

THE NATIONS  
HISTORIES

# HUNGARY











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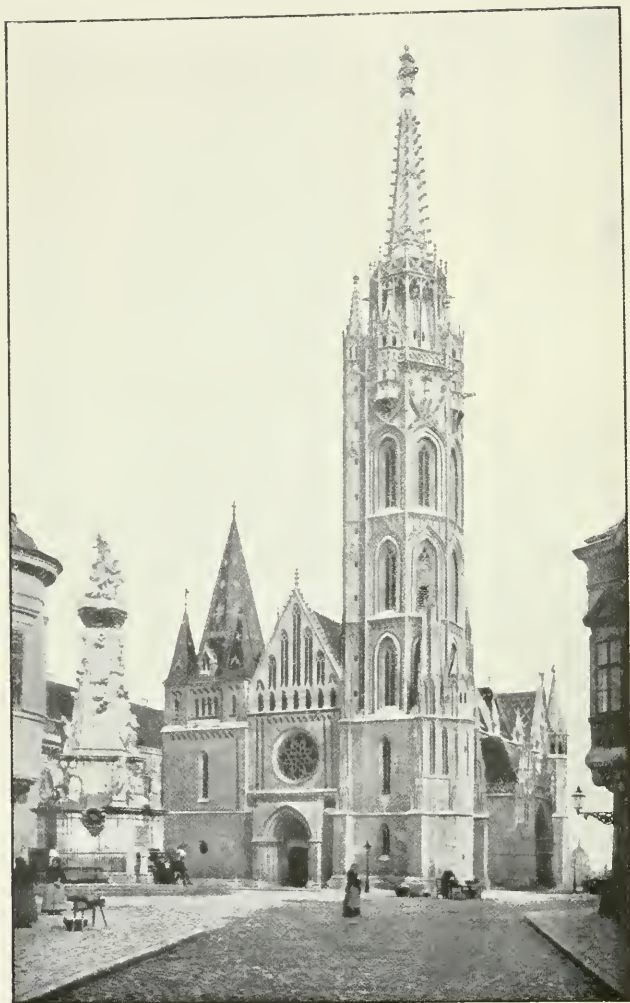
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St. Matthias Church, Budapest (13th century; restored 19th century)

THE NATIONS' HISTORIES

# HUNGARY

BY

ARTHUR B. YOLLAND

B.A. CANTAB., PHIL.D.

LATE SENIOR SCHOLAR OF SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BUDAPEST

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## PREFACE

“ Hazádnak rendületlenül  
Lêgy hive, o magyar ! ”<sup>1</sup>

It is a proud—and a pleasant—task to write the history of that race which has always fought for Western culture against the onslaughts of unenlightened and mediæval barbarism. From the days when *Vajk* (St Stephen I.) embraced Christianity, Hungary has been a bulwark of Christendom and all that it holds dear, the champion of the Cross against the Crescent, the upholder of the treasured traditions of loyalty and culture that she worships in common with Great Britain, the object of her unbounded admiration and genuine affection.

The Magyars have had a hard task in their endeavour to weld into one united nation the many and various peoples under their sway. Their neighbours have ambitions—fostered by the intrigues of unscrupulous agitators—which aim at a dismemberment of their country. It may be that the natural boundaries of that wonderful country—the Carpathians and the Danube—will cease to play the part assigned to them in Hungarian history ; but the memory of the deeds wrought of old by their ancestors, of their sacrifices in the cause of culture and of the faith they profess, and of their own consistent endeavours to give Hungary her due place in the modern system of national states, can

<sup>1</sup> Vörösmarty's “ *Szózat* ” (Appeal), 1-2 :

“ Loyal and true for aye remain,  
Magyar, to this thy home ! ”

(Loew, “ Magyar Poetry.”)

never die, and will always serve to remind them and the world of a mission unselfishly undertaken and nobly fulfilled.

The descendants of Árpád, the great chieftain who over a thousand years ago stood on the heights of Pannonhalma and surveyed the Promised Land stretching in an immense expanse before his eyes, have indeed proved loyal and true to the home they then found. Purchased with their blood, with their blood they have kept it—kept it for the sake of Europe and European culture: and it would be a sad day for Europe if their hold were to be relaxed. How they kept it, what sacrifices they made to establish their beloved Fatherland as a sure and impregnable outpost of Christian and Western culture on the threshold of the East, how nobly they have fulfilled the task assigned them, it will be the work of this history to show. And I doubt not but my readers will awaken to a consciousness of the mission which their geographical position assigned to the Magyars—a mission which they have fulfilled as well as human power can, and which posterity, unless oblivious of its duty to itself and the world, must continue to entrust them with. It is in the hope of being able to convince my readers of the truth of these assertions that I am now writing. Many authors have spoken of Hungary and the Hungarians—too often, unfortunately, with superficial knowledge or with an ulterior purpose, sometimes under the influence of first impressions or second-hand information. To my knowledge, the history of Hungary has never been told, in English, by any Englishman possessing the necessary qualifications—long residence in the country, an intimate acquaintance with the language (so necessary, if the history is to be accurate and scholarly), easy access to all the principal authorities, the personal friendship of all the leading writers of the day, and a familiarity with Hungarian literature (in this case peculiarly important) and with the Hungarian people. Eighteen years' residence in Hungary has given me all these



advantages : and I can only hope that I have put them to good use.

My best thanks are due to Mrs H. C. O'Neill for having kindly revised the MS., and, while bringing the matter within the limits prescribed, having recast much of the original, where such a process was necessary to avoid the omission of essential details.

Grateful thanks are also due to my colleagues, Professors Henry Marczali, David Angyal, and Alexander Domanovszky, for their valuable advice and help. I trust the results of my work will meet with their approval.

A special meed of thanks is due to Professor Marczali for kindly looking through the proofs.

A list of the principal authorities used by me in preparing this book will be found in the Bibliography in the Supplement.

The illustrations are from photographs by Erdélyi, Court Photographer, Budapest, and are reproduced by permission of the Royal Hungarian State Railways.

ARTHUR B. YOLLAND

HEATHERBANK  
CHISLEHURST



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# HUNGARY

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTORY

#### HUNGARY BEFORE THE COMING OF THE MAGYARS

No attempt can be made to describe in detail Hungary and its conditions in the centuries preceding the coming of the Magyars. Romantic legends of the primitive cave-dwellers of the *paleolithic age* fighting for their lives, in the caves of *Aggtelek*, *Baráthegey*, and *Abaliget*, against the attacks of mammoths, might be capped by stirring stories of those rude inhabitants of the *neolithic age* who lived on the Lowlands skirting the Danube and the Tisza, where ancient cemeteries of the neolithic age have been unearthed, and at *Czinkota*, *Tószeg*, and *Magyaród*, where has been discovered the richest collection of bone and horn implements in Europe. But to do so would be merely to reconstruct an imaginary history from the relics that have been discovered.

Hungary shares with Ireland the distinction of showing considerable traces of a *copper age*. Numerous hammers and hatchets wrought of this metal discovered in the *Mátra* district prove that the men of this age were skilled craftsmen.

The *bronze age* is represented by a still more numerous collection of implements, weapons, etc.—swords (generally with blades of fleur-de-lis shape), daggers, pickaxes, spurs,

chisels, knives, and sickles, etc.—discovered in various parts of Hungary, particularly at *Kis-Terenye*, in the county of Nográd. The people of this age must have been familiar already with the claims of a higher civilisation. Of the lake-dwellings characteristic of this age, strange to say, no traces have been discovered in Hungary.

The beginnings of the *iron age* in Hungary practically coincide in point of time with the first appearance of the *Celts* (c. 350 B.C.). We are told, moreover, that in the days of Philip of Macedonia, and of his son Alexander the Great, Transylvania (Dacia) was made the scene of their operations by Greek traders and adventurers, traces of whose settlement are still to be found there: from this period dates the gilded bronze statue representing Ares (=Alexander) discovered in the Vulkán Pass; and the bulk of the Macedonian gold coins of this age were made of the products of Transylvanian mines.

The principal Celtic tribes settling in Hungary at this time were the *Boii* (Fertő district) and the *Scordisci* (district between the Drave and Save). They had iron coins; gave some attention to agriculture and mining; lived in “towns” and left written records. The discoveries made while excavating Celtic graves show that these tribes possessed a high grade of culture. They trafficked with foreign countries and had a mint at Regöly (in the county of Tolna).

The Celts of South-Western Hungary, the Dacians of Transylvania, and the *metanastæ Jazyges* inhabiting the fertile plain between the Danube and the Tisza, were a constant menace to the Roman Empire. *Octavianus Augustus*, in 35 B.C., despatched his legions to occupy *Sirmium* (Mitrovicz) and *Siscia* (Siszek), thus securing the control of the region between the Save and the Drave.

The barbarians later rose in revolt and formed an alliance against Rome under the leadership of *Bato*. It was not until 8 A.D. that *Tiberius* succeeded in finally crushing the restless



inhabitants of the province which, sixty-three years later, received the name of *Pannonia*.

Traces of the Roman occupation are to be found, not only in Aquincum, where there is a most interesting museum, but in the numerous fortifications discovered in various parts of Hungary. We know that the Romans drained Lake Balaton, and endeavoured to give the new province all the characteristic features of the countries permanently occupied by their legions. Traces of cotton mills and workshops of goldsmiths and silversmiths have been discovered, as well as those of a shield factory (Aquincum) and a mint (Siscia). Other signs of Roman culture have been discovered at Aquincum, and in the baths scattered over the country, at Aquincum, Igmánd, Balaton, etc., which must have been the favourite resorts of the *élite* of the Roman world. There are catacombs, too; and the subterranean chapel at Pécs (Sopianæ) is a further witness to the presence of Christianity among the inhabitants of Roman Pannonia.

The task that faced the Romans in the eastern province of Hungary (Transylvania) was a much more difficult one. In 65 A.D. the Dacian king, *Decebalus*, succeeded in uniting the tribes of his country into one nation. In a few short years they had converted the province of Mœsia into a vast desert, pillaging, ravaging, and massacring wherever they went. Domitian proved powerless to stem the tide of the barbarian inroads; and it was left to Trajan to secure the eastern frontiers of the Empire. From this time dates the wonderful road cut out of (or rather into) the rocky shore of the Danube on the Servian side (just opposite the famous Széchenyi road built on the Hungarian side at the instigation of the "greatest Magyar"), as well as the bridge across the Danube, the broken pillars of which may still be seen just below the Roumanian town of Turn Severin. At first Trajan contented himself with Decebalus's acknowledgment of his suzerainty; but in

his second campaign (105–107 A.D.) he defeated the Dacians decisively and brought them to submission. The events of this campaign (including the suicide of the heroic Dacian king) will be found commemorated on the Column of Trajan.

*Dacia* became a Roman province. Colonists were invited from all parts of the Empire to settle in the fertile, well-watered valleys and on the wooded slopes of the Transylvanian Alps (Alpes Bastarnicæ). Sarmizegetusa (Várhely), the former barbarian capital, became Ulpia Trajana: other flourishing settlements were Apulum (Gyulafehérvár), Napoca (Kolozsvár), Porolissum (Mojgrád), and Potaissa (Torda). Numerous watering-places offered rest and refreshment to the *élite* during the tropical heat of the summer months.

The westward migration of the peoples in the third and fourth centuries completely destroyed Roman culture in the provinces of Dacia and Pannonia, which formed the principal highway of those people's wanderings.

The pressure of the Western Goths made itself felt first in Dacia in 256 A.D.; while twenty years later, the last Roman soldiers left the province, by command of the Emperor Aurelian, and settled in Mœsia (*Dacia ripensis*). Pannonia fell into the hands of the barbarians during the reign of Valentinianus II. (about the last quarter of the fourth century), although it did not fall so easy a prey to the invaders as Dacia.

The next chapter in the history of Hungary is one of the most romantic, while at the same time peculiarly mysterious.

About the same time as the occupation of Pannonia by the barbarians (375 A.D.), a horde of savage horsemen was sweeping westwards from the banks of the Caspian Sea. Who the Huns were we do not know: but, of all the theories advanced with regard to their origin, the most pleasing is that represented by the so-called *Székely Chronicle* (notwithstanding its spurious character, it being, of course, a forgery of the eighteenth century), and by the school of Vámbéry, Pauler,

and other scholars, which would see in the Huns distant relatives of the Magyars, the vanguard of the race which was destined to make Hungary its permanent home.

With their standards bearing the image of a "Turul" (eagle) at their head, these wild warriors galloped to battle, enveloping their foes in a cloud of arrows that darkened the sun in his course, and then falling upon them in their confusion and annihilating them with their swords. No quarter was given; these savage fighters had come to conquer and to destroy all traces of the civilisation which stemmed the tide of their advance.

The glories of the Hun nation began with the accession to the throne of *Attila* (433), the "Scourge of God." The hero of legends and traditions without number, and of a German epos, the great King, whose power and military skill was a lasting menace to both the Eastern and the Western Empires, has been variously described and his character defined by old-world historians—Ammianus Marcellinus, Jordanes, and Priscus Rhetor. Probably the truth lies between the theory that he was a "monster" and the more favourable description, "a clever, cunning, hospitable host." Implacably harsh to his enemies, massacring them right and left, impatient of any opposition to his arbitrary will, he seems to have had rough notions of justice and to have attempted in many cases to make the punishment meted out to offenders the means of their regeneration. Amid all the pomp of the feasts provided for his courtiers and the numerous embassies which visited his court, he was simply dressed, sat on a throne of wood, ate from wooden platters, drank from a wooden cup, eschewed all forms of ornament, and indulged in no luxuries.

Such was the man who now became ruler of Hungary and whose formidable power was a bugbear to the whole world.

Attila's simple palace was built of wood, decorated with ornamental carvings. It was situated on a hill on the banks

of the Tisza, somewhere near where the town of Szeged (or Hódmező-Vásárhely ?) stands to-day. Around it, at varying distances, in the fertile district between the Tisza and the Danube, were grouped the tent-settlements of the Huns, Attila's immediate followers and the backbone of his army. They were not fond of agriculture ; their chief occupation, when not engaged in warfare, was the breeding of horses and cattle. They never reconciled themselves to life in houses or towns. Marauding expeditions, too, were the order of the day with them—expeditions undertaken generally to provide the means of subsistence.

Attila's endeavours to create a state ended—as was inevitable under such circumstances—in failure : but he succeeded in establishing a might second to none in the age in which he lived. His liberal tolerance towards his subjects of manifold races and tongues is historical. He was as fond of, and as liberal a patron of, music as the Magyars of to-day ; he loved to hear his Court minstrels sing of the glorious deeds of his ancestors, and would listen with the avidity of unrestrained pleasure to the love-songs of his troubadours. He would seem, in a crude sort of way, to have encouraged art and industry ; and his Court was a simple but sincere forerunner of those of Louis the Great and Matthias the Just.

The romantic story of the attempt of this wonderful barbarian to subdue Europe belongs to European rather than Hungarian history. Rome bowed to his sway and gave him tribute and a princess to wife, but he was defeated at length at Chalons. He died in 453, and with his death, his kingdom, divided among his sons, fell to pieces and was overrun by the Germanic peoples.

His sons were unable to wield the sceptre he had bequeathed them ; Dacia fell into the hands of the *Gepidæ*, Pannonia and Mœsia into those of the *Ostrogoths*, who were replaced by the *Gepidæ* in 526, when Theodoric the Great led his

hosts to Italy. Forty years later the power of the Gepidæ was shattered by the allied forces of the *Avars*, coming up the valley of the Danube from the south-east, and of the *Longobards*, who poured into Hungary from the north-west, from Bohemia. The victorious allies divided the conquered territory. The Avars settled east of the Danube, the Longobards occupied the districts west of the river (Pannonia).

The latter need not detain us long ; for in 568 they withdrew southwards into Italy, under Alboin, and left their allies, the *Avars*, to occupy practically the whole of modern Hungary. Who the Avars were, no one knows for certain. Probably a branch of the Turco-Tartar family, they seem to have intermarried with the Huns and the Magyars (we are told that, ethnographically, they certainly resembled the Huns). It was during the reign of Justinian that they swarmed westwards, under the leadership of their Khagan, *Baján*, occupying first the fertile district between the Tisza and the Danube, and then, after the withdrawal of the Longobards, the whole of the territory formerly ruled over by Attila. Like the "Scourge of God," Baján established his headquarters on the banks of the Tisza ; and it was there that he received the Emperor's ambassador and undertook to guard the frontiers of the Empire. He defeated the Gepidæ, and conquered Dacia ; overthrew and reduced to subjection the various Slav peoples that migrated to Hungary from the east and settled in the southern districts ; and then turned westward to fight the Franks. The Avars seem to have loved pomp and splendour more than territorial conquest. In their fortified "rings" they divided the spoils of their marauding expeditions, and gave themselves over to luxury and riot, Baján himself setting a fatal example.

In 570 the Avars were in receipt of a yearly tribute from the Emperor at Constantinople. Baján let loose his Slav subjects on the frontiers of the Empire, to devastate and

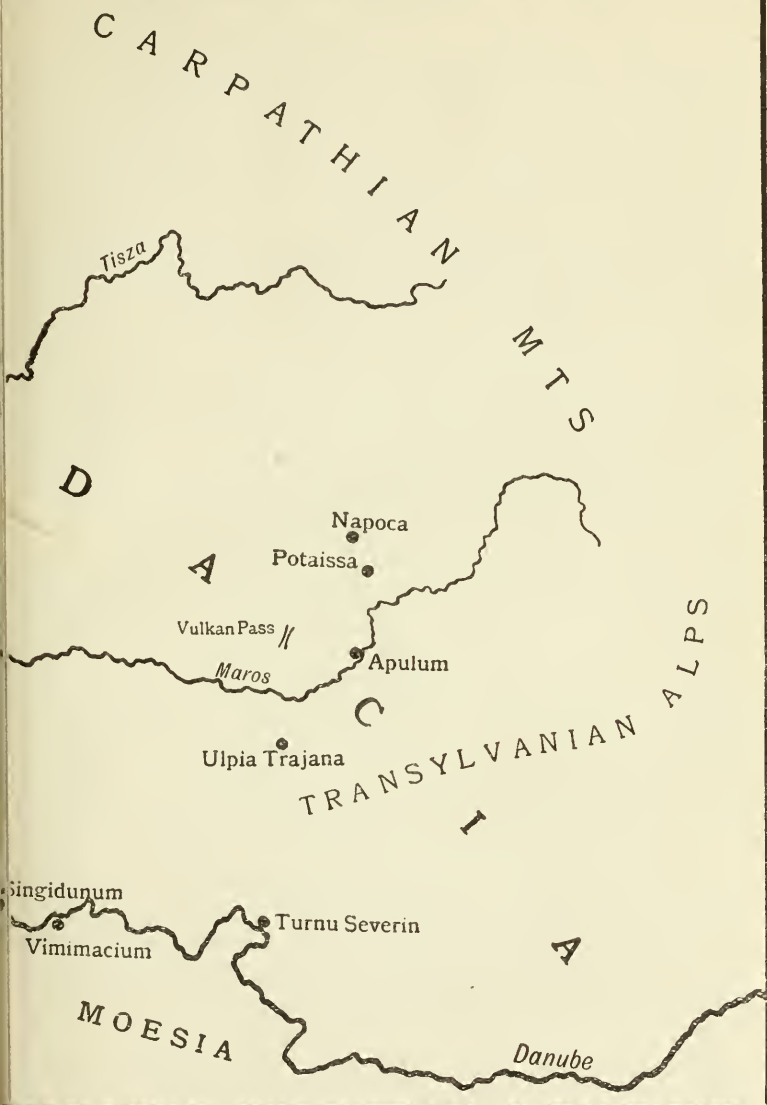
BOHEMIA

MORAVIA



HUNGARY

In Roman Times





carry havoc and misery wherever they went ; he captured Singidunum (Belgrade) and Viminatium (Kostolatz) ; he brought destruction wherever he went. But in 587 he suffered a serious reverse before the walls of Adrianople, and was obliged to relinquish his conquests and beg for peace. In 592 the Emperor Mauritius was able to take the offensive ; his great general, Priscus, had returned from Persia. Ten years of fierce fighting followed, but Baján was at last overcome. With his death in 602 the sun of Avar glory had set for ever.

The Avar Empire broke up exactly as that of Attila had done. The Slavs, who had been the slaves and subjects of Baján, revolted, and withdrew southwards. Who Baján's successor was we know not ; nor does it matter. He seems to have attempted to seize Constantinople, where the weak and irresolute Heraclius was reigning : but he contented himself with devastating Thrace and levying a tribute on the Empire. A later attempt on the Capital resulted in much wanton bloodshed and a second fiasco. Heraclius made an alliance with the king of Moravian Bohemia. The prince of the Bulgarians inhabiting the region to the east of Avaria, insulted by the Avar Khagan, thirsted for vengeance. Heraclius settled Chorvats (Croatians) from the shores of the Oder and the Vistula on the Dalmatian coast. To complete his " ring of the peoples," his bulwark of defence against Avar inroads, the Emperor encouraged the settlement of Slavs in the territory now called Servia. " The beasts of prey were not killed ; they were merely confined in a cage from which there was no exit." What a cunning policy had begun was completed by degeneration. The Avars gave themselves over, heart and soul, to a life of luxury and debauch.

From the West came a Christian missionary, Rupert, Bishop of Worms. He was allowed to go about in peace ;



but his mission failed to achieve its purpose. What gentle measures could not accomplish had to be left to the sword. At the close of the eighth century Charles the Great delivered the tottering Avar empire its death-blow. In a campaign lasting eight years (791-799), the mighty king of the Franks destroyed their "ring" fortifications, carried off the bulk of their treasures, and forced the remnants of the now effeminate people to embrace Christianity and pay tribute to their conquerors. Tradition has it that the ancient church of *Ocsa* (now Protestant) was one of the seven originally built by Charles.

The Hungarian dominions of the Franks extended to Belgrade; their eastern frontier was the Danube, their northern frontier the valley of the Vág. All that remained to the Avars, whose Khagan, *Tudun*, had become the vassal of the Frankish king, was the district between the Tisza and the Danube. Gradually this wild people lost all its racial peculiarities and became absorbed. All traces of the Avars disappear in the second quarter of the ninth century. Heraclius's "ring" had indeed done its work.

For nearly a century before the coming of the Magyars Hungary was under the suzerainty of the Franks. "Divide et impera" seems to have been their motto: so when, about 895 A.D., the first patrols of the Magyar host appeared on the horizon, the land they had come to conquer was a loosely welded conglomeration of heterogeneous units.

And they were destined to do what none of the great conquering peoples before them had succeeded in accomplishing. The heavy hand of an Attila or a Baján was to be replaced by the wisdom of statecraft, the spell of a momentary invincibility by the lasting power of a liberal statesmanship.

## CHAPTER II

### THE COMING OF THE MAGYARS

THE Magyars, according to the finding of modern scholars, belong to the Finno-Ugrian branch of the Ural-Altaic peoples. This question has already been decided by philologists, for unfortunately we have no data of an anthropological or racial character enabling us to approach the question from these points of view. The racial characteristics and exterior of the Hungarians of to-day would justify us in including them among the Indo-Germanic peoples. The names for many common things are the same, philologically, as those we find in Finnish and other Finno-Ugrian languages. Natural phenomena, the elements, many common or uncommon (but indispensable) natural products, etc., have names in Finnish corresponding to those existing in Magyar. Proofs of this kind might be multiplied, but would be of little use to English readers. What is important is, that we now know pretty certainly *who* the Magyars were, though the presence of Turco-Tartar elements cannot be denied.

Far more difficult to answer are the questions: Whence did the Magyars come? What drove them to settle in Hungary?

Tradition is rife as to the spot whence "the people of Árpád" started out on their journey to Europe. In the Caucasus, we are told, on the banks of the Kama stand the ruins of a town still called Madzsar. Round this town tradition has weaved the story of a great people who once dwelt

there civilised and urbane, receiving emperors as their guests. They were of fine and noble manners and life and believers in one God. Mysteriously enough they went forth from the city, and no man has since dwelt within it, though its walls still stand and great part of the town itself, though overgrown with moss and grass. All that is told of its people is that they moved away to the east. Many travellers have endeavoured to find the original home of the Magyars on the slopes of the Ural range ; but none has found it yet.

And yet—the path of their wanderings from the valleys of the Kama and the Upper Volga, of the Petchora and the Ural, through Baskiria (or Greater Hungary), the district between the Volga and the Ural to the north of the Caspian Sea, to their second resting-place in *Lebedia* (830–889), can be traced pretty distinctly on the map. They had not yet taken to agriculture, and lived in tents. Consequently, when, in the last year of the ninth decade of the ninth century, the warlike Petchenegs attacked them as they had done in Baskiria, they struck their tents once more and wandered further westwards, to the district called Etelköz, situated between the Dnieper and the Szereth, and watered by the Bug, the Dniester, and the Pruth. Here they seem to have remained until the year 895, when they turned towards the Promised Land.

Of these two stages in their wanderings westwards we have definite historical records. *Leo Grammaticus* informs us that, in 836, the Bulgarians appealed to the Magyars for aid against their Greek “prisoners,” who were endeavouring to escape. In 860, *St Cyril*, the Slav apostle, seems to have met—and to have been chivalrously treated by—some Magyars on his way to the Khagan of the Khazars. The Arabian writer *Ibn Rosteh* tells us that the “Mazsgars” were “Turks,” lived in tents on the shores of the Black Sea, and moved about in all directions to find

suitable pasture for their cattle. They had about 20,000 mounted warriors, under the leadership of a certain "Kende." They had a large tract of wheat-producing ground. They worshipped idols. They ruled over their Slav neighbours, from whom they exacted tribute and whom they sold to Greek slave-merchants at Kark (Kherson).

It was while in *Etelköz*—so a legend tells us—that the Magyar chieftains drew up the Blood Compact which established the system of government and the laws of property. This compact contained the following clauses:—

1. The prince of the nation was to be chosen from the house (clan) of *Álmos*, or rather *Árpád*.

2. Any land conquered was to be divided equally between them all.

3. The chieftains (who had elected their prince of *their own free will*) and their successors were to take part always in the government of the country.

4. Anyone who proved disloyal to the prince or endeavoured to create discord in the nation was to have his blood shed as theirs had been in making the compact.

5. An eternal curse should rest on any one of the successors of *Árpád* or the chieftains who should break the oath.

In this remarkable compact are the germs of a complete system of government by a limited monarchy, and this three hundred years before the signing of the Great Charter.

Why did the Magyars come to Hungary?

Here, too, we find numerous romantic traditions which endeavour to give an answer to this question. There is the legend of Hunor and Magyar, the two sons of Nimrod and Emese, who dreamed that she was to bring forth fire, which should devastate the world. There is the oft-recurring tradition of the "inheritance of Attila," which the Magyars set out to recover. Legend is always invented to attempt to explain history: but the historian is bound to be cautious

in the use he makes of it. Particularly cautious must the historian be in dealing with the primitive Magyars. A people of a remarkably poetical disposition—every peasant is a poet as he speaks to you in metaphor and simile. And yet—without dismissing as baseless the tradition of the “inheritance of Attila”—the Magyars must have been driven westwards by something more material than a mere hereditary claim to a land which they had never seen. Most probably it was pressure from without—the menace of a warlike people such as the Petchenegs, who gave them no rest either in Baskiria or Lebedia.

However that may be, here they were, on the threshold of Western culture, a nation dreaded and respected, as we shall see, by their neighbours. They had brought with them their peculiar tactics, which won the admiration of the Emperor Leo, and their pagan worship.

Riding horses of remarkable speed, using their arrows with extraordinary effect as they galloped to the attack, armed with curved, one-edged swords or with lances, they advanced rapidly in loose (concave) formation, indulged in feigned retreats whereby they entrapped their enemies, and, if successful, pursued the flying foe relentlessly. Their various divisions were separated by gaps behind which were stationed the reserves; behind the latter again the commissariat and the entrenched and fortified camp, with the women and children. Their method of warfare enabled them to attack (they were not defensive fighters) on a very extended front and to throw the closely-formed masses of the European armies they met into confusion. It was a revelation to European tacticians.

We may guess that the primitive Magyars worshipped the forces of Nature (there are traces of this worship in the Magyar tongue). Certain traditional customs of the people well known to history seem to confirm this supposition. In

time the deities—worshipped as “idols”—were reduced in number: and one or other assumed a predominant importance, notably “Terem” (the Creator) and “Eleve” (the ancient god). Finally the Magyars became monotheists, the name of their god (*Tsten*) being Persian in origin. They believed in good and evil spirits, in fairies and elves.

They offered sacrifices to their god in the form of white horses slain by their priests, who read the future in their entrails. The word “áldomás”—now used to denote a drinking-bout—originally meant “sacrifice,” and referred to the custom whereby the priests accompanied the sacrifice by pouring their blood into a common bowl, the “loving cup” of later times.

We are told of “psalms”—national songs—sung by Scythian virgins, of lofty “hills of fire” that were never allowed to be extinguished. The graves of the dead were covered with square slabs of stone; and with the corpses were buried their horses, dogs, spurs, coins, and jewellery. This is proved by the graves—dating from heathen times—unearthed at Vereb, Pilin, Galgócz, Eger, etc.

Immorality in sexual intercourse seems to have been unknown among the primitive Magyars, who were for the most part monogamists and seem to have treated their wives—who styled their husbands their “masters”—with due respect.

The primitive Magyars appear to have possessed a fairly high standard of culture. Their principal occupations in Etelköz seem to have been agriculture, fishing, and hunting. They used “runes” of a peculiar kind, which were known to the Székelys as late as the thirteenth century. And their songs and sagas have been handed down to us by oral tradition.

Such were the Magyars who, in the last decade of the ninth century, made their prowess in the field a nightmare to their





Photo. by W. B. Forster Bovill, Esq., London.

Aquincum. Roman remains near Budapest



Pécs Cathedral

Magyar-Byzantine style; crypt dates from 12th century (rebuilt 19th century);  
old Christian "cubiculum" dating from 4th century

*Digitized by Microsoft®*





neighbours, and finally established themselves in the very heart of Christendom and Western civilisation.

In 892 the Germans appealed to the Magyars for assistance against the Moravian Slavs. In 895 they were engaged in fighting for the Emperor Leo VI. against the Bulgarian King Simeon. This latter expedition cost the people of Árpád dear; for the Bulgarians vowed vengeance: and, while the army was away, they formed an alliance with the Petchenegs and attacked the home of the Magyars in Etelköz, putting to the sword old men, women, and children. Returning to find only a heap of smoking ruins, the Magyar army once more moved westwards, passing through Galicia, and entered Hungary by way of the Pass of Vereczke. Tradition has it that, after crossing the Carpathians, the Magyars rested on the spot where stands the town of Munkács. This was in 895 or early in 896 A.D.

The Slav inhabitants ruled over by the successors of Svatopluk, the prince who in 892 had felt the power of Árpád's people, submitted at once. They knew Árpád had come to claim his inheritance, and they feared his invincible might. The demand for the traditional gift of water, soil, and grass was complied with eagerly.

At his seat at Ungvár—so runs the tradition—Árpád received the embassy sent by the Székelys: “thus, after centuries of separation, the two kindred peoples were united again.” But another embassy, of a less peaceful character, was on its way to the Magyar headquarters. *Zalán*, the Bulgarian prince who ruled over “the inheritance of Attila”—the district between the Danube and the Tisza—with his headquarters at Alpár, sent to warn Árpád not to presume to cross the river Bodrog; if he did, he would find himself attacked by the whole force of the Bulgarians and the Greeks! Árpád was not to be intimidated: and his answer was characteristic of that spirit of broad tolerance and

conciliation which enabled him to build up a strong State amidst difficulties that seemed almost insuperable, and which has always distinguished the efforts of the ruling Magyars to weld the heterogeneous elements under their sway into one united nation.

Árpád deputed two chieftains—Ond and Ketel—accompanied by a brilliant suite, to convey his respects to Zalán, to offer him 12 white horses of superb breed, 12 camels, 12 hides, and 12 robes of magnificent texture for his consort. “I could claim the land he occupies,” was his message, “as the inheritance bequeathed us by our ancestor, Attila; but—not as afraid of his threats, merely out of feelings of friendship—I would ask only for the strip of land stretching to the river Sajó, for a pitcher of water from the Danube, and a bundle of grass from the fields of Alpár.” The request was granted: for Zalán was not ready yet for a decisive encounter.

Then Árpád sent other chieftains—Tas, Szaboles, Töhötöm—to subdue *Marót*, the Khazar prince ruling over the district between the Tisza and Transylvania who had refused to come to a friendly understanding. Töhötöm followed up the victories over Marót by an incursion into Transylvania, then ruled over by the Wallachian prince *Gyalu* (or *Gyeló*), who was killed. His subjects—Wallachians and Slavs alike—submitted and swore fealty to the Magyars at a place still called Esküllö. That meant the conquest of Transylvania and practically the whole country bordered to the west and north by the Tisza, to the south by the Maros, and to the east by the Transylvanian Alps.

Zalán became alarmed, as he saw the continual expansion of the power of the new-comers. He appealed to the Greeks and to his Bulgarian neighbours, and demanded that Árpád should leave the region watered by the Tisza. The Magyar prince replied that he had bought the soil and the Danube at a price (*viz.*, the horses and other presents), although they

were his by right of inheritance. So he refused to move, and made his preparations for war. The decisive battle—turned into a complete rout of Zalán's hosts—was fought on the fields of Alpár, on the right bank of the Tisza. Zalán fled to Bulgaria beyond the Danube: and his armies were driven into the river.

All the lesser princes submitted to Árpád at once. But Pannonia was still unconquered. Turning west, Árpád established his headquarters on the Isle of Csepel (just below Budapest). He found the traces of the old Roman colony of Aquincum, and—tradition tells us—of the whilom capital of his ancestor, Attila.

Pannonia was then mainly under Frankish rule. Its definitive conquest by the Magyars (who did *not* destroy the traces of Roman culture so carefully preserved by the Franks) must have been completed by the year 900 A.D. It was then that the national assembly—the Witenagemot of the ancient Magyars—was summoned to Pusztaszer, to complete the work of distributing the conquered lands and to lay the foundations of that constitutional government which has successfully withstood the shocks of ten centuries. Each of the eight "clans" or tribes was assigned its place of settlement; the conquered peoples became the serfs of the victorious settlers; in each district the chieftain became the principal judge and the hereditary leader of his people in war: but all cases of dispute between clans were referred to the prince, who, in times of national danger, assumed the supreme command. The national assembly of Pusztaszer (commemorated by a monument erected in 1896) confirmed and ratified the terms of the Blood Compact of Etelköz, and furnished Árpád with the means requisite to the establishment of the firmly-welded State which he handed down to posterity. The central authority, with its convergent ramifications, was not yet clearly defined; but it was there.

It seems extraordinary that the Magyars should not at this period have become Slavised (their language shows considerable traces of the influence of the Christian Slavs whom they conquered), as did the Bulgarians in Moesia and the Normans in Russia. Probably the Magyars, numerically superior, possessed far more vitality than their Slav neighbours, were far more united as a people, and, while endowed with a peculiar aptitude for the establishment of a State, were considerably more susceptible to the advantages of Western culture.

The work of conquest completed, Árpád and his followers went up to the summit of St Martin's Hill and viewed the country. The sight was an inspiring one: to after ages the splendid Benedictine monastery of *Pannonhalma* preserves the tradition of the founder of the Magyar nation contemplating the home he had given his people and looking forward with prophetic eyes to their noble efforts to preserve their inheritance and make it the vanguard of Western culture on the threshold of the East.

Árpád died in 907. It was the year in which the Magyars, at *Bánhida*, routed the Bavarian hosts of Liutpold, who had invaded the country to avenge the inroads of 904. The delight caused by the brilliant triumph of their army was soon overshadowed by grief at the loss of the wise and statesmanlike prince whom they justly regarded as the "father of their country." He was buried at the source of a stream that flowed to the "capital of Attila" (Ó-Buda). Posterity erected a noble church on the sacred spot: but the Turks destroyed every trace of the edifice; the stream has dried up; and none knows the grave of Árpád.

His youngest son, Zsolt (907-944) succeeded. The national assembly appointed regents to govern till the child prince came of age. The Hungarians began that series of marauding expeditions into neighbouring countries which is indelibly connected with the legendary exploits of *Bulcsú*, *Lehel*, and

*Botond*, and which, if not stopped in time, must have proved fatal to their existence as an independent nation. They were still of a restless, roving disposition, and could not be brought to reconcile themselves to a settled state of life. Agriculture was left to the serfs; their passion for the chase and fishing was a fresh incentive to wander farther afield in search of fresh hunting-grounds and rivers; and even cattle-breeding might be practised by a nomad people. Besides, the existing generation had been brought up to regard fighting as their trade: and the memory of *Bánhida* was still fresh. So the call to arms of *Bulcsú*—"Bloody" *Bulcsú*, as he was styled—was eagerly responded to. Away they rode, westwards to Germany, plundering the fertile regions of Saxony and Thuringia, crossing the Rhine into France, pushing forwards as far as Bremen, carrying the terror of their name wherever they went. They penetrated—scattered bands of them—into Spain. They decimated the army of King *Berengar* on the banks of the *Brenta*. They levied a war toll on the inhabitants of *Pavia*, and made even *Rome* tremble at their approach. The same year (924 A.D.), however, the first serious check to their spirit of adventure was given by *Henry* of Saxony, who captured one of their chieftains, and forced them, in lieu of ransom, to agree to a truce for nine years. To the great astonishment of the Magyars *Henry* actually agreed to continue the payment of his annual tribute.

The Saxons employed the years of truce to build fortifications and organise an army of horsemen that should be able to meet the Hungarians on their own terms. But the Magyars, though religiously observing the terms of the compact, could not check their love of roving; they wandered through Southern Germany and France. The story of their visit to the monastery of *St Gallen am Bodensee*—told us by *Ekkehard*—the first mention on record of Hungarian poetry, shows

us how unfounded were the fables of the early chroniclers, the tales of the Magyars' barbarity and cruelty.

The monks of St Gallen, not trusting in the strength of the monastery walls, fled to Freiburg, leaving only the half-witted Heribald to follow if he could. The record shows the Hungarians, greedy but not ferocious, joining in hearty horse-play with the half-witted monk, who quite regretted parting with them when they rode away.

Under the leadership of Botond, the Hungarians—so tradition tells us—penetrated as far as Constantinople, meeting with no opposition on the way. The Emperor refused the demand for tribute: so, on his way back to Hungary, Botond took by force what he could not obtain by milder measures.

The year 933 marks a fresh stage in the disillusionment of the Magyars. The period of truce was over; and Zsolt's demands for tribute were met, on the part of Henry (the Fowler), by a haughty refusal. At *Riade* (Rietheburg), near Merseburg, the Magyar invaders were utterly routed; their commissariat was taken from them, and they fled in disorder. Their lust for adventure, however, was not yet cured. They continued their expeditions to Spain and Italy, actually appearing on one occasion before Venice.

The reign of Vål or Vaisz (944-947) was uneventful. He was a weak prince, with less individuality even than Zsolt, but Taksony (947-972)—apparently Zsolt's second son—was of an entirely different character. The final blow to the Magyars' lust of adventure—a blow that cured them effectually and led them to think more seriously of consolidating their own polity—was delivered during his reign. In 955 a Hungarian army was despatched to conquer Germany. While engaged in the siege of Augsburg (a branch of military art of which they understood but little), the Magyars were attacked in the rear by King Otto the Great. In the battle of *Lechfeld*, on the banks of the Lech, they were utterly routed;



and their leaders, Lehel and Bulcsú, were taken prisoners. Round the death of Lehel there grew up the romantic tradition of his last wish being fulfilled by his being allowed to play on his ivory horn, and as the listeners stood entranced he dashed out the brains of Conrad, the traitorous German who had invited him to Germany. The lesson of this defeat was not soon forgotten. It was brought home to the Magyars, finally and decisively, by their ill-success in Italy and their defeat at Arcadiopolis, in 970, by the forces of the Byzantine Empire. Botond became a hostage at the Court of Constantinople; and the sojourn of his companion, Gyula, "waywode" of Transylvania, under the shadow of the Eastern Church, was, as we shall see, fraught with results of the most far-reaching importance for the future development of Hungary.

The older, warlike generation was passing away; the younger generation preferred the peaceful pursuits of a settled life to the adventures and precarious pleasure of marauding excursions, which threatened to exasperate their neighbours and to brutalise manners at home. The reverses they had sustained weakened their faith in their pagan gods; and the growing power of that Christianity by which they were encircled was beginning to open their eyes to the necessity of peace with those nations who had already embraced its tenets.

It was the instinct of self-preservation that made the Hungarians desist from their systematic raids into neighbouring countries. But the other forces referred to above came into play with the accession of Géza (972-997), the son of Taksony. A man of remarkable energy, stern and unbending in his actions, the new prince set himself at once to consolidate both the domestic conditions and the international relations of his country.

An edict was issued forbidding Hungarians to wander beyond the frontiers of their own country. Local interests began to increase in importance, as the various sections of the

people settled down to peaceful pursuits in different districts. The unity of the nation must have suffered disastrously in consequence without the development of a central authority. It is the undying merit of Géza that he recognised this fact and endeavoured to make the prince the personification of national unity, the representative of common interests. To this end he found it necessary to break the power of individual chieftains, to subject them to his control, and to neutralise the influence of the national assembly by the establishment of the principles of monarchy. From being merely the chosen leader and executive forum of the people, through the measures initiated by Géza the prince became to all intents and purposes as absolute as Charlemagne. Géza strove to reduce the elective character of the princely office (restricted as that character was by the terms of the Blood Compact) to a mere formality, by impressing upon his people the necessity of training the future prince for the work of his office and by establishing a precedent for posterity to follow. The national Council was to be confronted with a *fait accompli*.

In his work of organisation and reform Géza found a valuable helpmate in his first wife, *Sarolta* (Charlotte), a daughter of the Transylvanian "waywode" Gyula, who had been converted to Christianity during the sojourn with her father at Constantinople. Not content with urging her husband to shatter the power of the chieftains and magnates, and to reduce them to the condition of vassals, this woman of energetic and imperious character had no difficulty in obtaining permission for the introduction into Hungary of the Christian faith. In fact, the adoption of Christianity was part of Géza's scheme for conciliating his western neighbours. The Roman Emperor Otto, delighted at the chance of establishing peaceful relations with a people whom he had every reason to fear, and of winning fame as the instrument of converting the pagan Hungarians to the Christian faith, sent Bruno, Bishop of



Verdun, to inaugurate the work. Géza in return despatched a brilliant embassy to the German Court (973). A treaty of peace between the two countries was ratified ; and Pilgrim, Bishop of Passau, sent Wolfgang with a host of missionaries. But the worthy bishop had political ends in view : he wished to bring Hungary, by means of religious propaganda, under the suzerainty of the Emperor. The discontent fostered by the priests of their ancient faith, who saw the power they had possessed slipping from their grasp, drove the majority of the Magyars to offer a sullen resistance—at times resulting in open rebellion—to the efforts of the foreign missionaries ; to the people at large, the severity of this new religion, and the restrictions it imposed, failed to appeal : Géza was compelled to resort to force, but, conscious as he was of Pilgrim's machinations, was fain to entrust the work of conversion to one whose good faith was beyond question. So he invited St Adalbert, Bishop of Prague. The monks whom the saintly prelate brought with him led the way in civilisation, and made the people realise the value of that culture which Christianity brought in its train. Except in certain districts, where the chieftains persisted in an obstinate attachment to the ancestral worship of that god of vengeance who seemed the living symbol of their warlike propensities, the work of the missionaries—Suabians, Slavs, Italians—was crowned with a success that promised to be lasting in its effects. In 985 Géza and his son Stephen were baptised. The prince did not, indeed, renounce his ancestral faith, declaring that he was “ powerful enough to be able to worship more than one god ” : but the baptism of his son was, as it were, the symbol of his wish that his people should become incorporated in the vast family of the Christian nations of the West.

Stephen was betrothed to Gizella, daughter to Duke Henry of Bavaria ; with her came numerous Bavarian nobles, who, while adding to the splendour and dignity of the Hungarian

Court, received estates and offices, and thus contributed in no small degree to the discontent growing among the native nobility as a result of the forced conversion to a faith for which so many of them had no liking.

By a series of marriage alliances Géza endeavoured to establish family ties which should secure the position of Hungary as a Christian State.

The foreign knights, with their armed retinues, were, of course, a valuable aid to the prince in his efforts to subdue the haughty chieftains: but the scarcely-veiled contempt of these foreign intruders for the semi-barbarism of their rough-hewn compatriots added more fuel to the fire of the dissatisfaction that was the result of the change of conditions.

Géza died in 997. He had succeeded in establishing monarchical principles: but the inheritance he bequeathed his son was one of almost universal mistrust for a dynasty which relied principally upon foreign support. The free Magyars, moreover, resented the community of faith with their Christian retainers and serfs; and they feared that their country might become the vassal of a foreign power.

A firm hand was required to meet and overcome the dangers latent in this discontent: luckily for Hungary, Stephen was as strong and as energetic as his father; and those who rebelled against his authority or defied his commands were to learn that the principles introduced by Géza could not be challenged with impunity.

## CHAPTER III

### SAINT STEPHEN

THE new King was destined to be one of the heroes of his nation. Stephen reigned altogether forty-two years—four years (997–1000) as prince and thirty-eight years (1000–38) as “apostolic” king. He was determined to continue the work of his father in consolidating the foundations of the Hungarian monarchy: but his zeal for the cause of Christianity was not based on merely political motives.

Scarcely had Géza closed his eyes when the discontented section of the population, incited by the dethroned priests of Hadúr, and not realising the strength of the new monarch, a youth of eighteen or twenty years, rose in revolt. Practically the whole of the inhabitants of the trans-Danubian region (Pannonia) rallied to the standard of *Koppány*, the mighty chieftain of Somogy, who resented Stephen’s declaration that he would do all in his power to further the protection and spread of the Catholic faith of the apostles, and announced that he would drive out all the foreign nobles and priests, depose Stephen, and restore the ancestral faith. The insurgents had reckoned without their host. The young prince was not in the least alarmed. Gathering round him the retinues of his wife’s followers, reinforced by the levies of those Hungarian freemen who had not forgotten their oaths of fealty or who had been won over to the cause of Christianity and the dynasty by the wise policy of Géza, Stephen met the rebel army near Veszprém. The loyal forces went into

battle led by the banners of St Martin and St George, singing psalms and praying for aid to the God who had helped David and Samson against the Philistines. Fighting against enormous odds, they shattered the rebel hosts; Koppány himself fell; and the first of those unfortunate feuds that did so much to weaken the Hungarians' power of resistance to foes from without, ended in a general recognition of the prince's policy and of the principles which he represented. In memory of the victory, Stephen granted a tithe of the produce of Somogy to the Benedictine monastery of Pannonhalma, founded by his father. The vanquished rebels were compelled, under pain of forfeiting their estates and their liberties, to embrace Christianity.

Stephen then accompanied the missionaries through the country, exhorting the people to accept the tenets of the faith preached by Astrik, which had given him the strength and power to overcome his rebellious subjects. He established his headquarters at *Székesfehérvár*, where he had a church built to celebrate the triumph of the Christian cause. He thus paved the way to the fulfilment of his greatest ambition—the creation of a Christian Hungary.

He built new monasteries—superb edifices of stone constructed by foreign architects and foreign skilled labour—at Pécsvárad, Bakonybél, and Zalavár.

Stephen's missionary crusade did more than help him to strengthen the foundations of his Church; it enabled him to get into close touch with his subjects, to study their needs and gather material for his political reforms. What these reforms were we shall see later.

That Stephen appealed to the Pope—following in this respect the lead of his father—instead of the Orthodox Church, was a course dictated by political motives betraying a sound statesmanship. He desired Hungary to be an outpost of Western Christendom on the threshold of the East; he did

not wish his country to be embroiled in the quarrels between the two Churches at a period when the Western represented far the greater power. He felt, too, that he could use the spiritual power of the Papacy to thwart any attempt on the part of the German Emperor to curtail the independence of Hungary. It was to this end that, in 1000 A.D., he sent Astrik as his ambassador to the Court of *Silvester II*. The Pope received Stephen's ambassador with delight ; and his appreciation of the Hungarian prince's zeal for the Christian faith took the form of the presentation of a crown (still forming the upper part of the crown of the kings of Hungary) originally intended for Boleslas of Poland, and of the confirmation of the bishoprics established by Stephen. Astrik became the first Archbishop of Esztergom ; and it was he who, as primate of the Hungarian Church, crowned Stephen "apostolic" king of Hungary at Esztergom, on August 15, 1000.

It was a distinguished gathering, representing the flower of the Hungarian nobility as well as foreign courts, which assembled on the hill overlooking the Danube where it sweeps majestically southwards. The double (apostolic) cross symbolical of Stephen's mission as the apostle of Christianity in Hungary—a present from the Pope—was borne before the prince as he came to receive the papal blessing and the title of king at the hands of the august prelate who had been his faithful and untiring helpmate.

The distinction conferred on Stephen by the Pope not only raised him to a position of equality with the great monarchs of the West : it enhanced the glory of the kingly office in the eyes of his own people, and contributed in no small measure to the further strengthening of those principles of monarchical government which were Stephen's inheritance from his father.

In 1003 *Gyula*, Stephen's uncle, the powerful "waywode" of Transylvania, having refused to embrace the Christian

faith or to allow his "subjects" to do so, replied to Stephen's repeated demands by crossing the frontier with a large army of "malcontents" and Petchenegs. The King hastened to meet the rebels, and defeated them utterly. Gyula and his family were taken prisoners; and Transylvania—to be ruled over by a "waywode" appointed by the King—was annexed to Hungary.

Stephen then attacked Moldavia and reduced to submission the Petchenegs, whose chieftain, *Kcán*, was killed.

A third rising of the adherents of the ancestral faith threatened to be even more dangerous to the safety of the realm. *Ajtony* (Otom or Achtum), whose dominions stretched south and north from the Maros and comprised the counties of Arad, Csanád, and Temes, whose "capital" was Marosvár, and who relied for protection on the Emperor Basil II., raised the standard of revolt. Though a Christian himself (of the Eastern Church), Ajtony took advantage of the dissatisfaction and unrest prevailing among the pagan Hungarians living under his rule to defy the King and flout his decrees. The disaffected nobles of the district were only too ready to join him; for they too feared to lose the power and privileges which they possessed. One of them, however, *Csanád* by name, having incurred Ajtony's displeasure, fled to Stephen's Court, where he was baptised. He begged to be allowed to lead the royal army to meet the rebel hosts. The request was granted, for the King felt that the new convert's knowledge of his late master's plans and of the country must prove invaluable. The confidence Stephen thus reposed in a man who might have been a spy in disguise was fully justified by the result. The effect of the crushing defeat at *Oroszlányos* was to cow all those Hungarians who still clung in secret to their ancestral faith. During the rest of his reign Stephen was not called upon again to defend his Church against the attacks of worshippers of Hadúr.



Ajtony's estates were transferred to Csanád; Marosvár was renamed; and the memory of this overwhelming defeat of the insurgents is still preserved in the name of the county where those estates are said to have been situated.

For nearly twenty years Hungary enjoyed comparative peace, both at home and abroad.

However, the death of Stephen's brother-in-law, Henry II., in 1024 A.D., was followed by the accession of an Emperor, Conrad II., who was by no means peacefully disposed towards his Hungarian neighbours. He revived the claim of the Empire to exercise a suzerainty over Hungary, basing that claim on his imperial prerogative as the overlord of the Roman Church. Enlisting the aid of the Prince of Bohemia, Conrad invaded Hungary in 1031, penetrating down the valley of the Danube as far as Esztergom. Stephen appealed to the nation to defend the independence of their country; and, as so often in their history, the menace to that independence united all Magyars. The whole nation rallied as one man to the King's standard: and the occupation of Vienna and the territory lying between that city and Hungary compelled Conrad to beat a hasty retreat. A treaty of peace made next year between the two countries contained an explicit recognition on the part of the German Emperor of the complete independence of Hungary as a sovereign state. Conrad—like so many German princes and statesmen of later days—had counted on the internal dissensions arising out of the religious question and on the anti-militarist effect of the conversion to Christianity—probably also on the support of the foreign knights who had followed Queen Gizella. But the traditional attachment of the Magyars to the independence of their country, and the wonderful power of absorption which they possess, saved Hungary, as it was to do on so many subsequent occasions.

Conrad was also compelled to surrender a considerable

stretch of territory : and in the following year he sent his son (later, Henry III.) to the Hungarian Court to cement the ties binding the two countries together. The Hungarian King had no particular faith in the German promises ; and he was full of anxiety for the future of his country. This anxiety developed into an absolute despair on the death (apparently in the same year, 1032) of his beloved only son *Imre*, or Emerich, whom he had brought up so carefully to fill the office for which he was destined. Gloomy forebodings of domestic quarrels and international complications seem to have unhinged the King's mind ; and he became a puppet in the hands of unscrupulous counsellors and a wicked cabal.

There were four Hungarian princes of the house of Árpád—*Vazul*, the son of Stephen's uncle, Michael (Géza's brother), and three minors—*Endre*, *Béla*, and *Levente*, the sons of *Vazul*. It was on the first of these (*Vazul*) that Stephen's choice fell. But the "cabal" was in favour of *Peter*, the son of the King's sister, whose candidature was supported by the Queen. *Vazul* was seized ; his eyes were burned out, and he was presented to the King as unfit for the office of ruler. Stephen was dumfounded at the villainy which he had been powerless to prevent. He advised the young princes, *Endre*, *Béla*, and *Levente*, to flee the country, for he feared the treachery of *Peter*, whom he had unluckily appointed captain of his bodyguard.

The King—weak alike in body and in mind—at last yielded to the persuasions of the "cabal" and declared *Peter* to be his successor.

The courtiers found that the King was an unconscionable time in dying ; so they hired an assassin to kill him. One evening, as the twilight gathered in around his bed, Stephen heard a rustling sound. Springing up, he drew his sword. The would-be murderer fell on his knees at the sight of the saintly monarch, and craved for forgiveness.





Pannonhalma Abbey (13th century)



The Coronation Cathedral, Pozsony (13th century ; the tower is of the Roman period)



It must have been a rude awakening for the King, who all his life had worked strenuously for the welfare of his country, to discover that even his life was counted of no value by men whose ambition he had fostered. Alone, friendless, trusting in God only, he felt the hour of death approaching. Gathering round his bed the prelates and nobles, he commended to their care his country and his faith ; then, raising his eyes to Heaven, he dedicated his kingdom and his Church to the Blessed Virgin Mary. He died on August 15, 1038 (the anniversary of his coronation). He was buried at Székesfehérvár, in the church which he himself had built.

His death was mourned by all the land.

August 20—St Stephen's Day—is still the great national holiday in Hungary. The right hand of the saintly King (canonised in 1083 by Gregory VII.) is borne in procession in Buda : and hundreds of thousands of country-folk make a pilgrimage to the Capital to do homage to the memory of the man who founded the Hungarian kingdom and by his reforms established a system of government as perfect as any to be found in the West of Europe.

Stephen's first concern was for the welfare of the Church he had founded. He established ten dioceses, Esztergom, Győr, Vác, Veszprém, Transylvania, Pécs, Kalocsa, Eger, Bihar, and Csanád—placing them under the control of the Archbishop of Esztergom. He endowed the bishoprics and monasteries which he founded by the presentation of large estates ; and the great wealth of the Hungarian Catholic Church undoubtedly takes its origin from the generous measures of the first Hungarian King. He endowed a *hospitium* for Hungarian visitors to the Eternal City, and established convents at Constantinople, Ravenna, and Jerusalem. He decreed that every ten parishes should erect a church, and that every one should give a tithe of his produce to the Church.

At the same time, he took good care to provide that the

incorporation of the Hungarian Church in the great family of Western Christendom should in no wise prejudice the independence of the kingdom or suggest any subordination on the part of the King.

Stephen was just as concerned to set the royal power on firm foundations. He had to guard against the possibility of a weak monarch fading into insignificance before the powerful "waywodes" or local magnates (the barons of feudal times). The national assembly and the "council of seven" (later the *concilium regale* or *synodus*) were dangerous checks to the legislative authority of the King. The "laws" passed by them became "royal decrees"—a change involving the principle that no resolutions of the national assembly or its senate could become law without obtaining the royal assent. Stephen amplified his authority in the sphere of the administration of justice by the appointment of central and local officials to act as his deputies. Such were the "comes palatinus," or Pfalzgraf—a kind of Lord Chief Justice—the "notarius" (Chancellor), the *fő-ispán* (high sheriff). He does not, indeed, seem to have interfered with their jurisdiction: but he certainly appointed a considerable number of them from among the lesser nobility, the gentry, thus providing an effective counterpoise to the power and influence of the magnates or "barons," who later on, during troublous times, assumed the prerogatives of "little kings." Besides, he instituted the system of annual "assizes," held at Székesfehérvár, where all freemen could bring their complaints before the King himself.

Other factors helped to enhance the glamour of the royal power. Stephen's greatness, his personal qualities (almost overshadowed later in the century by the brilliant figure of St Ladislas), the conviction of the whole nation that a strong central authority was required to defend the privileged race against attacks from within and the independence of the realm

against assault from without—all worked to the same end. Then Stephen created the nucleus of a standing army. He set free his serfs, distributed them amongst the various fortified positions—where they were put under the control of the “vár-ispán”—and were bound to do military service when required. There was, besides, the national army—formed by the freemen, who paid no taxes, but, in return for their estates, which they held from the King, were to rally round the national standard in times of national danger.

Stephen further added to his prestige by the accumulation of wealth. He possessed enormous estates—partly inherited from his father, partly territory newly acquired, which had not been included in the distribution carried out, on the principles laid down by the Blood Compact, at the national assembly of Pusztaszer. A fixed proportion of the produce belonged to the King. The revenues of the gold, silver, and salt mines, situated within the royal domains, were paid into the Treasury. Stephen was the first Hungarian King to establish a coinage. Customs duties were imposed on all goods imported into the country, and tolls were exacted for the use of bridges, ferries, and booths. Royal officials were appointed to collect all these dues. Towns were established and endowed with special privileges, in return for which the inhabitants had to pay taxes and tribute. The sources of revenue which enabled Stephen to reward his servants so lavishly, and to endow the Church so generously, must have been considerable.

Stephen placed the tenure of land on a new basis. Hitherto the system of land-tenure had been tribal—possession by the tribe or clan as a whole: Stephen substituted the system of individual tenure—freehold possession passing as indisputable birthright from father to son. Hereby the King really created a fresh group of landed proprietors (the lesser nobility), who were to prove of inestimable value as supporters of the Crown.

At the same time, all estates the families of whose owners had become extinct were to lapse to the King.

The King's estates were divided into districts called *comitatus* (in Hungarian, "vár-megye"), the centres of which were the fortified positions under the control of Burggraves ("vár-ispánok"). There seem to have been some forty-five "counties" at this time. The most important was that of Fehér, the capital of which (Székesfehérvár) Stephen made his residence. The system was undoubtedly taken over from the Franks, though the technical terms are Slav in origin. (Stephen made a point of imitating any foreign institutions which seemed worthy of adoption, while taking every care to give them a Hungarian character.) The duties of the *vár-ispán* (the direct progenitor of the *jő-ispán* of to-day, though his powers were far greater) were primarily military; but he was also responsible for the civil administration of his "county," the cultivation of the soil, and the general control of the royal officials and freemen. The system contained the germs of the county administration of later times, which has preserved some of its most significant features (*e.g.* the appointment of the "high sheriff" or "lord lieutenant" by the sovereign).

"Remember, my son, that the Roman Empire owed its greatness, and its rulers their glory and power, to the fact that noble and wise men assembled there from all countries of the world. . . . A land of one tongue and uniform customs is weak and cannot maintain itself long. So I beg of you, my son, to treat strangers kindly and to show a friendly indulgence towards them." These words, taken from Stephen's "Hints" to his son, sum up the policy of the first king of Hungary with regard to foreign settlers, foreign customs and manners, and foreign institutions. He believed that a nation unable or afraid to adopt such foreign customs and ideas as were not detrimental to its individuality, confessed its own weakness



and was unworthy of a permanent place in history. He thus established the principles which have ever since guided Hungarian domestic policy and inspired that remarkable liberalism which has opened the ranks of the privileged classes to every comer. Khazars, Petchenegs, Bulgarians have been followed by Germans, Italians, Slavs, and Roumanians. The same spirit of toleration which made Stephen's Court the refuge of the exiled Atheling enabled the Hunyadis to ascend to the highest offices in the land, brought Zrinyi and Frangepán to perish on an Austrian scaffold as the heroes of the Hungarian cause, and transformed the Slav butcher's son, Petrovich, into the immortal Petöfi, the Tyrtæus of a heroic race.

Stephen deliberately modelled his system of laws on that of the Franks, having recourse to the resolutions of the synods of Mayence (847 and 888 A.D.) and to the decrees of Charlemagne's successors: but he moulded them to suit the individuality of his people.

"Whosoever draweth the sword shall be put to the sword." Stephen aimed a mortal blow at all those excesses which were the natural result of the passions hereditary in men the trade of whose ancestors had been warfare.

The nation was already divided into distinct social classes. The first (and foremost, in Stephen's eyes) was that of the prelates or spiritual peers, whose wealth and military forces made them for a long time a most important political factor in the State. Then came the freemen, divided, by virtue of the extent of their estates and consequent political power, into "seniores" and "milites." These three were the estates of the realm. They paid no taxes or other dues; their only duty consisted in supplying feudal levies or *banderia* in times of national danger. They alone enjoyed political rights (attendance at national assemblies). They were not subservient to anyone save the King himself and his deputy, the "comes palatinus." The Burggraves had no control over them.

The other classes—with no political rights—were the “*jobbágiones castri*,” freemen who possessed holdings in fee simple, whose only duty was that of military service and of filling the minor offices in county administration; the “*castrenses*” (*ministrales*) (*várnép*), who held land on lease, paying rent in kind, in money, in military and other service; they were not freemen, but were at liberty to migrate: the “*conditionati*,” those who did the menial work in connection with the Court, offices glorified later into high court dignities, e.g. the Mastership of the Horse, etc.; in return for their services they obtained grants of land; but they could be disposed of and were under the control of the “*comes palatinus*,” who received one-third of the produce of their holdings: slaves: the inhabitants of the towns (mostly “strangers” from abroad, foreign settlers from Bavaria, Italy, etc.), who were freemen, enjoyed certain privileges (for which they paid), were subject to the commands of the king only, but were not endowed with the political rights of the three estates.

The chief merit of Stephen's system of government, apart from the establishment of ordered legislation and of a lasting tenure of property, is that he endeavoured to bridge over the gulf dividing the pagan past from the Christian present by accommodating his innovations to the spirit of the ancestral institutions, and thus to render the transition from the confusion of out-of-date traditions to the systematic orderliness of codified statutes, less difficult. He knew that time was required to oust the older conceptions; that years of peace must follow, if the new order he had established were to attain stability and permanence; that the passions which had stood in the way of a ready and universal acceptance of the new faith must be kept in the background. So he encouraged tolerance and furthered equality at home, and laid the foundations of a military force which should not only enhance the royal power, but should at the same time secure peace abroad.



How well-founded his anxiety was, the events of his successors' reigns proved. How providential for his country was his activity as reformer, king, and statesman, the poets of the troublous years of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries recognised when they sung of St Stephen, the national hero. The foundations he had laid so carefully and with such eminent forethought might tremble at the shocks of civil war and foreign aggression : but they stood firm, a lasting proof of the wisdom and political genius of their builder, and still form the basis of the Hungarian polity. The principles he evolved have been the main cause of the survival of Hungary through the storms of centuries. The Empire of Charlemagne fell to pieces : the kingdom of St Stephen has remained, the same to-day in essence as it was nine hundred years ago.

