

CHAPTER 9

**‘From *Geistesgeschichte*  
to Public History’**

*The Years of Emigration of the Hungarian Historian  
Béla Iványi-Grünwald, Jr.*

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Three basic waves of Hungarian emigration can be distinguished in the development of its historiography until 1956: the first one took place after the revolution and war of independence in 1848/49, and its most relevant figures were Mihály Horváth, László Szalay, Ferenc Pulszky and Jácint Rónai. Their works were imbued with national-liberal ideas, which had a deep influence on the domestic historical-political strivings. At the same time, they contributed significantly to the professionalisation of Hungarian historical writing, as they familiarised themselves with this new method in their emigration.<sup>1</sup>

The next wave encompassed the emigration between the two World Wars. Here we can point out such names as Oszkár Jászi, Lajos Hatvany, György Lukács, Arnold Hauser, Karl Mannheim, Elek Bolgár, Erzsébet Andics and József Révai. Their impact was especially significant from a theoretical point of view, with new innovations in social and spiritual history accomplished by domestic efforts instead.<sup>2</sup>

After the Second World War, there were two other waves: between 1945–48 we can mention the so-called extreme right-wing ‘historians’ (with some of them even being members of the Arrow Cross Party), such as Ödön Málnási, Tibor Baráth, Ida Bobula, János Weidlein, Tibor Badiny Joós, Vik-

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tor Padányi. They maintained (or formulated) their views about the Turanist, racist character of Hungarian ancient history.<sup>3</sup>

In opposition to them, another stream can be discerned, such as Béla Iványi-Grünwald, Jr., Károly Kerényi, József Deér, András Alföldi, Gyula Miskolczy and Tamás Bogyay. They represented the so-called '*Geistesgeschichte*'<sup>4</sup> tradition of Hungarian historical writing, deeply rooted in rather conservative and, at the same time, anti-fascist ideology. They pursued a sort of 'intellectual' or 'cultural' history and highlighted the close relationship of Hungarian history with Western European developments.<sup>5</sup>

The following study scrutinises one of the representatives of this latter school, Béla Iványi-Grünwald, Jr., who was a highly promising student of Gyula Szekfű and Bálint Hóman, both of them being the 'godfathers' of Hungarian *Geistesgeschichte*,<sup>6</sup> in the first period of his career, which changed fundamentally during his self-imposed emigration throughout and, mainly after, the Second World War.

## In Hungary: '*Geistesgeschichte*'

The career of historian Béla Iványi-Grünwald, Jr. began in the period between the two World Wars, in the second half of the 1920s.<sup>7</sup> He wrote his thesis about a topic in economic history, analysing Count István Széchenyi's views on the subject.<sup>8</sup>

As a result, he was trusted with an important task in the 'Fontes' series, well-known at the time in Hungary;<sup>9</sup> and within the framework of the series in 1930 he published one of the main works of the Count, the book titled *Credit*, accompanied by a voluminous introduction, which bore explicit features of '*Geistesgeschichte*'.<sup>10</sup> If we survey historical works from the 1930s, we can furthermore point out some other studies by him, such as studies about Ranke, Bentham, Széchenyi (again),<sup>11</sup> and his theoretical debate with Sándor Gyömrei in the first half of the 1930s.<sup>12</sup> The debate concerned the application of the approaches of '*Geistesgeschichte*' in the history of economics, and Béla Iványi-Grünwald, Jr. vehemently championed '*Geistesgeschichte*' while heavily criticising the positivist, materialist, one-sided liberal views of his opponent, which were heavily rooted in sociology.<sup>13</sup>

The most important achievement of Béla Iványi-Grünwald, Jr. can be considered as from this period- the fourth volume of the 'Universal History' series, edited by Bálint Hóman, Gyula Szekfű, and Károly Kerényi.<sup>14</sup> This volume outspokenly and very consciously summarises the main trends, processes and events of European history in the nineteenth and, to a lesser extent, twentieth century, with the means of '*Geistesgeschichte*' thoroughly digested by Iványi-Grünwald, Jr.<sup>15</sup>

