



1988

HUNGARIAN
STUDIES

CONTENTS

Volume 4

Number 1

Ian Fairley: On "Soul and Form"

Victor Karady: Ethnicité, scolarisation et assimilation chez les Juifs et les Luthériens en Hongrie pendant la Monarchie bicéphale

John Lukacs: Budapest in 1900: City and People

Aladár Szegedy-Maszák: Kállay at the Helm

George F. Cushing: Pál Térey: Student of British Country Life

Blair R. Holmes—Margie G. Holmes: Wealth and Marital Mobility in Western Hungary

CHRONICLE

REVIEWS

HUNGARIAN STUDIES

a Journal of the International Association of Hungarian Studies
(Nemzetközi Magyar Filológiai Társaság)

Hungarian Studies appears twice a year. It publishes original essays—written in English, French or German—dealing with all aspects of the Hungarian past and present. Multidisciplinary in its approach, it is envisaged as an international forum of literary, philological, historical and related studies. Manuscripts will be evaluated by the Board of Editors, and papers vetoed by any of them will not be published. Each issue will contain about 160 pages and will occasionally include illustrations. All manuscripts, books and other publications for review should be sent to the editorial address or to the Chairman of the Board of Editors.

Hungarian Studies is published by

AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ

Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences
H-1117 Budapest, Prielle Kornélia u. 19–35.

Orders may be placed with KULTURA Foreign Trading Company (1389 Budapest 62, P.O. Box 149) or its representatives abroad.

Editorial address

Budapest I., Országház u. 30.
Telephone: 175–9011/327

Budapest H-1250
P.O. Box 34
Hungary

Editoring Chief

Mihály Szegedy-Maszák

Editors

Richard Aczel
András Gergely
László Kósa

Editorial Secretary

Judit Barabás

Board of Editors

Kálmán Benda, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Történettudományi Intézet, Budapest
György Bodnár, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Irodalomtudományi Intézet, Budapest
László Deme, József Attila Tudományegyetem, Szeged
Jean-Luc Moreau, National Institute for Oriental Languages and Civilizations, Paris
Péter Rákos, University of Prague
Denis Sinor, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405 Telephone: 812-335-0959

Advisory Council

Loránd Benkő, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Budapest; George Frederick Cushing, London University; Béla Gunda, Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem, Debrecen; Tibor Klaniczay, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Budapest; Clara Maytinskaya, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Moscow; Wolfgang Schlachter, Georg August University, Göttingen; Zoltán Szabó, I. G. Parhon University, Bucharest; Miklós Szabolcsi, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Budapest; István Szeli, Academy of Vojvodina, Novi Sad; Bo Wickman, University of Uppsala

HUNGARIAN STUDIES

VOLUME 4, 1988

CONTENTS

NUMBER 1

<i>Ian Fairley: On "Soul and Form"</i>	3
<i>Victor Karady: Ethnicité, scolarisation et assimilation chez les Juifs et les Luthériens en Hongrie pendant la Monarchie bicéphale (étude sociologique)</i>	23
<i>Aladár Szegedy-Maszák: Kállay at the Helm</i>	43
<i>John Lukacs: Budapest in 1900: City and People</i>	65
<i>George F. Cushing: Pál Térey: Student of British Country Life</i>	93
<i>Blair R. Holmes—Margie G. Holmes: Wealth and Marital Mobility in Western Hungary: Felatorony, 1827—1920</i>	103

CHRONICLE

<i>András Veres: Social Values in Literature</i>	113
<i>John Miska: Hungarian Resource Collections (bibliographic survey).</i>	118

REVIEWS

Erdély története (George Schöpflin)	125
---	-----

PRINTED IN HUNGARY
Akadémiai Kiadó és Nyomda Vállalat, Budapest

ON "SOUL AND FORM"

IAN FAIRLEY

'The one duty we owe to history is to rewrite it.'

Oscar Wilde

In the first part of my essay I shall offer an historical and philological account of the writing of György Lukács' *Soul and Form*: my purpose here is to detail the revision of Lukács' text between its Hungarian and German editions. I shall then discuss the function of this critical 'revisionism', focusing on Lukács' attempt to establish the authority of 'judgement' by appeal to some higher, aesthetic court.

I would like to place *Soul and Form* within the context of Lukács' work from 1902 to 1918, and to propose that the book, first published in Hungarian in 1910, marks a transition in the concerns of its author, from literary criticism to philosophical critique. This reading is borne out by an inventory of the projects undertaken by Lukács during these years.

His early drama criticism (1902–1903), and his involvement with Budapest's Thália theatre group (1904–1907), founded on the model of the Freie Bühne, provided a practical grounding for his first major work, *The Evolution of Modern Drama*, which was written between 1906 and 1907, and reworked by late 1909, although only published, in Hungarian, in 1911. The essays collected in *Soul and Form* were written between 1907 and 1910, and the book itself, conceived in early 1909, was revised and enlarged for its second German edition of 1911. Behind this project, and unelaborated except in note-form, is an unwritten book on Romanticism, planned between 1907 and 1911. Lukács also published a large number of articles, studies and reviews, most of which are described by the category of 'cultural criticism'. Ten of these articles, written between 1908 and 1911, were collected in *Aesthetic Culture* (1912); many of the others are, in effect, satellites of the drama book. Eight studies of the poet and dramatist Béla Balázs, dating from 1910 to 1918, were published in 1918 as *Béla Balázs and his critics*.

Lukács left Budapest for Heidelberg in May 1912, a physical and intellectual departure which announced his endeavour to develop a properly philosophical account of literature and art. During his five years in Germany, Lukács wrote the two unfinished (and posthumously published) aesthetics, known as the *Heidelberg Philosophy of Art* (1912–14), and *Heidelberg Aesthetics* (1916–18), which were intended to qualify him for his university habilitation. The best-known work of this period is *The Theory of the Novel*, the prolegomena to an unwritten study of Dostoevsky, which first appeared in the *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und Allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* in 1916. All three works were written in German, as were most of the occasional articles which Lukács published during

his Heidelberg years. When, in December 1918 – shortly after his request for habilitation had been turned down – Lukács joined the recently created Hungarian Communist Party, he abandoned any formal, vocational engagement with literature for the next decade.¹

Lukács identified philosophy with a bid for intellectual ‘maturity’, in contrast to which his earlier work was consigned to an homogeneous and subsequently disclaimed ‘youth’: ‘everything comes back to the old question: how can I be a philosopher?’² Philosophy was, in these terms, an autonomous critical discourse, which takes its object as already given, and asks its questions secure of that givenness. Thus Lukács’ *Philosophy of Art* claims, in its first sentence, to have reversed the priorities of Kantian aesthetics, and to have removed judgement – from the sphere of inquiry: ‘Works of art exist – how are they possible?’³ His earlier work, however, which was both formally and methodologically subordinate to its chosen object, remained within the problematic of judgement, and for that reason was held to lack a coherent critical self-identity: ‘(The essayist) is delivered from the relative, the inessential, by the force of judgement of the idea he has glimpsed; but who gives him the right to judge? It would almost be true to say that he seizes that right, that he creates his judgement-values from within himself. But nothing is separated from true judgement by a deeper abyss than its approximation, the squint-eyed category of complacent and self-satisfied knowledge’.⁴ *Soul and Form* stands on the threshold of Lukács’ turn towards philosophy; it testifies both to its own theoretical problems and anxieties, and to those underlying the sociological and literary-historical methodology of the drama book. *Soul and Form* thereby throws into relief the differential relations between those critical approaches – the essay, sociology, and philosophical aesthetics – which Lukács explored up to 1918.

I shall discuss *Soul and Form* as a text in crisis. This crisis, in the function of criticism, was registered by Lukács in terms of his own intellectual vocation; its existential aspect is that of a subject encumbered with judgement, whose dilemma lies in the formulation of the very subjectivity to which he, as a critic, lays claim. The subject is unable to establish a separate identity over and against that of his object; as Adorno says of cultural criticism: ‘The insufficiency of the subject. . . which in its contingency and narrowness passes judgement on the might of the existent, becomes intolerable when the subject itself is mediated down to its innermost make-up by the notion to which it opposes itself as independent and sovereign’.⁵ Lukács’ attempt to overcome this insufficiency, and to achieve, in the essay, a ‘philosophically valid. . . “objectless” style’,⁶ can, I believe, be demonstrated in the passage of *Soul and Form* from Hungarian to German, its migration to a language and culture in which philosophy is ‘at home’.⁷

There are a number of differences between the Hungarian and German editions of the book:⁸ the order of the essays was changed, as were their titles; the conclusion to the introductory essay, ‘*On the Nature and Form of the Essay*’, was completely altered; and two new essays, on Charles-Louis Philippe and Paul Ernst, were added to the collection. With the exception of the essay on Paul Ernst, which Lukács wrote in German, the second edition was largely a translation of the first; the Philippe essay had been published separately in Hungarian.⁹ Lukács himself played a relatively minor role in the translation, which indicates, perhaps, his preoccupation with an altogether different imperative: the need to change the terms of his own intellectual practice, and to write immediately in

German.¹⁰ The effect of the translation was, however, to produce for Lukács a compositely German authorial identity.¹¹

Lukács first mentioned the possibility of collecting his essays in a letter addressed to Leó Popper of 22 May 1909.¹² The volume was to include four essays already published in the Hungarian literary journal *Nyugat* [West], on Novalis, Rudolf Kassner, Stefan George and Richard Beer-Hofmann, and Lukács planned to write two more essays specially for the collection, on Theodor Storm and the correspondence of the Brownings. An introduction, possibly framed as a letter to Popper, would discuss the form of the essay and seek to justify its lyrical nature 'on scientific, psychological and formal grounds'.¹³ The title which he proposed for the volume was (and remained) *A lélek és a formák. Kísérletek*; Lukács insisted on the latter term over the more conventional *esszé*, which was rejected as 'boring and abstract'. This suggests that he initially located *Soul and Form* very much on the near side of philosophy: *kísérlet* can mean either 'attempt', 'endeavour' or 'essay', and is used as a Hungarian alternative to the literary loan-word in a manner comparable to the German *Versuch*; in addition to this, it has the scientific sense of 'trial' or 'experiment' (as in *kísérleti lélektan*, 'experimental psychology'). *Kísérlet* is a term which operates in the realm of the actual, as opposed to that of the abstract; it intends a positive, demonstrable content, and it was on this basis that Lukács first intended to justify his own 'essayism'.

The first published version of *Soul and Form* contains one change and one addition to the above-mentioned plan. Instead of the essay on the Brownings, Lukács wrote on 'Søren Kierkegaard and Regine Olsen', thus replacing the motif of creative union in marriage with one of creative renunciation, and ensuring that 'woman' is consistently identified in the book as that which art must negate — 'life'. In conclusion to the volume, Lukács provided a *Dialogue on Laurence Sterne*, which counterpoints a debate between two male students on the merits of Goethe and Sterne (representing 'form' and 'formlessness'), with their attempts to win over the girl who is a silent witness to their conversation.

Upon completing the Kierkegaard essay, Lukács wrote to Popper with the order of contents he envisaged for the book. The major sequence was to be the following: Novalis (death), B.H. (death as a symbol of separation and alienation), Kierkegaard (separation and alienation in life), George (the poetry of separation and alienation), Sterne (a satyr play on the two types of alienation, in content and in form).¹⁴ These were to be preceded by the introduction and the essays on Kassner and Storm; but while the latter connects with Novalis by virtue of the 'sacral background' common to each, Lukács regrets that no such bond exists between it and Kassner. It seems that Lukács wished to frame those essays whose subject was the refusal of 'life', in its immediacy, by 'art' (which attempts to create a tragic ethos from this refusal), with those whose point of view is a stoic or ironic acceptance (and even celebration) of life as it is, and which, in their turn, refuse to countenance tragedy. At the same time, the two prefatory and complementary 'essays on the essay' stand somewhat apart from the rest of the collection, and cannot, for that reason, be read as an interpretative key to the whole. Rather, the essay is conscious of itself as a form which must be subjected to the same critique that it applies to other forms.

This critique is the site of an important ambivalence towards the heritage of romanticism. It is most fully expressed in the essay on Sterne, which supplies both an ironic rejoinder to the tragic view of life and an indictment of the failure to achieve, in art, the authentic image of that life through capitulation to the 'bad infinity' of romanticism: 'Only contrast brings things really to life; only constraint brings forth real spontaneity, only in something that is formed do we feel the metaphysics of formlessness; only then do we feel that chaos is a world principle.'¹⁵ Lukács regarded *Soul and Form* as itself a fragment which had 'split off' from part of a larger project on Romanticism (also formulated as a book on Friedrich Schlegel), which he envisaged as 'a prolegomenon to a metaphysics of form'; a prolegomenon merely, because 'it would offer only a critique of the concept of form. . . which reached its peak in the aesthetics of German Romanticism. . . It would tell of the tragedy of this world-view, which strives for the ultimate concept of form, but which, at one and the same time, 'is obliged to dissolve each individual form'. A prolegomenon, because all Lukács can do at this point is to question form as a 'universal', as something which both orders a 'view of life' (*világkép*), and is ordered within one; were he to ask this question correctly, he would 'already have arrived at an aesthetics of literature'.¹⁶

Soul and Form, the *dissecta membra* of an unwritten prolegomenon, has recourse in its turn to the ironic modality of Romanticism. For the essay is never quite commensurate with form: '[the essayist's] forms are never completely filled, or else they cannot encompass everything he wants them to encompass'.¹⁷ The essay gives form to a longing for form which, by its nature, can never be consummated. Hence the '*Dialogue on Sterne*' concludes with the intellectual defeat of the romantic principle and the erotic defeat of the classical. The formal imperative, which tends, by extension, towards an 'ethic of tragedy',¹⁸ is shown as incompatible with the vagaries of life and love. In the first version of *Soul and Form*, tragedy is diagnosed, despite itself, as the condition of longing, and the last word is given to the 'satyr play': 'Do you know why this essay is more profound than all my other writings? Because of its form, which is a critique of all my writing and of my entire way of life. . . You will understand this better when you read my introduction, which will tell how the essayist's longing leads him to his real goal – the human. . . I am now so conscious of this that I am going to change the sequence of the book and place this essay at the *very end*, for it satirizes the whole volume'.¹⁹

The second, German version of *Soul and Form* concludes instead with a statement beyond irony, '*The Metaphysics of Tragedy*'. While the Hungarian edition preserved the table of contents which Lukács first proposed for it, the order of the second is characterized by its internal asymmetry; only the two free-standing 'essays on the essay' remain in their original position. Furthermore, the titles of the essays are altered to stress the thematic representativeness of the figures they discuss. Where the Hungarian offered just a name – '*Rudolf Kassner; Novalis*' – this name is, in the German edition, subordinated to a motif or gloss: '*Poetry, Platonism and Form: Rudolf Kassner*'; '*On the Romantic Philosophy of Life: Novalis*'; and the same is registered in the title of the collection, where *kisértlet* is translated not by *Versuch* but by *Essay* (*Die Seele und die Formen: Essays*). Lukács, in these revisions, alerts us to the symbolic function of the

essay, making explicit the type of schematisation which silently informed the Hungarian originals. This does not impinge upon our reading of the essays themselves, but it does indicate, gesturally, a redrafting of the essay's own programme. When formulated as an 'experiment' (*kísérlet*), the essay takes its object as empirically 'given' and explores the nature of that 'givenness'; because it speaks of 'something that has already been given form', the essay is 'bound' to its objects and 'must always speak "the truth" about them, must find expression for their essential nature'.²⁰ Investiture with the largely honorific office of 'essay' does not dispense with these responsibilities (especially towards the 'truth'), but it does involve an adjustment of priorities and an extension of powers: 'the modern essay does not always have to speak of books or poets. . . It stands too high, it sees and connects too many things to be the simple exposition or explanation of a work; the title of every essay is preceded in invisible letters, by the words "Thoughts occasioned by. . .".'²¹

Lukács offers this more sublime vantage-point in the revised conclusion to his introductory excursus 'On the Nature and Form of the Essay'.²² It announces, I believe, a transvaluation of the essay which, if not already realized, is nonetheless in process. There are two sides to this process: on the one hand, it is acknowledged that the essay must take leave of its immediate object if it is to realize its own critical capacity; and on the other, the essay is made conscious of itself as a form in crisis even as it aspires, perforce, to the realm of generality. The essay becomes 'problematic', for in surrendering the intuitive naivety by which it first apprehends and experiences the object-world, it anticipates the absorption of its own (experiential) particularity within the universals of 'system': 'For in the system of values yet to be found, the longing we spoke of would be satisfied and therefore abolished'. (*SF*,17)

The essay's changing role is noted, symptomatically, in the first version of Lukács' Introduction, but there the prognosis is very different: 'are Emerson's light *gratia* and Kassner's many, nightmare-ridden human types only "literature"? I believe that our experiences are constantly becoming more and more conceptual'.²³ As the empirical world adjusts to the essay's own conceptual bias, Lukács foresees a time in which the essay will become the 'supplement and equivalent of poetic form'. The essay is on the road to self-expression: 'And one must not worry, not even for a moment, about how far one has travelled along this road; one must simply keep going, going, going. . .'.²⁴ The future lies before it, promising both fulfilment in itself and 'equivalence' with the object of its longing, literature.

