

## A Transnational History of Trappist Cheese

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**ABSTRACT:** While Trappist monks in France have been producing artisan cheese since the seventeenth century, the ubiquitous *trappista* cheese in Hungary was generally recognized as a mass-produced and low-quality product at the end of the twentieth century. The origins of the mild flavoured, semi-hard cheese, however, reveal that *trappista* reached Hungary from Marija Zvijezda Abbey in Banja Luka, Bosnia-Herzegovina. The monastery was founded by Austrian Trappist monk Franz Pfanner in 1869 (then part of the Ottoman Empire), starting cheese production in 1882. This paper explores the contrast between the artisan cheese of Port-du-Salut (and Banja Luka) and the mass-produced Hungarian *trappista* as there has been a gap in historiography with regard to how this particular cheese gained such immense popularity in Hungary. It traces how the Austro-Hungarian Empire's colonial mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina contributed to the spread of Trappist cheese consumption and production in Hungary from the late nineteenth century. By providing a comprehensive assessment of how industrial dairy production and trade transformed in Hungary from the days of the Dual Monarchy until the fall of communism in 1989, this paper investigates how the transnational history of Trappist cheese was shaped by colonial, national and communist forces across several borders.

Today, the name “Trappist”<sup>1</sup> covers a category of semi-hard cheeses made from cow's milk,<sup>2</sup> sold across Central and East-Southern Europe. However, they differ greatly from the original product that was first made in France in the early nineteenth century. Due to the movement of monks, the Trappist history of France, Austria, Bosnia and South Africa got entangled creating complex monastic and colonial ties. A central element of this narrative was the artisan *Trapist* cheese made by the monks of Banja Luka, which quickly spread across the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the 1880s, shortly after Bosnia's occupation. Even after the First World War and the dissolution of the empire, the many versions of Trappist-style, semi-hard cheeses continued to enjoy immense popularity east of the Rhine, including the territory of independent Hungary.<sup>3</sup>

After outlining the origins of the French Trappist tradition of *Port-du-Salut*, this paper will provide an insight into how this style of cheese-making spread to Bosnia. It will also establish the significant colonial entanglements that were inseparable from transnational lives such as that of Abbot Franz Pfanner, founder of the

monasteries of Mariastern/Marija Zvijezda in Banja Luka and Mariannahill in Natal, South Africa. Moreover, this paper will highlight how Trappist-style cheeses became popular in Hungary and inseparable from the arrival of Swiss cheesemakers, the Stauffers, in Hungary. The final part will focus on how *trappista* became “the” default cheese in Hungary and how Hungarian cheese-making was impacted by the communist takeover in the aftermath of the Second World War.

### French Origins: Port-du-Salut and Saint-Paulin

The Roman Catholic monastic order of Trappists is often associated with the beer and cheese that bear their name. It was the monks of the Abbaye Notre-Dame du Port-du-Salut in Entrammes, Mayenne, who created the original *Trappiste* cheese in 1816.<sup>4</sup> Monastic cheese-making had had a long tradition (albeit interrupted by the French Revolution) since cheese was an excellent source of protein in the meatless diet of monks.<sup>5</sup> Due to the introduction of special maturing cellars in 1850, the production of the original semi-soft *Trappiste* cheese that was known as *Port Salut* outgrew the monastery. Then the monks started to sell their cheese in the surrounding area of the Pays de la Loire. While there is no data available on the technology or the chemical composition of the original *Trappiste* cheese due to the secrecy of the monks, it was most likely identical to today's *Saint-Paulin* cheese that has a softer consistency than current varieties of Trappist cheeses in Central and South-Eastern Europe.<sup>6</sup> The reason for the development of this firmer consistency (and the increased dry matter content) is rooted in the popularity of the original cheese. In 1873 the cheese appeared on the Paris market and received universal acclaim, hence the following year the monastery registered *Port-du-Salut* as a trademark. As “cheese became an important source of income to the monastery,” Rubiner highlighted, the monks started to experiment with “lower-moisture cheeses that could travel better and have a longer ‘shelf-life’,” leading to the emergence and spread of the well-known Trappist style.<sup>7</sup> Unsurprisingly, after the name and origin of *Port-du-Salut* was trademarked, all other imitations were to be labelled *Saint-Paulin*.<sup>8</sup>

### Bosnia and Banja Luka

Marija Zvijezda (Mariastern Abbey) in Banja Luka, Bosnia,<sup>9</sup> is “the only Trappist monastery which produces cheese on the right side of the Rhine River that is in the

former countries of the communist bloc.”<sup>10</sup> Budimir and Bagarić stressed that although certain sources such as *Cheese varieties and descriptions* by George Sanders (1953) had claimed that Trappist cheese was made “in monasteries in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, southern Germany, and other parts of Europe”<sup>11</sup>, this was factually incorrect since there were no Trappist monasteries in the above named countries.<sup>12</sup> What Sanders got right was, however, how widespread *Trapist* was in twentieth-century Central Europe—even if the popular cheese had nothing to do with the original monastic recipe.

The spread of Trappist cheese in Bosnia is linked to Austrian Trappist Abbot Franz Pfanner, who founded Marija Zvijezda in 1869.<sup>13</sup> While Trappist monks in Banja Luka pursued a wide range of educational and social activities, the agricultural work they undertook was the most outstanding as it had always shown a dedication to modern, pioneering economic practices.<sup>14</sup> The beginnings of cheese production in the monastery, for instance, go back to 1872 when the monks built a small dairy to produce cheese, initially only for their own consumption (Pfanner called this cheese *Swiss* or *švicarski*).<sup>15</sup> The actual production of the original Trappist cheese began in 1882<sup>16</sup> as the demand for the *Trapist Maria Stern* (later *Trapist Marija Zvijezda*) grew. Therefore, the monks increased production and the cheese gained immense popularity across the Austro-Hungarian Empire<sup>17</sup> and they also became the official suppliers to the Royal Palace in Belgrade and the Habsburg court in Vienna.<sup>18</sup>

The flourishing history of Marija Zvijezda continued during the interwar years and was only interrupted by the destruction caused by the Second World War.<sup>19</sup> After 1945 the government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia took away all the monastery’s possessions and the German-speaking monks had to leave the country. Throughout the second half of the twentieth century the Trappist monks experienced a period of slow extinction in Banja Luka,<sup>20</sup> even though Yugoslav *Trapist* cheese was widespread and popular (although not approved by the monks).<sup>21</sup>

### Trappists and Colonial Entanglements

When Pfanner established Mariastern in 1869, Banja Luka was part of the Ottoman Empire. Contrary to Austria’s traditional Balkan policy (minimizing Russian influence while maintaining a status quo with the Ottomans), after the Russo-Turkish War (1877–78) and the subsequent Congress of Berlin, Austria-Hungary occupied the Ottoman provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina,<sup>22</sup> and later annexed the territory in 1908.<sup>23</sup> Malinović, Okilj, and Preradović argued that the first wave of colonization had actually occurred prior to this date and that it had been marked by the arrival of Pfanner in Banja Luka nearly a decade before the Austro-Hungarian occupation.<sup>24</sup> This was due to the fact that Mariastern may be considered as the first German colony in the region, “created as a precursor to the mass arrival of foreigners” to

promote “the opportunities that the ‘new land’ offered to potential immigrants.”<sup>25</sup>

