THE GERMAN CULTURAL INFLUENCE IN HUNGARY
BEFORE THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

by

Henry Lenz, B.S., M.A.

* * * * * *

The Ohio State University
1967

Approved by

[Signature]
Adviser
School of Education
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to acknowledge with sincere gratitude the assistance and guidance of Professor Robert B. Sutton, who, as my major adviser for my graduate program, unselfishly gave many hours of his time to help prepare this study. His advise and counsel led my research into areas not contemplated at the outset but without which this document would be incomplete. Dr. Sutton's historical skill and help deserve more credit than the acknowledgment given here can express.

For viewing and excerpting many foreign publications for my use, I am greatly indebted to Professor Doctor Johann Weidlein of Schorndorf, Würtemberg, Germany. His continuous interest in this study enabled me to secure many valuable publications otherwise unobtainable in this country. Dr. Weidlein's knowledge of the German cultural influence in Hungary has been a significant help in preparing this study. His aid is sincerely acknowledged.

I also wish to express my special appreciation to my wife, Linda. Her help in editing and revising major portions of this work and interest in my study enabled me to make progress when seemingly I had reached an impasse. Beyond this help she gave me the moral support which I needed to bring my graduate program to a successful end.
I also wish to thank Professor Charles Glatt who read the first draft of this manuscript. His criticisms and comments facilitated the final editing considerably and his help is sincerely acknowledged.

The secretaries, who typed various portions of this study, struggling with the foreign quotes and footnotes, deserve no minor praise.

Lastly, I wish to acknowledge the patience of my four little girls: Susan, Wanda, Erica and Sonya. Although they did not understand why "Daddy" had to spend hours and hours at the office or behind the desk reading and writing, they demanded little and were patient beyond what one would expect from children.
VITA

October 12, 1934  Born - Udvari, Hungary

1952 ........ Immigrated to the United States

1957 ........ Naturalization in Columbus, Ohio

1959 ........ B.S., The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

1959-1961 ... Teacher of German, Mansfield Public Schools, Mansfield, Ohio

1961-1962 ... M.A., German Literature, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado
Recipient of NDEA Academic Year Fellowship

1962-1964 ... Teacher of German, Mansfield Public Schools, Mansfield, Ohio

1964-1967 ... Teaching Associate, School of Education, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
# CONTENTS

| ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ............................................... | 11 |
| VITA ........................................................... | iv |

## Chapter

1. **INTRODUCTION** ............................................. | 1 |

2. **THE GERMANS IN HUNGARY** ............................. | 17 |
   - Germans in Hungary before the Hungarians
   - The Coming of the Magyars
   - Western Influence in the Formation of the Hungarian State

3. **SOUTHERN SLAVS GAIN POWER IN HUNGARY:**
   HUNGARY TURNS AWAY FROM THE WEST
   1301-1526 .................................................... | 72 |

4. **THE CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN HUNGARY UP TO 1526**
   - The Cities as Cultural Island and Centers of Western Learning
   - The Renaissance in Hungary and Humanistic Learning
   - The Development of Education in Hungary
   - .......................................................... | 103 |

5. **CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS IN HUNGARY DURING THE TURKISH OCCUPATION** ............................. | 160 |
   - Political Developments
   - Hungary's Culture after 1526
   - The Protestant Reformation and its Educational Influence
   - The Counter-Reformation and its Education Influence
## CONTENTS (CONT'D.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VI. THE WESTERN DEVELOPMENT OF THE VARIOUS REGIONS OF HUNGARY DURING THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Theiss Region</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Transylvanian Region</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Western Carpathian Region</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Transdanubian Region</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII CONCLUSION</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the Carpathian Basin, the homeland of the Magyars (Hungarians), two cultures have been struggling for almost a millenium. The Magyars—who occupy the basin which forms a geographical unit and is protected by natural mountainous boundaries on three sides toward the North, East, and South—have stood between the cultures of Byzantine Slavs and the West for nearly a thousand years. Both of these cultures have exerted cultural influences over the centuries upon the Magyars and both cultures have made converts among the Magyars. Although Hungary became a western Christian Kingdom in 1001 A.D. the cultural struggle was far from being resolved by the coronation of King Stephan. The soul of the Magyar was torn apart: he knew he could not maintain his nomadic culture, but he was unsure under which of the two cultures he could maintain his Volksgeist (national identity).

The Middle Danube Basin has been hailed by historians, geographers and emperors as a basin which has all the attributes of a natural unity. The basin indeed is designed
by nature to form a harmonious whole. Through the heart of it flows the mighty Danube, linking western Europe with the East from the earliest times. The six hundred mile course of the Danube in Hungary is the focal point of the oval plain known as the Carpathian Basin.

This plain is surrounded by a ring of mountains, whose valleys converge on the central plain. Of the rivers which start in the mountains only one flows northward to join the Weichsel River; all the rest—the Theiss River being the largest—join the Danube on its central course. The mountains, which in the north and east form a continuous wall, form a natural defence for the plain.

The plain is divided into two parts. The smaller western portion, which is contained in the crook of the Danube, was part of the Roman Pannonia. On the left bank of the Danube and extending to the foothills of the Transylvanian Alps lies the central and larger portion of the plain. This portion of the plain was a true steppe-land, a geographical continuation of the Caspian Steppes separated only by the Carpathian Wall.

The Basin's two separate parts have had, from earliest times, distinctly different histories. The western part has been under the political domination of Western Europe from the time of Rome. By contrast, the eastern part of the
plain was recurrently occupied by waves of nomadic horsemen (the overspill of the great reservoir of nomadic peoples—the Steppes of the Russian Plain). Sarmatians, Scythians, Huns, Bulgars, Avars, and Turks sought refuge in the Carpathian Basin at one time or another fleeing from more powerful neighbors to the East.

The Danube River was the dividing line between the East and the West, and the Westerners, even the Romans, rarely ventured across. When the Romans established a province in Transylvania (Dacia) they left the central plain of present Hungary unoccupied, for there, lurking in the darkness, were the nomads of the unfathomable East, feared even by mighty Rome.

Rome's bid to control the known Western World in the period of the Pax Romana lingered on after Rome's defeat, but under a religious concept. As there was one God in heaven, there was to be one ruler on earth. This was the concept of the Roman Church and of Charlemagne. Charlemagne's campaigns extended the Frankish Empire to the Danube, but after his death the realm collapsed.

When the Magyars entered the Carpathian Basin, in 896, as had many nomads before them, they found a power vacuum. The fact that no people had mastery of the Carpathian Basin at the time of their entry need not suggest that the central Danube region had not known earlier
inhabitants. The mid-Danube area has been inhabited since
the Bronze Age, for the mineral wealth of Bohemia had made
it a regular thoroughfare of both the East and the West.
Because of its transitory nature, the Basin often consti­tuated the fringe area of several loosely confederated tribal
kingdoms and empires. The geographical unity of the region,
however, had not established a political unit. This task
was that of the Magyars.

When the Magyars entered the oval plain from the East,
the political control of the land was splintered. The East-
Franks, under their king Arnulf (great-great-grandson of
Charlemagne) controlled the western portion of the Basin.
Arnulf lacked his great ancestor's drive and ruled by
establishing a series of dependencies governed by Slavic
princes. In the north of the region, the great Slavic
prince Swatopluk had established a loose Slav-Confederation
including Moravia, Bohemia, Poland, and Silesia. The east
of the Basin was under the control of Serbians, Vlachs and
the already Slavonized Bulgars. The political power vacuum
thus was the result of powerful factions among chiefly
Slavic princes whose territories met in what is now central
Hungary. This situation permitted the Magyars to establish
their grazing lands in the Carpathian Basin and simultaneously
destroyed what could have become a powerful Slavic Empire.
The historical importance assigned to the Magyars' territorial occupation in the central Carpathian Basin lies in the fact that by their entry into the basin they separated the Slavic tribes who occupied Europe in a straight line from the Baltic to the Balkans. This fact is considered to be the historical importance of Hungary's territorial gains not only by the Hungarians but also by the Slavs. The well known Czech historian Franz Palacky wrote, in his *History of Bohemia* in 1836:

> The invasion of the Magyars and their occupation in Hungary is the greatest disaster which has befallen the Slavic world. . . . Just as in the West, under the persistent influence of Rome, the Frankish Monarchy was nurtured to power and importance so there could have developed in the East a similar but Slavic Empire under the influence of Constantinople; and Eastern Europe would have had a different importance over the past thousand years. But because the Magyars wedged themselves into the middle—in the very heart of the Slavic world—of the growing organism and destroyed the unity of the Slavs, such possibilities are forever past. The loosely tied links of the Slavic tribes grew apart from each other over the centuries and developed as cultural strangers from one another because a powerful body of strange elements prevented a unitary Slavic territory from developing.¹

Professor Palacky's "powerful body of strange elements" was originally 200,000 Magyars—500,000 according to some optimistic judgments—who were able to destroy the loosely federated empire of the Slavic prince Swatopluk which may have numbered several million souls and to carve their territorial needs out of the heart of the Slavic Empire. Why were the Slavs not able to cope with this mere handful of Magyars? They—the Slavs—occupied important and powerful positions within the territory entered by the Magyars. The Slavs were numerous in Transdanubia, the Theiss Region and in the north along the Carpathian Mountains. A partial explanation would seem to be that the Magyars were receiving continuous reinforcements up to the thirteenth century from other eastern peoples such as the Petschenegens, Cumanians and Tatars. This argument is a weak one for reliable evidence shows that these late-comers were Slavonized wherever they lived among Slavs. Even the Turkish Bulgars mentioned above were Slavonized although they had developed their own state.

---


3 Macartney, 161; Palacky, I, 211; Budinger, 16, 19.

At the time of the Magyar occupation of the Carpathian Basin several Magyar tribal chiefs settled on Slavic territory and gradually became Slavonized. Were the Magyars also overpowered by the Slavic culture? South-Slav families play an important role in Magyar politics from 1307 to 1382. From 1356 the highest office of the state, that of the Palatin, was held almost exclusively by Slavs. After the death in 1382 of King Nagy Lajos (Ludwig the Great), two primarily Slavic parties struggled between themselves for power in Hungary and the Magyar nobility were often helpless onlookers, but occasionally won control while their Slavic rivals fought.

After the death (1439) of Albrecht II, a westernized Magyar, the Slavs controlled Hungarian politics and elected a Slavic king, the Pole Wladislaus (1440-1444), to Hungary's throne. The only king in the next hundred years who could claim to be Magyar was the powerful ruler, Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490). After his time, the South-Slavs directed the government of Hungary, and were able to use the invasion of the Turks to their own political advantage. The Magyars after the Turkish victory at Mohacs (1526) had little governmental power in any area of Hungary.

---

5Ibid., 19-20; Budinger, 32, 40.
6All dates and names in the preceding paragraph were taken from Szekfü and Homan, particularly III, 377; IV, 58, 69, 78, 275.
Gyula Szekfü and Balint Homan, two notable Hungarian historians, describe the Slavic sovereignty of the "national King" Zapolya (1526-1540) with these words:

The power of King Johann Zapolya and his cooperation with the Turks was sustained by the presence of the South Slavs. It is because of this that Zapolya was called the Slav-King by his contemporaries. During his reign, all of Hungary's bishops were Slavs... one South-Slav attracts another and the profitable governmental and clerical positions were divided among them. The Slavic land owners and Hungarianized Slavic nobles became important to Hungary. The king's council consisted entirely of Slavs.7

The Slavs dominated Hungary's politics and government until the Turks were driven out of Hungary by the Austrian forces. The question of why Hungary maintained its national identity and why it was not completely Slavonized now has meaning. The preceding exposition makes clear that it was not just the "powerful body of strange elements" which kept the Slavs from unifying. Even if there was such a powerful body, that powerful body was not the conquering Magyars of the ninth century. There must have existed in the Carpathian Basin another force which came to the aid of the Magyars and helped them to maintain their national identity and at the same time kept the Slavs from unifying into a strong Slavic Empire.

7Ibid., III, 27.
This other force was the cultural influence of Austria and Germany. The very presence of the Germans prohibited the Slavs from realizing what would have been one of Europe's largest and most influential Empires. The German cultural influence, which had penetrated into the Carpathian Basin after the Avars were driven out of Pannonia by the Frankish Emperor Charlemagne, became the significant factor in holding off the influence of the Byzantine-Slav culture.

For six hundred years after their earliest development in the eleventh century, the German burgher cities and other German settlements, such as those in Transylvania, exerted enough influence to slow down the complete Slavonization of Hungary. The German culture and German ways of life, of course, did not remain as cultural islands in Hungary. There was cultural interaction in both directions, and cultural conquests and converts were made on both sides of the population. Among the Hungarian nobility, particularly the nobility of east and central Hungary where the earlier German influence did not reach, the Slav culture made its most significant gains.

The fate of nations and peoples is not always decided on battle-fields, by great deeds of heroism, nor by strong or weak, noble or powerful dynasties, but more usually by slow, persistent cultural assimilation. The cultural paradox represented by Hungary in its millenium-old history
clearly illustrates this truth. From the end of the ninth century when the Magyars entered the Carpathian Basin the cultural and national fate of Hungary has hung in the balance.

During the Turkish occupation (1526-1711) of Hungary the Hungarian-Slavs gained political power in Transylvania and exerted military pressures upon pro-western Hungary. But the cultural influence in all areas of Hungary remained western during the Porte's reign and Austria's final victory against the Turks in 1711 brought Hungary under the all-inclusive influence of Austria. In the eighteenth century national self-determination became the dream of all the nationals in Southeastern Europe, the ideas of rationalism and liberalism which grew out of the Enlightenment of the West, took on political meaning in the then powerful Habsburg hegemony. The Age of the Enlightenment coincides with the greatest century of Habsburg absolutist monarchy. Maria Theresa and Joseph II were enlightened rulers, and many improvements were initiated in their dominions to provide personal freedom for their multinational subjects. In any western country, such sweeping social reforms as those undertaken by Joseph II—freelying the peasants, reducing their services to the lords, and equalizing taxation of nobles and peasants—would be considered major steps toward fulfilling the objectives of the age. But in the multi-national empire of Austria these reforms met with the strong
opposition of the nobility and gentry. Because there were many peoples under their rule, the Habsburgs were not able to equate nationalism with absolutism as had England, France, and Spain a century earlier. The liberalizing force which strengthened the latter national states worked for the opponents in the Habsburg Empire. The future of the Habsburg Empire, but more specifically, the future of the various national peoples was at stake. In the case of Hungary, the question of national self-determination was a special problem. Wedged as they were between the Slavs, national self-determination was, for the Magyars, a matter of surviving, as it had been for almost a thousand years. Outsiders raised the question: Will Hungary survive the era of nationalism, or will it be submerged in the surrounding Slavic culture?

The famous München professor of nationalist studies, Franz von Löher, saw little chance that Hungary could become a Slavic culture. He wrote in 1874:

_Hungary could only become a Slavic state if it were to come under Russian domination. But such a possibility is remote for it would necessitate first of all that Austria's political power and influence would have to be totally defeated and Germany's armies destroyed. We would, of course, not consider any sacrifice too great to stop Hungary from falling into the hands of the Russians._

---

What Löher found difficult to envision, just eighty years ago, has now happened. Austria's political power and influence has ceased to exist; Germany's and Austria's armies have gone down in defeat twice in this century; and Hungary is under the political influence of Russia. Now the question of whether Hungary will be able to maintain its national self-determination becomes even more meaningful. The Hungarians who constitute the barrier between the South and North Slavs are now in the shadow of the mother of all Slavic nations. Will the Hungarians be able to maintain their non-Slavic cultural island? To this question only a detailed study of Hungary's past cultural history and of its past relations with the West can provide the answer.

The literature treating Hungary's cultural relations with Austria and Germany is plentiful in both the German and Hungarian languages. Such periodicals as Südostdeutsche Forschungen, and Törtenelmi Tar are of the highest value for any historical and cultural study dealing with East central European countries. In the English language, cultural and historical studies dealing with the smaller nations of eastern Europe are not numerous. The recently initiated Hungarian Quarterly, written in English, deals primarily with contemporary political and economic problems of Hungary and will not help the reader with earlier cultural problems.
The two definitive studies dealing specifically with the German cultural influence in the Carpathian Basin are in the German language. The earlier of the two, Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, Geschichte der Deutschen in den Karpatenländer (3 vols; Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1911), takes a traditional historical approach to cultural history. It develops the German cultural influence only, and does not show the interdependency of the Hungarian and the German cultures. The historical introductions to each chapter presuppose that the reader is familiar with Hungary's political history and that he is able to draw conclusions relative to the German-Hungarian relationships which preceded and cultural interaction.

The other, more recent study, Fritz Valjavec, Geschichte der deutschen Kulturbeziehungen in Südosteuropa, (4 vols; München: R. Oldenbourg, 1953-1965), presupposes a wide knowledge of German literature, art, music, and culture in general. Valjavec's approach to cultural history is unique. He leads the reader along a road of cultural discovery throughout east central Europe by inclusive cultural developing concepts and tying his example to them. He uses little political history and deals primarily in conceptual forms of art and culture. His well-documented study deserves the highest praise.
from cultural historians and is invaluable for the study of German cultural innovations in eastern territories.

Other major studies dealing with the German cultural influence in the Carpathian Basin are all publications in the book cycle Südoesteuropäische Arbeiten, published since 1933 by R. Oldenbourg in München, and now numbering forty-five volumes. Most of the studies deal with German cultural influence in the three most recent centuries, but many have lengthy introductions which treat earlier periods.

The publications of Johann Weidlein of Schorndorf, Germany, deal exclusively with the German cultural influence in Hungary, but his concentration is primarily pointed to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. His study, Deutsche Leistungen im Karpathenraum und der majarische Nationalismus (Darmstadt: C. W. Leske, 1954), is of great use in respect to the political anti-German attitudes of the Hungarians. The study is well documented and is of pivotal importance in research dealing with Hungary's cultural development up to the twentieth century.

The history of the cultural and social influence by the Slavs and the Germans upon the total cultural sphere of the Hungarians will be the topic of this dissertation. The theses set forth are that without the cultural aid and influence of the Germans, Hungary would have lost its cultural and national identity long ago; and that the presence
of the Germans in Hungary never really threatened the Hungarian national identity. To prove these theses it will be necessary to show that the cultural innovations made by the Germans over the first eight hundred years of Hungary's history did not have the effect of domination of political suppression and that the Germans struggled time and time again alongside the Hungarians to support the Hungarian cultural identity. It will further be necessary to show that the Germans came to Hungary as invited "guests" of the legal governments of Hungary and not as conquerors, and that large numbers of them became ardently Hungarian. It will also be necessary to review in some detail the educational institutions of Hungary, for in these all the trends listed are copiously illustrated.

This dissertation is unique in at least two respects. Besides being the lore study in the English language dealing with the German cultural influence in Hungary, it approaches that influence from an institutional point of view. The political history of Hungary is used to illustrate the German cultural influence on Hungary's self-determination against the Slavic culture. By incorporating this dual approach--institutional history and the study of cultural influence--it is believed that the educational institutions of Hungary can be more effectively analyzed and
that they will illuminate the western development of Hungary in an intellectual and cultural sense.

The dissertation is limited to the first eight centuries of Hungary's history. Only the understanding of Hungary's gradual process toward becoming a western state can unlock the political and cultural developments in southeastern Europe since the age of the Enlightenment. To understand Hungary's struggle for national independence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and to evaluate the developments in the twentieth century, it is essential to comprehend the long-standing cultural ties of Hungary with its western German neighbors.
CHAPTER II

THE GERMANS IN HUNGARY

Germans In Hungary Before the Hungarians

Before the Honfoglalas, i.e., before the Magyars\(^1\) settled in Western Hungary (the former Roman province of Pannonia), Frankish and Bavarian monks as well as settlers had established permanent settlements there in their effort to Christianize southeastern Europe. In 796 (i.e., from 791 to 796) Charlemagne had defeated the Avars\(^2\) who occupied all the land of the former Roman province and the adjacent

\(^1\)In the early history of Hungary, as well as current history, the people now known as Hungarians are best referred to as Magyars. I will come back to the origin of the work and its ethnical meaning in the following chapter.

\(^2\)Karl der Grosse Lebenswerk and Nachleben, ed., Wolfgang Bauernfels (3 vols.; Dusseldorf: Verlag L. Schwann, 1962), I, 724-27. The actual defeat of the Avars did not come till 822, i.e., eight years after the death of Charlemagne, but in 796 Charlemagne led his armies deep into Avar territory between the Theiss (Tisza) and Danube Rivers and all later battles with the Avars were of minor fame.
territories from the Alps to Byzantium. After Charlemagne's decisive victory the remaining Avars were settled between the Raab and Danube Rivers, thus leaving much of Pannonia uninhabited. Into this virtually uninhabited region a stream of Slavic settlers flowed followed by monks and craftsmen from neighboring Bavaria.

The territory which became Frankish through the campaigns of Charlemagne remained under the Frankish overlordship of the Markgraf Erich von Friuul but were

---

3 Edward E. Stein, Studien zur Geschichte des byzantischen Reiches (Stuttgart: Halzbach A. G., 1919), 13. It is of great interest to note that the presence of the Avar-nomadic state had been a thorn in Byzantium's side for many centuries. The Tuduns of the Avars, as their chiefs were called, had successfully exerted high tributes from the Byzantine emperors who always made it their policy to pay such tribute to the barbarians, but never to engage them in battle.

The Avars, however, had a much different relationship with their northwestern neighbors, the Bavarians. They had an established treaty and as long as Bavaria was an independent Dutchy, the treaty was rarely broken.

4 Konrad Schunemann, Die Deutschen in Ungarn bis zum 12. Jahrhundert (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Company, 1923), 2. The Avars were basically a nomadic people. Their main settlement was not Pannonia, but the grazing lands between the Theiss and the Danube Rivers, what is central Hungary today. After Charlemagne's victory the nomadic Avars quickly evacuated the fringe areas of their realm leaving only a few individuals behind who were settled to the north of Pannonia between the Raab and Danube Rivers where they were assimilated by the northern Slavs.

5 Ibid., 3.
administered by Slav vasal princes. The Slav prince Priwina who fell into the favor of Charlemagne received Pannonia as his fief and the fief remained in his family until 860 or 865. The settlers who were called in by Priwina were primarily German, although Slavs came from the south as well as the north.

The task of the early German settlers was first of all to Christianize the Slavs. Therefore, we must assert that the Germans, i.e., the Bavarians, who came were primarily clerics. They came as guests of foreign princes to perform a service for those princes. With these clerics, who came primarily from Salzburg, came settlers and skilled workmen. The detailed study of Schunemann shows that 85 of the 106 settlers had German names. The largest of the settlements was Moosburg where Priwina had three churches erected. To accomplish this task many skilled workers were needed and the

---

6 Einhard, in his greater history of Charlemagne, speaks of a fief given to a Slavic prince known as Priwinas or Privinas, who received the Frankish fief of Pannonia from a Bulgarian princely family. Schunemann gives the implication that Pannonia was longest under Slavic princes who, however, were subjugated to the Frankish overlords. This later assertion becomes clear by these words: "praestauit rex Priwiane aliquam inferioris Pannoniae in benefictum partem circa fluvium, qui dicitur Sala," which are also quoted by Schunemann.

7 Gustav Schnürer, Kirche und Kultur in Millelalter (2 vols.; Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1927), I, 399.

8 Schunemann, 4.
Salzburger Chronicles speak of several large German settlements in Pannonia: Stepiliperc, Lindolfeschirchen, Fünfkirchen, Waldhereschirchen, Paldmundeschirchen and Keisi are but a few of them.\(^\text{9}\)

The Slav prince Priwina, as well as his son Chezil, patronized and fraternized the Bavarian clerics. This is not only born out by the large number of German names given to towns in Pannonia, but also by the numerous documents with reference to 'gifts' of towns given to the dioceses of Salzburg, of Regensburg, St. Emmeran, Freising and Wasserburg by the Slav princes to the Christianizing Bavarian clergy. It is occasionally argued that the German names of the towns were preferred to Slavic names by the German clergy.\(^\text{10}\)

After all, it is argued, most of the sources out of which this early settlement of Pannonia is reconstructed are Chronicles written by Salzburger clerics. This assertion, however, must be rejected because the tendency of the sources and their tone is not national but clerical.\(^\text{11}\)

\(^\text{9}\)Fünfkirchen is of course called ad Quinque Basilicas, but in a document, cited by Schnürer, drawn up in 860 in Salzburg listing the names of towns in the Priwinas domains the German name Fünfkirchen is mentioned. This would lead one to suspect that German settlements were large which would account for the German name being used in all Latin documents.

\(^\text{10}\)Alfred Melzer, Die Ansiedlung der Deutschen in Südwestungarn (Pola: Staatsgymnasium zu. Pola, 1904), 276.

\(^\text{11}\)Schünemann, 6.
Salzburger clerics built churches in towns which have Slavic names: Dudleipa, Busniza and Poetovio should serve as an example. The clerics who reported the Christianizing and church building activities of the Bavarian clergy would have coined German names for these towns as well, if indeed this was the practice; but the German as well as the Slav names appear in the chronicles side by side. This leads one to suspect that the names of the towns emerged from the language which was spoken by the inhabitants of the town.

Still it must be noted that the German settlements in Pannonia in the ninth century were primarily an establishment of the clergy. The fact that the clergy Christianized the Slavs and built churches and in this activity needed skilled workers does not change the picture. The large territorial possessions of the Bavarian clergy in Pannonia does not mean, nor imply, that the German or Bavarian nobility also made territorial gains there. The land was owned by the Bavarian clergy and by Slavic royal families who of course stood under the Frankish Markgraf von Friaul.¹²

The fact that Pannonia did not have German nobility at first does not change matters, however. The large

territorial holdings of the clergy belonged to the clergy to do with as they chose. They could give large tracks of land to whom they chose and did so quite frequently.\textsuperscript{13} Quite often we find the priest could leave his church and the lands to whom he chose; and more than not he would leave his properties to someone in his family whether the new owner was a cleric or not.\textsuperscript{14}

In this manner we see Slavic princes passing large territories into the hands of clerics who in turn became owners of the land. What is also of interest is the fact that the various diocese traded churches with each other.\textsuperscript{15} In this manner they were able to own large tracks of land which adjoined each other, or hold lands which for one reason or another suited them better. This bartering of properties by clerics was not permitted in Bavaria.

German settlements in Pannonia were thus clerical settlements, and it is through the Christianizing vigor of the Carolingen Dynasty that Pannonia came under the clerical

\textsuperscript{13}\textsuperscript{Schnurer, 352-61.}

\textsuperscript{14}\textsuperscript{Ibid., 366.}

\textsuperscript{15}\textsuperscript{Schünemann, 8. The priest Gundbato received a "large and rich church with all the lands" from Chezil the son of Priwina. Gundbato traded this church to St. Emmeran for two smaller churches on the Raab River which were an earlier present by Chezil to St. Emmeran. It becomes clear that the lands were passed about and traded about among the clerics as well as among the Slavic princes and the Bavarian clerics.
arm of the diocese of Salzburg. The fact that Prince Priwina
was depended upon the Salzburg diocese for monks and their
followers, such as skilled workers for the building of
churches can be readily seen from a document dated 850.16
In this document Priwina recognizes his dependence to the
diocese of Salzburg, for he places his own Slavic priest,
Dominicus, under the clerical authority of Archbishop
Liuprams. Thus the Slavic princes recognized the clerical
jurisdiction of Salzburg in all of Pannonia and the very
powerful arm of the bishops of Salzburg held on to that
authority until the Magyar invasion.17

The death of Dominicus in 1853 already showed that
Archbishop Liuprams of Salzburg was in control of Pannonia.
He dispatched Swarnagal to Pannonia as the official clerical
agent of Pannonia without consultation with Priwina or his
son. The Salzburg archbishop thus exercised powers which he
gained only by the permissiveness of the Slavic nobility and
through their dependence upon the Bavarian clergy.
Swarnagal was followed by Altfried also a Salzburger cleric.
Altfried became anointed as Archpresbyters for the whole
Pannonian region and the Salzburg clerical domination over

16Schnürer, 381.
17Schünemann, 11.
the region was never challenged by the Slavic princes.  

The missionary activities of the Bavarian clergy in Pannonia, however, was challenged by the appearance of two "Slavic apostles" known as Methodius and Konstantine. These two apostles were self-appointed Slav monks who were interested in a Slav unity and an independent Slav clergy which would seal the bonds between the northern Slavs in Mähren and the southern Slavs in the lower Danube and Save Rivers region. They appeared at the Slav court of Chezil in 867 and through plans previously devised persuaded Chezil to cooperate in the establishment of a Slav clergy with its own liturgy and rites. The plan, of course, included the expulsion of the Bavarian clergy from Pannonia and ultimately a Pan-Slav-State was to come out of this plan. The plan was considered legitimate; and an envoy was sent to Pope Hadrian II in 870 by which Chezil asked the Pope to permit Methodius to remain in his realm. The Pope went even further than the request and appointed Methodius as Archbishop of Pannonia.

---


19 Josef Nadler, Österreich Erbe und Sendung im Deutschen Raum (Salzburg: Verlag Anton Pustet, 1937), 32.

The Bavarian bishops, and particularly the Archbishop of Salzburg, were faced with the problems of seeing the diocese work pass into the hands of a Greek-Slavic Christian church and of giving up the jurisdiction which by now was as much temporal as clerical over a region which was settled by many Germans. In 872 a small synod was held by the Bavarian bishops in which Methodius was deposed and Archbishop Thietmar of Salzburg had him arrested and kept him imprisoned for two and a half years. 21

The swift action of the Bavarian bishops could, of course, have been halted had Chezil been convinced that the action of the Pope was right and had he been in favor of a Pan-Slav-State when not under the personal influence of Methodius. There is no doubt that the creation of a Pan-Slav-State would have swayed Pannonia toward Byzantium and the history of Central Europe would have taken a different turn.

The imprisonment of Methodius was halted by the interaction of Hadrian II. He was actually reinstated into his post by the Pope, but his activities in Pannonia remained nothing more than an episode in western Christianity. 22 By 877 The Salzburg diocese had regained all its former

21 Ibid., 356.
22 Ibid., 366.
possessions. It is argued by some historians that the swiftness of the whole Methodius matter is partially explained by the fact that Chezil died about the same time and the whole of Pannonia diverted into German possession.  

There is, however, reason to believe that after Hadrian II had reinstated Methodius into the services of the church he became active in Mahren, i.e., the Slavic province north of the Danube River. Schunemann notes that some Hungarian chronicles even state that after Chezil's death Pannonia became part of that northern Slavic province ruled by Prince Swatopluk. This later view, of course, cannot be viewed as historical, for not only the church chronicles of Salzburg and Passau list numerous occasions from 877 to the mid-880's in which church consecrations are undertaken by their bishops in Pannonia, but also the Annals of Fulda report that in 884 Swatopluk's domain was restricted to the left bank of the Danube River. The same source stated, "toward the end of the

23 Schünemann, 10-18.

24 Alfred Kasamas, Österreichische Chronik (Wein: Bruder Hollinek, 1948), 23-24. Methodius' Slavic liturgy became accepted in the Slavic province of Swatopluk, and Swatopluk made Methodius Archbishop of Sirmium. Methodius, however, did not hold this post very long, for he died on April 6, 885. The Slavic liturgy lived on for some time, but was forbidden later by Pope Stephan V.

25 It must be noted that had Pannonia fallen into the realm of Swatopluk it is highly unlikely that Bavarian clerics would have consecrated churches in an area in which Methodius was recognized as the archbishop.
Arnulf, son of King Karlmann, is the ruling prince in Pannonia and all of the lands belonging to the former realm of Slav Prince Priwinas."^{26}

The German colonization and Christianizing activity north of the River Raab and south, i.e., the right hand bank, of the Danube River, today known as the Hungarian Kis-Alfold has a completely different character. Priwinas' realm was colonized by the activities of the clergy in their effort to Christianize the Slavs. From the very start it was Charlemagne's policy to give large tracks of land to German, i.e., Frankish, royal families. In the eastern portion of the area where the Raab and the Danube meet the wandering Avars of Pannonia were settled.^{27} But even these Avar settlements vanished by the mid-820's,^{28} thus early in the ninth century German dukes and barons exercised sovereignty in this portion of what is western Hungary today.

The Salzburg Chronicles shows that in 844 the total region is in the hands of two German temporal overlords known

^{26}Schnürer, 400; Schünemann, 18.

^{27}See footnote No. 4 above.

^{28}Schünemann notes that the Avars of this region are less mentioned in the Salzburg and Passau annals in the year 882. However, this is only in reference to settlements, for there were still taxpaying Avars in this region in 981; "in Pannonia residentum Avarum legationes" notes a Passau chronicle.
as Ratpod and Richhari. The boundary between these two overlords is of little consequence here, but it should be mentioned that the Zoerbach was part of that boundary between these two German holdings and never an early boundary between Magyars and German, as some of the early Magyar chronicles seem to imply.

In this region, the German nobility played a much larger part in the colonization than in Pannonia proper. Naturally the clergy has had its share too. We should also take into consideration that many of the documents available to us today are clerical and thus it is the clerical annals which tell of the German nobility's part in settling this region. It appears that Charlemagne made provisions for German settlements of this region. In a document from 863, which falls in the reign of Ludwig the German, it is noted that Charlemagne gave direct orders to his temporal as well as clerical vassals to settle in this portion of Pannonia. And that these settlements did actually come about we see in these words of the cited source: "... qualiter domnus avus

29In the Schünemann text it is noted that Ratpod was actually in charge of all Pannonia and Priwinas was a vassal to him. However, I was unable to find this assertion supported by the other texts. Priwinas, the Slav prince, was a vassal to the Markgraf of Friaul, but the Friaul possessions are not traceable to Ratpod's realm.

30Dominic Kosary, A History of Hungary (Cleveland, Ohio: The Benjamin Franklin Society, 1941), 32.
noster Carolus licentiam tribnit suis fidelibus in augmenta-
tione rerum ecclesiarum dei in Pannonia carpere et
possibere hereditatem, quod per licentiam ipsius in multis
locis. . . . factum esse dinoscitur."

The names of the large German settlements have in
part survived to this day, Guns, (Vasvarad), Odinburch,
Nussbach (Ikua), and Eisenburg are the more famous ones.
Here, as in the former Priwinas province, the documents re-
veal numerous "gifts" by temporal princes to various ecclesi-
astical orders. Salzburg, Passau, and St. Emmeran are the
recipients of several large and smaller fiefs. Ludwig the
German, so Schünemann reports, gave the Salzburger church
twenty-four smaller fiefs along the Raab River in 860 and
clerics from Salzburg led settlers (farmers) and craftsmen
along the Raab all the way to the Danube.31

Through the colonizations of the German nobility and
the missionary work of the Bavarian clergy between the Raab
and the Danube Rivers the area became wealthy as central
Pannonia had become under similar circumstances.32 It has

31 Schünemann, 14-16.

32 The number of large wealthy fiefs as well as rich
churches cannot be traced. There is a document, however,
from 903, which comes after the first Magyar invasion and
partial destruction of the Raab and Danube area, which
states that Bishop Madalwin exchanged with Bishop Burkhold
of Passau his library (consisting of 56 books) and six fiefs
around St. Florian for one church known as Lillenprunn.
Lillenprunn was on the Raab River and it must have been a
very wealthy church to which much land had to belong or the
exchange would not have been made.
been noted above that the Slav prince Swatopluk ruled over much of the land from the Vienna-Woods along the left bank of the Danube. This region remained virtually free of German settlers in the first half of the ninth century with the exception of some minor missionary activity by the Bavarian clergy. Swatopluk's domains were not colonized by the Germans. After Methodius was released from his Bavarian captors, he became Archbishop in Sirmium which was in Swatopluk's realm.33 This caused imbitterments between the German settled area and Swatopluk.

Swatopluk invaded the lands between the Raab and Danube several times between 884-886 and fled each time with a wealth of church and private property. Schünemann quotes some of the annalists who report "... the invading army of Swatopluk was so large that one could see it pass by one place from sun-up to sun-down." The cruelties toward the Germans which are reported by the annalists Schünemann discounts by saying "they wished to paint the deeds of the raiders as black as possible so that their overlord Arnulf would take the necessary precautions against Swatopluk's raids."34

Arnulf's action was swift and decisive. Swatopluk was defeated and forced back into the hinterlands of his

33Please see footnote Number 24 above.
34Schünemann, 17.
realm. Arnulf gave much of the newly conquered lands to the Archbishop of Regensburg for settlement and Christianizing and pursued Swatopluk further with war. In 893 Arnulf won his victory and thus opened more land for colonization and missionary activities.

The German Christianizing and colonizing efforts thus established settlements in most of western Hungary much before the Magyars appeared on the scene. The foregoing colonization was a joint effort by the Bavarian clergy and the German nobility. Their feudal institutions are basically responsible for holding the Byzantine influence at bay in southeastern Europe. It was the active Bavarian clergy which stopped Byzantium's greatest threat to this portion of Europe by checking the establishment of a Slav-Christian Church and possibly a Pan-Slav State in southeastern Europe. Had a Pan-Slav State been established, its leanings would have been toward a Byzantine culture and not the culture of the western Roman Church.

Under the Carolingian Dynasty the western Church reached the same level as the Byzantine Church, in fact, writes Schubert, the Roman Church surpassed the Church of

Constantinople and reached a spiritual height which was never to be surpassed.36

It was this spiritual elevation the German settlers and Bavarian clerics carried against the Byzantine world, and it was the superior strength of the western Church that enabled the western culture to stand its ground. The task, however, was not over. All the trials of shock were not at an end. The Germans of Transdanubia were faced with new onslaughts of nomads and the western culture was under other dangerous attacks. The first one of these was the Magyars' westward drive which started with the closing years of the ninth century.

The Coming of the Magyars

The scope of this paper is not such that a discussion of the ethnic origins of the Magyars would greatly enhance the report. It is needed, however, to make reference to the fact that the Magyars are descendants from the Finno-Ugric tribes whose original home grazing lands were the western and eastern slopes of the lower Ural mountain range.37 The theory advanced by later Hungarian nationalistic writers that the Magyars were members of the Asiatic migrant tribes such

36 Schubert, 446-47.
37 Kosary, 6-7.
as the Huns, the Mongols and Tatars is unfounded.\textsuperscript{38} The supporters of this theory will be treated in detail at a later chapter. They are the nationalists in the Hungarian culture who turned their minds against the west and always have sought spiritual as well as physical help from eastern cultures.

Just what caused the Magyars to leave their home grazing land and move westward is difficult to ascertain. The usual reasons for nomadic migrations such as exhausted grazing land, droughts, and pressures from other nomadic tribes are given by historians.\textsuperscript{39} The Magyars migrated for

\textsuperscript{38}C. A. Macartney, \textit{The Magyars in the Ninth Century} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), 30-33. The theory advanced by Macartney not only advocates that the Magyars are not members of the Asiatic migrant race, but that their early association with the Baskins of the Volga region make them akin to the Bashier-Bulgar tribes who up until now have defied accurate tracing.

A footnote in Kosary, p. 12-13, reads: "The opinion, that the Magyars are of predominantly Asiatic, Mongol stock can be dismissed in the light of anthropological research. Like all other peoples, they are a mixed race. Of skulls, found in tombs dating back to the three centuries following the Magyars' entry into the Carpathian Basin, only five per cent are Mongolian. Even this small fraction is due partly to Avar remnants who were absorbed by the Magyars after their arrival. Another five per cent were Nordic, the majority of the remainder are classified as East Baltic. The low percentage of skulls of the Mongolian type found here, disproves the theory of Asiatic origin. The Magyars may rightly be termed a people of European racial composition."

\textsuperscript{39}Szigmond Baro Perenyi, \textit{Magyarorszag Tükre} (Budapest: Magyar nemzeti Szövetseg, 1928), 78.
centuries always associating with one or two other tribes for reasons of strength and conquests. The Magyars' allies from the very start were the Turkish tribes and Bulgar tribes, not the Huns and Tatars. This alone should be proof that there can be no ethnical ties with the Asiatic nomadic tribes. The latest Turkish Empire with which the Magyars were allied was the Empire of Kazan.

From 830 to 889 we find the Magyars between the Russian rivers Don and Dnieper. They left these fertile bottom lands partially because the Petschenegens exerted pressure upon them and because their allies, the Bulgars, deserted them.

40 Macartney, 55. The migration was started by the Magyars sometime before the fifth century A.D. Historical evidence and archeological findings place the Magyars on the western slopes of the Ural range before that time.

41 Kosary, 9.

42 Ibid., 10. Also Macartney, 61. The Kazan Empire was destroyed many times, but the final destruction came in 1238 by the Mongols. The Magyars' association with this ancient Kazan Empire must be considered legendary. Historical evidence does not show a Kazan and Magyar united front, but the path taken by the Magyars when they started their westward migration does place them within the territories of this ancient Kazan Empire around 750-825 A.D.

43 Macartney, 22-25. Macartney attempts to retrace the movements of the Magyars and shows the Petschenegens to be the eastern neighbors of the Magyars around 850 A.D. The Petschenegens were forced to move by the Guz tribes and thus caused the westward move of the Magyars.
The other view in regard to the westward movement of the Magyars at this time is that, "... being nomads they discovered better grazing lands, that lie north of the Danube estuary, the Rumanian lowland of today."\(^{44}\) Whatever the cause for the move of the Magyars their new grazing lands which they called Etelkoz (Between-Rivers) brought them within range of the conflicts of the Byzantine Empire and the expansionist policies.

The Magyars were attacked by the Petschenegens in 871. Having the Byzantine Empire as a southern neighbor and the Bulgars in the southwest, the now active Petschenegens in the east, the Magyars were forced to cross the Carpathian mountain range.\(^{45}\) There was little or no opposition to the invading Magyars east of the Danube, the remaining Avars and Slavs which were living between the Theiss and the Danube were easily conquered. As early as 881 the Magyars made their first contact with the Germans just outside Vienna.\(^{46}\)

\(^{44}\) Perenyi, 13. Perenyi holds this view and bases his theory on Byzantine sources which show that the Magyars arrived in these lowlands around 860-880 A.D. The view that the Magyars came here in search of better grazing lands and not due to pressure put on them by the Petschenegens Perenyi draws from the same Byzantine sources which show the Petschenegens near the Volga River at this time and bring them into the land which was occupied by the Magyars only after the Magyars vacated the Don-Dnieper area.