It is essential to emphasise the striking influence of a special stream of ‘Geistesgeschichte’ on his work – and, at the same time, on his whole career – that of ‘Christian personalism’.<sup>16</sup> The main representatives of this direction were, in this period, Max Scheler, Jacques Maritain, Karl Jaspers, Nikolai Berdiaeff and Emmanuel Mounier.<sup>17</sup> According to the end notes of Iványi-Grünwald, Jr.’s book, Max Scheler and Karl Mannheim<sup>18</sup> had a particular influence on him. Proceeding in the footsteps of this German philosopher and thinker, Iványi-Grünwald, Jr. constructed the category of the so-called ‘intellectual’ and more specifically ‘spiritual individual’, which played a pivotal role – as we will see later on – in his further writings as well, so it can be evaluated as a certain ‘leitmotif’.<sup>19</sup>

For the historian in question, the aforementioned Count István Széchenyi<sup>20</sup> can be most probably regarded an archetype of this ‘spiritual individual’ or ‘intellectual’ – a main, great personality that can be seen as having fundamentally shaped the course of world history. Other such persons and ‘intellectuals’ include, for instance, Napoleon, of course, and Bismarck, but basically they were not only politicians, as they were epitomised by the aforementioned Széchenyi and by Kossuth, as well as representatives of the big spiritual, cultural, ideological movements of the nineteenth-century, such as liberalism, romanticism, nationalism, and, to a lesser extent, positivism, socialism and imperialism, from Jeremy Bentham, Thomas Jefferson, Charles Forbes René de Montalembert, Ernst Moritz Arndt, Joseph Görres to Wilhelm Dilthey, Henri Bergson, August Comte, Karl Marx and Ludwig Gumplowicz.<sup>21</sup>

One of the most important messages of Iványi-Grünwald, Jr.’s – perfectly in tune with the world view or ‘*Weltanschauung*’ of ‘Geistesgeschichte’ – is decline theory:<sup>22</sup> the most important feature of the Modern Age – that is, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – which was the pushing into the background the ‘intellectual’/‘spiritual individual’. Furthermore, there is the disappearance, or even oppression, of the ‘person’ / ‘personality’, the coming to the fore and even the victory of the crowd and the mob, and parallel with it, that of economy, materialism, the egotistical interest, money and business, and so in the last quarter of the century, that of imperialism, extreme materialism and biologism.<sup>23</sup>

Iványi-Grünwald, Jr.’s synthesis indulges in general in the other characteristics of ‘Geistesgeschichte’. This had been epitomised by the constant striving for synthesis, the predominance of the inner motifs of the spiritual-moral; basically, by the overwhelming presence of literature, referring very often to literary works, ideas, streams, figures of literature and respectively analysing them. Furthermore – as it already appeared in the debate with Sándor Gyömrei – there is the almost total omission of a sociological approach.<sup>24</sup>

## In Emigration

The emigration of Béla Iványi-Grünwald, Jr. began in 1938, although at that time there was no word about emigration, especially not about a definite one.<sup>25</sup> That year, he was charged by the minister of cultural and religious affairs, Bálint Hóman<sup>26</sup> (one of the spiritual mentors of the aforementioned 'Universal History'), to travel to London and collect a wide range of source materials about the relationship between Lajos Kossuth and the English working classes for the previously mentioned 'Fontes' series.<sup>27</sup>

In London, Iványi-Grünwald, Jr. set to his research zealously, but because of the war and other political events (he was Jewish, and at the end of the 1930s the anti-Jewish laws had been promulgated in Hungary as a gesture towards Hitler for the newly regained territories in Slovakia and Romania<sup>28</sup>), he decided not to return to Hungary and to remain indefinitely in England. During the war, he assumed an active political role (for the BBC as well) and took part in the activities of the Hungarian immigrant community. Among the two anti-Hitler organisations that undertook such activities, he attached himself to the rather conservative, bourgeois organisation of Free Hungarians, in opposition to the leftist group led and represented by Count Mihály Károlyi, which was finding a path to the Soviet Union.<sup>29</sup>

