

on March 10th., 1933, in favour of the Rumanian minority in Yugoslavia and of the Southern Slav minority in Rumania.

The treatment meted out in educational matters even to the group of the Rumanian minority living in the "Banate" and therefore benefiting by the Treaty of Saint Germain-en-Laye, is shown, among other things, by the fact that, whereas there is one elementary school class for every 305 Serbo-Croat inhabitants and one teacher for every 293 souls, in the case of the Rumanian minority of the country there is one elementary school class only for every 723 inhabitants and one teacher only for every 2057 souls!!! This being the situation in educational matters of the "acknowledged" group of the Rumanian minority in Yugoslavia, it is easy to conceive what must be the state of things in the educational field in the cases of the two other—*unacknowledged*—groups of that minority!!

A further characteristic circumstance is the tendentious explanation of the official circles of Yugoslavia to the effect that "the national connection between the Rumanians of the Banate and Rumania is very slight and is expressed exclusively in the machinations and individual actions of the Rumanian priests". This is how the authorities explain also the striking lack of political activity on the part of the Rumanian minority, wisely forgetting to mention the fact that those leaders of the Rumanian minority who had intended to take part in the 1931 Minority Congress were arrested, — as also that at the 1931 National Assembly elections the three candidates of the Rumanian minority included in the general list in terms of a compromise were defeated at the elections by the aid of subtle election abuses, — and that the villages inhabited by Rumanians are without exception under the control of Serbian officials.

#### TURKS

The Turkish minority, the bulk of which is living in the Vardar Banate, according to the Census of 1921 still numbered 150.322 souls. V. Životić, Head of Department of the Foreign Ministry, still estimates the number of Turks in Yugoslavia at 80.000, whereas in 1931 T. Radivojević, Professor in the University of Belgrade, failed to show any Turks at all in the statement drafted on the basis of the 1931 Census data, — a circumstance which does not throw a very favourable light upon the statistical methods employed in Yugoslavia. At the National Assembly elections in 1925 the Government crushed the Turkish minority party, dissolved its political organisation ("Jemijo"), though the latter had — together with the Albanian Mussulmans — secured 14 seats at the National Assembly elections in 1923, and placed under an embargo its only political daily, the "Hak". Yet in the absence of an independent press and of suitable minority organisations minority rights must remain dead letters.

#### ITALIANS

According to the latest Census (1931) there are only 8.860 inhabitants of Italian nationality living in Yugoslavia, the same being domiciled in the vicinity of Šušak and in Dalmatia. This tiny Italian minority enjoys an exceptionally favourable situation in every respect; that situation being secured by the Treaty of Rapallo and the Rome Convention, by the provisions of the Nettuno Protocol and by the power of the Italian nation.

## THE HOUSE OF ÁRPÁD AND MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

by

**Eugene Horváth**

For more than fifty years people have been dealing in constantly increasing numbers with the question as to the identity of the English princes who found their way to the Court of St. Stephen and the manner of their coming there, — of the princes of whom we are told by English and Scandinavian literary records: but the question proved incapable of solution until it was brought into connection with events on the European Continent.

The first connection between England and Hungary was not by way of Germany; for in the West too it is only recently that scholars have determined the community of the histories of the Saxons of the English and German kingdoms respectively. It was during the present period that scholars ascertained the interdependence of the *Anglo-Saxonia* which existed in the British Isles and the *Saxonia* which flourished on the Continent. The English wife of Otho the Great by her marriage induced a *rapprochement* between the German-Saxon and Anglo-Saxon policies; and it was not until Otho wedded a Burgundian princess that the policy of Germany was diverted in the direction of Italy. The bonds uniting the Saxon community were loosened; and

in 1002 the Saxon political system of Germany fell to pieces, that being followed in 1066 by the collapse of the Saxon political system of England.