\(^{45}\) Macartney, 28.

\(^{46}\) Schünemann, 20. "Schünemann reports that the annals of Salzburg report, "... Primum bellum cum Ungaris ad Weniam. Secundum cum Cowans ad Culmite."
Magyars, however, found at this early encounter with the Germans, "... that instead of steppes and nomadic tribes, mountains and peoples of different political structure were in their way." 47

The Magyars were turned back at Vienna. Their impact, however, was felt. The annals of Fulda and Regensburg both report of the harsh and cruel deeds of the Magyars. They are reported to be murderers and kidnappers. They killed the men and the old and took with them the young and the women. 48 There is no other report of a Magyar encounter in the whole of Pannonia for some time; in fact, the Magyars made no territorial occupation west of the Danube River until their grazing lands in the Etelkoz were totally conquered by the Petschenegens in 895. They had met the Bavarian and Slav cultures of Pannonia and recognized that further westward the move would be contested. They were satisfied to occupy the lands between the Danube and the Theiss Rivers and make military expeditions sweeping through the western countries.

The annalists of the time and historians of later periods vividly report the devastations created by the "fast riding and plundering heathens" sparing no culture and respecting nothing in their passing. The Magyars reached portions

---

47 Kosary, 14.

48 Schünemann, 21.
of Germany, Switzerland, France, even Spain, and, of course, Austria and Northern Italy. The looting and killing which was the obvious result of the Magyars' military expeditions to the western countries created fear among the population. Not one, but many of the pious chroniclers of the time report that to live through a Magyar raid is a preview of what the end of the world would be like. These raids were nothing new to the mounting migrating nomads but were devastating experiences for the more settled and Christian west. To insure their safety, the western leaders were willing, reluctantly, however, to enter alliances with the devastating Magyars. Saxony, Bavaria, Northern Italy and numerous other smaller principalities paid tribute to the Magyars at one time or another. These alliances were, however, not always honored. The safety was not assured by them. The Magyars passed through Pannonia, Karnten, and the rest of the Ostmark in 900 on their way to Italy. This western march was accomplished with only minor atrocities. However, on their way back the following year the alliance was not honored and Pannonia and settlements to the west of Pannonia were totally destroyed. The clerics were killed, the churches burned, women and children were taken as prisoners, and the fields

49 George Luttich, Ungarnzüge in Europa im 10 Jahrhundert (Berlin: Ferdinand Auerbach Verlag, 1910), 46.
50 Ibid., 51.
were trampled down. This was the greatest devastation to date of the territories belonging to the German Reich.  

Kaiser Arnulf knew that alliances and the payment of tribute would not save the land. He was looking for a political alliance with all endangered principalities in order to establish a united front against the Magyars. The all-Christian effort he had hoped to devise never materialized. The Kaiser was forced, however, to do something to save the "culture and the Christian church" and he entrusted the safeguarding of the endangered Pannonia into the hands of the Prince Brazlawo. Brazlawo was a Slav and had been the administrator of that portion of Pannonia which lay between the Save and the Drau Rivers. Prince Brazlawo mobilized many Germans and Slavs and established a defense line against the Magyars. However, the bare-back riding Magyars were not stopped on their way into interior Bavaria in 904. The Magyars raid reached relatively distant areas as far west as the Enns River. The hardest hit and the greatest devastation in the words of the annalists were the possessions of the church. The Bishops of Bavaria banned together and formulated

51Ibid., 67.

52Nadler, 32. "Das bluhende kulturelle Leben wird gehemmt und geschadigt, aber nicht ausgelöscht" with these words the Kaiser hoped to instill a common effort against the Magyars, but petty jealousy among the principalities caused the plan to die before it actually took effect.

53Schünemann, 21.
a dispatch to the Pope asking for his help.\textsuperscript{54}

The Pope's help, of course, never came. This dispatch was not the only one sent to the Pope. In the ninth century Christian Europe had many threatening pagan invasions: the Moors from the south, the Norsemen from the north, and now the Magyars from the east. The church of the ninth century was not the church of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries and the Pope's powers were insufficient to force a united front against the Magyars. There is no doubt that a thorough search through the annals would reveal that ecclesiastical uniformity was not as strong in the ninth century as one is led to believe in our day. The Pope and, undoubtedly, many of his successors were not able to control the newly Christianized Germans. Pannonia and all the lands east of the river Enns thus fell into the hands of the Magyars.

\textsuperscript{54}Although it is not stated, the Bavarian bishops evidently thought that through the help of the Pope a united front against the Magyars could be mobilized. The dispatch of the bishops is quite detailed and describes the state of affairs and the kind of war the Magyars fought. Schünemann quoted this portion: "Einen Teil der Geistlichen führen sie (die Magyaren) als Gefangene hinweg, einen Teil liessen sie in den tiefen Kerker durch Hunger and Durst umkommen, Unschuldige jagen sie ins Exil, vornehme Männer und edle Frauen treiben sie in die Sklaverei; die Kirchen Gottes stecken sie an und zerstören alle gebäude, so dass in ganz Pannonien, unserer grössten Provinz, keine einzige Kirche mehr ze erblicken ist, wie es die von euch bestellten Bischöfe, wenn sie die Wahrheit gestehen wollen, erzählen könnten, wieviel Tage sie Hindurchzogen und dabei das ganze Land verödet erblickten."
The decisive battle was fought in 908 near the German settlement of Pressburg in Pannonia. Naturally, this defeat of the Bavarian Army near Pressburg did not mean that Pannonia became a Magyar settlement.\textsuperscript{55} In fact, Pannonia, particularly western Pannonia, was reduced to a no-man's land and remained as such for almost a century.\textsuperscript{56} The German, or Bavarian, clerics who survived quickly fled leaving the still standing churches unattended. The Bavarian nobility, as the quote from the Bavarian Bishops to the Pope proves, was savagely treated and forced to flee or die in slavery to the Magyars.

There is no questioning of the fact that the German cultural achievements in Pannonia were reduced to almost zero in the early years of the tenth century. The Christianization of the Bavarian church of the ninth century showed little or no remaining results. However, the settlers who were brought in by the Bavarian clerics to supply the needs of the many cities—those German settlers who had become tillers of the soil—remained by and large undisturbed by the invading Magyars. This was true partially because the Magyars needed the settlers to supply their western military expeditions, and partially because the Magyars themselves did not look at Pannonia, i.e., the land on the right hand side of

\textsuperscript{55}Schünemann, 22.
\textsuperscript{56}Ibid., 23.
the Danube, as their property. This latter view is, of course, disputed by many Hungarian historians as well as some of the later Hungarian chroniclers.\textsuperscript{57} The view advanced by Teleki\textsuperscript{58} that the Magyars entered Pannonia in 895 and started to farm the already existing farms and vineyards must be dismissed as fiction. The Magyars basically remained nomads for another two centuries.

The study of any nomadic tribe reveals that they establish a ring around their home grazing lands which one may call a noman's land.\textsuperscript{59} The Magyars were no exception to this rule. This uninhabited land, as it is sometimes called, served as a "provision storage" when the Magyars made military expeditions. If this fringe land provided provisions for a large body of men it could not be uninhabited. What it does mean, according to Gragger, is that the population of this land was not hostile to the Magyars and was unorganized for any possible defense against them. After the Bavarian clerics and German and Slav nobility fled or

\textsuperscript{57}Macartney, 156. Macartney reveals that the notion of a Magna Hungarium did not develop til the twelfth century. This also reveals that the chroniclers which hold that the Magyars occupied Pannonia in the early ninth century are reporting historical fact which took place at 200 years earlier.

\textsuperscript{58}Teleki, 37.

\textsuperscript{59}Robert Gragger, \textit{Alte Grenzschutz Vorrichtungen und Grenzdland} (Budapest: Magyar Nyelv Nyomda, 1921), 119.
were killed, the agrarian population of Pannonia would fit Gragger's description quite well.

The study of the practices of other nomadic tribes would definitely suggest the exclusion of any possibility of permanent Magyar settlements in Pannonia for some time. The German settlers who lived in this fringe area (Gyepusystem), the border between the Bavaria and the Magyar settlements, had only changed masters. Previously these settlers lived and worked for the Bavarian and Slav nobility. Now, after their old masters had gone, they had new absentee masters, the Magyars. Perenyi even tries to say that the German settlers were much freer than before. This, too, is understandable, for in the past they lived under the watchful eyes of their always present nobility; and now they were left alone except for occasional raids which supplied the needs of the Magyars. There is, however, no historical evidence available which would suggest that the Magyars settled and occupied Pannonia after they won a free hand and unrestricted mobility in that region.

Further evidence that Pannonia was not occupied with the earliest victories of the Magyars and that this region

\[60\] Schünemann develops the thesis that the Magyars already found a well developed Gyepusystem in Hungary. However, his arguments for such a system are weak and unsupported.

\[61\] Perenyi, 93.
was not totally devastated by the Magyars is seen in the remaining towns which have not changed their names and place of location since Carolingian times. The names of Leitha, Raubnitz, Guns, Pinka, Zobernbach, Sala, and Plattensee can be shown to have existed before and during and after the period of devastation in the tenth century. The churches and stately manor houses, however, had disappeared and with them the ruling clerics and nobility.

The settlers and craftsmen of German, i.e., primarily Bavarian, ancestors remained virtually undisturbed in Pannonia. The ownership of the land, although disputed by Hungarian historians of late, passed into the hands of the relatively masterless settlers.\(^6^2\) Thus, in Pannonia there developed in the tenth century an actual distribution of the agrarian lands among the former peasant group. The historical proof for this development is scanty, but by tracing the names of the fields and meadows, as it was done by Weidlein, one is left with a plausible theory.\(^6^3\) Just how much of the land actually was parceled out among the masterless settlers is not traceable. They did not keep records and as the Magyars gradually started to give up their nomadic habits, a

\(^6^2\) See footnote 57 above.

Magyar nobility took possession of the land. It is interesting, however, that in the early Middle Ages when all of the land in western Europe was owned by the clergy or the nobility, here on the frontier lands of feudalism, small landowners developed. 64

These small landowners were, of course, subjugated by the Magyars, but they were not exterminated and the western culture was in fact permanently implanted in Pannonia by them. The Magyars gradually filtered into their midst, and the Magyars' infiltration and their military superiority over the agrarian population caused the partial assimilation of the settlers. There can be no historical doubt that the language of the settlers assimilated with case, but not without leaving a German linguistic imprint on the Magyar language. 65 The Magyars were gradually forced to give up their nomadic culture and by so doing important cultural elements were adopted by them from the oppressed settlers in Pannonia. 66 The German settlers in Pannonia thus left the western stigma on the Magyars as they gradually became permanent settlers.

64 Weidlein, Leistungen . . ., 9.
65 Ibid., 10.
66 Ibid., 13.
In the east and the south of the Carpathian Basin, where the permanent settlers were predominantly Slav, the Magyars who settled there assimilated cultural traits from the Byzantine culture. Perhaps the insecure soul of the Magyars, which had not permitted them to come to rest in their thousand years of European history, had its roots in this unfortunate act of history. Torn between these two cultures, the Magyars' history represents a cultural battle of which the final victor has not yet been named. Hungary, the land of the Magyars, is a Western culture in appearance, but the elements of an Eastern culture have always lingered in the hearts of many Magyars.

The western traditions in Hungary have always demanded and received western support to assure their continuous existence. The eastern traditions have stood firm and often mobilized powerful military forces against the West; not to conquer, but to proclaim Hungary to be totally an eastern society. The Magyar who had lost his nomadic cultural identity long ago now had two traditions. He proclaimed himself a western man only to find that part of him was not; he allied himself with the East only to discover that the alliance did not treat him as an equal. The Magyar was pinned between two cultures. Could history provide him with a tradition? If history could not do this, it must at least show him which cultural characteristics he had acquired and
under which culture he had progressed most and found periodic peace.

The German settlers and craftsmen in western Hungary established their homes not as conquerors, but as guests of the Slav nobility. The Bavarian clergy in Pannonia was only there at the invitation of the Slav nobility. The accusations by the Hungarian nationalists, through the years, that Germans were intruders from the very start of their colonizations, does not correspond with the historical facts. Credit must be given to the presence of the Germans which enabled the nomadic Magyars to settle on the land. The agriculture which subsequently became the occupation of the Magyars in Pannonia was patterned after the example of the German settlers.67

The Magyars of the tenth century showed no hostility toward the Germans, in fact, when the Magyars started to settle in Pannonia they linguistically assimilated a large portion of the German population. By doing so, the Magyars also made portions of the German culture their own culture.

The Magyars' devastations were not acts of extermination of the total population. The city or town life was perhaps at an end, but for reasons given above, the settlers were spared and subsequently they exerted a binding influence on the Magyars.

67Johann Weidlein, "Hessen in Ungarn," Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde, XLV, 10.
Western Influence in the Formation of the Hungarian State

Gradually the Magyars were forced to give up their military expeditions toward the West. There are at least two plausible reasons why the Magyars gave up their nomadic culture and with it their threat to the settled West. The most common reason given by the historians is, of course, the Wests' mobilization, their change in war technique, which enabled the German knights to be less clumsy when fighting the very elusive horsemen who would sweep over a settlement and be gone with the women and children before a defense could be mobilized. The German Emperors, notably Henry I (933) and Otto the Great (955), were able to make the necessary changes in the defense of the country to win great victories over the Magyars.68

The German military victories, however, were not entirely responsible; they only hastened the already changing character of the Magyars. Schünemann notes in his excellent study that the Magyars had crossed into the Carpathian Basin leaving many of their women and children behind. This is nothing unusual for the military expeditions of the Magyars and other nomads usually excluded the women and children. What is interesting, however, is the time element involved. The Magyars crossed the Carpathians in 895, and in 896 the

68 Kasman, 25; Nadler, 31.
Petschenegens invaded the Etelköz where the women and children of the Magyars were encamped. There is no historical evidence that the Magyars ever returned to the Etelköz after the Petschenegen had taken over those grazing lands. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the Magyars had lost their women and children.\(^{69}\)

The reports of the Magyar military expeditions of the tenth century have one common theme: the churches were burned, noble women and children taken into slavery, "God save us from evil and the cruel hands of the Magyars" was the prayer of not one but many bishops. The fact is, of course, that not only noble women and children were taken captive, but all young women and children. The documentation of kidnappings of women and children by the Magyars can be traced from Pannonia to the Rhine and from North Italy to far into Saxony.

The former theory that the Magyars kidnapped women and children for slaves does not apply. They did have some slaves, that is true, but living as nomads, there was no necessity for having many slaves. They took the women and children with them to replace the loss of their own women and children. Therefore, there was an overwhelming anthropological change taking place among the Magyars which united them rather rapidly with Indo-Germanic elements.

\(^{69}\)Schümann, 28.
These reasons explain better the short period of time which elapsed in the tenth century in which the Magyars were able to change from a nomadic culture to an agricultural life. It also explains in part the fact that the Magyars were Christianized in one century. In this connection it must be noted that the Magyar nobility remained pagan much longer than the lower class Magyars.\textsuperscript{70} It is the Magyar nobleman, however, who took one of the few Magyar maidens as a wife for he did not want to struggle with the language barrier and also wanted to preserve his race. Pagan customs and ideas thus were unchallenged in the nobleman's family much longer than in the average Magyar family. The wife of the average Magyar was of Indo-Germanic origin and was more likely than not indoctrinated into Christian religion. She would pass her belief on to her children, in secret perhaps, but the first seeds of Christian ideals were spread in this manner.\textsuperscript{71}

The anthropological changes of the Magyars were going on while they continued their military expeditions in the tenth century. By the time the German Emperors were able to win decisive battles over the Magyars, the Magyars were no longer a pure nomadic race. Some of them had changed their

\textsuperscript{70}Weidlein, Römerschanzen . . ., 24.

\textsuperscript{71}Bishop Pilgrim of Passau remarks in a letter to Pope Benedick VII "Christiani autem, quorum maior pars populi est, qui ex anni parte munde illue tracti sumt captivi, etc" quoted by Schünemann, 29.
savage ways and surely others knew what a church and a city was. It was this partially changed Magyar who was quite able to infiltrate the German population of Pannonia and in a very short time changed into a settler himself who blended into the population. He was still mobile and spoke the language of his nobleman, therefore, enjoying privileges over the German settlers. This privilege was sought after by all the settlers and linguistic assimilation of the German settlers took place quickly. The Magyars thus occupied the German settlements in Pannonia after they had undergone anthropological changes. This is not to say that they could not have become settlers without the mingling with Indo-Germanic blood, but it does mean that a much longer period of time would have been required to assimilate or be assimilated by the older German population.

These factors played an important role in taming the fierce Magyars, and the defeats in battle sustained in Germany did the rest. The Magyars gave up their raids, they settled the land and thus the era of nomadism ended for the Magyars in the Carpathian Basin. There can be no talk of a "great leap" from a nomadic culture to feudalism as Teleki wishes his reader to believe.72 Feudalism came to the Magyars perhaps faster than to the Saxons and some other Germanic tribes, but it had all the ingredients when it came. It

72 Teleki, 70.
showed a definite period when the wild spirit of the rough riding nomads was curbed, it showed the gradual emergence of an agricultural life; and showed the spark of Christianity doing its part, perhaps indirectly, to develop a feudal state in Hungary.

The Magyars did not form a political unit when they came into the Carpathian Basin. They were administratively divided into seven tribes, and only when common danger faced them or when they undertook a large military expedition toward the West did they form a single military unit. On such occasions it was the Arpad family, the chiefs of the Magyar tribe, who commanded the whole unit. Besides the Arpads there were two judges, Gyula and Karchas, who held important positions when the seven tribes were riding under the Arpad commanders. Gradually the Arpad family took over the continuous control of the western part of the land including Pannonia and Gyula's and Karchas' descendents controlled the East of the Land (Nigra Hungaria).

There are only scanty reports by annalists which announce the split in the Magyar leadership. We know that

73 Kasory, 81. Kasory gives a detailed analysis of all seven Magyar tribes and notes that the tribe which has given the peoples their name, i.e., the Magyar tribe, was by far the largest and settled in the central part of present-day Hungary. Three of the seven tribes settled in the Danube and gradually expanded into Pannonia. The other four tribes settled toward the East and started to assimilate the Byzantine culture there.
Arpad settled on the island of Czepel in the Danube River near modern Budapest and started to have a castle built. The Bierbauer study, that Arpad called several hundred German craftsmen and settlers to Czepel in order to build a castle, because the Magyars could not perform building tasks. That these craftsmen were called to Czepel from the settled areas around Budapest is obvious, because at that time the relationship of the Magyars with the Bavarians was still uneasy.

The western portion of Hungary established an early peace with the German Empire. The well known Prince Geysa, great grandson of Arpad, signed a lasting peace treaty with Otto the Great in the year 973. This was less than twenty years after the Magyars had suffered their last and decisive defeat at the hands of the Great Otto.

Even before Geysa had signed the peace with Otto the Great, missionaries from Bavaria had ventured into the western parts of Hungary. The cleric, Wolfgang von Eisiedeln, who became Bishop of Regensburg, was converting and Christianizing in the border areas between Hungary and Bavaria as early as 871. The Magyars in this region were

---

74Weidlein, Leistungen . . . , 30.
76Ibid., 17.
77Schünemann, 17.
easily Christianized. This is borne out by a letter Bishop Pilgrim von Passau sent to Pope Benedict VII as a form of a report of the missionary activities in Hungary. The Bishop reports that he was asked by the Hungarian Geysa to take over the missionary activity. Also, according to Geysa's request, Bishop Pilgrim reports, he had dispatched many priests clerics, and reliable monks of all grades who baptized 5000 high ranking Hungarians. The Bishop also remarks in the letter that all of Hungary is ready to be baptized.\textsuperscript{78}

There are historians who denounce the statements of Bishop Pilgrim as untrue.\textsuperscript{79} Actually the bishop does not deny the fact that there are many Hungarians who are pagans. What he was saying is that Christianizing can be carried on in all of Hungary. He also did not say that the Christianized Hungarians are the ideal Roman Catholics. No doubt pagan customs lingered on in Hungary for years. What Bishop Pilgrim von Passau was referring to was the fact that the Bavarian clergy was making more than anticipated progress in Hungary.\textsuperscript{80} The fact that Pilgrim did refer to the encouraging attitude of the Hungarian nobility toward Christianizing in Hungary more than once, may explain that he

\textsuperscript{78}Schnürer, 11, 134.

\textsuperscript{79}Jacob Dummler, Geschichte des Ostfrankischen Reichs (3 vols.; Wien: Beigheimer Verlag, 1861), III, 193.

\textsuperscript{80}Schnürer, 11, 138.
and his missionaries had anticipated at least minor objections in their effort.  

Geysa, the leading Hungarian prince, however, showed how much he wanted to bring his people and country under the influence of the west, i.e., the church of Rome, that he had his son Wajk baptized. Wajk, being a pagan name, was changed to Stephan or Istvan, during the baptismal ceremony. Geysa himself received baptism from a German priest named Prusswort who remained Geysa's private counselor.

It is from the correspondence of Prusswort with Bishop Pilgrim of Passau and the clerics of Regensburg that we are able to point to the immigration policy of Geysa. After Geysa and his family had accepted Christianity he became not only a supporter of the missionary activity in Hungary, but embarked upon a policy of forceful conversion among the noble classes. In order to carry out this policy, he needed the support of foreigners, i.e., the Germans next door. Thus, Geysa became the first Hungarian prince who

---

81 It should be pointed out that Bishop Pilgrim of Passau and the Archbishop of Salzburg were competing with each other for ecclesiastical control over Pannonia. Pilgrim was overly anxious to impress the Pope with his missionary success and may have written the dispatch so that his efforts in Hungary were clearly visible. There was an investigation undertaken in the eleventh century which determined that Pannonia was and always had been under the ecclesiastic authority of Salzburg. After Salzburg had been reinstated, Hungary was elevated to an archdiocese with its seat at Grau. The struggle of Pilgrim and Salzburg is clearly developed by Schnürer, 134-151.
surrounded himself at his court with a host of predominantly German knights, although French, Italian, and Venetian knights were also there. These foreign knights were present at Geysa's invitation and were the recipients of Geysa's favors. As Lengyel points out, these foreigners became the chief's confidential advisors and his own Hungarian nobility, if they refused to be baptized, were clearly looked down upon by their own leader. The preference shown by Geysa toward his foreign court is almost always given as the reason for the German blood in the Hungarian nobility. Geysa, of course, was not the last Hungarian prince who surrounded himself with foreign knights as a form of protection against his own nobility.

The favors which were extended to these foreign knights were in the forms of large tracts of land around the chief's court in Estergom-Grau. There is no question that these knights were charged with Geysa's protection, should his own nobility object to his western tendencies and demand his removal from office. Geysa had his palace decorated by German craftsmen and imported most all his furnishings from Passau and Salzburg. There was no doubt that Geysa, the

---

83 Weidlein, *Leistungen* . . . , 12.
84 Ibid., 13.
chief of all the Hungarian tribes, had taken a western path for his people and country.

The decisive turning point of Geysa in favor of the western culture and church was his son Stephan's marriage to Gisela, the sister of Heinrich II of Bavaria in 995.85

There was no turning back now. According to medieval custom, Gisela brought with her a large following. This included knights, priests, farmers, and personal servants. The farmers or settlers continued to come into Hungary in large numbers because Gisela was able to gain the right for them to settle on the lands of her husband. Many historians and annalists hold that the wedding signifies the actual turning point of Hungary into the realm of the western culture. A quote from a Salzburg annalist states: "Gisela causa fuit christianitatis primum ingente Pannonica."

Stephan's marriage undoubtedly speeded up the missionary activity in Hungary and was unquestionably the reason why Stephan was crowned King of Hungary only four years after his father had died. Gisela was, after all, the only living

85 The exact year of the marriage is, of course, disputed by the historians. I am inclined to agree with Schünemann who claims that the wedding took place before the death of Geysa who died in 997. Schünemann holds this view on the basis that Geysa was trying to establish a close relationship with his Danubian neighbor Heinrich II of Bavaria to assure his safety. There are annalists who report of two meetings between Geysa and Heinrich in 994; at one of these meetings the wedding arrangements could have been made.
granddaughter of the reigning German Kaiser and the sister of Heinrich II of Bavaria. It was fitting for the family tradition to be married to a Christian king and not to a tribal chief. The notion which has received utterance by nationalist Hungarian historians that Stephan wanted to be crowned king so he could exert his independence against his German relatives is disputed. Stephan and his father Geysa willingly followed a western path because only through western, i.e., German, military support could they maintain unlimited powers over their still partially pagan nobility.

Another reason for Geysa's and Stephan's close cooperation and military alliance with the German Kaiser and Bavaria is undoubtedly the continuously growing danger from Nigra Hungaria. The descendents of Gyula and Karchas, who had settled on the eastern frontier of the Carpathian Basin, had drifted into Byzantine cultural orbit. Missionaries and monks from Constantinople were active in portions of the Schomodei as early as 870 about the time Wolfgang von Eisiedeln was making converts for the Western Church in Pannonia. The fact that Geysa's wife was related to the Gyulas established a tie between the two families, but it also enabled the Byzantine influence to reach the court of

86 Schünemann, 39.
87 Teleki, 48.
Geysa. After Geysa's death (997) the Hungarian noblemen under Byzantine influence allied themselves with the pagan noblemen and hoped to force the acceptance of a Byzantine culture over all of Hungary. In a document which comes to us from 1002 from the court of Stephan, he praises the German support, in a war "seditie maxima inter Theutonicos et Ungaros."

This would support the view that after Geysa had committed himself to the western culture he and his followers became the pivotal forces against which the followers of Gyula and Byzantium were pitted. In the same document it is stated that Stephan and Wezelin von Wasserburg led the "German army" of Stephan against the Prince of Schomodei named Koppany. It is this Koppany who has become the "star of all Magyardom" in the wave of nationalism in the nineteenth century. The cultural battle between the East and the West which was to be fought for over a thousand years was in its embryonic form before Stephan was crowned as the western Christian king of Hungary (998).

Stephan had to call upon his royal brother-in-law, the king of Bavaria, later (1002) to stop the encroachment of Byzantine culture in western Hungary. Only with a large German army was Stephan able to defeat the dukes Gyula and

88 Schünemann, 40.
Ajtony who were aiding the infiltration of Byzantine monks into eastern Pannonia. The battle between the two cultures was real even though the Hungarians were not at all prepared to understand the possible consequences.

It was this single pressure of Byzantium which led Stephan and his associates to establish a Hungarian state in one decade. The new Hungarian state was patterned in every detail after the state of his Bavarian in-laws. The Hungarian Senate (Senatus) had a Frankish pattern. There were ecclesiastical and temporal dignitaries who received instruction in the function of their office from Heribert who was formerly the commissioner of oaths in the court of Kaiser Otto III and had come to Hungary at the request of Stephan. The customs of the German dignitaries were quickly transplanted to Hungary and Stephan became the father of his state by encouraging the western development.

The laws of Stephan were closely patterned after the Lex Baiuvarorum. Schiller's study on this subject reveals that Stephan's concept of law emerged after he had had the opportunity to listen to several portions of the Bavarian Law. There is, of course, no doubt, that Stephan had a

---

90 Schünemann, 42.
91 Felix Schiller, Das Erste Ungarische Gegetzbuch und das Deutsche Recht (Brunn[?]: n.p., 1910), 389-91.
German taskforce to write his laws, but they were written under his dictate and had to have his approval before they became finalized. To note, as Schiller does, that portions of Stephans' laws were direct quotations from the Lex Baiuvariorum not only points out that Stephan had taken a western course in his state building, it above all points out that Stephan did not see too much difference between his state and Bavaria. To accuse Stephan that his new state was just another "Mark" of the Holy Roman Empire of Germanic States, as it is being done by recent nationalist historians, becomes mockery of Stephan's creative genius. It was Stephan who directed the creation of his state, the pattern he chose to follow was his choice and was not forced upon him by the German Kaiser. The Kaiser at the time was Otto III, an idealistic young man who favored the creation of a new independent Christian State. Had Otto III pursued a policy of expansion there is no doubt that he would have blocked Hungary's King from becoming crowned. It is quite clear that Otto III would not have pressured Stephan into a coronation had he planned to control Hungary as a vassal state. Otto III's interest in Hungary as all other Kaiser's interest never included a policy of ecclesiastico-political imperialism, but always a peaceful cooperation of Christian states was sought.
The organization of the Hungarian Church proceeded parallel with that of the state. It was Stephan who established a very close relationship with several monasteries and Archdioceses. Through his interest in church organization and connection with the German diocese he was able to ask for and receive the famous Greek cleric Ascherich who had also served with the Archbishop of Prag when the church was being reorganized there. It was Ascherich who actually organized and built the Hungarian Church with Stephan's continuous support. Ascherich was soon to become the first Archbishop of Hungary (1006).

There are historians who insist that Stephan and his brother-in-law, Heinrich II of Bavaria, soon experienced a strain in their relationship. This was caused, these historians hold, by the fact that Stephan did not want his church to become subordinated to the German church. It is true that Stephan had a very close relationship with the monastery of Cluny, for example, and that he asked the monks of Monte Cassino (1036) to establish a monastery in his lands. He was interested in all foreign clerics. This

92 Schünemann, 47.

93 There is no agreement as to the exact year in which Ascherich became the Archbishop of Grau, i.e., Hungary.


95 Schnürer, II, 146.
interest caused him to become overly concerned with the Crusades. To aid the Crusader, he established a church in Constantinople and a monastery in Jerusalem. He would also invite the traveling monks to visit him at his court and if he liked them, he would try to persuade them to stay in Hungary. This general interest in all foreign clerics, however, does not necessarily hold that his association with the German clergy was failing. In fact, the two churches were very closely connected by Archbishop Ascherich.

In the year 1007 we find Ascherich taking part as the Archbishop of Hungary at the Synod of Frankfurt. He, along with other Bishops and Archbishops, signed the document which established a diocese in Bamberg. In 1012 Ascherich dedicated the Petrus Church in Bamberg and signed the document "Ascherich Ungarorum archiepiscopus interfui etc." Had there been any ill feelings between Stephan and the German Church, Stephan's Archbishop would not have taken such an active part in all the activities of the German church.

Further evidence that there was no political or personal difficulty between Stephan and his brother-in-law, Heinrich II of Bavaria was Heinrich II's brother Bruno, who had allied himself with Duke Boleslaw of Bohemia against his royal brother. After Bruno had found that Boleslaw of

---

96Ibid., 147; Schünemann, 43.
Bohemia was actually in the wrong, Bruno wanted to make peace with his brother Heinrich II. To accomplish this, he fled to Stephan's court and asked for Stephan's intervention "who had always had a warm and friendly relationship" with Heinrich II. Stephan's envoys soon returned and a reconciliation between the two royal brothers was achieved. It is highly unlikely that Bruno would have fled to Stephan's court had he not counted on Stephan's friendship with Heinrich II of Bavaria. Stephan's oldest son was named Heinrich, and, according to Schünemann, he was not named after his grandfather Heinrich, but after his uncle Heinrich II, so close was Stephan's and Heinrich II's personal friendship.

The recent Hungarian nationalist historians, however, have taken every historical notation which involves Germans in Hungary and interpreted the same in an anti-German manner. In this fashion Stephan's reign has been attacked as well. Stephan is viewed by some nationalists as the hero of his people, but all German influence and connection is denied. Other nationalists have chosen to make only casual reference to Stephan, but illuminate Koppany as the national hero who was defeated by Stephan's "German army."

As long as Heinrich II was alive, Stephan's relationship with the German Reich was indeed excellent. In 1024 Konrad II

97Nantsch, 48-51.
98Schünemann, 50.
succeeded Heinrich II and the relationships between the two
countries did become tense. The tenseness goes back to the
large Gyepusystem which existed between the two countries.\textsuperscript{99}
This large protective ring around the Hungarians was gradually
taken over by Bavarian noblemen. True that the Bavarian
nobility and clergy had owned most of this land before the
Magyars settled in the Carpathian Basin,\textsuperscript{100} but since the
presence of the Magyars it was owned by Magyarized peasants
or uninhabited. The Bavarian nobility moved into this pro-
tective border ring (Gyepusystem) particularly since chief
Geysa and his son Stephan were the reigning nobility. While
Heinrich II was alive, Stephan was using restraint against
this territorial encroachment by German noblemen, but after
the death of Heinrich II, Hungarian raiders started to harrass
the newly settled German nobility. There is no doubt that
these border disputes were going on with the full knowledge
of King Stephan. Schünemann even states that since King
Stephan and his Gisela were not particularly fond of the new
German Kaiser's other obvious territorial expansions,\textsuperscript{101} he

\textsuperscript{99}See footnotes 60 and 61.

\textsuperscript{100}Reference is made to the presence of Germans in Pan-
nonia and the active settlements made there by the Bavarian
clergy since Charlemagne took the land from the Avars in 796.

\textsuperscript{101}Konrad II was playing power politics with the Doge
of Venice, Otto Orselo, and was able to extend his territor-
ies over Karnten to the Leitha River.
may have ordered his border patrols to stop the German nobility's encroachment upon the Gyepuline.

Although most historians attribute the cause of the war of 1030 to the border disputes between Hungary and the German Reich, a second reason is hinted by some historians. Nadler, drawing upon Austrian annalists and chronicles notes that Prince Heinrich (Imre), the son of King Stephan, made claims of the Bavarian throne, and Konrad II, besides being the German Kaiser also was King of Bavaria. Prince Bruno whom we met earlier, had become the Bishop of Augsburg, and was able to delay a military conflict between the two nations. He died in 1029 and a war was unavoidable.

The war of 1030 was a total disaster for the German Kaiser Konrad II. King Stephan could not afford a direct military engagement and was forced to lure Konrad II into the Gyepusystem. King Stephan burned all settlements as he moved back, leaving Konrad without supplies for his army. The terrain made it difficult for the German knights to move, and the spring rains added to the problems. Soon the German army became demoralized and "hunger and sickness" finally forced Konrad to return to the Ostmark. A large portion of

102 Nadler, 130.
103 Ibid., 133.
Konrad's army was captured near Vienna. The Kaiser barely escaped the same fate.\textsuperscript{104}

The Kaiser planned to continue the war with King Stephan, but his son, who had assumed the Kingship of Bavaria, was very anxious to settle the dispute. In 1031 the two met and established a final border between Bavaria and Hungary. The Bavarian noblemen had to give up large portions of their claims in western Pannonia to the Hungarian King. King Stephan agreed to release the prisoners he had captured near Vienna.

Other than the border dispute in 1030, Hungary had entered a friendly relationship with the western culture. Starting with Chief Geysa and continued by King Stephan, Hungary leaned on its western neighbor Bavaria for help in the cultural assimulations with the West. It is, however, false to assume that the energetic western push of King Stephan assured his country's continuous incorporation in the western cultural community. He supported the western culture and graciously received men and ideas from the West. He advised his son Heinrich to act likewise. The admonition to his son was, "... they (the western men who came) mean much success for the country; they bring with them many different languages, customs, armaments and techniques which will do no

\textsuperscript{104}Schünemann, 55.
other than elevate the kingly court of Hungary."\(^{105}\) It almost seems that King Stephan's admonition to his son was taken to heart by all the followers as well. For the kingly court was the only place in Hungary of the worldly European culture during the whole of the middle ages. It stood isolated from its surrounding Hungarian world.\(^{106}\)

After the death of King Stephan (1038) his nephew, Peter of Venice, became the Hungarian King. Stephan's son, who was groomed by his father to succeed him had died in 1036. It was under King Peter that the Hungarians of the eastern frontier who had fallen in the Byzantine orbit of cultural influence gained power and succeeded to force King Peter to flee the land. He found refuge in Germany at the court of Kaiser Heinrich III.

The new King, Aba Samuel was so brutal that the eastern nobility who had helped him to power swore that they would "deliver him to the hands of Kaiser Heinrich III." It was Kaiser Heinrich who broke the eastern king's power and reinstated King Peter to Hungary's throne.

Peter was a weak king and soon his former followers decided to call in Prince Andreas who had fled to Russia because of his father's pagan leanings. Once King of Hungary, Andreas also followed a western course. It is worth noting

\(^{105}\)Weidlein, Leistungen, 16.

\(^{106}\)Ibid., 16.
that the Germans in Hungary always supported the rightful King of Hungary even if he was placed into power by anti-western noblemen as in the case of Andreas. It was often the case that the Germans of Hungary were the only supporters of the King. A case in point is King Andreas' struggle against the Hungarian nobility who had allied themselves with the Poles, Cumanians, and the Petschenegen in 1060. And again, in 1074 we find the Germans the only allies of King Salamon who was struggling with the nobility as was Andreas.

The German support did not cease during the struggle of Stephan's followers and continued to flow from the Reich during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. King Geysa II settled the Transylvanian Saxons in the early twelfth century on the eastern frontier "to protect the crown" against all invaders from the East. When the Tatars fell into the Carpathian Basin in 1241, there were several large German cities in the interior of the land. An example is Pest, which the Chronicles called "magna et ditissima villa Teutonicorum." After the Tatar devastations, King Bela IV

---

107The Mongol invasion of Hungary and central Europe did not last long. In 1242 the Mongol Empire of central Russian experienced internal problems due to the succession of the Khan, and the fighting forces in central Europe were recalled.
wanted to protect the land against other nomads from the East and called in several thousand German colonists. It is during this time that the castle at Ofen became established by German craftsmen at the command of King Bela IV. It was known as "castrum novi nontis Pestiensis" but quickly grew into the capital city of the kingdom.

During the closing years of the twelfth century Hungary's western development was aided by King Bela III's (1173-1196) marriage to princess Maria of France. Bela III was not a great king, but his western course became fixed and France's influence in Hungary had a good start with the royal marriage. Maria brought with her a large following including monks, knights, and servants. The monks who contributed much to the cultural development of King Bela III's court were chiefly members of the Zisterzienser order schooled in the scholastic culture of the West. King Bela III permitted the order to establish a monastery in Borsmonostora (1181). The monks who remained in continuous communication with their order in France soon sent several Hungarians to be educated in the French schools. Not only Hungarian monks received a French education but also lay individuals. The famous Hungarian historian who is referred to as Anonymous states in his opening paragraphs that he received his education in France.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ Weidlein, Leistungen . . . , 18.
The French influence in Hungary has obviously produced some lasting contributions. But to speak of an exclusiveness of French influence in the twelfth century in Hungary as it is attempted by some historians, notably Teleki, is questionable. Even the German cultural influence, which was continuous from the closing decades of the eighth century, cannot claim a cultural tradition of great duration. The cultural "ups and downs" in Hungary were too numerous to speak of an exclusive influence from any country. So far as the breadth and depth of the Hungarian culture is concerned, it can be said that the western culture had penetrated. The Hungarian court and Hungarian noble society resembled more and more the society of medieval Europe. Hungary had made a giant leap forward--its nobility fit the image of western nobility, not that of eastern nomadic chieftains.

The first period of German and western influence in Hungary comes to a close with the death of the Arpad line in 1301. In spite of the ups and downs after King Stephan's death the steady development of the western culture was assured, partly because the Hungarian Kings once in power attached themselves to the western culture, and partly because the Kings of Hungary continued to supply the already strong German minority in Hungary with new settlers.

The Huns, the Avars, the Petschenegens were not able to divorce themselves from the Asiatic steppes, and there-
fore, had to vanish from history. Other eastern peoples such as the Bulgars, the Tatars, and the Kazars became fused into the culture of Byzantium. Most of them, along with a part of the eastern Hungarians, had lost their original character and cultural identity and had become Slavonized. The Magyars of western Hungary were able to maintain their cultural identity and thrive as a nation for over a thousand years, as a result of the influence of Chief Geysa and his son King Stephan who had taken a western course. With the help of the Germans over the past four centuries of the Arpad rule, the Magyars in western Hungary were able to break loose from the Asiatic steppes and still maintain their cultural identity.
CHAPTER III

SOUTHERN SLAVS GAIN POWER IN HUNGARY:

HUNGARY TURNS AWAY FROM THE WEST

1301-1526

The closing decades of the Arpad Dynasty rekindled the seed of paganism and the rejection of western culture took form. Bela IV was able to rebuild the devastated land after the Tatars (Mongols) had left. To accomplish this task, however, he had not only called in many German settlers but also the pagan Cumanians of the lower Theiss Region.\(^1\) It is well known that Bela IV in his own time was called the second founder of the Hungarian state, but less known is the fact that he also became the pallbearer of the nation with his ambiguous policy toward the Cumanians and the East in general.\(^2\) Most Hungarian historians neglect to point to the fact that it was Bela IV who asked for the hand of the

\(^1\)The Cumanians belonged to the Turkish linguistic group. Their latest and most powerful empire included parts of Russia and Rumania. They were weakened by the Tatar's western march in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

\(^2\)Gyula Szekfű and Balint Homan, *Magyar Történet* (5 vols; Budabest: Magyar Kiralyi Nyomda, 1930), I, 570.
Cumanian princess for his son Stephan. With this marriage the Cumanians had access to important state positions, and Hungary started to follow an eastern course. Bela IV had his son crowned as the "younger King" and gave him eastern Hungary to govern. This latter act was done at the request of the Cumanian king who was Stephan's father-in-law.

In just two years Stephan was waging war against his father Bela IV, King of Hungary. Bela IV himself admitted later that should the Tatars return, they would have the support of his son Stephan as well as the pagan army of the Cumanian King. King Bela is quoted to have said if, in fact, this would happen, "I could not save the rest of Hungary from total destruction." The Tatar Khan offered Bela a peace treaty in 1258 which stipulated that Bela IV would block the moves of the western powers should they decide to attack the Tatars. In spite of the Pope's warning to refuse the peace offer, Bela IV agreed and stood by the treaty until his death.

His son Stephan became Stephan V, but he reigned only two years (1270-1272) and was succeeded by his son Ladislaus IV (1272-1290). Having been reared by the Cumanians (his mother was a Cumanian pagan princess) he denounced Christianity and became an idolator. The new pagan King of Hungary left

\[^3\text{Ibid.}, \text{II}, \text{26.}\]

\[^4\text{Ibid.}, \text{29.}\]
the affairs of state in the hands of his Cumanian in-laws and relatives. He informed the Hungarian nobility and ecclesiastic orders that he would start with the bishops and "behead all who opposed his pagan customs" from Hungary to Rome.