This prospect is, however, revised towards philosophy, and in its second version represents the essay as the 'pure type of precursor' to the 'great value-definer of aesthetics'. (*SF*,16) Only philosophy can resolve the subjective and self-willed nature of the essay. Judgement will then be final, codified; but until that time, 'the essential, value-determining thing about [the essay] is not the verdict (as is the case with the system) but the process of judging'. (*SF*,18) The essay thus exists *for* the future, but *in* the present; it gives form to a longing whose fulfilment promises the essay's own cancelation within the third term of aesthetics. Lukács concludes the second version of his essay, not with an open-ended imperative, but with a statement of categorical reflexiveness: 'The

critique of this book is contained, in all possible sharpness and entirety, in the very approach from which it sprang.' (SF,18) The second edition of *Soul and Form* acquires a new framework – that of philosophic endeavour.

The essay is ironic: 'the irony I mean consists in the critic always speaking about the ultimate problems of life, but in a tone which implies that he is only discussing pictures and books, only the inessential and pretty ornaments of real life'. (SF, 9) When it ceases to speak of such things, the essay becomes 'problematic, even further removed from life-values than if it had continued to report faithfully on books'. (SF, 15) The essay is both greater and lesser than its true object, 'life', and this is the category by which we must judge the essay. Life, however, is a category which eludes intellection, which can only be proved on our pulses, by intuition. How, then, are we to read the essay, which is committed to the practices of revision and re-reading in the name of life? 'It is simply not true that there exists an objective, external criterion of life and truth, e.g. that the truth of Grimm's, Dilthey's or Schlegel's Goethe can be tested against the "real" Goethe. It is not true, because many Goethes, different from one another and each profoundly different from *our* Goethe may convince us of their life.' (SF,15)

The essay transforms its object as it migrates from the particular, historically evidenced life ('*az élet*'; '*das Leben*'), to a philosophically valid concept of the same ('*az élet*'; '*das Leben*').²⁵ Thus the essay's 'lyrical' evocation of its original effaces the specific or attributable traces of a work in order to create a new, composite text – that of the 'life's work' (*életmunka: Lebenswerk*)²⁶ – in which life and work, as well as fictional and critical discourses, merge. (The essay treats the autobiographical document – letter or diary – as the textual equivalent of the literary work, which it then 're-reads' with an autobiographical inflexion.) Typical of this strategy is the 'unsourced' quotation, the absorption of quotation into one's own text: 'as Wilde says somewhere. . .'. To assert the primacy of the source, to assimilate the text of the essay to that of its own imputed 'authorities', is to misread the ironic function of the authority it claims, which is negated as it is acknowledged. At the same time, these devices make it difficult to establish a critical perspective on the essay's shifting discourse. Paraphrase is frustrated; its pretensions to expositional coherence and consistency founded on the actual arbitrariness of the essay's method, on the discontinuities which underlie its textual appropriations and accretions.

In attempting a critique of *Soul and Form*, we are confronted with problems which Lukács has already anticipated: 'The essays intended for inclusion in this book lie before me and I ask myself whether one is entitled to publish such works – whether such works can give rise to a new unity, a book. For the point at issue for us now is not what these essays can offer as "studies in literary history", but whether there is something in them that makes them a new literary form of its own, and whether the principle that makes them such is the same in each one.' (SF,1) If one assumes the collection is a 'unity', then the reading one offers will be, to its own mind at least, homogeneous with the text upon which it is a commentary. But if exegesis perceives its object as, in the first place, discontinuous – in the process of revision – a critical (and necessary) gap opens up between text and commentary. It is the anxiety of this awareness that preoccupies me

here, an immanent sense of the 'otherness' of one's own critical position; its insubstantiality when compared with the inscrutable 'in-itselfness' of its object. This involves a problem of critical ethics: how is one to represent an object that one cannot grasp whole? To what extent can criticism secede from its object while still conceding the integrity of that object within its interpretative re-presentation? These questions are raised, in an extreme form, by the practice of the essay, by its transgression of the discursive boundaries between literature and criticism (and their different truth-claims), by its attempt to create its own text (a new object) out of those authored by others.

I would suggest that it is only by attending to revision as a process constitutive of the essay that we can build an interpretative bridge towards *Soul and Form* as a whole; for the 'idea' which the essay entertains of literary history structures the reading, or rewriting, of its object. I have already tried to demonstrate, at one remove from this critical project, how the work of textual history impinges upon that of exposition. It is not sufficient, however, merely to restore *Soul and Form* to literary history in its positive, philological aspect, for that is to misunderstand the essay's attempt to unsource itself from history in pursuit of the generality, 'life'.

A reading of the essays in *Soul and Form* must establish the discursive *topoi*, contours and boundaries of the collection as a whole. The book must be reconstellated as a set of topographically related texts whose difference is a function of the same discursive economy (tragic and ironic). Similarly, those texts which bear upon or find their way into the essays should themselves be redeployed within this constellation, not as sources, influences or 'sub-texts', but as equivalents which serve to gauge the specificity of Lukács' own writing. In what follows, I shall attempt to read parts of Lukács' prefatory essay '*On the Nature and Form of the Essay*' against Walter Pater's *The Renaissance* (1873), in order to establish those features specific – and contiguous – to the 'revisionism' of *Soul and Form*. Literary history is, in the end, obliged to use the essay's methods against itself.

Lukács does not attempt to formulate either the actual or projected 'unity' of *Soul and Form*. Having begun by addressing his authorial conscience on the matter, he promptly disclaims the personal instance for the general, and raises the question to a higher critical power, to the *possibility* of unity, whose criterion is historically immutable 'form'. We thus turn to the question of the essay 'as such', or rather to three questions addressed to its possible generic identity:

To what extent have the really great writings which belong to this category been given literary form, and to what extent is this form of theirs an independent one? To what extent do the standpoint of such a work and the form given to this standpoint lift it out of the sphere of science and place it at the side of the arts, yet without blurring the frontiers of either? To what extent do they endow the work with the force necessary for a conceptual re-ordering of life, and yet distinguish it from the icy, final perfection of philosophy? (SF,1)

'To what extent': the speculative mode cautions us against the unqualified rephrasing of each question as a statement. Their hypothetical cast announces the procedure of Lukács' excursus on the essay which, before it can commence its inquiry, must first ask the correct questions of itself. These questions are supplementary rather than consecutive

to one another; they share the same margins, and serve first to delineate the near and far boundaries of literature and philosophy, science and the arts, between which the essay travels in pursuit of its essence: 'all the discussions have barely touched upon the essence of the real question: what is an essay?' (SF,1) Lukács' inquiry is conducted against the grain of the essay's assumption of the 'self-evident' truth that 'criticism is an art and not a science'. What is more, the 'objective' or generic ideal posited by his questions acts as a 'yardstick' by which to measure how far 'such writings. . . fall short of attaining it'; it seems to be a condition of the essay *not* to fulfil its own generic maxima.

Starting from a disjunction between the essay as it is, and as it ought to be, Lukács' account occupies a parenthetical realm between the achievements of the past and the promise of the future: 'The critique, the essay — call it provisionally what you will — as a work of art, a genre?' These categories are not all of a piece, and cannot simply be mapped onto one another as if they were typologically congruent; the existent but undefined 'essay' glides between them in search of an identity. This points up the difficulty of reading the 'essay on the essay' as if it were prescriptively consistent; Lukács' own exposition is conducted on this side of philosophy, from within the same crisis of identity, and its status — as critique, or essay — must itself remain in doubt. The subject and object of criticism are, in this first 'essay', querulously non-identical. Rather than providing an answer, once and for all, to the question 'what is an essay?' — thereby supplying a metacritical 'solution' to the collection as a whole, a means of reading each essay as part of a larger 'unity' — the text registers the impossibility of any such endeavour: the essay is a form in process; its being is subject to its becoming. The essay takes leave of literary history, which it *does not* wish to be, for aesthetics, which it *cannot* be, if it is to remain itself.

Let us return to Lukács' three questions. The essay is defined, both negatively and positively, against 'art', its customary, if not proper subject, and 'philosophy', whose 'icy, final perfection' threatens to arrest what is most vital in it: from the one it borrows its literary, and from the other its critical character. Lukács proceeds to name the type of writing that the essay is: a 'form of art' (*műfaj; Kunstform*) which is separated, 'with the rigour of a law, from all other art forms'. (SF,2) He warns against stressing the similarities between the essay and 'works of literary imagination', noting that these only serve to throw their differences into greater relief; but he then adds that any resemblance is limited to 'genuine essays', as distinct from those which offer the reader only 'information, facts and "relationships"'. The knowledge communicated by works of this nature is limited both in its epistemological range (which, to extrapolate, takes cognizance only of those phenomena which submit to verification — or falsification — as 'fact'), and, by virtue of its own utility, in its historical durability: 'there are critical writings which, like a hypothesis in natural science, like a design for a machine part, lose all their value at the precise moment when a new and better one becomes available'. A distinction emerges between the knowledge proper to the 'natural' sciences and that conveyed by what we might call the 'human' or 'cultural' sciences (that is, the *Geisteswissenschaften*); the former is liable, in the way of things, to become obsolete, whereas the latter remains valid despite any possible (and possibly inherent) anachronism.

Lessing's *Dramaturgy*, Winckelmann's Greece and Burckhardt's Renaissance 'seem strange, almost incomprehensible to us... But if... someone were to write a new *Dramaturgy*... how could it damage Lessing's? And what did Burckhardt and Pater, Rhode and Nietzsche do to change the effect upon us of Winckelmann's dreams of Greece?' (*SF*,2)

I would now like to present one example of the latter type of writing, Pater's *The Renaissance*,²⁷ and to investigate the alternative models for the essay developed by Lukács and Pater in reaction to natural scientific 'method'. Pater reformulates the problem of unity, both as a project and as a fact, within a theory of cultural history. The Renaissance is, in these terms, one of those 'eras of more favourable conditions, in which the thoughts of men draw nearer than is their wont, and the many interests of the intellectual world combine in one complete type of general culture'. (*R*, xv) This culture seeps over and channels under the boundaries of the strictly demarcated historical period – 'the fifteenth century in Italy' – and can be traced, as an 'outbreak of the human spirit', (*CR*, xiii) back to the medieval French *fabliaux* and forward to Winckelmann and the German Enlightenment. 'The unity of this spirit gives unity to all the various products of the Renaissance', (xvi) and also, by extension, to Pater's studies in the 'period'. *The Renaissance* develops an explicit historiographical polemic. Its narrative is based not on the usual positivist, quasi-judicial criteria which regard history as a chain of influences, of causes and effects, for which evidence, if not 'proof', must be furnished, but proceeds rather by the analogy and syncretic combination of diverse and apparently unrelated materials to reconstruct a history of 'spirit' (*Geistesgeschichte*), which it attributes to a creative 'community' dispersed in time and place.

We can see Pater's method in practice in the second half of his essay on '*The School of Giorgione*' whose art is held to 'sum up... the spirit of the Venetian school', (*R*,145) even though it is acknowledged that art history, 'the accomplished science of the subject', accepts as genuine only one of the 'six or eight' pictures previously attributed to him. Scholarship must be judged by the bathos of its results; it has not 'made the past more real for us, but assured us only that we possess less of it than we seemed to possess'. (*R*,149) The past itself – our tangible and vital sense of it – is diminished; but this 'revision down' of Giorgione's historical presence serves, in turn, as the basis for Pater's reassessment of his reputation. Instead of rejecting the results of 'criticism', Pater accepts them and then proceeds to negate the spirit in which they were concluded: 'the criticism which... has established the claims of this one picture, has left it among the most precious things in the world of art'. (*R*,150) From this he creates the historical fiction of a 'School of Giorgione' to account for what is now supplementary to the name, and thus paradoxically to enlarge and make more ghostly the original paradigm: 'For the aesthetic philosopher, therefore, over and above the real Giorgione and his authentic extant works, there remains the *Giorgionesque* also – an influence, a spirit or type in art, active in men so different as those to whom many of his supposed works are really assignable.' (*R*,154) The latter term is not merely an addition to the descriptive vocabulary of art history ('in the manner of Giorgione'), but is the hypostatization of a quality which takes leave of its initial historical coordinates to inhabit, wraith-like, whoever will receive it. The essayist

thus seeks the '*vraie vérité*' (or 'higher truth') which lies beyond 'the narrower range of the strictly ascertained facts', (R,160) and the scholarship which aspires, in its discussion of art, to the condition of 'science', is finally rebuked.

Pater's 'programme' for the essay can be thought of as an attempt to compensate for the encroachment of science upon the arts, for its appropriation of the discourse of 'criticism', and, most importantly, for the 'loss of reality' — of what is accepted, as the first condition of this discourse, as real or true — that this induces. It bespeaks two competing, and possibly incompatible, claims upon reality, those of the 'natural' and the 'human' sciences. Lukács presents his own mythopoetic version of this conflict: 'In primitive, as yet undifferentiated epochs, science and art (and religion and ethics and politics) are integrated; they form a single whole; but as soon as science has become separate and independent, everything that has led up to it loses its value.' (SF, 3) When science devolves from art, it assumes the proprietorship of knowledge; art, deprived of the truth-function which made it, in Arnold's words, a 'criticism of life',²⁸ can realize itself only in exclusively formal terms, for otherwise it will always be relative to that which it is not: 'Science affects us by its contents, art by its forms; science offers us facts and the relationships between facts, but art offers us souls and destinies.' (SF, 3) The division, once established, cannot be bridged; art will become 'superfluous' if it founds itself on mutable 'content'.

The essay, in its turn, must seek to make itself determinate in relation to this dichotomy which is also its dilemma. Lukács quotes Kerr: 'Of course, if criticism were a science . . . But the imponderables are too strong. Criticism is, at the very best, an art'; and then outbids him: 'And if it were a science — it is not impossible that it will become one — how would that change our problem?' (SF, 2–3) Lukács seems to consider that the essay, if it is to fulfil its generic potential, must itself offer a 'criticism of life', and that, in a period where the formal imperative is weak, and art is unable to give shape to 'the ultimate relationships between man and destiny and world', (SF, 5) the essay takes over the displaced function of that criticism, or rather moves onto the terrain vacated by art in order first to formulate the *problem* of criticism, the relationship between art and life. It does so, in the main, by addressing life through art, through what has already been given form; the essayist's relationship to art is an analogue of the artist's to life: 'The critic is one who glimpses destiny in forms: whose most profound experience is the soul-content which forms indirectly and unconsciously conceal within themselves.' (SF, 8) In terms of its own Platonic language of ultimates, this is a difficult marginality to sustain: from non-identity with its immediate object, the work of art, the essay attempts to fashion its own identity (that is, 'destiny') by working through or reliving the coming-into-form of its 'other'. Form becomes for the essay 'a world-view, a standpoint, an attitude vis-à-vis the life from which it sprang: a possibility of reshaping it, of creating it anew'. The essay's longing for form is, in the first instance, a longing for the form of the other (the work), a desire for identity which, however, cannot be satisfied, as this desire is itself a measure of the critical difference between them. Lukács describes a double moment in the perception of form, that of 'form for itself' and 'form for the essay', (my terms) which serves to convert an aesthetic principle into a process in which the essay can itself

participate: 'The critic's moment of destiny, therefore, is that moment at which things become forms – the moment when all feelings and experiences on the near or the far side of form receive form, are melted down and condensed into form. It is the mystical moment of union between the outer and the inner, between soul and form.' (SF,8)

Unable to create a destiny or writerly vocation from the material of life, the essayist must turn instead to that of art: 'in the works of the essayists form *becomes* destiny; it is the destiny-creating principle. . . Form *is* reality in the writings of critics; it is the voice with which they address their question to life' (SF,7–8) Insofar as art serves as an adequate experiential surrogate for the essayist, 'becoming' is realised as substantive 'being'; this supplies Lukács with a rationale for the essay's 'criticism of life' which, in the absence of a 'calling' to the primacy of art, discovers a voice of its own by interrogating its mediate through its immediate 'other', in sole relation to which the critical self can be constructed. Just as, in Lukács' *Notes on the Theory of Literary History*, form is 'the truly social constituent of literature . . . the one true bond between author and public, the only literary category which is at once social and aesthetic',²⁹ so for the essayist it is the guarantor of a voice which, in its response to the work of art – re-experiencing it as form – is able to articulate both the specificity and the commonality of that aesthetically embodied experience vis-à-vis life.

The quality and purpose of this experience is, at least in its formulation, distinct from that recommended by Pater. He too instantiates the problem of hermeneutic fidelity that faces a criticism which is denied immediate access to the 'thing in itself' and has become aware of itself as interpretation. Pater, however, asserts the subjectivity of the essayist over the 'otherness' of his object: for in order to 'see the object as in itself it really is' – the quotation is from Matthew Arnold – one has first 'to know one's impression as it really is, to discriminate it, to realise it distinctly'. (R, x)³⁰ Pater's formula attempts, in its positive moment, to leap across the Kantian abyss whereby 'the things which we intuit are not in themselves what we intuit them as being',³¹ and to insist that a sufficiently receptive sensibility can, by attending to its own faculties, 'know' the object that acts upon it. But in its negative moment, it merely seems to condemn knowledge to the prison-house of the senses, while ignoring Kant's promise to establish 'what the understanding and reason know apart from all experience'.³² These two moments are combined in the melancholy relish of interiority:

To regard all thing and principles of things as inconstant modes or fashions has become more and more the tendency of modern thought. Let us begin with that which is without – our physical life. Fix upon it in one of its more exquisite intervals, the moment, for instance, of delicious recoil from the flood of water in summer heat. What is the whole physical life in that moment but a combination of natural elements to which science gives their names?

(*The Renaissance*, 246, 'Conclusion')

The 'impressionist' ethos advanced by Pater can be understood as both a reaction against the natural-scientific taxonomy of the world and a concession of the epistemological ground to it. As science threatens to exhaust experience within the process of naming it, experience takes refuge in its own epiphenomenal nature; an almost neurasthenic

'fixing' of perception, not upon the 'object', but upon the sensation which it produces, is endorsed by a science which, having succumbed to life's 'perpetual motion', is confined to a trance-like description of the surface of things (legitimising, at the same time, the pursuit of experience — sensation — for its own sake).