After the war, his circumstances became unstable, as he managed to gain merely temporary positions at the Hungarian Department of the University of London. Later, mainly in the second half of the 1950s, he held radio lectures for the Hungarian department of the BBC.<sup>30</sup> He did not give up his career as a historian in this period either, though the possibilities available to him before the war in Hungary did not manifest themselves again. Already in 1945 he published a significant book, in collaboration with Alan Bell, about the Allies' peace preparation attempts, during the war, which finally led to the Potsdam Agreement.<sup>31</sup> He published significant articles in this time in various Western European journals about the relationship between Church and State in Eastern European countries.<sup>32</sup> He even edited part of his voluminous source collection about the Kossuth emigration<sup>33</sup>, and he returned time and again to the topic of Széchenyi, who played such an important role in his pre-war research. He set up a large-scale collection of different published materials (manuscripts, prints, pamphlets, maps, carvings, etc.) about Hungary, found or rather discovered by him in England.<sup>34</sup> He wrote more or less regularly about different issues, mainly historical and political topics for the Hungarian journals of the emigration, for *Irodalmi Újság* (Literary Paper) in Paris, *Új Látóhatár* (New Horizon) in Munich, and the journal of the Imre Nagy Institute, *Szemle* (Review) in Brussels.<sup>35</sup>

We can evaluate his already mentioned lecture series for the BBC as perhaps his most significant achievement during his emigration, from the year 1955 onwards, the texts of which have been preserved at his bequest in Budapest, in the Manuscript Collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He held these lectures in Hungarian and in English till 1964; the series included about 80–90 pieces, about 350–400 pages altogether, which touched upon numerous topics and figures of the history, literature, politics and culture of Hungary, such as Oszkár Jászi, Count István Széchenyi and Lajos Kossuth; as well as problems of the revolution and fight for independence in 1848–49 and its parallels with the revolution in 1956. The lectures also dealt with personalities like Béla Kun, József Mindszenty, Gyula Szekfű, László Mátrai, Béla Illés, György Bölöni, József Darvas, István Bibó, Saint Stephen, Franz Liszt, Ernő Dohnányi,<sup>36</sup> as well as with the British William Blake, Charles Morgan, Daniel Defoe and many others.<sup>37</sup> All of these lectures conveyed – without exception – current political messages. A harsh and bitter critique of the reigning Hungarian administration played the central role in them, and Iványi-Grünwald, Jr. carried it out through spiritual rather than journalistic tools, inasmuch as they reflected the main chronology of the period in question as well.<sup>38</sup> According to this, in 1955 and 1956 he provided fundamental accounts about the programmes of the Petöfi Circle, about the Revolt of Writers, etc., and all of these were meant as preparation for the oncoming Revolution.<sup>39</sup>

In 1956, of course, the events of the revolution came to the fore, such as the echo of the October/November events, which were perceptible among the university-youth in England, particularly in Oxford.<sup>40</sup> Then came the reprisal and the revenge of Khrushchev, highlighting the parallels between 1849 and 1956, pointing out the similarities and, at the same time, the little bit more human character of the Habsburgs' actions.<sup>41</sup> In his lectures, he remembered Imre Nagy several times, including his execution, and criticised harshly – sometimes with bitter irony – the first steps of the Kádár consolidation as well.<sup>42</sup> An important point in his lectures is that he kept comparing totalitarian Eastern European dictatorships to the English democracy, with arguments based on the inalienable rights of individual freedom.

### **‘Geistesgeschichte’ in Emigration**

In the following, I would like to scrutinise this question: is there any continuity in the views and activities of Béla Iványi-Grünwald, Jr. before and after the war – that is, in his emigration, and if there has been a change, what is the extent of it? This question is particularly pivotal, if the historian can, in this period, still be characterised as a spiritual historian,<sup>43</sup>

As indicated earlier, the most significant idea of Iványi-Grünwald, Jr. that he conceived explicitly within the arsenal of 'Geistesgeschichte' was the so-called 'intellectual/spiritual individual', which can be assessed in the framework of 'Christian personalism'.<sup>44</sup> Iványi-Grünwald, Jr. maintained this notion even during the years of his emigration. He referred to it several times, including in analysing Khrushchev's speech at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences at the end of the 1950s, as well as in the cases of Szekfű, Széchenyi, Kossuth and Charles Morgan, and so it can be regarded as a fundamental pillar of his historical views during the entirety of his career.<sup>45</sup> This statement implies that he regarded 'spiritual intellectuals' as the impetus of history; they represent the moral forces, the 'personality' in the sense of Christian personalism<sup>46</sup> – they epitomise and represent its main idea. This stays in constant opposition with the masses and in consequence with multitudinous, quantifiable phenomena, which can be described with the tools of sociology.<sup>47</sup>

