</i>)	Spišská Nová Ves (SK)	J. Gronner	Neudörfl	Neudörfl (A)	
Illava (<i>Ilau</i>)	Ilava (SK)	Alfred Gr. Königsegg	a. d. Leitha		
		(Alfred, Count Königsegg)	(<i>Laita Szent Miklós</i>)		
Kalocsa	Kalocsa	Peter Reichel	Neusatz	Novi Sad (SRB)	Carl Winkle
Kaposvár	Kaposvár	Anton Freystädler	(<i>Ujvidek</i>)		
Kapuvár	Kapuvár	Mathias Biringer	Neustadt	Nové Mesto nad Vahom (SK)	E. Neubauer & Dingho
Karánsebes	Caransebeș (RO)	P. Hamburger	a. d. Waag		J. Teleky
(<i>Caránsebes</i>)			(<i>Vág-Ujhely</i>)		
Kaschau (<i>Kassa</i>)	Košice (SK)	Joh. Bayer & Comp.	Ober-Warth	Oberwart (A)	J. Groschl
		Lepesch & Sohn	(<i>Felső Ör</i>)		
Késmark	Kežmarok (SK)	Bes. Stadtgemeinde	O-Futtak	Futog (SRB)	Bes. Gf. Otto Chottek
(<i>Käsmark</i>)		(municipality, owner)			(Count Otto Chottek, owner)
Keszthely	Keszthely	Vinzenz Meese (tenant)	Panczova	Pančevo (SRB)	J. M. Weifert (owner W. Hugo)
Kirchdrauf	Spišské Podhradie (SK)	W. Reischl			Michael Wiedmann
(<i>Szepes-Varálya</i>)		Carl Sonnenberger	Pankota	Pincota (RO)	Herczeg Schurkowsky
Kobersdorf	Kobersdorf (A)	M. J. Flemmel	Palota	Várpalota	Chr. Pfuhl
(<i>Kabold</i>)			(<i>Vár-Palota</i>)		
Kokova	Kokova nad Rimavicou (SK)	Joh. Bachmann	Papa	Pápa	Adolf Wolf
			Pecze-Szölös	Seleuș (Oradea) (RO)	Dr. E. Guttman
Kolos-Monostor	Mănăstur (Cluj-Napoca) (RO)	K. Kohlpaitner	Podbjél	Podbiel (SK)	L. Alscher
Körmend	Körmend	Moritz Wiener	Podhering	Pidhoryany (Mukacheve) (UA)	Bes. Gf. E. Schönborn
Krompach	Krompachy (SK)	Ludwig Hauszig			(Count E. Schönborn, owner)
Kula	Kula (SRB)	Heinrich Freund & Söhne	Poprád	Poprad (SK)	F. Götz
			(<i>Deutschendorf</i>)		
Laskafeld	Čeminac (HR)	Bes. Fürst Schaumburg- Lippe (Prince S-L, owner)	Pressburg	Bratislava (SK)	Spitzer & Deutsch
(<i>Laskafaln</i>)			(<i>Pozsony</i>)		Stein & Iritzer
Leibicz (<i>Lubiza</i>)	Lubica (SK)	R. Beune	Promontor	Budafok (Budapest)	Heinrich Hagenmacher jn