Primary sources confirm that the “cultural mission” of Austria-Hungary in Bosnia was a recurring theme in the accounts of German-speaking contemporaries, such as journalist Heinrich Renner<sup>26</sup> or the above-mentioned Franz Pfanner.<sup>27</sup> This Europeanization was seen as a central “task of German-speaking colonists, who [were] to serve as role models of rural modernity,”<sup>28</sup> as illustrated by Pfanner’s article published in the Viennese magazine *Weckstimmen für das katholische Volk* (1878).<sup>29</sup> Indeed, “Bosnien, ein Land für Ansiedlung” was essentially a call targeting and inviting impoverished Germans and Austrians to a better life in Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>30</sup> Undeniably, between 1878 and 1918 Bosnia “came to occupy a specific symbolic position within the hegemonic discourses of the ‘West’: to this day, Bosnia’s affiliation with the ‘Balkans’ has led to its stigmatization as a form of ‘the Other within Europe’.”<sup>31</sup>

In 1879, as Franz Pfanner was about to become the Abbot of Mariastern, he caught everybody by surprise when he responded to the call of James Ricards, Apostolic Vicar of Cape of Good Hope, South Africa, who wanted to establish a Trappist monastery in his vicariate.<sup>32</sup> In December 1882 Pfanner and his companions successfully founded Mariannahill Monastery near the city of Durban. Already an abbey by 1885, Mariannahill rapidly became “a beacon of Trappist success.”<sup>33</sup>

From the outset, Pfanner laid considerable emphasis on vocational education and training in South Africa although the need to cultivate the lands was made more urgent given the fact that Trappist monks did not consume meat, fish or eggs.<sup>34</sup> Similarly to Banja Luka, agricultural innovations were a key to Mariannahill’s success; the *Natal Agricultural Journal*, for instance, highlighted the uniqueness of the monastery’s wine, sauerkraut, arrowroot, and oilcakes.<sup>35</sup> Although cheese-making was not among their activities, the story of Mariannahill was inseparable from the transnational Trappist narrative, given the link provided by the person of Franz Pfanner, as well as the persistence of colonial tropes both in the Balkans and in South Africa. To reiterate Patricia Clavin’s point; transnationalism is “first and foremost about people: the social space that they inhabit, the networks they form and the ideas they exchange.”<sup>36</sup> And thanks to Trappist monks, ideas (Christian values) and goods (somewhat obscure food items like cheese or sauerkraut) successfully created connections that crossed national borders and integrated the history of an originally secluded monastic order into the system of global and colonial flows.

In his 1983 study, J.B. Brain argued that the Trappist Abbot “perceived his new Zulu tenants as being similar to the Bosnian peasants among whom he had worked. Both, in Pfanner’s view, were in need of the discipline of Christian work.”<sup>37</sup> As a matter of fact, Pfanner published several articles on the so-called South African Native Question,

“that is, the problem of what to do with a black population reputed to be uncivilized, indolent and ever-expanding.”<sup>38</sup> Pfanner advocated that Black people deserved to be treated as equals in exchange for adapting to the colonial order and embracing European “civilization”. Therefore, although he believed “in the equality of all races and condemned overt racism”, he still displayed prejudice against Black people since he uncritically embraced the stereotype of the lazy African man.<sup>39</sup> His writings illustrate that “his ideal was to transform his African converts into Austrian farmers”, conforming to the needs of the colony, echoing the message of his aforementioned article from 1878, “Bosnien, ein Land für Ansiedlung”.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, even if Pfanner may have been a benevolent and enlightened missionary who contributed to revolutionizing local food production and agricultural practices both in Bosnia and South Africa,<sup>41</sup> “he was, first and foremost, a colonist.”<sup>42</sup>

### Cheesemakers in Hungary

As noted above, *Trappist Marija Zvijezda* reached immense popularity across the Austro-Hungarian Empire after the 1880s. As the exact recipe was not passed on and never left Banja Luka, it has to be stressed that what is labelled *trappista* by Hungarian cheese manufacturers and merchants was merely “inspired by” the cheese handcrafted by Trappist monks. Nevertheless, *trappista* cheese was a highly sought-after member of the selection offered by Hungarian cheese manufacturers.<sup>43</sup> For instance, the newspaper advertisement of a grocer’s from Nagybánya in 1912 included a cheese selection of “*Bosnian Trappista*, Swiss *Emmental*, French *Roquefort*, *Romadour* from Sárvár, *Csemege* from Dóry puszta, French *Camembert*”.<sup>44</sup> One rare example was a multi-lingual menu that listed *trappista* as the Hungarian name; “*Fromage des trappistes*” as the French; *Trappistkäse* as the German; and “*PortSalut cheese*” as the English translation.<sup>45</sup> How these types of cheese became regular elements of Hungarian menus and shopping lists was inseparable from the process of industrialization that was accelerated (if not kick-started) by the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867. Before providing an insight into the most prominent cheesemakers and their cheeses, thus the brief economic context of late nineteenth century Hungary is to be outlined.

Even when the industrial revolution reached the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the mid-nineteenth century, agriculture remained the most significant segment of economy in Hungary.<sup>46</sup> Food industries were crucial during the process of modern industrialization as they also managed to attract foreign capital in the hopes of certain profits.<sup>47</sup> As funds were limited due to the fact that there had been no direct state support for Hungarian industry between 1869 and 1879,<sup>48</sup> progress in the development of the dairy industry only became noticeable in the 1890s.<sup>49</sup> On the whole, the food industry continued to transform until 1914, leading to the establishment of 76 new dairy

factories. These specialized mainly in the production of cheese, butter, cottage cheese and other transportable dairy products.<sup>50</sup> While the milling and sugar industries still attracted the highest level of investments and interest in the dairy industry appeared to be limited,<sup>51</sup> the records of individual initiatives such as the arrival of Swiss cheese-maker Friedrich Stauffer in Hungary changed the course of Hungarian cheese-making for good.