There is a new feature, however, in the thinking of Iványi-Grünwald, Jr., which is perfectly in tune with his earlier views regarding what he called a 'spiritual intellectual': Hungarian intellectuals opposing or even revolting against Rákosi's government (they were writers, scholars, scientists, journalists, etc.). That is why he paid so much attention to the debates in the Petőfi Circle, and to the so-called mutiny of writers: Tibor Déry, Gyula Háy, László Benjámín, Tibor Méray, Tamás Aczél, Lajos Kassák, Gyula Illyés.<sup>48</sup> All in all, he considers this opposition the main factor in the preparation and breaking out of the revolution in 1956 as well. As referred to previously, this idea of the 'intellectual' was interconnected with 'Christian personalism', and there was no change in the application of this view during his emigration years, either. Even after the war, he considered Christian religiosity very relevant, the main repository of individual freedom and autonomy. Therefore, he harshly criticised Eastern European communist administrations in the 1950s, as they strove for the amalgamation or even '*Gleichschaltung*' of the churches.<sup>49</sup> In scrutinising Hungarian circumstances, Iványi-Grünwald, Jr. acknowledges with great joy that, despite huge pressure from the government, religious and national sentiments were not extinguished in the Hungarian youth. There were many young people who were not willing to yield to this pressure from the government and did not regard their Christian fellow-beings as 'class enemies'.<sup>50</sup>

A very significant component of the Christian-Catholic continuity in question is, according to the views of Iványi-Grünwald, Jr., the nearly constant references to Saint Stephen, particularly the state of Saint Stephen, which in the 1930s became a central idea for him but also for the official policy and for the historical craft as well.<sup>51</sup> In one of his lectures for the BBC in the 1950s, he evoked at length Hungarian historians before the war (first

of all Gyula Szekfű, but also Bálint Hóman, Gyula Kornis, József Deér and Győző Ember) who depicted thoroughly – and, for their age, also relevantly – the main moments of the almost 1000 years of worship of Saint Stephen in Hungary.<sup>52</sup> It should be added that in the 1930s as well as in the 1950s, Saint Stephen was considered a symbol of Hungarians belonging to the Western World – similarly for Béla Iványi-Grünwald, Jr. as well.<sup>53</sup>

Many further features can be cited to prove the continuity of the arsenal of ‘Geistesgeschichte’ in the thoughts and activities of Iványi-Grünwald, Jr. as a historian, such as the vigorous affection for literature and philology (and for the means of expression of literature),<sup>54</sup> which ran parallel to his distrust towards the approaches of sociology, whereas in 1960, in one of his studies concerning the genesis of Széchenyi’s views, he significantly took into consideration the conclusions of the new Hungarian economic and social history.<sup>55</sup> This ardent interest in literature manifested itself in many forms, such as in his genuine ‘bookinist’ inclinations,<sup>56</sup> in the constant references to significant figures of literature (e.g. Gyula Illyés), the so-called Populists, while, at the same time, the condemnation of József Darvas, Béla Illés and György Bölöni. Furthermore, English literature was important for him as well, including William Blake and Daniel Defoe,<sup>57</sup> and we can also refer to his collection of English publications about Hungarian affairs mentioned earlier.<sup>58</sup>

Another basic tenet that underlies a continuity in the views of Iványi-Grünwald, Jr. between the values and views before the war and his emigration period is his interpretation of the idea of the nation.<sup>59</sup> As mentioned earlier, he established with some satisfaction that the Communist government did not manage to eradicate national feeling in the Hungarian youth, and, referring to 1848/49, he refuted the Marxist historiography as well, according to which ‘class struggle’ dominated the revolution much more than the fight for national independence. We should note, though, that this national consciousness cannot be brought into connection with, and fundamentally differs from, the efforts of another branch of the historiography in Western European Hungarian emigration, which put Hungarian ancient history at the fore in denying the Finno-Ugric origins of Hungarians and instead glorifying their Turkish and even Japanese ancestry, while trying to prove bitterly the Sumeric-Hungarian kinship on a racial basis, and, all in all, pursued history as a glorification of a great national past, as in the works of Tibor Baráth, László Götz, Ferenc Badiny Joós, Viktor Padányi, Ida Bobula and János Drábik.<sup>60</sup> In contrast with this Asia-oriented, basically Turanist ideology (that is very popular and even widespread in present day Hungary), Iványi-Grünwald, Jr. – in the spirit of Széchenyi – championed the Western orientation of Hungarians and the Western European embedding of Hungarian history and culture.<sup>61</sup> His ideal – as mentioned before – was, until

the very end of his life, English democracy, deeming individual freedom pivotal.<sup>62</sup>

