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Information about contributors to this issue will also be found at the beginning of their articles ✱ The Hungarian Quarterly *is glad to publish articles expressing different shades of opinion. The Editor takes no responsibility for the views of his contributors, and does not necessarily agree with the opinions expressed in their articles.*

THE HUNGARIAN *Quarterly*

THE WAR HAS NOT INTERRUPTED THE work of THE HUNGARIAN QUARTERLY, *though it has for a time rendered certain changes in the manner of its publication necessary. The difficulties attendant upon the distribution of our periodical made it almost impossible for us to send out our usual quarterly issues, and we therefore decided to publish it in the form of two books covering the years 1942 and 1943, which of course involved a different form of presentation. We therefore devoted these two years to the preparation of two volumes containing a series of more or less comprehensive studies upon subjects of interest to our readers in connection with Hungary.*

The first of these books, the COMPANION TO HUNGARIAN STUDIES, *in the same format and type as our usual issues, is a publication of some six hundred pages, and presents in a concise form everything about the history and culture of the country which anyone hardly acquainted with Hungary might desire to know; the* COMPANION *replaces our usual four numbers for the year 1942. The second book, which is in a way a continuation of the foregoing volume, is* TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF HUNGARY, *and covers in its material the last quarter of a century; this book constitutes our 1943 issue, and will be available shortly.*

The present issue initiates our return to quarterly publication.

The Editor

THE PEACE OF BUCHAREST

By GUSTAVE GRATZ

Dr. Gratz, who actually participated in the negotiations of the Peace of Bucharest with Count Czernin, as a member of the Austro-Hungarian delegation, was later Royal Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

WHEN, after four years of bitter struggle and bloodshed, the first world war was nearing its end, a sigh of relief passed through the world. All mankind was yearning for peace — that peace which should forever deliver it from the possibility and the fear of another such world catastrophe. The outlook was favourable. All that was needed was the will of the victorious Powers to set up an international organisation for the effective maintenance of peace. Whatever terms they proposed, the vanquished States were bound to accept and subscribe to. One thinks with regret of the many beneficent and constructive ideas which might have been incorporated in such a treaty. Unfortunately the victorious States failed to put to such use the power which fate had placed in their hands. They forced countless conditions on the vanquished, laid burden upon burden on their shoulders, tore existing countries into fragments, and by the time they finished had created two new problems for every one they had sought to solve. The League of Nations, which in Wilson's original conception might have led to a solid organisation of international society, was bereft of every attribute that might have rendered it effective. The consequences were fatal. A straight line leads from the peace treaties which concluded the first great war to the

outbreak of the second. Yet those who imposed this peace on the vanquished peoples might have seized this opportunity to make all future wars impossible. By missing their chance they incurred a very grave responsibility.

The political factors responsible for the Paris Treaties have always been conscious of their failure in this respect; year by year they have become more deeply conscious of it, for year by year the evil effects have become more perceptible. Trying to find excuses for their conduct, they have asserted that the peace which they imposed upon Germany and Austria-Hungary was at least more lenient than that which the Central Powers forced upon the Rumanians in Bucharest. Not long ago this same view was put forward by Professor R. Seton-Watson.[1] Even if the assertion were true, it would not excuse the makers of the Paris Treaties. A fault is not excused by the fact that others have also committed faults. But the assertion is not true. It will suffice to compare the Peace Treaty of Bucharest with those of Versailles, St. Germain and Trianon to make this clear to everyone.

The Treaty of Bucharest gave Hungary a strip of territory which at its broadest was 20 kilometres in width, but in most places was very much less than this. The Treaty of Trianon, on the other hand, took from Hungary more than two-thirds of her territory. The area ceded by Rumania had no population to speak of — a sprinkling of shepherd folk being its only inhabitants, since the Monarchy deliberately avoided annexing inhabited regions, towns or villages. Its only aim in shifting the frontier from the northern to the southern slope of the Carpathians was to guard against the danger of Hungary being attacked unawares and of her coal-mines being exposed to artillery fire. The Treaty of Trianon, on the other hand, took no less than 13 million inhabitants from Hungary's total population of 21 millions. In the Treaty of Bucharest the question of indemnity was never even brought up; the Paris Treaties exacted exorbitant reparations from Germany and made Austria and Hungary responsible for their fulfilment. That eventually they were not called upon to acquit themselves of this obliga-

[1] Seton-Watson: *Transylvania — A Key Problem*. Oxford 1943.

tion was probably due to the fact that both countries had been so ruined by the peace treaties that they would have been wholly unable to meet any further demands. The hardest economic provision of the Treaty of Bucharest was that which secured Rumania's oil for Germany's benefit; yet it was understood that Germany would pay for the oil. The Treaty of Versailles was above such trivial scruples: it simply took away the mines of the Saar district, leaving it to the German State to indemnify the owners. In 1916 Germany secured for her own use Rumania's agricultural products, and was prepared to pay an adequate price for them; in view of the fact that before the war Rumania had been somewhat embarrassed to find a market for her agricultural produce, this provision for her was more in the nature of a boon than a hardship. France, as far as I remember, proceeded on different lines in regard to the coal of the Ruhr district, for she deducted the price from Germany's reparation debts. The Bucharest Treaty provided for no preferential tariffs such as the authors of the Paris treaties secured for themselves at the hands of the vanquished States, and not one of its provisions affected the private property of the citizens of enemy States, which the Paris treaties simply declared to be forfeit. It may be asked where, in all this, lies that "wholesale economic exploitation and subjection of Rumania" of which we have been told by Seton-Watson. Seton-Watson's political writings have never been conspicuous for their impartiality, but I hold him to be an honest man and I should have expected that before voicing such an accusation he would have read the treaty in question. If, having read it, he still maintains his opinion, I shall be tempted to ask him a question: if the Bucharest Treaty appears so terrible in his eyes, what must be his verdict on the Paris Treaties, which were so much more harsh, severe and rapacious?

It is by no means superfluous to rectify such misrepresentations. We are in the midst of a war which sooner or later will be followed by the conclusion of peace. We must guard ourselves in advance against everything which seems to show that the new peace will be based on similar misrepresentations as went to the preparation, twenty-five years ago,

of that peace which had perforce to lead to new wars. Mr. Lloyd George himself admitted in 1934, in an article published in the columns of the *Revue Parlementaire*, that "all the documents furnished us by certain of our allies in the course of the peace negotiations were mendacious and faked; our decisions were based on false premises." If we neglect immediately to rectify every assertion which can be proved to be false, whenever we have an opportunity to do so, there is great danger that Europe may once again be reorganised on false premises, on a basis of falsehood, and will thus be exposed to new disasters.

For this reason it does not seem to me a futile undertaking to describe in detail the Treaty of Bucharest, whose alleged cruelty is cited as an excuse for the mistakes committed by the framers of the Paris Treaties. What I shall here set down, as one of the participants in the negotiations, will not make the Bucharest Treaty appear as a flawless creation, nor do I claim that it was one. But I believe that it will show that the Bucharest negotiations were conducted in a very different, much more understanding spirit than were those which, twelve months later, preceded the treaties of Paris; and I think that their result, the Peace Treaty of Bucharest, has no need to fear comparison with the peace which subsequently set a term to the great war.

The conclusion of peace became unavoidable for Rumania from the moment when, at the beginning of 1918, Russia withdrew from the war. Lacking the support of the Russian army, and forced to envisage the possibility of the Central Powers attacking her, in case of need, with the whole of their eastern forces, she could no longer entertain the thought of successful resistance. In fact, it was not at all unlikely that she would sue for peace together with Russia, seeing that, as the situation stood at the time, the Rumanian army could take no effective action except in conjunction with the Russian army. This contingency was not viewed with favour by the Central Powers, and by Germany in particular, for it would have been no easy task to reconcile the German claims against Russia with those which were to be presented to Rumania. In order, therefore, to prevent the Rumanians from making peace proposals which would have

had to be debated together with the Russian peace, the Germans gave the Rumanian Government to understand that the preliminary condition for any peace negotiations was the removal from the throne of King Ferdinand and the resignation of the Bratianu Government. Supposing that Rumania had really intended to ask for peace in conjunction with Russia, this communication put an effective stop to any such intention.

The negotiations with Russia were well under way and seemed to promise a successful conclusion when Charles, the Emperor-King of Austria-Hungary, took the initial steps towards separate peace negotiations with Rumania. At the end of January, 1918, he sent Colonel Randa, former military attaché in Bucharest, to Rumania with instructions to seek contact with King Ferdinand's entourage and to get a message conveyed to him to the effect that he, Charles, was willing to conclude an acceptable peace on the basis of the dynasty's retention of the throne. Colonel Randa accomplished his mission successfully. In the first days of February he met King Ferdinand's aide-de-camp, Colonel Stircea, — who some years later was to be the first Rumanian diplomatic representative in Budapest after Hungary's separation from Austria — and entrusted King Charles's letter to him for transmission to King Ferdinand. The latter's answer was that Rumania must first know whether King Charles had proceeded in the name of all the Central Powers, and also whether the peace negotiations would liberate the occupied Rumanian territories. By this time Germany had also come to desire the initiation of peace negotiations, as the German high command in the West urgently needed the divisions stationed in Rumania. Two alternatives confronted Germany at the time — either to conclude an immediate peace with Rumania, or to destroy her completely by means of a brief campaign. Rumania was not blind to the latter danger. As a sign of her recognition of it, the Bratianu Government resigned and was replaced by a new administration with General Averescu at its head. This new government lost no time in informing the Central Powers that Rumania was willing to open peace negotiations forthwith. Accordingly on February 18, 1918, the German

and Austro-Hungarian delegates arrived in Bucharest in order to commence negotiations.

Each of the Central Powers had its own particular peace aims.

Austria-Hungary wanted primarily certain frontier rectifications in order to preclude the possibility of another such surprise attack as had been directed against Hungarian territory by Rumania in August 1916. This demand was made by the Austro-Hungarian high command for strategic reasons, but it was strongly supported also by the Hungarian Government and by Hungarian political factors, for they regarded its fulfilment as indispensably necessary for the defence of the country. The Austrian Government, on the other hand, attached no great importance to the fulfilment of these demands, although they had a bearing on Austria's security as well, for they included a rectification of the Bukovina frontier too. King Charles himself was not particularly keen on this, for he had already begun to reckon with an unfavourable termination of the war and feared that any territorial gain at Rumania's expense would impede the conclusion of that compromise peace upon which all his efforts were bent. After prolonged preliminary discussions, the responsible political and military factors agreed on the following demands to be made in regard to the frontiers:

In the western corner of Rumania it was proposed to shift the border eastward so as to include the town of Turnu Severin in the territory of Hungary. This demand was prompted chiefly by military considerations; the new frontier would put Austria-Hungary in possession of the whole of the Iron Gates; also, there was in Turnu-Severin a valuable ship-yard to which great importance was attached from the point of view of the defence of the Lower Danube. In Hungarian circles the acquisition of Turnu-Severin was not so keenly desired; there were even Hungarian statesmen, among them Count Stephen Tisza, who opposed the idea, as they did any other peace proposition which tended to increase the Rumanian inhabitants of Hungary by the annexation of towns with a purely Rumanian population.

Minor territorial concessions were demanded by Austria-Hungary east of Turnu-Severin, alongside the old Austro-Hungarian frontier. The territory gained by Hungary

would have furnished the means for a more effective defence of the mines in the Zsil Valley, which up to then had been within range of guns inside Rumanian territory; it would have given Hungary the forests south of the Vöröstorony Pass, which belonged to the "Saxon Universitas" of Transylvania, and a few inhabited places south of the Tömös Pass, leaving, however, Sinaia, the favourite summer resort of the royal family and of the people of Bucharest, to Rumania. Hungary would also have gained the watering-place and salt mines of Slanik and the oilfields round about Okna. A further demand was calculated to rectify the eastern frontier of Transylvania and to facilitate the defence of Czernowitz, the capital of Bukovina. It was agreed, however, that these demands in regard to frontier rectifications must on no account be allowed to put obstacles in the way of the conclusion of the peace. Accordingly Count Czernin, to whom the negotiations had been entrusted, resolved, in agreement with the Austrian and Hungarian Governments, to try and get them accepted, but not to press them beyond a point which might jeopardise future friendly relations with Rumania. It was more or less a foregone conclusion that Austria-Hungary would have to be content with less than her original demands.

The German demands were chiefly of an economic nature. The most important aimed at securing, as far as possible, the whole of the Rumanian oil production for Germany. Austria-Hungary, having oil wells of her own in Galicia, had never taken an interest in Rumanian oil and showed none now. Germany, on the other hand, had no oil fields and already before the war had sunk a considerable amount of capital in the Rumanian oil industry. For the rest, she also put forward a claim to Rumania's wheat supply in the measure of her needs.

Bulgaria demanded the entire territory of the Dobrudja.

Turkey had no specific demands; all she wanted was a share in the economic advantages which Germany and Austria would be able to secure for themselves.

Before the actual peace negotiations could begin, the different aims of the Central Powers had to be brought into harmony, a process which necessitated prolonged discussions.

Even so, the differences could not be entirely obliterated, and they made themselves felt throughout the course of the negotiations, so that the representatives of the Central Powers had to be constantly on their guard lest the Rumanian delegates should perceive the latent antagonisms and exploit them to their own advantage. The tension was greatest between the Turks and the Bulgarians; but there was no complete understanding even between Germany and Austria-Hungary as far as their ultimate objectives were concerned. Austria-Hungary wanted a peace which, far from perpetuating the antagonism between her and Rumania, would put a stop to it for a prolonged period and would facilitate the speedy resumption of friendly relations between the two States. In this endeavour the Austro-Hungarian diplomats worked hand-in-hand with the conservative Rumanian statesmen whose leader, Alexander Marghiloman, had consistently and unremittingly voiced similar views even before the war. In pursuance of this policy, the Austro-Hungarian delegates were determined that there should be nothing in the peace terms which might leave a festering wound in the heart of the Rumanian people. This determination was strengthened by the fact that neither King Charles nor his Foreign Minister, Count Czernin, had any wish to jeopardise the chances of a compromise peace. At this time they were in indirect touch with President Wilson through the intervention of the King of Spain, and in these negotiations, as also in their public declarations, they constantly stressed their adherence to the principle of a peace without annexations; and they feared lest, by imposing on Rumania terms which she found difficult to accept, they might impede or even frustrate altogether the conclusion of the compromise peace they so earnestly desired. The Germans were less anxious to spare the feelings of the Rumanians, seeing that they did not have them at their door. What Germany wanted to attain by means of the Treaty of Bucharest was, in the first place, a strengthening of her economic position on the Lower Danube, and securing the oil production. These economic demands on Germany's part, which, though considerably reduced later on, were fairly extensive at first, were felt to be a heavy handicap by Austria-Hungary, since

they endangered her chief aim, the speedy restoration of peaceful relations with Rumania; Germany, on the other hand, looked with disfavour on the Monarchy's territorial demands, — which also were materially reduced in the course of the negotiations — because she feared that if Rumania were forced to make territorial sacrifices she would be less willing to fulfil the German economic demands. A certain understanding had, it is true, been reached some months before by the Berlin and the Viennese Governments to the effect that Germany would agree to the annexation by Austria-Hungary of the territory of Russian Poland, in return for which Austria-Hungary would give her unconditional support to the German claims against Rumania. But shortly before the beginning of the Bucharest peace negotiations events had taken a new turn in the Polish question as a result of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk concluded with the Ukraine; it now seemed improbable that Austria-Hungary would be able to annex Russian Poland. This fact removed the basis of the previous understanding, and relieved Austria-Hungary of the obligation of letting Germany have a completely free hand in Rumania. Nevertheless she continued to support the German claims.

On February 24 the Austro-Hungarian and German Foreign Ministers, Count Czernin and Herr v. Kühlmann, met for the first time General Averescu, the Prime Minister of Rumania, at the royal palace of Cotroceni. On this occasion they restricted themselves to a general outline of the demands of the Central Powers. The only demand which the Rumanian Premier declared at once to be impossible of fulfilment was that of the cession of the Dobrudja to Bulgaria. The Austro-Hungarian wishes for a frontier rectification he heard without comment, being as yet ignorant of their extent. He openly admitted that Rumania was incapable of any further military resistance and that, if hostilities were to be resumed, the Rumanian army would not hold out even for four weeks against the forces of the Central Powers; nevertheless he declared the cession of the Dobrudja to be out of the question. For the rest, he relegated the decision of this question to King Ferdinand. Count Czernin hereupon expressed a desire for a personal meeting with the king. This meeting

took place on February 28 at a small Rumanian railway-station in the king's private saloon. Count Czernin would not have been human had he not derived a certain amoun of satisfaction from a situation in which he thus faced the monarch whom, as diplomatic representative of Austria-Hungary, he had so earnestly warned not to enter the war on the side of the Allies. He could not help reminding King Ferdinand what a mistake he had made when, instead of taking his, Czernin's, advice, he had listened to that of Bratianu, who had caused the ruin of Rumania. King Ferdinand himself was deeply moved and appeared to try and excuse himself by talking of the difficult position in which he had been placed. Czernin asked him to declare within forty-eight hours, that is, by 7 p. m. on March 1, whether he was willing to enter into peace negotiations on the basis of the conditions which in broad outline had been submitted to General Averescu. King Ferdinand gave no decisive answer beyond stating that the peace terms were "terribly depressing". He also expressed a fear that he would be unable to form a government willing to negotiate on the present basis. Czernin, however, had good reason for assuring him that Marghiloman would be prepared to form such a government. The most insuperable obstacle, in the king's eyes, was the demand for the cession of the Dobrudja; such a sacrifice on Rumania's part seemed to him well-nigh impossible. He explained that Rumania needed a sea-board and a sea-port and that the latter could only be Constanza, in the Dobrudja. He described Constanza as the lung of Rumania, without which she could not breathe. Czernin promised that the Central Powers would make it possible for Rumania to use Constanza as she had done in the past, and that this right should be secured for her in the treaty. The king went on to complain that Czernin nourished hostile feelings towards Rumania, and cited, in support of his contention, the Austro-Hungarian territorial demands. Count Czernin declared that the Monarchy's sole purpose in demanding these frontier rectifications was to safeguard itself against a repetition of the events of 1916.

General Averescu's reply to the ultimatum of the Central Powers arrived in the afternoon of March 1. It was couched

in general terms and merely stated that Rumania was prepared to enter into peace negotiations, confident that these negotiations would be carried on in a mutually friendly and conciliatory spirit. No reference was made to the fact that the conditions of the Central Powers, as already outlined by them, were supposed to serve as a basis for the discussions. Consequently a new communication was sent to the Rumanian Government to the effect that the opening of negotiations was contingent on the preliminary acceptance of the frontier rectifications demanded by Austria-Hungary and of the surrender of the Dobrudja. Should no unconditional acceptance of this basis be forthcoming by noon of the following day, the armistice would be denounced on the expiration of three days. The time limit passed without bringing the expected answer; instead, the delegates of the Central Powers were informed that King Ferdinand had convoked a Crown Council for the afternoon of that same day — March 2 — and that the Rumanian reply to the ultimatum would be sent after its conclusion. The delegates accepted this information, but made it known that the three days' term set for the expiration of the armistice would be reckoned as from noon of that day. By evening they received the answer that the Rumanians accepted, in principle, without reservation, both the frontier rectifications and the surrender of the Dobrudja. This declaration was accepted, with the proviso that the Rumanians should sign within three days a preliminary peace treaty accepting the main demands of the Central Powers. In the afternoon of March 5 this preliminary treaty was signed at Buftea, one of the castles of the Stirbey family.

During the next few days the Central Powers exerted their influence to have the Averescu administration replaced by a Marghiloman Cabinet. King Ferdinand had planned this change ever since his meeting with Czernin, but Marghiloman was reluctant to form a government before he knew more of the intentions of the Central Powers both as to the peace treaty and their subsequent policy. He was given the detailed information he desired, and almost threw up his mission when he discovered that Germany intended to continue the military occupation of Rumania not only up to the conclusion of the separate peace with her but also after

the conclusion of the general peace. However, Kühlmann found means to reassure him, and he consented to form a government, confiding the post of Foreign Minister to Arion, another conservative politician. Both these men belonged to the school of thought which already before the war had consistently advocated a close cooperation with the Monarchy and attached the greatest weight to a political, military and if possible also economic alliance with Austria-Hungary, whose preservation in her territorial integrity was regarded as a Rumanian interest in the face of the Russian danger which threatened both countries alike.

At last the detailed discussions of the proposed peace terms could begin. They were carried on by several committees and referred to the most diverse questions. In Austria as in Hungary, and still more particularly in Germany, the rapporteurs of the various departments vied with each other in devising new demands for the forced acceptance of the Rumanian Government. Generally the heads of the committees were able to reduce these demands to reasonable proportions, so that the residue left after repeated siftings laid no very heavy burden on Rumania. Both Kühlmann and the Austro-Hungarian delegates, who had been given strict instructions to set aside all exorbitant demands, were careful not to let things go too far in this direction.

In the matter of frontier rectification, military circles in Austria-Hungary, and in the latter country also certain politicians, made more extensive demands than seemed admissible from the point of view of the desired restoration of friendly relations with Rumania. Neither King Charles nor the Ministry for Foreign Affairs raised any objection to steps being taken with a view to having the wishes of the High Command and of the Hungarian Government accepted in Bucharest, but they were decided to reduce these territorial demands if they met with such violent opposition as to jeopardise the maintenance of friendly relations with Rumania; it was intended, in particular, to renounce all such territorial gains as would annex to Hungary densely inhabited regions with a Rumanian population; Count Tisza himself stated, in conversation with the Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, that he held such annexations to be undesirable.

The detailed wishes in regard to frontier revision were communicated to the Rumanians in Buftea the day after the signing of the preliminary peace treaty. The conference called for this purpose was presided over by Count Czernin, who before submitting to the Rumanian delegates the map showing the new Rumanian frontiers as delimited in accordance with the wishes of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, justified the necessity of frontier rectification by the manner in which, eighteen months before, Rumania had invaded Hungary without warning. He stressed the fact that the Austro-Hungarian demands were motivated solely by the necessity of preventing any recurrence of such a happening. When the leader of the Rumanian delegation, the Minister of Justice Argetoianu, spread out before him the map handed to him by Count Czernin, the members of the delegation crowded round in nervous tension, and their demeanour betrayed the consternation they felt at the extension of the territorial demands. Argetoianu remarked briefly that it would be for history to pass judgment on the events of the past, but that the present government could not be held responsible for Rumania's entry into the war. For the rest it seemed to him that Austria-Hungary's aim was not frontier rectification but annexation; the occupation of Turnu-Severin, one of the biggest towns of Rumania, and of Okna, the centre of a valuable oil district, could hardly be designated otherwise. Czernin answered that one could not obliterate past happenings by a change of government. He did not say that the Austro-Hungarian proposals could on no account be modified but neither did he say that he was willing to modify them. Finally a military committee was set up for the discussion of the frontier question in which General Hranilovich, former military attaché in Bucharest, represented the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. After the meeting Czernin and Argetoianu had a confidential conversation. The latter admitted frankly that Rumania was incapable of further military resistance and was therefore compelled to accept whatever terms were offered her. "If you were to demand that we give you half Rumania, we should be forced to comply. But you had better not demand things which would destroy the possibility of future peaceful relations between

the Monarchy and Rumania." At the same time the Rumanian military expert Colonel Lupescu said to a member of the Austro-Hungarian delegation: "If what you want is capitulation, then you can force us to accept the proposed new frontier; but if you want a real peace, you will do no such thing. You may say what you like, but to take from us Rumanian towns in order to attach them to the Monarchy can serve no military interest." Our invariable answer to this was that the Austro-Hungarian demands were extremely moderate compared with what the Rumanians would have demanded of the Monarchy, and more particularly of Hungary, had they occupied Budapest. This always reduced them to silence.

The first conversations had convinced the Austro-Hungarian delegates that the attainment of the maximum territorial demands was out of the question and that it would prove necessary to renounce the annexation of Rumanian towns such as Turnu-Severin, Okna and Slanik. Such a renunciation was rendered advisable also by the barely concealed antagonism with which the German allies regarded the Austro-Hungarian territorial claims. Already in the beginning of February Ludendorff, in conversation with me, had objected to the proposed frontier rectification. With superb disregard of the actual facts, he exclaimed: "Austria-Hungary lays claim to half Rumania on the pretext of frontier rectification!" He was specially annoyed by the fact that the Austro-Hungarian demands included regions — round about Okna — in which oil-wells were to be found. The Germans wanted to keep all the Rumanian oil for themselves. A similar attitude was taken up in Bucharest by General Hell, Mackensen's chief of staff and Ludendorff's Rumanian representative, who in talk with the officials of the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office expressed the opinion that Rumania would no longer be viable if she accepted the Austro-Hungarian territorial demands.

But even the temperate Kühlmann, staunch friend of the Monarchy as he was, disapproved of the Austro-Hungarian demands in their original form. He lent them his support in the face of the Rumanians, but he made no secret of the fact that German military circles held them

to be exaggerated and unreasonable. Had Austria-Hungary nevertheless persisted in her demands, she would probably have been able to carry them through, for, as we have seen, the Rumanians made no secret of the fact that Rumania could not dream of resistance and would have to acquiesce even in the loss of half her territory if there was no other way for her to conclude peace. Nor could Germany have hindered the Monarchy in getting her way. In Rumania, the Germans were completely at Austria-Hungary's mercy, for the latter had twice as many divisions on Rumanian soil as the Germans had been able to leave there. To have concluded a separate peace would have been to court the possibility of Austria-Hungary doing the same where her interests were not directly involved, say with England or France. But the men who directed the Monarchy's international policy, first and foremost the ruler himself, were resolved not to let matters go to extremes. They felt themselves bound by their repeated declarations in favour of a peace without annexations, and had no wish to nullify these utterances. Above all, they never forgot the main consideration, that Rumania must not be forced into accepting terms which would destroy all chance of a resumption of friendly relations between her and the Monarchy.

It was under such auspices that the discussions concerning frontier revision were resumed on March 7. Once again it was Czernin who presided. By way of indicating the possibility of certain concessions on the Monarchy's part, he observed, in speaking of the new frontier line traced on the map, that it "approximately" corresponded to the frontier without the acceptance of which by Rumania Austria-Hungary was not prepared to conclude peace. Colonel Lupescu noted this concession and misinterpreted it, for he began to expound the theory that the phrase *"rectification des frontières"* involved the principle of reciprocity. Czernin interrupted him at once, declaring that there could be no question of any cession of Hungarian territory to Rumania. Lupescu changed his tactics and intimated that the security which Austria-Hungary sought to obtain through a modification of the frontier might be arrived at by other means. Czernin interrupted him again. "Yes, by means of treaties.

We had such a treaty with Rumania, and have seen what security it gave us."

Argetoianu adopted the attitude that what Austria-Hungary demanded was not frontier rectification but a new frontier. This demand went beyond what the Rumanian Government had pledged itself to accept in the preliminary treaty. Since he was not authorised to pronounce himself on this question, he begged leave to go to Iassi together with Colonel Lupescu in order to ask for new instructions. Count Czernin acquiesced in this proposal. After the discussions one of the higher officials of the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office made an endeavour to convince Colonel Lupescu in private conversation that acceptance of the Austro-Hungarian proposals would involve no very great sacrifice on Rumania's part, since the greater part concerned uninhabited, densely wooded mountain regions. "Oh, as to that," interposed Colonel Lupescu, "we should not mind letting you have the hills; it is the inhabited places — *places peuplées* — which we should find it hard to surrender."

After Marghiloman had been entrusted with the formation of a government, the negotiations were carried on with him personally. The bargaining went on between him and Czernin for several days, the latter gradually reducing his demands until they had reached the minimum. First he renounced Turnu-Severin and Okna, declaring that he did so exclusively for Marghiloman's sake, and that he reserved to himself the right to change his mind in case the latter resigned the premiership. The high command raised objections to this agreement, particularly to the abandonment of Turnu-Severin. Reproachful telegrams arrived in Bucharest to the effect that the people entrusted with the conduct of affairs were granting too many concessions, and emphasizing the point that the surrender of Turnu-Severin must on no account be abandoned. Czernin's attitude in regard to these reproaches was that he was not called upon to represent the standpoint of the High Command without express orders from His Majesty. That he should ever receive such orders was naturally unthinkable; King Charles was far from feeling any satisfaction even over the lesser frontier rectifications accepted by the Rumanians, for he feared the

impression they would make on those who were presumably in favour of a compromise peace, — in the first place on Wilson. The new frontier discussed with Marghiloman already before his premiership was quite well adapted for an effective defence of the Iron Gates. There remained our demands regarding the southern border of Transylvania, where we wished to transfer the frontier line from the northern to the southern ridge of the Carpathians.

The discussions concerning frontier revision continued between the Austrian, Hungarian and Rumanian delegates for another ten days, and were conducted with great tenacity on all sides. The Rumanians succeeded in getting the Hungarians to withdraw their demand for a modification of Transylvania's southern frontier; a contributory reason for this withdrawal was the consideration that it would be preferable to have the border regions inhabited by Székelys rather than by Rumanians. A subsequent result of the negotiations, important for the Rumanians, was the renunciation by Austria-Hungary of Busteni, this being also one of the populous places the acquisition of which she did not covet. By Palm Sunday, March 24, there were still two questions left in regard to which the Austro-Hungarian and the Rumanian delegates were in disagreement. In the Vöröstorony Pass the Rumanians wanted the ceded territory to extend, not as far as the Lotru, as the Hungarians wished, but only as far as Cainen. Nor were they inclined to surrender Azuga, situated just beyond the Tömös Pass. Czernin declared to Marghiloman that he would even relinquish Azuga, and would be satisfied by the division between the two parties of the debatable area between the Lotru and Cainen, in the Vöröstorony Pass, provided that Marghiloman would then consent to regard the whole frontier question as settled and closed.

A last hitch was caused by the delegate of the Hungarian Government, Joseph Szterényi, who pronounced the concessions granted to Marghiloman to be too far-reaching and disapproved of the renunciation of Azuga. Czernin sent telegrams to the king and to Weckerle, the Hungarian Prime Minister, asking to have this obstacle obviated. The king replied that territorial demands must on no account

be allowed to stand in the way of the peace. But when his telegram arrived, Czernin had already received Weckerle's acquiescence in the proposed compromise.

The High Command was particularly chagrined about the failure of its plans in regard to Turnu-Severin. It had coveted the possession of this town because it contained a very valuable ship-yard. The delegates of the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office, working hand-in-hand with the Bucharest representative of the marine department of the War Office, Olaf Wulff, made an attempt to obtain the Rumanian Government's consent to Austria-Hungary getting this ship-yard on a long-term lease. The negotiations with Marghiloman concerning this question had been progressing very favourably, without the knowledge of the German delegates, who also had their eye on this same ship-yard. All that was said to them on the part of the Austro-Hungarian commission was that the surrender of Turnu-Severin did not necessarily imply renunciation of the ship-yard. The Germans immediately declared that they must report the matter to the supreme military authorities and when their answer arrived would forcibly demand a share in the ship-yard on an equal basis. Before this could happen, however, Captain Wulff called on Marghiloman on behalf of the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office and begged him to have the draft contract of the lease, as already discussed between them, initialled immediately. Marghiloman wished to insert three modifications in the contract. Anxious to get the contract signed before the Germans could take steps which might lead to complications, the Austro-Hungarian delegates accepted Marghiloman's modifications, and the draft was initialled both by Czernin and Marghiloman within thirty minutes. The Germans, on their side, would not let the matter rest there. Kühlmann complained, saying that the German High Command had taken it in very ill part that the Austro-Hungarians had forestalled them in this question. Ultimately Austria-Hungary agreed that the Germans should also make use of the ship-yard, but they made it a condition that the ship-yard of Giurgiu, which was under German management, should be at the disposal of the Austro-Hungarian military command. This agreement closed the incident.

Bulgaria's wishes concerning the Dobrudja caused much greater difficulties than the frontier revision demanded by Austria-Hungary, for the Bulgarians fought for them with the utmost energy and, unlike Austria-Hungary, stubbornly refused throughout to yield an inch; in fact, they seemed bent rather on increasing than on diminishing their demands. Their desire for the whole of the Dobrudja had no legal sanction, for the treaty which Bulgaria had concluded with Germany and Austria-Hungary and on the strength of which she had entered the war on the side of the Central Powers in 1915, envisaged and promised only the restitution of that part of this territory which Bulgaria had possessed before the Balkan War. But the Bulgarians clung so vehemently to the acquisition of the entire territory that the Central Powers could not set themselves against their wishes. This proved the source of very serious difficulties, for Turkey made her consent contingent on certain conditions which the Bulgarians absolutely refused to accept.

In 1915, when Turkey had joined the Central Powers, she had made territorial concessions to Bulgaria with the aim of promoting her entry into the war on the same side. Now that the question had arisen of Bulgaria acquiring from Rumania territories to which she could lay no claim on the strength of her treaty with the Central Powers, Turkey held that it would be only just if she were to restore the regions spontaneously given to her in 1915. The contemplated change was not important; it involved the restitution of a suburb of Adrianople named Karagatch situated on the right bank of the Maritza, and the shifting of the frontier to the other bank of the Maritza — the entire area was too inconsiderable to be marked on an ordinary map — but both sides clung with extraordinary tenacity to their own standpoint; in fact, both Talaat Pasha, the Turkish Grand Vizier, and Radoslavov, the Bulgarian Prime Minister, declared, after repeated attempts at reaching an understanding in the presence of the representatives of the Central Powers, that if they could not carry their own standpoint they would be forced to return home and tender their resignations. To crown all, the Bulgarians, in the course of the negotiations, divulged that the territory which they

called the Dobrudja included, to their minds, the Delta of the Danube, so that instead of being bounded by the right bank of the stream of the St. George, that is, the southernmost branch of the Danube, it stretched as far as the left bank of the Kilia, or northernmost branch. This interpretation the Central Powers refused to accept, for they would have thought it wrong wholly to exclude Rumania from the mouth of the Danube. Foreseeing that it would be no easy matter to reconcile the Turkish and the Bulgarian standpoints, the two Central Powers had agreed already before the commencement of the Bucharest negotiations that they would have the whole of the Dobrudja made over to them in the peace treaty, so as to be able to decide at their leisure after the war under what conditions they would pass it on to Bulgaria. This formula made it possible for Germany and Austria-Hungary to follow Turkey's example and make the cession of the Dobrudja to Bulgaria conditional on the fulfilment of certain obligations. Germany had designs of her own on Constanza, designs which in the course of the discussions assumed one form after another and became more and more moderate as time went on. In the beginning some of the German *rapporteurs* dreamed of stipulating full sovereignty for Germany over the port of Constanza. But in the end this demand dwindled to mere preferential treatment in the port and on the railway lines leading to it. But Germany would at any time have been willing to renounce these advantages if she could thereby have prevailed on the Bulgarians to accept Turkey's demands in regard to the readjustment of her frontiers. Austria-Hungary would have liked to make it a condition that she should annex the so-called Negotin-district in the north-eastern corner of Serbia which had been promised to Bulgaria on her entry into the war in the event of the Serbs being defeated. The Austro-Hungarian military authorities and the Danubian shipping concerns were nursing a scheme for building a canal between the ports of Dolnji Milanovac and Brza Palanka, which would make it possible to avoid the dangerous passage of the Iron Gates; also, they would have liked to create a big Danubian port at Simianu; all of which could only be accomplished if this territory was under Hungarian sover-

eignty. It soon appeared, however, that the Bulgarians were not inclined to give up their claim to this territory in return for the acquisition of the Dobrudja, whereupon the negotiations were shifted to another basis and they were offered a corresponding area in another part of Serbia, on the left bank of the Morava, in exchange for the Negotin district. The Bulgarians were most willing to accept any concessions, but not willing to offer more than the paltriest return for the same in the Negotin district, so that the negotiations foundered completely. There was hardly a question which caused the political leaders of the Central Powers so many difficulties and necessitated such constant and recurrently heated debates as the question of the Dobrudja. Since the Bulgarians either rejected or reduced to a valueless minimum every proposal for compromise, there was nothing left but to return to the original plan; accordingly the peace treaty ceded the Dobrudja to the Central Powers, leaving open the question on what conditions Bulgaria should acquire it at a future date.

Germany's demands, as has been mentioned, were of an economic nature. These demands, like those of Austria-Hungary in regard to frontier rectification, went through various modifications in the course of the debates and were more and more reduced. The greatest weight was attached to the acquisition of Rumania's oil production. The German demands in this respect fell into two groups; on the one hand, such oil wells as were to be found on Rumanian soil and were not as yet exploited, should be handed over on a 90 years' lease to a German company; on the other hand the marketing of Rumania's oil production was to be entrusted, in the form of an exclusive monopoly, to another German company.

More than anything else, this wish for a trade monopoly aroused the resistance of the Rumanians. Marghiloman himself, in the course of the conversations carried on with him before his assumption of office, had pronounced this project wholly unacceptable, and he persisted in this attitude even after the discussions between German and Rumanian experts, discussions which had brought forth no compromise acceptable to both sides. There was a moment,

on March 24, when Marghiloman appealed to the Austro-Hungarian delegates with the request that they should try and prevail on the Germans to moderate their original demands, otherwise Arion, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, would resign, with the direst consequences not only for the Cabinet but also for the outcome of the peace negotiations. At the same period Germans were considering denouncing the armistice, with the idea of forcing the Rumanians to accept the trade monopoly by means of a fresh ultimatum. At this stage of affairs Count Czernin and his collaborators did everything in their power to avert a major crisis. They finally succeeded in finding a formula which bridged the gulf between Marghiloman's standpoint and that of the German delegates. According to this formula, the peace would be concluded on the basis of the German proposals, but these proposals would be regarded as of a temporary nature and after the conclusion of the peace the discussion of the oil question would be continued until a solution more in conformity with Rumanian interests was arrived at. If these discussions proved fruitless, but not otherwise, the agreement in its original form would become operative on December 1, 1918. Marghiloman declared himself ready to accept it if his Foreign Minister did so. Arion, however, declared that he could not consent to such a solution of the question. In the end it was resolved that the agreement would be initialled by Marghiloman alone, and that Arion would not resign, relying on the hope that after the conclusion of the peace some other and better solution might be reached by the negotiating parties. If this hope proved illusory and the negotiations broke down, he would regard it as a signal to tender his resignation.

It will have been noticed that the settlement reached in Bucharest contained only a fraction of what the Central Powers had planned to obtain in the course of the negotiations. This applies to the three main demands, and in still greater measure to the economic questions which found a solution in the Treaty of Bucharest. It was in the power of the Rumanian delegates to marshal all their arguments against demands which they felt to be inacceptable, but also to reject these demands altogether if they regarded

them as incompatible with their country's interests. As regards economic questions in particular, they persistently adhered to their own standpoint and in very many instances were able to carry it through. This manner of conducting negotiations was more reminiscent of the discussions which precede the conclusion of a trade agreement between equal States than of peace negotiations between victors and vanquished. This explains why many provisions of the treaty — as for example conventions concerning railroads and shipping, the right of foreign nationals to acquire immovable property, etc. — were settled by compromise and often in a manner wholly unsatisfactory to the Germans and Austro-Hungarians, as was felt even by the men who had conducted the negotiations.

Thus there was no ground for the allegation, repeatedly met with in western historical works and in the columns of the western press, that the Central Powers have no right to complain of the peace treaties which closed the first great war, since the Treaty of Bucharest imposed similarly hard conditions on the Rumanians, placing them in a situation in no wise better than that of Germany and Austria-Hungary after the conclusion of the general peace. It is quite impossible to compare the Treaty of Bucharest with the Paris Treaties. In Paris the representatives of the vanquished States were never once allowed to state their case in person, whereas in Bucharest the delegates of the Central Powers debated every question with endless patience and the most minute care for months on end, and if the Rumanians advanced valid objections to any proposal, earnest efforts were made to get round it by mutual agreement. Unlike the makers of the Paris peace, the politicians negotiating in Bucharest on behalf of the victorious Powers were firmly determined that the peace they were about to conclude with Rumania should be a compromise peace. In the beginning of the negotiations they had once or twice found it unavoidable to present an ultimatum to their opponents in order that negotiations might be started at all, and more particularly that Rumania should agree to the cession of the Dobrudja, without which Bulgaria would have withdrawn from the war. But after these main demands had

been fulfilled, the Central Powers avoided the expedient of a dictated peace, although in the given circumstances it would have given them everything they wanted. At one point of the discussions the idea arose that all the points which the Rumanians refused to accept should be lumped together and carried through by means of an ultimatum. After due deliberation, however, the men who directed the negotiations rejected the idea of such an experiment. They wanted a compromise peace, and they adhered to this decision even after it became clear that they were losing a chance which might never again recur, not only to acquire preferential rights but also to make Rumania accept in the matter of railroads, ports, the handling of the property of foreign nationals, etc., principles which in Germany and Austria-Hungary were matters of course and which both States had applied in regard to all foreigners, and thus also to Rumanians.

It is probable that Austria and Hungary would have followed this course in any circumstances. But there is no doubt that they were also actuated, and that in a great measure, by the consideration that it would be unwise completely to alienate a country with which they had many interests in common. Rather than do this, the men who represented them in Bucharest preferred to incur the reproach — a reproach actually levelled at them — that they had not sufficiently exploited the position which was the Monarchy's due as a victor State, and instead of having recourse to threats and coercion, had rested content with what indefatigable bargaining had been able to obtain from the Rumanian delegates.

Thus we have no cause to be ashamed of the Bucharest peace negotiations. We concluded peace, as we had waged war, without hatred. Those who negotiated the peace of Bucharest were filled with the conviction that if you want real peace you must not make its conditions dependent on a temporary conjunction of events, the chance outcome of the fortunes of war, for no peace has ever proved durable which has not endeavoured to allay and bridge over the differences between the contracting parties instead of sharpening and perpetuating them.

WAS THIS OPPRESSION?

By ANDREW MORAVEK

THERE are few things so exasperating to the Magyars as to be told that for a thousand years they oppressed the nationalities living in their midst.

It was not until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that the "nationality" principle was discovered in Europe. Before this time there could be no question of a conscious and deliberate nationality policy on the part of the State-maintaining people either in Hungary or elsewhere, just as, on the other hand, there could be no question of a racial consciousness or a defensive attitude on the part of the minority peoples. As far as the Magyars are concerned, it must be remembered that at the period when the conception of nationality first dawned on the world, they were themselves not in full possession of their independence; in fact, they were waging a desperate struggle with the Austrian dynasty for their linguistic and other rights and were finally forced to resort to arms in defence of them. The priceless achievements of 1848, — such as the liberation of the serfs — benefited not only the Magyars but all the peoples living on Hungarian soil. It is well enough known that after their defeat in the War of Liberation against Austria the Magyars were subjected to absolute rule and deprived of all their liberties, and that they only regained their sovereignty and a free hand in their own affairs after the conclusion of the Compromise with Austria in 1867. If there could be any question of an oppression of the nationalities, that oppression could only have occurred between this date and 1918, when the disruption of Greater Hungary occurred. Thus the alleged thousand years are reduced to precisely fifty.

Another school of Magyarophobe propaganda endeavours to make out that the outstanding personalities and heroic figures of Hungary's thousand-year-old past have not been Magyars at all, but non-Magyar inhabitants of the country, that everything fine, noble and permanent which was achieved in the course of these thousand years was achieved by the nationalities, and that, consequently, the history of Hungary is not Magyar history at all. The truth of the matter is that except for brief periods of weakness when, by reason of their enormous losses in the field, the Magyars temporarily lost control of affairs, Hungary's destinies were guided, at first by the national dynasty and subsequently, up to 1848, by the Magyar nobility. This nobility, which stood for the nation — *natio Hungarica* — and from which the lower classes were excluded, was at all times preponderantly Magyar, both lingually and racially, but it was always possible for other racial elements to rise into its ranks as a reward for services rendered to the country; this frequently happened in the case of entire villages. The idea of nationality being as yet undiscovered, the distinguishing mark of the nobility was social, not national; hence the non-Magyars who rose to the nobility made common cause with the Magyar nobles and sooner or later assimilated not only their mentality but also their culture, customs and language, becoming Magyarised by a natural process whose "national" character was not realised by any of the parties concerned. Assimilators and assimilated were equally removed from all considerations of nationality; in those days men thought in terms of social classes, not of nationality. This is why the non-Magyar elements of the population — those who from 1800 onward were known as nationalities — belonged for the most part to the class of serfs, and not to the nation of nobles which carried the State and made the country's history. Of these non-Magyar peoples within the State only those enjoyed a privileged position and a certain amount of self-government — even, sometimes, complete cultural autonomy — who had been invited to the country by various kings for some specific reason, (to swell the urban population, as frontier guards like the Saxons and Zipsers, or some Rumanian and Serb groups prepared to serve as

soldiers) but these formed a comparatively small portion of the non-Magyar element; the great mass had come in of their own accord from the thirteenth century onward, either as refugees and labourers who deliberately accepted the conditions of serfdom or — during the days of the Turkish occupation, — in turbulent bands which the Viennese authorities subsequently compelled to accept an ordered existence not, as may be imagined, in a higher social sphere but in the ranks of the peasantry.

If, before 1848, there was any oppression of the non-Magyar inhabitants, it was only the oppression which was the lot of all serfs, without any ethnic distinction, just as the rights and privileges of the nobility were enjoyed without any distinction of race by every privileged person or group. There is thus no ground whatever for talking of *national* oppression in the period which preceded 1848. If there was an oppressor in those days it was the imperial Austrian government which, steadfastly pursuing its idea of a *Gesamtmonarchie*, did oppress at least the Magyars, if no one else.