This was St Stephen's bequest to posterity.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE HOUSE OF ÁRPÁD

STEPHEN'S forebodings were only too soon justified by events. The undisguised contempt of the new monarch (*Peter I.*, 1038-41 and 1044-46) for the Magyars and his policy of conciliating his German and Italian friends by the gift of large estates created enormous dissatisfaction, even among those who had been loyal to Stephen. The very existence of the Church seemed jeopardised. His threat that he would reduce Hungary to the position of a vassal of the Roman Empire was the signal for open revolt. *Samuel Aba*, Stephen's brother-in-law (1041-44) was elected King by the insurgents. The new monarch at once put the wicked counsellors of Peter to death; and the wretched creature fled for refuge to the Court of Henry III. Peter told the Emperor that the Christian faith was in danger in Hungary and that German influence was on the wane. Nothing more was needed to persuade the Emperor, who looked upon the spread of Christianity and the expansion of German power as the two main objects of his life, to invade Hungary. For two years the country had to suffer from the ravages of warfare, until in 1043, when Henry had penetrated as far as the Rába, Samuel craved for peace, which he obtained by the restoration of the territory acquired by Stephen (west of the Lajtha) and by gifts of incalculable wealth. This action of his was looked upon by many of the Hungarian nobles as disloyal and cowardly. Samuel heard of their disaffection and resolved to crush it by cruel treachery.

Simulating a desire to accommodate their wishes, he invited fifty of the most prominent to meet him in a house at Csanád, where he had them surrounded and put to the sword. This act of wicked despotism merely added fuel to the flames of discontent. The flower of the Hungarian nobility rose against him. The Emperor took advantage of the internal discord to invade Hungary once more. At the battle of *Ménfő* (July 5, 1044) Samuel's army was routed; the King himself was taken prisoner; the Emperor withdrew to Székesfehérvár, where he had Peter crowned.

The following year, at Whitsuntide, Peter invited the Emperor to his capital, where he took the oath of fealty to the Roman Empire, promising the payment of tribute and presenting Henry with the golden lance which symbolised the royal power of Hungary. Thus Peter reduced his country to the degrading position of a vassal state.

Stephen's anxiety for the independence of his kingdom and the welfare of his Church had proved to be fully justified. The whole nation rose in revolt against the man who had humiliated their pride; and, when the freemen despatched envoys to the exiled princes of the House of Árpád, Endre and Levente, who were in Russia, they demanded the restoration of the ancestral faith. They had come to regard the Church, with her foreign priests, as a danger to their national existence. It was no difficult matter to impart their hatred to the masses, who dreaded the "foreign intruders" and felt the burden of the tithes imposed on them by Stephen. Peter was taken prisoner; his eyes were put out; and he was cast into prison.

Vatha put himself at the head of the pagan hosts. Levente inclined to paganism; and Endre, while determined in his heart to be true to the principles of Stephen, did not yet possess the power to put those principles into practice. So he could not for the moment stay the cruel ravages of the

pagans, who, incited by the priests of Hadúr, proclaimed, "in the name, and at the behest, of Levente and Endre," that the bishops, priests, and tithe-collectors were to be killed, the churches destroyed, and the foreign knights swept off the face of the earth. No mercy was shown: even Bishop Gerhard, the former tutor of St Stephen's son, fell a victim to the fury of the fanatical pagan hordes. He was on his way to meet Levente and Endre, of whose approach to Pest he had heard. The road he chose passed the foot of Mount Kelen, where he fell in with the insurgents. He blessed them and called on them to cease doing the work of the devil. For answer they dragged him to the summit of the hill and hurled him down into the depths. To-day the hill is called Mount Gerhard (Gellérthegy); half-way up may be seen a statue of the saintly bishop.

Endre, or Andrew, I. (1046-66) was horrified at the cruel butchery and savage vandalism of Vatha's followers; but it was not until after his coronation at Székesfehérvár in 1047 that he ventured to declare openly his adherence to the faith of St Stephen. The revolting massacres perpetrated by the insurgents had thrilled the better classes with horror. The nation, once more united under the rule of an elected national prince, resolved to break with the pagan traditions of the past and to give their whole-hearted support to Endre in the struggle against German aspirations. For Henry had already sent to demand a renewal of the oath of fealty and the recognition of his overlordship.

Levente was dead: so Endre summoned to his aid his brother Béla (Adalbert), a distinguished soldier and the son-in-law of the Prince of Poland. Béla returned home; he received—together with the title of "prince," *cum jure successionis*—twelve counties in the East of Hungary (about one-third of the country).

The King's confidence in his brother—which was shared

by the whole nation—was well placed: for when, in 1051, Henry invaded Hungary with an enormous host, three armies operating at different points, Béla adopted the tactics of his ancestors. Harassing their flanks continually, cutting off their supplies, intercepting messages, appearing suddenly at unguarded points, he contented himself at first with acting on the defensive. At last the German hosts arrived among the hills lying between Buda and Tata. Hungry and fatigued, they could offer no resistance to the vehement attacks of the Magyars. Throwing away their shields and armour, they sought safety in flight: and the memory of the terrible punishment they received is still preserved in the name of *Mount Vértes* (the hill of armour). Their retreat to Germany developed into a rout.

The following year (1052) Henry again invaded Hungary, but the expedition ended in failure. Never again did Henry venture to put the martial prowess of the Magyars to the test.

However, peace was not concluded until 1058, when Endre's son, Salamon, then six years old, was betrothed to Henry's daughter, Judith. The peace was ratified by Henry's widow—his son, Henry IV., being not yet of age—who acknowledged once more the absolute independence of Hungary as a sovereign State.

Meanwhile trouble was brewing at home. Béla saw his hopes of advancement shattered by the coronation (in 1055) of Salamon; he was also afraid that the alliance with the German imperial house would eventually prove detrimental to the national independence of his country. He made no secret of his solicitude; and flatterers were busy making mischief between the two brothers. Béla thought it prudent to seek safety in flight. He fled to Poland, whence he returned with a large army of Polish supporters. Endre relied upon the protection of Germany: so the bulk of the nation, who were attracted to Béla's side by the glamour of his military

achievements for the national honour, rallied to the standard of the "prince." Twice the armies met—first on the banks of the Tisza, then near Moson, on the western frontier of Hungary. In both battles Béla was victorious. Endre, severely wounded, was taken prisoner and succumbed to his injuries. He was buried in the monastery of *Tihany*, which he had founded, and Béla became king.

Béla I. (1060–63) was crowned at Székesfehérvár, whither he summoned the leading men of the villages and townships, that he might hear the complaints of the poor. He was determined to remedy the grievances of his subjects: and at the same time he endeavoured to follow in the steps of St Stephen in his policy of conciliation towards all foreigners. But his efforts to improve the lot of his people seemed doomed to failure. Thousands flocked to the "assizes." Vatha's son, *John*, seized the opportunity to raise once more the standard of paganism. His followers harangued the crowd, attributed the misery prevailing in the land to the spread of Christianity, and incited them to demand the restitution of the ancestral faith, the banishment of the priests, and the destruction of the churches. A crowd of hungry peasants is easily misled. Béla found himself faced, not by a throng of loyal subjects eager to listen to his explanation of the laws and measures of St Stephen, but by a clamorous rabble of fanatics. He asked three days' grace. Collecting his army (most of the nobles identified themselves with their King), he surrounded the insurgents, had the ringleaders put to the sword, and sent the poor misguided rabble home—"to think the matter over." Here and there signs of local dissatisfaction made their appearance: but the cause of paganism had been finally crushed; and the worship of their heathen deities ceased, once for all, to have any hold on the mind of the Magyar nation.

Béla passed measures to improve the material welfare of his people. He had good coins struck, and regulated the

market prices of all wares, thus putting a stop to the unscrupulous machinations of the traders. Poor and rich alike blessed the wisdom and forethought of the heroic King who had saved the country from the two greatest evils—domestic trouble and foreign interference.

But the Germans could not forgive him for the terrible defeats he had inflicted on them. The guardians of the young Emperor (the Archbishops of Cologne and Bremen) had great ambitions; and the Imperial Assembly held at Mayence (1063) resolved to wage war on Hungary and place Salamon on the throne of St Stephen. Béla prepared to meet the Germans; but while staying at Dömös (on the Danube, just above Visegrád), he had an accident that crippled him. However, he had himself carried to the western frontier, determined to inspire his army by his presence; but the news of the surrender of Moson broke his heart, and he died before he could close with the enemy.

His son Géza sent envoys to the German camp, signifying his willingness to recognise the claims of Salamon, who had been crowned, and declaring his readiness to content himself with the title of "prince." Receiving no reply, Géza fled with his brothers László and Lampert to Poland.

Salamon (1063-74) was taken by the victorious Germans to Székesfehérvár, where he was re-crowned and received the homage of the bishops. Scarcely had the German hosts retired when Géza appeared in the country at the head of a Polish army. But he desired peace, and, through the intervention of the bishops, made terms with the young King, who had fled to Moson. Géza received the estates that had belonged to his father, together with the rank and title of "prince." On April 14, 1064, the cousins celebrated the Easter festival together in the cathedral city of Pécs.

The generous unselfishness of Géza and his younger brother László (the future hero of innumerable legends), who sup-



ported their helpless cousin by lending him the lustre and glamour of their popularity and military prowess, driving back the Bohemian invaders and routing the Cumanian hosts at Cserhalom (1070), overthrowing the Greeks and their Petcheneg allies at Belgrade (Nándorfehérvár), was neutralised by the intrigues of Salamon's wicked advisers.

His foreign counsellors knew that the influence of Géza was detrimental to the interests of Germany: and the prince's action in giving quarter to the Greeks without reference to the King enabled Vid to work on Salamon's jealousy and to "improve the occasion" provided by the whispered insinuations of the German courtiers. "There is no room," said Vid, "for two sharpened swords in one sheath." So Géza sent László to Russia and Poland, Lampert to Bohemia, to solicit aid against Salamon and his foreign mercenaries. An attempt was made to reconcile the cousins, who met at Esztergom in 1073. But the treachery of Vid (who aimed at obtaining the "princedom" for himself) frustrated all peaceful endeavours. The plan discussed by the King and his henchman in the monastery at Szekszárd was revealed to Géza by the abbot.

Géza was surprised and surrounded at Kemej; many of his soldiers turned traitor: but with the remnant of his army he cut his way through and joined forces with László near Vác.

Vid's self-confidence was unbounded; he affected to despise even László: but the day of atonement was at hand. On the battlefield of *Mogyoród* (near Czinkota) Salamon lost everything he had. The self-sacrificing bravery of his knight, *Bátor Opos*, saved him from capture: but he was never again able to assert his claim to the throne of his ancestors.

The victory of Géza and László shattered the hopes of the German Emperor. Géza I. (1074-77) did not wish to occupy the throne, as the crowned King was still alive: but the



nation was tired of a man who had thrown himself into the arms of his German kinsmen, and looked upon the accession of Béla's son as their only safeguard against German interference. So, against his will, he was proclaimed King. Henry IV. invaded the country, advancing as far as Vác. Géza repeated the tactics of his father, and the German army was forced to retire. Salamon remained in Pozsony, where he was practically a prisoner. Gregory VII. endeavoured to win Géza's support by openly proclaiming the independence of Hungary. Michael Ducas, the Byzantine Emperor, sent Géza a crown (1075), which forms the lower part of the Holy Crown of Hungary. In the face of these temptations to renounce the independence of his kingdom Géza maintained the attitude that Hungary must stand alone if she was to preserve her sovereign character. In the meantime (1076) Géza offered to restore the throne to Salamon: but the freemen, who had got wind of the King's intentions, used every effort to thwart the scheme, intercepting letters and holding up messengers; and, early in 1077, Géza died, before the scheme could be realised.

The same year saw the humiliation of Canossa.

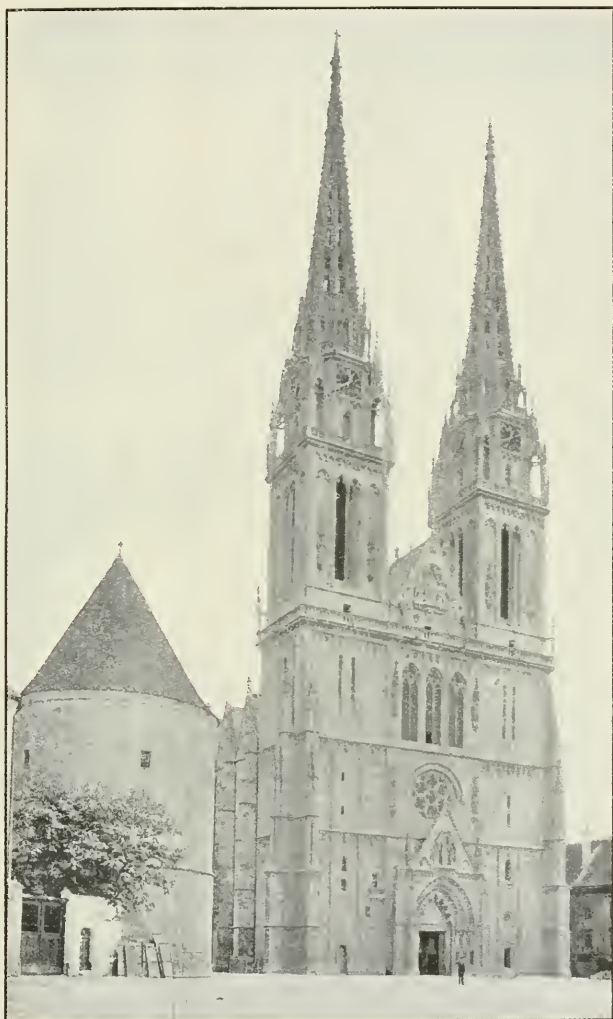
## CHAPTER V

### SAINT LADISLAS AND HIS AGE

ON the death of Géza the whole nation demanded the election of his brother *László* (St Ladislav, 1077-95), the chivalrous and valorous knight, the darling of mediæval fancy, the protector of the weak and defenceless, the champion of truth and justice, the Christian hero, probably the prototype of "Lancelot of the Lake."

Quite apart from his personal qualities, which made him the hero of legends innumerable and a favourite subject for Hungarian poetry, *László's* ability as a statesman and his military prowess gave his country peace at home and saved his kingdom from all fear of interference from without. The King introduced legislation of such severity that the ravages of crime caused by long years of civil strife practically ceased, and order was restored. *László's* victorious campaigns and conquests, his open support of the enemies of Henry IV., his consistent refusal to subordinate his kingdom to the authority of the Pope (Gregory VII.)—while he lavished benefits on the Church of St Stephen—proved to his subjects that their ruler could be a good Christian without being a bad Hungarian, and to foreign courts that their ambitions to interfere with the independence of Hungary had little chance of being realised.

Salamon accepted the King's offer of an annual allowance and a refuge in his Court. His intrigues, however, forced his cousin to order his confinement in the keep of the castle at Visegrád, which is still known as "Solomon's Tower," from



Zágráb Cathedral (12th century ; restored)



which, however, he was later released. In 1083 Gregory VII. canonised the first King of Hungary (Stephen) and his son (Imre). Preparations were made to celebrate the event with due splendour. The remains of the saintly king were to be removed from their resting-place and reinterred. But no one could lift the stone that covered the coffin. Then a holy nun (Caritas) told the King that the stone could not be removed as long as Salamon was in confinement. The name of the nun suggests that the tradition is allegorical. László ordered his cousin to be set free; the stone was lifted: and on August 20, by the side of St Stephen's mortal remains, the two cousins were reconciled. Salamon swore never to disturb the peace of the realm: but he was incapable of keeping his oath. The same year he fled to the Cumanians in Moldavia, and obtained their help against László. But László had got wind of Salamon's despicable treachery; he routed the invaders near Munkács. Kutesk and his ally fled to the lower reaches of the Danube, where they joined forces with the Petchenegs in predatory raids on the Byzantine Empire. Here Salamon disappears from the pages of history.

László next turned his attention to *Croatia*, then called *Slavonia*. *Zvonimir*, the king who had wedded László's sister, and who had, as vassal, received the title of king and a crown from Pope Gregory VII., had died (in 1087). A period of civil strife had ensued: but, on the death of the ringleader of the opposition, the widowed queen sent for aid to her brother. So, in 1091, at the head of a powerful army, László crossed the Drave, Save, and Kulpa, and entered Croatia. He was received everywhere with acclamations: the people had grown tired of party dissensions and desired peace. No resistance was made to his advance; and Croatia was united to Hungary.

László at once set to work to establish normal conditions. He divided the country into counties with officials appointed

by the King, systematised administration, and put his nephew, *Álmos*, with the title of viceroy, at the head of affairs. He endeavoured to propagate the Christian faith by founding the bishopric of Zágráb (Zagreb), which he subordinated to the Archbishop of Esztergom, and by sending missionaries to the country districts to convert the pagans. But, in the midst of his work of reform, he was recalled to Hungary to repel an invasion of the Cumanians of Moldavia, who had taken advantage of his absence to overrun and ravage Transylvania and the counties of Bihar and Szabolcs.

László's small army, rushing across Hungary by forced marches, encountered the Cumanian invaders—on their way home, laden with booty and prisoners—near the point where the Temes joins the Danube. With the red flag of vengeance in his left hand, the King charged the barbarians at the head of his devoted followers. "I had rather die," he exclaimed, "than see your wives and children taken captive and dragged off to the waters of Babylon." Tradition tells us that only one of the Cumanians escaped: the rest were killed or taken prisoners and compelled to embrace Christianity.

Kapolcs was dead; but Ákos vowed vengeance. So László hastened to Orsova, where a shattering blow was delivered. The King killed Ákos with his own hand; the Cumanian hosts fled in disorder, and for centuries troubled the country no more.

A great number of the legends current in Hungary respecting the great King are connected with his exploits against the Cumanians.

The Russians and the Bohemians too felt the weight of László's martial prowess. But he was summoned back, before his triumph was complete, by the news that the Black Death was ravaging Hungary. So he returned to calm the fears of the people by his presence, and to take his part in stemming the tide of the fell disease. How well his work

succeeded is symbolised by the legend of "St Ladislas's Grass," when an arrow shot by the King came to rest where a herb grew which proved a remedy for the disease.

In 1095 the significance of the Hungarian Church and the greatness of the Hungarian King was—if we may trust tradition—demonstrated by an act of homage in which the whole of Christendom took part. The Synod of Piacenza (so we are told), where the prelates and secular knights, fired by the preaching of Peter, had assembled to decide upon a Holy War, elected László as their leader. The greatest distinction of the then Christian world was conferred on the ruler of a country whose pagan horsemen had once been the terror of Western Europe. The deputation sent to the King of Hungary was received with a splendour and dignity that left no doubt in the minds of its members as to the happiness of their choice.

But László was not destined to lead the army of the Cross to reconquer the Holy Sepulchre and drive the Saracens out of Jerusalem. The same year (1095), just as he was preparing to take the field to defend the Prince of Moravia against his rival of Bohemia, he was taken ill. He felt the end approaching, and desired to make the necessary arrangements for the future welfare of his kingdom. When his daughter (Piroska) wedded the Emperor of Constantinople, he took his brother Géza's sons—Kálmán and Álmos—under his care. The latter was appointed viceroy of Croatia; Kálmán—the learned "lover of books"—was destined for the Church. But, weakling as he was physically, Kálmán felt he had a calling to serve his country in a higher sphere. He fled to Poland, whither László's envoys were now sent to bring him home. "My son," said the King, "I entrust my kingdom to you. Remember that our military prowess has won respect for us abroad, and that severe laws have secured peace at home. Be strong and just, and God will never fail you."



László died on July 29, 1095 : and his remains were buried in the cathedral at Nagyvárad, which he had built and endowed.

The Hungarians believe that St Ladislas will always come to help them in their need.

But it was not only his military prowess and his Christian character or his chivalric conduct that endeared the memory of László to his people. He was one of Hungary's greatest lawgivers.

The civil strife that rent the kingdom almost without a break from the days of Peter to the ill-starred reign of Salamon had brutalised public morals. Brother's hand was raised against brother ; the persons and property of neighbours were not respected ; even public property was regarded as a fit objective for the greed of those whose power enabled them to seize it : and the " assizes " of St Stephen had fallen into oblivion. All this László was determined to put an end to. He knew that the corruption of public morals was due, not only to the constant succession of internal feuds, but to the clandestine return of so many waverers to the practice of the ancestral faith. So he summoned the national assembly to meet ; and at the famous sessions of Pannonhalma and Szabolcs passed severe laws which aimed at the reform of public morals and the consolidation of normal conditions. At first sight these measures appear cruel in their relentless severity ; but they were accommodated to the conditions of the age and the temper of the people. These laws punished rich and poor, high and low, with equal severity—a fact that proves how powerful László was. That they benefited the poor most, is evident : but the King was conscious of his ability to check the ambitions of the nobility and to coerce them into submission to his will. In fact, it was the prelates and magnates—the grandees of the land—who were the instruments of that will. He even abolished " benefit of clergy " in his efforts



to establish a uniform system of justice. With all his tender solicitude for the welfare of his Church and the expansion of the Christian faith, he was determined that no abuse by the clergy of their favoured position should ever weaken the prestige of Christianity in the eyes of the people. No wonder that the peasantry for ages to come looked upon St Ladislas as the patron saint of the poor and oppressed.

Not until the days of Matthias the Just did any historical figure obtain so complete a hold of popular imagination as that of the King who was canonised by the Church for his piety and goodness, and who, in the words of the chronicler, was "rich in love, abounding in patience, cheerful in his graciousness, overflowing in the gifts of grace, the promoter of justice, the patron of modesty, the guardian of the deserted, and the helper of the poor and distressed."

László was succeeded by *Kálmán* (1095-1116), the elder son of his brother Géza, while the younger son, *Álmos*, who inherited the warlike qualities and fiery nature of his ancestors, received the title and office of "prince."

*Kálmán* did not possess the sublimity of character of his uncle: but he was endowed with other qualities, political and military, that make his reign one of the most notable in Hungarian history.

Early in 1096 he had an opportunity of showing his fitness for the office he had desired so ardently. Scarcely had the snow melted, when a host of Crusaders appeared in Hungary. They were under the command of Walter Sansavoir. *Kálmán*, a good Christian but a better Hungarian, who felt no enthusiasm for the whole movement, allowed the Crusaders to pass through his land on condition that they paid for everything they wanted, did not molest the population, and kept the peace. But they broke the compact, ravaged and pillaged wherever they could, and finally took Zimony by storm. *Kálmán* was compelled to attack them: the main body was

routed ; many prisoners were taken ; and many others fled the country.

A short while after, *Godfrey de Bouillon's* vast host crossed the frontier. Kálmán met them at Moson, and though convinced of the genuine character of the expedition, accompanied them at the head of an imposing army (for safety's sake) as far as Zimony, where he provided them with provisions to last them for several days. The King's action reconciled the Pope, who had begun to doubt his Christian zeal, and at the same time convinced his people that they had a sovereign who could be trusted to look after their welfare.

The following year (1097) he was compelled to intervene in the affairs of Croatia. A pretender, a Slav noble of the name of Peter, had declared the independence of Croatia, and assumed the title and dignity of king. At the battle of Petrovagora, Peter was defeated ; the Croats submitted at once : Croatia was definitively incorporated in the kingdom of Hungary ; Hungarian *comites* were put at the head of the Croatian counties, and the need for a viceroy ceased. The laws, however, were left untouched ; the privileges of the Croatian nobility (including exemption from taxation) remained intact, but they were bound over in return to contribute their share (as in Hungary proper) to the royal and national armies.

Kálmán was determined to occupy *Dalmatia* too. His alliance with Venice proved of no use, for the Doge himself had need of the coast-line and appealed to the Byzantine Emperor for aid against the Hungarian King's ambitions. So Kálmán turned elsewhere. He wedded Buzilla, daughter of Norman Roger, Count of Sicily ; he conciliated the Greek Emperor : and in 1105 he began to occupy the Dalmatian towns. The autonomy of the towns was respected ; no fresh burdens were imposed ; no foreign settlers were introduced : and Dalmatia became a province of the kingdom of St Stephen. In 1111 Kálmán was acclaimed King of Dal-

matia at Zara by an assembly of prelates and nobles, at which, with an eye to eventual struggles with Venice, he took an oath to respect and maintain the ancient privileges and charters of the country.

Henry V. did indeed claim the suzerainty over Dalmatia as a province of the Roman Empire : but his efforts to overawe Hungary proved as futile as those of his grandfather. Pozsony once more saw the retreat of a beaten German army.

Meanwhile intriguers had been busy sowing the seeds of discord between the King and his brother. Álmos had resented his deposition, and was only too ready to rise in revolt against the King. On one occasion the nobles proposed that the two royal brothers should settle the dispute by duel, for their private quarrels were no concern of the country. After the terrible defeat of Kálmán's army by the Russians at Przemyśl, Álmos, who had wedded Predzlāva, the daughter of Svato-pluk II., Prince of Kiev, endeavoured on several occasions to invoke foreign aid : but his schemes failed, and he was compelled to crave for forgiveness. This comedy was repeated several times. In the end Kálmán had Álmos and his son Béla arrested, and their eyes put out. His orders to kill the latter were not obeyed : the poor blind child was hidden away from his wrath.

The eve of Kálmán's life was closing in. A terrible disease was wasting his body, causing him unutterable pain : the fear in which he had lived for years seems to have unhinged his mind. The brutality which deprived his brother and nephew of their sight was capped by the cruel heartlessness with which he drove his second wife, Euphemia, a Russian princess, from her home, to wander as an outcast with the son (Borics) whom his father had refused to recognise.

He died in 1116, and was buried at Székesfehérvár.

The ferocity of his treatment of his brother and wife, due without doubt to the ravages of incipient madness brought

on by bodily suffering and the mental strain of those years of harassing fear and intrigue, cannot overshadow Kálmán's greatness as a legislator and statesman, or the brilliance of his military exploits.

His laws are a striking proof of his intellectuality and of an enlightenment unparalleled in the history of the age. He forbade the persecution of witches. The use of the "ordeal" was restricted. Capital punishment was to be resorted to only in the case of the most heinous crimes: but the other forms of punishment introduced by St Ladislas were maintained in force. False witnesses were to be branded. The difficulty of appearing at the annual "assizes" was to be overcome by local (county) courts holding sessions twice a year. An endeavour was made to restrict the King's power of granting estates: for Kálmán felt that the ultimate result must be to weaken, not to strengthen, the authority of the Crown (history has proved how well-founded his solicitude was).

Kálmán restored celibacy among the clergy, who had been allowed to marry once under the rule of Lázló, and renounced his exclusive right of appointing bishops. He established ecclesiastical courts for the trial of priests; demanded the strict observance of fasts; encouraged the building of churches; and founded the bishopric of Nyitra.

His defiance of the oligarchy, which was beginning to make its influence felt, made Kálmán unpopular with prelates and magnates alike. Once more a people's King had striven to improve the lot of the poorer and unprivileged classes. His treatment of the Crusaders, his unwillingness to add to the wealth of the Church by rich endowments (he merely confirmed the gifts of his predecessors), led the monkish chroniclers of later ages to belittle his actions and his services to his country, while they extolled men like Álmos and Endre (Andrew) II., that puppet king who brought so much misery

and suffering on his people. But those who hated Kálmán, feared his power and respected his statesmanship: and posterity has shown a full appreciation of the man whose enlightenment carried Hungary a stage farther on the road towards her ultimate goal—recognition as a champion of Western culture.

Stephen II. (1116–31), Kálmán's son, was but fifteen years of age when he succeeded to the throne. Hotheaded, self-confident, arrogant, ambitious without ability, he succeeded in undoing much of the work that his father had achieved. He was the first of that unfortunate series of puppet and child kings whose helplessness was for nearly a century the cause of untold misery and suffering to their country. Much of Kálmán's legislation had been in anticipation of the years of misrule which followed.

The new reign opened with a magnificent coronation ceremony—and the loss of Dalmatia, which fell into the hands of Venice. Stephen went to war with Bohemia, and interfered in the disputes of the Russian princes, with consistent ill-success.

Then he attacked the Byzantine Emperor, John, who—so we are told—had insulted his consort, Piroška, and had declared that he was the overlord of Hungary. The Hungarian army invaded the Empire as far as Philippopolis; but John repulsed Stephen and shattered his host in a bloody battle on the banks of the stream Karas.

Stephen was overcome with grief at the thought that he was the last surviving representative of the House of Árpád. But those who had hidden Béla, the son of Álmos, to save him from the vindictive wrath of Kálmán, now came forward and revealed their secret. The King was overjoyed; he married Béla to Ilona, the daughter of Uros, Prince of Servia; he designated the blind prince as his heir; and then turned monk and died in a monastery in 1131.

"Blind" Béla II. (1131-41) was the victim of his own vindictiveness. There was a party in the country which favoured the claims of Borics, the son of Kálmán by his second wife. It was to make away with the leaders of this party, and to avenge the blinding of Álmos and her husband, that (so the tradition runs) Ilona summoned an assembly of the estates of the realm to Arad. The seeds of innumerable subsequent feuds were sown. Borics in vain endeavoured to win the crown by force : he was twice driven back.

Béla added to the territory of Hungary by the subjection of Bosnia and part of Herzegovina. He assumed the title of "King of Ráma" (Bosnia).

When Béla died, in 1141, the country was face to face with a new danger—the ambitions of the Eastern Empire. Géza II. (1141-62) was but eleven years old when he succeeded his father. He was brought up by his uncle, Belus, a Servian by extraction, who, however, proved a most able guardian and regent. Before long the intrigues of Borics brought a German (Bavarian) army into Hungary : but it was driven back, and completely routed on the banks of the Fischa. With no hope of assistance from Russia (Géza had been betrothed to Fruzhina, daughter of the powerful ruler of Kiev), the pretender endeavoured to court the favour of the leaders of the Second Crusade ; but they were conscious of the necessity of keeping on friendly terms with the King of Hungary. However, Louis VII. of France offered to escort Borics to Constantinople.

Manuel, the grandson of St Ladislas, was the Emperor. He seized the opportunity for realising the dreams of the House of Comnenos, and bringing Hungary under the suzerainty of Byzantium. Within the short space of twelve years (1150-62) ten separate campaigns were fought to this end. After defeating the Prince of Servia (Blatchin) in 1150, two years later Manuel sent Borics with a large army to lay



waste the Temes district, while he himself seized Zimony. Géza, who was fighting in Russia for his brother-in-law, made a truce with Manuel, who retained the possession of Servia. In 1154 the Byzantine Emperor offered a refuge to the Hungarian King's brothers, László and Stephen. Géza in his turn supported the claims of Manuel's cousin, Andronicus. The internal dissensions thus created in both countries led to a fresh outbreak of hostilities. Peace was made, and Stephen fled to the court of Frederick Barbarossa, who was, however, pacified by the promise of support in his Italian campaigns. In 1160, Géza acknowledged the claims of the Pope (Alexander III.); and Frederick was too busy in Lombardy to interfere.

Géza died at a very early age, in 1162. He had succeeded in preserving the independence of his country by a wise policy of conciliation, and by his energy in war. He followed the advice of St Stephen and invited foreign settlers, chiefly Flemings and Saxons, to people the uninhabited districts of Hungary.

His son, Stephen III. (1162-72) succeeded at the age of fifteen. But Manuel declared that the law expressly provided for a "*successio gradualis*," and claimed the throne for his protégé, László, the younger brother of Géza. In Hungary, too, there was a party which favoured this interpretation of the law of succession. The Greek army could not be resisted, in view of the want of unity in the country itself; László II. (1162-63) was chosen King; Stephen III. was compelled to flee to Pozsony. The Archbishop of Esztergom, Lukács (Luke), refused to crown Manuel's protégé, whom he regarded as a usurper. After László's death, his brother, Stephen IV., appeared on the scene as pretender (1163) and was crowned by Mikó, Archbishop of Kalocsa. The real king by this time had collected an army, and, after occupying the Trans-Danubian districts, defeated the pretender near Székesfehérvár.

But the Eastern Emperor had designs on Hungarian territory in 1165, and invaded Hungary, even after the death of the pretender (April 11, at Zimony). In fact he did not relinquish his endeavours to conquer Hungarian territory and to bring the kingdom under the suzerainty of the Empire, until the death of Stephen III. in 1172.

The great majority of the nation favoured the claims of Stephen's brother, Béla III. (1172-96). But the Archbishop of Esztergom, Lukács, the King's mother and a small party suspicious of a man trained in the atmosphere of the Byzantine Court, would have preferred his younger brother, Géza. Béla's energy in suppressing all attempts at insurrection, soon gave him a powerful hold over the country; and the wisdom of his legislation, the undeniably national character of his policy and his great ability as a military leader, calmed all fears and allayed all suspicions.

He kept his promise not to attack the Greek Empire during Manuel's lifetime: but he put an end to the domination of that Greek influence which had reacted so banefully upon the internal conditions of the country. Hungary had passed through another period of severe trial: it was surely the irony of fate that it should have been left to Béla, the son-in-law of Manuel, to show that the independence of Hungary was as proof against the wiles and power of Byzantium as it had been against Germany.

Géza and his mother fled, first to Germany, and then to Constantinople, where they ended their days. The powerful oligarchs were subdued; and the prelates were forced to acknowledge that Béla was no enemy to the Roman Church.

In 1180-81 Béla was engaged in the reconquest of Dalmatia and in protecting that province against attacks from Venice. His second wife was Margaret, the sister of Philip Augustus of France: as a result of this marriage, a lively intercourse began between the two countries; Hungarians were sent to



the University of Paris ; and Béla settled French Cistercians at Egres, Pilis, Szt. Gotthard and Zircz, with considerable benefit to Hungarian culture.

In 1189 the Third Crusade, under Frederick Barbarossa, passed through Hungary ; Béla received the Crusaders with every distinction and contracted an alliance with the German Emperor.

Béla's daughter was married to Isaac (Angelos), the Byzantine Emperor, who strengthened the ties of relationship by the gift of the stronghold of Belgrade.

The King further increased his dominions by the conquest of the principality of Halics (Galicia), and assumed the title of " REX Galiciæ."

In 1192, at his request, the Pope canonised the great King László.

Béla died in 1196 and was buried at Székesfehérvár ; but in 1898, a grateful posterity removed his mortal remains to the Coronation Church in Buda.

Béla added to the territory and prestige of his country : but he did far more than that—he re-established normal conditions, advanced culture, and by wise and enlightened measures, put the administration of Hungary once more on a sound basis. He renewed the laws of St Ladislas and Kálmán relating to theft. He gave his kingdom a welcome respite from the ravages of internecine warfare. He organised a *Chancellery* (a Public Record Office), where the decisions of the King were committed to writing (thus anticipating any disputes concerning the authenticity of royal judgments) and the laws were codified : this was equivalent to the establishment of a regular system of law and a definitive centralisation of the administration of justice. Finally, he founded schools, which he entrusted to the care of the Cistercians ; and he encouraged the building of hospitals.

It was indeed a fortunate circumstance for Hungary that

she was always blessed with a wise and energetic King at the most critical periods in her history. Long years of anarchy and civil strife were succeeded by domestic peace and the opportunity afforded by the same for the consolidation of the political and social conditions of the country.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE BEGINNINGS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

IN 1189 Béla had made a vow to visit the Holy Land and fight for the Cross. Illness prevented him, however : but on his deathbed he charged his younger son, Endre, to fulfil the vow, leaving him to that end considerable treasures, while he bequeathed his throne to his elder son, Imre.

Imre I. (1196-1204) was soon embroiled in a quarrel with Endre who, having squandered his treasures, demanded a third of the kingdom and the title of "prince." He was granted Dalmatia and Croatia ; but that did not satisfy his ambition ; and he tried to win the crown, but was defeated near *Rád*.

The Pope, Innocent III., persuaded the brothers to become reconciled ; and he bound Endre, under pain of excommunication and exclusion from the right of succession, to renounce his ambitions and fulfil his vow. He soon broke his promise and was exiled. In 1200 the King left Hungary, to aid Vuk, Prince of Servia, to recover his throne (it was on this occasion that Imre assumed the title of " King of Servia ").

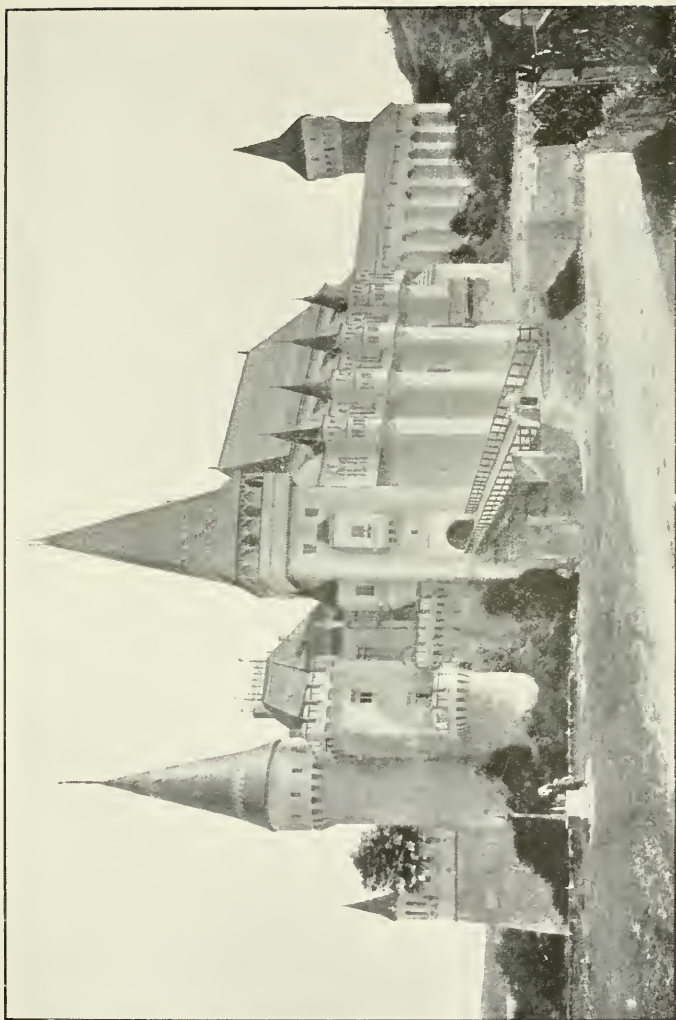
But his thoughts soon reverted to Hungary, for Endre had risen in revolt against him and had secured the support of a powerful party. The King's army was so small that his counsellors advised him to flee : but he resolved to try the effect of audacity. Unaccompanied, with only a stick in his hand, he entered Endre's camp, walked up to the pretender's tent, and exclaimed : " Let us see who is bold enough to raise

a finger to shed royal blood ! ” Endre’s followers were dumb-founded and stood before their King bowed and silent. Imre then seized his brother by the arm, led him away to his own camp, and had him thrown into prison. Endre’s ambitious wife, Gertrude of Meran, was exiled to Germany.

The King’s health had been undermined by the incessant feuds. Feeling death approaching, he begged the Pope to permit the coronation of his son, László. The request was granted, on condition that Imre should (in the name of his son) take the oath of allegiance to the Papal See. Endre was set at liberty ; and Imre, who died in the autumn, appointed him guardian to the youthful King.

The regent appointed to guard over the interests of László III. (1204-5), however, abused his power. His intention was evidently to usurp the royal authority : so the queen-mother, taking her son and the royal insignia with her, fled for refuge to the Court of Leopold VI., Duke of Austria. Endre threatened the latter with war, but the death of László, early in 1205, intervened to prevent a conflict.

Endre II. (1205-35) lost no time in recalling his wife, and recovering the Holy Crown. At his coronation an innovation was made. The freemen compelled him to take an oath to respect their rights and to further the welfare of the country and of the Church. But the “ prodigal son ” and ambitious regent proved a wicked and unscrupulous king. He had neither the will nor the ability to observe the terms of his oath. Under him the power of the Crown sank to a depth hitherto unknown ; while the power of the oligarchy rose to a height of uncontrolled despotism that, while it reduced the monarch to the merest shadow, involved both the gentry and the lower classes in untold misery. The reign of Endre (Andrew) II. is one of the blackest pages in Hungarian history—despite the glamour of the Charter (*Bulla Aurea*) extorted from him, which forms the basis and contains the cardinal points of the present Hun-



Vajda-Hunyad Castle (Age of the Hunyads; restored)



garian Constitution. Endre lavished gifts of land (sometimes whole counties) on his favourites, and thus laid the foundations of the petty kingdoms which later in history became the curse of the country : these gifts reduced the King to pecuniary straits ; so he debased the coinage and robbed the people to enable him to continue his riotous living. He gave the oligarchs the means to curtail the rights of the lesser nobility (the gentry). Acting upon the advice of his wife, he showered favours upon foreigners, more especially upon those who had followed in Gertrude's train. The licentiousness of the Court reached a height of excess without a parallel in Hungarian history : the welfare of the realm was sacrificed to a riot of dissipation and debauchery that deafened the cries of dissatisfaction and distress.

The wicked queen obtained the appointment of her brother, Berthold, to the archbishopric of Kalocsa, and later to the offices of Ban of Croatia and Waywode of Transylvania. The doors of the palace, closed to the oppressed Hungarians, were thrown wide open to welcome the never-ending stream of visitors from Meran. Among the new-comers was Gertrude's elder brother, Egbert, Bishop of Bamberg, in whose house Philip had been assassinated by Otto of Wittelsbach.

In 1213 Endre endeavoured to calm the growing disaffection by leading an expedition to Galicia : but the Galicians would have none of his faith or his suzerainty.

The same year, however, the revenge for which the sufferings of the people and the grievances of the nobility had cried in vain was accomplished. On September 28, in the woods of Pilis, conspirators took Gertrude by surprise and killed her. Her brothers fled at the first alarm : but the conspirators were overpowered and thrown into prison.

Endre was in the monastery at Lelesz, on his way back from Galicia, when he heard the news. He returned home at once ; he had Peter, the high sheriff, and one or two of the

less important of the conspirators executed: but then he stayed his hand; he had not the courage to claim full vengeance for the murder of his consort. The cowardly monarch, aware of the instability of his throne, elected to pass the tragedy over in silence, and—wedded Yolanda Courtenay, the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor, Henry.

The following year, his elder son, *Béla*, was crowned.

In 1217 his ambition to become the heir of Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and obtain the title of "Latin Emperor," prevailed upon Endre to organise a Crusade to the Holy Land. Hungary was groaning under the despotism of the prelates and the "barons"; the Treasury was empty; practically no army was forthcoming; the sources of revenue had become exhausted: but all this was but a trifle where glory and a "change of air" seemed likely to prove beneficial to the King and to satisfy the spirit of adventure of his favourites. The King had no money: but he could borrow from usurers and chapters, and the country could pay. He wished to travel by sea; he had no ships: but Venice would lend him some; and Zara could be pledged. So the expedition started, laden with provisions and luxuries. The Crusade was a farce. The Saracens did not take Endre seriously, and did their best not to worry him and his "army" too much. Nothing was done: but Endre returned home bearing the pretentious title of "King of Jerusalem," arriving in Hungary *viâ* Constantinople towards the close of 1218. He declared that the state of the country had, during his absence, relapsed into a misery "beyond imagination." The details are reminiscent of the state of mediæval England under weak or absentee kings.

It was left to the lesser nobility (gentry) to champion the cause of liberty and equality and to deliver the first assault against the stronghold of the barons and prelates, and the impotence of the King. They put themselves under the leadership of Prince Béla, who had been crowned in 1214, and



bore the title of Prince of Croatia and Slavonia. The result was the "Golden Bull," the "great Charter" of Hungarian liberty, but contrasting with the English charter in that it strengthened the power of the sovereign in addition to defining the rights of his subjects.

The Golden Bull was ratified by the "golden seal" of the King at one of those "assizes," whose chief object was originally the administration of justice. The Hungarian Charter, by establishing the permanency of the "assizes," contained the germs of the modern Parliamentary system: these "assizes" were to include the discussion of all political grievances and thus developed into the national assembly contemplated by St Stephen. Further restrictions on the King's power for evil were contained in the clause providing that no noble could be condemned by the King or the "powerful" (prelates, "barons") without a hearing; by the provision that no foreigner could be appointed to any dignity or office without the consent of the national council; by the clause forbidding the grant of whole counties or dignities to foreigners or others as hereditary possessions; by the injunction respecting the minting of *good* coins ("such as were in circulation in the days of Béla III."); and by the famous clause containing the *jus resistendi*, which gave the bishops and nobles the right to resist singly or jointly injustice projected by the King.

The Golden Bull exempted the nobility from taxation and billeting; their disposal of their property was released from all restrictions except that referring to the portion due to daughters; no noble could be compelled to follow the King to war outside Hungary, but all nobles were to supply their levies for national defence; in all cases of crimes involving capital punishment or confiscation of estates, the Palatine could not pass judgment without the King's knowledge and consent; the offices of treasurer, money-changer, salt-vendor, and tax-collector could be filled by nobles only, not by

Ishmaelites or Jews. The lesser nobility found special protection in the clauses providing for the dismissal of any "comes" (sheriff) abusing his power and practising extortion on the feudatories under his control and for the exclusion of all persons except the Palatine, the Ban, and the Court "justiciars" of the King and Queen from the privilege of holding two offices simultaneously.

The unprivileged classes—the *plebs*—were also provided for. "Tithes shall not be commuted but must be paid in kind as the land yields corn and wine." This clause put an end to one of the most crying abuses practised by the prelates and clergy. "The nobles shall follow the Court and travel wherever they may go so as not to oppress or rob the poor."

But the Golden Bull "did not by its form humiliate the King. It was so drawn as to appear to be a favour freely granted by the King. It was not a contract between King and nobles, like Magna Charta, but a decree by the sovereign."

No doubt Prince Béla's espousal of the cause of the discontented nobility was inspired primarily by his ambition to enhance the royal authority. He must have played an important part in the negotiations preceding the granting of the Charter, and his presence must have inspired confidence in both parties.

Prince Béla, who seems on this occasion to have been advanced to the dignity of "*junior rex*," helped by his brother, Prince Kálmán, and by the lesser nobility and clergy, took measures for the enforcement of the Golden Bull. But Endre, who had never thought seriously of his obligations, used every means in his power to frustrate the prince's endeavours. So, in 1231, he was compelled to issue a second Golden Bull, which, while in other respects practically identical with the first, gave the Archbishop of Esztergom the right to put the country, the King, and his sons under a ban, if the terms of the Charter were not observed. The work of recovering the royal estates

(by force, if necessary) was continued energetically. The King's friends endeavoured to concentrate the energies of the reformers on the Church and the prelates. So Archbishop Robert put Hungary under a ban. Endre was alarmed and appealed to the Pope (Gregory IX.) to remove the interdict. This was done; but, by the Agreement of Beregh (1233), the King bound himself to compensate the Church for the losses it had incurred. He renewed his solemn promise to dispense with the services of Ishmaelites and Jews, whose extortions had been continued and had resulted in the oppression of the Christian population. But the Agreement involved the confession that Hungary was governed by Rome: and the last remnants of the King's prestige were shattered. Endre cared but little about the fulfilment of his obligations. He gave himself up once more to riotous living; after the death of his second wife he wedded Beatrice d'Este: and not even the repeated excommunications of Rome could prevail upon him to carry out the work of reform which the nation had forced him to inaugurate.

Endre died in 1235, soon after the betrothal of his daughter Jolán to James I., King of Arragon.

Thus ended one of the saddest and most inglorious reigns in Hungarian history. It is strange to reflect that posterity cherished the memory of Endre as that of the King who had made the Hungarians great and glorious. He was given credit for having established the foundations of Hungary's constitutional liberty. His licentiousness, his follies, the impotence of his government, were forgotten in the glory of the fabric which his weakness had helped to rear. Posterity forgot the bitter lamentations of the helpless victims of his infidel tax-farmers, and the cynical flouting of oaths and the sanctity of inherited privileges.

It may be that other reasons besides the ultimate triumph of the cause which his unwilling acquiescence had helped to

victory contributed to enhance his reputation with posterity. It was surely the irony of fate<sup>7</sup> that made Endre II. and Gertrude the parents of St Elizabeth of Hungary.

Posterity forgot the wickedness of the father, the woe and misery which his impotence and vanity brought on his unhappy country, and the helpless despotism which exhausted even the patience of a long-suffering nation, in the saintly goodness and beneficent self-sacrifice of the daughter, and the benefits which the Golden Bull ultimately secured for a people who had moulded their own destinies.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE TARTAR INVASION

It was a burdensome inheritance which Endre bequeathed to his son, Béla IV. (1235-70). He had destroyed the value of a kingly promise, and shaken the trust of the nation in their ruler's faith. He had undermined the royal authority, leaving it at the mercy of unscrupulous magnates, and led the nation—which had unlearned the lessons taught by St Stephen, St Ladislav, Kálmán, and Béla III.—to believe that duty had no place in the scheme of the universe. He had contracted debts of enormous proportions. He had left the country on the brink of financial and moral ruin. He had filled the cup of the nation's bitterness to the full.

Yet Béla was not dismayed. He knew that his first business must be to restore order, to remedy the grievances of the weaker, to check the unbridled ambitions of the oligarchy, and to enforce a due respect for the laws from everybody alike.

He began his work with the proper energy. He got rid of his father's wicked advisers and foreign protégés, many of whom sought safety in flight; their estates were confiscated and proclaimed by a resolution of the national assembly to be Crown property. No opposition was tolerated; the King made short shrift with such as endeavoured to frustrate his measures. Nor did Béla spare the Church; all land wrongly acquired by the bishops and other ecclesiastical dignitaries was simply restored to its former owners. The oligarchs appealed to Frederick, Duke of Austria, to whom they offered

the crown : Béla met him (1236), routed his army and pursued the fleeing Austrians as far as Vienna. The prelates appealed to the Pope, who threatened the King with excommunication : Béla replied that he was concerned with the welfare of his country. The chairs of the "petty kings" were burned : only the archbishops and bishops were allowed to remain seated in his presence.

The settlement in Hungary of the Cumanians who had been driven from their home by the oncoming Tartar hordes added to the ranks of the malcontents the lower classes and many of the gentry. The King, however, was not to be daunted. He knew that the oligarchs feared an increase of the royal power, and that the new settlers were an addition to the martial power of the country. So he gave them a home in the plain of the Tisza, and demanded that they should embrace Christianity. He had already heard of the menacing onrush of the Tartars, and was determined to concentrate all available forces to meet them. Unfortunately, however, the unruly behaviour and restless disposition of the Cumanians only served to increase the growing disaffection of the people.

The King was in a terrible dilemma. He dared not provoke the new-comers ; yet he was anxious to conciliate the nobility and relieve the anxiety of his subjects. To add to the gravity of the situation, about Christmas, 1240, news arrived that the Tartars had sacked Kiev and were advancing rapidly towards the Hungarian frontier. Béla took every precaution, had the passes obstructed, and sent the "bloody sword" through the country to warn the nobility of the approaching danger. But the nobility were indifferent to everything except what they regarded as the King's partiality towards a foreign rabble. Kuthen, the Cumanian "king," was commanded to settle at Pest ; and his followers were scattered about in different counties. Yet the Hungarians

resented the intrusion and declared that the Cumanians were spies, the vanguard of the Tartars.

Meanwhile, having seized the Pass of Vereczke, the Mongols, under the command of Batu Khan, on March 12, 1241, destroyed the army of the Palatine, Dénes Héderváry, and on March 15 were within a day's march of Buda. An army of 60,000 men had rallied to the King's standard. But there was no sign of unity. Some of the Hungarians turned their arms against the Cumanians, whose "king" was massacred. Frederick, Duke of Austria, to whom Béla had appealed for help, merely took the opportunity to spread dissension in the Hungarian camp. His calculating activity was contrasted by the malcontents with the waiting attitude adopted by the King. At last Béla yielded to the pressure of the warlike prelates and nobles; the help he had expected from the Pope and the Emperor Frederick II. was not forthcoming; so he gave orders to advance against Batu's hosts. The latter retired to a favourable position flanked by the Tisza, the Sajó, and the Hernád. The Hungarian army drew up behind its primitive entrenchments of wagons—which Batu is said to have described as a "sheep-fold"—on the plain of Mohi (Muhi).

The strategy of the Hungarian commanders was fatally primitive. Crowded into a space too small to enable them to move freely, with no provision made for a retreat, the Hungarian forces were surrounded on all sides; and on April 11, at dawn, a cloud of Tartar arrows "darkened the sun." A great Tartar victory was followed up by a relentless pursuit of the Hungarians. However, through the bravery and self-sacrifice of his bodyguard, Béla, whom Batu had desired to take prisoner, escaped: so the disaster at Mohi was not so fatal to the country as the rout at Mohács in 1526 was to be. The King fled to the mountainous districts of Upper Hungary, whence, eluding his pursuers, he made his



way to the Court of Frederick, Duke of Austria, who proved a treacherous friend. In addition to the royal treasures, which were not sufficient to "pay his expenses," the Austrian Duke demanded the pledge of three western counties—Sopron, Moson, and Vas.

Meanwhile the Tartars continued their work of ravage and destruction. No quarter was given: those who could not escape to the Highland fastnesses were butchered. The Tartar hosts which had been pillaging Transylvania and the north-eastern counties joined the main army in the Alföld (Great Lowland Plain). Pest was sacked, and the whole population put to the sword: the other towns—Nagyvárad, Arad, Csanád, Tamáshidja—followed. The strongholds of Christianity were razed to the ground. The women were violated and then disfigured or killed. The children were placed in groups to act as "ninepins" for the Tartar boys, who were thus taught the art of warfare. Only the Trans-Danubian districts were able, for the moment, to escape the ruthless fury of the invaders: the Danube proved impassable.

Béla had sent his family for safety to Dalmatia, while he himself proceeded to collect a fresh army in Trans-Danubia, appealing for help to the Christian kings of the West. But winter came; and about Christmas (1241) the Danube was frozen over. The Tartars crossed the ice and continued their work of pillage and destruction in the only part of Hungary which had hitherto remained unscathed. Only three strongholds—Esztergom, Székesfehérvár and Pannonhalma—defied their attacks, defended—so the legend ran—by the shadow of St Stephen. The Tartars then determined to pursue Béla, who had fled for safety to Dalmatia and was in the fortified town of Trau. The last hopes of the Hungarian nation seemed doomed to be shattered; the siege of Trau was in progress; the last outlet of escape for the King had been cut off. But suddenly, without a word of warning, the Tartars retired;



and before long Batu's hosts were far away beyond the frontiers of Hungary, rushing back to the banks of the Volga. Oktai, the Great Khan, was dead ; and the Mongol leaders were anxious to have their share in settling the question of succession.

The lessons of the Tartar invasion were not easily forgotten. "Great deeds spring up in noble souls harrowed by misfortune." It was a sad home-coming which awaited Béla, as, accompanied by a few trusty followers, he traversed the country laid waste and depopulated by the Mongol hordes. He wept when he saw the horrors produced by a short year of savage devastation—the blackened ruins of quiet homesteads, the fields white with piles of bleached bones, the roads overgrown with grass and weeds. Now and then timid groups of awe-stricken refugees would creep from their hiding-places and stare with eyes of incredulous astonishment at the King and his followers. In many places the outcasts, deprived of the means of subsistence, formed roving bands of thieves. Packs of wolves broke from the forests and added to the general misery. Terror and uncertainty reigned. But the great qualities of the King overcame even these difficulties. He encouraged the rebuilding of cities and towns ; invited settlers from Germany and Italy ; re-established the Cumanians in their old homes ; imported seeds and cattle from neighbouring countries ; encouraged the countryfolk to return to their old pursuits of agriculture and cattle-breeding ; reorganised the military system, and built castles and fortresses at all points where experience had shown they were required ; reinstated the former landowners in their estates, and, where that was not possible owing to the extinction of families, made grants of land to new possessors, particularly to such as had distinguished themselves during the crisis ; regulated once more the system of land tenure ; confirmed the autonomy of the counties and put county administration on a

modern basis ; adopted a more conciliatory policy towards the nobility, whose privileges he confirmed afresh ; established a fresh system of taxation for increasing the resources of the country ; and had new coins struck.

The country was able to breathe freely again. All classes of the population received a new lease of life. No wonder that Hungarian historians speak of Béla as "the second founder of the Hungarian state."

Having completed the work of reform at home, Béla turned his attention to neighbouring countries. He strengthened his hold on Bosnia, but was compelled to cede Zara to Venice. He subdued the Bulgarians and made Uros, the Servian King, acknowledge his suzerainty. In 1246 he attacked the Duke of Austria, whom he desired to punish for his treachery five years before. In the battle of Wienerneustadt, Frederick was killed : and the House of Babenberg became extinct, a fact of immense importance for the future of Hungary. The three "pledged" counties were recovered ; but the jealousy of his Bohemian neighbour was to involve Béla in a new conflict.

Meanwhile Béla had done something which was very foolish and disastrous in its consequences. He had his son, Stephen, crowned and dignified with the title of "junior rex." No doubt the prime political motive underlying the *definitive* establishment of this institution was the conciliation of the Cumanians, whose princess, Elizabeth, was Stephen's consort. But the sphere of authority of the "junior rex" was dangerously wide. He could have coins of his own struck ; had a Chancellory and Court of his own ; could grant gifts of land, maintain an army, and administer justice. In short, the country had two kings and suffered in consequence. The institution was a continuous danger to that unity of the nation which every strong king had striven to bring about. Stephen was crowned "junior rex" in 1254, when, by the

Treaty of Pozsony, Hungary received the province of Styria (of which Stephen was appointed viceroy).

However, in 1258 Béla was again at war with Ottokar, King of Bohemia, over the possession of Styria. After the disastrous battle of Kroissenbrunn (1260), on the plain of the March, Béla was compelled to renounce his Austrian ambitions; for civil war had broken out in Hungary between the two kings—the father and son—over the division of the country.

A terrible struggle ensued, with varying fortune, until, in 1265, Stephen routed the King's army at Isaszeg.

In 1267 Béla reissued the Golden Bull in a new (3rd) edition: this edition is the first to make specific mention of the order of "barons" or magnates, the first step in the establishment of feudalism.

In 1269 the King's favourite son, Béla, died; the father did not survive the blow long. In 1270 he died on the Isle of Hares, where his daughter, Saint Margaret, was a nun, and the ruins of whose monastery remain still.

One of the most important of Béla's fortified positions was the castle of *Uj-Buda*, or *New Buda*, a stronghold which was later to become the scene of many heroic struggles and to compel the transference of the capital of the kingdom. Ever since Béla's days the history of *Uj-Buda* has been inseparably interwoven with that of the Hungarian kingdom; while *Ó-Buda* has never entirely lost its importance. Among other towns which began to establish their prosperity under Béla were: *Besztercebánya*, *Késmárk*, *Korpona*, *Löcse*, *Zólyom*.

Of the Cumanian settlers and the German and Italian colonists, mention has already been made: it was during Béla's reign that the Roumanians, who had begun to settle there under Endre II., fleeing from the tyranny of the Cumanians, established themselves finally in Transylvania. The Saxons, too, seem to have settled down definitively

in Transylvania after the Mongol invasion, and to have inaugurated the thriving town life which is still one of the outstanding features of that province. The "hospites" who established themselves in the towns and started a prosperous industry, received special privileges and a kind of municipal autonomy.

However, by the new Golden Bull already spoken of, Béla created a powerful nobility, which was interposed "between the Crown and the lesser nobility." The legal expression "barons of the land" now began to be used. Large powers of government were granted permanently to certain barons. Under the rule of the weak kings who followed Béla certain families obtained undue power and prestige. The abuses against which the Golden Bull had been originally directed were now rife. But Béla had had no intention of upsetting the balance of power in the state. He had reconfirmed the rights of the gentry, who now began to organise their power by counties. It was left to one of his successors (Endre III.) to realise the importance of a sincere *rapprochement* between the lesser nobility and the Crown and of a definite union of their forces for the overthrow of the political power of the oligarchy; but unfortunately his efforts, like those of Edward I. in England, proved unavailing to bring about a definitive and satisfactory settlement.

The nation was filled with hopes of great things when Stephen V. (1270-72) ascended the throne. His accession meant a reunion of the two halves of the country and harmony of sentiment as between the Cumanians and the Magyars; his military prowess had been proved in his wars against his father: and the nobility welcomed him as a strong king, able alike to stem the tide of oligarchy and enforce the respect of neighbouring states.

Immediately after his coronation, Stephen declared war on Ottokar, King of Bohemia, who was finally overtaken and

routed at Moson (1271). For the moment the Bohemian danger ceased to threaten the integrity of Hungary.

The following year, Joachim Pektári, Ban of Slavonia, acting on the instructions of the Queen, kidnapped the King's eldest son, László, and carried him off to the castle of Kaproncza. Stephen, who was engaged at the time in putting an end to disturbances in Servia, returned in hot haste and endeavoured to overtake the treacherous Ban. But he died on the Isle of Csepel, on August 1, 1272. He was buried beside his father, in the church attached to his sister's convent.

László IV. or "Kún" László (1272-90) was but ten years old when his mother and the Ban had him crowned at Székesfehérvár. Elizabeth's regency (controlled by the wicked Ban. Joachim) was the cause of much misery and distress. The lawless magnates, who had been kept more or less under control by the strong government of Béla and Stephen, were able once more to assert their power and to profit by the provisions of the (third) Golden Bull of 1267. Some of them, with the connivance of Ottokar, King of Bohemia, attempted to kidnap the young monarch and get him into their power. The *coup* failed, owing to the vigilance of Joachim and his Cumanian followers: but the country was once more divided against itself; and Ottokar was not slow to take advantage of the confusion and discord to attempt to carry out his scheme of extending the confines of his Slavic empire at the expense of Hungary. In 1273 he occupied Pozsony and Nagyszombat and penetrated as far as Pannonhalma. Civil war had been doing its work of destruction in other parts of the country; villages and towns had been razed to the ground, and the inhabitants, nobles and commoners alike, reduced to the condition of serfs. Luckily, however, on October 1, the German Electors chose Rudolph of Habsburg to be their emperor. Ottokar withdrew from Hungary at once, determined to vindicate his claim to the hereditary provinces. He even offered

to conclude a treaty of alliance with Hungary. But the Hungarians had been taught by experience to distrust him ; Joachim threw the whole weight of his influence into the scales against him : and national interest pointed to an understanding with Rudolph against the common enemy. In 1276 the new Emperor compelled Ottokar to renounce his claims on Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. But the ambitions of the Bohemian King would not let him rest ; he prepared to renew the struggle. So, in 1277, at Hainburg, László (now of age) made a formal alliance with Rudolph, the first of many compacts made between Hungary and the House of Habsburg, the object of which was mutual defence against the dangers of a Slavic empire. But Rudolph had trouble at home, and in 1278 Ottokar determined to make a fresh attempt. On August 26, on the field of Dürnkrut, the Hungarian army of László turned the tide of battle. Ottokar himself was killed : and the trial of strength ended in the complete and decisive triumph of Rudolph—thanks to the assistance of the Hungarians, who thus helped to lay the foundations of the greatness of the House of Habsburg. László contented himself with his share of the booty and the restoration of his own possessions. In memory of the victory, the beautiful Gothic church of the Franciscans at Pozsony was completed.

But days of sorrow and distress were in store for the Hungarian nation. The King who had shown such prowess on the battlefield proved helplessly weak and irresolute at home. Instead of compelling the Cumanians to adopt Christian culture, he abandoned himself to their pagan customs and mode of life. He confined the Queen in a convent ; lavishly bestowed the Crown estates on his favourites ; persecuted those who presumed to warn him of the consequences of his conduct. The Papal legate (Philip of Fermo) sent to admonish him and proclaim a ban, was imprisoned and submitted to





Gyulafehérvár Cathedral (15th century)

The town was the Capital of the Principality of Transylvania (1540-1700)





indignities. The Palatine, Finta, and his adherents laid their hands on the King, who was confined and promised to reform. Then the Cumanians turned against László, who defeated them in 1280 near the Lake of Hód (the site on which Hódmezővásárhely stands to-day) and passed stringent measures for their control (which, of course, were not carried out).