Puchó	Púchov (SK)	Leopold Langfelder	Werschetz	Vršac (SRB)	Johann Zoffmann
Resicza-Bánya	Reșița (RO)	Ant. Fessler	(Versecz)		
Rosenau	Rožňava (SK)	Josef Pentsch	Zala-Egerszeg	Zalaegerszeg	Jos. Cziffrak
(Rozsnyó)			Zircz	Zirc	L. Katz
Schatmannsdorf	Častá (SK)	Bes. Gf. Pálffy (Count Pálffy, owner)	Zólyom-Lipce	Slovenská Ľupča (SK)	J. Czochius
(Cseszete)			Zambor	Sombor (SRB)	Carl Schäffner
Siklos	Siklós	Josef Nehr	Zsámbek	Zsámbék	Joh. Schwonauer
Skalitz	Skalica (SK)	Moritz Spitzer	Zsarnóca	Žarnovica (SK)	Alois Petrofszky
(Szakolcza)					
Stampfen	Stupava (SK)	J. Süß & Sohn	<i>Note: Csik-Sereda and Kolos-Monostor should be listed under Transylvania.</i>		
Steinamanger	Szombathely	Joh. Peter Reininghaus			
(Szombathely, Sabaria)					
Stuhlweisenburg	Székesfehérvár	Bes. Stadtgemeinde	Transylvania		
(Székes-Fehérvár)		(municipality, owner)			
		F. Peuser	Place name(s) as in directory		
Szatmár	Satu Mare (RO)	Bes. Stadtgemeinde	Modern Romanian name		
		(municipality, owner)			
Szent-István	Bajaszentistván (Baja)	J. Mihor	Barot	Baraolt	W. Köpe
Szepes-Bela	Spišská Belá (SK)	W. Hofmann	Csernátfalú	Cernatu (Săcele)	E. Jilk
		L. Reich	Csik-Serenda	Miercurea-Ciuc	B. Rosenfeld
		A. Szimonosz	Deva	Deva	Andreas Pietsch
Serb-Módos	Srpski Modoš (Jaša Tomić) (SRB)	Carl Morawetz	(Diemsich, Gyéva)		
(Serbisch Módos)			Gyergyó-Szent-	Gheorgheni	E. Schässburg
Szigetvár	Szigetvár	R. Mautner	Moklós		Johann Romfeld
(Gross-Sziget)			Hermannstadt	Sibiu	Janos Habermann
			(Nagy-Szeben)		
Szilágy-Somlyó	Șimleu Silvaniei (RO)	L. Roscher	Heviz (Hogyis)	?	J. Cseh
(Szinleu-Selagiului)			Kezdi-Vásárhely	Țirgu Secuiesc	Alfred Hanrik
Szobotist	Sobotište (SK)	Marie Flesch			E. Nagy
Temesvár	Timișoara (RO)	Riedl & Comp.			Georg Welnerreiter
Titel	Titel (SRB)	N. Donner	Klausenburg	Cluj-Napoca	Braucommune
Tokaj	Tokaj	Em. Zucker	(Kolozsvár)		
Türkisch-Becse	Novi Bečej (SRB)	Stefan Felger	Kronstadt	Brașov	S. Helvig
(Török Becse)			(Brasso)		Jos. Procházka
Tyrnau	Trnava (SK)	Leopold Sessler	Marienburg	Feldioara	Ed. Grund
(Nagy Szombat, Trnava)			(Földvár)		Julie Schmidt
Ungarisch-Altenburg	Mosonmagyaróvár	Bes. Se.K.K. Hoheit - Erzherzog Albrecht (His Imperial Royal Highness Archduke Albrecht, owner)	Maros-Vásárhely	Țirgu Mureș	Franz Tichý
(Magyar Ovar)					Karl Krafft'sche Erben (estate of Karl Krafft, owner), Alb.
					Bürger (tenant)
Ungvár	Uzhhorod (UA)	Ungvár Kameral.-Herrschaft (cameral estate)	Nászod	Năsăud	Johann Goldschmidt
					Franz Gruber
Vojnatina	Vojnatina (SK)	D. Klein	Sächsisch Reen	Reghin	Michael Schiffbauer & Comp
Vaskóh	Vaşcău (RO)	L. Weiss	(Szász-Régen)		
Verbó	Vrbóv (SK)	A. Geltner	Schässburg	Sighișoara	Stadtgemeinde (municipality, owner)
Visezdia	Vizejdia (RO)	J. Gruber	(Segesvár)		Aug. Pfuhl
Wallendorf	Spišské Vlachy (SK)	Johann Tahowsky	Sepsi-Szt.-György	Sfintu Gheorghe	Johann Wellenreiter
(Szepes-Olaszi)			Székely-Udvarhely	Odorheiu Secuiesc	B. Schwarz
Weisskirchen	Bela Crkva (SRB)	Lg. Felger	Thorenburg (Torda)	Turda	Jos. Koronkai
(Ung. Weisskirchen, Fehértemplom)		Carl Knipfler			Elek Székely & Comp.