Let us now see wherein lay this "oppression," the term of whose duration we have thus reduced from a thousand to fifty years. When, in 1867, the Magyar nation recovered its independence, its first task was to frame, in 1868, Act XLIV on the equal rights of the nationalities which, fifty years before the Paris Treaties, codified in a much more effective manner than the latter the protection of the minorities. This law is proof that the wise and moderate conception of Széchenyi, Deák and Eötvös, those giants of the age of reform, in regard to the full and unreserved recognition of minority rights, was accepted and enacted by Magyar public opinion in an age when every European State which possessed minority races was resorting to the most brutal expedients for compassing the assimilation or extirpation of its nationalities.

The Hungarian nationalities rejected the hand of friendship extended to them by the Magyars and demanded, in the place of Act XLIV, territorial autonomies with almost sovereign rights and without any guarantees of protection for the Magyar minorities which the new arrangement would have created in their midst. In view of this attitude the ma-

jority of the Magyars abandoned the policy of conciliation, which, if a political blunder, was at least psychologically explicable. Aware that a section of the minority intelligentsia was conspiring with foreign factors against the existence of the State, the general public took refuge in self-defensive chauvinism. Was it to be wondered at if this chauvinism occasionally exercised an influence on the actions of the government and compelled it to issue laws and regulations which served the purposes of magyarisation? That the noble traditions of Magyar liberalism had nevertheless not died out is shown by the fact that the age did not lack politicians and publicists who sincerely believed in and vigorously propagated the gospel of a good understanding with the nationalities. It cannot be denied that there was a plentiful crop of intolerant newspaper articles and public speeches, mostly emanating from newly-assimilated neophytes, urging more forcible methods of magyarisation. This surface chauvinism, coupled with electioneering abuses such as occurred also in the purely Magyar districts, and administrative blunders which in nationality districts were immediately transformed into "minority grievances", furnished excellent material for anti-Magyar propaganda and blinded the world to the fact that in actual fact the minority races were not at all badly off in Hungary and that in some respects they were actually more favourably situated than the great masses of the Magyars. This was particularly the case in the economic field, in which conditions have been thus described by Francis Bozóky:

"The economic institutions of the Germans — especially of those sober and industrious people, the Transylvanian Saxons — were particularly well developed. They had big banks with plenty of capital, while their cooperative societies greatly benefited their agriculture. They continued to acquire land at the expense of the Magyar inhabitants. The Serbs also lived under extremely favourable conditions in the most fertile districts of the country, with an advantageous distribution of the land. But also in industry and commerce this vigorous, courageous, gifted and extremely national-minded people succeeded in holding their own. The industrious and frugal Slovaks throve as farmers and

also as factory hands and artisans. The Ruthenians made a living by means of the strong economic ties which bound them to the Great Hungarian Plain. The Rumanians, generally speaking, have a lower standard of life than either the Magyars or the Saxons, though they are more and more rapidly making up for their shortcomings in this respect. The chief cause of their economic backwardness lies in the fact that having, originally, been a shepherd people, they have for a long time shown little aptitude for agriculture or commerce. But their material well-being seems sufficiently attested by the fact that before the first world war there flourished in Transylvania one hundred and fifty financial institutes serving Rumanian national aims, whose generous grants of credit made it possible for 170,000 cad. acres of land, to the value of 58 million crowns, to pass from Magyar into Rumanian hands in the years between 1905 and 1915. Such Rumanian land — mostly woods and pastures — as was acquired by Magyars during the same period did not exceed 5 million crowns in value."[1]

It is safe to say that generally speaking the class of completely landless farm labourers contained a greater proportion of Magyars than of non-Magyars, and that in the category of small-holders, that is, the independent peasantry, the nationalities were better situated than the Magyars. Official statistical returns show that about 1910 the proportion of the landless farmhands as against the 1,759,805 small farmers (those owning less than 50 acres of land) in the Magyar districts was 48·4 %; in the German districts, in an agricultural population of 284,328 the percentage was 28·5%; among the 396,263 Slovaks it was 33·6%; among the 845,248 Rumanians it was 31·5%; among the 108,758 Ruthenians it was 23·7% and among the 114,378 Serbs it was 40·9%. Thus it was among the Magyar farming population that the landless figured in the greatest numbers. As regards the distribution of land, the small holdings of less than five acres were apportioned as follows: Magyars held 10·5%, Germans 21%, Slovaks 23%, Rumanians 23·3%, Ruthenians 30·7 %, Croats 34·6%, Serbs 13·3%. Of farms between five and ten acres 14·5% were held by Magyars, 16·1%

[1] Francis Bozóky: *A nemzetiségi kérdés gazdasági vonatkozásai. Láthatár*, X. No. 10.

by Germans, 20% by Slovaks, 21·5% by Rumanians, 23·6% by Ruthenians, 22·8% by Croats and 15% by Serbs. The proportion of owners of ten to twenty acres was as follows: Magyars 12·5%, Germans 19·6%, Slovaks 16·3%, Rumanians 15%, Ruthenians 12·2%, Croats 15·1%, Serbs 16·3%. Among the owners of from twenty to thirty acres Magyars figured with 7·6%, Germans with 14·3%, Slovaks with 7·9%, Rumanians with 5·9%, Ruthenians with 5·1%, Croats with 4·3%, and Serbs with 11·8%. The proportion of Magyars only began to rise from 50 acres upward, reaching a preponderant superiority in the category of over 1,000 acres. In the last group the nationalities were represented in important units by the Churches, which by reason of their immense possessions were able to maintain a very considerable network of minority elementary and middle schools, administered by them with complete autonomy. The Rumanian Greek Catholic See of Balázsfalva as well as the Greek Orthodox Rumanian and Serb Sees owned very extensive property.

Oscar Jászi, who can hardly be taxed with Magyar chauvinism, writing about 1910, described the distribution of land as follows:

"The largest section of the nationality peoples represents a typically peasant culture of dwarf and small holdings, as yet little disturbed by capitalism; the German section of the population, on the other hand, shows an analogous process of development to that of the Magyars. It must of course be owned that with the prevailing antiquated methods of cultivation the category of ten to fifteen acre holdings represents but a poor material and cultural level. But with the development of intensive farming and a more democratic régime this category has a great future before it. We must not shut our eyes to the fact that this category contains 290,000 non-Magyar small farmers and only 190,000 Magyars. True, the greater part of the non-Magyar farmers work under considerably less favourable natural conditions than the Magyars; but this does not alter the circumstance that the sway of the latifundia weighs much more heavily on the Magyars than on the nationalities. And since in Hungary the nationality question in its present stage of

development is eminently a question of the peasantry, from the point of view of practical politics as they appear at the moment, the comparatively strong position held by the non-Magyar small-holder class renders nationality aspirations invincible, notwithstanding the fact that the greater part of the cultivated area is still in the hands of the Magyar medium and big landowners. The solid *Hinterland* of dwarf- and small-holder peasantry supplies the nationality movement not only with an enormous non-combatant army, but also with an ever-renewed well-spring of strength derived from every advance in agricultural development, and this must inevitably lead to the gradual strengthening of the non-Magyar middle class. This has already happened in Transylvania, where by 1896 72% of the big estates and 21·25% of the medium estates of 100 to 1,000 acres were in Rumanian hands."[1]

Once again we must revert to historic causes to account for the above-described manner of land distribution. In former days, up to 1848, all landed property, with the exception of that owned by certain privileged groups like the so-called Saxon *universitas* or the nationality Churches, was in the hands of the nobility which, as has been shown, consisted exclusively of Magyars or Magyarised non-Magyars. "The beneficent effect," writes Professor Jancsó, "of the liberation of the serfs in 1848 consisted primarily in the fact that they obtained free, as their own property in perpetuity, the land for which up till then they had had comparatively onerous duties and burdens to discharge to the landlords. The compensation of the latter for the loss of these serf-holdings was shouldered by the State. But the absolute Austrian Government, which in the eighteen-fifties wielded the power in Hungary, procrastinated, for political reasons, with the payment of the indemnities, this seeming as good a way as another of hastening the ruin of the Magyar landed class which they looked on as their strongest opponent. As a result of the liberation of the peasantry the landlords, deprived of most of the labour at their command and having no working capital at their disposal, suffered a severe economic crisis which in its turn led to the gradual mo-

[1] Oscar Jászi: *The Formation of National States* (in Hungarian) pp. 420–21.

bilisation of the medium estates, by piecemeal sales which incidentally furnished the newly liberated peasants with the opportunity of buying up the allotments offered and so increasing their own holdings. This produced a situation in which the condition of the peasantry improved parallel with the economic decline of the medium landowning class, which in the nationality districts was particularly detrimental to the interests of the Magyar inhabitants, since in these districts, apart from the urban population, still weak financially as well as numerically, the class of medium landowners, formed almost exclusively the backbone of the Magyar element . . . This process started as early as the 'fifties, but only became really extensive in the 'eighties of the last century. If we examine from this angle that part of pre-war Transylvania in which the Rumanians lived in a majority side by side with a Magyar minority, we shall find that in two counties, Fogaras and Hunyad, the big and medium estates have almost entirely been absorbed by the Rumanian inhabitants, for in Fogaras only 2% and in Hunyad 3%, are still in Magyar hands. Magyar big and medium estates are only to be found in the central parts of Transylvania now — 24% in the county of Kolozs, 21% in Kisküküllő, 20% in Marostorda, 18% in Tordaaranyos, 18% in Szolnok-Doboka, 12% in Alsófejér. Count Stephen Bethlen has calculated that in the five years preceding 1913, 44,000 acres of agricultural land and 20,000 acres of forests, amounting to a total value of 25 million crowns, passed into Rumanian hands in the above area, constituting about 8% of the landed properties of over 100 acres contained in this part of the country.

"The situation is similar in the contiguous counties of Hungary proper where the Rumanian inhabitants are in a majority. But as in these districts the supply of Magyar big and medium estates is considerably larger than in the above-indicated Transylvanian territory, the proportion of transfers is smaller — only 5%. In these counties the same five years have seen 52,000 acres of agricultural land and 50,000 acres of forests to the value of approximately 45 million crowns, pass into Rumanian hands. If we take an average of the losses of these five years, we shall find that approxi-

mately 33,000 to 35,000 acres a year, to the value of 14 million crowns, became Rumanian property. The conclusions arrived at by Count Bethlen have been confirmed by the researches instituted on the same subject by László Tokaji and Ernest Eber.

"The situation is more or less the same in the counties of Upper Hungary where the Slovaks are in a majority. In this part of the country the Slovak farmers buy the crumbling Magyar medium estates with money acquired in the United States or with the aid of credit extended by the Slovak nationality banks . . ."[1]

The above shows clearly that the distribution of land after 1848 was the natural result of the historic evolution of centuries. If this distribution originally tended to reflect the superior status of the Magyars, the increase of the non-Magyar smallholdings and medium estates caused the trend of development to shift more and more in a direction favourable to the nationalities. Far from being in any way handicapped or thrust into the background by government restrictions or official favouritism, they were given a perfectly free hand and, assisted by circumstances and the conditions of open competition, waxed strong at the expense of the Magyars. It must be reckoned to the credit of the latter that, seeing this assault on their positions, they refrained from following certain tempting foreign examples and arresting the process by arbitrary means. The "democratic" Succession States were troubled by no such scruples when, later on, the Treaty of Trianon put it in their power to deal the Magyar landowner class a mortal blow. There is no doubt whatever that the loudly advertised agrarian reforms of the Succession States, with their ostensibly democratic aims, were inspired by the purpose of dispossessing the Magyar landowners — indeed, the President of the Czech Land Office has admitted as much. Professor Andrew Rónai has described these proceedings in the following terms:

"After the dismemberment of Hungary by the Treaty of Trianon, the Succession States instituted an extremely forcible agrarian reform in the territories annexed from her.

[1] Benedict Jancsó: *"Defensio nationis Hungaricae."* pp. 182, 189.

In Transylvania 3·1 million cad. acres were taken from their owners, in Upper Hungary, which had been joined to Czecho-Slovakia, 2·3 million cad. acres, in the southern regions annexed by Yugoslavia 860,000 cad. acres. The aim of these reforms was national rather than economic, as is shown by the fact that in the territories joined to Rumania only 20·3% of the expropriated land was used to satisfy the needs of the landless local claimants, and in the regions annexed by Czecho-Slovakia only 17·5%. In Yugoslavia the situation was different. Here 75·6% of the expropriated land was distributed among the local claimants, but it must be remembered that in these regions only Serb, Croat and Slovene claimants could obtain land, whereas in the territories annexed from Hungary the Magyar and German inhabitants formed an absolute majority. 76% of the total amount of land expropriated in the territories annexed by Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia had been owned by Magyars, which is another proof of the anti-Magyar tendency of the agrarian reforms carried out by the Succession States. This is a point worth noting: the agrarian reforms of the Succession States expropriated 4·7 million cad. acres of Magyar landed property, distributing them almost exclusively among the non-Magyar inhabitants. The Magyar minorities suffered crushing impoverishment."[1]

There is no doubt whatever that if the Magyars had had recourse to such measures in the days of their hegemony, they could have ruined the nationalities, whose relative weakness in those days extended also to the economic field. But they did not have recourse to such measures. The economic troubles of the nationalities were not caused by the Hungarian Government nor by Magyar social factors. Of these troubles Oscar Jászi, in his above-quoted work, has written the following:

"The economic backwardness of the Rumanian people and of the minority peoples in general (with the exception of the Saxons) had its roots in a diversity of causes. Living for the most part in the less fertile regions of the peripheries, they were unable to produce that agricultural surplus which forms the foundation of all industry and commerce. This

[1] Rónai: *"Hazánk"*. p. 218.

is why the industrialisation of the nationality districts lags behind even that of the Magyar regions. In the latter, 481.54 of every thousand inhabitants live by agriculture, in Slovak districts 563.63, in Rumanian districts 633.38. Also, setting aside the controversial question of the relative merits of big concerns or small — there is no doubt that economic progress is on the side of the up-to-date, intensively cultivated farm run on cooperative lines, and not on that of the extensively worked, debt-ridden, isolated and backward dwarf or small-holding which is the prevailing type in the nationality districts . . . As might be expected, where backward methods of agriculture and stock-raising are coupled with illiteracy, religious superstition and administrative autocracy, usury flourished in the nationality districts (especially among the Rumanians. I have been told by reliable men who knew what they were talking about that it is no exceptional thing for the banks to lend money at 20, 30, even 40% interest) naturally camouflaged under the heading of all kinds of fees and charges. Occasionally these banks are founded under the aegis of national slogans. The Rumanian intelligentsia wants them to provide a livelihood for its sons, excluded from government and county posts, and to strengthen its own political influence . . . But the banks are not alone in sucking the life-blood out of the poor. There is another form of usury, which may be said to show itself in a tangible form. In every Rumanian mountain village, however backward, one can find a stone house, neater, better built, more up-to-date than the rest. This is the house of the draper and inn-keeper in one, the usurer who has grown fat on the debts of the poor peasantry. He is generally a good business man who puts his services at the disposal of the peasants in their various troubles and difficulties, especially when there is a question of obtaining a bank loan, and makes his hundred per cent profit on the transaction. In these out-of-the-way Rumanian districts it is not infrequently the village priest himself who acts as a paid agent of the bank. The situation is exactly the same as that revealed by Fényes in regard to the Ruthenian districts. This anarchy in the field of credit has its counterpart in the marketing of the farmer's produce.

There is no thought of selling on a cooperative basis; every peasant carries his own meagre produce singly to some distant market, and is often ruined in the process. The situation of the peasantry is further aggravated by the dearth of land resulting from the natural increase of the population and the system of extensive farming, which caused the price of land to rise to horrible sums."[1]

The above needs no comment. It is evident that the troubles and difficulties of the nationalities were brought on them by life itself and cannot be laid at the door of the Hungarian Government. Jászi has mentioned as one of the sources of trouble the proceedings of the nationality banks. But Jászi's words have not shown with sufficient clarity the double role played by these banks: their support of nationality endeavours on the one hand, and on the other their typically capitalistic exploitation of the nationality masses. It may not be without interest to take a somewhat closer view of this matter. It must first of all be remembered that generally speaking these banks were comparatively recent creations. In 1870 there were altogether only 180 banks in Hungary, of which 167 were Magyar, 12 German, and one Slovak. From this year onward — that is, during the period of alleged Magyarisation, — the number of nationality banks rose from year to year; the Hungarian State placed no obstacles in the way of their foundation, although it was well known that the Slovak banks depended on Czech capital and the Rumanian on capital derived from the Kingdom of Rumania. During the years between 1871 and 1890, three Slovak, sixteen Rumanian and two Serb banks were founded; these were increased between 1891 and 1910 by nineteen Slovak, eighty Rumanian, eighteen Serb and one Czech bank; between 1910 and 1915 five Slovak, nineteen Rumanian and six Serb banks were founded. In 1915 there were in Hungary 1789 financial institutes of all sorts, with a total capital of 2,264,659,000 crowns. Of these, 1468 were Magyar, having between them a capital of 2,119,244,000 crowns, 95 German with a capital of 59,561,000 crowns, 36 Slovak, with a capital of 18,207,000 crowns, 156 Rumanian, with a capital of

[1] Jászi: *Op. cit.* pp. 465, 467—9.

54,493.000 crowns, 30 Serb, with 8,557,000 crowns; four other (Italian and Czech) banks had a capital of 4,097,000 crowns. This mushroom growth of nationality banks did not seriously endanger the economic superiority of the Magyars, a superiority deriving from natural and historic causes and as such, lying at the root of their hegemony — but at least it showed that in this field as in others the non-Magyars were left perfectly free to organise themselves with a view to their own interests. One of the principal motive forces behind the foundation of these banks, touched on also by Jászi, was that they furnished the non-Magyar intelligentsia, particularly the lawyers, with remunerative posts and an opportunity of influencing the masses. Numerous well-known figures in the nationality movement were directors of nationality banks, such as Aurelius Vlad, Stephen Pop-Csicsó, Milan Hodža, Lawrence Šrobár, Matthew Dula and others. A particularly famous bank was the Rumanian Albina, which financed the entire Rumanian banking business of Hungary, maintained relations with the banking world of the Rumanian Kingdom, transmitted the funds sent thence to the Transylvanian Rumanians for cultural purposes, and itself spent between 20,000 and 30,000 crowns a year for the same purpose. Among Slovak banks the Tátra Bank was at first most to the fore, but later on its role was taken over by the Bank of Rózsahegy. The latter, just like the Slovak Bank of Budapest, was subsidised by Czech capital and both worked for the furtherance of Czechoslovak national unity. These nationality banks gave bountiful, not to say ostentatious, donations for nationality purposes, but did not scruple at the same time to pursue their own business aims at the cost of the ruin of their own peasantry. Only among the Germans was national altruism stronger than the business spirit; in the single year of 1910 the Sparkassa of Nagyszeben gave 300,000 crowns, the Bodenkreditanstalt, also of Nagyszeben, 112,000 crowns, the Sparkassa of Brassó 77,000 crowns, the Bank of Segesvár 21,000 crowns and that of Medgyes 6,000 crowns for Saxon cultural and ecclesiastical purposes.

It will be evident from the above that during the period of alleged oppression the nationality banks flourished in a

most satisfactory manner and made very considerable profits or they could not have subsidised with such large sums the cultural endeavours of their own people. The Magyars regarded this subsidising of the peoples in question as the latter's natural right and placed no obstacles whatever in its way.

The same impartiality was shown by the Hungarian Government in the field of taxation. The Magyars, owning 59·9% of the estates, paid 62·1% of the taxation; the Germans, with 9·9%, paid 16·3%, the Slovaks with 7·7%, paid 6·2%, the Rumanians, with 16%, only 8·7%, and the Serbs with 2·5%, and Ruthenes with 2·3%, 3·5 and ·9%, respectively.

From this it will be seen that the Magyars, Germans and Serbs paid higher taxes in proportion to their land than the Slovaks, Rumanians and Ruthenes, which shows that in the assessment of taxes the productivity of the soil was taken as the only just and fair criterion. Of the 182,600,000 crowns levied in direct taxes in the whole of the country (Budapest excluded), Transylvania was assessed at 20,480,617 crowns, the Tisza-Maros district, another region with a pronouncedly non-Magyar character, at 27,126,349 crowns and the left banks of the Danube, where the population is Slovak-German-Magyar, at 21,791,800 crowns; that is, the three districts where the nationalities preponderated were assessed at a total of 69,398,765 crowns, while the four preponderantly Magyar regions had to pay 113,192,343 crowns. If we add up the preponderantly Magyar and preponderantly non-Magyar counties, we shall find that (exclusive of Budapest), the taxes of the Magyar counties amount to 101 million crowns, and those of the non-Magyar counties to 81 million crowns. Budapest by itself pays as much in taxes as the whole of Transylvania and the German-Slovak left bank of the Danube — the nationality districts *par excellence*, — pay together. Half of the total amount of taxes was paid by the counties, boroughs and townships, and of the 80 million crowns only 15 millions were levied on the non-Magyar and 74 millions on the Magyar towns; that is to say, the Magyar towns alone paid more than all the nationalities of Hungary together. Such was the economic "oppression" of the nationalities by the Hungarian State.

Only one more aspect of this "oppression" shall be briefly mentioned here. It concerns the organised State aid given to distressed nationality areas. Benedict Jancsó has thus described this relief campaign of the Hungarian Government:

"It was among the Ruthenians, living in the least fertile region of the country, that the intervention of the government first became necessary, in the beginning of the present century. The purpose of this intervention was the economic strengthening of the Ruthenian people. Their principal trouble was a lack of adequate plough-lands and pastures. This drawback was remedied by renting from the big land-owners about 20,000 acres of arable land and distributing it at a low yearly rental among 3063 small-holders. Apart from this, about 6000 acres were given freehold to Ruthenian farmers at a low rate of annual amortisation. In order to improve the quality of stockbreeding, special kinds of horned cattle were imported from abroad and stud animals distributed among the farmers at a low charge. A model farm was created on 7268 acres of mountain soil, where 6400 head of cattle of improved breed were kept for the local farmers to replenish their stock with. Much care and labour was spent on cleaning and improving the pastures and meadows in order to facilitate stock-rearing and render it really remunerative.

"Model farms were created in many places with a view to superseding antiquated methods of agriculture and demonstrations were given of the proper methods of farming. Bearing in mind the local requirements, the government set up a model dairy and training school in the hills where every year twenty-four young men were trained at government cost in order that, having returned to their own villages, they should instruct the other farmers in the ways of up-to-date farming and especially of butter- and cheese-making. During the winter months lectures on agricultural subjects were given in some of the villages and there were also courses for the teaching of handicrafts, with cooperative societies for disposing of the handiwork of the villagers. About 3400 small farmers found employment in these cooperative societies during the winter months, their united earnings exceeding, before the outbreak of the war, 203,000 crowns a year.

"In order to hinder the exploitation of money and produce, credit cooperative societies and cooperative stores were organised. In 1913 there were 143 credit cooperatives and 77 cooperative stores. The credit cooperatives had 35,819 members, with shares amounting to 2,577,580 crowns and savings deposits of 1,591,556 crowns. The credit extended to the members, exclusively for remunerative investments, amounted to 6 million crowns. The turnover of the cooperative stores approximated 2 million crowns.

"In order to prevent the mostly illiterate Ruthenian peasants from being robbed and despoiled, by swindling transactions, it was made possible for every peasant to obtain free legal advice both in lawsuits and other matters from lawyers paid by the State.

"In view of the good results of this undertaking, the government extended it to the Slovak districts of Upper Hungary. In 1908 there was set up a Government Commission in Zsolna, at first only for the benefit of the counties of Árva, Trencsén and Liptó. Three years later, in 1911, the Commission extended its sphere to embrace also the county of Zólyom.

"The soil of these counties being better adapted for stock-rearing than for agriculture, the Commission turned its attention first of all to the improvement of the existing pastures and the purchase of new ones. Considerable sums were placed at its disposal by the government for this purpose. Working hand-in-hand with the agricultural societies of the counties, the Commission distributed at a moderate cost bulls and pigs of improved breed among the local farmers. Poultry-keeping was encouraged by free gifts of fowls to industrious farmers. For mental nourishment Farmers' Circles were organised wherever there was an opening for them. In 1911 there were as many as ninety-five such Farmers' Circles functioning in the territories presided over by the Commission . . . The Commission also made it its care to procure and distribute good seed-grain among the farmers. Depots for model agricultural machinery were set up in order to propagate their employment by the population. The machines were under the care of the Farmers' Circle, whose members could use them gratis. In 1911 there were already 114 such depots under the Commission's competence.

Cooperative societies for the purchase of machinery were established and generously subsidised.

"Fruit-growing was also encouraged by the distribution of good-quality grafts. Two experimental establishments were set up with a view to introducing intensive vegetable gardening. Winter courses were held for instruction in basket-weaving, wood-carving and embroidery, and cooperatives organised for the sale of the finished articles. In the year immediately preceding the great war, thirty-seven cooperative dairies were functioning under the aegis of the Commission, which had also begun, with government assistance, to build village halls for the education and entertainment of the villagers. These village halls were destined to house the cooperative societies, the Farmers' Circle, and the library, and to provide the premises for lectures and educational courses. Briefly, the activities of the Commission appointed to Upper Hungary embraced all the material and moral requirements and interests of the Slovak farmers of these regions."[1]

The foregoing, it is hoped, has furnished sufficient proof that in the fifty years in which there could have been any question of Magyarisation the Magyars did nothing to hinder the economic organisation and development of the nationalities; more, that in indigent regions they exerted themselves to the utmost to further their economic well-being. No one versed in nationality questions will need to be told how immense an advantage was gained by nationality policy from this economic freedom, which is the first condition and premise of every nationality movement, being the most potent factor in promoting a specific nationalist cultural life and a nationalistic consciousness. Economic freedom produces, by a natural process, the possibility of cultural organisation. There is no better illustration of this fact than that furnished by pre-war Hungary.

[1] Benedict Jancsó: *Op. cit.* pp. 194—196.

HUNGARY AND SERBIA

By LÁSZLÓ BOLGÁR

A NUMBER of articles and even books have dealt with Hungaro-Serbian relations in the past, so that it is hardly necessary to describe them at length in these pages. On the other hand, so many new elements and turns of events have taken place in recent years in the relations of the two countries and the two peoples that it seems opportune to review them at the present moment.

There can be no doubt that the development of Hungaro-Serbian relations since the first world war was determined by the peace treaties made after its conclusion. It was as a direct result of these that the new State of Yugoslavia became one of the members of the Little Entente, which during its eighteen years of existence adopted what can at best only be called a negative attitude towards Hungary. Although it was understood and even emphasized on numerous occasions that there were no definite points of conflict between the Serbs and the Hungarians, the two peoples inevitably found themselves in different camps as a result of the policies of the Great Powers.

Naturally, the fact that there were no actual differences, and even many points in common, between the two peoples had its effect, and for this reason attempts were repeatedly made to bridge over the questions of general policy and arrive at some closer relationship, while the fact that, of all the countries of the Little Entente, Hungary found fewest points of difference with Yugoslavia was seen in the signature of the agreement between Hungary and the Little Entente taking place at Bled, on Yugoslav soil. As regards the direct contacts between the two countries, it can be definitely

stated at this distance of time that the initiative came mainly from the Hungarian side, since the Hungarian people was convinced that owing to the absence of any serious differences of opinion it would be easiest to arrive at a good understanding with Yugoslavia. One of the best instances of this is to be found in the speech made by the Regent of Hungary, Admiral Horthy, as early as 1926, when he offered the hand of friendship to Yugoslavia with an openness which must be almost unique in the history of diplomacy. It is only to be regretted that as a consequence of political conditions in Yugoslavia at the time the hoped-for effect was not achieved. Other attempts in the same direction could not lead to any result as long as relations between the two countries were dominated by the League of Nations' system of security and the agreement between the countries of the Little Entente which was a link in its chain.

The situation of course changed when the position in Europe underwent the alteration which began to take shape about 1935. This was so pronounced that the Stojadinović Government which had recently come to power in Yugoslavia was able to move away from the policy which Belgrade had until then been following steadily. This change of course, which took the actual state of affairs into account, led on the one hand to a weakening of the Little Entente, and on the other opened up the possibility of a Hungarian-Yugoslav rapprochement.

The events of the next few years confirmed Yugoslavia in the course upon which she had entered. In 1938 came the *Anschluss*, which brought Germany to the frontiers of the South Slav State. In 1939, with the collapse of Czecho-Slovakia, the Little Entente in fact ceased to exist. The shadow of war appeared, and Yugoslavia, like many other of the small nations, perceived with increasing clearness that no system of security or alliances was capable of ensuring peace or of keeping her out of the war. The Yugoslav statesmen believed that it would be possible to evade the approaching danger by attempting to hold the balance between the two opposing groups of powers, while at the same time they began to seek closer contact with the other small countries who found themselves in much the same situation, and realised their common destiny.

At this point relations between Hungary and Yugoslavia were much better than they had been for years. There was no question of a formal agreement, but a certain alleviation was seen in the lot of the Magyar minority in Yugoslavia, which till then had been by no means an easy one, while, even more important, public opinion in both countries was ripe for the resumption of good-neighbourly relations.

The outbreak of war did much to dispose of existing difficulties and to bring the two countries together. The fact that the war was being fought out in the West raised the hope that Central and South-Eastern Europe would not become a battlefield; but as events took their course it became evident that these hopes were doomed to disappointment.

From the point of view of Hungarian-Serbian, or Hungarian-Yugoslav relations, the year 1940 was a decisive one. Germany turned her attention to the East, and the German army appeared one day unexpectedly in Rumania. At the end of October war broke out between Italy and Greece, so that Yugoslavia found herself in the geographical centre of events. It was then that the feeling of interdependence and a common destiny awoke so rapidly both in Hungary and Yugoslavia that it seemed only natural to set a seal on the rapprochement which had taken place. Within a few weeks, on December 12, 1940, the Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, the late Count Stephen Csáky, was able to go to Belgrade and sign the Hungarian-Yugoslav Pact of Eternal Friendship with his opposite number, M. Cincar-Marković.

Anyone who was in Belgrade at the time will remember very well the excellent effect produced by the Pact on public opinion in Yugoslavia. The nature of the agreement and the general situation excluded any noisy enthusiasm, but the definite evidence of the two nations having got together was expressed in the very warm reception accorded in Belgrade to Count Csáky. Hungarian public opinion showed even more pleasure at the agreement, and the accomplishment of Hungarian-Serb friendship was sincerely welcomed by the Hungarian people.

It is sad to have to state that the Pact from its very inception carried within it all the germs of weakness that rendered it void in a bare four months of existence. It was tragic that political constellations and above all the sensitiveness of other countries had hindered direct negotiations for such a long time, and when the Pact had become an absolute necessity, only a few short weeks remained to bring it into existence. There was simply no time to settle the problems which should inevitably have been dealt with.

But there was another reason too why the most important questions of frontiers and minorities could not be raised. At that time Yugoslavia had approached much more closely to the idea that frontiers were not unalterably fixed, though she still adopted a rigidly negative attitude when it came to a question of her own frontiers. If Yugoslavia had been willing to discuss the matter with Hungary, other countries would have raised their own claims, and Yugoslavia would have found herself faced by the same crisis as had arisen for Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania. Now, the object of the Pact was mutual support, and not the weakening of either partner to it, so that Yugoslavia was the one country with whom Hungary could not raise the vital question of frontiers.

Looking back over the last three years at the Hungarian-Yugoslav Pact of Eternal Friendship, it can only be said that it would still have been better to raise the territorial question, and with it that of the nationalities. This seems all the more probable if we recollect that not only was public opinion in both countries prepared to hear of frontier rectification, but a concrete plan had also been worked out. Although negotiations to this end were never initiated, political circles both in Budapest and in Belgrade seriously believed in the possibility of what was called the Canal Line. To have accepted the line of the Francis Canal, which divides the Bácska, as the frontier between the two countries, would have been a compromise solution which, although it would have evaded the natural frontier imposed by the Danube, would at least have been acceptable on ethnographic grounds.

However difficult the moment was for the discussion of territorial questions, and however much time pressed, this was the only, the first and the last opportunity to deal with contro-

versial matter and produce a solid basis for friendship. It should have been borne in mind that good will and the desire for cooperation were all in vain if difficulties were to arise and, in the absence of that solid basis, prove too much for the friendship that was as yet immature. Even then it should have been realised that one or other of the partners to the Pact might well be drawn into the war, and that in that case it would be easy to play off one country against the other by skilful utilisation of their unsolved problems.

Although it must again be emphasized that the Pact of Eternal Friendship was the direct result of a *sincere* desire on the part of both countries to cooperate with each other, the fact that nothing could be said about the most important questions between them necessarily carried with it the element of insincerity. Public opinion in both countries was in fact uninformed, uncertain of what was behind the word eternal, and thus attached different meanings to it. In Belgrade it was believed that the Pact tacitly contained an abandonment of Hungary's territorial claims. In Budapest, it was the conviction that the frontier was to be revised as soon as the war was over. Official communiqués and commentaries were studiously silent on the question, and in fact the word eternal was really intended to cover the absence of any really concrete agreements.

In the months which followed the signature of the Pact, friendship between Serbs and Hungarians became even closer. Yugoslavia's situation in the international drama however in the meanwhile deteriorated, since in March 1941 Bulgaria, following Rumania's example, opened her gates to the German troops and the landing of British troops in Greece made a clash in the Balkans almost inevitable. The Yugoslav Government, driven into a corner, conducted long and eventful negotiations with Berlin in March, as a result of which it appeared that, with no really satisfactory solution in view, the probable best course would be to comply with the demands of the Axis Powers and adhere to the Three Power Pact.

It was on March 25 that the Yugoslav representatives in Vienna signed the Three Power Pact; two days later came the famous *coup d'état* in Belgrade. In a matter of

hours the opposition triumphed, while Serbian public opinion, insufficiently informed and in any case pro-British, received with unbounded enthusiasm the news that Yugoslavia had recovered her freedom of action.

War was inevitable, and it came on April 6. But before this, on April 2, something had happened in Budapest which will always be memorable in any consideration of Hungarian-Serb relations.

Hungary's geographical situation made it impossible for her to be left out of the Yugoslav campaign. She would never have set her army in motion against Yugoslavia, and in fact she never did. There can be no possible doubt that nothing Hungary could have done would have changed what actually happened. Count Paul Teleki, the Prime Minister of Hungary, saw clearly that the coming events would inevitably remove one of Hungary's important political supports and sweep his country into the whirl of events. Such was his despair that on April 2 he committed suicide.

Anyone who was in Belgrade at that time will remember the effect that the news of Count Teleki's suicide produced in Yugoslavia. It was only then that the Serbs realised how great was the danger that threatened them, and understood too that the sacrifice which the Hungarian Prime Minister had made was largely for them. Many of the Serb friends of the writer shook him by the hand and thanked him with tears in their eyes for the gesture which a Hungarian statesman had made on behalf of Yugoslavia. Whatever might happen, some of them said, the Serbian people would never forget Count Paul Teleki. Belgrade mourned the Hungarian Prime Minister as a martyr in the cause of Hungaro-Serb friendship.

Nothing however could stop the march of events. On April 6 the Germans bombed Belgrade, while their troops crossed the frontier from Bulgaria and reached Albania in the space of four days, thus cutting the country in half. The war in South Serbia was virtually over in shorter time than had been expected, and what remained to be done was rather in the nature of liquidation.

Hungary looked on, amazed and, militarily and politically, entirely unprepared. On April 10 the Independent

Croat State was proclaimed in Zagreb, so that Yugoslavia ceased to exist in its previous form. The country in fact was broken up into its component parts. The northern part of Yugoslavia was virtually without an owner, and it contained a Magyar minority of several hundred thousand. It was in this new situation that the Regent gave the order for Hungarian troops to enter the Bácska, which is inhabited mainly by Magyars.

In the three years that have passed since then Hungary has frequently been reproached with stabbing Yugoslavia in the back and taking territory away from her in spite of the Pact of Friendship. These charges are in part refuted by the fact that at the time the Hungarian troops moved in, Yugoslavia *de facto* no longer existed. The new Croat State had already come into existence on her territory, and the remains of the Yugoslav army were making their last stand far to the south, near Sarajevo. The Hungarian troops met with no organised resistance, and had only to deal with the chetnik *franc-tireurs* who had been settled there in the last twenty years. There is no doubt whatever that in this new situation, as a result of events, the Pact of Friendship could not be applied. It cannot be said that Hungary attacked Yugoslavia; the most that can be said is that after the Yugoslav campaign had been decided the Hungarians occupied a portion of the Yugoslav State.

Even this might be the matter of an accusation if the territory which was occupied had been indisputably Serbian. But, without going into long historical explanations, it must be pointed out that with the exception of the era of Turkish domination this territory was for a thousand years a part of the Hungarian State, which had never at any time belonged to any South Slav state-formation, and in which the Serbian population only appeared at a comparatively late date to supply the place of the Magyar population which had been almost annihilated under the Turks. And even if one cannot lay undisputed claim to a territory on the grounds of historic right, at least it cannot be alleged that the occupation of what had for a thousand years been part of Hungary is identical with annexation and conquest. One must look at it from the other side too: if that charge is to be sustained,

and the thousand years of Hungarian possession refuted, what can be said of the claim made to the territory on the ground that it was Yugoslav for twenty-two years? And this is the principal, and almost the only basis of the claim.

Apart from the question of territory, there is also that of the nationality of the population. If we take the mean between the Hungarian and the Yugoslav statistics on the subject, it will be seen that a safe computation is that half a million Magyars at least were living in Yugoslav territory, and that most of them lived in a compact block between the former frontier and the Francis Canal. Here the Hungarians were in an absolute majority, and elsewhere in a relative one. This may be taken as evidence that the Bácska might well be considered as Hungarian, not only on historical grounds but also viewed from the angle of the actual situation; the very least that can be claimed here is that Hungary did not occupy Yugoslav territory without reasonable motive or in a spirit of conquest.

Another important aspect of the matter is that of practical policy, which must also be taken into serious consideration in the future. It will be admitted that when Yugoslavia was disrupted it was necessary for someone to move into the Bácska. Omitting for the moment historical considerations and the question of the population, upon which the Hungarians thought themselves entitled to act, it may be asked, would it have been better for the Slav population of the territory if it had been occupied by some other army? The Hungarians, as they announced at the time, did not come as enemies, nor did they bring with them a special form of administration as if for an occupied territory. There was a short military administration, and then the Bácska was simply re-integrated into the mother-country; at the moment of writing, the remainder of Yugoslavia is still to all intents and purposes under martial law. There is no need to point out what a difference this entails, especially for the Slav population.

At this point, of course, it is inevitable that people will ask the question: But what about Újvidék (Novi Sad)? Újvidék was an isolated case — not even hostile propaganda can adduce similar instances — and it was a matter of deep

regret and sorrow to everyone from the Prime Minister to the least important member of the public in Hungary. Here is what happened. In January 1942 there was some local trouble which led the authorities to Újvidék. Strict house-to-house searches were made, in the course of which there was actual armed resistance on the part of some Serb elements. The military commander — *entirely on his own authority* — ordered reprisals, and some three thousand people lost their lives as a result, some of them innocent of any participation in the shooting.

There seems to be no precedent for this in Hungarian history, and so foreign is it to our ideas that there was deep indignation when it became known. It did not seem to us Hungarian, either the principle or the method, and the Prime Minister, M. Kállay, voiced the feelings of the country when he denounced it and promised that the strictest enquiries would be made. Public opinion waited impatiently for details of what had happened and the punishment of those responsible.

The facts are admitted, and the responsibility fixed; but it may be added that this Újvidék case was an isolated one. It was a serious matter, but it was never repeated, and the fact that those responsible were called upon to answer for it is sufficient evidence that public opinion in Hungary was not prepared to countenance such procedure in any circumstances. That those responsible for its perpetration were indicted was not the result of political pressure, nor of the course of events, but simply the general desire to wipe out, if possible, the stain upon Hungary's traditions and to remove what could otherwise have been a stumbling-block in the way of Hungarian-Serbian relations.

The fact that in the event the officers who were on trial made their escape in January 1944 does not alter the fact that the step had been taken; on the contrary, the verdict would have been pronounced in a matter of days, and their escape proves that they were afraid of the severest penalty for what they had done. The official communiqué which branded them as deserters was endorsed by Hungarian public opinion, which excommunicated them from the life of the nation, and the Minister for War, General

Csatay, also condemned their conduct in Parliament in the name of the Army. Grassy and the others may have made good their escape from justice; at least they can have no lasting influence on the course of relations between Hungary and the Southern Slavs.

The course of these relations consists principally in the fact that Hungary, in spite of the changes and confusion of war, continues to seek friendly understanding and good-neighbourly relations with the South Slav peoples, principally with the Serbs. At present it is impossible to see clearly what kind of a State will take shape on the southern frontiers, but it is a common interest that good relations and collaboration should develop as far as possible in every section of international life. Until this can be achieved, Hungary desires to assure the Slavs of the Bácska, and above all the Serbs, of the possibilities of peaceful existence and development. If there have been, and still are, complaints, they are rather of a general than of a nationality nature. The Serbs in the Bácska and their compatriots who have taken refuge in Hungary still live as quietly as is possible in war-time.

What relations may be in the future is beyond the scope of this article. At least it may be said that in the years that followed the last war they improved steadily from the tension that followed Trianon to the days that immediately preceded the war, and that everything was to be hoped, for the prosperity of this part of the world as a whole, from the better understanding between two peoples who did not feel the antipathies that were only too evident elsewhere. Hungary is condemned and attacked at the moment, but a more sober consideration of facts and alternatives, of possibilities and difficulties, may yet lead to a very different appreciation of the part she played.

RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS IN SUB-CARPATHIA

By NICHOLAS OZERANY

IT has been said that 'religion is at the bottom of all Slav problems,' and this applies, to a very considerable extent, to Sub-Carpathia, where religious matters are so closely interwoven with political ones that it is practically impossible to deal with one without touching upon the other, and where all political interests and opinions are closely linked with the corresponding religious ones. For this reason any political propaganda carried on in Sub-Carpathia must needs be combined with religion, and must even bear a pronouncedly religious tinge. This may also be the reason why the Soviet government, having grasped this fact as applying not only to its own citizens but to all other Slavs, has changed its methods and elected a Patriarch of Moscow and all the Russias, with a view to the ideological effect of its action upon all the Slav nations; of which more anon.

For over nine hundred years Christianity was divided into two leading groups, the Catholic Church and the Greek one, later subdividing again and producing the Protestant congregations. It has always been a matter of interest to theologians to study the problem of why this division into three main parts occurred — a number which has in general remained constant, since the smaller sects and creeds are only on the periphery, the body of Christianity as such remaining however on broad lines either Catholic, Greek Oriental or Protestant. Here a theory may be advanced which has some bearing upon the situation under consideration, which is that from the purely psychological point of view, the inhabitants of Europe — the part of the world most concerned — may be roughly divided into three groups. One group feels the necessity of

domination by will and authority in ecclesiastical matters, and therefore willingly submits to Roman Catholicism. Another requires to be persuaded, and is more susceptible to ideological formulas, and this group was therefore easily won over to Protestantism. The third group, on the other hand, consisting of those who live predominantly neither by their will nor by their intellect, but by their senses, accept the Greek ritual as that which appeals most to them. This theory, by the way, was developed soon after the end of the first world war by Baron Nikolay, a land-owner in Finland, who had probed deeply into the matter, and it was his contention that the Greek ritual was best adapted to appeal to the senses of its adherents. All five senses, in his view, are catered for by the ceremony of the Oriental Church : the eye by the sumptuous pageantry of the ritual, the ear by the choral singing, the sense of smell by the incense which is burned in the course of every service, and the sense of taste by the fragments of bread which remain over from the preparation of the liturgical sacrifice and are distributed to the congregation at the end of the service ; and last not but least the sense of touch, which is affected by the custom of kissing certain images and the Cross at the end of most ecclesiastical functions.

This theory may be taken as at least a partial explanation of why ecclesiastical matters play such an important part in all affairs relating to the Slav nations, and, of course, also applies to the Ruthenes, the inhabitants of Sub-Carpathia. That territory, which runs along a section of the southern slopes of the Carpathians, has since time immemorial formed an integral part of the Kingdom of Hungary, and the Ruthenes themselves have always taken their share in all international conflicts which concern the Hungarians, with such enthusiasm on many occasions as to earn the name of the *gens fidelissima* from Prince Francis Rákóczi in his wars of liberation against the Habsburg domination. While therefore one cannot say that ecclesiastical problems form a part of general politics, one must in justice say that the latter form a section of ecclesiastical affairs.

Especially towards the close of the eighteenth, and during the whole of the nineteenth century, the general thesis was put forward that the church ought to be divided from the

state, and that the former should take no part in the management of the latter. Whatever may be the arguments produced on either side of the question, it may be stated with some certainty that this is a theory which cannot be applied to the Slav nations in general, and to the Ruthenes in particular, since it would lead to something of an impasse in public life and in any form of cultural development. This state of affairs, which would obviously be impossible, can only be avoided by letting things continue as they have done for the last few centuries, with the Church playing the part of the leading factor in public life. In this connection it is interesting to remark that the retrogression in the cultural state of Sub-Carpathia during the Czech domination, from 1918 to 1938, was due to the attempt of the wholly secular Czech government to secularise all 'Czechoslovaks.' This, it will be remembered, was the name under which all the inhabitants of Czecho-Slovakia were herded together, whether they were Germans, Bohemians, Moravians, Hungarians, Slovaks, Ruthenes or Poles. The 'Czechoslovak nation' of course never really existed, the formation of the state having been merely an attempt to solve the problem of what was to be done with the small Slav groups who, if left to themselves, would have tried to form a number of small independent states whose viability would have been to say the least of it questionable. This solution, to label one group Czechoslovaks and the other Yugoslavs, and to pad them out with minorities taken from other nations, never had much prospect of success, and the two artificial states rather naturally collapsed in a period so short that one hopes that their sponsors will think seriously before making the same mistake again.