In western Hungary the noblemen formed a pact to save the land and the crown from the pagan King. The leader of the pact was Duke von Gussing of a German family, but many Hungarian noble families supported the pact. The ensuing war with King Ladislaus IV lasted nearly twelve years. Gradually the Hungarian nobility of the left bank of the Danube sided with the king and the von Dussing party was totally defeated. Ladislaus IV was now unopposed and he turned the Hungarian kingdom completely away from the western culture. In his court, pagan gods replaced the saints. He commissioned Simon Kezai, the court historian to "rewrite the chronicles" so that the Hungarians could "claim descent" from Attila. With this claim, Ladislaus IV wanted to make his eastern pagan leaning acceptable to the Hungarian nobility. The hero of the Hungarians in the Kezai Chronicle is not King Stephan I, but Attila. Kezai had created the Ladislaus Cult, which still haunts many Hungarian nationalists in the twentieth century, at the request of "his master

5 Weidlein, Leistungen, 22
6 Kosary 42; Weidlein 23; Lengyel 54.
the most powerful King of Hungary," but his creation has inspired many nationalists of later centuries and to this day the Eastern-Hun protensity finds its supporters in Hungary.

With the death of Ladislaus IV, the danger of Hungary reverting to paganism was over. But the Hungarians were about to embark on another twofold danger, the loss of their form of Western Christianity and of their national identity. Under the Arpads, with the exception of the last two Kings, Hungary had become a Roman Christian Kingdom. Ladislaus IV was the last of the Arpad line and the Slavonized southern Hungarian noblemen, along with considerable aid and pressure from the papacy, were able to place Karl Robert of the Anjou family on the throne of Hungary. Karl Robert was of an old Slav family although at that time his family lived in southern Italy.7

Karl Robert and his son Ludwig the Great of Hungary practiced an expansionist foreign policy toward the Balkan States and Poland. In this manner, more and more South-Slav noblemen were fused into the Hungarian nobility. Weidlein notes that all major state officials including the highest state office, the office of the Palatin, were gradually in the hands of the Slavs. With the marriages of both Karl

7The papacy's support for Karl Robert to become the King of Hungary is explained by the fact that his family owned large parts of Southern Italy next to the papal states.
Robert and Ludwig the Great to Slavic princesses, large estates were given to several relatives of their wives and thus the Hungarian nobility became Slavonized.

The continuous connections with the Balkan Slavs brought with it the popularization of the Slav way of life. The cultural change was, nevertheless, gradual and the Slavs were Hungarianized. Szekfu and Homan, the most authoritative Hungarian historians of the twentieth century explain this cultural change in this manner: "The Slavs who grew up at the breasts of Byzantine and were nurtured on the primitive Slavic notions of Wendetta gradually changed the western culture of the Hungarians." True, the eastern and southern Hungarian nobility was always a little distant from the western and German course of the Hungarian kingdom. It is in their ranks where the Slav influence became accepted and an anti-western, i.e., anti-German, Cult was born. The affairs of the Hungarian state were managed by the Slavonized Hungarians and by the Hungarian-Slavs.

When the Turks started their great military push northward, the Slavonized Hungary of the South was the recipient of more Slavic elements fleeing from the advancing Turks. Thus, the Hungarian-Slavic culture was strengthened by the influx of more Slav population and the already existing anti-German cult was revitalized.

---

8Szekfü and Homan, II, 323.
The cultural tensions between the Germans of Transdanubia and the Balkan Hungarians of southern Hungary in the fifteenth century became so prodigious that proverbs expressing the tension of the time have come down to us. The Karmeliter's Huendler proverb collection of the late fifteenth century yields this example: "Wan das mer on sant wirt und der hymel on heyligen und der tewfel on sel, so wirt gerfrannt (befreundet) deutsch und ungeren (Ungar), phaffen und powton (Bauern)." The general meaning of this late middle High German proverb is: "The friendship of heaven and the saints to the devil and hell is also the friendship found between the German and the Hungarian and priests and farmers."

The poet Chlipenwerger who was present at one of the many riots between the Germans and Slavonized Hungarians in the cities notes the cries of the Hungarians as follows: "Wir wollen chainen Deutschen hie haben, wir wollen se qusz dem Land hie jagn, wir sein allzcit mit in ser uberladen." The meaning of this statement is that they (the Hungarians) do not want the Germans in the country, they want them out of the country, they are always burdened by the presence of the Germans.

---

9 Baron von Pukanszky, Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur in Ungarn (Budapest, 1926), 67.
10 Ibid., 94.
The hatred for Germans and anti-western riots were quite real in the fifteenth century, but the civil war which broke out in 1440 involved the Germans only indirectly and was not caused by German retaliation. The Hungarian West, i.e., the Hungarian noblemen who had followed a western course from King Stephan's time and had supported the von Gussing party in King Ladislaus' time, gradually realized that the anti-German activities of the Slavonized nobility was only part of the real controversy. When they realized that Hungary's western culture was at stake, their actions to stop the country from drifting into the Slav-Byzantine orbit were futile. The short civil war (1440-1442) was fought between the Hungarian West's nobility and the Hungarian-Slav oligarchic nobility of the South and East.

The war was cruel and eventful. The Hungarian-Slavs, led by Johann Hunyadi, were victorious. Hungary fell completely into the hands of the Hungarian-Slavs and the anti-western and anti-German policies were escalated.

To make matters even worse, King Albert had died (1440) leaving only an infant son to wear the crown of Hungary. Johann Hunyadi and the other oligarchic families of

---

11Johann Hunyadi had come to Hungary as a child. The pro-Slav nobility of the South made the elder Hunyadi the Vajk of Walanche. In that position, Hunyadi became an ardent supporter of the "nationalist party" which was the Hungarian-Slav party of the South.
Slav origin of the South denounced the infant King Ladislaus I and elected the Pole Wladislaus to Hungary's throne. With this election, Hungary became Slavonized in every respect. Hunyadi controlled the Slav nobility and the army of the country. King Wladislaus was preoccupied with Polish matters and was for all practical purposes only a puppet King of Hungary.

King Wladislaus and Hunyadi were not always in agreement, however, particularly because Wladislaus felt closer to other policies of the West, and he often followed the advice of the Pope and Venice. Hunyadi, whose main interest was to carry out his own family's power politics, which included the defense of the southern border against the Turks, tolerated Wladislaus' patronization with the Pope as long as he could lead the country's military forces. He won several battles against the Turks and pushed his army as far south as Sopia and Nish.

Hunyadi and Wladislaus ruled over Hungary with the former having autonomy of the military power. The Christian Church, which trembled at the Turkish European exploits, gave its blessings to Hunyadi's wars. In 1444, Hunyadi suffered a

---

12 According to the law of 1439, article 3 and 12 made Ladislaus V the rightful heir of Hungary.

13 Ference Eckhart, A Short History of the Hungarian People (London: Grant Richards, 1931), 62.
great defeat at the Battle of Varna. The battle was almost won when Wladislaus attacked the Sultan's camp and engaged the Sultan's special forces, the Genisaries. Wladislaus was killed and Hunyadi barely escaped with his life.\textsuperscript{14}

The oligarchic families of southern Hungary elected Hunyadi as Regent thus pushing the oligarchic Slav power of Hungary to the top. In this powerful position he followed a Slavic centered foreign policy. He kept the Turks at bay in the south because his own family estates were endangered, while in northern Hungary he aided the Slavs of Bohemia whenever possible in their battles with the German Emperors.

In the Fall of 1452, the Turks mounted their greatest offensive against Europe and in 1453 took Constantinople. This Turk victory shocked all Europe and Pope Nicholas V urged all Christian rulers to unite against the Asiatic menace. Hunyadi realized he now needed the support of western Europe, for his Slavic allies who were quite willing to share the spoils of his conquests were not willing to share in the

\textsuperscript{14}Jakob Bleyer, "Bemerkungen über den Szegediner Friedensschluss und die Schlacht bei Varna 1444," Institute für Österreichische Geschichtsforshung, XXV, 127-143. It is pointed out by Bleyer that had Hunyadi and King Wladislaus respected the peace which the Sultan had asked for and Wladislaus signed in Szegedin, the Battle of Verna would never have been fought. At the urgings of the Pope, as well as Venice, however, Wladislaus and Hunyadi were too eager to respect their own treaty.
defense of the nation. He, therefore, quickly reconciled his differences with the rest of the western monarchs.

To be sure, all of western Christiandom was willing to forget national and territorial disputes with the danger of the approaching Turkish forces which threatened the threshold of Western Culture. Hunyadi's standing Hungarian army received German crusaders, Italian monks who were gathered by the enthusiastic Johann Capistran, and several hundred students from Vienna. The Pope ordered prayers in all Christian lands, and, to this day the tolling of bells at noon in Europe is done to remind Christians of the gravity of the danger.

Hunyadi became the leader of the European army that was to stop the colossal Turkish force which had reduced the walls of Constantinople. The Sultan had confidence and

15 To the question of why the ruling southern nobility always supported the election of a foreign King of Hungary, Szekfü answers in this manner; "The practice, since King Bela IV, was to give large royal estates to the nobility carrying with it the responsibility of defense of the country. The wreckless (Slavic) nobility, however, was always eager to shed this responsibility. The possession of the estates had become the ulterior motive of the nobility, but even at the greatest danger they did not fulfill their responsibilities. At the height of the Turkish danger, they (the nobility) were striving to leave the defense of the country to the private sources of the kings. Foreign kings were called upon the throne because they had their own country's military power which could be used in the defense of Hungary."

16 Szekfü and Homan, II, 443 and 457.
self-assurance and launched the attack in 1456. Nandorfehervar (Belgrade), the eastern-most Hungarian outpost, was attacked. The Christian world sighed with relief when the Turks were rebuffed. There was rejoicing but shortly thereafter tragedies in the Christian camp. Pestilence claimed more lives than the heavy infantry of the Turks. Hunyadi himself died after having won a brilliant victory with the aid of the rest of Christian Europe.

After Hunyadi's death the pro-western party turned to the rightful heir to the Hungarian throne, Ladislaus V and elected him, once again, King of Hungary in 1452. The Hungarianized nobility of the south did not wish to have an Austrian king, but found it best to go along with the pro-western party's election of Ladislaus V so that the Turks could be met with the help of the German army. The plan worked. The boy-king Ladislaus V retained Hunyadi's uncle as de facto regent and captain-general, but elected his maternal uncle, the Count of Cilli, as his active regent. Upon the death of Hunyadi's uncle, Ladislaus V made the Count of Cilli the Captain-general of the army bypassing Hunyadi's eldest son, another Ladislaus for that important military post.

17 Ladislaus was still a child when Hunyadi was elected Regent of Hungary by the Hungarian-Slav nobility. He was the son of King Albert.

It seems as though the pro-western forces were once again in control of Hungary. This appearance is misleading. The Hungarian-Slav nationalist party was agitating again. The pretext was that Ladislaus Hunyadi, their choice, should have been elected as the captain-general. The king and his captain-general, Count of Cilli, made a trip to Nandorfehervar, the center of the nationalist Hungarian-Slav nobility, to reach an agreement with the dissenters. Upon their arrival, Count Cilli was murdered and an ultimatum put to the king: "appoint Ladislaus Hunyadi as the captain-general or share the fate of your uncle." Ladislaus V, however, had a large army with him and was able to minimize the threat. He had Ladislaus Hunyadi seized and tried and put to death, thinking that the plot was masterminded by him, when actually the leader of the Slavic nationalist party, Michael Szilagyì, was responsible.\(^{19}\) He then had the younger son of Johann Hunyadi, Matthias, only sixteen years old, brought to Prague and put under house arrest at the fortress. What Ladislaus' plans were for the younger Hunyadi has never been established, for Ladislaus died unexpectedly thereafter.

Ladislaus V had not married, and, thus left no heir. For the first time Hungary was without a hereditary candidate for the throne.\(^{20}\) There were, of course, several pretendents,

\(^{19}\)Ibid.

\(^{20}\)See Genealogical Table of the Anjou House, p.
among them the German Emperor, who was quite willing to become the King of Hungary.

Perhaps Macartney is right by saying that the Hungarian nobility "was tired to have a foreign king" at this time. This, however, is negated by the practices of the Hungarian nobility.21 Their action is better explained by the fact that the Hungarian noblemen, led by Michael Szilagyi, saw their chance to "elect" a nationalist king who would follow an anti-German and anti-western policy. The name Hunyadi had worked magic in the past and it had swayed even those noblemen who were not in the nationalist camp. Szilagyi and his followers thus moved quickly and elected Matthias Hunyadi as the first national King of Hungary. The pro-western elements in Hungary were still debating in Buda when Szilagyi appeared with his Slavic southern nobility and most of the lower nobles and announced the election of Matthias Hunyadi (Corvinus).22 The pro-western nobles of Hungary were in the minority and the German states to the north did not interfere, partly because Hungary's problems of electing a king were not their concern and partly because an interference at

21See footnote 15 above.

22Matthias Hunyadi is commonly known as Matthias Corvinus ("The Raven"), from the raven of his crest. Folklore in Hungary tells the story that Matthias received the message of his election as King of Hungary via a raven which flew from Buda to Prague.
this time could have created internal problems which could have caused another Turkish assault.  

Matthias Corvinus was young, energetic, and talented as a soldier. Hungarian historians have called him Matthias the Just. His reign, however, seen unromantically, of course, appears as a mixture of good and bad. The national party which had raised him to the throne of Hungary had hoped his youth would make him ineffective and the Southern nobility, i.e., Michael Szilagyi, would be permitted to rule for him. Szilagyi was appointed regent for five years. In this period the Slav nobility did their utmost to tie the hands of the young king. Szilagyi arranged for Matthias to marry Palatine Gara's daughter. The Garai family was thought to be pro-western and the marriage of Matthias to this family would limit the directness of the attack levied by the western power block against Szilagyi's plans. Matthias, however, proved that he was not to be led by Szilagyi or by anyone  

23 Nationalist historians of late strongly insists that the German Emperor Frederich III was too preoccupied with German and western matters and it was impossible for him to mount enough support in his own ranks to interfere or block the election. The Hussite Wars, which had preoccupied the Emperor, however, had ended in 1436. The Habsburgs were elected to the Holy Roman Emperorship in 1438 and were able to balance delicately the numerous political forces within Germany. This leaves one with the impression that the election could have been blocked had Frederich III wanted to control Hungary at this time.
else. He remembered that he was raised to the throne by the lesser nobility and it was this class which benefited most during his reign.

Before the end of the five year term of Regent Szilagyi, a rift developed between the monarch and the regent. Szilagyi was dismissed and the council was disregarded in all matters. It is at this point that King Matthias made the decisive turn in history. The lesser nobility was installed in all major governmental posts. His real instruments of government, however, were his secretaries. The Slavic origin of the secretaries is striking, P. Kinizsi, G. Zapolya and Filipec to name only the most important ones in the group.

To restore royal authority, Matthias, with the aid of his secretaries, reformed the tax laws. The Anjou kings had received their revenues exclusively from the "regalia", i.e., the royal revenue from mining, customs, etc. Under Matthias' new plan, the burden of taxation was carried by the peasant classes. The pro-western Hungarian nobility was greatly restricted by Matthias' "county system." The nobility had enjoyed for centuries special privileges inasmuch as they could govern the way they chose on their estates. Under the new system, the country was divided into fifty districts

\[24\text{Macartney, A Short History, 57.}
\[25\text{Szekfű, Homan, II, 565.}\]
administered by a lesser nobleman who was usually a Slav and followed the bidding of Matthias and his secretaries.

The lesser nobility or gentry was centered in the larger villages (mezővarosok, appida). To these villages Matthias granted the rights to settle their feudal obligations with the nobility collectively thus cutting the nobility out of communication with the peasants of the villages. The gentry, primarily of Slavic descent, opened the villages and towns to other Slavic settlers. Szekfű and Homan note this unhappy development for the Hungarian peasants as follows: "They (the Slavs) received equal rights with the Hungarian inhabitants, but due to their political advantage soon were able to surpass the Hungarians and exercise their rights more fully than the Hungarians."²⁶

Under Matthias' rule, the diets played only a nominal role. The nobility was not able to use their age-old right, the "liberum veto." Thus, nobility was made powerless by Matthias' new tax laws. Under former kings the nobility was able to withhold military support from the monarch if his actions in government were detrimental to their interests. The old antiquated systems of "insurrectio" had prevented several kings of Hungary from becoming too powerful. Matthias, however, having the flow of tax revenues, was able to raise his own professional army. In this manner, Matthias could

²⁶Ibid., III, 433.
make policies as he chose and ignore the will of the nobility.

The establishment of this mercenary force, the Black Army as it was called, was, of course, against the law and against the constitution. Matthias, however, developed the Black Army and with it ruled almost like his contemporary absolutists, Ferdinand of Spain and Louis XI of France. It is interesting to note that Matthias' Black Army was almost exclusively made up of Slavic volunteers and the Slavic Gentry. With this army, Matthias was able to follow an expansionist foreign policy against Ferdinand the German Kaiser as well as Podiebrad of Bohemia.

His wars against the West are occasionally represented as his ambitions to become the German Kaiser. Kosary, for example, maintains that Matthias wanted to become German Kaiser so that he could mount a "Decisive offensive at the head of a powerful coalition against the Ottoman Empire." This argument, of course, does imply that Matthias' interests were to save Europe and Christianity from the Turkish menace forever which, when investigated, does not hold true.

Matthias had reached the throne of Hungary with the aid of the nationalist party. This party was from its very start anti-West and anti-German. In spite of all the connections of Matthias with Italy and the Renaissance, he had remained a man of the Hungarian-Slavic-East. Zoltan Toth

27Zoltan Toth, Das fremde Söldnerheer des König Matthias (Budapest, 1925), 49.
notes: "Matthias does not belong to the farseeing geniuses of the Hungarian nation. He only lived from one day to the next and was satisfied with crawling hypocrisy. Nor did he notice that the prestige and pomp which surrounded his person, and the feared powers of his nation were rooted in an infected barbarian spirit."²⁸

It was this infected barbarian spirit oozing below the surface at the Renaissance court of King Matthias which turned the King completely away from the legacy of St. Stephan. Matthias proudly declared himself a member of the Scythian race and joined the perception of Cumanian King Ladislaus IV. Under Matthias' commission the Italian Bonfini had to write the history of the Huns, leaving no stone unturned to establish a relationship between the Huns and the Magyars. Macartney is wrong when he says that Bonfini was commissioned to trace the history of the Hunyadi ancestry "back to a Roman consul . . . himself (Matthias) the descendant of Zeus and the nymph Taygeta."²⁹ Matthias, as Ladislaus IV, did not want to be associated with a western ancestry, but he too sought after the bloody glory of Attila. In his court the annalists had to call him Attila II.³⁰ It was

²⁸Ibid., 221
²⁹Macartney, A Short History, 55.
³⁰Weidlein, Leistungen, 27.
in Attila and the Scythian past coupled with the growing Slav inspired Hungarian nationalism which turned Matthias with all his power against the West, first only against Germany, later against Italy as well.

The Renaissance at the Hungarian court was only a facade. The social reforms were only false pretext and Matthias' title "The Just" a hollow lie. The contemporaries judge him differently. The famed preacher and intellectual Telbart von Temeschwar openly called Matthias a prodigal who was no protector of his people and no protector of widows and orphans and he was driven to an early death through the curses of the orphans and widows. 31

Matthias had lived in splendor and pomp and the Hungarian nobility was forced to accept Slavic dictates of Matthias' secretaries. The peasants were taxed and abused as never before. The gentry was the only class which was prosperous in his reign and they were for the most part Hungarian-Slavs. As their greatest enemy they openly named the Germans, for the Germans alone blocked their century old plan of establishing a Pan-Slav-State. Hungarian national ideals were in the air, of course, but they could only be realized to the degree they did not hinder the Slav plan to force German influence and western culture out of the Carpathian Basin.

31Szekfü, Homan, II, 565; Weidlein, Leistungen, 26
The death of King Matthias in 1490 left the country in turmoil. The nobility was so deflated during the long reign of Matthias that they were not able to recuperate quickly enough to be effective in the election of a new king. The gentry, led by some Slav-assimilated noblemen, elected another Slav as the next king. The Czech bishop Filipec was able to organize enough votes in the diet that the Pole Wladislaus II, King of Bohemia, was elected king of Hungary (1490-1516). Szekfü and Homan note:

Through the election of this Polish-Bohemian King, Hungary turned de facto away from the West. The West was on the way toward the Renaissance and a new absolutism. Thus Hungary stepped back a pace and aligned itself with the Slavic states which had dragged their existence in past decades through an undisciplined misery.32

The gentry and the Scythian nobility had elected a Slav to the Hungarian throne and a weak Slav at that. Under Wladislaus II, the nationalist party controlled all aspects of the government. Hungary had indeed entered an all Slav-orbit. The peasants and German burghers were taxed mercilessly. There is no need to labor on the point that the anti-German and anti-western policies of the all-Slav

32Ibid., II, 565.
dominated government led to the bloody Peasant Revolt of 1514.33

The result of the Peasant Revolt was that the Scythian-obsessed nationalists ignored Wladislaus' plans to bring about peaceful reforms in the tax policies of Matthias. Instead Stephan Werbőczi, an outstanding legal expert of the time and ardent supporter of the nationalists' Scythian ideals, rewrote the laws of Hungary. His "Tripartitum" (Triple Code) became the basic authority in all legal matters. He was a southern Slav and a member of the gentry, and it was the desire of this clan to have a law which would be authoritative without the sanction of the King or the pro-western nobility.

Werbőczi's Tripartitum became the law. He dealt with only one kind of nobility, the "una eademque nobilitas." To

33Johann Weidlein, Deutsche Schuld in Ungarn? Der madjarische Mythos von der deutschen Gefahr (Schorndorf, Württemberg: Adolf Haushahn KG, 1966), 7. Hereafter cited as: Weidlein, Deutsche Schuld. The Peasant Revolt was an unusual and terrible episode in the history of any nation. It did not share the same roots as the Peasant Revolt in Germany just a few years later. Tamas Bakocz, the Cardinal Primate, had aspirations of becoming the pope. He was not elected but received papal authority to organize a crusade against the Turks. The Hungarian nobility, however, was not interested; their concern was not the ever mounting danger of a Turkish invasion. A large peasant army was gathered, however, under Szabo Dozsa. Dozsa did not turn them against the Turks but against the gentry and nobility. The demand of the peasants was quite simple: "Lift the yoke of taxation which has become unbearable." The revolt was put down by the nobility and Werbőczi's "Tripartitum" sealed the fate of the peasants with perpetual servitude.
this nobility he granted far reaching privileges. The peasants and burghers on the other hand lost nearly all their rights. They were to carry the burden of all taxation as before and became bound to the land. While the feudal yoke was gradually being lifted from the peasants in western Europe due to the Renaissance and absolutism, the Hungarian nobility, now proudly proclaiming a Scythian heritage, inflicted stringent feudal restrictions in their realm.

Matthias had made the Hun-Scythian heritage the focal point of Hungarian nationalism and the policies of that acceptance were now finding expression in Hungary.

Paragraph fourteen of Werboczi's code of law makes it absolutely clear that all inhabitants of Hungary who are not "una eademque nobilitas" are to live "in a true and eternal servitude." The free cities of Hungary, in which the Germans were concentrated, were also greatly restricted. In all diets starting in 1517 the free cities together had only one single vote, i.e., they had the voice of one single nobleman. Werböczi's code of law gave Hungary to the nobility. However, it was not the old aristocratic nobility, but the "una eademque nobilitas" in which the nationalists and Slavs had an unquestioned majority.

The nobility in Hungary had enjoyed tax-free living on

---

34 Kosary, 33.
their estates since 1222. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the nobility bought houses in the cities, and Andreas I was able to pass a law in 1361 that the nobility was to pay taxes on their properties within the walls of free-cities. Werböczi's code of law negated the law of 1361 and the city dwellers again had to carry all the taxation for the maintenance of the city.

Werböczi's laws had set the pace for the times. The nobility was in unquestioning control of Hungary. In 1516 Wladislaus II died. He was succeeded by his nine year old son Ludwig II. The nationalist nobility took note of the fact that a new king reigned in Hungary but made no effort to elect a regent or aid the position of the child-King. The garrisons on the frontier were left without pay, and the ruling nobility found satisfaction only in restricting the mobility and rights of the peasants and the Germans. The hatred of the Germans by the Hungarian gentry was so acute

35 Raimund Fried‘ch Kaindl, Geschichte der Deutschen in den Karpathenländer (3 vols; Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1907), II, 41.

36 After the Turkish victory at Mohacs much of the nobility fled to the cities; the existence of the cities was actually threatened by all the tax free inhabitants. The free cities had to ask Ferdinand I to force the nobility to pay part of the expense for the maintenance of the cities.

37 Weidlein, Leistungen, 30.
that Kaiser Maximilian had thoughts of intervention which never materialized.\textsuperscript{38}

During the last years of Ludwig II's reign the situation had already gone out of control. The king had to disband his "banderia" (the King's army) because of lack of funds. The nobility ruled without the consent of the king and showed no signs of restraint. The leader of the nationalist party was the Duke of Transylvania, Johann Zapolya who had shown his anti-German and anti-western leanings since 1505.\textsuperscript{39} Zapolya spurred on the hatred of all Germans and at the diet of 1523 it was he who made the demand and got the vote "that all Lutherans would be punished by having their heads chopped off." Their property was to be divided by the nobility.

\textsuperscript{38} Plans to interfere in Hungary because of the unparalleled treatment of German settlers and open expression of the expulsion of the Kaiser's envoy were given up because Kaiser Maximilian and Wladislaus II of Hungary had reached an agreement (1505) whereby the crown of Hungary would revert to Maximilian or his heirs if Wladislaus II would not produce an heir. Should Wladislaus leave a son he would marry Maximilian's daughter, Maria. It seems that this agreement kept Maximilian from interfering in Hungary over the years because he knew that an interference at any time before Ludwig's marriage to Maria would have been labeled lawless and criminal by the Hungarian nobility.

\textsuperscript{39} Kaindl, II, 36. Johann Zapolya, Kaindl holds, had intended to secure the crown of Hungary for his family for some time. He planned to arrange this by marrying into the royal family of Germany or Bohemia. When this failed, he became an ardent nationalist, and it was basically he who had passed the law that no foreigner could ever be elected to the Hungarian throne.
Kaindl sees these two latter acts as direct attacks on the Germans in Hungary, for the Hungarians had not yet accepted protestantism. Two years later Johann Zapolya demanded at the diet in Buda, "that all German office holders, businessmen, and those Germans working for the Fugger family" were to be "driven from their posts and from the land."

Other demands by Zapolya were that the German Kaiser's envoy at the Hungarian court be banished forever, and that "no German be permitted to own or operate or lease" the copper mines in the Neusholer region. Zapolya also demanded that all foreign ownership be curbed, and confiscation of those business establishments which endangered the country should be made at the discretion of the nobility. The Zapolya-led nobility were not able to pass all these regulations, but they did pass and into law that "all debts owned by the Hungarian nobility to Germans or any branch of the Fugger family were void now and forever."

Weidlein notes that the chaos and the irresponsibility of the nobility were the real reasons for the catastrophe of 1526. When Suliman the Magnificent started his expansionist policies in 1520 and demanded tribute from Hungary there was no responsible Hungarian government which could have answered

---

40 Ibid., 38 and 49.
41 Ibid., 40.
those demands. The king had no support and the nobility was unmoved by the urgency of the Turkish threat.  

When King Ludwig II left Buda to meet the Sultan's force, in August of 1526, he had with him only Austrian and German forces. The Hungarian nobility ignored the messengers which had combed all the western countries to solicit help against the Turks. Johann Zapolya, the only commander in charge of large detachments from Transylvania and Croatia in all of Hungary, followed his private interests and encamped his force just east of Mohacs without joining the battle.

The Battle of Mohacs was a total disaster for the Austrian and German regulars led by the Hungarian King. Ludwig II, too, perished in the battle. The Turks had no opposition in their western drive. It is usually held by the historians of Hungary that Zapolya's forces were delayed en route to Mohacs and that Ludwig's impatience to engage the Turks in battle before Zapolya could join was the cause for

42 Suliman the Magnificent started a renewed expansionist policy. He reduced Belgrade in 1522 and the road toward Vienna was open for him. The western Christian world realized that the Turks represented great danger to their culture but still no unity was achieved in formulating a solid western block against this threat. The final blow would have come much before 1526 if Suliman had pursued his victory at Belgrade in 1522. However, his interests took the Turk first to Asia Minor where he reduced Rhodes before turning north again.

43 Weidlein, Leistungen, 29.
the defeat. However, there are two important flaws in this argument. First, Johann Zapolya's army made no contact with the Sultan's force at a later date which, of course, it should have, had it been just behind Ludwig's forces. Second, Zapolya had no intention of fighting against the Turks for he found his interests better served by an alliance with the Sultan. This alliance pitted Zapola's and the Sultan's forces in a combined effort against the West as early as 1527.

Hungary, which had been a political unit for over five hundred years, was split into two parts by the Sultan's victory at Mohacs. Johann Zapolya's national party elected him King and with the Sultan's help he was installed at Buda. The rightful successor of Ludwig II was Ferdinand of Habsburg. The agreement made between Wladislaus II of the House of Jagiello and the House of Habsburg in 1515 unquestionably turned Hungary's crown over to the Habsburgs. Naturally, Ferdinand not only had the legal right to

---

44 Kosary, 41; Eckhart, 68; Macartney, A Short History, 63.

45 Macartney, Short History, 67 and others.

Hungary's throne, but also many pro-western Hungarian noblemen favored his crowning. He had the Empire's resources behind him and was a known enemy of the Turks. All Christian interests in the Empire also pledged their support to Ferdinand and Ferdinand was also crowned King of Hungary.

Zapolya with the Sultan's support ruled at Buda while Ferdinand ruled the western part of Hungary from Vienna. For several years neither claimant to Hungary's throne was able to dislodge the other's claim, while the war between the two played into the hands of the Sultan. Zapolya's rule in Buda was nothing more than the Sultan's bidding. In 1538 secret diplomatic talk between the two factions reached an agreement by which Johann Zapolya agreed that upon his death, Ferdinand or his son would rule as one king over the land. This agreement was obviously the result of not only the secret negotiations between the two claimants, but also of Zapolya's realization that he was only the puppet of the Sultan. The Sultan's occupation of central Hungary laid waste the whole countryside. Zapolya's supporters, the Scythian nobility, did not receive special favors from the Turks and thus Zapolya had no supporters but the Sultan. He was, however, able to keep the Turks out of his own Transylvania by paying a yearly tribute to the Sultan.

After Zapolya's death in 1540, his infant son Johann Sigesmund was recognized as King of Hungary but the Sultan
made it clear that Central Hungary was now his vassal state. Johann Sigesmund Zapolya, declared the Sultan in 1566, was the independent ruler of Transylvania and that the principality stood under Turkish protection. With this declaration, the tri-section of Hungary was complete.

The Hungarian nobility, following the example of their Cumanian King, Ladislaus IV, had gradually reached their goal. Werbőczi's Tripartitum sealed their destiny to that of the Hun-King Attila even if the assumptions are false. The famed Cardinal Pazmany warned his contemporaries not to start friendships with the Turks, he saw in such a friendship "a spiritual danger, a bad infection of all Hungarian-dom." 47

Indeed the search for an eastern relationship did cause grave results in the sixteenth century for the Hungarians. The Turks were brought into the country for nearly two hundred years. Only the politics of the Scythian anti-German nobility had brought about this disaster in 1526. We will see below that the rekindled nationalist party in the

47Peter Pazmany was a professor at the University of Graz. His name at that time was Peter Patzmann. He became a famed Jesuit teacher at the Collegium Hungaricum in Rome (1579) and later Cardinal of Hungary. His work was not restricted to the anti-Reformation movement in Hungary but is generally recognized as humanitarian and western in goal as well as in accomplishment.
eighteenth century searched for an eastern cultural relationship and made every effort to turn out all western influence. The irony of it all is, of course, that Hungary was being victimized in both instances. What took place under clever and careful disguise of Hungarian nationalism were but shrewd plans of Slavic dominations. Hungary had chosen its path under the Arpads as western. St. Stephan's policies were direct and unquestionably partial toward the western culture development. The infiltration of Slavs into Hungarian nobility marks the start of cultural conflict in Hungary. Hungarian nationalism became the tool of the Slavonized nobility to force the Hungarians against their first and perhaps natural cultural tendencies—Western Culture and Western Christianity. The Scythian or Altaic and later Turanian national legacies were developed by the Slavonized nobility of the eastern regions of the country and propagated by the kings of obvious Slavic ancestry. King Matthias Corvinus Hunyadi will serve as the classical example. It was he who commissioned Bonfini to write the history of the Huns, and it was he who gave structure to the chronicle of Kezai and incorporated the culturally eastern Ladislaus Cult into modern Hungarian history. It was the grip of the anti-western cult which dictated the policies of the nobility, i.e., Werböczi and Zapolya and others who delivered the country into the hands of the Turks in 1526.
The perseverance with which this totally unscientific theory of the Ladislaus Cult proclaims its truths among the pure Magyars has its roots in the deep desire to lengthen the History of Hungary by half a millennium and to secure the bloody fame of Attila the Scourge of God.
CHAPTER IV
THE CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN HUNGARY
UP TO 1526

The Cities as Cultural Islands

From the time Karl Robert succeeded to the Hungarian throne to the catastrophe at Mohacs (1307-1526), Hungary fell into a South-Slav political orientation. The political temperament of the South-Slav Hungarianized nobility was unquestionably anti-West and anti-German. The danger to Hungary's western culture was grave indeed. When Bela IV called the Cumanian influence "ultima necesitas" in 1268 he had not altogether recognized all the ramifications of the danger. Under Bela's son Ladislaus IV (1272-1290) Hungary had turned against the West viewed from a political standpoint. It was this political viewpoint which had manifested itself under later national kings and leaders, i.e., Hunyadi, Matthias, and Zapolya, and forced Hungary into the national collapse at Mohacs.

The political developments, however, do not speak for the cultural and intellectual developments in Hungary. In these respects Hungary remained a western kingdom and a
continuous connection with the West can be shown until the Turks occupied the country in 1526.

In these two centuries, western Europe's intellectual development leaped from scholasticism to humanism. The growth of the cities in Western Europe accounted for great changes in modes of life. The Renaissance in Italy, and north of the Alps as well, changed western man from an other worldly character to an exuberant, flamboyant worldly character. In architecture, the bleak spires of the Gothic style were replaced by the greatly adorned styles of the Renaissance and Baroque periods.

Hungary was not left behind in these great cultural and intellectual changes of the West. It is not even enough to say that these cultural and intellectual changes were realized in Hungary, because Hungary was an active partner in Western Europe's cultural and intellectual progress.

The fact that the western cultural and intellectual changes and developments were represented in Hungary and Hungary mirrors similar cultural progress as the rest of Western Europe is evidence enough to assert that Hungary had remained, at least culturally, a western nation in spite of the anti-western mania of its political development. Even the religious developments of Western Europe such as the Hussite Wars, the Reformation, and the Counter-Reformation as well as the subsequent religious wars engulfed Hungary as
they did engulf all other western countries. These developments, however, did not spread beyond the eastern border of Hungary, thus another proof that Hungary was in fact a western culture. Hungary was the outpost of the West; it stood guard against the eastern cultural onslaught, i.e., the advance of the Slavic culture. Politically, the Slavic world had successfully managed to tear Hungary apart, but culturally Hungary remained Western. Hungary shared the West's cultural upward leap and rejected the eastern culture of the Slavs.

It would be wrong, however, to assert that Hungary was totally a western culture. The Scythian politically anti-western gentry and nobility were able to force the earlier Carolingian western influence out of Hungary, at least out of their sphere of influence. The influence of the nobility was quite obviously in their feudal estates. These estates were culturally outside western influence. Weidlein notes: "The Hungarian nobility's part in the cultural and intellectual development of Hungary was limited to those noblemen who had followed a pro-western course from the time of King Stephan." This clearly denotes the fact that the eastern and southern nobility and the gentry were outside the western cultural influence. Weidlein brings the cultural achievement of Hungary into focus when he notes: "The cultural and intellectual achievements in Hungary were
almost exclusively attained by the German cultural islands (the cities) which had developed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹

Raimund F. Kaindl, in his excellent study, had come to a similar conclusion to Weidlein's. He maintains that the western culture of Hungary was able to live on after the nobility had put considerable political pressure upon any western thought or idea, because "The German burgher in the Hungarian city was able to maintain himself and progress due to the support of the kings."² Kaindl insists that almost all the kings of the Arpad and Anjou Dynasties, with some exceptions of course, had recognized that their own security and strength depended on the cities and not on the nobility.³

The great kings of Hungary of the Anjou Dynasty, such as Ludwig the Great (1342-1382), and Sigismund of the House of Luxemburg (1387-1437) followed an expansionist foreign policy. True, the expansionist foreign policies of the kings were basically responsible for the Slavic infiltration into the Hungarian nobility, and it was the expansionist foreign policies which strengthened the Ladislaus Cult held by the nobility. But, ironically it was also the expansionist

¹ Weidlein, Leistungen . . . , 31-32.
² Kaindl, II, 12-30.
³ Ibid., 221.
foreign policies which brought the kings into a political alliance with the primarily German cities.

The nobility loathed the great kings' feudal expectations as well as their tax structures. Ludwig the Great, for example, maintained a large army but his own finances were not enough to pay for it. His political strength, however, forced the nobility to support his military exploits even though this support came reluctantly. Later the nobility was able to by-pass this problem by electing primarily foreign kings to the Hungarian throne who were able to use their own country's resources for the defense of Hungary. Presently, however, the kings found that the cities, inhabited by Germans and Jews, not only supported them by paying taxes, but also supported the kings' political ambitions.

The kings recognized this political strength gained from the cities and gradually rewarded them by granting them independent status, i.e., the cities were granted what is better called "Stadtrecht."\(^4\) As the independent cities

\(^4\)The German term "Stadtrecht" eludes precise translation. It is occasionally translated as "civic right" or as "municipal civic privileges," however, it actually refers to not only the rights of the cities but also includes the rights of the city dwellers. For example, Ofen received its Stadtrecht in 1247. It clearly states that, should a man die or desert the city his property shall not be confiscated by city or the church but should be held in trust until the rightful heirs, his wife, children, etc., have been determined. If he has left no living relatives, his property was dispersed according to his last will and testament. In case he has not left the latter, one part of his property should
increased in number, the economic and military strength of the kings increased proportionately. Independent cities, which stood under the kings' jurisdiction, were represented at the provincial diets and thus political strength was added to the economic strength of the kings.

It is interesting to note that the Hungarian kings, starting with Emerich (1198-1204), invited Germans to live in Hungary for the same reasons as King Stephan had done two centuries earlier. In this later period, however, the Germans settled in the independent cities under the kings' protection or in large villages which, according to Kaindl, "were subsequently endowed with a Stadtrecht."^5

Western cultural achievements made their inroads into Hungary by reason of a continuous migration of Germans from the Reich to Hungary. The favorable development of this cultural influence started with the growth of the cities in

__________

^5Ibid., 23.
the late twelfth century and the growth of the kings' political and economic power which was enhanced by the German burgher population of the cities.

There were weak kings, for example Andreas II (1205-1235), under whose reign the nobility was able to gain unlimited rights for themselves by forcing the king to sign the now famed Golden Bull of 1222. The Golden Bull (Bulla Arrea) has often been compared to the famous English Magna Carta issued just seven years earlier; but different social circumstances caused King Andreas II to sign the Golden Bull than those which forced King John of England to sign the Magna Carta. The closest resemblance of the Golden Bull to the English document was in the limitations of royal rights and prerogatives. But where the English document established rights for the nobility, it also spelled out responsibilities. The Golden Bull, however, stripped King Andreas II of his powers and vested them in the nobility, but left the King with the responsibility of maintaining order. One paragraph of the Golden Bull clearly stated that the King shall have no rights to tax the nobility in any form whatever. It was this particular paragraph to which the Hungarian nobility held on the longest and it was basically responsible for Hungary's slow economic development for the next six centuries.  

---

6Kosary, 33.
King Andreas II also had to agree, in signing the Golden Bull, that "... no city official or inhabitant of a city who was of foreign origin could be appointed to any high office of state without the consent of the nobility."^8

This paragraph was clearly directed against the cities in which the king had found strength. However, not only did the nobility try to restrict the cities from gaining political power but their particular wrath was unquestionably directed against the Germans in the cities and the German burghers who had become advisors to the king. In the annals of the monastery in Marbach in Elsass it is recorded that the German hatred was so great among the nobility at the time of King Andreas II that a bloodbath was prepared for the German counsellors of the king. The words of the annalist are: "... nulla alia causa, ut dicebatur, existente nisi quod eadem regina erga teutonicos unde-quoque adventantes larga fuit et liberalis eorumque necessitati in omnibus subveniebat."^9

The Hungarian nobility recognized the fact that the kings' political and economic power was largely centered in the cities. They, therefore, tried to limit these powers. This, however, proved to be the wrong move. For the kings were forced to rely upon the cities more and more. This was

^8Kaindl, II, 23.

^9This is an excerpt from a longer quotation given by Nemedi, 14-15.
particularly true after King Andreas II had signed the Golden Bull. The nobility had indirectly forced the king, and all the subsequent kings, to foster and speed up the cities' development in Hungary.