Before the late nineteenth century, most cheeses were imported to Hungary due to limited domestic production, lack of expertise, and practical experience. Change became visible after the first dairy cooperative was established in Szombathely in 1881, followed by the foundation of the Budapest Central Dairy Hall Cooperative (*Budapesti Központi Tejcsarnok Szövetkezet*) and the National Dairy Inspectorate (*Országos Tejgazdasági Felügyelőség*) in 1883.<sup>52</sup> By 1914, Hungarian dairy cooperatives had shown considerable progress; still, cheese imports continued. Hungarian cheese exports were mostly insignificant in this period with the exception of Imre Újhelyi’s *óvári* cheese (akin to *Tilsiter*) from Moson County, as well as the newly-discovered semi-hard *illmici* (or *ilmiczi*) cheese, which was practically a cross between *camembert* and *óvári*.<sup>53</sup> Other Hungarian novelties included the Romadour-style soft cheese called *csemege* (then known as *dörypusztai csemege*), first produced by Ilona Dóry in 1896.<sup>54</sup> As a matter of fact, the Dóry family (Stefánia Dóry) had founded the first Hungarian cheese factory in 1882 in Dörypatlan.<sup>55</sup> They produced several award-winning ripened soft cheeses (the predecessors of *pálpusztai*, which was actually created by Pál Heller), cream cheese, *trappista* and other semi-hard cheeses until 1948, when the factory was nationalized.

Pál Heller was another outstanding entrepreneur in the history of Hungarian cheese production, who founded the Derby Cheese and Butter Company (*Derby Sajt és Vajtermelő Részvénytársaság*) in Budapest in the 1890s.<sup>56</sup> In addition to their titular Derby cheese, they produced *pálpusztai*, *Romadour*, *Imperiál*, *óvári*, *Roquefort*, and *Casino*.<sup>57</sup> It may appear that Heller’s company was one of the biggest cheese factories in the early twentieth century not to produce *trappista* in Hungary. Nevertheless, the last cheese on the list, *Casino*, as a spreadsheet from the 1910s demonstrates, was a “semi-hard cheese made according to French Trappist traditions”. Due to the trademark on the original Trappist cheese, *Port-du-Salut*, however, the name could not be used for similar cheeses.

The cheese factory in Répcelak, founded by Swiss cheese master Friedrich Stauffer<sup>58</sup> in 1904, turned out to be one of the most significant enterprises in the history of Hungarian cheese production.<sup>59</sup> The Stauffer family arrived in Hungary around 1898,<sup>60</sup> where they officially set up the company Stauffer and Sons Ltd. (*Stauffer és Fiai Közkereseti Társaság*) in 1908, and rapidly expanded their branches in the region.<sup>61</sup> The company successfully recovered after the Great War, also illustrated by the construction of their modern

cheese factory in Répcelak in 1927.<sup>62</sup> While their initial activities (after setting up the Répcelak factory) only included selling cream, and shortly afterwards butter and *trappista* cheese, the Stauffers were the first Hungarian company to buy the Swiss license (1911) for processed cheese; thus started the production of the popular *Medve sajt* (processed cheese triangles) in 1930.<sup>63</sup>

Order slips from 1916<sup>64</sup> reveal that the most popular Stauffer products were: boxed *emmental*,<sup>65</sup> original *Emmental*,<sup>66</sup> Hungarian *Emmental*, *trappista*, *Romadour*, *csemege*, and *havasi*.<sup>67</sup> In contrast, order slips from 1930 illustrate that the novelty of processed cheeses indeed attracted consumers; besides *Emmental*, processed cheese was in the highest demand.<sup>68</sup> A cheese stock report from 31 December 1936 demonstrates that *Emmental* was sold in the largest quantity (50 497 kg), followed by *trappista* (32 779 kg), then processed *Emmental* (11 210 kg), *Belle Fleur* (8855 kg), in addition to a large number of boxed processed cheeses (*Medve*, *Tehén*, *Schneeberg*), fresh sheep's cheese (*juhgomoly*), butter, milk, cream, smoked cheese, cumin cheese and garlic cheese, *Roquefort*, and *Romadour*.<sup>69</sup>

The demand for milk and dairy products increased after 1914. In addition to cooperative milk processing plants, further dairy plants were established, mostly as part of private enterprises or joint stock companies.<sup>70</sup> Certain food and drink prices in hotels, restaurants and cafes were centrally fixed during the war, similarly to retail and wholesale prices. This covered the price of milk (after 1915) and a selection of cheeses as well. Throughout 1917, for instance, the maximum retail prices for cheeses differentiated between “semi-fat hard” cheeses (*Gruyere*, half-*emmental*, *trappista* [sic]), “low-fat hard cheeses”; and *pogácsasajt* (*Kvargli* / *Olmützer Quargel* / *Olomoucké Tvarůžky*), besides cottage cheeses and butters.<sup>71</sup> The wholesale prices for the same period covered the same types of cheeses.<sup>72</sup> When café prices that were fixed on 7 February 1918, the most widespread and easy-to-access hard cheeses on these lists featured *trappista* (even if technically it was a semi-hard cheese) in addition to *Gruyere*, *Emmental*, and *óvári*.<sup>73</sup> Given that the war had been ongoing for over three and a half years when this source was dated, to see these cheeses on such significantly reduced menus demonstrates their ubiquity even as part of limited war-time diets. Another ministerial regulation, dated 4 September 1918, fixed the maximum selling price of butter, cottage cheese and cheeses made from cow's milk such as “semi-fat hard cheeses with a fat content of at least 25% in the dry matter (such as *Gruyere*, half-*Emmental*, *trappista*, *óvári*).”<sup>74</sup> Interestingly, a relatively unknown producer was listed for *trappista*: Lipót Spiegel from Pókafa; Stauffer, for instance, who had been a well-known producer of *trappista*, was listed for *Havasi* and *Romadour* cheeses only. Similarly, another bulletin announcing cheese prices in June 1921 mentioned solely a relatively unknown type of *trappista* (Hahóti—from the village of Hahót in county Zala).<sup>75</sup>

Cheese selections thus appeared to be relatively versatile despite the circumstances; imports did not completely cease either. Although Surányi claimed that Dutch cheeses were first imported to Hungary only after 1918,<sup>76</sup> price lists from December 1914 and January 1915 indicate otherwise, as “Dutch cheese, original Gouda” was listed besides *Trappista* and *Magyaróvári*.<sup>77</sup> It is noteworthy that as late as 23 May 1919, half a year after the end of the war, retail prices in general continued to be centrally maximized. This could be explained by economic (the long-term impact of the war on food availability and the productivity of the food industry) as well as political reasons (Béla Kun's coup d'état and the subsequent Bolshevik takeover in March 1919.)