As regards Sub-Carpathia, it was evidently a fallacy to interfere with an arrangement which had stood the test of time for a thousand years. The separation of Sub-Carpathia from Hungary had the most unfortunate results for both countries, and the situation was only restored when this much-harassed stretch of country was re-integrated into Hungary. The natural consequence of this was that the measures of secularisation introduced by the 'Czechoslovaks' were abolished, and the Church resumed the part which it had played so successfully during the entire history of the territory. To anyone with

a knowledge of the workings of the Slav mind, this state of affairs is clearly the only one which can be regarded as natural and acceptable to all.

To proceed, what are the points of contention that form the religious problem in Sub-Carpathia? What differences exist between the various factions, and what are the political problems to be found there, which must, in view of the foregoing, be regarded and solved from the point of view of the Church?

We may begin with the religious differences. Racially, Sub-Carpathia is practically homogeneous, and is only separated by the fact that of the two religious sections one belongs to the Greek Oriental Church and the other to the Greek Catholic. The principal difference between these two is that the latter recognises the supremacy of the Pope, and is therefore as to questions of belief almost identical with the Roman Catholic Church, though differences of ritual exist; the Greek Catholic church admits the celebration of the Mass in the native language of the country instead of the compulsory Latin of Roman Catholicism, and also allows the pageantry of the Oriental Church to remain intact, a fact of great psychological significance, as has been shown above. The Greek Oriental Church on the other hand recognises the Pope merely as the Bishop of Rome, in no way superior to other bishops, and refuses to regard him as the Head of all Christendom. As a whole however it possesses no other head, having been for centuries divided and subdivided into a number of independent or 'autocephal' bodies which, by the beginning of the present war, had attained the number of sixteen and each of which considered itself as completely autonomous and was very jealous of its independence. Each of these churches resented any interference by the other fifteen churches in its internal affairs, uniformity of dogmatic belief constituting the only real link between them. But it must be stressed that there was no visible Head, since Christ as the spiritual Head of His Church was regarded as the only link between them and the one universal Church. The practical result of this process of subdivision was of course that all these small and independent bodies were weak, and thus unable to play any serious part in spiritual, still less in secular affairs; it is for this reason too

that these churches have always sought and generally found support on the part of the secular authorities, which have been only to glad to be able, by a sort of 'caesaropapism,' not only to influence the inner life of the church but also to use it as an instrument of government, clothing the wishes of the secular government in the robes of the divine office and thus giving them a sanction that they might otherwise have lacked. This was the case with the Church of Constantinople, or rather of the Byzantine Empire before its final collapse in 1453, and the situation was similar in Russia before the revolution of 1917 where, as has been shown, the Church was, or could be made, an important factor if judiciously handled by the secular power.

In order to appreciate the state of affairs in Sub-Carpathia, one must go back to the year 1054, when the Church of Christ was united and ruled by the Popes of Rome. In the tenth century, and to some extent in the ninth as well, serious differences of opinion had arisen between the clerical and the lay authorities on certain questions of internal church discipline, and also over the permanently acute problem of the relation of church and state. The Emperors of Byzantium claimed the right to 'manage' the church insofar as its activities lay within the boundaries of their Empire, basing their demand on the fact that it was they, the secular authority, who upheld Christianity in the East against Moslem aggression. Be this as it may, matters came to a head in the eleventh century, when the Patriarchate of Constantinople was held by Michäel Caerularius, a man of great energy who was anxious to play an independent part and for this reason refused to recognise the Pope as his superior. This conflict led to the famous Schism of 1054, which ended in the separation of the Eastern Church from the Western or Catholic one, the former then becoming subdivided into the smaller bodies referred to above.

In the course of time this 'away from Rome' movement produced a certain reaction, which was promoted by purely political motives on the part of those most closely concerned. The main reason was the increasing danger that the Byzantine Empire would be engulfed by the Ottoman power, which naturally prompted the Emperors of Byzantium to seek

alliances among the other potentates of Europe, and to remove all points of difference which might bias possible allies against the Emperors. To achieve this object it became necessary to placate Rome, as one of the most important factors in medieval European policy, and this entailed an attempt to heal the breach caused by the Schism of 1054. This was the actual reason why in the thirteenth century the position of Byzantium was becoming precarious, and the Emperor Michael VIII Paléologue suggested to Pope Gregory X that a council should be held that would reunite Christianity under the lead of Rome — at least, this was the ostensible purpose. This council met at Lyons in the year 1274, and there for the first time the Greek Oriental Church, or rather the Constantinople section of it, became reunited with Rome.

A century later things seemed to have taken a turn for the better, and the Emperors of Byzantium were no longer interested in maintaining the union, which was therefore dissolved by them and the *status quo* returned, the situation as it had been before the Union of Lyons. At the beginning of the fifteenth century the Turkish danger again loomed larger, and a new attempt was made by the Emperor John II to effect the same sort of union with Rome, where Eugene IV was now Pope. A new council assembled, first at Ferrara and then, in consequence of the plague, in Florence, which concluded a fresh union in the year 1438, which was however revoked shortly afterwards when the Emperor saw that it would not save him. In 1453 the Byzantine Empire fell, and with it Constantinople, and all political manoeuvres for the union of the two churches ceased. A portion of the Eastern Church however which had united with Rome did not dissolve the union of Florence, but continued to adhere to it under the name of the Greek Catholic Church.

This then is the position as regards the Slavs of Southern Poland, the adjoining portions of the Ukraine and parts of the Carpathian Mountains — including Sub-Carpathia — where, besides the Roman Catholic Church, we find both the Greek Oriental and the Greek Catholic; and this brings us back, after the necessary digression, to the point at issue. It is as if a small epilogue to the drama of the Great Schism, which involved the birth of churches and the fall of empires,

was even now being enacted in Sub-Carpathia, since the antagonism which was born of the Schism and the attempts at union still persist there. One point may be mentioned here, namely that it is an entirely erroneous idea to think that it was the Habsburgs who initiated the union out of political considerations. This is not so. The union dates from the council of Florence in 1438, long before the Habsburgs had any reason to interest themselves in the matter. That, being themselves Catholics, they could have no reason for abolishing it in their land is self-evident. But it is incorrect to attribute its creation to them and thus to slight a movement which for its adherents in Sub-Carpathia is most certainly a matter of conviction rather than of interest. The Greek Catholic, or United, and the Greek Oriental or non-united, are both, since the ritual is almost identical, equally acceptable to the Slavs and therefore to the inhabitants of Sub-Carpathia. Now the former, being subordinate to Rome, cannot but look upon the latter as a dissenting body, while the Greek Orientals regard the Greek Catholics as something like apostates, and this mutual antagonism, spiced with a certain enthusiasm where matters of religion are concerned, is the real basis of the religious conflict as it stands at present in Sub-Carpathia.

This conflict would certainly remain a purely religious matter without trespassing on any political ground if it were not for the fact that the two religious tendencies are closely linked with political ideologies; the Greek Catholic Church, depending upon Rome, is naturally influenced to a great extent by the political ideas prevalent at the Holy See, while on the other hand the Greek Orientals are more open to propaganda emanating from other Greek Oriental — or, to use a more general term, the Orthodox — countries, that is, in the first place Soviet Russia. For in spite of Bolshevism and the virtual suppression of religion there, Holy Russia lost nothing of its glamour in the eyes of the Ruthenes, and this is the reason why the religious conflict has a strong undercurrent of politics, since one side, the Orthodox, is receptive towards the present teaching of the Soviets, or Bolshevism, while the other is an equally sincere adversary of it.

The rulers of the Soviets are excellent psychologists, and they have long since grasped the fact that their best chan-

nel of propaganda in Slav countries is by way of religion. For this reason they have recently been doing their best to underline the importance that they attach to ecclesiastical matters, being rightly of the opinion that this would raise their prestige enormously in the eyes of their Slav neighbours. Hence, in fact, the election of the Patriarch, which was recently carried out in Moscow. This election was intended not only to strengthen the position of the Government inside the country, but also — and perhaps even mainly — to make an impression abroad and attract the sympathies of the waverers. It may be mentioned by the way that the election of the Patriarch was not carried out according to the rules laid down by the Church, and his election is fact of questionable validity. To begin with, the election should take place at the meeting of an electoral body convoked for the purpose and consisting of members of the high clergy and also of laymen; in the present instance the election was the work of a council consisting of three bishops, who elected the new Patriarch from among themselves, a procedure which is unquestionably illegal from the point of view of Church law. About this, of course, nothing was said, and in the absence of any knowledge of the subject many people who really ought to have been better informed took the election as being in order. If then many educated people failed to see either the significance or the irregularity of the election of the Patriarch, it can hardly be wondered at that the unsophisticated inhabitants of Sub-Carpathia accepted it, and saw in it a new point in favour of the Soviet Government.

It may therefore be said that the religious problem rests upon the controversy between the Greek Catholic and the Orthodox Church, and is a matter not only of religious questions but also of ideological attitude. On the one hand there is the Latin, Western and anti-Bolshevist standpoint, on the other the communist bias with its roots in Russia. The question is, whether Sub-Carpathia will succumb to Soviet propaganda, or remain untouched by it.

It would of course be an exaggeration to say that all members of the Greek Oriental, Orthodox Church are communistically inclined, but there is a definite tendency among

the less educated of the people — the class which is in fact easily influenced in either direction — and they are at present facing a strong ideological attack, conducted by militant Bolshevism in the guise of Orthodox religion. This development, however, need not be taken too seriously, more especially as the Greek Catholic clergy have naturally started a strong counter-propaganda movement, to which the population is also susceptible as emanating from ecclesiastical sources on the spot.

TOCQUEVILLE AND HUNGARY

By ALEXANDER BAUMGARTEN

IN Kensington Palace, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Chamberlain kneel to kiss the hand of a young girl; in Washington, shaken by the crisis, one bank after another suspends payment; in Paris, Balzac dandies search for Love and Power; in Vienna, a short journey from Budapest, the eternal youth, Metternich, while engaged on the Eastern question, still finds time to applaud the charming Fanny Elssler.

Here in Hungary the year 1837 had nothing good to offer us. Reaction was triumphant, the National Assembly dissolved, the counties were under the control of Royal Commissioners and the army, defending interests that were not ours, stood under the command of alien generals. Not only the Press but also literature was under censorship, and there was hardly even freedom of thought. Bloodthirsty agents were hauling patriots to justice, and servile tribunals pronouncing harsh verdicts. Louis Kossuth was in prison.

In our enlightened age it is a little difficult to understand the spirit of those times, or for instance to imagine that people in the street or in a café look round before they speak. Then they begin to talk — since somebody is listening to them — about the latest number of the *Figyelmező*, and the books reviewed in it. That, at least, is an innocent enough topic, especially if the books are about a part of the world to which it is a journey of weeks even in that marvellous contrivance, Fulton's steam-propelled ship. One of the books, with the title *De la Démocratie en Amérique*, has been written by Monsieur de Tocqueville, of whom it is known that he was in the service of the King of France,

is of noble descent, and a grandson of the Royalist Malesherbes. All these facts are sufficient guarantees that he is not the apostle of revolutionary ideas. On the title-page of another book, *Lettres sur l'Amérique du Nord*, is the name of a certain Michel Chevalier. Fortunately, nothing whatever is known about him. For if the censor should suspect that he was a disciple of the socialist, or even, Heaven help him, communist Saint-Simon, and had even been in prison for his left-wing ideas, the whole review would be suppressed at once.

In the year 1837, however, the *Figyelmező* was edited by cautious individuals, so that even the review of these political writings was hidden away in the innocence of the columns devoted to descriptions of foreign countries and peoples. The article, consequently, began with a few statistical data and details of the latitude and longitude, and the critic signed himself N. K. These initials actually concealed the person of Charles Nagy (Nagy Károly), a man of letters who had already visited Paris whence, with a letter of introduction from Lafitte, the banker-politician, he had gone on to America, where he had been honoured with the friendship of the President, Andrew Jackson. After extensive travels in the United States, he returned to Hungary, later to take part in the War of Liberty. When the war had reached its tragic close, his house was searched, and the Stars and Stripes were found in his possession; for this he nearly paid with his life.

If we bear in mind these biographical details, it will be no surprise to find that his review of the works in question, after an enumeration of the obligatory statistics, goes on to extol the nation which 'while virtually still in its infancy measured its strength with the greatest power in the world and emerged victoriously from the unequal contest.' To-day, he continued, its ships were to be found on every ocean, its prestige was assured, its people content. What was the reason for this unparalleled rise? Was it the country's geographical situation, its climate, the character of its soil, the race of its inhabitants? It was, he concluded, none of these, for they might be found in the case of other nations as well. No; it was entirely the Constitution which raised America to her high place, not

only by not preventing the development of human ability but by encouraging the return of man to his original, happy and natural state.

There were of course people, the reviewer continued, who neither wanted to note or accept these facts. Many others took the view that self-government was not in accordance with the needs of the peoples of Europe. But was not Democracy everywhere irresistably advancing, was not Reaction losing ground in every clime? Other people again had no more to say about the Americans than that they were 'merely tradesmen.' The generalisation was in itself erroneous, but even were it to be correct it could only redound to their credit. The fruits of industry and labour were lasting, whereas a fortune obtained by pillage was soon dissolved and those who lived by robbery must soon be destroyed.

No book written about this happy Continent, continued N. K., could be compared with the works of Tocqueville and Chevalier, and it may be remarked that the philosophy of Chevalier, long since buried in oblivion, seemed to be nearer to his heart in those days. And he felt bound to confess that 'these books could only have been written by Frenchmen, whose nation has for so long represented European civilisation, whose spiritual priority is undisputed, and with whom profound scholarship and art appear in our age to have found an exclusive refuge.' At most the trouble is, he continues, with a trace of American humour, that 'the French make a great show of all their good qualities.' The article continues with long quotations, and N. K. finally arrives at the conclusion that 'these two excellent works open the door not only to thought but to action as well. Whoever translates them into our native tongue will render a service to his country.'

In those days the cultivation of science and literature really was considered as a patriotic duty, so that this call did not resound in vain. A young lawyer who had already done some literary work — he had translated the songs of Hafiz and the poems of Ossian 'in the original Gaelic metre' — feeling the approach of hard times, attempted this task, to acquaint the Hungarian public with the work of Tocqueville. His name was Gabriel Fábian, and he set to work at the beginning of 1838, being able to write in the summer of the same year to

his friend Toldi, the distinguished historian of literature, that he hoped that the Hungarian version of *De la Démocratie* would be ready in time for the opening of Parliament in the following year, or at least would be published during the session, for, as he said, 'literature knows of no finer present for the Estates to be surprised with.' His expectations, however, were not realised, because in view of the size of the work and delays caused by the censorship he could only get the *imprimatur* for the first two volumes in 1841, while the last two were not published until 1843. One hundred years have passed since then, and the centenary is worth remembering.

Mention has been made of the convocation of Parliament. The time must come when even the most strongly-bastioned reaction must collapse in ruins. But Fábian, as if he did not dare to believe in the inevitability of what had been awaited and desired for so long, presented his translation as a purely scientific work, devoid of any political interest and still more of immediate interest. The map which he annexed to it was, we believe, the oldest Hungarian map of the United States, on which perplexing white patches west of Arkansas and Illinois denoted *terra incognita*. The preface was also theoretical in tone; the chief topics of interest for readers of books nowadays, it begins, are Napoleon and America. While we possess exhaustive knowledge of Napoleon, seeing that in terms of time he is not so far from us, distance has bestowed a fabulous shape upon America. It is surprising that its constitution is upheld by elements such as are regarded in our country not as conservative but as revolutionary elements of unrestricted democracy — this, it seems, was intended to reassure the still vigilant censor, and is followed by similar remarks, while people who imagine that it would be possible or beneficial for Hungary simply to copy Transatlantic institutions are sharply reprimanded. On the other hand, however, Fábian remarks that those who decry democracy do not solve the anomaly of a system which, according to them, is mainly composed of drawbacks being able not merely to survive but even to flourish. But whoever may be right about this last — and here again he is evidently addressing the censor — about one thing there can be no dispute: true liberty can only be conceived within the framework of a constitutional monarchy.

The first edition of the Hungarian translation of *De la Démocratie* was one thousand copies — more than that of one of the successful sentimental novels of the day, and double the original French edition of five hundred copies. Twelve were printed on specially fine paper ; the fate of eleven of these is unfortunately unknown, and all we know is that one of them was dedicated by the translator to Tocqueville himself. He signed the letter which accompanied it as 'presiding judge of the County of Arad' and 'Member of the Academy' — that is, the Royal Hungarian Academy of Sciences founded a decade before — while Tocqueville in his reply produced his own titles, 'Member of Parliament' and 'Member of the French Academy.' *Életképek*, a periodical of the time, hastened to reproduce the correspondence as documentation of the contacts between Hungary and the outer world.

Both letters are couched in terms of old-fashioned courtesy, the phrases of a bygone age. Tocqueville praises the knowledge of the French language of his translator, and feels himself happy that, thanks to Fábian, his name is less unknown in Hungary than he would have thought. He expresses his lively regret that he is unable to appreciate the merits of the translation, but unfortunately he does not understand a word of Hungarian. 'I would like very much,' he writes, 'to know your great and meritorious country as well as you appear to know ours. It is unfortunate that this knowledge can only be obtained by visiting you. I know of nothing,' he continues, 'which could replace it in France. Our lack of information about everything Hungarian is really appalling, if we think of the important position which your country already occupies and still more of the role which it will play henceforward among the nations of Europe. I do not know of any reliable book which would offer us information about your country. Does such a thing exist in a foreign language?'

As regards Fábian's letter, the following passage, in which he speaks of the impression created by *De la Démocratie* is worth quoting: 'Your work, transplanted by me into Hungarian soil, has become completely acclimatised here, to such an extent that one can often hear its title quoted together with your name, not only in private circles, but also in our county assemblies and in Parliament.' This was no mere polite phrase.

Fábian's biographer also states that Tocqueville's work contributed considerably towards the spread of more accurate and clearer notions of liberal democratic institutions and assisted to no small extent in the revival of the Hungarian nation and its political institutions. It is true that in this case too the remark of the historian Lecky holds good, that 'speculative opinions prevail not by weight of argument but by the predisposition to receive them.' In Hungary the soil had already been preparing since 1790 for the reception of the ideas of democracy which Tocqueville proclaimed. It is therefore not surprising that they should be quoted both in pamphlets and in the editorials written by Louis Kossuth, and that both the champions of the old system of county autonomy and the protagonists of a strong, centralised State should draw their arguments from his writings. The industrial revolution had not yet penetrated people's minds to the extent of making them understand that democracy does not mean in the first place the modification or preservation of administrative forms, but that it demands the abolition of the barriers separating the various classes, and that even the most conspicuous institutions must be supported by economic buttresses.

Our grandfathers took an idealistic view of democracy. It was this sort of democracy which they attempted to achieve by the War of Liberation in 1848, and this experiment might perhaps have succeeded in a state of society permeated by the most unselfish patriotic feelings; as it was, the nation was unable to cope with the overwhelming power of a coalition of hostile countries.

During these critical months, Tocqueville was Minister for Foreign Affairs under Louis Napoleon, then President of a friendly France. The thinker, more at home within the four walls of his library, was now under the compulsion to act, and to struggle daily for the maintenance of peace in Europe. Gobineau might well congratulate him when the storm had subsided on having crossed the stormy seas of Rome, Sardinia, Baden, Hungary and the United States without sustaining more serious damage. 'I doubt,' writes Gobineau, 'whether there has been a period of six months in the life of any statesman similar to that which we spent together "dans la barque gouvernementale".' Of all these delicate problems,

that of Hungary was perhaps the most important, if only because of its repercussions in the public opinion of the Western countries.

In his *Souvenirs*, Tocqueville makes no secret of his sympathy for Hungary. That is only to be expected from one who not only quoted but also deeply believed Cowper's lines

> *He who values liberty, confines*
> *His zeal for her predominance within*
> *No narrow bounds: her cause engages him*
> *Wherever pleaded! This is the cause of man.*

His feelings are evident too from his official correspondence. 'Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire,' he informs the French Ambassador in St. Petersburg, 'avec quel vif et douleureux intérêt nous suivons les événements de Hongrie.' His feelings, unfortunately, could only remain platonic: France was far from the scene of the struggle, and her role could only be that of a spectator. There existed no treaty which, interpreted either according to its spirit or its text, would have allowed her to intervene.

However strongly Tocqueville's policy is characterised by a desire for peace, there came a moment when it seemed that, on the brink of war, the cause of Kossuth and his companions, the cause of the Hungarian and Polish refugees who had fled to Turkey after the failure of the War of Independence, would split Europe into two camps. Russia and Austria demanded the extradition of the refugees, which Turkey refused, turning for support to the Western Powers. The Turkish point of view can be appreciated; Kossuth had not departed with funds belonging to his country, nor were his hands stained with the blood of his countrymen. He was the pursued, not the pursuer. Like his great contemporary, Mazzini, he had been proclaiming the principles of humanity and liberty, not those of hatred and oppression. From the very beginning, therefore, public opinion in the Western countries had shown its enthusiasm for him, and both the general public and the Press were on his side.

France's position was a delicate one. In the faubourgs of Paris the barricades were still to be seen, and the red flag still waved

here and there. Any imbroglio connected with foreign affairs might well endanger the régime and end the supremacy of the middle classes. Tocqueville, with his mastery of delicate nuances, tried to restore the situation. It was his view that although the autocratic powers, Russia and Austria, had no right to demand the extradition of the refugees, they were entitled to ask Turkey to expel them. He earnestly urged the representative of the Republic in Vienna, de Beaumont, to treat the whole affair 'très doucement.'

While all this negotiation was going on, Palmerston took the initiative. He viewed opposition to the autocratic powers as a favourable opportunity to promote the great aim stated by Professor Temperley as 'making the world safe for constitutional democracy.' Ominous statements emanated from the City; the Fleet received orders to enter the Narrows, so as to give moral and, if necessary, armed support to the Sultan. France, hesitating but yet well-disposed, supported the British action, and the two democracies combined were sufficient to induce the autocratic powers to abandon their design. Kossuth, suffering no injury, was enabled to set out on his journey through Great Britain and the United States.

By then Tocqueville was no longer in charge of French foreign policy. Unwilling to identify himself with Louis Napoleon, whose claim to the Imperial Crown was now becoming more and more open, he tendered his resignation and retired to provincial solitude. But even there his interest in Danubian affairs continued, with an added personal motive when his nephew, Baron Hubert de Tocqueville, was appointed attaché at the French Embassy in Vienna. It was the year of the Crimean War, with ferment and change everywhere. 'Partout on sort de la liberté du moyen âge,' he wrote to his nephew, 'non pour entrer dans la liberté moderne, mais pour en retourner au despotisme antique.' Gloomily he foretold the outcome of this process. 'Une race très civilisée et abatardie en même temps, des troupeaux d'hommes'. Continuing his advice to the young diplomat, he turned to a more specific problem. 'Il y a un coin de ce tableau qui me paraît particulièrement intéressant — c'est la Hongrie. Toutes les autres parties de la Monarchie avaient déjà plus ou moins subi le niveau de la bureaucratie. Mais en Hongrie la liberté

(feudale) a été jetée en quelque sorte toute vivante dans le gouffre commun et cela est arrivé dans des circonstances exceptionelles, qui ne peuvent que rendre les caractères de cette révolution plus remarquables encore.' We see that Tocqueville had not lost his gift for expressing the drama of a nation by a well-turned phrase. Then he turns again to the more frequented paths, predicting that it will be no easy matter to get information in Vienna as to what is actually happening in Hungary. A thorough knowledge of these questions, however, would be of great use and importance to the career of a young diplomat. 'Il est bien difficile de croire que d'ici à quelques années la Hongrie ne fournisse pas au moins quelques incidents à l'histoire de l'Europe. A tort ou à raison on la prendra certainement d'ici à longtemps encore en considération dans les résolutions politiques importantes.' He therefore suggests that the young man should start for Hungary, and even works out a detailed plan of how to carry out his enquiries there. One may well imagine that a young attaché was inclined to act upon the advice of a rich uncle, and that he did come to Hungary and report what he found there; but in what Norman castle these letters may now be mouldering is another matter.

This however was not Tocqueville's last contact with Hungary, for the great Hungarian statesman and thinker of the nineteenth century, Baron Joseph Eötvös, quoted the 'distinguished' name in 1840, having already sent him a copy of the German version of his great work *Leading Principles of the Nineteenth Century*. The compliment was not only to the high priest of democracy, but also the philosopher, of whom he quotes a striking analysis in his work of how tyranny will supplant liberty. Tocqueville, in expressing his thanks, refrained from expressing an opinion about the work itself, confining himself to remarks on the 'noble feelings which animate the entire work, this love of natural liberty, the respect of the individual dignity of man and the desire to guard the heritage of Christian civilisation which has come down to us from our forefathers.' He also invited Eötvös to visit him if he came to France.

The meeting, however, never took place, for Tocqueville, as can be seen from his handwriting in those latter years, was

already a sick man. Yet one more token of Hungary's admiration reached him : when the Academy regained the freedom of electoral voting, which had been suspended after the War of Liberation, he was among the first to be invited to become a member of the section for public law. This was in 1858; in the following year Tocqueville died.

On February 5, 1862, the Academy held a memorial session, and it was Augustus Trefort, later Minister for Education, who delivered the commemorative address. This duty fell to him, he said, because 'the study of Tocqueville's writings has had a decisive influence upon my political formation as well as upon my political views.'

These words might have been spoken not only by Trefort but by the entire Hungarian nation.

BENJAMIN KÁLLAY AND THE MONARCHY'S BALKAN POLICY

By DENIS JÁNOSSY

A COMPARATIVELY small number of Hungarian statesmen played an active part in directing the Monarchy's policy with regard to the Balkans during the troubled period of reconstruction which followed the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867. One of these was Benjamin Kállay, who died just forty years ago. It is perhaps a coincidence that he should have died so prematurely, at the height of his powers, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the conclusion of the Congress of Berlin, for it was the Congress which confided to the Monarchy the task of occupying and administering Bosnia and Herzegovina, the two Balkan provinces of the Turkish Empire then in process of disintegration. It was no easy problem to pacify these hotbeds of political strife and to organize their administration in the European sense of the word. The task fell to the lot of Benjamin Kállay, who devoted the best years of his life to this end. Enjoying the confidence of his Sovereign for twenty-one years, he governed the two provinces with plenipotentiary powers in his capacity of Minister of Finances for the joint affairs of the two members of the Dual Monarchy, Hungary and Austria.

It seems strange that, in spite of the importance of his work and the lasting influence it exerted, our historians have almost completely neglected the role played by him, although — especially since the Treaty of Trianon — history has focussed its attention to an increasing degree on the events of the period following the Compromise between Hungary and Austria in 1867. Though it is true that Kállay

was one of those rare men who do not like publicity, his modesty does not excuse our historians from the performance of their duty of paying due tribute to his work and statesmanlike abilities.

Benjamin Kállay never prepared himself either for the career of a diplomat or of a financial expert, but he possessed his family's traditional clear judgement and unequalled perseverance, coupled with his talent for Oriental languages and for the study of history. It was merit, therefore, and not chance, which, after the Compromise of 1867, directed Julius Andrássy's attention to young Kállay and led to his being appointed, on Andrássy's proposal to Beust, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the post of consul general in Belgrade, politically the most important among the consulates of the Monarchy in the Balkans.

At the time when Kállay took up his post, the position of the Turkish Empire in the Balkans had been for some time past unstable. The Greeks of Thessaly and Macedonia wanted to be incorporated in the kingdom of Greece. The Rumanians aspired to independence, their national ambitions turning, moreover, towards Hungarian territories lying beyond the Carpathians and Russian ones lying beyond the Pruth. For the time being, Serbians and Bulgarians were content with seeking within the bounds of the Turkish Empire the possibilities of existence as independent states, enjoying in their aspirations the wholehearted support of Holy Russia.

In consideration of these latent nationalistic movements aiming at a complete reversal of political stability in the Balkans, the interests of the Monarchy imperiously demanded that tranquillity should be maintained on her southern confines, the more so because relations with Russia after the Crimean war, and with Prussia since Königgrätz, had been rather strained. Military circles in Vienna were seriously considering the possibility of a war with Prussia, especially since the unfortunate campaign against Prussia. Consequently, the diplomatic task which Kállay had before him was to keep a watchful eye on the Serbians' aspirations towards independence and expansion, and to establish good neighbourly relations with them on a firm

and lasting basis. The idea of friendship was warmly welcomed by Prince Michael Obrenovitch, while, after his murder, the council of Regents exercising supreme power identified itself so much with this intention as to entertain some vague hopes of turning friendship into an alliance against Turkey and Russia, and, possibly, against Austria too. In return, the Regents claimed Bosnia and Herzegovina, showing, however, some willingness to renounce the northern part of Bosnia in favour of the Croats so as to satisfy the national ambitions of the latter. What was more, the opinion prevailed in Belgrade that Hungarians, South Slavs, Rumanians and Greeks should form a confederation, for only such a close political link could permanently guarantee the peaceful development of these small nations in the face of the aspirations of the Germans, Russians and Turks.

Thus Kállay was entrusted, immediately at the beginning of his diplomatic career, with a political task of far-reaching importance, although it was to be foreseen that he would meet in his endeavours with almost insurmountable difficulties. Andrássy was decidedly in favour of the idea of abandoning Bosnia, which had been for some time past a bone of contention and the subject of barren controversies between three contrasting points of view, i. e. that of Dualism, of the Crown of St. Stephen and of Croatia. Andrássy had his doubts as to the possibility of winning over the Sovereign and Beust to the idea of this abandonment, and informed Kállay of his uncertainty. He took it for granted that the Austrian military party would set its face firmly against such a concession, the party's intention being the annexation at a suitable time of the provinces in question so as to compensate the Monarchy for its recent military defeats.

As to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Beust, he refrained from all active diplomacy in respect of the Balkans, concentrating all his attention on the chances of his policy of revenge on Prussia, so that he entertained strong sympathies with the anti-German tendency of Napoleon III. Contrary to Beust, Andrássy was of the opinion that the Monarchy would be acting against the realistic principle of politics if she accepted the offer of alliance of Louis

Napoleon, for — if nothing else — her geopolitical situation made it imperative for her to cooperate with the powers in seeking to establish the conditions of peaceful progress for all the nations concerned. In his opinion, the pursuit of a romantic and adventurous policy to the detriment of her neighbours was a crime against the vital interests of the Monarchy. Andrássy was guided by this conviction in sending his message to Napoleon to the effect that it would amount to suicide on the part of the Monarchy to participate actively in a war against Prussia. Nor did he give up hope of restraining Beust from accepting the French offer of alliance. He was much more inclined to keep a watchful eye on the East where, in his opinion, there was impending danger for the Monarchy if and when Russia completed her railway system up to her south-western frontier so as to be able to take the shortest cut through the Monarchy to the Balkans, the south-European centre of her traditional political ambitions.

In consideration of this serious danger Andrássy was willing to favour even the idea of a defensive and offensive alliance between Hungary and Serbia, although he was aware of the difficulties in constitutional law which, on account of the dualistic system, stood in the way of an alliance whose validity would be limited only to Hungary. But even apart from the Serbian proposal of alliance he deemed it necessary in the interest of the Monarchy itself that Beust should offer the Sublime Porte actual help against Russia on condition that the former consented to a surrender of Bosnia in favour of the Serbs. Finally, as to the idea of a confederation, of which Kállay informed him, he did not think that the moment was opportune for a serious consideration of it. Since his foremost object was, for the time being, to consolidate the dualistic system, he would not consider a foreign policy which, directed as it was against Austria, would, in the event of its prevailing, have annihilated the results of the Compromise of 1867 which had been arrived at after so many difficulties.

The negotiations which took place between Andrássy and Beust on the subject of the proposals of Belgrade were in fact crowned with but little success, for Beust would

discuss the subject of Bosnia only on condition that Andrássy was willing to modify his well-known political principle according to which the Monarchy must observe a friendly attitude towards Prussia. Kállay had to return to Belgrade almost empty-handed, for he received from Beust nothing more than an authorisation to make a general statement according to which the Monarchy would not obstruct Serbian aspirations in respect of Bosnia.

As was to be foreseen, the council of Regents were disappointed with the message from the Ballhaus, not entertaining great hopes that Beust would bring the influence of the Monarchy to bear on the Sublime Porte in favour of a solution of the Bosnian problem in the sense desired by the Serbs. And yet, in the meantime, Montenegro had been won over to the plan and the Regents were determined to put up an energetic opposition to any propaganda on the part of the Croats in favour of their claim on Bosnia, notwithstanding the fact that they, the Regents, were aware that there was an understanding between the Croatian national movement and the military party at Vienna, their common aim being the annexation of Bosnia. For this reason the Regents kept on urging Kállay in favour of a speedy understanding with Andrássy, although, weighing the situation soberly, they must have realised that the delay had not been due to any fault on the part of the latter, but to the fact that the Bosnian problem involved too many complications to be settled simply between Budapest and Belgrade.

Since Kállay's endeavours were not leading to rapid results, the Regents began to extend to Hungary the traditional mistrust felt by the Serbs towards Austria, thereby putting a new obstacle in the way of negotiations. Their want of confidence was only strengthened by the news that the criminal court of Pest had acquitted Prince Alexander Karageorgevitch of the charge brought against him of having aided and abetted the murderers of Prince Michael Obrenovitch. After this acquittal the Regents did not only regard Kállay with mistrust, but began spreading unfriendly statements about the attitude of the Hungarian government, to the effect that it had had something to do with the acquittal, which was bitterly resented by the Regents. Kállay, with all his diplomatic skill,

had not been able to convince them that the independent Hungarian courts served the cause of justice and meted out punishment or acquittal without the least regard for political interests. Belgrade went on believing that the Hungarian government had exerted its influence on the sentence and that, prior to that, it had begun an examination of the Bosnian problem for no other purpose than for the secret aim of acquiring first-hand information about Serbia's territorial claims. The consequence was that the Regents felt confirmed in their suspicion about Andrássy's final aim, i. e. the incorporation of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the Crown of St. Stephen.

When later on, in reply to a question by Svetozar Miletich, Andrássy declared in the Hungarian lower chamber that his government had no intention of annexing Bosnia, the council of Regents was favourably impressed. The good effects of this official declaration were, however, soon to be counterbalanced by the refusal of Beust to permit delivery of the arms previously ordered by Serbia in Vienna. Though Kállay interviewed Beust, trying to impress upon him the consequences to be expected from his refusal, he did not achieve much.

His misgivings, however, were soon corroborated, for the Regents, as a reprisal for Beust's refusal, decided to apply to Russia for the equipment needed for the Serbian army. They were at the same time seriously considering whether they could not best further Serbia's political aims by fomenting sedition in Bosnia and invading it under the pretext of re-establishing order, so as to confront the European powers with a *fait accompli*. The plan of a defensive and offensive alliance was entirely abandoned on the ground that the result of the trial of Prince Karageorgevitch was highly embarrassing for them.

Apart from these occurrences, the changed atmosphere was due in no little degree to the influence of the Russian consul in Belgrade, who succeeded in convincing the Regents that Russia would always recognise the natural aspirations of the Serbs and would never tolerate Hungarian hegemony over them. As for the rest, he kept on assuring them that England and Russia would shortly come to an agreement

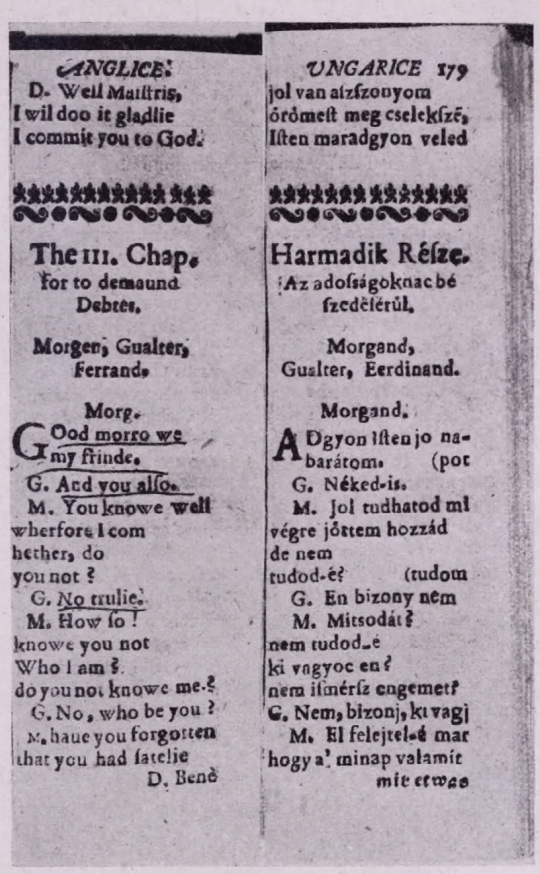
in the Bosnian question so that they, the Regents, would not be obliged to re-open negotiations, the results of which were uncertain in the highest degree.

Kállay clearly saw that with the trend events had taken only Russia would reap the harvest of the Bosnian dispute unless resolute steps were taken towards restoring confidence and negotiating in a spirit which might warrant a successful conclusion of the discussions. Having at last prevailed upon Beust to withdraw the embargo on the arms destined for Serbia, he asked the Regents for concrete new proposals in the Bosnian question. Blazonavatch and Ristitch replied briefly: Let Andrássy bring his influence to bear on the Porte so as to induce the latter to renounce Bosnia in favour of the Serbs who, on their part, were willing to surrender to the Croats the northern part of it, stretching to the Narenta and to Verbasz, provided they, in return, obtained from Montenegro the port of Cattaro; in view of these territorial gains they would undertake to observe neutrality in the event of a war between the Monarchy and Russia.

When Kállay submitted this proposal to Andrássy the imminence of Beust's fall was an open secret. He had been violently attacked in the Hungarian delegation on account of his Francophile policy, which the outcome of the recent Franco-Prussian war had proved to be wrong and which tended only towards straining relations between Vienna and Berlin still further. Since, under the circumstances, it was useless for Andrássy to discuss matters with Beust, he submitted the Serbian proposal directly to Francis Joseph who, after weighing the pros and cons in a realistic spirit, accepted it.

Here was, indeed, a decision of far-reaching importance, as Francis Joseph, under the influence of the Court and the military clique of Vienna, had been for years entertaining hopes of annexing the two provinces in question, seeing no other means of safeguarding the undisturbed possession of Istria and Dalmatia.

Having obtained this answer with the elimination of Beust from the highest authority, Kállay hastened back to Belgrade in the conviction of having taken a decisive step towards



ANGLICE.

D. Well Maiſtris,
I wil doo it gladlie
I commit you to God.

The III. Chap.

For to demaund Debtes.

Morgen, Gualter, Ferrand.

Morg.

Good morro we my ſtrinde.

G. And you alſo.

M. You knowe well wherfore I com hether, do you not?

G. No trulie.

M. How ſo! knowe you not Who I am? do you not knowe me?

G. No, who be you?

M. haue you forgotten that you had ſatelie

D. Benè

UNGARICE 179

jol van atzſzonyom
órômeſt meg cselekſzé,
Iſten maradgyon veled

Harmadik Réſze.

Az adoſságoknac bé ſzedéſérûl.

Morgand, Gualter, Eerdinand.

Morgand.

ADgyon Iſten jo nabarátom. (pot

G. Néked-is.

M. Jol tudhatod mi végre jôttem hozzád de nem tudod-é? (tudom

G. En bizony nem

M. Mitsodát? nem tudod-é ki vagyoc en? nem iſmérſz engemet?

G. Nem, bizonj, ki vagj

M. El felejtel-é mar hogy a' minap valamit

mit etwas

TWO COLUMNS FROM 'GAZOPHYLACIUM', PRINTED IN 1691, ONE OF THE EARLIEST HUNGARIAN BOOKS ON THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH

ANGLIAI

INDEPENDENTISMUS

AVAGY

Az Eccléſiai ſenyitékben, és a külsö Iſteni tiſzteletre tartozó jó rendtártaſokban, minden Reformata Eccleſiaktól különözö fejetlen lábſag.

Eggynehány ſzava hihetö, tüdös, Belgiumi Doctoroknak iraſokból, röviden öſzve ſzedegettetett, és Magyar nyelven kibocsáttatott

MISKOLCI C. CASPAR

által.

ULTRAJECTUMBAN

Nyomtattatott VA'SBERG JA'NOS által M DC LIV. Eſztendöben.

TITLE-PAGE OF A HUNGARIAN TREATISE ON INDEPENDENTISM IN ENGLAND. PRINTED IN 1654

coming to an agreement with the Serbs. But the Regents had changed their minds; the favourable and rapid answer was no inducement for them to conclude the agreement which they had been soliciting not long ago; on the contrary, they began to put forward new claims. The surrender of the territory of northern Bosnia to the Croats — their own proposal — now seemed to them too great a sacrifice, although, on the other hand, they still insisted on obtaining Cattaro from the Montenegrins. Ristitch gave a new trend to the negotiations by asking Kállay to submit to Vienna a proposal according to which the Monarchy was to acknowledge the independence of Serbia and their possession of Bosnia if the Serbs at some later time succeeded in getting hold of it by force of arms. Besides, it was demanded unanimously that Prince Alexander Karageorgevitch should be expelled from Hungary if his acquittal was confirmed by the verdict of the Supreme Court of Appeal.

Kállay's short absence from Belgrade had been sufficient for Russian influence to have got the upper hand there. This success was followed by another evidently successful move: the visit paid by young Prince Milan to Russia, whither he was accompanied by the members of the Regency council who wanted to discuss the cardinal questions of their policy with the Russian statesmen.

Anti-Magyar sentiments were now rapidly gaining ground in Belgrade and found expression even in the behaviour of Serbian statesmen towards Kállay. One of the first manifestations of this sudden change was a pamphlet printed at the official printing office in Belgrade inciting the marches to revolt against Hungary. For the rest, the Regents did everything that lay in their power to disturb relations between Hungarians and Croats, achieving rapid results in this course. The leaders of the Croatian National Party, on the occasion of a visit paid by them to Belgrade, pledged themselves not to come to an agreement with the Hungarian government without the consent of the Serbs.

Scarcely had this change of policy become publicly known in Serbia when the sensational news arrived that Francis Joseph, after dismissing Beust, had appointed Andrássy to

the post of Minister for Foreign Affairs. The Regents were afraid that the new minister would not easily forget the volte-face of Serbian politics — not in the least provoked by the Hungarian attitude — so that they assumed Andrássy would not be willing to recommence discussions. They saw themselves obliged by events again to appeal to Kállay, requesting him to mediate between them and Andrássy for a resumption of negotiations. Andrássy, however, had sufficient reason for showing a cautious attitude towards the Serbian politicians. He bent all his attention upon the task of re-establishing good relations with Germany and Russia, this being the policy prescribed by the political as well as the economic interests of the Monarchy. His diplomatic skill was within a short time crowned with success, for he gained the confidence of both Bismarck and Gorchakoff and thereby succeeded in averting from the Monarchy, for the time being, the Russian danger which had seemed imminent. Owing to this favourable development in the international situation, negotiations with the Serbs lost their former importance, and any idea of making over Bosnia to the Serbs was dropped.

In any case, Andrássy was aiming at the cultivation of good neighbourly relations with the Turks as well as with the Balkan principalities, over which the Sublime Porte exercised its right of suzerainty. He was pleased, therefore, by the visit paid to Vienna by Prince Milan, who was desirous of assuring Francis Joseph of his loyal sentiments. But after the experiences of the past few years Andrássy became more and more convinced that the southern parts of the Monarchy inhabited by Slavs would be exposed to an ever increasing danger if diplomatic assistance was given to the Serbs to get hold of Bosnia and Herzegovina and thus satisfy their ambition to expand.

In fact, during the whole time he was in office, Andrássy never returned seriously to the idea of a Serbian alliance. Such an agreement nevertheless came into existence, but only after a long time when Kállay, on the nominal responsibility of Szlávy, the minister for the joint financial affairs of the Monarchy, was directing foreign policy from his post in the ministry. Kállay was induced by his experiences

in Belgrade and his shrewd diplomatic insight to strengthen the links of good neighbourly relations with Serbia (a desirable aim, but undermined by the mandate the Monarchy obtained at the Congress of Berlin in respect of Bosnia) not only by fostering the friendly feelings of King Milan towards the Monarchy, but also by an alliance concluded with his government. When, in 1882, Kállay succeeded Szlávy as minister for the joint financial affairs of the Monarchy and, in this capacity, became responsible for the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, he was guided in his decisions first and foremost by the common interests of the Monarchy, without neglecting, however, either the susceptibilities of the Turkish Empire and of the Serbian kingdom or the particular points of view which had to be considered if the two provinces under his administration were to find prosperity.