It is not feasible to list all the cities in Hungary which were, in part, endowed with German Stadtrechte after the nobility had hemmed the kings in, politically, with the Golden Bull. But some of the major ones should be noted: Pest, 1244, Ofen, 1247, Schmnitz, 1244, Käsmark, 1269, Nagyszasz, 1262, Ödenburg, 1231, Gran, 1241, Fünfkirchen, 1261, Pressburg, 1291, Grosswordein, 1231, Klausenburg, 1370, Hermannstadt, 1233, Neusohl, 1261, and Ardo, 1319. The names of the cities above were chosen because their geographic distribution over all of Hungary is such that it can be said that the German cities reached from the west of the country to the eastern borders of Transylvania.\(^{10}\)

Of major importance for the growth and development of the cities in Hungary besides the Stadtrecht is the abolition of the nobility's jurisdiction in the cities. The cities were, of course, within the territory of Hungarian noblemen, and for some time the nobility as a whole not only

\(^{10}\) Please see the attached map on page for the geographical distribution of cities which were endowed with German civic rights by the Hungarian kings after the signing of the Golden Bull had taken place.
objected to the Stadtrechte but tried to enforce their laws over the cities and their inhabitants.\textsuperscript{11} This included such things as taxation as well as the allotted labor (Robot) which the peasant population had to render to the noblemen. Under the Stadtrecht endowed by the king all such obligations of the burghers to the local nobility were declared void. Many cities demanded and received a special letter (Freibrief) from the king spelling out their rights in this respect. Some cities, for example Hermannstadt, received in 1224\textsuperscript{12}, one year after their Stadtrecht was granted, a Freibrief which forbade the local nobility to enter the city if the burghers did not wish him to enter. Should the local noblemen enter the city while in the king's service, the burghers were not obligated to quarter him free of charge as they were obligated to quarter officials of the king on official business of the king.\textsuperscript{12}

To assume that all the city dwellers were of German origin in Hungary would be wrong. Besides the large German element in the cities, there were in both the South and North of Hungary a sizeable element of Slavs present. In Transyl-

\textsuperscript{11} Kaindl, II, 219.

\textsuperscript{12} An official of the king who was on official business of the king had to be quartered free of charge by the burghers for two days. Should the business take longer than two days, he had to pay for his keep not in excess of the charges made of an average citizen.
There were Rumanians living in the cities side by side with the Germans. For example, the city of Ban (Stadtrecht 1378) shows that the Slav population was in the majority from the very start. The fact that Germans were not the only inhabitants of the Hungarian cities needs to be brought out, but, as Valjavec notes, it should not be exaggerated.

Nevertheless, so far as the culture and the way of life of these cities in the Carpathian Basin is concerned, all the major determining factors are of German origin. The German population of the cities and the continuous migrations of Germans from the Reich has "pressed the stamp of western culture upon this region." If the German elements of a particular settlement (pre-city settlement) were weak or did not increase by the migrations, the development of the settlement to a city was usually inhibited and brought to a standstill. A good example of the latter is the settlement of St. Martin on the Turz River. In 1340 it received the Stadtrecht, but the lack of German immigrants slowed down its development. The Slav population increased, and by 1400 it had lost its city status and was a mere village.

14 Ibid., 75.
15 Ibid., 76.
16 Ibid., 78.
There were obviously economic reasons why cities developed in the Carpathian Basin. The Hungarian kings would not have been able to attract German settlers during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries had these economic causes not been present.\textsuperscript{17} Kaindl and Valjavec agree that the presence of mineral wealth and the subsequently developing trade were the primary reasons why cities developed. From this viewpoint it becomes quite obvious that the settlers who came to Hungary brought with them a culture, i.e., the culture of Western Europe. They were not "the poor and wretched creatures" which the nationalist Hungarian historians of late have made them out to be. They brought with them to Hungary a mode of life far different than the Hungarians of those centuries had had. They were able to bridge the abyss between Hungary and the rest of Western Europe which was still quite real in the thirteenth century.

It is possible to reconstruct this cultural influence on the basis of the German loan-words found in the Hungarian

\textsuperscript{17}The theory held by Kosary (A History of Hungary) that the German settlers in these centuries were largely poor, disenfranchised people of the Reich who did not have a culture and could, therefore, not be viewed as the carriers of the Western Cultures is largely negated by the following evidence.
language. The words for ideas and concepts relating to a mode of life, business, trade, and occupations which the Hungarians adopted are unquestionably transmitted to the Hungarian language by borrowed German words.¹⁸ Some examples of the borrowed German words are: polgar, Burger (citizen), grof, Graf (duke), bognar, Wagner (wagon maker), borbely, Barbier (barber), küfar, Kaufüer (buyer), fertaly, Viertel (a fourth), ere, Erz (ore), gyemant, Diamant (diamont), kanna, Kanne (watering can).¹⁹ Weidlein lists more than one thousand such words which were borrowed from the German language.²⁰

The cultural transmission task of the German cities in Hungary takes on an even more important concern as gradually a Hungarian Stadtewesen (municipal concern) starts to develop. Valjavec points out that during the late thirteenth century a Hungarian Stadtewesen had appeared.²¹ It is then that the Hungarian-German cultural relation became fused. Only now could a true organic connection develop between the two cultures. The cultural difference between Hungary and the


¹⁹Ibid., 201-203.

²⁰Ibid., 196-217.

²¹Valjavec, I, 79.
rest of Western Europe was before so vast that no true fusion was taking place. The western culture had created cultural islands and had converted some Hungarians to western ways, but the organic connection between the two cultures could only take place after a Hungarian Stadtewesen had developed.

The growth of the Hungarian Stadtewesen patterned itself after the German. The German culture, however, was not totally copied by the developing Hungarian culture. The two cultures continued into a strong beachhead of the total western culture in the Carpathian Basin, which was to see little change in the centuries ahead. Once the organic connection between the two cultures was achieved, Hungarians could lead a way of life which was western but still their own kind of western culture.

Gradually the cultural islands of Hungary, which were German, disappeared. The German elements became incorporated into the organic whole. This organic whole, if one can speak of such a thing in society, was its own creation. It cannot even be said that the good of each, the German and Hungarian cultures, were fused. It was not that kind of cultural marriage. It was a well developed Stadtewesen which had obvious German characteristics, but the Germans who were part of it did not lament the fact that it was outside the German Reich. They were not willing to deny that they were
Germans, but neither did they ask the Hungarians to deny that they were Hungarians.

The attacks of the Scythian nobility in the fifteenth century upon the cities were anti-West and anti-German. The real problem was, however, that the nobility, and their elected foreign kings, never had an understanding of the Stadtewesen of Hungary. They did not understand the burgher society which had developed in the cities. The Hungarian nobility had not been fused with the western culture as the Hungarian population of the cities was fused.

The above is not to be understood as a sole difference between the Hungarian nobility and the burgher population of the cities. Hungary's nobility was not willing to be fused with the West. They found their pleasures by tightening the yoke of the peasant population and by imagining themselves as the descendants of Attila, the Scourge of God.

---

22Reference is made to the nobility's ruthless way of putting down the peasant revolt of 1514. See footnote 33, Ch. 3.

23It is, of course, understood that not all the Hungarian nobility falls into the category described here. There were noblemen who had become westerners much before the Stadtweisen had developed in Hungary. The reference made here primarily concerns the gentry and Slavic-Hungarianized nobility whose actions have been thoroughly developed in the preceding chapter.
The developing Stadtewesen of Hungary takes all its inspirations from the West. Western culture in all its ramifications is realized in the cities of Hungary. The few noblemen who were able to become part of the new western culture are among the West's greatest children of the various cultural periods. But Hungary's nobility in general did not adjust to the new culture.  

The gothic cultural stream with all its intellectual tributaries (primarily the mystics of the late Middle Ages) falls within the cities' growth of Hungary. Where this cultural period was a mere continuation or an outgrowth of other cultural periods in Western Europe, the gothic period marks the start of Western culture in Hungary. With the new growth of the burgher society the gothic period was deeply imbedded in Hungary. Perhaps nowhere else did the gothic period make such a lasting impression as in Hungary's cities,

24Kaindl, II, 211-350. Hungary was not the only country in Europe where the nobility viewed the growth of the city as a danger to their social position. In fact it can be argued that the nobility of Europe in general rightfully saw the development of the cities as the downfall of the feudal society. However, in England, France, and in certain respects in Germany the nobility was able to make the necessary adjustments and maintain themselves as the true representatives of the culture which developed because of, i.e., in the Cities. In Poland, Hungary, and Rumania, according to Kaindl's analysis, the nobility could not accomplish this metamorphosis. It was indeed a social metamorphosis for the nobility of the Middle Ages was a social class which lived by the cannons of chivalry whereas in the late Middle Ages the nobility of Western Europe had become a social class of the city, not a castle.
as is manifest in cathedrals and other public buildings, particularly in the northern cities.

Humanism made its appearance as early as the middle of the fourteenth century, but it was not until the sixteenth century that Humanism was able to triumph completely over the gothic world. So strongly had the gothic cultural concept fused itself with the burgher society that only through the Reformation was it possible to break the gothic spell. But the gothic character of the Hungarian burgher society did not preclude that the latter also experienced other cultural attitudes and tendencies. Only through these other tendencies was it possible that the burgher society of Hungary erected heavenward-reaching domes and experienced with deep fervor the other-worldiness so typical of the gothic world, and was able simultaneously to achieve a secularization of the spirit (Geist) very much like that in the rest of Western Europe.25

The Gothic culture of the Hungarian burgher society in its well developed form is closely connected to the reign of Sigismund (1387-1437).26 In his capital, Ofen, he had erected the famed "Frische Palais" (1418). This palace stood as the sign of recognition that the Kaiser and the King

25Valjavec, I, 82.

26Sigismund's foreign policy and close alliance and reliance upon the cities has been discussed above. See pages 106 and 107.
of Hungary was indeed the Imperator of the western world. The chief architect for Sigismund was the German burgher Cheunrad Richterfelser. Numerous German masters in the fields of goldsmithing, painting, and metal working are known to us by name. Numerous other masters who were working on the fortress of Ofen, which was erected simultaneously, came from Augsburg, Tübingen, Stuttgart and other cities of the Reich. Some of these masters were engaged in the building of churches in southern Germany before coming to Ofen at Sigismund's bidding. The Gothic architecture, however, was not restricted to the capital city. The Michael-Church of Klausenburg, the Elizabeth-Cathedral of Kaschan, the Michael-Cathedral and the Benedictine-Church of Edenburg were all erected during the long reign of Sigismund.

The Renaissance in Hungary and the Humanistic Spirit

Under Matthias Corvinus no large cathedrals or other public buildings were erected. This monarch, whose reign came during the height of the Italian Renaissance, pursued an anti-Western policy, as has been related, and markedly retarded influence from Germany and the West in general. Still, his court was adorned with a thin layer of Renaissance

27 Weidlein, Leistungen, 32.
28 Ibid.
culture. The Renaissance arts related to jewels, silk, tapestry, and brocades as well as clothing, weapons, bombazines were introduced at his court. It is interesting, however, that Renaissance cultural achievements are found only in the German cities of the north and west of Hungary, i.e., the region never occupied by the Turks. The Hungarian cities of the Turkish region show little Renaissance culture. This points out clearly that the Renaissance culture was spread not only by direct connection with Italy but also by Germany. The superficial layer of Renaissance culture at Matthias' court did not penetrate the Hungarian burgher population. The division between the Hungarian burghers and the South-Slav court was never bridged even in the cultural endeavor. The two greatest Renaissance men of Hungary, Johann Vitez and J. Pannovius (formerly Czezmice) were South-Slavs. Their work and cultural contributions, however, never did become part of the burgher society; it remained strictly an influence in the king's court.

King Matthias' court was not only influenced by the Renaissance from Italy but remained culturally connected to the Vienna court. It was at Vienna that Matthias met and befriended the two Italians, Narzio Galeotto and Bonfini whose literary work is so closely associated to their benefactor,

29 Valjavec, I, 142.
the King of Hungary. The famed Renaissance scholar Cintio di San Sepolcro, an Italian, who had entered the service of King Matthias had lectured at the University of Vienna before he relocated in Hungary. Another scholar, Girolamo Baldi of Venice, held the University chair of Logic in Vienna until 1493. He left that year to work with Johann Vitez in Hungary, but in 1499 returned to the University of Vienna. This intellectual connection between the court of Matthias and the intellectual circles of Vienna are of great cultural importance. It clearly demonstrates that Matthias' Renaissance court was highly influenced by Vienna and cannot be regarded as a pure Italian Renaissance culture.

There are other indications of continuing German influence in the activities of the court. Matthias' wife, Beatrix, had a special love for Vienna. She was a frequent visitor at the health spa at Baden near Vienna. Valjavec has remarked that half of her fourteen years of marriage were spent in Vienna, and Matthias accompanied her often. When King Matthias opened the Pressburger Academia Istropolitanna in 1465 he called in primarily German professors. The famed German theologian, Peter Niger, was active in Pressburg, and after a few years of lecturing there he was called

30 Weidlein, Leistungen, 34.
31 Valjavec, I, 143.
32 Ibid., 145.
to Ofen by the King.\textsuperscript{33}

After the death of King Matthias, the Renaissance culture of the Hungarian court remained active for some time. It is important to note, however, that after 1490 the thin layer of direct influence from Italy was becoming even weaker. Vladislaus II, being a Pole, was not particularly interested in continuing in a Renaissance tradition, and most Italian scholars left the King's court.\textsuperscript{34}

After the evacuation of the important intellectual positions by the Italian scholars the cultural influence of Bohemia becomes important. Vladislaus II, always close to Prague, permitted the German Humanism found there to penetrate the Hungarian court. From Bohemia the German Humanists flooded Ofen. Valjavec lists Johann Schlecta, Georg Neideck, Robert Schellenberg, Augustin Kasembrot, and many others who became an active influence as the kings' advisors.\textsuperscript{35} Most of these Bohemians were German and most had studied at Vienna. The Renaissance culture thus was continued but the direct Italian influence was almost completely by-passed after the death of Matthias.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[33]Ibid.
\item[34]Ibid.
\item[35]Ibid., 146.
\end{footnotes}
An important evidence of the importance of German Humanism in Hungary after 1490 is the dedication of books by famed scholars of the West. The pro-western Hungarian nobleman, Kaspar Banfy, received several such dedications from foreigners. Alexius Thurso, who stood as the symbol of western culture in Hungary, received similar recognition. Erasmus of Rotterdam, the greatest of the Northern Renaissance scholars, dedicated his *Plutarchi Cheronaei Libellus perquam elegans* (1525) to the latter. Ulrich Fabri, a noted scholar of Vienna dedicated several of his writings to both of these men. A Viennese professor, Ricuzzi Vellini, obviously of Italian origin, even dedicated one of his Solinus-Editions to the Scythian jurist Stephan V. Werbóczi.36

Another literary proof of the vigor with which the Northern Renaissance became accepted in Hungary comes to us by the many translations of the Northern Humanists' works. Benedikt Komjati is unquestionably the most prolific Hungarian translator of Humanistic literature.37 He studied in Vienna in the latter decade of the fifteenth century and there learned that the true authority of Humanism was Erasmus of Rotterdam. He rendered many of Erasmus' works into the Hungarian language, and Komjati's translations was viewed by


his contemporaries as not only the authority on Erasmus, but on the Humanistic movement itself. It is important to note that Komjati's Erasmus translations were not connected with the inflamed intellectual battle accompanying the Reformation. They had been completed by 1516, and even a modest study of Erasmus' Humanistic literature reveals that the Reformation and topics which became relevant to the Reformation literature were not included in his earlier productions. Other (Hungarian) Humanists translated the Dulciti dramas of Hrotsuitha of Gundercheim and Johannes Reuchlin's works. 38

These and other circumstances clearly point out that it was truly the German Humanism which took deep-rooted effect in Hungary after the superficial Italian influence lost its effect under Vladislaus II. The great representatives of Hungarian Humanism, Piso, Hauter, Olah, and Werantschitsche, all of whom were educated in Vienna, were the ones who were able to penetrate the Hungarian society. 39 It was their work and tireless effort which brought the near South-East, i.e., the Carpathian Basin, into step with the culture of Western Europe.

Stephan Szekely, the first Hungarian annalist to use the Hungarian language, barely notes the Italian Renaissance

38Ibid., 171.
39Ibid., passn.
as a cultural influence. But he is quite explicit about the German Humanistic influence. In his chronicle he lists, for the year 1504, that "Johannes Reuchlin started to teach Hebrew which was not done before." He states for the year 1512, "Doctor Erasmus, the academic flower of knowledge, started to teach in Basel, Germany." Doctor Erasmus' fame and name, he adds, "are well known in this world." It was due chiefly to Szekely's writings that humanism was finally able to leave the king's court and was popularized by the burgher population of the Hungarian cities.

The similarity of the Hungarian Humanism to that of the German Humanistic spirit is partially explained by the economic and social similarity which existed between the two countries. The Italian Renaissance had made its mark upon the era of Matthias, but it had remained an adornment only. Szekfű justly remarks that "the Italian humanists in Hungary had little or no understanding for Hungary's past, and lacked the social understanding of the culture which could enable them to achieve lasting cultural influence." The Humanistic influence which came from Germany, however, had its centrifugal force, not in the upper strata of the society even though the king's court gave its support, but in a much

---

40 Valjavec, I, 55.
41 Szekfű, Homan, III, 228.
broader social class—the burgher society of Hungary. Thus, Humanism from Germany brought cultural innovations also to the "little" man in Hungary and was able to create lasting results.

Once the cultural base was broadened, the Latin language was no longer sufficient to communicate the Humanistic spirit in Hungary. In this development, the Reformation played an important role, for in Hungary as elsewhere, the reformed churches used the vernacular language. The old religion, of course, was not against the vernacular language, but it was handicapped in transmitting the Humanistic values to the broad base of the burgher population. The connection between Church and Humanism was not achieved in total by the old religion—the Reformation bridged this gap. The Hungarian leaders of the Reformation were totally entrenched in Northern Humanism. They were able to pull into focus the complete Humanistic culture and brought the Reformation and Humanism into the land as one intellectual enlightenment. They were only able to accomplish this task by the use of the vernacular language which had become the principle of communication par excellence for both Humanism and the Reformation.42

Of particular interest is the position taken by the lower Hungarian nobility. They had declared themselves

42Valjavec, I, 55.
openly as anti-West and particularly anti-German. In the religious split, however, they tended to become ardent supporters of the Reformation. This is explained in part by the fact that in Vienna the Humanistic spirit was not as closely interpreted to be an agent of the Reformation as it was in Hungary. The court at Vienna remained Roman Catholic and undoubtedly there were ardent supporters of the late scholastic period active in Vienna, who took a position which was to a certain degree directed against the teaching of humanism.

Even the simplest supporters of the late scholastic period in Hungary wanted to appear as "expertus" of their time and they, more than the supporters of Humanism, denounced the Scythian ways of the nobility. Valjavec remarks that "many unkind words . . . were voiced against the Scythian nobility by persons who did not agree with Humanism." The Hungarian nobility took this as their cue and virtually all denounced the Roman Catholic faith. As the Reformation progressed, the Hungarian nobility recognized that Humanism in Hungary was of German intellectual influence but that the Reformation and Humanism, although connected, were two distinctly different intellectual developments. Since Luther was German, the Hungarian nobility became Calvinist in the following century.  

---

43Ibid.
44Weidlein, Leistungen, 41-43.
While it would be too sweeping to say that the direct influence on the Italian Renaissance was restricted to fashions and other ideas fostered by the Corvinian court, it is, nonetheless difficult to point to more than a few lasting cultural influences from Italy which are not associated with fashion and adornment. But not too much value can be assigned to this influence, for it is of the same nature as the Italian influence in many areas of Germany. It was merely fashionable to own Italian objects. If we see a similar influence in Hungary, it is further proof of the cultural similarity of Hungary to the rest of Western Europe.

This is, however, not meant to disclaim some lasting Italian influence derived by Hungarians who studied at Italian universities, or who heard those Italians who came to lecture at Ofen. The Italian Humanist and lecturer at Bologna, who was later at Ofen, Johannes Barzo (1419-1505), had great influence in Hungary through his two histories of King Matthias Corvinus. Romulus Amasaus, also of Bologna, was of lasting influence through his Hungarian students Urban Batthyany and Franz von Barday. Their writings, which were quite extensive, have a distinct Italian flavor which cannot be denied.

By the time the Reformation was sweeping over Europe, Hungary had developed a feeling for Humanism and had its own vernacular representatives. The Hungarian nobility embraced
Humanism because it saw in it first a clearer expression of their anti-Western tendencies, for Humanism and the Reformation were conveyed as one intellectual force in Hungary.

The fact of the matter remains, by the time the Turks pushed into central Hungary, Hungary was a western society. All the western cultural achievements had been realized in Hungary. The work and effort of the Germans must be recognized as the true westernizing agent of Hungary. The cultural influence of Italy, France and far-off England are by no means worthy of comparison to the influence of Germany and Austria. Naturally, they cannot be dismissed, particularly not the influence derived from Italy during the reign of King Matthias, but to call that "an exclusive cultural influence," as it has been attempted by the nationalist, is pure illusion.

The Development of Education in Hungary

Education in Pannonia, before the Magyars occupied the land, was undoubtedly clerical in nature. There is little reliable evidence available to support the view expressed by Melzer, in his otherwise excellent study of early German settlements in Hungary, that there were three or four cathedral schools in existence in Pannonia before the start of the tenth century.\(^\text{45}\) Schnürer and Schünemann, as well as

\(^\text{45}\)Melzer, 108.
Weidlein, Valjavec and others, are not as optimistic on this matter. The activity of the Salzburg clergy, however important for Christianizing and missionary work in Pannonia, surely was not strong enough to establish cathedral schools there. Even in the rest of Western Christendom, the cathedral schools were not yet numerous enough in the ninth century to become an example for the missionaries active in Pannonia.

Hans Schubert in his *History of the Christian Church in the Early Middle Ages*, points out that education as such had not yet reached a meaning separate from clerical missionary activity.46 In Pannonia, as everywhere else on the frontier lands of the Western Church, education, as it is understood even in a clerical sense, was of little lasting importance.

After Hungary had become a Christian state through the work of King Stephan and his associations with Germans and Austrians, Christian education became an integral part of Hungarian culture. Naturally this is still clerical education and for some time it remained intimately associated with the missionary work carried on by the Austrian clergy in Hungary.

Since most of the clerics were German, being sent by the powerful Salsburg Diocese, there is no doubt that their presence in the young Hungarian kingdom helped fuse the two

46 Schubert, I, 77.
cultures. Furthermore, it is extremely difficult to separate the political activities from the clerical activities as was pointed out in the discussion of King Stephan's long reign. But it would be wrong to hold that the political aspirations of Stephan and the clerical aspirations of the Salzburgers were one and the same thing.

Education was clearly a matter of concern to both. The interest of the church was to Christianize the Magyars; the interest of King Stephan was to assimilate his people into the German culture flourishing to the North of his realm. The two concepts were carried out by the only people who could carry them out—the clerics. Thus, if one asserts that education through the twelfth century was primarily clerical in kind and was Christian education, he should not lose sight of the dual purpose of education in Western Hungary.

The numerous German cities in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, according to Kaindl, were able to develop an education system which was, at least, partially independent from the church.\(^{47}\) The German settlers had the responsibility of providing for their own priests. They elected the clerics and paid for their services, usually with goods they were able to produce themselves. In this manner, quite early in the history of the settlements, the clerics elected were expected to perform "other services besides taking care

\(^{47}\)Kaindl, II, 313.
of the salvation of the souls" in their community. Education of the young was usually the first and by far the most natural requirement the settlement would demand of their clerics.48

The schools which were opened under these circumstances, of course, were usually within the church walls or built next to the church. Kaindl calls these schools "Pfarrschulen" (priest-schools), but he insists that the education which was going on in them was not strictly a matter of the church. The settlements controlled the curriculum and attendance and elected their own cleric-teachers. Very often the clerics were dismissed by the settlers if they did not follow the bidding of the settlement in educational matters. Therefore, the educational system has to be viewed as a community matter from the very start and not as an integral part of the church. The connection between church and school was one of necessity or convenience. Clerics and teachers were not easily obtainable and the settlements were usually fortunate to be able to engage either one.

The separation of school and church becomes apparent as early as 1250 when the records of Strahemberg, Sinzendorf, and Schwarzenberg and others speak of lay teachers who were ___

48Ibid. There were other services, however, some clerics were required to act as physicians, judges, custodians of orphans, and other similar social services.
hired. Their tasks were exclusively to educate the children, they were not clerics, and their policies of education were not determined by the church.\textsuperscript{49} The church, however, had a continuous supply of missionaries going into the Carpathian Basin and the independent status of education which had developed was shortlived. Missionary clerics were used as teachers rather than lay teachers, due to the lack of lay teachers and the church's effort to control education.

By 1400, many of these settlements had become cities and had gained their Stadtrecht. In the cities the clerics kept the municipal books and took care of most literary activities including the recording of births, deaths, city council meetings, and all matters in regard to education.

The independence of education was, however, deeply seated. There are city records available, for example, which clearly show that the church had difficulties, in exercising their authority over education. Kaindl cites that the Bishop of Transylvania in 1438 had to decree that no lay teacher or school attendent could be hired by any city in his diocese without the approval of the local priest.\textsuperscript{50} This would indicate that, first of all, the cities still did the hiring of lay teachers, and that some cities still held

\textsuperscript{49}Friedrich X. Krones, \textit{Zur Geschichte des Deutschen Volkstums in Karpatenlande} (Graz: Geier Verlag, 1878), 91.

\textsuperscript{50}Kaindl, II, 313.
to the notion that education and the church are two different matters.

In the early centuries of the Middle Ages in Western Christendom, monastic schools and derivations thereof played a major role in education. However, Hungary seems to be an exception to this rule. In Western Hungary the literature names a monastic school only in Gran (1198) and in Vesprim as early as 1276. There are no other records available which would indicate that other monastic schools existed. Kaindl states that an active monastic school was located in Csanard (1190) and he further states that teachers by the names of Konrad, Albert, Thozlo, Heinrich, and Leonhard were active in this school. However, further examination proves that these men were clerical students in Csanard in 1190 who were later given churches of their own in Pannonia. The monastic school in Csanard was, therefore, not necessarily a school which gave instruction to the people of Csanard, but merely prepared clerics for the church. In Eastern Hungary and in Transylvania the sources examined show no reference of monastic schools.

The major development of schools in Hungary therefore is associated with the growth of the burgher population and

51_ Ibid., 116.

development of the free cities. The authority of education in these German burgher cities gradually was vested in the bishops, although the city paid for the priest teachers as well as the lay teachers which were still used but with the approval of the bishops. In Pressburg's city records, several schools of this kind are listed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In Northern Hungary, the Zips region, schools are mentioned in Donnersmark (1333), Leibnitz (1341), Leutschau (1381), and several cities too numerous to mention. Among the teachers, most would appear to be Germans. Magister Johannes Mühlbach of Kornstadt was educated in Vienna. The teachers Theoderich and Vincentius, of the city-school of Hermannstadt, had come from Regensburg. Heinrich Halbgebacher, a teacher at Grossschenk after 1440, is credited with having introduced the newer (Renaissance) methods of teaching the Latin language into the German burgher city schools there.

The educational system of the German burgher cities in Hungary was basically patterned after the kind of education the German burghers had known in Germany. The population in these cities was steadily increasing with immigrants from the Reich, and ideas relating to education and other

53 Kaindl, II, 314.
54 Ibid.
matters of burgher life were never threatened with becoming stagnant. The German influence in education in the cities can, therefore, not be denied.

By the second half of the fifteenth century, Humanism made its appearance in Hungary and it too became incorporated into the burgher schools. The city elders searched for Humanistic teachers. The Kaschau city council, for example, hired Andreas Freidich who was formerly a teacher at Krakau, Poland. The city of Bratfeld went far into Germany in 1512 to hire Valentine Eck from Lindau. This Humanistic teacher wrote a poetic examination for his students over the question of whether an intelligent man should marry or not. He also introduced art as a subject matter at his school.

Gradually the burgher schools in Hungary became as extensive as the city schools in Germany. No other country of Western Europe had as many and as deepseated cultural connections to the Hungarian burgher cities as did the German Reich.

The growing burgher culture in the cities, now of mixed German and Hungarian population, was able to tie Hungary's own budding culture even closer to the West and should be viewed as a continuation of the cultural fusion.

---

started by King Stephan's pro-western policy.

In every aspect of cultural innovation, missionary work, political patterns, city life, and education the agents who carried the western culture into Hungary are primarily Germans. This all-inclusive activity was the work of a group of men who rightly must be called educators. Whether they introduced new ways of teaching the Latin language, or built the first churches and city walls, or taught the Hungarians western techniques of agriculture, they are the educators of the nation, viewed from the total scope of cultural innovation.

The development of higher education in Hungary, or education of intellectual and spiritual nature, was at first closely tied to the influence of the University of Paris. The impetus for this development, of course, rests with the temporal developments. The connection between the courts of France and Hungary was first made by King Bela III's marriage to Maria of France. The actual royal relationship between the two kingdoms was of short duration (Bela died in 1197) but the priestly higher education which ensued marks an important chapter in Hungary's higher educational development.

Several Archbishops in succession were Paris-educated and many clerics received at least part of their training at the University of Paris. Valjavec, who notes that he is giving a conservative estimate, states that in these days
150 Hungarian clerics had found their way to Paris for the purpose of education. This educational influence of the French clergy produced several volumes of clerical literature which clearly shows the influence of the University of Paris.

Several manuscripts of the famed Historica Scholastica sen. historae eccles. libri IV, written by the French cleric professor Petrus Comestor at Paris, have been found in Hungary. There is no doubt that his students included several Hungarian clerics and his influence thus reached many Hungarian churches. Not only in Hungary, however, have the manuscripts of Comestor been found; they have been located from Poland all the way to the Balkans, thus giving evidence that the influence of the University of Paris was universal in the areas where the Roman Church had been able to exert its authority.

The educational influence of the University of Paris in Hungary showed a dynamic effect in the Hungarian Church as well. Hungarian clerics were not only students but were able to pursue higher clerical education far enough to become professors themselves. In the "egregia litterarum Civitas" of Paris, the Hungarian Augustinian monk, Alexander de Hun-

57 Valjavec, I, 53.
58 Ibid., 55.
59 Ibid., 56.
garia, is listed as "magister regens" in the early fourteenth century.

The educational influence of the University of Paris can be over-emphasized, as has been done by those historians who are eager to deny the German cultural and intellectual influence in Hungary. The fact is that the influence of the University of Paris was just as strong in Germany as in Hungary in the twelfth century. Valjavec states, "... the influence of the University of Paris in Hungary lasted about as long as that university exerted influence in Germany. As soon as it (the University of Paris) lost its influence in Germany it did likewise in Hungary." Perhaps Valjavec is suggesting here that the French clerical influence had come to Hungary through Germany. German clerics were strongly represented as students as well as professors at the University of Paris. How the French influence reached Hungary is, however, not in question here. The fact remains that higher clerical education in Hungary was under French influence long after Hungarian students had stopped attending the French institution.61

In this respect the influence of the University of Paris in Hungary can be compared to the French cultural influence. The actual royal association was of short duration

60Ibid., 52.
61Ibid., 55.
but the French influence at the Hungarian court remained active much longer. There is good evidence, however, that the French knightly culture was transmitted to Hungary in later periods by German mediators. 62

In the development of intellectual growth and higher education in Hungary, the influence of the monastery at Cluny, France, cannot be overlooked. The influence of Cluny extended far beyond the actual spread of monasteries founded by the monks from that famous center, and reached even to Hungary. 63 However, it is not enough to pinpoint the origin of the intellectual development which had come over Western Christendom through the energetic effort of Cluny. Hungary unquestionably received the intellectual reform of Cluny through Germany. The monasteries of Hirschau and St. Blasieu in the Black Forest and above all the monastery of St. Emmeran near Regensburg were basically responsible that Cluny's influence reached Hungary. 64 Bishop Gebhard, for example, had introduced the reforms of Cluny at St. Emmeran. We know that he had very close connections with several monasteries in Hungary and even made a Hungarian trip in 1199. 65


63 By the middle of the twelfth century Cluny had become the center and head of a great order embracing 314 monasteries in all parts of Europe.

64 Valjavec, I, 61.

65 Ibid., 62.
The German monks, who traveled back and forth from Germany to Hungary, more than any direct influence of Cluny, brought the Hungarian monasteries into the intellectual framework of Cluny.

Hungary was intellectually always under the influence of western thoughts and ideas. Therefore, we find that in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries Hungarian clerical as well as lay students were in attendance at other foreign, i.e., European, universities. The University of Bologna became particularly important as an intellectual tie to the West. In 1221 a Hungarian student by the name of Paulus Hungarus studied at Bologna. His professor was Dominicus, founder of the Dominican Order, and later St. Dominicus. Due to Dominicus' influence on Paulus Hungarus, Hungary became one of the first Provinces of the Dominican Order. Because of the close friendship between student and professor, and undoubtedly due also to the stature of St. Dominicus, Hungarian clerics and lay students flocked to Bologna to study. Most historians agree that Bologna's influence in Hungary was unsurpassed during the life of Paulus Hungarus. After his death, the influence of Bologna on Hungarian intellectual thought was restricted to the studies of law and was primarily achieved through Austria.

It is interesting, for example, to note that Dominicus did not elevate Paulus Hungarus to prior provincialis of
Hungary, but elevated the German Johannes de Wildeshausen to that post. It need not be inferred that Austria and Germany were actually the transmitters of the Dominican Order to Hungary because there is evidence which suggests just the opposite of this development; but it is the German leadership which developed the Dominican Order in Hungary and thus assured that Hungary's intellectual growth would be akin to that of Germany.

In the years 1193-1196, a certain Nicholaus clericus de Hungaria was listed as a student at the newly founded University of Oxford. Naturally, England cannot be considered as a strong intellectual or cultural influence in Hungary in these early centuries, but it becomes clear that Hungary's intellectual orientation was steadily toward the West.

The influence of the University of Paris on Hungarian intellectual development was superseded later by Bologna. When universities were formed north of the Alps, i.e., Prague and Vienna, the Hungarians started to frequent these schools. Valjavec remarks, "After the beginning of the fifteenth century only a fraction of the former members of Hungarian

\[66\text{Johannes de Wildeshausen is usually referred to as Johannes Teutonicus. He assumed this name while in his new position as prior 1232. Later J. Teutonicus became the superior of the whole Dominican order.}\]

\[67\text{Valjavec, I, 43.}\]
students were in attendance at the universities of Italy. This is particularly true of the lay student population. Clerics of certain orders, notably the Dominicans, and some members of the nobility still studied at Bologna and Padua, but the German universities of the North supplied higher education for most of Hungary. Valjavec, however, quickly adds that "... one would be wrong to say that the Italian universities had lost their influence completely in Hungary, for it was the influence of Italian universities which aided the development of Humanism in Hungary." 68

The close connections between the German burgher cities of Hungary and Germany and Austria have been discussed. In the development of higher education in Hungary, the University of Vienna is of no little importance. In spite of several attempts, Hungary was unable to establish a continuing university until the seventeenth century, due to the political unrest. It is not surprising, that one year after the founding of the University of Vienna (in 1365) a "Natio Ungarorum" was established. Hungarian students, primarily the sons of rich burghers from the cities, were in attendance in large numbers at the school. Schrauf has reported that 2,929 students from Hungary attended the

68 Ibid., 95-96.
University of Vienna from its founding to 1450. From 1450 to 1526, Weidlein estimates, that another 3,200 Hungarian students attended the University of Vienna. Not only were students from Hungary in attendance at the Vienna school, but the professors of the University soon included several Hungarians. Valjavec lists the names of 80 professors from Hungary.

The large numbers of Hungarian students at the University of Vienna had several important cultural results for Hungary. The city schools, which had developed in the German burgher cities of Hungary, were primarily staffed with graduates of the University of Vienna. Valjavec notes, "The most important cultural and intellectual development with which the University of Vienna supplied Hungary was providing teachers for Hungary's school systems." The short-lived

---

69 Karl Schrauf, Magyarországi tanulok a becsi egyetemen (4 vols.; Budapest: Szilagy Nyomda, 1892), III, 67. According to the Schrauf's studies there were 2,929 students at Vienna from 1365 to 1450. This number, however, has been challenged by Valjavec, who rightfully points out that not all matriculation records are available for those years and if the average number of the yearly matriculation figures are taken for those years where the records are available which is 50, one readily sees that over 4000 students from Hungary studied at Vienna during the years in question.

70 Weidlein, Leistungen ..., 33.

71 Valjavec, I, 175.

72 Ibid.
University of Ofen (1389-c.1430) drew almost all its teachers from Vienna. We know, for example, that the well-liked professors Fabri de Horb and Benedikt von Marka left the University of Vienna to become professors at Ofen. Other professors of less renown also left Vienna to teach at Ofen.

The cultural influence of the University of Vienna, however, was not limited to the Hungarian students, professors and their personal presence at Vienna and later in Hungary. The literary works of the Vienna professors had a much longer and more profound influence on Hungary's burgher society. The famous Hungarian theologian, Pelbart von Temeschburg, who as a student had studied at Vienna, has left literary examples which clearly show his Vienna influence. In his most famous work, Speculum animae, the influence of Heinrich von Langenstein and Thomas Ebendorfer are quite striking.

Heinrich von Langenstein, who had come to the University of Vienna by way of Paris in 1393, particularly had a deep influence in Hungary. Not only Pelbart von

---

73 Ibid., 177.
74 Ibid., 179.
75 Heinrich von Langenstein became professor at the University of Vienna in 1393. With him the importance of the Vienna school raises to European importance. His personality drew students from all of Europe and several historians attribute as much personal charm to Langenstein as that of Abalard at Paris.
Temeschburg, but many of Pelbart's lesser known contemporaries were influenced by him. Liebert Egkenuelder of Pressburg, Johannes Gritsch of Hermannstadt, Johannes von Kasmark, to name only a few, all spread the famous theological learning of Heinrich von Langenstein in Hungary. Manuscripts of Heinrich von Langenstein's treaties (obviously handwritten lecture notes of his students) have been found in most important burgher cities of Hungary. The intellectual influence in Hungary of Langenstein, i.e., of the University of Vienna, had without a doubt benefited all of Hungary. The manuscripts found in Hungary, however, are not limited to this one professor of Vienna, for there are others far too numerous to list. The intellectual thought of the West reached Hungary's cities through the strong connection of the University of Vienna with Hungary's student population.

Vienna's intellectual influence in Hungary started to decline with the Reformation. Until that time, students from Hungary often outnumbered all other students at the University of Vienna. By 1526 the matriculation of Hungarian students had declined to 14 and we find that this number is soon reduced even further. In 1527 there were two, in 1528 only two and in 1530 there were no students from Hungary who matriculated at the University of Vienna.

76 Schrauf, III, 188-189.
77 Ibid., 190.
It would be wrong to assume that the Reformation was the only reason for this great decline after 1526. The political situation of Hungary, the war with the Turks and, the subsequent defeat of Western Christendom at Mohacs unquestionably were reasons of secondary importance in the decline. We know, for example, that the part played by the student body from Vienna at the Battle of Mohacs was not a minor one. This fact alone shows that until then Hungary's popularity was still strong among the students and professors at Vienna.

Hungary was divided after Mohacs and only a small portion of the country was left free of Turkish influence. The fact that intellectual development in the Turkish area of Hungary had come to a complete stop does not need further explanation here. The Turks devastated the land and enslaved the population in a magnitude unparalleled before in the history of Western Christendom. In the small northwestern part of Hungary, where the Turkish occupation was not realized, intellectual development could proceed.

Since the nobility of this region, which was pro-West, elected Ferdinand I, archduke of Austria and later German emperor, as the King of Hungary, there can be no question that the German cultural influence continued uninterrupted.

78Szekfű and Homan, II, 43.
The Reformation did its share to stifle the influence of Vienna. According to Weidlein, the German cities and villages in the north and west of Hungary were soon the recipients of Luther's ideas and rather quickly established educational connections with the Reformed German universities. The Protestant schools of Strassburg and Wittenberg were frequented, and Vienna's educational influence was only minor.\(^7^9\)

Besides Vienna, there was another great German University—the University of Prague—which played no minor part in Hungary's intellectual development of the fifteenth century. Prague, by its founding date (1348) was in fact the first German University. The remaining records of matriculation at Prague are not as complete as those of Vienna, but from the founding date to 1420, the start of the Hussite difficulties, the names of about 300 Hungarian students, mostly of German ancestry, who received degrees have been substantiated by Valjavec.\(^8^0\) Valjavec adds that the number of truly Hungarian students at the University of Prague is of minor importance. The fact that the University of Prague was the seat of the early Humanistic drives in northern Europe, however, is quite important. It is primarily the

\(^{7^9}\)Weidlein, Leistungen . . ., 34.

\(^{8^0}\)Valjavec, I, 123.
University of Prague which spread the early seeds of harmonious living and understanding of one's fellow man, i.e., the seeds of Humanism, into the Carpathian Basin.

It is unquestionably the influence of the University of Prague which led its student, Johann Budai, of Pressburg, to adapt the work of a Prague professor, Processus judiciarum to Hungarian circumstances. He founded an establishment to aid needy students, the first of its kind in the Carpathian Basin.\(^{81}\)

The influence of the University of Prague was responsible for early schismatic thinking in Hungary, notably the Hussite thoughts. Valjavec states, "Since the literary works of the religious thinkers were readily read and discussed by the professors in Prague, the Hungarian students surely were not satisfied to read and study less popular works."\(^{82}\)

The influence of the University of Prague upon Hungary was obviously not as impressive as the influence of Vienna had been. But numbers alone do not always tell the whole story. Humanism and Hussite thought are of major importance in western culture. The German university at Prague ranks first in Western Europe as the one which influenced not only Hungary but all of the Carpathian Basin with these great intellectual ideas which have helped to shape modern thought.

\(^{81}\)Ibid., 126.

\(^{82}\)Ibid., 128.
From this point of view, the University of Prague was as influential, perhaps the most influential, in linking Hungary culturally and intellectually to the West.

The receptivity to Western thought especially strong among the German burgher population was undoubtedly responsible for Hungary's own attempt to start two universities in the fourteenth century. It is interesting to theorize why these two early Hungarian universities were so short lived. There can be no doubt that the proximity to both Vienna and Prague had something to do with Hungary's failure to establish universities. We know that Ludwig the Great applied in 1367 to Pope Urban V for the Pope's sanction for the founding of a university in Fünfkirchen. We know also from the king's counselor, Wilhelm, that Urban V would not grant the requested charter. The reasons given by the pontiff were that Ludwig the Great could not provide payment for the professors.

Since a university (studium generala) could be chartered by either the Pope or temporal rulers, the University of Fünfkirchen, however, did come into being. It is usually held that Urban V finally did grant a charter for the university but insisted that it should not have a theological faculty. Wilhelm, the German counsel of Ludwig the Great, was most instrumental in establishing the university.

