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agony! No wonder that I despaired myself of being able to avoid treading on somebody's political toes!

But apparently nobody's feelings were wounded, though I spoke gently but with complete frankness my sympathy with Hungary's wrongs and the need to set these right without violence. So well was my English understood that no translation was thought necessary and the verbatim report which appeared in the Press earned my gratitude for its correctness. I asked Lord Chilston, the British Minister, if he had felt in any way embarrassed and was reassured with a smile! And the Czech Minister maintained his friendliness to the last!

One word in conclusion of this short story: The books say much of the charm, the courage, the friendliness of the Magyars, of the industry of their peasants, the fervour of their patriotism, of their great history, their splendid achievements; or conversely they attack without sympathy or understanding of the difficulties its lingering feudalism and reactionary political policies. The qualities I should like to stress the most are their warmhearted generosity, their unusual gift of gratitude for any friendliness shewn to them, their genuine affection, as I believe, for England and the English; and it is an affection greatly worth the having.

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HUNGARIAN MIDDLE AGES

By CHRISTOPHER DAWSON

The Hungarian Quarterly is exceedingly glad to be able to publish an article from such a distinguished authority as Mr. Christopher Dawson on the great Hungarian scientific publication which has recently appeared. We are only sorry that owing to the outbreak of war, resulting in the author being temporarily unable to refer to his library, we have ourselves been compelled to amplify the article with the following note:

The *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempora ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum* was edited by Mr. Emeric Szentpétery, and published in Budapest in two volumes, of 553 and 681 pages respectively, by the Hungarian Academy of Science and the Hungarian Historical Society. The annotations to the text and the short introduction were the work of fifteen eminent Hungarian historians. The first volume includes among others the *Gesta Hungarorum* of Anonymus, Simon Kézai's *Chronicle*, the *Zagreb Chronicle* and the *Pozsony Book of Years*. In the second volume there will be found among others the *Munich Chronicle*, the so-called *Hungarian-Polish Chronicle* and Heinrich von Mügelin's *German Chronicle*, also the most important legends of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, such as the *Greater and Lesser Legends of St. Stephen*, the *Legends of St. Emeric*, *St. Gerard the Bishop*, and *St. László*, the *Carmen Miserabile* of Rogerius dealing with the state of Hungary after the Tartar invasion, and the *Complaints of the same period*. The volume closes with the *Exhortations of St. Stephen the King to his son Prince Emeric*. Both the volumes contain an extensive index of objects and names.

THE publication of a definitive critical edition of the medieval Hungarian chronicles forms a worthy memorial of the nine hundredth anniversary of the death of St. Stephen which was celebrated last year at Budapest. For the whole of the history that is contained in these two volumes finds its centre and the key to its meaning in the work of the first Christian King. The conversion of Hungary to Catholicism was a revolutionary event that not only transferred the culture and social life of the Magyar people but had a vital significance for the making of Europe as a whole Hungary, which had been a spear thrust into the

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undefended side of Western Christendom from the Russian and Asiatic steppes, became the shield of Europe against the very peoples from whom the Magyars had sprung and broke the force of the successive waves of Turkish and Tartar invasion before they could penetrate to the West.

It is the only case in history of a steppe people becoming incorporated in the organic community of Christendom without losing its national identity and tradition, as the survival of the Magyar language testifies to this day. Of all the warrior peoples who have come westward across the steppes into Europe—Huns and Avars, Bulgars and Khazars, Pechenegs and Kumans and Tartars—the Magyars alone survive with an unbroken tradition of more than a thousand years, and to-day they still hold, more firmly perhaps than at any time during the last four centuries, the place in the European society of nations which they acquired in the time of St. Stephen.

The main factors that made this achievement possible are already to be seen in the early chronicles of which we are writing. They bear witness, on the one hand, to the epoch-making character of St. Stephen's work as the founder of the Christian kingdom, and on the other, to the remarkable unity and continuity of tradition which made it possible for the Magyars to preserve their national consciousness unbroken through the revolutionary change of culture which accompanied the incorporation of Hungary in Western Christendom.