Kállay, in his Bosnian policy, followed in Andrássy's footsteps. While trying on the one hand, after the occupation of Bosnia, to prevent the emigration of the Mohammedans who had been deprived of their prerogatives, he promoted, on the other, Croatian immigration so as not to allow this territory to become the hotbed of the expansionist aspirations of the Serbs, as Serbian predominance would have endangered not only the possession of Dalmatia and Istria and peaceful relations with the Croats, but also the tranquillity of those areas in southern Hungary inhabited by Serbs. This policy of administration, founded on Kállay's personal experiences, was important enough for the peaceful development of the provinces entrusted to his care, but had, besides, a wider significance. The Monarchy exerted its influence on political developments in the Balkans directly by being established in the two provinces in question. The weight of this influence depended to a large extent on whether difficulties could be overcome in a country where political and legal views presented an aspect totally different from European ideas, and where economic life was still in its early stages, ignorant not only of the iron plough, but even of the cart. Kállay was a professed adherent of slow organic development and evolution, for he was convinced that this was the means of maintaining equilibrium between

Mohammedans, Croats and Serbs, and thus securing political tranquillity in the occupied provinces.

Looking back to-day at past events from a historic perspective it must be acknowledged that the policy inaugurated by Kállay was based on a realistic evaluation of politics in the Balkans. One of its results was that it delayed the breaking of the storm: the expansionist aspirations of the southern Slavs, which formed the real background of the tragedy of Sarajevo, struck at the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy only in 1914, instead of much earlier. Had Kállay left no other record than the political results of his long Bosnian administration, he would have deserved well of his country, and his work is worthy of remembrance.

STUART ENGLAND THROUGH HUNGARIAN EYES

By PAUL BERG

PROFESSOR Trevelyan begins his *History of England* by stating that the history of Britain as a leader in the world's affairs begins with the reign of Elizabeth. The truth of this statement is forcibly brought home to the Magyar historian who is engaged in tracing the development of culture in his native land. When studying the second half of the sixteenth century, he can just perceive the British Isles (hitherto practically a *terra incognita)* emerging on the cultural horizon of Hungary. In the next period, roughly corresponding to the reigns of the first Stuarts, he finds them approaching nearer and nearer to the centre of interest. On reaching the age of the later Stuarts, he is astonished to see English culture influencing Hungarian development to a degree quite out of proportion to the great distance separating the two countries. And then he begins to realise the far-reaching effects of England's entry upon the real paths of her destiny.

The average Magyar of the sixteenth century could not boast of more than a rudimentary knowledge of England. Our travellers, who had made the journey thither, like Skaricza, Stephen Budai Parmenius (1580) or Leonard Lasky (1583), were few and far between and, moreover, none of them had published a written account of his experiences. The printed sources of information then available, — works like the encyclopaedia of Calepinus or the geography of Honterus — contained only platitudes or myths. According to them those islands in the Western Ocean "are called Albion on account of the albescent rocks to be seen on the shore. Their longest days last nineteen hours and their summer

nights are as light as days. They were first peopled by giants, who were later subdued by exiles from Troy. The northern parts are inhabited by the Scots, who until recently used to eat human flesh." These facts and others of the same kind, all carefully buttressed by the authority of Pliny, Tacitus or St. Hieronymus, were characteristic features of the average Magyar's blurred picture of Elizabethan England.

The cultured few were better informed as a matter of course, and seemed to realise that events happening and things done in England might be of more than local concern. The scholarship of Linacre, the erudite elegance of Buchanan began to be appreciated by schoolmasters and poets. The fires of Smithfield, burning on in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, lit many a smaller though nobler fire in the hearts of our Protestants. Similarly, the dignified plea for Roman Catholicism, put forward by Edmund Campion in the course of his trial, was placed as an example before our Catholics. The establishment of the English embassy at Constantinople gave the Princes of Transylvania an easy way of access to the court in Westminster, and the embassy of Stephen Kakas to Elizabeth[1] proves that Prince Sigismund at least was fully aware of the emergence of a new and important factor in the life of Europe. But this awareness could not have been shared by more than a handful of people, and the majority continued in great ignorance of all things English until the sixteenth century was well merged into the seventeenth.

The first decades of this eventful century brought about a rapid growth of the interest taken in England by educated Hungarians. There were two good reasons for this, one of them literary, the other political. The controversial activity of James I — who was not yet dubbed by acid-tongued historians "the wisest fool in Christendom", but enjoyed the reputation of an "English Solomon" among his unsophisticated contemporaries — though futile in itself, served as an advertisement of English learning, and Magyar theologians of both denominations felt it incumbent upon them to study the voluminous works of their English colleagues. Even Cardinal Peter Pázmány, that

[1] J. Kerekesházy: "An Envoy to Queen Elizabeth", *The Hungarian Quarterly*, 1941.

towering figure of the Counter-Reformation in Hungary, began his polemic career with a diatribe against William Whitaker of Cambridge (written in 1602) and loaded the pages of his more mature works with quotations from Cuthbert Tunstall, John Dury, William Reynolds, Thomas Stapleton and John Jewel. His Protestant adversaries necessarily went much further in this respect. They did not stop at quoting English authors, but published complete translations of their works, the first of these being — characteristically enough — the *Basilikon Doron* of James, which appeared in a Magyar version as early as 1612. No wonder that Magyars began to feel a lively interest in a country which gave evidence of so much religious zeal and wisdom.

The second reason for the increase of interest was provided by the political development of the country, in the first decades of the century. The foreign policy of the Stuarts, though turning on dynastic considerations, was more often than not favourable to Protestantism, and, moreover, it was always directed against the Habsburgs, who had proved the undoing of James's son-in-law, the "Winter King" of Bohemia. The corollary of such a policy was a good understanding with the Protestant Princes of Transylvania, situated so conveniently in the rear of the arch-enemy. James, stubborn supporter of the divine right of kings, would not stoop to formally allying himself with "rebels", so he contented himself with occasional interventions on behalf of the Principality at the Sublime Porte. But Charles I, less scrupulous, entered into an alliance with Gabriel Bethlen (1626) and maintained diplomatic relations both with him and his successor, George Rákóczi. In the light of history it is now clear that this alliance did not bring any substantial advantages to either of the contracting parties: the only results were some manifestations of sympathy. Yet these manifestations, coupled with the interest already roused by religious literature, produced a definite desire to know England as she really was.

Driven by this curiosity, a steady stream of Protestant Magyar travellers descended upon the British Isles in the years between 1618 and 1642 — Martin Csombor (1618),

Peter Bethlen (1626), John Tállyay (1626), John Bánffy-Hunyadi (1628?), Paul Medgyesi and Andrew Ruszkai (1629—30), Peter Maksai (1631—32), Gabriel Haller (1632), John Tolnai Dali (1633—38) and others. Some of them could only manage hurried visits of a few weeks, but others stayed for months, even for years on end, gave themselves up to serious study (confirmed by Milton in his *Areopagitica*) and became well acquainted with the islanders' achievements in different fields. The orderly, well-regulated way of life, the industry thriving on wool and overseas trade, the magnificence displayed in palaces, gardens and zoological gardens could not fail to make a deep impression upon the sons of the most harried country in Europe. Yet what impressed them most was English piety. Though our travellers were not aware of it, they were witnessing the most wonderful surge of religious feeling recorded in the history of England, the rise of Puritanism. They saw the common people deep in the study of King James's Bible. They saw the bookstalls in Paul's Churchyard stocked to overflowing with books of religious aphorisms, prayers and devotions, with *Plaine Man's Pathway to Heaven*, and *Pensive Man's Practise*. They saw the savage punishment by mutilation of Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, and probably heard the fervid appeals made by them to the onlookers to stand firm for their religion and liberty. Naturally enough, they were all carried away by the waves of general enthusiasm and after their return to Hungary began the diffusion of English culture in earnest. The travels of Csombor and Bethlen resulted in colourful descriptions of English life; Medgyesi translated some outstanding contributions to the devotional literature of Puritanism; Tolnai advocated Presbyterianism; Maksai is credited with having started the teaching of English in Enyed College, Transylvania. In short, all of them did something to spread the knowledge of the admired country and as a result of their concerted endeavours a new and more lifelike picture of Stuart England pieced itself together under the astonished eyes of Magyar contemporaries.

When we come to consider this picture, we notice first an increasing familiarity with the country itself. The first

of our travellers, Martin Csombor, though a good observer, could not yet divest himself of some of the old myths. His description of England, printed in 1620, is a charming medley of shrewd remarks and naive beliefs. In his introduction he speaks with gusto about the wonderful island of Monia (Man), — "which, having no foundation whatever, floats hither and thither with the wind, sometimes as far as sixty miles." After noting the chequer-work of enclosed fields and commenting upon the abundance of wool and coal, he enlarges upon the wonderful qualities of the *gagates* stone: "it can be made, by those who know how, into an everburning candle, which cannot be put out but by oil." He remains under the spell of old and picturesque beliefs. But the other travellers, following in his footsteps, came more in touch with reality and within twenty years all mythical oddities were swept away by the swelling tide of new facts. *The Essence of Practical Geography*, a kind of concise guide-book for would-be travellers, compiled in Latin by a Highland schoolmaster, David Frölich, furnishes suitable proof. This ancient Baedeker, the first of its kind in Hungary, for it was published in 1639, contains quite a reliable chapter on Great Britain. After a general survey of the position, climate, crops, animals and inhabitants, the author divides the country into England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, the first being further subdivided into the seven Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and then proceeds to describe it, county by county. Writing for the perusal of travellers — *peregrinantium inprimis usui*, as we see on the title-page — he puts the stress on the human factor. Towns, buildings, and economic activity are thrown into relief, rivers and mountains are kept in the background. Within these limits the author's knowledge is really quite respectable. When writing about Cambridge, he is not content with the trite remark about "the celebrated university," but notes that the town is situated in marshy and unhealthy country, on the river Cam, has many ancient buildings, is engaged in brewing excellent beer and keeps a good fair too, from Michaelmas to Martinmas. Coming to Somerset, he does not forget to mention "the most famous ruins of Glastonbury Abbey"; when in Cheshire,

he comments on the Chester rows. For him, London is not only an aggregate of high-sounding superlatives, but a real city. Though it is "the largest, wealthiest and most populous city, the metropolis of Europe," yet it has "narrow streets of disorderly-built wooden houses." It is free to govern itself, "it does not bow even to royal authority though the king be resident there". It has twelve colleges, "called Inns in the vernacular, in which noble youths are trained in jurisprudence and instructed in the statutes of the realm." A long catalogue of things worth seeing (comprising *theatra suburbana pro histrionibus et ferarum venatoribus)* is brought to an end by the remark that 9000 head of cattle are slaughtered every week, to feed the teeming population of 350,000. If accurate details of this kind could find their way into a concise guide-book we may safely say that the geography of England must have been comparatively well known to Hungarian contemporaries of King Charles.

Side by side with a knowledge of the country we find a better understanding of the people too. Hungarians living at the beginning of the century could not yet form a balanced opinion about the English national character. Stephen Magyari, a well-known Protestant writer, who had probably met some English soldiers of fortune in the imperial army when fighting against the Turks, wrote in 1602 that the distinctive feature of Englishmen is debauchery, while Scotsmen are naturally gluttons! In one of Pázmány's treatises we read that the cruelty of Englishmen (and of Frenchmen) 'surpasses that of Nero' — an opinion based most probably on one-sided literary evidence. Yet in a generation the climate of opinion underwent a great change for the better, under the influence of our travellers. Martin Csombor brought home the news of English hospitality and even of charity. His successors experienced "much godliness and civility." The books they read and sometimes translated commanded respect for English learning. So by 1622, John Redmeczi was already referring to England as "that god-fearing country". Somewhat later Fröhlich characterised the English as a warlike and seafaring people, ingenious and astute, though somewhat given

to luxury and hypocrisy. By degrees the last attributes were dropped and Englishmen became the objects of unreserved admiration. The greatness of the change can be best measured by the attitude of John Tolnai Dali and his friends towards them. These friends, not youths, but staid men, who had studied in Cambridge and London, had conceived such a high opinion of Englishmen that they entered into a solemn covenant in 1638 and pledged themselves to endeavour to reform Hungarian society after their example. These endeavours were destined to bear fruit only a generation later, but the resolution in itself shows well enough how high Englishmen had come to stand in public opinion.

Lastly we may mention some cultural features: a not-too-widespread familiarity with the English language, a knowledge of some facts of history and of religious literature. The language was imported, of course, by the travellers — though the first English text printed in Hungary dates from before their time, from 1614. Csombor, Bethlen, Haller, the hurried visitors could not pick up more than the rudiments, that helped them in asking their way and ordering their food. But Tállyay and Medgyesi, who had been *alumni* of Cambridge, and then Maksai, who had enjoyed the hospitality of George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, for a year and a half, came back with a good knowledge of English. Home again, they did not shrink from the task of instructing young theologians in the elements of the language, and soon a new generation of Protestant ministers arose, who could often read and sometimes even translate English books. As a matter of fact, many of our seventeenth-century translations from English were done by people who had never seen England.

The works translated were all of the religious kind: the vindication of the English Reformation, by William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway; an apology for the reformed religion and a conduct-book by William Perkins; an explanation of St. Augustine's doctrines by an unnamed English author. The most famous of them all was the translation of the *Practice of Piety*. This manual of devotion was composed by Lewis Bayly, Bishop of Bangor, and originally

intended for the use of the then Prince of Wales, later Charles I. But the sincere religious feeling and homely style of the book made it appeal to the simple folk, who took to it immediately after its publication in 1613 and bought up some forty new editions by 1640. Later it became one of the most popular devotional works of the age; it was one of the two books that formed the dowry of Bunyan's first wife and its teachings were made familiar to Protestants in many countries outside England. A Magyar version was brought out by Medgyesi in 1636 and by 1643 five editions were needed to meet the demand — a record almost unequalled in those times. It was read and quoted everywhere in Hungary and it was praised as "the most useful book ever put into the hands of Christians desirous of eternal life, a book second only to the Bible." We are inclined to think that this *Praxis Pietatis* and other works had added a quite important line to the picture of Stuart England appearing before Magyar eyes.

By the middle of the century the outlines of this picture were so deeply engraved on the Hungarian mind, that neither the fratricidal Civil War, nor the Regicides could succeed in substantially altering it. Shocked by the shedding of so much blood, noble and even royal, some Hungarians began to conceive of Puritanism as an unwelcome guest and the word "Puritan" went a long way towards becoming a term of abuse. But even the enemies of Puritanism did not condemn the English as a nation, and did not turn away from them. They laid the blame at the door of irresponsible agitators (whom they identified sometimes with the Independents, and sometimes even with the Jesuits, according to their religious bias) and expressed their hope that the wisdom of the people would prevail in the end. During the years of war, when they were debarred from entering England, they kept the fire of interest burning by literary means, mostly by translating and discussing English books. When the uncertain state of English society gave signs of becoming consolidated again, they were eager to resume personal contact, though sympathies were generally on the side of Charles II. John Somosi Petkó and Nicholas Hatházi (1651), George Komáromi Csipkés (1652), Sa-

muel Köleséri (1654) embarked upon the adventure of studying the Commonwealth experiment in republicanism; Isaac Basire, sometime chaplain to Charles I, was invited to Transylvania and appointed Principal of Fejérvár College; the agents of the Prince of Transylvania emerged in Thurloe's waiting-rooms. Soon the stream of English culture was flowing more strongly than ever through Hungary and its influence was carried further afield by the channels of Protestant colleges, pulpits and printing-presses, all in the East and the North.

The most important part was played by the colleges, like Sárospatak, Nagybánya, Debrecen, Kolozsvár and Fejérvár. Staffed as they were — at least in part — by masters who had travelled in England, they laid a great emphasis on English studies. The masters saw to it that their college libraries should be well stocked with English books: for instance, the 330 volumes of Nagybánya College comprised only 11 works in Greek and 42 in Latin, but 51 in English. Among these books there was usually the Authorised Version, together with exegetic works, treatises on theology, and various encyclopaedias. All these works were turned to good account in shaping the curriculum. The lectures in theology were based on the treatises of William Ames. Exegetical studies were helped by the Biblical commentaries of Attersoll, Babington, Nicholas Byfield and Hildersam. The *Sacra Oratoria* by John Clarke and the *Directory* (issued by the Long Parliament to replace the *Book of Common Prayer*) were combined into a textbook on homiletics. As all these sources of learning had to be studied in the original English (with the exception of Ames' treatises, which were in Latin), most colleges provided facilities for learning the language within the framework of the regular curriculum. Thus they produced many tolerable English scholars, who could be trusted — after being ordained and given a parish — to pass on at least part of their knowledge to congregations in out-of-the-way corners of Hungary and Transylvania.

This was done in the first place by preaching. Our preachers were not ashamed of borrowing from anywhere, "neither from Indian, nor from Chinese, nor even from

Saracen books, provided they were morally sound" — as Samuel Köleséri wrote in 1677, in defence of his own homilies based on those of Matthew Meade and Thomas Hooker. They did not hesitate to make use of English collections of sermons in preparing their own. Daniel Dyke's *Mystery of Self-deceiving*, Hildersam's *Pathway to Heaven* and other collections by authors hitherto unidentified were often consulted and even imitated. As a result, their hearers became steeped in English doctrines, sometimes in those of the Establishment, but more often in those of Nonconformity. The sermons threw sidelights on many persons of eminence, on "wise King James", on "Cromwellus, Knoxus" and "Hookerus", on reformers and scholars. They contained references to important events of English history, to peculiarities of the English character, and gave interesting information even to the humblest people.

Hand in hand with this enlightenment from the pulpit went the work of the printing-press. Set up in Protestant strongholds like Kassa, Lőcse, Debrecen, Kolozsvár, or Szeben, and under the control of the Protestant church, the presses were mostly engaged in printing religious matter. They turned out Bibles, catechisms, conduct-books and manuals of prayer, together with diatribes against Catholicism and some dogmatic works. The annual output was rather small: during the forty years between 1650 and 1690 it averaged not more than about 15 works in Magyar and a slightly greater number in Latin. And yet, a not inconsiderable part was devoted to works of English origin. There were years when a tenth of the total production consisted of books translated from or based on English originals. Little by little many theological and exegetical works, — which were used in the colleges — came to appear in the vernacular, together with a few volumes of a more secular character. To the mind of our puritans the writing, let alone the translating of a non-religious book seemed to be a waste of time and therefore pure literature was definitively beyond the pale, but history, philology and the like were tolerated on condition of their being made subservient to theology. Thus Caspar Miskolczi wrote a detailed account of the Civil War, by way of a preface to a treatise on *English*

Independentism, published in 1654. Samuel Ladiver wrote about the Anglo-Dutch naval war, in his moral thesis devoted to justifying the action of the English, who had burnt a Dutch fleet of 200 merchantmen off their home port, on August 9, 1666. Similarly George Komáromi Csipkés, the Debrecen theologian, who wrote our first English grammar, the *Anglicum Spicilegium* and saw it through the press in 1664 (some twenty years in advance of the first German effort in this field,) stated in his dedication that he desired to further the knowledge of a language which was the vehicle of so much religion and learning. John Bayer made his exposition of Baconian philosophy (in *Ostium*, 1662 and *Filum Labyrinthi*, 1663) into an effort to harmonise Nature and the Gospels. A notable exception was Christopher Warmer's book for teaching — among others — the English language. The author, though an evangelical pastor himself, kept his religion and his learning well apart and his *Gazophylacium*, or Treasure-Chest, published in 1691, contains and teaches not the vocabulary of the Bible but that of everyday life, of business, sport and travel. He arranged his material in lively practical dialogues, which must have been a delight to learners. In the writer's opinion this unorthodox effort — combined with the others mentioned above — was of great assistance in increasing the average Hungarian's knowledge of England and the English.

Generally speaking, the 'sixties and 'seventies which witnessed this activity on the part of college professors, ministers and printers, may be said to mark the high tide of knowledge and esteem of England in seventeenth-century Hungary. Though the successive governments of Charles II did not pursue a Protestant policy and severed the political connections between their own country and Transylvania, religious ties were maintained. Thus the Hungarians knew nothing of the Vanity Fair that was held around the Merry Monarch; their knowledge was limited to the England of Christian and Faithful, to a country well worth knowing and imitating. The results were quite surprising. Two of the greatest Hungarians of the age, the scholar Apáczai and the great general Zrinyi, both wanted to find Scotsmen to help them in realising their plans of

reform. Had the lives of both of them not been cut short by untimely death, perhaps there would have been a Protestant University of Transylvania with Scots professors and a regular Magyar army, officered not by Austrians, but by Scotsmen and Swiss! Nicholas Bethlen, chancellor of Transylvania, who had been educated by Isaac Basire and had made the tour of England (kissing the king's hand and conversing with Oxford dons) grew up an admirer of the English and his attitude did not change all his life. It was he who persuaded the young Prince of Transylvania, Michael Apafi II, to place himself under the aegis of King William. This attitude of trust shown by Bethlen, Zrinyi and Apáczai was common not only to eminent persons, but to the people too, to shopkeepers, artisans and yeomen. These simple folk, who then constituted the majority of our Calvinists, reorganised their church on the basis of moderate Presbyterianism imported from England, and, more than that, allowed everyday life to be moulded upon the Puritan pattern, until it became not only as devout and industrious as that of an English Puritan, but, alas, as austere and gloomy too. It was in this time that the Hungarian Calvinist character received that lasting impression from Puritanism which one can see even now stamped upon the great Calvinist town of Debrecen.

Unfortunately high tides cannot last, and the twenty years ending the century brought the inevitable ebb. During these years the political development of Hungary took a turn which was decidedly unfavourable to further intercourse between Englishmen and Hungarians. After years of hard fighting the Turks were driven from the country, never to return, and Hungary was restored to her old unity. But she had to pay the extravagant price of her independence in return for the services rendered by Austria: that much-longed-for unity was achieved only under Habsburg rule. The Habsburgs, who could only think in terms of their own dynasty, entered upon a vigorous policy of Germanisation, because their advisers had persuaded them that their only hope of changing those rebellious Magyars into peaceable hewers of wood and drawers of water lay in making a clean sweep of Hungarian culture. This policy

was soon carried to its logical conclusion by isolating them from all but German influences. The influence of England was regarded as especially dangerous. Though a welcome ally in the war against Louis XIV, was not this the country where a king had been executed by his subjects and where the squirearchy was for ever encroaching upon the royal prerogative? The Vienna court thought it best to erect a kind of a *cordon sanitaire* against all possible "infection" from beyond the Channel. English travellers were refused permission to enter Hungary, or if refusal was impossible, everything was done to discourage them. Even William Hussey, the envoy sent to the Porte by William III, was detained in Vienna, in 1691. His successor, Harbord, did not fare much better in the following year. Lady Mary Wortley Montague and her husband were threatened with snowdrifts, wolves and even with Tartars, in order to induce them to avoid Hungary. On the other hand, Hungarian travellers had to wait months for their passports and on their return their books were often seized. If somebody managed to smuggle in a book or two, he could not translate and publish it without previous permission, which was almost never given to a book of English origin. Thus English culture was gradually ousted from its former dominant position.

The emotional attitude towards the English remained unchanged — we have the testimony of English travellers for that. William Hussey writes in his report that in the course of his journey he was waited upon by deputations from Protestant villages and asked to present their sad case to the King of England. A deputation from the County of Baranya praised King William as a champion of the Protestant cause and hoped for his powerful protection. The deputies said that there was scarcely a home in Transylvania which would not be adorned with a picture of His Majesty. Statements of this kind, put forward by naive villagers by way of a *captatio benevolentiae*, cannot be taken at their face value, but Lord William Paget, another ambassador coming home from Constantinople, was also struck by many signs of esteem for and trust in his country, while passing through Hungary in 1702. On the border a royal

salute was fired on his arrival. Representatives of the nobility acted in turn as his couriers. There was no end to the feasts given in his honour and the toasts drunk to him. Everybody whom he met took it for granted that he would intervene on behalf of the Hungarian Protestants in Vienna. The same firm belief in the true English spirit of service for others was displayed by the governing body of Enyed College in 1704. In that year their school buildings were burnt down by Imperial troops and they were on the verge of ruin. They sent the son of one of their professors, a young scholar well versed in the English language, to England and asked the help of their English co-religionists. Nor were they disappointed in their hopes, for English congregations sent the then enormous sum of £ 10,000, which was more than sufficient to rebuild everything. Another instance of this implicit faith is seen in Prince Francis Rákóczi's negotiations for peace with the Vienna court. The prince desired to enter into negotiations, but on observing the lack of goodwill on the other side, he asked for the mediation of George Stepney, then the Ambassador of the Queen of England in Vienna: he did not mind in the least that England was an ally of his country's enemies, he felt sure of the Englishman's objectivity. When later Stepney's sincere endeavours were frustrated, the prince did not hesitate to turn to Queen Anne herself: "he appeared under the brilliant chandelier of English freedom with his failing candle" — as he wrote in his letter to her, dated August 26, 1710. Unfortunately, the Queen could not do anything, but the prince's faith in the sovereign of a country nominally at war with his own is really significant of the spirit of the age.

Notwithstanding all this trust and sympathy, the knowledge of English culture was on the decline. Edmund Chishull, chaplain to the Worshipful Turkey Company at Smyrna, who visited our country in 1702, could not realise it yet. He spoke his native English with professors and even with village pastors up and down the country. He found Samuel Kaposi, professor at Fejérvár College, in a study full of English books, and noted that the college curriculum included the teaching of English. He met sometime residents of Oxford colleges in Debrecen. He seems to have been

under the general impression that the Hungarians were comparatively well-informed about England. This may have been true of the older generation, but could hardly have been maintained about the younger, for they had no more opportunities for keeping up-to-date. The isolating policy of Austria was unconsciously abetted by the insurrections first of Thököly and then of Rákóczi, in consequence of which foreign travel virtually ceased, seats of learning were devastated and the work of the printing-presses greatly diminished. Moreover, Rákóczi had of necessity thrown in his lot with the French, accepting their doubtful help, inviting their officers to train his army and giving a strong impulse to a study of their culture. In these circumstances even the greatest English achievements of the age failed to impress the Hungarians: Milton's poetry, Newton's physics, Locke's psychology remained practically unknown. The twenty years between 1691 and 1711 produced only six books of English origin, including a shorter edition of the old *Practice of Piety*, and reprints of the still older works of Campion and Bishop Jewel. The years were not far ahead, in which Magyars — dazzled by the brilliant fireworks of French *esprit* — were to lose sight for a short time of the steady light of English culture.

These further developments however, must be considered as lying beyond the scope of this inquiry. The intention of this article has been only to show the changing picture of Stuart England in the mirror of contemporary Hungarian opinion and therefore stops at that convenient though inadequate milestone, 1714. The few facts recorded in these pages may serve to show that cultural connections between England and Hungary are "no new-erected business, but a thing of ancient standing"; a thing indeed founded not on geographical proximity or identity of material interests, but on certain similarities in temperament, character and world-outlook of both Englishmen and Hungarians. And if one notes these similarities between the two nations, which resulted in mutual sympathy in the past, one may perhaps have some hope for the increase of similar feelings in a future world of peace and international understanding.

SIR AUREL STEIN

(1862—1943)

By JULIUS HALÁSZ

THE news of Sir Aurel Stein's death came recently from Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, from that faraway and mysterious country where he had wanted to go ever since his boyhood. He was a schoolboy when he first read of the ancient historical monuments of Bactria (Balkh). "It was then that it flashed across my mind," he said, "that I ought to go there and investigate the ancient records of that impenetrable land . . . And I have still not got there!" said the great wanderer of Asia with a sigh, though he had seen practically every country from the Mediterranean as far as the lands which lie this side of the watershed of the Pacific Ocean.

The sad news of his death in Afghanistan recalls the similarly tragic fate of our other great Asiatic traveller, Alexander Kőrösi Csoma, who after having done the pioneer's work in his branch of knowledge, had set out to realise a dream of his youth, to visit the cradle of the Hungarian nation, when death came to him on his way to beyond the Himalayas. Both fell fighting for their great dreams, on the battlefield, as one might say.

It was nine years ago that Sir Aurel Stein concluded a lecture given by him at the Society of Antiquaries with an impressive promise. He thanked the Society for the Gold Medal which had been awarded to him, and ended his lecture with the following words: ". . . knowledge of this support, and the honour just received, will greatly encourage me to continue my endeavours in the field, while life and physical fitness last." He was seventy-three at that time. And

he kept his promise, for in the eight years since then he did not rest. Even a few years ago the octogenarian wanderer was able to write that he had returned in good health from his latest successful journey and was still eager to carry on with his work.

"Died in Kabul," announced a telegram from Delhi with laconic shortness. Was he on his way to the ancient Bactria so long closed to him or was he already returning from there when fate stopped him on the road for ever? We here do not know yet. That he must have gone there on an expedition seems likely in view of a letter which he wrote to me from Mosul on November 20, 1939, — the war was already on — "... I am on my way to India. I have some hopes to be able to continue my exploration in a region which lies along the Hindu-kush and which I have had no chance to approach so far. This is meant exclusively for your own personal information for the time being . . ." There is, alas, no need to make a secret of this passage from his plans now. "Along the Hindu-kush" can only mean the prohibited land of Afghanistan: Kafiristan, Badakhsan, Balkh. It seems that he was unable to undertake the hazardous journey at that time and four years had to elapse before he could set out on it. The news from Kabul seems to confirm that he had only just set out on his expedition.

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When one thinks of him, it is hardly possible to relate, even in rough outlines, the singularly eventful life of our great compatriot, his wanderings over many years when he was crossing the ice-bound passes over the greatest mountain-chains of the world into the deserts of the "dead heart of Asia." It cannot be the task of these obituary lines to estimate the significance of his geographical discoveries, of his archaeological, historical and philological investigations, nor to evaluate those art treasures and manuscripts with which he enriched the museums of Europe and India.

The achievement of his scientific and literary work has been preserved in a great number of volumes, which fill a library shelf by themselves. His lectures, the accounts of

his travels and reports would make up several more volumes. We might apply to all his work the criticism which a reviewer wrote about his *Serindia*, published at the end of the first world war: "These are splendid volumes . . . if you keep looking into them the bracing feeling descends on you of wide open spaces and of a peaceful calm, after the breathless stir and tumult of the last years . . . for see, peace has after all returned once more to the world. If such books can grow today in England, then the broken thread of civilisation seems to have become whole again and the debris of the ruins have been cleared away from blocking up the road to true knowledge."

The aesthetic quality and the careful, artistic style with which he presents his ideas was commented upon by Lord Curzon of Kedleston, a former Viceroy of India, in a letter to the Royal Geographical Society: "His paper will have shown you how splendidly the archaeologist and the scholar . . . can acquire the aptitudes of the geographer and the skill of the descriptive writer; and his works will long remain models of the best type of scientific narrative." Leonard Darwin, the President of the Royal Geographical Society, introduced Sir Aurel Stein to the audience at a lecture by saying: ". . . in listening to Dr. Stein, we are listening to one who speaks with greater authority on the historical, geographical and archaeological problems of the regions he visited than any other living man." In the course of the discussions following the lecture Dr. L. D. Barnett used the following enthusiastic words: ". . . Like Odysseus, Dr. Stein has travelled wisely and well, and has seen the cities of many men and learned their thoughts, and, like Odysseus, he has also gone below the face of the Earth and questioned the mighty dead . . ."

An interesting light is thrown upon the character of our compatriot in the words of Sir Henry Trotter: "Both explorers (i. e. Hedin and Stein) have shown the same admirable qualifications, both of body and mind . . . they both possessed bodies seemingly impervious to cold, heat, and fatigue . . . both appear to possess that magnetic sympathetic feeling which seems to have attracted all with whom they came into contact, leading them to great diplomatic

triumphs." Sir Aurel's only Hungarian companion, and the only European for the matter of that who accompanied him on one of his journeys, Dr. Charles Fábry, is a living witness to that magnetic, fascinating force which radiated from Sir Aurel Stein's personality upon his companions. Nobody near him could free himself from the example of his inexorable strictness towards himself, of his devoted and unceasing efforts, of his unselfishness and his willingness to make sacrifices. Hindu map-makers, camel drivers, treasure-seekers, the cultured and tactful Chinese secretary, a long line of Mandarins from the powerful *tac-tai* down to the modest *ta-lao-yeh* and to the last porter from the mountains, all the companions of his travels, all sorts of interesting, amusing and charming people, vie with each other to help him and to remove obstacles from his way. His success can only be understood by the fascination of the traveller's extraordinary personality.

This makes it clear how he was able to accumulate success after success in his various journeys into the centre of Asia. On his return from the third expedition it was justly said of him: "... with his usual habit of eclipsing himself, he has returned from a third expedition that has exceeded his former ones in importance, inasmuch as he has nearly doubled the net archaeological proceeds of the last." The following statement was made from the chair of the Royal Geographical Society: "... I am sure his reputation over Europe as one of the greatest travellers of modern times is now firmly established." Sir Francis Younghusband, the great expert on Asia and the diplomatic adviser with the British forces against Tibet, used the following words in calling attention to the lasting merits of our great traveller: "Since the time of the great Russian, General Prjevalsky, there has been no traveller who has shown so great a persistence over such a large number of years, and such courage and determination in carrying out his explorations, or has brought back such fruitful results as Sir Aurel Stein."

These few quotations have been selected from a great body of international appreciation. Since space hardly permits a full evaluation of the outstanding scientific achievements of our great compatriot, at least a few words may

show the general significance of his work, the outcome of a long life spent in ceaseless activity.

*

Aurel Stein was born in the capital of Hungary. For the first two years of his secondary schools he attended the school of the Catholic Order of the Pious Brothers in Budapest. At the end of 1873 his elder brother sent him to the famous old *Kreuz Schule*, a municipal secondary day-school of the city of Dresden. There he spent three and a half years. "I owe it to the hard work in this school that I received a sound introduction into the elements of philology and that my interest was awakened in geographical and historical studies. Beside German, I first got my knowledge of the English and French languages there," wrote Stein in a short biographical sketch sent on from Kashmir. For the last two years of his secondary schools he attended the Lutheran Gymnasium in Budapest. All his life he remembered with gratitude the excellent teaching he got at this school. The masters were certainly very much surprised when it turned out that their promising young pupil studied Sanskrit and comparative philology in the reading rooms of the Royal Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He spent his first two years at the University of Vienna (1879—80) and the third in Leipzig, from whence he was drawn to Tübingen by his growing interest in the oldest literary records of the Hindu and Persian languages. At Tübingen he became the pupil of Professor Rudolf von Roth, an outstanding figure in European Indian studies. He graduated as a D. phil. at the University of Tübingen in the spring of 1883, when he was barely twenty years old. In 1884—5 he spent ten months in London and Oxford, where he made researches into Old Persian literature and archaeology. "It was due to a scholarship received from the Hungarian Minister of Education that I was enabled to pursue my University studies in Germany and England," wrote Sir Aurel Stein, who never forgot where he owed gratitude. In Hungary it was upon the recommendation of the Calvinist Bishop Charles Szász that the Minister of Education, Augustus Trefort,

c/o Postmaster,
Srinagar, Kashmir: April 7, 1940.

Dear Dr. Balogh,

I wish to thank you very heartily for your letter of February 22nd and the two copies of the Spring number of your Quarterly which awaited me on my return here from the N.W. Frontier at the close of last month. I was, of course, much touched by the impressive tribute which Sir Edward Maclagan in his article on 'Publius' has paid to the noble memory of that beloved and admired friend P.S. Allen. It shows fully that gift of sympathetic comprehension and genuine kindness of spirit which has won for Sir Edward so many devoted friends both during his very distinguished service in India and among scholars in England. I feel certain that no review of the 'Letters' could have given greater satisfaction to Mrs. Allen than the fine and delightfully life-like picture Sir Edward's skilful pen has drawn of her husband's exquisite personality.

I can attribute it only to regard for the character of your Quarterly that Sir Edward should have cared to let so much of my own "unworthy person" (to put it in the Chinese way) figure in the picture. But probably the close friendship which

has linked us, two ever since I first came out to India 52 years ago, had much to do with it. How much help this old friendship has meant to me I have tried to record in all brevity when dedicating to Sir Edward the book dealing with my fourth Persian expedition and now about to be published by Macmillan.

I am reading your account of John Paget with great interest and delight. It is a special satisfaction to me that this remarkable man should have found in you a worthy biographer. I first became interested in him when an In Memoriam of him attracted my attention in 1893 at a Kolozsvár bookshop. Paget's reference to the two hundred odd English (and Irish) officers who in his youthful days served in Austrian cavalry regiments garrisoned in Hungary has suggested to me whether the persons and careers of some among them might not supply useful material for a brief sketch in your Quarterly.

I am at present fully occupied with recording the results of my exploration of Rome's traces in Iraq and Transjordan, but hope yet for some chance of more archaeological field work if physical fitness lasts. — As I was a little surprised at seeing the snapshot, unknown to me, you reproduced I amuse myself with enclosing my latest passport photo. for your kind acceptance.

With best regards

yours very sincerely

A. Stein

took an active interest in the young man. "In the summer holidays spent at home, I have received much encouragement and valuable guidance from Professors Arminius Vámbéry and Ignatius Goldziher, both well-known representatives of Hungarian Oriental studies."

Then followed his year of military service at the Ludovica Academy (1885—6) at Budapest. "The theoretical teaching and the practical training received there was very useful to me in my later life . . . The cartography which I was taught there helped me considerably in my topographical work on my travels later . . ." Dr. Aurel Stein, when a pupil at the Ludovica Academy, one day asked his favourite instructor to teach him how to make maps, since he intended to go to India. "What's the good of that to you?" answered the officer. "You will hardly get to places which have not been mapped already!" But the young lieutenant had already at that time been "carrying the marshal's bâton" in his bag. When the great wanderer visited his birth-place some five decades later, the Academy fêted its former cadet, who had given such splendid proofs from Syria to China how well he had mastered the art of triangulation.

He delivered his first lecture at the Vienna International Congress of Orientalists at the end of 1886. From there he went to London, where he did research work in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum. It must have been about that time that he came to a final decision about his old plan to settle down in India. He was twenty-five when he arrived in Bombay. At the suggestion of English scholars, he not long afterwards received an invitation to the Punjab University in Lahore, where he was appointed Principal and University Registrar, in which capacity he spent eleven years there.

All his free time, which was not much, he spent on archaeological and historical studies. In his first summer vacation he travelled along the Kashmir valley. He wrote a series of articles about this journey which he published in book form. While writing the present article I happened to come across this booklet, of which I had not known before, as Sir Aurel had never mentioned it to me. In 1892 he pub-

lished the original text of the *Kashmir Chronicle*, dating from the twelfth century, followed somewhat later by an English translation of it with a commentary. In the next year (1893) there appeared his work on the history of the rulers of Kabul. In this book he throws some light on the "history of the latest dynasty connected with Indo-Scythian rule in the extreme north-west of India." Of his numerous publications at this period, this one deserves particular mention since it was mainly this work for which the Hungarian Academy elected him its corresponding member at the age of thirty-three.

Great Britain occupied the Swat Valley in 1897, and Stein joined the expeditionary force in order to extend his archaeological investigations to the mysterious land lying west of the river Indus. At the end of the Tirah campaign he once more joined the expedition and traversed the territory of Buner which until then had never been visited by Europeans. (See his *Report on an Archaeological Tour with the Buner Field Force*).

In the spring of 1899 he was appointed Principal of the Madrasah, the Mohammedan University at Calcutta. It was in the same year that he became a British subject. From Calcutta he visited Sikkim, "that strange half-Tibetan mountain-land where true Alpine scenery is invaded by the luxuriant vegetation of the tropics." But as he himself writes "the thought of the task which was drawing me beyond the Himalaya had followed me everywhere."

His attention was first called to the deserts of Central Asia in 1897. It was about that time that scraps of manuscript fragments, written on beech-bark, had been found among the papers left behind by Dutreulil du Rhins. The unhappy French traveller must have got hold of these at Khotan. Macartney, the British Consul at Kashgar, had also sent home similar records from round about Khotan. In his collection there were also terra-cotta figurines, fragments of stucco reliefs and engraved seals. Aurel Stein at once recognised the extraordinary significance of these remains and decided to undertake systematic excavations in the Takla Makan Desert. He submitted his plans for an expedition there to the Government of India in 1898. He set

out on his journey northwards across the mountains in May 1900, and arrived at Kashgar in July. He began the excavations in the severe winter of the desert in Dandan-uilik at the very same ruins to which Sven Hedin had paid a flying visit in 1897. As the excavation proceeded hundreds and hundreds of ancient Indian manuscripts came to light. Their origin dates far back into the third century, and when they were deciphered a new vista opened up into the hitherto dim periods of culture in Central Asia. A great number of *objets d'art* was found, with a strong trace of Hellenic influence, witnessing the fusion between Eastern and Western culture in faraway centuries in the middle of the enormous distance between the Hellenic Empire and Peking.

The events of this journey he recounted in his *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan* (London, 1903). This attractive book irresistibly brings back an event in my own youth which formed a turning-point in my whole life. I may be permitted to digress to that episode after forty years, since to this I owe my good fortune in making the acquaintance of our great traveller. I lived in the country then, when on a November day the postman brought a parcel which had been sent by my beloved professor, Louis Lóczy of Budapest University, the President of the Hungarian Geographical Society. The parcel turned out to contain the loose leaves, pages 250—500 of a book entitled *Sand-buried Ruins*, second edition (1904). Professor Lóczy wrote in a letter that the first half was also on the way and it would be sent on by the other geography professor, Professor Eugene Cholnoky of Kolozsvár University. They both, professor and former pupil, had agreed to share the work of translating Aurel Stein's book, but as they had been overwhelmed with other work, they passed on that pleasant task to me.

That very day I started to translate chapter 18. The head of the chapter showed a photograph of Aurel Stein's tent in the desert. I had hardly got so far with him as when he got out the first cell of a shrine from under the sand of Dandan-uilik when Professor Cholnoky's parcel arrived, too. Now I could begin at the beginning and set out together with Stein from Calcutta to Kashmir. Thus, from the

fascinating description of his travels, I began step by step to make the acquaintance of this great wanderer of Asia. At the time when I was rendering his work into Hungarian, he was again making preparations to leave India for Chinese Turkestan. The letter in which I introduced myself to him must have reached him somewhere in the Kun-lun Mountains, for his answer was dated from there. This letter and a signed copy of the *Sand-buried Ruins*, are my oldest written souvenirs of him. The dedication runs as follows : "To Julius Halász, the ambitious translator of my book on Khotan, as a sign of my grateful remembrance, I send this copy from the snow-covered mountains of Khotan. A. S." It was dated from the bottom of the Buszat glacier, August 27, 1906.

Other letters followed the first one from places like the oasis towns in the Takla Makan Desert, or in the Lop Desert, from China, the Highlands of Tibet, Ladak, Kashmir, Persia, Baghdad . . . I remember how surprised I was at the good Hungarian of his letters, since I knew that he had spent more than half of his life — he was forty then — away from Hungary. But his Hungarian letters did not show any change even after an absence of over a half century. He was an exceptional example of the indestructible first impression created on us by our mother tongue. The number of dead and living languages he knew — Sanskrit, Old Persian, Arabian, Turkish, Chinese and many others — had not dimmed in his memory the native language of his childhood, though he had not heard it for such a long time. He was a born linguist, for once he had learned a language he never forgot it.

The other thing which often struck me was the careful, composed handwriting, whith never for a moment lost its regularity whatever the stresses among which his letters were written in some camp or other. It is typical of him how placidly and with what modesty he described the unlucky and serious accident he met with in the snow-clad mountains of Tibet: "Without any assistance (my poor Hindu N. C. O. far away from me had gone blind a few months previously) I had to arrange and with the greatest care pack away myself my archaeological material, which

took up the room of a hundred packing-cases . . . We succeeded in penetrating into the high mountain-ranges surrounding the source of the Yurung-kash in spite of such physical difficulties as we have so far nowhere had to face in Central Asia. It is a magnificent world, this ice-bound mountain, which few human eyes have seen in its full majesty. Map-making and photographing had to be done from peaks at a height of 17,000—19,000 ft. The severe climate and the almost complete lack of vegetation was causing great hardship. We passed through hitherto entirely unknown parts of the Aksai-chin to the sources of the river Kara-kash . . . From here we had one more task left, to search for a long-forgotten road to Khotan. Having achieved this we climbed up through a pass over the glaciers to the water-shed of Kun-lun when some of my toes got frozen. By good luck the road was now free towards Ladak which I reached after a march of sixteen days . . . without any further trouble. There I found a doctor and good medical care. An operation had become necessary which, but for the loss of two of my toes, was successful . . . I hope in four or five days I shall be able to continue my way to Kashmir."

It was this journey of exploration on which he gave a series of lectures in Budapest in the spring of 1909 at the invitation of the Hungarian Geographical Society. Here I met him for the first time face to face, and that summer I had the great satisfaction of meeting him again in London. There I made the acquaintance of his oldest and best friend, Professor P. S. Allen of Oxford University, an article in memory of whom appeared in these pages (Spring 1940). An earlier article on Aurel Stein, written by Sir Edward Maclagan, also appeared in *The Hungarian Quarterly*. It was to this article that Sir Aurel Stein referred in a letter written from a camp in Iraq on December 27, 1938.: "Since I first put foot into Lahore, Maclagan followed closely every personal and scientific pursuit of mine . . . For over fifty years I have been owing much, very much, to his help. His article on myself was a very pleasant surprise." I have never met anyone who was more grateful for any friendly attentions or who could express his attachment more tactfully than Stein.

Again and again in his letters he dwelt on the deep regret he felt when he "thought on the more and more decreasing number of my friends at home" in Hungary. I still remember with some emotion how happy he was when he could visit his friend and well-wisher Coloman Szily in the building of the Hungarian Academy. He often took me along on these visits and so I was a witness of how the old gentleman took his famous "guest" by the arm and how they walked up and down in the inner sanctum of the Library of the Academy.