83 Paul Szabos, "A regi pecsi Egyetem," Közlemények, XIV, 11-28; Valjavec, I, 94.
84 Szabos, 16.
Valjavec points out that the king's counselor had close ties to the University of Prague and records of Wilhelm indicate that he made several trips to both Prague and Fünfkirchen in 1366 and 1367. We know also that Wilhelm was in communication with the famed Prague theologian Johann von Neumarkt. Valjavec has theorized that Wilhelm had hoped to persuade Johann von Neumarkt to become professor at Fünfkirchen, because he invited him to visit with him in Hungary. To judge from the meager sources, it becomes apparent that the University of Fünfkirchen was created privately by the efforts of Ludwig the Great's counselor, Wilhelm. The fact that the university did not maintain itself after King Ludwig the Great had died supports this view. Counselor Wilhelm's efforts were largely fruitful because he had the King's approval and support for the university. After the king's death, the university became bankrupt. In its short life, the German influence was undoubtedly predominant, for whatever influence there was from the older universities of Italy and France must have been minimal since neither Rashdall nor Denifle made any reference to it.

85 Valjavec, I, 94 and 106.
86 Ibid., 96.
87 P. Heinrich Denifle, Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1885).
The founding of the University of Ofen (Buda) in 1389 and its brief existence present several unanswered questions. The fact of its founding implies that the University of Fünfkirchen had sufficiently declined that the need for a new university was apparent. While all indications with respect to the founder of the university of Fünfkirchen point toward Prague's influence, Buda's founding seems to be influenced by Vienna. The reigning King of Hungary was Sigismund of the House of Luxemburg, whose close associations were with Vienna. It was the House of Habsburg with which Sigismund had concluded an agreement of succession. Culturally and intellectually Sigismund was more at home in Vienna than in Buda. It is, therefore, no surprise that the newly founded University of Ofen, having a charter from Sigismund and also from Pope Boniface IX, was closely associated to the University of Vienna. The professors were basically drawn from Vienna, and Ofen was able to become a respectable university in all faculties including the Faculty of Theology.

The University, however, was short-lived. This is best explained by Sigismund's lack of interest in the university and by the fact that Sigismund did not have an energetic

---

88 Kosary, 57.
89 Denifle, 418-423.
90 Ibid., 420.
counsel as had Ludwig the Great in the German Wilhelm. By 1410, Pope Johann XXIII is forced to investigate the matter, according to Denifle. Denifle states that the Pope had Bishop Brande of Piacenza gather information on the studium generale and make a report of his findings.\textsuperscript{91} The pontiff gives as his reasons: "volentes votis regis (Sigismundi) in hac parte annuere regnumque ipsum Ungarie vel alia dicto regi supposita decore generalis studii illustrare."\textsuperscript{92} Out of these reasons one can but assume that Ofen had largely lost its educational value or had ceased to exist as a university altogether.

In general, it can be stated that the University of Ofen was founded and did function for about 30 years as a studium generale. There are no records of the University available after 1425 either in Hungary or in other Universities, notably Vienna. Until 1425 records of the University of Vienna name certain professors who either left for Ofen or have returned from Ofen. Similar records, but fewer in number, are available in Prague and Bologna, as well as Paris. Denifle notes that the attempt by some Hungarian historians to claim that the University of Ofen existed in some form until it was revived by Matthias Corvinus in 1489 is utterly false. In fact, the letter written by Johann Vitez for King

\textsuperscript{91}Ibid., 421.

\textsuperscript{92}Ibid.
Matthias to Pope Paul II lamentingly but clearly, states that there is no studium generale in all of Matthias' kingdom. Pope Paul granted the charter and Matthias established a university which existed until the Turkish occupation of Ofen in 1541.93

It was through this newly founded university that the Italian Renaissance reached the court of King Matthias Corvinus. The university has been called "Matthias' Renaissance School" but the amount of intellectual effect upon Hungary was limited. As stated above, the Renaissance in Hungary under Matthias' reign was no more than a thin layer at the very top of the society, i.e., in the king's court, and even this superficial effect was not all Italian. The activities of Johann Vitez and J. Pannovius, by far the two greatest men of the Hungarian Renaissance, were of great importance. Vietz and Pannovius, Slavs by origin, were "the royal Renaissance in King Matthias' court." They were not only instrumental in the establishment of the University of Ofen, but they were also in charge of staffing it. Johann Vitez, in search for professors for the university, made three different trips to Vienna.94 He was able to entice several Italian professors and lecturers there to go to Ofen.

93Ibid., 422.
94Valjavec, I, 142-143.
Cintio de San Sepolero, Girolamo Baldi, and the already mentioned Marzio Galeotto and Bonfini, are only some of the better known scholars who left Vienna. Not all those who left assumed professorial tasks in Ofen, but all entered the Renaissance Monarch's services. Johann Vitez was also able to persuade several Italians from Italy to become lecturers and professors at Ofen. We know for example, Angelo Colocci and Romulus Amasaus from Bologno were intellectually tied to Hungary in the last two decades of the fifteenth century. Poctificus Maximus, who was active in Ofen for some years, dedicated one of his "Hecateligium" to King Matthias.  

The Renaissance School of King Matthias, the University of Ofen, began to lose its popularity after the death of the King in 1490. The university evidently was exclusively a courtly ornament, and Matthias' successor, Vladislaus II, did not patronize the Italian arts, and thus all Italian influence including that of the university declined. This does not mean, of course, that the university became an intellectual void. There were still in the first decade of the sixteenth century famous Italian Humanists who lectured and taught in Ofen. The Bolognian Humanist Garzo, who lectured there for six years from 1499 to 1505, famous works described King Matthias' March to Silesia. Other works by Garzo were dedicated to Hungarian bishops and to high state

95 Ibid., 158.
officials. The Hungarian Cardinal, Thomas Bakocz received two such Garzo dedications.\textsuperscript{96} Of great cultural and intellectual significance are Coelius Calcagnini's close ties to Hungary. It is not certain that he lectured in Ofen, but his close associate and fellow Renaissance man, Ippolito d'Este, held a professor's chair for three years.\textsuperscript{97}

In summary, Hungary's education from the start followed western development. The influence of the Austrian clergy in the early period was unquestionably responsible for Hungary's rapid western turn. The work of the bishops of Salzburg and Passau in Christianizing Pannonia and other parts of western Hungary introduced Christian education there. It must be noted, however, that monastic schools and monastic education did not flourish in Hungary as they did in other parts of Western Europe.

Hungary was closely linked with Germany, and the Hungarian kings invited many German settlers whose eleventh century towns became the first cities in Hungary. In these German cultural islands, education became a municipal matter. The primary concern of the cities was not education, however, and due to the lack of qualified lay teachers the church gradually took over the city schools. The political conflict between the king and the nobility of Hungary caused the German

\textsuperscript{96}Ibid., 159.

\textsuperscript{97}Ibid.
burgher cities to become royal strongholds. The cities received the German "Stadtrecht," and with this political advantage, developed into showcases of western culture, in which were reflected all the cultural and intellectual movements of the West.

The schools of the German cities in Hungary reflected the cultural development of the cities. Teachers were imported from Germany to teach the latest intellectual ideas of the West. But the city schools were burgher schools as well, and the great western intellectual ideas were only partially realized in them.

In the development of higher education, the trend and official tendency is also western. The universities of Paris and Bologna and in clerical education, and Cluny, all had their turn in Hungary. The greatest intellectual influence, however, came with the development of the German universities of Vienna and Prague. Scholasticism, Humanism, the Hussite thoughts and the Reformation all influenced Hungary and this influence in each case was primarily the German form of these intellectual concepts.

Hungary's two fourteenth century universities were patterned after the German universities, and their teachers were principally imported from their German exemplars. The Corvinus Renaissance in Hungary was a direct Italian influence, but it did not reach down to the burgher population.
In this respect, Hungary became totally engulfed in the Humanistic world of thought only after Matthias Corvinus' death.

It was the combined intellectual influence of Vienna and Prague which had brought Hungary and Hungary's culture in the fifteenth century up to that of the rest of Western Europe. However, the culture in the case of Hungary was strong, for the political developments in Hungary had created an abyss between Hungary's nobility and the burgher societies. Due to the Scythian ideas and goals of the nobility, Hungary fell to the Turks for nearly 200 years. Culturally and intellectually, this was a great setback, but it was, for the Scythian nobility, the deliverance of the German yoke which had repressed Hungary for centuries.
CHAPTER V

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS IN HUNGARY DURING THE TURKISH OCCUPATION

Political developments

The thriving burgher society and culture of Hungary came to an abrupt end with the Battle of Mohacs. The Turkish victory laid waste all of central Hungary. Buda, the nation's capital, was occupied by the Turks and subsequently Johann Zapolya, the Scythian leader of the "Nationalist Party" and Turkish ally, was installed at Buda as King of Hungary.\(^1\) He became king of a devastated land. Thousands of towns and villages were burned to the ground and two hundred thousand peasants, including German burghers of the cities, were driven into slavery by the Turks.\(^2\)

\(^1\)The term Nationalist Party was used by the Hungarian-ized Slav nobility and gentry from the time Johann Hunyadi had become Regent of Hungary. During King Matthias' reign, the term was not used; but under Wercoczi's leadership the Hungarian-Slavs called themselves the Nationalist Party at the Diet of 1505 when they declared never again to elect a foreign king.

\(^2\)The Turks' policy had been to take slaves after each battle. In the long century of wars Hungary became depopulated. There were years when 300,000 Hungarian peasants and German burghers were driven across the Drau-Bridge at Esseg in Southern Hungary, only rarely did one find his way back to Hungary.
The Scythian Nationalist Party, however, could rejoice. Now they were free from the German "Fremdherrschaft" (foreign rule). They could now turn to their Scythian ways without being scorned by the Germans and the "Royal Hungarian Party," i.e., the pro-western Hungarian nobility. Johann Zapolya led the Scythian temperament of the times by publicly throwing down his knightly armor and mounting his horse bareback.

Johann Zapolya's reign in Buda was marked by wars with Ferdinand of Austria who had been elected King of Hungary by the Royal Hungarian Party. Zapolya's kingdom, of course, was under Sultan Suleiman's protection and with the Porte's aid Zapolya's forces inflicted one defeat after another on Ferdinand. Zapolya died in 1540 and the Sultan himself occupied Buda, and central Hungary was incorporated into the Sultan's dominions.

Zapolya's infant son, Sigismund Zapolya, and his whole sanguinity were moved to Transylvania where the Sultan created a vassal state. Hungary was thus trisected and the division became final by the long Turkish occupation of

---

3 The term Royal Hungarian Party or Royal Party was not used in the sixteenth century, but during the liberation wars against the Turks in the late seventeenth century the term is quite frequently employed. For the sake of clarity, historians usually use the term to refer to the pro-western nobility who elected Ferdinand I as King of Hungary in 1527. Thus, I will follow the example of the historians and use the term Royal Hungarian Party for the pro-western nobility and the term National Party for the Hungarianized Slav nobility and gentry of the South and East.
central Hungary. The Nationalist Party's stronghold became Transylvania and remained the seat of Anti-German and anti-western political activities for almost two hundred years. The princes of Transylvania, who included such men as Zapolya, Stefan Bocskay, Gabriel Bethlen, Gyorgy Rakoczi I and II, and Michael Abafi, were all South-Slavs, Hungarianized only in the fifteenth century. They lived in Transylvania under the protection of the Sultans and from there waged their wars and often joined forces with the Sultans to force the western Christian rulers into unfavorable treaties with the Turks, which required booty of the Christians.

Most of the princes of Transylvania have now become national heroes of the modern Hungarian nation. In the nineteenth century revolutions against the Habsburgs, the nationalist Hungarians began to idolize Zapolya and others. This trend was continued by the intellectuals of the nineteenth century and to a certain degree is still carried on today. The princes of Transylvania, however, were not national heroes in the works of responsible Hungarian historians. Szekfű and Homan, for example, indict Stefan Bocskay for Hungary's seventeenth century Turkish yoke because he ambushed the army of Kaiser Rudolf II in 1595 near Buda and thus enabled the Turks to remain in Hungary for another century. Bocskay had made an alliance with Emperor

\[4\] Szekfű and Homan, III, 436-438.
Rudolf II in 1591 calling for a united effort of the Habsburgs and Transylvanians to drive the Turks out of all Hungary. But when he found out Rudolf II had no intention of rewarding him for his efforts in achieving this goal, which Rudolf considered the duty of any Hungarian nobleman, he personally led the Transylvanian regulars in an ambush of the Austrian forces.

Bocskay's disastrous performance against the Habsburgs and the West in general, is also noted by western scholars. Fisher, for example, recognizes that the Sultan's power was broken by Rudolf II, but Bocskay's Transylvanian regulars saved the Sultan from a complete retreat. These scholarly findings cannot be recognized by Hungarian historians who follow the nationalist mythos. The nationalist Hungarian historians have successfully falsified history to the degree that even many unbiased scholars, such as the Englishman C. A. Macartney, treat the princes of Transylvania as saviors of Hungary and defenders of western ideas. In

---

5 Sydney Nettleton Fisher, The Middle East (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), 241-249. Fisher holds the view that the Ottoman Empire was declining in the seventeenth century and the power of the Sultans was in balance due to the "Janissaries" revolts.
reality, it was their Scythian and Turanian politics which kept the Turks in Hungary for nearly two centuries.\textsuperscript{6}

Bocskay's victory in 1595 not only saved Hungary for the Porte, but it also crippled the Royal Hungarian Party of the West. Bocskay fought the Habsburgs until his death in 1606, and was rewarded by the Porte for his treachery. The Sultan sent him, in 1605, a splendid jeweled crown made in Persia, undoubtedly for services rendered. Bocskay's uprising against the Habsburgs has been hailed but his treacheries are conveniently forgotten by some historians. Rudolf II fought against his former ally without success, challenging the sovereignty of Transylvania, as well as the rule of Turks.

The German Saxons in Transylvania, who, of course, had supported Rudolf II in the war, were mistreated so gravely that "no description could begin to permit the reader to see

\textsuperscript{6}Arpad Karolyi writes in the 1890's, "The princes of Transvalvania are blamed for Hungary's long Turkish occupation . . . Bocskay had almost all the qualities of a Prince as described by Machiavelli . . . he was brutal and tyranical and in part responsible for the blood-bath of 1695. . . . He personally killed the best man of Royal Hungary (reference is made to Count Bathory who was appointed as Palatin in western Hungary) and he took the properties of his victims and made them his own. . . . All this is an offense against society, morality and the Fatherland, it lowered the nation and it brings contempt to the person who does such acts or permits such acts to be done." There are others who point to the brutal acts of Bocskay, but in vain, Hungarian nationalists and thus the world sees Bocskay as a hero.
the brutality."^ At the Diet of 1608 the nobility, which had achieved complete power over Transylvania and most of Hungary after Bocskay's revolt had crippled the Habsburg opposition in Hungary, decreed that the German peasants (but also the Szekelys, a pastoral branch of the early Magyars) would have to labor for the nobility and gentry "as often as it is necessary and ordered." And, it was necessary and it was ordered usually six days a week. By comparison, German peasants and the Hungarian peasants in Royal Hungary had to labor only three to twelve days in the year. The Nationalist Party has been improperly credited by the twentieth century Hungarian historians as having liberated the peasant from his feudal servitude.

7Weidlein, Leistungen . . . , 41-43. There is no doubt that Bocskay's victory brought servitude to all peasants in central Hungary and Transylvania. The Scythian nobility found pleasure in taxing the peasants and kidnaping wealthier German burghers and holding them for large ransoms.

8Szekfü and Homan, III, 504. The authors note that the nobility's rule which started after King Matthias' reign held the suppression of the peasants as one of their holy rights. The nobility was the "nation" and the absolutist ideas of western monarchs were thought to be the right of the nobility in Hungary. The Peasant Revolt of 1514 was put down and most freedoms of the peasants were lost. They became bound to the land. In the Diets of 1547, 1550, and 1565 the Habsburgers tried in vain to relieve the peasants' servitude but the Nationalist Party blocked all such attempts. General Basta was able to free the Saxons and Szekelys in 1600 from the nobility, only to have Bocskay, after the Habsburgs were defeated, resuscitate all the privileges of the nobility and place the peasants again into eternal servitude.
The nationalist historians credit Bocskay's victorious revolt with having secured religious freedom in Hungary. The fact that the Habsburgs were the supporters of the Counter-Reformation and undoubtedly favored the policies of the Catholic Church in the religious controversies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, has helped to strengthen this fallacy. While religious freedom was granted to the Nationalist Party, i.e., the Hungarian-Slavs of Transylvania, the provision which spelled out their rights in the Edict of 1608 clearly stated that, who owns the land, owns the church. Their religious freedom meant that there was only a choice in religious conviction if you were a nobleman, and all Transylvanian noblemen were Calvinists. In accordance with the Diet of 1608 the peasants had to become Calvinists or lose their properties and often their lives. There are many cases buried in the annals of Transylvania local history which describe the tactics of the Calvinist nobility to enforce the "religious liberties" Bocskay had achieved for Hungary. But the tactics of Calvinist religious liberty are too well known to western history to need description here. It should suffice to note that in Transylvania these tactics were not used sparingly in the early seventeenth century.

Bocskay's sudden death in 1606 (some historians assert that he was poisoned by one of his rivals) resulted in

a scramble for power in the Diet of 1608, which spelled out the so-called religious liberties attained by Bocskay's revolt. Gabriel Bethlen, who had been Bocskay's chief adviser, became prince of Transylvania in 1613 with the Sultan's help. He is hailed by the nationalist historians as the champion of liberty, but his major claim to fame is that during his rule, which falls in part into the Thirty Years War, he invaded Royal Hungary. In this invasion, he delivered twenty-five thousand peasants into Turkish slavery. Ferdinand II of Habsburg was heavily committed to the Catholic cause in the Thirty Years War, and was unable to stop Bethlen's insurrections in western Hungary. Bethlen had hoped to become King of Hungary one way or another, so he allied himself to Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden and fought the Habsburgs to achieve his goal. When this failed, he captured the poorly defended German garrison of Lippa for the Sultan.

Bethlen claimed his only aim was to free Hungary from the Turks, but he never fought the Turks in battle and often he did the Sultan's bidding as all Transylvanian's princes had done. When Bethlen died (1629) he had not saved Hungary's religious liberties, as is claimed by the nationalist historians, but had been instrumental in strengthening the Sultan's position in Hungary and had delivered thousands of Hungarians into Turkish slavery.  

10Weidlein, Leistungen . . ., 42.
Bethlen's successor, Gyorgy Rakoczi I, was scarcely a national hero. He fought the Kaiser again under the pretense of liberating Royal Hungary from Habsburg's Catholic subjections and spent ten years begging the Porte to send troops for Royal Hungary's occupation. Weidlein quotes a letter sent by Rakoczi I to the Sultan which states in part, "It is certain that no other prince of Transylvania has had such an opportune moment to show his obedience to the Porte by being able to enlarge the Sultan's dominions in western Hungary." Rakoczi was asking the Sultan to send 36,000 men so that Hungary would become completely a part of the Turkish Empire.

C. A. Macartney admits the Rakoczi I "followed more conventional methods than Bethlen and was a less original character." What Macartney did not say, however, was that the "more conventional methods" of Rakoczi I was his closer cooperation with the Porte and a greater anti-western attitude in his local administration. From this point of view, Gyorgy Rakoczi I was not a national hero.

The following princes of Transylvania such as Gyorgy Rakoczi II, Emmerich Thokoly and Peter Zrinyi, although continuing the traditions of their houses, were not as aggressive as the former princes. Thokoly fought the Emperor and

---

11Ibid. "The opportune moment" was the fact that the Emperor was heavily committed to European matters.
King of Hungary on several occasions and his Transylvanian regulars participated with the Turkish forces at the 1683 siege of Vienna. The Turkish power of the late seventeenth century, however, was not the powerful Turkish force which had taken Constantinople in the fifteenth century and had driven the Germans through the Hungarian plains in the early sixteenth century. There were internal problems in the Turkish camps and several weak sultans, and the tide turned in favor of the Habsburgs.\textsuperscript{12}

On September 12, 1683, the Habsburgs with more than 40,000 German and Austrian troops, supported by 15,000 Polish regulars under their king Sobieski, mounted the great offensive which saved Vienna, and therefore western Europe, from the Turks. In 1686 the Austrian and German forces alone occupied Buda. Hungary's liberation was achieved by the Habsburg might, and thousands of the Hungarians supported the Habsburg drive. The prince of Transylvania, Thokoly, with his Kurutz army was fighting on the Turkish side. The wars of liberation are well known to western history and need not be examined here. However, it should be noted that western historians, who draw much of their information from the research of the nationalist historians of Hungary, nonetheless name the Germans Herzog Karl von Lothringen, Markgraf Ludwig

\textsuperscript{12}Fisher, 246-262.
von Baden and Prince Eugene as the heroes of Hungary's liberation and not the prince of Transylvania.

Transylvania, which had remained a vassal state of the Porte, was having leadership problems. The princes were not as energetic as their predecessors had been and the internal weakness of the Sultans' Empire soon had implications for the Transylvanian vassal state. First, the success of the Habsburgs against the Turks caused the Sultans to concentrate on the defense of their own dominions, leaving the princes of Transylvania to rule without Turkish support. This situation, although elevating Transylvania to an independent state, enabled the oppressed Saxons and Szekelys to rebel against the nobility. These rebellions were supported by the Habsburgs, who claimed to be kings of all of Hungary. The Habsburgs never recognized Transylvania's independence officially and looked upon the princes of Transylvania as puppets of the Porte. Of course, the Emperors' hands were tied in Transylvania while the Turks upheld Transylvania's sovereignty, but in the late seventeenth century this protection was minimal and the Habsburgs extended their absolute monarchy into Transylvania. The armies of the Habsburgs marched into Transylvania on several occasions and Thokoly, Zrínyi, and later Abafi and, by the turn of the century, Franz Rakoczi II
were pressed by the Habsburgs to relieve the peasant oppression in Transylvania.\footnote{13}

The princes of Transylvania in the late seventeenth century were sustained in their position of power by the Scythian nobility who were thriving on their "golden freedom," those rights which the Tripartitum of Werboczi and the Edict of 1608 had assured them. This freedom guaranteed the nobility many dictatorial powers over their peasant population and reaffirmed their right of freedom from taxation.\footnote{14} After the Turkish power was broken, the nobility of Transylvania and the former Turkish lands were reluctant to give up these privileges. The Habsburgs, of course, lost no time in proclaiming their superiority in all of Hungary and the political disputes between Austria and Transylvania soon changed to military conflicts. The wars of the Transylvanian princes with Austria were fought not necessarily because Austria wanted to force the Catholic faith upon all Hungarians, as the nationalist historians like to argue, but because the Habsburgs threatened to revoke the feudal powers of the nobility. The Nationalist Party had always been a privileged

\footnote{13}{Franz Rakoczi II (1676-1735) was educated in a Jesuit College in Bohemia and for some time was a confidante of Emperor Leopold I. However, his stepfather, Emmerich Thokoly used him for his own political purpose. Franz Rakoczi II warred against Leopold's successor Joseph I and finally in 1717 he offered his services to the Sultan and remained a servant of the latter until his death.}

\footnote{14}{Weidlein, \textit{Leistungen} . . ., 42.}
party and had always resisted ideas from the West which liberated the peasant population.

In summary, the princes of Transylvania in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were instrumental in keeping the Habsburgs from mounting a major offensive against the Turks. From this point of view the princes of Transylvania were tools of the Porte, but the Turks were the source of protection for the princes against Habsburg's absolute monarchy. Thus, the Porte and the princes were each others' instruments in a common struggle against the Habsburgs. This was the true issue. The nationalist historians of later days have intentionally entangled this issue with the religious question, which was a concern not only in Hungary but in all of the West, in order that they might hide the truth and rationalize their nationalistic mythos.

Hungary's Culture After 1526

The Turkish victory in 1526 divided Hungary politically. However, it would be wrong to assume that Hungary's western culture and western development also came to an end in 1526. In the first place, the Turkish occupation was a military conquest and not a cultural conquest. "Only superiority will be imitated," a German poet said, and this statement certainly is applicable to the Turkish occupation. In the second place, Hungary was still a nation in spite of the
political division and the Turkish occupation. Ferdinand of Austria, who had been elected king of all Hungary, refused to recognize his rival, King Zapolya.

The part of the country which was never occupied by the Turks— the west and north— sought Ferdinand's protection. Ferdinand convened the Hungarian diet in 1528 and laid out his plans. Most historians point out that the diet of 1528 in Pressburg made it clear that Hungary's destiny was to be a common destiny with Austria. Whether the nobility which was present at the diet was actually projecting their thoughts far into the future is debatable, but Ferdinand's determination to wage a relentless struggle against the Turks in behalf of Hungary is not open to question.

Ferdinand, who was educated in Spain and well knew the meaning of a strong absolute monarchy, made it clear that his rule would not tolerate the activities of reactionary feudal forces, the power plays of petty kings, nor would he extend the feudal privileges of the estages. He ascended to Hungary's throne at the time when a strong ruler was needed and the nobility in his Austrian dominions as well as the nobility of western Hungary, fearful of another Turkish advance, was willing to make concessions. The concessions

15 When Ferdinand I, who was born and educated in Spain, ascended the Austrian Throne, he not only utilized his Spanish experiences, but he constantly surrounded himself with those military leaders and diplomats who were, so to say, masters of the struggle against the feudal world.
Ferdinand demanded were many and there is no doubt that the Turkish danger alone made it possible for him first to reorganize Austria's government, and after 1528, make the same reforms functional in Hungary. The reforms were basically changes in the structure of government which elevated Ferdinand to an absolute ruler. The structure was bureaucratic and is usually referred to as the Habsburg "officialdom." This officialdom was transplanted to Hungary, Ferdinand's kingdom, and remained in Hungary for nearly four hundred years.

It is quite evident that with idealistic and, of course, absolutistic hopes, Ferdinand I was soon to alienate the Hungarian nobility. There need not be further explanation here. All the Habsburg reforms, from the time Ferdinand I took the throne until Joseph II began his idealistic and rationalistic reign, usually are called, after the latter, Josephinism. The Hungarian nobility guarded their feudal privileges and made the complete realization of the great reforms in Hungary impossible.

The resistance of the Hungarian nobility to the Habsburg rule and influence was not enough to prevent a certain irresolute political condition. At Mohacs the administration of the Hungarian state was severely crippled. The Scythian puppet king, Zapolya, was unable to reorganize the state's administration, and therefore in his territory several factions,
notably the German Burgher cities and many Hungarian barons, looked toward Austria for administrative guidelines. Ferdinand I, who claimed to be king of all of Hungary, thus began to reorganize the Hungarian administration according to his absolutist plans. These administrative changes were not only undertaken in the northwestern territories, which were under his direct control, but also in the Turkish and eastern territories then ruled by the Nationalist Party.\textsuperscript{16}

Ferdinand's rule of the divided country proved to be just and fair. He had sworn to keep the constitution of the Hungarian nobility, and he began his rule by keeping his oath scrupulously. The Hungarian nobility demanded that a Hungarian nobleman should be elected as Palatin and Ferdinand asked for their recommendations. When Count Stephan von Bathory was suggested (Bathory was actually elected by all the Hungarian nobility including the Scythian Nationalists of Transylvania), Ferdinand did not hesitate to replace the Queen widow Maria, who had served the function of

\textsuperscript{16}Valjavec notes that the political control in Hungary was extremely loose. The Turks were not interested in the organization and administration and permitted the Austrian civil service force to govern the country. After 1537, Ferdinand I paid tribute to the Sultan and was recognized by the Turks as Regent of Hungary. Only a loose political apparatus can explain the Habsburg reorganization in the divided country.
the Palatin, with the Count. Ferdinand appointed an all-Hungarian council to aid the Palatin in governing Hungary. He opened several new administrative offices in Hungary and reserved two places for Hungarian noblemen in the "Hofrat" which served as a central advisory body not only for Hungary but for all of Ferdinand's dominions. He permitted the Hungarian Council to elect their own ministers for Hungarian affairs and appointed one Hungarian nobleman to serve as court chancellor in his own "Hofkammer," which was his private advisory council. He convoked the Diet according to the constitution in regular manner, and he did not levy taxes without the consent of the Palatin or the Palatin's council.18

The common danger of the Turks had united the nation. This unity, however, was not a political or territorial achievement. While the country was trisected, the Diets from 1526 to 1558 were attended by the nobility of all three political factions in spite of the division. This invisible unity of Hungary under Ferdinand I made the German cultural influence in Hungary possible. First, the administrative changes which were brought about by Ferdinand opened the

17 Meetings between supporters of King Johann (Zapolya) and Ferdinand were going on uninterruptedly while the two claimants were warring over the control of Hungary.

18 Macartney, A Short History, 69-75; Valjavec, II, 17-23.
doors for several thousand German municipal and government officials to be brought into all parts of the divided land.

The German-Austrian "officialdom" was thus transplanted to Hungary during the height of political dissatisfaction. The Hungarian postal service, for example, was organized and aligned to the Austrian system by Matthias Freiher von Taxis in 1540. Valjavec states that "several hundred postal officials and their families" were moved to Hungary. Of these, several of them settled in the cities of Hungary which were actually surrounded by Turkish-occupied lands.

The mining cities of Transylvania also illustrate that the political division of the country did not stop the German influence. Under Ferdinand's governmental scheme, an Office of Mining was created in 1530 for Austria and Hungary. This governmental office was staffed exclusively with Germans but the head of the office was a Hungarian nobleman, Lajos Szadeczky, who held to Zapolya's political convictions but was willing to accept the position created by Ferdinand's government. Szadeczky was the head of the office but its

---

19 Valjavec, II, 19.
20 Ibid., 20.
21 Ibid., 21.
22 Gustav Gundisch, Die Siebenbürgische Unternehmung der Fugger (Bukarest: S. A. Omlupas, 1941), 94.
aid, the German Thomas Gober, actually reorganized and was in charge of the mining industry. It was Gober who made official contact with the Fugger family and asked for German technical assistance to modernize the Transylvanian salt mines. The Fugger Company dispatched their mining expert Hans Dermschuam to Transylvania. It was Dermscham who later convinced the Fuggers that they should acquire the five largest salt mines in Transylvania. Since these arrangements, agreements, and purchases were made with the approval of Szadeczky, who was a political supporter of Zapolya, it is difficult to agree with the view that the political division had stopped all German influence in eastern Hungary.

The postal service and the office of mining were only two of the many governmental influences achieved in the early sixteenth century in Hungary by the Habsburgs. Public health, hospitals, sanitary regulations, weights and measurements, penal reforms and procedures for safe conduct, all came under the German influence. For all these the Habsburgs provided a regulation, a code, and set up networks of government officials who were in charge of administration. Zapolya and his followers did not object to the regulations, in fact, many of his followers were holding governmental positions. This alone shows that the nobility was not fighting the Habsburg culture and what the culture was achieving, but they

\[\text{\textsuperscript{23}}\text{Ibid.}, 98.\]
were fighting for their privileged status, which, of course, was threatened.

Valjavec sums up the Habsburg governmental influence by saying:

The energetic build up of the administration under Ferdinand I, who had special talents in the area of administration, made possible the fusion of Hungary into the Habsburg hegemony lasting nearly four hundred years. There is no doubt that the fusion of Hungary to Austria was achieved with great difficulty and much sacrifice. The struggles to block the cultural fusion of Hungary into the Austrian hegemony were particularly intense in the years of open war between the absolutist barons [the Scythian and nationalistic nobility] and the Habsburg kings of Hungary. But the fusion was achieved and through or by the fusion, Hungary's inclusion in the Western World was assured. The threatening dangers of "Balkanization" or "Slavonization" were stopped at the time when the danger was indeed grave.

Austrian "officialdom," as it was conceived by Ferdinand and his advisers, had not recognized the borders created by the presence of the Turks. "Officialdom" was universal in the Habsburg hegemony. The German municipal and governmental officialdom and the technical skilled workers, who were needed to direct the many-sided bureaucracy created by Ferdinand's administrative reorganization, kept the German influence strong in Hungary.

Not only did many German specialists find their way into Hungary, but many Hungarian noblemen entered the service of Ferdinand. At first, Ferdinand's governmental stability

24Valjavec, II, 25.
and earnest concern for Hungary's division attracted the nobility of western Hungary directly under Ferdinand's control. Such men as Gabriel and Michael Perenyi, Nikolaus Bathory, and Johann Kendy, all of western Hungary, assumed administrative duties first in Vienna and later in Hungarian cities. In the 1540's and on to the 1560's, we find Hungarian noblemen from Transylvania and the Theiss Region, the latter under Turkish occupation, in Ferdinand's advisory council and diplomatic service. Martin von Berzeviczy, Christian Orszagh, Johann Rkedey, and Kaspar Hommony are only a few who had reconciled their differences with the Habsburgs and were either in Ferdinand's service or for other reasons were frequent visitors in Vienna.25

The political convictions of the nobility were not strong enough to stop Habsburg influence altogether. The Habsburg officialdom with its stable bureaucratic administration was preferred to the chaotic rule and unstructured government of Zapolya. This is part of the already mentioned paradox: the political differences of the nobility with the Habsburgs did not present a cultural difference. The Austrian culture was preferred by the nobility, but the Austrian political rule, absolute as it was, was unacceptable. The nobility, of course, declared openly that they were not western and their tradition and culture was by far superior.

25Weidlein, Leistungen . . ., 49.
to that of Austria. But all the Hungarian noblemen, from the Austrian border to the far eastern corner of Transylvania, were eager to become attached to the court in Vienna.

Perhaps the best way to demonstrate that the Hungarian nobility was yearning to be a part of the West's cultural life and society is by looking at the marriages of the nobility. Valjavec points out that in the sixteenth century the marriages of all respectable Hungarian noblemen and ladies were with Austrian or German and sometimes Bohemian German noble equals. The list of names which Valjavec provides is quite impressive. Such names as Zrínyi, Nandasdy, Szuluny, Ungnad, Arco, Karolyi, Szalay, Abafi, Bathory, Pálffy, Pethő, Erodody, Krussich, Thurezy, Bethlen, and Gyulay are only a few selected ones who entered into an alliance with Austrian noble families.

When one questions why a Hungarian nobleman would give his daughter in marriage or permit his son to marry an Austrian or German, if the Hungarian nobility wished to be recognized as non-western and anti-German, one enters a forbidden field in nationalist Hungarian historical research. For example, out of four English-language twentieth-century histories of Hungary, none mention the fact that Gabriel

26 Valjavec, II, 25.
27 Ibid., 26.
28 Kosary; Lengyel; Macartney, A Short History; Eckhart.
Bethlen was married to the Austrian archduchess Katharine. The omission of this fact, of course, could be excused as a trifle of unimportant historical truth. But his first marriage, 1618, to Susanna Karolyi, which lasted only a short time (she died in 1622) was mentioned in each of the histories, which leave open any question of further marriages. The answer to this question is, of course, that it is in the interest of the national historians to deny the cultural connection between the Habsburg empire and Hungary.

The cultural ties between Austria and Hungary as seen from the perspective of government and society were indeed many. The Hungarian nobility of the sixteenth century did not hate the German or western culture in spite of their declamations, for they were a part of it even against their will. What they called nationalism was not the same nationalism as that of the Hungarian nationalists of the nineteenth century. Nationalism in the sixteenth century in Hungary had no meaning in the sense of language or race. Nationalism then meant the feudal privileges which were threatened by the absolute rule of the Habsburgs. Looking at the Hungarian nobility's nationalism from this perspective, one can readily see that by becoming more closely associated with Austrian families and the court in Vienna and the society of the West in general, they were actually strengthening their concepts of what they thought their feudalistic privileges and rights
were. In other words, their whole society was western and organically they were already fused to the West. The cultural lifeline had to be tied to the West. For this reason the political division of Hungary was by no means a cultural division.

The Hungarian nobility had more in common with the Austrian nobility than with any other group of people in the sixteenth century. And incidentally, the Austrian nobility too was fighting the same battle with the Habsburgs as the Hungarian nobles were fighting. Habsburg's absolute rule endangered the privileges of all nobles in the hegemony, and a bond of mutual protection among the nobility against absolute rule is more than plausible. The fact that the Transylvanian nobility could establish their political independence from Austria was due exclusively to the Sultan's protection. There is, however, no reliable evidence that would show that Hungary's nobility did not wish to be part of the greater noble society of Europe. Their continuous connections and the new affinities established during the sixteenth century are evidence enough to maintain the assertion that Hungary was a western culture.
The Protestant Reformation and Its Educational Influence

The first influence of the Reformation in Hungary was felt by the intellectual class of the German burgher cities throughout the country. Even before the Battle of Mohacs, in the cities of northern Hungary, which were basically German by population and mode of life, the ideas of the Reformation in so far as it affected the religion of the cities, were present. The fact that Luther's teachings were printed in the German language made them easily usable by the burgher population. But the Hungarian element was slow in being affected by the teachings of Luther. Zovanyi points out that the Hungarian burghers, as well as the nobility, denounced the Protestant teachings and actively demanded regulations by the king to stop the advance of Protestantism in the German burgher cities. This demonstrates that the Hungarians remained loyal to Catholicism longer than the German burgher cities; those cities which were inhabited overwhelmingly by Hungarians, as well as the whole nobility showed no Protestant influence of Calvin reached them. At this time Calvin had not yet broken with

29 Jenő Zovanyi, A reformatioMagyarorszagon (Budapest; Lengyel, 1922), 53.

30 Ibid., 60.

31 Ibid., 61.

32 Imre Revesz, Magyar reformatus egyhaztörténet (3 vols; Debrecin: Bari Nyomda, 1938), I, 13. Hereafter cited as Revesz, Magyar . . . .
Luther's views, for indeed the break did not come until 1561. Thus it is meaningless to claim, as nationalist historians like to do, that Zapolya, who died in 1540, was involved in the religious conflicts of the time.

That the Hungarian elements remained Catholic for some time after the impact of the Reformation reached Hungary, does not mean that they rejected Lutheranism because it was a German religion. It is simply the result of the fact that Luther's doctrines were in a language which was foreign to them. Had Luther written in Latin, the Hungarian intellectuals would probably have led in the intellectual shift.

The major university which served Hungary's intellectual development in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was Vienna, and Prague ran a close second. The sharp decline of students from Hungary after 1526, referred to in Chapter IV, was caused partially by the Reformation, but mostly by the Turkish war. By 1540, due to Ferdinand's administrative skill, the nation was stabilized again, administratively speaking, and the intellectual development had resumed. Schrauf points out that in 1540 of the 36 Hungarian students matriculating at the University of Vienna, only one was German.  

---

33Karl Schrauf, A becsi egyetem magyar nemzetenek anyakönyve (Budapest; n.p., 1902), 195. Hereafter cited as: Schrauf, Becsi egyetem . . .
their intellectual guidance elsewhere, but the Hungarians had resumed their studies at Vienna.

The university which became the intellectual center for the Reformation was the University of Wittenberg. Valjavec notes that the first German from Hungary, Georgius Baumheckel from Neusohl, matriculated at Wittenberg in 1522. Neusohl was a large German burgher city in Northern Hungary, and it is no surprise that a student from there would travel to the university where Luther's ideas were taught.34

By 1530 there were eleven Germans from Hungary who matriculated in Wittenberg. In the same year, the first Hungarian also made his appearance at that University: Michael Salei ex Ungaria from Dilln. Dilln in the Western Carpathian Region had a mixed population of Hungarians and Germans, and most inhabitants of such cities were bilingual. To find that the first Hungarian in the Lutheran university at Wittenberg had come from such a city is further evidence that the language barrier, rather than the German nature of the Reformation, accounts for the delayed interest of the Hungarian intellectuals in the Reformation.35

By 1560 both Hungarian and German intellectuals in large numbers came from Hungary to seek intellectual guidance

34Valjavec, II, 37.

35Ibid., 38.
in Wittenberg. Revesz, who examined all the matriculation records at the University of Wittenberg, lists 442 students from Hungary who studied there by 1560, of whom 302 were of German origin and 140 Hungarian. Valjavec believes that the numbers are too high in Revesz' accounting, which lists Johannes Petter de Villach as a German from Hungary. Villach indeed is a city of Kärnten in central Austria. There is no doubt in Valjavec's mind that out of the 442 students at least 39 were not from Hungary, but from Austria or Switzerland instead.

The exact numbers involved, however, are not too important in this study, for even the approximate figures point out that the University of Wittenberg became the beacon for the ideas of the Reformation. Before the Reformation, students from Austria and other countries of central Europe had rarely studied at Wittenberg. This situation changed in the 1530's and 1540's. Even professors from Vienna turned up as students in Wittenberg; in 1530 the matriculation records show, "Laurencius Frisen artium Magister Wiennen." It becomes unquestionably clear that Wittenberg was the major university from which the ideal of the Reformation and Protestantism spread not only to Hungary, but to all of southeastern Europe.

36 Revesz, I, 217.
37 Valjavec, II, 38.
38 Ibid., 41.
Most of the early Hungarian reformers, both of German and Hungarian origin, were in frequent communication with Luther and Melanchthon at Wittenberg. The influence of the latter in Hungary, and in the total Carpathian Basin in general, is of major importance. In the theological concerns Luther, of course, paved the way. But Melanchthon united the theological and the humanistic principles of the Reformation and his sphere of influence was thus more encompassing. He became for his Hungarian contemporaries not only the exponent of the word of God, but also the great scholar. Stephan Szekely, the earliest vernacular historian, for example, refers to Melanchthon in a letter to a friend as, "this Phillip who is, from where the sun rises to where the sun sets on this earth, the wisest of all men."39

Melanchthon's popularity in Hungary was partly due to his academic influence on the earlier Hungarian reformers while they were students in Wittenberg. He continued uninterrupted correspondence with such former students as Leonard Stochel from Bratfeld, a German reformer in that city, and Andreas Batizi, a Hungarian Protestant reformer of Sillein. Melanchthon, who followed the progress of the Reformation in Hungary with great interest, is called by Valjavec the most influential personality in the development of the

39Ibid., 40.
Hungarian Reformation, more so than Luther or even Calvin.\textsuperscript{40}

The influence of Wittenberg was particularly well developed in Transylvania. The German Saxons there had established a cultural tie with Germany rather than Vienna in the fifteenth century, and the sixteenth century saw this influence develop fully. Students from Hermannstadt, Kronstadt and Odenberg, all in Transylvania, were numerous in Wittenberg, Jena and later Königsberg. The famed Wittenberg theologian and associate of Melanchthon, Geroge Major, dedicated several of his theological writings to "the German gentlemen of Hermannstadt."\textsuperscript{41} In return, the city council of Hermannstadt had a golden chalice especially prepared for Major which is said to have cost well over a hundred Gulden.\textsuperscript{42} Melanchthon himself received presents from Kronstadt, Hermannstadt, and Klausenburg, but what is more important, he was highly praised as "the Praeceptor Germaniae and friend of all Hungarians" by Isabela, the widow of Johann Zapolya, who herself reigned in Transylvania from 1540-1551.\textsuperscript{43} Melanchthon's personal interest in Hungary was a major reason for his popularity.