The two invasions by Tartars (1285 and 1287) were left to others to beat back.

Meanwhile the power of the barons had been increasing beyond measure. One family in particular, that of the Counts of Németsújvár, had established a veritable petty kingdom in the trans-Danubian district. The whole countryside was at their mercy. The King did not dare to challenge their forces; but Albert, Duke of Austria, came to the rescue of the distressed inhabitants and drove the haughty oppressors from their strongholds. This intervention of a foreign prince still further incensed the nation against their King; and the malcontents had little difficulty in securing popular approval of the claims of Prince Endre of Venice, whose ambitions were fostered by the Counts of Németsújvár.

Once more László promised to reform, but he soon relapsed; and it was a relief to the country when, in the summer of 1290, he met his death at Körösszeg, in the county of Bihar, at the hands of three of his Cumanian followers.

“A man of no faith or honour,” was the verdict of his contemporaries, who lost no time in proclaiming Endre, the last prince of the House of Árpád, King of Hungary. He reigned eleven years (1290–1301), as Endre III. No sooner had he been crowned, taking the coronation oath, than his troubles began. The Emperor Rudolph, who had presented Hungary as a vassal state to his son Albert, claimed that Béla IV. had, in return for the promise of assistance, sworn allegiance to Frederick II. War was declared; Endre’s army penetrated Austria as far as Vienna and compelled Albert to make peace;

Endre wedded Albert's daughter, Agnes, and helped him to overcome his rival, Adolphus of Nassau.

The terms of the treaty having injured the interests of Count Ivan of Németsújvár, civil strife followed; the King was taken prisoner: but the quarrel was patched up; and the country seemed destined to enjoy a period of peace and order, when a new pretender appeared in the person of Charles Martell, the son of Mary (daughter to Stephen V.) and of Charles II. of Anjou, whose place was taken, on his death in 1295, by Robert Charles, who in 1300 actually penetrated the country, advancing almost as far as Zággráb (Zagreb).

The situation was critical, and unfortunately Endre was not equal to it. The recalcitrant barons once more asserted themselves and continued their work of ravage and tyranny. However, weak as he proved in facing the lawlessness of the magnates in the field, Endre did his best by legislation to anticipate the evils arising from that lawlessness. In 1290 laws were passed which imposed severe penalties on the robber knights. The King "revived the alliance with the gentry, and formed a coalition directed against the oligarchs similar to that which had led to the issue of the Golden Bull."

So the Diet summoned to meet at Ó-Buda in 1298—at which the magnates were not represented—passed laws increasing the power of the gentry and enhancing the autonomy of the counties, directly by confirming the negative and positive privileges of the lesser nobles, and indirectly by imposing restrictions on the barons.

But Endre owed too much to the barons—above all to the Counts of Németsújvár—to be able to carry his good intentions into effect. In 1292 Count Iván had made him prisoner and kept him in confinement for four months. He knew their power, and feared it. So the good intentions had to remain as the germs of future development in the hands of a strong

monarch who knew how to use the gentry to his own and the country's advantage.

Endre did, indeed, endeavour to increase his authority by the aid of foreign (matrimonial) alliances. But the foreign aid he expected never came. The gentry showed themselves incapable of holding the barons in check. Sick in body and in mind, seeing his throne itself in jeopardy, Endre passed away suddenly (poisoned, tradition avers, by the adherents of the Angevins) on January 14, 1301, and was buried in the Franciscan church at Buda, the main part of which is still standing.

The male line of the House of Árpád was extinct.

“ Probably no ruling dynasty ever gave the Church so many saints as the House of Árpád :—Stephen, the founder of Christianity in Hungary, his prematurely deceased son Imre, King Ladislas, Elizabeth and her niece Margaret, the daughter of Béla IV.” These facts speak for themselves. The Árpád dynasty, generally speaking, was imbued with lofty ideals, which its greatest members put into practice ; it was during the rule of this House that the foundations were laid of that constitutional system of government and that individual liberty which have enabled the Hungarians, by the aid of a political sagacity paralleled in the history of England only, to build up that national state which is one of the few strongholds in Europe of democratic liberalism.

The earliest monument of Hungarian literature—the “ Funeral Speech ” (Halotti beszéd)—dates from the opening of the thirteenth century. But Hungarian literature in the vernacular could not flourish except in the songs of minstrels and the oral traditions of the people : Latin was the language of the Church and of those whose province was literature. The two principal products of the Latin-Hungarian literature of the age were the chronicles of *Master Simon Kézai*, a priest writing during the reign of László IV. (1280–83), whose work

treats principally of sagas and the "heroic" age (he was the first to relate the history of the Huns, whom he regarded as kinsmen of the Magyars), and of the days of László up to the year 1280, where his narrative has the value of being that of an eyewitness, and of the "anonymous scribe of King Béla" (*Anonymus Belae Regis notarius*), who, like the Old English historians of the same date, has recourse to Dares Phrygius for inspiration when writing of the beginnings. "Anonymus" has been described as "the Livy of Hungary": his work must be read with due caution, except when he is dealing with the events, ethnography, topography, and political conditions of his own time (early thirteenth century), in respect of which he is a first-class authority.

All the intellectual and artistic creations of the age of the Árpáds which have come down to us, were inspired by the Church. It was the priests who acted as educators of the people. To the parsonages were attached elementary schools; the secondary schools were maintained by the chapters and monasteries; and the University of Veszprém was a religious foundation. For a century and a half the cathedral built by St Stephen at Székesfehérvár was one of the architectural wonders of Europe. Having no style of their own, the Hungarians were naturally very receptive of ideas imported from both East and West. This cathedral, with its strong fortress-like towers at each of the four corners, was the result of *Byzantine* influence: it also symbolised "the two prevailing sentiments of the time—the religious and the warlike—cathedral and fortress in one." From the same period date the oldest parts of the Cathedral of *Esztergom* and the Abbey Church of Pannonhalma. We can distinguish two periods of *Romaic* influence, the early (eleventh to middle of twelfth century), with its monuments in the churches of *Tihany* and *Örs*, and the later (1150–1300); numerous examples of the latter style of architecture are still found in Hungary, the finest (indeed,

one of the most perfect specimens in Europe) is undoubtedly the Benedictine Abbey Church of Ják (county of Vas), consecrated after the Tartar invasion of 1241. The *Gothic* style began to make its appearance in Hungary in the second half of the thirteenth century: it was introduced by the German immigrants, particularly by the Franciscan Friars. Apart from the Lowlands, there is scarcely a town in Hungary which does not possess a church showing traces of the influence of this style. The golden age of Gothic architecture in Hungary, however, was that of the Angevins and Hunyadis. The Cathedral of *Kassa* is the finest specimen of this style: it was begun by Stephen V. and completed by the Angevins. Other superb examples are the cathedral (restored) and Franciscan church of *Pozsony* (the latter with its Chapel of St John, built to celebrate the victory at Dürnkrut in 1278), and the pentagonal tower of the Church of St Clare at *Pozsony*, which is unique. The decorative art of the age was also on a high level. A fine specimen of this branch of art is the altar (*diptychon*) now in the Museum at Berne, which once belonged to the widow of Endre III.

We have referred, here and there, to the policy of colonisation followed by the kings of the House of Árpád. We have seen how German knights followed Gizella, the consort of St Stephen, to Hungary; these men introduced Western armour and Western chivalric ideas, of which, unfortunately, we have practically no traces in the Hungaro-Latin literature of the age, which was predominantly religious in character. It was Géza II., however, who first resorted to a systematic colonisation of the uninhabited parts of the country by settling German burghers, artisans and farmers. These "hospites," were recruited more particularly from the Saxons, who occupied the mountainous districts all over the country, from *Pozsony* to Brassó. They did signal service to their new home, cutting down the trees of the primeval forests and building prosper-

ous towns, working the mines, teaching crafts and founding guilds. In return they obtained autonomy; the Saxons of Transylvania could be judged by their own "comes" only; and the other German burghers had courts presided over by judges elected annually from their own ranks. Beyond the "census" paid yearly to the King, they were exempt from all taxes except customs dues. They were not subordinate to any of the county officials. They could maintain their ancestral habits; and they used their own tongue, a custom maintained to this day. The greatest privileges, however, were enjoyed by the inhabitants of Pest (Ishmaelites and Germans), Buda (Germans), and Székesfehérvár.

About 1050 French settlers from the district of Liège came to Hungary and took up their residence in the valley of the Eger. They were followed by Spaniards and Italians. In 1162 many of the inhabitants of Milan (sacked by Frederick Barbarossa) settled in the Szerém district and founded two towns, Francavilla (=Nagy-Olaszi) and Kabul.

The Petchenegs were favoured by Stephen II., who employed them as his bodyguards: they have disappeared as a separate race, having been completely absorbed by their neighbours.

Of the Cumanians we have already spoken. It may be the Palócz people, with their strange dialect, are remnants of a Cumanian tribe. We have heard how Béla IV. favoured the Cumanians, and endeavoured to make them permanent settlers.

The Roumanians (Wallachs) came to Hungary in the first half of the thirteenth century, settling in Transylvania. Later they spread over various parts of the country. Their chief occupation was that of shepherds. Wallachians from the county of Fogaras migrated southwards and founded the "waywodeship" of Wallachia (Bucharest: 1295).

Of the Ishmaelites (or Saracens) mention has already been



made. They were engaged mostly in work of a financial character, or as receivers of stolen goods. The first mention of Jews in Hungary is in connection with the Ishmaelites, whose work—and unpopularity—they would seem to have shared.

Socially, the condition of the people in Hungary in the age of the Árpáds shows a steady improvement. A settled life induced the wealthier classes to exchange their tents for houses of wood or reeds, though very few private residences were of stone. The continual advance of commerce and industry increased the comfort of living: and it would seem that, socially and economically, if not politically, the nation was fully equipped to understand and enjoy the blessings of the splendid system of culture which the Angevins were to bring in their train.

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Prominent among buildings remaining from the “Romaic” period are the churches of Tihany and Örs. Besides the Abbey Church of Ják and the Cathedral of Szepesváralia, notable examples of the Early Romaic style are the churches of Lébeny (county of Moson) and the later parts of the Abbey Church of Pannonhalma.

The golden age of Gothic architecture is represented by the cathedral at Kassa, the cathedral at Pozsony, and the Franciscan church of Pozsony.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE ANGEVIN KINGS OF HUNGARY

THE extinction of the male line of the House of Árpád involved a question of the gravest importance. The nation was convinced that the right of choosing a ruler had reverted to them : unfortunately, however, the Pope thought the same. The nation based their claim on the Blood Compact ; the Pope based his on the Holy Crown : he declared that the dignity conferred by his predecessor had returned to its giver, who could dispose of it as he thought best—for the Papal See.

Besides *Robert Charles* of Anjou, who was the candidate of Rome, two other claimants appeared, the Bohemian *Wenceslas* and the Bavarian *Otto*.

The Neapolitan party actually brought young Robert Charles to Esztergom, where he was crowned—though not with the crown of St Stephen—on February 21, 1301. But the majority of the nation, led by the powerful Matthew Csák, elected *Wenceslas* (1301-5), the twelve-year-old son of the King of Bohemia. He was crowned at Székesfehérvár, on August 27. But the young King, showy and debauched, soon found his party decreasing. In 1304 his father entered Hungary with a large army ; but, finding himself unable to make any headway, he retired to Bohemia, taking his son, the Holy Crown, and the royal insignia with him. The following year the old King *Wenceslas* died : so his son renounced his claims to Hungary in favour of the Bavarian prince *Otto* of Wittelsbach, to whom he gave the crown. The latter was crowned in 1305. He withdrew three years later.

The nation, which had had enough of weak and impotent rulers, had already declared in favour of *Robert Charles* (1308–1342). Even the “petty kings”—Matthew Csák, the Counts of Németsújvár—had been won over by the arguments of Cardinal Gentilis, the Papal legate, who, however, was compelled (at the Diet held at Pest in 1308) to admit that the Pope had the right merely to *confirm the choice of the nation*. Thus *the right of the nation to elect their own king was formally re-established*.

Robert Charles—usually known in history as *Charles*—was crowned (for the second time) at Buda in 1309. But the Holy Crown was in the possession of the Transylvanian waywode; and the nation refused to acknowledge the coronation as valid. So the Cardinal put the waywode under a ban: he yielded up the Holy Crown; and in 1310 the King was crowned for the third time.

Might had become right. The policy of Béla IV.—taught by the lessons of the Tartar invasion—in encouraging the building of strong fortresses, had led to the establishment of numerous petty sovereignties. Perched on the summits of precipitous rocks, these “eyries” became the strongholds of robber knights who maintained large armed forces and intimidated the whole countryside. Not content with the possession of a whole county, some of these magnates—like Csák or the Counts of Németsújvár—brought neighbouring counties, too, under their sway. They passed their own laws, minted their own coins, and administered “justice” to great and small within the confines of their respective “kingdoms.” Trade was at a standstill from Kassa to the Danube, from the West to the counties of Bereg and Ung. Even Amadé, the Palatine, had joined the ranks of the robber barons and terrorised the inhabitants of the counties of Abanlj, Sáros, and Zemplén. But the most powerful and most ferocious of the petty sovereigns was Matthew Csák, the lord of Trencsén, who

ruled over twelve counties in the N.W., and possessed no fewer than thirty-two fortresses. Indignant at the office of Lord High Treasurer (tárnokmester) being conferred on another, Csák imagined he could with impunity defy the King. He thought he had to deal with another Endre II. or László IV. But he was mistaken. Charles intended to be the master in his own house.

There was a new alliance between King and gentry, but now these lesser nobles were content to give the King more power, this being the only hope of prevailing against the magnates. In the result the King became more powerful than the English kings, but less absolute than the French sovereigns. Charles defeated Csák's army: though the power of this oligarch was never completely broken; the Counts of Németsújvár, the Counts of Brebir, László, waywode of Transylvania, and others, persisted in their opposition; but Charles at last succeeded in restoring order. Many new families rose into prominence, receiving the estates of the rebel oligarchs as a reward for their loyalty.

The work of controlling the despotism of the oligarchs having been completed, with the help of the people, Charles set himself to reform the whole system of government. The people's mistrust of autonomy enabled him to establish a kind of absolutism: he but rarely summoned Parliament to assemble, and substituted *decrees* for laws. To give force to his will, he introduced the system of feudalism. This system was to serve at the same time as the basis of national defence. The prelates and magnates were compelled to maintain armed bands (*banderia*) in proportion to the number of "sessions" or "portae" comprised in their estates. All nobles maintaining a band of not less than forty were permitted to lead their men into battle under their own standards (thus becoming "bannerets"). Further impulse was given by the foundation of knightly orders, such as those of St George and the

Golden Spur, and the institution of tournaments and jousts. Thus family pride and the love of display inherent in the Magyar were exploited for national purposes. Yet this system of feudal levies, while ensuring the existence of a standing national army, without burdening the people at large, was calculated to give the nobles a power which they would not fail later to use against the Crown.

Charles improved the coinage and the system of taxation.

He encouraged mining and industry, colonised Upper Hungary, and gave charters freely to towns in that district. The domestic peace he brought to his country enabled the people to resume their fairs. At these the various nationalities appeared in their respective national costumes: Magyar, Saxon, Slovak, Roumanian, Serb, all met on the friendliest terms and learned to respect and understand one another. That was undoubtedly one of the reasons that prompted Charles to encourage the resuscitation of this national institution.

As soon as the struggle with the oligarchs had been brought to a successful conclusion, Charles removed his headquarters from Temesvár to the Castle of Visegrád, whose ruins still remain. Here he surrounded himself with a brilliant assembly of knights and nobles: the Court became a kind of educational institute for the children of the nobility. Personal service was made the basis of the military power of the Crown: the allegiance due from the knights to their feudal lord became the new bond of union between the members of the "nation."

But in 1330 Visegrád was the scene of a terrible tragedy. Felician Zách had been one of the devoted adherents of Csák, but had been compelled to accept the bounty of the King. Stung by the insult offered to his daughter Clara, the smouldering embers of disappointed vanity were fanned to a flame of uncontrollable fury. Sword in hand, he dashed into the dining-room, where the royal family was

assembled, attacked the King, who was wounded slightly, hacked off the Queen's right hand, and would have killed the young princes but for the timely intervention of their tutors. With difficulty the old man was overpowered; and his body was cut to pieces by the enraged attendants. A terrible punishment was visited on the sons and daughters of Felician: the whole family was extirpated, and all the members of the Zách clan were deprived of their property and degraded to the position of servants. The sentence was a terrible one: but it was in accordance with the crude ideas of justice then in vogue and was intended to serve as a warning to all who might presume to raise their hands against their sovereign.

Charles conducted several campaigns outside the confines of Hungary. In 1319 he reconquered the Banate of Macsó (N.W. Servia) from Milutin, the Servian King, whose son, Uros, swore allegiance to him. In 1328 he subdued Bosnia, though he was compelled to allow the Dalmatian coast-towns to accept the suzerainty of Venice.

Charles died at Visegrád in 1342.

The first act of the new King, Louis the Great (1342-82), who ascended the throne at the age of seventeen, was a visit to the tomb of St Ladislas at Nagyvárad. The young monarch desired hereby to symbolise his intention of imitating the example of his sainted predecessor and of devoting his life and energies to the consolidation of the power of Hungary. The condition of the country was still far from settled. Luckily for Hungary, Charles had been endowed with all the qualities necessary to enable him to impose his will on his subjects. The reforms he introduced put an end to the state of chaos; and the inheritance he bequeathed to his son was a country accustomed to the blessings of domestic peace and settled order.

Great as he was as a commander in war, Louis was still



greater as a man. Important as his military and diplomatic successes were, the wisdom of his domestic policy was of far greater and more permanent importance to the development of Hungary as a national state. He began by initiating the system of *entail*. Property was all regarded as held by its owner directly of the Crown: it could not be escheated except on the extinction of the family of the owner; but it could be inherited only by direct or indirect male descendants of the original grantee, and could not be disposed of at will. Louis desired hereby to prevent the impoverishment of the nobility, and to enable them to perform their duties in respect of the royal and national army without difficulty.

A similar purpose was served by the "*ninth part*" (*Kilenczed*), the tax introduced in 1351. The law in question, while permitting the free dependants of the nobility to migrate at will, ordered them to pay one-ninth of their produce in corn and wine to their feudal lords, who were to employ the taxes thus collected to maintain their feudal levies.

These two institutions bolstered up the privileged position of the nobility; and it was on them that that position rested until 1848.

Rights and duties—Louis established the privileges of the nobility (magnates and gentry alike) on an inseparable combination of the two. The banderium army system assigned duties as well as rights to the nobles.

Prominence was given by a law of 1309 to the sanctity of the King's person, *if crowned with the Sacred Crown*. Thus the symbol of the nation and its privileges became the symbol of royal power and prerogatives.

The *membra Sacrae Coronae* were divided into three groups—the prelates, the magnates, and the gentry. Their privileges were based on property; and they held their estates directly of the Crown. They constituted the Parliament, the only body which possessed the power to pass laws. The King, as



# HUNGARY

Under Louis the Great





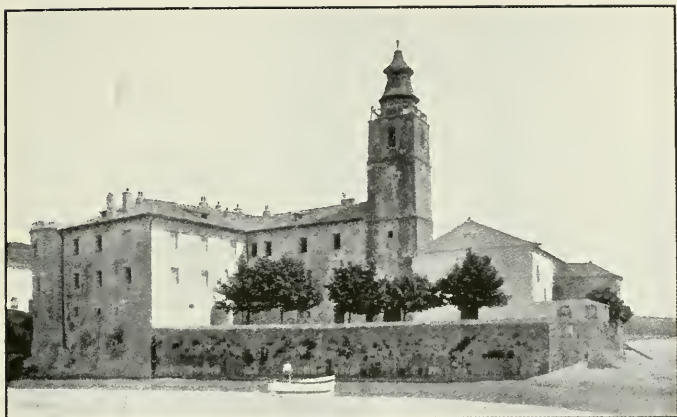
the living personification of the powers vested in the Crown, was the head of the social system : his sanction was required to give effect to legislation.

Louis the Great succeeded in imposing his will on Parliament ; but the precedent was a dangerous one, and under weak kings resulted in the worst form of absolutism.

Charles had striven to establish firm friendship with Hungary's neighbours to the West. He courted the goodwill of the House of Habsburg. In 1335 Visegrád had been the scene of an important conference. Charles's consort, Elizabeth, was a Polish princess : the Hungarian King had helped the Poles to overcome the Lithuanians and Tartars ; and his brother-in-law, Casimir, had been crowned King of Poland. The conference, the object of which was to settle the future of Poland and of Eastern Europe, was attended by the King of Bohemia, John of Crécy fame, and his son Charles, the future Emperor, Casimir, the dukes of Saxony, Liegnitz, and Lauzitz, the delegates of the German orders, and a vast host of ecclesiastical and secular magnates. John renounced his claim to the throne of Poland, which in 1339 was settled on the eldest son of the King of Hungary.

Hungary as a decisive factor in the affairs of Eastern Europe—that was the legacy bequeathed by Charles to his son in the field of foreign politics.

Louis followed in his father's footsteps. He endeavoured to establish his suzerainty over all the neighbouring petty kingdoms. Alexander, the waywode of Wallachia, at once took the oath of allegiance. Uros, prince of Servia, accepted his overlordship. The Wallachians and Cumanians of Moldavia yielded to his persuasions and adopted the Catholic faith. Bulgaria, too, came under his sway ; and Bodon (Viddin) became the capital of the Bugarian Banate. Louis's efforts to "convert" Bosnia met with less success : the overreaching tyranny of his governor Tvartkó, a relative of his



Frangepan Castle, Porto-Ré



St. Stephen's Cathedral, Budapest (19th century)



ambitious consort, Elizabeth Kotromanovitch, frustrated his schemes. The Tartars were driven out of Moldavia by the Székelys under Andrew Laczkfi; and that province, under Bogdán, became a vassal state.

Louis's brother, Endre, who was married to Johanna of Naples, had been disinherited, in defiance of the solemn agreement made between him and Charles, by King Robert, who left his crown to his granddaughter Johanna. Louis sent his mother to endeavour to put matters right (1343). The queen promised to treat her husband properly, but, on September 19, 1345, at Aversa, Endre was assassinated, with the approval and connivance of Johanna, by criminals in the pay of the anti-Hungarian camarilla.

Great was the indignation in Hungary; the court at Visegrád put on mourning and called for vengeance. Louis demanded of the Pope (then at Avignon) that all the guilty persons (not excepting Johanna) should be punished. The Pope hesitated; but Louis could not. Many of the leading princes of Europe (among others, Edward III. of England) urged the Hungarian King to avenge the murder. So, in 1347, Louis's pious reverence for the Head of his Church having yielded to his sense of justice and his disgust with the Pope's temporising hypocrisy, the Hungarian armies passed through North Italy, with the connivance and by the help of the Italian princes, who understood the object of Louis's expedition and sympathised fully with his desire for retaliation. Johanna fled to Avignon; Charles of Durazzo, the ringleader of the conspiracy, was beheaded; four of the princely conspirators were taken to Visegrád to be confined there. Louis then demanded of the Pope that he should confirm him in his possession of the kingdom of Naples as trustee for the infant son of Endre. Once more Clement chose to temporise; so Ulrich Wolfart was appointed Governor, and Louis returned by sea to Dalmatia.

Two years later he was compelled to intervene once more. Johanna had bribed Wolfart to capitulate. Laczkfi was sent with an army to attack Naples by land ; while Louis himself proceeded thither by sea. After many brilliant successes, the Hungarian King again seized Naples. The Pope once more acknowledged his claims—on paper ; the attitude of Venice and the fate of Poland claimed his attention and rendered his return to Hungary advisable ; so Louis started for home, leaving the Neapolitan question undecided. The throne of Naples was subsequently ceded to Charles of Durazzo, the nephew of the ringleader of the conspiracy against Endre.

Louis had to fight against Venice too. He did not enter into diplomatic negotiations but demanded the cession of the whole of Dalmatia and the adjacent islands as his rightful possessions. His campaign against Naples, however, prevented his taking energetic steps until 1356. He was supported by Genoa, while Dushan came to the aid of Venice. Making a feigned attack on the "Czar" of Servia, Louis succeeded in taking possession of Dalmatia. The Republic sued for peace (1358) : but twenty years later the terms of peace were broken, and the King once more attacked Venice ; his success by land was, however, counterbalanced by the victory of the Venetian fleet over that of Genoa at Pisani ; and on August 8, 1381, the belligerents signed the Peace of Turin, by the terms of which the Republic ceded Dalmatia to Hungary, and, by way of indemnity, agreed to pay the Hungarian King an annual tribute of 7000 ducats.

Louis continued his father's policy with respect to Poland. He aided King Casimir in his struggles against the Tartars, the Lithuanians, and the Emperor Charles IV. ; he renounced all claim to the money due to him (100,000 ducats) ; and he used the influence of his mother and the Palatine to secure his reversion to the throne. So, after the death of Casimir,



the Polish nobility elected him King ; and he was crowned King of Poland in 1370.

The power of Louis had reached its zenith. His dominions stretched from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea and the Adriatic ; practically the whole of the Balkans acknowledged his suzerainty. The crown of Germany was offered to him by the enemies of Charles IV. ; and, though, like St Ladislas before him, he refused to accept it, as such a step would have involved a menace to the national independence of his country, the Emperor became a bitter enemy. He spoke insultingly of Elizabeth, Louis's mother. Louis sent envoys to demand satisfaction ; the Emperor swaggeringly refused : but, when events threatened to assume the aspect of armed intervention, Charles repented, and at Brünn renewed the compact between the houses of Anjou and Luxemburg. His son, Sigismund, was betrothed to Mary, Louis's daughter. The affair contributed in no small measure to enhance the reputation of the chivalrous Hungarian King in the eyes of Christian Europe.

It was during Louis's reign that the first signs of the Turkish menace to Europe began to appear. Osman's followers had taken Adrianople, and were threatening Constantinople itself : the Emperor, John Palæologus, came to the Court of Louis, at Buda, and, by pretending he desired to join the Western Church, persuaded the Hungarian King to aid him against the barbarian invaders. Louis—whom the Pope had designated " Banner-bearer of the Church "—accepted the trust. He was chiefly concerned to prevent the Turks extending their power over Wallachia and Bulgaria, whose rulers were endeavouring to throw off their allegiance to Hungary by joining hands with the newcomers. More still was Louis determined to nip in the bud what seemed to him a foreign growth that threatened with extinction the fruits of Christian culture and Christian civilisation. On the banks of the Maritza, though outnumbered by four to one, the Hungarian army

completely shattered the Ottoman forces, and established the prestige which stood Europe in such good stead during the fifteenth century. In memory of this victory, Louis built and endowed the church at Mariazell (Styria) and the chapel at Aachen. Unfortunately, however, as so often when acting in defence of a European cause, Hungary was left to fight her own battles; the promised help never came; and the opportunity of anticipating the sufferings and troubles of more than five centuries had gone.

And yet—the King who had raised the power of his house and his country to such an eminence, the greatest monarch of the age, who had initiated the rôle of saviour of Europe which so many of his successors were to fill with glory and renown, who had constituted Hungary the impregnable bulwark of Western civilisation against the inroads of barbarian tyranny and unenlightened vandalism—the great King was not happy. No son had been born to him; and he feared for the inheritance of his daughters. He used every effort to secure their birthright; but when, on September 12, 1382, he passed away, the future of the dynasty his father had founded and of the country which he loved so well was uncertain. As they escorted the mortal remains of their great sovereign to their last resting-place at Székesfehérvár, the Hungarians involuntarily thought of the phenomenon that had preceded his death—the comet which seemed to be the presage of some coming disaster.

The rule of the Angevins was of paramount importance to Hungary, not only politically, but as laying the foundations of that culture which rose to its zenith in the days of Matthias and has survived the horrors and sufferings of Turkish dominion and German imperialism.

The Neapolitan campaigns familiarised the Hungarian nobility with Italian art and Italian culture. A striking improvement in the structure and decoration of private mansions

was one important result. Gardens sprang up everywhere. Viticulture was developed on new lines. Sculpture flourished as an art side by side with fresco-painting. We know the names of two at least of the most celebrated Hungarian sculptors of the age—Martin and George Kolosvári, who were responsible for the statue of St Ladislas at Nagyvárad and also—probably—for the statues in the cathedral at Kassa. The school of Hungarian silversmiths, always famous, now became the most prominent representatives in Europe of their craft.

Louis the Great, besides, was a benefactor of the Church and a liberal patron of letters and learning. He built and endowed churches.

Louis established a system of schools under the control of ecclesiastical orders; he founded the second Hungarian “university,” that of Pécs; and he encouraged the settlement in Hungary of foreign scholars.

Unfortunately the Magyar literary productions of the Angevin age have almost all disappeared. The only Magyar chronicle to survive is in verse, and deals with the “Conquest of Pannonia.” It was the age when Nicholas Toldi, the almost legendary hero of Arany’s immortal epic, held court and people enthralled by his martial prowess and his super-human strength.

The Angevin Kings were the pioneers in Hungary of that peculiarly Hungarian type of Western culture which has enabled the country to hold its own in the unceasing rivalry of nations, and to rise triumphant over the barbarism which later on threatened it with extinction. They fostered the national pride and national consciousness of the Hungarians and raised the country to a height of greatness beyond which it could never hope—or wish—to scale. And the authority and prestige of the Hungarian King became a European factor.

The ruins of Trencsén and Beczkó still bear evidence of Csák's power. The whole valley of the Vág is flanked by ruins of the kind.

The ruins of the stronghold of the Counts of Németújvár, may still be seen at Németújvár, near the Austrian frontier, not far from Szombathely.

The victory of Rozgony (1312) is commemorated by a fresco in the church of Szepesváralja.

Notable remains of buildings of the time of Louis the Great are the church of St Aegidius at Bártfa, the cathedral at Lőcse of which the altar is unique, the town hall of Bártfa, the Szapolya chapel at Csütörökhely (near Lőcse) and numerous churches in the Saxon districts of Transylvania and Szepes.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE REIGN OF SIGISMUND

“ A NATION’S future is the logical outcome of its past.” The constitutional struggle was bound to go on in Hungary, and the fact that Louis was succeeded by a series of weak men led to just such a situation as marked fourteenth and fifteenth century England. The royal power inevitably declined.

So deep was the gratitude of the nation for the great services of Louis that, on the day following his funeral, they elected his daughter Mary (1382-95) as their Queen ; and she was crowned the same day. The Hungarians thus made the foreign Angevin dynasty a concession which they had denied to their own royal house of Árpád. The regency (Mary was only eleven years of age) was entrusted to the queen-mother, Elizabeth, who refused to allow even Sigismund, Mary’s fiancé, the son of Charles IV., to participate in the affairs of government. But the Polish nobles refused to accept the principle of “ personal union ” ; so Louis’s other daughter, Hedvig, was offered to them. They accepted the offer ; and Hedvig was crowned Queen of Poland in 1384. After considerable hesitation (seeing that she was engaged to Albert, Duke of Austria, whom she loved), Hedvig, for political reasons, gave her hand to Jagello, Duke of Lithuania, who embraced the Christian faith. Thus Poland became separated from Hungary ; and the marriage became of disastrous importance for the latter country, for the Jagello dynasty were able to set up a claim to the Hungarian throne, a claim which involved

national disunion and led indirectly to the disaster at Mohács.

Nor was the loss of Poland the only blow that fell on Hungary after the death of Louis. Croatia was entrusted by Elizabeth to the care of the powerful palatine, Garai. The queen-mother's arbitrary government, however, drove many of the Croatian nobles into revolt, under the leadership of Paul Horváti, Bishop of Zágráb, and the Ban John Horváti. The dissatisfied Croatian nobles persuaded Charles of Durazzo to break the oath which he had taken never to dispute the claims of Louis's children. Charles seems to have been only too ready to fall in with the idea of uniting Hungary with Naples.

But there was another opposition party in Bosnia, headed by Tvartkó, the self-appointed "King," who courted the favour of Venice with the idea of uniting Croatia, Bosnia, and Dalmatia under his rule.

Charles's party succeeded in winning the day ; so in August 1385, the King of Naples started for Croatia. On December 31 (1385) he was crowned King of Hungary at Székesfehérvár. He is known to history as *Charles the Little*. He ruled for a month, was wounded by an assassin on February 7, 1386, and died seventeen days later.

The deposition and death of Charles united the two opposition parties of the Horvátis and Tvartkó. The former feared retaliation, the latter saw the chance offered them by united action. Garai, accompanied by the two queens, marched south of the Drave, hoping to quell the insurrection by promises and threats. But the rebels surprised the royal party ; Garai and Forgács were killed ; and the two queens were taken prisoners and confined in the fortress of Novigrad. Elizabeth was strangled by John Horváti, the Bishop, in the presence of her daughter, who was kept as a hostage. But the nation was tired of anarchy and of the consequent reign of terror ; and,

faced as they were by a prospect of a disputed succession and by trouble from without, they agreed to accept *Sigismund* (1387-1437) as King of Hungary, *to rule conjointly* with his consort, Mary. He was crowned at Székesfehérvár, on March 31, 1387, by the Bishop of Veszprém; but—the fact is significant—he was compelled to agree to certain conditions, which practically formed the terms of a contract between the nation and the monarch. He was to consult Hungarian advisers only, to appoint only Hungarians to high offices, to grant a general amnesty to all who swore allegiance to him and his consort, *to defend the nation's liberty*. Any failure to comply with these conditions was to give the sufferers (whether the grievances were general or particular) the right to take up arms against the King.

Luckily for Mary, whose royal consort still hesitated to procure her release, the jealousy of Venice (fearful lest the "Naples" party might gain the upper hand) and the heroism of John Frangepán, shattered the power of the rebels; and the gates of Novigrad were opened (June 4, 1387).

Luckily for Sigismund the cause of Naples was championed by the Pope, whose interference was an insult to the pride of the nation.

But the dream of a Southern Slav kingdom was already haunting the minds of the lords of Bosnia. Sigismund did not at first display any particular energy in suppressing the revolt which, first under Tvartkó and then under Hervója (Duke of Spalato), united the disaffected elements of both Slav provinces. Finally their time-serving policy threw them into the arms of the Turk. The last alliance roused the whole of Hungary, and in 1394 the rebellion was crushed. Stephen Kont of Hédervár and his thirty-two companions, the last of the insurgents to hold out, were cajoled by treacherous promises to surrender their impregnable fortress of Dobor: they were taken to Buda, where, in St George's Square, after refusing



to bend their knees in homage before the foreign ruler, they were executed. This ruthless act, followed as it was, almost immediately (May 1395), by the death of Mary, brought the country to the verge of a revolution. As in 1387, so now the nation considered that there had been good grounds for the insurrection: Kont and his comrades were looked upon as martyrs. Moreover, Sigismund of Luxemburg had forgotten the terms of his coronation contract: his Court was full of Bohemians, Germans, Poles and Italians; and the Hungarians saw that they were being overshadowed by foreign favourites.

For the moment, however, Fate intervened to save the King. In 1389, on the "field of blackbirds" (Kossovopolje), Sultan Murad's hosts had met the army of Lazarus, Prince of Servia. Both rulers fell—but the Servian army was shattered, and the independence of Servia was destroyed. Murad's successor, Bajazet, "the lightning," subdued Wallachia, and crossed the Danube. The nearness of the catastrophe united King and nation once more. In 1396 Sigismund appealed for help to the Christian Powers of Europe and contracted an alliance with Manuel II., Emperor of Constantinople. In the summer, at the head of 80,000 Crusaders (comprising, besides Hungarians, English, French and German warriors), the Hungarian King started to meet Bajazet. He occupied Widdin and Silistria; but on September 28, at the gates of Nicopolis, owing to the raslı ardour of the French knights, Bajazet was enabled to inflict a serious defeat on the Christian army. The King escaped *viâ* the Black Sea to Constantinople, whence he returned, six months later, to Ragusa.

His enemies reported that he was dead, and demanded that Parliament should be summoned to elect a new king. Sigismund hastened home (1397) and called a Parliament at Temesvár. Meanwhile Bajazet had been compelled to abandon his European schemes in order to meet the attacks of Tamburlaine: there being no longer any national danger,

the spirit of opposition was revived. The lavish generosity of the foreign King to his foreign favourites, his arbitrary appointment of his brother as his heir, his injustice, and, above all, the cruel manner in which he had the leaders of the opposition, the Laczkfis and their followers, cut to pieces, alienated any sympathy which the Hungarian nobles may have felt for him. So they conspired against him; they invited Ladislás of Naples to come to Hungary; and on April 28, 1401, they broke into the palace at Buda and took Sigismund prisoner.

A short time afterwards, thanks to the exertions of his adherents, and in consideration of a vow (which he actually kept) not to wreak his vengeance on those who had risen against him, and to restore the castles presented by him to foreigners, Sigismund was released. The estates renewed their oaths of allegiance. And Sigismund—rewarded his followers for their devotion. Garai was created Palatine: and the King wedded Czillei's daughter, Barbara.

However, though he faithfully adhered to his promise not to molest those who had rebelled against his authority, Sigismund did not respect the laws of the country. In 1402 he entered into a contract with the House of Habsburg, ensuring the succession to the Hungarian throne to Duke Albert, to whom his daughter Elizabeth was betrothed. This open and cynical flouting of the most treasured privilege of the nation incensed the malcontents. They joined hands with the Pope: at the assembly held at Nagyvárad (January 1403) they declared the dethronement of Sigismund and decided to elect Ladislás of Naples king in his place. He was crowned at Zara (with a crown manufactured for the purpose) by John Kanizsai, Archbishop of Esztergom.

Sigismund hastened back from Bohemia (whose crown he coveted) to meet the advance of Ladislás and his adherents; his followers collected a powerful army and defeated the in-

surgents at Pápócz (near Győr). Fearful lest he should share the fate of his father, Ladislas took to flight, not pausing until he was safe again in Naples. The insurrection dissolved in smoke. A few of the rebel Croatians were beheaded ; peace was restored ; and, to celebrate his victory and, at the same time, to symbolise " the relations existing between King and magnates, linked as they were by common knightly duties and common aims," Sigismund founded the Order of the Dragon.

The King's policy was transformed ; henceforth internal dissensions practically ceased, and Sigismund devoted himself to an endeavour to improve conditions at home and to consolidate the power of the country abroad.

However, the insurrection involved a loss of valuable territory. Dalmatia was ceded to Venice by Ladislas ; and in 1409 the Republic took final possession of that province (with the exception of the towns of Ragusa and Spalato). As we shall see, Sigismund (in 1412) made an attempt to recover the lost property : but Hungary had to abandon her position as a maritime power ; and even the Calais of Hungary—the faithful Isle of Veglia—passed into the hands of Venice during the reign of Matthias.

After the death of his brother, Wenceslas, Sigismund became King of Bohemia ; and in 1419, as a result of the deposition of Ruprecht, he was offered, and—forgetting the warnings of St Ladislas and Louis the Great—accepted the imperial crown of Germany. This decision had important and unfortunate consequences, raising the prestige of the Hungarian King but dividing his attention to the detriment of Hungary. The hopes encouraged by this access of power were doomed to disappointment ; the Emperor overshadowed the King, and the affairs of the Holy Roman Empire became of more significance than the expulsion of the Turk.

In 1412 Sigismund declared war on Venice : the money

required he obtained by pledging sixteen towns of the Szepes district to the King of Poland. However, notwithstanding brilliant victories on land obtained by his famous general, Philip Scolari (Pipo Ozorai), he did not succeed in reconquering Dalmatia.

In 1415, the Council of Constance, convened by Sigismund in his capacity as German Emperor, condemned Huss, the Bohemian reformer and follower of Wiclif, to be burned at the stake. The Hussites rose in anger to avenge the death of their leader; for nearly twenty years they ravaged the dominions of the Emperor; Hungary, too, suffered considerably from their fury. In 1432 the Hussites seized Kőrmöcbánya; in 1433 they razed Késmárk to the ground. The Bible was translated into Hungarian (Magyar) by Hungarian disciples of the Hussites. It was not until dissensions broke out in the Hussite ranks that Sigismund was able to restrain the movement: even then it was not by force that the Catholics won the day, but by the Compact of Iglau (1436).

In the next year the peasantry of Transylvania rose in revolt against their masters. The causes of this revolt were both political and religious. The peasants rose to vindicate their right to migrate at will and to ensure liberty of conscience. After a year's mutual cruelty and incendiarism the revolt was crushed: but the seeds of the Transylvanian Reformation had been sown; the Hussites were crushed but not exterminated. Another result of this revolt was that, for the first time in history, the Magyar and Székely nobles and Saxon burghers joined the "Union of Torda" for a mutual defence of their interests against the peasantry.

In 1426 Sigismund, who had been expected to bring all the resources of Germany and Bohemia to the aid of Hungary, at last determined once more to attack the Turk. That year Scolari won a brilliant victory at *Galambócz* over the Sultan's hosts; but on the death of this famous general, the Serb

commander of that fortress surrendered it to the enemy. In 1428 Sigismund made a desperate attempt to recover the fortress; but he was defeated by the overwhelming forces of Murad. Sigismund was compelled to make a truce; and the Servian and Wallachian princes, as well as the Ban of Bosnia (Tvartkó) submitted to the Sultan and became his vassals.

It was not until the year of Sigismund's death (1437) that the desultory warfare against the Turks took a favourable turn. The Ottoman hosts were besieging the fortress of Szendrő (Semendria); they were driven back by the heroic courage of a band of Transylvanian horsemen, led by a knight whom neither friend nor foe had known much of before. This knight was John Hunyadi.

Sigismund died at Znaim on December 9, 1437. He was buried at Nagyvárad, by the side of his first consort Mary.

As we have seen, Sigismund's reign divides naturally into two periods. During the first the absolutism of the King had tended to weld the greater and lesser nobility together.

During the second period Sigismund made an effort to improve the social and political conditions of the country. He convened Parliament four times and endeavoured to pass good laws for the strengthening and extension of constitutional rights and the consolidation of national defence.

By his action the direct influence of the Pope on the affairs of the Hungarian Church ceased: and that Church became a truly national one.

At the Parliament of 1405 a fourth estate (that of the *burgesses*) was added to those already existing. The royal boroughs were invited to send representatives to Parliament. They were endowed, collectively and not individually, with the rights and privileges of the nobility.

The admission of the burgesses within the pale of political influence was an important step: but they do not seem to

have realised its importance, for they continued to form a separate class of their own, with separate ideals and aims.

The Parliament of 1435 (Pozsony) strengthened the position of the *counties* as autonomous corporations: this was a measure intended to control the arbitrary action of the feudal barons with their powerful levies. However, in fact the legislation proved abortive; the most powerful magnates were not subject to the authority of the counties.

Of greater significance were the laws relating to national defence, of which the first was passed at Temesvár (under the pressure of the Turkish danger). A new militia (*militia portalis*) was instituted. The King undertook the defence of the border fortresses at his own expense: but his army—the nucleus of Matthias's standing army—was quite inadequate to the task of protecting the country. So fresh burdens were imposed upon the nobility; and these burdens were willingly accepted. By a law passed in 1435 the militia maintained by the magnates and prelates was to march under the colours of the respective lords, that of the gentry under the colours of the respective counties. Besides, the whole nobility was liable to be called out for military service (*insurrectio*) whenever and wherever the territorial integrity of the country was threatened.

But Sigismund's endeavours to place the military system of the country on a firm basis also proved unsuccessful for lack of discipline, and owing to the independence of the greater barons.

Sigismund established a university at Buda, but forgot to provide for its endowment: and the greater number of Hungarian students went abroad.

Sigismund also began to build the new palace of Buda, which was reconstructed and completed under Matthias.

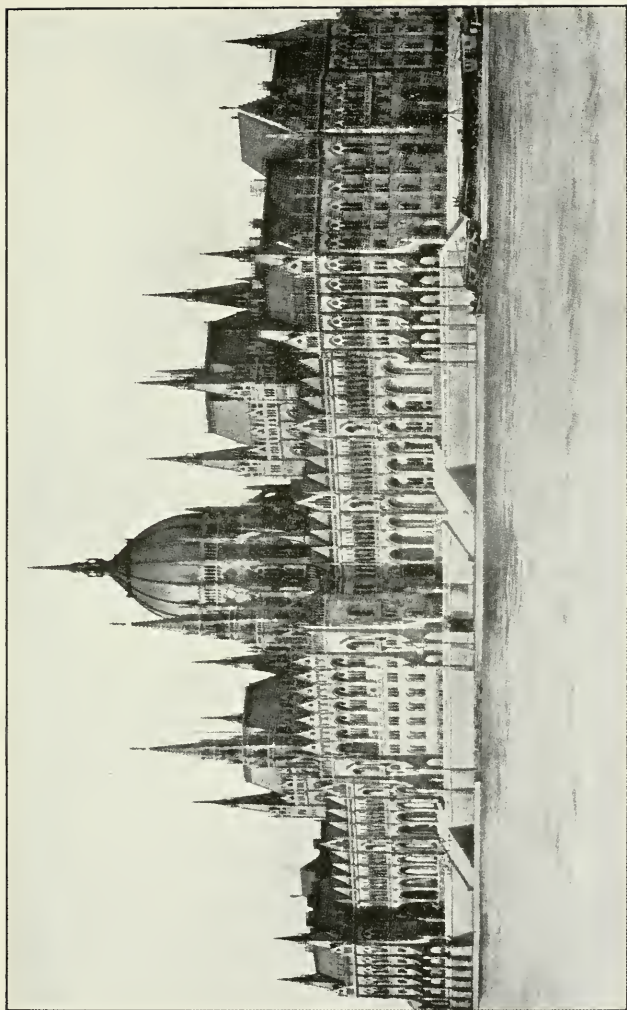


## CHAPTER X.

### JOHN HUNYADI AND THE TURKS

A FEW days after Sigismund's death *Albert* (1438-39), Duke of Austria, the husband of Sigismund's daughter, Elizabeth, was elected King. The first Habsburg sovereign of Hungary was crowned at Székesfehérvár on January 1, 1438. The estates stipulated that the King should reside at Buda and that he should not accept the imperial crown of Germany without their consent. At the same time they agreed to secure to Elizabeth, or to any son whom she might bear to him, the succession to the throne of Hungary. Bohemia followed the example of Hungary; and a short while after Albert became Emperor of Germany too. However, the latter event drove the Hussites of Bohemia into rebellion; they invited Casimir of Poland (brother of Wladislas III.) to occupy the throne, and Albert was compelled to leave Hungary in order to defend his interests, entrusting the government, during his absence, to his consort and the magnates. Northern Hungary suffered once more from the ravages of the Hussites; in Transylvania the Turk, taking advantage of the still smouldering flames of peasant discontent, which divided that province against itself, was devastating at will; the magnates, whose power had been growing enormously, were on the verge of insurrection. Albert hastened home. The Parliament held at Buda in 1439 introduced fresh and more stringent measures to prevent the influence of foreign councillors and to safeguard the independence of Hungary, whose interests seemed likely to be subordinated





The Houses of Parliament, Budapest (19th century)



to those of Albert's other dominions. The King was fain to yield to the demands of the magnates, for his consort had joined hands with them.

George Brankovitch, the Prince of Servia, had sought the friendship of the Sultan Murad, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage. But he now saw the danger of this alliance; and, when Murad invaded Servia (September 1439) and prepared to subdue the country by force of arms, Brankovitch appealed to Hungary. The appeal was heard; for Szendrő (Semendria), the possession of which was of vital importance for Hungary, was in danger. The "generalis insurrectio" was called out; but the nobles refused to obey the summons. Thus the King was compelled to trust to his own resources; Hunyadi had no time to collect a large army, and only 20,000 men marched with Albert to Titel, where they heard the news of the fall of Szendrő, and of the terrible fate of Brankovitch's two sons, whose eyes were put out by order of the Sultan. Murad then turned westwards, to Bosnia; and the Hungarian army, decimated by dysentery, was disbanded and went home. Albert was overcome with grief and illness. He died at Neszmély and was buried at Székesfehérvár.

The widowed queen, Elizabeth, had the best claim to the throne. But the magnates, in view of the Turkish menace, preferred to have a man on the throne: the majority, who were supported by John Hunyadi, already a power in the State, decided to invite Wladislas, King of Poland, and the grandson of Louis the Great's. Elizabeth agreed to this decision, but stipulated (1) that Wladislas should wed her, and (2) that if she gave birth to a son (she was *enceinte*), that son should succeed. Wladislas I. (1440-44) was then elected King. But Elizabeth repented her decision. She had the Holy Crown stolen from Visegrád and shortly afterwards she gave birth to a son (Ladislas). She then openly repudiated

the agreement and sent her adherents to Cracow, to prevent its ratification. However, the Hungarian estates formally acknowledged Wladislas as their King, stipulating only that he should wed Elizabeth and receive her infant son as his heir.

Elizabeth still refused, but Ladislas was crowned.

The cause of the civil strife was a point of constitutional law. Elizabeth and her party insisted on the hereditary character of the succession; the other party—to which John Hunyadi belonged—insisted on the purely elective character of the monarchy.

Yet there was something more important than the point of constitutional law—viz., the menace of the Turks. Among those who felt the need for a strong arm in this hour of national danger was John Hunyadi.

*Wladislas* was crowned at Székesfehérvár on July 17, by Denis Széchi, the crown used on this occasion being that taken from the bust of St Stephen in the crypt of the cathedral.

Elizabeth appealed to the Emperor Frederick III., to whom she entrusted the care of Ladislas and of the Holy Crown, and to the Hussite leader, John Giskra. The Emperor seized several of the western frontier towns as a pledge; while Giskra repeated the ravages of Sigismund's days. *Wladislas* himself undertook to overcome the Bohemians: the campaign against the Hungarian insurgents was entrusted to Hunyadi. The latter endeavoured to conciliate his foes: but his magnanimous overtures were repulsed. The two armies met. That of the insurgents was cut to pieces: but Hunyadi refused to follow up his victory; and the ringleaders escaped with their lives.

Hunyadi and his lieutenant, Ujlaki, were created waywodes of Transylvania.

The civil strife was, however, protracted until December 1442, when a reconciliation was made at last. Shortly afterwards Elizabeth died. Frederick still continued a desultory

warfare, nominally in support of the infant prince Ladislas : but in 1443 he too concluded a truce.

Meanwhile the resources of the country had been organized for defence against the threatened Turkish invasion. In 1440 Murad had laid siege to Belgrade. The whole country, and the King, turned to John Hunyadi. Hunyadi belonged to a noble family, lords of Hunyad in Transylvania, and was early in life attached to the Court of Sigismund.

In 1441, as Captain of Belgrade, he attacked the army of Ishak Pasha, the commander of Szendrő (Semendria), who had crossed the Danube into Hungary and ravaged the countryside. Though outnumbered by ten to one, Hunyadi's soldiers struck so terrible a blow that Ishak fled for shelter to the walls of his fortress. The following year (1442) the Sultan sent an army of 80,000 men, under Mezid Bey, to avenge the defeat of Ishak. Again Hunyadi, unable to obtain help from the King and magnates, led his own men against them. He threw himself on the Turkish invaders at Szent-Imre. Here the heroism of George Lépes, the gallant Bishop of Gyulafehérvár, enabled Hunyadi to carry out his favourite tactics. His system was to draw the attack of the Turkish light cavalry and infantry by placing a small force of Hungarian cavalry at a conspicuous point under the command of a trusted subordinate, while he himself with a force of light and heavy cavalry took up a position on the flank and attacked the attackers, when they had spent their force, from both flanks and from the rear. The bishop threw the Turkish army into disorder, and gave the Hungarian general time to retire to Nagyszeben, where he joined forces with Ujlaki and administered a crushing defeat.

On the eve of the battle, one of Hunyadi's most trusted followers, Simon Kemény, begged his leader to exchange horses and armour with him. Hunyadi was at last persuaded. Kemény was placed in a conspicuous place, surrounded by a

band of 500 picked warriors, while Hunyadi himself withdrew to the background, with the reserves.

Next day the flower of the Turkish army attacked the band of devoted warriors surrounding the person of the pseudo-Hunyadi, who strongly resembled Hunyadi, whose features and accoutrements had been so accurately described by the Osman leader. A terrible struggle ensued: the Hungarian knights, who knew that the issue of the battle depended on their resistance to the Turkish onslaught, fought like demons; and when at last the superiority of numbers swept them away, and the Spahis threw themselves on the lifeless body of Simon Kemény, fighting among themselves for its possession, from another part of the field the real Hunyadi dashed into the fray. His appearance struck terror into the hearts of the Turks; the victorious army became suddenly a disorderly rabble; 20,000 pagans, including Mezid Bey and his son, were slaughtered; an immense store of booty was captured; while those Osmanlis who escaped from the rout told of the invincible prowess of Hunyadi and his Hungarian followers. The devoted heroism of Kemény and his comrades was commemorated by a monument and by the establishment of a convent and a chapel in the Valley of Tövis.

One of the political results of the victory was the renewal of the oath of allegiance to Hungary of the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia.

In the same year Hunyadi won another great victory against the Turks in the Vaskapú Pass.

Hungary was indeed fighting the battles of Christendom; and the sympathy and admiration of the Christian world was lavished on her soldiers. A Crusade was suggested, with Hunyadi to command the Christian host, but unfortunately it came to nothing. Europe—as so often in Hungarian history—left Hungary practically to her own resources.

Hunyadi's appeal to Europe was followed by the famous



Diet of Buda (1443), which voted men and supplies for an *offensive* campaign against the Turkish intruders. Polish cavalry, French, Bohemian, and German knights joined the Hungarian army of Hunyadi and Wladislas, which, when it crossed the Danube at Szendrő (Semendria), numbered about 40,000. Hunyadi advanced with his own men as far as Nish, leaving the King to cover his rear. After defeating two Turkish armies which endeavoured to effect a junction, he scattered a third, only to find a fourth army of overwhelming numbers concentrated between him and the King. Hunyadi inflicted a severe defeat on the Turks ; and the army now advanced, despite the severity of the winter, as far as Sofia. The Hungarians then endeavoured to pierce into the heart of the European possessions of the Turks. But his men were so exhausted, and the positions occupied by the Sultan's hosts on the southern slopes were so strong, that Hunyadi decided to retreat. On the plain near Sofia he engaged the army of Kazim Bey, which had been sent to intercept him, and cut it to pieces. The victory was complete ; and, when Wladislas entered Buda in triumph on February 2 (1444), he was accompanied by a huge procession of Turkish prisoners.

Europe once more tendered homage to the prowess of Hungary. A brilliant cavalcade of foreign legates rode into the courtyard of the palace of Buda, bringing with them the congratulations—and promises—of their royal masters. Once more the name of Hunyadi was on everybody's lips ; and the whole of Christian Europe rallied round his standard—on paper !

Vast preparations were made for a Christian League against the Turk : but the Sultan (Murad) was warned ; and he sent an embassy to offer terms of peace. Wladislas met the Turkish ambassadors at Szeged : and in July the *Peace of Szeged* was ratified. The conditions included the cession of Servia, the acknowledgment of Hungarian suzerainty in Wallachia, a



ransom of 100,000 ducats for Turkish prisoners, and an alliance for ten years.

Julian Cæsarini, the papal legate, used every effort to persuade Wladislas to break the treaty. He declared that an oath given to the pagan was null and void, and, in the Pope's name, absolved the King from the sin of perjury. The Doge of Venice and the Genoese announced that their fleets were in the Hellespont and had cut off the Sultan's only route of return to Europe. All Europe, he said, was looking to Hungary to rid her of the Turkish curse.

Wladislas hesitated: he took his oath seriously; but the opportunity of winning fresh laurels was too tempting. Hunyadi advised him to be careful: but the nation was eager for war. So the King finally decided to break his faith; he left Szeged with an army of 25,000 men and proceeded to Nicopolis, where he was joined by Hunyadi and 5000 followers. Drakul, the waywode of Wallachia, also came with an army of 10,000: but he warned Wladislas of the folly of his adventure. "Sire!" he said, "Murad has already returned from Asia. The Genoese fleet has brought his army back to Europe: its promises of help have been frustrated by—Turkish gold. Scanderbeg cannot come to your aid, for your ally, Brankovitch, has forbidden him a passage through Servia. What can you do with an army than which even the Sultan's retinue is larger?" It was in vain that Drakul (already, no doubt, planning treachery) endeavoured to persuade Wladislas to turn back. Nothing could prevail on him to abandon the enterprise.

The Hungarians were left alone in a hostile country. The Albanians could not join them; the two Emperors forgot their promises; the Italian ships had sold their Christian honour; the Burgundians were belated; Brankovitch was waiting to see developments; and the Wallachians were cowed by the dark forebodings of a Bulgarian fortune-teller.

Yet Wladislas and Hunyadi pressed on and did not halt until they had reached the plain between Varna and Kavarna. Here, on November 10, 1444, they joined issue with the Turkish army, which consisted of 100,000 picked warriors.

Hunyadi placed the King in a position which was practically unassailable, leaving him in the company of his Polish knights. He himself assumed the supreme command. The victory was practically won, when the jealousy of Wladislas's Polish bodyguard intervened. "See, Sire," they cried, "how Hunyadi advances, while you remain idle. His will be the victory, not yours. Come, follow us. Yonder stand the Janissaries of the Sultan. Sovereign against sovereign, a worthy match!" Wladislas was young and ambitious. He forgot his broken oath; he did not see the treaty displayed conspicuously by Murad as a warning; and, forgetting the promise he had given to Hunyadi not to court danger, he rode into the fray. Murad saw him and his heart rejoiced. "God of the Christians!" he exclaimed, "avenge the insult to Thy name!"

Hunyadi too saw, and rushed to save the King. But in vain—Wladislas fell, and with him some of the flower of the Hungarian nobility. A desperate fight ensued for the possession of the King's body; but when Wladislas's pale head, crowned by his silver helmet, was raised aloft on a Turkish pike, the Hungarians wavered and fled. The tide of victory had turned; the Hungarians were no longer invincible; but the Turkish army, too, was broken; and the Sultan exclaimed, as he surveyed the battle-field where 32,000 Ottoman warriors lay lifeless, "Such a victory I wish only an enemy!"

Hunyadi escaped from the rout; but as he was returning home in disguise, Drakul, the treacherous waywode of Wallachia, took him prisoner and—so we are told—offered to sell him to the Sultan, who refused the offer. The threats of the Palatine, Hédervári, however, compelled Drakul to surrender

his captive, who returned to Hungary, and then deposed the traitor, putting in his place Dan, the son of the prince whose power Drakul had usurped.

The country was again without a king. *Garai* and the adherents of the late queen Elizabeth claimed the throne for Ladislas, her son, who was then a "guest" (really captive) at the court of the Emperor Frederick. A third party desired a national King.

First provision had to be made for the protection of the country against the danger which menaced it from the South. So the Parliament held on May 7, 1445, decided to divide Hungary into seven districts, each to be under the control of a Captain. Hunyadi was to be Captain of Transylvania and the trans-Tisza districts. The scheme was, however, a dangerous one, and Hunyadi persuaded the estates to acknowledge the claims of Ladislas and to request Frederick to surrender the young prince. But the Emperor desired to retain a certain political influence over the country, and demanded a large ransom under the head of "educational expenses." For the moment, therefore, the nation resolved to adopt a waiting attitude; and the estates assembled at Rákös in 1446 (Whitsunday, June 5) elected Hunyadi to act as Governor of Hungary in the name of the "prince" Ladislas, who should become "King" as soon as he was crowned. Hunyadi's power as such was practically unlimited.

Hunyadi's first aim was to overcome the opposition of Frederick and procure the release of Ladislas. He had to face intrigue at home too. The *Czilleis*, and even *Garai*, openly sided with the Emperor, whom, though he could not bring him to his knees, Hunyadi compelled to make a truce for two years. After overcoming the rebel magnates the Governor turned his attention once more to the Turks.

The campaigns against the Hussites, the Emperor and the insurgent nobles, had taught Hunyadi that the prevailing

military system (that of *banderia* or feudal levies), though excellent, was not sufficient for the defence of the country. The nobles either refused to join the army, or elected to leave him in the lurch. So Hunyadi resolved to employ *mercenaries*. He wanted a trained *infantry* to withstand the attacks of the Turkish Janissaries. The Parliament of 1446 approved of Hunyadi's plan and voted him one ducat for every five portae.

Drakul, who had again usurped the throne of Wallachia, was driven out : then Hunyadi started with a small army to liberate Macedonia and Albania from the Turkish yoke (1448). He penetrated into Servia, despite the indifference (amounting to treason) of Brankovitch. The Sultan assembled his troops at Sofia and marched to meet his foe. The two armies met on the northern fringe of the Field of Blackbirds (*Kossovo polje* : *Rigómezö*) on October 18. The battle that ensued was fought with a fury unexampled even in the annals of the Turco-Hungarian feud. For two days the contending hosts were locked in a death-embrace. Neither side could claim any advantage. Then, at the critical moment, Dan, the waywode of Wallachia, turned traitor. With his 8000 horsemen, who had been kept in reserve, he went over to the enemy. This act of treachery decided the issue. For hours the Hungarians fought valiantly against overwhelming odds ; but the fall of their commanders disheartened them, and they were practically annihilated.

Hunyadi was a fugitive once more. In the forest of Kladova he fell into the hands of two Turkish marauders ; but escaped. His adventures were not over yet. Tired and exhausted, he found his way to the cottage of a Servian peasant, who offered to guide him to Belgrade. Instead, he took Hunyadi to Szendrö (Semendria) and handed him over to Brankovitch. The Prince of Servia threw him into prison and offered him to the Sultan for " thirty pieces of silver " ; but the Sultan refused the dastardly offer, declaring that he had no mind

to take "the greatest hero in Europe" by treachery. The Hungarian Parliament demanded Hunyadi's release. Brankovitch was compelled to set him free, though he made his own conditions.

Hunyadi returned to Hungary determined to forget the injury done to his person in a renewed effort to drive out the Turks. But Parliament was not of the same opinion. The Diet of Szeged (1450) annulled the agreement with Brankovitch and declared war on him. The Servian prince escaped a heavy penalty by releasing Ladislas Hunyadi and renouncing all claims to his former Hungarian estates.

Meanwhile Hunyadi had started a campaign against Giskra and the Hussite robbers: but the treachery of some magnates and hostile influences in Parliament compelled him to conclude peace.

Hunyadi could not yet carry into effect his plan of campaign against the Turks; he had to deal first with intrigues at home. The ringleader was Ulrich Czillei.

Hunyadi had striven to liberate Ladislas. The Emperor, working hand in hand with Czillei, Garai, and Giskra, endeavoured to poison the young prince's mind against the Governor, whom he accused of aspiring to the throne of Hungary and of having conspired for that purpose against the life of Wladislas. When, in 1452, Ladislas was at last set at liberty, he unfortunately came under the influence of Czillei and his confederates, who fostered hatred of Hunyadi and weaned themselves into the affection of the youthful King by pandering to his taste for debauchery and frivolity. Ladislas refused to reside in Hungary, dividing his time between Prague and Vienna. He appointed Hunyadi Captain-General; but the real power was delegated to Ulrich Czillei.

In 1453 the occupation of Constantinople by the Turks threw all Europe into consternation. The Sultan (Mohammed II.) was determined to conquer the world; it was Hungary's

turn next. Hunyadi alone remained calm and undismayed by the intrigues of foreign foe and domestic enemy. Czillei attempted to entice Hunyadi into a trap by having him summoned to Vienna: he set his personal ambition before the interests of his country and Europe. Hunyadi obeyed the summons, accompanied by a band of chosen warriors. Czillei was dumfounded; for the moment his villainous schemes were frustrated.