After the catastrophe in Germany in 1002 the Scandinavians attacked England. They were led by Sweyn, King of Denmark, after whose death in 1004 the leadership was taken over by his son Cnut (the Great). At the same period the Dukes of Normandy — Richard and his son Robert — appeared in England at the head of the frenchified Normans coming from the South. Between the Norman assailants and the Saxon defenders stood the brave, beautiful daughter of Duke Richard II., Emma of Normandy, who after the death of her first husband Ethelred the Unready, in 1016, had wedded Cnut. From then onwards her children were divided between the conquerors. Her sons by her first husband — Edmund Ironside and Edward the Confessor — defended the independence of the English; the Scandinavian troops of Hardicanute — her son by her Danish husband — fought under his leadership against the English: while her English and Danish kindred were attacked by Robert, Duke of Normandy, that being the beginning of general warfare.



When, in 1017, King Cnut wedded Queen Emma, widow of Ethelred, whom he found in London, which she had been defending, he endeavoured to rid himself of the surviving members of the Saxon dynasty. Edmund Ironside had been murdered by his command in 1016; and the twin sons of that king — Princes Edmund and Edward — were sent to Denmark, where however the authorities took pity on them and sent them on to Sweden, the home of their mother, Eadgil, Princess of Sweden; here they found a safe home in the Court of King Olaf. However, in 1022 their uncle died; whereupon they were sent to their aunt Ingegard, who since 1019 had been the consort of Yaroslav the Wise, Duke of Kiev.

The customs then prevailing in Kiev were Norman-Scandinavian; and the Duke maintained relations — apart from Byzantium — with the Scandinavian countries, England, France and Rome. Kiev also afforded shelter in 1036 to the princes — Andrew, Béla and Levente — who had migrated from Hungary; these princes were on friendly terms with the exiles from England, with whom indeed they soon became related by the marriage of Prince Andrew, in 1037, to Anastasia, daughter of Yaroslav and Ingegard, the young bride being second cousin to the English princes. There is nothing strange in the presumption that the English-Hungarian marriage was made in the hope that the throne of St. Stephen would one day be the heritage of Andrew, so that Yaroslav's daughter would become Queen of Hungary, while Princes Edmund and Edward would find it easier to get back through Hungary to England, where they might then recover their lawful heritage and the throne of their father. So in 1046 they all started off together — Andrew and Anastasia, Béla and Levente, Edmund and Edward — with an armed force to assist Andrew against King Peter and the German troops, this resulting in the Emperor Henry III. refusing to grant a passage through Germany to the English princes, who were thus compelled to remain in Hungary.

What has been said above is the result of exhaustive researches and protracted discussion. It was not easy to decide how the English princes came to the Court of St. Stephen, — where as a matter of fact they never found their way, seeing that St. Stephen died in 1038. Nor was it easy to show how Prince Edward wedded St. Stephen's daughter Agatha, seeing that St. Stephen never had a daughter of that name! The tradition that the English Prince Edmund wedded a daughter of St. Stephen called Hedwig is mentioned by the Swedish dramatist *John Messenius* (1579—1636); while according to the English chronicler *Ordericus Vitalis* (died 1142) Princess Agatha was the daughter of King Solomon, — a record from which it has been concluded that there has been a confusion between the names *Stephanus* and *Salamon*.

The first Hungarian writers to deal with the question were the historians *Daniel Cornides* and *John Horváth*; the matter was revived subsequently by *John Xantus* (in 1878) and *Louis Kropf* (in 1896). In 1892 *Maurice Werner* gave a list of all the English chroniclers — *Florence of Worcester*, *William of Malmesbury*, *Ordericus Vitalis*, *Roger of Hoveden* — who were familiar with the question; but the same

