

#### CAMBRIDGE CONCISE HISTORIES

A Concise History of Hungary

This book offers a comprehensive thousand-year history of the land, people, society, culture and economy of Hungary, from its nebulous origins in the Ural Mountains to the elections of 1990 and afterwards. It tells above all the thrilling story of a people which became a great power in the region and then fought against – and was invaded by – Ottomans, Germans and Soviets. The Hungarian people preserved nevertheless a continuous individuality through its Ural-born language and a specifically Hungaro-European culture.

Dominated from the sixteenth century by the Habsburgs, while ruling its own national minorities, Hungary was deprived of two thirds of its lands and peoples through successive treaties which followed the two World Wars, after which it fell under Soviet domination for nearly fifty years. Free and independent since 1990, Hungary continues to seek its rightful position in Europe.

MIKLÓS MOLNÁR (b. 1918) is a French-speaking native Hungarian. He was sent to a forced labour camp by the Nazis in 1944, became editor of the communist newspaper *Irodalmi Ujság* ('Literary Gazette') in 1954, and following the fall of Imre Nagy left Hungary as a refugee in 1957. He has taught and lectured in Switzerland since 1958 and – since 1990 – in Hungary itself. Professor Molnár is the author of around twenty books and the recipient of many international honours, including the Gold Medal from the President of the Hungarian Republic for his part in the 1956 revolution. The volume *Rethinking the International Conflict in Communist and Post-Communist States: Essays in Honour of Miklós Molnár*, ed. Renéo Lukic (1998), is among the recent tributes to a vivid chronicler of the twentieth century.





#### CAMBRIDGE CONCISE HISTORIES

This is a series of illustrated 'concise histories' of selected individual countries, intended both as university and college textbooks and as historical introductions for general readers, travellers and members of the business community.

Titles in the series:

A Concise History of Germany MARY FULBROOK

A Concise History of Greece RICHARD CLOGG

A Concise History of France ROGER PRICE

A Concise History of Britain, 1707–1975 W. A. SPECK

A Concise History of Portugal
DAVID BIRMINGHAM

A Concise History of Italy CHRISTOPHER DUGGAN

A Concise History of Bulgaria RICHARD CRAMPTON

A Concise History of Brazil BORIS FAUSTO

A Concise History of South Africa ROBERT ROSS

A Concise History of Mexico

A Concise History of Australia STUART MACINTYRE

A Concise History of Hungary MIKLÓS MOLNÁR

A Concise History of Poland JERZY LUKOWSKI and HUBERT ZAWADZKI





# A Concise History of Hungary

MIKLÓS MOLNÁR

Translated by Anna Magyar





#### CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521667364

Originally published in French as *Histoire de la Hongrie*by Hatier Littérature Générale 1996
and © Hatier Littérature Générale
First published in English by Cambridge University Press 2001 as
A Concise History of Hungary

English translation © Cambridge University Press 2001

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2001 11th printing 2014

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-0-521-66142-3 Hardback ISBN 978-0-521-66736-4 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



# CONTENTS

Li	st of illustrations	page viii
$A \alpha$	knowledgements	X
Cl	pronology	xii
Ι	FROM THE BEGINNINGS UNTIL 1301	1
2	GRANDEUR AND DECLINE: FROM THE ANGEVIN KINGS TO	
	THE BATTLE OF MOHÁCS, 1301-1526	41
3	A COUNTRY UNDER THREE CROWNS, 1526-1711	87
4	VIENNA AND HUNGARY: ABSOLUTISM, REFORMS,	
	REVOLUTION, 1711-1848/9	139
5	RUPTURE, COMPROMISE AND THE DUAL MONARCHY,	
	1849-1919	201
6	BETWEEN THE WARS	250
7	UNDER SOVIET DOMINATION, 1945-1990	295
8	1990, A NEW DEPARTURE	338
Bi	bliographical notes	356
In	dex	357