Croatia and Slavonia

Place name(s) As in directory	Modern place name and country	Brewery	Franz Holitzer		
			Vukovar	Vukovar (HR)	Jos. Deutsch
			Warasdin	Varašdin (HR)	E. Czakathurn
			(Varasa)		Anton Pichler
Agram	Zagreb (HR)	M. Bauer	(A Austria, HR Croatia, RO Romania, SK Slovakia, SRB Serbia, UA Ukraine)		
Belovár	Bjelovar (HR)	J. Vukolbradovic			
Bród	Slavonski Brod (SRB)	Viktor Selinger			
Darovár	Daruvar (HR)	Jos. Dietrich			
		C. Pollak	Appendix 2		
Diakovár	Đakovo (HR)	M. Bauer			
(Djakovo)					
Essegg (Eszek)	Osijek (HR)	J. & H. Bauer			
		C. Seper	Details of principal Hungarian breweries in order of size, according to <i>Adressbuch der gesamten Brauereien und Malzfabriken Deutschlands und des Auslandes</i> (1905). Note that names are mainly in German. Additional information on the subsequent history of the breweries is taken from various sources, in particular Zbyněk Likovský, <i>Pivovary severních Uher 1870-1900</i> , supplement to <i>Kvasný průmysl</i> , Prague 1999, and Zbyněk Likovský, <i>Pivovary československého území 1900-1948</i> , Prague 2006, for breweries later in Czechoslovak territory.		
Kaniza	Kaniža (HR)	S. Krotović			
Karlovic	Sremski Karlovci (SRB)	Elisabeth Schober			
Karlstadt	Karlovac (HR)	M. Heinrich			
(Karlovac, Károlyvaros)			1. Budapest: Erste ungarische Aktien-Brauerei, K-Kjaszberényi-ut 8393 [<i>sic</i> - this should read Külső Jászberényi út]. Directors St. Mendl, K. Gomperz, F. Natter; technical director Karl Hanst [<i>sic</i> – Haust]. Annual output 216,720 hl.		
Kreutz	Križevci (HR)	Abraham Katz			
(Křiževac, Kőrös)		Josef Katz			
Lokve	Lokve (HR)	Jos. Repinac			
Mitrovic	Sremska Mitrovica (SRB)	Franz Gamirschek & Ignaz Jurišić	2. Budapest: Anton Dreher's Brauhaus, Steinbruch IX, Kapolnr-ut 1618 [<i>sic</i> – Kápolna út]. Owner Anton Dreher; maltmaster Eduard Degen; brewmaster Anton Widter; beers: pale and dark lager, pale and dark Königmärzen, Doppelmärzen, Bayrisch, Kronen, double malt beers. Annual output 203,930 hl. 31 railway beer transport wagons.		
		W. Kaimer			
Naschitz	Našice (HR)	Bes. Gf. Pejacsevic			
(Našice)		(Count Pejacsevic, owner)			
Neu-Gradiska	Nova Gradiška (HR)	A. Gansa	3. Budapest: Steinbrucher Bürgerliche Brauerei [Maglódi út 17]. Director Wilhelm von Freund; head brewer A. Krämer; annual output 113,520 hl.		
(Nova Gradiska)		Carl Lobe			
Nustar	Nuštar (HR)	Johann Wittek			
Otočac	Otočac (HR)	Vukoslav Segavčić			
(Ottochacz)		J. Weinberger	4. Budafok: Haggemacher'sche Brauerei, Budafok [Nagyútétényi út 48-50]. Brewmaster Wilhelm Ernst Sefeloge. Annual output 99,060 hl.		
Peterwardein	Petrovaradin (SRB)	Franz Villas			
(Petrovaradin)					
Petrinje	Petrinje (HR)	U. Greiner			
Posega (Požega)	Požega (HR)	G. Illic	5. Temesvar: „Fabrikshof“, Bierbrauerei Akt.-Ges. 23,660 hl. (Temesvar is now Timișoara (Romania). The brewery was founded in 1718, and was bought by Ignaz Deutsch from Vienna in 1882. It is still operating as part of SABMiller (Ursus Breweries) from 2002, Asahi from 2017.)		
		F. Kempf			
		Is. Lobl			
Rečica b. Fiume	? near Rijeka (HR)	D. Nievard			
Ruma	Ruma (SRB)	Wenzl Kačmar	6. Kaschau: Brauerei und Malzfabrik Bauernebel & Sohn. 21,100 hl. (Kaschau (Kassa in Hungarian) is now Košice (Slovakia). The brewery was founded in 1857 and closed in 1998.)		
		Brüder Riester			
Semlin	Zemun (SRB)	Em. Gobertschek			
(Zemun)		Anton Schober			
		Johann Sonnenfeld	7. Fünfkirchen (Pecs): Bierbrauerei S. Hirschfeld. 20,222 hl.		
Sissek (Szizek)	Sisak (HR)	M. Blau			
Šid	Šid (SRB)	L. Krstonović			
Valpo (Valpovo)	Valpovo (HR)	Carl Schmidt			
Verőce	Virovitica (HR)	Fürst Lippe (Prince Lippe)	8. Ung.-Altenburg (Magy. Ovar): Erzherzogliche Brauerei-Verwaltung (owner His Imperial Royal Highness Archduke Friedrich). 16,448 hl. (Ungarisch Altenburg is now Mosonmagyaróvár.)		
Vinkovci	Vinkovci (HR)	Peter Guth, Joh. Piry & Michael Piry			
		Johann Lehner			
			9. Kaschau: J. Lepesch & Sohn. 16,610 hl. (The brewery was bought in 1909 by Bauernebel (see above) and used as a maltings.)		