believed Agatha to be the daughter either of the German Emperor Henry II. or of Solomon, King of Hungary. According to *Cornides* Agatha was the daughter of St. Stephen; but this supposition was shaken by the mention of the name of Henry II. (*Agata filia germani imperatoris Henrici*). *Louis Kropf* having with the assistance of a note by *Adam of Bremen* discovered that the word *Ruzzia* ("in *Ruzziam exilio damnati sunt*") must have meant Kiev, in the course of further researches *John Karácsonyi* found that Agatha was not the daughter of St. Stephen, as had been stated by the otherwise well-informed *Aeldred, Abbot of Rievaulx* ("*Edmundo filiam suam dedit uxorem*"), but of the Duke of Carinthia, a relative of the German Emperor (so the text must be read "*filia germani imperatoris*" and not "*filia Germani imperatoris*"). And in any case *Aeldred's* data were very little known, and those of the Scandinavian sagas not at all, though the *Heimskringla Saga* did actually mention the wanderings of the English princes. What chiefly acted on *Karácsonyi's* mind in the matter was the consideration that, seeing the English princes received a loving welcome in Hungary also according to the data of the English chronicles (cf. *William of Malmesbury*: — "*ubi benigne aliquo tempore habiti sunt*"), England would not forsake Hungary. In his desolate solitude following the dismemberment of his country he desired to assist his nation, sending me his manuscript with a request to publish it in Hungarian in Budapest and in English in London. The late *Anthony Áldásy* willingly undertook to read and publish the Hungarian text. Having failed to place the English translation, I myself set to work to supplement the material published in Hungarian. I was greatly surprised when I happened to get hold of a book by the French historian *Georges de Manteyer* written at the same time as *Karácsonyi's* essay which contains roughly the same data as are given by the Hungarian scholar, though the Frenchman had found new data not known to *Karácsonyi*. The work on Margaret Queen of Scotland — based on the work of *Rézbányay* — published in 1926 by *Barnett* has no new information for us.

We have very few data available relating to the sojourn in Hungary of Princes Edmund and Edward. King Andrew presented to them *Nádasd* in Tolna County, which is still spoken of as "*terra Britannorum de Nádasd*" in a deed dating from 1235. Queen Anastasia having died in 1046 and Prince Edmund in 1048, Andrew and Edward wedded two daughters of the house of Eppenstein, thus becoming brothers-in-law. This double marriage also brought them into relationship by marriage with the Emperor Henry, for the latter and the new Queen of Hungary were first cousins, (this accounts for the expression *germanus imperatoris Henrici*). However, the Emperor was on unfriendly terms with the house of Eppenstein and refused to allow Prince Edward to travel to England via Germany.

Yet it had become known in England that the heir of Edmund Ironside and of Edward the Confessor was living in Hungary; whereupon, in 1054, the King of England himself begged the Emperor to allow Prince Edward a passage through his realm. The distinguished rank of the English ambassadors — Edward, Bishop of Worcester and Aelfwide, Abbot



of Ramsey — permits of our conjecturing that great stress was laid in England on the nephew and heir of the king being allowed to return home. Henry III. received the ambassadors in Cologne, keeping them in his Court for a year; but he refused to give the permission desired, because Edward had fought on the Hungarian side, had wedded the daughter of his enemy, and was the supporter of the Clunyoites, whose influence would have been enhanced by the accession to the throne of Prince Edward. It was only in 1056, after the death of Henry, when the reins of government were taken over by Agnes of Poitou, the infant Henry IV.'s mother, that permission to pass through Germany was finally given — by the Dowager Empress.

It was in 1057 that Prince Edward, broken by the ordeals through which he had passed, started for home with his consort and the children born to him in Hungary — his heir Edgar (then entitled *Edgar Atheling* as next in succession to the throne), Margaret and Christina. It was in a state of exhaustion from the long journey and in a condition of physical weakness due to his mental sufferings that he finally landed on English soil. His royal uncle was waiting to receive him in London; but the heir to the throne of England died immediately after landing, the general rejoicing being rapidly followed by general mourning — as described in the words of Abbot Aeldred, "*post paucos dies vita discedens, gaudium in luctum, risum mutavit in lacrymas*". Only his widow and children reached the English Court, where the king entrusted the education of the heir to the throne — *Edgar Atheling* — to the learned prelate Lanfranc, who later became Primate of England.