The dairy industry, similarly to the other segments of interwar Hungarian economy, was severely affected by the war years, the Trianon peace treaty (1920), and the Great Depression after 1929. Although the country's dairy industry was still decades behind developed dairy cultures such as Denmark,<sup>78</sup> domestic cheese production boomed due to increased demand.<sup>79</sup> Stauffer and Sons were among the leading businesses throughout the interwar years<sup>80</sup> but they requested financial support from the state during the Second World War as their company was declared a military plant and thus was indispensable for food and supply. This was due to the fact, they argued, that their cheap *trappista* and their processed cheeses were indispensable for the military as the latter kept for the longest time and was much better than any canned meat.<sup>81</sup> The Stauffers, despite their Christian origins, had often been the subject of covert accusations because several family members had retained their Swiss citizenships.<sup>82</sup> Eventually the family had left Hungary in early 1945; some led by Ernő returned to Switzerland with 18 other Swiss citizens from Sopron and Répcelak,<sup>83</sup> while Sándor and his family moved to the United States, where they formed Stauffer Cheese, Wisconsin, in 1953 (known as Dairyfood USA since 2007).<sup>84</sup>

Beyond the military, *trappista* and processed cheese were the most easy-to-access cheeses on the home front as well. Centrally fixed consumer lists, for instance, which determined the maximum prices grocers could charge during war-time, covered only the most accessible items. Within the category of cheeses these meant *trappista*, *Emmental*, and processed cheese—not only during the war but also in its immediate aftermath, as demonstrated by an official announcement from August 1946.<sup>85</sup>

The devastation of the war, followed by the Soviet occupation and communist takeover in Hungary in the late 1940s had a major impact on Hungarian economy, particularly due to the collectivizations that started after 1948.<sup>86</sup> While initial measures to concentrate the dairy industry failed and led to a marked deterioration in the quality of dairy products, altogether more than 25 new dairy plants were set up during the period.<sup>87</sup> The famous Gundel restaurant's menu from 7 August 1948 illustrates the drastic changes in Hungarian food industry as a result

of the communist's economic policies (or the lack, thereof). The menu included a cheese selection that contained *trappista*, *pálpusztai*, *eidami*, *Roquefort*, and *körözött* (spiced cottage cheese also known as Liptauer).<sup>88</sup> In contrast, their menu from 27 April 1952 only listed *trappista* and *körözött*, while at other times the menu only featured *körözött*<sup>89</sup> or did not contain cheese at all.<sup>90</sup>

Apart from the fact that Gábor Tomka, leader of the Dairy Experimental Institute (*Tejgazdasági Kísérleti Intézet*),<sup>91</sup> revolutionized the production technology of semi-hard cheeses (including *trappista*) in the 1950s, the overall structural modernization of the dairy industry only took place in the 1970s. This occurred after to the government's market-style reforms as part of the 1968 New Economic Mechanism (NEM). These changes led to a boom in the dairy industry both in terms of technical innovations and wider cheese selections (in Veszprém, Gyula, Kistelek, Csorna and from the 1980s in Szekszárd and Makó).<sup>92</sup> The most popular products and cheese factories in socialist Hungary were the following: Pápa (*trappista*), Villány (*trappista*), Tamási, Tolna Megyei Tejipari Vállalat (*trappista*, *óvári*, *eidami* and *Pannónia*), Répcelak (*Pannónia*), Zalaegerszeg (*Emmental*), Budafoki Sajtüzem (*Emmental*), Budapest Tejipari Vállalat (*Camping* [processed], *Mackó* [processed, after 1958], *Emmental*), Hortobágy (*gomolya*), and Kaposvár (*cheddar*—for export).

Cheese often featured in health campaigns and propaganda materials emphasizing how indispensable it was in every meal. For instance, the line “and the final course of lunch and dinner should be cheese” is quite telling of the Hungarian meal structure that did not feature a final cheese course in this period.<sup>93</sup> Processed cheeses continued to be gaining in popularity throughout the second half of the century; the number of different brands and producers also grew. For instance, while the interwar Stauffer ads focused on the natural characteristics of their product, the 1976 advertisement of the Budapest Dairy Company (*Budapesti Tejipari Vállalat*) for their processed *Olimpiade* cheese aimed to highlight their product's health appeal with the image of a football player ready to tuck into some bread, processed cheese, chorizo, peppers and tomatoes with a knife and fork.<sup>94</sup> Moreover, it was also common to see cheese feature on its own in advertisements, which were often surreal to say the least.<sup>95</sup>

## Conclusion

Today *Saint-Paulin* is one of the most prized semi-hard cheeses in France, protected by the Stresa Convention (1951).<sup>96</sup> And although currently there is no cheese manufacture in L'Abbaye Notre-Dame du Port-du-Salut,<sup>97</sup> several sister and daughter houses have continued the cheese production to date. We have seen that during the height of its initial successes, *Port Salut* spread to other Trappist monasteries across Europe and thus reached Banja

Luka in Bosnia where it was named *Trappist Maria Stern* (*Trappist* after the Second World War).<sup>98</sup>

In Banja Luka today,<sup>99</sup> Trappist monks also produce wine, olive oil, and liqueurs besides *Trappist* cheese. The secret of cheese-making was almost lost in 1996 with the passing of Father Mohor, the last monk to have known the full recipe. Nonetheless, in 2007 Father Tomislav Topić travelled to Mont-des-Cats in France to learn the cheese-making technique and subsequently re-introduced it in Banja Luka. After the monks partnered with the agricultural cooperative of Livač, they managed to successfully revive the tradition in 2008 and are hopeful to “continue the production of the Trappist cheese and that political circumstances will not influence it as it has been the case up to now.”<sup>100</sup>

In contrast, the ubiquitous *trappista* cheese in Hungary has been recognized as a mass-produced and low-quality product throughout the twentieth century. The mild flavoured, semi-hard cheese made from cow's milk has often been the only cheese available for several generations in Hungary and is currently far from being an “artisan produce.” The history of cheese-making in Hungary has been more complex, though, and the progress achieved in the early twentieth century was noteworthy, thanks to the efforts of “cheese-making dynasties” such as the Stauffers or the Döröys. Even though mass demand for *trappista* and processed cheese appears to have dominated Hungarian appetites during the years of communism, we have seen above that what ended up as cheap and “fast” cheeses, were originally the pinnacles of technological innovation and sophistication.

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## Notes

- Notes on nomenclature. When spelling “Trappist”, I followed the following logic: used the capitalized, non-italicized version (*Trappist*) for the monks of this particular Roman Catholic order; when referring to the cheese, I used the original spelling from each language and author in an italicized form and capitalized the word based on the rules of each language, based on the source (e.g., Hungarian *trappista*; the *Trappist Marija Zvijezda* from Bosnia; French *Trappiste*).
- Surányi claims that the monks used a mixture of sheep's, goat's and cow's milk; however, records about the original French *Port-du-Salut* as well as the *Trappist Marija Zvijezda* mention only cow's milk. Compare Béla Surányi, *A Tej és Tejtermékek Múltja és Jelene* (Debreceni Egyetem Mezőgazdaság-,