\textsuperscript{40}Ibid., 41.

\textsuperscript{41}Revesz, I, 196; Valjavec, II, 40.

\textsuperscript{42}Revesz, I, 199.

\textsuperscript{43}Friedrich Teutsch, Der Deutsche Buchhandel in Siebenbürgen (Hermannstadt: Beyer Verlag, 1891), 9. Valjavec, II, 37, 41.
The influence of Wittenberg in Hungary is also brought into focus by the numerous students who became professors at the Leucorea.\textsuperscript{44} We have already observed in Chapter IV that several students from Hungary rose into the teaching body at Vienna and Prague. This repeats itself in the Protestant universities of the Reich. Valjavec notes that "almost all universities of the Reich, but not those in Switzerland and the Netherlands, had professors from the Carpathian Basin."\textsuperscript{45} Matthias Garbitius (1505-1559), who received his degree in Wittenberg, taught theology at Tübingen during the last seven years of his life. Johannes Jessenius von Jessen, the famed medical professor at Wittenberg, was a German from Hungary. Johann Babtist Roschel, known for his work in physics, was another German from Odenberg, Transylvania, who achieved fame in Wittenberg. Martin Chaldni and his son, Martin Ernst, were Hungarians from Kremnitz who did pioneering work and teaching in the law faculty at Wittenberg. The world famous founder of the new studies in acoustics, Ernest Tiorens

\textsuperscript{44} The Leucorea was a theological seminar established by Melanchthon and Luther to provide deeper comprehension for those students in Wittenberg who showed special talents and interest in promoting the theological doctrines of the young Protestant Reformation.

\textsuperscript{45} Valjavec, I, 41.
Luther's and Melanchthon's joint theological contribution, officially known as the Augsburg Confession, was accepted in all of Hungary's protestant areas, first by the German burgher cities and gradually by the Hungarian elements. The confessional doctrine of Wittenberg, however, was only one phase of the cultural influence of Wittenberg in Hungary. The students and professors of Hungary and Wittenberg established a much larger cultural tie between Hungary and Wittenberg. The other Protestant universities of the Reich, of course, shared in this cultural connection, but Wittenberg unquestionably was the guiding light for large numbers of Hungary's intellectuals in the sixteenth century.

Not only the Augsburg Confession reached Hungary from Germany, which is only natural to a certain degree, but the theological views of Calvin and other Swiss reformers were transmitted to Hungary via Germany. Calvin's foremost Hungarian student was George Belenyesi. Belenyesi was first a student in Jena and then later in Strassburg, where he met Calvin while the latter was there as an "organizer of the

---

All the names listed were taken from Valjavec's studies, Volume II, 32-61. Professor Valjavec insists that the intellectual connection which was developed by the exchange of professors, many of whom taught, of course, at one time or another in their home country, set the intellectual and cultural orientation of Hungary during the tense political developments of the sixteenth century.
French Church" and lecturer in theology. Valjavec holds the view that Belenyesi was a follower of Melanchthon at that time and that he persuaded Calvin to attend the Diet of Regensburg. Here Calvin met Melanchthon and thus established a friendship which lasted all their lives and produced a fruitful theological correspondence over the next two decades. When Belenyesi returned to Odenberg, after having studied with Calvin only a little over a year, he became instrumental in establishing the Reformed Church in Transylvania.

The other notable Calvinist reformer in Hungary, Joseph Marcarius, also had intellectual ties to the German reformers. The German theologians, J. Bullinger and A. Butzer, were in continuous correspondence with Marcarius in the 1550's and 1560's. Both Bullinger and Butzer were close associates of Melanchthon and had lectured at Wittenberg for some time. Marcarius and his associate, Andreas Feyerthoi, both active Calvinist reformers in Pest, asked Bullinger for advice and instructions in matters of dogmatism. Bullinger prepared for them a lengthy document with the title,

---

47 Valjavec, II, 43.

48 Mihaly Bucsay, Belenyesi Gergely, Kalvin magyar tanítvanya (Budapest: Egyhasznyomda, 1944), 29.

Institutio christiana fidei ad opressas Hungariae ecclesias, for their reference and direction.\textsuperscript{50} This document circulated in copy form among the Hungarian Calvinist reformers in the 1550's and was published under its title in Klausenburg in 1559.\textsuperscript{51} These examples strongly suggest that the Calvinist reforms in Hungary were influenced by German theologians most of whom were either directly or indirectly associated with Melanchthon's humanistic teachings.

After the theological split between Lutherans and Calvinists came out into the open, the trend to draw upon German theological writings and judgments was still continued. Bucsay, for example, lists numerous books and testimonials of German authorship which constituted the sources for the Hungarian reformers in the controversy.\textsuperscript{52} True, several of the authors were Calvinists, but nevertheless, they were German and it was Germany which established the intellectual bridge by which Calvin's teachings reached Hungary.

The cultural ties of Hungary to the German protestant movement can also be substantiated by examining the liturgy in the Hungarian Protestant and Reformed churches. At the

\textsuperscript{50}Ibid., 90.
\textsuperscript{51}Ibid., 91; Valjavec, II, 42; Bucsay, 41.
\textsuperscript{52}Bucsay, 41-53.
beginning of the Reformation, Luther developed the "Torumula Missae," 1523, which was revised by the "Deutsche Messe und Ordnung des Gottesdinstes," 1526. These two regulations of the church service, although they were to a certain degree only a translation of the Catholic mass, remained the official regulation of the service to the age of Enlightenment. Calvin's view in respect to the church service was published in Tiguri, 1559, under the authorship of L. Lavanther with the title, "De Ritibus et Institutis Ecclesiae Tigurinae Opusculum." Calvin's ideas, however, were not adopted by the Hungarian Calvinists until the middle of the seventeenth century. Valjavec asserts that the Protestant and Reformed religious concepts were not too sharply scrutinized by the Hungarian reformers, and therefore, there is no clear separation of Lutheranism and Calvinism possible in sixteenth century Hungary. The Calvinist and the Lutheran reforms were mixed together and came to Hungary from Germany, and a separation of the two, when both were still undergoing changes in their respective countries, was not possible in Hungary.

53 Valjavec, II, 43.
55 Valjavec, II, 43.
The smaller Protestant sects found in various parts of Europe also spread into Hungary by way of Germany. The Anabaptist movement, which spread over large areas in the German Rheinland and elsewhere in the sixteenth century, had some following in Hungary.\textsuperscript{56} The appearance of the first organized groups of Unitarians in Transylvania in the sixteenth century was dependent upon German influence.\textsuperscript{57} The development of the Hungarian Moravian fraternity in Bord on the Theiss River is attributed to the close relationship of Peter Meliusz to the Moravian brothers in Bohemia.\textsuperscript{58}

All the intellectual and religious developments in Hungary in the sixteenth century point to German influence. The continuous cultural ties of many Hungarian reformers to Germany seem to suggest that although there was always a lag due to the political situations, a substantial cultural

\textsuperscript{56}Zovanyi, 335.
\textsuperscript{57}Ibid., 341.
\textsuperscript{58}Imre Revesz, "Meliusz Peter levelvaltasa a cseh-morva atyafiakkal," Theologiai Szemle, XIV (1938), 251-262. The Moravian Fraternity, or Brethren, although a branch of the greater Utraquist Church, were stressing purity and morals to the degree of a lunatic fringe. In the sixteenth century under their Bishop Johann Blakoslaw, they were able to establish colonies in Poland, Saxony and Hungary. The colony in Brod, Hungary, was founded in 1548 by Peter Meliusz who had studied in Wittenberg and Prague and was converted to the fraternity by Blakoslaw. Revesz notes (page 261 of this citation) that after the death of Meliusz the Moravian colony in Hungary was fused with the Reformed Church of Brod.
similarity in all levels of culture and all classes of society certainly was maintained.

The Reformation in Hungary, as in all areas of western Europe where the ideas of the Reformation took effect, influenced the school systems of the German burgher cities. The burgher schools were, generally speaking, lower schools. Their cultural developments and ties to the German city schools in the Reich has been discussed in Chapter IV. The advent of the Reformation by no means changed this general pattern, but like the university learning, it shifted from the influence of Vienna to Wittenberg and Jena. The advice of Melanchthon in all matters of education, including his recommendations for teachers, was sought by the cities and very often received.

Although Melanchthon's educational reforms in Protestant Germany are well known to western history, less is known about his humanistic educational influence in the Carpathian Basin. He does, in fact, dominate there in every respect. He became the authoritative adviser for all Protestant cities in Hungary, both those cities which had a predominantly Hungarian population and the German burgher cities as well. The Humanism which permeated the Protestant German areas was

59 Odön Szelenyi, A magyar evangélikus neveles története a reformaciótól napjainkig (Pressburg: n.p., 1917), 48, 49.
widely felt, and achieved a lasting western tie in Hungary due to Melanchthon, the Praeceptor Germaniae.

For example, Szelenyi cites a letter of Melanchthon to Thomas Nandasdy dated October 7, 1537 from Leipzig. Melanchthon praises Nandasdy for his effort and success in having started a Protestant school at Ujsziget. He states: "... the teachers must be well-schooled and well-read in the Protestant teachings." Melanchthon goes on by referring to Nandasdy's question which evidently read: "Whom would you recommend as good teachers for our school?" He makes reference to three or four names but recommends Matthias Devay and Johann Sylvester, as "men of your own country who have proven to be well suited in educating the young."

Melanchthon's influence in redeveloping the burgher schools of Hungary into Protestant schools often took just such a direct influence as the case cited above. However, more often it was a hidden influence. Szelenyi cites several letters written to Melanchthon from such Protestant communities as Eperies, Bratfeld, Kasmark and Neusohl of north-central Hungary; Debrezin, Klamenburg and Weissburg in the Theiss Region; and Schassburg, Medinsch and Kronstadt in Transylvania, asking for recommendations in their selection

60 Ibid., 53-61.
Melanchthon did not fail them, for he recommended ministers who were teachers as well. In larger communities, in Hungary as in Germany, the minister also directed the school and controlled Protestant education.

Melanchthon, of course, had devised plans for school organization for several cities in Saxony. His plan for Saxony prepared for the Elector in 1527, served also as his guide for the Hungarian cities in reference to school reforms. In Neusohl, for example, Melanchthon's influence was so great that the city council accepted his school reforms for the Duchy of Zweibrucken in every detail, with only slight modifications. They appointed Johann Bergner, a former student of Melanchthon and Luther, as their first Rector in 1547.

The Protestant school at Neusohl may serve as an example for the school organization adopted by several cities in Hungary. Completely in line with Melanchthon's Saxon Plan there were three classes. The beginnings of reading and writing, both Latin and the vernacular German, Latin grammar, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and all particulars of the Protestant church service were taught in the first class. The second class was to use the Latin language only as the basis for instruction with the primary stress being on a

---

61 Ibid., 93.
62 Valjavec, II, 45.
63 Szelenyi, 102.
thorough mastery of the Latin grammar. The third class called for advanced studies in Latin grammar and literature with Horace, Cicero, Livy and Virgil as some of the recommended authors. Usually, only one or two of these were read.\textsuperscript{64} 

Szelenyi, however, quotes a letter from a parent, dated November 8, 155\textsuperscript{4}, to either the teacher or the school, exactly to whom is uncertain, stating concern for his son who passed the first class but apparently had little Latin studies for the second.\textsuperscript{65} The assertion of Szelenyi that not all the recommended Latin texts were read in the third class is substantiated by Zovanyi who points out that many students from Hungary "...had to study the many Latin authors before they could continue their studies in the German universities."\textsuperscript{66} These evidences suggest that the ideal school which Melanchthon recommended was not completely realized even in Neusohl which is usually said to have been a model.\textsuperscript{67} 

Melanchthon's influence in the founding and staffing of the "Debrezin Kollegium" must still be noted. Debrezin is usually represented as the center of Hungary's Calvinist religion and the college there, founded in 1531 by the

\textsuperscript{64}Ibid., 131.  
\textsuperscript{65}Ibid., 118.  
\textsuperscript{66}Zovanyi, 401.  
\textsuperscript{67}Szelenyi, 119, Kathona, 221; Valjavec, II, 47.
Protestants of the city, is usually, if recognized at all, referred to as a Calvinist college. Of course, the founding date of 1531 is a good indicator to support the view that originally the college was not a Calvinist institution. Calvin did not become influential as a reformer until the 1540's and his influence did not reach Hungary before the 1550's and 1560's.69

The basis for curriculum and methodology for the college was, "... the work and advice of the Praeceptor Germaniae."70 In fact, according to the definitive study of Czendes, so influential was Melanchthon that after the Calvinist Church of Hungary had taken over the college in the early seventeenth century, Melanchthon's revised form of his "Schulmethode" (original in 1529, revised in cooperation with Johann Comenius in 1541) was retained in full. Even the reorganization of the college in 1741 still retained the "general basics of Melanchthon's plan."71

Throughout the life of Melanchthon, the college was seeking his "wise counsel" for new teachers, plans of study,

68 Jozsef Czendes, Realiak tanítása a 400 eves debreceni református Kollegiumban (Debrezin: Hungaria-Nyomda, 1938), 9.
69 Ibid., 11.
70 Ibid., 13.
71 Ibid., 21.
and everything pertaining to its educational growth. The tie of the college to Wittenberg was so close that even after Melanchthon's death (1560) most of the professors at the college had studied in Wittenberg. The famed professor, Johann Leahai, for example, who studied at Wittenberg from 1574-1577 and was professor of Mathematics at the college from 1577-1596, patterned his first Hungarian mathematics textbook, Aritmetica, az az, A Sxamvestesne Todomanya (Debrezin, 1582) after Reinerus Gemma's text which was published in Wittenberg. The Leahai text remained in use at the college until 1618 when the Thirty Years War disrupted the free flow of intellectual exchange for some time. It is during these early decades of the seventeenth century that the Calvinist Church gained control of the college as, of course, Calvinism became the predominant church in all of central and eastern Hungary.  

A further aspect to educational development in Hungary during the Reformation actually strengthens the assertion made above that during the sixteenth century the theological arguments of Luther and Calvin had no real implications to education in general, and that Melanchthon's humanistic school reform was acceptable to Lutheran communities and

\[\text{Ibid.}, 39.\]

\[\text{Valjavec, II, 71.}\]
Calvinist communities alike. It has been shown by Valjavec and developed above\textsuperscript{74} that the split between the two reformers was not clearly conceived by their followers in Hungary. To a certain degree, education, which came with the Reformation as a by-product, shows the same indifference to these theological conflicts in Hungary. This indifference, however, existed not only between the Reformed and the Lutheran schools, but also included the Catholic schools. This was particularly true in western Hungary, in the areas which after 1526 became part of greater Austria and were under Ferdinand II's direct control.

Zovanyi states that the Reformation made a sweeping entry in all Hungary, particularly in the German burgher cities, but quickly lost its momentum in western Hungary.\textsuperscript{75} The loss of momentum in western Hungary, however, refers only to the theological and confessional aspect of the Reformation. The educational implications were not stifled.\textsuperscript{76} The sons of wealthy German burghers and later the sons of Hungarian noblemen\textsuperscript{77} in western Hungary were being educated

\textsuperscript{74}Reference is made to footnote 55.

\textsuperscript{75}Zovanyi, 191.

\textsuperscript{76}Moritz Faber, "Adalek a külföldi iskolaztatás történetehez," Történeti Tar (1899), 181.

\textsuperscript{77}Page 184 above develops the impact of the Reformation on the Hungarian population in general.
with the same zest as their equivalents in the Protestant areas. Schools established in Odenburg, Wesprim, Gross-Kanizsa and several other cities of western Hungary were not established according to Melanchthon's advice and influence but by Catholic leadership. Faber states that in the 1540's the Austrian Catholic Church reorganized its educational program to combat the spirit of inquiry exerted by the Humanistic attitude of Protestantism. By 1563, after the Council of Trent (1545-1563), the Jesuit Order had taken over the educational leadership in all the Catholic lands and education was on the rise in both Protestant and Catholic areas of Europe.

The Protestant parents of western Hungary, neglecting doctrinal differences, saw no particular danger in sending their sons to the Jesuit schools. For example, the "Vizegespan" (assistant civil head) of Warasdin county in western Hungary, Petheu von Gerse, a Protestant, wrote a letter dated June, 1562, to the director of Scola Styrensis in Graz (a Jesuit secondary school which prepared students to

\[78\] Faber, 183.
\[79\] Ibid., 186.
\[80\] The Reformation had leveled off in western Hungary but, of course, there were many Protestants in western Hungary particularly in the cities. The work cited by Faber (page 132) states that up to 25% of the population in the major cities were Protestants and remained Protestants until the Counter-Reformation forced religious conversion.
enter a Jesuit college or university\textsuperscript{81} asking to make arrangements for his son's entrance into the school.\textsuperscript{82} The Vienna Jesuit Gymnasium was similarly the recipient of many Protestant students from Hungary. The well known Hungarian Jesuit teacher, Stephan Arator, at Vienna was able to write in his 1569 report, "Many Hungarian and German Protestant students in Hungary have been converted by our schools there, but many more in our Gymnasium in Vienna."\textsuperscript{83}

This seems to support the view that education was greatly inspired by the Humanistic spirit which grew out of the Protestant Reformation. And this inspiration was not restricted by the geographical boundaries and political divisions which, to a certain degree, controlled the confessional adherence of the Protestant movement. Protestant parents in Catholic areas sent their sons to Catholic schools without fear of losing their Protestant convictions and parents who remained Catholics in Protestant areas had no fear of losing their convictions by the Protestant schools' influence.\textsuperscript{84}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{81} Valjapec, II, 48.
\bibitem{82} The letter of Petheu von Gerse is quoted in full by Faber, 189.
\bibitem{83} Friedrich Müller, "Materialien zur Geschichte Siebenbürgens und Ungarns," Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde, XIX (1884), 591.
\bibitem{84} Czendes, 21. In Debrezin, for example, the son of Rafael Hofhalter attended the Protestant college there. The Hofhalter family had come to Debrezin in 1563 from Vienna and opened a printing business there. Hofhalter did not convert to Protestantism but remained Catholic.
\end{thebibliography}
Only after the Counter Reformation started in the latter part of the sixteenth century, does this condition change. Valjavec states, "With the Counter Reformation the parents of the two opposing confessions were warned to beware of the school's influence, and education at a university regardless of its confessional tendency, was seriously questioned." \footnote{Valjavec, II, 53.}

In summary, the cultural implications of the Protestant Reformation for Hungary, on the basis of the evidence presented here, seems to point to three defensible generalizations. First, the initial impact of the Reformation on the German burgher cities caused the intellectuals of these cities to seek intellectual and spiritual guidance in Wittenberg and by their making this change from Vienna the Humanistic spirit of inquiry which gave vitality to the Reformation was transmitted to Hungary principally due to Melancthon's personal interest in Hungary. Second, the confessional differences between Lutheranism, Calvinism, and even Catholicism, to a certain degree, were not so sharply drawn in Hungary during the sixteenth century that the over-all interest in education which the Reformation spawned in the name of Humanism would have been lessened in Hungary. Third, the Reformation must be credited for the religious vigor by which it reaffirmed Hungary's cultural ties to the West and to Germany on a much broader social base than ever before was possible, so that
Hungary entered the modern times, not as a colony of the West, deprived of some of the West's cultural and intellectual achievements, but as a partner situated on the perimeter of western culture guarding against foreign onslaughts.

The Counter Reformation

In view of the origin of the Counter Reformation it would be plausible to assume that the Italian and south European culture in general would have exerted great influence in Hungary during the period of Catholic restoration. In truth, the Catholic restoration was as much a political question as a confessional one, and the political power in central Europe after Mohacs was Austria, rather than Italy. Bishop Faustus Veranchich, of Tschanader in western Hungary, who had been educated in Italy in 1561-1563, attempted a restoration program dominated from Italy, but his efforts produced no real results. In fact, one of the bishop's letters to Pope Paul V states that the church in Hungary is dependent on Austria and any effort to reestablish the church in this area will necessarily have to come from Austria. The Roman Church of Hungary had been greatly weakened by the Battle of Mohacs and the Protestant Reformation had created

---

86 Laszlo Toth, "Verancsics Faustus csanadi püspök es emlekiratai V Pal papahosz a magyar katholikus egyhaz állapotásol," Jahrbuch des Wiener Ungarischen Historischen Instituts, III (1933), 155-211.

87 Toth, 157.
another unsurmountable setback to the weakened church. The struggling church of Hungary, yielding to the political power of Habsburg, could only receive guidance and protection from Austria. These circumstances are the reason, "... that the Catholic restoration in Hungary shows many similarities with the Austrian restoration which has been traditionally overlooked." 

The first efforts to establish a counter move to the Protestant advance were highly unsuccessful. The church and the Habsburgs did not agree in tactics. Part of the high church officials favored a forcible re-Catholicization, while others were more cautious and favored a slower approach which would necessitate internal reorganization of the church. In order to form a unified counter move, the Council of Trent, 1545-1563, dealt with the many ways in which the church and the Habsburg rulers were divided. In the end, the Habsburg interests, which called for internal reorganization of the old church, gained the upper hand, and gradually a victory was achieved by the Catholic side, climaxx in 1621

---

83 Valjavec, II, 55.

89 Ibid. What Valjavec implies is that the similarity between Austria's and Hungary's effort in restoring the Catholic faith in their respective countries has a cultural implication which by definition ties Hungary even closer to Austria. It is this cultural implication which has been overlooked by the national historians of late.

90 Valjavec, II, 53-62.
by the defeat of the main opposition of the Czechs in the Battle on the Black Mountain.\footnote{Szelenyi, 114; Revesz, Magyar . . ., II, 19; Weidlein, Leistungen . . ., 38.}

The Habsburg victory at Black Mountain gave the Hungarian Counter Reformation the needed strength for the Catholic restoration to gain momentum in Hungary, and the genius of the greatest Hungarian Counter Reformationist, Peter Pazmany,\footnote{Pazmany's political orientation and stand on Transylvania, the Turks, and Austria's domination are discussed on page 162 above.} intellectually disarmed the Protestant opposition and resolved the question of church adherence in western Hungary. The Counter Reformation in Hungary and its success was basically a united effort of the Hungarian church, the Austrian church, and the Habsburg Empire. But the greatest single factor in bringing the Counter Reformation to a successful end for the Roman Church was the work and tireless effort of the Jesuit Order, operating from bases in Vienna and Graz. The Jesuit order was transplanted to Hungary with the support of Archbishop Michael Olah of Gran in western Hungary,\footnote{Zovanyi, 474.} Olah, a Hungarian-Slav with no tolerance for the friendship of the Transylvanian princes with the Turks, maintained a house and a large library in Vienna and spent most of his time there.\footnote{Lehel Merenyi, "Olah Miklos vegrendete," Történeti Tar (1896), 159-167.} It was in Vienna in 1560 that he
met the Jesuit monk Nikolaus Telegdi, a Hungarian who had been educated at Graz. Under Telegdi's leadership two Jesuit monasteries were opened one year later in Gran and in Tyrnau, also a city in western Hungary.\textsuperscript{95} Olah's continued efforts in Vienna to strengthen the Jesuit Order in Hungary resulted in 1570 in the extension of the Jesuit Province of Austria to include Hungary.\textsuperscript{96}

Telegdi rose in the Jesuit hierarchy to Provincial of Austria-Hungary; and in this powerful post, he continued Olah's strong conviction to fuse the restoration programs. But what is in the two countries even more important for our study, the Jesuits who came to Hungary in the latter third of the sixteenth century were primarily German.\textsuperscript{97} Even in small communities, Jesuit teachers were active. For example, in the village of Sellye, Neutra county, the Jesuit Theodor Busaus, from Cologne, organized a school.\textsuperscript{98} Telegdi established a printing press in Tyrnau in 1578 with Jesuits from Vienna in charge. He translated the Canisino catechism into Hungarian publishing it in Trynau in 1581.\textsuperscript{99} The degree to

\textsuperscript{95}Ibid., 163.
\textsuperscript{96}Ibid., 163; Zovanyi, 479.
\textsuperscript{97}Merenyi, 166.
\textsuperscript{98}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{99}Zovanyi, 490.
which the Jesuits' activity was seen as a German cultural influence is demonstrated by the anti-Jesuit development during the Rakoczi Rebellions over a hundred years later. Zovanyi points out that the Order was banished from Hungary (1697) because of the Austrian sympathy of most Jesuits in Hungary.

Peter Pazmany, the great Hungarian Counter Reformationist, who personally reconverted more Hungarian nobleman "than any other hundred Jesuits," illustrates in his own person how the Counter Reformation in Hungary became a cultural bridge between Austria and Hungary. He was born Peter Patzman, a Calvinist and a German, in Grosswordein in the Theiss Region, and later as student and professor at the University of Graz, still used his German name. For forty years, working from Graz and later from Vienna, Pazmany ushered in a new era in the Hungarian Counter Reformation. He founded the Jesuit university in Tyrnau in 1619, established a Jesuit seminar known as the Pazmanium in Vienna in 1623, and

100 Ibid., 396-401.
101 Prince Nicholas, Paul Rakoczi, the Perenyi kinship and many other well known families in Hungary were converted by Pazmany. Andreas Komaromy, "A baro Perenyi csalad leveltarabol," Történeti Tar (1895), 680-693.
102 Muller, 588; Weidlein, Leistungen . . ., 38. The manuscripts of his earlier lectures which he later gave to the library of Tyrnau University bear the name Peter Patzman. Reference to and selections from the lectures are also in Zovanyi, 499; Valjavec, II, 59; Merenyi, 168. Pazmany's education at Grosswordein, Vienna, Rome, and later Graz are fully described by Zovanyi, 391-396 and Komaromy, 685.
laid the foundation of all Hungarian Jesuit education. 103

Graz became the center for all higher education for Hungary's Counter Reformation. From 1586 to 1640 four hundred Hungarian Jesuits were trained in Graz, but most of them matriculated after Pazmany had taken the leadership of the Hungarian Counter Reformation. 104 From Graz, Pazmany imported most of the professors who taught at the University of Tyrnau, and the academic standard of his university was patterned after the University of Graz. 105 By 1635, Pazmany had strengthened the new Jesuit University of Tyrnau so that the degrees awarded there were of equal value to those of Graz and Vienna. 106 Still Pazmany preferred to send talented Hungarian students to Graz, "so that they could polish their German language and become culturally assimilated to the Austrian clerics," as he wrote to Baron Perenyi in 1632. 107 Pazmany very often financed the education of poor, but talented students at Graz and Vienna. 108

103 Komaromy, 680.
104 Faber, 191.
105 Ibid., 192.
106 Valjavec, II, 60.
107 Komaromy, 689.
108 Ibid.
During Pazmany's forty-year career, the Hungarian and Austrian clergy was fused in theory as well as in activity. In every aspect, education, culture, and politics, Pazmany supported the Habsburg-Austrian power bloc and publicly denounced the Hungarian friendship with the Turks cultivated by Gabriel Bethlen and George Rakoczi in the first decades of the seventeenth century. He was most disturbed by Rakoczi's anti-German and pro-Turkish activities because he had had such a great personal relationship with the Rakoczi family. But when George Rakoczi allied himself with the Turks and the Protestants against the Habsburgs, Pazmany chose the only side he could choose—the Habsburg side.

The Counter Reformation, like the Reformation, brought Hungary closer to the western culture and in particular fused Hungary's western region to the German-Austrian Catholic bloc. The clerical and political fusion of the two countries which was achieved during the Counter Reformation tied Hungary to the Habsburgs for the next two centuries. Archbishop Olah of Gran started in the sixteenth century to tie the Hungarian church to the Austrian church and under Pazmany's long leadership, both clerical and political, the union was sealed. The close bond between the two churches, as well as the two countries, during the Turkish occupation controverts any attempt to deny the German cultural influence in this period in Hungary.

109 Komaromy, 688.
CHAPTER VI

THE WESTERN DEVELOPMENT OF THE VARIOUS REGIONS OF HUNGARY
DURING THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Although all three major western influences: Humanistic Movement, Protestant Reformation and Counter-Reformation, extended the German culture universally in all of Hungary—even to far-off Transylvania—each geographical region of Hungary experienced a somewhat different western development. The political division of Hungary during this period determined, to a certain degree, from which part of Germany or Austria the western influence could enter Hungary and to what degree the influence could develop. But the political division alone does not fully explain Hungary's western course during the centuries in question. The distances from Germany and Austria to the geographical regions in Hungary; the established trade routes; the mood of the Turkish overlords in central and southern Hungary; and the older fourteenth and fifteenth century cultural ties to Germany and Austria—all were factors which together account for the differentiated western development in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Hungary.
From this point of view, it will be necessary to examine the four geographical regions—the Theiss Region, Transylvania, the Western Carpathian Region, and Transdanubia—and show how and why the western cultural influence was readily accepted in each region.

The Theiss Region

Geographically speaking, this region constitutes the total territory of the great Hungarian plain. It extends from a few miles south of Kaschau to Belgrade in the south. Its western boundary is the Danube River and its eastern boundary is marked by the foothills of the Bihor Mountain Range. It is void of major geographical landmarks. The "all Hungarian River," the Theiss River, crosses the entire region from the northeastern corner to the southwestern corner. Its rich bottom lands were used by many nomadic tribes as grazing areas before the Magyars occupied the land. During the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries several German burgher cities developed in this region, but by the sixteenth century these cities were basically inhabited by Hungarians.

The lower two-thirds of the Theiss Region was under direct political control of the Sultans from 1541-1686. Turkish Pashas ruled in all the smaller communities and only

1 Please see map on page 299.
the major cities of Debrezin, Grosswardein, and Segedin stood as isolated western strongholds in the otherwise Turkish territory. The northern third of the Theiss Region was a no man's land during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It separated Transylvania from the Western Carpathian Region and was only periodically occupied by either the princess of Transylvania or the Habsburg emperors. In general, the upper third of the Theiss Region was void of major settlements and people.

The western cultural development of this region during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was limited to the cities which had withstood the Turkish occupation. These cities grew into important western centers and mirrored the West in every respect. Debrezin, which had gained its German Stadtrecht in the thirteenth century, grew into the most important western cultural and intellectual hub in the Turkish territory. Its original Stadtrecht was patterned after that of Ofen, from which most of the cities in the Theiss Region drew population and organizational examples, but in the course of three centuries it had changed in character and can be recognized as a Hungarian city.\(^2\) The other

\(^2\)George Treiber, "Debrezin," Korrospondenzeblatt des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, LI (1928), 70.

\(^3\)Ibid., 72.
former German burgher cities of this region, such as Grosswardein and Segedin and several smaller cities, followed Debrezin's ethnical metamorphosis, but did not achieve its cultural and intellectual importance. The western development of the Theiss Region in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is therefore basically the development of the city of Debrezin.

Debrezin's location in central Hungary accounted for its rapid growth and business activity. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the trade routes of German businessmen to Transylvania led through Debrezin. Being mid-way between Vienna, Pressburg, Tyrnau, Ofen, and the major German settlements in Transylvania—such as Hermannstadt, Klausenburg, Kronstadt, and Schassburg—Debrezin became a convenient stopping point for all East-West trade.\(^4\) These established trade routes were only partially blocked by the presence of the Turks in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In fact, the Turks' direct political occupation of central Hungary in 1541 forced many Hungarian noblemen and German settlers in smaller communities to seek refuge in Debrezin.\(^5\) Important business establishments (for example, from Ofen in 1541) were relocated to Debrezin when the Sultan occupied

\(^4\)Ibid., 73.

\(^5\)Valjavec, II, 60.
their cities; and wealthy refugees from Pest, Segedin, Arad, and cities in Transdanubia sought protection in Debrezin against the Turks. Thus, there was a noticeable economic increase of Debrezin's already strong economic interests.\(^7\)

The economic growth of Debrezin, due to the Turkish occupation, is summed up by Valjavec with these words:

On the basis of the official city records of Debrezin in the fourth, fifth and sixth decades of the 16th century, Debrezin's wealth and economic interests show a marked increase. Debrezin had more public markets, was host to more tradespeople, and commodities from every major western city could be bought and sold in Debrezin.\(^8\)

Another reliable statement attesting to Debrezin's bustling economy comes from the city annalist of Debrezin, Balthasar Basta. Basta recorded in the year 1565 that Debrezin was raided by the bandit Anton Szekely and the tradesmen and shopkeepers "lost many valuable objects originally bought in Vienna, Pressburg, Krakau, Passau and other cities."\(^9\)

\(^6\)Lothar Gross, "Reichshofratsprotokolle als Quellen niederösterreichischer Geschichte," Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich, XXVI (1936), 118.

\(^7\)Refugees from the Turkish territories also found their way to other cities. Klausenburg in Transylvania received "several hundred wealthy families" from Segedin and Pest. Gross, 126.

\(^8\)Valjavec, II, 66.

\(^9\)Treiben, 75. The bandit Anton Szekely was only one of the many gang leaders who roamed the countryside and robbed defenseless tradespeople in the Turkish occupied territory and on the trade routes between the cities in Transylvania.
annalist Basta makes reference to major business activities of Debrezin's tradespeople with the West, but Treiber's examination of the Basta annals also reveals that active business connections existed with cities in Turkey and other Balkan areas as well as Venice in distant Italy.¹⁰

The major economic relationships of Debrezin were with the West, particularly Vienna and Pressburg. Many Viennese business concerns, for example "dry goods" supplier Peter Balogh, established branches in Debrezin. Balogh opened a branch of his sales concerns in Debrezin in 1566 although he never set foot in that city. He was represented by Johannes Obudy who had performed a similar function for Balogh in Ofen before that city was occupied by the Turks.¹¹ The German business activities and concerns in Debrezin were so numerous that one of its major business streets was named Nemet-utca (German Street).¹² It retained the name until 1856 when it was changed to Szechenyi-útca;¹³ and in 1946 the name was again changed to Stalin-útca.¹⁴

¹⁰Treiber, 78-81.
¹¹Maria Szimics, A debreseni orszagos vasarok tortenete (Debrecin: Debreceni Egyetem, 1938, 95.
¹²Ibid.
¹³Valjavec, II, 64.
¹⁴Weidlein, Correspondence. . ., January 17, 1967.
The previously mentioned mathematics text of Johannes Laskai, published in Debrezin, yields further unquestionable proof of the influence in the Theiss Region by the German business world. All examples and problems given in that text use German products (for example, tapestry from Breslau); and German measurements; and Vienna prices for illustrations. The author and his readers were undoubtedly familiar with the German terminology or the book would not have been so popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The well-developed German business activity and trade brought German craftsmanship to the Theiss Region. The well-documented study by Imre, although concentrating on the furrier craft, shows that leather, iron, stone, and wood working guilds were established in Debrezin as early as 1530. The structure of these guilds were patterned after the Vienna and Pressburg guilds and often related guilds in the Reich were consulted when special problems arose pertaining to training and journeyman regulations.

---

15 Janos Hars, A Debreceni Aritmetika (Sarospatak: Sarospatak Egyetem, 1938), 95.
16 Ibid., 101.
17 Lajos Imre, "A debreceni szücsok rendszabalyai a XVI század vegeről," Történeti Tar (1884), 753.
18 Ibid., 754.
19 Ibid., 755.
From a cultural and intellectual point of view the German influence in the printing trade is more than noteworthy. Vienna's influence in this respect has no contender. The first printing shop in Debrezin was established by Rafael Hoffhalter in 1563. He maintained the shop for two years but went back to Vienna, evidently because of lack of business. Two years later his son, Rudolf Hoffhalter, returned to Debrezin, reopened the Hoffhalter printing concern, and it remained open and was owned by the Hoffhalter family during all of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Hoffhalter printing house published Johann Laskai's *Aritmetica* in 1582 and also published the Debrezin calendar which appeared regularly after 1570 and was a literal

---


21Ibid., 87.

22A Debrezin chronicle of 1601 examined by Valjavec, states that Rudolf Hoffhalter was the author of the *Aritmetica*. The title page of the *Aritmetica*, according to Valjavec, is indeed deceptive in this matter as it lists both names, those of Hoffhalter and Laskai, but author and publisher are not attached to either name. Valjavec, II, 70. The publisher and author controversy is treated in some detail by Ferencz Toldy, "Egy kis deak kronika," *Magyar Törtenti Tar* , VI (1859), 253-268. Toldy seems to be convinced that Hoffhalter was the publisher and sponsor of the *Aritmetica* and Laskai the author. Janos Hars, who also treats the matter, states that Hoffhalter's knowledge of mathematics was limited, where Laskai was a mathematics student in Wittenberg and thus could more likely be the author. Hars, 18.
translation of the Viennese Hoffhalter Calendar. In general terms, however, printing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the Theiss Region and elsewhere in the Carpathian Basin was limited to occasional popular books (Volksbücher) and calendars, the kind of printing material which would be bought by the public in large quantities. Valjavec states, "Large printing establishments did not appear in the Carpathian Basin until the last decades of the eighteenth century when the Hungarian, Slovakian and Serbian literary productions became numerous and the educational systems of the regions produced a larger intellectual class."24

The book trade and booksellers trade in the Theiss Region was well developed and greatly dependent upon Vienna and other central German cities. The intellectuals of this region attended German universities and Debrezin established its own Kollegium in 1531; thus, a great intellectual drive can be seen in the whole region during the centuries in

23 Gyulai, 72.

24 Valjavec, III, 161. Valjavec makes the point that after the national literary productions were numerous enough to establish printing houses in Hungary, it was the active concerns of the German printers in Vienna who filled this intellectual need. The Landerer family of Vienna established the largest printing establishment in Ofen-Pest in 1789. Other Viennese printers in Hungary were Beimel, Wigand, Weber, Schmidt, Streibig, Raab, Werfer, and Diwald. Valjavec, III, 163.
question. The students in attendance at Wittenberg, Jena, and other universities bought books, sent books to their friends at home, and subsequently generated a strong local book trade. The theological controversy, in which Debrezin participated as the Calvinist center for this region in the seventeenth century, stimulated intellectual argumentation and directly influenced the local book trade. Two of the largest book dealers of the sixteenth century, the Ferdinand Esch Family of Vienna and the Valintin Gevers Family of Kaschau, established branches in Debrezin around 1580. The monopoly of the German book trade in the Theiss Region during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries becomes evident when one considers that the book sellers' catalogues of Frankfurt list Hungarian books as early as 1592 and quite regularly in the seventeenth century. This seems to confirm that a regular and frequent book sale to Hungary was in progress. There is no reason to assume that the Frankfurt book sellers would list books for which there are no, or only infrequent, requests.

---

25 The educational development of Debrezin and the establishment of the Kollegium of Debrezin has been discussed in Chapter V under the subheading of the Protestant Reformation.

26 Gyulai, 73.

27 Ibid., 81.

The importance of the German book trade in Hungary, and the obviously related intellectual influence of Germany, is highlighted by the Transylvanian statesman, Lester Gyulafis, who writes to a friend in Wittenberg in 1609, "The books of famous authors can only be attained by students in Germany or bought by them on their way home in Debrezin."\(^{29}\)

From this statement it becomes apparent that Germany was supplying the Theiss Region not only with books, but also with a western intellectual orientation which served as the model for the Calvinistic Theiss Region in the seventeenth Century.

The German intellectual influence upon the Kollegium at Debrezin in the sixteenth century has been discussed in Chapter V. During the early seventeenth century the Kollegium became Calvinized but was still under the influence of Melanchthon.\(^{30}\) In 1621, the Hungarian Calvinists opened another Kollegium in Sarospatak, adopting the curriculum and program of Johann Sturm of Strassburg.\(^{31}\) In the regulations adopted by the Reformed Church for the Kollegium in Debrezin in 1657, Sturm's plan served as the major guide.\(^{32}\)

\(^{29}\)Gyulai, 70.

\(^{30}\)Reference is made to footnotes 78 and 79 in Chapter V.

\(^{31}\)Csendes, 8.

\(^{32}\)Ibid., 9.
The flourishing German book trade accounts for the close adherence to the German courses of study, although they were primarily Lutherans, at the Calvinist schools and institutions of the Theiss Region. Just how the availability of German books controlled the studies in the schools becomes clear by a seventeenth century example. In 1645, a professor of philosophy in Debrezin decided to discontinue the text book of logic written by the German (Lutheran) theologian Bartholomew Keckermann and adopt a text by the Calvinist theologian Friedrich Bisterfeld. The Calvinist Bishop in Debrezin, Stephan Katona von Gele, turned down the proposed change reasoning that "all the German schools are using Keckermann's text on logic" and in Debrezin "the books of German authors from German universities are readily obtained."  

The monopoly of German books and German book dealers in the Theiss Region, which was made a reality by the intellectual influence of Germany upon the students of this region, assured the German influence. The sixteenth century intellectual influence of Protestant Germany upon the students

---

33 J. Ders, Gelei Istvan levele (Sarospatak: Kollegium Nyomda, 1857), 178.

34 Ibid., 194. Barthalmoas Keckermann was a professor at Wittenberg from 1574 to 1586 and later a professor at the University of Danzig. His book on logic was published in Wittenberg.
and scholars from the Theiss Region made it possible and profitable for German book sellers to establish monopolies in this area of Hungary. Later, after the scholars had the intellectual strength to search for guidance in other areas of Europe more akin to their own religious leanings, the book market of Germany in Hungary prohibited such a change.

The Jesuit university of Tyrnau in Western Carpathia, founded by the famed Hungarian Counter-Reformationist Peter Pazmany in the early seventeenth century, acquired its total library in Austria and Germany, and was the intellectual center for the Catholics of the Theiss Region. Therefore, the Protestants and Calvinists of the Theiss Region were not alone in receiving their books, and thus their intellectual guidance, from Germany. The Catholics of this region did likewise.