Unfortunately for Edgar, the king died early in 1066; while William, Duke of Normandy, landed in the country and in the battle of Hastings put an end to the independence of the Anglo-Saxon State. It was only then discovered that Edward the Confessor had in 1051 already promised the crown to William, — for he did not know then that his nephew was alive. The king had himself designated Duke William his heir; and the latter came with the blessing of the Pope, who had held the English throne to be vacant. It is true that the Saxons declared Edgar king; but he himself paid homage to William and did not take up arms until the cruelty of the Normans had aroused general embitterment. Sweyn, King of Denmark, marched into England accompanied by the troops of Malcolm III., King of Scotland; and in 1068 there was a general rising against the foreign intruders. King William showed masterly adroitness in disarming the coalition. The Danes were bribed; the Swedes retired; and the disarmed Saxons surrendered to the feudal army of the Conqueror. According to Aeldred Edgar and his mother and sisters decided to return to Hungary, which country was connected with so many pleasant memories; they all longed to be back in the country where Agatha's sister was queen, — "*Edgarus Edeling ascensa navi cum matre et sororibus reverti in patriam qua natus fuerat conabatur*."

A boat was chartered; and the wanderers set out for Cologne, whence they had originally started for England. But the boat was overtaken by a storm, which drove them ashore at Wearmouth, a place

that had just been taken by the troops of King Malcolm. Malcolm had previously seen Margaret at the English Court; he now wedded her; and the wanderers all settled in Scotland. So in 1069 Margaret became Queen of Scotland ("*regina Margareta de semine regis Anglorum et Hungarorum*"): she was the first queen of Scotland of English birth. After the death of her mother Princess Christina retired to a convent, dying in 1110 as Abbess of the Abbey of Ramsey. Queen Margaret suffered a tragic fate. On hearing that her husband and her eldest son, the crown prince Edward, had fallen in battle against the English, four days later — on November 17th., 1093 — she expired in the arms of her brother Edgar. To the moment of her death she kept all her souvenirs of Hungary, including the prayer-book which for centuries after was made the object of especial homage and devotion. She was buried in the church she had built in Dumferline in commemoration of her landing after the storm, her meeting with Malcolm and her marriage. In 1251 she was canonised by the Church; but her mortal remains were never allowed to rest in peace. While her body was lying in state in Edinburgh Castle, Malcolm's younger brother besieged the fortress, so that the body had to be conveyed by secret passages to Dumferline, whence it was transferred in 1251, together with that of her husband, to a place of more distinction. Her skull came into the possession of Mary Stuart; and it was taken by the persecuted Catholics to Antwerp and then to Douai, where all trace of the relic was lost at the time of the French Revolution. When the Catholic Bishop of Edinburgh begged Pope IX. to allow the relic to be taken home, it could not be found anywhere. It has been commemorated in the Manekine legend.

King Malcolm was followed on the throne of Scotland in succession by his three sons — Edgar, Alexander and David; his daughter Matilda, who was educated by Abbess Christina, was married to Henry I. of England. Seeing that Henry was the son of William the Conqueror, this marriage seemed to the English to denote the reconciliation of the Norman and Anglo-Saxon peoples; and at the same time the English paid homage to the memory of the queen whose religious devotion and charity was so familiar to everyone — that memory still being commemorated by popular tradition ("*Molde the Good Queen*"). Matilda's sister, Maria, was married to Eustace Count of Boulogne; while her daughter by the latter — also called Matilda — wedded Stephen of Blois, as whose consort she became Queen of England. So both the daughters of the Scotch Queen St. Margaret of Hungary became queens of England.

Their restless brother, *Edgar*, lived a life of ups and downs right down to his death. In 1072, when his brother-in-law Malcolm invaded England, he joined him; and after their defeat he sought shelter at the Court of Robert of Flanders, who was then fighting, together with Philip Francis of France, the brother-in-law of Andrew of Hungary, against the Normans. It was therefore as his kinsman that Edgar received Montreuil from King Philip; but the attacks of the Normans made it impossible for him to keep it. He returned to Scotland, though he continued his