- Élelmiszertudományi és Környezetgazdálkodási Kar: Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó/Debrecen University Press, 2015), 101; and D. Budimir and M. Stipić Bagarić, "History of Trappist Cheese," *Technologica Acta* 8, no. 2 (2015), 11 and 14.
3. These include, among others, the Véritable Trappe of the Abbaye de la Coudre in the Mayenne, the Abbaye Notre Dame de Timadeuc in Brittany, and the Abbaye Notre Dame de Bonne Espérance in Echourgnac. See Matthew Rubiner, "Monastic Cheesemaking," in *The Oxford Companion to Cheese*, ed. Catherine Donnelly (OUP, 2016), 487. Furthermore, there are many versions of Trappist cheese not only in France but also across the world. Varieties of Trappist cheeses include, among others, Esrom (Belgium), Shkatul (Bulgaria), Penbryn (Wales), Luostari (Finland), Oka (Canada), St. Paulin (Netherlands), Svensk port salutost (Sweden). See Slavko Kirin, "120 Godina Sira Trapista," *Mljekarstvo* 53, no. 1 (2003), 54.
  4. The first of their reformed abbey (Order of Cistercians of the Strict Observance, O.C.S.O) was founded in 1664 in Soligny-la-Trappe. Trappist monks aimed to return to the roots of strictly observing the Rule of St Benedict through asceticism, silence, obedience, physical work ("Ora et labora"), and abstinence from meat, butter, fish, eggs and wine. See Kirin, "120 Godina Sira Trapista," 53.
  5. Rubiner, "Monastic Cheesemaking," 487.
  6. Kirin examined the organoleptic characteristics of *Saint-Paulin* and some Trappist-style cheeses with regard to their type, appearance, consistency, cut, and aroma. The Trappist varieties included *trappista* (Hungary), *Trappistenka* (Germany), *Trapist* (Marija Zvezda from Banja Luka, Bosnia), *Trapist* (Yugoslavia), and *Trapist* "Sirela" (LURA, Bjelovar, Croatia). See Kirin, "120 Godina Sira Trapista," 57–58.
  7. Rubiner, "Monastic Cheesemaking," 487.
  8. The name was chosen in honor of Paul Mazé, the expert credited with the industrial production of *Port-Salut* cheese. See Kirin, "120 Godina Sira Trapista," 54.
  9. The monastery had over two hundred monks in the 1920s; today it is the smallest.
  10. Budimir and Bagarić, "History of Trappist Cheese," 11–16.
  11. P. George Sanders, *Cheese Varieties and Descriptions* (1953), 130.
  12. Budimir and Bagarić, "History of Trappist Cheese," 12.
  13. Pfanner was born in 1825 as the son of a Catholic farmer in Vorarlberg, Austria. He had already served as a vicar in an Austrian parish for ten years and then was a chaplain to nuns in Croatia for three years before he decided to join religious life. Before he became a Trappist in the convent of Mariawald, he had served as the Head of the Parish of Haselstauden in Vorarlberg, Austria. See Philippe Denis, "Abbot Pfanner, the Glen Grey Act and the Native Question," *South African Historical Journal* 67, no. 3 (2015), 276–277; and Miroslav Malinović, Milijana Okilj, Ljubiša Preradović, "The Colonization of German National Minority and its Sacred Architecture in Republic of Srpska," *AGG+ Journal for Architecture, Civil Engineering, Geodesy and related scientific fields* 3, no. 1 (2015), 23.
  14. The Trappists built a hydroelectric power plant, a large mill, textile workshops, a cheese factory, a brewery, a brickyard, a pasta factory, a sawmill, a printing house, a plum dryer, and about twenty craft workshops at Mariastern. In the abbey they also kept an orphanage with a primary school and their own hospital with a pharmacy. See Kirin, "120 Godina Sira Trapista," 55.
  15. Budimir and Bagarić, "History of Trappist Cheese," 11–16.
  16. Father Ignatius from the French monastery of Notre-Dame de Port-du-Salut arrived in Banja Luka and trained Brother Luka in the secret cheese-making process of the order. Every cheesemaker only knew their own work segment and the others were unknown to them. Budimir and Bagarić also stressed that "the secret of the quantity and order of culture is known only to monks but not to all of them. Lay people do not know the quantities and types of cultures so they cannot describe this process. The written recipe is only in the Port-du-Salut monastery in France and is available only to the chosen monks." See Budimir and Bagarić, "History of Trappist Cheese," 15 and 56.
  17. To meet the increased demand for their cheese, the Trappists built further cheese factories in Josipovac (1887, today called Bosanski Aleksandrovac), and in Nova Topola (1893). See Kirin, "120 Godina Sira Trapista," 56.
  18. Budimir and Bagarić, "History of Trappist Cheese," 13.
  19. At the end of 1944 the cheese factory in Alexandrov was burned down. The cheese factory in Nova Topola survived the war, but it was nationalized and eventually closed down in 1961. See Kirin, "120 Godina Sira Trapista," 56.
  20. Kirin, "120 Godina Sira Trapista," 56.
  21. Notably, the monks were having troubles with regard to the protection of their intellectual property as many producers used the name illegally for similar but cheaper, commercially-produced cheeses of lesser quality." See Budimir and Bagarić, "History of Trappist Cheese," 11.
  22. Ruthner explained this new expansionist Orientpolitik not only as a due to "the ambition of Austrian court and military circles" but also as a result of the involvement of Count Gyula Andrássy, Joint Minister of the Exterior". See Clemens Ruthner, "Habsburg's Only Colony? Bosnia-Herzegovina and Austria-Hungary, 1878–1918," *SEEU Review* 13, no. 1 (Dec 2018), 3; Clemens Ruthner, "Habsburg's Little Orient. A Post/Colonial Reading of Austrian and German Cultural, Narratives on Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1878–1918," in *The Political, Social and Cultural Impact of the*