# **ILLUSTRATIONS**

#### PLATES

I.	Hungarian warrior (?) on the Nagyszentmiklós golden goblet	
	(Vienna, Museum of Art History)	3
2.	Effigy of St Stephen on the royal coronation robe (Hungarian	
	National Museum)	2.2
3.	St Stephen's tomb at Székesfehérvár (Photo: Levente Szepsy Szüsc)	23
4.	The portal of Esztergom Chapel (twelfth century)	2.4
5.	Herm of St Ladislas (c. 1400) (Györ Cathedral)	28
6.	Effigy of András II on the Golden Bull 1222 (National Archives)	33
7.	Church of the Benedictine Abbey of Ják (1256). Portal (Photo:	
	László Jaksity)	36
8.	Seal of the Esztergom 'Latins' (twelfth century) (Hungarian	
	National Museum)	40
9.	Charles-Robert of Anjou in the illustrated chronicle (fourteenth	
	century) (National Széchenyi Library)	44
10.	Console with woman's head, 1365 (Castle Museum, Budapest)	51
II.	Effigy of King Matthias Hunyadi on tiled stove (Museum of	
	Modern History, Budapest)	69
12.	Buda at the time of King Matthias Hunyadi. Wood engraving.	
	Hartmann Schedel's Chronicle 1493 (Hungarian National	
	Museum)	76
13.	View of Kassa in 1617 (Hungarian National Museum)	116
14.	Prince István Bocskai among his haïduks, 1605. Etching by Wilhelm	
	Peter Zimmermann (Hungarian National Museum)	117
15.	Gábor Bethlen, prince of Transylvania, 1620 (Hungarian National	
	Museum)	120



### List of illustrations

ix

16.	Portrait of Mikios Zrinyi, poet and general. Brass engraving by	
	Gerhard Bouttats from a painting by Johannes Thomas (Hungarian	
	National Museum)	127
17.	Portrait of Ferenc Rákóczi II. Painting by Ádám Mányoki, 1712	
	(Hungarian National Museum)	135
18.	Maria Theresa wearing the Hungarian crown (Hungarian	
	National Museum)	144
19.	Eszterházy Castle at Fertöd, 1791 (Hungarian National Museum)	146
20.	Execution of Ignác Martinovics and his comrades, 20 May 1795	160
21.	The actress Róza Széppataki-Déry. Print by Chladek-Kohlmann	
	from a drawing by Szathmáry (Széchenyi Library)	170
22.	István Széchenyi. Lithograph by J. Kriehuber (Hungarian National	
	Museum)	172
23.	Lajos Kossuth. Lithograph by Franz Eybl, 1841 (Hungarian	
	National Museum)	174
24.	The Suspension Bridge, Budapest. Nineteenth-century engraving	
	(Museum of Modern History)	178
25.	Sándor Petöfi. Painting by Miklós Barabás, 1848	184
26.	Francis Joseph in ceremonial coronation robe (Museum of Modern	
	History)	203
27.	Queen Elisabeth, 1867 (Hungarian National Museum)	204
28.	Count Gyula Andrássy. (Photo Ignác Schrecker: Museum of	
	Modern History)	213
29.	Kálmán Tisza's Tarot Party. Painting by Artur Ferraris (Hungarian	
	National Museum)	214
30.	The Hungarian National Museum, c. 1890 (Museum of Modern	
	History)	228
31.	Cover of the journal Nyugat, 1912 (Museum of Modern History)	238
32.	The poet Endre Ady (Photo: Aladár Székely)	256
33.	Béla Bartók (Photo: Pál Vajda)	257
34.	Béla Kun addresses a factory crowd, April 1919 (Museum of	
	Modern History)	258
35.	Miklós Horthy enters Budapest on 16 November 1919 (Photo:	
	János Müllner)	260
36.	Panorama of Budapest, c. 1930	265
37.	István Bethlen's first government, 15 April 1921 (Museum of	
	Modern History)	267
38.	Harvest on the Great Plain, c. 1940 (Museum of Modern History)	272
39.	Teleki's farewell letter	284
40.	Hungarian soldiers in Kiev, February 1942 (Museum of Modern	
	History)	286