10. Pressburg (Pozsony): Brauerei und Malzfabrik der Brüder Stein. 16,400 hl.

(Pressburg is now Bratislava (Slovakia). The brewery was founded in 1876. It became Bratislavský pivovar a sladovňa Bratia Stein ú.s. in 1917. It ceased brewing in 2007.)

11. Agram: Agramer Aktien-Brauerei. 15,600 hl.

(Agram is now Zagreb, Croatia.)

12. Podhering (P. Munkacs): Gräfl. Schönborn'sche Brauerei (owner Count Erwin Schönborn-Buchheim). 14,784 hl.

(Podhering is now Pidhoryany, a suburb of Mukacheve (Ukraine). The brewery was founded in 1728. It was owned by Count Friedrich Karl Schönborn-Buchheim from 1903.)

13. Nagy-Kanizsa: Nagy-Kanizsaer Malzfabrik und Bierbrauerei Akt.-Ges. 14,000 hl.

14. Csiklova: Brauerei M.G. Fischer's Nachf. 13,650 hl.

(Csiklova is now Ciclova Montană near Oravița (Romania). The brewery was taken over by the Timișoara brewery and closed in 1938.)

15. Neu-Sohl: Brauerei Jos. Grün & Sohn. 13,304 hl.

(Neusohl (Besztercebánya in Hungarian) is now Banská Bystrica (Slovakia). Founded in 1524. The brewery was owned or leased by Armin Zsolnai from 1905. It eventually closed in 1967, by which time it was part of the Czechoslovak state-owned Stredoslovenské pivovary n.p. (Central Slovakian Breweries).)

16. Ödenburg (Sopron): Erste Ödenburger Bierbrauerei und Malzfabrik Akt.-Ges. 13,200 hl.

17. Arad: Herrschaftl. Brauerei. 13,050 hl.

(Arad is now in Romania.)

18. Neutra: Aktien-Gesellschaft (share company). 12,825 hl.

(Neutra is now Nitra (Slovakia). The brewery was founded in 1893; its Slovak name was Nitrianská účastinná spoločnosť. It closed in 1928.)

19. Poprad: Erste Zipser Dampf-Brauerei- u. Mälzerei-Aktiengesellschaft. 12,300 hl.

(Poprad is now in Slovakia. The brewery was founded in 1812. It became a share company in 1891 under the above name, which means 'First Zips Steam Brewery and Maltings', or in Slovak Prvý spišský parní pivovar ú.s. It closed in 2007; Poprad beer was later brewed under contract by Van Pur (Rakaszawa, Poland).)

20. Kronstadt (Brasso): Friedrich Czell & Söhne (in Dyrste). 11,500 hl.

(Kronstadt is now Brașov in Romania. The brewery was founded in 1892. It was nationalised in 1948 and renamed Aurora, and is still operating as part of SABMiller (Ursus Breweries) from 2014, Asahi from 2017.)

21. Pressburg (Pozsony): Brauerei A. Deutsch & Söhne. 11,304 hl.

(The brewery was founded in 1752. It burnt down in 1895 and was rebuilt. It became a limited company as Meštiansky pivovar ú.s. in 1921. It closed in 1969 as part of the Czechoslovak state-owned Západoslovenské pivovary n.p. (West Slovakian Breweries).)

22. Fünfkirchen (Pecs): A. Scholtz & Sohn. 10,320 hl.

23. Hermannstadt (Nagy Szeben): Johann Habermann's Erben. 10,000 hl.

(Hermannstadt or Nagyszeben is now Sibiu in Romania.)

24. Maros-Vasarhely: Albert Bürger's Brauerei. 10,000 hl.

(Marosvásárhely is now Tîrgu Mureș in Romania.)

Appendix 3

Indicative list of current microbreweries in Hungary. As noted above, the list is largely based on information supplied by Tony Fox-Griffiths.