- Austro-Hungarian Occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1878–1918*, eds. Clemens Ruthner, Diana Reynolds, Ursula Reber, and Raymond Detrez (Peter Lang, 2008), 2.
23. Ruthner, “Habsburg’s Little Orient,” 2.
  24. In contrast to this “spontaneous” colonization of the Trappists, the official system of Austro-Hungarian colonization that led to a major inflow of foreign populations was not recorded until 1878. Then the first phase of colonization started and lasted until 1895, followed by the second wave between 1895 and 1905. Only the second phase, they claim, “was conducted according to the measures of the occupying authorities, with their guidelines and legal frameworks.” Officially, the settlement was completed in 1905, when the government stopped giving subsidies, but reports kept indicating continuous inflows of foreigners. See Malinović, Okilj, and Preradović, “The Colonization of German National Minority,” 21–22.
  25. Malinović, Okilj, and Preradović, “The Colonization of German National Minority,” 21–22.
  26. Berlin journalist Heinrich Renner’s 1896 travelogue is another example for the perceived “civilizing mission” of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the occupied territory: in his book, Bosnia is depicted as an “oriental Sleeping Beauty that must be awakened by the kiss of Europe, or more properly, by the Habsburg prince” after the Ottoman curse. See Heinrich Renner, *Durch Bosnien und die Hercegovina kreuz und quer. Wanderungen* (Berlin: Reimer, 1896), v; Ruthner, “Habsburg’s Little Orient,” 10; and Ruthner, “Habsburg’s only Colony?” 2.
  27. Ruthner, “Habsburg’s Little Orient,” 10.
  28. Ruthner, “Habsburg’s Little Orient,” 11.
  29. Fater Franz, “Bosnien: ein Land für Ansiedelung,” *Weckstimmen für das katholische Volk* 11 (Wien, 1878), 2–9.
  30. Malinović, Okilj, and Preradović, “The Colonization of German National Minority,” 22.
  31. Ruthner, “Habsburg’s Little Orient,” 1.
  32. The first contingent of thirty Trappist monks led by Pfanner landed at the Cape in 1880. Although the original plan did not work out due to unfavorable weather conditions as well as the lack of funds. See Schachenmayr stressed that Pfanner recruited Austrian men, some of whom died in the course of their efforts in Africa. See Alcuin Schachenmayr, “Austrian Newspaper Coverage of the Cistercian Jubilee in 1898,” *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (2018), 155; and Denis, “Abbot Pfanner,” 278.
  33. Risimati Sam Khandlhela, “The Trappists in South Africa: a Short Overview,” *Kleio* 27 (1995), 46. Following an investigation into the compatibility of the observance of Trappist rules with their bustling missionary activities, Pfanner resigned in early 1893 and lived the rest of his life as an ordinary monk in relative isolation at Emmaus in the Drakensberg area. He died in May 1909, the same year when Mariannahill was separated from the Trappist order and became known as the Congregation of Missionaries of Mariannahill. Today Mariannahill missionaries can be also found in Zimbabwe, New Guinea, and Brazil. See Philippe Denis, “The suspension and resignation of Franz Pfanner, first Abbot of Mariannahill,” *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 40 no. 1 (May 2014); and J. B. Brain, “Mariannahill Monastery, 1882—1982,” *Contree: Journal for South African Urban and Regional History* 13 (Jan. 1983), 31; and Denis, “Abbot Pfanner,” 274.
  34. Brain, “Mariannahill Monastery,” 28.
  35. Brain, “Mariannahill Monastery,” 28.
  36. Patricia Clavin, “Defining Transnationalism,” *Contemporary European History* 14, no. 4 (Nov. 2005), 422.
  37. Brain emphasized that the case of Mariannahill was not unique; the Trappists were running a similarly successful mission in Algeria on the same lines, just like the Benedictines had formerly used this method in Europe since the seventh century. See Brain, “Mariannahill Monastery,” 27.
  38. Denis stressed that the phrase itself was highly charged: Black people were regarded as the “Other” and had no voice in the matter and “were a ‘question’ or a ‘problem’ to be resolved by colonial officials, publicists and missionaries.” See Denis, “Abbot Pfanner,” 271–272.
  39. Denis, “Abbot Pfanner,” 287 and 291
  40. Denis, “Abbot Pfanner,” 292; and Brain, “Mariannahill Monastery,” 3.
  41. Denis, “Abbot Pfanner,” 292.
  42. Denis, “Abbot Pfanner,” 292.
  43. Grocers’ advertisements, café and restaurant menus varied as to their use of the name and/or spelling of *trappista* (occasionally *trapista*).
  44. *Nagybánya. Társadalmi és Szépirodalmi Hetilap* 10, no 15, April 11, 1912.
  45. “Étlap,” Magyar Kereskedelmi és Vendéglátóipari Múzeum (henceforth: MKVM) Archives, 2015/3987.
  46. Although the cultivation of crops (wheat, most importantly) had always dominated, cattle breeding and trade had also played a significant role. By the end of the nineteenth century, modern, high-quality European-standard dairy farms had been established across the country. See Diána Szűcs, “Magyarország Mezőgazdaságának Történelmi Áttekintése,” *Vállalkozásfejlesztés a XXI. Században* (Budapest, 2017), 582 and 587; and “Gazdaság,” in *Magyarország a XX. Században II. Természeti Környezet, Népesség és Társadalom, Egyházak és Felekezetek, Gazdaság*, ed. Tarsoly István, accessed January 15, 2022, <http://mek.oszk.hu/02100/02185/html/314.html>.
  47. Ferenc Szávai, “The Late Industrial Revolution in Hungary (1867–1918),” in *Hungary and the Hungarians* ed. Magyaródy, S.J. (Budapest, Matthias Corvinus Publishers, 2012), 249.
  48. László Varga, “Állami Ipartámogatás a Dualizmus Korában (1880–1900),” *Történelmi Szemle* 23 no. 2 (1980), 197.