X

Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-66736-4 - A Concise History of Hungary Miklós Molnár Frontmatter More information

	,	
41.	The German invasion of Hungary, 19 March 1944: Germans clim	Ь
•	to the castle (Museum of Modern History)	289
42.	The Suspension Bridge destroyed by the Germans. In the	
•	background, the castle in ruins (Museum of Modern History)	294
43.	Count Mihály Károlyi in Nice, with Imre Nagy and Mrs Nagy,	
15	1949	307
44.	The 1956 Revolution: after the defeat (Hungarian National	,
	Museum)	320
45.	János Kádár (Photo: Sándor Mezö)	329
46.	The funeral ceremonies for Imre Nagy and other victims of the	,
·	1957–8 repression, 16 June 1989 (Lajos Soós, MTI Foto)	336
47.	Miklós Vásárhelyi, a close friend of Imre Nagy, speaking at the	
	1989 ceremonies	336
48.	President of the Republic Árpád Göncz (centre) at the official	
	formation of the new government, 8 July 1998, with, on the left,	
	Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, and, on the right, President of the	
	National Assembly János Áder (Lajos Soós, MTI Foto)	353
	MARC	
	MAPS	
I.	Migrations of the ancient Magyars	page 6
2.	The conquest of the Carpathian basin	15
3.	Europe at the time of Louis the Great	52
4.	Hungary at the time of King Matthias Hunyadi	71
5.	Hungary until 1541	90

List of illustrations

6. Hungary divided (late sixteenth century)

7. Hungary after the expulsion of the Turks

9. The Austro-Hungarian monarchy, c. 1910

10. Nationalities in the kingdom of Hungary, 1910

11. Frontiers of Hungary after the Treaties of Trianon (1920) and

8. Hungary in 1848–9

Paris (1947)

IOI

132

190

217

222

247



#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

MIKLÓS MOLNÁR

This work owes everything to Hungarian historians and particularly to those who helped so generously in the revision of my text, above all my principal aid, Lajos Pál.

I would like to thank Domokos Kosáry, president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, who encouraged me to undertake this project, far from sources and after a long absence from my native land.

I would like to express my gratitude to a host of historians who revised, corrected or advised on various chapters of the work in progress. I trust they will forgive me if I simply list their names: Magda Adám, Csanád Bálint, Gábor Barta, Zsuzsa Boross, Pál Engel, Sándor Fekete, György Györffy, Tibor Hajdu, Péter Hanák, Klára Hegyi, János Kalmár, Pierre Kende, Gyula Kristó, György Litván, János Makkay, Ambrus Miskolczy, Attila Pók, Ignác Romsics, István Sós, Ferenc Szakály, Zoltán Szász, Zsuzsa Teke, Lórand Tilkovszky, Aladár Urbán, János J. Varga.

I would like to thank my friend, Miklós Vásárhelyi, whose wise counsel was invaluable to the project. The Institute of History of the Academy opened its doors as did the European Institute of Budapest; the Soros Foundation funded some of the research.

And finally, I would like to thank my Geneva friends, László Nagy for his constant encouragement and János Szokolóczy who accompanied and assisted me throughout this work, which owes much to his insight.



c. 2000 BC

Cambridge University Press 978-0-521-66736-4 - A Concise History of Hungary Miklós Molnár Frontmatter More information