Balassagyarmat	Széles & Széles Kft., 2660 Balassagyarmat, Jószi út 61
Balatonvilágos	Hedon Sörfőzde, 8171 Balatonvilágos, Petöfi Sándor utca 46
Békésszentandrás	Szent András Sörfőzde – Agro-Flott Bt., 5561 Békésszentandrás, Szent András utca 9
Budapest	Big Face Sörfőzde, 1076 Budapest VII, Péterfy Sándor utca 23
Budapest	ER-PÉ Sörfőző Bt., 1152 Budapest XV, Dembinszky utca 1
Budapest	Féher Nyúl, 1095 Budapest IX, Soroksári út 110-112
Budapest	First The Craft Beer Co., 1044 Budapest XIII, Váci út 83
Budapest	HopTop, 1106 Budapest X, Maglódi út 47
Budapest	Horizont, 1106 Budapest X, Maglódi út 47
Budapest	Kaltenberg Sörfőzde, 1092 Budapest IX, Kinizsi utca 30-36
Budapest	Krimó, 1075 Budapest VII, Kazinczy utca 8
Budapest	Legenda Sörfőzde, 1162 Budapest XVI, Kövirózsa utca 8
Budapest	Lehmann Sörfőzde, 1031 Budapest, Aranyhegyi út 12
Budapest	Mad Scientist, 1106 Budapest X, Maglódi út 47
Budapest	Mister Sörház, 1152 Budapest XV, Régifőti utca 31
Budapest	Monyó Brewing Co., 1106 Budapest X, Maglódi út 47
Budapest	Neked Csak Dezső, 1088 Budapest VIII, Rákóczi utca 29
Budapest	Rizmajer Sörfőzde, 1212 Budapest XXI, Szebeni utca 16
Budapest	Synthesis Brewlab, 1162 Budapest XVI, Szlovák út 116
Dabas-Sári	Bálint Sör Kft., 2371 Dabas-Sári, Zrínyi Miklós utca 74
Debrecen	Jakab Sörfőzde, 4029 Debrecen, Pósa utca 10
Dombóvár	Kissler Sörfőzde, 7200 Dombóvár, Búzavirág utca 70