intercourse with the Count of Flanders, whose sister, Matilda, was the consort of William the Conqueror. Hearing that Adela, widow of Cnut, King of Denmark, had become the consort of Roger of Apulia, and that Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of England, was going to Rome, — while his French kinsmen were organising a crusade the harbinger of which happened to be the Count of Flanders himself —, Prince Edgar also joined the crusaders. The researches of the French historian *Manteyer* have refuted the supposition that Edgar Atheling travelled alone; for according to the latest data he was accompanied by his Northumbrian wife and his daughter Matilda. St. Anselm was intimately acquainted with the members of the royal family, and as successor to Lanfranc continued to show benevolence towards Princess Agatha's children — Edgar, Margaret and Christina of Hungary —, who were being persecuted by the Normans. On his way to Rome the Primate visited the Court of Blois, where the daughter of Malcolm and Margaret — Matilda, consort of Stephen of Blois, who was also niece to Prince Edgar — was in power. While Anselm travelled to Lyons, where his friend Hugo was archbishop, Edgar journeyed via Apulia to the Holy Land. Passing over interesting details that have come down to us, we would merely note that Anselm was doing all in his power to find a suitable husband for the daughter of Prince Edgar, who was being thrust into the background by the Normans, and chose for the purpose his own House of Savoy. During this journey Matilda was married to Guigues VIII., Count of Albon. The latter then occupied a position of authority between the related houses of Toulouse and Provence, Burgundy and Savoy. As her gift to her husband in this marriage Matilda brought with her an unusual distinctive

rank inherited by her on her mother's side, — a distinctive title with the origin of which historians are at present dealing very exhaustively. This distinctive title was first employed by the son of Matilda and Guigues, — Guigues IX. (died 1142) — when he called himself *dauphin*. The title was used later by the lord of the province, the owner of Dauphiné; and when it came into the possession of the French king, it was granted to his first-born son, the heir to the throne. But Matilda brought something else too, the importance in respect of foreign politics is most striking. In her new country she was regarded as of the royal blood of England ("*regina quae fuit de Anglia*"): and from this time on the Counts of Albon took the side of England against the French, who had extended their dominion in the direction of Lyons. And seeing that as the result of the efforts of Anselm Savoy too joined the English, the interests of England continually made more and more headway on the northern slopes of the Alps. In 1134 Matilda, daughter of Guigues IX., was married to Amadeus of Savoy. Their daughter Matilda in 1146 wedded Alphonse I., King of Portugal, so that the family of Prince Edgar helped to strengthen the connections between England and Portugal too. It is quite conceivable that this fresh connection between England and Portugal gave rise to the legend which tells us that the foundation of the kingdom of Portugal was due also to the Hungarian connections of Queen Matilda. Shortly after this marriage, in 1147, the Count of Auvergne, the Marquis of Montferrat and Amadeus of Savoy — i. e. the whole Dauphiné family — joined the crusade. According to *William of Malmesbury*, Edgar, the prince indirectly responsible for all these connections, ended his life in retirement in Normandy.

## P O L I T I C A L M O S A I C

### JULIUS GÖMBÖS ON THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF HUNGARY

At a meeting of the National Unity Party (Government Party) held on November 12th., at which the Party paid enthusiastic homage to His Highness the Regent, Nicholas Horthy de Nagybánya, on the occasion of the fifteenth anniversary of his triumphal entry into Budapest — after the fall of the horrible reign of terror of Béla Kun — at the head of the Hungarian National Army organised by him, *Julius Gömbös*, Prime Minister of Hungary, made a magnificent speech, from which we quote certain passages relating to matters of international politics.

#### THE ROME PROTOCOL HAS DONE ITS WORK

The Hungarian Premier dealt first with the Three-Power Protocol signed at Rome.

"I am also of opinion" — the Premier said — "that this Protocol has done — and is continually doing — the work for which it was called into being. In this protocol a Great Power entered into co-operation with two small

Powers for the purpose of solving some of the great questions of Central Europe by common consent. When we met in Rome last spring for the purpose of drafting the Protocol, the principal aim before us was to reciprocally make matters clear in respect of our individual objects and conceptions. We desired to arrive at a complete agreement in both political and economic questions. For the atmosphere created by these discussions on the one hand provides for the signatories of the said Three-Power Protocol being able to reckon at all times on one another's support, while on the other hand it provides for our breaking up — as far as such a course is feasible — the system of economic autarchy which is the source of so much danger and trouble, thereby ensuring the possibility of reciprocal prosperity. Now also, *alike on the occasion of my visit to Rome and during my stay in Austria, I was delighted to find that the spirit of the Three-Power Rome Protocol was still in full force as between the three countries; this spirit is stronger than ever and in its effects works*