# **CHRONOLOGY**

1000-500 BC	Separation of the Ugrians, Magyar people group in the southern
<u> </u>	Ural region (Bashkiria)
AD 500-800	Migration of the Hungarian tribes from the Urals to the Black
-	Sea region
862	Established at Etelköz, near the River Don, the Hungarians
	venture into Frankish territories
895-900	Conquest of the Carpathian basin
899–970	Forays to the West and to the Balkans
900-1301	Reign of the House of Árpád
1001	Coronation of István I (St Stephen). Foundation of the state,
	Christianisation, pagan revolts
1077-1116	László I (St Ladislas) and Kálmán I (Coloman) expand the influ-
	ence of the kingdom to the Balkans, Croatia and Dalmatia.
	Advances in justice and culture
1172–96	Béla III strengthens the power of the state and the property of the
	lay nobles
1192-5	The Pray Codex, containing the oldest Hungarian text
1222	The Golden Bull of András (Andrew) II; first charter of equal
	rights for the nobility
1241-2	Mongol-Tatar invasion, followed by Béla IV's reconstruction
1301	Extinction of the dynasty of the House of Árpád
1310-82	Two Neapolitan Angevin kings, Charles-Robert and Louis I the
	Great. Period of progress and expansion. Louis becomes King of
	Poland in 1370
1367	Foundation of the University of Pécs
1387-1437	Sigismund I of Luxemburg, the future emperor. Half a century

Separation of the Finno-Ugric languages in western Siberia



## Chronology xiii

	of struggle with the barons. Withdrawal from the Balkans and
	from Dalmatia
1416–56	The Ottoman Empire threatens Hungary
1456	János (John) Hunyadi, military leader, governor (1446–52) and
	great commander, stops Turkish expansion at Nándorfehérvár
	(Belgrade)
1458–90	Matthias I, Hunyadi's son, reconstructs the kingdom and intro-
	duces Renaissance culture
1514	The great peasant revolt under the leadership of György
	(George) Dózsa. István Werböczi's corpus of civil law
	(Tripartitum) establishes the customary rights of the nobility to
	the detriment of the peasants, who are reduced to servitude
1526	At Mohács, Suleiman I the Magnificent annihilates the
	Hungarian army. Two rival kings, János (John) Szápolyai and the
	Habsburg Ferdinand I, divide the country between them
1541	The sultan occupies Buda, the Turks settle in the middle of the
	country. The division of Hungary into three parts – the Turkish,
	the Transylvanian and the western part under Habsburg rule -
	lasts till the end of the seventeenth century
	The Reformation reaches Hungary and contributes to literary
	development as does the Counter-Reformation
	Transylvania, under Ottoman rule, becomes a semi-independent
	principality
1568	The Transylvanian Torda Diet proclaims religious freedom
1571	István (Stephen) Báthori, the future king of Poland, is elected
	prince of Transylvania
1604–6	Uprising against the Habsburgs led by István (Stephen) Bocskai
1613–29	Transylvania's golden age under Gábor Bethlen. War against the
	Habsburgs
1657-1705	Leopold I, king of Hungary and emperor, introduces Habsburg
	absolutism in Hungary
1686	Liberation of Buda, retreat of the Turks
1687	Transylvania falls under Viennese domination
1699	Peace treaty with the Ottoman Empire, the end of 158 years of
	occupation
1703-11	War of liberation of Ferenc (Francis) Rákóczi II against the
	Habsburgs
1722-3	The Hungarian Diet sanctions the succession to the throne of
	the female line of the house of Habsburg. The nobility retain
	their privileges
1740-80	The conciliatory and enlightened reign of Maria Theresa
•	