The possibility of any common or socially grounded perception collapses with the dissociation of the senses from a directing consciousness. Pater's 'Conclusion' to *The Renaissance* notates, in a cycle of fatigue and animation, the reactions of an isolated sensibility to the phenomenal world. Fatigue one might attribute to the sameness-in-difference of the work it performs, to the sense of that work having been done before (or already, and better, by 'science'); animation, however, is the result not only of stimulus from without, but of an internally motivated defence against the effects of that stimulus and the perceived invasion of the object-world: 'At first sight experience seems to bury us under a flood of external objects, pressing upon us with a sharp and importunate reality, calling us out of ourselves in a thousand forms of action.' (R, 247–48) The essayist's 'loss of reality' is here, more properly, its refusal; he retreats from the 'objective' pretensions of science into the realm of a 'subject' whose tenuous presence can only be registered and maintained if the objects of experience are 'dissipated. . . loosed into a group of impressions — colour, odour, texture — in the mind of the observed'. (R, 247–48) The movement of consciousness described by Pater runs contrary to that which Lukács sees as constitutive of the essayist's experience: the 'moment of destiny' (self-definition) at which 'feelings and experiences. . . are melted down and condensed into form', the creative moment — not, in the first place, the essayist's — at which the object comes into existence. For Lukács, 'form sets limits round a substance which otherwise would dissolve like air in the All'; (SF, 7) Pater, on the other hand, offers us not condensation but rarefaction, a process in which experience is (in natural-scientific terms) inherently 'unstable', and where 'what is real in our life fines itself down' to a 'tremulous wisp constantly re-forming on the stream'. (R, 248–49)

Pater's 'impressionism' can, in Kantian terms, be regarded as an attempt to negate the sublime — that necessary yet supererogatory falling short of the object 'in itself' — as the very type of aesthetic reception and judgement. At the same time, however, I would like to suggest that both he and Lukács present their own 'liminal' versions of the sublime, of which Lukács' is deployed in a polemic *against* impressionism as an artistic ethos. Their different use of scientific (or, in Lukács' case, alchemical) metaphor confirms a 'sublimation' which, it has been noted, is characteristic of the literature of the *fin de siècle*.³³ Where the sublime is denied by the vaunted omniscience of 'naturalism', it becomes a convertible, and knowable, quantity, the refinement of an already existing (or extracted) object, rather than something which exceeds knowledge and impresses by its singularity. Thus Pater: 'if we continue to dwell in thought on this world, not of objects in the solidity with which language invests them, but of impressions, unstable, flickering, inconsistent. . . the whole scope of observation is dwarfed into the narrow chamber of the individual mind'. (R, 248) Lukács in his turn criticises this way of seeing as he makes explicit use of a metaphor only implicit in Pater's 'narrow chamber', that of the photographic camera or, more properly, the *camera obscura*. He praises Rudolf

Kassner as a critic 'positive in the choice of those he writes about', rather than as a 'photosensitive plate for chance impressions' which merely reproduces the world in negative.³⁴ Lukács insists on the intentionality of (critical) consciousness; Pater seeks a last refuge for subjectivity in its otherness to the world. In both cases, the essay is the medium by which subjectivity recollects and defines itself against what lies without.

Pater and Lukács each formulate a programme for the essay which is respectively less than and more than sublime; the sublime is, for all that, the measure of both. In his *Critique of Judgement*³⁵ Kant defines the sublime as 'what is beyond all comparison' (§ 25), a quality which exceeds both reason and sense-perception, and which demands 'judgement' or 'reflection' upon the representation of the object. (§ 23) Because the sublime is beyond compare, the mind 'feels itself set *in motion* in [its] representation' (§ 27), a stimulus which is experienced as 'a momentary check to the vital forces followed at once by a discharge all the more powerful' and the 'earnest' engagement of the imagination (§ 23). Kant identifies two stages of imaginative involvement with the sublime object, namely its apprehension and comprehension: the former, because it is sensible and quantifiable, can be 'carried on *ad infinitum*'; but as apprehension expands, so comprehension ('the single intuition holding the many in one') reaches its limits (§ 26). The mind thus hearkens to reason which, requiring 'comprehension in *one* intuition', demands the representation of totality as 'a progressively increasing numerical series, and does not exempt even the infinite' from this demand: the mind is impelled towards the *idea* of infinity as 'given in its totality'. (ibid.) We are returned from the sublime scene to the sublimity of the mind itself, for in the contemplation of sublime objects 'without any regard to their form, the mind abandons itself to the imagination and to a reason placed, though quite apart from any definite end, in conjunction therewith, and merely broadening its view, and it feels itself elevated in its own estimate of itself on finding all the might of the imagination still unequal to its ideas'. (ibid.)

The imagination discovers, at one and the same time, its inadequacy and its vocation, alerting us to the superiority of reason over the most powerful sensibility. The mind is elevated not, however, to cognition of its object commensurate with its finite apprehension (Kant distinguishes, in his first paragraph, between cognitive and aesthetic judgement: the latter '*cannot be other than subjective*'), but to a sphere of 'moral ideas' which the sublime 'merely strikes the untutored man as terrifying'. (§ 29.) The 'culture' necessary for judgement upon the sublime is a predisposition of our being human; it is our 'native capacity for the feeling for (practical) ideas, i.e. for moral feeling', and not some shared epistemological realm, which ensures the possibility of agreement between our own and other people's judgement (the 'Transcendental Aesthetic'). The imagination renounces the freedom of 'apprehension' first accorded it by the stimulus of the sublime, and engages instead in the pursuit of suprasensible, ethical ideas: 'Hence it follows that the intellectual and intrinsically final (moral) good, estimated aesthetically, instead of being represented as beautiful, must rather be represented as sublime'. (ibid.)

Let us first consider Pater's impressionism in terms of its hostility to the philosophical equation of ethics and aesthetics, and its refusal of the criterion of 'judgement'. For Pater, the mind quits – or rather, shuns – the object-world, not for the realm of ideas,

but in order solely to attend to the notation and cultivation of sense-impressions. He remains decisively on this side of 'transcendental philosophy', and is indeed hostile to any such 'metaphysical questions' as 'the abstract question what beauty is in itself, or what its exact relation to truth or experience' (R, x). Where Pater does light on philosophy, it is to recommend the antisystematic 'philosophy of the fragment' espoused by the German Romantics: *Philosophieren, says Novalis, ist dephlegmatisieren vivifizieren*. His gloss on this is as follows: 'The service of philosophy, of speculative culture, towards the human spirit, is to rouse, to startle it to a life of constant and eager observation.' (R, 249) Philosophy cannot sustain itself as a systematic endeavour if its subject ('man') can no longer be generalized except as 'the individual in his isolation, each mind keeping as a solitary prisoner to its own dream of a world'. (R, 248) We must turn instead to all that can be recuperated of individuality, the moment-by-moment 'experience' which is hypostatized as the object-elect of criticism. Philosophy is yoked into the service of criticism as if it were an instrument of the natural sciences: 'Philosophical theories or ideas, as points of view, instruments of criticism, may help us gather up what might otherwise pass unregarded by us. "Philosophy is the microscope of thought." (R, 251) By this manoeuvre, the ideational sphere is reduced to that of apprehension which, because it is subject to measurement, is both potentially knowable and infinitely extensible.

Pater's 'Conclusion' marks the extreme point of the essay's ambivalence towards the hegemony of science: on the one hand, it recoils from the dead letter of 'scientific' scholarship, the type of critical scrutiny which confines its object to a set of positive coordinates and determinants (including that of authorship); and on the other, it has recourse to a spurious scientific 'method' (non-experimental, interested in neither hypothesis nor induction), which makes the essayist – and not the work – the true object of analysis, and, in so doing, denies the 'idea' proper to science. The essayist is finally most concerned to avert – by asserting the moment over the continuum – the reified, once-and-for-all knowledge offered by science, a knowledge which threatens to exhaust its object (and thus also its subject), a knowledge which confirms – and perhaps bestows – our own knowledge of death. By attending, as Pater urges, to 'the poetic passion, the desire of beauty, the love of art for its own sake', (R, 252) we can postpone at least our awareness of death and prolong, in a quickened sense of life, the interval which remains to us. 'For art comes to you, proposing frankly to give nothing but the highest quality to your moments as they pass, and simply for those moments' sake.' (R, 252) Pater's tone is, in conclusion, a quietest one, offering consolation after what one can only suppose to be the traumatic discovery of the human term.

Lukács in turn speaks of the death represented by a knowledge which is complete in itself: 'the icy, final perfection of philosophy'; yet he demands a similar 'conceptual re-ordering of life' from the essay, which reveals its proleptic affinities with philosophy even as it maintains its connection with sensuous life. The essay's difference, as an 'art form', both from 'philosophy' and from other 'forms of art', is consistent with the margin between affinity and identity. In Lukács's revised conclusion to his introductory essay, he names this philosophy an 'aesthetics', and relates it to the essay-form in terms directly reminiscent of Kant: 'The criteria of the essayist's judgement are indeed created within

him, but it is not he who awakens them to life and action: the one who whispers them into his ear is the great value-definer of aesthetics, the one who is always about to arrive, the one who is never quite there, the only one who has been called to judge.' (SF,16) This aesthetic is figured as both immanent and yet to come to pass; it is a presence virtual within the judgement of the essayist, and yet it stands, as an idea, real but unrealized, beyond it. The prospect of philosophy is both the animating principle of the essay and its probable negation: 'The essay can calmly and proudly set its fragmentariness against the petty completeness of scientific exactitude or impressionistic freshness; but its purest fulfilment, its most vigorous accomplishment becomes powerless once the great aesthetic comes.' (SF,17)

It would seem that, for Lukács, the aesthetic is not quite represented in the judgement; while the essay verges upon or anticipates a system of thought, it cannot, through its own process, bring that system any nearer. This disjunction makes it necessary to shift the ground of aesthetic judgement from an innate, quasi-psychological predisposition to a moral imperative which will bind from without what is severed from within. Lukács in effect reopens the wounds in a philosophy which had sought, in an *aesthetic* of judgement, a third term which would supply ethics with the 'subjective generality'³⁶ that cognition could not guarantee. One cannot simply postpone this aesthetic – to a future however near, but never quite at hand – without at the same time altering the mode of the questions that it asks itself: 'works of art exist – how are they possible?' The problematic of the essay can thus be located within Lukács' attempt to make good the perceived insufficiency of Kant's aesthetic model by investing in the categorical nature of form as 'judgement'. I hope to demonstrate, in conclusion, that this investment ambivalently underwrites both the essay's paradoxical inquiry into its own essence, and Lukács' double critique of the essay as it is and as it ought to be.

By yoking together 'scientific exactitude' and 'impressionistic freshness', Lukács dismisses the criteria both opposed and advanced, in paradigmatic fashion, by Pater. Where for Pater the essay rises above its object by dissolving its form into the manifold impressions it evokes, Lukács concentrates on the point at which the object is resolved as form. Lukács' formal imperative can be read as an attempt to compensate for the essayist's weakness in the sublime, where, unable to give form to (unshaped) life, he has recourse to the already-formed work of art. The essay longs for the form incarnate in the work, and in this longing it endeavours to rise above itself, to translate its 'judgement' of the work (an evaluative recreation of the moment at which soul becomes form) into a form which bestows generality and permanence upon the reading it offers. Lukács' identification of ethics and form contradicts the Kantian aesthetic, whose object is properly the 'sublime in nature' which 'cannot be contained in any sensuous form'.³⁷ It is, for Kant, the unrepresentable quality of the sublime which obliges the mind to due regard for its own faculties as a sufficient basis for judgement; the essayist, however, is unable to address the unformed without being overwhelmed by it, and his desire to comprehend life is for this reason displaced onto art. The question that he asks of life, through art, desires the same answer as that put by a critique of judgement; both wish for

a 'system of values', but the former can only begin to approach ethics as such by first attending to the work of art as itself a judgement upon life.

It is here that the essay becomes implicated in its own critique. For the longing which defines the essayist is, in turn, 'a fact of the soul with a value and existence of its own: an original and deep-rooted attitude towards the whole of life, a final, irreducible category of possibilities of experience'. (*SF*,17) This longing for form — for a judgement which is categorical because it carries the authority of system — must itself be given a form 'which will redeem and release its most essential and indivisible substance into eternal value'. Longing is a condition of the essayist's judgement, and yet judgement is vitiated by longing; the form that is longed for is incompatible with the judgement that anticipates it. The essay embodies the same divorce between ethics and aesthetics which it is concerned to overcome, and which calls for its judgement upon other 'forms of art'; the categories of experience (of which 'longing' is one) are at odds with the formal aesthetic judgements imposed upon them. The aesthetic imperative (to give form to longing) is summoned in the absence of the ethical (which would fulfil and negate it). The aesthetic is, for the essay, a stage anterior to the ethical, and the essay is the medium of their passage: 'immanently and inexpressibly' it contains 'the system and its connection with lived life', (*SF*,18) a life which the essayist lives as longing and, at one remove, as aesthetic judgement. The immanence of system is itself a paradox of the essayist's judgement, which endeavours, in the first place, to grasp the Platonic 'idea' of the work: 'The idea is there before any of its expressions, it is a soul-value, a world-moving and life-forming world in itself'. (*SF*,16) The idea of the work is equivalent to the form which it desires, just as Lukács' reflections upon the 'nature and form' of the essay determined the 'idea' which reveals how far his own essays 'fall short of attaining it'. The discrepancy between idea and achievement is the measure of 'lived life' and, conversely, of the ethic which would realize it: 'the essayist who is really capable of looking for the truth will find at the end of his road the goal he was looking for: life'. (*SF*,12) He can only approach the latter through the work that has given form to it, and the 'idea' of the work, as the essayist intuits it, is its own judgement upon life; at the same time, however, the essayist (advocate of 'lived life') judges the work in its attempt to give shape to the particular life (soul) which informs it. The essayist's quest for an ethic takes him into a hermeneutic realm where he questions the relationship of individual texts to the lives of their authors, and reads the former in terms of a struggle to represent — to fulfil, as an idea — the latter.

In this respect, the essayist is perhaps most concerned to question the application of aesthetic categories to life itself, for the conflation of 'life' and 'art' is consistent with the real division of ethics and aesthetics, and is symptomatic of a culture bereft of any truly binding 'ethos'. Lukács identifies the attempt to develop an 'art of living' with both German Romanticism and contemporary impressionism; his critique of the former can be applied equally to the latter:

A seemingly deliberate withdrawal from life was the price of the Romantic art of living, but this was conscious only at the surface, only within the realm of psychology. The deep nature of this withdrawal and its complex relations were never understood by the Romantics themselves and therefore remained unredeemed and devoid of any life-redeeming force. The actual reality

of life vanished before their eyes and was replaced by another reality, the reality of poetry, of pure psyche. . . Only in this way could they achieve their universality, but because of this they could not recognize its limitations.³⁸

We need only look to Wilde for a restatement of this attitude: 'I treated Art as the supreme reality, and life as a mere mode of fiction . . . I summed up all systems in a phrase, and all existence in an epigram'.³⁹ I would like finally to distinguish between the paradoxical nature of the attempt to live life as art, and the paradox upon which Lukács bases his critique of the latter. For the one, paradox plays upon and glides over what is held to be the mutual exclusiveness of moral and aesthetic values: 'All art is immoral. . . [The] critic should be able to recognize that the sphere of Art and the sphere of Ethics are absolutely distinct and separate'.⁴⁰ For the other, it merely announces the problem of their divorce, whose resolution must be sought, not in the negation of ethics by aesthetics, but in their mutual address. Instead of resolving irreconcilables, Lukács' use of paradox serves to express the contradictoriness of what, after Kant, we understand of 'experience': 'he who is faithful to his own experiences will find all his efforts little enough to keep down the paradoxical air besieging much of what he *knows* to be the truth'.⁴¹ Although Lukács shares many of the perceptions of the 'impressionist' standpoint, he differs in the judgement that he attaches to them; Kassner provides the necessary distinction: 'paradox is irrational, totally immoral and always only a product of the imagination. There are some who create with their imagination, and others who live it out. The former create the work, the latter the paradox'.⁴²

Lukács keeps faith with the principle of the work, although he is no less subject to the dilemma that he diagnoses. We might contrast Wilde: 'The essay simply represents an artistic standpoint, and in aesthetic criticism attitude is everything. For in art there is no such thing as a universal truth. A Truth in art is that whose contradictory is also true'.⁴³ Paradox sequesters art from a responsibility towards truth, while the same truth (knowledge 'beyond opinion') relieves art of its ethical concerns: 'By revealing to us the absolute mechanism of all action, and so freeing us from the self-imposed and trammelling burden of moral responsibility, the scientific burden of Heredity has become, as it were, the warrant for the contemplative life. It has shown us we are never less free than when we try to act'.⁴⁴ This is paradox inert — mere *doxa*, without the recalcitrant prefix — numbed by the invasive *episteme* of 'Heredity'. The extremity of Wilde's irony is a measure of its defensiveness towards the determinate and exhaustive knowledge of 'science' — a knowledge, in this case, of determination itself, in which death is absorbed into a process of which we are part, but over which we have no control. Released from the problematic of human agency, we are spirited into the realm of contemplation (*theoretikos*). Lukács, however, is impelled to the opposite extreme; he must recast the 'question of meaning and essence' — of the death that gives form to life — in terms of the 'paradox of drama and tragedy'.⁴⁵

This is the crux of the paradox: the material of drama consists of the interrelatedness of ethical systems, and the dramatic structure which arises from this relationship is aesthetic-

formal... More simply, so long as tragedy did not become ethically problematic, either inwardly or outwardly, the pure aesthetics of structure functioned quite naturally... But when ethics cease to be given, the ethical knotting within the drama – thus, its aesthetics – has to be created; whereupon ethics, as the cornerstone of the artistic composition, move necessarily into the vital centre of motivation.⁴⁶

Only tragedy can structure the paradoxes of life and 'incorporate... accident into its world forever'.⁴⁷ Tragedy is form become ethical – a form which reveals the connection between ethics and 'lived life': 'only a form which has been purified until it has become ethical can, without becoming blind and poverty-stricken as a result of it, forget the existence of everything problematic and banish it forever from its realm'.⁴⁸ Tragedy is the term of the essay's inquiry.