For the other barbarian peoples, Germans, Slavs and Bulgars, conversion to Christianity involved such a breach with the past as to make them lose contact with their pre-Christian past, and the older epic legends survived, as in the case of the Gothic and Burgundian cycle, like the submerged fragments of a vanished world. But the Magyar national legend of the origins and migrations of their people is so inseparably connected with the real origins of the nation and of the house of Arpad that there was no loss of contact with the past and no breach in the continuity of national consciousness. This continuity with their pre-Christian tribal past gave the Magyars a sense of national citizenship, if one may use the word, entirely different from that of the feudalized peoples of the West who had become, as it were, so deeply

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embedded in the soil that their citizenship — their political rights and duties — had become inseparably connected with territorial relations. But the Magyar warrior was not a noble in the Western sense. His rights and privileges were not dependent on the lands that he held: they were his birthright as a member of the free Magyar people, and the expression "*communitas Hungarorum*" that is so often used by Stephen of Kezai and the other chroniclers, bears witness to a sense of corporate unity which had been lost by the peoples of the West centuries before.

Hence the new Christian monarchy that was modelled by St. Stephen on a Western and Carolingian pattern was built on stronger and more uniform foundations than the feudal monarchies of Western Europe. Although his work inevitably destroyed the tribal organization of the pre-Christian period, it did not break the national tradition which bound the Magyars to their ancestral past, so that even the medieval chroniclers, in spite of their Latin and clerical culture, continue to exalt the virtues of their pagan ancestors and the heroic exploits of the companions of Arpad.

It is true that this national spirit is much less apparent in the Exhortations which Stephen himself addressed to his heir and which are one of the most interesting documents in these volumes. They are inspired by the Carolingian ideal of a Christian theocracy in which the king helps the bishops to guard the Church and in turn is supported by them in his task of securing the peace and order of the Christian people. In the case of St. Stephen, however, this religious idealism was not dissipated on the unattainable vision of a universal Christian Empire but was concentrated on a single definite task — the incorporation of Hungary into the existing order of Western Christendom.

Thus the supernatural universalism which was a source of weakness to the amorphous Carolingian and post-Carolingian empire became an element of strength to the semi-barbaric warrior people who were cut off from the peoples that surrounded them by language and origin. It meant a widening of the horizon of culture: a turning away from the untamed life of the empty steppe towards the Christian city and the Latin-Germanic order. This finds clear expression in the most

characteristic and striking passage of St. Stephen's political Testament, in which he exhorts his heir to show favour to foreigners for the honour and advancement of his realm: "For as strangers come from diverse lands and provinces, they bring with them different languages and customs, different writings and arms, all of which enrich the realm and exalt the court and overawe the arrogance of neighbouring peoples. For a kingdom that has a single language and a single way of life is weak and feeble."

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How paradoxical these words sound in this age of exacerbated nationalism when the coexistence of different languages in the same State is regarded as fatal to the national existence! They were however not a matter of abstract theory but one of the dominant factors in the foundation of the new State, as we see from the long catalogues of immigrant families given in the chronicles under the rubric *De Nobilibus Advenis*. And in addition to these noble strangers there were the foreign monks and bishops who were the principle agents in the internal transformation of Hungarian culture and the introduction of Western arts and letters.

But the civilization of the Christian Middle Ages was coloured not only by the transcendent unity of Christendom as an ever-present social reality, but also by the tradition of the Roman Empire which treated differences of race and language as provincial accidents which must be subordinated to the imperial authority of the State and the Law. Thus St. Stephen regarded his authority not in the manner of his Turkish ancestors as that of the leader of a group of warlike tribes, but as a Christian imperium which had the mission of imposing peace and Christian culture on all the peoples — Magyar and non-Magyar alike — who came within the sphere of its authority. This conception dominated the medieval development of the kingdom from the time of St. Stephen to that of Matthias Corvinus and made it a focus of political order in the seething cauldron of south-eastern Europe. It gave a sacramental significance to the Holy Crown of St. Stephen and St. László which finally became the symbol not merely of Kingship but of national citizenship, so that every free Magyar was a "member of the community of the Sacred Crown."

The realization of this ideal was however only attained by a long and painful process. Again and again St. Stephen's ideal of Apostolic Monarchy has been challenged by forces within and without the national life. From the first there has been a danger that the royal power should be identified with the Western, above all Germanic, influences which threatened the independence of the nation. This danger was already present in the eleventh century, as we see from the pagan reaction against St. Stephen's successor which was marked by the martyrdom of St. Gerard of Csanád and the massacre of the Germans and "Latins" in 1046. And when the crown came to be held by foreign dynasties — Angevins, Bohemians, Poles and Germans, national sentiment became increasingly suspicious of the royal power, so that the *jus resistendi* was for centuries regarded as the most valued privilege of Hungarian citizenship.