xiv	Chronology
1780–90	Joseph II, an enlightened absolute monarch, tries to impose reforms but fails in the face of resistance by the nobility
1795	At Buda, execution of the leaders of the 'Jacobin conspirators'
1800–48	The language reform movement. Flourishing of Hungarian literature
1830	Publication of the work <i>Hitel</i> (Credit) by Count István (Stephen) Széchenyi, the initiator of modernisation and founder of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences
1832–48	Period of reforms in the Diet. Lajos (Louis) Kossuth emerges as leader of the liberal–radical opposition. The Diet committees support national demands
	The opening of the National Theatre at Pest. Suspension bridge to link Pest and Buda. The first railway line from Pest to Vác
1848-9	Revolution at Pest (15 March). War of independence. King Ferdinand V sanctions the 'April law' of constitutional transformation and abolition of serfdom. Hungarian government at Pest War of liberation against Austria (September 1848–August 1849). Abdication of Emperor Ferdinand. The young Francis-Joseph I is enthroned (2 December 1848)
	After the victorious spring campaign the Hungarian (Honvéd) army retreats. The National Assembly, transferred to Debrecen, proclaims Hungary's independence and the dethronement of the Habsburgs (14 April 1849). Kossuth president—governor In response to Francis-Joseph's appeal, the army of Tsar
	Nicholas I invades Hungary. The Hungarian army lays down its arms in front of the Russians at Világos (15 August). Kossuth goes into exile
1849–67	Executions and repression. Neo-absolutist regime, passive resistance. Beginning of the reconciliation
1865	Ferenc (Francis) Deák embarks on talks with Vienna regarding the restitution of constitutional freedoms
1866	The Austrian army is defeated by the Prussians at Sadowa
1867	Austro-Hungarian compromise based on mutual concessions. The start of the 51-year period of dualism. Count Gyula (Julius) Andrássy's government
1868	The Hungarian Parliament adopts liberal laws regarding education and the rights of the national minorities of the kingdom. Hungarian–Croatian compromise
1871-9	Gyula Andrássy minister of foreign affairs of the dual monarchy



## Chronology xv

1873	Pest, Buda and Óbuda are united, Budapest is born
1875–90	Kálmán (Coloman) Tisza heads the liberal government, the
1896	advocates of independence are in opposition Hungary's millennium
1905	The Liberal Party loses the elections
1905	Coalition governments. Serious conflicts with the minorities,
1900 10	with the trade union movement and with the Social Democratic Party
1908	Annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina (2 million inhabitants) by the monarchy
1910	Last census before the war. Hungary (without Croatia) has
	18,246,000 inhabitants of whom 54.5 per cent are of Hungarian mother tongue. More than 1.5 million Hungarian citizens have emigrated to the United States
1912	General strike
1913	István (Stephen) Tisza's government
1914	The assassination of the crown prince at Sarajevo. Outbreak of the First World War
1916	The death of Francis Joseph I
1918	The defeat and disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy (October). Democratic revolution. Abdication of King Charles IV. Mihály (Michael) Károlyi president of the Republic
1919	The Republic of Councils and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The collapse of Béla Kun's regime (1 August); Romanian occupation. Admiral Miklós (Nicolas) Horthy and the national army enter the capital
1920	Miklós Horthy elected regent of the kingdom
	The Treaty of Trianon (4 June). Hungary loses, excluding Croatia, two thirds of its territory and 10.5 million inhabitants, among them more than 3 million Magyars
1921–31	Count István (Stephen) Bethlen president of the Council of Ministers. Consolidation. Revisionist foreign policy
1927	Italian–Hungarian treaty
,	Monetary stabilisation. The new currency, the pengö, is worth
T02T	12,500 crowns Economic crisis. The departure of Bethlen
1931	The government of Gyula (Julius) Gömbös. Turn to the right
1932–6	and <i>rapprochement</i> with Hitler
1938	The first anti-Jewish law. Hitler's arbitration at Vienna:
	Hungary regains part of Upper Hungary (Slovakia)