49. More specifically, Law XLIV of 1881 was a watershed as it provided discounts to modern factories introducing new industries or new or existing modern factories and products. Furthermore, Laws XIII and XIV of 1890 were meant to encourage industrial development and the establishment of necessary financial institutions; they raised considerable interest abroad as well since they offered tax exemptions and direct subsidies. Varga highlighted that the Ministry of Commerce printed 3000–3000 copies in French and German, which were then distributed in the foreign press including Belgian newspapers, or the *Frankfurter Zeitung und Handelsblatt*. See “1890. évi XIV. Törvénycikk a Hazai Ipart Támogató Pénzintézeteknek Adható Állami Kedvezményekről,” accessed January 15, 2022, [http://mek.oszk.hu/02100/02185/html/326.html](https://net.jogtar.hu/getpdf?docid=89000014.TV&targetdate=&printTitle=1890.+%C3%A9vi+XIV.+t%C3%B6rv%C3%A9nyek&referer=1000ev;Varga,“Államiipartamogatás,”200,204,and217;BélaTomka,“Bankuralom,Bankérdekeltség,Bankellenőrzés:AMagyarországiPénzintézetekIpariKapcsolatai a Századfordulón,1895–1913,”Történelmi Szemle 37,no.2(1995),193;andIvánT.Berend,HistoryDerailed:CentralandEasternEuropeintheLongNineteenthCentury(Berkeley:UniversityofCaliforniaPress,2003),142.</a></p>
<p>50. “Gazdaság,” in <i>Magyarország a XX. Században II. Természeti Környezet, Népeség és Társadalom, Egyházak és Felekezetek, Gazdaság</i>, ed. Tarsoly István (Szekszárd: Babits Kiadó, 1997), accessed January 15, 2022, <a href=).
51. Tomka, “Bankuralom, Bankérdekeltség, Bankellenőrzés,” 204.
52. Ede Egán was a pioneer in the field as the country’s leading dairy farmer, who was commissioned by the Minister of Agriculture in 1883 to set up and to organize a network of dairy cooperatives the National Dairy Inspectorate (*Országos Tejgazdasági Felügyelőség*). On Egán’s suggestion the short-lived National Cheese and Butter Cooperative (*Országos Sajt- és Vajszövetkezet*) was also set up in 1887, which was the first body to control quality regulations with regard to cheese ripening. Dairy cooperatives in the last decade of the nineteenth century mainly focused on butter production; Moson County was an exception, due to the achievements of Imre Újhelyi. Újhelyi, leader and lecturer of the academy at Óvár, founded the Cattle Breeding Association of Magyaróvár (*Magyaróvári Szarvasmarha-tenyésztő Egyesület*, 1896), and the Royal Hungarian Dairy Experiment Station (*Magyar Királyi Tejgazdasági Kísérleti Állomás*), which he ran until 1909. See Surányi, *A Tej és Tejtermékek Múltja és Jelene*, 69.
53. Surányi, *A Tej és Tejtermékek Múltja és Jelene*, 70.
54. The popularity of dörpysztai csemege-sajt continued not only during the First World War but in the interwar period as well. This may be illustrated by an order slip from 1916 and a spreadsheet from the 1920s, the latter of which reads, “The menu is not complete without Dörpysztai Csemege-sajt”. See KD\_1987.807.1.2, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022, <https://mkvm.hu/digitalis-gyujtemenyek-2/?id=39510>; and KD\_75.554.1, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022, <https://mkvm.hu/digitalis-gyujtemenyek-2/?id=580453>.
55. Dörpysztai corresponds to Zomba in Tolna County today. See Surányi, *A Tej és Tejtermékek Múltja és Jelene*, 71.
56. Surányi, *A Tej és Tejtermékek Múltja és Jelene*, 71.
57. KD\_1970.290.15.3, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022, <https://mkvm.hu/digitalis-gyujtemenyek-2/?id=39457>.
58. Hungarian records use the Hungarian form of his name, Frigyes. He was born in Rütli, Switzerland on May 17, 1853, and had worked in the Bavarian dairy industry prior to moving to Hungary.
59. István Naszádos argued that Répcelak was the first capitalist cheese factory in Hungary. See István Naszádos, “A Stauffer és Fiai Sajtgyár Története, 1895–1945,” in *Levéltári Évkönyv Vas Megye Múltjából* (Szombathely, 1982), 142.
60. Sources are vague on the exact date of the Stauffers’ arrival with 1898 being the most likely. First Stauffer’s three sons worked in the milk processing industry at Nagyszécsény. Having established milk collection stations at Ostffyasszonyfa and later at Répcelak, the family added cheese-making to their repertoire. See Antal András Kovács, “Svájciak a Magyar Történelem Sodrában, 1867–1990,” *Történelmi Szemle* 59, no. 4 (2017), 545.
61. The company included Frigyes, the father, and his three sons Sándor, Ernő, and Frigyes, jr. See Naszádos, “A Stauffer és Fiai Sajtgyár Története,” 145.
62. A postcard from 1938 with the picture of Stauffer factory claimed: “The biggest and most modern cheese factory in Hungary. Employs 150 people.” Several of these employees were from Switzerland; they processed 10,000 liters of milk per day, which was a substantial growth from the 65 employees the company had had in 1920. See KD 83.454.1, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022, <https://mkvm.hu/digitalis-gyujtemenyek-2/?id=36089>; and Naszádos, “A Stauffer és Fiai Sajtgyár Története,” 146.
63. The most widespread international example for this portioned processed cheese is the brand “The Laughing Cow”, which was established in 1921 in the Léon Bel factory, France. See Damien Chaney, Mathilde Pulh, and Rémi Mencarelli,
64. “When the Arts Inspire Businesses: Museums as a Heritage Redefinition Tool of Brands,” *Journal of Business Research* 85 (2018), 452–458.
65. KD\_Leltári szám nélkül1123, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022, <https://mkvm.hu/digitalis-gyujtemenyek-2/?id=584926>.

66. KF\_12\_565, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022, <https://mkvm.hu/digitalis-gyujtemenyek-2/?id=21929>.
67. Stauffer and Sons were the most significant producers and merchants of Swiss *Emmental* cheese in Hungary due to their Swiss roots and familiarity with that particular type of cheese. Nevertheless, besides the original, other varieties of Swiss *Emmental*-style cheeses also enjoyed great popularity in Hungary. For instance, the first Hungarian Swiss cheese, *Pannónia*, was developed by József Csiszár and Gábor Tomka at the Dairy Experimental Institute (*Tejgazdasági Kísérleti Intézet*). See Surányi, *A Tej és Tejtermékek Múltja és Jelene*, 103.
68. Interestingly, the header of the order slip states the company name as “Cheese Factories and Export Company in Western Hungary. Stauffer and his sons, Répczelak, (Vas County) Pig breeding and fattening” (*Nyugatmagyarországi Sajtgyárak és Kiviteli Vállalat. Stauffer és fiai, Répczelak, (Vas megye) Sertéstenyésztés és hizlalás*), which reveals an important use of whey, the by-product formed during the process of cheese production, as pig feed. Naszádos (1982) also noted this when he mentioned that in the early years of the twentieth century Stauffer’s sons collected milk in Ostffyasszonyfa, made cheese and installed a pig farm in order to utilize milk-byproducts. As a result of the swine fever epidemic of the turn of the century, the business nearly went bankrupt, only to be saved by their father who moved to Répcszemere (and soon after to Répczelak) and started producing *trappista* cheese. See Naszádos, “A Stauffer és Fiai Sajtgyár Története,” 145.
69. KD\_Leltári szám nélkül1140, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022, <https://mkvm.hu/digitalis-gyujtemenyek-2/?id=584916>; KD\_Leltári szám nélkül1142, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022, <https://mkvm.hu/digitalis-gyujtemenyek-2/?id=584919>; KD\_Leltári szám nélkül1144, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022, <https://mkvm.hu/digitalis-gyujtemenyek-2/?id=584921>; KD\_Leltári szám nélkül1148, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022, <https://mkvm.hu/digitalis-gyujtemenyek-2/?id=584925>; KD\_Leltári szám nélkül1144, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022, <https://mkvm.hu/digitalis-gyujtemenyek-2/?id=584938>.
70. Naszádos, “A Stauffer és Fiai Sajtgyár Története,” 150.
71. Surányi, *A Tej és Tejtermékek Múltja és Jelene*, 71.
72. The announcements analyzed covered the period between 10 May and 16 December. See K\_1971.1016.1.08, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022, [https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/MKVM\\_Falragaszok\\_1917/?pg=25&layout=s&query=trappista](https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/MKVM_Falragaszok_1917/?pg=25&layout=s&query=trappista).
73. K\_1971.1016.1.08, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022, [https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/MKVM\\_Falragaszok\\_1917/?pg=62&layout=s&query=trappista](https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/MKVM_Falragaszok_1917/?pg=62&layout=s&query=trappista).
74. The café menus from 1918 included coffee, cappuccino, tea (with rum, sugar, or lemon), raspberry cordial, bread and butter, boiled eggs, scrambled eggs, and a portion of hard or soft cheese. See DC\_1973.0488.2, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022,
75. [https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/MKVM\\_Falragaszok\\_1918/?pg=211&layout=s&query=trappista](https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/MKVM_Falragaszok_1918/?pg=211&layout=s&query=trappista). [https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/MKVM\\_Falragaszok\\_1918/?pg=363&layout=s&query=trappista](https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/MKVM_Falragaszok_1918/?pg=363&layout=s&query=trappista); K\_1971.1033.1, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022; and “Az Országos Közélemezési Hivatal Vezető m. kir. miniszter 1918. évi 26.000. számú rendelete, a tehéntejből készülő vaj, túró és sajt legmagasabb árának újbóli megállapításáról,” in *A Háborúval Kapcsolatos Törvények és Rendeletek Gyűjteménye IX.* (Budapest: Pesti Könyvnyomda Rt, 1918), 6863 and 6866.
76. *Vendéglősök Lapja* 37, no. 11. (June 5, 1921), 8.
77. Surányi, *A Tej és Tejtermékek Múltja és Jelene*, 101.
78. K\_1973.0421.1.04, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022, [https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/MKVM\\_Falragaszok\\_1914/?pg=9&layout=s&query=trappista](https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/MKVM_Falragaszok_1914/?pg=9&layout=s&query=trappista); and K\_1971.1016.5.01, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022, [https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/MKVM\\_Falragaszok\\_1915/?pg=88&layout=s&query=trappista](https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/MKVM_Falragaszok_1915/?pg=88&layout=s&query=trappista).
79. Surányi, *A Tej és Tejtermékek Múltja és Jelene*, 76.
80. Surányi, *A Tej és Tejtermékek Múltja és Jelene*, 76.
81. Their success was indicated by the awards they received at European exhibitions in London, Paris, Antwerp and Stuttgart, as well as in Budapest, Sopron, Szatmárnémeti, and Pápa in Hungary. The rising number of their exports and the extent of their operations were also telling; in the early 1930s, the company shipped more than 10% of its products abroad. The main reasons for their success were: firstly, the quality of their product; secondly, their modern and skillful advertising; and thirdly, the fact that they treated their workers fairly. Among others, the company had export partners in Germany, Austria, France, England, Poland, United States, Canada, Palestine, Belgium, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia. See Naszádos, “A Stauffer és Fiai Sajtgyár Története,” 154 and 157.
82. Naszádos, “A Stauffer és Fiai Sajtgyár Története,” 158.
83. Naszádos, “A Stauffer és Fiai Sajtgyár Története,” 164.
84. Kováts highlighted that the Swiss authorities were more inclined to grant entry to those wishing to return after the already repatriated reported on the criminal behavior of the Soviet occupiers that included looting and raping women. See Kováts, “Svájciak a Magyar Történelem Sodrában,” 552.
85. “A Commitment to Quality that Starts with European History,” Dairyfood USA Incorporated, accessed 25 January 2022, <http://www.dairyfoodusa.com/About.aspx>.