In 1454 Hunyadi marched to meet the Turks besieging Szendrő (Semendria). He returned victorious, but he was disheartened: his personal enemies left no stone unturned to undermine his position at home. At the Diet of Buda (1455) he appeared before the King, unarmed and unattended. He tendered his resignation: but László would not accept it, and, on the unanimous demand of the estates of the realm, the King took an oath not to heed the insinuations of intriguing sycophants and, as a token of his favour, asked that he might welcome Hunyadi's younger son, Matthias, to his Court.

But danger was approaching. Brankovitch sent messengers to Buda to announce that the Sultan was marching against Belgrade. Even Czillei and Garai were silenced. László Hunyadi was betrothed to Garai's daughter. The former Governor magnanimously forgave his enemies, surrendered all his castles to the King, raised an army of 10,000 mercenaries at his own expense, provided Belgrade with munitions and food, and sent his brother-in-law, Michael Szilágyi, and his son László to assume the command of the fortress. John Capistrano, the Franciscan friar who had been sent by the Pope to preach a crusade in Europe, recruited an army of 60,000 peasants, artisans, and students, and armed them with scythes and pitchforks. At the Diet of Buda the King commanded a general levy of the nobility and then—hastened back to Vienna.

News came that the Sultan had arrived before Belgrade



with a host of 150,000 warriors and 300 guns, and had 200 galleys at Zimony. The thunder of the cannon—we are told—could be heard at Szeged: but Hunyadi was not dismayed. With his motley host he marched to the banks of the Danube. He first scattered the Turkish fleet, in order to cut his way through to the besieged fortress (July 14). The Turkish artillery had made numerous breaches in the walls of the outer fortifications; through these breaches Hunyadi's warriors and Capistrano's undisciplined fighters, dashed into the town, leaving a rearguard entrenched at Zimony. On the evening of July 21 the Sultan commanded a general assault. Three times the Turks surged forward; three times they were repulsed. On one occasion an Ottoman nearly succeeded in planting the crescent on the walls of the inner fortress; but Titus Dugovitch saw him, closed with him, and, locked in a deadly embrace, threw him down into the depths below. When morning broke, the Christians determined to assume the offensive. Armed with burning faggots, the crusaders threw themselves on the pagans, who fled in terror, many of them perishing by fire. Thereupon Hunyadi assembled his picked horsemen and charged the broken ranks of the foe. The Turks were routed; the Sultan himself was wounded and took to flight. The following day 50,000 Turkish corpses showed the victors the fullness of their triumph. All the Turkish cannon and many galleys fell into the hands of the Hungarians.

Belgrade was saved. Hungary—and Europe—could breathe freely again. The European courts hastened to express their admiration and their gratitude; and the Pope ordered the bells to be rung every day at noon in all churches. But the price Hungary had to pay for the victory was a heavy one. Hunyadi was infected with the plague. He was taken to Zimony, where, on August 17, after receiving extreme unction at the hands of Capistrano, he breathed his last in



the parish church. This church still stands a monument to the great hero.

His remains were buried in the church he himself had founded at Gyulafehérvár.

All Europe mourned Hunyadi's loss ; even the Sultan exclaimed : " He was my foe, but I grieve for his death ! The world has lost its greatest man." Only Czillei rejoiced : a powerful rival was dead. He hastened to persuade László to summon the Diet to assemble (at Futak), and to appoint him Royal Governor. Ujlaki was appointed Captain-General : while László and Matthias Hunyadi were commanded to surrender all their fortresses (though their father had already done so voluntarily).

Elizabeth Szilágyi (Hunyadi's widow) and her sons seemed friendless indeed ; and Czillei determined to rid himself for ever of the menace which their presence in the country involved. The King paid a visit to Belgrade. László Hunyadi received his royal master with all the ceremony and respect due to his exalted rank ; but he suspected foul play on the part of Czillei, and—left the German soldiers outside.

The following day László Hunyadi showed Czillei proofs of his treachery. Czillei drew his sword and would have killed his former rival's son. But the Hungarian nobles, who had been expecting foul play, rushed into the room and quickly despatched the traitor.

The Hungarian leaders hastened to tell the King. Dumfounded at the sudden death of his uncle, László V. hastened to conceal his indignation. He took an oath to forgive and forget.

But Garai, the Palatine, could not rest. He prevailed on Brankovitch, the Servian despot, to attempt the murder of Michael Szilágyi ; but Brankovitch was caught in his own trap ; he was taken prisoner and died of the wounds he had received. Garai strove to make László Hunyadi responsible

for the fate of his country's enemy. But he went further still; he accused young Hunyadi of a conspiracy against the life of the King. In March (1457) the two brothers were summoned to the palace of Buda. László Hunyadi was condemned to death by a tribunal consisting of—his father's personal foes. The King confirmed the sentence; and on March 16 László Hunyadi was beheaded in Buda, in St George's Square.

Thrice did the executioner strike at the innocent victim's head; thrice he failed. "The law allows but three strokes," said László Hunyadi in a voice faint with the loss of blood. But the King motioned to the executioner, and at the fourth blow the head was severed from the body.

Elizabeth Szilágyi heard the news at Temesvár: her brother took up arms to avenge his nephew's death; the whole country was in a ferment; the gentry rallied round Szilágyi's standard; and it would have gone hard with László if he had not fled to Austria, taking Matthias Hunyadi as his hostage. His inglorious reign soon came to an inglorious end. He was at Prague awaiting the arrival of his bride, Margaret, daughter of Charles VII. of France, when, on November 23, he passed away suddenly. Some say that he was poisoned, but he probably died from the plague.

László V. is best known to history as—the murderer of his greater namesake, László Hunyadi. As such he has been immortalized in literature.

## CHAPTER XI

### MATTHIAS THE JUST

THERE were claimants to the throne of Hungary enough and to spare : *Casimir*, King of Poland, *William*, Duke of Saxony, *Ladislav Garai*, Palatine of Hungary, *Nicholas Ujlaki*, Captain-General of Hungary, and *Matthias Hunyadi*.

The nation had had enough of foreign rulers ; they desired a *national* King. Luckily for Hungary, the inability of the foreign claimants to secure adherents in the country was followed by disunion in the ranks of the anti-Hunyadi party. The supporters of the Hunyadis were thoroughly well organised under the leadership of Michael Szilágyi and his sister, John Hunyadi's widow, who were joined by John Vitéz, Bishop of Nagyvárad, and Denis Széchi, the Primate. Practically the whole of the prelacy followed the lead of the Primate and the Papal legate in supporting the claims of the young noble whose accession to the throne Capistrano had prophesied two years before. Podiebrad, now King of Bohemia, released Matthias from captivity, but retained him at his court as his guest, begging him to accept his friendship and the hand of his young daughter Catherine.

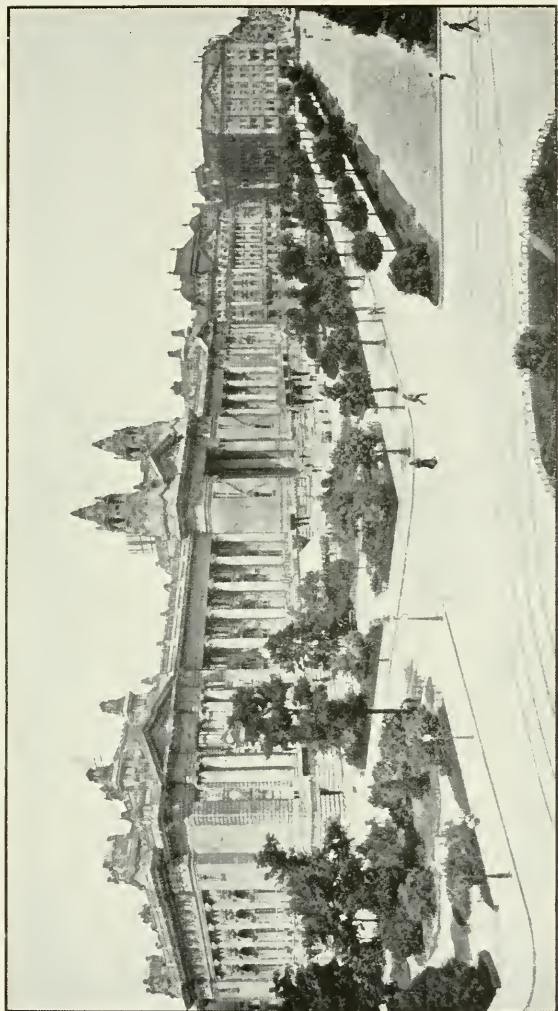
Podiebrad persuaded Ujlaki to withdraw his claims : and Garai, realising the hopelessness of competition, retired from the contest, and became reconciled to the Hunyadis, promising to support them on condition that Matthias should wed his daughter, Anne. The condition was accepted, though Matthias was already betrothed to Catherine of Bohemia.

The Diet had been summoned to meet at Pest on January 1, 1458; but the negotiations between the rival parties delayed the opening of proceedings until January 20. The gentry were assembled on the field of Rákos; the magnates held council in the palace of Buda. There was no question of a dispute. Matthias was elected King on January 23, amid the enthusiastic acclamations of the people, and reigned for thirty-two years (1458-90).

The task which confronted Matthias when he at last entered his kingdom was a formidable one: but, thanks to the training he had received and to the great qualities of statesmanship and martial prowess which he had inherited from his father, he was quite able to cope with it.

The oligarchs, whose power had grown once more under the weak rule of Ladislas V., viewed the accession of John Hunyadi's son with apprehension mingled with contempt. They believed his youth was an asset in their favour: but his first act disillusioned them. Michael Szilágyi, his uncle, had been appointed Governor. Matthias, however, refused to be a mere puppet and despatched his uncle to Transylvania, declaring that he would look after the affairs of his kingdom himself. This energy was as alarming as it was unexpected: his enemies, acting in concert with the Emperor Frederick, incited the Hussites to ravage the northern districts of Hungary and thus weaken the hold of Matthias on the country. The diversion failed in its object. The King's followers—notably Sebastian Rozgonyi and Ladislas Hédervári, the Bishop of Eger—undertook a guerilla campaign against the "beggar army" of Giskra and his adherents, and, in 1462, after the robber strongholds of Galgóc, Gálszécs, Sárospatak, and Mislye, had been reduced, Matthias became reconciled to the Hussite leader, whom the Hungarian King's generosity converted into a faithful friend.

Meanwhile Garai and Ujlaki had approached the injured



The Exchange, Liberty Square, Budapest (20th century)



ex-Governor Szilágyi, whose vanity prevailed on him to join a conspiracy against Matthias in favour of the Emperor Frederick. The King acted at once. He summoned Szilágyi to his presence at Szeged, ordered his arrest, and had him confined in the fortress of Világos. This further display of energy and uncompromising force of will alarmed the other conspirators, who fled to Wienerneustadt, to confer with the Emperor. Here, in February 1459, they elected Frederick III. King of Hungary. The Emperor, though accepting the title, decided to postpone his coronation until he had secured possession of the country ; for the moment he contented himself with an application to the Pope, the famous Pius II., for recognition of his claim. But the Pope refused, persuaded to do so, no doubt, by the knowledge that the support of Matthias was indispensable to a prosecution of the proposed campaign against the Turks.

The nobles who had joined the conspiracy were deposed from office : and their places were taken by trusted followers of the King. Matthias had offered to withdraw ; but Parliament (December 6) refused to hear of such a step, assuring the King that he was in complete possession of the nation's confidence. Szilágyi had been set at liberty : but he could not rest, and was continually scheming for retaliation. Matthias ordered a general levy of the military forces of the country ; and his success compelled Frederick to accept the Pope's proposal for a truce. So the famous Treaty of 1462 was concluded between Matthias and Frederick, as representing the House of Habsburg. The Emperor was to surrender the Holy Crown and the town of Sopron in lieu of a payment of 80,000 ducats ; but the frontier towns (Köszeg and four others) were to remain in Frederick's possession until his death, when they could be recovered by payment of a sum of 40,000 ducats ; the Emperor could continue to use the title of King of Hungary ; and, if Matthias died without male heir, Frederick or his



direct descendants were entitled to succeed to the Hungarian throne.

Matthias was delighted to have secured the crown : the nation was so overjoyed at the success of the King's diplomacy and military genius that it forgot the injury to its privileges inherent in the terms of the treaty, and assembled in unprecedented numbers at Székesfehérvár, where, on March 25, 1464, the Archbishop of Esztergom, Denis Szécsi — for the fourth time in his life—performed the ceremony of coronation.

Matthias's throne was now secure ; he had once more recovered his suzerainty over Servia and Wallachia. The victorious campaign against the Turks in Bosnia in 1463 had shown the Sultan that John Hunyadi's son was a worthy successor to his father ; the band of insurgents got together by the traitorous Bohemian knight, Dzwela (Svehla), who ravaged the surrounding districts from their "robbers' nest" at Kosztolány, and by their methods inherited the title of "Zebraak," conferred on their predecessors, were routed and their leaders put to death : but the death of his consort, Catherine Podiebrad, was a terrible blow to the King. Had she lived, his relations with the King of Bohemia would probably have continued to be cordial.

After his coronation, Matthias determined to prosecute the war against the Turks with renewed vigour. At the congress of Mantua (1464) the Pope strove to prevail on the representatives of the Christian Powers to proclaim a crusade, and designated Matthias as the leader of the Christian army. But the scheme failed ; the Christian princes refused to take part ; only the Pope sent money—40,000 ducats. Matthias, who had planned the establishment of a special order of knights (that of the Passion) in connection with the new crusade, was forced—partly by the apathy of Europe, partly by the troubles that threatened him on the West—to abandon all thoughts

of an offensive campaign against the Turks : but it was only a postponement, not a final abandonment.

The history of his father's achievements and failures had shown Matthias that Hungary without the aid of Europe was incapable of executing the grand task he had inherited—the expulsion of the Osmanli pagans from Europe. He had himself been taught by experience that the King of Hungary was not strong enough to convert the passive apathy of Europe into an active sympathy. That was a task which only the Emperor of Germany could accomplish. So he set himself to acquire the throne of Bohemia, as a stepping-stone to the highest dignity of the day, the imperial sceptre. His attempt proved disastrous in its results, both for his country and for her people : but it was inspired by a genuine desire for the ultimate triumph of the Christian cause, not by any personal vanity.

Paul II., the Pope who had adopted the watchword of “death to the heretics,” declared George (Podiebrad) of Bohemia, the protector of the Hussites, a usurper, and called upon Matthias to defend the dignity of the Roman Church. The Emperor Frederick, who did not suspect the Hungarian King's ultimate aims, offered him Bohemia as a fief and promised financial aid. The Catholic nobles of Bohemia were ready to support Matthias's claims. The Diet of Eger voted the necessary supplies, the nobles yielding, despite their conviction that the Turkish danger was more pressing, to the King's arguments and eloquence. But in Transylvania there was disaffection. Matthias, with the energy and courage so characteristic of him, hurried to Transylvania, and put an end to rebellion.

To the Turkish embassy, which came to offer a truce, Matthias proudly replied that, as King of Hungary, he could not enter into a definite compact with pagans, but that, if they let him alone, he was content to treat them likewise.

Matthias then invaded Moravia, took possession of Brünn and Olmütz (1468), and entered Bohemia. Podiebrad endeavoured to negotiate with his son-in-law ; but the Emperor, whose promised aid dwindled to 1000 horsemen, left no stone unturned to frustrate all such endeavours : and in 1469 the Catholic nobles of Bohemia had Matthias crowned King at Brünn.

Podiebrad replied by making an alliance with Casimir, King of Poland, whose son, Wladislas, he adopted as his successor to the exclusion of his own sons. Podiebrad died in 1471 : and Wladislas became King of Bohemia.

Matthias's ambitious schemes already threatened to prove a fiasco. The country was tired of the sacrifices of men and money—for what everybody except the King regarded as a foreign cause. In 1470 the estates refused to vote the taxes demanded ; the King's former tutor and counsellor, John Vitéz, now Archbishop of Esztergom, told Matthias openly that the nobility refused to shed their blood any longer to further his ambitions and to gain—a shadow. When the King persisted they even offered the crown to Casimir, the thirteen-year-old son of the King of Poland. However, the personality of Matthias once more proved his salvation. Meeting the estates at Buda, he persuaded them to renew their allegiance.

The Emperor (Frederick III.) had simulated friendship, and had promised his support against the Bohemians : Matthias's claims to the succession to the imperial throne had received the approval of the Electors of Saxony and Bavaria ; in 1470 Frederick engaged to accept Matthias as his successor. But in 1472 Hungary was again at war with Bohemia. The King of Poland entered the lists in defence of his son. Frederick acknowledged Wladislas's claims and openly joined the alliance against Matthias. In 1474 the Hungarian King appealed for aid to Charles the Bold of Bur-

gundy, who, however, preferred to continue his struggle against the Swiss. The same year, at Breslau, though hopelessly outnumbered, the strategy of Matthias and their daring heroism enabled the Hungarian army to force Casimir and Wladislas to conclude a truce for four years. This was followed by the definite *Peace of Olmütz* (1478), the chief conditions of which were: Both Matthias and Wladislas could use the title of "King of Bohemia," Wladislas was to retain Bohemia proper, Matthias Moravia, Silesia, and Lansitz; after Matthias's death the Bohemians were to have the option of redeeming the provinces held by him by the payment of a sum of 400,000 florins in gold.

In 1476 Matthias wedded Beatrice, daughter of Ferdinand, King of Naples. Her reception at Székesfehérvár, in the presence of the King of Bosnia, the Electors of Saxony and Bavaria, the ambassadors of Venice, and all the highest dignitaries of the land, gave a unique opportunity for a display of that sumptuous pomp and luxurious magnificence which led a contemporary writer to speak of the castle of Visegrád as "an earthly paradise."

By his marriage with Beatrice, Matthias entered into an intimate connection with Italy. Beatrice endeavoured to persuade her consort to give up his plan of humiliating the Emperor and to devote his whole energy to the expulsion of the Turks. In 1481 Matthias did aid his father-in-law to recover Otranto from the Osmanlis: but he became involved in the local quarrels of the Italian Courts. Venice was his chief adversary: Veglia, the Calais of Hungary, fell into the hands of the Signoria through the treachery of one of the Frangepáns; it was never recovered, because Frederick refused the Hungarian troops permission to pass through his territory. So Matthias had to content himself with an alliance with Florence and Milan.

His relations with the Papal See became strained, notably

because the popes (in particular Sixtus IV.) endeavoured to exercise an influence on the appointment of Hungarian bishops. Matthias repudiated all attempts at interference with his royal prerogatives, and in 1488 he sent troops to assist his father-in-law against the Pope. He supported Ancona in its endeavour to shake off the yoke of Papal suzerainty, and permitted the use by the citizens of the Hungarian flag.

The year of his second marriage (1477), Matthias was engaged in the first of his three campaigns against Frederick. He was accompanied by his consort and his mother, whom he desired as witnesses of the triumph which he regarded as inevitable. No fewer than seventy Austrian fortresses and forty towns were seized, while Matthias himself besieged Vienna, whence Frederick fled to Linz, and then to Gmunden. The Emperor was in terrible straits, both politically and financially ; so, when Queen Beatrice and the Pope (Sixtus IV.) intervened on his behalf, he was only too willing to make peace with Matthias. The agreement between the two monarchs was in some respects a recapitulation of that concluded in 1462.

On his return home, Matthias convened Parliament, which exacted a promise that he would not act against the spirit of the constitution, and declared that the taxes voted were to be employed for the war against the Turks.

Matthias had not long to wait for the opportunity of a first definite attempt to carry into effect what had always been his ultimate purpose. There had been continual skirmishing between the Hungarian outposts and Turkish marauders ; in 1476 he had himself led an army against the Turkish fortress of Shabatz, which he had reduced by his favourite plan of a blockade, giving clear proofs during the siege of his personal valour and his determination to do the dangerous work himself. Shabatz, on the Save, was a continuous menace to Belgrade and the headquarters of the Turkish marauders who ravaged the neighbouring districts. It was very strongly

fortified and difficult of access, its vulnerable points being surrounded by water. Of an evening, the King would take a small boat and row round the walls, amid a hail of bullets and missiles, spying out the weak points of the defence and the dispositions of the garrison. Probably some of the numerous wounds with which his body was covered were received on this occasion. He was absolutely fearless; and his intrepidity, as well as his refusal to allow others to do what he dared not do himself, made him the idol of his soldiers.

But in 1479 a huge Turkish army, under the command of some of the Sultan's best generals, invaded Transylvania. After completing their scheme of ravage and robbery, the various units of the Turkish army united in the beautiful valley of the Maros, determined to annihilate the small Hungarian army assembled under the lead of Stephen Báthory, the waywode of Transylvania, and Paul Kinizsi, the Count of Temes, whom the former had summoned to his aid. The armies met on the famous Field of Bread (*Kenyérmező*), on October 13, 1479. Neither of the Hungarian generals dared to dream of a crushing victory; but they were both determined to sell their lives dearly. After mass had been said, the Hungarians confessed and prepared to emulate the fate of Leonidas and his heroic comrades. The battle that ensued was one of the bloodiest in Hungarian history. At first the Turks could claim the advantage: the Saxons were driven back, many perishing in the swiftly-flowing waters of the Maros; and even the Székely troops wavered. Báthory himself led his reserve forces into the fray; two horses were shot under him, and he was wounded; and Kinizsi had not yet arrived. But suddenly the flare of trumpets and the thunder of horses' hoofs announced the coming of the Temesvár army. Like a whirlwind the cavalry—Kinizsi at their head, a huge sword in either hand—dashed down upon the Turks. The gigantic Count of Temes cut a breach for himself and his men through



the living barriers, straight to the place where Báthory was struggling against overwhelming odds. His arrival turned the scale : the Turks fled in disorder before the onset of this "superhuman devil," leaving 30,000 dead to prove the crushing character of their defeat. The captives released from their bonds joined the ranks of the victorious Hungarians : and the whole baggage and booty of the Turks fell into the hands of the victors.

The Turks made no further serious efforts to invade or overcome Hungary, during the reign of Matthias ; the lesson taught them on the Field of Bread had been too severe, and the fear of the son of John Hunyadi was too real : Matthias, too, was busy with his scheme for the conquest of Austria and never carried out his intention of waging an offensive war against the pagan intruders.

The following year (1480) Matthias was again at war with the Emperor. Frederick had failed to fulfil the conditions of the Peace of Gmunden. Matthias became the ally of the Swiss ; at home he obtained the money and supplies required by various means ; and after a series of successes finally compelled Frederick to sue for peace. But the two monarchs were at war again in 1482. Matthias advanced triumphantly into Austria, seizing the Hungarian fortresses of Kőszeg, Kis-Marton, Rohoncz and Fraknó. He concluded a truce (for five years) with the Sultan. Korneuburg fell ; and by 1485 Matthias, followed everywhere by the Papal legate, who tried to make peace between the rival sovereigns, was before the gates of Vienna. The city fell : and on June 1, Matthias entered in state at the head of his victorious army. The Austrian Diet took the oath of allegiance to the Hungarian King ; while the Hungarian hussars overran Carinthia and penetrated as far as Triest.

Matthias formally annexed Austria and Styria (and Carinthia) and transferred his Court to Vienna, where, in 1487,



Bonfini, the great historian of the Hunyadis, gave lectures before a distinguished audience.

Finally, recognising the futility of his attempt to obtain possession of the imperial crown by force, Matthias made a truce with the Emperor and returned to Buda, where he attended to all his business. He then went back to Vienna, where, on April 6, 1490 (Palm Sunday), he died at the age of forty-seven.

He died without an heir. All his efforts to obtain a recognition of the claims of his natural son, John Corvinus, had been frustrated by the jealousy of his Queen, Beatrice, and of the magnates.

"King Matthias is dead; justice has fled." This is no merely popular appreciation of a popular figure, but a record of the extraordinary sense of justice which characterised Matthias's actions as a ruler, a statesman, and a man. He hated everything underhand; he despised treachery; and he loathed eavesdropping. He refused to listen to the insinuations of sycophants, and would at all times convince himself of the truth by personal investigation. It was for this purpose that he would go about the country in disguise, inquiring about the sufferings and grievances of the lower classes in order to redress them. He showed his interest in the welfare of the people by taking part himself in their work and compelling his nobles to follow his example.

No wonder the people loved him; no wonder Matthias became the favourite subject of popular tradition and popular anecdote.

But his soldiers loved him too. He was the first monarch in Europe to establish a great standing army. The "Black Army," as his infantry organised originally to meet the Turkish Janissaries (on which they were modelled) was called, was a far more important machine than the "ordnance" cavalry of Charles VII. of France. At one period his army consisted of

148,000 men. Besides infantry, the nucleus of his army, he maintained at his own expense some 20,000 cavalry; and it was during his reign that the Hungarian hussars became famous throughout Europe. He shared his soldiers' hardships, refused to indulge in luxury when his men were fighting, and was always to be seen in the thick of the fray. His popularity with the army was one of the mainstays of his power.

He organised the military system of the country on a modern basis. His "Black Army" and its complements of cavalry and artillery formed, under his supreme command, the first line; the second line was composed of the feudal levies of the nobles, each recruited by counties and placed under the command of a captain appointed by the King; the third line was the "*generalis insurrectio*" (the fyrd or national militia), which was for home defence only. The Hungarian army became the model for Europe.

Matthias organised a system of *permanent and universal taxation*. The royal revenue had shrunk to 120,000 ducats, in addition to the profit made on coinage and the tolls: the Diet of Buda (1467) did away with the "profit on coinage," setting up in its place the "treasury tax," to be paid by the smaller landowners, the tenants or dependents of the nobles, the Jazygians, Székelys, Saxons, and Cumanians, who shared the privileges of the nobility. For the "thirtieth," royal tolls were substituted. Besides, a supertax (*subsidium*) of one ducat for each "session" was to be exacted from tenants.

Of course the nobles resisted Matthias's reforms by every means in their power; but the King was not to be thwarted; and he eventually succeeded in persuading the nobility to agree to his proposals.

At the Diet held at Buda in 1486, Matthias succeeded in enlarging the sphere of authority of the Palatine, to which office he appointed one of his generals, *Imre Szapolyai*,

hoping thereby to counteract the intrigues of the Queen against his natural son, John Corvinus.

The same Diet (1486) passed laws to regulate the administration of justice. Matthias, in his endeavour to put an end to the club law prevailing in the country, relied chiefly upon the support of the county gentry. He instituted county courts, to sit at fixed periods, the bench to consist of the county lieutenant, four magistrates, elected by the gentry, and ten or twelve representatives of the King. Appeals against sentences of these courts could be made to the central royal court, consisting of the Palatine, the Lord Chief Justice, and the Chancellor.

Other measures restricted the appeal to single combat, regulated the trial of thieves and robbers and murderers, ensured the independence of the magistrates and judges, and enforced the principle that the law was to be the same for both rich and poor.

Matthias extended the limits of the royal prerogatives without in reality overriding the main principles of Hungarian constitutionalism. The Estates obtained a definite right to grant or refuse taxes (the ultimate sources of these taxes being under the control of the county assemblies) : but the King reserved to himself the power to appropriate the monies thus voted. Matthias acknowledged the importance of the Diet by the frequency with which he summoned it to meet : he desired to give all his measures the sanction of constitutionalism, and he was in constant need of money for the prosecution of his wars.

Matthias was a typical representative of the Renaissance. Though not consciously aiming at absolutism, he was more absolute in fact than even Louis XI. of France or Ferdinand of Spain. Trusting in Matthias's wisdom and justice, and in his innate reverence for constitutional form, the Estates, who in 1471 had declared that all illegal decrees of the King were to be ignored, actually begged the King (1472) not to convene

an assembly for at least two years. It was a tribute to the ruler's honesty and the power of his personality unparalleled in history. Only one voice, that of the monk of Temesvár, Pelbárt, was raised in protest: but the protest was lost in the universal faith in the monarch's judgment.

Matthias's love of display, the magnificence of the life at his Court, was another important asset in his favour. The nation could not but feel flattered when they saw the palaces at Buda and Visegrád crowded with ambassadors of foreign states, all enchanted and surprised at the magnificence and wealth with which they were surrounded. The personal prestige of the King made him of importance as an ally and friend: the envoys of Ivan III., the King of France, and the Pope rubbed shoulders in the gorgeous halls of Buda and Visegrád with dark-skinned delegates from Armenia and Persia. These palaces, with their hanging gardens, marble fountains, superb frescoes, the painting of which was supervised by Fra Lippo Lippi, and statues, were regarded by all Hungarians with pride as the "centre of the universe." However, in dealing with his subjects, Matthias maintained a simplicity and a lack of formality that was in striking contrast to the pomp and ceremony characterising his reception of foreign ambassadors. The doors of his palace were at all times open for the free entry of petitioners, and his person was not guarded by any retinue of knights, for, as he himself said, "a king who rules justly and lawfully need not fear poison or the assassin's dagger."

His famous Corvin Library at Buda, with its 10,000 volumes, was the envy of Europe. He knew the exact position of all the books. The celebrated Corvin Codexes, some adorned with illustrations by Attavante, fell into the hands of the Turks in 1526.

Matthias founded a printing-press at Buda: the first book printed in Hungary (1473) was the "Chronicles of Buda."

Nor was the cause of education neglected. The Hungary of Matthias could boast of numerous classical scholars, the most famous being the Primate, John Vitéz, and his nephew, Janus Pannonius (John Csezmicei), the bishop of Pécs, who suffered exile for his share in the insurrection of 1471. Matthias encouraged foreign scholars to settle in the country, the chief among them being Bonfini, Galeotti, the author of "*De Matthiae Corvini egregie, sapienter et jocose dictis et factis*," mentioned by Scott in "*Quentin Durward*," and Ranzanus. Like Lorenzo the Magnificent or Alfonso of Arragon, "Matthias was essentially a man of the Renaissance." Like the great Hungarian scholar, Janus Pannonius, Matthias was an ardent admirer of classical culture: and it was in the spirit of the lover of Livy and Curtius, of Plato and Homer, that he founded the "*Academia Istropolitana*" (the University of Pozsony), the University College of Buda, and encouraged the chapters and towns to establish elementary and grammar schools. After the death of Matthias the University of Pozsony was closed, and the professors went to Vienna. One of its most famous professors was *Regiomontanus*, the greatest astronomer of the age, who anticipated Galilei.

As a patron of the Renaissance, Matthias encouraged the development of literature. The King was proud to be a Hungarian; his classical leanings did not lead to a neglect of the vernacular. We know that, in 1446, Hungarian had been used in Parliament (though Latin was the official tongue): and the King loved to employ his native language on all occasions. There are still extant several poems in Hungarian, which prove that the vernacular was regarded as an established literary medium. The most famous is the "*Legend of St Catherine*," perhaps the work of Pelbárt, the monk of Temesvár, an epic poem combining the mystic obscurity of the Middle Ages with the logical clearness and the subjectivity

of the Renaissance. Then there are the poems dealing with the glorious figure of the King—the “Fight at Shabatz” and the “Memorial Verses on the Death of King Matthias.” We have the “Song of Pannonia,” and a mass of religious poems of various types.

The Latino-Hungarian literature of the period is represented by the poet, Janus Pannonius, and the scholars who flocked to Matthias’s Court.

A lover of justice and equity, a man who loved to roam about the country in disguise and watch the life of his people at its source, a patron of art, literature, and scholarship, a statesman endowed with the fire of the fifteenth century, with the gift of a calculating and convincing diplomacy, with the charm of a great personality and the ability to discriminate in the use of threats or bribes, a soldier with all the qualities that compel admiration and disarm defiance, able to conduct successful campaigns on several fronts simultaneously, the master of invincible strategy, a man impatient of opposition yet conciliatory when conciliation could help him to enforce his will, gifted alike with the power to endure the hardships of the march and the battlefield and with the faculty of emulating the sumptuous luxury of an Oriental potentate—Matthias I. of Hungary will remain for all time one of the greatest sons of the Renaissance, the King who brought his country to the highest pinnacle of culture and prestige, whose eminence was at once his country’s glory and her misfortune, whose memory is cherished to-day as that of Hungary’s greatest monarch. His figure has inspired some of Hungary’s most eminent poets; and the pious gratitude of the Hungarian people will outlive the storms of centuries to come, as it has outlived the stress of Turkish occupation and the attempts of outside elements to shatter the foundations of the edifice he created—a national Hungarian state.



The palaces of Buda and Visegrád have disappeared—the victims of Turkish vandalism ; but the impulse which Matthias gave to architecture has left many splendid traces behind. Some parts of the family castle of Vajda-Hunyad date from the days of the great king, who completed the work of building the church in Buda which bears his name. The Cathedral of Sopron (Renaissance), the Church of Máriafalva (county of Vas : Gothic), the Abbey Church of Garam-Szent-Benedek, the Matthias Church of Szeged, the Parish Church of Keszthely, the Gothic church at Vágújhely, St Catherine's Church at Selmeczbánya, the church and bell-tower of Poprád, the Franciscan Monastery and Reformed Church of Kolozsvár, the Evangelical " Great " Church of Nagyszeben, the Gothic Church of Medgyes, the Catholic Church of Székely-Keresztúr, the church at Karczfalva (Transylvania), the Catholic Church of Gyergyó-Szent-Miklós, the town-halls of Nagyszeben, Brassó, Eperjes, Bátfá, Pozsony (tower) and Lőcse ; the " inner " fortress of Komárom ; the fortresses of Békés-Gyula Bajmóc, Kőszeg, and Beczkó (county of Trencsén) ; the interior of the " Rác " Baths in Buda ; the almshouses of Szakolcza ; the ruins of Matthias's shooting-box at Várpalota (Veszprém) ; the gateway-tower at Medgyes : all bear testimony to the glory of the architecture of the fifteenth century and to the encouragement given to the taste for architectural art by the eminent example set by the Hungarian King Matthias. We can form some conception of what would have been the value of Hungary to students of Renaissance art but for the wholesale destruction wrought by a century and a half of Turkish wars and Turkish occupation.

The ruins of Galgóc are still standing and the castle of Sárospatak, once the home of the Rákóczi, is now in the possession of the Windischgraetz family. It contains a valuable collection of antiques and souvenirs of the great Hungarian patriot, and is easily accessible by rail from Budapest.

The ruins of the castle of Világos still stand.



## CHAPTER XII

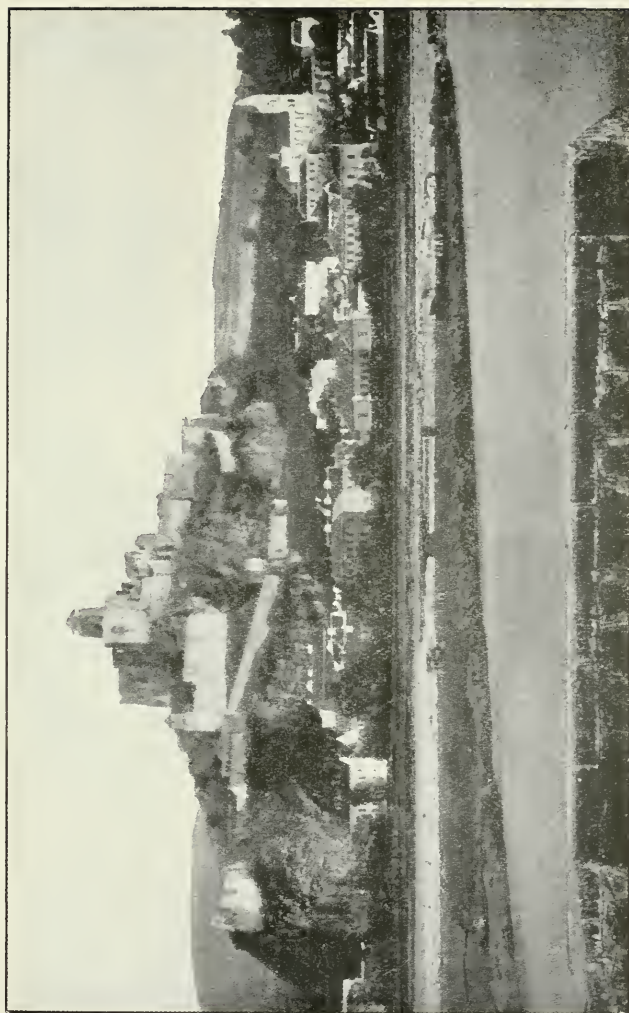
### CATASTROPHE

WE now enter upon a period of national decline, culminating in the disaster of Mohács and the extinction of Hungary as a national state independent of outside influences. "Thirty-six years—a few hours in the life of a nation—were sufficient to bring Hungary from the death of Matthias to the cemetery of Mohács."

The death of Matthias left Hungary without a legitimate successor to the throne. There were claimants enough and to spare: *Maximilian*, the son of Frederick III., who based his claims on the treaty of 1462; *Wladislas*, King of Bohemia; his brother, the Polish prince, *John Albert*; *Stephen Szapolyai*, the Governor of Vienna; and *John Corvinus*, Matthias's natural son.

The claims of the last were perhaps the strongest; and, had he possessed the energy to exploit the popularity of his father's name and to support his claims by an immediate armed intervention, he would no doubt have been elected. But he delayed until it was too late; his army was routed and scattered by Paul Kinizsi and Stephen Báthory; the Holy Crown was taken from him: and the Assembly of Rákös unwisely elected *Wladislas II.* (1490-1516).

The rule of Matthias had been unfortunate for his country in that the need for institutions was rendered unnecessary by the strength of his personality and his energy in all departments of national life; but, as he was followed by a weakling,



Castle of Matthew Csák, Trencsén



a mere puppet in the hands of his powerful nobles, this lack of institutions proved fatal to the very existence of the State. The hand that manipulated and controlled the intricate and delicate machinery of State life was gone ; its place was taken by a multitude of wire-pullers, all pulling in different directions : the machinery refused to work.

The widowed Queen, Beatrice, was conciliated by the prospect of becoming Wladislas's consort. The other claimants were soon disposed of.

But the removal of danger from without was merely the signal for the beginning of troubles within. Wladislas was a man without energy or a will of his own, in fact, a man after the nobles' own heart. He was afraid to *act*, for his one anxiety was to secure his own well-being ; he hated and feared the nobles, but he dared not oppose their will. Incapable, indolent, self-seeking, he cared nothing for national causes, and allowed himself to be led by his courtiers and the dictates of his own convenience.

The Diet of Buda (1492), the majority of which consisted of representatives of the gentry, indignantly repudiated the terms of the Treaty of Pozsony made with the Emperor Maximilian, which continued the family compact of 1462. But, by corruption and persuasion, the King's followers obtained the signatures of a certain number of deputies and the Treaty was ratified and provided with seals. In return for this good service Wladislas agreed to the election of a Palatine in the person of Stephen Szapolyai.

Wladislas was poor as well as incapable. So the power came more and more into the hands of the wealthy magnates, who controlled the Diet by threats and corruption, and formed the majority of the executive body, the royal council. The gentry were determined to fight against the influence of the magnates, endeavouring to gain the predominance in the Diet by numbers and to seize the executive power. They began,

under the leadership of *John Szapolyai*, the son of the Palatine, to form the nucleus of the "national party," which took a firm stand against the corruption of the Court officials, the tyranny of the magnates and prelates, and the German proclivities of Wladislas's followers. In 1504 the Diet passed a law to the effect that taxes could be voted by the national assembly only.

John Szapolyai desired to increase his influence and his chances of succession to the throne by an alliance with the royal house ; so he claimed the hand of Wladislas's daughter, Anna ; the King, however, hastened to betroth her to Ferdinand, the grandson of Maximilian, and secretly renewed the terms of the Treaty of 1491. Hereupon the Diet held at Rákos (1505) passed a resolution that, as the terrible sufferings of Hungary were due to their foreign kings, "in the case of Wladislas dying without male heir, *the Estates will never elect a foreign prince as their king.*"

Maximilian was furious : Wladislas, frightened to death, once more secretly renewed the Treaty of 1491 and offered to betroth any son that might be born to him to Mary, Ferdinand's sister. But Maximilian seized Pozsony and Sopron, which he held as pledges of Wladislas's good faith. The same year (1506) Louis was born : and the betrothal was made in 1515.

The Diet of 1508, which gave its consent to the coronation of the infant prince, renewed the prohibitions relating to foreign councillors and made Wladislas take an oath to respect the privileges of the nation and its constitution and to ensure a similar respect on the part of his son.

Luckily for Hungary, the commanders who had received their training under Matthias, such as Paul Kinizsi, were still available to keep the Turks in check ; but even Kinizsi was unable to devote all his energies to this national cause, for the "Black Army," no longer receiving its pay, was dispersed

and kept the whole country in a constant state of terror, pillaging and robbing. Kinizsi finally overcame these bands of marauders. But the country was threatened by a still more formidable danger. The peasantry in Hungary, as everywhere in Europe, were dissatisfied with their lot. They were groaning under the tyranny of their feudal masters; but they had heard the voice of the new world, and desired to have a share in the benefits of the Renaissance. The opportunity they desired of giving forcible expression to their dissatisfaction with the existing order of things, came quite unexpectedly. Thomas Bakócz, the all-powerful Primate of the day, persuaded the Pope to issue a manifesto (Bull) proclaiming a crusade against the Turks. The magnates and gentry were too busy with their private quarrels to answer the call; at the meeting of the royal council the Chancellor, Stephen Telegdi, uttered a solemn warning of the danger of putting military power in the hands of the peasants: but the Primate carried the day. *George Dózsa*, a good soldier who became a mere demagogue, was appointed commander of the "*Kurucz*" army; he incited the peasant warriors to exact retribution for the wrongs they had suffered, to turn their arms, not against the nation's foe, but against their personal enemies, their masters. A terrible attack was made on the lives and property of the nobles. The Primate's threat of excommunication had no effect. Dózsa himself was intoxicated by the sudden greatness he had achieved: he believed his army to be invincible. He defeated the levies of the bishops, Stephen Báthori and Nicholas Csáki, whom he had roasted alive; the same fate befell Stephen Telegdi. Dózsa now regarded himself as King of the country; but the nobility which had failed to unite against the Turk now joined hands to overthrow the power which threatened to annihilate them as a class. The "*Kurucz*" army was defeated before the walls of Temesvár by the noble levies

under the command of *John Szapolyai*. Dózsa was taken prisoner and put to death with a refinement of cruelty worthy of the worst traditions of the Spanish Inquisition. The Diet of 1514 passed measures of retaliation which reduced the peasantry of Hungary to a condition far worse than anything they had experienced before.

The same year (1514) saw the codification of the laws of Hungary in the *Tripartitum* (or “*Hármas Könyv*”), the work of *Stephen Werbőczy*. This is the prime authority, even to-day, for the principles of Hungarian equity. It established the principle that *all* members of the nobility are *equal*, and possess the same rights and privileges, thus belying the claim of the magnates and prelates to form a distinct class. The only difference recognised by the law was one of *personal merit*. The source of the privileges of the nobility was declared to be the superiority of their intellectual and physical qualities, their military services to the country, their titles, and their estates. These privileges made them supreme over the peasants, who could only claim compensation for their labour and had no right to hold property. The nobles had only one master—the King; who, however, could not illegally either confiscate their property or restrict their personal liberty. They were exempt from the payment of *all* forms of taxes except the so-called “blood tax”—*i.e.* they were all equally liable to military service in the defence of the country. At the same time the *Tripartitum* codified the definite restriction of the Pope’s authority in matters concerning the Church of Hungary, and limited the powers of the prelates in their dealings with lay nobles.

Wladislas died on March 15, 1516.

*Louis II.*, the son of Wladislas, became King and reigned from 1516 to 1526. He was under the control of a national council; but the real authority was in the hands of three men, *George, Margrave of Brandenburg*, the King’s uncle and guardian, *Thomas Bakócz*, and *John Bornemisza*.



Louis took no interest in the government of the country ; as indifferent to the welfare of his people as his father had been, he gave himself over to the life of pleasure and excitement which was so much to the taste of his immediate *entourage*. The influence of his famous tutor, Jacob Piso, the Transylvanian poet, was completely ousted by that of his debauched uncle and his other favourites. Yet the royal coffers were empty : not even the debasement of the coinage was able to procure him the cost of a journey to Prague, the capital of his other kingdom ; and the poverty characterising his reception of foreign embassies was pitiful to behold. To meet the deficiencies the Treasury (in 1525) made a contract with the Fugger family, the Rothschilds of the sixteenth century in Hungary, granting them mortgages on the King's estates and a monopoly of the mines of the country. The Court of the Primate far exceeded in splendour that of the King ; and many a noble was able to build up an immense fortune out of the poverty of the sovereign and his indifference to everything except the satisfaction of his own craving for pleasure and amusement.

The struggle between magnates and gentry was continued without a break. After 1517 the influence of Luther's protests threatened to introduce a new element into the struggle : the German Court of the Queen (Archduchess Maria of Austria), whose entry in 1521, accompanied by a host of foreign favourites, widened the breach between the two halves of the nobility, and the German towns showed a tendency to embrace Protestantism, which at first met with strenuous resistance on the part of the gentry. In 1519 the members of the Diet had come to blows ; the gentry had attempted to seize the King ; but the magnates had prevented the *coup*, and Stephen Báthory, the inveterate enemy of John Szapolyai, had been elected Palatine. The latter, instigated by Bakócz and other magnates, actually became reconciled to Szapolyai in the endeavour to break the power of the gentry. But the gentry

refused to be intimidated: they held Diets of their own at Tolna and Bács, while the magnates were deliberating at Buda.

At the Diet held on the Field of Rákos in 1525, the gentry appeared *en masse*. They demanded the head of the man responsible for so much of the financial weakness of the State—the Treasurer Imre Szerencs. Finding that their protests were of no avail, and that their grievances had no hope of redress from a puppet King and his evil advisers, the gentry—14,000 in all—repaired to Hatvan to deliberate. The King was alarmed, and acting on the advice of the Chancellor, Szalkai, he went to Hatvan to confer with the gentry and their leader, Werböczy. Louis hastened to comply with their demands: and Werböczy was elected to the office of Palatine.

Meanwhile the magnates gathered strength for the coming final struggle—with the gentry. They formed a secret association, the “Kalandos” or “Calendae Society.” The vanity of John Szapolyai was roused; he was cajoled into believing that, after the King’s death, Maria would offer him her hand in marriage. Money was obtained by once more selling the monopoly of the mines to the Fugger family; and part of the money was employed to conciliate the King and Queen. The Diet was convened to meet at Buda (1526). Werböczy, forsaken by Szapolyai and many lesser nobles whose convictions had been tampered with by the agents of the “Kalandos Society,” resigned the office of Palatine and withdrew to Transylvania, to escape the vengeance of his infuriated political opponents. Báthori was re-elected in his place; the resolutions of the Diet of Hatvan were rescinded; the new Palatine declared, with a resignation which is almost pathetic in its apparent self-belief, that the magnates “were not the cause of the country’s ruin”; Werböczy was summoned to appear before the King to answer the charge of *treason*; the magnates and prelates were commanded to collect soldiers, the gentry

to appear in person, those who had vassals to bring them all to the royal camp ; taxes were voted, but never levied ; the gentry and the magnates stood face to face ; bitter faction strife tore the country in twain ; there was no one to lead the nation—for the King, despite the power conferred on him by Parliament, deprecated the responsibility which the petty squabbles of the nobles prevented the nation from entrusting to either of the strong individuals who were fighting between themselves for the political supremacy. In the midst of all this corruption and confusion the Turks were advancing on Hungary, with a decisive if terrible solution of her problems.

In 1520 *Soliman the Magnificent* had succeeded Selim the conqueror of the East. He immediately set about to avenge the insult offered to Selim's ambassadors by Louis, who had had them arrested and thrown into prison. His armies took Shabatz and Belgrade : their fall was followed quickly by that of Zimony, Zalankemén, and Titel. Luckily for Hungary, Soliman was then summoned east (1521) to lay siege to Rhodes and put down an insurrection in Persia. However, as we have seen, Hungary failed to take advantage of the favourable turn of events ; and the alliance between Francis I. of France and Soliman for the overthrow of Charles V. led the Sultan to think once more of the invasion of Hungary. That country was in the way of a Turkish attack on the House of Habsburg ; and the Emperor's brother, Ferdinand, was allied by marriage to the Hungarian King.

Hungary had no funds to meet the crisis and could get no help from Europe : only the Pope sent money. The " bloody sword " was sent round the country ; but the nobility refused to move. Neither Szapolyai, nor Báthori, nor Werböczi could be trusted with the supreme command. So the royal army, such as it was, was placed under the command of *Paul Tomori*, the heroic but not brilliant Archbishop of Kalocsa. He did his best with the small force at his disposal (1500 men) ; but

though joined by Valentine Török and a few other nobles with a reputation for military prowess, they could not fight without soldiers. Pétervárad fell. At last Louis moved, proceeding from Buda to the camp at Tolna. Many of his advisers urged him to retreat, and to wait at Buda for the army of Szapolyai and the aid promised by Bohemia and Germany. But Tomori decided in favour of an immediate engagement: and the King supported his decision. So, on August 29, 1526, on the field of *Mohács*, the flower of the Hungarian nobility joined issue with the formidable army commanded by the Grand Vizier, Ibrahim Pasha. The Hungarians fought with the determination of despair; but they could not overcome the superiority of numbers (three to one); and they had no leader capable of meeting the strategy of the Turkish commanders. Practically all of twenty-four thousand men whom Hungary had mustered at last were killed; only a hundred or two escaped; and the King himself, while fleeing from the battle-field, was drowned in the waters of the *Cssle*.

John Szapolyai received the news of the rout at Szeged, where he was still procrastinating.

There was no one to stay the triumphal march of the victorious Turks to the Hungarian capital. Soliman entered Buda on September 10. He proceeded there with caution, for he could not believe he had destroyed the national army. The Queen fled first to Pozsony, and then to Vienna.

The Turk had triumphed; the Hungarian nation had fallen. But the causes of the fall lay with that nation itself and with the unfavourable constellation in foreign politics. The nobles had been wasting their energies on petty squabbles for political predominance; the burgesses had not yet come to recognise their share in the national cause; while the peasantry looked upon the disaster as the just punishment of their oppressive masters. No class in the country was con-

scious of any common *national* aims. The struggle for national liberty had been degraded into one for individual privilege : the factions had only ceased to wrangle when it was too late. While the guns of the Turks were thundering at the gates of Belgrade and Pétervárad, the nobles' castles were the scenes of riotous living and unseemly debauchery : the manners of the country had declined into immorality, and the licence of a corrupt Court only served to encourage that decline. Anarchy, violence, corruption, place-hunting—these were the vices that had converted the Hungary of Matthias, in thirty-six short years, into a country of which the Venetian ambassador could write that it was the home of open friendship and secret hatred, where no justice could be obtained, where people were too proud to obey, too indolent to govern or administrate, where advice was unwelcome, and where intrigue reigned supreme.

And, as the crowning misfortune, the House of Habsburg became the objective of the Sultan's wrath and his lust for empire ; Hungary alone stood in the way of Soliman's fulfilment of the terms of his alliance with Francis I. of France : and the internal dissensions of the country furnished him with the opportunity he desired. Catastrophe had come, but the tremendous recuperative power of the Hungarian nation, passing through the ordeals of a struggle over three hundred years in duration, enabled it to rise almost unscathed from the ashes of its past, and to crown the heroic struggle against all attempts at absolutism and absorption with the triumphs of 1848 and 1867.

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The Chapel of Bakócz at Esztergom (1506) (which curiously escaped the fate of the cathedral and other buildings), is the finest extant example of the Renaissance style of architecture in Hungary.

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE AGE OF TURKISH OCCUPATION

THE defeat at Mohács was the most important event in the later history of Hungary. The old trouble of disunion once more gained a footing in the country : one half of the nobles, desiring a national king, turned to the powerful champion of the gentry, John Szapolyai (Zápolya) ; the other half, regarding the safety of the kingdom as of more importance than national pride and, not unnaturally, expecting effectual aid from the Emperor (Charles V.), turned to the Austrian House of Habsburg.

The death of the King and the flower of the Hungarian nobility, the fear of Turkish encroachment, and the belief in the ability and willingness of the imperial House to save Hungary in order to save the Empire and, incidentally, Christendom, made the task of the dowager Queen Mary and of her supporters a comparatively easy one. Her brother, Archduke Ferdinand, at first based his claims on the purely family contracts of 1491 and 1515 ; but, encouraged by the success of her scheme, Mary persuaded him to seek election. Her advice was accepted ; and the rest was left in the hands of the " German Party," which now included such men as Báthori (the Palatine) and Thomas Nádasdy.

There were two assemblies convened for the purpose of electing a successor to the unfortunate Louis II. The first was held at Székesfehérvár, where *John Szapolyai* (1526-40), was, on the proposal of Werböczi, elected King : the second



met at Pozsony and offered the throne to *Ferdinand* (1526-64), whose title was acknowledged by the estates of Croatia and Transylvania.

The object of both parties was the same, namely, the defence of Hungary against the Ottomans. But, while the "National Party" looked to a national king to unite the various factions in a common struggle against a common enemy, the "German Party" hoped that a foreign sovereign would add to the resources of the country those of its powerful neighbour. Neither expectation was realised: what really happened was that domestic dissensions became more acute, and the country which had once played a predominant part in the councils of Europe, was gradually reduced to the position of a secondary and subordinate state, for a century and a half the bone of contention between Turk and German, and subsequently the victim of a struggle against the evils of political and religious oppression and of German imperialism.

Hungary suffered from the natural consequences of all the conflicting tendencies of the sixteenth century—the antagonism between Rome and Protestantism, the conflict between the House of Habsburg and France, and the struggle between Christendom and the Turks.

Hungary enjoyed only the disadvantages of the alliance with the Empire; she became the scene of the Turkish attacks on the House of Austria. John, however, proved incapable of utilising the disaffection of the country to secure the supremacy. He had no initiative or enthusiasm. The results of his indifference became evident in 1527, when Ferdinand's commanders defeated him in battle after battle, and forced him to retire to Transylvania. Ferdinand entered Buda in triumph, then proceeded to Székesfehérvár, where he and his consort were duly crowned.

After the rout at Mohács (1526), the Sultan (Soliman) had occupied the capital, Buda, which, together with Pest, he



practically razed to the ground. He then set his troops to ravage the country. Nearly 200,000 Hungarians were either killed or taken into captivity. Towns and villages were burned down, and the smiling fields converted into deserts. Here and there garrisons held their own gallantly against overwhelming odds, until the last man had been put to the sword.

However, Soliman did not contemplate the occupation of Hungary just yet. He withdrew his hosts, leaving garrisons only in the border fortresses, as a preliminary to a future conquest.

In 1528, after disastrous defeats at Mezökeresztes (county of Borsod) and Szinna (to the S. of Kassa), John was compelled to fly for refuge to Poland. After weighing the matter well he decided to apply for help to the Sultan. To-day, this step looks like an act of treachery to the Christian cause: but we must not forget that Christendom had failed to do its duty, that France sought the alliance of Turkey against the Emperor, and that John regarded the security of his country's independence as at least as urgent a national necessity as the expulsion of the Turks. It was not his personal ambition so much as his anxiety for the nation's welfare that prompted him, in 1528, to send Jerome Laszki as his ambassador to Constantinople. Laszki refused the demand for tribute and finally prevailed on the Sultan to act as the "protector" of King John and to undertake to assist him to liberate Hungary from the foreigner.

Not long after, Ferdinand sent an embassy to Constantinople, demanding the surrender of the frontier fortresses of Hungary (Belgrade, Shabatz, etc.). Soliman replied that he would be there himself and surrender them in person. No one could misunderstand the Sultan's meaning; so, when, in September, John again entered Hungary, the bulk of the nation rallied to his standard. Ferdinand had already fled

the country ; his soldiers were too busy with marauding expeditions to be of much use against the Turks ; and John had the whole-hearted support of one of the greatest diplomats of the age—the monk, *George Martinuzzi*. His generals defeated the Austrian armies at *Sáros-patak* (September 25, 1528) ; and almost the whole country hastened to welcome him as their liege lord.

Soliman entered Hungary in August 1529. The two monarchs met at *Mohács* (August 19) : but the attitude of the Sultan was so haughty and overbearing that many a good patriot was compelled to regard the meeting as a second humiliation of Hungary on the same spot.

Consternation gave place to indignation, when (September 8), after a feeble resistance on the part of its Austrian defenders, Buda was taken by Soliman and given to John as a fief.

The Sultan then proceeded to Vienna, hoping to seize the Austrian capital and subsequently to overrun the Empire. His real purpose was now evident : but John did not dare to thwart it. However, Pozsony, whose garrison was commanded by John Szalay, kept the Turks at bay ; and the heroic defence of Vienna by Nicholas Salm compelled Soliman to retire to his own country.

In the autumn of the following year (1530), Ferdinand, who realised that his hold over Hungary must be weak unless he could recover Buda, sent a large army under Rogendorf to take that fortress. John was again in Poland : but his gallant commander, Gritti, aided by the heroism of the citizens and the accession of Turkish auxiliaries, defeated all attempts of the imperial troops to capture Buda ; and this undertaking was regarded by the Sultan as an insult. So, in 1532, Soliman again entered Hungary with a large army, bent upon humiliating Austria and the Emperor. Ferdinand sent an embassy, offering to pay tribute ; but the Sultan refused the ambassador an audience, and proceeded once more towards Vienna. Again

a Hungarian fortress, *Kőszeg*, commanded by the heroic Nicholas Jurishitch, saved the Austrian capital. Soliman had to content himself with ravaging the neighbouring districts : and he returned home without having accomplished anything.

The treachery of the ambitious Italian Gritti, who now entered the service of the Sultan, and the feeling that the Turk was a common danger, added to the anarchy prevailing in the country, urged upon the patriotic nobles the necessity for an understanding between the rival kings. When, in 1537 (October 9), the army sent by Ferdinand to relieve Croatia and Slavonia was annihilated at Gorján (near Diákovár), the time seemed ripe for a reconciliation. The result was the *Peace of Nagyvárad* (February 24, 1538), by which it was agreed that both John and Ferdinand should continue to use the title of king and that each should retain that part of the country already in his possession. *John's* share included Buda, all Hungary east of the capital, and Transylvania ; *Ferdinand* took the W. half, with Pozsony as his capital, Croatia and Slavonia. If John died without heir, the whole country was to revert to Ferdinand : if he had a son, that son should not be King, but should receive the (Szapolyai) family estates and the title of Prince (Duke) of Szepes ; in the case of the death of the direct (male) successors of both Ferdinand and Charles V., the crown was to pass to John and his heirs.

The Peace was kept secret and did not hold for long. When in February 1539 John married the daughter of the King of Poland, Ferdinand was alarmed at the possibility of a rival claimant to the Hungarian throne. He encouraged an insurrection against John in Transylvania (1540). The breach between the two monarchs was complete. During his campaign against the insurgents, a son was born to John at Buda (July 7) ; but he himself died on July 21, leaving his widow and infant son to the care of Martinuzzi and imploring his

adherents to look to Constantinople for help and to mistrust the promises of Austria.

He was the last King of Hungary who had no other dominions. His kindness, goodness of heart and condescension are proverbial ; and for his alliance with the Turks, it may be said that he was faced with two evils ; and he chose what he honestly believed to be the lesser.

The Szapolyai party was divided against itself. One half desired to fulfil the conditions of the Peace of Nagyvárad and to hand over the country to Ferdinand : the other half feared the vengeance of Soliman and wished for a national king under the Sultan's suzerainty. Martinuzzi at first hesitated between the fulfilment of his master's death-bed injunctions and the prospect of a united Hungary ; but at last the dictates of past experience urged him to adopt the former course. The infant son of the late King, John Sigismund, was elected King of Hungary, and the Queen-Mother Isabella was to act as Regent during his minority, in conjunction with Martinuzzi, Peter Petrovitch, and Valentine Török.

The Sultan notified his approval of the election and refused to listen to the arguments of Ferdinand's ambassadors, who came to claim Hungary for their master. Hereupon Ferdinand attempted to make a bargain with Isabella ; but Martinuzzi was on his guard, and the endeavours of Rogendorf to seize Buda were frustrated.

The arrival before Buda of Mohammed Pasha and Valentine Török, and the news of the approach of Soliman himself (July 1541), compelled Rogendorf to retire to Pest, where his army was practically annihilated by the combined forces of Hungarians and Turks.

On August 26, Soliman arrived before Buda and requested that the young King should be sent to his camp. The Queen-Mother entrusted her son to the care of Valentine Török, who took him to the Sultan's tent. While Soliman was playing

with the infant King, his Janissaries entered the fortress—"merely to have a look round"; they ended by disarming the garrison and declaring Buda the possession of the Sultan. It was August 29, the anniversary of the rout of Mohács. The Turks had come to stay: it was probably by design that they chose this day for the third humiliation of Hungary.

Buda became the capital of the Hungarian dominions of the Padishah; Isabella took her son to Transylvania, and that province became an independent principality, playing for 170 years an all-important part in the political and religious history of Hungary and of Europe.

Ferdinand was now "King of Hungary": but the Sultan, who in September left for Constantinople, taking some of the leading Hungarians as hostages, claimed all the most fertile districts of the country for his own.

The seizure of Buda by the Turks alarmed the whole of Hungary, and even succeeded in arousing the slumbering conscience of Christendom. Even the Emperor saw that he must come to the assistance of Hungary—to save the Empire. Martinuzzi himself began to doubt the wisdom of the Turkish alliance, the first "benefit" accruing from which had been the treacherous occupation by the Sultan of the capital and the wealthiest part of the country, and determined to give the German alliance another chance. He acknowledged the claims of Ferdinand to Hungary and Transylvania; and Ferdinand prevailed on the Estates of the German Empire to agree to defray the costs of a vast undertaking for the liberation of Hungary. But the inefficiency of the "common" army, the incapacity of its commander (Joachim, Marquis of Brandenburg), and the lack of money led to complete failure. Martinuzzi lost his confidence in the Germans and resolved to depend on his own resources: he broke with Ferdinand; and the Union of Torda (1542) laid the foundations of the united independent Principality of Transylvania, the constitution



Kassa Cathedral (14th century ; restored 19th century)





of which was finally settled by the Diet (of Torda) of 1544.

Soliman, to punish the "insolent" attempt of Joachim to seize his capital, early in 1543 entered Hungary again at the head of an army of 200,000 picked warriors. After obtaining possession of Siklós, Pécs, Esztergom, Tata, and Székesfehérvár, the Sultan left the completion of the work of conquest to his pashas, who, despite the heroic resistance of the Hungarian garrisons, seized the most important fortresses in quick succession, and divided the conquered territory into sanjaks.

The Diet of 1545 protested against the wanton indifference and criminal inability of the King : but he was either unwilling or unable to come to their assistance. The disaffection of the country due to the thinly disguised or open attempts at centralisation and the absorption of Hungary as a province of Germany, grew to such dimensions that, in 1547, taking advantage of the Sultan's expedition against Persia, Ferdinand concluded a truce for five years with the Porte. This truce, which definitively recorded the division of Hungary into three parts, provided that Ferdinand should retain, as King of Hungary, those parts of the country (not quite thirty-five counties) and of Croatia and Slavonia which were then in his possession, that in return he should pay an annual tribute of 30,000 ducats.

The same year (1547) Ferdinand summoned the Diet to meet at Nagyszombat, to record its approval of the terms of the truce. The approval was given—reluctantly enough ; but there were grievances, too, in the rule of this absentee King, to be repaired ; and the Diet which acknowledged the claims of *Ferdinand's heirs and successors* to the throne of Hungary might well have expected redress. But the remedy was worse than the disease. During his twenty-eight years' reign Parliament was convened twenty-four times : for without the consent of the Estates no taxes could be collected. But the chief cause of complaint, the foreign character and German pro-

clivities of the *consilium locumtenentiale*, which was the real executive body, was never removed; the office of Palatine was left vacant for forty-six years, a *locum tenens* being appointed in his place to carry out the decrees of Vienna: and the Estates were left to face the formidable double task of defending the country against the menace of Turkish expansion and the danger of Western absolutism.