The founding of the Tyrnau University and its relationship to Hungary's part in the Counter-Reformation is developed in detail in the final section of Chapter V.

Turoczi, 367. The library of the University of Tyrnau was started by the private donations of Pazmany and the Eszterhazi families in 1635. Valjavec, II, 73. The Viennese bookdealer, Severus Esh, was charged with "acquiring all philosophical, spiritual texts and treaties" for the library. P. Gyulai, 74. The complete library cost in excess of 6,000 Gulden and was the best theological collection in Hungary during the seventeenth century. Toldy, IV, 258. The bookdealer Valintin Gevers of Kaschau helped in acquiring certain books, particularly the Protestant theological studies which came out of central Germany, because the Thirty Years War had cut direct communications between Austria and the German Protestant areas. Valjavec, II, 75.
The Thirty Years War did change Protestant Germany's direct cultural and spiritual influence in the primarily Calvinist Theiss Region. The change of the direct influence is noted by the lack of Hungarian students at the Universities of Wittenberg, Jena, and Königsberg during the crucial years of the war. Until 1618, Valjavec states, Hungarian Calvinist students numbered between ten and thirty at each of the schools.\(^{37}\) In 1619, the combined number of Hungarian students at the three schools was six; in 1620, there was 14; and in 1621, only three.\(^{38}\)

During the war years the Hungarian students of the Theiss Region turned toward the universities of England and the Netherlands for their higher education.\(^{39}\) The University of

\(^{37}\)Valjavec, II, 73. Ödön Szelenyi, *A magyar evangéli-kus neveles története a reformatciotól napjainkig* (Pressburg: n.p., 1917), 61, however, holds that a total of 400 to 500 Hungarian students were attending the Protestant universities of central Germany in the two years (1616 and 1617) preceding the outbreak of the Thirty Years War in 1618. Nicolaus Asztalos, "A Wittenbergi egyetem es magyarorszagi Kalvinizmus," *Jahrbuch des Weiner Ungarischen Historischen Instituts*, II (1932), 86, suggests that the matriculation records of the war years are so disorganized that no conclusive evidence can be drawn from them.

\(^{38}\)Valjavec, II, 74.

Leiden, founded in 1575, enrolled its first Hungarian student in 1623; in 1624, there were six; in 1625, it listed 13; and in 1640, there were 43 Hungarian students enrolled.\textsuperscript{40} The University of Franeker (Holland) enrolled its first Hungarian student in 1624\textsuperscript{41} and in Oxford three students enrolled in 1626.\textsuperscript{42} The newly opened Harderwijk University (1648) in the Netherlands enrolled two Hungarian students in its first year.\textsuperscript{43} Central Germany's Protestant universities did not regain their exclusive intellectual influence in the Theiss Region after the Thirty Years War even though by 1655 Wittenberg enrolled 16; Jena, 11; and Königsberg, 17 Hungarian students.\textsuperscript{44} The Thirty Years War had opened the way for greater western Europe's cultural influence to penetrate into eastern Hungary; and to a certain degree Hungary's

\textsuperscript{40}Ibid., 201.

\textsuperscript{41}Arpad Hellebrant, "A Franekeri egyetemen tanult magyarok," \textit{Történeti Tar} (1885), 603.

\textsuperscript{42}Bela Pellko, "Kulfoldi alumnusok levelei," \textit{Történeti Tar} (1885), 183. Pellko quotes a letter of the Hungarian student Benedikt Bakaj written in Oxford on March 30, 1626, in which Oxford's scholarship is praised. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the English traveler Robert Townsend was astonished at the number of persons in Debrezin who had been in England. Robert Townsend, \textit{Travels in Hungary} (London: James Michell, 1797), 247-248.

\textsuperscript{43}Jenő Zovanyi, "A harderwijkki egyetem magyarországi hallgatói," \textit{Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények}, I (1890), 433.

\textsuperscript{44}Teutsch, "Studierenden ...," 200.
intellectuals in the eighteenth century reflected this cosmopolitan western influence. The student attendance of central Germany's universities in the sixteenth century and the universities of greater Western Europe in the seventeenth century accounts for a broader western cultural influence in the dress styles and modes of life in the whole Theiss Region. The styles of Hungarian dress, of course, were influenced by the German burghers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries but a much greater western influence in this respect is noted during the centuries in question.

The influence in dress styles were that of Vienna, but it should be noted that Vienna was the "style-setter" of all of western Europe, particularly in ladies apparel. German styles of clothing and home decorations influenced the upper classes of all of Hungary and in this respect was not restricted to the Theiss Region. Valjavec studied family portraits from western Hungary to Transylvania and noted that "... unmistakable Vienna style in the apparel of the ladies but also in men's wear." The German hat particularly was universally adopted by the Hungarian males.

45Valjavec, II, 56.
46Valjavec, III, 4.
47Valjavec, II, 70.
In this connection it should be mentioned that the political developments between Austria and Hungary are clearly depicted in the clothing styles. When the political temper-ament against the Habsburgs ran high the Hungarian Protestants and nobility in particular revived their Hungarian costumes. Even the clerical students who had just returned from Germany were "forced to disrobe and put on slightly altered Hungarian Calvinist clerical robes" to show their opposition to the Habsburgs and Germany in general.\textsuperscript{48}

In summary, it must be stressed that the Theiss Region was culturally isolated from the West by the presence of the Turks but still followed a western development from intellectual to everyday activities. The Hungarian city of Debrezin came to be the center of western culture and the evidence assembled in the preceding paragraphs strongly suggests that the Hungarians considered themselves part of the greater western culture. The political developments of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries considered separately, of course, yield inconclusive evidence viewed from a cultural perspective. The nationalist historians of the nineteenth century who wish to show Hungary's anti-Habsburg and anti-German development during the Turkish occupation find it convenient not to examine the cultural currents which were tying Hungary to its western neighbor.

\textsuperscript{48}Ibid.
The Transylvanian Region

Geographically speaking Transylvania is a land locked region and thus separated from greater Hungary. The Carpathian Mountains form a semi-circle and block easy access toward the North, East and South. In the West, where Transylvania borders on central Hungary, the rugged Bihor Mountains constitute a natural boundary. The natural boundaries of Transylvania account for this region's partial isolation during the Middle Ages and also account for its autonomy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The princes of Transylvania could retreat into their mountain strongholds and fortified castles grossly ignoring the Turk's western drive and the Habsburgs' efforts to coerce greater Hungary. These natural boundaries were equally as important in Transylvania's emergence as an independent state in the sixteenth century as were the princes' friendships with the Sultans.

The ethnic make-up of Transylvania's population from the start of its historic period has been highly mixed. In the ninth century, the Magyars crossed the Bihor Mountains and inhabited the fertile valleys in central Transylvania. The Magyars mingled with Slavs, Rumanians, Gypsies and Cumanians to the extent that none of these peoples could be called a true Transylvanian. Due to Transylvania's political ties to Hungary during the early centuries of the Middle
Ages, the Magyars emerged as the Transylvanians by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Hungarian kings (notably Gesa II, Bela II, and Bela III) settled large numbers of German Saxons in Transylvania to protect central Hungary against eastern invasions. The Saxons established a German burgher culture in Transylvania during the remaining centuries of the Middle Ages; and they did much to fuse this distant region of Hungary with the greater western culture.  

Transylvania's close cultural connection to the West during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is partly explained by the presence of the German Saxons and their well developed burgher culture which had its roots in Germany, and partly by the Transylvanian nobility's feudal structure which by definition relied on the Middle Ages as a model. These two historical factors tied Transylvania to the West during the centuries in question, even though the political and military developments during this time does suggest that Transylvania was basically following an anti-western and anti-German course.

Before the Turkish occupation of central Hungary, the burgher cities of Transylvania had established business connections with Vienna and other cities of the Reich on a

---

49 Kaindl, II, 19.
Because of close business connections and associations the city councils of Hermannstadt, Kornstadt, and Klausenburg turned toward Vienna and Nürnberg for advice on guild matters as late as 1560 when the Turkish occupation had somewhat restricted the free flow of business exchange between Transylvania and the Reich.  

The primarily Hungarian cities (such as Bistritz, Tatros, and Desch) established close cultural ties to the German settlements and migrations from the Reich in the fifteenth century took place to Hungarian as well as German cities. The work-books of Transylvanian journeymen also reveal wide and diffuse experiences in learning their trade. Kramer examined several journeymen's work books, and gives as an example Georg Linezich, who worked two years in Vienna,

---

50 Thomas Wal, a Transylvanian student from Hermannstadt, in Vienna during the late fifteenth century, was able to send his letters home with friends of this family who just happened to be in Vienna on business. This strongly suggests that much flourishing trade was going on between the German burgher cities in Transylvania and Vienna. Friedrich Müller, "Aufzeichnungen von Thomas Wal," Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde, XV (1879), 50-51.


52 The Johann Linczigh family migrated to Klausenburg from Linz in the 1450's, but the Linczighs were business men in Bistritz in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and were recognized as Hungarians by that city. Friedrich Kramer, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Bistritz in 16ten Jahrhundert," Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde, XII (1875), 439.
one year in Ofen, three years in Debrezin and one year in Kronstadt. The cultural connections associated with the experiences of the Transylvanian journeymen are particularly important because they kept the crafts in their region abreast with the new developments of their trade in western Europe.

German and western skills, ideas, and techniques were spread even by the travels of the Transylvanian journeymen to the East in at least one instance. The retinue of Freiherr Herman von Tscheruin, the Habsburgs' imperial representative at the Porte from 1616 to 1619, included two Transylvanians who served as his private tailors. It must be assumed from their position that these two men knew all there was to know about Viennese military and civilian clothing styles. In 1625, one of the tailors operated a tailor shop in Kronstadt and the other is listed as "paying taxes" for a shop in Hermannstadt. There can be no closer connection in the transmission of cultural ideas than direct experience and in matters of all the everyday activities Transylvania's culture was tied in Vienna by the guilds and the travels of the journeymen.

The western cultural ties of the Transylvanian nobility are just as apparent as the burgher population's western

53Ibid., 443.
54Valjavec, II, 79.
55Pancratz, 61.
relationships. In matters of political determination, the nobility of Transylvania in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries boasts independence, but in everyday activities, and cultural and social needs, the West and particularly Vienna serves their needs. All the independent princes of Transylvania, from Isabella's interim rule to that of Rakoczi II, bought weapons from Vienna and German weapons manufacturers. In critical years of Austrian and Transylvanian relations, the princes received German weapons through Silesia and Poland. These purchases are not explained by fancy or caprice of the Transylvanian princes but clearly express Transylvania's dependence on western technology. More important, they show the Transylvanian princes' admiration for western achievements.

In 1587, Andreas Bathory, prince of Transylvania (1581-1598), wrote to Thomas Nadasdy in Vienna: "In the whole principality there is not one reliable apothecary shop." When Nadasdy is asked to send certain medical supplies to the prince, a certain cultural dependency is expressed.

58 Malyusz, 140.
illuminating the degree to which Transylvania was in the western cultural sphere and the number of everyday needs satisfied by the cultural bond.

There is a certain amount of exaggeration in the last example (not on the part of the author, but on the part of Bathory). The apothecary trade in Transylvania was well developed in the sixteenth century and showed an unqualified relationship to Germany and Austria. For example, the city records of Hermannstadt in 1528 show that George Weselin from Schorndorf, Württenberg, was in charge of an apothecary shop "... in which all drugs known to men in the Reich are available." In 1580, Wilhelm Black from Duisburg is named as having charge of "the city's apothecary shop." In 1570, the Hungarian text, Medical Art, was widely circulated in Transylvania. Valjavec noted that "The numerous and expert labeling of many medical herbs and treatments presupposes a well developed exchange of medical men from the Reich as well as a well developed medical system." 59

In the early part of the sixteenth century, Ferdinand's vigorous efforts to bring Transylvania under the Austrian system of government and under the "officialdom" of Austria was most influential in reorganizing this region's public

59 Valjavec, II, 78.
60 Ibid., 79.
Erick Bologa's detailed study substantiates that most of the doctors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were either Austrians or Germans. Students of medicine, according to Bologa, traveled and settled only in those areas where the society and culture "... showed no substantial differences from that of Austria and Germany." This latter point may well be exaggeration, for the medical profession in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries certainly did not have the status it has today, but cultural similarity was undoubtedly, for the German and Austrian medical men, a prerequisite for finding Transylvania receptive to their skills and for their willingness to practice there.

61 For other social improvements in Hungary under Ferdinand's rule see Chapter V, passim.
62 Erick Bologa, "Reichsdeutsche Ärzte im vorhabsburgischen Siebenbürgen," Mitteilungshefte für Ärzte, IV (1928), 4. Bologa states that the court physician of Ferdinand, Johannes Saltzmann, was from Hermannstadt. Valjavec, however, states that the investigation of the Hermannstadt doctor lists of the sixteenth century does not show Saltzmann's name. Valjavec, II, 79. But admits that the lists available today are inconclusive particularly for the early decades of the sixteenth century.
63 Bologa, 7.
The Turkish occupation of central Hungary did restrict Transylvanian trade and business activity with Germany and Austria to a certain extent, but the trade routes were never blocked completely. In 1560 the chronicle of Hieronymus Ostermayer of Kronstadt illustrates:

\[\text{dat der Hanes König den Csaki Mihaly zum König Ferdinando geschicht nach Wien. Dieser hat guten Frieden Gebracht, alos dass die Kauffleut wieder haben bis Wein handeln konnen.}\]

This excerpt from the sixteenth century chronicle seems to indicate that the trades and business people were overjoyed that the prince of Transylvania and Ferdinand of Austria had renewed the trade agreements between the two areas.

Valjavec states that the business vouchers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries catalogued at the Munich Museum of East-European Studies, give unqualified proof of vigorous buying by Translyvanians of such items as Viennese capes, lace, knitted articles, hats and other items of fashion.\(^64\) The nobility of Transylvania followed the fashion of Vienna in every detail. The wife of George Rakoczi I is said to have been so fashion conscious that she pressured her husband into an Austrian peace treaty detri-

\(^{64}\) Valjavec, II, 80; Müller, *Materialien* . . . 593.

\(^{65}\) Valjavec, II, 81.
mental to Transylvanian interests so that she could travel to Vienna to do her yearly shopping.  

Some recent studies by nationalist historians of Gabriel Bethlen's reign maintain that his political opposition to Austria successfully broke the German and Austrian cultural influence in Transylvania. This assertion has some truth in it, but there are many overwhelming facts which speak against it. During Bethlen's rule, for instance, Transylvania began bringing their mining industry and the minting of coins up to Austria's standards. To accomplish this task, Bethlen was instrumental in luring over fifty Austrian coiners to Weissenburg where a new mint was built. Bethlen's agents travelled all through Austria and the Western Carpathian Region to attract the German miners and craftsmen to Transylvania. In 1620 under Bethlen's military protection "several hundred Germans' moved from Schemnitz to Kleinschaltten, Transylvania's mining region. The following year Bethlen was able to attract a large group of

---


67 Gyula Szekfű, Gabriel Bethlen (Budapest: Kiralyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1926), 204.

68 Gabriel Bethlen's political opposition to Habsburg has been developed in some detail in Chapter V of this study.

69 Margarethe Kardoss, Bethlen Gabor udvara (Budapest: Alami Nyomda, 1918), 5.
Anabaptists (mixed German and Bohemian) who were under political pressure in Bohemia. Their settling in Wintz, Transylvania, benefited the economic development of the region.70

From a more cultural point of view, Bethlen followed the Vienna high society with great enthusiasm. His newly built castle, Ebesfalu (1618), near Weissenburg, was decorated with tapestry from Vienna. The murals in the great-hall depicted western knights and were painted by craftsmen from Vienna and Pressburg.71 The first wife of Bethlen surrounded herself with Austrian ladies at court; and his second wife, the German archduchess Katherina von Brandenburg, continued the Austrian style of life at Bethlen's court. The Kardoss study notes that Bethlen's formal dinners and parties were done as "lavishly as any at the imperial court in Vienna."72

When Peter Bethlen was preparing to travel to Germany to study at Wittenberg (and later at Leiden), the prince Gabriel instructed his youngest brother's companion and tutor by letter: "Az gyermekkel . . . magyarul beszelleni ne hagyon, henem deakul es haaz nimet nyelveben bele kaphatna, 

70Ibid., 23.
71Szekfü, 151-154.
72Kardoss, 18-22.
The words are quoted here in their original Hungarian because they express the vigor and determination with which Bethlen valued, the learning of German language. He forbids the tutor to speak in Hungarian to his charge, for a prince must know the language of culture—German.

The intellectual and spiritual development of Transylvania during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries followed the pattern which has been observed in the Theiss Region. In the first half of the sixteenth century Melanchthon's educational ideas and plans were followed by the German and Hungarian burgher cities of Transylvania. By the closing decades of the sixteenth century Transylvania emerged as a Calvinist state and remained a Calvinist stronghold and anti-Catholic center during the entire seventeenth century.

The intellectuals of this region frequented the Protestant universities of central Germany. Valjavec estimates that nearly 600 students from Transylvania studied in

---


74 Melanchthon's influence in educational matters in all of Hungary has been developed in Chapter V.
Protestant Germany prior to 1618.\textsuperscript{75} The Thirty Years War turned the students from Transylvania toward English and other northern European universities. In this respect the situation observed in the Theiss Region is repeated in Transylvania. The University of Leiden, Holland, particularly was favored by Transylvanian students.\textsuperscript{76}

During the centuries in question, two Calvinist Kollegiums were founded in Transylvania. The one in Klausenburg was founded around 1553,\textsuperscript{77} but the Kollegium at Weissenburg founded by Gabriel Bethlen in 1617-1619 became the Calvinist intellectual hub of Transylvania. These two

\textsuperscript{75} Valjavec, II, 85. This number, however, seems high inasmuch as the students from Transylvania had to cross Turkish territory to get to central Germany and the Kollegium in Debrezin provided an education which by the end of the sixteenth century must have been if not comparable at least good enough to train Calvinist preachers and teachers. Freidrich Teutsch, Studierenden, . . ., 188. Teutsch states that the Transylvanian nobility did not frequent the school in Debrezin as much as the intellectuals who emerged from the burgher cities in Transylvania.

\textsuperscript{76} Valjavec, II, 121.

\textsuperscript{77} The founding date of the Klausenburg Kollegium has been disputed. Valjavec, II, 88. There are strong reference points which suggest that 1553 was the founding date. Kaspar Helitais, the translator of several Protestant theological books and prayers, was a resident of Klausenburg and in his translation of Johannes Spangenberger's \textit{Ein neu Trostbücählen} (Klausenburg 1556), he makes reference to his teaching in Klausenburg. The Wittenberg theologian Leonhard Hutter (1563-1616) is said to have taught in Klausenburg in 1589.
Kollegiums served the whole region by preparing teachers and preachers.

Several secondary schools, in most cases former German burgher schools, were reorganized in the major cities. Valjavec states that at least ten cities had established such secondary schools by 1600. The school at Kronstadt is often referred to as a Gymnasium. The new organization of Transylvania's now Calvinist schools, so far as administration and curriculum is concerned, was identical with the secondary schools in the Theiss Region. Melanchthon's, and later Sturm's, school plans constituted the basic guidelines.

The intellectual orientation of the Transylvanian schools was determined by the German Protestant universities and during the Thirty Years War, although Transylvanian students frequented other West European universities, this

78 Ibid., 83.

79 Jakob, 27. The rectors for the Transylvanian schools seem to have either studied or taught in Debrezin before they assumed an administrative position in Transylvanian schools. Otto Albrichtsfeld, "Magister Martinus Albrichinum," Mittelungen des burzenlandischen Sächsischen Museums, III (1938), 56.

80 Friedrich Teutsch, "Studierenden . . ." 186. Teutsch notes that the Thirty Years War turned many Hungarian students toward other Protestant universities, but by 1655, after the war was over, the basic German intellectual forces in Hungary and Transylvania were able to regain the German universities' popularity among the Hungarian student population. In 1655 there were 11 Transylvanian students enrolled in Wittenberg and 6 in Jena.
determination remained steadfast. The Kollegium at Weissenburg was from its founding date to the late eighteenth century in the hands of German Protestant or Calvinist scholars. Bethlen set the stage for the German influence by inviting such famous German scholars as: Alsted, who formerly taught Philosophy at Leipzig; Bisterfeld, who had studied and taught at Heinsius, Holland, and was a recognized scholar of logic during the whole seventeenth century; Piscator, whose theological writings were known in all of Protestant Germany; and Opits, who in German literature even today is recognized as the literary theoretician who developed the lyrical style of the Baroque period.81 The trend established by Bethlen to appoint famed German professors to teach in Weissenburg was uninterrupted by the Thirty Years War. However, during the critical years, Transylvania turned to East-Central Germany—that is, Frankfurt on the Oder, which had become a Calvinist center—for its professors and scholars.82

81 Valjavec, II, 74, 78, 90. Particulars of each name mentioned were taken from Wolfgang Kayser (ed.), Literatisches Lexikon (Bern, Grancke Verlag: 1947), 607, 801, 829. The activities of Martin Opits as professor at Weissenburg and his influence upon Transylvania's young intellectuals is developed in great detail by Bela Jakob, Opitz Marton a gyula-fehervari Bethleniskolanal (Fünfkirchen, Egyetemi Nyomda: 1909), 45-61.

82 Josef Tröstler, "Die Anfänge der Ungarischen Geschichtsprosa," Ungarische Jahrbücher, XIV (1934), 120-128.
appointment of German scholars and professors at the Transylvanian Kollegiums was of decisive importance for the intellectual orientation of eastern Hungary; and it also accounts for the German influence in Hungary's own literature, theater, music, and art.83

The oldest Hungarian chronicle by Stephan Szekely, Chronica ez Vilagnac Yeles dolgairol (Krakau: 1559), shows unquestionable influence of Harimann Schedel's Chronik (Nürnberg: 1492), and the religious entries clearly show the influence of an older German chronicle by Kathhausers Werner, Die Welt Chronik (Rolewinck: 1474).84 Szekely's strong reliance and influence of the two earlier German chronicles was by no means a matter of chance. The second Hungarian chronicle by Kasper Heltai, Vilag Chronica (Klausenburg: 1575), also shows the influence of Werner's earlier work.85

Hungarian writers of the nineteenth century like to point out that Heltai's chronicle was primarily influenced by the Italian Bonfini. There is some truth to this claim. However, a closer examination reveals that Heltai used a German edition of Bonfini's chronicle which was published in

83Ibid., 124.
84Ibid., 125.
Basel in 1545. Heltai's long and detailed examination of the effects of alcohol on humans is a precise translation of Sebastian Frank's essay, *Von dem greulichen laster der Drunkenheit* (Frankfurt: 1528).  

In summary, the political and military anti-Austrian attitude of the Transylvanian nobility cannot be used as a guide in determining the cultural influence persisting during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The German burgher cities of this region maintained continuous business associations with central Germany and Vienna. The travels of the Transylvanian journeymen in the Reich and in Austria assured the persistence of western skills and developments in the trades. In matters of guild disputes, German cities in the Reich were consultants in settling the matters.  

The nobility of Transylvania looked toward Vienna in all matters related to styles and fashions. The German language was considered the language of culture by the nobility as the example of Gabriel Bethlen—the greatest political and military enemy of Austria—has clearly shown. In everyday social needs and for occasional social events, the court of Vienna served as the example.  

The intellectual and religious guidelines for school and church were sought in Protestant Germany; and German

scholars and professors were directing the Calvinist Kollegiums established in Transylvania. In literary productions, German models served as examples. The Thirty Years War reduced the influence of central German Protestant universities, but the intellectual orientation of Transylvania remained basically unchanged.

Perhaps Transylvania's open anti-German attitude in political and military matters also reveals how deeply the West had influenced this distant region. If it had been possible to culturally separate this region from the West, the two hundred year political dispute with Austria should have accomplished this end. However, except for an outward political dispute, even the Transylvania nobility was unable to achieve a separation with Vienna and the West. Those historians who insist that Transylvania was maintaining cultural independence from the West are surely confusing culture with politics.

The Western Carpathian Region

From the point of view of geography, the Western Carpathian Region of Hungary is difficult to pinpoint. It corresponds generally with the territory of nineteenth century Slovakia. Its western border was the March River and Pressburg was its most western city.\(^\text{87}\) The southern border

\(^{87}\)Please see map on page 299.
was the northern edge of the great Hungarian Plain. The Tan River marked the eastern border; and the Weichel River its northwestern border. The most important cities of the region were Pressburg, Neutra, Konigsberg, Alt-and Neushol, and Kremnitz in the west and Kaschau, Eperies, Kasmark, and Bratfeld in the northeast.

The population of this region, as in all other regions of Hungary, was mixed. German, Hungarians, and Slovaks (Slavs) constituted over 90% of the people. The Germans lived almost exclusively in the cities, the Hungarians lived on the large estates, and accounted for half or more than half of the population in such cities as Neutra and Sillein. The Slovaks lived on some estates, and a small number (about 15%) in every city as well as in the smaller mountain communities in the North of the region.88

After 1526, the Western Carpathian Region became politically incorporated in the Habsburg hegemony. This fact alone sets the stage for the free flow of cultural influence from the court of Vienna on the nobility of this region. The Protestant Reformation was only a passing phase among the

---

88 Statistical analysis of Hungary's population is given in Sarka Hebkova, The Slavs of Austria-Hungary (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1918), 4-9. The Germans in this region of Hungary and their interaction with the other nationals, as well as national problems in this region of Hungary, are well explained in Hermann Gesten, Geschichte Oesterreichs (Innsbruck: Tyrolia-Verlag, 1956), 103-134.
nobles of this region, but Protestantism became deep-rooted in the German burgher cities.\textsuperscript{89}

The political dependency of the whole region on Austria and the nobility's tie to the court of Vienna seems to be a paradox when the strong Protestant concentration in the cities of this region is considered. But the paradox did not turn into a real conflict during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The political and military developments between Austria and Transylvania served as the balancing force which assured the whole Western Carpathian Region uninterrupted cultural ties toward the West.\textsuperscript{90} The nobility gentry was able to remain culturally tied to Austria and

\textsuperscript{89} Valjavec, II, 90. The effects of the Protestant Reformation among the Hungarian nobility and gentry in this region are fully developed in Chapter V of this dissertation. The cities, because of their proximity to Protestant Germany, were converted to Protestantism in the 1520's and 1530's. The Hungarians in the German burgher cities and in those cities where they were in the majority followed the confessional changes of the German burghers in the 1540's. By 1560, all the cities of this region were Protestant strongholds, Jenö Zovanyi, \textit{A reformatio Magyarorszagon} (Budapest: Lengyel, 1922), 96, 197, 121.

\textsuperscript{90} Friedrich X. Krones, \textit{Zur Geschichte des Deutschen Volktums im Karpathenlande} (Graz: Geier Verlag, 1878), 16. Transylvania's readiness to aid Western Carpathian Protestants against Habsburg's efforts to re-Catholicize the people in their territories kept the Emperors from taking forceful actions against the Protestant cities. Still Transylvania invaded this region repeatedly under the pretext of protecting the religious liberties of the cities in this region. But Austria's policy against the Protestant cities was never intolerable and thus Transylvania's invasions must be explained by other causes. Johann Weidlein, \textit{Leistungen} . . . , 53.
the Protestant cities were able to establish economic ties to Vienna and receive their spiritual and cultural influence from Protestant Germany. In order to show this region's western development during the centuries in question, it is necessary to deal with Vienna's influence upon the nobility and gentry, and Protestant Germany's influence upon the cities. Such a separation, of course, is only arbitrary and it should be understood that the cities entered into economic agreements with the Austrians, and the nobility and gentry was culturally influenced to a certain degree by Protestant Germany. The theoretical division of this twofold western cultural influence make the Carpathian Region unique, inasmuch as both the grandeur of the Viennese court and the humanistic and religious views of the Protestant Reformation could interact and shape in this area of Hungary a model society of the western world. This area was never occupied by the Turks and was passed by the Thirty Years War and the religious conflicts so that when poets and historians alike refer to the Western Carpathian Region as "the Jewel" and find only in these cities can one view the peaceful progress from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment, surely there is

91Valjavec, II, 93.
some truth to it—not all could be mistaken.\footnote{Weidlein, \textit{Legistungen} . . . , 60; Valjavec, II, 91. The fact the Western Carpathian Region escaped the biggest portion of the wars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and Protestants and Catholics alike were able to live relatively free of conflict is seen by such noble acts as the endowment of Lasaros Henckel von Donnersmark. He owned most of the copper mines near Neusohl but lived in Vienna and was a Catholic. Before he died he left nearly 50,000 Hungarian Gulden in trust with the city of Leutschiau (the mining center) and specified that "the money should be used for the education of Protestant ministers who would be serving the area." Joseph Kallbrunner, "Lazarus Henckel von Donnersmark," \textit{Vierteljahreschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte}, XXIV (1931), 151.}

How deeply the nobility and gentry was influenced by Vienna can be shown by several examples of their mode of life. The political ties of the region to Austria necessitated that the nobles spend some time in Vienna. The charm of the court did the rest. With Ferdinand I's long rule and his Spanish background, the Spanish costumes and clothes became fashionable in Vienna. The Hungarian nobility was not to be outclassed by the Austrian nobles. Anna Abaffy received a large wardrobe as a dowry of which we know the style of each piece! A letter written by Miss Abbaffy in 1563 to a friend in Vienna states in part, "I will be in style, the clothes are tailored according to the latest Spanish and German styles . . . each piece is labeled at the collar either Spanish or German . . . this helps me much . . . I must learn
the styles . . . society there (Vienna) demands that one
know them . . . I am looking forward to coming to Vienna . . .
and I will not be out of place."93

The fact that the Spanish styles reached the Hungarian
Carpathian Region through Vienna and not directly from Spain,
which is occasionally asserted, is clarified in another
letter. Magdalena Orszag von Guth writes to her daughter
from Pressburg in 1553, "Your suba (coat) is not finished
yet, but the tailor Andreas has sent word from Vienna that
it soon will be finished, with the terrible war many people
are dying there and it will be difficult to have it sent out
. . . your father will find a way."94

There are numerous other examples which show the Hungarian nobility's cultural and social existence
was one with the society in Vienna. The Vizegespan (county
judge) Michael Zerdahelyi of Neutra bought clothes and sil-
verware for his niece in Vienna.95 Ladislaus Fekete von
Ivanyi writes to a friend he had bought objects "befitting of

93Miklos Mednyanszki, "XVI szazadban magyar hölgy
ruhatarok," Történeti Tar (1883), 595.

94Deak Parkas, Magyar hölgyek levelei (Budapest:
n.p. 1879), 60-61.

95Arthur Odescalchi, "A Szerdabelyi csalad
levelterabol," Történeti Tar (1890), 540.
men of our status" for 500 Hungarian Gulden. Franz Thywkowyth of Erlan makes reference in his last will and testament to many valuable objects he had bought in Vienna, among which he lists a suba "acquired in Vienna" for 450 Hungarian Gulden.

The nobility was at home in Vienna and lived the life of western nobles. Valjavec lists some of the items besides clothes which the Hungarian nobles of this region usually acquired in Vienna: gold embroidered materials, watches, carriages, furniture, stoves, and even kitchen utensils.

The frequent visits to Vienna on government business or private business gave ample opportunity to shop. Many Hungarian noblemen owned houses in the finest residential sections of Vienna among the Viennese houses of the Austrian noblemen.

In the winter when a nobleman needed something from Vienna and he was not willing to make the trip he would send a servant to do his shopping.

---

97 Andreas Komaromy, "A tolesvari Boniscsalad leveltarabol," Történeti Tar (1886), 166.
98 Valjavec, II, 91-93.
99 Komaromy, "Boniscsalad . . .," 168.
100 Andreas Komaromy, "Revai Kata Szidonia levelei ferjehez," Történeti Tar (1889), 283.
The nobility's active social life in Vienna and their "high-society" living on their estates carried over to the burgher population, both Hungarian and German. To keep up with the nobility in fashion and the interest of local tradesmen to capitalize on the styles were basically the reasons for the burgher population's acceptance of the new styles. The tailorguild in Kaschau, for example, agreed on a price differentiation between the old style (regy modra) and the new Vienna-Spanish style (mostany modra). Similar price differences are noted by the shoemakers guilds in various cities, by carpenters and hatmakers. Several guilds made regulations pertaining to journeymen's training in the new styles and some demanded at least one year of training in Austria proper.

Several Viennese tradespeople opened shops in the cities of the Western Carpathian Region for the burghers of the cities. The nobility patronized these shops only in emergency situations for various reasons: it was fashionable to buy one's needs in Vienna; prices in Vienna were cheaper; the large Vienna shops gave credit; and the styles carried by local shops just were not the latest styles from

102 Ibid., 73.
Vienna.\textsuperscript{103} The snobbery displayed by the Hungarian nobility and gentry toward the Protestant burghers, according to Valjavec, was immense; but still the burgher population was eager to imitate the nobility.\textsuperscript{104}

For the intellectual orientation of the Hungarian nobility and gentry, Vienna was also decisive. The decline of Hungarian students at the University of Vienna after the Battle of Mohacs in 1526, as noted in Chapter V, was only a temporary interruption for this Hungarian region. Ferdinand's efforts to build a strong monarchy and the inclusion of this region into the Habsburg hegemony quickly reestablished Vienna as the intellectual center for the nobility and gentry. The intellectuals of the Protestant cities, however, sought their training in Protestant Germany.\textsuperscript{105}

By the end of the sixteenth century the Hungarian Counter-Reformationist, Peter Pazmany, controlled the intellectual training of the Hungarian nobility. His creation of the University of Tyrnau under a Jesuit faculty assured

\textsuperscript{103}Gustav Bodenstein, "Wiener Warenpreise um 1600," Monatsblatt, II (1927), 205.

\textsuperscript{104}Valjavec, II, 94.

\textsuperscript{105}Statistical figures of university enrollments both in Vienna and in the Protestant schools are given in Chapter V. Jenő Zovanyi, A reformatio Magyarországban (Budapest: Lengyel, 1922), 510-526, develops the trend of the Hungarian intellectuals after 1526.
Vienna's and Graz's intellectual domination among the Catholics in the Western Carpathian Region.\footnote{Peter Pazmany's influence in Hungarian higher education is developed in some detail in Chapter V above.}

The Hungarian nobility's Vienna-influenced social life and style consciousness obviously affected the Protestant burgher cities so it is not surprising to find that their primarily Catholic ideas intellectually guided from Austria also had some cultural implications for these cities. This influence was, in part, as direct as Protestant burgher intellectuals attending the Tyrnau University,\footnote{Zoványi, 381. The Counter-Reformation attempted to discourage Protestants from attending Jesuit schools; still the availability of the Tyrenau University to the Protestant burgher cities of this region accounted for its occurrence. Rudolf Holinka, "Zalozeni trnavske university," \textit{Tranavsky}, XIII (1901), 13.} but in general it was more indirect and reflected on the cultural activities of the cities. The popular play, \textit{Speculum vitae humanae}, written by the Archduke Ferdinand von Tyrol\footnote{Leopold Schmidt, "Neue Volksschauspielung," \textit{Deutsch-Ungarische Heimatblätter}, IV (1932), 343.} and other similar plays showing definite south-German Catholic flavor, were performed in almost all Protestant cities of this region. Hans-Sachs plays were also imported through Austria.\footnote{Imre Lukinich, "Könyvtörténeti adalekok," \textit{Magyar Könyveszéria} (1923), 88.}
The influence of Vienna in every aspect of culture and education affected the Hungarian nobility and gentry quite deeply. Some of Vienna's grandeur spilled over upon the Protestant burghers, but the chief cultural and educational beacon for them was the German Protestant area to the North of the Carpathian Region. Only by receiving vigorous intellectual guidance from Germany was it possible for the Protestant cities to maintain their confessional convictions against the manifold cultural influences exerted by Vienna upon the Hungarian nobility and gentry.\textsuperscript{110} Besides intellectual guidance, the German burgher cities of the Western Carpathian Region established flourishing economic ties with Protestant central Germany which were particularly noteworthy for Kasmark and Kaschau.\textsuperscript{111}

The intellectuals of the Protestant burgher cities from the time of the Reformation were under the influence of the University of Wittenberg, and the educational establishments of the cities conformed to Melanchthon's school plan. Melanchthon's influence, which was little changed during the sixteenth century, remained strong even longer than in the Theiss Region, for the cities in the Western Carpathian

\textsuperscript{110}Valjavec, II, 97.

\textsuperscript{111}All the cities of this region had economic and trade relations with Germany. Ludwig Petry, "Das Zipser Deutschtum in seinen kulturellen Beziehungen zu Schlesien von 16. bis 17. Jahrhundert," \textit{Schlesisches Jahrbuch}, IX (1937), 70.
Region stayed basically Lutheran. The Counter-Reformation and Pazmany's founding of the University of Tyrnau did not detract greatly from Protestant Germany's intellectual influence among the German burgher cities of this region. According to Valjavec, the intellectual ideas of Protestant Germany always were reflected in the Carpathian Regions. Just how close this region was to all the intellectual trends in Germany may be seen by this example: With the Thirty Years War, rational thought began to be expressed in some areas of Germany. Shortly thereafter this new intellectual orientation had followers in the Carpathian Region. As early as 1653 the Hungarian intellectual burgher, Lorenz Vörös, from Modern near Pressburg becomes the exponent of the rational ideas.

The first expressions of rational thought, however, made little lasting impact in Germany or in Hungary. A wave of religious irrationalism preceded the rational era. The

\[112\] Valjavec, II, 98.

\[113\] Theodor Wotschke, "Der polnischen Brüder Briefwechsel mit den markischen Enthusiasten," Deutsche wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für Polen, XXII (1931), 17.

\[114\] Ibid., 23. Vörös became a teacher in Neutra but his rational ideas found little acceptance among the burghers. It was too early for rationalism to take a general hold.

exponents of irrationalism were, relatively speaking, few in number but traces of them are also found in the Carpathian Region. In Espries, the theologian, George Serpitius, wrote and preached fanaticist views. Even the theosophic ideas of Jakob Böhme had some following in the Carpathian burgher cities. Since all the rational, as well as irrational, tendencies of Protestant Germany were reflected in this region, Valjavec's assertion becomes acceptable—the Western Carpathian Region of Hungary stayed under the continuous intellectual influence of Protestant Germany.

While the diverse tendencies toward irrationalism were gaining only limited and sporadic acceptance, Pietism, the reform movement within the Lutheran Church of Germany, influenced the intellectuals and was well received among the burghers in the cities. Daniel Klesch (1627-1697) and his brother Christopher (1632-1706) were associates of Philip Jacob Spener, the founder and organizer of Pietism, while the latter studied at Tübingen. Through the preaching of the two Klesch brothers, Pietism became the intellectual concern in the Carpathian German burgher cities almost

116 Wotschke, 13, 26, 31.
117 Ibid., 31-33.
118 Szent-Ivanyi, 3.
119 Pukanszky, 246.
simultaneously with its acceptance in Germany. \(^{120}\) Debates and religious hairsplitting between the orthodox Lutherans and the Pietists were as prevalent in Hungary as in Germany. The pietist movement spread to Transylvania and all parts of Protestant Hungary; but it was in the Carpathian Region where it succeeded first and remained strongest well into the eighteenth century. \(^{121}\)

Perhaps here it should be mentioned that besides the University of Wittenberg several other German educational institutions not at the university level were recipients of numerous students from Hungary, most of whom came from the burgher cities of this region. And for reasons which are not completely clear and are not fully researched, many well-to-do burgher sons studied at gymnasiums in Germany before starting their university training. \(^{122}\) Thus, educational

\(^{120}\) Ibid., 250. Pietism, although rejected and ridiculed by the orthodox Lutheran theologians in Germany, was finding adherence among many young teachers and preachers in Leipzig, and soon spread into central Germany. Their practical approach to theology was strongly opposed by the theologians who held the Lutheran Church in a dogmatic control. Only the energy of Spener was able to direct the Pietists to a successful internal reorganization of the Lutheran Church without causing a separate orthodoxy.

\(^{121}\) Szent-Ivanyi, 15.

\(^{122}\) The literature does not treat this phenomenon well. The usual reasons given are that those students who hoped to study at a university needed a better preparation than the gymnasiums in Hungary could offer. The matter of university preparation in the Hungarian secondary schools had been developed on page 189, above. Ödön Szelenyi, A magyar evangélius neveles története a reformáciotol napjainkig (Pressburg: n.p., 1917), 48.
connections were established from the Carpathian Region on the one hand toward Iglan-Prague-Wittenberg and on the other hand toward Breslau-Thorn-Elbing-Königsberg.123 These lines of educational communications persisted from the middle of the sixteenth century well into the seventeenth century. The establishment of Jesuit gymnasiums in the Carpathian Region must have had some negative effects on this trend, for reliable evidence suggests that many Protestant burghers entered Jesuit schools.124 But, in general terms, the burgher cities and their intellectuals remained under the influence of Protestant Germany's educational institutions during both centuries in question.

Toward the end of the seventeenth century after Pietism had well established seats of learning in central Germany--such as the University of Halle, to which Spener came at its founding in 1694--the studying public of the Carpathian burgher cities was primarily seeking its intellectual training there.125 Teutsch (who does not claim to have

123Szelenyi indicated that in 1735, 235 gymnasium students studied in Thorn alone. Szelenyi, 61. There are no statistical tabulations available for the other gymnasiums.

124Valjavec, II, 64.

125Friedrich Teutsch, "Siebenbürger in Halle," Korrospondenzblatt des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, II (1879), 67. The date for the founding of Halle is sometimes given as 1693 but Teutsch gives it as 1695.
examined all the matriculation records of Halle) states that by 1710, two hundred students from Hungary had matriculated in Halle. From 1695 Hungarian students are in a marked decrease at Wittenberg, Königsberg, and other German universities where the orthodox doctrines of Lutheranism were jealously guarded by the theological professors.\textsuperscript{126}

The fact that Pietism did not split the Lutheran Church in its theory was undoubtedly the reason why the intellectual influence of the Jesuits and the University of Vienna was not able to capitalize on the doctrinal splintering within the Lutheran Church. In Hungary the Lutheran Church, and thus the cultural influence of Germany, was actually strengthened by Pietism. The simplification of the orthodox Lutheran doctrine, home Bible studies, and a renewed use of the national languages for all activities of the church enabled the large burgher population—whether German, Hungarian or Slav—to share in the church's activities.\textsuperscript{127} Pietism actually made the Lutheran Church into a true family church in Hungary and it accomplished the same goals which the Catholic Counter-Reformation was theoretically planned to accomplish by its reorganization during the sixteenth century.