## From 'Geistesgeschichte' to Public History

It should be added to the above that significant changes, even breaks can be detected in the activities and thinking of Iványi-Grünwald, Jr. during his emigration. One of these changes meant placing a greater emphasis on the tradition of liberal independence in Hungarian history; see, for example, the role of Kossuth, which obviously came to the fore in connection with the events of 1956.<sup>63</sup> Another factor of a certain change in his views is his pushing into the background the decline idea, so characteristic of 'Geistesgeschichte', which was even directed against Western European values but never with the claim of a dictatorship, which according to previous statements had lost its validity with the harsh critique of the Soviet Union and of Eastern European communist dictatorships.

One of the perhaps most striking breaks constituted the fact that he was forced to renounce the construction of a large-scale historical synthesis, which can be assessed also as a core question for 'Geistesgeschichte', and which played such an important role in his activities before the War.<sup>64</sup> The cause of this can be sought in his living conditions, as he had not managed to secure a university position, which would have been essential for such an undertaking. In this respect, he differed significantly from others, also in terms of historians operating with 'Geistesgeschichte', respectively art historians, such as: József Deér, András Alföldi, Károly Kerényi, Károly Tolnai, Gyula Miskolczy.<sup>65</sup> These scholars did not simply continue with their work but in many cases fulfilled their oeuvres, sometimes even making their careers in emigration, creating great syntheses, almost all of them in the spirit of 'Geistesgeschichte'.<sup>66</sup> For Iványi-Grünwald, Jr., however, what remained was partial studies, partial results, source publications, bibliographies, collections, journalism and a certain kind of history politics, through which he got into an immediate connection with current politics.<sup>67</sup>

This is not entirely new in the history of the Hungarian 'Geistesgeschichte' either.<sup>68</sup> One of the masters of Iványi-Grünwald, Jr., Gyula Szekfű,<sup>69</sup> who never strayed far from journalism, at the end of the 1930s and in the first half of the 1940s threw himself into politics with full force, during the fight against the extreme right and against the Nazis.<sup>70</sup> He wrote in one of his articles in *Magyar Nemzet* (Hungarian Nation): in contrast with Jacob Burckhardt's aestheticism, in his age it is no longer possible to delight in life 'from the other riverbank', twiddling one's thumbs as empires collapse and the world bursts into flames, but – though taking the risk of getting dirty –



the historian should take an active – even militant – role in the fight against the forces he considered evil.<sup>71</sup> Obviously the same, or at least similar motives operated in the most significant activities of Iványi–Grünwald, Jr. in his emigration – that is in his BBC lectures: with bitter criticism of the Rákosi government and the Kádár system,<sup>72</sup> which he regarded as evil, and with the faithful chronicles of 1956, he acted in the framework of the – by him probably not much appreciated – spirit of György Lukács’s ‘existential thinking’.<sup>73</sup> That is, he acted for the refashioning of his age according to his ‘Christian humanist’ values. It should be noted that this last feature is also a basic idea of ‘Geistesgeschichte’. It is enough to revoke the ideas of Benedetto Croce, who was also a favourite of Gyula Szekfű,<sup>74</sup> about history as idea and action, in Italian: ‘La storia come pensiero e azione.’<sup>75</sup>

## Conclusions

According to German philosopher and aesthete Siegfried Kracauer,<sup>76</sup> the emigrant position offers a possibility for the historian to get rid of his one-sided, narrow points of view. Having been untied from the bindings of his native environment, and at the same time still not being assimilated to the circumstances of his new country, he is positioned in the marginal role of the ‘outsider’. This offers him a possibility to conceive his ideas from different, polyphonic and reflected aspects, and for many great historians, from Thucydides to Lewis Namier, this served as a great advantage and stimulated them to create their great accomplishments.<sup>77</sup>