Notes

1. See, however, those articles dating from the early 1920s which are collected in Lukács, *Reviews and Articles from 'Die rote Fahne'*, trans. Peter Palmer (London: Merlin, 1983).
2. Diary entry for 16 Dec. 1911, in Lukács, *Napló-Tagebuch (1910–11)*; *Das Gericht (1913)*, ed. Ferenc L. Lendvai (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981), p. 56.
3. Lukács, *Heidelberger Philosophie der Kunst (1912–1914)*, ed. György Márkus and Frank Benseler (Darmstadt and Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1974), p. 9.
4. Lukács, *Soul and Form*, trans. Anna Bostock (London: Merlin, 1974), p. 16, 'On the Nature and Form of the Essay'.
5. T. W. Adorno, 'Cultural Criticism and Society', in *Prisms*, trans. Samuel M. Weber (London: Spearman, 1967), p. 19.
6. Diary entry for 6 July 1910, in Lukács, op. cit., p. 35.
7. I paraphrase Lukács, *The Theory of the Novel*, trans. Anna Bostock (London: Merlin, 1978), p. 29.
8. György Lukács, *A lélek és a formák: Kísérletek* (Budapest: Franklin, 1910); and Georg von Lukács, *Die Seele und die Formen: Essays* (Berlin: Egon Fleischel, 1911). A literal translation of both titles is 'The Soul and the Forms: Essays'; I shall refer, however, to Anna Bostock's English translation of the German edition.
9. In *Renaissance* 1, 11 (10 Oct. 1910), 235–249. The essay on Philippe, like that on Theodor Storm, was slightly cut in its German version.
10. For a full discussion of the translation of *Soul and Form*, see J. K. Nyíri, Lukács 'Die Seele und die Formen' c. esszékötetének fordítástörténetéhez; *Magyar Filozófiai Szemle* 18, 2–3 (1974), 401–404.
11. See, for instance, Paul Ernst's review 'Der Essay als Form' in *Die Schaubühne* 1911, p. 542: 'Als ich den Band durchlas, hatte ich den Eindruck, als... fange Lukács da an, wo die Schlegel aufgehört haben: freilich ist der Autor auch kein geborener Deutscher, sondern ein Ungar, der sein erstes Werk, ein Buch über das Moderne Drama, noch in ungarischer Sprache geschrieben hat'. Ernst, it should be remembered, is returning the compliment of 'The Metaphysics of Tragedy'.
12. Lukács, *Selected Correspondence 1902–1920*, trans. and ed. J. Marcus and Z. Tár (Budapest: Corvina, 1986), p. 81; *Levelezése*, ed. E. Fekete and E. Karádi (Budapest: Magvető, 1981), p. 125. I have frequently altered the available English translation of the letters.
13. *ibid.*, pp. 81 and 125.
14. Letter of 29 Oct. 1909, in *Levelezése*, p. 167. 'Alienation' translates *idegenség*, and 'separation' *elválás*.
15. 'Richness, Chaos and Form: A dialogue concerning Laurence Sterne', *Soul and Form*, p. 148.

16. Letter to Leó Popper of 28 May 1910, in *Selected Correspondence*, pp. 113–14, and *Levelezése*, pp. 211–12.
17. 'Poetry, Platonism and Form: Rudolf Kassner', *Soul and Form*, p. 21.
18. 'The Metaphysics of Tragedy: Paul Ernst', *ibid.*, p. 161.
19. Letter to Leó Popper of 27 Oct. 1901, in *Selected Correspondence*, p. 102, and *Levelezése*, p. 163. Lukács notes elsewhere in the same letter that 'my life is to a large extent a critique of the Romantics'.
20. 'On the Nature and Form of the Essay', *Soul and Form*, p. 10.
21. *ibid.*, p. 15.
22. Lukács' 'conclusion' is some three pages long in the English edition; it begins on page 15, grafted onto a paragraph of which the first half survives from the Hungarian text, with the sentence: 'But Socrates was the first to condemn such critics.' References to this essay will from now on be incorporated into the text.
23. 'Lévil a kísérletről' in Lukács, *Ifjúkori művek*, ed., Árpád Timár (Budapest: Magvető, 1977), p. 321. The translation is from Michael Holzmann, *Lukács' Road to God* (Washington D.C.: Univ. Press of America, 1985), p. 85.
24. *ibid.*, pp. 321 and 85–86. I have altered Holzmann's translation.
25. The English translation distinguishes between 'living' and 'life', p. 4.
26. 'Poetry, Platonism and Form', *op. cit.*, p. 19.
27. Walter Pater, *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry* (London: Macmillan, 1912). Page references will be incorporated into the text.
28. See Matthew Arnold, 'The Study of Poetry' (1880). Lukács quotes the phrase on page 5 of *Soul and Form*.
29. 'Megjegyzések az irodalomtörténet elméletéhez', in Timár, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 393. The translation is my own.
30. Arnold first used the phrase in 'On Translating Homer' (1862), and repeated it in the opening paragraph of 'The Function of Criticism at the Present Time' (1864). It is reversed in Wilde's 'The Critic as Artist': 'the primary aim of the critic is to see the object as in itself it really is not'.
31. *Immanuel Kant's Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. Norman Kemp Smith (London: Macmillan, 1968), p. 82, 'General Observations on the Transcendental Aesthetic'.
32. *ibid.*, p. 12, 'Preface to the First Edition'.
33. Marie-Claire Blanquart, 'Une mise en cause du sublime à la fin du XIX^e siècle: sublime, sublimé, sublimation', *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France* 86, 1 (1986), pp. 109–117; special issue on 'Le Sublime'.
34. 'Poetry, Platonism and Form', *op. cit.*, p. 19.
35. Immanuel Kant, *The Critique of Judgement*, trans. J. C. Meredith (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 'Analytic of the Sublime'; all references are to paragraphs and are incorporated into the text. The following summary is based on P. Carrière, 'Le sublime dans l'esthétique de Kant', *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, *op. cit.*, 71–85.
36. Lukács quotes Kant's formula on page 1 of the 'Notes on the Theory of Literary History'.
37. Kant, *op. cit.*, para. 23.
38. 'On the Romantic Philosophy of Life: Novalis', *op. cit.*, p. 50.
39. Oscar Wilde, 'De Profundis', in *The Complete Works of Oscar Wilde*, ed. Vyvyan Holland, new edition (London and Glasgow: Collins, 1966), pp. 912–13.
40. Wilde, 'The Critic as Artist', *ibid.*, pp. 1039, 1048.
41. From De Quincey's *Autobiography*, quoted in Alex Preminger, ed. *Encyclopaedia of Poetry and Poetics* (Princeton, 1965), p. 598.
42. Rudolf Kassner, 'Zum Tode Oskar Wildes: Einiges über das Paradoxe', in Kassner, *Sämtliche Werke*, Vol. 2 (Pfullingen: Neske, 1974), p. 383.
43. Wilde, 'The Truth of Masks', *op. cit.*, p. 1078.
44. 'The Critic as Artist', *ibid.*, p. 1040.

45. 'The Metaphysics of Tragedy: Paul Ernst', *Soul and Form*, p. 156.
46. Lukács, 'The Sociology of Modern Drama', Trans. Lee Baxandall, *Tulane Drama Review* 5, 4 (1965), pp. 169-70; see Lukács, *A modern dráma fejlődésének története* (Budapest: Franklin, 1911), Vol. 1, pp. 197-198.
47. 'The Metaphysics of Tragedy', op. cit., p. 155.
48. *ibid.*, p. 174.

The author would like to acknowledge the support of the *Leverhume Trust* in the writing of this article.

ETHNICITÉ, SCOLARISATION ET ASSIMILATION CHEZ LES JUIFS ET LES LUTHÉRIENS EN HONGRIE PENDANT LA MONARCHIE BICÉPHALE (ÉTUDE SOCIOLOGIQUE)

VICTOR KARADY

D'après des travaux antérieurs on sait que de tous les groupes confessionnels des Juifs et des Luthériens ont été les plus fortement scolarisés dans la Hongrie pré-socialiste.¹ Cet article est consacré à l'examen de la dimension ethnique de cette sur-scolarisation relative.

Parmi les déterminants des inégalités devant l'école le caractère ethnique des groupes en lice intervient triplement: 1. en vertu de la propension différentielle des groupes ethniques à l'investissement scolaire (en tant qu'agrégats au profil socio-professionnel spécifique) dans le cadre de leurs efforts de mobilité sociale; 2. en raison du recours différentiel des groupes ethniques à l'école dans leurs stratégies visant l'assimilation ou le maintien de l'identité culturelle; 3. enfin, par le biais d'une politique scolaire de plus en plus nationaliste que pratique l'Etat, une politique qui privilégie la promotion scolaire des Hongrois de souche magyare et favorise l'assimilation linguistique et culturelle des autres minorités. Cette étude touchera surtout aux deux derniers problèmes.

Si l'école et la scolarisation participaient des stratégies de gestion de l'identité religieuse (surtout pour l'affirmer face aux cultes majoritaires — chez les Luthériens —, ou pour en diminuer la portée — chez les Juifs),² elles avaient une fonction analogue dans la gestion de l'identité ethnique. L'analyse de l'incidence de l'ethnicité sur le marché scolaire ne peut pourtant guère s'appuyer sur cette analogie formelle. Les rapports de force étaient très différents dans le champ ethnique avec un Etat national assimilateur à la clé (alors que l'Etat affichait une neutralité volontariste — bien que controversée — en matière religieuse) ce qu'exprime, entre autres, la structure même du dispositif scolaire: il est de plus en plus dominé par les études en hongrois dans le temps et à mesure qu'on monte dans la hiérarchie institutionnelle (hégémonie du hongrois dans l'enseignement secondaire, monopole du hongrois dans l'Université). Dans une analyse sociologique qui ne peut pas entreprendre la présentation chronologique des faits de politique scolaire, le développement historique de cette politique nationaliste restera implicite. Il sera ici difficile de séparer ce qui revient à l'Etat et au comportement des groupes ethniques sur le marché scolaire. On retiendra simplement quelques relations qui prévalent vers la fin de la période de la modernisation (1867–1918) à commencer par deux types: ceux qui relèvent, d'une part, de la composition ethnique des groupes confessionnels et, d'autre part, de la 'structure ethnique' (langue d'enseignement) du réseau des écoles.

Confession et assimilation linguistique

Toutes ces relations discernables ne sont pertinentes qu'avant 1918 puisque, on sait, la Hongrie de Trianon est devenue un Etat pratiquement mono-nationalitaire (avec seulement quelque 10% d'allogènes déclarés), alors que, à l'époque libérale, l'ethnie hongroise minoritaire domine les institutions de l'Etat grâce à sa position hégémonique dans la seule noblesse historique qui doit lutter pour que les Hongrois atteignent la majorité arithmétique dans la population afin d'étayer la légitimité de son règne: voilà le fondement de la politique d'assimilation dont l'école est un des instruments essentiels. En 1880 seulement 46,6% de la population déclare le hongrois comme langue maternelle. Cette proportion n'est encore que de 54,5% en 1910, ce qui probablement dépasse un peu la réalité, tant les pressions officielles devaient être efficaces dans le sens de la 'magyarisation'.³

La répartition de cette population est très inégale toutefois selon les confessions. Le tableau 1. aligne une série d'indices pour montrer les forts écarts entre Calvinistes — presque exclusivement de souche hongroise — et Catholiques — majoritairement hongrois — d'une part, et les groupes encore majoritairement composés d'allogènes, Luthériens et Juifs d'autre part. Nous ne traiterons pas ici des deux autres grands groupes confessionnels (Grecs orthodoxes et Uniates), presque entièrement composés d'allogènes (principalement Serbes et Roumains), parce qu'ils sont fort peu représentés dans les filières scolaires hongroises (en particulier dans l'enseignement secondaire).⁴

Lorsqu'on prend en compte les différences importantes entre la proportion des Hongrois unilingues (ne sachant que leur langue maternelle) et l'ensemble des Hongrois déclarés, l'impact historique de l'allogénat culturel se précise davantage: on peut supposer que la proportion des unilingues représente approximativement la limite supérieure de la part des Hongrois dans la population historique des cultes, sachant que certains des bi-ou multilingues le sont grâce à l'acquisition scolaire de langues étrangères — et appartiennent ainsi aux Hongrois de souche des classes cultivées —, mais qu'une autre partie des unilingues l'est devenue en vertu de l'assimilation linguistique — étant donc d'origine allogène. Ces deux effets devaient se compenser partiellement, d'où le résultat avancé.

On peut éclairer celui-ci par d'autres indices (toujours d'après le tableau 1.) notamment par les proportions des indigènes culturels dans les groupes recevant une éducation supérieure. La part des étudiants portant un nom hongrois, qui ne dépasse significativement la moitié de l'ensemble que chez les Calvinistes, montre que les allogènes de souche (ou d'origine) sont à cette époque très nettement majoritaires dans les élites cultivées montantes, en dépit du fait qu'une fraction déjà large (surtout chez les Juifs) des étudiants nominalement hongrois le sont par suite de la magyarisation de leur noms de famille.

Le mouvement d'assimilation linguistique, malgré la crédibilité incertaine des chiffres sur la langue maternelle déclarée, peut être au moins aperçu au travers de la confrontation des données du tableau 1 touchant aux proportions de Hongrois dans les publics des différents niveaux d'enseignement.

De tous les groupes allogènes *c'est chez les Juifs que l'assimilation linguistique est la plus avancée* au tournant du siècle. On sait en effet qu'ils sont d'origine presque entière-

Tableau 1. Ethnicité et religion en Hongrie (hors Croatie) vers 1900

	Catholiques	Calvinistes	Luthériens	Juifs
% de langue maternelle hongroise en 1900 (1)	60.5	98.2	28.6	71.5
% de langue maternelle hongroise en 1910 (1)	64.8	98.4	31.9	76.9
% des instituteurs de langue hongroise dans les écoles des cultes cités, 1900 (2)	85.9	99.5	50.2	87.3
% des officiers des cultes de langue hongroise, 1898 (3)	83.8	99.8	45.8	69.9
% des Hongrois unilingues, 1910 (4)	52.6	89.6	19.2	30.2
Estimation du % des étudiants portant un nom hongrois vers 1900 (5)	50.8	80.2	47.5	39
% des élèves de langue hongroise dans les lycées des cultes cités, 1900 (6)	79.5	89.8	57.9	—
% des élèves de langue hongroise dans les écoles primaires des cultes cités, 1910 (7)	61.1	97.5	25.3	85.7
% des écoles primaires des cultes cités avec langue d'enseignement hongroise, 1910 (8)	93.5	99.9	63.0	100
% des communautés religieuses locales avec langue de culte hongroise, 1898 (9)	54.7	98.9	23.6	39.9

Sources: (1) *Publications statistiques hongroises* N° 64, p. 139; (2) *Publications statistiques hongroises* N° 27, p. 207; (3) *ibid.* p. 206; (4) *Magyar statisztikai közlemények* N° 64, p. 78*; (5) *Magyar statisztikai közlemények*, N° 76, p. 35*; (6) Enquête dans les archives universitaires de Budapest, cf. V. Karady, "Assimilation and schooling: national and denominational minorities in the universities of Budapest around 1900" in *Hungarian Studies* (à paraître); (6) *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv*, 1901, pp. 337-338; (7) *ibid.* 1910, p. 366; (8) *ibid.* 1911, p. 348; (9) *ibid.* 1898, p. 326.

ment étrangère (et non seulement des allogènes anciennement implantés) puisqu'issus des grandes vagues d'immigration arrivées depuis la fin du 18. siècle des pays voisins. Or dès 1900 près de trois-quarts d'entre eux se déclarent être de langue maternelle hongroise. Puisque la totalité de leurs écoles pratiquent la langue majoritaire, on ne saurait s'étonner qu'une proportion encore plus élevée des instituteurs et des élèves du primaire fassent de même. L'écart considérable entre le degré de magyarisation du réseau et celui du public

scolaire d'une part et du service du culte d'autre part prouve que, en cette matière, *l'école a été l'instance décisive* et que le processus devait être doublement lié à l'âge: les générations plus jeunes ont été davantage scolarisées en général, et plus particulièrement, davantage touchées par l'enseignement en langue hongroise, parce que la prédominance du réseau scolaire hongrois est un fait plus tardif.

Il en va très différemment des *Luthériens* qui, au tournant du siècle encore, restent majoritairement des allogènes avec moins d'un cinquième d'unilingues hongrois, moins d'un tiers de locuteurs hongrois dans l'ensemble et guère plus d'un quart d'élèves hongrois dans les écoles propres, soit une proportion moindre parmi les jeunes scolarisés que dans la population confessionnelle globale.

Si l'on met à part les Calvinistes, confession par excellence *magyare* dans le pays, les Catholiques peuvent être considérés comme moyennement entraînés par l'assimilation ethnique. Ils se situent entre les pôles extrêmes que constituent en cette matière Juifs et Luthériens, du moins parmi les grands groupes confessionnels fortement scolarisés.