Domony	Bigfoot Sörfőzde, 2182 Domony, Fő út 137	Miskolc	Rauschberg 2000 Kft., 3535 Miskolc, Vasgyári utca 13
Dunaharaszti	Frankó Ferkó Kft., 2330 Dunaharaszti, Jendrassik György utca 21	Miskolc	Serforrás Kft., 3530 Miskolc, Vörösmarty utca 79
Ecser	Brandecker Sörház, 2233 Ecser, Apponyi utca 42	Miskolc	Zip's Brewhouse, 3526 Miskolc, Arany János tér 1
Eger	HBH Bajor Sörház, 3300 Eger, Bajcsy-Zsilinszky út 19	Nagykátá	Bauer Sörfőzde, 2760 Nagykátá, Jászberényi utca 1/c
Etyek	Etyeki Sörmanufaktúra, 2091 Etyek, Kolumbusz utca 1	Nagykovács	Róth Serfőző, 2094 Nagykovács, Rákóczi utca 46
Felsőzsolca	Serforrás Sörfőzde, 3651 Felsőzsolca, Dózsa György út 72	Nagytarcsa	Rekettye Sörfőzde, 2142 Nagytarcsa, Alsó Ipari körút 4
Fót	Fóti Kézműves Sörfőzde, 2151 Fót, Fáy sétány 34	Nyíregyháza	Kurbely és Társai Kft., 4400 Nyíregyháza, Lujza utca 2/3
Győr-Ménfőcsanak	Midd Kft. (Tichy), 9012 Győr-Ménfőcsanak, Veres Péter utca 9	Orgovány	Jäger Sörfőzde – Akpedo Kft., 6077 Orgovány, Felsőjárás 219
Győrzámoly	Bors Sörfőzde, 9172 Győrzámoly, Orgona út 17	Ózd	Bolyki Sörfőzde 3600 Ózd, Bolyki Tamás utca 38
Gyula	Körös Maros Biofarm Kft., 5711 Gyula, Külterület 2	Pannonhalma	Magyar Hiteles Hely Kft., 9090 Pannonhalma, Szabadság tér 1-3
Hajdúsámson	Landmark Trade Kft., 4251 Hajdúsámson, Sámsonkert Szucs utca 1	Pilisvörösvár	Rotburger Sörfőzde, 2085 Pilisvörösvár, Szabadság utca 22
Hetényegyháza	Inter-Sába Kft. – Blonder Sörfőzde, 6044 Hetényegyháza, Kossuth utca 2	Rácalmás	Tóbiás Sörfőzde, 2459 Rácalmás, Népfront utca 76/4
Jászapáti	Blonder Sörfőzde, 5130 Jászapáti, Kossuth Lajos utca 28	Soltvadkert	Kárpi Kisüzemi Sörfőzde, 6230 Soltvadkert, Arany János utca 40
Jászapáti	Guri Sörfőzde – Sörker-T Kft., 5130 Jászapáti, Lóczi út 3	Szarvas	Szarvasi Sörfőzde, 5540 Szarvas, Damjanich utca 103
Jászdózsa	Pannonbräu – Rampa Kft., 5122 Jászdózsa, Széchenyi utca 51	Szeged	Szőgedi Sörfőzde – Sörker '96 Kft., 6728 Szeged, Fonógyári út 9
Kazincbarcika	HBH Bajor Sörház, 3700 Kazincbarcika, Bercsenyi utca 1/B	Szentgotthárd	Őrségi Sörfőzde – Justfood Kft., 9970 Szentgotthárd, Füzesi út 7
Kecskemét	Kecskeméti Sörmanufaktúra Kft., 6000 Kecskemét, Platter János utca 5	Szentes	Zentus Sörfőzde, 6600 Szentes, Szarvasi utca 6/A
Kerekegyháza	Domján Sörfőzde – Vollár Kft., 6041 Kerekegyháza, Fő út 62	Táborfalva	HBH Magyar Sörfőzde, 2381 Táborfalva, Kossuth utca 23
Kiskunfélegyháza	Báder Sörfőzde, 6100 Kiskunfélegyháza, Szentesi út 70	Tápiószecső	Tápióbier Kft., 2251 Tápiószecső, Pesti út 8
Kiskunhalas	Hopfanatic, 6400 Kiskunhalas, Baranyai Ferenc utca 20	Tapolca	Stari Sörfőzde, 8300 Tapolca, Petőfi Sándor utca 12
Leányvár	Beerfort Sörfőzde, 2518 Leányvár, Erzsébet utca 429/12	Tárnok	Bázis Sörfőzde, 2461 Tárnok, Dózsa György út 1
Magyarhertelend	Kapucinus Sörfőzde, 7394 Magyarhertelend, Rákóczi utca 16	Törökszentmiklós	Ugar Brewery – Gözmalom Sörfőző Kft., 5200 Törökszentmiklós, Pánthy Endre út 64
Mályi	Mályi Ászok Kft., 3434 Mályi, Rákóczi F. utca 1	Üllő	Franzberger Sörfőzde, 2225 Üllő, Pesti út 128
Mecseknádasd	Karl Mikro-Sörfőzde, 7695 Mecseknádasd, Nap utca 1	Vonyarcvashegy	Blonder Sörfőzde, 8314 Vonyarcvashegy, Fő utca 9
Medgyesbodzás	Varga Sörfőzde, 5663 Medgyesbodzás, Hunyadi utca 52	Zámoly	Pedro Söröző - K-Sz Serfőző Bt., 8081 Zámoly, Kossuth utca 28
Miskolc	Baráthegey Kft., 3535 Miskolc, Hóvirág utca 2	Zsombó	Fenyves Sörház, 6792 Zsombo, Móricz Zsigmond utca 21
Miskolc	Gyertyános Sörfőzde, 3534 Miskolc, Kiss tábornok út 55		

Flying breweries include Aprily Craft Beer, Armando Otchoa, Balkezes Sörfőzde, Brew Your Mind, Csupor, Garage Brewery, Green Sheep Beers, Hara'Punk, Hatodik Íz, Hübris, Keser, Maltman, Mecénás, OK Brewery, Skyland, Sörök a Mőszjő Vödréből, Tibeer and Uradalmi.