In 1552 Soliman once more invaded Hungary, to drive out the Imperial troops. This campaign, which lasted ten years, consisted for the most part of sieges of fortresses, the heroic defence of which by their Hungarian garrisons forms one of the most glorious pages of Hungarian history.

The fortress of Temesvár was held for a month by Stephen Losonczy, Count of Temes, with a garrison of 2200 men against 50,000 Turks. He yielded at last with the promise that the lives of the survivors should be spared, but they were cut down as they left the fortress.

In the N.W. the Pasha of Buda, Ali, took the fortress of Veszprém and then proceeded to invest *Drégely*, which was defended by a tiny garrison (150) under the command of George Szondi. Seeing that he could not save the fortress he had his most treasured belongings piled in a heap in the castle courtyard and set them on fire; his favourite horses he killed: then at the head of his devoted followers he dashed out on the Turks, selling his life dearly and winning immortal fame. Ali showed his respect for the dead hero by commanding his remains to be buried with military honours.

The key to Eger and the mining districts had fallen without Teufel, another imperial general, making any attempt to relieve the heroic garrison. When he did move, he was defeated by Ali Pasha at Palásth and, falling into the hands of the Turks, was sent to Constantinople, where he was killed.

Numerous other fortresses fell in quick succession. Ali was then able to join forces with Achmed Pasha for the reduction

of the important fortress of *Eger*. This siege produced an enormous literature of its own. The garrison consisted of 2000 men, all told; but the fortress, which had become a refuge for the nobility and peasantry of the surrounding districts and was the key to the possession of half a dozen counties, was under the command of Stephen Dobó. He refused to read the letter sent him by Achmed, and had a coffin poised on two lances placed on the walls as a symbol of his resolution to conquer or die. Time after time the Turks endeavoured to storm the place. The numbers of the gallant defenders dwindled, but, when, on October 14, the Turkish commanders ordered a final general assault, the women of *Eger* took their stand on the battered fortifications by the side of the men, hurling stones and pouring barrels of boiling pitch on the Osmanli storming parties. The self-devoted ardour of these heroic women inspired such terror in the hearts of the Janissaries, that they refused to continue the fight. So the Turks were compelled to withdraw and *Eger* was saved.

In 1556 the fortress of *Szigetvár*, which later played so important a part in the struggle against the Turks, defied the hosts of Ali Pasha for several weeks.

The imperial generals had done nothing to stem the tide of Turkish invasion. But the Hungarian commanders in Ferdinand's service did their work nobly and efficiently. Less important in rank and dignity than the German, Italian, and Spanish favourites, Imre Telekessy, George Bebek, and John Pethö gained a signal victory over Velitchan Bey on the banks of the Sajó in 1558.

In 1562 Ferdinand made a truce for eight years with the Sultan.

He died on July 25, 1564, without having come to any satisfactory arrangement with the Prince of Transylvania, which province he had always coveted for himself and his successors.

## CHAPTER XIV

### THE PRINCIPALITY OF TRANSYLVANIA

THE death of John (1540) left Martinuzzi with an inheritance fraught with difficulty and danger. His main object was to preserve the independence and integrity of Transylvania, the one province of Hungary which his ward could call his own. To that end he had to employ all the finesse of a wary diplomat, playing on the credulity of both Sultan and Ferdinand, and keeping in check the vanity and fickleness of an ambitious woman. Like Bocskay later, he regarded an independent Transylvania as the best security for the independence of Hungary from foreign oppression.

In 1541 he was glad to contract an alliance with Ferdinand: but the incapacity of Joachim showed him that the alliance was fraught with danger and offered no hope of victory against the Turks. So he substituted passive friendship, at the same time leading the Sultan to believe that he desired to be his vassal. He engineered the Union of Torda (1542), which united the three different parts of Transylvania into one political unit. The "three nations" (Magyar, Széklers, and Saxons) agreed not to act separately in foreign politics; and Martinuzzi, as Governor, established the "common council" of which he was the president. In 1543 he sent tribute to Constantinople, thus ensuring peace on the one side. In 1544 the Diet of Torda initiated the separate existence of Transylvania as an independent constitutional state.

The army—as the natural consequence of the geographical

formation of the country—was one of defence. The standing army, maintained by the “three nations” in equal proportions, was 6000 strong: besides, there was the “*generalis insurrectio*”—the *posse comitatus*—a “motley crowd” which required the stirring eloquence of Martinuzzi himself to convert it into a really formidable fighting machine. That he did succeed in doing so, is proved by the victories he won at its head.

The nobility of the time—“robber dragons,” as they have been called—were steeped in vice. Contemporary writers are loud in their warnings that the corruption of manners must prove fatal to the welfare of the country. With the jealousy of his rivals began the troubles of Martinuzzi. The political indifference of Vienna to the fate of Hungary led him to play a double game. But Peter Petrovitch and Queen Isabella intrigued against him at Constantinople. Martinuzzi was compelled to renew the alliance with Vienna. The Sultan sent some of his best commanders to punish the “traitor”; but Martinuzzi put himself at the head of his raw levies and routed the trained Janissaries of the Pasha of Buda. Soliman was alarmed; but he demanded of Martinuzzi, who had again convinced the Sultan of his friendship, that John Sigismund should be crowned King of Hungary—as his vassal. Again the diplomacy of the priest-statesman prevailed. In 1551 he persuaded Isabella to renounce all claims to Transylvania in favour of Ferdinand, to whom she surrendered the Holy Crown. Martinuzzi handed his office and authority of Governor over to the royal commissaries, Thomas Nádasdy and General Castaldo.

Martinuzzi's efforts were concentrated now on securing the possession of Transylvania and half of Hungary for Ferdinand. Once more he had resort to the wiles of diplomacy. While employing the royal armies to recover the fortresses that had fallen into the hands of the Turks, he succeeded in cajoling

the Sultan into believing that he was really acting in the interests of Turkey. Frustrated by the intrigues of his rivals in his endeavour to meet both dangers, he resolved to throw in his lot with the Christian King, whose brother, Charles V., had now reached the zenith of his power, and to employ his diplomatic address for the benefit of his new master and Christian Hungary. He met the fury of the Sultan by a punctual payment of the tribute due, by bribing the Turkish leaders and by protesting that Transylvania still belonged to John Sigismund. One after another the important fortresses were recovered. But Ferdinand doubted Martinuzzi's faith : and Castaldo was jealous of his prestige and popularity. On December 17, 1551, the clever and noble priest, whose qualities as statesmen and soldier were as great as his humility, was murdered in his own castle at Alvincz. His services to Hungary cannot be overestimated. He was the founder of that traditional Transylvanian policy which, under the eminent Hungarian princes of later days, did so much for the liberty of Hungary.

The death of Martinuzzi ushered in an era of anarchy and disorder in the history of Transylvania. Castaldo's mercenaries robbed and pillaged the countryside. The cowardly Italian, who had not scrupled to have his powerful rival assassinated, could not control the lawlessness of his troops ; and his act had driven the Székely people, who worshipped the memory of Martinuzzi, into open insurrection. So, in 1553, Castaldo withdrew from the scene of his inglorious brutality ; and Ferdinand appointed Stephen Dobó, the hero of Eger, Waywode of Transylvania. But not even the remembrance of the glories of Eger could avail to stem the growing discontent and the mistrust of the Hungarians in Transylvania : the assassination of Martinuzzi was shown to have been, not merely a crime, but a grave political blunder. The Sultan threw the whole weight of his authority into the



balance in favour of Isabella and her son ; in 1556 Transylvania rose in rebellion against Dobó ; and John Sigismund (1556-71) became Prince of that country. The Queen-Mother endeavoured to monopolise the power ; but she was compelled to share it with Jasper Békés, her son's favourite and confidential adviser.

On the death of Isabella (1559), John Sigismund continued the struggle against Ferdinand, not merely for the possession of Transylvania, but for the throne of Hungary too. He had the assistance of the Sultan, who, however, in 1562, made a truce with Ferdinand. For the moment hostilities between Transylvania and the foreign sovereign of Hungary ceased ; but the negotiations opened by Ferdinand with a view to a final settlement of the Transylvanian question were broken off by the death of that monarch in 1564.

Ferdinand was popular even in Hungary ; for his character combined moderation with energy, and his kindness of heart was familiar to everyone who came in contact with him. But, in his dealings with Hungary, he unfortunately relied too much upon his advisers, who ruled the country with an arbitrary severity and a contempt for the laws which exasperated the nation and, under more favourable circumstances, might well have proved fatal to the interests of the dynasty. But the Turkish danger and the anarchy consequent on internal disunion made forbearance and long-suffering imperative.

Perhaps as a result of Martinuzzi's efforts on their behalf, in 1547 the peasant serfs regained the right of migration at will. This resolution of Parliament is said to have been due to Ferdinand's personal influence—during one of his none too frequent visits to the country.

Ferdinand's son, *Maximilian* (1564-76), had been elected by the Estates—and crowned—in his father's lifetime (1563). He was as inactive against the Turks as Ferdinand had been ; so Hungary was once more left alone to defend herself against



the invaders. Moreover, he was far less conciliatory than his father. He put the direction of military and financial affairs under the control of Vienna; he refused to confer with the Estates and endeavoured to deprive them of their privilege of voting taxes and supplies by making the country authorities responsible for provisioning the army. By his acts and his words alike he made it quite evident that he was determined to regard Hungary as a province of Austria. The Estates protested—but in vain. Even Stephen Dobó, the hero of Eger, who had fought so valiantly for his king as well as his country, was arrested and condemned to suffer three years' imprisonment—for treason!

The condition of the peasantry was wretched. The tyranny of their masters, the constant feuds between the petty kings whom the anarchy prevailing in the country had again brought into being, the oppressive taxation, and the ravages of the imperial mercenaries, added to the misery consequent on the depredations of the Turks, drove the peasants to appeal to arms. Two peasant risings occurred during the reign of Maximilian—one in the Eastern Lowlands, led by George Karácson, the other in Slavonia, under Matthew Gubecz.

These conditions made the final occupation by the Turks of the part of Hungary which they had already appropriated to themselves, a comparatively easy matter.

Maximilian began by seeking a quarrel with John Sigismund. He demanded the surrender of various frontier fortresses; his demand was refused, and his commanders resorted to force. The Sultan intervened; and in 1565 the King of Hungary and the Prince of Transylvania were at war.

The following year Soliman entered Hungary with an enormous army and proceeded to invest *Szigetvár*, the key of the Balaton district. The siege has been immortalised by the epic poem, the *Zrinyiász*, written by the great-grandson of Nicholas Zrinyi. The heroic commander of the fortress,

*Nicholas Zrinyi*, had a garrison of 2000 determined warriors ; and the King was at Győr with an army of 100,000 men. The fortress should never have fallen ; but Maximilian would not risk an encounter with the Turkish hosts led by the old Sultan Soliman himself : he was content to purchase the integrity of Austria by sacrificing Zrinyi and his devoted garrison.

When the news that the Turks were at Eszék reached him, Zrinyi assembled the garrison, told them what was in store for them, and called on them to join him in taking an oath to defend the fortress, as long as they had breath to fight with, for the sake of God, their King, their country, and Christendom. His wife and children he sent to Csáktornya : but the wives and daughters of the other combatants refused to leave their husbands and fathers, declaring that they would emulate the heroism of the " women of Eger."

The siege began on August 6. For a month the Turks tried to reduce the place. General assaults, preceded by violent cannonades, which tore breaches in the fortifications and killed half the garrison, were followed by attempts at bribery, but in vain.

On September 7, seeing that he could hold the fortress no longer, Zrinyi gave the women powder and fuses, with which they shut themselves in the only tower still standing. He himself doffed his armour, put on his most gorgeous dress, filling its pockets with gold coins (as he said, that " the man who robbed his corpse might find it worth the trouble "), hung a heavy gold chain round his neck, thanked God that they had had no traitor in their ranks, took his father's sword, and, giving orders for the drawbridge to be lowered, dashed out at the head of the remnants of the garrison and plunged into a surging sea of infuriated Osmanlis. Zrinyi soon fell ; and a terrible struggle ensued round the dead body of the Hungarian leader. Not a single member of the heroic garrison lived to

tell the tale ; the women blew up the tower when they heard the approach of the infidels. But the Sultan was dead ; vexation at the heroic resistance had hastened his end : and 25,000 Turkish warriors was the price the victors paid for their triumph.

The Grand Vizier seized some of the neighbouring fortresses ; and then hastened to Constantinople to present his homage to the new Sultan, *Selim*.

Maximilian, too, went home—to Vienna. Like his father, he was only too ready to make peace with the enemy of Christendom by sacrificing Hungary. So, in 1568, the *Peace of Adrianople* was concluded between the Porte and the King of Hungary.

John Sigismund, who in 1566 had appeared before Soliman at Zimony, now endeavoured to obtain assistance from his successor : but Selim was a man of peace and would not help the prince to push his claims in Hungary proper. So, in 1570, John Sigismund came to terms with Maximilian, who renewed his recognition of the former's right to Transylvania (to which he added some territory) in return for John Sigismund's undertaking to renounce his title of King of Hungary.

Shortly afterwards (March 1571) John Sigismund died : the Estates of Transylvania, by order of the Sultan, elected *Stephen Báthory* (1571–76) to succeed him. The new ruler was a man of great personal qualities, of the school of Martinuzzi as a diplomatist, a brave soldier, but a lover of peace. Paying tribute to the Sultan, he in secret took the oath of allegiance to Maximilian, thus winning the favour of both his powerful neighbours. In 1575, however, the peace of the country was disturbed by the attempt made by Jasper Békés to raise the banner of insurrection : supported by the Székely people, who were dissatisfied with their situation (they had been deprived of their privileges in 1562 by John Sigismund), and encouraged by Maximilian, Békés was overthrown by the

superior generalship of the waywode. But the breach between Báthory and the King of Hungary became open and final when, in the same year (December 14), the estates of Poland elected the former to be their King. He appointed his brother, *Christopher Báthory* (1576-81), regent of Transylvania; and early in 1576 withdrew to his kingdom.

The same year Maximilian died. He was succeeded by *Rudolph* (1576-1608), a suspicious eccentric with absolutistic leanings brought up in the strictly Catholic atmosphere of the court of Philip II. of Spain. He was as little inclined to measure swords with the Sultan in the cause of Christianity as were his two predecessors: but the force of circumstances was too strong for him; and his reign, which saw the beginning of a systematic persecution of Protestantism and of the anti-Reformation, saw also the initiation of a united effort to throw off the Turkish yoke, which, while it ended in a fiasco, led to the "Long (Fifteen Years') War."

Rudolph retired to Prague, whither he carried the Holy Crown of Hungary, and left the government of the country to his brothers.

Rudolph paid his tribute and solemnly renewed the promises contained in the Peace of Adrianople: but a consistent border warfare went on between the Turks and Hungarians. The governments were on the best of terms: but the people were quite unconscious of the fact.

In 1581 Sigismund Báthory (1581-98), Christopher's son, became waywode of Transylvania. Educated by Jesuits, he offered to make an alliance with Rudolph for the purpose of driving the Turks out of Europe. He declared himself ready to acknowledge the suzerainty of Rudolph and to secure him the succession if he died without heir. But the Estates of Transylvania had no faith in the genuineness of the King's intentions and feared the vengeance of the Porte. They refused to endorse the policy of the waywode, which,

while calculated to encourage Rudolph's ambitions, did not promise to benefit Transylvania—or Hungary.

But the suspicions of Turkey had been aroused by the negotiations: and the Sultan determined to anticipate the possibility of further developments.

### THE LONG WAR (1591-1606)

War between Hungary and Turkey began in 1591: but nothing serious was done until 1593.

In the meantime Hassan Pasha, the Governor of Bosnia, had invaded Croatia and laid siege to Sziszek. He was utterly routed; his army was driven into the Kulpa; and he himself, together with six beys, was killed.

The Grand Vizier, despite his advanced age, vowed vengeance and led an army of 150,000 picked troops into Hungary. After taking Veszprém, Pápa, Tata and Győr, Sinan called upon Báthory to join forces with him. The Transylvanian waywode thereupon openly declared for an alliance with Rudolph; the Estates formed a conspiracy against him; but he nipped the rebellion in the bud, had all the ringleaders executed and their estates confiscated, and confirmed his alliance with the King by wedding the Archduchess Maria Christina.

The Christian host was swelled by contingents from Germany, Spain, Italy, and Austria; and money was sent by the Pope. The Hungarian Parliament voted taxes, to be paid by all. The first year (1594) passed without any signal success being gained by the Christian armies. But in 1595 things took a turn for the better. A soldier of genius, Count Charles Mansfeld, took over the command of the Christian hosts; Sigismund of Transylvania entered the scene, and his brilliant general, *Stephen Bocskay*, after forcing the waywodes of Moldavia and Wallachia to acknowledge the overlordship of

Transylvania, compelled the Grand Vizier to withdraw to Giurgevo, where the Turkish army was finally routed ; another of Báthory's generals, George Borbély, defeated the Pasha of Temesvár and seized several important fortresses : while Esztergom was finally retaken by Mansfeld and Giovanni de Medici.

The famous strategists, Tilly and Gonzaga, elaborated a scheme for a combined effort of the Hungarian and Transylvanian armies : the latter united to meet the Turkish army commanded by the Sultan, Mohammed III., in person at *Mezőkeresztes* on October 26 (1596). The victory was all but won when the lust of plunder of the Christian troops gave the Tartar and Rumelian cavalry their chance. The Christian army was routed ; 20,000 Christian warriors were killed ; all the guns were lost ; and the remnants of the army saved themselves by headlong flight.

For eight years the capricious inconsistencies of Sigismund Báthori threw the unfortunate principality of Transylvania into a state of distressing uncertainty and continual ferment. In 1597 he resigned in favour of Rudolph, receiving in return the dukedoms of Oppeln and Ratibor (in Silesia) and the promise of an annual allowance of 50,000 thalers and of a cardinal's hat. But in 1598, as he had received no money and loathed the monotony of Oppeln, he was back again in Gyulafehérvár. This year had opened very promisingly for the Christian cause. Győr was retaken by the gallant troops of Nicholas Pálffy and Schwarzenberg ; numerous other fortresses fell into the hands of Rudolph's generals. Nagyvárad, under the command of Paul Nyári and Redern, resisted all the violent attacks of the Turks : and a heroic, but futile, attempt was made to recover Buda.

In 1599 *Andrew Báthory*, a Cardinal, succeeded his cousin as waywode of Transylvania. Rudolph was determined to oppose, with every means in his power, the independence of



the principality : and *Michael*, waywode of Wallachia, took advantage of disaffection among the Székely people and the jealousy of the Emperor to bring about the destruction of Andrew's power. The Cardinal was routed and murdered as he fled to Moldavia. Michael endeavoured to create a federation of the three principalities of Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia. He began to rule Transylvania with the sword, relying on the support of the Széklers and the Roumanians. He anticipated the cruel atrocities of 1848, and incited the Széklers to take vengeance on the Magyar nobles. But he allowed his self-confidence and arrogant conceit to carry him too far. He insulted Rudolph and provoked the self-respect of the Transylvanian nobility. *Basta*, Rudolph's general sent by the King to bring Michael to his senses, was welcomed by the Estates as a veritable saviour. The cruel tyrant was routed (1600) and fled to his own country. But the nobles persisted in their attachment to the House of Báthory ; *Basta* resisted their desire to recall Sigismund. He was defeated and put in chains : but he escaped, and then a war to the knife ensued between the Italian general and the Transylvanian nobility. The latter elected Sigismund Báthory (February 3, 1601) as their prince ; Rudolph was furious and enlisted the aid of Michael of Wallachia, sending him money to pay his mercenaries : and at Goroszló (August 3) the united armies of Michael and *Basta* gained a decisive victory over Sigismund's raw levies. Sigismund Báthory was once more an exile. The two foreigners attempted to rule jointly ; but they could not agree, and *Basta* had Michael assassinated. The reign of terror initiated by the imperial mercenaries forced the nobles to appeal to Sigismund Báthory once more. He came back, was defeated again (at Tövis), and left the unfortunate province for the fourth and last time.

*Basta* revived the methods of Alva in Holland. He exacted taxes daily from the impoverished nobles ; he had some of



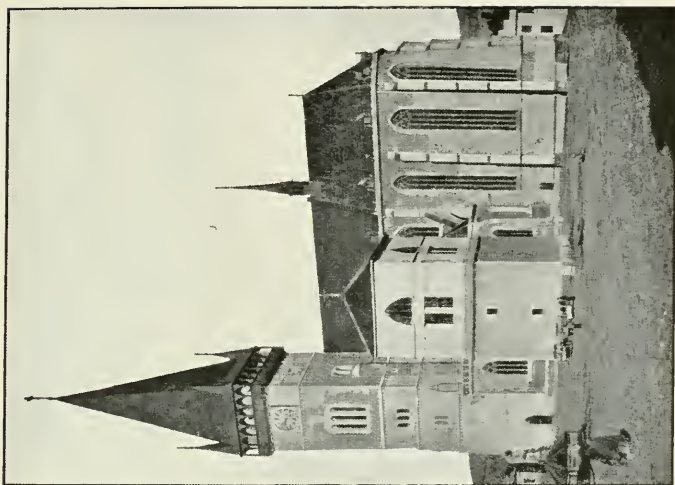
those who resisted his despotic measures buried alive ; his German, Walloon, and Hungarian mercenaries robbed and tortured the poor. No one who had not Basta's " letters of grace " was safe from the terrorism and brutality of his soldiers. The continual fighting, the ravages of the plague, and the failure of the crops, had reduced the principality to a state of utter misery and distress. Hunger-maddened parents, we are told, killed their own children and ate their bodies ; and human flesh was sold in the markets. All property was declared forfeit to the Emperor : any pretext sufficed to deprive " suspected " nobles of their land. A violent persecution of Protestantism accompanied the system of political oppression and military terrorism known to history as " the age of Basta." But the woes of his country inspired the patriotism of Stephen Bocskay, who in 1604 raised the standard of revolt in defence of political and religious liberty.

Meantime, the campaign against the Turks had not been prosecuted with the vigour of which this first definite military alliance of Germans and Hungarians had given so much promise. Personal jealousy and rivalry of the leaders was accompanied by national antipathy and mutual distrust. The rising of Bocskay had shown the Emperor-King that he could not play havoc with the conscience and political traditions of Hungary. So the Treaty of Vienna (June 23, 1606) was followed, five months later, by the Peace of Zsitva-Torok (November 11), by which the *status quo* existing at the end of the Long War was, nominally, restored.

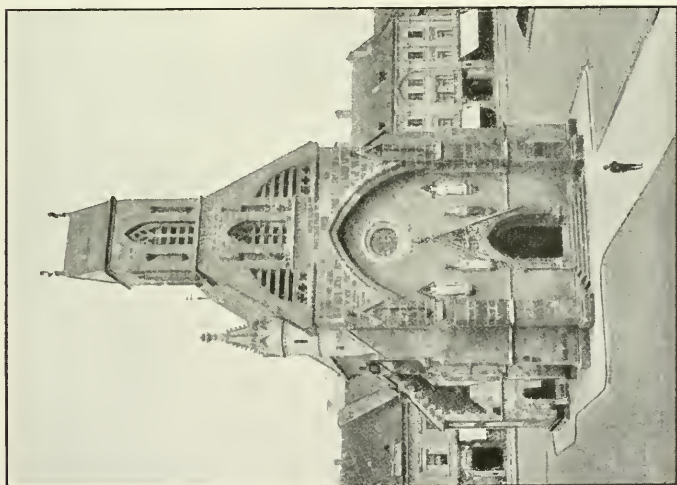
## CHAPTER XV

### CONSTITUTIONAL AND RELIGIOUS STRUGGLES

AFTER the rout at Mohács two-thirds of Hungary were in the hands of the Turk and were not recovered for a century and a half. Hungary, in order to be able to resist the Turks, had to choose a foreign ruler—in the person of Ferdinand of Habsburg. “The fact that Hungary had foreign rulers in the fourteenth century made little difference to her constitution, but in the sixteenth century, when the nations of Europe were engaged in a struggle between absolutism and parliamentarism, the same conditions gave her a better chance to vindicate her right to self-government. In the struggle that ensued between the mediæval constitutionalism of Hungary and the absolutism of her rulers, the victory eventually rested with the former, which developed in the process, but the victory was only purchased by the most determined efforts and the most strenuous obstinacy; and it was due to causes not wholly political in character. The first two Habsburg sovereigns, Ferdinand I. and Maximilian, found their efforts to centralise authority at the price of offending Hungarian susceptibilities and to subordinate national liberties to military efficiency, hampered by the need of money.” The outward form of Parliament changed; but the inward essence remained the same. The meetings were held in closed rooms (after 1527 mostly at Pozsony, the capital of “royal” Hungary). After 1528 the Diet was formally divided into two “Houses”; but the legal constitution of the two divisions of the legislature was not codified until



Church of St. Egyed (12th century;  
restored 19th century)



St. Michael's Chapel, Kassa (12th century)



1608. After 1571 the gentry ceased to attend in person, but sent representatives, elected by counties.

The king, through his commissary, presented "proposals" to the Diet, which discussed them and then answered by an Address. Sometimes these Addresses were "edited" by the royal council, the result being a repetition of the claims or objections of the first Address. The process was repeated until one or the other of the parties yielded. The Estates generally refused to vote taxes until their grievances had been either wholly or in part redressed.

We have seen what the chief grievances of the Hungarian Parliament were. The Vienna "Chamber" was all-powerful; the King's German advisers formed a majority in the royal council.

Ferdinand and Maximilian were inclined to moderation; but unfortunately the third Habsburg, the gifted but bigoted Emperor Rudolph II. (1576-1608), set himself to destroy religious tolerance and to attack constitutional autonomy.

The military organisation of the country had gone from bad to worse since the rout at Mohács. The feudal *banderia* were practically non-existent; the *posse comitatus* had become more or less a local affair, restricted to defence. Only the frontier fortresses were of any military importance. Some of them maintained themselves as outposts of Magyardom for two hundred years. The mercenary army proved a failure; it was maintained at considerable expense but was incapable of performing the task for which it was organised: the mercenaries were mostly foreigners, and as often as not took their pay at the expense of the people. They could not cope with the Turks. When, in 1593, the Estates proposed the establishment of a Hungarian standing army, monarch and council alike rejected the idea.

The national resistance began with a vote of the Hungarian Parliament in 1583, which declared that no further supplies

would be voted until Hungarians were given a voice in financial and military matters affecting both Hungary and Austria. Rudolph gave way for the moment but relapsed. Religious passions complicated matters. The Calvinists were in the majority in Hungary, and Rudolf was one of the most intolerant rulers of the anti-Reformation.

Rudolph initiated a system of *bureaucracy* and endeavoured to make taxation permanent : but all his efforts in this direction were frustrated by the obstinate determination of both the Diet and the counties to maintain the most precious guarantee of constitutional liberty—the right of voting or refusing taxes and supplies.

But the greatest grievance of all was the growth of *foreign influence*. The desire of the dynasty was that there should always be foreign armies in the country which could be turned against the Hungarians themselves. This the Hungarians were determined to resist. The people saw themselves between two dangers, Turkish conquest and Austrian annexation.

The Hungarians experienced all the disadvantages of being linked to a great empire : and no attempt was made to give them a share in the distinctions connected with common affairs. And that at a time when Hungary was particularly rich in eminent men, and especially soldiers. The blame for Hungary's submission to this state of affairs lies not with the Estates but with the King.

#### THE ANTI-REFORMATION SUPPORTED BY AUSTRIA

We have seen that the Reformation was regarded at first with the greatest disfavour. It was a German product : the gentry looked to Rome and the Pope for help in their struggle against the Turks. But events soon prevailed on them to change their attitude. The same general causes were at work

in Hungary as had helped to further the spread of Protestantism elsewhere: but there were others too. The Pope failed to do his duty by the country, which he seemed to regard merely in the light of a source of income; there was an appeal in Protestantism to the innate love of the Hungarian for liberty. At first Lutheranism prevailed: but it soon gave way before Calvinism. Many magnates joined the movement out of selfishness; but the gentry and the peasantry embraced Lutheranism and Calvinism out of attachment to the national idiom.

The Hungarians are by nature a tolerant people: so it is not surprising to find that at first religious animosity had no place in the troubles of the country. The rival kings did not dare to force Catholicism on their adherents in Transylvania, which became the principal field of the Reformers' activity.

In Hungary proper, during the reigns of Ferdinand I. and Maximilian, no systematic repression of the new faiths was attempted. Calvinism was first definitely organised at the Synod of Debreczen (1567), a Lowland town, which has earned for itself the title of "the Calvinist Rome." By the end of the sixteenth century the great majority of the nation professed the reformed faith. It is a noteworthy fact that neither party tried to force a settlement of the religious question.

The independence of Transylvania was of the utmost importance both in relation to the religious question and in respect of the national political cause. The Court at Gynlafchérvar was the stronghold of Hungarian national feeling and culture, preserving the dignity of the Hungarian language, maintaining a consistent policy of religious tolerance and political equality, and preserving those traditions which connected the past of the country with the present—and the future. It was the energetic resistance to all absolutist and



centralising tendencies of Upper Hungary, aided by Transylvania, that saved the Hungarian constitution.

But Hungary could not escape the influence of the Society of Jesus, founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1540. The Jesuits exercised a tremendous indirect influence. They were supported by the Báthorys in Transylvania: and Rudolph was their devoted pupil.

By the close of the sixteenth century political dissensions were transferred to the field of religion. The Catholics were in the minority, but they were united, while the differences between the Lutherans (chiefly the burgesses of German origin) and the Calvinists, who were chiefly "gentry," weakened the Protestants. But even so, when, at the close of 1603, Rudolph ordered the commander of Upper Hungary, Belgiojoso, to seize the church of Kassa and prohibit the practice of Protestantism, the breach between the two sections of the Reformed Church ceased. They united in view of the common danger.

Nothing could have been more unfortunate for Hungary than the reign of a man like Rudolph. He was warlike in his inclinations, yet timid in the hour of action: while the Hungarians desired a vigorous offensive war against the Turks, he chose to act on the defensive. He was incapable himself; yet he refused to tolerate men of brilliant qualities in his *entourage*. A bigoted Catholic, he was called on to rule a country the majority of whose inhabitants were Protestants. Aiming at absolutism, he was incensed at the independence of the Hungarian nobility, who refused to connive at his endeavour to subordinate the country to his other dominions. Convinced of his own superiority, he naturally fell an easy prey to his Jesuit advisers. His want of mental balance was their opportunity, and they regarded him as a ready tool for the execution of their project to restore the supremacy of Catholicism.

Autonomy was to be replaced by a servile system of bureaucracy: and, in the field of religion, the Emperor claimed the right to control the consciences of his subjects as completely as he controlled the legislative and executive authority of the country. But the unfortunate decision relating to the restriction of religious discussion, following so closely on the despotic measures adopted at Kassa, by undermining the nation's trust in the western alliance, merely hastened the final overthrow of his impossible policy.

The attitude of Rudolph made a conflict inevitable. Hungary began to fear Austria more than the Turk. The hero who met the crisis was Bocskay.

Stephen Bocskay, who was Sigismund Báthory's uncle, had been a loyal adherent of the King of Hungary; his chief desire was to unite the country in a common endeavour to crush the Turkish power. He had taken part in the victorious campaign of 1595: but his share of the property of the conspirators had made him the object of suspicion and distrust. However, Bocskay was a firm upholder of constitutional tradition and a true Protestant. His correspondence with young Gabriel Bethlen, then a refugee in Turkey, fell into the hands of Belgiojoso, who immediately resolved to treat him as a traitor and to confiscate his estates. The "hajdús" felt that the independence of the country was threatened, and took up arms to protect Bocskay and the principles for which he stood against the imperial forces, which they routed. Belgiojoso fled to Szepesvár: Kassa was taken by the "hajdús"; and before long Bocskay himself, who had no alternative, raised the standard of insurrection and proceeded to the "capital of N.E. Hungary." For a time Basta endeavoured to maintain his hold on Transylvania; but his failure was as complete as that of Belgiojoso: and on February 12, 1605, the Magyars and Széklers elected Bocskay prince of Transylvania (1605-6). He was

now master of the whole of E. and N.W. Hungary as far as Pozsony; he seized the Holy Crown: and in April the Diet of Szerencs elected him prince of Hungary and restored liberty of conscience. In Transylvania Bocskay continued his series of triumphs, routing the Saxons and completely defeating the Wallachian waywode, Radul, who was fighting for the imperial cause. His generals (Francis Rhédey and Gregory Némethi) overran the rest of "royal" Hungary; while the "hajdús"—"Bocskay's angels," as they were called by the people, who welcomed their arrival as that of the heralds of liberty—invasion some of the hereditary provinces and struck terror into the hearts of the court party. At *Buda* Bocskay received the Sultan's ambassador, who brought letters offering him the title of king. But the patriotic leader refused the distinction, declaring that Hungary had a crowned king. He was disturbed at the successes gained by the Turks, who had taken advantage of his insurrection to inaugurate a fresh campaign of conquest. His principal object being the restoration of the constitution, he desired to bring about a reconciliation between king and nation, to put a stop to the horrors of the Turkish wars, and to ensure liberty of conscience and political autonomy to all parts of the country alike. He was fighting for the unification of Hungary on a satisfactory basis, not for the possession of political power. And in this endeavour he had to meet the intrigues of an unscrupulous court, which attempted to make peace with the Sultan behind his back. The Diet of Korpona desired the dethronement of Rudolph and the emancipation of Hungary from Habsburg rule: but Bocskay, convinced that the salvation of Hungary lay in the western alliance, counselled moderation; and the intervention of Stephen Illésházy, pardoned and recalled from his exile by Archduke Matthias, led to the *Treaty of Vienna* (June 23, 1606). The terms of this treaty confirmed

the liberty of conscience of the Protestants, abrogated Act XXII. of 1604, decreed that Hungary and her provinces should be governed by Hungarians, acknowledged the independence of Transylvania (to which the counties of Szatmár, Bereg, Ugocsa and Szabolcs were added) and confirmed the election of Bocskay as prince of that province.

Bocskay was indirectly responsible for the Peace of Zsitva-Torok: it was the fear of his joining forces with Rudolph that drove the Turks to come to terms with the Emperor-King.

Bocskay died in the year of his great triumph, on December 29. His death was attributed to poison; and the person suspected of the deed, Michael Kátai, his Chancellor, was cut to pieces in the market-place of Kassa by the prince's faithful "hajdús."

Rudolph was at Prague, inactive and incapable. He would gladly have frustrated the efforts of Matthias to restore order; for he hated the Protestants and did not love his brother. He postponed the summoning of Parliament and appointed two of the most inveterate enemies of Protestantism (Francis Forgács and Szuhai), Archbishops of Esztergom and Kalocsa respectively. The "hajdús" had again taken up arms to enforce the terms of the treaties made in 1606. Matthias convened Parliament to assemble at Pozsony, where the Estates of Hungary fraternised with those of Lower and Upper Austria and Moravia, who had united at the Diet of Linz. Matthias agreed to respect the treaties of Vienna and Zsitva-Torok and to respect the laws and guarantee the religious liberty of the various countries: thereupon the combined armies of the Austrian and Hungarian Estates marched to Prague, where they compelled Rudolph to abdicate the thrones of Hungary and of Austria, retaining only the crowns of Bohemia and the Empire.

On June 27, Matthias took over the Holy Crown, which

after many wanderings once more returned to its own home in Hungary. Matthias II. (1608-19) had for some time been a popular figure among Hungarians: he was a brave man, and bore the name which was dearest of all to those who loved their national traditions. But the Parliament assembled at Pozsony to elect him King (September) had learned by the experience of the past; and the (23) laws of 1608 stipulated conditions which made them an important landmark in the constitutional history of Hungary. These laws revised the Treaty of Vienna in favour of Protestantism; they forbade the Jesuits to possess property in Hungary; they stipulated for the election of a Palatine; they provided for the government of the country by Hungarians in accordance with the constitution and for the withdrawal, etc. (*see Notes*).

Matthias was then duly elected (November 16).

The Parliament of 1608, which was responsible for the first definite Compromise between Hungary and Austria, also gave the legislative machinery its final shape and an organisation which it retained until 1847.

The hopes of the nation were doomed to disappointment. Matthias did not intend to carry the new laws into effect. His chief adviser was Khlesl, the Bishop of Vienna, who detested the principles of Hungarian constitutionalism and was determined to ensure the success of the anti-Reformation. The Court Council and the Vienna Chamber became the real heads of the executive and administration under Matthias, as they had been under his predecessors.

Matthias relied upon foreign soldiers to carry out what he was pleased to regard as "a war against the Turks," but his real object is revealed in a letter written by him to Archduke Ferdinand, in which he says that "the Hungarians invent such harmful devices in order to ensure free election everywhere, that we cannot use better means than the substitution

of Germans for Hungarians. The Hungarians are now poor and weak, and they cannot expect help from other countries, so they will have to submit." He would crush the opposition of the Hungarian nobility by force of arms—at a time when the Turkish danger was as imminent as ever. The nation must have no political will of its own.

But liberty of conscience was an equal danger for this Catholic prince. He encouraged the leaders of the anti-Reformation to extend their power by persuasion or force. At the opening of the seventeenth century, there were not more than three hundred Catholics priests in the country. The Jesuits, driven from Hungary proper, were at work at Zágráb. Forgács, the Primate of Esztergom, was their devoted patron. Among the eminent Jesuits settled in Hungary by Forgács was the brilliant orator and scholar *Peter Pázmány*, the champion of Catholicism at the Diet of 1608, who became Archbishop of Esztergom in 1616. He succeeded in converting a number of magnate families and thereby forming the nucleus of a Catholic Court party in Parliament. His aim was to establish religious uniformity throughout the country, and to bring the Hungary thus united under the sceptre of the Catholic Habsburg dynasty. To this end he endeavoured to convert Transylvania too: but his efforts were unsuccessful and he himself, taught by the ingratitude of the Court, was fain to admit that the independence of Transylvania in every respect was a national necessity. He discovered, too late, that the constitutional liberties of Hungary were inseparably connected with the struggle for liberty of conscience, and that the Calvinist gentry were the bulwark of constitutionalism against the constant menace of absolutism and centralisation.

Matthias aimed at securing for Transylvania a ruler who would further his ambitions.

But the misrule and the systematic persecution of the



Protestants to which Matthias had consented, in deference to the wishes of his Vienna advisers, could not fail to provoke retaliation. On May 23, 1618, the Protestants of Prague threw the King's governors out of their palace window. Matthias had no children; and he nominated Archduke Ferdinand as his successor. The Parliament assembled at Pozsony elected Ferdinand to succeed his cousin: but the Protestants were mistrustful; Thurzó had been succeeded by Sigismund Forgács, a Catholic; and the heir was compelled to issue a diploma confirming the provisions of 1608 and assuring Parliament of his intention to respect the constitutional liberties and privileges and the liberty of conscience of the nation.

Matthias died on March 20, 1619, and was succeeded by Ferdinand II. Meanwhile important events had been happening in Transylvania.

"An independent Transylvania with a Hungarian prince is a necessity as long as the Hungarian crown is up yonder, in the possession of a nation stronger than ourselves—the Germans." These words from the political will of Bocskay, embody the principle which he desired his successors to follow.

Bocskay was succeeded by *Sigismund Rákóczi* (1607), soon followed by *Gabriel Báthory* (1608–13). As long as he listened to the counsels of Gabriel Bethlen, this young prince was able to rule in peace and tranquillity; but before long his ambition was aroused by the unscrupulous flattery of his courtiers. He coveted the throne of Poland; but he had practically no adherents among the Polish nobility. So he resolved to try armed force; but feeling that Transylvania unaided was not strong enough to enable him to carry his scheme into execution, he strove to annex Wallachia and Moldavia. He was badly defeated by the Wallachian waywode; and he came into conflict with the Saxons, whose



privileges he presumed to assail. The Court party at Vienna was delighted at the prospect of turning the prince's troubles to their own advantage. Báthory was a Protestant ; and they desired to place a Catholic on the throne. The conspiracy engineered by Stephen Kendi (at the instigation of Khlesl) in his own interests, was nipped in the bud : but Vienna could not rest. Sigismund Forgács, captain-general of Upper Hungary, was sent to attack Báthory, who, it was thought, was too busy with the Saxons and Wallachians to offer any serious resistance. Bethlen appealed to the Turks for aid ; and Forgács was just able to reach Kassa with the remnants of his army. The prince was jealous of Bethlen's success ; besides, he was not in agreement with his pro-Turkish policy, and refused to listen to his warnings relative to the Saxons and Wallachia. Bethlen fled to Turkey. The Sultan espoused his cause and sent an army to support his claims to the succession. Báthory fled on the approach of the Turks ; and the Estates elected *Gabriel Bethlen* (1613-29) prince in his stead. He was one of the outstanding figures of his day, a great general and a determined and honest statesman.

As a diplomat, he was an opportunist, adapting his plans to the needs of the moment : but he never lost sight of his main objective, the maintenance of the constitutional and religious liberties of Hungary. He was a pupil of Martinuzzi ; Transylvania was to be raised to a height of power, political and military, which should enable her to act as a permanent obstacle to the growth of Turkish influence and the aggrandisement of German imperialism. In the protection afforded by Turkey he saw merely a means of defeating the absolutistic tendencies of Vienna. He was quite ready to offer his services to Austria—whether as ally or as mediator—whenever he suspected that the Sultan was becoming too strong ; but he was careful to preserve the dignity of the

country over which he ruled, and to avoid any semblance of subordination. He treated as an equal alike with Ferdinand and with the Sultan ; and when his plans took him further afield, he sought for allies, not for patrons.

At home he endeavoured to improve the conditions of Transylvania, which had suffered terribly from the ravages and disorder of the past half century. He kept the country practically immune from the depredations of foreign armies. He had good money coined ; he encouraged the development of commerce and industry ; he was a patron of art and scholarship, and founded schools, such as the College of Gynlafehérvár, which he intended to make one of the most eminent universities in Europe. The " Bethlen College " at Nagyenyed is still extant. He was a builder too. He invited settlers to the depopulated districts ; and during his reign Transylvania did indeed become " the shield of Hungarian nationality."

But Bethlen was not to the taste of Vienna : he was a Calvinist. Matthias tried to persuade him to take the oath of allegiance ; but Bethlen refused. Then an attempt was made to secure the principal fortresses of the Hungarian counties belonging to Transylvania ; but Bethlen frustrated the scheme. Finally, the Court party found a pretender in George Homonnay (1616). Bethlen defeated the pretender's mercenary army, but was compelled to surrender the fortress of Lippa to the Turks, who now became the allies of Transylvania. Matthias became reconciled to Bethlen, who promised not to oppress the Catholics ; but Bethlen was merely biding his time, waiting for an opportunity of interfering to prevent the absorption of Hungary, which was going steadily on.

He had not long to wait. In 1618 the Bohemian Protestant revolution broke out ; but Bethlen still bided his time. The following year *Ferdinand II.* (1619-37) became Emperor

of Germany and King of Hungary. Brought up by the Jesuits, he made it the object of his life to establish the supremacy of Catholicism and to suppress all other faiths. He showed equal zeal in ignoring the constitutional privileges of his peoples. Thus the struggle between Protestantism and liberty on the one hand, and Catholicism and absolutism on the other, was inevitable.

Ferdinand's German councillors were only too ready to support his Catholic and absolutist zeal. Of his Hungarian councillors, *Pázmány* was naturally in favour of his Catholicism. He had not yet discovered the national danger thereby involved: while Nicholas Eszterházy, the Lord Chief Justice, endeavoured to act the part of mediator between the Court and the Hungaro-Turkish party, whose leader was Bethlen, the champion of constitutional and religious liberty and the sworn foe of German absolutism and the anti-Reformation.

On April 11 (1619), after the Bohemian insurgents had advanced to the walls of Vienna, only just failing to capture the Emperor, Ferdinand offered to recognise Bethlen: as Prince of Transylvania. The offer came too late, Bethlen had already been asked to lead the Protestants of Hungary to the aid of Bohemia. He saw that Hungary was ripe for a revolution; that Turkey would not oppose his scheme; that the overthrow of the Protestants of the Empire involved the fall of Protestantism and constitutionalism in Hungary; and that an opportunity was given him of exacting retribution for the continual attacks of the Court of Vienna. His preparations were made with great care, and he purposely allowed the Catholics of Transylvania to believe that his intention was to attack the Sultan.

The Diet of Pozsony refused redress for the grievances of the Protestants: Bethlen drew his sword. George Rákóczi seized Kassa; Bethlen's armies marched almost without opposition through Upper Hungary as far as Pozsony, where

the Estates resolved to banish Pázmány and the Jesuits, to confiscate the wealth of the Catholic Church for the maintenance of the border fortresses, and to appoint Bethlen Governor of Hungary. Towards the close of the year, Bethlen joined forces with his allies and laid siege to Vienna: but the defeat, at Homonna, of George Rákóczi, by the Polish mercenaries of George Homonnay compelled him to return to Hungary. On January 20, 1620, he made a truce with Ferdinand, who confirmed him in his office as Governor and authorised him to convene the Diet. The Diet held at Besztercebánya was attended, not only by the representatives of the Hungarian counties, but by ambassadors from Poland, Bohemia, France, Austria, and Turkey. The whole of Europe was interested in the decision of the Prince of Transylvania.

Bethlen had already made an alliance with the Elector Frederick, the "Snow King" of Bohemia, son-in-law of James I. of England. Bethlen decided to send a powerful army to the assistance of Frederick in his struggle with the Emperor. Frederick had supplied him with money for the purpose. Proposals for peace were made by Ferdinand, who, however, refused to accept the condition that Frederick should be included. On August 25 the Estates elected Bethlen King of Hungary: but the prince refused to be crowned, though he accepted the title.

Bethlen hastened to the battle-field. He won many engagements against the imperial troops, whose commander-in-chief, Dampierre, was killed at Pozsony; but Tilly, the leader of the armies of the Catholic League, completely defeated the Bohemians near Prague; the "Snow King" had to flee; the Emperor suspended the Bohemian constitution, had the insurgent leaders executed, and banished many thousand Protestant families; and the Turks had seized Vác. Strife had broken out afresh between the

Protestant and Catholic nobles of Hungary ; there was little hope of any support from the Estates of Bohemia and Germany ; so Bethlen made peace with Ferdinand, whose resources too were exhausted ; and the *Treaty of Nikolsburg* (December 1621) was signed. By it Bethlen returned the Holy Crown to the Emperor and gave up the title of King of Hungary, while Ferdinand promised to respect the liberties of Hungary.

The Treaty of Nikolsburg, which was not regarded by either side as much more than a truce, was due to Bethlen's innate loyalty to the constitution and religious tolerance, and to the intervention of Pázmány and Nicholas Eszterházy. The Court of Vienna had no intention of observing its terms ; and Bethlen, who trusted the imperialists as little as he did the Turks, was only waiting to see the result of the struggle between the forces of the Catholic League under Tilly and the Protestant armies of Christian of Brunswick and Mansfeld. When it became evident that Ferdinand would triumph, and that the reaction begun in Germany would spread to Hungary, Bethlen made an alliance with England, France, and Holland (1622). The Vienna Court was alarmed and sent envoys to Constantinople ; but Bethlen had anticipated this move, and the imperial envoys returned discomfited and disheartened. In 1624 Bethlen's army was again in Upper Hungary, where an attempt was to be made to join forces with Mansfeld ; his horsemen harried the neighbouring districts of Austria ; but Mansfeld was beaten by Tilly, and the Treaty of Nikolsburg was renewed at Vienna (1624).

Bethlen then suddenly changed his policy. He asked for the hand of Ferdinand's daughter, Cecilia Renata ; he had convinced himself of the hollowness and danger of the Turkish alliance ; and he hoped that as prince of a strong Transylvania, whose matrimonial alliance with the imperial house would secure the peaceful development of that province and the safety of the Hungarian constitution, he might act as mediator

between the two Empires and consolidate the forces of the country for the final struggle against both. But the Court of Vienna refused to entertain the proposal : Bethlen, humiliated by the purport if not by the tone of their answer, which endeavoured to be conciliatory, sent his ambassadors to Berlin to ask for the hand of Catherine, daughter of George William, Elector of Brandenburg. His request was granted in 1626. Catherine became his consort, and he renewed the alliance with the Protestant States of England, Denmark, and Holland.

Mansfeld was defeated and fled to Hungary : *Wallenstein* pursued his beaten army as far as the valley of the Upper Vág ; then, hearing that *Bethlen* was at Nógrád, he turned to meet him. For weeks the two most famous generals of the age faced each other from opposite sides of the river Ipoly. But *Wallenstein* dared not risk a defeat, and *Bethlen's* Turkish auxiliaries mutinied and paralysed his movements. The two armies parted without drawing the sword : *Wallenstein* retired to Silesia, pursued by the vanguard of the Hungarians ; *Bethlen* went to Pozsony, where, on the advice of Nicholas Eszterházy, now Palatine, he renewed the Treaty of Nikolsburg for the second time (*Peace of Pozsony*, December 1626).

In 1627 the exertions of *Bethlen* brought about the *Treaty of Szôny*, whereby it was hoped to establish peaceful relations between Ferdinand and the Porte.

*Bethlen* once more approached Ferdinand ; but the latter regarded him as a heretic and a dangerous antagonist, and refused all his overtures. Thereupon the Prince of Transylvania turned to Gustavus Adolphus, the heroic King of Sweden and champion of Protestantism. The King of Sweden was to obtain the royal crown of Germany ; *Bethlen* was to secure the throne of Poland ; and the alliance was to have the support of Russia. But unfortunately *Bethlen* did not



live to see the triumphs of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany : he died on November 15, 1629, at the age of forty-nine.

He found Transylvania a desolate waste, which had suffered terribly from being a bone of contention between East and West and from the incapacity of weak rulers : he left it a flourishing constitutional state ; the arbiter of the destinies of Hungary ; the bulwark of constitutional and religious liberty against German imperialism ; the outpost of Western culture on the threshold of a barbarian East ; the pioneer of liberal institutions and of that liberalism which has since become a tradition of Hungarian policy ; a power to be reckoned with in Europe.

Gabriel Bethlen was succeeded by his widow, Catherine (1629-30), his brother Stephen acting as Governor and Regent ; but Catherine embraced the Catholic faith and intrigued to place Transylvania under the suzerainty of Ferdinand. So, in 1630, the Estates compelled her to abdicate : Stephen Bethlen assumed the reins of government ; but his weakness compelled the Estates, two months later, to elect the wealthy magnate, George Rákóczi I. (1630-48), the powerful squire of Sárospatak, to be their prince. A devout Calvinist, he was more cautious than Bethlen, whose liberal treatment of his enemies he failed to emulate. His troubles with the Emperor-King began early, in spite of himself. Acting on the advice of Nicholas Eszterházy, Ferdinand refused to recognise the election of Rákóczi and determined to attempt the destruction of Transylvanian independence. The Transylvanian commanders, however, defeated the royal armies ; Gustavus Adolphus won the battle of Breitenfeld ; the Pope refused to assist the Emperor ; so in 1631 Ferdinand finally agreed to acknowledge the validity of Rákóczi's election. The cautious Transylvanian prince refused to accept the political inheritance of Bethlen in Poland, and, after the death of Gustavus Adolphus at the



battle of Lützen, he made a formal treaty of peace with Ferdinand (Eperjes, 1633).

Rákóczi had trouble at home too ; but he succeeded in defeating the insurgents. However, his cruel treatment of their leader, David Zólyomi, induced the latter's father-in-law, Stephen Bethlen, to appeal to the Turks, who were indignant at Rákóczi's failure to pay the annual tribute. Here, too, the prince's good fortune did not desert him ; in 1636 his army gained a complete victory over the Turkish hosts at Szalonta ; Bethlen became reconciled to Rákóczi ; and the Sultan had learned to respect the military prowess of the Transylvanian " hajdús."

The following year (1637) Ferdinand II. and Peter Pázmány died, a fact which might have been expected to have the result of producing a change in the direction of tolerance. But the influence of Eszterházy still made itself felt ; he had conceived an aversion to the idea of an independent Transylvania ; with all his devotion to the constitution of his country, he had been instrumental in flooding the frontier fortresses with foreign mercenaries, whose lawless conduct was the cause of the peasant rising of 1631. Besides, the majority of the magnates had, thanks to the zeal of Pázmány, once more embraced the Catholic faith ; and their efforts to convert their vassals by force threatened serious trouble.

The castle—and "maiden's tower"—of Selmeczbánya ; the castles of Árva (Thurzó family) and Marosujvár ; the Rudas Baths of Buda (1560, Mustapha Pasha) ; the mausoleum of Gül-Baba (the Father of Roses) in Buda ; the fire-tower of Székesfehérvár ; the high-altar of St James' Church—the work of Paul Urbanovitz—and the town-hall of Lőcse (latter rebuilt, 1615) ; the Szapolyai chapel at Csütörtökhely ; the Evangelical College at Késmárk ; the Rákóczi House at Eperjes (late sixteenth to early seventeenth cent.) ; the Reformed College at Sárospatak ; the Market Hall of Brassó ; the Reformed Church at Sepsí-Szent-György,—are notable remains of the architecture of this period.

## CHAPTER XVI

### THE AGE OF LEOPOLD AND JOSEPH I.

FERDINAND III. (1637-57) had been elected to be his father's successor by Parliament in 1625. He was far more tolerant and conciliatory than his predecessor ; but not even the laws passed with his sanction (1647) to secure liberty of conscience were able to put a stop to the religious intolerance practised mutually by the members of the two churches ; and the Court party showed an inclination to exact retribution for the grievances of the Catholics, while they were reluctant to do the same for the Protestants. And, though he respected the outward form of the constitution, his successor Leopold refused to observe the essential points.

The Parliament of 1637-38 protested against the religious intolerance connived at by the Court : Rákóczi was appealed to, and he advised the King to enforce the principle of liberty of conscience as a means of winning the Protestants to his cause. But not even the overtures made to Rákóczi by the enemies of the House of Habsburg could induce the weak King to change his fatal policy of *laissez-faire*. In 1643 Rákóczi entered into a defensive and offensive alliance with Sweden ; and in February he issued a manifesto to the nation. In 1645 he made a further alliance with France ; and his army, which had conquered the whole of Upper Hungary, at last joined forces with the Swedish commander, Torstenson, at Brünn. Ferdinand saved himself from final disaster by appealing to the Sublime Porte, which forbade Rákóczi to

continue the campaign. So, in December 1645, the Treaty of Linz was signed. The terms of this treaty were practically identical with those exacted by Bethlen at Nikolsburg—with some additions in favour of the Protestants.

The Treaty of Linz was incorporated by the Parliament of 1646-47; but its conditions were not faithfully observed, and the conflict between Protestants and Catholics continued until Ferdinand's death in 1657.

Meanwhile, in 1648, George Rákóczi I. was succeeded by his son, George Rákóczi II. (1648-60). He inherited the wealth and power of his father, but not his caution: in fact, his limitless ambition proved, not only disastrous to his own fortunes, but the undoing of the principality over which he was called to rule. At first he confined his attentions to Moldavia and Wallachia, which he strove to subordinate to his rule. He was at the zenith of his power in 1655 when Transylvania gave promise of being all that she had been under Gabriel Bethlen: she was once more the hope of Hungary. But Rákóczi coveted the throne of Poland; he made an alliance with Charles X. of Sweden; and in 1657 he invaded Poland. Even the Cossacks, his allies, betrayed him to the Tartars; his most famous general, John Kemény (later Prince of Transylvania), was taken prisoner by the Tartars, while Rákóczi himself fell into the hands of King Casimir. 18,000 Transylvanian warriors were taken captive by their savage foes, who made slaves of them: and when Rákóczi escaped home a few months later, it was only to find that the exasperated Estates, acting on the instructions of the Porte, had elected Francis Rhédey (November 1657 to January 1658) to be their prince in his stead.

The same year *Leopold I.* (1657-1705) had ascended the throne of Hungary. Of weak constitution, he had been trained for the Church; and his training accounts for his

policy. A man of considerable knowledge and with a distinct talent for music, he did his work mechanically; but his ambition was restricted to the consolidation of absolutism and the conversion of Hungary to the Catholic faith. He made up his mind early to establish the *Regnum Marianum*: though the methods he adopted both for the suppression of constitutional feeling and for the abolition of liberty of conscience were the work of his unscrupulous advisers, in whose hands he was a mere puppet.

At his accession he took an oath to maintain the liberties and constitution of Hungary.

Transylvania was unfortunately destined to cease to play the part which the wisdom of Bocskay and Gabriel Bethlen and the astute statesmanship of Pázmány had marked out for her. Rákóczi was unwilling to accept the insignificance to which his own unreasoning ambition had doomed him. In 1658 Francis Rhédey resigned; but the return of Rákóczi to power was the signal for a renewed effort on the part of Turkey. Wild hordes of Turks and Tartars were let loose on Transylvania. They created terrible havoc and carried off with them over 100,000 Transylvanians into slavery. *Ákos Barcsay* (September 1658 to September 1659) unwillingly accepted the throne offered him by Köprili; his only motive was to save the country from further ravage. The Grand Vizier raised the annual tribute and demanded an enormous war indemnity. The people were reduced to the verge of beggary; yet Rákóczi refused to rest; and, blinded by passion, appealed to Leopold for help. Once more he became prince: but he got no help from the Emperor-King; and on June 7, 1660, he was mortally wounded fighting against the Turks.

Barcsay, again elected prince, proved incapable of action against his Turkish allies and masters, who were evidently bent on the definitive conquest of Transylvania, as a stepping-stone to the subjugation of Poland. On August 28 Ali

Pasha took Nagyvárad, the key of Transylvania and E. Hungary and the resting-place of St Ladislas : the Vienna Court, which had refused to listen to the warnings of Nicholas Zrínyi, the grandson of the hero of Szigetvár, was alarmed ; but, as usual, its assistance came too late.

On New Year's Day, 1661, the Estates of Transylvania elected *John Kemény* to be their prince in succession to Barcsay, who abdicated. The new ruler was compelled to break with the policy of his great predecessors and to rely for aid against the Turks on the Court of Vienna. The general who had led the armies of Bethlen and Rákóczi to victory against the imperialists, had Barcsay executed, surrendered some fortresses to Leopold's commander-in-chief, Montecucculi, and made an alliance with Vienna. He chose to risk the possible danger of the German alliance in order to meet the certain danger threatening Transylvania from Constantinople. But the promised aid was again belated ; once more Transylvania was given over to the ravages of Turks and Tartars ; and another 100,000 Transylvanians were taken prisoners and conveyed to Constantinople. Ali Pasha compelled the Estates to elect Michael Apafi (1661 September-1690). Kemény for some time continued the struggle ; near Segesvár, on January 22, 1662, he was killed in battle ; and Apafi became the undisputed heir of the traditions of Bocskay, Bethlen, and the Rákóczis.

The new ruler was an amiable nonentity ; fond of carousing and hunting, he left the government to his consort and his advisers. The Turks had gained a footing in the country ; the Vienna Court pursued its usual and traditional policy of vacillation, refusing to withdraw the foreign garrisons (whose presence merely served to irritate the Turk) from the frontier fortresses and at the same time prohibiting any action. Thus this fresh opportunity for the union of Hungary and Transylvania was lost ; all trust that the Hungarians may have

reposed in the German alliance was undermined: and war with Turkey was, after all, inevitable.

The new Grand Vizier, Achmed Köprili, found pretexts enough for war. Leopold had interfered in the internal affairs of Transylvania, which the Sultan regarded as his protectorate; and the attitude of men like Zrinyi had shown what Turkey might expect Hungary to do, even without or in despite of the Court party. So in 1663, Köprili invaded Hungary with an army of 100,000 men. The Zrinyis held their own gallantly against all attacks; and Nicholas inflicted a crushing defeat on the Turkish army sent to invest Uj-Zrin. But the foreign garrison of Érseknjvár compelled the commander to surrender; they had no interest, they said, in defending Hungarian fortresses. Montecucculi did nothing to prevent the capture of Nyitra and Léva; and before the close of the year the Turks were at Pozsony, and the road to Vienna lay open.

Montecucculi represented the traditions of the Court party; Hungary must be flooded with foreign mercenaries and governed with an iron hand; Zrinyi, who had fought always for the establishment of a national army and believed the Turks must be driven out by a vigorous offensive on the part of a united nation, attacked the imperial general and accused him of cowardice and incapacity. And during the winter campaign (1663-64) Zrinyi performed deeds of generalship that made the whole world ring with his praises and aroused the jealousy of Vienna. The Turks now saw that their real and most formidable enemy was Zrinyi: so in the spring of 1664 they concentrated all their forces for an attack on Uj-Zrin (Zerin), which, owing to the refusal of Zrinyi's rival to come to its aid, fell after a gallant resistance. Zrinyi attempted to persuade the King to enforce a change of policy: but the intrigues of the Court party frustrated his efforts; he resigned his command, and retired



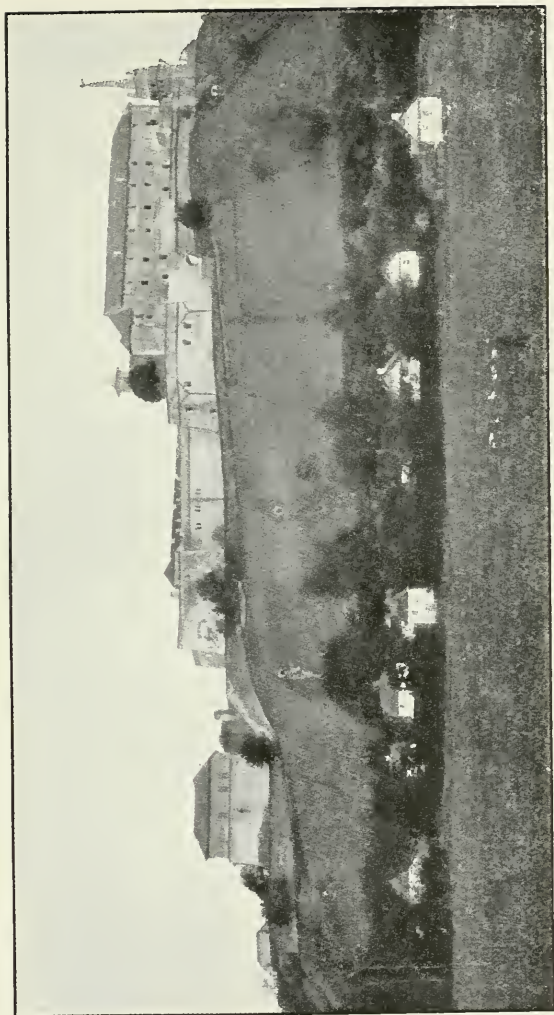
into private life. The resignation was accepted without regret: his ideas were regarded with disfavour; and on August 1 Montecucculi, aided by the French, gained a signal victory over the Turkish army of Köprili at *Szent Gothárd*.

But Montecucculi made no attempt to follow up his victory: and the diplomats of Vienna added to the chagrin of Hungarian patriots by concluding a shameful peace, the *Peace of Vasvár*, August 14, 1664, for twenty years. The Turks were to retain Érseknjvár and Nagyvárád; Leopold acknowledged the independence of Transylvania and the title of Apafi, and agreed to withdraw his troops from the principality. The territory thus legally acknowledged as belonging to Turkey was larger than ever before; and there seemed no prospect of an immediate deliverance from the Turkish yoke.