This attachment and sympathy he later transferred to Eugene Balogh, the Secretary and later Vice-president of the Academy, who also followed with warm interest the life and scientific achievements of his compatriot. They often exchanged letters, too. To Sir Aurel's Hungarian circle of friends belonged Albert Berzeviczy, the President of the Academy, who never lost an opportunity of expressing his admiration. It is sufficient here to point to his presidential address in which he expressed his thanks for the valuable gift which the Academy had received from Sir Aurel, when he said that the "learned foreign member" had presented a collection of 2,000 volumes and enriched the Kőrösi Csoma and the Goethe Collections with valuable manuscripts.

He was a welcome guest at Countess Alexander Teleki's, who wrote under the pen-name of Szikra, and he paid some visits to her summer house in the Tátra mountains. Warm friendship existed between him and the late Count Paul Teleki, the former Prime Minister, and Louis Lóczy. He dedicated to the memory of Professor Lóczy the Hungarian translation of the small book which he wrote about his third journey to Central Asia. He himself made the draft of the Hungarian text and sent on to me the following dedication to be included in the Hungarian edition: "To the generous memory of Louis Lóczy, the pioneer of Hungarian geography and geology, this book is dedicated in expression of his grateful friendship by the author."

In parenthesis I may add here that Sir Aurel sent on the English original of this work from Oxford to me to Rumania where I was a prisoner of war. The book was on its way for

Mosul, Iraq: 1938 november 12n.
(Levélcím: c/o Messrs. Thos. Cook & Son, Baghdad, Iraq)

Igen tisztelt Doktor Úr!

Fogadja, kérem, hálás köszönetemet október 17n kelt fölötte szíves levéléért, mely Oxfordon át mult hó 30-n ért kezembe Baghdadban. Tanulmányom kefelenyomatait két nappal ezelőtt kutató utamon Mosulba érkezvén örömmel kézhez kaptam. Ama szívélyes fogadtatását, melyben Méltóságos a Hungarian Quarterly számára írt cikkemet részesítette, igazi megtiszteltetésnek nézem.

A kefelenyomatot javításaimmal ellátva ide zárom. Őszintén remélem, hogy e korrektura nem fog túlságos fáradságot és költséget okozni. A javítások egy része a sor végére eső szótagok angol szokáshoz illő elválasztására vonatkozik. Különben nagyon is méltányolom a Hungarian Quarterly kitűnő tipografiáját.

A két száz példányban kért különlenyomatból 20 példányt a fennt jelzett cím alatt a saját nevemre elküldetni kérem; a többi 180 példányt pedig a következő címhez:

Mrs. Brown
7, Dene Road, Headington,
Oxford, England

A különlenyomat első oldalára kívánt jelzést a korrektura fején megjelölt szöveg és betűszedés

LETTER FROM SIR AUREL STEIN TO THE EDITOR

For translation of last paragraph see page 200

szerint kérem nyomtatni. A rendes tiszteletpéldányok számát túlhaladó különlenyomatok költségét a szerzői honorariumból levonatni kérem.

Hálás volnék, ha cikkem megjelenésének valószínű idejéről értesíteni kegyeskednék.

Bár kutató munkásságom (mostanában a római Limes romhelyei mentén az északi Irakban) távol tart Középeurópa mostani bonyodalmai és gondjaitól, azért mégis nagyon is foglalkoztatnak a magyar jövőt oly közel érintő újabb fejlemények. Bizony borult a láthatár. De, úgy remélem, van ok bízni a magyarságnak hosszú sanyarú tapasztalatok árán nyert politikai érzékében, mag. abban a kézben, mely legfőbb helyen tartja az ország kormányrúdját.

Igaz örömömre fog szolgálni, ha tavaszkor remélt budapesti látogatásom alkalmával élő szóval adhatok kifejezést kiváló tiszteletemnek Méltóságod munkássága és személye iránt

Stein Aurél.

half a year, and went round the globe before it eventually reached me. It made me happy that in the last weeks of my miserable imprisonment I could translate the work of my favourite traveller. For a similar deed of kindness I am indebted to another great traveller, Amundsen.

Few people know those works of Sir Aurel Stein which he devoted to the memory of his deceased friends. He deeply and sincerely mourned the death of Percy Stafford Allen (1933), the great scholar on Erasmus, who was his oldest friend. He wrote the obituary notice in *The Times*, where he characterised the scientific achievement and the loveable personality of his friend. His biography of Thomas Walker Arnold (1864—1930), a fellow Academician, was printed by the British Academy (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. XVI. 1932). He perpetuated the memory of Pandit Govind Kaul (1846—1899), his Hindu friend and collaborator, in the preface of a work dealing with a Kashmir subject. In the *Alpine Journal* (Nov. 1939) he wrote about the life and scientific achievements of Filippo de Filippi, who was the companion of the Duke of Abruzzo in his journeys of exploration in Alaska and Asia. He gave a beautiful memorial to the name of his friend in this study.

"*In Memoriam Theodore Duka, 1825—1908*" is another writing of his in a similar vein. It stands much nearer to us Hungarians since he draws the life of a Hungarian in India who at the same time was also the biographer of Alexander Kőrösi Csoma. This biography was written in English and was intended to be read to the Hungarian Academy. He sent the manuscript from his camp in Kashmir and I had to translate it for Coloman Szily, who read it at a meeting of the Hungarian Academy (Oct. 27, 1913). This very interesting and intimate biography he devoted to the memory of a friend who was like a father to him. Theodore Duka was a Hungarian by birth, an adjutant of General Görgey during the War of Liberation (1848—49) and after the defeat fled to England. "England has ever been ready to extend a hospitable welcome to exiles who have suffered for freedom's sake," wrote Stein. Duka studied medicine in England and went to India in 1853. He became Chief Medical Officer of Bengal and rose later to the rank of a Colonel

in the Army Medical Corps. Into this biography Aurel Stein wove the short life-story of Alexander Kőrösi Csoma and an estimate of his achievement. The light thrown on this question by Stein's expert knowledge did much to clear up the misunderstandings and darkness which had so far enveloped the life of Csoma. A passage taken from this writing can be heard even to-day in the voice of its writer, for when Aurel Stein was passing through Budapest in 1937 he spent some time here, and the Hungarian Broadcasting Corporation made a record of his voice for its collection. The text of the reading, which lasted for three minutes, was taken from the passage on Kőrösi Csoma in the Duka biography. This short performance took place in the presence of only four persons on New Year's Eve. Next evening his friends and admirers in this country gave a dinner in honour of the great scholar, who was then in his seventy-fifth year. Among the guests present were Count Paul Teleki and Alexander Simonyi-Semadam, former Prime Ministers, Eugene Balogh, a former Minister of Justice and a former First Secretary of the Academy, Géza Voinovich, the present First Secretary, Coloman Szily, Under-secretary of State, Francis Herczeg, Julius Szekfű Arthur Yolland, Julius Németh, Nicholas Zsirai, Louis Ligeti, Julius Germanus, Zoltán Felvinczi Takács, Ervin Baktay — all well-known in scientific and literary life — and the nearest relatives of Sir Aurel. The toast was given by Eugene Balogh and Sir Aurel answered him immediately in Hungarian. He spoke of the stimulus of the unforgettable memories which the traveller takes with him again and again as he leaves the place of his birth; he gratefully acknowledged the appreciation and support received from the Hungarian Government in his younger years, which helped him to go to England and, exactly fifty years ago, to India.

Next day, on January 2, 1938 our explorer left for Baghdad. A year later he wrote from a camp in Iran giving an account of his latest explorations. In the course of the spring he explored the Roman *limes*, from November on along the Euphrates and in the desert west from there. "It is very interesting to search after the traces of the old caravan

routes. It reminds me of the successful work done along the Chinese *limes* of the Old Han Dynasty. My success is mainly due to the reconnoitring flights done by the Royal Air Force. In the cockpit of the small bombers I can stand the wind and the cold fairly well. *Sit gratia Deo.*" He was in his seventy-seventh year at that time.

He returned to England via Budapest in the early summer of 1939. This was to be his last visit to us. In the autumn he was again on his way to India, while the war had already begun. He wrote from Mosul on November 20: "I am encouraged by the hope that the successful conclusion of the great fight will soon make it possible to meet again before long . . . As to myself I have only good news. I explored with good results the old track and the ruins of the Roman *limes* from the Tigris on to the Euphrates and through Transjordania down south as far as the Bay of Agabai." Then he mentions the publication of a book about his fourth Persian journey: "It is partly in the form of a personal narrative. Maybe some chapters might be translated into Hungarian."

Letters coming after that time are rather short due to the restrictions of the censorship. We did not know where he was and what he was doing. He usually wrote only that his health was still unimpaired, that he had just come back from some exploration or that he was just about to leave again for somewhere . . . he never allowed himself the peaceful contemplation of a life, *otium cum dignitate*, although he had fairly deserved it after the ceaseless, untiring work of his eighty years. If anybody might, he might have given himself up in his advanced old age to the pleasure of his own reminiscences. He had much to remember... "The years spent on hard travel in those little-known regions, difficult of access and trying in their physical features, remain among the happiest memories of my life . . ." my recollections of those fruitful years spent in the deserts and mountains of innermost Asia are still as fresh and cherished as before . . ." he writes.

In his books and letters these thoughts keep on returning, and throw a beam of light into the depths of his mind. We who have known him well, have always had the feeling

that this "classic" scholar who spent all his life in uninterrupted labour, was at heart deeply romantic, however much he tried to hide it.

*

Before saying good-bye I may quote once more his own words which he wrote some twenty years ago in the touching biography on his friend, and which might equally well be applied to him by a grateful posterity: "His life was one of noble devotion to duty and of warm affection withal. He was fortunate in being permitted by Fate to give his best to two countries and to meet with due recognition in both. His pious services to a great memory will keep his own from all risk of oblivion. But only those who knew him in life, can realize how great an example he set in his personal worth and modesty, and how richly his life deserves to be remembered in gratitude."

A GREAT HUNGARIAN EXPLORER

Sir Aurel Stein: His Career and Achievements

By JOSEPH SOMOGYI

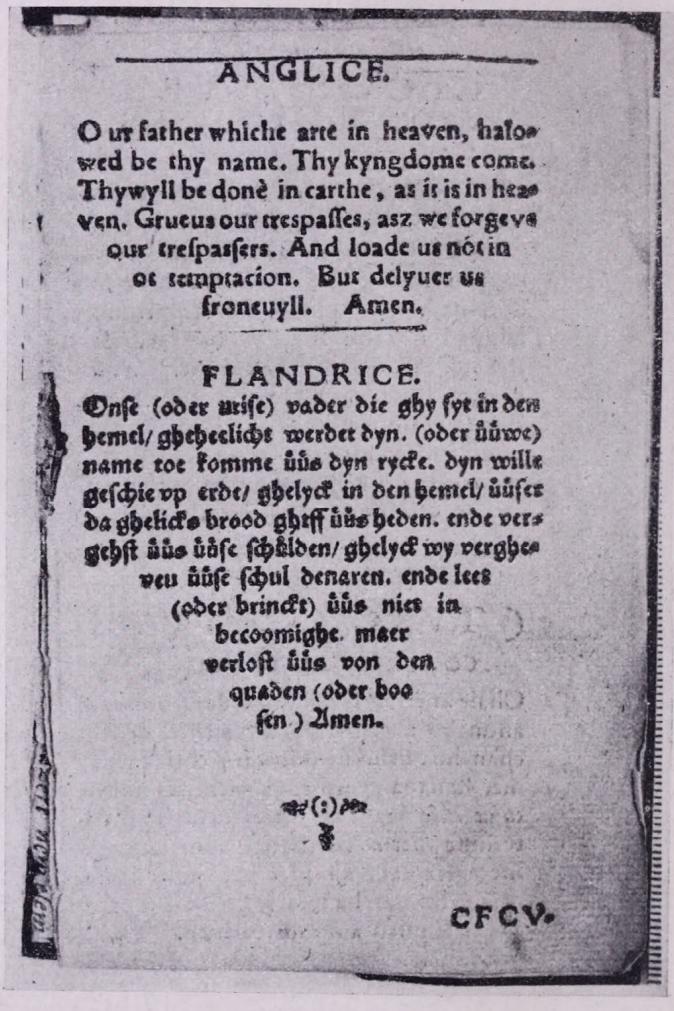
THE image of the Far East with its fabulous riches has captivated the fancy of the western world from time immemorial. European merchants have frequented its caravan routes for thousands of years, facing the enmity of hostile peoples and the hardships of land and climate. Their journey would take them through barren deserts, by high mountain-peaks or immense plateaus. But the result would be worth all the trouble, for they would return to their native country laden with precious wares which they would exchange for gold at princely courts or the palaces of the great. For at least five hundred years, from the Indian campaign of Alexander the Great, there was a lively traffic on the ancient caravan routes leading from China across Eastern Turkestan and Western Asia, down to the shores of the Mediterranean, until the silk routes — for so they were called on account of the caravans passing through them laden with silk — was barred to the western world by the victorious Parthians.

The ancient history and civilization of the area lying between sunny Hellas and fabulous India captured the mind of Sir Aurel Stein at an early age and lasted his whole life. There was no one among his contemporaries better fitted in body and mind for a similar task. He studied at German universities and graduated at Tübingen, and then set out for India, where in 1888 he became professor of Sanskrit in the Punjab University of Lahore. Such was the beginning of the first phase of his scientific career. He began with the study of the connections which had once existed between India and the West. He studied Sanskrit literature and

pored over archaeological finds, looking in them for references to Kashmir, realizing that this province of Northern India must have occupied a key-position in the relations between the interior of Asia and the western world. In 1892 there appeared his first work devoted to this study, entitled *Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir*, followed in 1896 by his *Notes on Ou-Kong's Account of Kashmir*, published in Vienna. During the same time he extended his enquiries to the cultural ties which once had linked India to Iran, and especially to the religious and cultural conditions of the Indo-Scythian rule One of his essays on this branch of study, entitled *Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins*, was published in London as far back as 1888. To the same branch of study belongs another of his essays, published five years later in Stuttgart, bearing the title *Zur Geschichte der Tahis von Kabul*. Afghanistan too, at this early stage of his scientific career, engaged his attention. His work published in London in 1888 entitled *Afghanistan in Avestic Geography* deals with the role assigned to Afghanistan in Zarathustra's sacred book, the *Zend Avesta*. All these works contained valuable contributions to the historical geography of Indo-Iran. Besides his archaeological studies he found leisure for philological research as well. He published in 1894 with extracts and notes a catalogue of 6000 Sanskrit manuscripts kept in Jammu in the library of the Maharajah of Kashmir. Three years later he extended his archaeological studies to the territory of Buner, lying west of the Indus, which had not been visited before by any European.

By the dawn of the twentieth century young Aurel Stein already enjoyed an international reputation as a scholar. His native country also acknowledged his scientific merits, for in 1895 he was elected an honorary fellow of the Hungarian Academy of Science. The second phase of his scientific career began in 1900 and lasted till 1918. During this period he conducted, with the protection of the Indian Government, three important expeditions into the interior of Asia, the passage-ground of commerce between East and West, looking for traces of the ancient history of this territory. He set out on his first expedition in 1900. First of all he surveyed the mountain-ranges of Kashmir, then explored

Sir Marc Aurel Stein K. C. I. E.
(1862—1943)



ANGLICE.

O ur father whiche arte in heaven, halowed be thy name. Thy kyngdome come. Thywyll be donè in earthe, as it is in heaven. Grueus our trespasses, asz we forgeve our trespasers. And loade us nót in ot temptacion. But delyuer us froneuyll. Amen.

FLANDRICE.

Onſe (oder uriſe) vader die ghy ſyt in den hemel/ ghecheelicht werdet dyn. (oder ûûwe) name toe komme ûûs dyn ryckε. dyn wille geſchie vp erde/ ghelyck in den hemel/ ûûſer da ghelicks brood ghyff ûûs heden. ende vergehſt ûûs ûûſe ſchûlden/ ghelyck wy verghevεn ûûſe ſchul denaren. ende lees (oder brinckt) ûûs niet in becoomighe. maer verloſt ûûs von den quaden (oder boo ſen) Amen.

CFCV.

THE FIRST ENGLISH TEXT EVER PRINTED IN HUNGARY, IN THE 'ORATIO DOMINICA POLYGLOTTOS', IN THE YEAR 1614

Illustration to article on page 85

for archaeological remains in the sandy wastes of Eastern Turkestan. He visited the ruins discovered by Sven Hedin and unearthed a great number of ancient, unknown ruins. He rendered an account of this journey in a work published in London in 1903 entitled *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*. Four years later, in his two volumes entitled *Ancient Khotan*, he gave a masterly description of the Buddhistic culture of this area of Central Asia, once the seat of a flourishing civilization.

He started on his second expedition in 1906. He proceeded to survey the Kuen-Lun mountains, the chief ranges of which he had already surveyed, and explored the Takla-Makan desert along the course of the river Tarim. In the snow-capped passes of the Karakorum the toes of his right foot were frozen in the terrific cold. He was carried in a litter to Leh, the capital of the State of Ladakh in Northern India, where his frozen toes had to be amputated. As a result of this expedition he was able to throw light upon the ancient culture which had once flourished in the oases of Eastern Turkestan. He traced besides, for a length of 250 kilometres, the ruins of the wall which the Chinese had built against the invading Huns, which he described in two volumes published in London, 1912, under the title *Ruins of Desert Cathay*.

He continued his archaeological explorations in 1911 along the north-west frontier of India. In 1913 he set out on his third expedition, which lasted till 1916. During this time he journeyed over 18,000 kilometres, explored Turkestan from the Oxus to the Gobi Desert, and the region of the Kuen-Lun mountains. He collected an exceedingly rich archaeological material, of which he gave an account during the first World War in a work entitled *From India to China; My Third Voyage into Innermost Asia*.

Besides these reports on his expeditions he placed his results before the scientific world in three important works. The first of these was entitled *Serindia*, published in five volumes in 1921; in the following year appeared three volumes on the ruins of Tun-Huang, entitled *The Thousand Buddhas*, and finally *Innermost Asia*, in four volumes published in 1928-29. These works have laid the foundations of our archaeological knowledge of Central Asia and shown

the relations which existed in prehistoric times and in antiquity between the Chinese empire and the West. They are indeed the standard works on the archaeology of the East. The scientific world was not sparing in its recognition of the indefatigable explorer. He became an honorary member of a great number of scientific societies and academies, and received honorary degrees at the universities of Oxford, Cambridge and St. Andrews. In 1912 the order of the K. C. I. E. was conferred on him by the King of England. His native country too paid honour to him, though in a more modest form, which he, however, always appreciated very highly: in 1922 he was the first to be awarded the Lóczy Medal of the Hungarian Geographical Society, a medal instituted in memory of the great Hungarian explorer of Asia, Louis Lóczy.

Sir Aurel Stein spent the years after the World War writing the three great works mentioned above. In 1926 however he set forth again, bent on new exploration. But now, in the third phase of his scientific activity, which lasted until his death, his attention was to be engaged in a different area. Formerly when looking for the connecting links between the Chinese empire and the West he was successful in shedding light on the past history of Central Asia, but now it was India whose relations with the western world engaged his attention. His restless desire for knowledge now urged him on to Iran and the countries of the Middle East. It was a return to the ambition of his youth, for already in his first studies it had been the historical geography of Indo-Iran which had attracted him most. He now reverted to his early fancy with renewed pleasure.

The first contact between India and the West had been brought about by the Indian campaign of Alexander the Great in 327-325 B. C. Earlier investigations had already traced, up to Afghanistan, the route followed by Alexander's army, but it was Sir Aurel Stein's merit to have traced — on the basis of topographic, linguistic and historical research — the last and most difficult phase of that historic march, leading from Afghanistan to India across the Hindu Kush. He also located the site of Alexander's famous rock-castle, called Aornos. A year later, Sir Aurel Stein explored, on behalf of the Indian government, the borderland of Waziri-

stan and Northern Baluchistan, and wandered through present-day Kharan, Makran and Ysalawan in Southern Baluchistan — the Jedrosia of the ancients — down to the shores of the Arabian Gulf. Both these journeys proved highly satisfactory, for he discovered a great number of prehistoric sites covered by ruins. He described his journey on the route followed by Alexander the Great in a work published in London, 1929, bearing the title *On Alexander's Track to the Indus*.

In 1928 we find him in Irak and Syria. He visits Bagdad, Mosul, Nineveh, Assur, Hatra and Palmyra and collects valuable information concerning the ancient cultural conditions of the Near East.

The year 1929 marks a short period of comparative rest from his fatigues as an explorer, for the Lowell Institute of Boston invited him to deliver lectures on the results of his past expeditions. These lectures were published later on in book form under the title *On Ancient Central Asian Tracks* (New York, 1933).

In 1930 he was preparing for another journey into the interior of China in order to continue the research work he had begun there fourteen years before. Although the Chinese Government consented to his plan, it was not carried out. "Nationalistic jealousy and unfounded objections" — to quote his own words — prevented him from putting his project into effect. At that time China was engaged in a sanguinary civil war which would have made any scientific research impossible. Sir Aurel Stein set out in 1932 for Iran again. He returned from this journey with many prehistoric finds which led him to the assumption that four or five thousand years before our time this area must have been less desiccated than it now is.

He spent the years between 1935 and 1937 again in Iran, but the account of this journey has not been published as yet. Nor are we acquainted with his work during the remaining six years of his life, although the hope seems justified that his estate must contain valuable records concerning his last journeys. It may be assumed with a certain degree of assurance that in his last years he must have been engaged in completing his studies on Afghanistan. In fact,

he died in Kabul, the capital of that country, on October 26, 1943 at the age of 81.

Sir Aurel Stein will always be remembered as one of the greatest students of the archaeology of the East. His explorations have clearly proved the existence in prehistoric times of a highly developed culture in the area lying between India and China on the one hand, and, on the other, the western world. The oases were the centres of this civilization, which flourished as long as a strong political power was in existence. With the weakening of this political power the basis of the welfare of these regions began to wane as well, for artificial irrigation had been the foundation on which was erected the delicate structure of a society living amongst the sandy wastes. The neglect of irrigation gave new strength to the desert, which reclaimed its rights, and to-day again "... boundless and bare, The lone and level sands stretch far away."

To have excavated the remains of this ancient civilization was not only a peerless scientific achievement. It was also a most heroic human performance which the chronicler may rightly record as such. To have dug in Central Asia in unknown regions and amidst sometimes hostile peoples was in itself a dangerous adventure demanding more than the learning of a scholar; he had to be a strong man and a good judge of human nature who could hold his own among such dangers. Sir Aurel Stein united in his person all the qualities required for such a task.

As to his accomplishments as a scholar, he was more than an archaeologist. No one realized better than he the fundamental importance in archaeological study of a knowledge of the languages spoken in the East. No wonder that on his various journeys he collected such valuable philological material as to make his name permanent among the students of oriental philology. He discovered many manuscripts written in Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan and Uighur, going back to the time when Buddhists in Central Asia still knew the Sanskrit language.

The history of eastern art owes him much too. He collected on his journeys many Buddhist paintings, frescos, stuccos and burnt-clay reliefs. His books, adorned with

beautiful illustrations, are standard works on the history of oriental art.

Although he always called himself an orientalist, his explorations benefited other branches of science as well. Geography owes much to him, for he completed the findings of Sven Hedin in several points, surveyed the highest unknown ranges of the Khuen-Lun mountains, and discovered the salt-pit of Lake Lop-Nor. His ethnographical and physical observations have added much to our knowledge concerning Central Asia.

Even the recent science of economic history is indebted to him. It was he who traced the silk routes of China and the ancient caravan routes of Iran, Irak and Syria. The growth and decline of oasis-culture is also one of the subjects on which we now possess more definite information than before as a result of his explorations.

Sir Aurel Stein was not only himself a modest and unassuming man; these qualities are reflected in his writings as well. Free from self-importance and with no pedantic airs, he wrote in a simple and easy style so that his books may be read even by the uninitiated with pleasure and attention. The works mentioned here amount in themselves to a little library, to which one must add a great number of essays and scientific papers which have appeared in various periodicals. His scientific collections belong to the most valued treasures of the British Museum. His scientific library containing special works is also invaluable; he bequeathed it to the Hungarian Academy of Science as a mark of his gratitude and attachment to his country. His general library too has been left by him to our Academy, which has so far received 1154 volumes of it.

The life and career of Sir Aurel Stein are an example of the achievements human idealism can perform if coupled with talent and perseverance. We are in need of such examples, in our apocalyptic age, more than ever before. If after the moral and material devastations of this terrible war we are to resume our human standards, we must, with common will and without regard to boundaries or races, devote ourselves again to the most sacred cause of things human: the cause of civilization.

THE HUNGARIAN JOINT FAMILY

By EDITH FÉL

THE folklorist in Hungary in search of past forms of popular life must inevitably come to the conclusion that the greater distance he puts between himself and the capital of his country, the more ancient forms he will come across among the traditional customs of the people. The rule that culture spreads from a central point towards the outlying parts holds good in Hungary, all the more so since Budapest, which represents the highest culture hereabouts, lies almost in the geographical centre of the country. Anyone who wishes to gather information about the traditional family life of the people and leaves Budapest to do some field-work, may turn at random to any of the four points of the compass on his way towards the frontier and will be sure to find something of interest. Hungary is rich and varied in its geographical regions and also ethnographically.

The material for this article was collected north-west of Budapest, in a village in the county of Komárom and just south of the Danube. The many branches and backwaters of the Danube, as well as several small rivers, cut up the county and surround, and even shut off smaller settlements and villages, mostly with a population of fisher-folk, so completely that the world outside hardly ever hears of their existence. This must have been even more the case in the second half of the last century, when the rivers had not yet been regulated, and spring floods often made communication of any kind impossible for months at a time. The memory of these floods is still seen in the many 'dead' branches of the Danube and

in the numerous ponds in which the small boys, a future generation of fishers, try their hands at their fathers' craft. There are no trains in these parts, and as the place in question is some distance from the nearest railway station, it is necessary to hire a horse and cart to the village of M....., which is probably the most remote of these villages at the back of beyond. The people are very friendly, and so it was not difficult to find accomodation. In my room there was a decorative bed with embroidered pillows and bedcovers which reached almost up to the ceiling. A great number of earthenware plates with roses painted on them hung on the walls; there might have been some 150 of them in one room. What strikes one at first sight is the number of beds and the unusually large size of the room. When I asked my host, an old peasant, he told me that there was a time when the room used to be much larger, so large in fact, as he put it, that "you might have turned round a cart in it." And the old folks used to say that when the family was sitting at meals in the corner — a survival of the old Gothic custom with the tables and benches in the corner of the room — "the stranger had to salute the family at least three times on his way into the interior of the room until everybody could hear him . . ." This pleasant exaggeration made me smile, and yet at the same time it was this remark which put me on the track which led in the end to a peculiar ancient form of life which a few scanty records had already suggested but which had not been definitely traced in this country.

Most people will have heard of the Russian *mir* and the South Slav *zadruga*. But that there should have existed a Hungarian variety of it is not generally known even by specialists. It should perhaps be explained that the "joint family" is a social group of close family relatives consisting of a man, his wife, their children, the husbands and wives of their children and the children of the latter. A family-group constitutes a "joint family" when all its members keep together in one enlarged household, have a common share in property and in the work on it and live under the direction of a house leader. With the Hungarians the head of the house in the community was always the oldest member,

usually the grandfather. The forefathers of the Hungarians were equestrian nomads with a relatively high level of civilisation and with these the family grouping was patriarchal. In such a social system the family relationship is established by kinship on the male side, so that for example the young bride who comes into a new family community by marriage, calls the brothers and even first, second and third cousins of her husband her "elder master" if they happen to be older than herself and her "younger master" if they are younger.[1]

It is an exception in our days to find such a house-community as in this village, where the entire family numbered fourteen and covered three generations. But the villagers still remembered instances from the last century where the enlarged family numbered as many as twenty-five or thirty people of different generations under one roof. Members of such a united house community say that "we are living together", "we work with one arm" or to use an even more graphic expression "we live on one bread."

The head of such a joint family is usually addressed as the *gazda*, which corresponds to the English husband, the word being used in the obsolete sense of the English word denoting a person who manages a household or an estate. His power in the household is considerable. He has the best sleeping-accomodation in the foremost bed and he sits at the head of the table at meals. When he comes home from work his daughters and daughters-in-law are expected to run to meet him, to take off his overcoat or anything he may be carrying, while in former times they even used to kiss his hands. His power over his family is practically unlimited; he chides and corrects them and may strike them if he chooses. He can exclude any one from the community of the family. His is the last word in the fate of his children and grandchildren. Everybody in the household owes him obedience. He is the first to get up in the morning, when he wakes up the rest of the family: "Get up, get up. The beggar is already on his seventh round!"

[1] A Hungarian woman of the people addresses her husband as *úr*, which corresponds to the English lord or liege. This is rendered by the English word master in this translation.

He makes out the programme for the daily round of work with the animals and in the fields. He is the last to turn in at night after having seen that everybody, man and beast, has gone to rest. He himself does physical work only while his children are still small; afterwards his duty is such work as needs experience and a practised hand, sowing, viticulture and so on. He apportions the work to the various members of the family, gives his instructions and sees to it that everything is done properly. It would be a mistake, however, to think that his power is absolute permanently. It lasts only until his sons are grown up, for then the old man is expected to call a family council and to discuss the more important matters with them. The grown-up sons assist the master in all matters relating to husbandry, so that by the time he has grown old they can relieve him of many of his more exacting duties. He might allow his sons to take over a part of his work, but he would forego only very seldom the moral duty of ruling his household. It is the master of the family who, until his end, represents the family to the world outside, it is he who pays the taxes and duties, sees about business with any of the authorities and appears at divine service on Sundays as the representative of the joint family. His power is often visible in his outward appearance, too, since he is dressed in a more conspicuous style. He wears an elaborate silver chain and clasp — usually a valuable family heirloom — on his black broadcloth cloak, and has big silver buttons sewn on his short jacket, sometimes as many as twenty or thirty so that everybody can see what a well-to-do man he is. The Hungarian people wear a sheepskin fur-cloak, richly embroidered on the inner side, which is worn like a big wrap. The wearing of this piece of clothing is also one of the prerogatives of the master, while his sons wear simple broadcloth short jackets.

Next to him in rank stands his wife, the mistress of the household. The cooking for the whole family is her exclusive prerogative and task, this being one of her most cherished functions. She looks after the clothing of the enlarged family and sees that they are provided with the few other necessaries; it is her duty to watch over the mental and

physical health of all. She distributes the work to be done in and round the homestead. She has to supervise the work of her daughters and daughters-in-law, for, like the master, it is her duty to portion out everybody's work. She keeps only such work to herself as needs greater experience and practice, such as cooking the meals, hatching the poultry and kitchen-gardening, since the young womenfolk do not know much about the various charms which make the work successful! She does not take part in the preparation of hemp for linen, but only in the spinning of it, but according to ancient usage it is she who cuts up the linen and divides it between the inmates of her household. The little money that is needed for keeping things going, it is her business to earn by selling the dairy produce, the poultry or the eggs. Although a peasant household needs as a rule little ready money, it may yet happen that the mistress is unable to get hold of even that. In such cases she has to pilfer the barn and barter for the spices and other trivial commodities. Such innocent thieving is of course usually connived at by the master, but he would not give away that he is aware of it for anything in the world. Beside these duties, the mistress has to see about the education of her grandchildren. The young mothers cannot stay at home to bring up their children, for they have to help the menfolk in the fields or elsewhere, so that the care of the young ones is left entirely to the old people. That is why the saying goes that the mistress loves her children twice: once when they are her own and again when they are her sons'. If the mistress gets old and feeble, it is the eldest daughter-in-law whom she keeps at her side and who does her work; but the right to command she retains till her death.

There is the question of how the rights are apportioned in this enlarged family. Neither women or children have any rights within it, and the young men only after they have married. Until that time they have no say in any matter of husbandry. If married they may occasionally make modest comments or objections, but it is by no means sure that they will be listened to. As a rule it is the duty of the menfolk to do their allotted share of work and to do it well. Beyond that they have nothing to think about; they

are provided with everything they need, with food, drink and appropriate clothing. The sons themselves have no money of their own, for even if they do earn something as day-labourers or in any other way, they are expected to turn over their earnings to the family exchequer. The money for tobacco or for a drink at the inn, they have to ask for from their father or mother according to which of the two is more easily approachable. But as rights are apportioned according to primogeniture, the younger sons owe obedience to their elder brothers as well. The respect which is due to the elder brother is also shown in addressing him as "my elder brother" and by not using the familiar "thou" when speaking to him, whereas the younger brother is always "thou." It must be added that the Hungarian equivalent for "my elder brother" is a term of respect generally used by young people to address the older generation whether related by kinship or not. Returning to the enlarged family, there is an order of precedence at the dinner table according to descent and age, and this rank also decides what sort of work is entrusted to its bearer, what sleeping accomodation he gets, and so on.

A much lower position is accorded to the daughters and the daughters-in-law, who have no say in family matters. If they are admitted to the family council at all, they cannot join in the discussion. The young married woman, when she gets up in the morning, does not yet know what her work for the day will be. She gets her orders for her work for the day only after breakfast — like any servant — either from the master if she is going to work in the fields, or from the mistress if she is to stay at home for work there. If the mother-in-law is not well disposed towards them, then these poor young women have a miserable life indeed. It is interesting to notice that the daughters and the daughters-in-law do all sorts of work in and round the homestead, but they are not allowed to do any cooking. The girls, when they marry, have no idea of it, and there are many older women too, — those who have lived and worked with a mistress for a long time — sometimes even women over fifty, who begin to learn cooking late in life since up till then they have not been allowed near the kitchen-range.

Sometimes the position of an old servant in the household is of higher standing than that of the daughters or daughters-in-law, and an old and trusted family retainer is often held in greater esteem than even the sons themselves. It might be mentioned here that the Old Hungarian word *cseléd*, used for a married servant settled in the homestead or farm and engaged yearly, is really the same word as our modern Hungarian word for family, *család*.

This strongly patriarchal and patrilineal family system is of course not equally pronounced in its features all over the country, since in some regions we find a greater influence accorded to the women-folk. This is particularly the case where the main income of the family comes from kitchen-gardening for instance, which as a rule is more in the hands of the women in this country, or when there are only a few children and the daughter does not change her residence on marriage, as it is rather her husband who comes and settles in the household. The son-in-law usually takes up residence with his wife's family when in the latter the other children are too small as yet and there is a shortage of grown-up male labour. Not everybody is willing or forced by circumstances to live with the parents-in-law, and usually it is only the poorer young men who agree to that sort of life, or those who have already had a hard lot at home, or again those who due to the prevailing system of inheritance will not get a share in the family real property upon the decease of the master. In some parts of the country, the family estate is inherited by the younger son, who compensates the other coparceners in cash for their due shares. It also may happen occasionally that the young ploughboy or servant is allowed to marry the master's daughter, and then he remains with the family. In such a case it is said that "he served for the girl". But those young men who have no special reason to do so avoid at all costs the role of a resident son-in-law, for he is not a very highly respected person in his wife's family circle. It is said, and not without reason, that "a son-in-law's bread is bitter bread." He has little more to say in the family than his wife, he is expected to work and to obey, he can neither protest nor suggest anything and he can order about prac-

tically nobody, but is rather ordered about by every one, principally by his mother-in-law. The sense of patrilineal grouping in the joint family is so strong that sometimes his children are even given the surname of their mother's family and not that of their own father. He is a kind of menial who gets no pay for his work, and only earns his bare keep. It is said that the only fun he gets is on Easter Tuesday, the son-in-law's day, when they all meet at the village inn, pour out their troubles to each other, drink heavily and, in general, have the time of their lives . . .

We need hardly say that the economic constitution of a joint family is such that everything is subservient to the interests of the community without any regard to the interests of its individual members. The notion of private property was until more recent years almost completely unknown in the Hungarian joint family, and restricted to a few personal belongings such as clothing and perhaps a few tools. The young married woman brings a wooden chest with her when she enters her husband's family. That chest remains her own, she may keep it locked and carry the key with her if she likes. Real property of which she could dispose she was unlikely to possess until quite recently. On her marriage the bride's parents give her a trousseau of clothing. Richer families give a milch-cow, poorer ones a small or a bigger pig, a few geese or poultry. These animals are kept by the husband's family, but any increase belongs to the bride. These she can sell and turn the money towards the expense of clothing herself and her children, since the old mistress dresses neither her nor her grandchildren, the latter only from the time when they begin to work for the family community. If the young woman has no trousseau from her parents, she will not be able to procure anything for herself, even if she takes up outside work as a day-labourer or in any other capacity, since such earnings have to paid into the family money-box towards her keep. For everything in the life of such an enlarged family tends to maintain the common wealth and if possible to increase it.

To find such families, however, living in every respect under the system described above, is not so easy now, for

the spirit of the modern age has made great changes in this ancient family institution. The law has stepped into the place of tradition and custom, and has given an equal share to the daughters, too, in all the family possessions. Within the joint family with land and work in common, private real property can hardly be imagined. The arrival of the idea of private property shook this time-honoured traditional form of family life to its very foundations, and all over the country, too, since one of the results of private property was that the individual came into the forefront at the expense of breaking up the community of the family. The individual in this context means not a single person, but the "single family", i. e the family of any of the married sons who so far had gone almost unnoticed within the confines of the joint family. Since then these married sons have worked to increase, not the communal wealth of their whole family, but only that of their own. The inevitable result has been that the number of these joint families has been constantly dwindling. With the death of every master, another joint family breaks up and its members become independent, leaving the old tradition and going over to the normal system of small, single families.

FINDS OF ASIATIC ARMOUR

By BENGT THORDEMAN

Dr. Thordeman is keeper of the Royal Collection of Medals in the National Museum of Antiquities, Stockholm, and is the author of numerous archaeological works.

IN December 1928 a labourer was busy digging land belonging to József Ballas in the southern part of the village of Kunszentmárton near the town of Szentes in Hungary. All at once he turned up a skull. It is quite common for bones to be unearthed when digging and so it did not strike our labourer as being very strange that it was a human bone if, indeed, he realised that it was such. Nor did he give any particular heed to some rusty pieces of iron and other trifles which he found along with the parts of a skeleton. Anyhow, he took care of some of the pieces and showed them to a man who was known to be greatly interested in antiquities, Mr. Louis Pájer, who declared that it must be a find of sepulchral remains. Mr. Pájer carefully gathered what he could find of the objects strewn around and to the best of his ability excavated the rest of the skeleton (in reality only the nether extremities) and then informed the keeper of the museum at Szentes, Mr. Gabriel Csallány, who took over the find and carried out a further investigation on the spot. This did not, however, yield any particular results.

In 1930 new burial finds were made in the vicinity. In all, ten graves were discovered, some of which were subjected to expert investigation by Csallány's son, Dr. Dezső Csallány, who afterwards published a paper on the whole find. The later graves were, however, far less rich and interesting than the first one.

An examination of the objects found showed that the dead man in his lifetime had been a goldsmith and that a highly interesting set of tools had been laid in the grave. In addition, his riding-horse, weapons and armour had followed him to the grave. The catalogue of the grave's contents includes no less than 130 pieces.

Dr. Csallány's investigation of this unique find indicated that the burial of the goldsmith had occurred in the middle of the seventh century A. D. The man probably belonged to one of the Turkish tribes (most likely the Kutugur-Bulgarians) who accompanied the Avars from the interior of Asia, and in the Pontic State north of the Black Sea came under the influence of Byzantine culture. The shape and ornamentation of the objects displayed exactly the mingling of Byzantine and early Asiatic elements which is the result of such historical conditions.

When Dr. Csallány was confronted with the task of finding comparative material to the armour of the goldsmith, he was rather at a loss, which need not surprise us. Armour of this kind was not at that time known or, at any rate, had received no attention in archaeological literature. Generally speaking, armour from the period subsequent to the Roman imperium, up to the middle of the fifteenth century, is extremely rare in Europe. It was all the harder to gain a conception of the original construction of the armour, as it had not been subjected to expert preparation, while large parts may have been lost when the find was first made.

By chance, however, some armour of exactly the same kind as that from Kunszentmárton was discovered during the following year, 1929, in the excavations which I conducted at the town of Wisby on the famous and romantic island of Gotland, out in the Baltic Sea. The locality of this find was far removed from the one in Hungary and it was no less distant in time. In 1361 the Danish king Valdemar IV conquered Gotland in a rapid campaign. The island had been a Swedish possession, but there was no Swedish fleet to protect the distant province and there were no Swedish troops on the island. The well-armed and superior Danish invading army had only to meet an untrained and hastily-mustered band of militia. On July 27, there was an encounter

between the unevenly matched forces outside the walls of the Hansa town of Wisby whose wealthy citizens, mostly German, awaited the outcome of the fight. Would patriotism and love of freedom get the better of technical perfection and military experience? No, the issue was a foregone conclusion. About two thousand of the Gotland farmers fell on the battlefield — a tremendous number at that time. Wisby opened its gates and Gotland was Danish until it was restored to Sweden in 1645 as the fruit of Field-Marshal Lennart Torstensson's victories during the Thirty Years War.

The fallen Gotlanders were buried together with their adversaries in enormous graves which were hastily dug close to a monastery church near the battlefield and a handsome stone cross was raised to the memory of the fallen. At the beginning of the present century finds were made here of parts of skeletons as well as a remarkable kind of armour, indicating that systematic excavation on the spot would yield a rich cultural-historical reward. The Swedish parliament having granted a large sum of money for the purpose, an investigation was undertaken during the years 1928—1930 in close co-operation with Danish scientists — descendants of the former foe. This afforded a unique illustration of the pathetic struggle. We shall not here dwell on the details e. g. the parts of skeletons with their wounds and arrow-marks bearing witness to the fury of the battle, nor on the age-statistics, proving that the rustic army largely consisted of old men and youths, nor on the grinning skulls, many of which were still enclosed in hoods of plaited iron rings nor, lastly, on the coins which some of the fallen had upon them, thus permitting a determination of their nationality.[1] We merely mention that among the finds there were 25 sets of armour, mostly differing from each other, thus casting a sudden light on the construction and evolution of battle armour in Europe during the fourteenth century, which was previously an absolutely uninvestigated chapter in the history of the art of war.

Of these pieces of armour 24 were of similar construction in so far as they consisted of iron plates — large and small

[1] Anyone interested in the excavation is referred to my work *Armour from the Battle of Wisby, 1361*. I, II, Stockholm 1939, 1940.

— which were riveted to the inner side of a cover or coat of cloth or leather. The twenty-fifth, on the other hand, — and this is the fellow of the one that lay in the goldsmith's grave at Kunszentmárton — was made in a very different way. It consisted of over 600 iron *lamellae* about one decimetre long, perforated on a certain system and afterwards plaited together by leather straps in a very ingenious way. Small parts of similar armour found in the grave plainly showed that several of the same kind had been worn in the battle. On the other hand, one could see that this armour, most likely immediately before the battle, had been hastily provided with a riveted cover of leather. In other words it had been modernised into an external likeness to the other suits of armour and, consequently, at the time of the battle in 1361, was out-of-date. The sudden Danish onslaught and the lack of modern armour on the island had evidently compelled the islanders to make use of old armour which had been lying in chests and cupboards, after a makeshift modernisation.

As I have already said, armour of this kind was then quite unknown in the literature of archaeology. Closer study revealed, however, that specimens of such armour had been discovered in different parts of Europe and the characteristic perforation excludes all doubt, even in the case of small fragments, as to their having formed a part of such armour. *Lamellae* of this kind had been found at the Swedish viking-period town of Birka, not far from Stockholm, dating from the tenth century. Moreover, there were finds from a burial place at Schretzheim in Bavaria, from another burial place at Castel Trosino in central Italy and from an Avaric grave from the fifth century at Kertch in the Crimea. The Castel Trosino find was from a time about A. D. 600 and belonged to the Langobards who came there from Hungary, where they had been the nearest neighbours and allies of the Avars. Three points of contact had now been established between the Avars and the lamellar armour find, Kertch, Kunszentmárton and Castel Trosino, so that one might well ask whether it was not likely that this peculiar type of armour had been used and spread by the Avars and then, perhaps, brought by them from their original home in the

heart of Asia. Yet another lamellar find from a *kurgan* (which is unfortunately undated) on the boundary between Europe and Asia in the region of Orenburg seemed to confirm this supposition.

Turning now to Central Asia, we soon find a wealth of sources for the study of lamellar armour in the form of artistic pictorial representations, archaeological finds and ethnographic material. Both the oldest and the youngest traces of the occurrence of this form of construction have been brought to light by Dr. Sven Hedin's Swedish Asia expedition. During excavations carried out by his archaeological assistant, Dr. Folke Bergman, in a Chinese border fortress from the two centuries round about the birth of Christ such *lamellae* were discovered, while at the same time another of his assistants, Dr. D. Hummel, in a Tibetan village, bought a similar suit of armour which had been last worn in 1908 in a fight due to a quarrel about a cow between two neighbouring tribes. And between these dates there is material so abundantly rich that there can be no doubt that lamellar armour is a typical Central Asiatic form which was brought westwards to Europe, probably by the Avars. It was also taken eastwards, for close study reveals that Japanese armour is a variant of the same construction.

These insignificant perforated bits of iron have thus been able to afford incontestable proof of two phenomena: *(a)* the marvellous constancy with which cultural manifestations have lived on among the Asiatic peoples for centuries and millenniums and *(b)* how impulses and examples from the heart of Asia have spread over immense distances to the uttermost borders of Europe, where these broadcast seeds sometimes took root and lived, for a time only, as a rule soon to vanish away. Here, in a nutshell, we get the contrast between European and Asiatic mentality: stagnation *contra* evolution, tough conservatism *contra* renewal, eruptive expansion *contra* methodical occupation.