References

1. On breweries in Budapest, see generally Júlia, K.O. (ed.), (2004) *Jubileumi Evkönyv – Jubilee Chronicle. Sörről híres Kőbánya – Kőbánya Famous for its Beer 1854-2004*. Budapest: Typostudio (bilingual, Hungarian and English), and Pilsitz, M. (2015) *Architektonische Entwicklung historischer Fabrikbauten im Siedlungsgebiet des heutigen Budapest zwischen 1815 und 1915 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Brauereien*, Budapest University of Technology and Economics (full text in German and abstracts in German, Hungarian and English available at repozitorium.omikk.bme.hu).
2. Pilsitz, M. (2012) 'On the Industrial Urban Development of Pest in the 19th Century', Budapest University of Technology and Economics, *Periodica Polytechnica Architecture*. vol. 43 no. 1, pp.37-44 (available at pp.bme.hu).
3. *Vereinigte Ofner-Pester Zeitung*, 23 February 1832 (this and other newspapers consulted on www.onb.ac.at, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, AustriaN Newspapers Online (ANNO)).
4. *Spiegel* is German and *tükör* Hungarian for 'mirror'.
5. *Vereinigte Ofner-Pester Zeitung*, 29 April 1838. The report spells the brewer's name Nesvarba.
6. *Vereinigte Ofner-Pester Zeitung*, 9 May 1839. This report spells his name Neswaba.
7. *Preßburger Zeitung*, 19 October 1798. By 1837 it was occupied by a Mr Lindner. It may be relevant that Zuckermendl, the district between the castle and the Danube, was outside the city boundary until about 1850.
8. *Preßburger Zeitung*, 13 March 1798.
9. *ibid.*, 28 June 1825, 24 March 1837.
10. *Vereinigte Ofner-Pester Zeitung*, 12 March 1840.
11. *ibid.*, 8 October 1840.
12. *Preßburger Zeitung*, 5 August 1842.
13. *ibid.*, 3. Mai 1822.
14. *ibid.*, 11 June 1822.
15. *ibid.*, 25 August 1823.
16. *ibid.*, 30 December 1824.
17. *Vereinigte Ofner-Pester Zeitung*, 23 February 1832.
18. *ibid.*, 2 August 1840.
19. *ibid.*, 3 September 1840.
20. *ibid.*, 8 October 1840.
21. *ibid.*, 24 November 1842.
22. *Der Ungar*, 15 July 1843. The lease was for several years from Michaelmas 1843. The brewery closed by 1855, when a potato sugar factory was installed there.
23. *ibid.*, 17 May 1848.
24. *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt*, 25 March 1854.
25. *ibid.*, 21 December 1858.
26. Jackson, M. (1977) *The World Guide to Beer*. London: Littlehampton, p.196.
27. They also enjoyed a journey on the new Liverpool and Manchester Railway: Wolfgang Behringer, *Die Spaten-Brauerei 1397-1997*, Munich 1997, pp.155-70. Gabriel Sedlmayr's letters home boasted of 'beautiful theft' (or 'beautiful Diebstahl' as he called it, in a mixture of German and English) and described the walking sticks.
28. Likovský, Z. (2005) *České pivovary 1869-1900*, Prague: Výzkumný ústav pivovarský a sladařský, p.137. Likovský uses the Czech form of Dreher's name, Antonín Dreher ml. (ml. = mladší, junior). Dreher bought the Měcholupy castle and estate in 1860 and built a new brewery after the old one was damaged by floods in 1872.
29. *Centralblatt für Eisenbahnen und Dampfschiffahrt in Oesterreich*, 16 May 1868. Dreher and other breweries also had railway connections; in 1902 MÁV (Hungarian State Railways) ordered a fleet of 90 beer wagons with ice tanks beneath the roof: László Kovács (ed), *The History of the Hungarian Railways 1846-2000*, Budapest 2000, p.429.
30. *Pesth-Ofner Localblatt*, 28 January 1858.
31. *Wiener Zeitung*, 7 August 1851. Ferihegy is now the site of Budapest airport.
32. *Pilsner Abendpost*, 9 June 1877, *Das Vaterland*, 6 November 1877, and other newspapers, citing the *Neues Pester Journal* as source.
33. *Adressenbuch der Bierbrauereien in Österreich-Ungarn – Adresář pivovarů v Rakousko-Uhersku – Livre d'adresses des brasseries à Autriche-Hongrie*, ed. Johann Blowsky (Jan Blovský, Jean Blowsky), Prague n.d. (c.1880). Blowsky ran an 'Institute for Commercial Information' in Prague. See Appendix 1.
34. *Der böhmische Bierbrauer*, 1 January 1891.
35. Citing Lukács János, *A sörgyártás fejlődése Kőbányán*, typescript in the Dreher museum.
36. *Edinburgh Evening News*, 19 September 1892, and *Leicester Daily Post*, 20 September 1892; the article refers to the 'Vienna Handels-Museum' as its source.
37. *Gambrinus*, 15 October 1892.
38. *ibid.*, 15 September, 15 October 1892.
39. *ibid.*, 30 March, 15 April 1895. Hayek was the manager of the Brno brewery – the present Starobrna brewery, now owned by Heineken – until his death in 1920: Zbyněk Likovský, *Držitelé, provozovatelé a vedoucí pivovarů Českých zemí 1869-1989*, Prague 2010, p.111.
40. *ibid.*, 30 March 1895.
41. *Pester Lloyd*, 20 August 1896.
42. *Gambrinus*, 1 December 1896. All names given in German. The millennium was the 1 000th anniversary of the arrival of Árpád and the Magyars in Hungary.
43. *Adressbuch der gesamten Brauereien und Maltzfabriken Deutschlands und des Auslandes*, III. Ausgabe, Rathenow [1905].