86. K\_1972.0502.1, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022, [https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/MKVM\\_Falragaszok\\_1940-1944/?pg=18&layout=s&query=trappista](https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/MKVM_Falragaszok_1940-1944/?pg=18&layout=s&query=trappista); and K\_1971.1420.1, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022, [https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/MKVM\\_Falragaszok\\_1945-1949/?pg=56&layout=s&query=trappista](https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/view/MKVM_Falragaszok_1945-1949/?pg=56&layout=s&query=trappista).
87. Szűcs, "Magyarország Mezőgazdaságának Történelmi Áttekintése," 591
88. Szűcs, "Magyarország Mezőgazdaságának Történelmi Áttekintése," 591 and "Gazdaság," in *Magyarország a XX. Században*.
89. VD\_DA\_84.378, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022, <https://mkvm.hu/digitalis-gyujtemenyek-2/?id=625107>.
90. VD\_DA\_1972.1061, <https://mkvm.hu/digitalis-gyujtemenyek-2/?id=630389>; and VD\_DA\_2014.194.1, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022, <https://mkvm.hu/digitalis-gyujtemenyek-2/?id=630630>.
91. VD\_DA\_72.1060.3, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022, <https://mkvm.hu/digitalis-gyujtemenyek-2/?id=630378>; VD\_DA\_1972.1060.1, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022, <https://mkvm.hu/digitalis-gyujtemenyek-2/?id=630375>.
92. Surányi, *A Tej és Tejtermékek Múltja és Jelene*, 101.
93. Surányi, *A Tej és Tejtermékek Múltja és Jelene*, 81. In addition to the factories mentioned above, the cheese factory in Répcelak, formerly owned by the Stauffers, introduced a wide variety of new flavors in their processed cheese selection including cucumbers, tomatoes and hot paprika. See KD\_1974.183.1.3, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022, <https://mkvm.hu/digitalis-gyujtemenyek-2/?id=27932>.
94. KD\_1976.228.1, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022, <https://mkvm.hu/digitalis-gyujtemenyek-2/?id=27914>.
95. KD\_1974.134.1.1, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022, <https://mkvm.hu/digitalis-gyujtemenyek-2/?id=615719> or <https://mkvm.hu/digitalis-gyujtemenyek-2/?id=27936>; and KP-2012-0119-1, MKVM Archives, accessed January 18, 2022, <https://mkvm.hu/digitalis-gyujtemenyek-2/?id=615719>.
96. Kirin, "120 Godina Sira Trapista," 54.
97. Production in the monastery ceased in 1959 when the monks sold the name, recipe and rights for *Port Salut* to the Société Anonyme des Fermiers Réunis. See Abbaye N.D. du Port du Salut, "Et le fromage?," Abbaye Notre-Dame de Port du Salut, accessed January 20, 2022, <https://www.portdusalut.fr/et-le-fromage/>.
98. For details on the slight variation in the name of Trappist cheese across Central- and South-Eastern Europe, see Kirin, "120 Godina Sira Trapista," 53.
99. The Trappist revival of 2008 in Banja Luka also attracted the attention of western media as illustrated by the BBC and Reuters coverages, in addition to the abundance of features in relation to local tourist attractions. See Daria Sito-Sucic, "Catholic Monks Revive Bosnian Cheese Tradition," *Reuters*, June 24, 2013, accessed January 25, 2022, <https://www.reuters.com/article/bosnia-monks-cheese-idINDEE95C0F920130613>; Marlene Srdic, "The Elusive Cheese with no Recipe," *BBC*, June 16, 2016, accessed January 25, 2022, <https://www.bbc.com/travel/article/20160608-the-elusive-cheese-with-no-recipe>; "The World's Most Mysterious Cheese is Produced in Banja Luka," *Visit B&H*, 6 October 2017, accessed January 25, 2022, <https://visitbih.ba/en/the-worlds-most-mysterious-cheese-is-produced-in-banja-luka/>; Tamara Pejčinović-Bailey, "Trappist Beer and Cheese," *Living in Bosnia Herzegovina*, November 8, 2021, accessed January 25, 2022, <https://www.livinginbosniaandherzegovina.com/blogposts/trappist-beer-cheese>; and "Trappist Cheese," Banja Luka Tourist Board, accessed January 25, 2022, <https://www.banjaluka-tourism.com/index.php/en/hrana-i-pice-2/gastro-brends/item/1425-trapist>.
100. Budimir and Bagarić, "History of Trappist Cheese," 11.