xvi	Chronology
1939	Hungary occupies Carpathian Ukraine The second anti-Jewish law
1940	Rise of the Hungarian Nazis, the Arrow-Cross, at the elections The second Vienna arbitration: northern Transylvania is returned to Hungary
1941	Adherence to the tripartite pact of Berlin–Rome–Tokyo Hungary attacks Yugoslavia. Suicide of Prime Minister Pál (Paul) Teleki
1942–4	Hungary enters the war against the Soviet Union (26 June) Miklós (Nicolas) Kállay appointed head of government. He attempts overtures towards the Allies
1943	The Hungarian Second Army is annihilated at Voronezh on the Don. Secret negotiations with Britain
1944	Germany occupies Hungary (19 March). The pro-German government of Döme Sztójay  The deportation of about 437,000 Jews from the provinces to Nazi concentration camps
	The Red Army crosses the Hungarian border Horthy proclaims armistice on the radio (15 October). The
	Germans occupy strategic points.
	Horthy appoints the Nazi Ferenc (Francis) Szálasi as president of the Council of Ministers
	Bloody terror of the Arrow Cross. Assassination or deportation
	of 105,000 Jews from the capital National Assembly and provisional government at Debrecen (22 December). Three Communist ministers
1945	Armistice signed in Moscow Yalta Conference (February)
	The Soviet army liberates Budapest (13 February) and the whole country (4 April). Allied Control Commission presided over by Marshall Voroshilov
	Legislative elections (4 November). Smallholders' Party 57 per cent, Communist Party 17 per cent. Coalition government, including four communists
1946	Proclamation of the Republic. President Zoltán Tildy New currency. One forint equals 400,000 quadrillion pengös
1947	Nationalisation of the banks and of the iron and steel industry Three-year plan of reconstruction
· ·	Peace treaty signed in Paris. The Soviet army remains. Arrests and processes aimed at the Smallholders' Party. Deportation of



Chronology xvii

	its general secretary Béla Kovács to the Soviet Union. Forced resignation of the president of the Council of Ministers, Ferenc (Francis) Nagy
1948	Forced fusion of the Social Democratic Party with the Communist Party. The party's name is changed, its general secretary Mátyás (Matthias) Rákosi leads the country. Police regime Further nationalisation of economic and educational institutions (Roman Catholic and Protestant ones)
1949	The trials of Cardinal József Mindszenty and other Church dig- nitaries Elections: the Popular Front candidates achieve 96.27 per cent of
	the suffrage
	The trial and execution of László Rajk
1950–2	Total dictatorship of the Communist Party. Forced industrialisation, persecution of the kulaks, trials, executions. János Kádár is arrested
1953-5	The death of Stalin. The reformer Imre Nagy becomes prime minister. Mátyás Rákosi remains the leader of the party. Struggle between reformists and Stalinists. Imre Nagy is ousted (March–April 1955)
1956	The Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party (February)
	The opposition movement of Hungarian writers and of the Petöfi Circle grows. The Russians oust Rákosi (18–21 July) The solemn funeral of Rajk and other victims of Stalinist terror (6 October)
	Mass demonstration and insurrection in Budapest. The first Soviet intervention. Imre Nagy president of the Council of Ministers. Cabinet of democratic coalition and the establishment of Workers' Councils. Hungary withdraws from the Warsaw Pact (23 October–3 November). The Soviet army invades Hungary (4 November)
	János Kádár takes over. Arrests. The exodus of 200,000
1957–63	Hungarians Mass repression. The trial of Imre Nagy; five executions (16 June 1958). Trial of writers and freedom-fighters. Over 300 executions
1961	Recollectivisation of agriculture
1963	General amnesty. Political relaxation
1968	The launching of economic reforms
1972	The reform reaches an impasse



xviii	Chronology
1985	The Kádár regime, reputed to have been prosperous and the most liberal, runs out of steam. Heavy foreign debts
1987	Democratic opposition spreads. Decline in purchasing power and consumption
1988	Kádár is eliminated from power
	Foundation of democratic political parties
1989	The crisis of the regime deepens
	National funeral for Imre Nagy and the other victims of repres-
	sion
	Round-table negotiations for a democratic transition
	Proclamation of the Hungarian Republic (23 October)
1990	Legislative elections. The Democratic Forum forms a centre-
	right coalition government, headed by József (Joseph) Antall
	Árpád Göncz president of the Republic
1994	Legislative elections. The Socialist (ex-Communist) Party gets an
	absolute majority. Gyula (Julius) Horn forms a coalition govern-
	ment with the Liberal Democrats
1996	Commemoration of the eleventh centenary of Hungary