See Appendix 2 for details of the principal breweries.

44. *Meyers Großes Konversations-Lexikon*, 6th edition, Leipzig/Vienna 1909, vol. 19, p. 904.

45. See, for example, *Gambrinus*, 1 June 1907.

46. *Neues Wiener Journal*, 5 December 1907.

47. *Der Böhmisches Bierbrauer*, 20 February 1912; *Gambrinus*, 1 March 1912. Baron Hatvany-Deutsch (1852-1913) was a leading Hungarian Jewish industrialist and banker and one of the richest persons in Hungary.

48. *Pester Lloyd*, 25 December 1913.

49. *ibid.*, 29 June 1913; *Illustrierte Kronen-Zeitung*, 25 April 1914.

50. *Manchester Evening News*, 24 April 1914; *Illustrierte Kronen-Zeitung*, 25 April 1914. The 1905 German brewing directory cited above recorded, among the many breweries in Chicago,

‘Schoenhofen, Peter, Brewing Co., Canal-port av. and Eighteenth st.’

51. *Pester Lloyd*, *Illustrierte Kronen-Zeitung*, both 14 April 1915.

52. Jaroslav Hašek, *The Good Soldier Švejk*, part 1 chapter 14, based on the English translation by Cecil Parrott, London 1973. The two Hungarian breweries are referred to in the original Czech text as ‘pivovary v Šoproni a ve Velké Kaniži’.

53. *Pester Lloyd*, 27 July 1915.

54. *ibid.*, 8 August 1921.

55. *The Scotsman*, 9 August 1921; identical or similar reports, based on Reuter’s, appeared in the *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, the *Nottingham Evening Post* and other newspapers of the same date. Dreher had previously been noticed by the British sporting press: for example, in 1905 the *Sportsman’s* Hungarian Notes column reported that Dreher had engaged an English jockey, J. Dalton (*The Sportsman*, 11 March 1905).

56. The brewery became Vereinigte Brauereien Schwechat, St.

Marx, Simmering, Hütteldorf-Dreher, Mautner, Meichl AG; the Mautner Markhof family acquired a majority holding in 1935, and in 1936 the company was renamed Mautner Markhof Brauerei Schwechat A.-G.; it merged with Österreichische Brau AG in 1978, and is still brewing as part of the Heineken group. Österreichische Brau AG had itself been founded by mergers of several large Austrian breweries in the 1920s, at about the same time as the Dreher concentration.

57. The brewery in Trieste is no longer active, but beer under the Dreher name is still brewed in Italy by Heineken Italia SpA, which acquired Birra Dreher SpA in 1974.

58. The Dreher family still owned the Měcholupy estate until their property was confiscated in 1948.

59. See Judit Zsarnay, ‘Food Processing/Brewing: Kanizsa Brewery Ltd. Privatization Brewing?’, in Saul Estrin, Josef C. Brada, Alan Gelb, Inderjit Singh, *Restructuring and Privatization in Central Eastern Europe. Case Studies of Firms in Transition*, Armonk NY 1995, pp.231-40.

60. Taken from Hoppenstedt, *Brauereien und Mälzereien in Europa*, various editions. The 1996 figure for Dreher includes Nagykanizsa.

61. *Brauereien und Mälzereien in Europa 2004*, 93rd ed, Darmstadt 2004.

62. Pasi Turkki, ‘Pienpanimoita kaatunut kuin heinää Unkarissa’ (Microbreweries mown down like hay in Hungary), *Olut* 3/96.

63. György Vaskó, *Pivné hobby* 2/2007.

64. *Pivovarský kalendář 2009*, VÚPS, Prague 2008.

65. *BHS Budapest Beer Bash* (2018).