L'investissement différentiel (selon la langue maternelle) des *lycées* des différents cultes ne saurait évidemment servir d'indicateur directe de l'assimilation: dès 1900, une partie croissante de la clientèle secondaire fréquente les lycées publics (et échappe ici à l'observation); l'hétérogénéité confessionnelle encore notable des lycées des différents cultes et l'absence de lycées juifs interdisent qu'on identifie le public d'un type d'établissement à un public confessionnel particulier; enfin l'accès aux lycées où la langue d'enseignement est déjà presque exclusivement le hongrois (avec, en 1900, seulement 13 lycées de langue autre que le hongrois sur 145 de plein ou de partiel exercice ⁵) est éminemment sélectif selon la langue maternelle, au point qu'une partie des candidats allogènes aux études secondaires font leur scolarité hors les frontières. Pourtant les inégalités d'indigénat culturel sont marquantes dans les lycées aussi: la proportion d'élèves hongrois est la plus élevée dans les établissements calvinistes et la moins forte dans les établissements luthériens.

Le Tableau 1 permet également de prendre la mesure du caractère volontariste voire délibérément contraignante de la politique d'assimilation ethnique par l'école. Ainsi, par exemple, dans la population des instituteurs il y a dans tous les types d'écoles une proportion de locuteurs hongrois largement supérieure à ce qu'on trouve parmi leurs élèves. Manifestement les nominations dans les postes d'enseignant ont dû privilégier les Hongrois de souche ou des candidats faisant la preuve de leur assimilation linguistique. Dans les écoles primaires d'Etat 92% en 1900 et 95% en 1910 des enseignants sont de langue maternelle hongroise, ⁶ alors que ce n'est le cas, en 1910, que pour 57% des élèves des mêmes établissements. ⁷ De la sorte, la langue d'enseignement est majoritairement le hongrois, en tous cas bien plus souvent que ne l'exigerait la demande émanant du public, à en juger par l'écart entre la proportion des Hongrois parmi les élèves du primaire et celle des écoles recourant au hongrois: soit *toutes* les écoles entretenues par l'Etat et les comitats et la quasi-totalité des écoles gérées par les municipalités et par les cultes — à l'exception des écoles luthériennes ainsi que des établissements uniates et grecs orthodoxes. ⁸ Dès le début du siècle la magyarisation plus ou moins forcée du système scolaire est un fait majeur de la politique officielle.

Face à cette politique d'assimilation, les *organisations de culte* demeurent singulièrement conservatrices en matière linguistique. Les Calvinistes mis à part, la majorité (chez les Juifs et les Luthériens) et presque la moitié (chez les Catholiques) des communautés religieuses gardent un idiome non hongrois pour langue cérémonielle. Certes, des proportions nettement plus élevées de leurs clercs se déclarent être de langue maternelle hongroise. Cela veut dire, si on prend ces déclarations au pied de la lettre, qu'une grosse partie d'entre eux sont bi- ou multilingues et qu'ils suivent bien davantage la demande locale de leur communauté que ne peuvent le faire leurs confrères dans l'enseignement de statut public.

Cette analyse préliminaire fait entrevoir les différences de stratégie qui opposent Juifs et Luthériens sur un marché scolaire que l'Etat tend à transformer en véhicule de l'assimilation ethnique. Pour comprendre cette opposition et en définir les limites, il faut rappeler les spécificités ethniques de l'allogénat linguistique dans les deux agrégats qu'on étudie plus particulièrement ici et les relations objectives, elles-mêmes singulières, qui relient ces spécificités à la structure du réseau scolaire.

La stratégie d'assimilation chez les Juifs

Chez les Juifs l'allogénat linguistique signifie essentiellement la pratique soit du yiddish (pour ceux qui sont originaires de l'est et du Nord-est) soit de l'allemand (pour ceux qui sont originaires d'Autriche, d'Allemagne ou de Bohême).

Puisque leur répartition territoriale répond encore au tournant du siècle largement à la logique de la proximité géographique par rapport aux pays d'origine (les Germanophones étant plus nombreux à l'Ouest, les Yiddishisants à l'Est), on peut aisément rapprocher la densité constatée des écoles primaires juives de statut public dans les régions centrales et occidentales du pays et leur rareté dans l'Est et dans le Nord-est de deux types radicalement différents de la gestion scolaire de l'identité. En Transdanubie par exemple on trouve en 1900 une école juive de statut public pour 784 habitants de confession israélite et 739 dans les comitats du Nord-ouest. Les chiffres comparables sont de trois à dix fois supérieurs dans les régions orientales du pays, soit quelques 2.700 habitants par école dans le nord-est et pas moins de 7.600 en Transylvanie.⁹ Certes, la fréquence des écoles propres n'entraîne pas nécessairement pour une confession un taux de scolarisation également forte. Les élèves Juifs, comme les élèves d'autres confessions, pouvaient librement fréquenter les écoles primaires publiques, voire même les écoles d'autres confessions (surtout dans l'ambiance libérale précédant les lois de 'politique religieuse' de 1895-96). L'opposition entre l'Ouest et l'Est (et entre Juifs d'origine germaniques et Yiddishisants) s'exprime cependant en termes de niveau scolaire aussi, comme en témoignent des taux d'alphabétisation contrastés. La proportion d'illettrés est minime chez les Juifs de l'Ouest, tandis qu'à l'Est elle demeure importante. Dans le comitat de Máramaros, fief d'une communauté israélite très attachée aux traditions, elle atteint en 1900 encore 69%.¹⁰

Ainsi les Juifs sont sur-scolarisés par rapport à leur coreligionnaires de l'Est (comme, d'ailleurs, par rapport à toutes les autres confessions) mais encore, qu'ils fréquentent une de leurs nombreuses écoles communautaires ou une école publique, c'est toujours l'enseignement hongrois qu'ils suivent. En effet les écoles israélites sont au tournant du siècle *les plus complètement magyarisées* parmi les réseaux confessionnels (à l'exception du réseau calviniste) à la fois par la langue d'enseignement et la langue maternelle déclarée des élèves et des instituteurs. Ceux qui y enseignent ou sont éduqués *acceptent* donc massivement et pleinement *le contrat d'assimilation culturelle* proposé par l'élite nationaliste qui détient l'Etat.

Cette option décisive pour la magyarisation se retrouve dans l'enseignement secondaire encore. Il faut d'abord noter que le contraste entre l'Ouest et l'Est encore plus net chez les Juifs en termes de proportions de diplômés du secondaire que de proportions d'alphabétisés. Cela veut dire que les Juifs d'origine germanique participent bien davantage à la scolarisation longue que les Yiddishisants.¹¹ Or, il n'y a pratiquement pas d'élèves juifs dans les lycées de langue allemande, où les Germanophones auraient pu obtenir une instruction dans leur langue maternelle. Il est vrai que ces établissements sont tous installés en Transylvanie méridionale — à population juive faible et dispersée — et placés sous la tutelle de la communauté luthérienne-saxonne, un groupe ethnique fermé, dont on sait qu'il a gardé jalousement son autonomie dont certaines des garanties juridiques remontent au 13^e siècle, date d'immigration primitive des ancêtres dans le pays. . .

Quoi qu'il en soit, on saisit ici encore *l'orientation scolaire exclusivement hongroise de la clientèle juive*, qui est une véritable marque spécifique de l'assimilation juive en Hongrie, préférentiellement dirigée vers les élites et la culture nationales dominantes. On sait que ce fut une option exceptionnelle à cette époque: dans les autres provinces de l'Empire habsbourgeois l'assimilation culturelle allemande l'emportait régulièrement sur l'assimilation nationalitaire locale. Parfois — comme à Prague — les Juifs assimilés sont entrés en une véritable alliance de classe sous la forme d'une solidarité politique avec la minorité allemande à l'encontre des nationalismes ethniques montants (comme contre les Jeunes Tchèques en Bohême).¹²

Pour ce qui est des Yiddishisants, l'option 'assimilationniste' devait être pendant longtemps minoritaire. On a vu plus haut qu'il existe dans leur milieu bien moins d'écoles communautaires de statut public et que leur faible taux d'alphabétisation indique qu'ils fréquentaient peu les autres écoles primaires accessibles. Cet état de choses laisse supposer la subsistance sur la longue échéance de nombreuses écoles coutumières en yiddish (et, peut-être, en hébreu) non reconnues par l'Etat et dispensant une instruction principalement religieuse. Les témoignages contemporains parlent en effet abondamment de ces écoles 'clandestines' que les inspecteurs de l'instruction publique ne cessaient de dénoncer et de combattre.

A cette étape de l'analyse il faut introduire la variable religieuse de l'opposition — instituée au Congrès Juif de 1868 — entre le judaïsme réformé et orthodoxe. L'orthodoxie, gardienne de la tradition, a été en effet principalement soutenue par les Yiddishisants.

Les analyses précédentes ne permettent pourtant pas de conclure que les Juifs orthodoxes auraient systématiquement refusé les chances de l'assimilation scolaire, en

particulier par la fréquentation des écoles publiques locales. Seulement, s'ils ont participé au mouvement général, c'était le plus souvent à titre individuel et non point sur initiative collective. Cela touchait davantage leurs élites locales (rabbins, présidents des communautés, membres des professions intellectuelles, etc.) que l'ensemble des fidèles. Enfin le conservatisme religieux inhérent à l'orthodoxie interdisait ou, avec le temps, freinait l'extension de l'assimilation linguistique dans le domaine du culte. C'est ainsi qu'on peut interpréter l'écart — allant du simple à près du double, d'après le tableau 1. —, entre la proportion des communautés juives recourant au hongrois à la synagogue et la proportion des rabbins et autres personnels du culte de langue hongroise. Le rabbinat, à l'instar des autres milieux cultivés, s'est plus tôt magyarisé que leur pratique cérémonielle. Cela vaut assurément davantage pour les rabbins sortis de l'Ecole Rabbinique d'Etat de Budapest, rattachée à la communauté réformée, où l'instruction comportait des études universitaires littéraires complètes en hongrois (doctorat ès lettres).

La relation entre la propension à l'assimilation linguistique dans la sphère cérémonielle et le modernisme confessionnel peut être précisée grâce à des informations plus détaillées.

Tableau 2. Langue cérémonielle des différentes communautés israélites en 1898

	Réformées	"Status quo ante"	Orthodoxes
Hongrois	71,4	51,8	7,2
Allemand	27,9	46,4	70,9
Autre langue	0,7	1,8	21,9
Total:	100	100	100

Source: *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv*, 1899, p. 326.

La relation est forte et univoque. La seule incertitude porte sur la définition de l'allemand' dans ce contexte, le yiddish aussi pouvant être inclus dans cette catégorie, comme dans la catégorie des "autres langues". On peut supposer ainsi que la plupart des communautés orthodoxes présentées ici comme germanophones étaient en réalité yiddishisantes. Sachant que les communautés réformées, établies le plus souvent dans les milieux urbains, en particulier dans la capitale, réunissaient, en moyenne, des effectifs nettement plus nombreux que les communautés orthodoxes, ces dernières pouvant s'organiser à partir de groupes ruraux sporadiques de petite taille, on reconnaîtra l'interdépendance quasi générale de la magyarisation linguistique et de la réforme juive ou, à l'inverse, du conservatisme linguistique dans l'exercice du culte et de l'orthodoxie juive.

Il est donc là encore possible de tracer une ligne de partage assez claire qui s'inscrit dans l'espace social autant que dans l'espace géographique (sous réserve de quelques exceptions, des villes en général et des villes du Centre-Est en particulier) entre Juifs réformés, d'origine le plus souvent germanophone, assimilés ou portés à l'assimilation, notamment par le biais de leurs écoles magyarisées, d'une part, et leurs coreligionnaires traditionalistes originaires de l'Est, d'autre part.

La stratégie anti-assimilationniste des Luthériens

La situation scolaire des Luthériens reflète en matière ethnique une stratégie de conservation des particularismes culturels, soit un comportement à ce qui s'observe sur le plan strictement religieux dans une conduite non seulement de maintien mais encore de revendication du séparatisme face aux cultes concurrents, quitte à en accepter les effets pervers sous forme d'un surcroît de mixité confessionnelle, de propension à la sécularisation ou même de risques continus de marginalisation confessionnelle.¹³ S'il ressort déjà des indices synthétiques du tableau 1. que les écoles luthériennes n'ont pas joué pleinement le jeu de l'assimilation culturelle, c'est que les rapports des forces ethniques et sociales à l'intérieur de l'agrégat luthérien n'y étaient que partiellement favorables.

Tableau 3. Langue maternelle déclarée de la population et des scolaires luthériens

	Population		Elèves des établissements luthériens, écoles	
	1880 (1)	1910 (1)	primaires (1900) (2)	primaires supérieures (dites "bourgeoises") (1900) (2)
Hongrois	23,4	31,9	25,3	43,6
Allemand	35,0	31,4	37,8	51,7
Slovaque	39,6	34,5	35,0	3,2
Autre	2,0	2,2	1,9	1,4
	100	100	100	100

Source: (1) *Magyar statisztikai közlemények* N° 27, pp. 132-133;
(2) *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv*, 1911, pp. 366-367

Les chiffres du tableau 3. montrent qu'à l'époque de la modernisation la magyarisation a fait quelques progrès. Ceux-ci sont manifestement un peu plus significatifs chez les Slovaques que chez les Germanophones. La majorité des Luthériens n'en restent pas moins des allogènes déclarés à la fin de cette période et la part des hungarophones atteint à peine un tiers de l'ensemble, soit celle des deux autres grands groupes ethniques pris séparément. Or sans pouvoir entrer ici dans l'analyse historique de la stratification sociale de ces groupes, les Luthériens slovaques et allemands s'opposent surtout par leur degré de concentration urbaine, par la proportion de la bourgeoisie industrielle (surtout artisanale) en leur sein, par l'importance de la petite noblesse ou de la bourgeoisie agraire et, plus généralement, par le poids relatif des propriétaires et des 'indépendants', ainsi que par l'incidence de privilèges historiques sur leur capacité de gérer leur identité ethnique comme un véritable corporation autonome — toujours plus grands chez les Germanophones que chez les Slaves. Bref, les différences linguistiques recouvrent des positions de classe socio-économique et de statut ethnique remontant parfois à une définition juridique (privilèges des villes saxonnes). Ce sont elles qui servent de principes de différenciation en termes de chances ou de risques d'assimilation ou d'affirmation d'une identité singulière sur le plan scolaire aussi.

On en voit d'ailleurs l'expression indirecte dans la répartition de la population scolaire dans le tableau 3. Si en 1910 les effectifs slovaques des écoles primaires supérieures sont insignifiants par rapport aux Germanophones et aux Hongrois, c'est que ces 'écoles bourgeoises' fonctionnent à cette époque comme de véritables 'écoles de (petite) bourgeoisie', hors de portée pour la plupart des Slovaques miséreux. La proportion remarquablement faible d'élèves hongrois dans les écoles primaires luthériennes renvoie en revanche à un triple effet, indissociablement lié, de l'assimilation.

Effet démographique d'abord, au sens où l'on peut supposer que la mobilité inter-générationnelle accrue qu'autorise l'assimilation culturelle (qui s'accompagne bien des fois de changements de résidence, en particulier de l'immigration vers les villes — et dont les proportions relativement élevées de Hongrois parmi les étudiants, les instituteurs ou les officiers des cultes servent d'indicateurs précieux) entraîne aussi l'augmentation de la dénatalité. D'où la diminution des effectifs d'élèves hongrois.

En second lieu les élèves hongrois ou magyarisés choisissent plus librement l'école que leurs camarades allogènes et, de la sorte, ont plus de chances de fréquenter des écoles non luthériennes, notamment des établissements d'Etat. En effet l'offre scolaire est bien plus vaste et diversifiée dans la langue nationale dominante (portant en 1910/11 sur 78,8% des écoles primaires¹⁴) que dans les langues allogènes, sans parler du fait que les 'assimilés' ethniques appartiennent probablement plus souvent que les autres aux milieux sécularisés et sont ainsi moins enclins que les autres à fréquenter une école confessionnelle, ne fût ce qu'une école de leur propre culte.

Enfin, cette étroitesse du marché scolaire dans les différentes langues allogènes en dehors des écoles du culte propre (74% des établissements de langue allemande et 38% des établissements slovaques sont luthériens en 1910/11¹⁵), a pour effet de canaliser préférentiellement vers les établissements de leur langue et de leur culte la fraction du public allogène qui refuse l'assimilation ethnique par l'école, ce qui est toujours une forme plus ou moins brutale de la violence culturelle. De la sorte, l'affirmation de l'identité ethnique passe sur le plan local le plus souvent par la porte étroite des écoles luthériennes.

Ces relations complexes peuvent être précisées à l'aide d'informations plus détaillées sur les conditions d'exercice de ces établissements.

Le tableau 4. présente un véritable paradigme des inégalités scolaires selon l'appartenance ethnique au terme de l'époque libérale, résultat de quarante ans de politique d'assimilation par l'école.