The Hungarians had not even been consulted with reference to a treaty which affected them alone. The Court party had betrayed their intentions by offering Hungary to the Turks as a bait—and that after a signal victory. The Palatine protested: Vienna answered by refusing to convene Parliament. The nation had hitherto believed that Vienna was *unable* to save Hungary; now they saw that Vienna was *unwilling* to do so. The result of the disappointment was universal exasperation and a determination to waive all internal dissensions. Many people migrated from “royal” Hungary to Turkish territory. In 1662 the Protestants had retired from the Diet by way of protest, leaving the Catholics to finish the debates by themselves: in 1664 Protestants and Catholics alike felt that their only chance of deliverance lay in a united effort of the national forces.

The death of Nicholas Zrinyi left the nation for the moment without a leader: but his inheritance was soon taken up by another eminent Hungarian, who gathered round him the representatives of the proudest names of the land.





The Castle of Munkács

The town was the birthplace of Munkácsy, the famous painter



*Francis Wesselényi*, the hero of the romantic capture of Murány (the ruins of whose castle still exist), and the Palatine of Hungary, conceived the idea of appealing to the Turks. His fellow-conspirators, *Francis Nádasdy*, the Lord Chief Justice, and *Peter Zrinyi* (Nicholas's brother), the Ban of Croatia, were in favour of attempting to make an alliance with France. Before long the conspiracy, which was formed on the initiative of the most powerful Catholic magnates, men who had always been staunch royalists and now held the highest offices in the land, was soon joined by *Francis Frangepán*, *Francis Rákóczi* (the son of George Rákóczi I.) and some of the leaders of the Protestant party. The object of the conspirators was "to put an end to the critical situation of Hungary and the Hungarian nation." It was proposed to call upon Leopold to observe the terms of his coronation oath and respect the constitution, and, failing a satisfactory answer, to appeal to the right to take up arms secured by clause 31 of the Golden Bull (the *jus resistendi*). Appeals for aid were made to Poland, to the Sultan, to Transylvania, and to Louis XIV. of France. Early in 1667 (March 27), before the scheme had matured, Wesselényi died suddenly. The Court discovered the conspiracy; a raid at the castle of Murány brought to light the papers; the ringleaders were arrested, condemned illegally by Austrian tribunals, and decapitated without a chance of an appeal to their own Courts (1671).

There ensued a veritable reign of terror. The Court party determined to exact an awful retribution from the whole nation. The "Bloody Tribunal" (1671) which sat first at Lőcse and then at Pozsony, condemned many leading Protestants to death, and sequestered the estates of over 300 Protestant families, many of whom fled to Transylvania to swell the ranks of the "refugees"; Protestant churches were closed; the college of Eperjes was converted into a Jesuit seminary. Taxes were imposed in an arbitrary manner

on rich and poor alike ; the number of foreign mercenaries was increased ; and the work of conversion by force was begun afresh. The taxes illegally levied by the central government were employed to provide for the foreign instruments of oppression : the nation was made to pay for the confiscation of its national rights.

The homeless refugees who had sought for shelter in Transylvania appealed to the Porte for aid. The Sultan refused—officially ; but secretly he rejoiced when the refugees took up arms in 1672. At first their efforts proved abortive ; they were defeated by the imperial generals.

Leopold now “decided to treat Hungary as his ancestor had treated Bohemia, to establish absolutism and to convert the country to Catholicism by the utmost execution of religious pressure and of military force.” By an edict of 1673 he abolished the constitution of Hungary, treated it as a conquered country, and left the execution of his designs to his chief adviser *Kollonics*, who carried them out in the most brutal manner.

Jasper Ampringen was appointed Governor of Hungary with the power and authority of a dictator. The imperialists began a systematic persecution, not only of refugees and Protestants, but also of Catholic magnates suspected of sympathy with the national cause. The war between the national “Kurucz” armies and the imperialist or “labancz” levies was renewed with unexampled fury ; neither side discriminated in the methods employed to intimidate its adversaries. The most shocking atrocities were committed ; and, to add to the misery of the country, the “Bloody Tribunal” of Pozsony was resuscitated (1673) ; it deprived 250 Protestant clergymen of their benefices and sentenced sixty-seven to the galleys. The *Gubernium* (governing council) was supreme ; and the days of national Hungary seemed to be numbered.

But the nation's power of resistance was not broken. Ampringen resigned his office of dictator, and counselled moderation; the refugees were preparing for a fresh struggle; the Turks agreed to the plan of action against the Empire; and in 1678 Michael Teleki's place as leader of the "Kurucz" armies was taken by Imre Thököli, a noble whose family inherited the traditions of revolt against tyranny. Thököli's entrance upon the scene was the signal for a renewal of energy; he was, indeed, regarded for some time as a worthy successor to Gabriel Bethlen.

On June 17, 1682, Thököli wedded Ilona Zrinyi (the daughter of the unfortunate victim of the Wesselényi conspiracy), the widow of Francis Rákóczi I. and mother of Francis Rákóczi II., who later on defended the castle of Munkács so heroically against the imperialists. She is one of the outstanding figures in Hungarian history on account of her heroic attachment to the national cause, which she saw personified in her second husband, to whom she clung with a devotion as rare as it was unselfish.

Thököli had many adversaries even in the "Kurucz" ranks. Despite his immense learning, and his enthusiasm for noble ideals, his personal character was not above reproach: a Lutheran himself, he was mistrusted by Catholic and Reformed alike; his eagerness to throw himself into the arms of the Turk was unpopular. But the brilliant success which attended his first appearance disarmed all antagonism. He overran the upper part of Hungary and seized the mining towns: Louis XIV. broke faith and made his peace with the Emperor (Nymwegen, 1678). However, the Vienna Court party was alarmed: Leopold offered to make a truce and summoned Parliament to meet at Sopron (1681).

The Parliament, aided by the Government, attempted a compromise; but the restoration of *some* of the points of the Treaty of Vienna failed to conciliate public opinion;

and a renewal, in a different form, of the persecution of Protestantism, gave Thököli a fresh opportunity in 1682. He relied on the support of the disaffected Protestants and on the favourable conditions prevailing in the field of foreign politics. Kara Mustapha, the new Grand Vizier, made an alliance with Thököli, whom he agreed to recognise as "King" of Hungary in consideration of his acknowledging the Sultan as his overlord and paying an annual tribute of 40,000 thalers. The title of "King" Thököli refused, contenting himself with that of "prince." In a short time he made himself master of practically the whole of Upper Hungary, from Kassa his "capital" to the River Garam. He established a Diet at Kassa and instituted a system of taxation to cover the expenses of government. In the meantime he waited patiently for the expected advance of the Turkish army.

In the spring of 1683 Kara Mustapha entered Hungary at the head of an army of 250,000 picked warriors and advanced slowly through the trans-Danubian district *towards Vienna*. All Hungary seemed lost to the Habsburgs. But Thököli was as completely taken aback as Martinuzzi had been in 1541: he now saw that he had been tricked, that the *real* object of the Turks was no more the protection of Hungary than that of the imperialists had been, and that his country was to be used as a stepping-stone to the conquest of the Empire. So he held back while the Ottoman army pressed further westwards. But Vienna was really alarmed: *Austria* was in danger. And Europe was alarmed, for the city which was then regarded as the secular capital of Christendom. So Vienna and Christendom awaited in breathless anxiety the outcome of what was to prove the final struggle for supremacy between the Christian civilisation of the West and the Turkish barbarism of the East. The heroic resistance of the Vienna citizens and the gallant assaults of the united armies of John Sobieski, the brave King of



Poland, and Charles of Lorraine, awoke an echo that reverberated throughout the length and breadth of Europe. On September 12 (1683) Vienna was saved and the Turkish army, routed and demoralised, fled precipitately, not resting until it arrived before the walls of Buda. The Pasha of Buda was defeated at Párkány-Nána; Esztergom was retaken; Kara Mustapha (who would have gladly avenged his defeats on Thököli) fled to Belgrade, where he was strangled by order of the Sultan.

The Sixteen Years' War (1683-99) had begun: it ended with the liberation of practically the whole of Hungary from the Turkish yoke.

Meanwhile the fortunes of Thököli were on the decline. The nation realised that at 'ast the Government of Vienna was seriously thinking of driving out the Turk; many of the insurgents deserted the national cause. Sobieski's attempts to bring about a reconciliation between Thököli and Leopold were rendered abortive by the arrogance of the Court party, whose heads were turned by the brilliance of the success achieved. The Christian (or Holy) League established at the instigation of Pope Innocent XI.—under the auspices of which Leopold, Sobieski, and the Doge of Venice made a defensive and offensive alliance—was formed for the express purpose of freeing Hungary from the Turks. Upper Hungary and the trans-Danubian districts submitted to Leopold, who proceeded to confiscate the Hungarian estates of Thököli and Apafi. The imperial troops captured the fortresses of Upper Hungary which still acknowledged the authority of the unfortunate insurgent leader. In 1685 the Pasha of Nagyvárad, Achmed, invited Thököli to visit him, had him put in chains—at the instance of the Grand Vizier, Ibrahim Satan—and hoped to secure a truce by surrendering him to Leopold. But the Austrian Court was not in the mood for peace; and on December 2, Ibrahim



shared the fate of his predecessor. Many of the "Kurucz" soldiers joined the imperialists: but Ilona Zrinyi still held out at Munkács, and defied the imperialists for three years. In 1689 Thököli was released by the new Grand Vizier and sent to occupy the throne of Transylvania, where Michael Teleki, the former insurgent leader and Thököli's bitter antagonist, was working in the interests of Leopold. On the battlefield of Zernyest (1690) he defeated Heissler, the imperial general, and took him prisoner. He was exchanged for Ilona Zrinyi, then a prisoner in a convent at Vienna. The same year Thököli was elected prince of Transylvania; but after two month's enjoyment of a mock authority he was obliged to retire before the victorious army of Louis of Baden. One result of his campaign, however, was the issue of the famous *Diploma Leopoldinum* (1690).

After the *Peace of Karlovicz* (1699), Thököli, who had fled to Wallachia, was exiled by the Sultan to Ismid (Nicodemia), in Asia Minor, where he died in 1705.

In 1686, a year that will for ever be memorable in the annals of Hungary, after the famous siege, *Buda* was retaken by the combined Christian host serving under Charles of Lorraine. The last Pasha of Buda, Abdi (or Abdurraman), was killed, fighting heroically, on the spot where the University Press stands to-day. The "Kurucz" warriors who had rallied round the imperial standard were among the first to scale the walls during the final assault; and the news of the recapture of the ancient capital awoke a responsive echo in the hearts of all Hungarians, who now looked for complete liberation from the Turkish yoke and the restoration of their ancestral liberties.

The same year saw the recovery of Pécs and Szeged: but it also saw the establishment of the "*Bloody Assizes*" of *Eperjes* under Anthony Carafa, an imperial general of Neapolitan extraction, whose cruelty and vindictiveness

established a veritable reign of terror. Torture and murder were the order of the day. Protestantism or wealth ; those were the crimes which served to whet this human devil's appetite for blood and to earn for the market-place of Eperjes the title of "slaughter-house." But in time even the Court party withdrew their approval ; the Parliament was about to sit ; and concessions of vast importance were to be exacted from the representatives of the nation, which was grateful enough, despite its terrible sufferings, for the removal of the Turkish nightmare. So Carafa was instructed to proceed to Vienna.

The year 1687 saw the recovery of Eger and the defeat of Soliman, the Grand Vizier, near the historic battlefield of Mohács ; it witnessed the liberation of Slavonia : but it is of more importance as a landmark of Hungarian constitutional history. At the request of the Government, and as a token of their gratitude to the ruling dynasty, the Estates, at the *Diet of Pozsony*, renounced their right to elect a king, making the succession hereditary (in accordance with the law of primogeniture) in the male line of the House of Habsburg—on condition that that right should revert to the nation in the case of the extinction of both the German and the Spanish branches—and revoking the right of armed resistance (the *jus resistendi*) guaranteed to the nation by the Golden Bull. At the same time they declared that the innovations did not affect the ancient prerogatives of the nation or the independence of the country. The unfavourable measures adopted by the Diet of Sopron (1681) with reference to Protestants were renewed ; and the terms of the coronation oath were modified in favour of the sovereign.

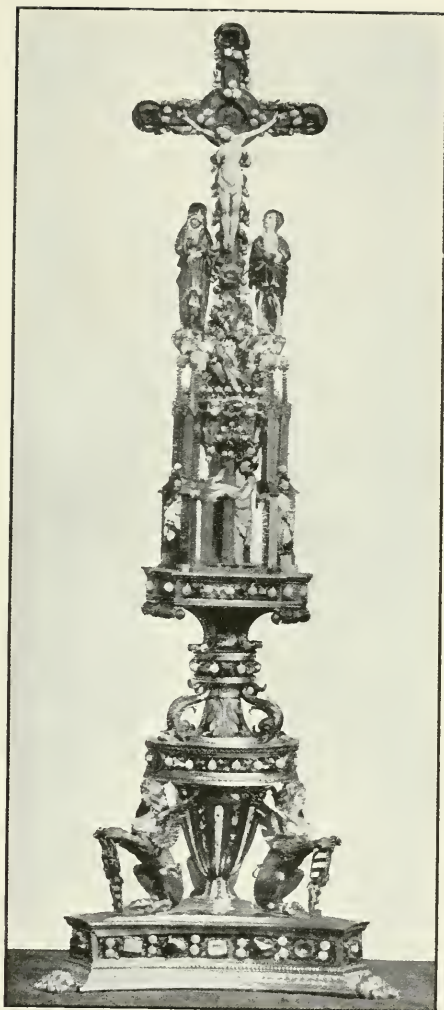
In 1688 Székesfehérvár, Szendrő (Semendria), and Belgrade opened their gates to the Christians ; while Louis Margrave of Baden overran Serbia and Bosnia, emulating the deeds

of the Hunyadis and reconquering most of the territory of those provinces.

The following year, however, Köprili Mustapha drove the imperial troops out of Servia and Bosnia and once more placed the Crescent on the walls of Belgrade; while Adam Batthyány and Stephen Zichy recovered Nagy-Kanizsa. In 1691 Louis of Baden again defeated the Turks at the battle of *Zalánkemén*, completely destroying the Grand Vizier's army; while Heissler recovered Nagyvárad. Two years later Békés-Gyula fell into the Christians' hands: while in 1695, despite the annihilation, at Lugos, of the imperial army commanded by Veterani, of the important fortresses only Temesvár remained in the possession of the Sultan.

In 1697 the brilliant and impetuous Prince *Eugène of Savoy* took over the command of the Christian armies. Aided by the dashing bravery of the hussars led by Blind Bottyán and Pálffy, Eugène, at *Zenta*, routed and put to flight the Turkish army sent to avenge the defeat of *Zalánkemén*. Thirty thousand Turks perished on the battlefield or in the waters of the Tisza. The Sultan, who was at the head of this army, saved himself by flight. The Turks were exhausted; the question of the Spanish Succession was of more pressing importance to the Emperor than the final expulsion of the pagan intruders; England and Holland intervened to stem the tide of Habsburg victory; and on January 26, 1699, the *Peace of Karlovicz* (Karlócza) was signed. Hungary, with the exception of the Banat of Temes, and a part of the Szerém district, was restored to Leopold; the Sultan engaged to keep the refugees, and in particular Thököli, from crossing the frontier; and the rivers Save and Unna were marked out as constituting the S.-W. frontier of the Hungarian kingdom.

Hungary could breathe again: but the process was a painful one; the promise of a better future for the moment remained a promise and nothing more.



The "Calvary" of King Matthias  
(Cathedral of Estergom)



The removal of the Crescent from the walls of Buda settled the destiny of Transylvania just as completely as the events of 1541 had inaugurated her existence as a separate state. The frontier fortresses from Karánsebes to Nagyvárad all fell into the hands of the royal armies ; the Turkish suzerainty over Transylvania became a thing of the past. Apafi became more and more dependent on his favourites, who ruled by extortion and terrorism. In 1686, after he had assumed the supreme control of affairs by overthrowing his adversary John Haller, Teleki went to Vienna and made a treaty with Leopold. But this treaty was unpalatable both to the Estates and to Apafi, neither of whom suspected the renegade Teleki's real designs. But in 1687 Charles of Lorraine appeared in Transylvania at the head of a large army and compelled Apafi (who had endeavoured to secure both French and Turkish aid) to sign the still more unfavourable *Treaty of Balázsfalva*, which was enforced by the appearance on the scene of *Carafa*, accompanied by "a cartload of instruments of torture." Even Teleki was alarmed ; Apafi retired to the county of Fogaras, the Estates submitted without a protest. The victory gained by Thókóli at Zernyest was the indirect cause of the issue of the famous *Diploma Leopoldinum* which, while recognising the fundamental principles of the Transylvanian constitution, marked the end of Transylvanian independence. Apafi's son in 1710 formally renounced his authority as Prince of Transylvania. George Bánffy was appointed Governor (1690), and devoted his energies to compelling the three nations to reconcile themselves to the new state of things and to pay their taxes regularly. For the time, the moral and material ruin of Transylvania was complete.

Hungary had no particular reason to rejoice at her liberation from the Turkish yoke. The Vienna Court party, which had formerly regarded the country merely as a bait offered

to the lust of the Turks, now claimed the sole credit for the victory. Between 1683 and 1690, Hungary was treated far worse than the hereditary provinces; severe exactions were made; the constitution was set at nought; and even the loyal Palatine, Paul Eszterházy, when protesting against the levy of such enormous taxes, said it seemed as if the Court "desired to exterminate the population of Hungary and to make the country which for three hundred years had shed its blood for Christianity the lair of wild animals."

It was the gentry and the peasantry who felt the burden most; they could not protect their estates and their colleges against the German "executor." Many poor people took their children to Temesvár, where they sold them to the Turks as slaves, in order to be able to pay their taxes.

Hungary was regarded as a province and the one object of the central government was to Germanise and absorb her. The chief exponent of this policy in Hungary was Leopold Kollonics, Bishop of Győr, who in 1695 became "Archbishop-Primate of Esztergom. He rejoiced at the depopulation of the country, as he desired to introduce foreign settlers devoted to Catholicism and the principles of absolutism.

The reforms instituted by the government reminded them of the warnings of Zrinyi and Thököli, who had both declared that it would be fatal to Hungary if she owed her deliverance to a German army. In 1688, a *commission for the reorganisation of the country composed entirely of Germans*, began to sit under the presidency of Kollonics. The scheme elaborated by this commission was published in 1689: it contained provisions relating to the administration of justice, religion, and financial and economic matters. By it there were to be three supreme courts; equality of all citizens before the law; serfs were to be permitted to sue their lords and to give evidence against nobles; a court of chancery was to



be set up, the criminal laws were to be reformed. A scheme of Catholicisation, particularly by the settling of Catholic colonists, was initiated. In the field of Finance and Economics Hungary was to supply one-third of the whole sum required by the Empire; taxes were to be paid by *portæ*; nobles were to pay military taxes; measures were taken to increase prospects of extra revenue and to further the settlement of foreign elements. Industry and commerce were to be encouraged.

With all its good points this scheme was a great danger to the nation. Its real object was to denationalise the country, to destroy the material welfare of the gentry, the backbone of the nation, to engage the sympathy of the peasantry as against the nobles and to utilise the policy of colonisation as an instrument of Germanisation.

The Estates refused to consent to any of the reforms. In 1696 Leopold summoned the magnates and prelates to Vienna and commanded them to express their opinion of the scheme: *Paul Széchenyi*, Archbishop of Kalocsa, boldly declared that an opinion expressed by Hungarians in Vienna was invalid, and that only Parliament could decide. So the Government resolved to act on its own account. The districts beyond the Drave were declared a separate province; the liberty of conscience of the Protestants was removed and their churches confiscated; the Protestants were not allowed to settle in the reconquered districts, and were subjected to all kinds of indignities at the hands of the foreign mercenaries; the Protestant clergymen were banished, and a regular system of "dragonnades" was introduced. The Protestants too were compelled to pay tithes to the Catholic priests. Foreign soldiers flooded the country: and exhausted it. The *commissio neoacquistica* instituted by Kollonics for the purpose of examining title-deeds, employed its authority to oust disaffected or "heretical" nobles from

their estates, which were given to foreigners or to Hungarians whose loyalty was believed to be above reproach. The religious and political reaction awoke echoes of resentment and indignation; no Parliament had been summoned to meet since 1687; popular songs telling of the misery and suffering of the people and the cruel heartlessness of the foreign oppressor were heard on all sides.

In 1699 Kollonics carried out his policy of colonisation. Though sound from the economic point of view, the tendency involved was fraught with danger to the national existence of Hungary. In 1691, thirty to forty thousand Serb families, under the leadership of the Patriarch of Ipek, had entered Hungary as refugees, settling in the county of Pozsega, the districts of Szérém and the Bácska, and the county of Arad, and in Buda and Szent-Endre (near Budapest). After the Peace of Karlovicz, the central government allowed these settlers to stay, for they were regarded as trustworthy elements likely to aid in the suppression of Hungarian nationalism. The hope reposed in their "loyalty" was not disappointed, and during the rising of Rákóczi they joined the imperialists. Their affairs were managed by the Illyrian Chancellery stationed at Vienna; and they were encouraged to believe that the territory occupied by them was a separate state. However, after the Treaty of Szatmár they too began to feel the heavy hand of Vienna; the period for their exemption from taxation had expired: many of them turned to the Czar of Russia for support, and had to flee for refuge to Wallachia.

The settlement of German colonists in Hungary was part of the deliberate policy of the central government. They were Catholics; and they received free grants of land and exemption from all forms of taxation for five years. From this time originated the Swabian villages in the environs of Budapest (then the two towns of Buda and Pest), as well as the majority of the German communities of the counties of

Arad, Tolna, Baranya, and Vas. Many of the new colonists settled in the Saxon districts of Transylvania.

Though of value from the standpoint of national economy, these settlements, in political and national respects, had a disastrous effect. In many places the sprinkling of Hungarians left by the ravages of the Turks, the depredations of the foreign mercenaries and the anti-Protestant reaction, were unable to assimilate the far more numerous foreign elements: in others, however, the new-comers spontaneously adopted Hungarian nationalism.

Such were the conditions which paved the way for a new national leader, Francis Rákóczi II.

In 1697, in the market-place of Sátoralja-Ujhely, the exasperated people took the law into their own hands and beat their German "executors" to death. The insurgents then massacred the garrison of Sárospatak and seized some fortresses. The imperial troops suppressed the insurrection; but they could not suppress the indignation and exasperation that was eating at the heart of the nation, which was merely waiting for the advent of its saviour. It had not long to wait.

Francis Rákóczi II. was the son of the man who had with difficulty escaped the consequences of his share in the Wesselényi conspiracy and of Ilona Zrinyi, and the stepson of Imre Thököli. After the surrender of Munkács (1688) Francis was taken to Vienna, and was then brought up, under the direction of Kollonics, by the Jesuits of Neuhaus (Bohemia). Their object was to make an Austrian of him and to induce him to forget his family traditions: he was not allowed to see his mother again. But he did not forget: in 1692 he escaped from the clutches of Kollonics and his creatures, and travelled in Italy. In 1694 (at the age of eighteen) he was declared of age; a few weeks later he wedded Princess Charlotte Amalia of Hesse, a descendant

of St Elizabeth, the saintly daughter of Andrew II. of Hungary. He then retired to his estates in the county of Sáros. His intimate friendship with Count Nicholas Bercsényi, the patriotic lieutenant of the country of Ung, opened his eyes to the sufferings of the country he loved so well ; and in 1699 he resolved to take up arms to fulfil the traditions of Gabriel Bethlen. Louis XIV. approached him through his ambassador in Constantinople (Ferreol) : some letters were delivered by a traitor (Longueval) to the Court at Vienna instead of to Louis ; and Rákóczi was arrested and taken to Wienerneustadt. The young prince knew that he could expect no mercy from Austrian judges ; so, with the aid of his devoted consort, he escaped and fled to Warsaw, where he was joined by Bercsényi. Once more he entered into negotiations with Louis XIV., who promised his aid : and when a deputation of his oppressed countrymen—all members of the peasant class—waited on him to beg him to assume the lead of the insurrection, he willingly consented to fight “ for God and liberty ! ”

The “ Kurucz ” spirit was alive again. At first the insurgents met with a check ; and the Court, whose attention was monopolised for the moment by the wars of the Spanish succession, refused to take the movement seriously. Hungary was looked upon as now too weak to be dangerous, and the sages of Vienna could not believe that the proud Rákóczi, the pupil of the Jesuits, would enter the field in the defence of a cause which appeared to them largely plebeian and Protestant. The insurrection has been consistently misrepresented by foreign writers as a movement of the peasants against their Hungarian feudal masters. It was nothing of the kind. It *began* as such and as a protest against the cruel oppression of the foreign authorities and mercenaries ; but it soon developed into a national protest, into a war for the defence of the constitution, of political and

religious liberty, and of the right of the nation to govern itself. Nine days after the battle of Dolha, where the revolt had for the moment failed, Rákóczi entered Hungary by the Pass of Vereczke; shortly afterwards his manifesto allayed the suspicions of the nobility: and in a few weeks peasants, gentry, magnates, Protestants and Catholics alike, flocked to his standard; the movement spread like wildfire through Upper Hungary and the Lowlands; and when Rákóczi took Debreczen, Nagykároly, Tokaj, and the mining towns, the Court became alarmed. The "labancz" army was routed at Zólyom: and when, in 1704, the "Kurucz" hosts appeared before Pozsony and, under the command of Bercsényi and Károlyi, penetrated almost to the gates of Vienna, the alarm of the Court changed to terror and consternation. Leopold appealed to Archbishop Paul Széchenyi to intervene, at the same time offering to dispense with the more burdensome taxation. The trans-Danubian districts and Transylvania threw off the foreign yoke; and the latter province elected Rákóczi as their prince. Rákóczi was ready to negotiate; but he placed no trust in Austrian promises and issued his famous manifesto to the Protestant powers. He even expressed a willingness for Transylvania, as an independent principality, to be brought under the suzerainty of the King of Hungary: but he insisted on guarantees on the part of England, Holland, and Prussia. The Government refused to accept the conditions: and hostilities were recommenced. The Croats, the Rascians, and several towns refused to desert Leopold's cause; and the imperial general, Heister, anticipating the methods of Haynan, endeavoured to cow the country into submission: but the campaign of terror merely hardened the determination of the nation; and the brilliant victories won by Rákóczi, Bercsényi and Károlyi promised to further the final triumph of the national cause. Even the defeat at Nagyszombat

(December 25), which Heister proved incapable of following up, failed to dishearten the insurgents, who the next year renewed the conflict with undiminished energy.

On May 5, 1705, Leopold died. The policy dictated by his advisers was one long series of unfortunate mistakes; owing to his inability to gauge the character or temper of his Hungarian subjects, or to appreciate the piety with which they clung to their traditions, his reign closed with a struggle the inevitability of which must have been evident to any far-seeing statesman. Unfortunately Leopold's counsellors were blinded by fanaticism; and the events that darkened his last years were the immediate result of that blindness which the King was either unwilling or unable to remedy.

Leopold's son Joseph I. (1705-11), was an enlightened and liberal-minded ruler; but he was unfortunate in succeeding a man whose policy had awakened a feeling of distrust in the mind of the nation. Himself of a peaceable nature, his reign was destined to be a record of continual warfare.

On September 12 (1705), the "allied Estates of Hungary" held a Diet at *Szécheny*, at which Rákóczi, who refused to listen to Joseph's overtures of peace, was elected "prince of the Hungarians allied in the defence of the country's liberties." A council of twenty-four nobles was appointed to advise the prince; the question of liberty of conscience was settled in the spirit of the laws of 1647. The ambassadors of England and Holland did all they could to bring about a reconciliation between Joseph and Rákóczi: but the Court refused to yield on the question of Transylvanian independence and international guarantees, and clung to the laws of 1687 and the *Diploma Leopoldinum*. Rákóczi insisted on a return to the conditions imposed by the Treaty of Vienna (1606) and the Peace of Pozsony (1608). So the negotiations were broken off.



The fortunes of war changed continually. The imperialists had no generals of particular brilliance, but Rákóczi was unable to control the jealousies and quarrels of his commanders. France had proved of but little use as an ally: the battles of Höchstädt, Ramillies, and Torino destroyed the last hopes of aid from the French or the Bavarians; and national pride, as well as the fear of offending England and Holland, prevented Rákóczi from seeking the alliance of the Turks. The dashing strategy of "blind Bottyán," Bezerédj, and Stephen Andrassy, the mistakes of Rabutin, the brilliant victories of Rákóczi himself (1707) in Transylvania, were of no avail as long as Louis XIV. refused to make an alliance with "the subjects of another monarch." But the *Diet of Ónod* (May 1707) declared for the dethronement of the House of Habsburg and elected Rákóczi prince of Hungary. Louis now negotiated with Joseph; and the chance of Hungary's claims coming up for European discussion was gone.

The disloyalty of Louis XIV. was followed by the triumphs of the imperial general, Rabutin, in Transylvania (December 1707) and by the disastrous defeat of Rákóczi at Trencsén (August 1708): and no prince could be found to accept the vacant throne.

In 1709 the cause of the insurgents suffered terrible reverses. "Blind" Bottyán died; the trans-Danubian districts submitted to Joseph; Heister had no formidable rival now to stay his progress or to check the march of his terrorism. In 1710 Rákóczi was again routed (Romhány); and Lőcse opened its gates to the imperialists. By the close of the year practically the whole of Hungary had returned to its former allegiance. Rákóczi, who still insisted on the independence of Transylvania and European guarantees, fled to Poland (February 1711) to appeal for aid to the Czar Peter. His deputy, Alexander Károlyi, opened negotiations with Count John Pálffy, Joseph's commander-in-chief, who desired to



end the long-protracted struggle without any further loss of blood: the result was the *Treaty (Peace) of Szatmár*, signed on April 29. Joseph promised a general amnesty (in which Rákóczi himself might share if he swore allegiance within three weeks); he engaged to restore liberty of conscience and to observe the constitution; all grievances were to be remedied by Parliament.

The insurrection had ended in surrender (the "Kurucz" troops were allowed to take their arms with them, after taking the oath of allegiance): but the object for which it was started had been attained. Unfortunately Joseph died (April 17) before the peace was signed: and Rákóczi, who was proud and distrustful, remained in Poland, then went to France (Grosbois), and finally retired into exile at *Rodoslo*, on the Sea of Marmora, where he died in 1735. He stands out as the most romantic figure in the history of Hungary. His remains were buried at Galata; but in 1906 they were removed to Hungary and interred in the cathedral of Kassa.

During the Turkish occupation the country was, nominally, divided into three parts: but the inhabitants of certain districts of royal Hungary and Transylvania suffered the disadvantages of living on disputed territory. They were compelled either to submit to the Turkish depredations or to purchase immunity by the payment of tribute: those who chose the latter alternative—and they were in the majority—were thus paying taxes to two masters.

The Turks wanted slaves and money: so they made a regular practice of kidnapping peasants and wealthy land-owners.

The towns which paid tribute to the Sultan were far better off than the communities or homesteads which were under the arbitrary rule of Turkish landlords, who outvied even the worst practices of feudalism. Those countryfolk who could not tolerate the exaction fled to undisputed ground

or to the towns; thus many districts were practically depopulated.

The guerilla warfare between the respective frontier fortresses—a veritable parallel to the border warfare between the English and Scotch in the days of the Percys—never ceased; the treaties between the governments were not respected by the Turkish and Hungarian (or Austrian) garrisons; and the districts lying between the two were denuded of inhabitants.

But no oppression—not even the terrorism of the Pashas and Beys, and their cruel Spahis and wild Janissaries—could drive their patriotism, their devotion to the national state, out of the hearts of the Hungarians. They maintained their ancestral customs even under Turkish rule; they held their county assemblies or moots: and the Hungarian serfs were even known to pay their taxes to the central government and to discharge their obligations to their Hungarian lords, whom they continued to look upon as their real masters.

The capital of Turkish Hungary was Buda.

There was naturally but little social intercourse between the Turks and the Hungarians.

The Turkish occupation put an end to the omnipotence of county oligarchs, whose feudal levies practically ceased to exist; the gentry were able to compete once more with the magnates: and the county assembly became supreme over both. The counties became the corner-stones of Hungarian patriotism and Hungarian nationalism: their attitude facilitated the resumption of national life the moment the Turks had been driven out. There was no need for a period of transition.

Of the peasants we have already spoken. Despite the injustice with which they had been treated as a class in 1514 and 1548, they remained good patriots: and the nucleus of Rákóczi's armies was recruited from their ranks.

The end of the Islam rule of Hungary had come, but the nation had to face a long period of recovery and rehabilitation. It faced it bravely.

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The seventeenth century was not favourable to the development of architectural art; the ravages of the Ottoman hordes, the Turkish wars, and the uncertain condition of the country militated against it: yet we still find some buildings of note which owe their origin to these troublous times. The statue of the Virgin Mary and the Jesuit Church (Baroque) at *Győr*; the Piarists' school at *Nyitra*; the castles of *Lipótvár* (now a convict prison), *Brunóc* (once the home of Nicholas Bercsényi), *Zólyom*, *Késmárk* (once a stronghold of Thököli), and *Nagy-Enyed*; the Bethlen College at *Nagy-Enyed*; the Turkish minaret at *Eger*; the parish church of the Inner Town Ward of *Pécs*; the "Rákóczi House," the White Canons' monastery, the Town Hall, County Hall, and Law Courts of *Kassa*; the Abbey Church of *Jászóvár*:—all date from the seventeenth century.

## CHAPTER XVII

### CHARLES III. AND MARIA THERESA

JOSEPH I. was succeeded by his brother *Charles III.* (1711-40), King of Spain, in whose absence (until early in 1712) Eleonora, the widow of Leopold I., acted as Regent.

The most important part of Charles's political inheritance was the Peace of Szatmár. He was a man of moderation and good intentions; his first acts were the confirmation of the Peace, the prohibition of the persecution indulged in by those magnates who had remained loyal, and a declaration reassuring the nation regarding their constitutional, religious, and individual liberty.

In 1712 he summoned Parliament to assemble at Pozsony (1712-15), and opened the session in person. The Peace of Szatmár was incorporated in the statute book; *Count John Pálffy* was elected Palatine; and one hundred and thirty-six Acts containing constitutional guarantees were passed. Some of the most important were those comprising the following provisions: the King confirmed and agreed to respect and to compel others to respect the ancient rights and liberties of the country; the Holy Crown was to be kept in Hungary; in the event of the extinction of the male line of the Habsburgs the right of electing a king was to revert to the nation; all successors of the king were, at their coronation, to take the coronation oath and to issue the *diploma inaugurale*; Parliament was to be convened every three years, or oftener, if required; the resolutions of the

Diets of Széchény and Ónod were annulled and Rákóczi and his fellow-refugees were banished. (This Act was repealed in 1905.)

The government of the country was placed in the hands of authorities which supplanted and usurped the powers of the high dignitaries of state. The office of Palatine was maintained; but his authority was considerably curtailed; the same is true of the Lord Chief Justice and the Treasurer. The central body was the *consilium locumtenentiale*, which was made executive by the Parliament of 1722-23: *it was responsible to the King only*. It was never popular, and ultimately proved a failure. The Royal Court Chancellery (stationed at Vienna) "was the direct organ of communication between the person of the sovereign and the country." Supplanting the Palatine in his capacity as intermediary, the Chancellery was the organ of direct government and the channel of communication between King and Parliament. The Royal Chamber (Kamara) of Finance was the least Hungarian of all the instruments of government—and the most unpopular. Half the members of the board were Germans; and it controlled the financial affairs of the country in a German spirit. It merely executed the commands of the Vienna Chamber and was not subject to the control of Parliament; and its administration in the fields of taxation, commerce and mining was about as bad as it could be.

The *Curia Regis* was the supreme court of justice organised by the Parliament of 1722-23.

The power of the King was increased enormously by these new institutions. Regarded as the only fountain of justice, he was entrusted with the interpretation of equivocal laws; he had the sole power of ennobling persons and of granting pardon; he was the head of the army; he controlled the new settlers; his was the right of coinage; he alone could confer mining rights; he had the sole right of making treaties,

of declaring war or peace : in fact, the whole administrative and executive authority was concentrated in his person. But more important was the King's monopoly of patronage in the church. The sovereign could rely on the support of the prelacy and the magnates : the latter broke with the traditions of the past and preferred to bask in the sunshine of the Court ; while numerous foreign noblemen received large grants of land (the estates of " Kurucz " insurgents) and became Hungarian magnates. The gentry was exhausted and their power of resistance broken ; only the county assemblies made spasmodic endeavours to oppose the arbitrary measures of the unpopular *Kamara*.

The Catholic Church became the church of the State (1722). The Estates, which began to believe that Catholicism was a *sine qua non* of true loyalty and genuine patriotism, passed a law that only a Catholic prince could become King of Hungary. Catholic magnates and prelates spent large sums of money on the endowment of schools.

As a consequence, Protestantism suffered. The decree issued in 1731—the *Carolina Resolutio*—restricted Protestants to those districts specified in Act XXVI. of 1681. The Protestants were, further, excluded from the public offices. Yet Protestantism continued to flourish : it found an effectual support in the persistence of the gentry ; and the Emperor's alliance with England and Holland prevented the application of extreme measures of suppression.

Catholicism failed to oust Protestantism ; and the centralising endeavours of government failed equally to destroy the essence of constitutionalism. This result too was due to the gentry who, despite the spasmodic character of their active resistance, were recruiting forces for the coming struggle. The magnates retired to Vienna, where they spent their time and their wealth learning foreign manners and adopting foreign ways : the gentry, on the other hand, stayed at home,

where they took part in the administrative and executive work of the counties, economised, familiarised themselves with the secrets of the various departments of public life and devoted their energies to the study of law. They thus became the bulwark of nationalism and the wardens of national independence.

The King was favourably inclined towards the peasantry: but the burdensome taxation, and the exacting behaviour of some of the magnates, frustrated his endeavours to ameliorate their condition. They were tried by the *manor courts*, presided over by the lord of the manor, who possessed the right of capital punishment. They could scarcely expect a fair trial; and, though Government endeavoured now and again to regulate the relations between serf and master, the Estates refused to brook any interference with what they regarded as an ancestral institution. So in 1735 the peasants of the Lowlands rose in revolt and joined forces, under Peró, with the Rascians. The revolt was crushed, and its leaders punished with mediæval severity.

The most picturesque figures of the local administration of justice were the *táblabírák*—a sort of county court judges—who played a great part in the constitutional struggles as well.

We have already spoken of the new system of government initiated by the reign of Charles III.

The system of the administration of justice was antiquated and badly in need of reform. This work was done by the Parliament of 1722–23. The *Curia Regis*, the supreme court of justice, was an outgrowth of the personal prerogative of the King. The form evolved in 1722 remained in force practically unchanged until 1848: it embraced two tribunals—the *Tabula Septemviralis* and the *Tabula Regia*, each with its own president and its own bench of judges.

The feudal organisation of the military system still held



sway, but Charles now demanded and obtained of Parliament permission to raise and to maintain a strong permanent professional or standing army in Hungary itself. This army, voted in principle in 1715 and organised fully in 1722, contained both Hungarian and foreign elements. It was not what Zrinyi had proposed to create: its organisation was foreign. So Parliament reserved to itself the right of modifying votes of supplies, the number of recruits, etc.—a principle still maintained in Hungary. A system of “press-gangs” was instituted to obtain recruits, and the army was put under the control of the Vienna Army Council and Chambers. It could not be a popular institution, and the complete withdrawal from the control of the Hungarian Parliament of the “Military Frontiers” did not add to its popularity.

The Parliament of 1715 consented to the establishment of a permanent war tax (*contributio*); but it was resolved that no taxes should be levied without the consent of the Estates, and that the renewal of the said tax was to be left to the discretion of each succeeding Parliament. *This was, and is still, one of the fundamental guarantees of constitutionalism in Hungary.*

These taxes were paid by the burgesses and the serfs: it was the latter who felt the burden most keenly.

Charles was a man of peace: but the Turkish attack on Venice, and the warnings of Eugène of Savoy, compelled him to declare war on Turkey in 1716. The Austro-Hungarian army under Eugène of Savoy and John Pálffy completely routed the Turks at Pétervárad: two months later, after 164 years of Turkish occupation, the stronghold of Temesvár and the Banat of Temes were reconquered; and the latter was made a Military District. In 1717 Prince Eugène annihilated the Grand Vizier's army before Belgrade; that all-important fortress surrendered, and the northern

Balkan provinces were occupied. The following year, through the intervention of England and Holland, the *Treaty of Passarowitz* (Pozsarevác) was concluded; the Sultan renounced all Hungarian territory left in his possession by the Treaty of Karlovicz, as well as parts of Servia and Wallachia. However, there was little rejoicing in Hungary; the King's Hungarian advisers had not been consulted; the reconquered territory was claimed as Austrian; and the Banat of Temes was actually incorporated as such.

Eugène of Savoy demanded the extradition of the Hungarian refugees: but the demand was refused, though the Turks agreed to compel Rákóczi and his followers to live at a distance from the Hungarian frontier. The Government feared that its policy of religious persecution and centralisation, and the violence of the foreign mercenaries, might lead to a recall of the popular hero.

In 1737 Charles again declared war on Turkey, this time as the ally of Anne, Czarina of Russia. But Eugène of Savoy was dead; the Court refused to entrust the chief command to John Pálffy, the ablest general of the day, because he was a Hungarian; and the Austrian commanders showed an incapacity that proved humiliating. So in 1739 General Neipperg, acting on the instructions of Charles, concluded the *Treaty of Belgrade*. The King renounced all the conquests made by Eugène of Savoy, except the Banat of Temes: and Hungary lay open to the invasion of the plague, which ravaged the country for two years.

The most important political event of the reign of Charles III. was the passing into law of the *Pragmatic Sanction* (1723). Already in 1713 the King had introduced the succession of the female line in the hereditary provinces (Austria): the principle was now adopted by the Hungarian Estates. It was codified in the form of a treaty as between the House

of Habsburg and the Hungarian nation. It was taken as an occasion of exacting certain conditions of the sovereign. Thus if the female line, too, became extinct the right of electing a sovereign was to revert to the nation; the King's legal successor was at all times to take the coronation oath to observe the rights and liberties of the independent Kingdom of Hungary. *The only bonds of union between Hungary and the hereditary provinces were to be of the monarch's person* (personal union) *and of a principle of mutual defence*, though it was expressly declared that the sovereign of Hungary must always be the same as rules over the hereditary provinces of Austria. Hungary was not to be ruled after the manner of other countries, but only as prescribed by her own independent laws.

The Pragmatic Sanction was a concession to the King, in return for his good intentions and his endeavours to introduce welcome reforms; but at the same time it codified and put into legal form the guarantees without which Hungary was not safe from the attacks of absolutism and centralising tendencies. It was echoed in 1790-91, and it was taken as the basis for the Compromise of 1867.

Charles III. died on October 20, 1740. He was succeeded by his daughter, *Maria Theresa* (1740-80), whose consort was Francis of Lorraine. Immediately after her accession, foreign princes began to intrigue for the overthrow of the House of Habsburg. Frederick the Great invaded Silesia; Charles of Bavaria, aided by the French, attacked Bohemia; while half Europe was in arms against the young Queen. The war of the Austrian succession (1740-48) had begun.

The imperial coffers were empty; the Austrian provinces renounced their loyalty; the young Queen's only hope lay in Hungary, the country which Vienna had so long regarded with eyes of suspicion and mistrust. The Hungarians demanded a redress of all their grievances, in particular the

appointment of Hungarians to govern the country. The Queen asked for the recognition of her consort's right to join her in her prerogatives. The Estates consented, and decided to postpone their protests: and Maria Theresa was crowned at Pozsony on June 25, 1741.

Linz was taken by the enemy, and Vienna itself was threatened. In the hearts of the Hungarians loyalty triumphed over all other feelings; an army of volunteers, who served at their own expense, was raised by John Pálffy for the defence of Austria. On September 11, the Queen, who had returned to Pozsony, summoned the Diet to her presence in the royal castle, the ruins of which are still extant. After the Chancellor, Count Louis Batthyány, had explained the danger menacing even Hungary, Maria Theresa, dressed in black, appealed to the chivalry of the Hungarian nation. The effect of the appeal was instantaneous: the traditional chivalry of the Hungarian nation has never been invoked in vain. The nobles drew their swords and exclaimed: "Vitam et sanguinem! Moriamur pro rege nostro Maria Theresia!"

The Hungarians soon proved their sincerity. Before long 100,000 men, raised by the unselfish generosity of the nobles, and recruited from all classes, were at the disposal of the Queen. Money, too, and corn were furnished in abundance. Hungarian soldiers and commanders now became the chief support of the Crown. The hussars of *Count Francis Nádasdy* made a name for dashing bravery and invincible tactics the echo of which reverberated throughout the length and breadth of Europe: they took Munich and drove the French over the Rhine. The Hungarian troops cleared Bohemia of French and Bavarian invaders; the overtures made to the nation by Frederick the Great were repudiated with scorn; and in 1744 *Count Charles Batthyány's* hussars put even the great Prussian monarch to flight. However,

in 1748, Maria Theresa was compelled to make peace at the price of losing Silesia.

During the Seven Years' War the Hungarians again distinguished themselves (1756-63). In 1757 *General Andrew Hadik*, with a small army (3000) of Hungarian and Croatian cavalry, appeared before Berlin, compelling the city to pay a fine of 200,000 thalers; three years later the hussars of *Count Nicholas Eszterházy* seized Potsdam; they destroyed the military stores, but did no other damage. The victory at Kollin was due to Nádasdy as much as to Daun.

Maria Theresa could not recover Silesia, but her consort was elected Emperor of Germany; the prestige of the House of Habsburg was saved; and she readily acknowledged her indebtedness to the loyal and chivalrous Hungarian nation.

"I am a good Hungarian," she said; "and my heart is full of gratitude to the nation." Eugène of Savoy had declared that the true centre of gravity of the monarchy was to be Hungary; and the decline of the imperial power of the Habsburgs had led the Hungarians to believe that their dearest ambitions would be realised. But the Court thought otherwise: tradition and the German interests of the dynasty marked Vienna as the centre of governmental activity; and the example of Frederick the Great led the Queen to sympathise with the absolutistic and centralising tendencies of her advisers. The State Council (*Staatsrath*) was established in 1760 for the purpose of subordinating the various countries and provinces under her rule to one central authority.

The Parliament of 1751 voted only half of the increase in taxation required for the maintenance of a standing army: the Queen was exasperated and refused to convene the Diet for thirteen years. However, after the Seven Years' War (in 1764) she was compelled to summon Parliament again. The Estates raised the contribution in taxes; but their refusal to undertake a share of the public debt and to establish

a military tax as commutation for the nobles' obligation to do military service, so enraged her that she never assembled Parliament again.

Transylvania was made a Grand Duchy, with a military governor ; but the Queen refused to incorporate it in Hungary. However, she restored to Hungary those districts which had been reconquered from the Turks by her father, as well as the thirteen Szepes towns pledged by Sigismund to Poland (1772) ; she added Fiume, Hungary's only seaport ; and she replaced the military authorities of the frontier districts (marches) by the civil ones. Slavonia, too, became a Hungarian province.

The conceptions of democracy which were stirring France and paving the way for the Revolution, awoke no echo in the hearts of the Hungarian nobility. On Hungarian literature, however, these conceptions and ideas had a far-reaching influence. The new classical school founded by George Bessenyei was under the spell of Voltaire and the Encyclopædists, of Rousseau and Goethe (Werther), of Milton and Pope. Count Joseph Gvadányi, the author of "A Notary's Journey to Buda," entered a protest against the foreign tendencies of the day. Michael Vitéz Csokonai, the imitator of Pope, has been regarded as the Bürger of Hungary ; and he maintained his national character despite the foreign influences under which he fell. He was the poet of Lake Balaton ; and his poetry was under the spell of its beauties ; it is reminiscent of the English "Lake School." The influence of Rousseau in political life is shown in the career of the Abbot, Ignatius Martinovics.

The reforms urged in the field of national economy by Turgot and Quesnay were received by the nobility with impatience and indignation : it was left to the Queen and her son (Joseph II.) to endeavour to enforce some of them by the issue of *decrees*. So the nation took only a passive



part in the alleviation of the burdens of the peasantry and in the essential financial and economic reforms.

As a fervent Catholic, Maria Theresa did her best to strengthen the Catholic Church. She established five bishoprics (Besztercze-bánya, Rozsnyó, Szepes, Székesfehérvár, Szombathely); she endowed schools and benefices. But unfortunately she emulated the intolerance of her father towards Protestants, depriving them of their churches and schools, disqualifying them for public offices, and endeavouring, by bribes and threats, to enforce their conversion. However, her persecution only begot determination.

The standard of education was on the decline. The Catholic schools were poorly staffed; those of the Protestants were the object of persecution. Maria Theresa professed the principle that education was an affair of the State. So in 1772 she issued the famous *Ratio Educationis*, an edict the principal object of which was to make education uniform all over the country. The Order of Jesuits was dissolved. There was no attempt made to nationalise education; the Hungarian language played a merely subordinate part in the scheme. But the work of Sonnenfels, Van Svieten, Ürményi, and Tersztyánszky offered a sound basis for the organisation of a good uniform system.

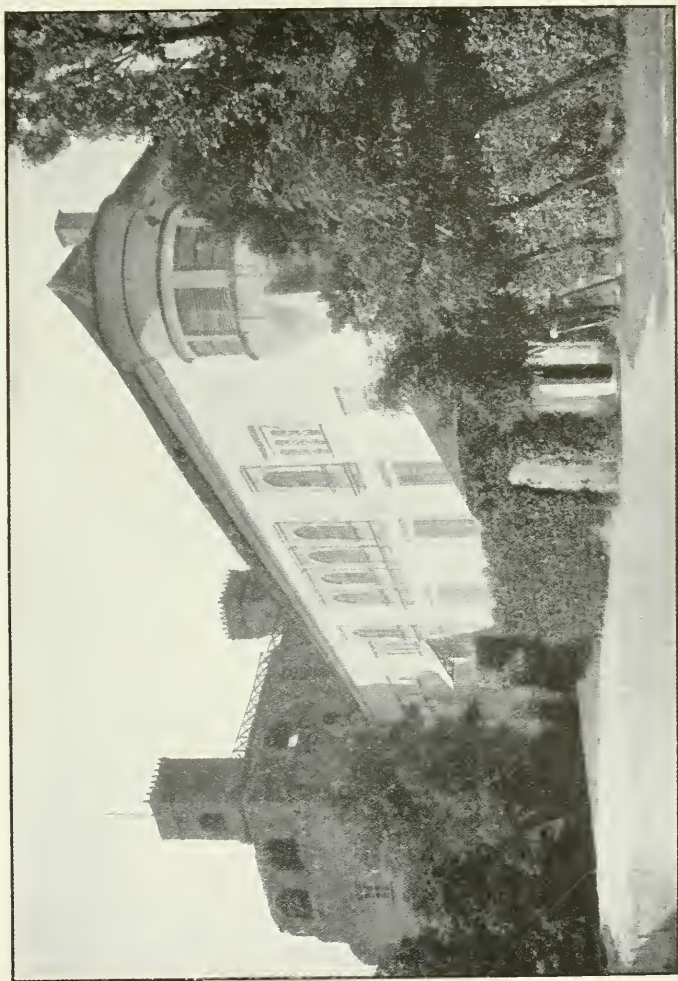
Maria Theresa founded academies at Győr, Kassa, Nagyvárad, Zágráb, and Nagyszombat. The latter was added to in 1769, when it received a medical faculty and became a university. In 1777 it was reorganised and transferred to Buda; it was the nucleus of the University established in Pest by Joseph II., and has now become the Royal Hungarian University of Sciences of Budapest. In 1765 the Queen founded the *Theresianum* at Vienna, originally a school for Hungarians only. The impulse thus given to science and scholarship produced a Latin literature of very high standard,



the chief representatives of which were Matthias Bél, George Pray, and Stephen Katona.

The Queen endeavoured to break the power of Hungarian nationalism by inducing the nobles to settle in her Court ; and she succeeded in transforming the tastes and sentiments of the magnates, who, fascinated by her charms and the allurements of the life of Vienna, practically ceased to be Hungarians except in name, and spent the revenues of their estates in a foreign country. Her formation of a Hungarian bodyguard aimed at the denationalisation of the gentry too (1760) : but its members, prominent among whom was George Bessenyei, merely utilised their experience and the knowledge of foreign manners and literatures they thus acquired to give a fresh impulse to the use of their national tongue. Hungary was subordinated to Austria in the fields of commerce and customs. The policy of Germanisation failed ; but the gentry were driven to see the need for self-education ; and the backbone of the nation was still further strengthened.

Maria Theresa died on November 29, 1780. Her intentions were most praiseworthy ; but her methods were not above reproach, though the result they produced was just the opposite to what she had expected.



Sarospatak Castle

To the left the remains of the old Rákóczi Castle



## CHAPTER XVIII

### THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

THE childhood of *Joseph II.* (1780-90) was passed in self-suppression. His training had been entrusted first to a Hungarian, Prince Batthyány, whose strictness and military schooling fostered in the young prince his love of soldiering and his persistence ; then to Christopher Bartenstein, his mother's favourite adviser and a distinguished advocate of political centralisation. The Spanish etiquette of the Vienna Court awoke in his heart that desire for simplicity and that love of informality which has made him the hero of innumerable anecdotes. His thirst for knowledge was but poorly satisfied by the scheme for his education mapped out for him by his tutors : so, when in 1765 he succeeded his father as German Emperor, he set himself to study life. Early a widower (his first consort, Princess Isabella Maria Louisa of Parma, whom he loved passionately, died in 1763), Joseph chafed at the restraint imposed upon him by the Court and his mother's care, and started to travel in his future dominions—in the strictest incognito. Burning the Consols inherited from his father (twenty-two million florins in value) to lighten the burdens of the people, reducing the civil list by disbanding the separate households of the Archdukes and Archduchesses, dismissing the French and Italian comedians who had been a perpetual obstacle to the development of Austrian drama, and stopping the pensions of the innumerable parasites who had lived on the bounty of his

mother, he set the whole world an example of the strictest economy. He journeyed from Bohemia, where he provided for the famine-stricken people by measures which were by no means palatable to the speculators, to the Banat of Temesvár, where he witnessed for himself the exactions and extortion of the military authorities. Thus he learned to know the character and dispositions of his future subjects and became acquainted at first hand with the institutions which he was planning to reform. He emulated the example of Louis the Great and Matthias; and his good heart and sincere sympathy endeared him to the people.

Joseph took part in the diplomatic negotiations at Berlin resulting in the first partition of Poland, the greatest and least justifiable diplomatic *coup* of the eighteenth century. Austria received Galicia and Lodomeria as her share. In 1777 he paid a visit—as “Count Falkenstein”—to the Court of Louis XVI., whose consort was his sister, Marie Antoinette. At first he was the darling of the French public, which grew to worship an Emperor who spent his time in hospitals and libraries: but his refusal to see Voltaire produced a reaction; and he left Versailles the owner of the nickname of “the eccentric,” without having accomplished his real object—the establishment of a *rapprochement* between the traditional antagonists.

Joseph's first act after his accession in 1780 was to issue a rescript or edict informing the Estates of Hungary that he had taken over his inheritance. No mention was made of the ceremony of coronation or the issue of the coronation oath: nor did he suggest that Parliament should be convened—though this latter omission had but little effect on the Hungarians, whom Maria Theresa had already accustomed to the idea of being governed without a Parliament.

But Joseph had no intention of submitting to the formality of coronation or the trammels which a coronation

oath would impose on his liberty of action. He intended to go his own way on the path of reform without being compelled to respect traditions or restrictions of any kind. So he was never crowned; and the Hungarians spoke of him as the "Emperor," while to Hungarian history he is known as the "hatted King."

"He was the most enlightened monarch of his age, but his ideal was a benevolent despotism, which differed in spirit only and not in effect from ordinary tyranny, and threatened Hungarian liberty just as surely."

Able to display a youthful enthusiasm for cosmopolitan liberty, for humanitarianism and progress, this man, with an implacable impatience of opposition and whose early training had taught him to believe in his divine mission, overrode and trampled down every form of historical right, authority, and tradition. Yet his good intentions were manifest. In his endeavour to create *an absolute monarchy, uniform in language and administration*, divided into provinces of which Hungary was to be one, he regarded himself as working solely to further the public weal; his uncontrolled authority was to be exercised for the common good of all alike; and the happiness of his subjects was his only ultimate aim. The mistake he made, of believing that so many different nationalities could be welded into one uniform whole against their will and without their consent, was fatal; and the tragedy of his failure culminated in his death-bed renunciation.

The Holy Crown, the symbol of the national prerogatives and of the jurisdictional power of the State, was removed (1784) from Pozsony to Vienna. The Transylvanian Chancellery was abolished, and its functions transferred to the Hungarian office in Vienna: the administration of the royal *Kamara* ceased and was entrusted to the *consilium locumtenentiale*, whose seat was removed to Buda: the

Palatine ceased to be its president, his place being taken by an official whose bureaucratic sympathies could be implicitly trusted: the county and town courts were abolished, their place being taken by thirty-eight uniform courts of first instance in which Austrian criminal law was adopted. These courts had one good point. They did not use torture, and they did not recognise the distinction between noble and commoner.

In 1785 *the autonomy of the counties*, which showed no enthusiasm for Joseph's conception of Greater Austria and defied his edicts, *was abolished*. The holding of assemblies was forbidden: the office of deputy sheriff (*alispán*) was made hereditary and the right of appointment of this official was reserved as a royal prerogative: the other officials were appointed by the district "commissaries," and were made personally responsible for all their actions. The country was divided into ten districts, each with a royal commissary, to whom even the royal free boroughs were subordinated. A system of bureaucracy completely foreign to the ancestral traditions of liberty and autonomy was introduced; and the German language became the official tongue of the administration, the judicature, the executive and the schools. It was a deliberate effort to Germanise a country which hated everything German: and it could not fail to suffer shipwreck on the adamant rock of that piety and attachment to the traditions and sentiments of the past which had frustrated the more violent—but not more autocratic—attempts of Leopold I.

"The influence of the clergy in political questions is out of place; I consider it far from necessary that those who ought to occupy themselves with spiritual matters should busy themselves with secular affairs." So wrote Joseph II. to Choiseul in December 1780. Joseph broke with the traditional policy of his House in his dealings with the Church, and subordinated the clergy to the State. The first blow to



the authority of the Church was his decree (1780) abolishing the censorship of books as exercised by the ecclesiastics: he thus laid the foundations for the future liberty of the press. The clergy were regarded as servants of the State; they received salaries from the Treasury; and their property was sold for the benefit of the Educational Fund. All orders of monks or nuns—except those engaged in teaching or nursing—were dissolved, and their property confiscated; while those allowed to stay were forbidden to have any direct communication with Rome or other foreign countries. The *Placetum Regium* was revived: the interference of the Pope in questions relating to the appointment to bishoprics was prohibited: the bishops were not allowed to refer matters of absolution and dispensation to Rome. The convents and monasteries were closed or converted into schools; while the number of parishes was increased by 950.

Joseph determined to put the principle of religious tolerance into practice; so, in 1781, he issued his edict of toleration, which restored to the Protestants full liberty of conscience. It met with considerable opposition on the part of the prelaty and Catholic magnates. But the form in which the privileges of the Protestants were restored—that of an act of royal grace—made the edict unpalatable even to the Protestants themselves.

In the field of education, Joseph introduced sweeping reforms. A special Board of Education was appointed to provide for the establishment of new schools with a uniform scheme of education based on modern principles. The masters were to be chosen for their qualifications, not for their faith.

The University was transferred from Buda to Pest and housed in modern buildings which Joseph had erected for the purpose.

In order to introduce a fairer system of taxation, Joseph

stituted a formal *survey of the country*. To this both nobles and peasants objected. So the work proceeded slowly and was not completed for many years. Similar opposition was provoked by the attempt to compile a *census* of the population, which when made gave a return of 7,000,000, of whom 325,000 were nobles. But the Emperor was determined to have his own way and he counted on the support of the peasantry. Here he was not mistaken ; but unfortunately his endeavour to enforce the terms of his mother's *Urbarium* in the face of the nobles' resistance, was misunderstood by many of the serfs, who were not yet ripe or sufficiently educated to understand the true meaning of Joseph's ideas of reform. They imagined that their allegiance to their feudal lords had ceased, and that they were expected to help the Government to overcome the opposition of the nobility. In Transylvania this perverted conception of the Emperor's liberalism was the cause of a terrible tragedy, the work of the Wallachian peasants goaded into fury by the demagogy of Hora and Kloska. They committed the most terrible atrocities, sparing neither women nor children ; and it was not until several thousand homesteads and one hundred and thirty villages had been swept out of existence that the Government at last intervened. A military force was sent to quell the insurrection ; and the ringleaders were executed.

The disaffection in the country had assumed formidable dimensions when, in 1788, Joseph, as the ally of the Czarina Catherine, declared war on Turkey. The counties demanded the convening of Parliament and refused to supply grain for a war which was unpopular and entailed burdensome sacrifices. The army was demoralised and could not fight. The nation refused to pay taxes : emboldened by the ill-success of the Emperor's military adventure undertaken for the aggrandisement of Russia, they determined to leave no stone unturned to recover their old independence and

to vindicate their constitutional liberties. Even the turn of the tide of military fortune failed to shake this determination. The breath of revolution was in the air; the Bastille had fallen; the Belgians had driven the Austrian troops out of their country; Prussia was intriguing to depose Joseph in favour of Charles Augustus of Weimar, the friend of Goethe and Schiller; the ambassadors of Prussia, Holland, and Germany protested against a continuation of the Turkish war; the Lord Chief Justice had received instructions from the counties to convene Parliament if the King failed to do so by May, 1790; it became evident that, in an age when liberty had become the watchword of Europe, any further attempt to trample down the constitutional traditions of Hungary must prove abortive. So on January 28, 1790, Joseph, who was suffering from a terrible illness, revoked all his decrees except those relating to the clergy, to religious tolerance and to the condition of the serfs: he promised to convene Parliament and restored the Holy Crown to Hungary.

He died on February 20; on his death-bed he expressed a desire that his tomb should bear the following epitaph: "Here lies a sovereign who, despite the purity of his motives, was unfortunate enough to have to witness the shipwreck of all his schemes." His peoples were unable to appreciate the value of his reforms, which were far too advanced to meet their tastes or requirements: while the instrument he employed—absolutism—was already out of date. The fate of his great policy reminds us of the misfortunes of the country whose national will he strove in vain to bend before his own—a country which has already paid a heavy price for anticipating the conscience of Europe. Joseph will go down to history as a monarch whose aims were generous and noble, but whose means were incompatible with the spirit of freedom: while Hungary will remain the only consistent

champion of nationality and national aspirations in Europe, who, unfortunately for herself, strove to put her principles into practice—sixty-six years too soon.

The position of the new King, Leopold II. (1790–92), was no enviable one. The spirit of nationalism, suppressed for ten years by the force of autocratic rule, awoke and clamoured for satisfaction. Language, nation, institutions, the liberty of the individual,—all had come near to extinction. The country was on the verge of revolution; the events in France and Belgium had confirmed the Hungarians' love of liberty and hatred of absolutism, without in any way impairing the aristocratic character of their democracy. Leopold, who was as enlightened as his predecessor, was resolved to respect the laws and the constitution, and to adapt himself to the traditions of the people.

His first act was to summon Parliament to assemble in Buda. For the first time in history, women asked to be allowed to be present as listeners: so great was the interest in what was regarded as an epoch-making session. The nation was quite ready to entertain the idea of reform; but the reforms must be carried out in a constitutional manner; and the history of the next sixty years shows that the nation was in earnest.

The first question was that of a coronation oath. The Estates demanded some form of declaration offering guarantees far more effectual than those of previous monarchs: but Leopold prevailed on them to accept a repetition of the *diploma inaugurale* of Maria Theresa.