\textsuperscript{126}Szelenyi, 52.

\textsuperscript{127}Szont-Ivanyi, 17-19. Pietism actually had the same success in Germany and the German Church was brought closer to the people there as well.
The cultural and intellectual ties of the Western Carpathian Region of Hungary and central Germany, of course, were only possible because they were preceded by strong economic ties. The burgher population and the tradespeople and guilds of this region maintained business relations not only with Vienna (discussed above in this section) but also with the cities of the Reich. Valjavec even expresses the view that trade and business with Vienna was only prompted by the fashions of Vienna and was never a stable and reliable economic tie.128 In the business records of a tradesman of Eperies this notation is found, "... at Trinity there was a large exposition and many tradespeople came from Greece, Transylvania, Hungary, Poland and Silesia..."129 This indeed suggests that the economy of this region relied on numerous exports which, of course, were not possible in Vienna. Vienna was basically exporting items of fashion but had a well developed industry of its own which supplied most of its needs; and the raw materials which were produced in the Western Carpathian Region, with the exception of copper ore, were obtainable in areas closer to Vienna.

The cities of the Reich, particularly those in Silesia, needed the ores, wax, wools, flax, and other items as raw

128 Valjavec, II, 102.
materials for their well developed industry and thus they became a market for this region's products.\textsuperscript{130} Many sixteenth century business records list the purchases of Breslau tradesmen. Burghers from Kasmark, Bratfeld and Eperies were able to buy goods in Breslau on credit; this was not possible in Vienna.\textsuperscript{131} These economic ties were the basis for a well developed cultural exchange. The travels of the Carpathian journeymen were usually in central Germany.\textsuperscript{132}

There are many excellent economic records available which strongly suggest Valjavec's assertions that this region of Hungary had the strongest ties both economically and culturally to the Protestant areas of Germany.

On the basis of the forgoing paragraphs the assumption can be made that the Hungarian nobility of the Western Carpathian Region had drifted into the cultural influence of the court of Vienna, whereas the burgher population being primarily Lutheran remained culturally, economically and educationally under the influence of Protestant Germany. The assertions by nationalist historians that no significant cultural developments occurred in this area of Hungary during

\begin{footnotes}
\item[130] Ibid., 18.
\item[131] Ibid., 19.
\end{footnotes}
the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries either overlook the many-sided cultural ties which obviously flourished with both Austria and Germany, or the national bias and anti-German attitude of the historians, in general, are strong enough to deny it. Be it as it may, the evidence assembled above will bear their challenge if the challenge is made on reliable historical investigation.

The Transdanubian Region

The geographical boundaries of Transdanubia are in the north, east, and south identical with the ancient boundaries of Pannonia. The Danube River and the Save River encompass this region. The western boundary was a line extending from about twenty English miles west of the Neusiedler Sea southward to Karlstadt in Croatia with Agram being in Croatia, but Warsadin already part of Transdanubia. The most important cities of Transdanubia are Guns, Odenburg, Raab, Steinamanger, Wesprim, Stuhlwissenburg, Gross-Kanizsa, Fünfkirchen and Mohacs.

The population of Transdanubia from the ninth century on included Magyars, Germans, and Southern Slavs. Unlike

---

133Please see map on page 299. Gragger, 31.

134The population of Transdanubia and their cultural interaction in the early centuries of the Arpad Dynasty are fully treated in Chapter II. The early German settlements of Transdanubia and their cultural ties to the Salzburg and Passau clergy are also developed in Chapter II. For location and size of the German settlement, see Schünemann, 1-13.
the Carpathian Region, Transdanubia was relatively free of major German burgher cities. The Germans lived on the large estates of the Hungarian nobility and cultural assimilation among the Germans and Hungarians took place quite early. The population of the cities—with the exception of Odenburg, which was basically German—was Hungarian and German with a strong Slav minority in the cities of the South of the region.135

After 1526 the southeastern third of Transdanubia was occupied by the Turks with the rest being incorporated into the Habsburg hegemony. Many of the nobles fled the Turkish territory and settled west of Lake Platten. The proximity of the western part of this region to Vienna accounts for the cultural inclination toward the Austrian neighbors. The Hungarian historians, Julius von Farkas and Johann Koszo, have pointed out in their studies that this region of Hungary has been culturally combined with Austria from the sixteenth century.136

The recognition illustrates Transdanubia's cultural ties and leanings but overlooks the fact that Transdanubia


cultural ties and leanings but overlooks the fact that Transdanubia was also a part of the total Carpathian cultural system. This creates the notable circumstance—necessitating the supplementation of Farkas' and Koszo's recognition—that in this region two cultural areas were overlapping. This cultural overlap is not explained by national, but by confessional ties. The Catholic, and to a great extent, the Lutheran population of Transdanubia was culturally dependent on Austria, but the Calvinistic Hungarians of Transdanubia had cultural ties to their co-religionists of the Theiss Region. The cultural ties of the Catholics and Lutherans to Austria was mainly an upper noble class social reality which imposed certain Austrian forms of life and mannerisms on the lower social classes who were also adherents of those faiths; whereas among the Calvinist believers there was a more diffused influence which included the intellectuals, nobles, and the lower social levels of the population. 137

The position of Transdanubia's nobility is interesting in itself. It was split confessionally into Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists; in no other region of Hungary was

this the case. The influence of the court of Vienna was prevalent among the Catholic nobles, but not limited to them. The nobility in general was culturally and socially under Vienna's influence but they maintained their Hungarian nationality and by doing so they did not become part of the Austrian cultural area as Farkas and Koszo suggested, but established a morphological dualism.

The beginning of the dualistic culture is quite obviously not an occurrence of the Reformation or the Turkish occupation. For centuries the nobles of western Hungary shared a common culture but a separate kingdom with the Austrian nobility. But the Hungarian nobles farther East were not so closely tied to the Austrian nobles. Therefore, when the Habsburg became the kings of Hungary, the cultural and social ties of Transdanubia's nobility to Austria did not change as the result of the political association. They maintained their nationality and their social relationships with Austria, and after the Reformation they were able

138 The nobility of Transylvania was primarily Calvinist. The Theiss Region had only a small nobility during the centuries in question and they were basically Lutheran. In the Western Carpathian Region the nobility was primarily Catholic and after the Counter-Reformation there were only three lower nobles who were Lutherans. Zovanyi, 39-40. The religious adherences of the Hungarian nobility are also discussed in Farkas, 91-103.

to maintain their chosen confessional faiths, receive religious guidance and inspiration from the East and still remain culturally, socially, economically, and even politically dependent upon the court of Vienna.

The concept of a dualistic cultural area quite obviously could be pressed into cultural paradox did not develop. The centripetal force of the court of Vienna and the political developments caused by the Turks established a greater cultural and social assimilation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than ever before. This assimilation took the form of raising the standard of living by the gradual acceptance of forms of life and items of luxury which the Austrial cultural area had developed.¹⁴⁰

The variety of ways by which the cultural equalization took place in Transdanubia are not very different from those examined in the Western Carpathian Region. After the Habsburgs had become kings of Hungary, the nobility became frequent visitors in Vienna. The direct influence of Vienna increased as the stay of certain noblemen was prolonged. Many Transdanubian nobles acquired houses in Vienna in the sixteenth century.¹⁴¹ When they went back to their estates in


Hungary the conveniences of their Vienna houses were missed
and subsequently furniture, clothes, tools, implements, even
foods such as citrus fruits and white flour, were imported
from Vienna.\textsuperscript{142}

As a result of the Transdanubian nobility's cultural
assimilation to Vienna, the tradespeople of the Hungarian
cities of this region became numerous in Vienna as well. As
early as 1547 these elements were so numerous in Vienna that
the city council required Hungarian tradesmen to secure a
license to buy goods in Vienna.\textsuperscript{143} This was demanded by the
Viennese shopkeepers to protect their interests and to dis­
courage undersirables from remaining in Vienna.\textsuperscript{144}

Viennese tradespeople also began taking their products
into Hungarian territory to serve the nobility at home.\textsuperscript{145}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{142}Agust Szalay, "Negyszaz magyar level a XVI szazadban,"
\textit{Magyar levelestar}, I, (1906), 6, 8, 11, 17. The household
items of Baron Stephan von Illeshazy noted in the baron's
own handwriting listed over 600 items bought in Vienna.
Arpad Karolyi, "Illeshazy Istvan birtokviszonyait illető fől-
jegezesei," \textit{Történeti Tar}, (1878), 141-146.

\item \textsuperscript{143}Elemer Malyhusz, "Orszagos Leveltar," \textit{Leveltarai
Közlemények} (1927), 90-106, 256-274. Malyhusz states that
many Hungarian nobles kept servants in Vienna who did their
buying often on credit. This necessitated some form of pro­
tection for the shopkeepers from gypsies and undesirables who
also were Hungarian-speaking and often Hungarians took ad­
vantage of this practice. The shopkeepers wishing to keep
their good customers could not demand payment even if a ser­
vant did the buying for the nobleman.

\item \textsuperscript{144}Ibid., 94.

\item \textsuperscript{145}Merenyi, "Eszterhazy . . ."," 373.
\end{itemize}
The cultural assimilation which resulted from the economic wants of the nobility had implications for the Hungarian cities as well. The clothing styles of Vienna, which were Spanish tailored, were as frequent in the Hungarian cities of Transdanubia as they were in the German burgher cities of the Western Carpathian Region.146 Doctors of medicine were requested from Vienna by several Hungarian cities.147 Drugs and apothecary supplies were frequently major purchases of Hungarian merchants in Vienna.148 The needs of the Hungarian city population, of course, were not as many or as diversified as those of the nobility, but the economic ties and dependencies of the cities to Austria was nevertheless just as much a reality as that of the nobility.

The natural cultural adaptation of the Transdanubian nobility to the Viennese society and culture in the early part of the sixteenth century was also of decisive importance in determining this region's intellectual orientation. The University of Vienna remained the undisputed intellectual

146 Malyhusz, "Orszagos ...," 97.

147 Lajos Tholloczy, "Művelodes történelmi egyveleg," Történeti Tar (1878), 364.

148 Ibid., 366. A nobleman, M. von Monthor, of Salader near Odenburg who was charged with murder made a trip to Odenburg where he bought poison which had been imported from Vienna. Ede Reiszeg, "Egy gyilkossagi per a XVI szazadban," Történeti Tar (1895), 202.
hub for the nobility. \(^{149}\) After 1526 all major intellectual training and schooling in foreign universities had stopped in this region of Hungary. When it resumed in the late 1530's and 1540's some noblemen, the Lutherans and later the Calvinists, sent their sons to Wittenberg and even to Debrezin, \(^{150}\) but Vienna, where the societal ties were, was again educating the nobility of this region.

In the seventeenth century the famed Pazmany was particularly successful in reconverting several noblemen of this region, but even where the reconversion failed, the educational establishments of the Jesuits attracted both Protestants and Catholics. \(^{152}\) Graz, Vienna, Tyrnau, and the Pazmanium in Vienna served the higher educational needs and thus guided the intellectual development of this region. Zovanyi attributes Pazmany's own reconversion to Catholicism to the intellectual influence exerted by the University of Vienna over all social levels of the population. \(^{153}\) Pazmany,

\(^{149}\) Zovanyi, 294.

\(^{150}\) Ibid., 306.

\(^{151}\) Schrauf, II, 14-16.

\(^{152}\) The schooling of Protestants in Jesuit institutions is developed in Chapter V. Reference to this activity is made in footnotes 88, 89, 90, 91 in Chapter V.

\(^{153}\) Zovanyi, 307.
who was a Calvinist and a German, thus not a member of the Hungarian nobility, may well serve as an example of how penetrating the intellectual influence of Vienna was in Transdanubia. It is highly unlikely that a Calvinist from the Theiss Region or Transylvania would have studied in Rome as did Pazmany. And had it occurred there, it would have been a rarity and not the general order of things as it was in Transdanubia.\footnote{Ibid., 314.}

Pazmany's educational accomplishments as a Jesuit and later Primate of Hungary included the opening of many schools and Kollegiums in Transdanubia. Thus in the seventeenth century the intellectual development of this region was clearly and authoritatively in the hands of the Jesuits. These educational efforts reconverted many people in this region but those who remained Lutherans or Calvinists still shared in the Jesuit education.

The books used and studied by the intellectuals of the region, as well as the school texts, came from Vienna.\footnote{Zsigmond Kisfaludy, "Kanizsai Pálfi Janos főjegyzese," Történeti Tar (1910), 450.} The Viennese scholar known as "Mathematicus" (Paul Fabricius) had close ties and connections to Thomas Nandasdy.\footnote{Gulyas, A könyvnyomtatas, ... 63-64.}
Nandasdy opened the oldest printing shop in Ujsziget (1541) he bought the press and all other items for the printing shop in Vienna, and imported from there his skilled workers.\textsuperscript{157} The famed Hungarian woodcuts, "Wy Testamentum," of X. von Sylvesters (1554) were patterned after earlier forms in Vienna.\textsuperscript{158}

Transdanubia's perplexing and interwoven cultural and intellectual relationship with Austria gradually facilitated the use of the German language among the Hungarians of all social classes.\textsuperscript{159} The nobility were writing letters to each other in the German language as early as the sixteenth century; by the early seventeenth century this practice was the rule. Katharina Batthyany, the second wife of Baron Franz Batthyany whose social circle included most of the high Austrian nobles, boasted in a letter to Thomas Nandasdy that true nobility and the use of the German language were synonymous.\textsuperscript{160}

\textsuperscript{157}Ibid., 67.

\textsuperscript{158}Ibid., 68.

\textsuperscript{159}Malyhusz, 135. It is also noteworthy that many letters written by Hungarian nobles were addressed in German script and gave the German names of the cities in Hungary. This strongly indicates that the German language was used not only among the nobles but in public life in general. Valjavec, however, notes that no conclusive evidence can be drawn from this for the postal service was primarily an Austrian innovation. Valjavec, II, 112.

\textsuperscript{160}Karolyi, "Illeshazy . . ." 139. Malyhusz, 137.
The use of the German language among the Hungarian upperclasses, however, was not only true in Transdanubia. Bethlen's insistence on knowing German has been discussed. In the Western Carpathian Region, Count Paul Berzeviczy wrote all his family and financial records in the German language.

Soon the Hungarian nobility entered the literary field in the German language. The literary productions of Valentin Balassa and the poems of his brother Andreas illustrate the point. There were many more Hungarians who wrote either in German or under German literary influence. Count Franz von Nandasdy wrote German dramas; Franz Faludi wrote dramas and songs; Count Paul Esterhazy wrote songs, poems and dramas.

161 Reference is made to the education of Peter Bethlen discussed in the Transylvania section of this chapter. Footnote number 76 of this chapter is authoritative on the matter.

162 Valjavec, II, 113, 114. Actually the family records start in 1580 to be in German and the German language is used exclusively until 1703. This indicates that about five generations of the Berzeviczy family used German as their official business language.

163 J. Illesy, "Adatok Balassa Balintrol," Irodalom-történeti Közlemények, X (1900), 458. Particularly Valentin Balassa was an accomplished German writer. His work, Wurtz-Gatlein für die Kranken Seelen (Krakau, 1572), was praised by such Austrian poets and writers as Jakob Reynarts, Peter Herbert, and Christoph Schallenberg. Josef Trostler, "Die Anfänge der ungarischen Persönlichkeitsdichtung" Deutsch-Ungarische Heimatblätter, V (1933), 292. The German influence in Valentin Balassa's writing developed by J. Turoczi, J. Trostler, "A Balassíversszak nemet rokonsaga," Egyetemes Philologia: Közlöny, LXV (1941), 285.
and the dramas of Count Stephan Gyongyosy and Count Georg Felvinczy mirrored the works of German dramatists in the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century the historian Johann Fekete was passing judgment on the German literary productions by Hungarian authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by noting, "Magyarsags is job mintsem Dunantul valo Irotol renyleni lehelett." This means in effect, that the German language used by the authors was much better than what one would expect of Transdanubians of those centuries.

The use of the German language was not restricted to the nobility, it also penetrated the other social classes of Transdanubia. The Hungarian cities and market towns all along the German language border in the West of Hungary placed much emphasis on learning the German tongue. The city of Tschapring in western Hungary, for example, established

---

164 Puksanszky, 128, 131. The German literary styles among Hungarian authors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries well developed by Josef Trostler, "Ungarns Eintritt in das literarhistorische Bewustsein Deutschlands," Deutsch-Ungarische Heimatblätter, II (1930), 112. Count Nandasdy's writings are excellently analyzed as to style and influence by Alfred Sitte, "Grof Nandasdi Ferencz müvei es könyvtara," Magyar Könyvszemle (1902), 148.

165 Valjavec, II, 117. A footnote in Valjavec notes that the quote used from Johann Fekete comes from a manuscript located in the library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest, shelved in section 73 under number 141 Magyar Történet.
a regular exchange program with Vienna-Neustadt in 1584 whereby children were sent to Austria to learn German and Austrian children were brought to Tschapring to learn Hungarian. Of course, the scope of the exchange was limited to some affluent merchants' and tradespeople's children, but it does illustrate that the German-Austrian cultural influence had reached all segments of the Transdanubian population.

In summary, it must be noted that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Transdanubia became assimilated into the cultural system of Austria and that this assimilation took place without the loss of the Hungarians' national identity. When the national awakening occurred in Hungary due to the liberalizing ideas and intellectual drives of the Enlightenment, it was the nobility of Transdanubia which could have led Hungary toward a successful transition from feudalism to absolutism to democracy. But most of the Hungarian nobles and gentry in the rest of Hungary were only on the social fringe of the cultural assimilation and they viewed the assimilation to Austria-Germany as the primary danger to Hungary's national identity. The analysis of this topic, however, is beyond the scope of this study. It must suffice

to note that by the beginning of the eighteenth century Hungary had become an outpost of the greater Western cultural system, but failed in later centuries to realize the peaceful development toward democracy.
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

During the early Middle Ages East Central Europe was contended for by three distinct cultural forces. Upon the disintegrated Western Roman Empire the loosely organized Germanic tribes of central Europe were building the foundation of the western culture which stood under Frankish kings and the Merovingian Dynasty. The still functioning Eastern Roman Empire changed its cultural character into a Greek-Balkan-Slavic cultural sphere, and it became known as the Byzantine Empire. Between these two culturally and religiously different territories, the cultural sphere of the Asiatic nomads was wedged.

At the time of the Huns and the Avars, this nomadic cultural sphere extended to the Alps and the Adriatic Sea. Thus the Western cultural sphere and the Byzantine culture were separated by a powerful nomadic force which had its center in the Carpathian Basin. Toward the middle of the eighth century A.D, the weak and corrupt Merovingian Dynasty of the West was overthrown by Charles Martel and a zealous Christianizing spirit revitalized the Frankish Empire.
Internal political problems in the Nomadic culture caused the Avars and Huns to retreat toward the East around 750 A.D. creating a cultural and political vacuum in the Carpathian Basin. Charlemagne (768-814), the energetic leader and king of the Franks, began expanding his Empire toward the East about the time when the power vacuum in the Carpathian Basin occurred. The western portion of the Basin was thus incorporated into the Frankish Empire and placed under the political control of Erich von Friaul, the regent of the Frankish Ostmark.

The primary activity of Erich von Friaul in the eastern territories of the Frankish lands was to Christianize the population. To accomplish this task all the lands of the former Pannonia were incorporated in the Archdiocese of Salzburg (the Danube valley in the north became attached to the diocese of Passau).

The energetic eastern drive of Charlemagne brought the cultural border of the West closer to that of Byzantine, and under the Frankish protection many South-Slavs were able to gain semi-independence from Constantinople. Many Slavic tribes attached themselves to the Frankish Empire partially because Erich von Friaul, acting under Charlemagne's order, elevated Slavic princes to powerful positions in order to create a strong buffer zone between the Frankish Empire and the Byzantine culture.
Transdanubia thus became a Slavic vassal state to the Frankish Empire and a missionary goal for the powerful Salzburg clergy. The western cultural mission in the Carpathian Basin started in Transdanubia in the ninth century A.D. Many German cultural colonies started in this century; Ödenburg, Moosburg, Wieselburg, and Guns are but some of the larger German settlements. The German colonies were erected among primarily Slavic peoples who gradually became Westernized and Christianized in the Roman rite.

The Christianizing German clergy was followed into Transdanubia by many other settlers from Salzburg and Bavaria. In this manner Transdanubia was Westernized and Roman Christianized before the Magyars entered the political scene.

In the eastern portion of the Carpathian Basin during the ninth century the Byzantine culture made substantial gains. The Slavic tribes of this region were Christianized by the Greek Orthodox Church and culturally unified by Byzantium. The Christianizing zeal of both the West and the East soon developed into a conflict. The appearance of the Orthodox Slavic apostles Cyril and Methodius among the Slavs in Transdanubia marked the first serious cultural conflict between Byzantium and the West. Only the powerful Salzburg clergy, which dared to act even against Pope Hadrian's order, saved Transdanubia from falling into the Byzantine cultural sphere and ultimately into the Slavic world.
Toward the end of the ninth century A.D. when the Magyars entered the Carpathian Basin the large buffer zone between Byzantium and the West had been greatly diminished by the encroachment and conflict of the two cultures. Although the Frankish Empire and the Byzantine Empire were not in direct control of the Basin, their converts, the Slavs, controlled East Central Europe almost in a continuous line from the Baltic to the Balkans. The Slavs lacked a uniform cultural influence and were divided in their religious adherences, but their ethnic and linguistic similarities forshadowed a great Pan-Slavic Empire in Eastern Europe.

The strong political policy of Charlemagne toward the East was not continued by his followers, and the Slavs gained substantial independence from their Frankish overlords. The Slavic Prince Swatopluk denounced his Frankish lord Arnulf (866) and unified a series of Slavic princes into a Slav-Confederation which included most of modern Bohemia, Poland, Silesia and Moravia. In the south Slavic territory, the ancient Bulgarian Empire was becoming Slavonized and the Serbs, Vlachs, and Crovats, under Byzantine cultural and religious influence, were moving toward a South-Slav Confederation. The Pan-Slav Empire was not yet a reality but seemed not too far in the future.
The Magyar territorial occupation (896) in the Carpathian Basin filled a political vacuum but not a cultural void as had been the case with the Huns and the Avars. The territories within the Byzantine or Western cultural spheres, as well as the central areas controlled by the Slavs, fell to the Magyar conquerors. The Magyars were forced by Otto the Great (966) to give up their military expeditions toward the West and South and to settle within the geographical boundaries of the Carpathian Basin. This monumental occurrence divided the Slavs of the north and the south for a thousand years. But the Magyars too were forced to give up their nomadic culture and become culturally assimilated to the two existing cultures in the Basin—the Byzantine culture in the south and east and the Western culture in Pannonia and the west. This tragic event tore apart the soul of the Magyar and the history of the Magyars over the next millennium mirrors the cultural separation which occurred shortly after their territorial occupation in the closing decades of the ninth century A.D.

Four of the seven original Magyar tribes settled in the western Basin including the one tribe originally properly called Magyar which gave its name and its Chief, Arpad, to all. In the earlier decades of the tenth century, when the Magyars had devastated the West, important western cultural traits were adopted by them. The former strong clerical
influence in Pannonia was rekindled after 955 and the leading chiefs of the Magyars adopted Western Christendom. The powerful Magyar chief Geysa formed a military alliance with Kaiser Otto the Great (973), and the cultural mission of the Salzburg and Passau clergy flourished again.

The Greek Orthodox Church, however, was also active among the Magyars, and several leading Magyar chiefs in the eastern areas of the Basin were converted to Orthodox Christianity. The internal problems which grew out of the religious strife were settled in the actions of Chief Geysa and his son, Wajk. Wajk was baptised to Western Christendom and assumed the name of Stephan.

Hungary's first consistent diplomatic relations with the West were initiated by King Stephan. Under his pro-Western policies, Hungary became the eastern outpost of the Western Culture. King Stephan and Otto III formulated a strong western military alliance which opposed both the Byzantine and the Slav interests in the Carpathian Basin. The three hundred year duration of Stephan's family rule (the Arpad Dynasty) saw the westernization of all areas in the Carpathian Basin, and important German colonization in Transylvania and the Carpathian Region marked the high point of Hungary's early western culture. The Christian Church, the Hungarian civil and military government, western feudalism, and all social customs were patterned after
Germany and Bavaria. To accomplish the Westernization, many German knights and royal spouses were imported to Hungary. Their presence assured the young Western nation the military support it needed against its own discontented factions (as in the Koppany Revolt of 1031) and the Slavic and Byzantine cultural threats which persisted during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

The building of the westernized Hungarian state, however, was not merely a German accomplishment. King Stephan and his followers did the actual building, but the building materials and the architectural guidelines were those of the Western Christian Church and the Bavarian German State.

The German and Hungarian connections were not only a reality at the upper levels of society, but also among the people. This, of course, had been true at first where the Magyars mingled with the Slavs and other peoples. But the cultural difference between Slavs and Magyars was soon equalized, and when no cultural elevation could any longer be found among the Slav population assimilation in this direction was stopped. Not so with the German settlers. The Saxons in Transylvania and the Bavarians in the Carpathian Region brought with them a much higher cultural concept which was continuously replenished by new migrations from the Reich,
thus establishing a lasting basis for cultural assimilation between them and the Magyars.

The Arpad Dynasty maintained a strong central military and political power and western cultural assimilation was making unquestioned progress well into the thirteenth century. The last century of the Dynasty however, was plagued with one cultural setback after the other. The major demoralizing force was the Tatar invasion of the thirteenth century. The still pagan Magyar chieftains of the east—who had been kept under the political domination of the western Magyar kings—sieved the opportunity to exert their feelings against the West and against the Western Church.

The immediate result of the Tatar invasion was a renewed effort of King Bela IV (1235-1270) to rebuild the devastated land. He revived the old pro-western policy and settled many Germans in central Hungary. In the eastern territories, the Tatars had revived the pagan customs and Bela, in his eagerness to rebuild the land, encouraged the pagan Cumanians to form a buffer state between Hungary and the East. However, Bela's political power was not sufficient to control the eastern frontier; and even the arrangement, intended to be an appeasement, to have his son Stephan marry the Cummanian Khan's daughter proved to be in vain.

After Bela IV's death and under Cummanian regency, western Hungary was drawn into the Slavic cultural sphere,
and Bela's grandson, Ladislaus IV (1272-1290), followed an anti-western policy. The bitter struggle for political leadership between the pro-western and pro-eastern chiefs resulted in the gradual Slavonization of the Magyar nobility in eastern Hungary.

The pagan trend of the Hungarian Kingdom under Ladislaus IV was stopped with his death in 1290. However, a far more persistent anti-western force gained power in Hungary under the Anjou Dynasty (1301-1382). This cultural force was the more widespread Slavonization of Hungary's nobility. The great Anjou kings, Robert (1308-1342) and Ludwig the Great (1342-1382), followed an expansionist foreign policy toward the Balkans and Poland. This, although expanding the boundaries of greater Hungary, established an open door policy for many Slavic princes to achieve status as Hungarian nobles and gain equal rights with the old Hungarian noble families.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Slavic factions of the nobility gained unparalleled power and demoralized the old Magyar and pro-western nobility altogether. The Turkish advance from the South created in Hungary a place of refuge for many South-Slavs who gradually began to control all major posts, including the highest post, of the Hungarian State, that of the Palatin.
Whenever the pro-western nobility in Hungary became sufficiently unified to threaten the Slavic governmental domination, the Slavic forces elected Slavic kings of Hungary and followed a pro-Turkish policy. This powerful Slavic political and cultural force infiltrated all aspects of the Hungarian State and Slavonized large segments of Hungary's population.

The question of why Hungary was not incorporated into a Slavic national state now has meaning and is answered by the cultural examination of the German influence in Hungary. The political picture of Hungary from the end of the Arpad Dynasty to the Turkish occupation of Hungary is only a partial view of the struggling forces in Hungary. Under the facade of political intrigue a cultural struggle was taking place between the Slavic and the Western cultures whose champions were the German burgher cities established during the Arpad Dynasty. These cities spanned the Hungarian realm from the west to the east. In these cultural islands the Magyar and the German cultures became fused into an organic whole which resisted the political pressures of the Hungarian-Slav nobility and supported the kings in their disputes with the Slav nobility.

From cultural, intellectual, and educational points of view, the German cities in Hungary established inseparable ties of the Carpathian Basin to the greater Western culture.
which lasted even to their transformation into Hungarian burgher cities. Successive cultural and intellectual trends in the West, from the Gothic architectural style to Humanism and the religious split created within the Western Church by the Reformation, were faithfully mirrored in these burgher cities in Hungary.

The development of education in Hungary started with the schools of the Christianizing monks about the eleventh century and quickly moved to the burgher schools which were established in the German cities. City schools, partially under clerical leadership, can be traced from Ödenburg in western Hungary to Herrmannstadt in Transylvania, but the fuller development of such schools in the West was not equaled because of the political and military misfortunes of the land.

The advent of Humanism in western Europe encouraged a budding Humanistic development at King Matthias' court in Hungary. However, Humanism did not penetrate to the broader base of Hungary's population until the Universities of Vienna and Prague became the leaders of Northern Humanism. The primarily German population of the cities in Hungary sought their intellectual and philosophic development in these and the other German universities north of the Alps. The cultural ties which were established by the Hungarian students in attendance at these universities deepened Hungary's
cultural relationship to the West; and the development of the Hungarian studia generalia in Fünfkirchen and Ofen in the fourteenth century were staffed and administratively assimilated to the schools in the German territories.

The development of trade and commerce in Hungary was also the result of the growth of the German burgher cities. Many business establishments in the German cities in Hungary patterned their activities on the German Guild system of the Reich and in disputes, turned toward Nürnberg, Frankfurt, and other cities in Germany for advice and precedents.

The Hungarian-Slav nobility of the countryside followed a collision course with the cultural and intellectual interests of the German burgher cities. The liberalizing and anti-feudal forces of western Humanism were viewed as dangerous by the Hungarian nobility. While the feudal privileges were gradually diminishing in the West, in Hungary, the nobility was able to strengthen their feudal authority. This paradoxical development caused the Hungarian nobility to resist western influence during the time when the Ottoman Turks were threatening Western Christendom with total destruction. The political developments in Hungary during the fifteenth century clearly show that a cultural fusion between the nobility and the burgher population was impossible because of conflicting social and political interests. Sadly, only
such a fusion would have established the necessary buttress against the mounting Turkish threat.

The incompatibility of Humanism and feudalism and the uncompromising attitude of the Hungarian-Slav nobility of Hungary delivered the state to the Turkish might at the Battle of Mohacs in 1526. This single battle sealed the political fate of Hungary for the next two hundred years. It also ended the second phase of German cultural influence in Hungary which was realized by the growth of the burgher cities and the burgher culture. Although the political interests in Hungary from the early fourteenth century were adverse to the westernizing force of the burgher culture, all major cultural achievements of the West had penetrated the burgher cities. The peak of the burgher culture in Hungary spans the last half of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century. The decline of the burgher culture is closely tied to King Albert's death in 1440. The Hungarian-Slav nobility elected the Polish king Wladislaus to Hungary's throne and his rule was characterized by the growth of the political power of Johann Hunyadi and the Hungarian-Slav nobility and gentry.

During the long reign of King Matthias Corvinus (1458-1490) the central authority of Hungary was placed under the monarch, but his policies, in spite of the pomp and splendor of a Renaissance-style monarch, enabled the Slavic
nobility and gentry to gain unlimited power against the burgher cities and peasant population. The unqualified feudalistic rights and privileges which the nobility gained in the last half of the fifteenth century were codified by the "Tripartitum" of Stephan Werböczi in 1514. Under this code of law the gentry also received equal privileges with the nobility, and Hungary had taken a decisive step backward by any western standards.

The third phase of western cultural influence, the last to be examined in this study, falls in the two centuries of Turkish rule in Hungary, 1526-1711. From a political and military standpoint the West was largely ineffective in regaining Hungary for the western political sphere. The growing Habsburg Empire under Ferdinand I was exerting military pressure upon the Hungarian nobility, but their efforts were usually blocked by the Princes of Transylvania who stood under Turkish protection. The western influence in these two centuries was felt primarily in religious and educational reform. The influence continued to be felt under the political facade of a divided Hungary. Indeed, it was a cultural conquest which was inevitable when compared to the alternatives posed by the Turkish domination.

A complete capitulation to the Turks would have reduced all of Hungary, including the Hungarian-Slav nobility, to a much lower social status. This was a price the
Scythian-Slav nobility of Hungary was not willing to pay. Once they came to this realization, it was necessary to follow a western cultural development without giving up their feudalistic anti-western political powers. The paradoxical socio-political course of Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, has its roots in the unacceptable alternative open to the Hungarian nobility under the Porte's domination.

Under the guise of nationalism, the princes of Transylvania were able to maintain their feudalistic privileges against Habsburg absolutism. From Johann Zapolya to György Rackocsi II, Hungary, under the leadership of Transylvania, warred with the Habsburgs only to become socially and culturally assimilated to the West. The Protestant Reformation, the Catholic Counter-Reformation, the conflict in the schools, and all the religious wars which accompanied the religious controversy of northern and western Europe, were as actively a part of Hungary's culture as they were elsewhere in Europe.

In all areas of Hungary, but particularly in the cities, the Reformation and the educational and philosophical implications of the Reformation were clearly manifested. The educational reforms of Melanchthon were adopted by hundreds of Hungarian cities, and the anti-western Transylvanian princes were instrumental in securing
professors and scholars from the West for their schools. The formerly German burgher cities comprised a natural cultural bridge for Hungary and in them the western culture retained its strength.

The Vienna court became the social model for Hungary's nobility. Examination of the social attitudes and customs adopted by anti-Western advocates (in a political sense) as Gabriil Bethlen and Bocskay reveals that Vienna was not only the model but the vital force for their own social existence.

The process of cultural assimilation of Hungary to the West was completed under the two centuries of Turkish occupation. The defeat of the Turks in 1686 under the gates of Vienna and their subsequent expulsion from the Carpathian Basin also greatly weakened the feudal hold of Hungarian nobility. The elimination of these two anti-western forces enabled the Habsburgs in the eighteenth century to bring Hungary into their hegenomy and reap the benefits of the slow cultural assimilation of previous centuries.

For Hungary, the reign of Maria Theresia and Joseph II was indeed an age of progress, but the muffled cries of nationalism among all the nationals in the Habsburg hegenomy were already being heard and they echoed a modern sound—a sound of national self-determination outside the Habsburg Monarchy.
## GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF ARPAD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Spouse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Gáza</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>St. Stephen</td>
<td>Maria</td>
<td>Peter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. 997</td>
<td>(daughter)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Stephen II</td>
<td>Géza</td>
<td>Almos</td>
<td>Pirocska</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. 1161</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n. Emperor John Cornenius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>Stephen III</td>
<td>László II</td>
<td>Stephen IV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. 1173</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>Stephen V</td>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>Anna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d. 1290</td>
<td>m. Henry of Bavaria</td>
<td>m. Ratislav</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Otto of Bavaria</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>László IV</td>
<td>Maria</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>m. Charles II, of Anjou</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Notes:
- Gáza d. 997
- St. Stephen d. 1093
- Maria m. Aba Samuel
- Peter d. 1076
- Almos d. 1129
- Pirocska n. Emperor John Cornenius
- László II d. 1156
- Stephen IV d. 1164
- Elizabeth m. Henry of Bavaria
- Maria m. Charles II, of Anjou
- Kunigunda m. Ottokar II, of Bohemia
GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF
THE ANJOU HOUSE

Charles II, King of Sicily
d. 1309
m. Mary, daughter of Stephen V, King of Hungary

Charles Martel

Charles Robert, King of Hungary
1308-1342

John, Duke of Durazzo

Charles de Durazzo

Louis de Durazzo

Louis the Great, King of Hungary and Poland
1342-1382

Andrew
d. 1345
Charles The Little
King of Hungary and Sicily
d. 1386

Maria
m. Sigismund of Luxemburg, King of Hungary
who later married Borlala Cillei

Elizabeth
m. Albert, King of Hungary d. 1439
d. 1462

Ladislas V
d. 1457

Hedwiga
m. Vladislav of Jagiello
GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF JAGIELLO

Wladislaw Jagiello
1. m. Hedviga, daughter of Louis the Great
2. m. Borbala, daughter of Count William Cillei

Wladislaw I, King of Hungary  Casimir IV, King of Poland

Wladislaw II, King of Hungary  Albert
1490-1516

Louis II, King of Hungary  Anne
1516-1526  m. Ferdinand Habsburg, Duke of Austria,
           m. Marie Habsburg  later King of Hungary
GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HABSBURG
AND HABSBURG LOTHARINGIAN HOUSE

Maximilian
d. 1519
/           \
Philip
 d. 1506

Emperor Charles V
d. 1558

Ferdinand I
m. Louis II of Hungary
King of Hungary
1556-1564

Maximilian
 d. 1576

Rudolph
 d. 1612

Matthias II

Charles
 Duke of Styria

Ferdinand II
 d. 1657

Ferdinand III
 d. 1657

Ferdinand IV
 d. 1654

Leopold I
 d. 1705

Joseph I
 d. 1711

Maria Theresa
 d. 1780
m. Francis, Duke of Lotharingia

Leopold II
 d. 1792

Joseph II
 d. 1790

Leopold II
 d. 1792

Marie Antoinette
 m. Louis XVI, King of France

Francis I

Joseph
 d. 1847

Leopold Alexander
 d. 1795

Maria Louise
m. Napoleon

Ferdinand V
 d. 1875

Francis Charles
 d. 1878

Francis Joseph
 d. 1916

Charles Louis
 d. 1895

Rudolph
 d. 1899

Francis Ferdinand
 d. 1914

Otto
 d. 1921

Otto
ÜBERSICHTSKARTE

der

wichtigsten im Text genannten Orte
bis zum Ausgang des 17. Jahrhunderts
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books


Büdinger, Max. Österreichische Geschichte zum Ausgang des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts. 1 vol.; Leipzig: B. G. Tubner, 1858. [Subsequent volumes were never printed.]


Huber, Alfons. Geschichte Österreichs. 5 vols.; Gotha: Friedrich Andreas, 1885.


Periodicals


Bleyer, Jokob. "Bemerkungen über den Szegediner Friede
nenschluss und die Schlacht bei Warna 1444,"
Institute für Österreichische Geschichts Forschung, XXV (1905), 127-138.

Bodenstein, Gustav. "Wiener Warenpreise um 1600,"
Monatasblatt, II (1927), 201-239.

Bologa, Erich. "Reichsdeutsche Ärzte im vorhabsburgischen
Siebenbürgen," Mitteilungschefte für Ärzte, IV (1928), 1-11.

Busson, Andreas. "Fulda und die goldene Bulle," IOGF, II
(1881), 26-47.

Deer, Josef. "Ungarn in der Descripto Europae Orientalis,"
IOGF, XLV (1925), 1-22.

Ders, J. "Eszerházy Miklos," Törtenelmi Tar, Old Series
XLV (1899), 21-32.

Gely I. "Gelei Istvan levele," Sarospataki Füzetek
(1887), 151-204.

Faber, Moritz. "Adalek, a külföldi iskolaztatas törtenetehez,"
TörtTar, OS XLV (1899), 180-193.

Gross, Lothar. "Reichshofratsprotokolle als Quellen
niederösterreichischer Geschichte," Jahrbuch für
Landeskunde von Niederösterreich, XXVI (1935),
115-131.

Gulyas, Pal. "Egy felsőmagyarországi könyvkötcsalad
följegyzéseiből, Magyar Könyvszemle (1912), 250-336.

Gyulai, Friedrich. "A könyv sorsa Magyarországon a legre-
gebbidőktől napjainkig," Magyar Könyvszemle (1923),
70-92.

Hellebrant, Arpad. "A Frauekeri egyetemen tanult magyarak,"
TörtTar, OS XXXI (1885), 600-627.

Holinka, Rudolf. "Zalozeni trnavske university,"
Tranavsky, XIII (1901), 1-16.

1Hereafter cited as IOGF.

2Hereafter cited as TörtTar, OS.


_____. "Magyar levelek," *TörtTar*, OS LIV (1908), 205-211.

_____. "Revai Kata Szidonia levelei ferjehez," *TörtTar*, OS XXXV (1889), 280-291.

Hereafter cited as *ITK.*
"Samlyai Bathory Andras levelel Nadasdy Tamashoz," TörtTar, OS LI (1905), 104-117.

"A tolesvari Boniscsalad leveltarabol," TörtTar, OS XXXII (1886), 161-169.


"Zeitungen von der Türkennoth aus dem 15 Jahrh.," IOGF, VII (1887), 261-283.


Mednyanszki, Miklos. "XVI szazadban magyar hölgy ruhatarok," TörtTar, OS XXIX (1883), 592-599.


"Olah Ilona vegrendelete," TörtTar, OS XLIII (1897), 361-369.

"Olah Miklos vegrendete," TörtTar, OS XLII (1896), 159-167.


"Materialien zur Geschichte Siebenbürgens und Ungarns," Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde, XIX (1884), 581-598.


Reiszlig, Ede. "Egy gyilkosság per a XVI században," TörtTar, OS XLI (1895), 189-211.


----------. "Die Anfänge der ungarischen Persönlichkeitsdichtung," Deutsch-Ungarische Heimatblätter, V (1933), 290-301.

----------. "Ungarns Eintritt in das literarhistorische Bewusstsein Deutschlands," Deutsch-Ungarische Heimatblätter, II (1930), 110-118.


———. "Historische Siedlungsgeographie der Deutsch- tumsgebiete an der mittleren Donau (in Ungarn)," Südost-Forschungen, XII (1956), 195-206.


Hereafter cited as SDVJB.
Ungarische Offiziere donauschäbischer Herkunft.

SDVJB, I (1964), 31-38.