The Kunszentmárton goldsmith's use of Central Asiatic armour in the seventh century is not beyond our comprehension. It seems more astonishing, perhaps, that this kind of armour should reach the distant north not only in a few isolated

specimens ostentatiously worn by some far-travelled merchant or warrior to the amazed admiration of the girls. As there are finds both from the tenth and fourteenth centuries deriving from two widely separated places in Sweden, we must draw the conclusion that this kind of armour was, if not common, at any rate by no means rare.

Moreover, there is yet another reason for the presumption that lamellar armour was widespread in the north of Europe. In the famous Finnish sagas the *Kalevala*, it is stated in several places that the hero of the saga wore armour and there is employed a term whose meaning-content indicates that it must refer to lamellar armour. According to modern Finnish research these sagas did not arise in the wooded borderland between Finland and Russia where they have been preserved till our own time but, on the contrary, in the western part of the country and under the influence of Swedish Viking culture. Thus the occurrence of lamellar armour in the *Kalevala* supplies interesting proof that this Asiatic phenomenon had really established itself in northern Europe.

The fact that Sweden was open to cultural influence from the east (and this is not the only instance, though one of the most striking) is closely connected with the political situation of the country. Sweden, like her neighbours, Norway, Denmark and Finland, belonged then as now, and always, first and foremost politically to the Scandinavian North. The internal balance of Scandinavia has always been the foremost political problem of these countries. They are all mutually interdependent and throughout their history there is an unbroken series of wars, coalitions, unions and, again, quarrels. Historically seen, their problems have had differing external orientation, due to differing geographical situation: Denmark southwards, Norway westwards and Sweden-Finland (one state until 1809) eastwards. During the viking period, in the ninth to eleventh centuries, Swedish warriors and traders penetrated to the interior of Russia, founded colonies and fortresses and organised the Russian empire — we often say half jokingly that this was the greatest folly in our history. Archaeological material both in Russia and Sweden bears witness to these facts. In Sweden we find

objects imported from the east in graves of that period, while in Russia entire burial grounds have been investigated which contained ancient material of predominantly Swedish origin. During the Soviet period great interest has been taken in these investigations and in the social character of the Swedish colonisation. In a thesis on the graves filled with Swedish objects around the Swedish fortress of Staraja Ladoga near the river Wolchow south of Lake Ladoga (at the very place where, during the present war, the Russians had access to the water and thereby to Leningrad) the Russian archaeologist W. J. Raudonikas has claimed that those who were buried were not Swedes but belonged to Finnish tribes settled here who had adopted a material culture of Swedish character as a result of trading with Swedes. Professor T. J. Arne, the famous Swedish expert on Russian archaeology, opposes this view, saying that it seldom happens that a people begins to wear the ornaments and dress of a foreign culture simply through mercantile influence. According to Professor Arne there is no reason for concluding that the numerous graves in Russia containing Swedish objects do not, as a rule, contain Swedish colonists. The many Russian place-names formed from the names of Swedish men and other Swedish words which occur particularly at places of strategic importance for the defence of important river-ways go to prove that real colonisation actually took place.

Seen against the background of this Swedish penetration of the traffic routes through Russia, whereby Swedish trading and military expeditions were extended to the coasts of the Black and Caspian Seas, the finds of Asiatic armour in Sweden no longer present a cultural-historical riddle.

THE EXPLOITS OF COUNT MAURICE SÁNDOR

By ALEXANDER LESTYÁN

This article gives some account of the extraordinary feats of horsemanship of Count Maurice Sándor, which gave him a European reputation in the early part of the last century. The author, who recently published a book on the subject with numerous illustrations, has had access to the authentic documents and drawings now in the possession of Princess Clementine Metternich, to whom we should also like to express our thanks for permission to reproduce the illustrations to this article.

THE young count was sixteen years old on the summer afternoon in 1821 when his parents, driving out from the manor of Bajna near Esztergom, left him alone with his tutor. The big country house, set in the middle of the great estate of the Sándors, with its hunting-lodges, stud-farm, deer-park and even a colliery, was the summer residence of the family, who only resorted to their palace in Buda when winter set in.

The tutor was a faithful servant of the family, a little more than a peasant, but not much more than an item in the family property, and it cannot be said that the young count learned much from him, for his parents attached little importance to education and at the age of sixteen he was barely able to read and write. On this afternoon the discussion turned on horses and horsemanship, and the young master had decided that he was going to ride a horse. His father had never allowed it, and his mother always trembled at the thought of anything happening to her son, but now that they were safely out of the way he felt that the time had come to mount a horse for the first time in his life. The tutor, who does not seem to have

had much influence over his pupil, observed that riding had to be learned first, and that one could not jump into the saddle without a certain amount of preparation; the result might be a nasty fall. The young count, however, was of a different opinion and told his tutor that anyone who had to learn how to ride would never become a horseman. With that he sent for a horse and, to the astonishment of all, mounted at once. He galloped round the courtyard several times, the horse apparently feeling that its rider knew what he was doing, and then ordered the servants to fetch a pole and hold it up for him to jump. His tutor, horrified, watched him jump it several times; then the young count dismounted and turned to his tutor: "You see, I was right. One is born a horseman, and I was born to be one too."

This young man of sixteen, Count Maurice Sándor, son of Count Vincent Sándor and Countess Maria Anna Szapáry, was soon to become the almost legendary hero of the most daring feats of horsemanship, famous not only in his own country and Imperial Vienna, but all over Europe. When he was old he often used to tell the story of this first ride of his, especially when he wanted to convince his hearers that nothing had been impossible for him and that he had never known fear.

His father was eccentric and despotic, his mother mild, patient and self-sacrificing. Until he was seventeen his liberty was restricted, the family living either on their estate at Bajna or in the palace in Buda. The latter, by the way, which was built for his father by Michael Pollack and was completed in 1806, is now the residence of the Prime Ministers of Hungary. Count Maurice Sándor was seventeen when his father died, leaving him the sole possessor of the family fortune, which was a considerable one. His father's will appointed the young count's brother-in-law, Count Gabriel Keglevich, as his guardian, but the latter soon arranged for him to be declared of full age and to take over the administration of the estates, in which he proved fully justified, for the young man showed remarkable aptitude for what was by no means an easy duty. But now everything which he had been forbidden to do during his father's lifetime suddenly became possible to him. He was able to educate himself, to travel, learn

languages and music and, of course, to ride and hunt. The guitar became his favourite instrument, and he composed several songs, while he also became something of a connoisseur of the arts, and a liberal patron of artists. Following the custom of his age, he secured the services of a 'court painter,' first Alexander Clarot and later Johann Gottlieb Prestel, an artist from Munich, almost the same age as himself, who left about five hundred drawings of the feats of horsemanship performed by his master.

Count Maurice Sándor's character was a mixture of opposites. He inherited the courage of his father and the mildness of his mother, and became a mixture of determination that was often to lead him into foolhardiness, and kindness and a somewhat childish enthusiasm. His love of horses was, of course, his predominant trait, but as well as riding and driving a coach and five he was a model landlord, a philanthropist, a patron of the fine arts and an enlightened aristocrat in an age of reforms. He disliked only one thing: politics. He was loyal to the Habsburg dynasty, and when in the revolution of 1848 his fortune was confiscated he only shrugged his shoulders and said: "My king will give me and my family a crust of bread so that we shall not starve."

Before he was twenty he was famous in the twin cities of Pest and Buda for his amazing horsemanship, and hardly less so in Vienna, where he also had a house. The citizens of Pest and Buda were, according to a contemporary paper, literally terrified of him when he appeared in the streets on horseback, but they were also rather proud of him, especially as all his feats seemed to have something of the schoolboy's prank in them. It was if he was always prepared to risk his life for the sake of amusing himself and others. All of a sudden in a crowded street he would jump his horse over a peasant's cart. Shoemakers' apprentices, returning from market with boots hanging from a pole over their shoulders, would stand stock still while, high above the pole, the horse and horseman flew over their heads like some enormous bird. There was in those days a good road from St. George's Square near the castle, where the Sándor palace stands, down to the lower part of Buda, but the count would find the road too safe and comfortable and drive his coach and five down the broad flight of

COUNT MAURICE SÁNDOR IN POZSONY

The picture shows him jumping over a peasant's cart six times in succession on his horse Comus. In the background the Duchess of Parma

COUNT MAURICE SÁNDOR IN ENGLAND

Fox-hunting in Lincolnshire on Brigliadoro

stone steps for pedestrians. It was of course exceedingly dangerous, as were so many of his feats, and the stories told about him lost nothing in the telling, so that in the end people were prepared to believe almost anything about him.

He himself was daring and even foolhardy to the highest degree, and he wished everyone around him to be the same. There is a sketch of the incident when he ordered his physician, Dietrich, to climb up a ladder to the top of a tree, and then, removing the ladder, told him to jump down. When the doctor hesitated, he gave orders to begin sawing through the trunk of the tree; the unfortunate doctor eventually mustered the courage to jump, whereupon the count rewarded him and carried him home in triumph.

It would be vain to seek a reason for his exploits, because he was irrational. He would never take thought over anything or weigh the consequences, and had not the slightest hesitation in risking his life for the sake of performing some feat of horsemanship. In such moments it was as if he was possessed, or intoxicated, though it must be added that he was a teetotaller and never touched wine. It was one of his maxims that one must never lose heart, and he followed the saying that a horseman must send his heart over a jump first, and the horse will follow.

Count Maurice Sándor was born in 1805 and died in 1878, so that his younger years corresponded with the great era of reform in Hungary, when it was especially the Hungarian aristocrats who were looking towards the West, and in particular England, for the standards upon which Hungarian life could be reorganised. Count Stephen Széchenyi and Louis Kossuth, the two outstanding figures of the age, were his contemporaries. At that time several Hungarian aristocrats visited England, not only for the hunting but also in search of inventions and improvements which they could transplant to Hungary. In the autumn of 1832 Count Stephen Széchenyi and Count George Andrássy were there with the object of arranging for the building of a permanent bridge over the Danube between Pest and Buda, then linked in summer only by a bridge of boats and entirely cut off from each other in winter. Count Maurice Sándor had in fact been there before them, on much the same mission, and it is rather sad to have

to record that Széchenyi and Sándor had not been on very friendly terms. There was a difference of sixteen years between them, and it seems that the older man had been offended by some remarks of Sándor's, which very nearly led to a duel, though their friends succeeded in reconciling them. This at least may be inferred from the fact that Count Sándor, when visiting England in 1828, had made a serious study of the permanent bridge and later informed Széchenyi of what he had learned. The latter replied cordially and encouraged him to go on with his enquiries, as a result of which Sándor actually sent him a plan for the bridge. In the end, as it turned out, it was built to another design, but at least Sándor must be reckoned among the protagonists of what was for many years one of the most remarkable bridges in Europe, and still stands in its original form.

The purpose of this digression has been to show Count Maurice Sándor in another role than that of a daring horseman. The hero of so many equestrian feats has been only too frequently represented as a romantic figure, almost a sort of glorified circus rider, but it is a fact that he took a great interest in anything that would be to the benefit of his country. Not only did he announce his willingness, as early as 1827, to contribute one half of his annual income to the project for constructing the chain bridge, but he did a great deal towards helping the cause of horse-breeding and horse-racing in Hungary.

Turning again to his feats of horsemanship, our first impression is that many of them were really incredible. It is worth quoting the opinion of a contemporary. 'Count Sándor can hardly be called an elegant horseman, and still less a correct one, but he is wont to make up for his lack of *manège* in his achievements by an incredible courage in disregarding his own life or that of his horse. He is not concerned with the art of the riding-school. What excites him is improvisation, the adventure, the extraordinary sensations which can be experienced in the saddle. Often when he has to face danger or tries to avoid it he leaves the matter to his horse. The count, who is capable of transmitting his iron will to his horse . . . accepts with nonchalance any initiative coming from the latter. His knowledge of horsemanship is not that of the *manège* in

the strict sense of the word, but something quite different. It is the pursuit of adventure, daredevilry coupled with an indomitable will, the impossible sought after, and achieved, something which past-masters of the art would not attempt in their wildest dreams. The count triumphs over all this by his disposition, courage and temperament, which can only be explained in one way: the man must possess a sixth sense by means of which he wields a magic power over his horse.' The reader is not asked to conclude that he had any super-natural powers, but there can be no doubt that he had genius, and that this genius lay in the direction of horsemanship, so that his horses must have felt his supreme skill when he mounted them.

Whatever legends and stories may have sprung up around Count Maurice Sándor, there is unimpeachable evidence that he was in fact the hero of a very large number of apparently incredible feats of horsemanship. His painter, Prestel, who was an eye-witness of most of them, has left us his water-colours, to which the count himself added a few lines of description. We may also quote from the book published in Vienna in 1920 by his daughter, Princess Metternich-Sándor, to whom the writer is indebted for so much of the authentic material and pictures. Writing of Count Maurice, Princess Metternich says: 'Everything which has been included in the Sándor-album is a perfectly true representation of what actually happened. My father's two best friends, Count Edward Clam-Gallas and Count Maurice Pálffy, who were often present and sometimes took part in these adventures, often told me after the album had been published that, however incredible they might seem, there was not a jot of exaggeration in the pictures. On the contrary, in many cases they have been rendered less striking than they really were.' The count himself was a man of straightforward character, not given to boasting of his own achievements, and his aim in performing these feats was not to impress others. His notes to the pictures made by Prestel are dry, simple and precise, and one almost regrets that he did not describe them more vividly. Some are serious, others humorous, and one feels behind some of them the shadow of danger while others make one smile. In one we see him driving a coach and five across the frozen Danube, with the cracking

ice threatening to engulf the whole party; or that fearful leap from the terrace described later in this article. Then again there is the sketch of how he met Count Stephen Széchenyi one day in the streets of Buda, and the latter held out his walking-stick to the wall, inviting Sándor to jump the improvised obstacle, which of course he did without a moment's hesitation, knocking down a street-lamp with his hat and covering his face with oil.

Among Prestel's drawings there are several which show Count Maurice Sándor in England, and we have some details of his doings there, though it is not possible to make a consecutive record of them. We know that on February 24, 1829 he attended his sixty-second meet in Lincolnshire, and on that occasion, mounted on Brigliadoro, he jumped a swollen brook where five of his friends, among them Bob Grosvenor and Sir Richard Sutton, had already come to grief. He had hired Brigliadoro, with nine other horses, from a Mr. Tilbury for the season for one hundred pounds each, and he bought Brigliadoro at the end of the season for the same price. He records in his notes that he did not have a single fall during the whole season, and was first in at the kill three times. He took Brigliadoro back to Hungary with him, where he rode the horse for another eighteen months, finally selling him, when fifteen years old, to Count Stephen Károlyi.

Another of his experiences, also recorded by Prestel, took place in Scotland, where he was riding out with Lady Elisabeth, the sister of Lord Glenorchy, when her horse bolted with her, and the count had to use all his skill to check her mount. He adds that when this had been safely accomplished he had the tiresome duty of collecting all the lady's belongings in the long grass before accompanying her back to the manor. A third sketch by Prestel is more humorous. The Count notes: 'We had been travelling by coach from London to Newmarket, Mr. Weatterle and Count George Károly being with me. We were dissatisfied with the driver, for we made but slow progress and our business was pressing. So I took the driver's place and remained there until we arrived.' This was evidence of what his friends often remarked, that the count would become exceedingly annoyed on seeing a clumsy driver or a bad horseman, and was quite capable of distributing advice

and directions even to complete strangers, while any signs of lack of courage would induce him to give a lesson which his 'pupil' would remember to his dying day. It may be assumed that the driver in question satisfied the count, for he notes that he gave him a reward on arrival at Newmarket. Count George Károlyi, in a letter to Count Stephen Széchenyi dated from London on May 16, 1831, wrote: "Count Sándor is here too, and I see a good deal of him. I do not think he will ever be serious, and he only lives for his feats of horsemanship." This letter reflects the general opinion of him at the time among his aristocratic contemporaries.

Count Sándor's daughter, Princess Pauline Metternich-Sándor, writes of his visits to England: "My father paid several visits to England, where he was generally admired on account of his inimitable horsemanship. On his first visit he became a celebrity in the sporting world within a fortnight, and at Melton Mowbray . . . everyone was talking of his sangfroid and courage. Horse-dealers would ask him ride horses which nobody else could manage, and a dealer named Anderson once led forward a fine horse which he promised to sell him for the ridiculous price of a hundred pounds if he could break it in. My father leapt into the saddle, the horse began to kick and plunge, and in a moment galloped off at top speed. It seemed this time as if my father's horsemanship would fail him, and people looked on anxiously, fearing the worst. But soon the time came when the horse became as gentle and quiet as a lamb and obeyed its rider in everything. My father dismounted, threw the reins to Anderson and exclaimed: 'The horse is first-class and I thank you. You will receive your money to-morrow.' The dealer, still under the spell of what he had seen, involuntarily exclaimed: 'That is not a man, that is the devil!"

When the count left England in 1829 he was genuinely surprised at his own popularity. Once, walking down Regent Street, he saw a group of people standing in front of the window of Ackermann, the picture-dealer. He saw to his astonishment that they were looking at a set of engravings in the shop-window, showing the feats of a rider in a red coat. The engravings bore the inscription 'The Exploits of Count Sándor at Melton Mowbray.'

A year later, in 1830, the count was on his estate at Bajna, when an English visitor was announced, who had come from Vienna by coach. The visitor addressed the count at once, asking him if he was the Count Sándor who had caused such a sensation the year before at Melton Mowbray, and on being informed that this was so, went on to say that he had heard quite incredible things about him, and had come over specially to see if there had been no exaggeration ! The count, naturally a little surprised, replied by inviting his strange guest to come out riding with him. He showed him a number of feats, to all of which the Englishman replied that they were no doubt excellent, but he believed that he had seen other people do the same. This was too much for Count Sándor, who ordered four of his most spirited horses to be harnessed to a light carriage, and invited his guest to mount the box beside him. He drove at breakneck speed along the road to Vienna, but at the top of a steep hill, when the horses were galloping at full speed, he suddenly flung down the reins, crossed his arms, and enquired if the Englishman had ever seen *that* done before. In the next moment the carriage had overturned, and both the count and his visitor received some injuries. But, the count records, at least the latter returned to his own country convinced that he had experienced something that he had never seen before elsewhere.

A contemporary newspaper records that in the count's bedroom at Bajna the skin of a horse was stretched as a carpet in front of his bed. The skin was to remind him of one of his most daring, but certainly one his rashest feats. He was entertaining an English friend who made a bet with him that he would perform every feat after him. For a whole day they rode together. The Englishman, evidently a good rider with plenty of pluck, shrank from nothing, and the count was within sight of losing his bet. On returning to the house, the count did not dismount, but rode his horse up to the terrace which overlooked the park at a considerable height. This was to be his final feat; the Englishman followed him up, remarking 'I am here too.' The count set spurs to his horse and leaped across the balustrade of the terrace and down into the park. His guest, dumbfounded, did not move, and acknowledged that the count had won his bet. But by that time the count

was sending for the doctor to set some broken bones, while the horse, with all four legs broken, had to be destroyed. The carpet before the bed was made of its skin.

His daughter enumerates the various injuries to which the count's daring led. He had his right leg fractured three times, the left four times and his arms in all seven times, while no record seems to have been kept of collar-bones, ribs, minor dislocations, sprains and bruises. His courage was remarkable, and he would tell the doctors who attended him 'not to be afraid, because he was not made of glass.' After one serious accident his right leg was in splints for two years, and both the famous Parisian surgeon Velpeau and Ashley Cooper from London gave it up for lost, advising amputation in case gangrene set in. He was eventually cured by an old cowherd from Blumbach in Austria, whose 'cures' were famous and who apparently managed to effect one in this case.

Count Maurice Sándor's tragedy came in 1850, when he was no more than forty-five years old. He fell out of his carriage, and knocked his head against an iron bar, suffering concussion which ended in mental derangement. He lingered, with lucid intervals, for twenty-eight years more, an afflicting sight for those who remembered his dash and courage. He died in 1878, aged seventy-three, and his body was brought from Vienna down the Danube to Esztergom, whence it was to be conveyed to the family vault at Bajna, attended by many of his old friends and admirers. It is on record that the horses drawing the hearse bolted during the procession, and galloped across country at a terrific speed, though fortunately without accident. It was at least fitting that Count Maurice Sándor, the hero of so many wild rides, should not even proceed to his grave at the slow pace of the ordinary mortal!

GOTHIC WROUGHT IRON WORK

By MAGDA BÁRÁNY-OBERSCHALL

FOR a proper appreciation of the civilisation of past ages, it is not enough to consider only outstanding cultural events or unique works of art. The master-piece, the creation of genius, can never be the absolute expression of an age in the same way as what in comparison must be considered the humbler products of art and culture. Genius will always express itself subjectively, with something of its own fiery spirit that stands out above nations and ages. With the more modest products of arts and crafts the situation is different; they are more general, and thus more characteristic. This is a thesis which may certainly be applied to wrought iron work. The samples of old Hungarian wrought iron work produced in past ages by country artisans or blacksmiths working in the towns are a true expression in their genre of the art of the period, and if they are taken not as individual works of art, but as part of a whole within the limits of their period, they will be found to reveal as much beauty and character as masterpieces of higher art.

In the past, wrought iron work was employed chiefly as an adjunct to architecture. The qualities of the metal made it employed where durability, strength, solidity and security were required. The number of its uses was of course considerable: doors, gates, door-mountings, locks and bolts, knockers and keys, as well as the more purely architectural objects such as grilles for windows and balconies, signboards, and various elements of external decoration. Another of the uses of iron was in connection with lighting, where it was preferred for its durability and for the fact that it was cheaper than bronze. We have numerous specimens of wrought iron chandeliers, lamps, candlesticks and bracket-lights. Other uses, not so

important in the historical development of the craft, were chests, jewel-cases, grates, fire-irons and bell-holders.

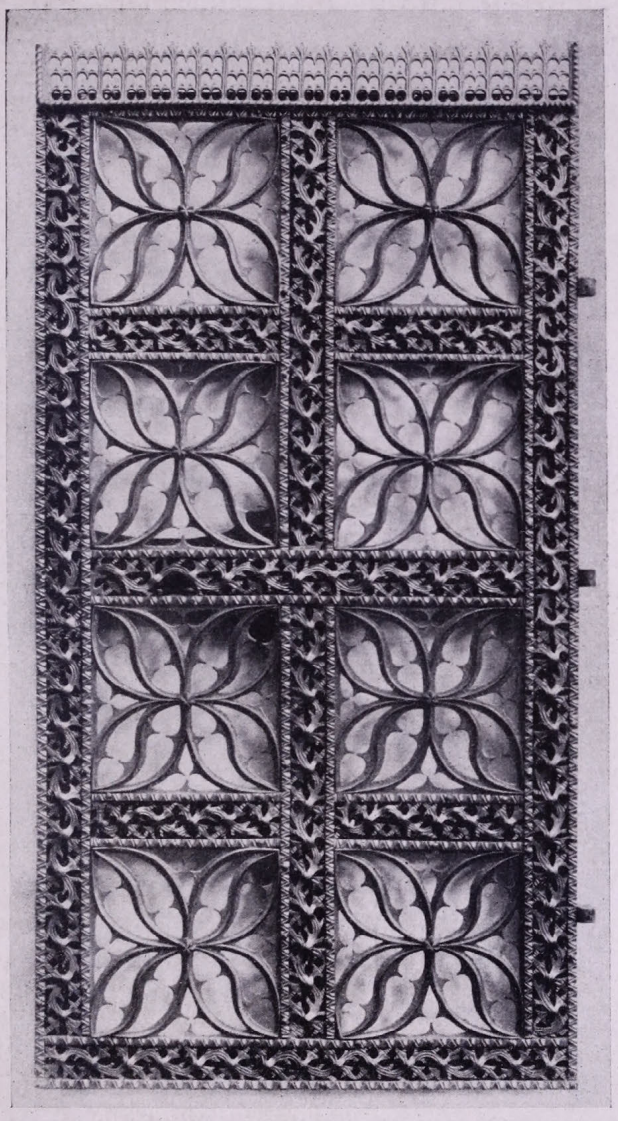
As far as we can make out, the first specimens of wrought iron work in Hungary date from the fourteenth century, that is, about a century later than in the other countries of Europe. This may be ascribed in the first place to the conditions which obtained here at the time: weapons had to be forged from iron, and for centuries Hungary was more urgently in need of weapons than of *objets d'art*. The earliest phase in wrought iron work was seen with France and Italy in the lead. The quiet, almost static mode of expression of the Romance peoples is to be seen at its best in the wonderful iron work on the doors of Notre-Dame in Paris, where the symmetrically ordered, well-balanced spirals show, amid the florescence of the Gothic, the spirit of French grace. The same tendency is observable in the iron grilles and door mountings of the Italian Renaissance, where plastic perfection combines utility with artistic merit. The Gothic of the northern, Germanic peoples is more restless and dynamic, changing the soft curves into sharp bends and the undulating lines into zig-zag motifs, while a sort of *horror vacui* fills even the smallest empty space with fantastically interwoven lines. With the Germanic peoples, the Renaissance, following the Gothic period, is no more than the last development of this linear style, where the bending of iron bars into intricate patterns of spirals and branches is reminiscent of the calligraphy in northern manuscripts. In the field of wrought iron work it may be said that the Renaissance of the Germanic peoples is no more than a post-Gothic period.

The craft of working in wrought iron flourished in Europe for a period of about six hundred years, from the twelfth to the nineteenth century. Then cast iron began to take the place of the much more laboriously produced wrought iron, and it almost might be said that the art descended to the level of a trade.

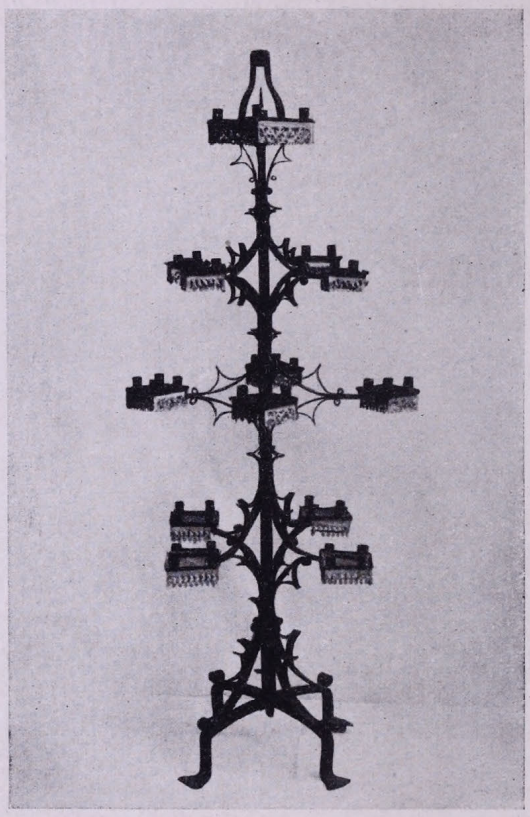
Old Hungarian wrought iron work, veering between Germanic and Romance styles, reflects alternately the influence of each. The earliest traces of artistic work are to be found in the mountings of doors on old churches; the purpose here was mainly a practical one, to hold the timbers of the doors

together in the absence of any joints or dovetailing. Within the limitations of this object, artistic fancy was free to develop. The doors usually opened on two or more hinges, and it was from the axis formed by these that the lily, leaf and branch ornaments extended and often covered the entire surface of the door with their fantastic curves. The earliest example of this kind of work is to be seen on the door of a church at Nyitravidék, which according to documentary evidence was built in the twelfth century. Here the symmetrical spiral endings of the hinges and the ornamentation extend well over the door itself and reflect the spirit of the Romanesque. There are a number of good examples of Early Gothic iron work on church doors, in Transylvania and in Upper Hungary, and it may be a local peculiarity that in all these the horizontal hinge-straps are broken up into quadrangular spaces with a star set in each, while it is a general characteristic of the Gothic period that the straps of the hinges no longer end in spirals, but in lilies. It was an old custom in those days to adorn the doors of churches with the names of the Three Kings, Caspar, Melchior and Balthasar, and the names are sometimes symbolised by three stars. At the height of the Gothic period the lilies at the ends of the straps were sometimes replaced by openwork rosettes with stems that seem to cling to the door. For protection against the weather, the iron work was often leaded over or painted, and the perforated rosettes were placed on a groundwork of bright blue or red parchment or cloth. There are several fine examples of this in Hungary. In Germany, the naturalistic tendencies of the Gothic often went as far as making the straps take the form of rough, knobby branches which spread all over the door, serving the double purpose of ornamentation and of keeping the timbers of the door together, and this development is to be seen in Hungary on the wrought iron trappings of furniture.

It seems that in Hungary, as well as being used for the ornamentation of doors, iron was frequently used for their actual construction. The foundation was certainly of wood, but iron bars were riveted diagonally across it, and the spaces between them were then covered with iron plates, so that the general effect was that of a massive iron door. One finds these spaces adorned inne various ways. On some there are Gothic



Sanctuary Door in the Church of St. Egidius, Bártfa. — Fifteenth century



Wrought Iron Stand for Votive Candles
Church of St. Egidius, Bártfa. About 1450

capitals with the initials of the Three Kings, on others symbolic designs, the sun and the moon, a lion or a pelican, or the arms of Hungary. At Rudóbánya is the coat-of-arms of the House of Anjou, an ostrich's head with a horseshoe in its beak, which places it in the middle of the fourteenth century. From the heraldic point of view it is interesting that we also find the double cross for the first time and the divided bars argent, now in the coat-of-arms of Hungary, figuring together for the first time in the same shield.

Such objects as knockers, door-knobs and locks provided a wider scope for the artist's imagination. The earliest example of these is the knocker of a church-door which probably dates back to the late thirteenth century and bears the imprint of the Romanesque style. This knocker, from Szepesszombat, in Upper Hungary, consists of a square base with a round ring for knocking which moves in a lion's mouth. At the height of the Gothic period a more or less typical form of knocker began to develop in Hungary, where the base is formed of a square or round field of openwork tracery, and the ring is heart- or stirrup-shaped and richly adorned with architectural forms. Among these one often finds small animals, figures and monsters, while yet another form is inspired by botanic motifs, and branches and twigs are bent into the form of the ring. An example of this, on the portal of the church of St. Michael in Kolozsvár, built in 1537, shows how long the Gothic style survived in Hungary. Gothic locks on doors and furniture alike show a characteristic feature, for the keyhole is nearly always surrounded by a V-shaped branch, often ornamented, which had the practical purpose of guiding the key into the lock.

But the gems of Hungarian Gothic wrought iron work are the grilles of the tabernacles. They revive all the graceful architectural motifs of the flamboyant Gothic style. The tabernacles are set mainly in the walls or are a richly-ornamented stone structure which stands alone beside one of the pillars of the choir, in which case the tabernacle may have three or even four doors.

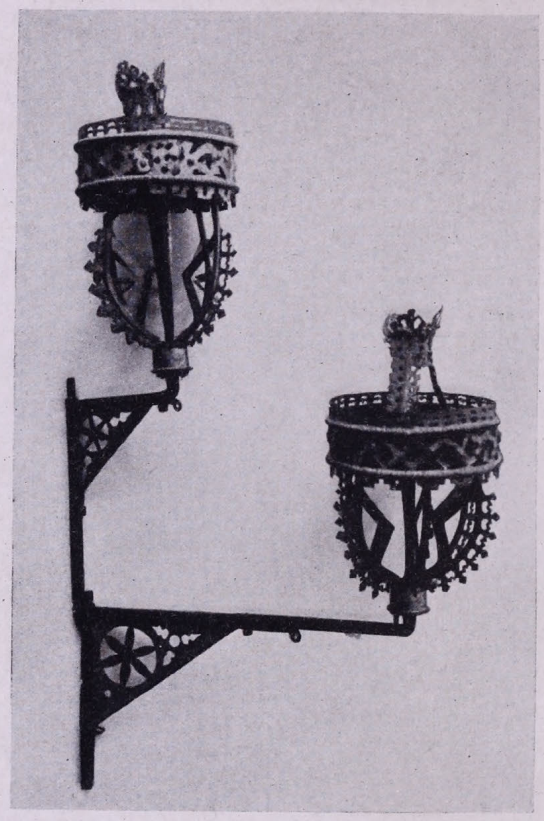
In its simplest form, the tabernacle is a grille formed out of iron bars intersecting either diagonally or at right-angles, with a round rivet-head or a rosette at each intersection. These

were formerly painted in bright colours, traces of which are still to be found. The best examples are to be found in Northern Hungary, in the county of Szepes, and one of the most highly ornamented examples, that in the church of Lapispatak, has heart-shaped rosettes at the intersections of the iron bars so large that the bars themselves almost entirely disappear under them, and the whole door seems like a dense lace-like fabric of wrought iron. The rosettes were formerly gilt, and the small rivets painted red and blue, while in another case, at Kisszeben, the tabernacle bears the date 1484 and the rosettes were gilt on a network of iron painted blue. The effect of this splash of colour in the surrounding stone work may be imagined.

Another type of tabernacle grille found in Hungary is more closely adapted to Gothic architecture. It is divided into several square fields, and the same regular tracery motif is repeated in each. The church of St. Egidius in Bártfa has one of the best examples of this type. The tabernacle itself, a splendid tower of stone, was probably built by Master Stephen of Kassa, and rests on one side against a pillar of the choir, while there are iron grilles in the other three sides. The grill is divided into eight fields and framed in a naturalistic garland of flowers on a red ground, while the four-petalled rosettes in the fields are also painted in red and gold. In the upper corner are small escutcheons with the arms of Bártfa, with Gothic initials and signs. The same master is also responsible for the wonderful tabernacle in Kassa Cathedral, completed in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, and the four grilles suggest the art of the same master and must have been designed by him. Here however the grilles are not divided into fields. The borders have an abundance of motifs, and none of the four grilles are alike. It is interesting to note that one of the escutcheons placed above the columns bears the arms of the Hunyadis, indicating that it must have been made during the reign of King Matthias Corvinus (1456—1490). The others bear the arms of the families of the donors. The latest example of a wrought iron tabernacle grille comes from Máriafalva, in Transdanubia, but in the sixteenth century the fashion disappeared.

The older churches in Hungary still preserve a considerable number of old wrought iron candlesticks, bracket lights

TABERNACLE WITH WROUGHT IRON GRILLES. CHURCH OF ST. EGIDIUS, BÁRTFA



GOTHIC BRACKET LIGHTS IN THE CHURCH OF ST. EGIDIUS, BÁRTFA

and chandeliers, and it was the fact that they were in ecclesiastical use which saved them from being melted down in later ages. The church of St. Egidius in Bártfa, already mentioned, holds first place for such objects, not only in Hungary but in Europe. The pre-eminent position of this little town is confirmed by several documents mentioning the names of master smiths who came thence, such as Cracus Faber and Magister Stephanus, in the fifteenth century. The Gothic candlestick usually consisted of a large upright candle-holder in the form of a spike, with a sheath consisting of two iron openwork bands, and a round or octagonal disc for catching the wax. These were for the big Easter candles or votive candles lighted by the parishioners, sometimes two or more on a single disc. The shape of the holder varied according to its position, whether it was intended for the altar or the wall, or to stand on the ground. The finest example of a Gothic candelabrum to be found in Hungary stands beside the altar of the church in Bártfa, where it has been since Gothic times, and figures in a very old inventory of the church as a *lampas admodum decoratum*. It is just over four feet in height, and has arms on each side, with holders for four candles on each. Other types found in Hungary consist of a winding iron bar radiating into branches.

Gothic bracket lights are extremely rare. Four of them have survived, again in the church at Bártfa, where they are still to be seen in their original position on the pillars of the church. Here the arm of the holder stands out at right-angles to the wall, with a triangular openwork support, and the candle is enclosed in such a rich decoration of openwork as to give the whole the appearance rather of a lamp than a mere candlestick. In another example, in the abbey church of Garamszentbenedek, the ornamentation round the candle is in the form of the battlements of a medieval fortress.

The Gothic chandelier in its simplest form consisted of a large iron ring to be hung from the roof with spikes for candles arranged round it, each with a disc for catching the wax. The type which is mentioned by contemporary sources under the name of the *corona lucida* seems to be the Hungarian variant of the Gothic chandelier, of which three specimens are known in Hungary. The first comes from the church at

Bártfa, the second from Pónik and the third is still in its original position, in the church at Dés. This *corona lucida* consists of three rings, hung one above the other, and joined by vertical iron bars adorned with lilies and rosettes, the whole thus having roughly the appearance of a perforated cylinder. The smaller sheaths for the candles are welded to the outside of the rings in two rows, while in the centre there is a larger spike.

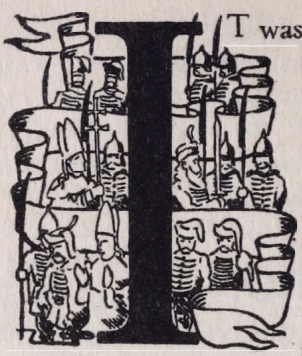
The fact that the examples of early wrought iron work in Hungary are comparatively few is very largely the result of the troubled history of the country. An examination of what has remained after the constant wars and devastations will show that the level of the craft was a high one, and one may reasonably conclude that, as in other branches of art, the majority of the treasures of those days have been lost to us — the iron removed and melted down for less peaceful ends, and many beautiful objects wantonly destroyed. It is one of those minor tragedies that must be regretted because there is no possibility now of making it good.

THE CORONATION

By COUNT NICHOLAS BÁNFFY

The following pages are an extract from the recently-published memoirs of Count Nicholas Bánffy in which he describes a short period, the years from 1916 to 1919, of his interesting and varied life. The coronation which he here describes is of course that of Charles IV, the last Habsburg ruler, who died in exile in Madeira in 1921. Behind the colourful ceremony, with its ancient traditions, one discerns the dark shadow of the lost war. The scene of the coronation was the hill on the right bank of the Danube, where the Royal Palace, the Coronation Church and many of the Ministries overlook the town, and where there are also picturesque streets with many old houses dating from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. Count Bánffy, who was at that time Intendant of the Hungarian State Theatres, was responsible for the artistic arrangements of the coronation, and from his description readers will be able to gather the gist of the traditional ceremonies which take place when a King of Hungary is crowned: the coronation itself, with the Holy Crown of Hungary, the Robe of St. Stephen and the Orb; the taking of the oath in the open air and in view of the people; the ceremonial gesture with the sword to each point of the compass, signifying the King's promise to defend the Realm of St. Stephen; and the symbolic repast offered to the Monarch after the ceremony.

Count Nicholas Bánffy is already familiar to our readers as a short-story writer; he is in addition one of the most interesting figures in Hungarian life. Not only is he a painter and a theatrical director, but he has also been Minister for Foreign Affairs. In later days his Transylvanian residence, Bonchida, was the centre for the defence of Hungarian interests.



IT was towards nine o'clock of a raw November evening.

A few minutes previously the city had shown its usual aspect of a war-time evening. It was the hour when the streets are at their quietest, when the theatre-goers and other pleasure-seekers have disappeared and the cries of the news-vendors have been stilled. Here and there some belated passer-by hurried along the pavement. In the middle of the road the weary hoofs of a cab-horse clattered. That was all.

But to-night nine o'clock brought an unexpected recurrence of life. Suddenly the doors of theatres, cinemas and restaurants opened and the people came pouring out into the open. They came hurriedly, silently, some of them still buttoning their overcoats as they went. All were homeward bound, only gathering for a moment, here and there, in front of the lighted advertisement-board of some daily paper which bore, in huge black latters, the text of a telegram. Minds jaded by the monotony of war communiqués were arrested by its tidings. To-night, at this hour, their thoughts had other things to feed on than the solution of the usual "Höfer" riddles, and they forgot for a brief space the daily waxing misery and want, their constant anxiety and yearning for those at the front or in the prison-camps, and even their mourning for their dead.

All were seized with an involuntary feeling of general disaster — a common, deep-lying fear of an unknown and hitherto unenvisaged future.

Those posters bore the news of the death of Francis Joseph. All knew it to be a fact, and yet it seemed unbelievable. It required an effort to bring oneself to conceive that the man whose accession to the throne lay in so distant a past that even the oldest were hardly able to remember it, the man who had become almost identified with the idea of the Hungarian Kingdom and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and who to most people seemed not so much a living and mortal being as an everlasting symbol, was no more. It required an

effort to pursue the news to its logical conclusion and remember that from this day on there was a new ruler, an almost unknown youth, in the place of the aged *grand seigneur* whose figure, known to everyone and yet wrapped in mystery, stood for a supreme and immutable power in the eyes of all. His death, which was but the completion of an inevitable natural law, surprised men as though it had somehow suspended Nature's daily order.

Telephone messages had gone forth from Police Headquarters to all theatres, night-clubs and restaurants, ordering the immediate cessation of the performances and the silencing of the bands. Generally the command came too late; the invariable answer was that the management was already in possession of the news and had taken the necessary measures. Thus quickly had the tidings spread and been acted on by the public.

My own experiences had been similar. Disquieting rumours concerning the King's critical state having been circulated about noon, I did not go to the Opera as was my wont but stayed at my Club, which was in constant touch with the Prime Minister's Office and where, consequently, I was certain of receiving instant information if any orders had to be given. As soon as the news of His Majesty's demise reached me, I rang up the Opera and the National Theatre. From both places I got the answer that the fact was already known and that the manager's announcement had cleared the auditorium.

The next day broke grey and cloudy — even more sombre, seemingly, than other November days.

The papers were filled with lengthy obituary articles and valedictory leaders, followed by descriptive details giving the story of the last few hours.

Simple things, passionless, cold and crystal-clear, as had been his whole life. He had sat working at his desk up to the last moment, had finished his allotted task for the day; he left no arrears behind, not even from the very last hours. Before they put him to bed he carefully locked the despatch case in which confidential matters had been brought to him daily. And his last words were as simple and unpretentious as the rest:

"I am tired."

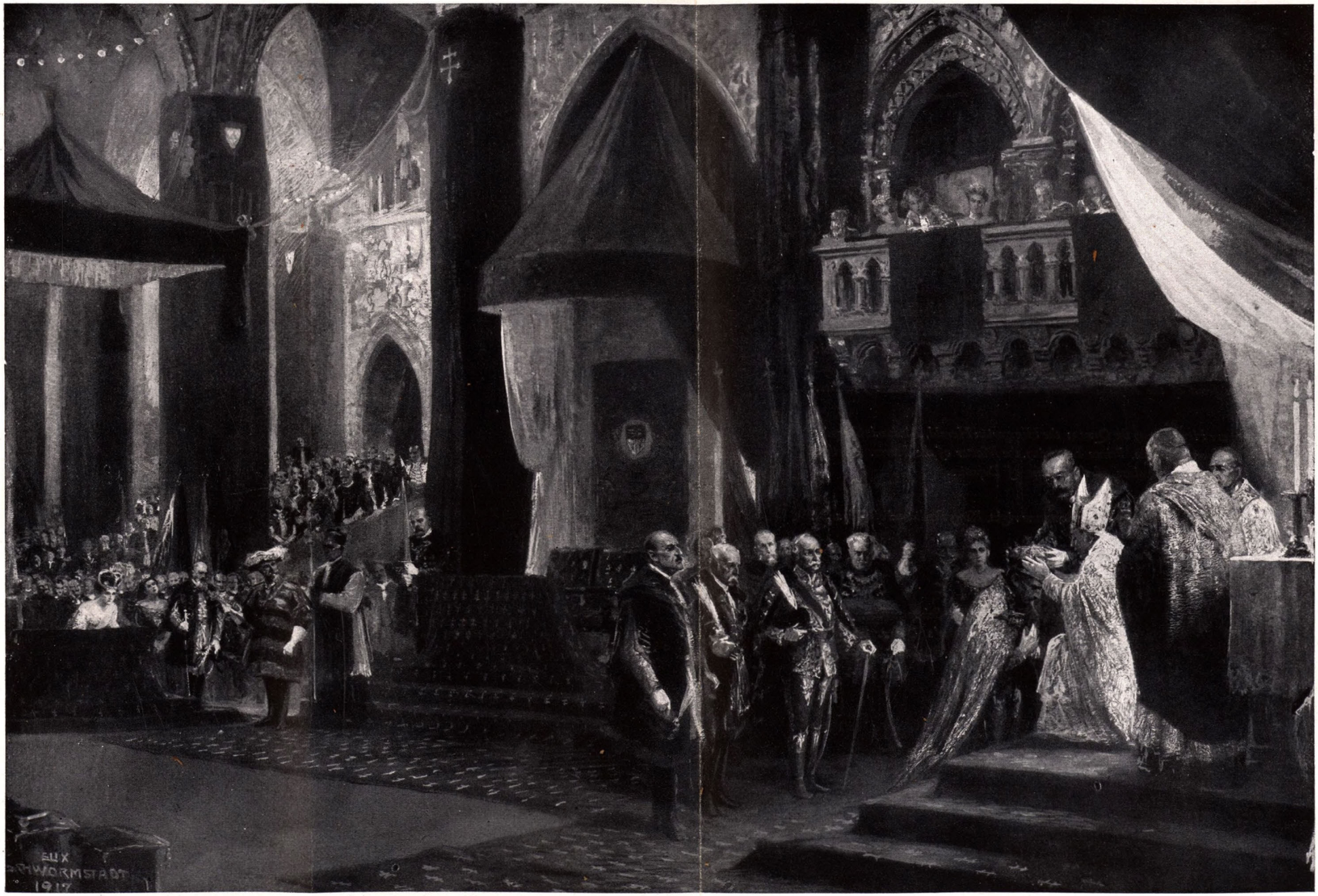
That was all. Three words which might have been uttered on any evening of the last few decades by this most industrious worker in all his empire. On the last day of the month he was buried.