The Diet continued its session at Pozsony. Archduke Alexander Leopold, the King's son, was elected Palatine. On November 15, after the issue of the *diploma inaugurale*, Leopold was duly crowned. The French Revolution had given rise to three distinct parties: the *democrats*, who urged absolute equality and preached the principles of the majesty

of the people; the *moderate aristocrats*, who insisted on the restitution of the ancestral constitution in its entirety and did not care for reforms except in the matter of socage; and the *ultra-conservatives*, recruited from the gentry, who shrank from the idea of reforms as likely to endanger the ancient privileges of the nobility.

The most important Acts passed by the Diet of 1790-91 (there were seventy-five in all) aimed at securing the safety and stability of the constitution and at making concessions to the spirit of the age.

Act III. provided that the King should be crowned within six months of his accession; that the Holy Crown should be kept in Hungary; that the King should issue his *diploma inaugurale* before his coronation, and should spend a considerable portion of the year in the country. Act X. declared once again that Hungary with her *partes adnexæ* should be treated as an independent and free country, to be ruled by her own laws and not in the same manner as the provinces of Austria: in return for this stipulation, the Estates ratified the terms of the Pragmatic Sanction once more, while they distinctly repudiated the system initiated by Joseph II. No laws could be altered, modified, or explained, no taxes could be levied, no supplies exacted, no recruits forced to serve except by the King and the nation acting in common through Parliament. Parliament was to be convened at least every three years: and all grievances were to be entitled to redress by the Diet.

Unfortunately the opposition of the ultra-conservatives prevented the realisation of all the reforms which the French Revolution had shown to be imperative: but some work was done in this direction. The *Urbarium* of Maria Theresa was ratified; and the serfs once more obtained the right of migration at will.

The victory of Protestantism as an established form of

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faith was assured by the laws which gave it a legal basis and returned to the conditions laid down in the Treaties of Vienna and Linz.

Finally the Estates appointed a committee to study the question of reforms. There was as yet no question of the extension of political rights: the bulk of the nobility was determined to confine its energies to securing the full restitution of its own privileges. But the unprivileged classes were astir; the conceptions of Joseph II. had found an echo in their hearts, and they had the sympathy of some of the most intelligent and powerful members of the Diet: and the appointment of the special committee was a concession wrung from the Estates and the gentry majority by the menace of a popular revolution.

The Hungarian language was restored to its former position in the schools; and it was resolved that the Parliament should adopt Latin as its official tongue.

The Transylvanian Diet, too, held a session to give expression to its satisfaction at the restitution of constitutional life: but Leopold refused to consent to the union with Hungary.

Meanwhile echoes of the French Revolution were being heard all over Europe. French exiles toured Germany, urging the princes to declare war on France; the Czarina, Catherine II., incited Prussia and Austria to espouse the exiles' cause, hoping thereby to ensure a fresh partition of Poland: but Leopold kept his head, and merely made an alliance with Frederick William II. of Prussia (Pillnitz: August 25, 1791). Hereupon the Girondist Government determined to declare war on Austria and Prussia: but Leopold did not live to see the outbreak of hostilities.

In 1791 Leopold made peace with the Turks on a basis of the *status quo*, only Belgrade being restored to Turkey (*Treaty of Sistovo*): the treaty was ratified in the presence of the representative of Hungary, Count Francis Eszterházy.

Leopold died on March 1, 1792.

Francis I. (1792-1835) inherited from his father a legacy which demanded the highest qualities of statesmanship and all the resources of a brilliant soldier. Unfortunately the young King was devoid of both; Kaunitz was too old to be of any great service; Laudon was dead: and Hungary did not possess any men of pre-eminent genius. Retiring in disposition, leading a private life that was as exemplary as it was unusual, Francis shrank from the very idea of reform, was suspicious of popularity, and showed no inclination to further the cause of art and scholarship.

He hastened to comply with the constitutional formalities; he was crowned on June 6; and the Estates, who saw in this alacrity the promise of happier days, willingly voted the money and supplies required to prosecute the French war. But the hopes of the nation were doomed to disappointment. The French armies defeated the Austro-Prussian allies both on the Rhine and in Belgium; Louis XVI. was deposed, and both he and his consort, Marie Antoinette, were executed: Francis became possessed of a veritable horror of the revolutionary spirit and democratic reforms. The censorship and the secret police worked hand in hand to suppress the writings and preaching of the apostles of progress. The democratic minority, whose leader was *Abbot Ignatius Martinovics*, felt that its hour had come. A society was formed, opposed to a maintenance of the privileged position of the nobility and to the absolutistic tendencies of the Government. It aimed at the realisation of radical reforms. These "Hungarian Jacobins" desired to redress the grievances of the people in the spirit of Locke and Rousseau: with the exception of Martinovics, who was a true demagogue, none of the members professed subversionary or antidynastic doctrines, but in 1794 the members of the Society were all arrested and taken to Vienna. The counties protested and demanded that they

should be tried by Hungarian courts ; but the servile Hungarian courts condemned the leaders of the " Jacobins " to death ; however Francis, fearing the consequences, pardoned all but seven. These were executed—the first martyrs in Hungary for the cause of democratic liberty and universal freedom. The rest of the members were, almost without exception, thrown into prison. The Government hoped by this system of intimidation to deter the friends of reform from desiring to carry their policy into effect.

The Parliament of 1796 was a further triumph for the reactionaries : the magnates were whole-heartedly on the side of the King, and branded as a traitor to his country and his sovereign any man who presumed to disturb the existing order. The cause of reform, which under Leopold II. had made so praiseworthy an effort to assert itself, was doomed to inaction for some time to come.

The Hungarian nobility as a whole sympathised with the efforts of the European Coalition to overthrow the Republic of France : they were just as loth as Francis to welcome the democratic conceptions of liberty and equality ; in 1795 Prussia left the Coalition and Francis was left to his own resources ; he determined to continue the struggle ; and the Diet of 1796, which elected Archduke Joseph Palatine, voted him all the taxes, supplies, and recruits he required, and even offered to call out the *posse comitatus*. The new commander-in-chief of the armies of the Directoire, Napoleon Bonaparte, defeated the imperial generals in Lombardy and advanced towards Vienna. Francis was alarmed : and in 1797 he made peace with Napoleon. " The *Treaty of Campo Formio* left England without an ally and France without an enemy on the Continent."

The year following the Battle of the Nile saw the initiation of a second European Coalition. " Russia formed a close alliance with Austria ; and it was with renewed hope that

Pitt lavished subsidies on the two allies." The monarchs of Europe were alarmed at the spread of revolutionary ideas, and they continued the struggle even after the fall of the Directoire and the election of Napoleon as Consul. But in 1801, after the defeats of Marengo and Hohenlinden, Francis renewed the terms of Campo Formio in the *Peace of Luneville*.

In 1804 Francis assumed the title of *Austrian Emperor*, at the same time assuring Hungary that his new dignity did not involve any attempt on the constitution of the country. He was driven to this act by the arrogance of Napoleon, who had at last thrown off the mask and revealed his true object, and by the formation of the Rhenish League, which involved the break-up of the German Empire. Francis refused the opportunity of transferring his capital to Buda and making Hungary the centre of his empire.

In 1805 the alarm of the Continental Powers had been brought to a head by Napoleon's annexation of Genoa. Russia, Austria, and Sweden joined in a new league subsidised by Pitt to wrest Italy and the Low Countries from the grasp of the French Emperor. Napoleon took Ulm and advanced as far as Schönbrunn: Francis fled to Buda. The victories gained by the Hungarian troops under Archduke Charles at Caldiero could not prevent Napoleon from taking Vienna: Marshal Davoust seized Pozsony; and after the decisive defeat of the allied Austrian and Russian armies at *Austerlitz*, Francis was compelled to sign the *Peace of Pozsony* (December 26), ceding Venice, Istria and Dalmatia to the French Emperor, surrendering Tyrol to Bavaria, and paying an indemnity of 50 million florins.

Francis was desirous of continuing the struggle: but the Diet of Buda (1807) formulated most energetic demands for the redress of the innumerable grievances from which the country was suffering. Paul Nagy de Felsöbökk, the deputy

for the county of Sopron, put in an eloquent plea for the national tongue but met only with rebuke.

The nobility voted the taxes required, adding considerably to the burdens—already heavy enough—of their vassals, and even offering to contribute one-sixth of their own revenue.

It was at the Diet of 1807 that Count Francis Széchenyi announced his intention of founding the *National Museum*.

Disaffection with the existing order of things was rife throughout the country, which was infested with spies and secret agents : so the Government resolved to pursue an even stricter policy. Many members of the “opposition” were deprived of their rank ; and other methods of pressure were brought to bear on the disaffected. So the Diet of 1808 met in a very humble frame of mind. The Estates were only too anxious to show their loyalty. They voted fresh contingents of recruits and fresh supplies ; they discussed the organisation of a permanent *posse comitatus* ; and in honour of the third consort of the King, Maria Ludovica, and to commemorate her coronation, they decided to build, out of public subscriptions collected for the purpose, a national military academy—the *Ludovika*—the object of which was “to train the Hungarian youth to fight, not only with brute force, but by the rules of military science, for their country, the ancient constitution, and the ruling dynasty.”

In 1809, after the humiliation of Prussia and Spain, Napoleon turned against Austria. He advanced rapidly as far as Vienna ; he made Schönbrunn once more his headquarters ; and Francis fled to Eger. On May 15, Napoleon issued his famous manifesto to the Hungarian nation, calling on them to throw off the Habsburg yoke, to assemble on the Field of Rákös and elect a king of their own. But the chivalrous Hungarian nation refused to desert their dynasty in its hour of need ; they preferred to share the trials of their lawful King, and were not to be cajoled into disloyalty by

the specious promises of a tyrant. The *posse comitatus* rallied round the standard of the Palatine, and made its last appearance on the battlefield, only to be defeated at Győr (June 14). The French seized Győr and Pozsony : and the defeat at *Wagram* compelled Francis to sue for peace. The result was the *Peace of Schönbrunn* (or Vienna, October 14, 1809), by the terms of which Francis renounced part of Croatia and Fiume, which were converted into the kingdom of Illyria, as well as Carniola and the northern half of Tyrol.

The cup was full. The disastrous wars had involved the country in financial ruin : and the paper currency added to the gravity of the economic crisis. In 1811 the Minister of Finance issued a decree reducing the value of the bank-notes, and even of the copper coins, to one-fifth. The Diet of 1811-12 protested against this flagrant breach of the constitution and its terrible consequences : but the Government refused to listen, and demanded the levying of extra taxes. The Court reckoned on the exhaustion of the nation : and the system which has become associated with the name of *Mettelnich* was inaugurated. But the courage of the Diet, which had been expected to follow the example of its predecessor of 1807, saved the form of the constitution and preserved the legal continuity which served Francis Deák so well in his struggle against the absolutism of later days.

The wars against Napoleon once more monopolised the energies of the country. This time the European coalition succeeded in breaking Napoleon's power and finally bringing about his fall on the field of Waterloo. The Hungarian regiments again distinguished themselves, particularly at the battle of *Leipzig* (1813) where the great reformer, Count Stephen Széchenyi—then an officer in the Hussars—first came into prominence. In 1814, the Hungarian Hussars, under Colonel Joseph Simonyi, were with the Allies at Paris ; the Colonel forbade his men to plunder the castle of Fontainebleau,



which they had taken, telling them to remember that they were Hungarians.

Metternich had already advised Francis to institute an era of absolute rule and to centralise the Government of all his dominions, including Hungary, in Vienna: he suppressed the liberty of the press, persecuted the Protestants and determined to destroy the autonomy of the counties, the most persistent upholders of Hungarian independence. So the only reward Hungary received for her loyalty to the dynasty and the sacrifices she had made during the French wars was—the *Holy Alliance*, that league of European sovereigns formed with the object of suppressing constitutional liberty and the rights of their peoples.

Taxes were levied without the consent of Parliament; recruits were called up by decrees; and free speech in the county assemblies was suppressed by royal commissaries appointed for the purpose.

In 1821 the Chancellor (Metternich) demanded 35,000 recruits: even the Royal Chancellery protested against the flagrant breach of the constitution. Parliament had not assembled since 1812. Of the fifty-two counties, thirty-seven refused to comply with the illegal decrees. Force was resorted to; the military were called out to assist the commissaries to perform their unconstitutional duties. The Public Prosecutor (John Németh) was ordered to prosecute the "insurgents"; but he replied to the effect that he would not bring illegal charges against innocent persons. Metternich became alarmed, and advised the Crown to convoke Parliament.

The principle of "nationality" advocated by Paul Nagy at the Diet of 1807 had triumphed. The national literature had gained new strength: the work of the martyrs of 1795, of *Stephen Horváth*, the *Budai* brothers, and *Benedict Virág* in the field of history, of *Alexander Kisfaludy* and his brother *Charles*, of *Francis Kazinczy* (after his release in 1801), of



*Francis Kölcsey*, the author of Hungary's National Anthem, *Daniel Berzsenyi*, *Michael Vörösmarty* and *Joseph Katona*, of *John Kis* and *Paul Szemere*, in the field of poetry and criticism, had at length borne fruit.

The stormy character of the eighteenth century impeded the progress of art and architecture. But we have still some eminent examples of the architectural art of the day. The town-hall and cathedral of *Temesvár*; the cathedral of *Székesfehérvár* (Baroque); the Grassalkovich Palace at *Pozsony* (now the residence of Archduke Frederick); the royal chateau of *Gödöllő*; these are some of the monuments telling of efforts made to restore the splendid culture of the past, efforts which, to be truly national, required the lead of a man or men who could rely upon the support of the whole nation. The man was about to enter on the scenes: his name was *Count Stephen Széchenyi*.

## CHAPTER XIX

### THE AGE OF ENDEAVOUR

THE Court and the Government had failed to destroy the national spirit.

Now they thought the nation would rest content with the preservation of the outward form.

The Court and Metternich were again mistaken.

The triumvirate of brilliant orators—Paul Nagy de Felsöbük, Thomas Ragályi, and Abraham Vay—were bent on securing the constitution by the establishment of fresh guarantees and promises. The party committed the error of desiring to realise all the innovations at once. Here they were out-voted: but the belief in the necessity for reform brought *Count Stephen Széchenyi* on the scenes; and his appearance was a terrible shock to Vienna.

The Court had hoped that the Diet of 1825 would exhaust itself in protest which would find no echo in the Upper House. So when, on November 3, in answer to a fiery oration delivered by Paul Nagy, who suggested the establishment of a Hungarian Academy as the most effectual means of encouraging the development of the Magyar language, *Széchenyi* rose and, in a speech of simple sincerity, offered a whole year's income for the purpose, his example being followed by other wealthy magnates, the Court was dumbfounded. The blow had fallen from a quarter from which it had been least expected. *Széchenyi*, the son of Francis Széchenyi, the founder of the National Museum, met Metternich, who endeavoured to use

persuasion. However, the Count resigned his military rank and devoted himself with renewed energy to the work of reform of which the foundation of the Academy was the first step.

His conviction was that reforms, to be stable, must be introduced with the consent and support of the King and Government ; and must be gradual and rational ; and that intellectual and material welfare must precede political progress and political emancipation. " Do not let us brood on the past," he said, " but work to build up the future." He was to a great extent in agreement with the apostles of radicalism. But he regarded with anxiety the breathless rapidity with which they desired to realise the scheme. He wished to educate the people first.

He realised that the magnates would continue to be the unflinching adherents of the Court so long as their headquarters were at Vienna. So he devised plans to lure them to the capital of their own country. He founded the Hungarian Horsebreeders' Association and established racing as a pastime and as a means of encouraging the breeding of horses. He then founded the National Casino of Pest. He determined to beautify the capital and provide it with institutions for the development of trade and commerce and social intercourse. He engaged an English engineer (Adam Clark) to build the superb Chain Bridge (Lánczhíd), one of the most beautiful bridges in Europe and the first permanent connecting link between the two cities of Buda and Pest, the two halves of Hungary. He gave his country the benefit of Fulton's invention ; the first steamboat appeared on the Danube in 1830 ; and he induced men of means to take shares in the Danube Steamship Company. He had the tunnel connecting the two parts of Buda bored through Castle Hill. Decent streets were made ; and people were encouraged to erect modern edifices. The modernisation of the capital was thus

cleverly exploited to counteract the policy of the Court and to restore to the Hungarian magnates their Hungarian character.

Széchenyi also advocated a gradual abolition of the exemption of the nobility from taxation.

He created an Economic Association for the discussion of questions relating to Agriculture and industry. He wrote a book—"Credit" (1830)—with the object of arousing the nation to the necessity of creating a sound financial system and enhancing the value of the land. He told the nobles that "Hungary has not been, but shall be."

Széchenyi not only enunciated principles: he suggested the means for carrying them into practice. Besides a national bank exhibitions should be held, and rewards offered to those farmers whose produce excelled: and every effort should be made to educate the future generation in the spirit of democratic and national progress.

His book was received, at first with indifference, then with indignation, and finally with universal approbation. The nation could not fail to recognise the true value of schemes which aimed at the consolidation of all the resources, intellectual, social, and material, of the nation for the work of political regeneration.

In 1830 Parliament met again at Pozsony. The Estates had Ferdinand, Francis's son, crowned as his successor: the reform party pressed for a discussion of their schemes. But the Conservatives (who had been thoroughly alarmed by Széchenyi's activity), supported by the Chancellor, Reviczky, decided to postpone the debate till the following session. A contingent of 48,000 recruits was voted; and, despite the protests of Edmund Beöthy, "the Danton of Hungary," Parliament adjourned without redressing the grievances of the Protestants, the only "sop" administered to the patriotism of the gentry being a resolution that no one could be appointed

to a public office (civil service) unless he was acquainted with the Hungarian language.

The following year Hungary was visited by a terrible epidemic of cholera. Fifty-six thousand died. The Slovaks of Upper Hungary were induced by Russian agents to believe that their feudal lords had poisoned the wells: they rose in revolt, and were not checked until they had emulated the example of the Wallachian hordes of Hora and Kloska.

In 1832 Parliament met again, and remained in session for four years.

The form and spirit of the Lower House had changed: the Reform Party, led by Francis Kölcsey, the poet and orator, Francis Deák, later the author of the Compromise, John Balogh, Edmund Beöthy, Stephen Bezerédj, and others, were in the majority and were able to voice the real needs of the country. But the Upper House was still the stronghold of the Conservatives; and Széchenyi and his comrade-in-arms, Nicholas Wesselényi, strove in vain to obtain the magnates' approval of their policy. The Court, which in the eighteenth century had looked to the peasantry for support against the nobility, now changed their tactics: they relied upon the Conservative majority of the upper chamber to frustrate the liberal endeavours of the commons. The magnates rejected the proposal for a restitution of complete religious liberty; the resolution relating to the union with Transylvania; the civil code; the bill for the establishment of a system of credit and a national bank; the resolution relating to the use of the Hungarian instead of the Latin language; and the proposal for the support of the Polish revolution.

However, the Reform Party succeeded in carrying its proposals for the amelioration of the condition of the serfs. Brilliant speeches in support of these proposals were made by Deák and Kölcsey, the latter declaring it was high time that

the country should possess "ten million free citizens, instead of 700,000 poor souls wrapped in a morbid sleep." The Government, however, refused to ratify the points involving political rights, which were too liberal and too democratic: and the bill had to be modified accordingly.

Parliament began the work completed by the Diet of 1848. It was resolved that members of the gentry living on sessions should pay taxes, and that the expenses of the Diet should be borne by nobles and clergymen with noble privileges, as well as by the peasants.

It was in 1832 that Louis Kossuth started the publication of his "Records of Parliament," the idea being to arouse interest all over the country in the proceedings of the national assembly. The paper was in manuscript, and thus evaded the regulations referring to the censoring of printed matter. It appeared twice weekly, and was sent to all the county assemblies, to the gentry, and to the towns. The leaders of the opposition became popular heroes: and the Government —was alarmed. In 1834 Baron Nicholas Wesselényi followed Kossuth's example, prepared records of the proceedings of the Transylvanian Diet, and had them lithographed in his own house. During the intervals between the sessions of Parliament, Kossuth issued records of the debates of the various county assemblies, thus affording an opportunity for an exchange of views and a combination of forces against any illegal measures of the Government.

But Metternich, the real ruler of the country, resolved to employ the harshest reprisals. In 1835 he dissolved the Transylvanian Diet, had Wesselényi arrested, and threw him into prison on a charge of treason.

Francis died in 1835; he was succeeded by his son Ferdinand V. (1835-48), a man of good intentions but indifferent qualities who allowed himself to be guided in all his actions by Metternich. To the nobles who brought the Address

of the Hungarian Parliament to Vienna the all-powerful Chancellor replied, somewhat cynically: "Tell the gentlemen everything will be as before."

The Diet protested against the arrest of Wesselényi: but the Government took no notice. The laws passed provided (1) for the erection of the Chain Bridge between Buda and Pest, the tolls to be paid by everybody, commoner and noble alike (the first definite abolition of the principle that nobles should be exempt from all taxation); (2) for the regulation of the Danube; (3) for *the drafting of all laws in Latin and Hungarian*, the latter, in cases of dispute, to be the standard text. The Government, however, rejected the proposals that the language of instruction of the Ludovika should be Hungarian, and that the nation should establish at Pest, at its own expense, a technical college and a modern school.

Parliament was dissolved: but the spirit in which the deputies departed to their homes boded no good for the future. The seeds of revolution had already been sown: Széchenyi felt that the catastrophe could hardly be averted; and the events of the next few years, in particular the action of the Government and the consequent popularity of the radicals, were destined to justify his anxiety.

Metternich resolved to crush Hungary by the institution of a reign of terror: he chose as Chancellor an unscrupulous man—Count Fidél Pálffy, a Hungarian who did not know a word of his native tongue, and was a violent and unscrupulous reactionary.

The first blow was struck at the university students, who attended the meetings of Parliament, copied the reports of the proceedings, and idolised the leaders of the Opposition. The most prominent among them, including Bartholomew Szemere and Ladislas Lovassy, were arrested. Lovassy was condemned, illegally, to ten years' imprisonment: but his confinement unhinged his mind; and he returned home a



physical wreck. Louis Kossuth, too, was arrested. After a mock trial, which was both secret and illegal, Kossuth was sentenced to four years' confinement in the fortress of Buda.

The arbitrary measures initiated by Metternich produced a result exactly the reverse of what he had expected. Wesselényi, Szemere, Lovassy, Kossuth, and the other victims of his despotic rage, were regarded as national martyrs. The nation felt that the moment was approaching for a final reckoning with absolutism. As the time for the elections was approaching, Metternich endeavoured to conciliate the people by removing Pálffy and appointing Count Anthony Majláth in his place. But it was too late. The elections were fought for the first time in Hungarian history by two definite parties with well-defined principles—the Liberals and the Conservatives. Victory rested with the former. The Opposition was in the majority in the Lower House ; while, in the Upper House, the Conservative or Government Party professed the principles of utilitarianism, though their leader, Count Aurelius Dessewffy, desired a centralisation of authority in the hands of government. The policy they advocated was too liberal for the Court and too reactionary for the gentry.

Parliament began by demanding a general amnesty for political offenders and liberty of speech : Government finally consented, thus, to use the words of Deák, a prominent leader of the Opposition, “cooling the feeling of indignation and putting an end to the dangerous epoch of terrorism.”

The Diet then proceeded to enact laws. The Government would not ratify all the proposals : but the Liberals were able to enforce the codification of measures which incorporated many of Széchenyi's most important suggestions and laid the foundations of democratic liberty and national prosperity. The serfs obtained the right to redeem themselves and their land ; the term of military service was reduced to ten years (it had been “for life”) ; press-gangs were abolished,

and the drawing of lots substituted ; the Hungarian language was introduced as the official tongue of the royal council and the Chamber, and was to be used in drafting the Addresses of the House.

The Government had attempted to absorb Hungary in Austria by methods of terrorism and all the instruments of absolutism : but the temper of the country was aptly expressed by Széchenyi, when he said : “ We may perhaps be murdered, but we shall never allow ourselves to become an Austrian province.”

The law passed by the Parliament of 1839-40 providing for the registers to be kept in Hungarian, met with but little opposition from the Court. There was a reason for this : and the disaffection that followed among the Slovaks, who dreamed of Pan-Slavism, and among the Croats, who aspired to be “ Illyrians,” showed what that reason was. But the movement was disturbing to the mind of Stephen Széchenyi, who saw in it the shadow of future trouble. And he was disturbed at the growing influence of Louis Kossuth (now released), who started the first political newspaper, the *Pesti Hírlap* (Pest News), in 1841. The country gentry swore by Kossuth, who proclaimed reforms in every department of public life. These reforms were practically identical with those urged by Széchenyi : but he thought the order of the process should be different. Kossuth believed that the *first* duty of the nation was to reform and regenerate the constitution and that independence and liberty would be the best means of securing intellectual and material welfare. Kossuth attacked the enemies of progress with extreme violence, refused to believe any more in the sincerity of the Government (with whom Széchenyi wished to act in harmony), and declared war on absolutism in all its forms. Széchenyi was alarmed. In 1841 he wrote his “ *People of the East* ” (Kelet népe), which unfortunately contained a personal attack on Kossuth. The

writer did not assail Kossuth's political creed, but, while reproaching the Conservatives for their hostility to reform, accused Kossuth of demagogy, of an undignified attempt to court popularity. The attack did Széchenyi no good: he could not fight against the forces of popularity; even the more moderate reformers, such as Deák, condemned his action. Széchenyi retired into private life, where he still continued to work for the realisation of his great schemes. Dessewffy, who for some time edited a paper, the "*World*" (*Világ*), in opposition to Kossuth, died in 1842. Kossuth reigned supreme in Hungarian politics.

The opposition shown by the Government and the attempts of the Court party to instigate the non-Magyar nationalities to resist all endeavours to create a national Hungarian state, convinced even those who hesitated that the time for the moderation preached by Széchenyi was past, and added to the lustre of Kossuth's name.

Various societies were formed for the spread of useful knowledge, for the protection and encouragement of Hungarian industry and craftsmanship; members of the opposition established a commercial bank and a company for the erection of factories: Kossuth proposed to build a railway from Vukovár to Fiume, in order to secure direct communication with England by sea. The schemes were the schemes of Széchenyi: but the determination to take the initiative and not wait for the co-operation of Government was the spirit of Kossuth.

The age was alive with ideas; the country was in a ferment: and the triumph of public discussion heralded the advent of the freedom of the press. Széchenyi's protest had merely served to alarm the friends of reform, who saw in Kossuth their most steadfast champion, and feared that the quarrel would weaken their cause.

The *congregatio* of the county of Szatmár had passed a

resolution calling upon Parliament to adopt the reforms urged by Kossuth. The Government was alarmed, and left no stone unturned to secure a majority. In the county of Zala scenes of riot and disorder were provoked by the agent of the Government, a certain George Forintos: Deák's friends rallied round his standard: but Deák refused to stand for a constituency in which such scenes could be enacted. So Parliament assembled without "the sage of Hungary": but the Opposition was still in the majority, and was enabled to carry some important reforms. The triumph of the Hungarian language was complete; it now became the official tongue of all offices, of the schools and of the courts: laws could henceforth be drafted in Hungarian only. The question of mixed marriages was settled in favour of the Protestants. In the case of mixed marriages, clergymen of any denomination were allowed to perform the marriage ceremony. The civil service and all offices were to open to non-nobles, who could also possess real estate. But Metternich prevailed on the Conservative majority of the Upper House to reject the bills relating to the obligations of all citizens alike to share in the public burdens, the new code of criminal law elaborated by Deák, the bill for introducing trial by jury, the proposal for a union with Transylvania, and the bill for regulating the privileges of the royal free boroughs.

Parliament adjourned in a spirit of dissatisfaction with the existing order. Radical changes must be made if the Diet was to emancipate itself from the paralysing control of Government.

Metternich desired to anticipate the Opposition: so he decided to appoint a "mail-fisted" government, and take the initiative himself. But he had failed to comprehend the national spirit of Hungary. In 1844 he addressed a letter to Archduke Joseph, the Palatine, confessing that, owing to the incompatibility of Austrian absolutism and Hungarian

constitutionalism, the reign of Ferdinand had so far been barren of results for Hungary, that he wished to secure a reliable conservative majority in both houses, willing to guarantee the passing of bills elaborated by the Government. His programme practically involved a transition from the mediæval Hungarian system to the modern European system of constitutional representative government.

The whole country was engaged in a lively discussion of the respective merits and demerits of the two systems when, in 1845, Count George Apponyi, the leader of the Conservatives in the Upper House, was appointed Chancellor in place of Anthony Majláth. In conjunction with Baron Samuel Josika, the Chancellor of Transylvania, the newly-appointed head of the Hungarian Government set to work to prepare the way to securing the majority desired by Metternich. The counties immediately suspected the real intentions of Metternich. The "reforms" promised by the Chancellor were not welcome to the bulk of the nobility—at the price of their autonomy. This fresh attempt at centralisation proved abortive: though for a time a difference of opinion relating to the methods and to the exact value of local autonomy divided the Opposition into two fractions, the scheme elaborated by Deák, at the request and with the aid of Kossuth, and presented to a common conference in June, 1847, once more united them in a determination to resist what was after all only absolutism in disguise.

So the exertions of Metternich ended in a return to the *status quo ante*. Nothing could prevent the Opposition scoring a fresh victory at the elections.

While the rival parties were engaged in preparations for the struggle the issue of which could no longer be in doubt, the Palatine, Archduke Joseph, died: Ferdinand appointed his son, Stephen, Governor (*locum tenens*) of Hungary.

On November 12, 1847, Ferdinand opened Parliament in

person in the Bishop's palace at Pozsony, *speaking in Hungarian*. This was the first time for three hundred years that the King of Hungary had used the vernacular when addressing Parliament.

As yet there was nothing to indicate that this Diet was to be epoch-making, adopting the leading ideas of the age and placing Hungary on a level with the other modern constitutional states of Europe. There were the same parties (Liberals and Conservatives) as before; Széchenyi was bent on having his great schemes codified, but his mind was full of melancholy forebodings and he refused to take any part in the work of political reform: but Deák was back again, and Louis Kossuth had been returned, together with Count Louis Batthyány, for Pest. Archduke Stephen was elected Palatine. Despite the opposition of Government, the system of administrators was abolished. The Liberals succeeded in securing the abolition of entail and the acceptance of the principle of *taxation for all*: in this they were supported by the Conservatives; and the renunciation of some of their dearest privileges was thus a voluntary act on the part of the whole nobility.

But the French Revolution of February (1848) was followed, on March 13, by a revolutionary outbreak in Vienna. Metternich's system collapsed at once and he fled to England. Kossuth, who was already the most brilliant orator in Parliament, prevailed upon the Lower House to pass an Address comprising all the reforms demanded by the Liberals: it was accepted by the Upper House; and on March 15, a deputation left Pozsony for Vienna, to present the Address to the King.

The same day, in Pest, never-to-be-forgotten events were taking place. The University students, led by the editors of *The Present Age* and by *Alexander Petöfi*, the popular poet, *Maurice Jókai*, *Aloysius Degré*, *Daniel Trányi*, *Imre Vahot*, and others, drew up a manifesto containing, in twelve



points, the demands of the nation, and printed it themselves, without asking the permission of the censor. On the steps of the National Museum Jókai read the terms of the manifesto ; while Petöfi recited his poem, " Arise Magyar," <sup>1</sup> which he had composed under the inspiration of the moment. The municipal assembly of Pest adopted the manifesto amid scenes of indescribable enthusiasm. This bloodless revolution sealed the triumph of Kossuth's policy.

On March 17, Ferdinand agreed to accept the demands of the Liberals ; and on April 7 the first responsible Hungarian Cabinet was appointed. The triumph of the principles of constitutional government was complete : the nightmare of absolutism had been removed ; the continuity of the Hungarian constitution was assured.

On April 11, Ferdinand gave his royal sanction to the laws discussed and passed, without opposition, by the Diet (now truly Parliament) of Pozsony. These included : provisions for the vindication of the political status of Hungary by the appointment of a Hungarian Cabinet responsible to Parliament and resident at Budapest ; for the assembling of Parliament once every year ; for the extension of the franchise and the election of Parliament by popular suffrage ; for the equality of all citizens before the law ; for the union of Transylvania with Hungary proper ; for the abolition of feudalism, socage, all tithes and " ninths " ; for the equality of all citizens relative to the possession of real estate ; for the abolition of manor courts and all judicial functions of feudal lords ; for the non-dissolution of Parliament before the passing of the next year's budget ; for the suppression of the former instruments of government (*consilium locumtenentiale*, *Kamara* and Chancellery), to be replaced by the responsible ministry ; for the taxation of all members of the community alike ; for the abolition of entail and of the censorship ; for the

<sup>1</sup> The full text may be found in Loew's " Magyar Poetry."



freedom of education and of the press ; and for the absolute equality of all religious denominations recognised by law.

The work of legislation performed by the first modern Parliament of Hungary shows how complete the triumph of the ideas of progress and democracy had been. Despite its mediæval organisation and character, this Parliament, which was the last convened on the basis of the ancestral constitution, may well take rank with the more advanced assemblies of Western Europe. The nobility of Hungary had set an example of magnanimity and enlightenment which could not fail to awaken an echo in far-distant lands. But the triumph of democracy and constitutionalism promised the consolidation of a national state which would be a perpetual menace to imperialism.

The Court party of Vienna felt that the sudden and radical transformation would offer an opportunity to undo the work which the untiring labour of Széchenyi, the honest thoroughness of Deák, and the brilliant oratory of Kossuth had done.

The supposition proved correct.

## CHAPTER XX

### THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE AND THE COMPROMISE OF 1867

THE new system involved too radical and sudden a change to be immediately successful.

The Hungarian nobility had voluntarily renounced their ancient privileges and were quite prepared to abide by the consequences ; but the new democratic system, which gave such undreamed-of power to the people at large, was a terrible blow to those circles, political and military, which had hitherto ruled the country and wielded all the real power from Vienna.

The lower classes of the non-Magyar nationalities, who did not possess the education necessary to a complete understanding of the blessings and privileges involved in their political emancipation, fell an easy prey to the demagogues hired for the work of creating discord and trouble by the imperialists of Vienna. The new constitution could be attacked most easily by an appeal to the jealousies of an illiterate and ignorant rabble ; and the circles which shrank from adopting the principles did not shrink from imitating the methods of the French Revolution of 1789.

The work of intrigue began in Croatia. Baron Jellatchitch was only too eager to lend himself as an instrument. He incited the Croatians to refuse to obey the new laws and to persecute the Magyars living among them : he took a deputation to Vienna to demand complete autonomy from the King. *Ferdinand called upon Jellatchitch to observe the terms of the Hungarian constitution ;* but at the same time he ap-

pointed him to the office of Ban, an appointment which showed that the Court was in no mood to respect the constitution itself. The Serbs joined the movement, and demanded the cession of a separate Serb province with an autonomy of its own and independent of the Hungarian Government. At the close of April, Jellatchitch proclaimed the separation of Croatia, Slavonia, and the seaboard: he took no heed of the commands of the King or Palatine: he trusted in the power of his patrons in Vienna. He was deprived of his office; but he knew that his mission was to bring about the fall of the Hungarian ministers of war and finance; the Court had consented very unwillingly to the decentralisation of these two important branches of the administration; and on his return to Croatia at the end of June, he assumed the powers and authority of dictator. To meet the evident danger threatening Hungary from this quarter, the Government resolved to organise a "National Guard" of volunteers, which later became the nucleus of the famous Honvéd (National Defence) Army.

On May 30, the Transylvanian Diet had voted for the union with Hungary; but the antagonistic attitude of the Saxons and Wallachians caused grave anxiety. The dread of an impending catastrophe darkened the mind of Széchenyi, who became insane and had to be removed to a private asylum at Döbling near Vienna, where he soon recovered, only to see the liberty of his nation still deferred and to put an end to his own life in 1860.

The first Parliament elected by popular suffrage met at Pest on July 5; it was attended by representatives of Transylvania. The King appointed the Palatine governor (viceroy) with full powers, conferring on him even authority to ratify laws; and the whole country was convinced that the constitution at least was safe.

Meanwhile Jellatchitch was threatening Hungary; and

the Serb insurgents were ravaging, pillaging, and murdering in the South. On July 11 Parliament voted 200,000 recruits and a war credit of 42 million florins. The Croatian and Serb danger was aggravated by an insurrection among the Wallachians of Transylvania. General Mészáros led an army against the Serbs ; Hungarian officers and regiments serving in Austria hastened home ; and the recruiting of the new army proceeded with unexampled rapidity.

The Hungarians had taken up arms solely and exclusively to defend the sanctity of the constitution and of the royal prerogatives : the intrigues of the Vienna imperialists were ignored ; and no attempt was made by the Hungarian Parliament to take advantage of the situation to force an issue with Austria. *But the Court party refused to take the only justifiable and rational view of the situation* and to leave the Hungarians to fight their own battles. Such measures were resorted to as could not fail to provoke an Austro-Hungarian crisis. In the middle of August the King withdrew the Palatine's plenipotentiary authority, reinstated Jellatchitch in his office as Ban, and refused to sanction the resolutions passed on July 11. Jellatchitch invaded Hungary and marched towards Buda : the Palatine retired from the country : Kossuth visited the Lowlands and fired the population into a frenzy of patriotism : the indignation at the intrigues of the Court, which had wantonly interfered in matters that did not concern it, changed to fury when Count Lamberg was appointed—in defiance of the new constitution—commander-in-chief of the Hungarian armies. He did not enjoy his dignity long : he was seized as he was crossing the Chain Bridge from Buda to Pest and killed. The Court party had achieved its purpose : the death of its *agent provocateur* gave it the semblance of a pretext for armed intervention. Jellatchitch was appointed commander-in-chief in Lamberg's place : and, since the Court party had now thrown off its mask, he was

instructed to "punish the Hungarians." But at the end of September, Jellatchitch was routed by the Hungarian "Honvéd" troops under Maurice Perczel and *Arthur Görgey* at Pákozd, while the Croatian reserves were compelled to surrender. The trans-Danubian districts were clear of enemies.

The Court dissolved Parliament. Parliament took no notice of the edict ; and, seeing that the Cabinet as such had ceased to exist, a Committee of National Defence was formed under the presidency of Louis Kossuth.

Hitherto the national army had been fighting in the King's name and in defence of the King's prerogatives : now, the fight for the constitution was transformed into a war of independence. The loyal subjects of Ferdinand became rebels ; and the struggle developed into a revolution.

The Vienna Court decided to send troops to the aid of Jellatchitch, who had fled to save his life : the people of Vienna rose in insurrection and murdered Count Latour, the War Minister. The Hungarian Parliament decided to send an army to the assistance of the Viennese insurgents ; but General Mőga, who was put in command, was defeated at Schwechat : Prince Windischgraetz occupied Vienna (October 31) and wreaked a terrible vengeance on the inhabitants.

Meanwhile, in Transylvania, the Wallachians joined forces with the Saxons in an attempt to overthrow the Hungarian constitution. They committed the most terrible atrocities. The dreams portrayed in glowing terms by the demagogue hirelings of the Vienna imperialists, worked them into a frenzy of barbaric savagery : they spared neither women nor children. The imperial commander of Transylvania, Puchner, who at first contented himself with the rôle of spectator, finally joined the insurgents ; and the imperial troops supported the savage hordes of "baby-

killers" in their campaign of bloodthirsty "vengeance." We may well ask what they had to avenge: they had received complete emancipation and possessed the same rights as their compatriots of other races. The cry of "vengeance" was the work of unscrupulous imperialist hirelings. No more convincing proof of the magnanimity of the Magyars could be desired than the manner in which they have contrived to forget and to forgive the cruel barbarity of these hired assassins, the victims of a soulless system and—of their own ignorance.

By the autumn, the whole of Transylvania, with the exception of the County of Háromszék, was in the hands of Hungary's enemies.

Ferdinand did not feel equal to facing the crisis which his own Court had provoked: so, on December 2, 1848, he abdicated in favour of his nephew, Archduke Francis Joseph, who is still on the throne. The new sovereign at once commanded Windischgraetz to subdue Hungary and suppress the rebellion.

The Austrian commander-in-chief, joining forces with Jellatchitch, invaded Hungary. Before long he was master of Upper Hungary and the trans-Danubian districts. Görgey retired before his advance; and Parliament withdrew (January 1, 1849) to Debreczen, the capital of the Lowlands and the "Rome of Calvinism."

Windischgraetz occupied Budapest. A deputation of the Hungarian Parliament, which was still anxious to come to terms, waited on him and proposed negotiations: but the arrogance of the Austrian generalissimo, who demanded "unconditional submission," rendered any arrangement impossible, while at the same time it betrayed the real reason for the provocative attitude of the Vienna Court party.

Meanwhile the Polish general, Bem, had reconquered practically the whole of Transylvania. And in February,



Görgey joined forces with George Klapka at Kassa. His retreat had been a piece of masterful strategy, but the jealousy of the central committee conferred the chief command on Dembinszky, another Polish general, who was unable to win the confidence of his officers and did not possess the capacity of either Görgey or Bem. After the disastrous defeat at Kápolna, Dembinszky was obliged to retire in favour of Görgey.

The object of Görgey's brilliant spring campaign was the relief of the fortress of *Komárom*. The Austrian armies could not withstand the impetuous onslaught of the Honvéds. At *Szolnok*, *Hatvan*, *Tápió-Bicske*, *Isaszeg* and *Vác*, the Hungarians won signal victories. Windischgraetz was driven to resign his command; but his successor, *Welden*, fared no better. After the defeat of the Austrians at *Nagy-Sarló* (April 19), the new commander-in-chief was compelled to retire from Budapest, leaving a small garrison, under the command of *General Hentzi*, in the fortress of Buda. Görgey advanced towards *Komárom*, thrashed General Schlick, and relieved *Komárom*. Then, in obedience to the commands of Kossuth, he returned to invest Buda. On May 21 he took the fortress by assault, a mistaken step, as he would have brought Austria to her knees if he had been allowed to follow up his victories.

Meanwhile, after completely routing the Austro-Wallachian rabble in Transylvania, Bem proceeded by way of the Iron Gate to lower Hungary, where he joined forces with Maurice Perczel against the Serbs. Dislodged from their stronghold at *Szent-Tamás*, the latter were finally overthrown; and by the middle of May Southern Hungary had been cleared of enemies. In the North, the Honvéds had suppressed the movement among the Slovaks under Hurbán: and the next move should undoubtedly have been an advance towards Vienna. With the internal troubles practically at an end, Hungary could have concentrated her energies on an attack

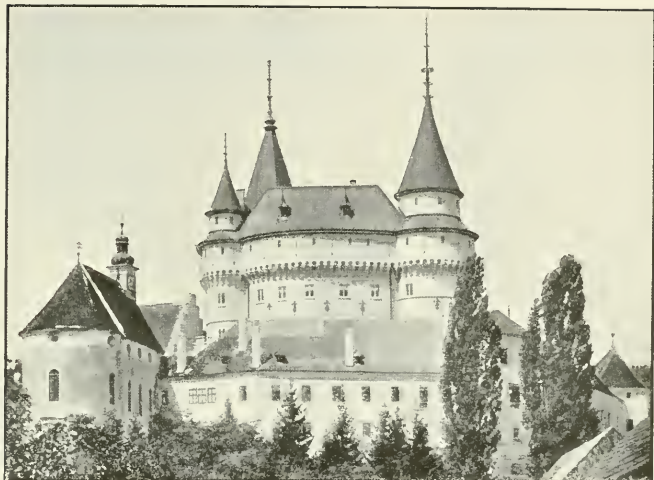


upon her only formidable foe. But Kossuth willed otherwise : and Kossuth was already omnipotent.

On March 4, after the battle of Kápolna, which the incapacity of Dembinszky turned into a rout, the Emperor issued an edict giving a new constitution to his Empire. Hungary was treated as a province of the Austrian Empire. Her reply to this humiliating act of absolutism was the brilliant spring campaign conducted by Görgey. Schwechat and Kápolna were avenged ; and the Court awoke to the consciousness that Hungary was not dead. However, the Hungarian Parliament went further than it had ever intended to go : the challenge of Vienna was taken up ; and on April 14, 1849, in the Great Church of Debreczen, the resolution moved by Louis Kossuth that the House of Habsburg should be dethroned, was carried unanimously.

Kossuth was elected Governor. In his capacity as such he appointed the first republican cabinet of independent Hungary.

The Court resolved to appeal for aid to Russia. So in June 200,000 Russians entered Hungary. At first the Hungarians held their own ; indeed, at *Ó-Szony*, on July 2, Görgey, aided by Count Leiningen and General Klapka, completely routed the Austro-Russian army. Görgey led the decisive charge of the Honvéd Hussars in person : he was severely wounded, but he had the satisfaction of knowing that the enemy had taken to their heels. At *Hegyeshalom* (July 13) in the county of Bács, Generals Guyon and Vetter administered a severe defeat to the imperial army under Jellachitch. But superior strategy and enthusiasm could not maintain the unequal fight for long, Parliament withdrew to Szeged and then to Arad, Bem was defeated by the Russians in the battle of *Segesvár*, where Petöfi fell, and driven out of Transylvania. The invincible Görgey withdrew gradually, fighting rearguard engagements and winning the respect of his



Bajmócz Castle (15th century)



Estergom Cathedral and Castle  
(Underneath is seen the Bishop's Palace)  
*Digitized by Microsoft®*



Russian enemies, who did not dare to close with him, as far as Arad, where he hoped to concentrate his army and join forces with Bem and Damjanich. But Bem was again defeated, at Temesvár: Görgey was entrusted by Kossuth with the supreme military and civil control of the country; and on August 13, 1849, on the field of Világos, after a conference with his staff, he surrendered to the Russians. He desired to save the country from shedding more blood in vain; for he saw that to continue the struggle with any chance of success was out of the question. And he desired to humiliate Austria by surrendering to the Czar. He did not trust the Austrians; but he hoped that Paskievitch, the Russian commander-in-chief, would stipulate for pardon for his officers. He despised the Austrians as foes, and would not humiliate himself or his Honvéds by surrendering to an enemy whom he and they had so often beaten.

Kossuth, accompanied by Szemere, Perczel, Bem, Guyon, and others, fled to Turkey. General Klapka, who was now in command of the fortress of Komárom, defied all attempts on the part of the Austrians to dislodge him. He only surrendered when finally convinced that the national cause was lost; and he made Haynau, the Austrian commander-in-chief, sign a declaration guaranteeing that neither the rank and file nor the officers of his garrison should be molested. The terms of capitulation were such as to leave the honour of the Hungarians intact.

Görgey's action in surrendering instead of fighting to the bitter end, gave rise to a dispute which has only recently been settled. There can be no doubt that he acted for the best. Further bloodshed was useless; a protraction of the struggle would only have hardened the terms of the inevitable surrender; and, by capitulating to the Russians, Görgey had hoped to save the lives of his principal officers, as well as the honour of his country and his army.

He was mistaken ; but he was only human.

The Austrian Government was bent on vengeance. *Baron Haynau*, the "hyena of Brescia," whose name is still an object of execration all over Hungary, and who, during a visit to London, very nearly met the fate he deserved, was appointed *Dictator of Hungary*. He lost no time in carrying out his policy of terrorism. On *October 6, 1849*, *Count Louis Batthyány*, the first constitutional premier of Hungary, was shot at Pest : on the same day the thirteen martyrs were executed at *Arad*. The anniversary is still a day of national mourning.

But Haynau's thirst for blood was not yet satisfied : his courts-martial were set to work all over the country. More than one hundred sentences of death were passed : the prisons and fortress-dungeons were filled to overflowing : estates were confiscated on the very mention of the word "freedom" ; and thousands of innocent victims were dragged off to serve in the Austrian army. But the conscience of Europe was aroused at last ; and the Vienna Court, alarmed at the growing dissatisfaction and loud protests against the barbarity of the system, in *June 1850*, was compelled to recall Haynau.

The methods were modified ; but the system remained the same. Hungary was to be crushed, her national spirit extinguished . the *Bach Government* was to complete the work which Haynau had begun. The country was divided into five districts ; Transylvania and Croatia were separated from Hungary ; and a large tract of fertile territory (the counties of Szerém, Torontál. Temes, Krassó and Bács-Bodrog) was cut off and organised as a Serb province. No stone was left unturned to Germanise every department of public life: the offices were filled by Germans and Czechs : the German language became the official tongue, not only of the army, but of the administration, the courts, and even the schools. The liberty of the press was suppressed : and an army of spies and *agents*

*provocateurs* rendered life in Hungary intolerable. Even in the drawing-rooms of the nobles, in the most intimate circles of friends, conversations were carried on in a whisper. Vörösmarty and Arany, and the band of heroic writers whom they led and inspired, despite the despair that filled their hearts, worked defiantly to keep alive the national spirit: they too were persecuted, but the influence of their warnings and their exhortations was not lost.

In 1857 the King made a tour through Hungary, accompanied by his beautiful and noble-hearted consort, Queen Elizabeth. The Queen's heart was touched by the sight of so much suffering and despair; and the King pardoned many political offenders, and resolved to modify the system of government and to forbid the Germanisation by force of the country.

Louis Kossuth and his fellow-exiles were endeavouring to arouse the sympathy of foreign countries; but the sympathy refused to assume a political form; and it was left to the disastrous war against Italy (1859-60) to wring concessions of real value from the Austrian Government. Bach was dismissed; and, though for a time the main principles of absolutism remained in force, the events of March 15, 1860—on which day Hungary for the first time commemorated the bloodless revolution of 1848, and the military fired on the University students who went to place wreaths on the graves of the martyrs of 1849—roused public excitement to such a pitch of frenzy, that the Government was at last compelled to take measures to allay the feelings of the nation.

The *October Diploma* (October 20, 1860) proposed to restore the order of things in force in 1847; in other words, the constitution of 1848 was abolished. However flattering this concession may have been to the nobility, it was out of season. Public opinion demanded the restitution of the system of government inaugurated in 1848.



The *February Patent* of 1861 decreed the assembling of an imperial parliament (*Reichsrath*) in Vienna, and commanded the Hungarian *Diet* (as such it was still regarded in Austria) to send delegates. Thus Hungary was put on a level with the hereditary provinces of Austria.

The Parliament convened for the purpose of electing these delegates refused to do so. The more moderate party, under the leadership of *Francis Deák*, wishing to avoid an open conflict with the Throne and the possibility of a renewal of the sufferings of the past, decided to reply to the Diploma in the form of an Address explaining the reasons why Hungary could not entertain the suggestion of sending delegates to the Reichsrath. Deák based the rights of the nation on those of the dynasty, and showed convincingly that the only possible solution of the crisis was a return to the state of things existing before the revolution.

The royal rescript sent in answer to the Address refused to acknowledge the legality of the essential points of the legislation of 1848. In his reply, Deák warned the sovereign that the nation could afford to wait, trusting in the future to bring about a favourable solution.

The King dissolved Parliament; and the Government once more resorted to absolutism (1861-65). The sovereign was willing to yield: but his advisers—including Schmerling and the famous Professor Lustkandl—persuaded him that the laws of 1848 involved danger to the proper conduct of military and foreign affairs.

On April 15, 1865, Deák's celebrated "Easter Article" appeared in the *Pesti Napló*. It explained, clearly and convincingly, the principles underlying the Pragmatic Sanction, and showed that these involved mutual defence and personal union, that the Hungarians had at all times honestly done their duty by the dynasty, and that there was no danger in the laws of 1848, which, in connection with the questions of



the army and foreign affairs, offered no obstacles to a satisfactory arrangement.

The King withdrew his October Diploma, entrusted the Government to two patriotic, but conservative Hungarians, George Majláth and Paul Sennyey, and summoned Parliament to assemble on December 15.

Parliament, following the advice of Deák, insisted on the principle of legal continuity ; but a committee was formed to discuss the conduct of common affairs, and the first step towards the Compromise of 1867 had been taken.

The disastrous result of the Austro-Prussian War hastened the final settlement. The Emperor of Austria was obliged to renounce his title of German Emperor ; and Austria was compelled to leave the German federation.

Hungarian soldiers had fought with distinction both in Bohemia, at Custozza, and elsewhere. They had proved that they could be relied on in the hour of danger. So the King had no hesitation in appealing to Deák after the battle of Königgrätz. "What does Hungary want now?" was the monarch's question. "Just the same," replied the statesman, "as before the war." Deák's policy had been consistent all through ; and it was now to be rewarded by complete triumph.

Parliament, which had been adjourned during the war, met again at the end of November (1866).

The negotiations between *Baron Beust* and *Deák* relative to the conclusion of an agreement for the conduct of common affairs were crowned with success : and on February 17, 1867, the King appointed the second responsible Hungarian Ministry, thus setting the final seal on the reconciliation of Crown and Nation. The persistence and unflinching determination of the people was rewarded by a return to the *status quo ante* ; the policy of Louis Kossuth and his party had received the sanction of the King and of time. The principles

of 1848 had triumphed; and democratic Hungary might well look forward to a happier future.

On March 30, Parliament passed the bill for regulating the relations of Hungary and Austria. On June 8, the King and Queen were crowned: the same day Francis Joseph I., as constitutional King of Hungary, gave his sanction to the bills introduced in Parliament. They thus became Acts; and among them was the *Compromise*. This important contract is generally known by its German name—"Ausgleich." But the "Kiegyezés"—to give it its Hungarian name—was drafted by Deák; the original text has been considerably altered in the process of translation into German. It was based on the Pragmatic Sanction and the laws of 1790-91, from which it differed in so far as it was *a contract*, not between an absolute monarch as representing Austria and the Hungarian Parliament as representing Hungary, but *between two constitutional states*. Deák insisted on this point; and it is to his insistence that Austria owes her constitution and her parliamentary system of government. Act XII. of 1867 determined the exact relations between Austria and Hungary, and brought into being the *Dual Monarchy*. The "Dual Monarchy" is composed of two absolutely independent sovereign states—Hungary and Austria—each with a Parliament and a ministry of its own. As far as the Dual Monarchy is concerned, there is no "Vienna Government" or "Austro-Hungarian Cabinet." Each state has its own Government; and a Hungarian citizen is as little subject to the Austrian authorities as an Austrian subject is to those of Hungary. As for "Austro-Hungarians," they are simply non-existent. Except in respect of the "common" affairs referred to below, Austria is, for Hungary, a foreign country. Neither the Hungarian Parliament nor the Austrian Reichsrath is subordinate to the "common" ministries, all of which are responsible for their actions (through the Delegations) to

the legislative assemblies of both sides. The fact that "Austria" and "Austrian" became familiar terms before 1867 had led conservative elements to ignore the existence of Hungary altogether; but of late she has been coming more and more to the front. It has been quite the usual thing to look upon Hungary as a kind of "province" of Austria with a peculiar autonomy of her own, and to class her with Bohemia: she is nothing of the kind, but an independent sovereign state, with a constitution nearly as old as that of England and an unbroken continuity of constitutional government, which has never been definitively absorbed by Austria, despite all attempts in that direction, and is to-day merely allied to Austria by the person of her sovereign and for purposes of mutual defence.

The Compromise defined as "common" affairs of Hungary and Austria those departments of government which are connected with mutual defence. This principle of mutual defence is a natural consequence of the Pragmatic Sanction of 1723, which establishes the *personal union* of the two states of Hungary and Austria. These departments are *foreign affairs, war* (the "common" Austro-Hungarian army<sup>1</sup> and navy) and finance (in so far as the expenses of maintaining the "common" ministries are concerned). Besides, a common Austro-Hungarian Bank was established; and a community of responsibility for the public debt contracted in the management of common affairs was determined.

In all other respects Hungary and Austria were declared to be independent states, to be governed separately in accordance with their respective laws.

<sup>1</sup> Besides the common army, to which each country contributes its annual contingent of recruits (determined on each occasion when the Compromise is renewed), Hungary has its "Honvéd" and Austria its "Landwehr" army, each under the control of a separate ministry.

The common ministers were made responsible to the respective Parliaments of Hungary and Austria ; and they were instructed not to act without consulting both the Hungarian and Austrian premiers, who, being themselves responsible to Parliament, would have to consult their colleagues and the respective legislatures.

The common ministries are in Vienna : this fact, together with the presence in the same city of the embassies of foreign states, has given rise to the erroneous notion that Vienna is the capital of the Dual Monarchy and has confirmed the belief of those people who are unaware of the existence of Hungary as a separate state.

The *Delegations* are committees of sixty members appointed by each Parliament to discuss the policy of the common ministers, pass their budgets and report to their respective legislatures. The two delegations sit separately, unless unable to come to an agreement on a particular point, when they hold a common session, deciding without discussion by a show of hands ; they elect their own sub-committees (foreign affairs, war, finance) : the reports of these sub-committees are submitted to the plenary session. They meet alternately at Budapest and Vienna.

The control of common affairs is thus fairly complete ; but of late years the system has met with strenuous opposition on the part of the extreme Left, who desire complete separation from Austria.

The *Compromise* was concluded for a term of ten years, to be renewed on each occasion for a similar period.

Deák's work was done. The constitution of Hungary was restored in its entirety ; the reconciliation with the dynasty was complete ; and a firm community of interests with Austria was established. But the Austrian imperialists were disappointed. The new era of constitutional government, welcomed by all parties in Hungary alike with unbounded

enthusiasm, was distasteful to the disciples of Metternich ; and the Hungarians could not be allowed to enjoy the fruits of their magnificent struggle in peace or to work out their destinies in their own way. Open violence and undisguised absolutism were to be replaced by a policy of obstruction and intrigue. The "nationalist question" of Hungary was about to enter on a new phase. Thwarted in their efforts to modernise their institutions and to keep pace with the progress of the West, the Hungarian statesmen have had to contend, for fifty years, against the sensitiveness of Austria and the miscomprehension of the outside world. Condemned for four centuries to fight against the forces of barbarism, imperialism, and absolutism, to serve as the cockpit of Eastern Europe, and to suffer from ravages and devastation, from the jealousy of her neighbours and the mistrust of her rulers, Hungary began her march on the path of democratic progress when the more fortunate nations of the West had already laid the foundations of their future greatness : her advance has been remarkably rapid ; but the liberal-mindedness of her statesmen has been misunderstood and misrepresented ; and writers who know nothing of her history and still less of her people are found posing on the pedestal of omniscience and charging "racial oppression" and "racial exclusiveness" to the account of one of the noblest peoples on earth, whose only mistake has been an honest conviction of their own innocence.

## CHAPTER XXI

### MODERN HUNGARY

THE act of Coronation had served as the outward symbol of the reconciliation of Dynasty and Nation. But the path of the ministry of *Count Gyula Andrassy* was not strewn with roses. The difficulties attending the fulfilment of the terms of the Compromise required all the tact of an Andrassy and the firmness of a Deák to overcome them.

Among the Acts passed by Parliament in 1867 was that abolishing the political disabilities of the Jews (Act XVII.). The same session did away with the last remnants of feudalism and incorporated the Compromise with Croatia, establishing for the latter country that system of Home Rule, the main principles of which constitute the basis of the Irish Bill introduced by the present British Government. The "Nationality Act" (XLIV.), failed to satisfy the ambitions of the Serb and Roumanian extremists; but, as the events of the present war has proved beyond a doubt, these ambitions were purely personal, and have never represented the political aspirations of either "nationality." The Elementary Education Act, introduced by *Baron Joseph Eötvös*, was regarded by the Protestants as detrimental to their autonomy. The Union of Transylvania was once more incorporated in law; and the system of universal military service (conscription) was established.

By letters patent, dated November 14, 1868, the King appointed "Austria-Hungary" as the official designation of the Dual Monarchy.



The elections of 1869 provoked a bitter struggle. The Opposition gained most of the constituencies composed of pure Magyars, who were dissatisfied both with the terms of the Compromise, and with the manner of its interpretation. But the support lent them by the prelacy, the aristocracy, and the wealthy burgesses, as well as their personal influence and the loyalty of Transylvania, enabled Andrásy and Deák to carry the day. The most important work done by the new Parliament was the re-organisation of the administration of justice, which resulted in a restriction of the sphere of authority of the counties. The Franco-Prussian War and the political conditions of Austria caused a temporary stagnation of the work of reform: but *Andrásy*, who opposed the policy of *Count Beust*, and protested against the idea of intervention on the side of France, was enabled to place Hungary in the position of predominance in the affairs of the Dual Monarchy, due to her greater cohesion and stability. In November, 1871, he became Foreign Minister, in place of Beust. He was the first Hungarian to occupy this position. The status of Hungary as a sovereign kingdom thus received Royal recognition in a form which would make it evident abroad too.

Andrásy's successor as Prime Minister of Hungary was *Menyhért Lónyay*. But he was lacking in the personality and consequent authority of his great predecessor. The Opposition fought strenuously against the realisation of the terms of the Compromise; the scheme of railway-building, so essential for the economic development of the country, met with the most strenuous antagonism on account of the suspicion that it served private interests too; the Franchise Bill was talked out, and the elections of 1872 were fought on the basis of the older laws.

Meanwhile ministers rose and fell in quick succession. *Deák* was in retirement, but made one last great speech in



the June of 1873, about the relations of Church and State. He died in 1876; and royal princes joined in the procession which followed him to the grave.

The fusion of the Deák party and the adherents of *Kálmán Tisza*, in 1875, brought into being the *Liberal Party*, which was practically omnipotent in Hungary for thirty years. *Tisza*, who ruled Hungary almost as a dictator for a period of fifteen years, declared himself ready to suspend the principles he had hitherto avowed, in the interests of a strong Dual Monarchy. He assumed control, not only of the domestic affairs of his native country, but of the foreign policy of Austria-Hungary. He saved Europe from the complications that must have ensued on the intervention of the Dual Monarchy in the Russo-Turkish War (1877-78); he improved the financial resources of Hungary and enhanced her credit in foreign money markets; he reformed the system of county administration in the direction of centralisation; and he initiated a new criminal code ("*Lex Csemegi*," 1878). But the renewal of the Compromise with Austria threw almost insuperable difficulties in his path. Austria, which had not codified the terms of the Compromise in accordance with the original text (the discrepancies, serious enough in character, still exist), refused to meet the objections of the Hungarian Opposition; *Tisza* resigned, but his resignation was not accepted; two groups of dissidents, under the leadership of *Baron Louis Simonyi* (Minister of Commerce) and of *Dezső Szilágyi* respectively, left the Government Party and joined the Opposition. This was in 1876. The country was pronouncedly Turcophile; the hatred of the Muscovites and the dread of Slav predominance was almost universal. *Tisza* and *Andrássy*, not content with defying the popular feeling, took steps to effectuate the occupation of Bosnia. The new elections took place at a moment when the political atmosphere was peculiarly oppressive; the story of the

disaster of Magláj and the fate of the Hungarian hussars spread like wildfire over the country ; Tisza himself lost his seat (Debcen) ; the Independence Party gained numerous constituencies ; while the several fractions of dissidents formed a " moderate " Opposition under the leadership of *Count Albert Apponyi* and *Dezső Szilágyi*. The task of the Premier was rendered doubly difficult by the resignation of the Minister of Finance, *Kálmán Széll*, who refused to undertake the responsibility for the financial consequences of the mobilisation. But Tisza held out, and enjoyed the loyal support of the bulk of his party. Public opinion gradually reconciled itself to the inevitable, and accepted the occupation of Bosnia as a *fait accompli*. While professing the principle *quieta non movere*, Tisza set himself to accomplish, gradually and carefully, his scheme of reform. The Bill for mixed marriages between Christians and Jews was thrown out by the Upper House ; but that securing the State the right of supervision of denominational (secondary) schools, was duly passed (1883).