Ces inégalités s'appréhendent avant tout par la dominance numérique de la scolarisation en langue nationale. 63% des établissements luthériens dispensent l'enseignement en hongrois, alors qu'à peine un quart des élèves de ce culte sont des Hongrois de souche (par leur langue maternelle). Pour la plupart des élèves luthériens la scolarisation prend, dès l'école primaire, la forme de la violence culturelle par l'imposition de la dualité des langues. La majorité des élèves des écoles hongroises de ce culte (soit 57%) sont en effet des allogènes. Autant le bilinguisme bien maîtrisé peut être une source d'atouts, autant le bilinguisme forcé et subi dans de mauvaises conditions se transforme en désavantage dans la compétition scolaire. Déjà le statisticien József Kőrösi a relevé à la fin du 19. siècle les effets scolaires négatifs de l'allogénat s'exprimant par l'excès des redoublements parmi les

Tableau 4. Taille, taux d'encadrement et statut ethnique des écoles primaires luthériennes en 1910/11

Langue des écoles	Nombre d'écoles	Langue maternelle des élèves				Effectifs d'élèves par	
		hongrois	allemand	slovaque	autre	école	maître
Hongrois	814	42,6	20,3	34,7	2,3/100	89	59
		97,1	30,8	56,5	—		
Allemand	321	2,3	95,5	0,2	1,9/100	107	44
		2,5	69,1	0,1	—		
Slovaque	158	0,5	0,2	99,7	—/100	126	74
		0,3	0,1	43,4	—		
	1293	100	100	100			

Source des calculs: *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv*, 1911. p. 348.

élèves non hongrois dans les écoles primaires de Budapest (soit 155 redoublants hongrois contre 230 Germanophones et 265 Slovaques sur 1000 élèves de chaque catégorie entre 1881/2 et 1888/9).¹⁶

Toutefois pareille violence culturelle frappe très inégalement les élèves germanophones et slovaques. La majorité de ces derniers est contrainte à s'inscrire dans l'école 'assimilatrice', tandis que ce n'est le cas que de moins d'un tiers de leurs camarades germanophones qui peuvent fréquenter massivement leurs propres écoles. Or non seulement l'autonomie scolaire des Germanophones apparaît comme bien plus grande, mais ceux-ci bénéficient d'une qualité d'encadrement nettement supérieure à ce qui est réservé à tous leurs coreligionnaires scolarisés, si l'on en croit le bas rapport numérique entre élèves et maîtres, près d'un tiers plus favorable dans les écoles allemandes que dans les écoles hongroises, et près de deux-tiers plus favorable que dans les établissements de langue slovaque. On peut donc conclure que les Luthériens germanophones, grâce à l'étendue et à la qualité de leur réseau propre d'écoles primaires, sont parvenus à opposer une résistance plus efficace que les autres allogènes à l'assimilation scolaire.

Il serait par trop hâtif de déduire de l'enseignement du tableau 4. que les élèves slovaques, plus souvent astreints à l'assimilation scolaire, en auraient été aussi les principaux bénéficiaires au sens d'une augmentation de leurs chances d'accéder à la scolarisation longue. Si, généralement parlant, c'est le contraire qui est vraie, c'est qu'il manquait à la plupart d'entre eux les conditions sociales essentielles de la réussite dans les études.

Pour expliquer ces inégalités, il faut tout d'abord rappeler les différences considérables qui opposent les Luthériens germanophones et hongrois à leurs autres coreligionnaires sous le rapport de leur appartenance de classe socio-professionnelle. Les premiers ressortissent dès le début de la période de la modernisation majoritairement à la paysannerie propriétaire, à la bourgeoisie artisanale et aux classes moyennes intellectuelles montantes, alors que les Slovaques relèvent massivement des micro-propriétaires ou de la

paysannerie sans terre avec une classe moyenne réduite pour l'essentiel aux clercs et aux instituteurs. L'Etat hongrois libéral mais nationaliste issu du Compromis austro-hongrois de 1867 a tout fait pour renforcer le grand immobilisme social des Slovaques. La mobilité vers la fonction publique est désormais exclusivement liée à la magyarisation culturelle à l'exception de rares groupes allogènes privilégiés, tels les Saxons de Transylvanie, dotés d'une large autonomie administrative et éducative (villes autonomes, lycées propres en langue allemande), qui peuvent ainsi contourner l'écueil de l'assimilation. Pour les Slovaques en revanche dès 1874 le gouvernement supprime — à son corps défendant il est vrai, et sous la pression de sa base nationaliste — les trois seuls lycées qui enseignent dans leur langue. Les mécanismes classiques de reproduction des milieux dotés de capitaux éducatifs importants ne jouent ainsi qu'un faible rôle dans la scolarisation des Luthériens slavophones.

En second lieu, le bilinguisme subi dans l'école assimilatrice que fréquentent la majorité des Slovaques ne peut guère se constituer en capital culturel spécifique parce que les langues régionales slaves en général et le slovaque en particulier n'ont à cette époque qu'un statut culturel bas et une utilité véhiculaire seulement locale, sans parler du fait que faute d'élite nationale suffisamment puissante — puisque la magyarisation de la noblesse slovaque est un fait largement accompli depuis au moins le *Vormärz* — ils ne donnent accès qu'à une civilisation symbolique restreinte aux classes populaires et à une petite couche d'intelligentsia qui en est issue et qui les dessert dans les écoles et les temples. Tout autre est la situation des Germanophones qui participent de la civilisation ayant dominance absolue dans le bassin danubien, et qui — plus concrètement — ont pour langue maternelle la langue officielle de l'Empire habsbourgeois (condition nécessaire de toute carrière dans l'armée, dans la diplomatie ou dans la haute administration communes aux deux parties de l'Empire), la première langue étrangère au lycée (et, de ce fait même, un important capital scolaire acquis), enfin la langue des principaux établissements d'enseignement supérieur de cette partie de l'Europe. En bref, la germanophonie ou le bilinguisme hungaro-allemand sont d'évidents facteurs de réussite scolaire et de promotion sociale, alors que le bilinguisme hungaro-slovaque ou la slavophonie sont des impasses en ces domaines (du moins jusqu'à l'effondrement de l'Empire).

Troisièmement les Luthériens slovaques ne disposent pas d'enseignement secondaire propre, alors que les autres grands groupes allogènes ont tous quelques lycées dans leur langue, tel les Roumains (4 établissements en 1900), les Serbes (1 établissement) ou les Luthériens allemands, particulièrement favorisés (avec 6 établissements). De plus les élèves de ces groupes peuvent recourir au réseau scolaire existant des Etats nationaux de leur groupe (le vieux royaume roumain, la Serbie, les pays germaniques), tandis que les Slovaques, anciennement établis au nord de la Hongrie, n'ont pas d'Etat national d'attache avec une langue de culture identique. Si les Slovaques aussi peuvent tirer bénéfice du contrat d'assimilation offert par l'élite nationaliste hongroise aux minorités allogènes, notamment au moyen de l'assimilation scolaire, ils sont manifestement relégués à une *position dominée dans cette relation d'assimilation*.

La sur-scolarisation des Germanophones

Ces inégalités ethniques internes à l'agrégat luthérien de Hongrie se répercutent sur les variations des chances de scolarisation de façon de plus en plus nette à mesure qu'on observe les niveaux supérieurs de la hiérarchie éducative. Toutefois les données ne sont pas suffisamment détaillées sur le recrutement des élèves par langue maternelle et types d'établissement pour en prendre la mesure sous une forme aussi clairement objectivée que dans l'école primaire.

Pourtant, à titre indicatif, la sur-scolarisation secondaire relative des Luthériens germanophones peut être démontrée en comparant les effectifs des lycées luthériens allemands de plein exercice, dont on sait qu'ils sont massivement luthériens et germanophones (avec seulement 5% d'élèves de langue maternelle autre que l'allemand) avec les effectifs des établissements secondaires luthériens de langue hongroise qui, on l'a vu dans le tableau 1., sont des *non* luthériens pour plus de leur moitié et qui ne sont qu'à trois quart des Hongrois. L'hypothèse, que les effectifs des lycées luthériens allemands équivalent à l'effectif global des luthériens allemands scolarisés dans les lycées luthériens, constitue une estimation minimale des effectifs de Germanophones. Ainsi, sur les 5264 élèves inscrits dans les lycées luthériens fin 1900/1901, les Luthériens sont seulement 2.632 dont 1.092 Germanophones selon l'estimation.¹⁷ La proportion de ces derniers devait donc dépasser 42% du total, soit nettement plus que la proportion des Allemands dans l'agrégat luthérien ou parmi les élèves luthériens du primaire.

Une autre estimation de l'appartenance ethnique, de nature différente, utilise la proportion des étudiants porteurs de noms de famille germaniques. Mon enquête sur les deux universités de Budapest vers 1900 a trouvé que 47% des diplômés ou des inscrits luthériens portaient un nom hongrois, 31% un nom allemand et 22% d'autres noms¹⁸. Le décalage, on voit, est très fort entre les chances des Allemands et des Slaves, au bénéfice des premiers, de figurer parmi les diplômés. Pour ce qui est du décalage entre Allemands et Hongrois (de nom), il devait être bien moindre en réalité que ne suggèrent ces chiffres. Une partie – difficile à évaluer – des Hongrois nominaux le sont devenus en vertu de la magyarisation de leur nom de famille un mouvement qui a pris son essor depuis le *Vormärz* pour atteindre son apogée à la fin du 19. siècle, dans l'enthousiasme patriotique suscité par la célébration du millénaire de la "conquête de la patrie" (1896). Or la poussée des magyarisations nominales s'exerçait bien davantage sur les porteurs des noms germaniques que sur les Slaves, entre autres parce que les noms de ces derniers s'intègre plus facilement dans le corpus des noms hongrois. (Par exemple bien des noms slaves formés par la terminaison avec vieux génitif *-ski, -sky*, suffixe exprimant l'appartenance à un lieu ou l'origine régionale, pouvaient passer pour des noms à particule hongrois, pareil rapprochement étant pratiquement exclu pour les noms allemands.) On peut donc penser que la proportion des étudiants luthériens *originaires des milieux germanophones* (ce qui ne prédit rien du degré de leur assimilation culturelle sur d'autres plans) devait être dans les deux principales universités nationales du même ordre de grandeur que la proportion de leurs camarades de souche hongroise. Une telle estimation confirme l'idée que les Luthériens allemands dépassaient de loin par leur probabilité de faire des études

supérieures tous leurs coreligionnaires ressortissant à d'autres groupes ethniques, y compris les Hongrois: il n'y a pas de doute qu'une fraction plus importante d'entre eux, comparée aux autres groupes, devaient, grâce à leurs compétences en allemand, s'inscrire dans les universités autrichiennes ou allemandes, avec lesquelles les établissements de Budapest, capitale encore provinciale avant la fin du siècle, ne pouvaient rivaliser en pouvoir de qualification ou en prestige scientifique.

Dans ces conditions, on est en droit d'avancer que la sur-scolarisation spécifique des Luthériens germanophones a pesé lourd dans la sur-scolarisation générale des candidats aux études de souche allemande dans la Hongrie de l'époque libérale, en dépit du fait que les Luthériens n'en aient constitué qu'une minorité: on peut en trouver la preuve — à défaut d'informations systématiquement croisées sur le culte et la langue maternelle dans les recensements scolaires — dans la répartition des élèves des écoles primaires selon les autorités de tutelle, sachant que les écoles publiques recevaient libéralement les élèves de tous les cultes mais que les écoles de chaque confession servaient presque exclusivement à la scolarisation des élèves du culte propre. Or parmi les 151.000 élèves germanophones qui fréquentent en 1910/11 une école primaire confessionnelle, il n'y a que 47.671 dans les établissements luthériens (soit seulement 31,6%).¹⁹ Si leurs chances scolaires sont supérieures à la moyenne, ils ont dû réhausser la moyenne de ces chances imputables à l'ensemble des Germanophones. C'est l'hypothèse qui apparaît comme la plus vraisemblable et qui semble se vérifier dans les indicateurs des niveaux de scolarisation des Germanophones en général à l'époque libérale, sans qu'on puisse, dans l'état actuel des recherches, séparer dans ces indices ce qui revient en propre aux Luthériens et aux autres Allemands d'origine (parmi lesquels il faut compter non seulement des Catholiques en grands nombres mais encore une minorité juive). En 1900 la proportion des alphabétisés atteint son maximum chez les Germanophones avec 67,9% contre 61% chez les Hongrois et seulement 50,1% chez les Slovaques, les autres minorités ethniques se situant à un niveau inférieur, à l'exception des Croates (avec 52,8%).²⁰

Pour 1910 on dispose d'une étude statistique fouillée concernant le 'poids culturel' des différentes nationalités définies par la langue maternelle déclarée.²¹ Certes, ce travail est le produit typique de l'ambiance ultra-nationaliste de l'entre-deux-guerres. Un de ses objectifs avoués n'est autre chose que la démonstration de la 'supériorité culturelle' des Hongrois, important élément de l'idéologie 'révisionniste' destinée à légitimer la domination (perdue) de la classe politique hongroise dans le bassin danubien, tout en essayant de laver du soupçon d'impérialisme culturel 'l'école assimilatrice' de l'époque libérale. Pourtant la lecture attentive de ces résultats statistiques *infirment* la thèse nationaliste: une interprétation sociologique un peu circonstanciée force en effet à placer les *Germanophones* au haut de l'échelle de l'instruction certifiée.

L'indice calculé prend en compte l'effet de la fréquence de tous les titres scolaires dans la population, ce qui situe les Hongrois au-dessus des Allemands, suivis de loin par les autres minorités ethniques. Hongrois et Allemands sont seuls à dépasser la moyenne nationale (et de beaucoup, avec un indice de 165 sur 100 pour les premiers et de 163 sur 100 pour les derniers). Les Hongrois ont de meilleurs scores pour l'enseignement long tandis que les Allemands ont des proportions moindres d'illettrés.²² Or trois corrections

importantes doivent être opérées, toutes trois au bénéfice des Germanophones, pour donner sens à cet artefact statistique.

Premièrement, comme l'auteur de l'étude confesse lui-même à propos des indices de scolarisation moyenne et supérieure médiocres des minorités: "... En raison de l'étroit contact, de la cohabitation et de l'inter-dépendance multi-séculaires des peuples Slovaque et Hongrois — et cela a dû jouer pour les Allemands aussi, vraisemblablement — *il arrivait plus souvent que les membres des classes cultivées se soient déclarés hongrois*, d'autant plus que ces deux dernières ethnies furent les plus fortement représentées dans la fonction publique."²³ (C'est moi qui souligne.)

Deuxièmement, étant donné que, vers 1910, la croissance rapide des effectifs de l'enseignement long est un phénomène historique encore récent et en pleine accélération, le *vieillessement* plus avancé de la population germanophone (avec seulement 23,4% de 15—29 ans contre 26,2% chez les Hongrois²⁴) a dû contribuer à minimiser leur indice global d'instruction secondaire et supérieur. Les jeunes étant relativement moins nombreux, les classes d'âge disposant du maximum de chance de scolarisation longue pèsent moins fortement dans l'indice global chez les Allemands que chez les Hongrois. En outre, dans l'ambiance nationaliste du début du siècle, c'est dans ces classes d'âge jeunes et bénéficiant d'un surcroît d'instruction, comparées avec leurs aînées, que la tentation (intéressée) à se déclarer hongrois devait être la plus irrésistible.

Troisièmement, il ne faut pas négliger le poids des minorités assimilées *d'origine germanophone* — surtout des Juifs et des Allemands eux-mêmes — dans le capital culturel certifié des Hongrois. Sachant que l'assimilation linguistique des minorités passait le plus souvent et le plus décisivement (sinon exclusivement) par une scolarisation poussée, les assimilés devaient significativement rehausser le niveau culturel général de l'ethnie majoritaire. Cela vaut surtout pour les Juifs réunissant le double caractère distinctif (et sans doute corrélatif) d'être, dès le tournant du siècle, le groupe allogène de loin le plus fortement scolarisé et le plus assimilé.

Tout compte fait *le niveau d'instruction moyen des Germanophones devait largement excéder en réalité le niveau des Hongrois de souche*. Les astuces statistiques ne permettent pas de masquer complètement cette inégalité en faveur d'une minorité d'origine composite mais contre laquelle les nationalistes hongrois de tous bords ne manquaient jamais les occasions — bonnes ou mauvaises — de se démarquer 'par le haut'.

Multi-linguisme et sur-scolarisation

De toutes ces analyses, qu'on propose à titre illustratif et dont on a délibérément simplifié la caractère technique parfois très lourd, on voudra surtout retenir l'importante analogie qui s'y dessine entre Juifs et Luthériens *quant aux effets des inégalités sociales à base ethnique sur les variations de leurs chances scolaires*. Chez les Luthériens on retrouve dans l'opposition entre une majorité de Germanophones, Hongrois et assimilés d'une part et les Slavophones d'autre part, un principe semblable d'inégalité scolaire que ce qui

oppose, *mutatis mutandis* les Juifs réformés, eux aussi majoritaires dans le judaïsme hongrois, à leurs coreligionnaires orthodoxes.

Cela veut dire d'abord qu'il faut inscrire en hausse tous les indices d'excellence scolaire et de sur-scolarisation établis pour l'ensemble de ces agrégats confessionnels au bénéfice de leurs fractions hongroise, assimilée ou germanophone. Du coup l'investissement scolaire de ces derniers apparaîtra comme encore plus important que ne le laissent croire les indices agrégés, les seuls disponibles. En même temps ces investissements se révèlent dans leur vraie nature, à savoir comme des stratégies de classe visant la reproduction ou la mobilité sociale inter-générationnelle des milieux luthériens et juifs des 'nouvelles' classes moyennes que recourent de plus en plus au capital d'instruction pour s'affirmer face aux 'anciennes' élites de naissance.

Cela signifie aussi que la dualité des attaches ethniques et culturelles des 'assimilés' (avec les civilisations hongroise et germanique), et la dominance persistante des liens le plus souvent *non* exclusifs avec la germanophonie, qui marque la majorité des Juifs et des Luthériens, fonctionnent à leur tour directement comme des éléments d'un capital culturel à pouvoir promotionnel considérable dans le champ social hongrois de l'époque de la modernisation. Or divers indices suggèrent que le bilinguisme ou le multi-linguisme reste à cette époque encore un trait majoritaire distinctif du profil culturel des deux agrégats.