I had but just returned from the funeral and had hardly had time to shake off the unpleasant impression left on my mind by the horrible disorganisation which had turned the ceremony in the Stefansdom to a jostling confusion, all the more surprising as the punctilious order of Viennese Court ceremonial had always before functioned to perfection, when I received an invitation to attend a conference to discuss the preparations for the coronation. I had to be in the "Fort" by 11 a. m. that same morning, December 1.

We assembled in the waiting-room of the Prime Minister's house. A few Cabinet Ministers, the President of the Committee for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments, the Deputy Chief Constable, the heads of various departments and the *rapporteurs*.

The atmosphere was not cheerful. Nobody present could free himself from the impression of the terrible railway accident which had occurred that night on the Bruck line. The Vienna express, crammed with people returning from the funeral, had run into a passenger train. The morning papers had published only briefly worded telegrams, but it was said that there were hundreds of injured and about thirty killed. There was no longer any doubt that Louis Thallóczy, the eminent historian and trusted servant of Francis Joseph, was among the dead. There were many among us who might be supposed to have had relatives on this particular train, for no one could tell for certain by which train each had chosen to return. Hence every new arrival was immediately surrounded and questioned with a feverish and ill-disguised anxiety. It was a black day.

All faces were sombre as the men took their seats round the conference table; somehow, this terrible disaster occurring just after the old king's funeral, in the third year of the war and on the threshold of the new coronation seemed fraught with a sinister portent. I am certain that all felt this, although none spoke of it, as though fearing that voicing their foreboding would make it come true.



THE CORONATION OF KING CHARLES IV OF HUNGARY

THE CORONATION OF KING CHARLES IV OF HUNGARY IN THE CORONATION CHURCH, BUDAPEST, ON DECEMBER 30, 1916

The Crown of St. Stephen is being placed on His Majesty's head by the Cardinal Prince-Primate, Archbishop Csernoch, and the Deputy Palatine, Count Stephen Tisza. Behind the King are (left to right) Count Charles Schönborn, Count Paul Festetics, Lord High Chamberlain, Count Albert Lónyay, Captain of the Hungarian Noble Guard, and Count Andrew Csekonics, Lord High Steward, while in front of the Royal Bannerets can be seen Prince Tassilo Festetics.

To the left of the picture are Her Majesty the Queen; the Hungarian Herald, Aladár de Szegedy-Maszák and, holding the Sword of State, Prince Esterházy, the Master of the Horse. Further back are the members of the House of Deputies.

In the Oratorium are Crown Prince Otto and, on the extreme right, King Ferdinand of Bulgaria.

(From the painting by Felix Schwormstädt, in the collection of the Prime Minister's Office, Budapest, with acknowledgements to M. Stephen Bárczy de Bárcziháza.)

But time was flying, and things had to be discussed and dispositions taken. So, brushing aside its heart-sick anxiety, the conference set to work. There was formed a committee of works, which distributed the various tasks among us according to their nature. I, who for the past four years had had the two State theatres under my direction, was entrusted with the artistic arrangement and the external details of the coronation.

It was a tremendous task, for more than one reason. At first the coronation had been planned to take place before Christmas; later it was postponed to the December 28 and finally to the December 30. This was the last possible date, as the passing of the Budget required that the King should be in full possession of his constitutional rights by the New Year. Thus there were only twenty-six days left for the preparations, twenty-six winter days, with scarcely eight hours of daylight, in war-time, when the only materials to be reckoned with were such as might be found stored somewhere, and the only artists to be counted on such as were not at the front.

As far as the artists were concerned I was in luck. I could not have found better collaborators than those I worked with. Only in one instance did I encounter trouble.

It is a traditional custom for the country to present the King, on the occasion of his coronation, with a hundred thousand gold pieces. It was necessary to provide an ornate casket for this symbolic gift (which only appeared at the time of the presentation and immediately found its way back to the State Bank). We ordered this casket to be made by the jeweller Bachruch, and the designing of it was entrusted to a master-goldsmith named Zutt, a Swiss by birth. When the designs came they proved to be impossible, clumsy atrocities which he fondly thought to be Magyar in style, although they would have been better suited to the taste of Fiji Islanders. Time after time his sketches had to be rejected, and each new lot was worse than the last. We had lost a fortnight in this manner when the silversmith finally declared that unless he could have the design the same day he could not undertake the work. There was nothing for it but to make a sketch myself, the main features of which were two angels in relief, which I knew my sculptor friend Edward Telcs would model

for us in time, and excellently well. Zutt was terribly offended, and it is possible that this incident was the cause of his ultimate return to his own attractive country.

We took up our headquarters, which comprised workshops, studios and offices in one, in some shop premises in Disz Square. They were unheated and very cold, but had wide and lofty windows which admitted the light to every corner.

Behind those windows a curious sort of life was soon set going.

In the longest room big drawing-boards were ranged against the front wall, on which the architects, Denis György, Charles Kós, Pogány, and occasionally Eugene Lechner drew precise and punctual plans with the help of gigantic rulers, while behind them young Lehoczky painted coats-of-arms six metres high on the opposite wall. In a corner the making of plaster casts alternated with the kneading of *papier maché*. In the next room skeletons made of laths were being hastily filled out into statues, the figures they represented seeming to grow sleek and fat while one looked. At the far end of the room typewriters clicked, without ceasing; and if you wanted to cross from one door to the other you had to pick your way between stacks of felt, cloth and velvet as well as cases of modelling clay, square blocks of plasticine, pails of plaster, and paper strips covered with size.

The place was a cross between a medieval sorcerer's kitchen and an exceptionally untidy mason's workshop. I think if anyone had walked in he would have thought it the abode of raving maniacs, each of whom pursued his own fixed idea, drawing, modelling, hammering incessantly without taking the least notice of what went on around him.

In this sorcerer's kitchen I played the somewhat comical part of cook-in-chief, who tastes every broth and sticks his nose into every pan. This could not well be avoided, since the responsibility for all the decorations rested on my shoulders and it was I who would be abused (as in fact I was), if anything went wrong. To bring unity into the whole and assign to every phase of the coronation the setting which its importance craved — this was my appointed task, and for this I had to have my finger in everyone's pie.

During these four weeks I only lived for this work. Consequently I know little of what happened elsewhere. Although I

was in Parliament at the time I have but little personal recollection of the controversy which raged around the election of the Deputy Palatine. Viewing it thus from a distance, I was struck the more by the strange persistence of the Party of Independence to see the post filled, not by Tisza, who sprang from Magyar gentry stock, but by an Austrian Archduke. And when the Archduke Joseph protested against his name being used as a Party catchword, their unbridled hatred of Tisza caused them to propose the most unexpected alternatives in the persons of various venerable old gentlemen who must have been amazed when the papers informed them of their own candidature.

Not that this was the only means by which the opposition parties tried to prevent Tisza's election as Palatine. They launched the watchword that "The King cannot be crowned by a Protestant!" As may be supposed, historians and students of constitutional history were mobilized to prove the truth of this contention; and it was even rumoured that the idea had been passed on to the highest quarters, where it might be expected to fall on fertile soil. Finally the Primate, Mgr. Csernoch, decided the controversy by ranging himself on Tisza's side. It is said that when he was attacked for this with arguments borrowed from the Catholic armoury, he silenced the cavillers by saying with his Slovak *bonhomie:* "Who should know if I don't? I'm the Cardinal!"

All this is of course mere gossip which only reached me as a distant echo while a thousand cares and incessant running to and fro filled the hours of all my days. As the Committee had merely decreed that the coronation festivities should be confined to the area of what is called the Fort, without entering into any particulars, it was my affair to propose where the various ceremonial acts should take place.

There was, obviously, the cathedral for the coronation itself; and there was St. George's Square, in front of the palace, for the four cuts of the sword towards the four points of the compass. But it was necessary to choose a place for the taking of the oath in sight of the assembled people. To my mind the finest setting for this would have been the Fisherman's Bastion, which seemed as though built for just such a purpose. The project foundered on the objections of the

Chief of Police, who dared not take the responsibility for fear of an outrage.

Yet how fine a thing it might have been!

Under the arches of the outspringing wings the invited guests, on the stairs, in their colourful gala attire, their gay banners flying, the delegates of the Parliament and of the counties; below, stretching as far as Hunyadi's statue and further, the people in their thousands; while above, on the central balcony, high over all yet in sight of all, the lacy white stone fretwork for his ceiling, the King, with the Primate and the Palatine on either side, his own right hand raised to take the oath. It would have been a sublime moment, unforgettable also for the youth who stood up there with St. Stephen's crown encircling his brow. With the Danube and the great city at his feet, and behind them, limitless as the sea, the Great Hungarian Plain, it might have been said with truth that even as far as appearances went he had taken the royal pledge in the sight of the whole nation.

Since this project was unrealisable, some other solution had to be found. I proposed the votive column in Holy Trinity Place, adequately adapted to suit our purposes. The idea was accepted, and the same day I sketched for Maurice Pogány the balustraded platform which ever since that time completes, not too unsuitably, that ancient baroque column.

The mound of St. George's Square offered a comparatively easy problem. Our only care had to be to gauge correctly the amount of space that would be taken up by the surrounding stands. We procured the measurements of the mound which had served at the coronation of 1867, but arranged to have the space at the top made wider, for I had heard my father and others tell of the anxious moments they had had when Francis Joseph had cantered up it alone. Two strides of his mount had brought him to the top, but there his horse, perhaps rendered nervous by the salutes being fired and the cheering, had reared and pawed the air at each cut of the word towards east and west and north and south. At any moment the fear lay near that he would jump clean over the barrier. But Francis Joseph was a splendid horseman. He forced the horse to veer with a steady hand and never for an instant lost his calm and kingly bearing.

But the biggest and most stimulating task was the inner decoration of the church. Eugene Lechner and I borrowed the motifs for the decorations from medieval illuminations and decided to clothe the entire church in deep, dark red in order to provide a quiet background to the resplendent crowd that was to fill it. We had ordered red hangings also for the pillars of the nave, for these, too, were covered from top to bottom by arabesques which may have been ornamental but were much too restless not to have made an unbearable patchwork of the whole picture. Old Mr. Schulek, the architect of the church and author of the ornaments, was terribly offended. He ran from pillar to post complaining of our "vandalism," told everyone who would listen that we were going to ruin his masterpiece, and threatened to make a scandal. I think it was the last evening but one when I received, not exactly a command but the "advice" to leave the pillars as they were.

It took me a long time to get hold of Lechner, without whose consent I was not going to take any steps in the matter.

He came to my box at the Opera towards the end of the performance. Seated side by side on the little bench at the back of the box, we brooded over the interference which had spoiled our plans. We had almost brought ourselves to accept the interdict as unalterable, when we changed our minds and decided to go up to the Fort and look into the matter once more.

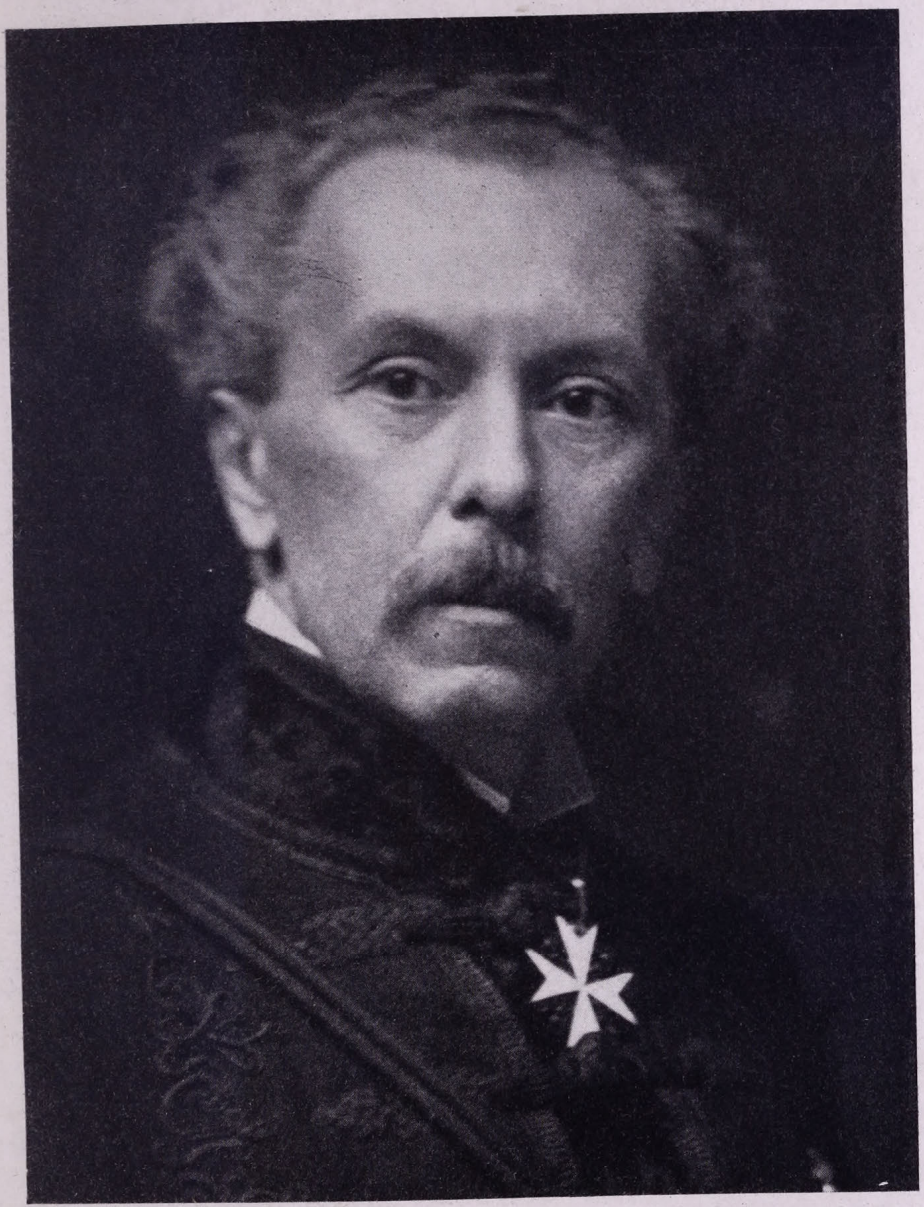
It was eleven o'clock by the time we got there. The night shift were already busily at work in the dimly lighted interior. We stood spell-bound as though by some mystic enchantment. The pointed canopy over the two thrones, the tent over the altar, the hangings that masked the pillars and whose vertical folds carried the eye up to seemingly illimitable heights, were all so beautiful, the red velvet that enwrapped everything gave such a sense of intimacy and splendour combined, that we felt the real "vandalism" would have consisted in spoiling that picture. I then and there resolved to alter nothing and to shoulder the responsibility, for it was impossible that anyone seeing it all as it stood should not think as we did.

It proved, in fact, the high-light of all the decorations incidental to the coronation; the one which will be remembered for ever after by all who saw it.

A single compliment, of all that I subsequently received, shall be set down here, not for vanity's sake but to show the impression left on people's minds by the church's interior. The day after the coronation, Prince Tassilo Festetics came up to me at the Club and said: "I congratulate you. I can remember the coronation of 1867 and have also been present at two English coronations; and I can honestly say that this was finer than all."

During the last week which preceded the great event our work became increasingly intense and feverish, so that I hardly saw anyone outside the men I had to deal with. Nevertheless there reached me, just before Christmas, the news of an appointment which appeared somewhat to damp whatever of enthusiasm the war years had still left in men's hearts. It seemed that Burián had been dismissed and Czernin appointed in his place as Minister for Foreign Affairs. This reawakened certain floating rumours which already in the pre-war years had presaged a disquieting future. Had the spirit of "Efef" (the nickname given to the Archduke Franz Ferdinand) returned from the grave? That centralist spirit which hated everything that was Magyar and had set its aim on the creation of a kind of Slav imperium? Czernin was the outstanding protagonist of this spirit — had even written a book on the subject — and was known to have been a confidant and intimate of the late Crown Prince. It was alleged that the latter had been heard to say: "I shall train my successor to continue my own policy, so the Magyars had better make up their minds that for the next two generations this policy will prevail." This widely disseminated *dictum*, suddenly revived by Czernin's appointment, made people feel that those disquieting rumours might have a foundation in fact. The unpleasant impression was superficially allayed when Queen Zita, immediately on her arrival, placed herself at the head of the movement for the relief of the Transylvanian refugees; but the sting remained, and distrust persisted in men's hearts.

The final rehearsal of the coronation was arranged to take place after the arrival of the royal couple, on December 29.



PIG-STICKING IN WINTER

One of Count Maurice Sándor's favourite sports was 'hunting the wild boar with a lance'. This picture, from the water-colour by J. B. Prestel, shows him on his own estate, the horse being specially protected against a temperature of — 22 degrees Celsius !

Illustration to article on page 135

His Majesty received me very graciously, assuring me, with that benign smile which never left his lips, even when he was silent, that he remembered me. He was very pleasant and simple in manner.

The rehearsal passed off smoothly and without a hitch, behind closed doors. When, an hour later, it came to an end and I was left by myself in the church, the 4000 candle-power light installed under the draperies above the altar burst from the effect of the heat, and strewed the altar with a shower of sharp-edged crystal splinters.

Steps had to be taken to forestall a repetition of such an accident during the ceremonies. It was clear that the scene at the altar, the act of coronation, must be illumined, and the December sun could hardly be relied on to perform this office. Therefore, following the advice of the electrical expert, we hastily had an inch-thick glass slab cut which completely shut off from below the space where the lamps were placed.

This arrangement very nearly led to fateful consequences the following day.

This was by no means the last of the innumerable disposi-tions which had to be taken. Late in the afternoon, while we were engaged in transferring the Crown to Loretto Chapel, I received a message from the Master of the Horse to the effect that he must see me immediately.

I went round at once and was told that it was His Majesty's "desire" that the draperies over the Palace entrance which, with the gigantic coat-of-arms and supporting angels completed the scheme of decorations of St. George's Square, should be removed, lest they should, on the return trip, cause His Majesty's horse to shy. I objected that there was little fear of this, since these decorations were placed so high, fifteen or twenty metres above the ground, that one could only view them from a distance. The Master of the Horse, being on his own ground, shrugged his shoulders, but repeated his instructions. So I promised to see that all was removed by morning.

But he had another wish besides. The King, when he mounted his horse outside the church door, wanted to vault into the saddle without putting his foot in the stirrup. For this purpose I must have some kind of stool prepared over-

night which would give him the necessary vantage-ground for this.

This command was less easy of execution. Indubitably there would be no difficulty whatever in making so docile and well-trained an animal as were the horses of the *Marstall* stand precisely by the side of any sort of mounting-block. But the crowned King had to mount his horse in front of the cathedral, in full sight of the assembled multitude. To have placed there any raised object or stand which quite evidently served no other purpose than to facilitate his getting into the saddle would have been so curious and unprecedented a solution as, in this country of horsemen, would certainly have given rise to unfavourable comments. Thus some other solution had to be found. After a hurried consultation with the architect who superintended the works, we knocked together a sort of ledge or low wall which, flanking the pavement to right and left of the entrance door, had some steps concealed inside it. This too was a sufficiently unusual thing, but it was taken to be a device for keeping the church from being overrun.

It was an extremely sketchy affair, but such as it was, it was finished in time, as there was no frost, so that the cement had a chance of setting.

I got home late and had but little sleep, as I wanted to be at the church at an early hour to make sure that all was well. It was only a little past four when I left my house next morning.

The streets were pitch dark and completely lifeless. Not a voice, not a sound anywhere, only the hoofs of my own cab-horses clattering in the black night, only a street lamp flickering here and there . . . I thought of the dazzling pomp and splendour that this dawning day would see — my own gold-frogged Hungarian dress was a part of the general pattern — and as I leaned out of the window my thoughts flew involuntarily to the many thousands of my countrymen who were spending this cold, wet winter night out in the trenches, in dirt and mud and snow.

I slipped into the church by the little side-entrance. Stepping suddenly out of the black night into the brilliantly lighted transept, I was seized with a curious feeling of unreality. It is in the folk-tales that there come such moments when the hero, having worked his arduous way through a maze of

underground passages, suddenly finds himself in the palace of the Fairy Queen.

The night before, when I had come round to see about the construction of the outer ledge, only a few shaded lamps had marked the places where men were at work. Now the church was filled from end to end with radiant light.

Although Professor Lechner and I had planned the whole thing together, repeatedly discussing every smallest detail, although at the general rehearsal the thrones with their canopies and *prie-dieu* had already been in their places, and the white-lined purple draperies of the altar and the coverings of the pillars had all been hung, now that, after tireless labours, the church's festive garb was at last complete, I was myself surprised by the harmonious perfection of the whole.

In the side naves tiers of seats, covered with red cloth, were ranged from the height of the windows down to the central aisle, and were linked in a diagonal line by narrow stairs, also covered in red. This double staircase descending grade by grade into the expanding valley of the nave, gave an impression of festive and hospitable expectancy, as though the church were stretching out its long red arms to receive the celebrating throng, the Parliament and the King. And if one's eyes climbed up the velvet folds encasing the pillars, those folds which, massive and straight and motionless like gigantic organ-pipes, led into the heights above, they encountered, under the perpendicular arches, the incandescent white circles of the chandeliers floating in mid-air like the haloes surrounding the heads of saints and filling the curving vault with powdered light.

Somewhere at the back, and on the topmost tiers, workmen were still hammering; behind the altar hasty hands were sewing cushions; and the electricians, mounted on ladders, were finishing the wiring. On all sides the work had to be speeded up, for the time was flying with distracting rapidity.

Soon there arrived the young men who were to act as ushers, maintaining order and marshalling the guests to their seats. I annexed a few of these as runners, one to keep me in touch with the electrician-in-chief in Béla IV's Chapel, the others as scouts in the square outside or as messengers if any unforeseen contingency arose.

Next to arrive were the photographers, accompanied by Felix Schwormstädt, the artist of the *Illustrierte*, the only foreign illustrated paper which sent a representative to the ceremonies. The photographers concealed themselves inside the covered pulpit, while poor Schwormstädt had to squeeze into the space underneath, behind the hanging, tent-like draperies. It was an exceedingly tight fit, but there was nowhere else to put either him or the photographers. For after all, the coronation was at the same time a parliamentary, an ecclesiastical and a court function at which neither he nor the photographers had any right to be present. Schwormstädt did his job very well and his coloured picture in the *Illustrierte* was the only one which at all came near reproducing those resplendent colour and light effects on which for a few hours we were privileged to feast our eyes that day.

By then the Keepers of the Crown had also arrived.

We deposited the Crown and the royal insignia on stands in Loretto Chapel, each fixed firmly on a cushion of its own, so that even carried on horseback in the procession they should be perfectly safe. It was then that I saw for the last time St. Stephen's Crown, a unique object in itself, quite apart from the legends and traditions attached to it. In spite of its double workmanship and composite character, or perhaps because of it, it is strangely and almost unexpectedly beautiful. The enamel work is as bright and glowing as when it left the hands of the unknown goldsmith who wrought it a thousand years ago. And — this is almost incomprehensible — the pearls which finish off the edges have not yet lost their lustre for all the countless centuries that have passed since they were set and during which they have been kept in a sealed and almost air-tight casket. Once before I had occasion to see the Crown when, during the festivities commemorating Hungary's thousand years of existence, it was exposed to view in this same church for three days and I formed one of the guard of honour set to watch it; now, twenty years later, maturer in mind and with a more developed vision, I admired it even more.

But there is, among the royal treasures, another object which is also unique in its way. This is the sceptre. It is not known when it came into the possession of the Kings of

BONCHIDA, RESIDENCE OF COUNT NICHOLAS BÁNFFY

Entrance

THE MAIN STAIRCASE AT BONCHIDA WITH CHESS-FIGURES

Hungary, but according to tradition it, too, belonged to St. Stephen. The knob is made of purest crystal and engraved with lions. This is Arabian work, dating from the eighth or ninth century. The handle and the setting are of gold and of not much later date. Whence and how, one cannot help musing, did it come to Hungary? What were its destinies before, and how many hands have held it? And that glistening knob at the end of the golden handle — is it fanciful to see in it a symbolic meaning? The message that only passionless, crystal-clear goodwill can be allowed to hold sway over what men hold most dear.

Meanwhile seven o'clock had come and gone, and the main door had to be thrown open, although behind the altar the sewing-women were still working on the cushions.

Immediately the guests began to arrive with a rush.

Among the first arrivals was Count Maurice Esterházy, the future Prime Minister. I was standing talking with him when there appeared, silhouetted in the portal against the light outside, the dark and slender figure of a youngish man; he was dressed in a dark-green tail-coat embroidered in gold and carried a flat, three-cornered hat under his arm. He came up to speak to us. I did not recognize him at once, in his gala uniform, for I had only met him once or twice in my life and each time in mufti. It was Czernin, the new Minister for Foreign Affairs.

He asked me first of all where he was to sit, then shook hands with Esterházy. The movement, the few trivial words he spoke, and more especially the conscious smile that played around his lips the while, all seemed to me to be fraught with meaning. It was as though he had said in so many words to Esterházy: "As you see, I have arrived . . . It will be your turn next. It won't be long now." I had an instant's absolute certainty that I had surmised correctly, and I experienced a recurrence of the disquiet which had possessed men's minds when Czernin's appointment had become known. Was that gossip concerning F. F.'s prophecy to be fulfilled? I chased away the thought. It would be sheer madness to drop Tisza overboard while the war lasted — Tisza, whose towering personality was the only one capable of coping with the enormous task of home defence. Later on, perhaps . . . but now . . .? No, it was unthinkable.

More and more people were arriving. The throng in gala attire was filling the church and beginning to spread upwards into the stands. The few artists for whom we had found places hastened up to the topmost tier underneath the windows.

Soon the ladies of the court came sailing in. In their beautiful Hungarian costumes they seemed to have stepped out of the family portraits of bygone centuries. Dazzling tiaras, jewelled and pearl-set caps sparkled in the all-pervading shower of light. It was the last Act of the splendid Past.

As we were standing by the entrance door, directing the new arrivals to their places, I was suddenly accosted in French by a broad-shouldered man in the uniform of a Hungarian general. The King of Bulgaria, with a face like thunder!

He wished to have a look at the Crown, he said, before going to his seat. I led him to the Loretto Chapel and he looked at everything with minute care, being a great connoisseur and a man of excellent taste. His interest caused him to forget his grievance for a few minutes, but he soon remembered it anew and began to complain vehemently of the insult which had been offered him. He had been placed in the Oratorium with the little six-year-old Crown Prince! They had hidden him from view, the only sovereign who had come to the coronation. He had come, not only to give proof of his fidelity as an ally but as an old friend of the Hungarians. And this was what he had got for his pains. "There's gratitude for you," he said.

I was greatly embarrassed by this outburst, all the more as King Ferdinand had been extremely nice to me when he had received me in Sofia the year before. I explained that I had nothing to do with the seating arrangements and tried to make him see that when all was said and done the little Archduke Otto, in his capacity of Crown Prince, was next in rank to the Sovereign himself.

"That's all nonsense," cried King Ferdinand. "I know very well that you have had nothing to do with it. I also know whom I have to thank for this. The Court *camarilla* and Montenuovo, my old enemy. It is he who has put this affront on me. Those gentlemen have always been my ill-wishers — always!"

I hoped to appease him by accompanying him up to the Oratorium, but there I had to leave him, although he was still wrathful and kept repeating: "Had I known this I should never have come!"

Returning to the entrance door I encountered the little Archduke.

He was, at this time, a ravishing child, golden-haired and rosy-cheeked. I am told that his hair has turned brown since then and that he now resembles his mother. Dressed in shining, ermine-bordered brocade, with an aigrette in his cap (his Magyar costume had been designed by the painter Benczur), he was half walking, half running in his endeavour to keep step with General Count Wallis, one finger of whose hand he was holding with the whole of his little fist.

The clergy had ranged themselves in front of the portal for the reception of the royal couple. The high court dignitaries were already in Loretto Chapel, where each took charge of the coronation emblem which it was his office to carry on these occasions. The only one who had failed to appear was the Ban of Croatia, Ivan Skerlecz. He subsequently excused himself on the plea that the cordon had not allowed him to pass, which was all the more surprising as he turned up after all later on. His non-appearance somewhat upset the preconcerted arrangements, and someone — I forget who — had hastily to be called in to take charge of the orb which is ordinarily carried by the Ban, for the King's coach was already at the door.

I could not wait to see the formal entry, as I had to secure a place where I could keep an eye on the lighting arrangements. Flattened against the left-hand side of the central throne, I only heard as a distant sound the intermittent cheering in the square outside; the crowd surrounding me hid everything from view.

Suddenly all was still, except for the deep notes of the organ at the back. Then the Gold Stick, my father, mounted the corner of the platform which bore the King's throne and stood there stiff and straight, his staff in his hand, while at the other corner the Apostolic Cross, with its long black handle, rose into view. That meant that the court was near at hand. I looked up, but the throne above me was still empty. A few minutes passed, then there came within my line of vision a

woman's figure, all white satin and lace, with a diamond-crowned head. It halted for an instant, then sank on its knees.

It was a queenly movement and a lovely sight, as the long, slender figure sank on to the crimson *prie-dieu*, the lace veil trailing in a graceful curve behind it.

The organ notes pealed forth anew, mingled with singing and the music of stringed instuments. The ceremony had begun.

The priests commenced to officiate the mass, the age-old words of the text interrupted every now and then by the voices of the singers. The King stepped up to the altar, returned, then went back again, this time with St. Stephen's mantle on his shoulders. Now the crown was placed on his head.

At this moment the sun came out and cast a gleam through the window opposite. A pale and wintry gleam, but nevertheless sunshine, conjuring up a vision of strange radiance. Opposite to where I stood, on the seats underneath the windows, a row of Church dignitaries were sitting. The light from without, mingling with the light within, unexpectedly obliterated all shadows, turning the white brocade pluvials, mitres and infulas to a glass-like transparency and swathing everything in an unreal, ethereally luminous mist.

By the time Tisza's spare, dark, velvet-garbed figure had stepped forward to the edge of the sanctuary and his grave, resonant voice had thrice called out "Long live the King!" while his right hand, raised aloft, had as many times swung his black *kalpag*, the sun had vanished — it did not come out again.

The ceremony must have been a long one, but I have no means of telling how long, for in that dazzling, dream-like atmosphere no one kept count of the time . . . Music, singing, rising and dissolving clouds of incense, the booming tones of the organ within and in the distance the occasional muffled thud of cannons, mute figures in gala attire in new and newer groupings, officiating bishops arrested in the immobility of ritual — one seemed to be living through countless aeons in a continuous yet ever-changing dream. It was almost with a shock that one was reawakened to reality when, suddenly, all came to an end.

The royal couple retired to the sacristy, while the festive crowd moved outward towards the square.

When the crowd had somewhat thinned in the body of the church, the ladies-in-waiting descended from the left-hand balcony, and I had at last a chance of seeing them properly. As they came slowly down the stairs, two by two, in their glistening brocades and gleaming laces, their family jewels sparkling like white and coloured stars in their hair and on their fur-bordered jackets, they seemed the fleeting, evanescent reincarnation of the great ladies of history. A low rippling of organ notes accompanied them as they walked, until the last of the long procession had filed out and the riot of beauty and colour came to an end.

The church emptied itself completely. Only the red carpets and purple hangings remained, as before the opening of the portals; but now that all the dazzling splendour had departed from their midst, the note they struck was almost sombre.

At that moment there appeared, in an opening of the purple draperies, the future *equites aurati* or Knights of the Golden Spur.

There were about fifty of them, all officers who had served at the front. Grey field uniforms, faded and patched. Worn leather belts and straps discoloured with use. Battered army boots, showing evidences of much forcible brushing to get some shine onto them. At the head of the little company hobbled and limped the crippled and the halt, their crutches or wooden legs clattering on the stone flags, their breath loud and panting. All the tragedy of the battle-front seemed to come pouring into the little space before the altar, where a few minutes before all had been radiance and splendour.

A few, more broken in body than the others, sank into seats placed for them; the hale and sound, whom fate had spared, ranged themselves in rows and stood stiffly at attention. Not one of them but had his tunic covered all over with orders and medals. They stood in silence, with not so much as a whispered word between them, gazing into space with fixed and yet indifferent eyes. The eyes of men who day after day have stared into the face of death.

It was a development worthy of the *Divina Commedia;* with the difference that here the Inferno came after the Paradise.

The King returned, in crown and mantle, seated himself on the throne, which had been pulled forward, and the first name was called.

A shattered human wreck hauled himself up on two black crutches; his batman caught him lest he fall and helped him to make a few steps forward. There he sank down on the steps of the throne and St. Stephen's sword touched him three times on the shoulder. After that they lifted him up and he tottered out of the church on the arm of his servant.

I did not stay till the end of the investiture; I had business elsewhere, and perhaps also wished to escape from that nightmare spectacle. I went out into the square.

Here there was plenty of space left unused. The invited crowd was not numerous enough to fill the whole square; there were even gaps through which you could see the painted coats-of-arms which decorated the front of the stands. One was reminded of a ballroom during a ball that had turned out rather a frost. There was wanting the imposing effect produced by great multitudes.

What a difference it would have made had we been able to use the Fisherman's Bastion! There we could have crammed the wide staircase and Albrecht Road to overflowing, while on the opposite bank of the river hundreds of thousands could have witnessed the taking of the oath, perhaps the most profoundly significant and exalted moment of the Hungarian coronation. The tradition which prescribes its ritual reaches back to the earliest days of the Magyar people, probably to the days when the ruler was elected in camp. It decrees that the new king, with the Sacred Crown on his head and the ancestral mantle on his shoulders, shall swear under God's free heaven, in sight of his assembled people, to observe the law and to see that it is observed. This is that unalterable and inescapable obligation to preserve which intact the Magyar people have fought so many battles and gone through so much tribulation in the centuries that have gone.

Once more the procession appeared under the baldachin of the portal — the banner-bearers, the Hungarian herald dressed in a golden tabard, the Principal Usher with his stick, the other *barones regni* with the royal emblems, and behind them the youthful King.

They walked across the carpeted space which separated them from the centre of the square and mounted the winding, stone-balustraded staircase.

I can still see the scene as five of them appeared on the platform facing east: Tisza, holding in his hand the text of the oath, Prince Esterházy with the Sword of State, and the crowned King between the Primate and the Cardinal of Kalocsa. Not one of the five is alive to-day.

When the cheering had ceased, the text of the oath was read aloud, sentence by sentence, and the King repeated it in a loud voice, with a pure Hungarian accent, his right hand raised, his left holding the "Pax" cross on its stand. He held his head high, and there was a perpetual smile on his lips, a youthful smile full of hope.

While the King's following returned to the Church and the members of Parliament and the delegates of the counties and the towns set off with their banners towards St. George's Square, the caparisoned horses were led up to the church door.

The Archdukes mounted, so did the royal bannerets or their representatives, for only the Lord High Steward, Andrew Csekonics, my father, and the Ban of Croatia volunteered to go through this part of the ceremony personally. There was some confusion at starting owing to the restricted space, and it may be owing to this that the Ban, instead of carrying the orb on its cushion as prescribed, gave it to his groom to hold, who, with scant respect for this precious symbolic object, grasped it in his fist as he might grasped a cricket ball. Not a few people were scandalised by this. Whether or not the Ban retrieved the orb later I cannot say, for I had to hasten on to St. George's Square.

Here, too, there was room to spare, although the stands and the mound on which the ritual of the sword-cuts was to be carried out took up sufficient space.

The crowd was thickest near the inner corner of the royal palace. I went across myself and was not surprised when I saw the charming picture which had attracted the gazers.

From an open first floor window Queen Zita was looking down into the square, with the little Archduke Otto standing on the sill in front of her. She was holding him with both hands, and there was no one else within the frame of the window but they two, mother and child, the brown-eyed Queen with the crown on her head and the beautiful, golden-haired boy in his Hungarian national dress. Nothing lovelier

or more moving could have been conceived or arranged. Cheers arose and grew louder and louder as every minute the crowd grew more dense. Hands were waved, *kalpags* were brandished, and a storm of *Éljens* rose in wave upon wave towards the gently smiling Queen above. It was an occasion reminiscent of the memorable *vitam et sanguinem* scene; the same ebullient, fervid, self-forgetting Magyar enthusiasm now as then . . .

In the heat of these tempestuous ovations we hardly noticed the growing volume of sound from the direction of the Church, along which lay the King's route, until he was almost in our midst.

Hastily we ranged ourselves to make way for the horsemen; I found myself standing in the first row, on the very edge of the pavement, so that the horses almost brushed against me as they passed.

Behind the variegated group of the royal bannerets Tisza rode alone, his sombre-hued costume seeming almost black in contrast with their colourful splendour. He sat stiff and straight as a bronze statue, and though his thick glasses screened the look in his eyes, my own were caught by the profound, almost bitter melancholy which sat on his face, carving deep furrows in the corners of his mouth. His compressed lips seemed resolutely closed on some dire and terrible secret. One felt involuntarily that the load of care which duty had laid upon his shoulders was fraught with a soul-searing hopelessness and pain. I have never seen a more tragic face than was Tisza's that day as he rode through that festive, enthusiastic crowd.

Standing where I was at the corner of the Archduke Joseph's palace, I had only a distant view of the sword-brandishing ceremony. I saw the figure of the King rise above the forest of banners as he walked his horse up the balustraded mound. With a wide, sweeping gesture he made the four symbolic slashes with his sword while a green-liveried and feather-hatted *Hofbereiter* turned the head of the grey horse towards each of the four quarters. The next moment he was once again hidden by the cluster of banners from which he had emerged.

He became once more visible as, in the joy of his accomplished task, he waved his hand towards the window where

stood his wife ; then he galloped at full speed towards the palace. All drew a sigh of relief when his crowned figure vanished behind the palace gates, for it had been a reckless thing to gallop down the slope as he had done ; and the thought of what might happen if the horse were to stumble on the slippery pavement had shot through everyone's mind.

We assembled in the big throne-room of the palace, which was soon filled to overflowing, as over and above the official personages who had been at the cathedral many hundreds of women *en grande tenue* were waiting to be presented after the conclusion of the symbolic banquet.

The maintenance of order was no longer quite so easy. There was some pushing and jostling, for there were many who were determined to be in the front row and in their effort to secure a place where they could see everything usurped the spaces which should have been kept clear ; others had established themselves on the sofas ranged along the walls and could not be dislodged at any price. My youthful band of ushers had their work cut out for them. But somehow things righted themselves by the time the ceremonial procession entered the room.

The King and Queen, the two Cardinals, the Deputy Palatine and the Papal Nuncio sat down at the table which stood on a dais a few steps above the rest of the room.

The dishes were brought in by men specially selected for this office, chamberlains, deputies and members of the House of Magnates. Only one dish was presented by the Lord High Steward himself, the enormous joint which had been cut from the ox that had been roasted whole for the holiday crowd on the Vérmező. Two servants in livery handed him the golden dish at the foot of the steps. It was terribly heavy, nevertheless a sense of decorum and fitness made him carry it up the three steps unaided ; his legs could hardly bear him up, and one watched anxiously while he bowed and set it before His Majesty. The Principal Cup-bearer poured wine into a golden goblet and the King raised it and drank to the nation. Loud cheers answered him.

This was the last act of the coronation, after which the Court withdrew while the deputies hastened back to the House of Parliament for the closure of the Coronation Session.

All the women and some of us men remained on in the palace. Jekelfalusy and I had been commanded to an audience. I think it was about half-past three when His Majesty received us both. He thanked us very warmly for the work we had done. He showed no trace of fatigue, and was still smiling. When he dismissed us a few minutes later I took my way to the drawing-room which adjoins the staircase, knowing that the ladies about to be presented would come there after passing through the ball-room. I wanted another look at their stately finery, their long trains and general loveliness. A long buffet had been laid for them in the drawing-room; I had eaten nothing for twelve hours, and I must admit that a cup of tea and a ham sandwich or two considerably relieved the tedium of waiting.

In the Throne Room there commenced the *Defilier-Cour*, as this form of presentation is called. In Hungary the practice had so far been unknown. At one door the lady about to be presented entered according to precedence. She walked up to the throne, where sat the Queen, with the King standing behind her, and the little Archduke Otto sitting at her feet. The Lord Chamberlain called out her name, she made a deep curtsey, and walked out by the other door.

At first there was a considerable interval between the arrival of each in the room where I was waiting, for it took five or six minutes for them to walk the length of the throne room. But in this way the presentation would have lasted hours, and the royal train was due to leave for Vienna at six. So less and less time was allowed to elapse between the entrance of each, till at last they were admitted in batches and hustled forward to the throne, and arrived at the Drawing-room door panting and treading on each other's heels.

They were dreadfully tired, all of them. The greater part had been fully dressed since early morning, had worn their jewelled tiaras and heavy, gold-embroidered dresses all day, while several had been in attendance since dawn. Many of them had been obliged to have their hair dressed by one or other of the fashionable hairdressers during the night hours.

Tottering, extenuated, pale with fatigue, they sank down on the few available chairs and sofas ranged against the wall. The room was somewhat meagrely l itby the dim beams of one

or two chandeliers, supplemented by such light as was shed, through a veil of rain, by the arc-lights of the palace yard. In this pale light they seemed to have shed all their splendour; the silver veils looked grey, the gold braid black, the precious stones had lost their lustre. On the faces of the older women the rouge had lodged in the wrong places and the powder had evaporated. In this end-of-the-day atmosphere some of them were a pitiful sight.

I got home at a fairly late hour. By then the town had resumed its ordinary war-time aspect, and the evening was like any other winter evening. The departure of the sovereigns had extinguished all the joy of the day. Already various rumours were afloat. It was whispered about as an ill omen that the crown had been placed askew on the King's head, that he had stumbled while taking the oath, and so forth. Of these things I know nothing. One incident there had been which the superstitious might have fastened on, but so far as I know, few people heard of it. The thick glass slab which insulated the electric light above the altar had split in the heat and dropped like an axe just after everyone had left the church. But, as I said, only those of us knew of this who had occasion to go back to the church next day.

The rain had begun to fall, mingled with snow-flakes which for a fleeting instant lay starry-white on the asphalt, then melted into the all-pervading drabness.

NOTES AND LETTERS

"PEACEMAKING 1919"

The following letter from Dr. Maximilian Fenyő, former M. P. and former Director of the Hungarian National Union of Industrialists, and Mr. Harold Nicolson's reply were recently published in Hungarian in the Budapest daily Magyar Nemzet. *We feel that the original correspondence may be of interest to our readers.*

Dear Sir,

I have read with great pleasure your interesting book entitled *Peacemaking 1919* which serves as a melancholy consolation (though nevertheless a consolation) to me as well as, I am convinced, to every Magyar, that as early as 1919, at the time of the peace negotiations, there were men like you who, in spite of the sympathy with which they viewed the aspirations of the new States towards independence, were dismayed by the greedy self-assertion of the latter which, I regret to say, they certainly betrayed when the new frontiers were fixed owing to the coincidence of various unfortunate circumstances, of which you present such a clear illustration, even plastic in its rough outline. If you, Sir, who, being a son of one of the hostile, victorious Powers, could set down in your diary under date 8th May 1919 with such depressed resignation how the "Big Five," distinguished and bored irresponsibles, took but a few minutes to divide up Hungary, what am I, a son of that nation — for it is my country whether good or bad — one of the number whose whole world has collapsed, to say, when the gentlemen you referred to carved up the map in the manner stated? What can I say? I repeat that it is a consolation in this misfortune to see and read works of men who like you — notwithstanding that all their sympathies are with the other side — yet undauntedly and above all seek to do justice: *Amicus Plato sed magis amica veritas.*

It is to the inflexible justice manifested throughout your book that I would refer in calling your kind attention to a part thereof which, though not perhaps of particular importance on the whole yet hurts me and, I believe every Magyar by reason of its disharmony with the rest of your work which strives to be unprejudiced and, above all, just. The part in question is as follows:

"My feelings towards Hungary were less detached. — I confess that I regarded, and still regard, that Turanian tribe with acute distaste. Like their cousins the Turks, they had destroyed much, and created nothing. — Buda Pest was a false city devoid of any autochthonous reality. — For centuries the Magyars had oppressed their subject nationalities. — The hour of liberation, and of retribution was at hand."

I would not trouble you with a controversy around these few sentences which, however, contain a most serious and debatable political accusation: "For centuries the Magyars had oppressed their subject nationalities . . ."

I repeat, I would not occupy myself with this matter, since it does not signify an impression but an attitude. I might allow myself a few modest comments with regard thereto if I were not aware that these would exceed the limits of a private letter and also if I were not aware, from your book, that you were influenced in this question not only by your own thoughts but also by the statements of Mr. Seton Watson. I am acquainted with his views on the whole, but I know also that since the conclusion of peace his views have undergone a certain change, at least in as much as he sees more difficulties than he did before in the way of the correct solution of the so-called nationality problem; that he no longer finds "oppression" to be the peculiar besetting sin of the Hungarians, when he clearly sees what is happening to the Minorities in Yougoslavia, Roumania and even in Czecho-Slovakia led by Masaryk who seemingly adheres best of all to the Wilsonian principles. There is a tremendous difference with regard to the judgment upon the treatment of the Minorities between pre-war Hungary and the new States: even according to your judgment and that of Mr. Seton Watson, pre-war Hungary committed an historically-bequeathed mistake, fault or crime ("oppression") which originated at all events at a period when nobody in the world spoke of Wilson's principles. It was through Wilson that the new States came into being. Pre-war Hungary was under no obligations in her internal administration; the new States within the League of Nations undertook the protection of the Minorities. (You know best what extensive promises and pledges were made in this respect during that memorable month in Paris in the year 1919.) Finally, what is perhaps most important, these new States say (in my opinion wrongly, but that is beside the question) that it was just because Hungary failed to recognise the importance of the minority question, that she had to fall to pieces and become so fatally mutilated. Pre-war Hungary, therefore, besides "paying the penalty" may find numerous such extenuations to which the new States could never refer in any circumstance whatever. I believe that you also will see this — of my own opinion I will say nothing, because I view the affair and the source of our tragedy quite differently.