These dangers would have been fatal to the ideal of the apostolic monarchy, if they had been the only ones that threatened Hungarian nationality. Its survival was due to the fact that Hungary throughout its history was threatened by other and graver dangers, which made loyalty to the Holy Crown a necessary condition of national existence. When we read the medieval chronicles, we realize in some degree the meaning of Hungary's position as the frontier State of the Christian world. Beyond the Eastern Carpathians and the lower Volga, there stretched the endless steppes reaching across the Dniester and the Don and the Volga into the very heart of eastern Asia. By that road the Magyars had come and behind them fresh hordes were continually on the move, like the drifting sand of the desert, overwhelming occasional oases of culture, like the Khazar kingdom, and threatening the settled civilizations of the Moslem and Christian worlds.

The most terrible of all these movements out of the steppe was the great Tartar invasion of 1241 which left Hungary a desert and which is vividly recorded by an Italian eye witness, Master Reginald, in the *Carmen Miserabile super destructione regnie Hungaria* (S. R. H. II. 543—588). Yet this was only an exceptionally catastrophic episode in the series of invasions which Hungary had to endure: and when the danger from the steppes was weakened by the rise of the Russian and

Lithuanian powers on their northwestern flank, it only gave place to a far more serious danger from the South, when the Ottoman Turks overwhelmed the Byzantine Empire and all the Christian states of the Balkans, and finally conquered the greater part of Hungary itself.

This ever-present threat of pagan and Moslem conquest gave the Hungarian monarchy a crusading character not unlike that of the Catholic Kings in Spain. The two essential functions of the Crown were to protect the nation from the barbarians and to defend the Christian faith against the infidel and these two tasks were one and the same. It is true that the coincidence of the Reformation with the Turkish conquest and of the Counter-reformation with the Habsburg reconquest confused the issues for a time and confronted Catholic Hungary with a tragic conflict between the claims of religion and nationality. But once more the tradition of St. Stephen reasserted itself with the national Catholicism of Pázmány and was strong enough to survive the triumph of Habsburg imperialism. Even in the nineteenth century Hungarian nationalism was distinguished from contemporary national movements by the fact that it never lost the continuity of its political tradition, so that in our own days Hungary alone among European peoples surmounted the cataclysm of defeat and Communist revolution by the reestablishment of the national polity on its old constitutional foundations.

Thus if Hungarian history resembles our own in the continuity of its political life, it is unique in the way it had preserved this continuity through a series of cataclysmic changes such as few other nations have experienced. And it owes this peculiar resilience and recuperative power to its union of an intensely national spirit with a sense of membership of the community of Western Christendom. This synthesis was the work of centuries and was inaugurated by men from all parts of Christendom — Pope Silvester and the Emperor Otto III, St. Adalbert and Radla from Bohemia, Germans like St. Wolfgang and Ascherik, Bonipert the Frenchman and the Venetian St. Gregory of Csanád. But the man who was its true founder and who impressed his spirit most deeply upon it was that great Magyar leader and Christian King St. Stephen himself.

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REFORM AND REORGANIZATION IN HUNGARY

THE TRENDS OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC
EVOLUTION

By RUDOLPH NÖTEL

BOTH of the great armed conflicts of the twentieth century broke out in the confines of Central and Eastern Europe. Sarajevo and Danzig were neither of them the ultimate reasons for the great wars, but the fact that in each case the encounter began in this territory shows even more clearly that opposing forces frequently come into collision on the eastern border of Central Europe and that the Great Powers endeavour to take advantage of this opposition of forces for the more energetic promotion of their own ends. Such diplomatic and military intervention however is accompanied by very heavy political and moral responsibility. Efforts to maintain bad settlements or to effect inadmissible changes are vain sacrifices, the factors explaining these efforts have an adverse influence on the force and evaluation of their policy, and the pernicious effect of intervention based on false premises frequently reacts directly, and as frequently only after a period of years, on the nation which, with words or with force, has interfered in the destiny of other nations. At the time when they concern themselves with the lot of other nations or influence their decisions, a heavy responsibility rests upon nations and their leaders, while they frequently realize little of their responsibilities and possess often only in the most limited measure the most elementary prerequisites for acting in accordance with them.

For the formation of a correct point of view there is need of recognition in detail of figures and data, facts and persons, material conditions and psychological factors, events and