Tableau 5. Le multilinguisme selon le culte en 1910

	En Hongrie entière		A Budapest	
	% des Hongrois unilingues sur l'ensemble (1)	% des unilingues parmi les Hongrois (2)	% des Hongrois sachant l'allemand	le slovaque (3)
Catholiques	52,6	80,5	36,2	7,1
Calvinistes	89,6	90,9	17,5	2,1
Luthériens	19,2	59,9	45,3	16,2
Juifs	30,2	39,0	65,3	7,4

Sources: (1) *Magyar statisztikai közlemények* N° 76, p. 35; (2) *Ibid.* N° 64, p. 78; (3) *Budapest főváros statisztikai évkönyve*, 1909-1912, p. 44.

Le tableau 5. démontre clairement, une fois de plus, la généralité du multi-linguisme chez les Juifs et les Luthériens mais aussi la fréquence de la connaissance de l'allemand (même chez les Hongrois de souche) qui dépasse les compétences linguistiques des membres des autres groupes confessionnels. La rareté de la connaissance du slovaque ne saurait sans doute s'interpréter comme l'indice d'une rareté du même ordre des Slovaques 'magyarisés'. Les Slovaques 'assimilés' n'ont simplement, en toute probabilité, gardé l'usage de la langue de leurs ascendants, parce que celle-ci n'a qu'une faible utilité véhiculaire en dehors des régions de peuplement slovaque et dans les élites (vers lesquelles se dirigent les projets de mobilité sociale): c'est une langue à 'surface sociale' faible dans

une structure de classes où les élites locales sont de culture hongroise ou/et (moins souvent) germanophones, mais dont l'action se déploie sur presque tous les plans (politique, économique, culturel et éducatif) sous le signe de la dominance allemande. Cette dominance objective de la civilisation allemande en Hongrie à l'époque de la modernisation garantit à l'allemand un statut exceptionnel, sans comparaison avec les autres langues d'allogènes, d'où son taux de conservation élevé même chez les Germanophones les plus assimilés.

Du coup la continuité du bilinguisme chez les Juifs et les Luthériens (même si sa généralité tendra à s'atténuer entre les deux guerres), ne saurait s'analyser comme une simple survivance du passé, (des 'origines allogènes') qui, condamnée à la disparition dans le processus d'assimilation, apparaîtrait comme une contingence dans l'évolution des rapports de force dans les élites dirigeantes. Tout au contraire, le bilinguisme, accompagné dans les classes cultivées du bi-culturalisme, sont devenus de puissants facteurs de différenciation au titre d'atout distinctif – pour parler brièvement – des nouvelles élites économiques et culturelles, à forte composante juive et luthérienne. Ne pouvant livrer ici une analyse détaillée des fonctions sociales du biculturalisme, je me limite à ses implications en tant que principe de réussite et d'orientation dans les études.

On a déjà évoqué le statut universitaire prééminent de l'allemand et les vertus promotionnelles générales en termes de chances scolaires du multi-culturalisme bien maîtrisé. Il faut ajouter que l'indigénat germanophone garantit naturellement des avantages dans l'apprentissage de l'allemand, première langue vivante obligatoire dans le cursus des lycées, mais aussi des facilités dans l'acquisition d'autres langues vivantes, dont l'importance dans la hiérarchie des matières d'enseignement a toujours été très grande en Hongrie (comme partout en Europe Centrale et Orientale – pays culturellement dominés). C'est peut-être là qu'il faut chercher l'origine de la mauvaise posture des Calvinistes, unilingues hongrois notoires (et souvent fiers de l'être) – comme cela ressort du tableau 1. – qui sont inférieurs même aux Catholiques sur toutes les échelles de l'excellence scolaire dans la scolarisation longue.²⁵ Ainsi les Calvinistes ont des résultats très médiocres au baccalauréat où les notes en langues vivantes pèsent fortement dans la note globale, alors que ces mêmes Calvinistes semblent mieux réussir (nettement mieux le plus souvent que les Catholiques) à l'école primaire (si on y mesure le succès par exemple par les taux faibles des redoublements, dans lesquels on a cru pouvoir déceler l'effet du prix attaché à l'alphabétisation religieuse en milieu protestant).²⁶ Quoi qu'il en soit, la connaissance de l'allemand est un atout directement monnayable dans les études universitaires entre autres, parce que, en raison du sous-développement de l'infrastructure pédagogique et scientifique nationale – cela vaut évidemment plus au 19. qu'au 20. siècle – une partie du matériel d'enseignement (manuels, cours polycopiés des professeurs émérites – qui avaient encore enseigné en allemand –, ouvrages de référence, etc.) n'est disponible qu'en allemand.

S'il en est ainsi, on comprend que l'indigénat germanophone ou – ce qui revient au même – la réappropriation ultérieure des compétences linguistiques jadis existantes dans la famille mais 'oubliées' chez les descendants (sous les contraintes de l'assimilation), ou encore la reproduction élargie de telles compétences (par l'acquisition de nouvelles

connaissances linguistiques), ce qui était une pratique courante dans la bourgeoisie juive même non intellectuelle mais aussi dans les autres fractions des classes moyennes montantes, ait pu jouer un rôle décisif dans l'*orientation 'moderniste' des études*. Pareil effet s'est exprimé surtout dans l'enseignement supérieur par l'orientation soit vers les disciplines de type 'universaliste' (médecine, sciences et techniques), soit vers les matières culturelles 'occidentales' (lettres et philologie allemande, française, anglaise etc.), c'est-à-dire vers des options thématiques où l'accès à l'information scientifique passait presque obligatoirement par l'allemand, voire parfois par d'autres langues étrangères, et cela à partir d'un niveau d'études assez bas, dès la préparation aux diplômes de base, sans parler du doctorat ou de la recherche. Dans l'entre-deux-guerres ce principe d'orientation pèsera fortement dans le cursus secondaire aussi, notamment dans le choix préférentiel de la filière 'moderne' (*Realgymnasium* créé en 1924), un cursus avec mathématiques renforcées et où les langues vivantes remplacent le grec. L'incidence du multilinguisme permet d'expliquer pour partie les raisons pour lesquelles Juifs et Luthériens optent plus souvent que les autres pour le *Realgymnasium* et moins souvent pour le lycée humaniste classique. De même, une partie de la sur-représentation très précoce (observable dès les années 1870-1880) des Juifs en médecine, dans les études techniques, voire un peu plus tard (après 1900) dans les filières 'cosmopolites' des facultés des lettres, ou de la sur-représentation constante à peine moins remarquable des Germanophones en général et des Luthériens en particulier à la Polytechnique de Budapest, doit être imputée au taux de biculturalisme répandu dans ces milieux et, concrètement, à leur connaissance de l'allemand. Cette proposition, dont la portée devrait être précisée dans des analyses plus approfondies, ne tend pas à minimiser le poids d'autres variables dans l'orientation scolaire et dont la plupart vont dans le même sens.

En guise de conclusion: modernisme et allogénat

Qu'il suffise ici d'insister sur le caractère résolument 'moderniste' de ces options, dans la mesure où elles conduisent soit vers les professions techniques neuves (études d'ingénieur, traduction littéraire et scientifique, etc.), soit vers des filières classiques dont les marchés devaient connaître une rapide expansion (médecine), en tous cas vers les carrières comportant un fort potentiel de renouvellement et d'innovation intellectuelle (par le biais de la recherche scientifique). La compétence linguistique a été dans ces filières un facteur tout à fait empirique de la réussite, étant donné l'état semi-colonial des arts et des sciences hongrois tout au long de l'ancien régime. Maintes fois il suffisait d'importer — c'est-à-dire de traduire — les nouveautés intellectuelles des pays développés pour se constituer un important capital culturel valant son pesant d'or sur le marché intellectuel local. La grande fréquence des traductions d'ouvrages littéraires et scientifiques dans l'édition hongroise, des pièces étrangères jouées dans les théâtres, des revues étrangères importées, etc. porte un ample témoignage de ce phénomène.

Il convient de souligner que cet élément du sous-développement intellectuel, loin d'être un handicap dans le processus de modernisation, en est devenu un des principaux moteurs.

C'est l'existence de ces classes cultivées multi-culturelles, tournées vers l'Occident et, en même temps, de plus en plus enracinées dans la civilisation nationale – grâce au contrat social assimilationniste – qui a autorisé l'extraordinaire bouillonnement intellectuel de la capitale hongroise au début du siècle, gage d'un développement rapide des sciences et des arts. Si Budapest mérite *de façon de plus en plus positive* l'appellation inventée jadis comme terme de mépris: banlieue de Vienne (*Wienvorstadt*), c'est que ses nouvelles élites cultivées, issues largement des milieux germanophones, ont efficacement rapproché les performances des deux capitales en matière de production symbolique.

Le pendant antisémite de ce surnom (Budapest – *Judapest*) exprimait au fond non moins positivement l'importance décisive de la composante juive dans cette civilisation qui a fait de la ville danubienne une des principales métropoles mondiales de la modernité culturelle à la veille de la Grande Guerre. D'ailleurs c'est encore elle qui a permis la croissance exceptionnellement rapide d'une industrie de pointe locale de niveau européenne, alors que l'économie hongroise est restée dans son ensemble archaïque (avec plus de la moitié de la population active dans l'agriculture). Ces mêmes milieux servaient aussi de base de sélection aux écoles de pensée et de création par lesquelles les Hongrois se sont le plus brillamment inscrits dans les mouvements des idées du XX. siècle, qu'il s'agisse de l'École psychanalytique dite 'de Budapest' (illustrée par les noms de Ferenczi, de Róheim ou de Szondi), des sociologues (Mannheim, Polányi, Lukács, Jászi), des artistes et théoriciens des arts contemporains (tel Béla Balázs ou Moholy-Nagy, un des artisans du *Bauhaus*), etc. pour nommer les sommets les plus visibles (parce que s'étant exprimés en allemand) de cet iceberg intellectuel.

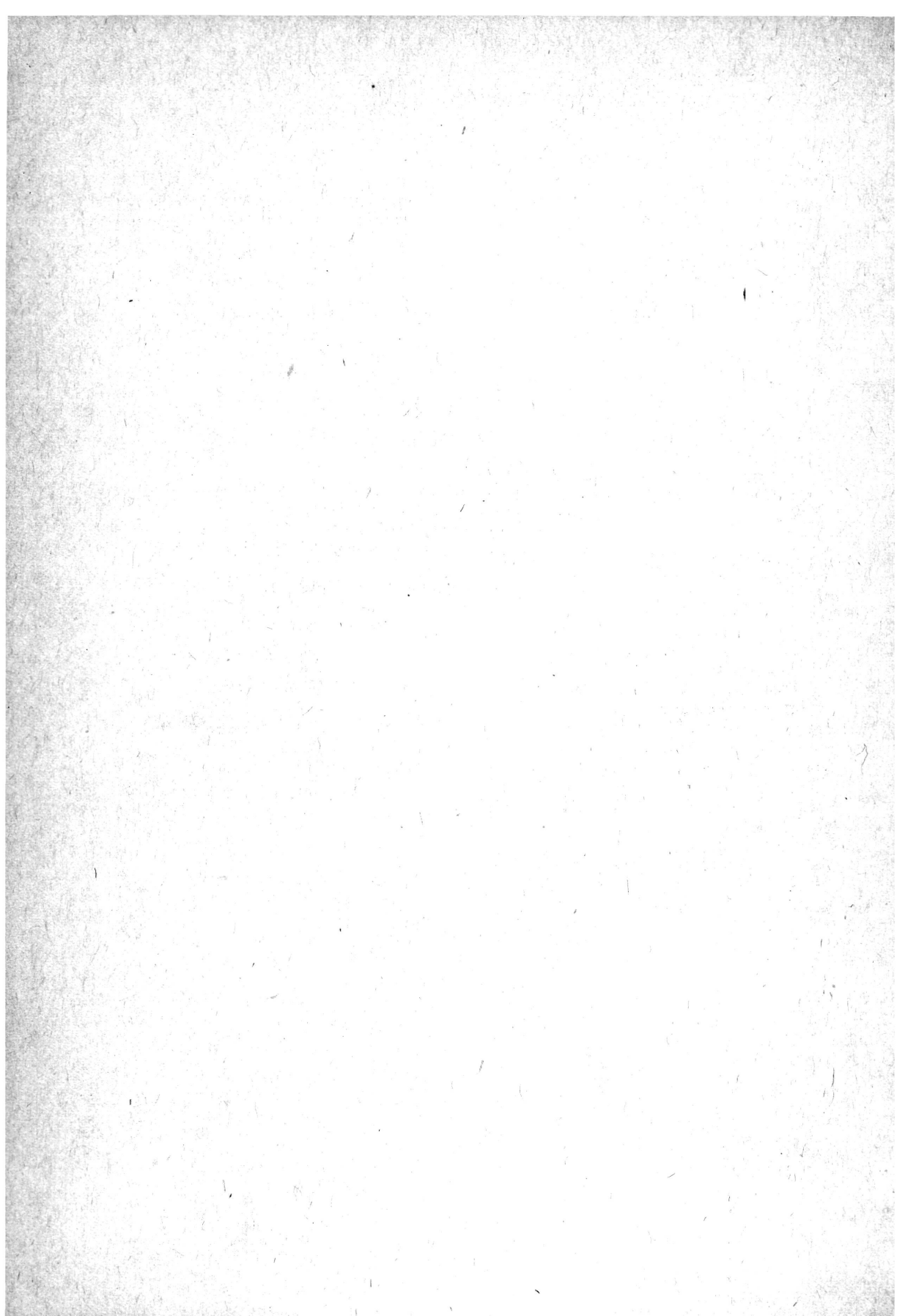
On sait ce que la dispersion à l'étranger de cette intelligentsia originale devait à l'effondrement de l'Empire et à la disparition du régime libéral. Si de très nombreux futurs grands musiciens, artistes, économistes ou autres fondateurs de la science informatique, de l'aérodynamique ou de la physique nucléaire ont fait carrière à l'étranger, au lieu d'enrichir sur place le patrimoine symbolique national, comme leurs aînés ont fait au début du siècle, c'est que, étant presque toujours issus de la bourgeoisie juive d'origine germanique, ils ont été poussés à l'émigration sous le règne du *numerus clausus* (depuis 1920) ou empêchés de faire leur chemin dans le pays (pour laisser la place aux adeptes du 'changement de la garde' – hungarophones garantis), et devaient ainsi faire valoir leurs dons et qualifications sur les marchés intellectuels occidentaux: d'abord généralement en Allemagne où ils avaient leurs entrées (dans la République de Weimar), puis dans les pays anglo-saxons.

Ajoutons pourtant que leur trace n'a pas entièrement disparu sur les bords du Danube. C'est eux qui ont créé cette tradition de la modernité 'à l'occidentale' qui reste agissante (souvent, il est vrai, par des voies camouflées) dans la Hongrie contemporaine.

Notes

1. Voir à ce sujet V. Karady, "Jewish enrollment patterns in classical secondary education in Old Regime and inter-war Hungary", *Studies in Contemporary Jewry* I. 1984, pp. 225–252: "Juifs et Luthériens dans l'enseignement secondaire hongrois." *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, N° 69, sept. 1987, pp. 67–85.

2. Cf. V. Karady, 'Juifs et Luthériens. . .', *op. cit.* surtout p. 79 sq.
3. Cf. *Magyar statisztikai közlemények*, N° 27, pp. 132-133.
4. Les Grecs Catholiques ou Uniates (11% de la population en 1910) et les Grecs Orthodoxes (12,7%) ne fournissent dans l'année scolaire 1910/11 que respectivement 4,4% des élèves de l'enseignement secondaire des garçons et seulement 1,7% (pris ensemble) de l'enseignement secondaire des filles. Cf. *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv*, 1911, p. 382.
5. Cf. *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv*, 1901, pp. 337-338.
6. Cf. *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv*, 1901, p. 329; *ibid.* 1910, pp. 368-369.
7. Cf. *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv*, 1911, p. 366.
8. Les écoles primaires uniates et grecques orthodoxes ont en effet largement gardé leur caractère allogène. En 1910 encore, soit trois années après l'adoption de la fameuse *Lex Apponyi*, portant accélération de la magyarisation des écoles allogènes, 40% des écoles uniates ont pour langue d'enseignement le hongrois, tandis que cette proportion avoisine le zéro (soit 8 écoles sur 1436) pour les Grecs Orthodoxes. Base des calculs: *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv*, 1911, p. 348.
9. Voir pour les sources des calculs *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv* 1901, pp. 318-320 (pour la distribution territoriale des écoles primaires) et *Magyar statisztikai közlemények* 64, pp. 100-103 (pour la répartition de la population par les cultes).
10. Cf. *Magyar statisztikai közlemények* 61, p. 541.
11. Cette opposition se traduit par exemple dans les contrastes entre les taux d'éducation secondaire régionaux. Tandis que la proportion des hommes ayant accompli au moins 4 classes de lycée parmi ceux qui ont 6 ans ou plus en 1910 est seulement de 0,9% dans le comté de Máramaros, elle est de 18% à l'est de la Tisza, 25,3% en Transdanubie (à l'Ouest du Danube) et 43% à Budapest. Base des calculs: *Magyar statisztikai közlemények* 61, pp. 540-541.
12. Cf. G. Cohen, *The Politics of Ethnic Survival. Germans in Prague*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1981.
13. Voir sur ce sujet V. Karady, "Juifs et luthériens. . ." *op. cit.* p. 71 sq.
14. Calculs faits d'après *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv*, 1911, p. 348.
15. *Ibid. loc. cit.*
16. Calculs faits d'après *Budapest főváros statisztikai közleményei*, N° 24, 1890, p. 59 sq.
17. Cf. *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv*, 1901, p. 337.
18. Cf. V. Karady, "Assimilation and schooling: national and denominational minorities in the universities of Budapest around 1900", *Hungarian studies* (à paraître).
19. Cf. *Magyar statisztikai évkönyv*, 1911, p. 348.
20. Cf. *Publications statistiques hongroises*, N° 27, p. 164.
21. Cf. *Statisztikai szemle* 1936, N° 12, pp. 997-1002.
22. *Ibid.* p. 999.
23. *Ibid. loc. cit.*
24. Calculs faits d'après *Statisztikai szemle*, 1934, N° 10, p. 832.
25. Cf. les données empiriques à ce sujet in V. Karady, "Juifs et luthériens. . .", *op. cit.* p. 67. sq.
26. Cf. les données sur les taux de redoublement différentiels et leur interprétation *ibid.* pp. 68-69.