But I repeat, I will not attempt to settle this question, upon which whole libraries have been written, within the bounds of a mere letter, while I am not so naive as to think I can alter or influence your opinions based upon your personal experience, your studies and doubtless abundant information, by a few correct or incorrect casual remarks.

All I hope is that on a suitable occasion you will revise those other, what I might call impressionist declarations of sentiment by giving this letter

your kind attention. In respectfully begging you to make this revision, if I wished to be sentimental I should simply refer to the fact that you really had no intention of injuring a nation which, as you know best of all, (as you have stated in various places in your book) is in deep mourning, bowed under the weight of the unjust affliction placed upon her. However I would prefer not to be sentimental but objective in the hope that if you revise your feelings and impressions from the perspective of a certain distance of time, you will also say that perhaps you had insufficient support to determine with that sense of responsibility which is evident throughout the book with regard to a whole nation the justification "that I regarded and still regard, that Turanian tribe with acute distaste." Even in our mutilated country of today there are 9 million Hungarians while according to my knowledge there are in the whole world 15 millions. Among them are good and bad, learned and ignorant; there are honest Hungarians, and since there are prisons in our country I am bound to say that there are also dishonest ones. I do not wish to say that the Hungarian is the finest soldier in the world, but that he is not the worst is proved by the hundreds of thousands of battlefield graves. If our language were not so unfortunately peculiar and isolated you, who have such an appreciation for literature and art, would be able to discern that of the generation of the past century Petőfi, Arany and Vörösmarty (and more recently Ady) are all different, and each in his own way such as I, with a full sense of responsibility, might call a genius worthy of a place among the greatest of every cultural western State. In my humble opinion it was not by chance that the three first named, in their modest country homes, in the forties of the past century, spent their hours of leisure reading or translating Shakespeare. We had distinguished engineers, bridge and railway builders and river-regulators. And there were other Hungarians who, desiring to discover something new, set out to explore and penetrated to the heart of Asia, even to India and Thibet. Allow me to say that I regard these men as just like others, perhaps no better (though of course they are nearer to me), but certainly no worse. I cannot understand why they should be worse? Be it far from me to estimate the value of any other nation. I cannot say how much I regret that "distaste," and how keenly I regret also that you used that expression, thereby almost classifying or rather unclassifying us.

What I have said about my fellow-countrymen so enthusiastically and cursorily is at the same time a reply to — and if you will allow me to say so a refutation of — your sentence "Like their cousins the Turks, they had destroyed much, and created nothing."

Allow me to be selfish in a way not unusual nowadays, and not to occupy myself with the Turks, though if I did so I should be tempted to relate that there are few nations in whose history the Turks signify such dark centuries as they do in the history of Hungary. Had we not groaned under the Ottoman yoke you would not now call Budapest a "false city" as in that case it would be able to boast many more ancient walls. (Prague was never under Turkish rule.) I should, however, consider myself most unjust were I to show hatred or resentment towards the Turks for those past and unalterable historic events though they really in many cases determine

the present situation. Ignoring the Turks, then, I beg you to look around and see that we also have created one or two things. Very likely we have also destroyed things. There is no nation that has not at some time or other destroyed; as for instance in Savonarola's day at the place where Christendom came to power. Perhaps also at the Cromwellian period; or that of Luther and the Huguenots, the French Revolution, or at any other period that shook nations to their foundations. I believe that we have destroyed nothing more than what other nations destroyed at similar epochs, and moreover I must say that we have been endeavouring for a long time, for centuries, to protect not only our own spiritual and material treasures but also those of the nationalities living with us. No small values have fallen intact into the hands of the new States. You know very well that the destroyers on the areas of historic Hungary were not we, but in the new era the Turks; though perhaps it would not be right to say this also; maybe this too would be unjust. The destructive factor was the circumstance that Hungary, since the early Middle Ages, was the highroad of all the peoples, and the Tartars marched their armies through our land as did those of the Crusaders, the Turks, Napoleon's troops and the Russian, Roumanian, German, Hungarian, Austrian and Czech armies of the recent Great War.

"Buda Pest was a false city devoid of any autochthonous reality." Budapest as she is today, is as regards her exterior, a modern city. This has its disadvantages but also its compensations. For my part I, like you perhaps, prefer old cities. Thus it would have pleased me better if more had been left of the ancient Roman buildings at Aquincum, that venerable settlement; and of the mediaeval churches, lovely in their ruins. Like hundreds of thousands more I should be happy if the Renaissance palaces of King Matthias were still standing. St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Crosby Hall, the Banqueting Hall of the Guildhall, Lincoln's Inn, Somerset House and all the ancient piles of your city, I must confess, are very near to my heart, if not quite so near as the Piazza Signoria at Florence, the San Marco at Venice, the Palazzo Venezia at Rome, the San Petronio at Bologna, the Castello at Ferrara, the Cathedral at Sienna and the walls of all those other homes of ancient culture which keep watch and ward over their centuries-old exteriors. But what can we do? These also were once new. And besides those ancient cities there must be a Berlin, a New York, a Ringstrasse in Vienna, and a Ring in Budapest — all of which I should have built differently if I had had the possibility. Budapest is merely a modern city, though it has ancient roots, which at the time of the Communist regime, when you last visited it, was neglected, dirty, ragged and cold. We should have been better pleased had it been wealthy and warm. It is far from wealthy today. Nevertheless, in its poverty it is clean and well supplied with trees, flowers and verdant parks; and the city is divided into two parts by a real river, the Danube. It has very good schools, social institutions, beautiful museums — all these things we can afford in our poverty; or it may be that we have sacrificed even more than we can afford on our Capital, Budapest. Besides a few — we regret to say very few — Roman and mediaeval remains, our Capital has stately houses of the Empire period. We cherish these all the more for the knowledge

that we are poor in material relics of the past. But I would hesitate to call Berlin, New York, Belgrade or even Bucharest "false cities;" though in neither of them (including Prague) would you find — and I would not like it to slip my memory — anything like our Museum of Fine Arts. This was not founded by the grace of any monarch, not by the booty of a conqueror, but by the thirst of this most unfortunate nation for cultural sustenance which, though the hard and calculating may call it luxury, does not signify the worst and most degrading kind.

I am uncertain whether I have succeeded in presenting properly and above all convincingly what I intend to express, the essence of which I might summarize by saying that, as a Hungarian at this moment standing before you as a representative of this nation, I endure criticism without complaint even though I could make an objection, because it is the judgment of a writer conscious of his responsibility who is endeavouring to reach such truth as may be humanly attainable. I beg merely for the revision of that which, if I am not mistaken, is not criticism that can be supported by data, but is the expression of feelings and impressions such as the brief paragraph of your esteemed book quoted by me.

May I beg you — or rather repeat my request to you — to be so good as to revise this passage. I feel a little narrow-minded but at the same time I feel also that it has some significance, that if we have suffered so many afflictions and if fate has placed burdens upon us from which, for the time being, we cannot free ourselves, that at least the men of good will who are seeking for justice should lighten our spiritual burdens.

I trust you will pardon me for monopolising so much of your valuable time, which I had not wished to abuse and with profound respect

Permit me to remain

Yours faithfully

February 2, 1934. *Dr. M. Fenyő*

Marakesh Morocco

February 21, 1934

Dear Sir,

Your letter of February 2 was forwarded to me from England and reached me among the palms and sunshine of Southern Morocco.

In writing *Peacemaking* I had only one object in view — namely to place on record the *frame of mind* in which the Paris negotiators drafted the several treaties. Naturally I had in the main to concentrate upon my own frame of mind — since that was the only temperament of which I was absolutely certain. And in describing my own prejudices and feelings in that November 1918 I was forced to record an antipathy to Hungary and all it stood for. I do not pretend that it was a wise or fair antipathy. I agree that it was based upon subjective, or rather affective, emotions. I do not

suppose that I should feel that antipathy today. But the point was that I felt it at the time — and that my personal lack of sympathy was a tiny factor in the eventual settlement. I knew that in writing that book I should expose myself to much immediate criticism. But I also knew that most people would endeavour to defend, rather than to define, their attitude at the time, — and that it was my duty not to explain my frame of mind but to state it. Had I not done so, the book would have had no value at all. It would merely have been the conceited babbling of a vain young man.

Of course I was influenced by Seton Watson. Of course, also, I was influenced by the absurd fact that I had nearly died in Buda Pest as a child and that my memories of the place were anxiety recollections. Of course, also, I was affected by the fact that my father had never liked Hungary, and always spoke of his time there with distaste. You may say that it was wrong to bring into a book which purported to be a work of history, subjective prejudices which were due to such incidental causes. But I answer that my book was *not* meant to be a work of history, and that it *was* meant to be a description of these very subjective elements. And that I warned the reader over and over again that all that I was trying to do was to recapture my own state of mind.

Were I today to write a study of Hungary's place in Europe I should write something quite different. But I was not writing about what I feel in 1934. I was writing about what I felt in 1918/1919. And, as such, my description was accurate—however unjust and cruel and silly my emotions may then have been.

Naturally I feel ashamed of myself when I read a gentlemanlike letter such as yours. But I do not feel ashamed for having written what *I wrote*. I feel ashamed at having felt, in 1919, as I felt. Yet we all did. I cannot retract it, since that would not be true. I *did* feel like that, and in any description of my then feelings I must state the truth. But I do not feel wholly like that today. And perhaps I may be able in some later work to point out how unfair and how unjustified was my former state of mind.

Yet I cannot alter or modify my *Peacemaking*. Quod scripsi, scripsi. And it was true.

Yours sincerely,

Harold Nicolson

British Connections with the Danube

The Danube is the greatest waterway of Central and Eastern Europe, and its economic and historical importance needs little emphasis. It has often been said that the Danube flows in the wrong direction, on the ground that it would be better if it flowed into the North Sea and thus served as a route between Central Europe and the civilisation of the west. The Danube, however, does fulfil its role as the link between West and East, and it has had its part in most of the great campaigns of history, with its memories of Alexander the Great and the marks of the passage

of Trajan's legions still visible on its shores. It has seen war, but it has also seen the progress of peace and culture with the many peoples who have passed along its banks or settled there.

It was really only in comparatively modern times, after the Crimean War, that England began to show a practical interest in questions connected with the Danube. Until that time the mouths of the river, which consist of three main branches flowing into the Black Sea, had belonged to Russia's sphere of interest, and Russia had neglected what was an evident necessity, namely, the task of making the river navigable right down to the sea. This was remedied by the Treaty of Paris of 1856, which set up a European committee, the Commission Européenne du Danube, whose task was to regulate the estuary and render it navigable for shipping. Great Britian was a permanent member of the Commission, and the role she took may be gauged from the fact that in 1883, when it became necessary to invest the Commission with new and wider powers, London was chosen as the place for the signature of the new agreement.

Long before this the importance of the Danube for modern communications had been realised by the Hungarian innovator and statesman Count Stephen Széchenyi, whose name is connected with so many reforms in the first half of the nineteenth century. It was on his initiative that the first measures were taken for regulating the Lower Danube, especially the rapids known as the Iron Gates. Steam navigation is also very largerly due to his efforts. It is in this connection that we find the names of two Englishmen, Andrew and Prichard, ship-builders, who in 1828 obtained the exclusive right to ply with steamships of their own design on the rivers of Austria. The practical genius of Count Széchenyi converted these modest beginnings into a big undertaking, the First Royal and Imperial Danubian Steam Navigation Company, which for several decades had the monopoly of steam shipping on the Danube and is even to-day one of the largest Danubian shipping concerns.

Count Széchenyi, who had visited England several times, had a high opinion of English technical achievement, and followed up his order for much of the dredging apparatus and other machinery with the contract for the Chain Bridge, the first suspension-bridge across the Danube which connected Buda and Pest, until then linked only by a bridge of boats. The bridge still stands, practically in its original form, and an inscription tells how it was designed by the engineer responsible for Hammersmith Bridge in London, William Tierney Clarke, and executed, in the face of considerable difficulties, by Adam Clark. The latter, after the completion of the Chain Bridge in 1849, turned his attention to boring the tunnel under the Castle Hill, finishing the work in 1866. Between the Buda end of the bridge and the entrance to the tunnel is Adam Clark Square, named after the engineer.

As regards British policy in connection with the Danube, it is not surprising that the only question which interested Britain until the time of the first world war was the navigability of the estuary. Germany, on the other hand, displayed considerable interest at the time of the famous Berlin—Bagdad project, and German capital began to occupy important

economic positions along the river, which was intended to be an integral part of the scheme. In 1913 the Bavarian River Navigation Company was founded, and its aims soon became apparent. It was to be a competitor of Austrian and Hungarian shipping on the river, and, as well as taking its part in the German *Drang nach Osten*, it was to render the importation of oil from overseas to Germany superfluous.

During the last war, German interest in the Danube increased, and the Kaiser came down the river and inspected the rapids with particular attention. He made it clear at the time that as soon as the war had been won it was Germany's intention to exert her influence in matters connected with the regulation of the river and the dredging of its bed, so as to make the river a reliable ally in the move towards the Balkans and the Near East. It may well have been this that induced the Allies, headed by Great Britain, to turn their attention to the Danube immediately after the defeat of the Central Powers.

While military occupation and political measures were entrusted to the French, the command of the Danube was given to Admiral Sir Ernest Truebridge. His first concern was to see that the terms of the armistice, inasfar as they affected Danubian matters, were duly carried out, for while the Diaz-Weber armistice contained no reference to the Danube, the unfortunate agreement concluded between the French General Franchet d'Espérey and Count Michael Károlyi in Belgrade had some severe clauses in this respect. It was with the mission of enforcing these that Commodore C. V. Usborne came to Hungary in December 1918 and he was soon followed by Admiral Truebridge, who took up his headquarters in Budapest, or rather on board the Danube steam-yacht *Zsófia*, from which in later years so many tourists have admired the city of Budapest.

It is perhaps not too late to express the appreciation of the Hungarians for the tact and clear-sightedness of Admiral Truebridge at a time when the matters with which he had to deal were often enough delicate and sometimes painful for a defeated nation. His generous behaviour is still well remembered here from the days when hostility to Hungary only too often led on the part of others to ruthless harshness that left its trail of bitter resentment.

At the time of the Rumanian invasion in the autumn of 1919 it was Admiral Truebridge who took Hungarian shipping under his protection, and it was largely due to his work and that of Captain William Freeman that traffic on the Danube, which had come to a standstill as a result of the catastrophe, was gradually re-started. It is not forgotten that in the dark days of communism and the Rumanian occupation of Budapest these British naval officers did much to alleviate the sufferings of Hungary.

As more settled conditions returned in South-Eastern Europe Great Britain began to show interest in the economic possibilites afforded by the Danube, probably taking into consideration the fact that by participating in affairs in these parts she could better safeguard her interests not only here but in the Balkans and the Near East. The first evidence of this interest was seen in negotiations by the Cunard Line for the acquisition of shares in Danubian shipping companies, which however led to no result.

Soon afterwards however another scheme was initiated by a group of shipping interests in London led by Sir Frederic Lewis (Lord Essendon), the Chairman of Furness Withy, and other names heard at the time were those of Earl Grey, Sir Charles Berry, Mr. Hubert Cox, Sir Eric Hambro and Mr. E. H. Murrant. The negotiations were conducted in Budapest early in 1920 and led to the formation of the River Syndicate.

This transaction resulted in the acquisition by English interests of a participation of 25 per cent. in Austrian shipping on the Danube and also a share in the Hungarian Sea and River Navigation Company, while at the same time the Syndicate took over all the shares of the smaller German undertaking, the South German Danubian Shipping. This gave the English group a definite influence on Danubian shipping. Under the Peace Treaties the Austrian and Hungarian companies had to hand over about half their fleets without compensation, so that the new investment afforded a good opportunity for the building of new craft and a general reorganisation. After the transaction had been completed the River Syndicate was converted into the Danube Navigation Company, with its head-office in London and the measures of rationalization and control that were introduced were of great service to river shipping in these parts.

Another transaction which as a matter of fact went in the end to the Schneider-Creusot interests, was the construction by the State and the City of Budapest of a commercial harbour and warehouses on the island of Csepel, which lies just below Budapest; initiated in 1914, the plan had to be abandoned during the war, and when it was resumed there was some question of the English group financing it. As has been mentioned, however, it was finally carried out with French capital.

In course of time it became apparent that Great Britain's political and economic interests were not being greatly furthered by participation in the Danubian shipping companies, and at the same time there was a tendency towards the theory that shipping was a national interest which should not be in the hands of foreign capital. Although there were differences of opinion as to the propriety of this view, the English shareholders declared that they were willing to dispose of their interests in the event of Hungarian official circles expressing a desire to this effect. The Danube Navigation Company had sold its interest in the South German company as early as 1924, and in 1927 the liquidation of the English remaining interests began. The Austrian shares were taken over in part by the Credit Anstalt of Vienna, while the interest in the River and Sea Navigation Co. Ltd. was bought out by the Hungarian State Railways on behalf of the State.

This was in fact the end of the connection of English capital with Danubian shipping, at least as far as Hungary was concerned, and the present war found only a very few Danubian ships flying the Red Ensign. Still, some progress has been made in recent years, and before the war there was regular service of ocean-going cargo-boats between Budapest and Egypt; it is a matter for shipbuilders and technical experts to see how far it will be possible to develop services not only on the Danube itself but also to overseas ports.

EUGENE GYÖRGY

The Problem of Free Will

Professor Julius Móor, in his Inaugural Lecture delivered at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, deals with one of the most intricate, yet most popular problems of philosophy, the problem of free will. The subject of his study is, whether the results of recent philosophical research throw any new light on the old, much belaboured, but still open question of determinism and indeterminism. He demonstrates that there is an intimate connection between the question of free will and the basic conception of philosophy, and after having dealt succinctly with the questions of absolute determinism and indeterminism, he reaches the conclusion that only the moderate conception, moderate determinism and indeterminism have a reason for existence. According to him, strict determinism on the one hand annihilates the will, since will is lacking in such acts as are the automatic resultants of causes working with mechanical compulsion, whilst strict indeterminism on the other hand leads to the same result, considering that such will as has no connection with causal reality is not a true will, because it is in the nature of will that influence can be exercised on it, and conversely that it is capable of exercising its influence on the formation of causal reality.

Either of the moderate schools however is a blend of determinist and indeterminist principles as regards the evaluation of the conception of causality, and the contrast between them may be traced back rather to the quantitative difference of their sundry component parts, than to the opposition of the uniform basic conceptions. This fact however is bound to lead to a clash in the proposition that there exists an intimate connection between the problem of free will and the basic philosophic conception, it being beyond any doubt that there are undeniably fundamental contrasts between the different philosophical basic conceptions. The aspects of volition are in contradiction to the one-sided philosophical explanations because the real human will cannot be placed either in the realm of the causality of nature or in the realm of the eternal spirit; it can find its place only in a third realm, unity of which springs from the unification of the said two realms. This third realm is "culture", which is the conjunction of causal reality and of the ideal values, that is, the point where they both meet in an autonomous sphere.

The realm of culture has attained a very great importance, thanks to the studies of the most renowned philosophers of the last fifty years. The studies of the philosophy of culture have lead to a new dualism: to the juxtaposition of nature and philosophy. The author exposes this new conception of the philosophy of culture and then enters into an analysis of the consequences which may be deduced therefrom in relation to the free will. He then explains the interrelation in the will of the parts played by the spirit, the soul and the body. He then emphasizes strongly the most important part allotted in human life to spiritual purports, such as ideas, objectives and thoughts, in spite of their being intangible. The spiritual purports, the cultural values are so important in the problem of free will, because

the weightiest argument militating in favour of free will is, according to the author, that out of all creatures in the world, man is the only one, capable of sacrificing himself for mere ideas, convictions or principles, devoid of any causal reality. The cogitation preceding such determination of the will is not a struggle of causative forces, it is a discretionary weighing of value-purports, that is to say, an estimation of values. Thus, if the free estimation of the value-purports of the realm of culture precedes the determination of the will, it stands beyond any possible doubt that human will is free. The author reaches, in the course of his irrefutable logical deductions, the conclusion that the human will is free, because it originates in reasoning deliberation, in the free judgement arrived at by the spirit without outside influence and coercion, that is, from a mental valuation. The author deals further with Max Plank's theory of free will, deduced from atom-physics, which he proves to be untenable. Finally, he enters into a detailed criticism of the theories of Heinrich Rickert and Nicolai Hartman, the most outstanding representatives of culture-philosophy, of those theories which have served as a foundation for the conclusions reached by him, although these very theories lead to conclusions in the problem of free will incompatible with those of the author. He demonstrates that the irrationalistic views of Rickert and Hartmann do not follow logically from their own basic philosophical conceptions, even that they are in oppoistion to them.

Professor Moór concluded his lecture by applying his views on free will to the Law. This last chapter reads as follows:

There is no mystery in the doctrine of Free Will, nor any metaphysical secret; it signifies that man is a reasonable being, endowed with the ability of thinking, capable of acting according to his own reasoning: *Cogito ergo liber sum.* It is obvious that free will within such meaning is necessary in the provinces of all branches of the Law. There would be no sense in our issuing legal commands to beings incapable of conceiving the meaning of legal norms and of adapting their volition to the values exacted by these norms. It is also obvious that free will cannot assert itself without restriction in the ambit of any branch of the Law, since it is self-evident that every legal norm is intended to restrict and influence the free determination of the will.

If however the significance of free will is, in fact, that man may act according to his own reasoning, then Private Law is that branch of the Law which gives the broadest scope to the assertion of free will. It does so because its leading principle is that man is entitled to manage his own petty, troublesome affairs according to his own reasoning, at least within the limits of this branch of Law. The territory of Private Law in our day is steadily being narrowed down as a consequence of the expansion of socialistic and communistic doctrines and the increased interference of the State inspired by totalitarianism. No reference to public social service, however, can do away with the truth that the disappearance of Private Law or its excessive limitation would lead to a fatal atrophy of national vigour rooted in the independence of the soul, and that this would entail a serious moral loss.

In juxtaposition to Private Law, Constitutional Law represents the opposite principle: it subjects man to the domination of the State without any regard to his free will. The domination of the State however can be morally allowed by reasonable beings endowed with free wills only if such domination is not tyrannical, and if those subjected to it may, by way of political liberty, assert their influence on the manner in which power is exercised. This means that whilst in Private Law the basic principle is liberty, in Constitutional Law liberty plays its part merely as a corrective of the principle of power. The moral necessity of political liberty becomes particularly pressing and urgent in times when the territory of Private Law is steadily narrowing and the very last corner in which free will may legally find sanctuary is in jeopardy. Absolutism with a strongly-secured Private Law, — such as the absolutism of the Roman Caesars — may be a tolerable form of Constitutional Law in times morally corrupted and callous to public interest. A dictatorship, however, which shows little respect for Private Law, the basic principle of which is that one clever man in a State is sufficient, is morally highly objectionable, since it exacts from its subjects the renunciation of their own free will, of the free exercise of their own reason, or in other words moral suicide and self-degradation to the level of beasts or of machines. And if such a dictatorship maintains itself by means of unrelenting and merciless terror — and it arrives at such a point through the inner dialectics of power in most cases — then its immorality will only increase: it will not afford to its subjects any other free choice than the choice between physical and moral annihilation. And afterwards, with the reign of terror, Criminal Law will also cease to exist and will become a bloody comedy with hangmen in power.

Criminal Law has, by the way, a very strong connection with the problem of free will. If on the one hand Private Law is connected with our problem by securing free scope to the assertion of free will, Criminal Law on the other hand is connected with it by being built up on the doctrine of sin and expiation, that is to say, on the principle of the moral responsibility of the individual. Only man endowed with free will can be the subject of moral responsibility. In consequence, the criminal prosecution of animals is an impossibility, and further, only man endowed with the capacity of reasoning can be brought to trial, although there are means of defending society, in the light of modern science and modern moral conceptions, also by administrative methods against beings not endowed with reasoning powers. From the individualistic conception of moral responsibility it follows also that reasonable man can only be punished for his acts, committed only of his own free will, but in no case for the faults, or for the *benefit* of third parties. It is vain to take a stand on national solidarity in the interest of the State, or on any other external reasons of utilitarianism: the condemnation of innocent people is not administration of justice, it is in the best of cases nothing better than a "political emergency measure" in the interest of Executive Power. The utterance of the High Priest Caiaphas in the trial of Jesus Christ, "it is better for us that one man shall die for the people, that the whole people shall not perish", may be an appropriate slogan for Criminal Law built up on the basis of determinism, but it is not the voice

of Criminal Justice and by the same token determinist Criminal Law is not Criminal Law at all. Determinist Criminal Law may order executions and imprisonments, but these will represent only one-sidedly the modern conception of a "defence of society", whilst from the other side such measures will be regarded as the survivals and intellectual heirs of the long-exploded barbaric theory of human sacrifices. Justice ceases to be justice as soon as it sells itself, however high the purchase-price.

It can be imagined also that somewhere the legal system of a State may be built up purely on the principle of national and racial solidarity and social interest — to the total elimination of the principle of justice. But I ask: is it truly in the interest of mankind that the strongest bond cementing human society shall be removed from its organism? Was not St. Augustine right in saying that States without justice are nothing but big bands of robbers? This much is beyond doubt, that the life of a State is most fatally, most catastrophically jeopardized, when national or racial solidarity clashes with justice. Any departure from the path of justice shakes the spiritual foundations of the State: *Justitia est regnorum fundamentum.*

It cannot be pretended that the execution of hostages has even the slightest appearance of justice. Nor is it plausible to argue that it serves a purpose, since its repercussion is unavoidably a very strong resentment against whoever avails himself of this desperate measure. But the International Law of War allows of the application of such and similar reprisals. The International Law of War lends its ear, broadly speaking, rather to the "necessities of war", than to the voice of humanity and justice. But it cannot be gainsaid that this branch of the Law is the most imperfect: it is not the sublime sister of the Goddess Justitia, it is the mere hand-maid of brute force.

Yet, on the other hand, nobody should think that war has nothing to do with morality, with humanity and with justice. War demands from soldiers, and to-day from the whole population, the zealous performance of their duties, unafraid of, and prepared for, self-sacrifice. But only chivalrous warfare fits into this rarefied atmosphere of moral obligation. The firm belief of fighting for a pure and just cause will be shaken sooner or later in the soul of a soldier who has committed infamous bestialities, whether of his own free will or under orders, whereas such faith is indispensable for the fulfilment, bordering on self-sacrifice, of military duties. Once such faith collapses and those moral inhibitions which have succeeded in spite of everything in transforming slaughter into the struggle of human beings, ceases to work, then war is degraded to a wild orgy of the basest instincts: man has become debased to the level of the beasts of the field.

It could be foreseen from the very outset that in this war truth would not lie far behind the actual gruesome picture, worthy of the pen of a Dante, since it is obvious that the war of a dictatorship based on terror will be made in its own image. It cannot be expected from a Power which does not respect the human being in its own subjects, from a Power which works with terror-gangsters and concentration-camps, that such a Power should bow before the human dignity of an enemy soldier or the civilian subject of an enemy state. No wonder therefore, that hardly since the first

blossoming of European cultures has a war been waged with such brutal methods, with such merciless, such savage inhumanity as the present war. That dark prophecy, that "there will be no victors and vanquished in this war, only survivors and destroyed", may well come true.

And in the midst of this terrible hurricane, in this gory tornado, there stands — like an infinitesimal small point in the Infinite — all alone, Man with his free will. All alone? Perhaps not! And even, should the eternal Grace of Providence — the *gracia irresistibilis* — forsake him, he can cling to his free will. He can resist, if necessary even at the price sacrificing his physical existence.

It is elating to think, in the steadily gathering dusk of this moral eclipse, of the intellectual leader of the German people — their intellectual leader of more than a hundred years ago — of the son of the harness-maker of Königsberg, of Emanuel Kant, of whom Heinrich von Treitschke wrote: "his shadow, armour-clad, fought in the first ranks of those heroic Brandenburg peasant-lads, who won, at the battles of Grossbeeren and Dennewith, the liberty of their soil and of their Country and who never in their life read one single line of the great philosopher, but without whose categoric imperative Prussia would have remained subjugated". Of Kant, whose shadow "armour-clad" walks perhaps also now in these difficult times amongst us: the spirit of his categoric imperative surely shone in the souls of the "exterminated" German heroes of Stalingrad. Of Kant, one of whose last death-bed utterances was that his "sense of humanity did not yet forsake him". Of Kant, who professes in his legal doctrines: "If justice perishes there is no more sense in human beings living on the surface of the earth."

This utterance expresses the same thought as the motto so often smiled at, *Fiat iustitia, pereat mundus* — rather let the world perish than justice; and verily, if moral order should crumble, then the wild beasts of the field roaming the waste deserts of nature, callous and despoiled of all values, may devour one another; but then there is no sense left in "human man," in whose soul the inextinguishable divine spark glows like a bright and guiding light, living on this Earth of ours.

Obituary Notices

At this time, when we have no direct connection with the English-speaking world, news of the death of some of our old friends is long in coming to us, and often enough we are left with the bare fact and have no knowledge of the details. It was so in the case of Sir Aurel Stein, whom we commemorate in this issue, and it was only by chance that we learned of the death of Admiral Sir Mark Kerr, C. B., M. V. O. on January 20.

Admiral Kerr described many of his earlier contacts with this country in two articles in this periodical, written under the title *A Seaman's View of the Near East, Past and Present*, in our summer 1939 and summer 1940 issues. His attitude may be summed up in a quotation from one of them: "Personally, I have known many Hungarians, and have always had a warm

heart for them." Later in the same article he wrote: "It will be good for the peace of Europe if they (the Hungarians) .... become a strong and healthy nation in the Near East." He gave us so many proofs of that 'warm heart' that we regret his passing, and his appreciation of the qualities which he found in us was warmly reciprocated.

The Prime Minister on Irrigation and Policy

M. Nicholas Kállay, Prime Minister of Hungary, attended the conference of the Government Party held at Lillafüred in January this year, and listened to a number of the lectures which were delivered on various subjects. The Prime Minister made a speech himself, and his statements throw some light on Hungary in war time and on Hungarian policy. Our readers may be interested in the text of his speech which is given below. The expert to whom the Prime Minister referred was Mr. Robert Menzies MacGregor, who was in the service of the Sudan Government in 1923 and was later adviser to the Government of India. He visited Hungary in 1936, and was awarded the Hungarian Order of Merit.

When my friend Mr. Lukács invited me to the lectures at this year's session, I left it to him to decide on which day I should come. I am glad to find that he asked me to the lectures in connection with the Irrigation Board, where I used to work. Perhaps it was his idea that I should find relief, if only for a short time, from the daily round of political life and stop thinking about the problems of the moment.

But as I listened to the lectures, and heard what the speakers had to say about surface and subsoil waters and floods and damage by inundation, I at once began to think on political lines again. For what other task is there for a country than to protect itself against floods from without, to be on the watch and to guard against the eruption of subsoil waters that may do harm? For just as in nature floods, subsoil waters and inundations are apt to come all at once, so in politics and in history external and internal dangers almost always appear at the same time.

We have heard from the speakers that it is necessary to protect ourselves against these dangers. We guard against floods by containing the water with dikes; in politics we have to do the same, dangerous waters must be directed within the dikes and drained off. But just as in protection against floods it is only half the work to carry off the forces of nature that arise, it is the same in politics, in history, and in the history of nations, of ideas, and of tendencies. To defend ourselves against them, to divert them, is not a final solution. We must always be prepared to find that from these streams there remains something, and what remains must be utilised in the interests of the nation to make the Hungarian soil more fruitful. This is the way to treat every problem of hydraulics, and every problem of politics as well. It is not sufficient to protest against ideas; we must reckon with it that these ideas will certainly leave their

mark upon men and nations, and as we must make the soil capable of utilising these exceptional forces of nature, so we must also make the nation, the people and the individual capable of utilising whatever of these apparently harmless but powerful spiritual forces can really advance the destiny of nation, people and country.

Before we started upon the execution of the irrigation scheme which we had worked out, we invited a famous expert from Great Britain, Mr. MacGregor. We showed him the country, and the Hungarian soil. He shook his head and said that he had never seen soil like that. It differed every few hundred yards; natron-soil gave place to sand, and that again to clay, while permeable soil alternated with impermeable. You yourselves know, for many of you are landowners, that this soil is not uniform, that it cannot be reduced to a common denominator, but that it is extraordinary, curious and complicated. We showed him the river Kőrös, which has a minimum flow of six cubic metres, and a maximum of a thousand or twelve hundred. Mr. MacGregor was surprised, and asked us what we intended to do with a river that was so capricious that at one time it was shallow and at another had a enormous flow. How did we think of regulating it, canalising it and making it do useful work for us? He examined the *tanya* system, the scattered farmsteads on the Great Plain, and again he said that he had never seen such individualism. How, he asked, did we intend to unify these people, amalgamate them into groups and cooperatives, get them into the way of unified production, when every single farmstead was like a little world of its own, a separate autarchic unit. The territory which he had seen along the banks of the Nile was one great desert where one did not have to reckon with differences in the soil or with different developments of people or methods, so that one could make a single plan for the whole region. And when he sketched the plan for the dam at Békés-szentandrás and we pointed out that we had ice in winter, it appeared that he had not realised that the rivers here do not flow in the same way all the time, and that we get ice-jams just at the time when one ought to open the sluices so as to let the flood water down.

When I remember these conversations, it seems as if they were a sketch of the Hungarian people and the Hungarian countryside, with its strange and varying make-up, which can never be dealt with in a simple manner, but where one must adapt one's methods to circumstances. We had to devise a system of irrigation compatible with our soil, our rivers, our climate and our people — in fact, compatible with what we find here.

The same is true of politics and of the guidance of the affairs of State. Plans which are suitable for the Nile are no use for our rivers. Mr. MacGregor took his leave and went off without being able to advise us.

It sometimes seems to me as if, before I went into politics, I had my political schooling on the Irrigation Board, because there I got to know our country, and especially the Great Plain and its remarkable qualities. And even to-day I follow the principle that in this country it is only possible to create things, to direct affairs, if everything that we do, all our plans and decisions, are a true reflection of the character of our country, of its possibilities, its peculiarities and its individual character. It would perhaps be easier

if we could proceed on conventional lines. But the case of Mr. MacGregor shows that that is impossible: if we are to achieve an objective which elsewhere as a result of easier circumstances can be achieved much more easily, in our case we are always faced with the special conditions that obtain here and can only achieve it by harder work, deeper consideration, and, above all by employing such methods as are dictated by a realisation of existing conditions in our country.

The secret of our survival does not lie in following the example of others, but in our striving in our own way, with our own means and our own methods, to attain those results which others have in many cases attained much more easily because of different circumstances and the better means at their disposal.

This is especially applicable to the present time, when the storm is approaching the frontiers of our land. Again we must look at the map as we do when it is a matter of protecting ourselves against floods. And if the floods are approaching, there can be only one call: All hands to the dike! If the machinery is not ready, then, as we did when the Tisza flood came, we must use pick and spade and build a dam, and defend ourselves as best we can. But defend ourselves we must, otherwise the water will break through, and we know that it always chooses the weakest spot.

These are the political lessons which I have learned from to-day's lectures. We must stand on the dike and defend ourselves with all our strength, but, at the same time, we must take care that the subsoil waters do not rise up and destroy our crops, our work and our living. It is no use working only on one side, because the water will then find its way round to the other side; we must act together and protect all sides against the danger. If the existing system of canals is not sufficient to drain off the flood, we must see that it does not find a way to inundate regions which have not so far been affected. We must try to localise it until the time comes when we can drain it off or it dries up of itself, so that it may not do damage, and perhaps may even be turned to account.

There is no question which does not provide some lesson to be learned in the interests of the country. If we consider the work of the Hungarian peasant, we must think how it can be fitted into the life of the whole nation; if we look at the difficult lot of the civil servants, we must think how we can reward that titanic labour which they are accomplishing. And if to-day we see that there are people who are unworthy of the name of Hungarian because they are only exploiting the world of to-day or yesterday, we must think that the time will come when the wealth or position which they have managed to acquire we shall give to those who have suffered, sacrificed and striven. In these difficult times our standard of values for everything is what it has done for the Hungarian nation and the salvation of the country.

Waters cannot be regulated nor floods stopped by one-sided action, by impulsiveness or by disruption of unity. One cannot stand in the middle of the river Tisza and say, I will not let you flow in your old bed, I will have you flow in a different one. One must find the way for thousands and millions of Hungarians to work together, for if everyone stands on the dike, even the flood can be stopped. But that is the only way.

Calling Mr. Baerlein

An article on Hungary and the Transylvanian question in the September Fortnightly Review *aroused some interest — and also some amusement — in Hungary. A good many of the points raised were in fact answered by Zsombor Szász in his article on Transylvania in the December number of the* Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie, *but a Hungarian writer has also something to say on the subject, and we give a few extracts from the reply which he sent us.*

In his article in the *Fortnightly Review* for September 1943, Henry Baerlein admits that the Transylvanian question is a complicated one and by no means easy of solution. In the first place, therefore, one must remark his rashness in attempting to deal with it in the space of an article. Reading what he has to say, I cannot help remembering what Gonzague de Reynold said — *'ce n'est jamais par des simplifications que l'on arrive à des idées simples'*. This evidently does not appeal to Mr. Baerlein, who proceeds to 'simplify' with the aid of a good deal of information about the accuracy — and origin — of which he (and, may I suggest, the editor of the *Fortnightly*) ought to have been more careful. To arrive at conclusions on such a basis and with such rapidity recalls another French quotation — *de fou juge courte sentence*.

It is of course possible that Mr. Baerlein himself does not claim to be either unbiased or objective. His article gives little evidence of such qualities, for it takes the rather unconvincing line that the Rumanian is the *preux chevalier* of truth, justice, humanity and patience, while the Hungarian is painted in the blackest tones throughout. There must inevitably be something wrong about this; even the sun has spots, and just as no man is entirely good or wholly bad, so no people can be quite faultless or all vice. Even if a suspicion does enter Mr. Baerlein's mind, he glosses it over very neatly, and presumably hopes to get away with it because of the speed with which the reader is compelled nowadays to digest the masses of printed matter that are poured upon him. The passage in his article about the Iron Guard — surely one of the ugliest spots in Rumania's short history — is an example of this. For Mr. Baerlein the whole business of the Iron Guard is reduced to an 'error' on the part of the Rumanian authorities, the 'overproduction of intellectuals, a half-baked proletariat which led to the formation of the Iron Guard'. To the ordinary reader it does look as if there was something the matter with Rumanian intellectuals if overproduction turned them into a half-baked proletariat and resulted in a spate of political murders which has no counterpart in Hungary. This is the sort of meretricious stroke-of-the-pen which sidetracks the reader.

Then there is Mr. Baerleins's revelation of the entirely mythical execution in public of thirty-five young Rumanians in Nagyvárad. Now, where on earth did he get this? He places it on a definite date in a definite town,

at a certain stadium. It is of course possible that he was misinformed as to the country, town, spot, date and nationality of the victims, and in fact an admission of this would clear the whole matter up, but in my opinion will necessarily weaken the credibility of the rest of the article. Then there is the delightful example of the tolerance of the Rumanians, who permitted a Hungarian village near Kolozsvár to exhibit the Hungarian colours on a wayside calvary; here Mr. Baerlein is careful not particularise, being possibly aware that Kolozsvár and its surroundings are not Roman Catholic, and therefore unlikely to erect wayside crucifixes. The words which he puts into the mouth of his Rumanian friend, live and let live, would be a great deal more convincing if it were not so well known that to display the Hungarian colours was a very serious offence in Rumania, and the Prefect of Bihar county in 1937 (confidential memorandum No. 345/1937) called upon bishops to remove from the churches any object having a Hungarian connection. And the Rumanian Minister for Education in 1936 refused to permit the celebration of Hungarian saints' days.

Another example of Magyar intolerance — this time for the benefit of the Slovaks — is Mr. Baerlein's quotation of the saying *Tót nem ember* — the Slovak is not a human being. Of course, put like that, it sounds as if the tyrannical Hungarians went about the country declaiming the sub-humanity of the Slovak and oppressing him accordingly, and to hint, as Mr. Baerlein does, that it was a sort of popular anti-nationality slogan is all part of his tendency to blacken the name of the Magyar. Unfortunately for the seriousness of the accusation, however, everyone in Hungary, and, I believe, everyone in Slovakia too, knows that *Tót nem ember* is only the second line of the jingle, the first being *Kása nem étel*, you can't eat gruel. To produce this as evidence of an anti-Slovak movement is about as intelligent as discovering wide-spread anti-Kelt activities in England on the basis of 'Taffy was a Welshman, Taffy was a thief', or putting Mr. Noel Coward in a concentration-camp for singing 'Mad dogs and Englishmen go out in the mid-day sun'.

I will not go into further detail on Mr. Baerlein's article. I will only say that to anyone who knows the true state of affairs in this part of the world it seems biased, ill-informed, and not to be taken as a serious contribution towards producing a more settled situation in South-Eastern Europe. This view will, I think, be shared by those who are aware of the true facts; for those who have not had the opportunity of studying them, I would suggest that Mr. Baerlein's opinions should be treated with the greatest reserve in any consideration of the Transylvanian problem.

Hungary's Nationalities

It is perhaps something of a commonplace to say that the history of present-day Hungary begins with the Treaty of Trianon; what is of more immediate interest is that, as the years have passed, the perspective of history and the remarks of various statesmen and writers have thrown a different light upon the circumstances and the reasons for that Treaty.

Mr. Lloyd George has admitted that most of the information supplied to the Peace Conference by the smaller allies was unreliable in the extreme. Mr. Harold Nicolson, who was present at the Conference itself, has described how Hungary was, on the basis of that information, carved up in a few short hours by a few 'bored irresponsibles'. In later years, Mr. Churchill has admitted that a certain number of people in England were never too happy about the way in which Hungary was treated in 1919. The Treaty, in fact, has been to some extent discredited in the very circles which were partly responsible for it.

The underlying note of the chorus that demanded the dismemberment of Hungary was that the Magyars had, for periods alleged to vary from fifty to a thousand years, oppressed the minorities which lived in the country. It is the object of a book recently published by Professor Ernest Flachbarth (*A History of Hungary's Nationalities*, S. H. Q., 1944) to refute this charge, and to show what treatment was actually accorded to the guest-peoples — as they were formerly called here — whether they had settled here at a time little later than the Magyars themselves, or been settled at much later dates to replace the inhabitants of the areas depopulated under the Turkish occupation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The charges which are even now levelled at the Hungarians are either general — the broad allegation of oppression, often meagrely supported by facts — or particular, the insistence on a detail or an incident which, often taken out of its true perspective, sounds much more convincing than it would be if the whole of the circumstances were to be stated — which would usually be impossible without destroying the argument. Professor Flachbarth's book, therefore, is of particular value to anyone who may have need to study the question in its entirety and for practical, not propaganda, purposes, because it is a complete history of the minorities from earliest times almost up to the present day. It must necessarily throw an entirely different light on the whole complicated question, going as it does far beyond the scope of an article or a mere incident, and giving the perspective and the background to what has been exaggerated without sufficient reason into an insoluble problem.

The attempt which was made in 1919 to settle once and for all the fate of the various small peoples who, in the course of history, have taken up their abode in the Carpathian Basin, was not only a failure, but a serious blunder. It should have been obvious that to create three Alsace-Lorraines in place of one would never be acceptable, either to the former order, or to those who were forcibly separated from their kinsmen and placed under a dominion in which the word oppression assumed a new and infinitely more sinister significance. Something, as the book shows, has been done to remove the more glaring errors of Trianon; but the question will inevitably come up again, and this time, it is to be hoped, a more considered answer will be given to it. There is sufficient factual information in Professor Flachbarth's book to make it indispensable to anyone whose office it is to review the real state of affairs in the region of the Danube, and who desires to reach an objective conclusion.

In connection with the two articles in this issue on the late Sir Aurel Stein, we may mention that an article from his pen appeared in the Winter 1938 issue of The Hungarian Quarterly *entitled* Desiccation in Asia. *We have also printed two articles by his friend Sir Edward Maclagan, one under the title* Marc Aurel Stein *in our Summer 1938 issue, and another,* Publius, *in Spring 1940, which was in effect an obituary and appreciation of Sir Aurel's lifelong friend Percy Allen, the great scholar of Erasmus.*

In this number we reproduce two of the last of many letters which we received from Sir Aurel Stein, which show that in spite of his long residence abroad he had neither forgotten his native language nor his warm attachment for his country. The letter in question, written from Mosul on November 12, 1938, contains the following passage:

'Although the work of exploration (at present on the remains of the Roman limes *in Northern Iraq) keeps me far from the present complications and troubles of Central Europe, I am yet much concerned about the recent developments which affect the future of Hungary so closely. The prospect is certainly gloomy. But, I hope, there is reason to trust in the political sense of the Hungarians which they have acquired at the price of long and difficult experience, and in the hand which, in the highest position, holds the government of the country.'*

The Hungarian Coat-of-Arms,
from a drawing made in 1848