For the Hungarian historian Béla Iványi–Grünwald, this statement holds true in many respects. He commenced his career as an outstanding representative of the so-called ‘Geistesgeschichte’ between the two World Wars in Hungary. In his self-imposed emigration during and after the Second World War, while sticking to the main ideas and values of ‘Christian personalism’, which was a branch within ‘Geistesgeschichte’, he had been forced – because of existential concerns – to turn to journalism – instead of great syntheses – to pursue a certain ‘public history’ in a positive sense,<sup>78</sup> mainly through holding lectures for the BBC.<sup>79</sup> The essential message of this activity was of protest against the dictatorships in his homeland and in Eastern Europe. To the regimes he opposed, the idea of individual freedom was epitomised by the English democracy, which had been regarded as such even by his first main protagonist, Count István Széchenyi. Béla Iványi–Grünwald, Jr. accomplished this via spiritual tools, by transmitting the national culture of his earlier motherland. That means that his adherence to this national culture and to its specific values is also consistent in his thinking, while he fiercely attacked the political system of the so-called Horthy era as well, which com-

pelled him to his first emigration and epitomised, as such, an authoritarian regime too.

## Notes

1. Vardy, *Modern Hungarian Historiography*.

2. About Hungarian (mainly Jewish) emigration between the two World Wars in general, see Frank, *Double Exile*. About emigration after 1945, Borbándi, *A magyar emigráció*.

3. Baráth, *L'histoire en Hongrie*.

4. 'Geistesgeschichte' is a special term, difficult to translate into English, which roughly equates to 'spiritual history' and is certainly not the same as 'intellectual history' (which is rather a subdiscipline of history). The author of the present study disagrees with the view according to which the American *Journal of the History of Ideas* (founded in 1940) can be regarded as having established Geistesgeschichte in Anglo-Saxon historical discipline and culture (for many protagonists of Geistesgeschichte, the important idea of the decline of modern culture and cultural pessimism, let alone an original concept about the epistemology of history, is basically missing from the discourse of intellectual history). Therefore, in the following, I will adhere to its original German form. To the relevant literature, see still note 10.

5. After 1956, many historians left the country as well, such as Miklós Molnár, Béla Várdy, Péter Gosztonyi, Péter Kende, István Deák, but the analysis of them is outside the scope of the present study.

6. Vardy, *Modern Hungarian Historiography*, 79–94.

7. For literature about him, see Mcdonald, *Béla Iványi-Grünwald*; Czigiány, 'Emigráns sorsok'; Nagy, 'Ifj. Iványi Grünwald Béla életpályája'. Béla Iványi-Grünwald Jr. was one of the most talented young historians in Hungary between the two World Wars, and as a student and follower of the leading historians of Hungarian Geistesgeschichte – Gyula Szekfű and Bálint Hóman – the analysis of his entire career offers an opportunity to investigate the problem of a possible fate/destiny of Geistesgeschichte under entirely different political and cultural circumstances. In addition, a significant part of his bequest (as shall be seen) can be found in Budapest, which is a rare case with regards to Hungarian emigrant historians, and this can further the research of his oeuvre to a great extent.

8. Iványi-Grünwald, *Széchenyi magánhitelügyi koncepciójának*.

9. Glatz, *Történetíró és politika*.

10. About 'Geistesgeschichte', see Joó, *Bevezetés a szellemtörténetbe*; Iggers, *The German Conception of History*; Beiser, *The German Historicist Tradition*; Vardy, *Modern Hungarian Historiography*, 62–101. In other historiographies of Eastern Europe, Čtvrtník, *Geschichte der Geschichtswissenschaft*.

11. Iványi-Grünwald, 'Széchenyi István vallásosságának a kérdése'; Iványi-Grünwald, *Der Trug vom unabänderlichen Gesetz*; Iványi-Grünwald, *Ranke a világtörténetíró és nemzetnevelő*.