Meanwhile, trouble had been brewing in Croatia. The concessions made by the Hungarian Government, in their anxiety to secure the votes of the Croatian delegates ; the occupation of Bosnia, and the growth of Pan-Slavism ; the free scope allowed to agitation in Church, schools and literature—all this culminated in the dream of an independent Croatia, which necessitated energetic intervention. In 1883 Croatia was placed in a state of siege ; and it required all the tact and determination of the newly-appointed Ban, *Count Charles Khuen-Héderváry*, to restore order and enforce a carrying-out of the terms of the Home Rule Act of 1868. •

The strong government of *Tisza* furthered the material and political progress of the country, the satisfactory character of which was made manifest by the Exhibition of 1885. The concrete results of its policy strengthened the hands of the

Cabinet ; the financial reforms, including the nationalisation of the royalties on the liquor traffic and the development of the tobacco *régie*, were acquiesced in by the nation ; *Gabriel Baross*, Minister of Public Traffic, purchased the more important private railways, introduced the " zone " system of fares, and developed goods traffic by the aid of a rational scale of charges ; the network of local railways was extended ; while the financial genius of *Alexander Wekerle*, who was just coming into prominence, enabled Tisza to restore the financial balance of the State.

The economic Compromise made with Austria in 1887 was a further step towards the realisation of the principles professed by the Moderates ; the absolute equality of the two states was placed beyond a doubt by the reorganisation of the governing council of the Austro-Hungarian Bank. This fact received royal sanction in 1889, when the King issued a decree to the effect that all " common " institutions, including the " common " army, should bear the title of " Imperial and Royal."

At the same time the Opposition, or rather the National Party led by Count Albert Apponyi, agitated for a fuller recognition of the sovereign rights of Hungary. *Dezső Szilágyi* joined the Cabinet in 1888 : the same year the Opposition obstructed certain clauses of the Army Bill—viz., those referring to the right of the Hungarian Parliament to fix the annual contingent of recruits, and to the two years' service, under given circumstances, of the so-called " volunteers." The former clause was worded ambiguously ; the latter involved an abuse of privilege. Street demonstrations encouraged the Opposition in their work of obstruction ; even *Count Andrassy* was compelled to express his misgivings as to the advisability of continuing to force the pace ; and only the death of the Heir Apparent, *Archduke Rudolph*, whom the Hungarians idolised, forestalled the break of the

storm. National mourning for the moment overshadowed national ambitions ; and the Government, taking advantage of the temporary lull, withdrew the clauses which wounded national susceptibility.

But the authority of Tisza was on the wane. The Opposition regarded his Nationalisation Bill as an attempt to deprive *Louis Kossuth* of the rights of Hungarian citizenship ; and even the Premier's colleagues, in particular *Dezső Szilágyi*, refused to accept his apologetic explanation. So Tisza resigned (March 15, 1890) ; and this time his resignation was accepted. His government marks an era of general progress and development, particularly in financial and economic affairs. His iron hand saved the country from many an upheaval ; but his implacable energy in suppressing the ambitions of the Opposition, and his conciliatory attitude towards the members of his own party, laid him open to the charge of corruption (of which he was, personally, however, absolutely innocent), and has made the tradition of his name anything but popular in Hungary. Yet events have proved how wise were his efforts to promote the consolidation of his country.

The Calvinist Tisza, "the natural leader of the gentry," was succeeded by a Catholic magnate of Conservative bent, *Count Gyula Szápáry*. But the Opposition had recruited fresh energy from the fall of the all-powerful Premier ; and the majority of the Government Party were still devoted to their former chief. The new Cabinet opened its *régime* with a Bill for placing county administration entirely under the control of the State. *Count Albert Apponyi* and his followers, while accepting the principle, refused to agree with the system ; and the Bill was withdrawn. The elections of 1892 strengthened the position of Apponyi and the Opposition ; the National Party, led by the former, grew in authority and numbers ; and the brilliant oratory of the popular states-

man carried the day. It was in the field of ecclesiastical policy that Apponyi demanded a thorough reform. He championed complete liberty of conscience, the unification of the marriage laws, the autonomy of the Roman Catholic Church, and the recognition of the Jewish confession. Szápáry was unwilling to concede the principle of compulsory civil marriage; and he made way for *Alexander Wekerle*, the first Premier of Hungary of *bourgeois* extraction.

When the discussion of the Civil Marriage Bill, drafted by *Count Albin Csáky* and *Dezső Szilágyi*, was opened, the new Premier found himself in an extremely difficult position. He was supported by the Extreme Left, at the suggestion of Kossuth led by *Gyula Juth* and *Charles Eötvös*, and by the moderate members of his own party: but he was opposed by the Conservatives and the followers of Apponyi; while the support given him by the heirs of the Kossuth tradition only served to estrange the Court party; and the non-Magyar nationalities joined forces with the prelacy and the aristocracy to defeat the Bill. But the popular agitation in its favour, which was enhanced by the news of the death of *Louis Kossuth* (at Turin, March 20, 1894), carried the day; the Bill was regarded as a fusion of the traditions of Deák and Kossuth; and the Lower House passed it with a large majority. However, the Upper House vetoed the Bill; and, having failed in his scheme to get it through by the creation of a number of new peers, Wekerle resigned.

His place was offered to *Count Charles Khuen-Héderváry*: but the Liberal Party, led by *Ignatius Darányi*, protested against the claim of the Upper House to put a Government out of office as contrary to the principles of parliamentarism. Their efforts were successful; the Wekerle Cabinet, with the exception of *Count Csáky*, who was regarded as the prime cause of the *impasse*, was reinstated in office.

However, as he did not succeed in overcoming the opposition

of the peers or in securing the confidence of the sovereign, *Wekerle* resigned once more (1895), and was followed by *Baron Dezsö Bánffy*, a former Speaker (President) of the Lower House, who enjoyed the confidence both of the monarch and the majority.

The *Wekerle Cabinet* had laid the foundations of a sound Liberalism in its measures for rendering civil marriage compulsory, for providing a system of civil registration, and for leaving the question of the faith of children to be decided by their parents. The task before *Baron Bánffy* was to break the opposition of the Upper House and to put an end to the excesses of the non-Magyar nationalities, which had revived their traditions of 1848. Having obtained the royal sanction for his scheme of appointing new peers, Bánffy was able to fulfil the first part of his task ; and the measures initiated by *Wekerle* became law. But his success in this field, and the energy with which he opposed the illegal and destructive ambitions of the "nationalities," made him incur the displeasure of Vienna ; a new party, that of the Christian Socialists, under the leadership of *Count Ferdinand Zichy*, began to assume a prominent rôle, demanding a revision of the marriage laws ; the Roumanians and Saxons compiled their famous manifesto, in answer to which Bánffy dissolved the so-called "Roumanian Committee" ; *Agliardi*, the Papal Nuncio, travelled through Hungary to agitate against the new reforms, and the Foreign Minister, *Count Gustavus Kálnoky*, refused to lodge a protest with Rome. The situation was critical ; but the King decided in favour of Bánffy ; Kálnoky had to resign, and *Count Goluchowski* was appointed to succeed him.

The year 1896 was a landmark in the history of Hungary. The nation celebrated the thousandth anniversary of the occupation of the country by Árpád and his followers. The Millenium Exhibition displayed the progress which Hungary



had made in her efforts to further the cause of universal culture. The speech delivered by the King to the members of the Hungarian Parliament assembled in his presence (June 8) were a pledge of the harmony existing between the dynasty and the country which Bánffy and Apponyi were striving, each in his own way, to make the pivot of a strong, united Dual Monarchy. The same year, the *Iron Gate*, that triumph of Hungarian engineering skill and that permanent monument of Hungarian generosity which forms the connecting link on the Danube between Hungary and Roumania, was formally opened by the sovereign, in the presence of the late *King Charles of Roumania* and the unfortunate *King Alexander of Servia*, who a few years later fell a victim to an unholy conspiracy.

Two years later (September 10, 1898) the tragic death of *Queen Elizabeth* by assassination threw the whole country into mourning. Like her namesake, whose life inspired *Charles Kingsley* to write his "Saint's Tragedy," she was the object of national reverence ; and she had been a link of paramount importance in the chain of mutual sympathy and trust connecting the nation with the royal House of Habsburg. This chain had bidden fair to act as a pledge of the peaceful progress of the country on the path of reform and intellectual welfare which it had marked out for itself. But the conditions prevailing in Austria, where the constitution had had to be suspended, and the difficulties attending the renewal of the economic Compromise, threatened to break the chain at its most vulnerable point. The Opposition had been "decimated" at the elections of 1896 ; but Apponyi was still dangerous, his party still a factor to be reckoned with ; and the "*Clause of Ischl*," the temporary measure by which *Ladislav Lukács*, Minister of Finance, proposed to obviate the difficulties attending a permanent settlement of the economic questions, provoked a storm. The Opposition, led



by *Ferdinand Horánszky* and *Géza Polónyi*, started a technical obstruction ; the Government was powerless to prevent the subtlety of the obstructionists ; the President (Speaker) of the Lower House, *Dezső Szilágyi*, resigned ; the Opposition drew up an address to the Throne, asking for the withdrawal of Bánffy, and charging him with political immorality and the application of force to counterfeit the will of the nation (November 28, 1898). The resolution drafted by *Kálmán Tisza* (known as the “ *Lex Tisza* ”) assured Bánffy of the unswerving support of the majority, and protested against the claim of the Opposition, as being in the minority, to demand the head of a Prime Minister as a *sine qua non* of Parliamentary peace. It looked as though the fundamental principles of Parliamentarism, the idol of every true Hungarian, were doomed to be eradicated. The discussion of the Budget was prevented ; the Appropriations Bill was obstructed ; and on January 1, 1899, the country entered the state of “ *ex-lex*,” there being no Budget, and thus no basis of government. Several leading members of the Liberal Party became dissidents ; and the King, seeing that such a state of affairs could not continue, appointed a “ *homo regius* ” in the person of *Kálmán Széll*, to promote peace between the Opposition and the majority. Peace was made, and soon after (in February) *Széll* himself took over the reins of government.

At this time the Army Act was due for renewal ; and, when the “ common ” War Office asked for 400 millions (nearly 17 million pounds sterling) for quick-firing guns and demanded an increase (12,500) in the number of recruits, the Opposition (*i.e.* the Kossuth Party, for Apponyi and his followers had decided to support Széll), elated by their success, refused to allow such concessions to be dreamed of for a moment, unless they were assured of compensation in the placing of Hungarian inscriptions on the barracks, the use of Hungarian colours by Hungarian regiments, and the introduction of

Hungarian words of command in those regiments of the "common" army which had been recruited from Hungary. The military question came to the forefront at a time when the irreconcilable differences between reaction and Liberalism threatened to upset the political equilibrium of the State, and when the increased cost of living had produced a vast social and economic upheaval ; and it was welcomed by all parties as a means of keeping alive the glorious traditions of the Hungarian nation and of satisfying national ambitions without disturbing the troubled waters of domestic affairs. But the King refused to yield the point ; the unsatisfactory character of the provisional economic agreement with Austria, the attempt of the agrarians to reduce the wages of field labourers, resulting in the emigration to America of hundreds of thousands of Hungarians, the raising of the contribution of Hungary (" *quota* ") towards the expenses of the common administration, the dispute that arose in connection with the Bill relating to the marriage of the Heir Apparent with *Countess Sophia Chotek*, and the differences of opinion called into being by the Incompatibility Bill of 1901, strengthened the position of the Opposition. The elections recruited the ranks of the Independence Party, whose programme included Hungarian words of command and the dissolution of the customs union with Austria. It required all the diplomacy Széll could command to keep the loosely-bound elements of the Government Party together ; the Lower House elected *Count Albert Apponyi*, Speaker ; Parliament removed to its gorgeous new home on the banks of the Danube, where Parliamentary scenes became the order of the day ; in 1902 the Opposition protested vehemently against the raising of the Civil List ; not even the favourable economic Compromise concluded with Austria could restore the balance, seeing that the Austrian Premier, *Körber*, had but little hope of its acceptance by the Austrian Parliament ; the renewal of the demand

for an increase of the contingent of recruits (1903) was the signal for a fresh outbreak of the storm. On June 16 Széll was obliged to resign, the victim of a similar obstruction to that which had placed him in power.

Széll was succeeded by *Count Charles Khuen-Héderváry*. But the Opposition was implacable ; not even the withdrawal of the offensive Army Bill or the acquiescence of *Francis Kossuth* could prevail on them to desist from their policy of obstruction. The assassination of *King Alexander of Servia* and the accession of *Peter Karageorgevitch* threw a cloud of doubt and uncertainty over the relations with Russia, and foreshadowed dangerous complications in the foreign policy of the Dual Monarchy ; while in domestic politics complete anarchy prevailed. The Premier resigned, but his resignation was not accepted. The famous Army Order of Chlopy (September 21), which spoke of the Hungarians as a "tribe" and declared that the aspirations of the Hungarians as relating to military affairs should never be fulfilled, roused a storm of indignation all over the country. The relief caused by the royal proclamation of September 23, in which the King congratulated Hungary on the progress she had made since 1867, and, while maintaining his royal prerogatives intact, expressed a willingness to discuss institutions falling within the limits prescribed by former Hungarian Cabinets, was counteracted at once by the statement of the Austrian Premier to the effect that no changes could be made in the terms of the Compromise of 1867 without the consent of the Austrian Parliament. Khuen-Héderváry protested ; but his protest was lukewarm, and failed to satisfy even his own party. Receiving a vote of no-confidence (this was *the first instance of the kind in the history of Hungarian Parliamentarism*), the Premier resigned once more. He was succeeded by *Count Stephen Tisza*, the son of the former dictator.

The "*Committee of Nine*," appointed for the purpose of

finding a *modus vivendi* in connection with the military dispute, drew up a programme which should satisfy the ambitions of the Opposition without in any way impairing the royal prerogatives. The new Premier's first appearance in Parliament promised well; his protest against the interference in the domestic affairs of Hungary of the Austrian Premier, whom he referred to as a "*distinguished foreigner*," was received with universal enthusiasm. The Liberal Party remained for the moment united; though *Baron Géza Fejérváry* (National Defence) and *Wlassics* (Education) left the Cabinet, and Apponyi resigned the Speakership, his place being taken by *Dezső Perczel*. Tisza endeavoured to paralyse the work of the obstructionists by introducing a system of parallel sittings. Apponyi joined the ranks of the Opposition; and the efforts of Kossuth to bring about a compromise failed. Tisza demanded severer Standing Orders to enable him to apply the "guillotine." *Kálmán Thaly* suggested a fresh compromise; Tisza was to withdraw his demand, while the Opposition would desist from obstruction. The Premier agreed; the Army Bill and the Budget were passed; and it seemed as if the essence of Parliamentaryism, so long threatened with extinction, had been saved. But the Cabinet was resolved to carry out the revision of the Standing Orders; the employés of the State railways, discontented with the provision made for them, went on strike; railway traffic became temporarily disorganised; and Tisza's "*Ugra Letter*," in which he announced his intention to revise the Standing Orders, came as a surprise to all parties; Vienna was threatening to force on Hungary an economic Compromise far less favourable than that contemplated by Széll and Körber; *Baron Bánffy* formed his "New Party"; while the Opposition declared the introduction of a Radical system of suffrage to be the *sine qua non* of their participating in the work of the Standing Orders Committee. It was evident that a fresh storm was

brewing ; and, on November 18, 1904, Apponyi declared that the Opposition refused to accept as binding on them any revision of the Standing Orders forced on the House by the majority. The same day the revised Standing Orders were passed, tradition has it, on the waving of a handkerchief by the Speaker. Thus the so-called "*Lex Dániel*" became law. A terrible uproar followed ; the Opposition left the Chamber singing revolutionary songs, and decided to address a manifesto to the nation. *Count Gyula Andrássy*, the son of the former Foreign Minister, left the Liberal Party and turned openly against the Premier. Thus divided against itself, the Government Party was not strong enough to carry out the programme of the Premier by constitutional means ; the formation of a Parliamentary guard (popularly called "chuckers-out") only incensed the Opposition, who, when Parliament met again in December, entered the House early in the morning, reversed the rôle of the "chuckers-out," and smashed the furniture of the chamber, in order to prevent the possibility of holding a sitting.

All attempts to carry out Parliamentary work proving abortive, Parliament was dissolved. The General Elections decimated the Liberal Party. The triumph of the Independent Party, whose ranks had been joined by *Count Apponyi* and his followers, was complete, and was due in no small measure to the brilliant eloquence of the Count, who created a record in the number of platform speeches delivered during the three weeks of the campaign, and himself secured a relative majority by winning over nearly one hundred constituencies to the cause.

The programme of the Independent Party included economic separation from Austria, the establishment of a Hungarian National Army, an independent National Bank, and the reform, in a national spirit, of the existing system of diplomatic representation. Tisza, having no majority in Parlia-

ment, and being unable to persuade the Opposition to reduce their claims, resigned the Premiership ; but was entrusted with the work of carrying on the affairs of the country. No Independent Cabinet could be appointed, as the standpoints of Crown and Opposition were irreconcilable ; so, in June 1905, the King empowered *Baron Géza Fejérváry* to form a Ministry of officials, who possessed the experience requisite to the conduct of the business of their several departments, but had practically no adherents in Parliament. This anomalous state of affairs prevailed for nine months : Parliament ceased to act, and the task of resisting the measures of Government was entrusted to the municipalities ; the Home Secretary, *Joseph Kristoffy*, endeavoured to turn the tables by introducing a hastily-drafted scheme of universal suffrage, which alarmed even Vienna by its irrational radicalism ; the collection of taxes (only of those paid voluntarily) had to be effected by the appointment of new county sheriffs and commissaries ; the Resolution presented by *Count Gyula Andrássy* and passed by Parliament (October 10 ; v. the author's *Hungarian Diet of 1905*) made it clear that the situation depended for its solution on the mutual confidence of Crown and Nation as represented in the National Assembly. *Count Tisza* himself declared his disapproval of the policy of continual adjournment ; and the Upper House echoed the protest of the Lower. The Cabinet resigned, but, being entrusted with the management of affairs, made another desperate effort to capture the votes of the masses. In a speech delivered before his electors at *Német-Bogsán*, *Kristoffy* repeated his offer of universal suffrage. *Fejérváry* established his *Party of Progress*, which promised to realise every conceivable kind of reform ; but his belief that this programme would attract a section of the Liberal Party to his side, proved unfounded, and the decided opposition of *Tisza* wrecked his hopes. *Apponyi* took up the challenge of *Kristoffy*, and



included in his programme a rational extension of the suffrage. The struggle became so fierce and bitter that Parliament had to be dissolved by force. So was the Executive Committee of the united Opposition, which was known as the *Coalition*.

Things looked black indeed, when Fejérváry had an interview with *Francis Kossuth*, the result of which was a compromise, by the terms of which the military questions were shelved temporarily, and a coalition ministry formed, with a Premier loyal to the traditions of 1867. Thus came into being the Wekerle Cabinet, the members of which were : *Alexander Wekerle* (Prime Minister), *Count Gyula Andrássy* (Home Affairs), *Count Albert Apponyi* (Religion and Education), *Francis Kossuth* (Commerce), *Ignatius Darányi* (Agriculture), *Géza Polonyi* (Justice), *Count Aladár Zichy* (Minister a latere), *Géza Josipovich* (Croatia).

This was in April 1906. The General Elections held in May gave the Independent Party a considerable majority. The country thus ratified the action of the former Opposition, and expressed its unbroken confidence in the men who had striven against the arbitrary government of Fejérváry. Order was restored in all departments of public life ; the bringing home of the mortal remains of *Francis Rákóczy* and their internment in the splendid cathedral of *Kassa*, aroused a wild enthusiasm throughout the country and bade fair to herald a definitive reconciliation of dynasty and people. But the promised era of complete understanding failed of realisation. The coalition system proved a bruised reed ; the real power was in the hands of those fractions which formed the minority in the fusion of parties ; Kossuth was unable to assert his independent principles, while the frank Liberalism of Apponyi was counteracted by clerical interests ; Polonyi was compelled to resign ; the economic "contract" (no longer a "compromise") with Austria proved to be far less advantageous than some of its predecessors ; the new Austrian



tariff threw great obstacles in the way of exports from Hungary; the contribution of Hungary towards the "common" budget was raised by two per cent.; the military questions once more began to come to the front, at a time when the interests of both dynasty and people demanded a strengthening of the military forces of the Monarchy. The open action of Servia in furthering Pan-Servian propaganda coincided in point of time with the obstruction of the Croatian delegates; and the impracticability of the old Standing Orders, which had been revived, became evident even to the extremists. The "nationalist" deputies endeavoured to obstruct Apponyi's *Elementary Education Bill*, which offered free education to all alike, but, naturally enough, required certain concessions to the claims of the State language. It was decidedly favourable to the interests of denominational and "nationalist" schools, which were placed on a footing of absolute equality with those maintained by the State.

In 1908 *Andrássy* presented his Suffrage Bill, which was based on a system of plural voting calculated to anticipate the disastrous consequences of so radical a change. This Bill, which failed to satisfy the extreme left, gave the *Justh* fraction of the Independent Party their opportunity; they veiled their antagonism to *Andrássy* under a determination to enforce the principle of a "personal union" between Hungary and Austria. But the complications ensuing on the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina found Parliament again united. *Andrássy* strove to effect a compromise on the military questions, his object being to ensure the raising of the contingent of recruits and to redeem the confidence of the monarch, while securing such concessions as might satisfy the ambitions of the moderate Independents. However, his efforts, which were supported by the War Minister, *Baron Pitreich*, were frustrated by the opposition of certain circles in Austria, and by the recalcitrant attitude of the *Justh Party*.

The latter now insisted on the establishment of an independent National Bank. So, in 1909, the Wekerle Cabinet found itself face to face with a dilemma. The only feasible solution of the difficulty was that the Independent Party should take over the reins of government. But that party was divided against itself; so Wekerle's resignation and the negotiations carried on by *Ladislav Lukács* and *Count Khuen-Héderváry* led to no results.

In January 1910, *Count Khuen-Héderváry* was entrusted with the formation of a Ministry and the interim management of affairs. The new Premier relied upon the support of the old Liberals; while his Cabinet included men of such distinction as *Count Béla Serényi*, *Charles Hieronymi*, *Ladislav Lukács*, and *Count John Zichy*, the last a most valuable acquisition. A new party was formed, with the title of "*Nemzeti Munka-Párt*" (National Party of Work), which was joined by many prominent members of the Constitutional Party, the party led by *Andrássy*, who himself, however, decided to remain neutral. The programme of the Government included adherence to the principles of the Compromise of 1867, and the necessity of a complete understanding between King and Nation. At the General Elections held in March, *Count Stephen Tisza* played a similar part in securing the triumph of the *Nemzeti Munka-Párt* to that played five years before by *Count Albert Apponyi*. The Government obtained an enormous majority by the use of corruption, which, later on, found an echo in the famous *Dézy-Lukács* trial.

The Premier must, however, have been prepared for a renewal of the obstruction which had brought both *Bánffy* and *Széll* to their knees. There were pressing questions of social reform; labour was moving to break the power of capital; the measures taken by the Wekerle Cabinet, including the creation of the model settlement at *Kis-Pest*—an institution almost unique of its kind—showed the path that must

be followed if the State were to play the part of social reformer. But the steady growth of Socialistic tendencies pointed to the necessity of caution ; and thus the programme of the new Cabinet was bound to be conservative in character. No wonder that the *Justh Party*, now reduced to one-third of its original strength, provoked scenes of violence, declaring they would only bow to the decisions of a Parliament elected on the basis of universal suffrage. Despite the warnings of *Tisza* and *Baron Hazai* (Minister of National Defence) as to the sultry atmosphere of European politics, even *Andrássy* joined the obstructionists in the work of blocking the Army Bill. Unable to stem the tide of obstruction, or to find a *modus vivendi*, the Speaker, *Albert Berzeviczy*, resigned : but his successor, *Louis Návay*, could obtain no results ; so, as the revision of the Standing Orders and the passing of the Army Bill had become an imperative necessity, *Khuen-Héderváry* made way for *Ladislav Lukács*, and *Tisza* undertook the onerous, and odious, task of " making order " as Speaker.

Passions ran high ; scandals were the order of the day ; the Socialists took up the challenge, and in May 1912, the streets of Budapest became the scene of bloody encounters ; on June 4, *Tisza* declared the Army Bill passed ; he had the obstructionists removed by the police ; on June 8, in the absence of the Opposition, the revised Standing Orders were passed ; while the Government Party addressed a manifesto to the nation, explaining the reasons inducing them to adopt such forcible measures. *Deputy Kovács*, who, on June 7 had made an attempt on the life of the Speaker, was acquitted ; and, when Parliament re-assembled in September, the Opposition demanded, as the price of non-obstruction, that both *Lukács* and *Tisza* should be dismissed. During a renewed absence of the Opposition, the followers of the Government passed a Bill providing for the creation of a Parliamentary guard on a military basis. Violent scenes followed ; social

intercourse between the opposing parties ceased ; and Tisza was compelled to fight three duels, with *Count Michael Károlyi*, *Count Aladár Széchenyi* and *Marquis George Pallavicini*.

Lukács was compelled to resign (1913), and was succeeded by *Count Stephen Tisza*. Hereupon *Andrássy* reconstituted the Constitutional Party ; while the two fractions of Independents united under the leadership of *Count Károlyi*, *Gyula Justh* and *Francis Kossuth*. The Opposition refused to take part in the debates on the Suffrage Bill, which had been introduced a year before by Lukács. It practically doubled the number of electors, and provided for secret ballot in the towns ; but certain restrictions relating to the age limit and the conditions of residence failed to satisfy the wishes of the Socialists.

To *Count John Zichy*, who resigned at the time of the Lukács-Désy trial, is due the credit for the establishment of two new universities, at *Debreczen* and *Bozsony*, which were finally opened in November 1914.

The political atmosphere of Europe was once more oppressive. The two Balkan Wars, the continual recurrence of symptoms pointing to the possibility of a European conflagration, and the unceasing efforts of Servian statesmen and publicists to keep alive the dream of a Greater Servia, warned Hungary too of the approaching danger. *Count Andrássy* delivered a stirring speech in defence of the Triple Alliance, the work of his father ; the insidious pinpricks that fired the bomb at Debreczen led up to the assassination of the *Heir Apparent and his Consort* at Serajevo, on June 28, 1914.

The national danger united all parties once more ; and the part Hungary has played in the European War is known to everybody. The work of those ministers who sacrificed their popularity to what they regarded as national interests,

has at least enabled the Hungarian nation to show its strength, and to document once more before the tribunal of history that national unity and unswerving loyalty to its dynasty which are among its most glorious traditions. It has also shown, in a manner beyond dispute, that the true political unit is, not the "nationality," but the nation.

The history of the war, its causes, its motives, and its events, has yet to be written: but no impartial historian will be able to deny that Hungary has maintained to the full the traditions of the days of John Hunyadi, of his son Matthias, and of Maria Theresa.

The problems before her statesmen after the war will include the question of the suffrage, the consolidation of her economic resources, which have played so important a part in the present conflict, and the settlement of the question of land tenure on the basis of those liberal principles which rendered feasible the legislation of 1848.

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The last fifty years have been marked by great activity in building in Hungary, a fact which is a testimony to the country's prosperity. In the year 1912 alone (in which year the Minister of Finance was able to announce a surplus of two and a half millions), 600 new houses were built in Budapest. Budapest, which is probably the most beautiful city in Europe, became a single municipality in 1872, and consists of the old towns of Buda and Ó-Buda on the right, and the modern and regularly-built Pest on the left, bank of the Danube. The building activity since 1867 has swept away many old and decrepit parts of the city, and replaced them by broad streets. Fine buildings are to be found on both sides of the river, which is spanned by six bridges, including the Chain Bridge, the work of an English engineer, Clark, and probably the finest example of the kind of work in Europe; the massive Margaret

Bridge, the slender Francis Joseph Bridge, the one-span Elizabeth Bridge, a triumph of Hungarian engineering skill, and the two railway bridges. Of the buildings, the most notable are the *Royal Palace*, perched on the top of Castle Hill in Buda, which, dating largely from the rebuilding of 1894, and containing a chapel where are preserved the *regalia*, including the *Holy Crown of St. Stephen*, for its dimensions rivals all royal palaces in Europe; the stately Gothic pile of the *Houses of Parliament*, on the Pest side, the work of the late famous architect Steindl (1885-1902); the *Academy of Sciences*, a building of the Renaissance style (1862-1864); the *Palace of Justice*, the home of the supreme tribunals facing the Houses of Parliament; the *Opera House*, a gift of the King, completed in 1884; the *University* buildings in University Square, which have been restored quite recently in the baroque style; the *University Library* (1875); the buildings of the *Commercial Bank*, the *Credit Bank*, the *National Savings Bank* (Gizella Square), the *Gresham Life Assurance Society*, the hospitals connected with the University, the interior arrangements of which, the writer has been told by competent authorities, place them on a level with the best institutions in the world; and the numerous school buildings erected by the State and the Corporation of Budapest, among which special mention is due to that of the *Piarists* begun and completed, despite almost insurmountable difficulties, during the progress of the European War. This monumental pile, which stands on the site once occupied by the Town Hall, near the Elizabeth Bridge, will be opened in September.

Notable, too, are the churches that have been built during the past fifty years. Of these, the most remarkable is the *Cathedral of St. Stephen* (Basilica) in the Romanesque style, with its great dome and its superb interior; its dimensions put it on a level with the biggest cathedrals in the world. Other modern churches are: the *Parish Church of the Francis*



*Ward* (Ferenczváros) built in 1874, the *Parish Church of Kőbanya*, the *Church of the Adoration*, and the one (just completed) in the Thököly ut.

Of the older churches of Budapest we have spoken above.

A word should be said of the *Zoological Gardens*, almost unique of their kind, so realistically planned and equipped by the Corporation ; of the Baths (in particular of the *Széchenyi Artesian* and the *Gellért Mud Baths*) built and furnished regardless of expense by the town authorities ; and of the edifices—the *Austro-Hungarian Bank*, the *Exchange*, the building of the *Post Office Savings Bank*, and the mansions belonging to the *Adria Steamship Navigation Co.* and private persons, flanking the sides of the enormous expanse of Liberty Square, as well as of the home of the *Royal Hungarian River and Sea Navigation Co.* in Vigadó Square. Here, too, is the Albert Hall of Budapest, the *Vigadó*, a building in Hungarian Renaissance style, which is the property of the Corporation.

On the Buda side, beyond the Francis Joseph Bridge, stand the buildings of the *University of Technical Sciences*, the equipment of which makes it one of the leading institutions of the kind in Europe.

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## APPENDIX

[*This Statistical Appendix has been prepared by*  
OLGA EPSTEIN.]

AREA AND POPULATION.—The Kingdom of Hungary consists of two parts: Hungary proper and Croatia-Slavonia. They have a total area of 125,609 square miles (Hungary proper 109,188 square miles, and Croatia-Slavonia 16,421 square miles). The following table gives the population at the five last censuses:—

### POPULATION.

	1869	1880	1890	1900	1910
Hungary proper .	13,663,691	13,833,964	15,261,864	16,838,255	18,264,533
Croatia-Slavonia	1,848,688	1,905,295	2,201,927	2,416,304	2,621,954
Kingdom of Hungary	15,512,379	15,739,259	17,463,691	19,254,559	20,886,487

A steady increase is also shown in the density of population per square kilometre, the figures being 53.7 in 1890, 59.2 in 1900 and 64.2 in 1910.

The numerical proportion of the two sexes at the last two censuses was as follows: 1900, 9,582,152 men and 9,672,407 women, being 1009 females to 1000 males; 1910, 10,345,333 men and 10,541,134 women, being 1019 females to 1000 males.

In 1910, 11,159,621 (53.4 per cent.) of the population

were unmarried, 8,399,020 (40.2 per cent.) were married and 39,342 (0.2 per cent.) were divorced.

The population was divided as follows, according to the language spoken, in 1910 in the Kingdom of Hungary :—

Group	Number	Per cent.	Group	Number	Per cent.
Hungarian .	10,050,575	48.1	Ruthenian	472,587	2.3
German .	2,037,435	9.8	Croatian .	1,833,162	8.8
Slovak .	1,967,970	9.4	Serbian .	1,106,471	5.3
Roumanian .	2,949,032	14.1	Others .	469,255	2.2

Of the total population 9,596,383 (49.8 per cent.) in 1900, and 11,775,204 (56.3 per cent.) in 1910 could read and write. Of individuals over the age of six years the percentage was higher, viz. 59.3 in 1900 and 66.7 in 1910.

The growth of the towns in Hungary has been exceptionally rapid within the last twenty years. A comparison is given of the two censuses for 1890 and 1910 in the table which follows :—

	1890	1910		1890	1910
Budapest .	505,763	880,371	Gyor . .	31,182	44,300
Szeged .	87,410	118,328	Kassa . .	32,165	44,211
Szabadka .	75,039	94,610	Brasso . .	32,549	41,056
Debreczen .	58,592	92,729	Nyiregyhaza .	27,179	38,198
Zágrab .	41,481	79,038	Szekesfehervar .	28,942	36,625
Pozsony .	56,048	78,223	Kiskunfelegyhaza	29,788	34,924
Temesvar .	48,493	72,555	Mako . .	32,669	34,918
Kecskemet .	46,600	66,834	Szatmar-Nemeti	21,218	34,892
Nagy-Varad .	40,750	64,169	Czegled . .	27,727	33,942
Arad .	43,682	63,166	Sopron . .	29,543	33,932
Hodmezo-Vasar-			Ujvidek . .	25,180	33,590
hely .	55,626	62,445	Nagyszeben .	24,766	33,489
Kolozsvar .	37,957	60,808	Szentes . .	30,797	31,593
Ujpest .	23,521	55,197	Eszek . .	21,484	31,388
Miskolcz .	32,288	51,459	Szombathely .	17,270	30,947
Pecs .	35,449	49,822	Zombor . .	26,942	30,593
Fiume .	30,337	49,806			

MOVEMENT OF POPULATION.—In dealing with this section two very interesting items stand out. The first is connected with the statistics on marriage and shows that while the marriage-rate of the population has declined but little, from 9.0 per 1000 in 1895 to 8.6 per 1000 in 1912, the number of divorces has increased alarmingly. In 1895 the actual number was 1304, in 1912 it had risen to 8253, or in rate per 1000 marriages—8.2 in 1895 and 45.4 in 1912. The second striking factor is that, while as in most countries, the birth-rate has declined, from 4.1 per cent. in 1895 to 3.7 in 1912, the rate of illegitimacy has only increased .6 per cent. of the total births, and in 1912 was 9.2. The proportion of still-births was 2.2 per 100 births in 1895 and 2.1 in 1912. Below are given various tables :—

Year	Marriages	Births	Deaths	Still-Births	Absolute increase in Population
1901	170,316	747,227	491,804	15,503	239,917
1904	182,170	755,526	495,836	14,727	244,963
1907	201,431	755,653	518,614	14,786	222,253
1910	179,537	758,566	490,689	15,667	252,210
1911	193,482	747,916	524,496	15,149	208,271
1912	182,373	782,231	491,722	16,340	274,169
1913	195,030	751,517	500,875	—	250,642

The following tables have special bearing on infant mortality :—

#### PROPORTION PER 100 BIRTHS.

Year	Living-Births	Still-Births	Boys	Girls	Legitimate	Illegitimate
1901	97.9	2.1	51.4	48.6	90.7	9.3
1904	98.1	1.9	51.4	48.6	90.3	9.7
1907	98.1	1.9	51.7	48.3	90.4	9.6
1910	97.9	2.1	51.4	48.6	90.7	9.3
1911	98.0	2.0	51.4	48.6	90.7	9.3
1912	97.9	2.1	51.3	48.7	90.8	9.2

## INFANTILE MORTALITY IN 1912.

	Boys	Girls	Total	Proportion per 100	
				Deaths	Living- Births
Below 1 year .	78,643	63,889	142,532	29.0	18.6
Below 5 years .	110,457	95,787	206,244	41.9	26.9
Below 7 years .	115,535	106,813	216,348	44.6	28.2

PUBLIC HEALTH.—In 1912 there were 5878 doctors, 104 surgeons, 14,514 certificated midwives, and 1984 chemists in the Kingdom of Hungary. The total number of doctors employed by the State and by the local authorities was 2547. The number of chemist-shops was 2377 in 1912. In the same year 534,727 persons were vaccinated in Hungary proper, this figure being 80.4 per cent. of the total living-births. In Croatia-Slavonia 74,805 persons were vaccinated, being 74.2 per cent. of the living-births. The total number of re-vaccinations was 655,715. In 1912 there were in the Kingdom of Hungary 462 hospitals (including 64 prison infirmaries), with 46,375 beds. Of these, 8 were State institutions, and by far the majority of the others were communal or municipal undertakings. In addition, and quite distinct from the above category there were 41 municipal, 3429 communal, and 32 private hospitals dealing exclusively with diseases of an epidemic nature. These latter had 13,152 beds, and 10,075 patients were treated. The number of patients in the general hospitals was 468,490 in the same year, and the percentage dealt with was 2.217 for every 100,000 of the population.

The Pasteur Institute in Budapest dealt with 3717 cases of wounds from the bites of animals suffering with rabies. Of this total only 10 cases proved fatal. In addition 1882

persons received treatment, during the course of which it was proved that the wounds were not from infected animals and the inoculations were discontinued.

## EMIGRATION.

Year	Total	Destination				
		Germany	Roumania	Other Balkan States	America	Other parts of the Globe
1901	55,377	967	6,710	1,127	45,196	174
1905	165,861	5,972	11,021	2,054	142,169	411
1909	113,315	2,627	6,639	905	100,424	670
1910	96,324	2,465	5,451	1,035	85,248	260
1911	64,057	2,720	5,586	556	53,502	258
1912	104,663	2,607	7,291	435	92,664	132

RELIGION.—Throughout the Monarchy the officially recognised religions enjoy perfect equality and no legal disability attaches to the profession of any particular cult. In 1912 the following were the recognised religions and the numbers of their clergy :—

Church	No. of Clergy	Church	No. of Clergy
Roman Catholic . . . .	6,792	Greek Oriental . . . .	2,874
Greek Catholic . . . .	2,429	Unitarian . . . .	122
Evangelical Helvetian . .	2,462	Jewish . . . .	1,823
Evangelical Augsburgian .	1,299		

The number of monasteries in 1912 was 201 with 2216 inmates, and the number of convents 428 with 5855 nuns.

The division of the population according to religion was estimated at the end of 1912 to be as follows :—



Religion	Number	Per 100 of Population
Roman Catholics . . .	11,089,194	52.21
Greek Catholics . . .	2,069,876	9.75
Evangelical . . .	2,664,090	12.54
Evangelical Augsburgian . .	1,351,360	6.36
Greek Orientals . . .	3,025,017	14.24
Unitarians . . .	75,969	.36
Jews . . .	946,098	4.45
Baptists . . .	18,015	.09
Total . . .	21,239,619	100.00

The ministers of all denominations are paid by the State from the Church funds and are therefore bound to have their elections ratified by the State.

On January 17th, 1916, by special decree of the Hungarian Parliament, the Mohammedan religion was recognised on the same basis as the other religions enumerated above.

EDUCATION.—There are five groups into which State instruction in Hungary is divided. Each of these groups is split up into minor classifications, of which the following are the broad details :—

## MAIN GROUP.

## SUB-DIVISIONS.

- |                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| 1. Infant Welfare.     | { Permanent Homes.<br>Holiday „<br>Infant Schools.                          |
| 2. Elementary Schools. | { Day Schools.<br>Country „<br>Schools for Apprentices.<br>Primary Schools. |

MAIN GROUP.	SUB-DIVISIONS.
3. Normal Schools.	{ Infants' Nurses and Teachers. Male Teachers. Female „
4. Secondary Schools.	{ Gymnasia. Real-schools. High Schools for Girls.
5. Higher Education.	{ Universities. Academies of Law. Schools of Theology.

Attendance at the elementary schools is compulsory for all children between the ages of six and twelve years. For those children, below six years, for whom there is no proper home supervision, infant schools (Group I.) are provided by each country parish and town council. In 1912 there were 2088 infant schools, 190 permanent homes, and 607 holiday homes, making a total of 2885 schools under Group I., with 3145 teachers and attendants, and having 120,143 boys and 132,615 girls, together 252,756 pupils. Group II., in 1912, employed 36,870 teachers in 22,366 schools, with 2,754,422 pupils. 18,255 of these schools were day schools, and in 13,270 of these Hungarian was the language taught. 2855 were country schools, 637 were industrial schools, and 101 commercial schools, whilst 528 were primary schools. In 1912 there were in Hungary proper 404,273 children of school age (200,694 boys and 203,579 girls) who were not enrolled in any school. 129,922 of this number, or 32.1 per cent., were exempted from attending on account of physical infirmity or long journeys to the school-house. Group III. comprised 106 schools with 10,899 students, while Group IV. had 272 institutions (192 gymnasia with 64,846 pupils, 45 real-schools with 15,003 pupils, and 35 high-schools for girls with 6529 pupils), and a total of 85,388 pupils. Under Group V. there

are now five universities, those of Budapest, Kolozsvar, Zágrab, Pozsony and Debreczen, the Polytechnic (college of Science and Engineering) in Budapest, 10 Academies of Law, and 47 Schools of Theology. All the Universities are State-maintained. As the two last mentioned were only founded in 1912 no figures are available as to their constitution. The Universities of Budapest (founded in 1635), Kolozsvar (1872), and Zágrab (1874) each have faculties of theology, law, and philosophy. In addition, at Budapest and Kolozsvar there is a faculty of medicine. During 1912 there were 402 professors and lecturers and 6962 students (inclusive of 316 women) at the University of Budapest. Kolozsvar had 137 professors and 2157 (including 26 women) students. Zágrab had 97 professors and 1096 (including 12 women) students. The Polytechnic, founded in 1857, had, in 1912, 169 professors and 1868 students. The earliest of the Academies of Law is that at Debreczen, founded in 1525. The 10 schools in 1912 had 123 professors and 1386 students. Among the theological colleges the oldest is that established at Pannonhalma by the Benedictines in 1003. The 47 colleges in 1912 had 296 professors and 2007 students.

It is interesting to note that while in Hungary proper the greatest number of students under Group V., 16.7 per cent., came from the class consisting of small traders and shopkeepers, in Croatia-Slavonia the largest proportion, 27.8 per cent., were the sons of working men and small farmers.

In addition there were in 1912, 55 schools of music and art, with 567 teachers and 10,335 pupils; 120 orphanages, with 5192 children (3018 boys and 2174 girls); 83 schools for the blind, with 732 inmates (433 boys and 299 girls); 201 institutions for deaf-mutes, with 1587 inmates (930 boys and 657 girls); 54 homes for imbeciles, with 914 inmates (587 boys and 327 girls).

In 1912, 2067 newspapers and journals were published in

Hungary (1913 in Hungary proper and 154 in Croatia-Slavonia). 416 of the total were political newspapers and 1550 were printed in Hungarian, while 157 were in the German tongue. 3836 periodicals arrived by post from foreign countries and 2559 of these were in German. The total number of copies of periodicals sent by post in 1912 was 204,074,051.

The principal public museums of all kinds in Hungary proper numbered 45 in 1912, and in the same year there were 98 public libraries numbering more than 10,000 volumes each.

AGRICULTURE.—Of the total area of the Kingdom of Hungary only 1,692,323 hectares, or 5.21 per cent., are infertile, and agriculture is the chief occupation of the population, 68 per cent. of whom are engaged therein.

In 1912 the area under the different branches of culture was as follows :—

	Hectares			Percent- age of total area
	Hungary proper	Croatia- Slavonia	Total	
Arable land . .	12,605,037	1,398,311	14,003,348	43.09
Meadow land . .	2,707,818	448,517	3,156,335	9.71
Pastures . .	3,359,136	582,598	3,941,734	13.13
Vineyards . .	288,563	32,823	361,386	0.99
Gardens . .	376,047	55,230	431,277	1.33
Forests . .	7,384,007	1,500,026	8,884,033	27.37
Marshlands . .	61,458	2,373	63,831	0.20
Totals (inclusive of sterile lands)	28,239,051	4,255,216	32,494,267	100.00

During 1912 the State spent 9,944,329 kronen on the maintenance of the rivers and waterways of the kingdom, and 17,391 hectares of land were improved by means of draining and irrigation. The total amount of the expenditure, by the State, for purposes of this kind between the years 1867 and 1912 was 311,325,445 kronen.

The State owns large tracts of forest lands both in Hungary proper and in Croatia-Slavonia, the areas being 1,288,061 hectares and 356,530 hectares respectively, making a total of 1,644,591 hectares, valued in 1912 at 216,572,000 kronen. 18,639,000 kronen were expended on the forests in 1912 and 24,882,000 kronen were derived therefrom, yielding a profit to the State of 6,243,000 kronen.

The following table gives the acreage and yield of various products for the year 1912 :—

	Acreage	Yield	Value
		Cwts.	£
Wheat . . .	9,571,679	98,995,951	44,268,166
Rye . . .	2,816,427	26,618,556	10,446,958
Barley . . .	2,758,039	30,933,213	11,380,291
Oats . . .	2,709,184	22,963,123	9,835,583
Maize . . .	7,064,857	100,463,582	32,324,958
Potatoes . . .	1,724,914	101,549,322	13,749,041

The results of the harvests for five years are given below in tens of thousands of metric cwts. or quintals :—

	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
Wheat . . .	3402	4920	5173	5025	4578
Rye . . .	1289	1409	1378	1444	1422
Barley . . .	1615	1213	1659	1570	1802
Oats . . .	1420	1084	1381	1165	1538
Maize . . .	4664	5422	4100	5099	5360
Potatoes . . .	5453	5591	5047	5973	5450

Tobacco was grown in 1912 on 120,180 acres and yielded 1,297,814 cwts., valued at £1,202,316.

The cultivation of hops is shown in the following table for three years :—

Year	Area under Cultivation	Crop
	Acres	Cwts.
1912	5374	36,400
1914	7306	53,330
1915	6977	46,670

Sugar beet and beetroots for fodder are also extensively grown, the harvest in 1912 yielding 96,794,202 cwts. and 138,775,854 cwts. respectively. That the war has considerably diminished the production is evidenced by the fact that the official estimate for the yield in 1916-17 was 29,920,000 cwts. of sugar beet.

Besides the above-mentioned products Hungary grows large quantities of flax, beans, and lentils.

In 1912 there were in Hungary 7,319,121 heads of cattle, 2,351,481 horses, 21,953 mules and asses, 426,981 goats, 7,580,446 pigs, and 8,548,204 sheep. The State encourages by means of prizes and grants the improvement of the live stock in the country, and in 1912 spent £65,179 in such subsidies.

The number of public slaughter-houses was 2363 in 1912.

528 co-operative dairies had 55,777 members and owned 91,515 cows in 1912, and the total value of the produce sold was £796,280.

Bee-keeping is widely encouraged in Hungary proper. In 1912 it was carried on in 11,392 communes, where 565,785 hives were established, and the quantity produced was 53,586 cwts. of honey and 3264 cwts. of wax, of a total value of £125,237.

In 1912, 66,280 families were engaged in rearing silk worms.

This number is a decrease on that of 1911, which was 96,971, but is due to the severe frosts, which killed many mulberry-trees, thus depriving the worms of their food. The total weight of cocoons was 1,878,396 kilogrammes in 1911, and 1,298,428 kilogrammes in 1912. The value of the silk produced was in 1911 £240,683, in 1912 £183,718.

The wine harvest in 1911 yielded 120,736,000 gallons, valued at £8,275,583; in 1912, 78,034,000 gallons valued at £6,398,791.

MINING.—The number of persons employed in mines, smelting works, and in salt mines in the whole of Hungary, was in 1912, 81,031. Of these 13,850 were in the employ of the State. The total figure is made up of 74,790 men, 1429 women, and 4812 children. In 1895 the average maximum daily wage was 3s. 2d. for a man, the minimum 6½d., for a woman, the maximum was 1s. 3d., the minimum 4½d.; for a child, the maximum was 1s. 1d., the minimum 2½d. By 1912 wages had more than doubled, being, the maximum for men 6s. 10d., for women 1s. 8d., for children 1s. 10d. The minimum was 10d., 6d., and 5½d. respectively.

The number of accidents was 1173 in 1912 and 1659 in 1913. The number of deaths in these years in the mining industry was 139 and 106 respectively.

The State maintains 6 schools of mines, which had in 1911, 48 professors and 317 students, and in 1912, 44 professors and 342 students.

The taxes and duties on mines yielded £52,118 in 1912.

The following are the figures for the output and value of the principal items of the mining and smelting industry for 1913 and 1914:—



	Production		Value	
	1913 Quintals*	1914 Quintals*	1913 Kronen*	1914 Kronen*
Coal . . . . .	10,588,779	9,098,817	14,430,290	13,448,832
Lignite . . . . .	88,011,660	79,022,402	88,256,628	81,715,672
Briquettes . . . . .	1,171,862	1,120,401	2,258,901	2,250,282
Coke . . . . .	1,600,728	1,281,179	4,469,310	3,569,777
Iron Ore . . . . .	5,517,340	3,567,842	5,816,240	4,228,170
Pig Iron . . . . .	6,089,658	4,821,664	51,116,777	40,254,178
Lead . . . . .	11,365	13,676	484,609	607,548
Copper . . . . .	4,047	3,581	611,564	514,218
Salt . . . . .	3,018,056	3,016,362	35,014,841	34,211,682
Sulphur . . . . .	415	847	6,056	12,713
Sulphur Pyrites . . . . .	1,066,292	1,023,696	1,118,281	1,184,375
Manganese Ores . . . . .	190,056	114,131	266,955	154,773
Mercury . . . . .	883	753	355,180	301,396
Carbon Disulphide . . . . .	31,478	29,442	944,340	883,260
Sulphuric Acid . . . . .	5,546	9,555	5,546	9,555
Sulphate of Ammonia . . . . .	21,222	19,942	605,466	609,928
	Kilos	Kilos		
Gold . . . . .	2,924	2,679	9,586,071	8,804,488
Silver . . . . .	8,696	9,144	820,914	830,381

\* 1 Quintal = 220½ lbs. 24 Kronen = £1.

The following table gives the total value of the products of the mining and smelting industry for various years :—

	Kronen		Kronen
1895	79,487,936	1911	160,275,593
1900	106,743,742	1912	167,830,243
1905	106,173,334	1913	221,045,334
1910	152,837,807	1914	197,913,311

The quantity and value of the salt produced during various years is given below :—

	Quantity	Value
	Quintals	Kronen
1896-1900 (average) .	1,804,701	22,161,000
1901-1905 „ .	1,850,810	27,875,000
1906-1910 „ .	2,207,702	31,254,000
1912 .	2,709,294	37,997,000

INDUSTRY.—The co-operative movement is firmly established in Hungary. There were, in 1912, 683 associations with 75,986 members, and a nominal capital of 13,444,981 kronen (£560,208), for the purpose of production and manufacture alone. Besides these, in Hungary proper there were in 1912, 1803 co-operative societies for the sale of produce and manufactured goods. The number of members was 337,801, the nominal capital 11,088,914 kronen (£462,038), of which 9,783,127 kronen (£407,630) had been paid up. The value of the commodities sold was 100,915,030 kronen (£4,204,793).

The number of strikes and lock-outs in Hungary in 1912 was 244, the number of men affected being 42,618, and the number of days of work lost being 300,949. The strikes may be subdivided into the following classes: In manufacturing establishments, 233, in mines 4, in transport 2, and the lock-outs amounted to 5. The demand for an increase in wage met with success in 96 cases, for a change in the working day in 51 cases, and in 88 other cases the strikers also had their demands conceded. The value of the wages lost through the strikes was 1,434,650 kronen.

The last industrial census was taken in the kingdom of Hungary in 1900, and as a result it was found that 13.5 per cent. of the population were employed in various classes of industry (home and factory). This number includes the domestic servant class. In the clothing industry 281,320 persons were employed; in the manufacture of foodstuffs, 143,733; in smelting, 128,205; in the building trade, 125,070; in textiles, 34,156.

In 1912, 84 breweries produced 2,950,643 hectolitres (64,914,146 gallons) of beer, on which 12,636,000 kronen were paid in taxes. In the same year, 58,587 distilleries produced 119,023,209 hectolitres (3,518,510,598 gallons) of alcohol.

In the sugar industry in 1913 there were 27 factories, while in 1912 there were 25, employing 20,763 persons and producing 424,048 metric tons of sugar, as against 593,000 metric tons in 1913.

The manufacture of tobacco is a monopoly belonging to the State in both Hungary and Austria, and all the tobacco grown in Hungary has to be sold to the State. In 1912, 16,474,000 kronen were paid to tobacco cultivators by the Hungarian State factories, and 13,272,000 kronen by the Austrian State factories. In 1912, the 22 Royal factories in Hungary employed 20,834 people, and produced 636,805,000 cigars, and 2,373,590,000 cigarettes.

The number of flour mills in Hungary was in 1911, 404; in 1912, 454. The quantities produced were in 1912: Wheat flour, 1,733,100 metric tons; rye flour, 126,600 metric tons; and bran, 475,200 metric tons.

TRADE.—The value of the foreign trade of Hungary has been almost trebled since 1882. In that year the total value of the imports and exports was 1763 million kronen, while in 1912 it had risen to 4174 million kronen. In the following table statistics are given for various years prior to 1912, in thousands of pounds sterling:—

	1896	1900	1905	1910	1912
	£1,000	£1,000	£1,000	£1,000	£1,000
Imports . .	40,695	42,670	56,904	77,184	92,173
Exports . .	45,391	55,312	58,245	71,753	82,960

The chief articles exported from Hungary to the United Kingdom, and the chief imports into Hungary from the

United Kingdom for the years 1911 and 1912 were as follows in 1000 kronen :—

## EXPORTS.

Exports	1911	1912
	1000 Kronen	1000 Kronen
Sugar . . . . .	13,849	42,119
Cereals . . . . .	5,052	5,493
Chemicals . . . . .	2,198	2,302
Paper Materials . . . . .	731	1,331
Eggs . . . . .	2,507	2,227
Wood . . . . .	1,799	1,887
Dyes and Tanning Materials . . . . .	1,475	1,586
Brushes and Brooms . . . . .	1,146	1,560
Glue . . . . .	1,157	1,176
Earthenware . . . . .	218	299
Tobacco . . . . .	213	289

## IMPORTS.

Imports	1911	1912
	1000 Kronen	1000 Kronen
Coal . . . . .	3777	3650
Ships . . . . .	7042	3843
Machinery . . . . .	5687	6922
Woollen Goods . . . . .	4062	4294
Sulphate of Copper . . . . .	708	3498
Metal . . . . .	531	1247
Leather and Leather Goods . . . . .	2871	3167
Cotton Thread . . . . .	1369	1090
Iron . . . . .	1947	2342
Fats . . . . .	808	826
Wool . . . . .	1308	1440

The table below gives some of the chief imports and exports for 1911 and 1912 :—

## IMPORTS.

Imports	1911	1912
	1000 Kronen	1000 Kronen
Cotton and Cotton goods . . .	317,762	314,298
Wool and Woollen goods . . .	174,449	167,464
Iron and Iron goods . . .	120,823	146,244
Leather and Leather goods . . .	122,040	129,681
Wood, Coal and Peat . . .	108,556	123,505
Manufactured goods . . .	119,855	123,192
Machines and Instruments . . .	95,914	120,682
Cereals . . .	63,012	90,958
Jute and Hemp . . .	60,866	63,319
Metals . . .	60,853	76,605
Silk and Silk goods . . .	53,680	56,228
Mineral Oils . . .	23,814	31,681
Fats . . .	26,140	23,685

## EXPORTS.

Exports	1911	1912
	1000 Kronen	1000 Kronen
Cereals . . .	654,372	637,004
Live Stock . . .	231,774	304,477
Sugar . . .	57,712	111,595
Beverages . . .	74,436	88,477
Animal Products . . .	85,010	87,776
Wood, Coal and Peat . . .	83,939	93,881
Fruits and Plants . . .	83,031	56,626
Cotton and Cotton goods . . .	45,658	45,229
Woollen goods . . .	38,396	38,496
Leather goods . . .	35,159	37,304
Iron goods . . .	32,434	30,389
Fats . . .	33,704	43,558
Chemicals . . .	28,633	29,495

The following tables give the trade with the principal countries for 1911 and 1912 :—

## IMPORTS FROM

Country	1911	1912
	1000 Kronen	1000 Kronen
Austria . . . . .	1,528,454	1,583,658
Germany . . . . .	187,790	208,086
United States . . . . .	40,339	53,992
British India and Straits Settlements	51,888	48,464
Roumania . . . . .	29,453	44,110
Great Britain . . . . .	42,406	43,977
Bosnia and Herzegovina . . . . .	25,913	32,887
Italy . . . . .	23,293	27,442
France . . . . .	24,859	26,159
Serbia . . . . .	23,494	20,955

## EXPORTS TO

Country	1911	1912
	1000 Kronen	1000 Kronen
Austria . . . . .	1,392,421	1,447,076
Germany . . . . .	127,466	141,260
Great Britain . . . . .	38,502	64,965
Bosnia and Herzegovina . . . . .	48,388	49,130
Italy . . . . .	44,937	44,657
Roumania . . . . .	28,310	33,666
France . . . . .	22,222	22,560
Turkey . . . . .	15,439	19,481
United States . . . . .	14,222	16,658
Serbia . . . . .	12,964	15,568

The total foreign trade of Hungary for the first six months of 1914 was 1022.9 million kronen of imports and 852.3 million kronen of exports. For 1915, for the same period, the figures were : imports 648.8 million kronen, and exports 677 million

kronen. Out of these totals the trade with Austria amounted to : imports—1914, 691 million kronen ; 1915, 538 million kronen ; exports—1914, 600 million kronen, and 1915, 557.7 million kronen.

INTERNAL COMMUNICATIONS.—The total length of the public roads in the Kingdom of Hungary in 1912 was 59,436 miles. Of this number, 7360 miles were State roads, and 13,392,849 kronen were spent on their maintenance and repair.

On the 1st January 1915 the total length of the railway lines in Hungary was 13,781 miles. In 1912 the total length of line was 13,333 miles ; the number of stations was 2847 ; the amount spent on the upkeep of the railroad was 8,265,411 kronen. The number of passengers carried in 1912 was 164,008,000, against 107,171,000 in 1907. In the same years the merchandise carried amounted to 83,629,000 tons and 61,497,000 tons respectively. The sums expended for working the railways were 364,099,000 kronen in 1912 and 244,251,000 kronen in 1907. The receipts during the same years were 569,856,000 kronen and 394,073,000 kronen. The number of persons employed on the railways was 147,194, and the total number of accidents was 214 in 1912.

The length of the rivers and canals open for navigation was 2757 miles in 1912. The number of passengers carried thereon was 2,443,221, and the tonnage of the merchandise, 5,095,321.

The number of post offices in Hungary in 1914 was 6774 ; in 1913, 6610 ; in 1912, 6489.



The following are statistics for three years :—

	1912	1913	1914
Letters and Post Cards (1000's) .	605,974	647,649	689,535
Newspapers, Circulars and Samples (1000's) .	126,886	141,726	152,555
Money Orders and Postal Orders (1000's) .	31,617	35,157	31,460
Value of above in 1000 kronen .	1,909,896	..	1,820,142

In 1914 the total length of telegraph lines in Hungary was 16,875 miles, the length of the wires being 104,375 miles. The number of telegraph offices was 5380, and the total telegrams sent was 15,470,000.

The number of telephone offices in Hungary in 1914 was 91,166. The length of the urban lines was 17,616 miles with 253,369 miles of wires, on which 212,382,000 conversations were held. The interurban system for 1914 had 6594 miles of line with 43,283 miles of wires on which 32,333,000 conversations were exchanged.

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT.—Hungary is an hereditary monarchy. The constitution provides for government by a king, and a bicameral Parliament. The Upper House consists of (1) the Arch-Dukes over 18 years of age ; (2) the hereditary nobility who pay at least £250 per annum in land tax ; (3) representatives of the Roman Catholic, Greek and Protestant churches—50 in all ; (4) not more than 50 life peers appointed by the Crown ; (5) life peers elected by the Upper House itself ; and (6) a number of State dignitaries. The Lower House is elective. All male citizens over 20 years of age have the franchise, provided they pay a minimum land tax or house duty or have had a university education. In 1912 the number of the electorate was 1,250,022 or 6.7 per cent. of the total population. The Lower House is

composed of 453 members, 413 elected by the towns and communes of Hungary proper, and 40 sent as representatives of the Croatian-Slavonic Diet. These members are elected for five years, and receive an annual payment of £266, including £66 for rent.

The executive is in the hands of a cabinet, comprising a President and nine heads of Departments, as follows: Finance; National Defence; Home Affairs; Education and Public Worship; Justice; Industry and Commerce; Agriculture; Affairs of Croatia-Slavonia; and the Ministry of the King's Person.

As Hungary is bound to Austria by the tie of a common monarch—the Emperor of Austria being King of Hungary—its relations with Austria are regulated by the Compromise of 1867. The Compromise, while recognising each state as absolutely independent, provides for three common departments of government, viz.: (1) Foreign Affairs, (2) Finance, and (3) Military and Naval affairs; and also for legislation by “Delegations.” These bodies, of which there are two, meet annually alternatively at Vienna and Budapest, to advise as to the expenditure on the common services. Each Delegation consists of 60 members, 20 chosen from the Upper Chambers of the Austrian and Hungarian Parliaments respectively and 40 from the Lower Chambers of each Parliament. The two Delegations deliberate independently of each other, only combining for voting purposes where their separate sessions produce disagreeing results.

FINANCE.—The following is a summary of the budget for the year 1915-1916 :—

## REVENUE.

Ordinary :—	
	Kronen
Direct Taxes . . . . .	326,077,000
Indirect Taxes . . . . .	758,214,781
State Properties and Under- takings . . . . .	170,609,045
Post and Telegraphs . . . . .	111,280,000
Post Office Savings Bank . . . . .	10,905,000
Railways . . . . .	496,000,000
Miscellaneous . . . . .	80,519,787
Total Ordinary . . . . .	1,953,605,613
Extraordinary Revenue . . . . .	310,552,270
Total Revenue . . . . .	2,264,157,883

(£94,339,912)

## EXPENDITURE.

Ordinary :—	
	Kronen
Civil List . . . . .	11,300,000
Cabinet Chancery . . . . .	201,529
Parliament and Delegations . . . . .	4,824,049
Administrative Expenses . . . . .	2,993,451
Ministry for Croatia . . . . .	125,800
Ministry of the Interior . . . . .	119,439,591
"    National Defence . . . . .	78,823,603
"    Education and Public Worship . . . . .	132,620,783
"    Justice . . . . .	60,041,985
"    Agriculture . . . . .	82,474,286
"    Commerce . . . . .	519,433,580
"    Finance . . . . .	285,627,567
Administration of Croatia . . . . .	32,500,000
Loans Chargeable on various Departments . . . . .	8,578,237
Pensions . . . . .	45,044,728
Common Expenditure . . . . .	125,127,974
National Debt . . . . .	262,191,456
Share in Austrian National Debt . . . . .	58,339,340
Accountant General's Office . . . . .	22,300
Debts of Guaranteed Rail- ways acquired by the State . . . . .	24,313,082
Miscellaneous . . . . .	22,785,954
Total Ordinary . . . . .	1,878,270,912
Extraordinary Expenditure . . . . .	150,430,492
Investments . . . . .	235,395,426
Total Expenditure . . . . .	2,264,096,830

(£94,337,368)

The revenue and expenditure of the Kingdom of Hungary for several years was as follows in 1000 kronen :—

	1910	1911	1912	1913
Revenue . . . . .	2,074,549	1,830,779	1,954,877	2,546,801
Expenditure . . . . .	1,901,666	1,768,379	2,013,261	2,318,518

PUBLIC DEBT.—In 1913 the total debt of Hungary, exclusive of its share in the Imperial debt of Austria-Hungary, amounted to 7,344,280,862 kronen (£306,011,703).

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