12. Kóvér, 'A gazdaságtörténet-írás újabb', 283; Gyömrei, 'A magyar gazdaságtörténetírás'.

13. Iványi-Grünwald, *Vita*.

14. Iványi-Grünwald, *A legújabb kor története*.

15. Istványi, 'A legújabb kor'.

16. Erős, 'Erkölc és államreazon'.

17. Frenyó and Turgonyi, *Jacques Maritain*. In an interview, Iványi-Grünwald claimed Maritain a representative of modern Catholicism, and he translated some of his articles in the Catholic journal *Korunk Szava* in the 1930s as well. See *Harc*, 1944. 08. 05. 3. About *Korunk Szava*, see Vásárhelyi, 'Korunk Szava'.

18. Ferretti, *Max Scheler*; Deininger-Meyn, 'Philosophische Grundlagen'. See endnote

14. Gyömrei highlighted in his review the influence of Heinrich Rickert as well. About Rickert, see, e.g., Beiser, *The German Historicist Tradition*.

19. Iványi-Grünwald, *A legújabb kor története*; Gyömrei, Iványi-Grünwald Béla: *A legújabb kor története*.
20. Iványi-Grünwald, *Hitel*.
21. Iványi-Grünwald, *A legújabb kor története*.
22. Erős, 'In the Lure of "Geistesgeschichte"'
23. Iványi-Grünwald, *A legújabb kor története*.
24. See earlier.
25. Nagy, 'Ifj. Iványi Grünwald Béla életpályája'.
26. About Hóman, see Ujváry, *Történeti átértékelés*.
27. Iványi-Grünwald, 'The Working Classes in Britain and the East European Revolutions'.
28. About Hungarian history in general, see e.g. Kontler, *History of Hungary*.
29. Varga, 'Az angliai magyar tanács története (1944–45)'; Varga, 'Károlyi és az antifasiszta emigráció egységfrontja'; *Harc*, 1944. 08. 05. 3; About his relationship with Károlyi, see Iványi-Grünwald, 'Hungarian Memories'.
30. Basically, Iványi-Grünwald, Jr. was one of the three initiators of the Hungarian broadcasting programme for the BBC, with George Mikes and György Tarján already in 1939. See Pál, 'Jó estét kívánok, itt Macartney Elemér beszél', 343. The British historian Macartney supported rather the conservative wing of the Hungarian emigration in England, to which belonged Iványi-Grünwald, Jr. as well. See Beretzky, *Scotus Viator és Macartney*. As for the lecture by the Hungarian historian in which he highlighted the importance of the independence struggles in Hungarian history, see Iványi-Grünwald, 'The Significance of October 6<sup>th</sup>'.
31. Iványi-Grünwald-Bell, *Route to Potsdam*.
32. Iványi-Grünwald, 'Church and State'.
33. Iványi-Grünwald, 'The Working Classes in Britain'.
34. See *Hungarica*.
35. E.g. Iványi-Grünwald, 'Széchenyi'; Iványi-Grünwald, 'A két világháború közötti ellenforradalom problematikája'; Iványi-Grünwald, 'Szent István napján'.
36. Iványi-Grünwald, *Mindszenty and the Counter-revolution*; Iványi-Grünwald, *Szekfü Obituary*; Iványi-Grünwald, *Mr. Darvas's Confession*.
37. E.g. Iványi-Grünwald, *Blake*.
38. Iványi-Grünwald, *Hungarian Youth and Nationalism*. For more about the revolution in BBC in detail, see Pallai, *A szabadság hullámhosszán*. About the Communist takeover in the BBC in 1948/49, see Pallai, *Népi demokráciától a népi demokráciáig*.
39. Iványi-Grünwald, *Eastern European Writers in Revolt*.
40. Iványi-Grünwald, *Oxford and Hungary*.
41. Iványi-Grünwald, *Khruschchov's Address*.
42. E.g. Iványi-Grünwald, *Anniversary of the Constitution*; Iványi-Grünwald, *6th October*. Here he draws parallels between the executions in 1849 and 1956–1958.
43. Iványi-Grünwald, *The Credit*.
44. See earlier.
45. Iványi-Grünwald, *Charles Morgan*.
46. Even in the 1960s, in one of his lectures, Iványi-Grünwald maintains that in the whole pedagogic and political culture there should be more emphasis on 'personality'. Iványi-Grünwald, *Trends & Events in Hungary*.
47. Miskolczy, *Szellem és nemzet*.
48. Iványi-Grünwald, *Hungarian Writers*.
49. Iványi-Grünwald, 'Church and State'.
50. Iványi-Grünwald, *University Youth*.
51. Hóman, *Szent István*.
52. About the cult of St. Stephen, see Klimó, *Nation, Confession, Geschichte*; Berger, *The Past as History*, 114.
53. Iványi-Grünwald, *St. Stephen*; Iványi-Grünwald, *St. Stephen's Day*.

54. Iványi-Grünwald, *New Trends in Hungarian Literature*; Iványi-Grünwald, *Hungarian Books Published in Great Britain*.
55. Iványi-Grünwald, 'From Feudalism to Capitalism'.
56. Czigány, 'Emigráns sorsok'.
57. He discovered and identified Defoe as the author of a previously unknown pamphlet from the eighteenth century. See Iványi-Grünwald, 'Defoe's Prelude to The Family Instructor'.
58. See *Hungarica*; Iványi-Grünwald, *Antiquarian Book Trade*. In one of his lectures, Iványi-Grünwald deals with a monography about the Dualist-Hungary by Macartney, and his criticism is that the image of a spiritual life is missing from it. See Iványi-Grünwald, *Macartney's Book*. Anyway, as mentioned earlier, his political views were close to Macartney, who opposed in many respects the wing of emigration during the War led by Mihály Károlyi. About Macartney, see still Lójkó, 'Macartney and Central Europe'.
59. See Czigány, 'Emigráns sorsok'.
60. Komoróczy, *Sumer és magyar?*; Ablonczy, *Keletre, magyar*.
61. See the role of Saint Stephen.
62. Iványi-Grünwald, *Széchenyi*; Iványi-Grünwald, *Széchenyi-Exhibition*; Iványi-Grünwald, *Széchenyi in England*.
63. Iványi-Grünwald, *Lajos Kossuth*; Grünwald-Iványi, Louis Kossuth.
64. See earlier.
65. Lackó, 'Sziget és külvilág'. Some parallels can be detected with that of Iványi-Grünwald, Jr. in the career of the historians Ferenc Fejtő and Thomas von Bogyay as far as they also pursued journalism in their emigration (mainly Fejtő, who was originally and fundamentally a journalist). Meanwhile, they also managed to create large-scale syntheses as well (even if not in the sense of 'Geistesgeschichte'); see, e.g., the magnificent book by Fejtő about the Eastern European 'people-democracies' in the 1940s and 1950s. See Lengyel, *Der gelehrsame Exilant*; Fejtő, *Où va le Temps Qui passe?*; Fejtő, *Histoire des démocraties populaires*.
66. See, e.g., *Deér József emlékezete*.
67. About 'public history', see Bösch and Goschler, *Public History*; Noiret, 'La Public History?' About its capacities in a positive sense, see Lücke and Zündorf, *Einführung in die Public History*.
68. See most recently, Miskolczy, *Szellem és nemzet*.
69. As mentioned earlier, he wrote his obituary in 1955. See Iványi-Grünwald, *Szekffü Obituary*. About Szekffü, see Epstein, *Gyula Szekffü*; Dénes, *A történelmi Magyarország eszménye*; Monostori, *Szekffü Gyula a változó időkben*.
70. Erős, *A Szekffü-Mályusz vita*.
71. Szekffü, 'Aki a partról nézi'. In this respect, Szekffü can be considered an explicitly 'engaged historian' in whom many see a mere ideological message. See *The Engaged Historian*.
72. Regarding Iványi-Grünwald's attitude towards the so-called 'Kádár consolidation', see, e.g., Strassenreiter, 'Az 1962-63-as levelezés'.
73. About Lukács see Erős, 'In the Lure of "Geistesgeschichte"'.
74. See Szekffü, *Forradalom után*, 9.
75. Galasso, *Croce e lo spirito del suo tempo*.
76. Kracauer, *History*, 168–69.
77. *Ibidem*.
78. In contrast to the above-mentioned historical conception of emigration of the extreme right, which is also a genuine 'public history' but much more in a negative, anti-democratic, totalitarian sense.
79. It is important to note that in some of these articles he initiated and carried out primary-source publications about the Hungarian history. See, e.g., Iványi-Grünwald, 'Magyar Múzeum'.

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