KÁLLAY AT THE HELM

ALADÁR SZEGEDY-MASZÁK

Aladár Szegedy-Maszák (1903–1988) was educated at the University of Economics, Budapest, the Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques, Paris, and the University of Heidelberg. From 1928 he held several posts as a diplomat. In March 1943 – when he was Assistant Chairman of the Political Department of the Foreign Ministry – he went to Stockholm to inform the Western Allies of the Hungarian government. A few months later he became the Head of the same Department and as such played a leading role in the attempts made by Miklós Kállay's government to get the support of the Allies for its anti-German policy. In the summer of 1943 he wrote a memorandum, making propositions about post-war Central Europe and offering them for the consideration of the Western powers. This document was received by the British Foreign Office in August 1943. On 19 March 1944 he was deported to Dachau concentration camp. In 1945 he married Hanna Kornfeld and became Ambassador in Washington. The following year he resigned and settled down in the U. S. Between 1950 and 1969 he worked for the Voice of America. The following text is a chapter from his unpublished memoirs.

By the time of Darányi's fall from power it was already widely known that Béla Imrédy would be his successor. When Imrédy himself was heading towards failure, he saw his most likely successor in Pál Teleki. Under Bárdossy, the choice narrowed down to Miklós Kállay and Miklós Kozma. The Regent trusted them, for they seemed to be immune to the ideological spell of Nazism and their political capabilities were recognized by all concerned. Nor were they encumbered by the kinds of ties in foreign affairs which had automatically excluded Ferenc Keresztes-Fischer from the list of potential prime-ministers in the days of German supremacy. Kozma had originally belonged to the counter-revolutionary faction, but had since broken all ties with the grouping. His quarrel with Béla Marton had, at the time, practically set the seal on this break. By virtue of his background, personality and relationship with Bethlen, Kállay seemed to embody a form of historical continuity. As Kozma's untimely death excluded him from the list, only Kállay remained as the last reserve. All those who entertained doubts about Bárdossy's weakness and tendency to drift, saw a way out in Kállay. Lipót Baranyai would often say what a reassuring and encouraging experience it was to talk to Kállay, to listen to his calm, sober and often aphoristic comments, and to see him looking after his horses on his estate. In other words he saw in Kállay the type of traditional Hungarian political talent which might yet be able to lead Hungary out of the situation it had been forced into by the Second World War. After all, Kállay could identify with nothing but Hungary.

Keresztes-Fischer also warned Kállay to be on the alert, and other supporters of the status quo may well have helped to pave his way to power, or at least tried to make him aware of the great challenge which awaited him.

To a certain extent, Kállay was already something of an anachronism in the Hungary of which destiny had paced him at the helm. Like Bethlen he belonged to the pre-1914 world and had remained completely immune to the spirit of the age, and especially to its Nazi variation. On the whole he saw the entire middle-class as "the gentry" and as the continuation of, or even the substitute for, the historical middle stratum. At first he had considered that the peasantry and the working class would only develop into a significant political force in the distant future; later, however, he saw that they would have to be reckoned with as a political force immediately after the war. He was a Hungarian phenomenon, who, so to speak, totally fulfilled the requirement that Babits had called "nil admirari" — he always retained his political composure and natural detachment whether in Hitler's headquarters or on the eve of March 19th. He had an extremely pertinent sense of "shuttle-cock" politics, the so called "Kállay two-step", and of the Transylvanian political tradition to which, however, he didn't really belong, because he only wanted to shuttle between the Germans and the Anglo-Saxons, and not between the Germans and the Russians. The logical conclusion of pursuing the Transylvanian political tradition would, however, have required the latter compromise as well, for Transylvania had, whenever necessary, formed alliances with all kinds of pagans.

Kállay descended from one of these rare Hungarian families who had kept hold of their original estates and who, almost without exception, had always played a leading political role in their county, the county of Szabolcs. The one exception, perhaps, was Béni Kállay who, after serving in the Austro-Hungarian consulate managed to get as far as the common Ministry of Finance, and as the governor of Bosnia-Herzegovina pursued a policy of tolerant enlightened absolutism. He was an excellent historian and wrote a whole series of books about Serbia and the Serbs. He was one of the truly outstanding Hungarians of the 19th century, an excellent and unchauvinistic representative of the Monarchy's Balkan policy. Apart from that, the family had never played a leading role in national politics, although as part of the noble *bene possessionati* they always belonged to the authentic ruling stratum. In 1931–32, Tibor Kállay, who was Minister of Finance in the post-war period of inflation and financial reorganization, had been a supporter of bourgeois liberalism, but he soon retired from public life. Miklós Kállay had been under-secretary of state for commerce and, as a supporter of Bethlen, had played a fairly significant role in bringing about the downfall of Gyula Károlyi. In Gömbös's government he was Minister of Agriculture, but resigned his post along with Ferenc Keresztes-Fischer at the time of the Gömbös-Bethlen split. Later the Regent — with whom he enjoyed a close personal friendship — appointed him president of the Irrigation Office and a member of the Upper House. He stood well apart from everyday politics but not from public affairs. Politics were in his blood.

Kállay wrote that he had only accepted the premiership after the Regent's repeated efforts at persuasion. This was because he felt his time has not yet come — or rather the time for attempting a policy of distantiation from the Germans. In spite of this, however,

the appointment did not come as a surprise, but rather represented a form of promotion which had been due for at least several months. After all, Bárdossy had very quickly exhausted the somewhat generous measure of faith which had been afforded to a man who had once been one of the most brilliant and promising members of the Hungarian diplomatic corps.

Kállay then submitted a five point programme to the Regent calling for a campaign to "preserve the independence that Hungary still possessed... and to look for the restoration of the independence that had been lost." (Kállay, *Memoirs*, p. 12) The demands of the Germans should be resisted, but occupation avoided. The army should be kept in tact and contacts should be sought and established with the English under the pretext of anti-communism. At first it would be necessary to make pro-German gesture and statements in order to dispel German mistrust and suspicion. Horthy approved of the programme and assured Kállay a considerably free hand. Bárdossy, whom he briefly informed of his plans and to whom he offered the portfolio of Foreign Minister, received him antagonistically. He considered his plans dangerous and said: "You will run after the English and never catch them... There is no changing the fact that if Germany is defeated we too shall finish on the list of defeated enemies. That was decided in the First World War and at Trianon." (Kállay, *Memoirs*, p. 19)* But in spite of feeling deeply offended, Bárdossy acted loyally and did not create any difficulties; indeed he apparently paved Kállay's way in Berlin through Michaelis. He did not, however, accept the post of Foreign Minister, which actually suited Kállay down to the ground. With the exception of Bárdossy, Kállay made no further changes to the cabinet, several members of which Keresztes-Fischer had to persuade to stay on.

Kállay therefore had to cope with the mistrust of the governing party as well as that of the Germans. During their first talks, several leading members informed him that it was mainly out of loyalty to the Regent that they were prepared to support him. And even then, there were certain conditions: he would have, for example, to make concession to "public opinion" on the Jewish question, would have to be prepared to make pro-German statements, and would have to reassure the supporters of Gömbös, who saw him as the enemy of their former leader because in 1935 he had resigned from the government and left the party over the business of dissolving parliament. Above all, Kállay emphasized the issue of independence (of which the right wing politicians who feared Bolshevism and saw security in Germany, had little understanding). He told them that he was willing to make concessions at the expense of the Jews, but only such as did not effect their equal rights and human dignity (labour service, for example, did not satisfy these conditions), and he was not prepared to uncritically adopt foreign formulae. He would exert financial pressure on them by revoking their right to own land – a step which, according to his *Memoirs*, he anyway considered a question of sequence, because, along with Ferenc Keresztes-Fischer he knew perfectly well that the expropriation of estates would be inevitable after the war. (Kállay, *Memoirs*, pp. 67–77) And he was right. When, long before he became premier, his sons were choosing their careers, his chief advice to them was not to contemplate an education in agriculture because, when the time came, they would never be able to run their own estates. Thus Kristóf went into the Hungarian diplo-

*Nicholas Kállay: *Hungarian Premier* (New York, Columbia UP. 1954.)

matic service, András chose a military career, and Miklós went into foreign trade. It is a somewhat curious coincidence that Kristóf went on from the diplomatic service to make a career for himself in the FAO, while András became the manager of an agricultural plant in Germany, and Miklós, after being a prisoner of war in Russia and washing dishes at home, ended up as an interpreter for the Hungarian Ministry of Agriculture.

Returning to the matter of the governing party, Kállay realized after his opening talks that he would be unable to speak sincerely before the party in the future – which was already clear from his maiden speech on March 12th. After paying a tribute to Bárdossy, he stressed that to be fit descendants of our ancestors who had accepted European culture, but always through the course of a thousand years remained independent, we should have to “take part in the struggle against Eastern barbarism” and “fight for Christianity and for the fulfilment of our great Hungarian ideals”. He held the Jewish question to be “the most virulent social problem of our day” and made a few unambiguously anti-semitic statements. He spoke of the “restriction of the Jews in the economic field” as a “basic precondition for the economic progress of the Hungarian people”. His speech “did not meet with a particularly warm reception”, Kállay wrote, although he had been forced under all circumstances to camouflage his real intentions: to save Hungary from German occupation. (Kállay, *Memoirs*, pp. 72–77)

It is a strange turn of fate that Kállay delivered his programme-speech to parliament on March 19th. He emphasized that the war we were fighting was our own war and that our participation was in our own best interests. He stressed that the national interest was the top priority, and that it was Hungary’s “historical mission” to serve as the shield of Christianity. The stability of Hungarian foreign policy had to be taken as a given historical, psychological and geopolitical fact. He committed himself to the satisfaction of the nationalities’ demands for equal rights. He sought good relations with his neighbours and did not enter into a polemic with the two Antonescus. He considered the social stratification of Hungary unhealthy, because any attempt to bridge the gap left by the decline of the middle-nobility with the peasantry was prevented by the impermeable stratum of the Jewry, (this was a completely groundless argument and excessive even as an exaggeration). At the same time he avoided all racist points of view. In one of his April speeches, Kállay actually urged the deportation of the Jews – after the war emphasis was not on the act itself, but on its timing. His speech was warmly received by the governing party, but more coldly by the Germans.

The Rumanian response to Kállay’s speech took the form of a fierce attack by Mihai Antonescu. Kállay didn’t answer directly, but sent a message to the Rumanian government via the embassy in Bucharest, saying that they should “take as a basis the assumption that the Transylvanian problem had not been solved either by the Treaty of Trianon or by the Vienna award”. (Kállay, *Memoirs*, p. 84) A solution would only be possible after the war; until then they should try to accept the status quo and treat their respective minorities well. Antonescu refused to accept this position, but proposed cooperation in foreign affairs, the first step towards this being the exchange of information as a precondition of at least a kind of mutual trust between the two governments. This gave the game away somewhat. Kállay pressed for more precise details

about the proposed cooperation, but received no answer. Relations deteriorated still further. In one of his speeches Antonescu demanded that the Rumanian frontier be extended to the river Tisza as his predecessors had done at the time of Trianon. The grievances of the minorities also intensified. The Rumanians regularly sent Hungarians out to the Russian front and always into the front lines. Kállay invited Jagow to visit and told him that the situation was intolerable. He had also received information that "the German authorities in southern Transylvania were ostentatiously supporting the Rumanians and showing an anti-Magyar attitude". He urged that the German government should "instruct the German occupying authorities in Rumania not to show bias and not to abet the Rumanians in their excuses". (Kállay, *Memoirs*, pp. 87–88) The result was a long overdue invitation to Hitler's headquarters. Kállay took me with him, along with Szentmiklós and János Vörös. He dictated his notes for the talks to me. On the way we were also joined by Sztójay.

Kállay was under no illusions about the situation. When a friend congratulated him, saying: "Miklós, now you really are in the saddle", he answered: "Yes, but I have no horse beneath me." Even if the comment was apocryphical, it none the less reflected the truth: he had no genuine power base for the policies he sought to — and actually did — pursue. The state apparatus, the legislature and the establishment in general were, on the whole, behind him, and he also had control over peace-keeping forces at home. All the same, he had no real military power at his disposal. The army could not be used against the Germans for it was impossible to expect it to make a sudden 180 degree turn, as became clear on October 15th. Kállay was well aware of this, which is why tactical means and manoeuvres played such a prominent role in his politics. It was also the reason why he did not have — and perhaps could not have had — any plans with which to cope with the event of a German occupation. He was a prisoner of the basic weakness of the Hungarian state, and try as he might there was little he could do. It was possible *not* to do certain things, but positive action was already beyond contemplation. This weak Hungarian state did at least, however, possess a kind of internal equilibrium which could only be upset from above — or else by means of external interference of the kind represented by March 19th. Kállay preserved this equilibrium along with all its positive virtues, and it was also down to him that Hungary was not bombed, despite the fact that she continued to serve as a vital cog in the German war machine. In spite of Kállay's ultimate failure, this was undoubtedly an enormous achievement. The merciless turn of events led to the fact that his premiership constituted the final chapter in the series of delaying tactics which had been in progress since 1938. He could not, however, come up with a way avoiding catastrophe.

Although Kállay was highly conscious of the national past and of that traditional Hungarian sense of historical mission which brought with it a feeling of superiority over her neighbours, he was still no chauvinist. Chauvinism and intolerance are not shortcomings characteristic of the aristocracy. In any case, social and political democratization do not provide a solution to such intolerance as was illustrated by the example of not only national socialism and Clemenceau's France, but also by that of the Soviet Union and Ceausescu's Rumania. Perhaps the most interesting example, however, is

that of the racial problem in America: the upper and educated strata display an attitude of deeply rooted liberalism, while Middle America is much more rigid in this respect. Most of the real Prussian Junkers stood well above the Nazis – fact born out by the list of persons executed in the murderous July 20th reprisals. In the 19th century, Széchenyi's sense of national identity was far more tolerant than that of Kossuth, and the die-hard conservatives had a far greater understanding of the historical justification of federal and pluralist ideologies than did, for example, Kálmán Tisza. Consequently, Kállay made a concerted effort to reach an agreement with his neighbours, both in his speeches and in the field of diplomacy. But his efforts were neither listened to, nor reciprocated. For Bucharest, Bratislava and Zagreb, it was more important to stay close to Berlin than to Budapest, and the Germans agreed with this logic whole-heartedly. But then, this way of thinking was not entirely alien to the Hungarians either.

Kállay's approach to social issues was basically patriarchal, even though he did take into consideration the great transformations which would follow the war. Right up until the end of the war, he viewed the preservation of the status quo as a political necessity; but whatever is written or said about him, he never for a moment believed that this could be carried over intact into the post-war era. At the same time, however, he still did not consider the peasantry to be a force which could be activated politically in the short term, and always remained a little mistrustful of the masses. You don't know just how right-wing this country really is – he would say whenever we broached the question of needing to appeal to the masses. It would not be too much of an exaggeration to say that he could conceive of no potential political ally other than the notary and the teacher. In this respect his opinion changed considerably during his emigration and he made many a bitter and aphoristic comment about the "Old Hungary" of which he had been such a prominent representative. My father-in-law once said: "It's not surprising that the Hungarian people have no backbone; after all, we have been doing our best to break it for centuries." In one of his lectures he referred to Werbőczy as a thwarter of progress, adding: "Feudalism was a prison easy to get in to, but impossible to get out of". He would sadly repeat that after 67 not enough had been done to promote the advance of the Hungarian people, and the replenishment and expansion of the middle class with elements from the peasantry. In New York we seldom met; partly because I was always hurrying home after working at "The Voice", and partly because I didn't want to impose on him. It is understandable that his memories began to merge together. Thus, when his Memoirs appeared, he showed them to me, but didn't offer me a dedicated copy, and I didn't ask for one either. We let matters rest at that. This is why, unfortunately, I have very few personal reminiscences dating from that period. Of one thing, however, I am quite certain: he saw everything in a much wider perspective than previously, and continued to struggle with problems of Hungarian history and with the fate of his nation. He had intended his memories first and foremost to serve as a kind of apologia for the Hungarian cause. And it was precisely for this reason that he did not paint a full picture of the more right-wing elements of the governing party, and of the highly objectionable role of some of its ministers. That is why his book is, regrettably, somewhat smaller than his political achievement.

In spite of being a basically calm and balanced man, Kállay was sometimes carried away by his own oratory. The reason for this was that with outspoken radical statements it was sometimes possible to avoid taking radical action (for example in the Jewish question), and it was also possible to dispel the undisguised mistrust with which the right and the Germans received him. The Germans had no doubts about Kállay's personality and political credo. They saw him as representing precisely the type of feudal-liberal Hungarian politician whom they utterly despised. They associated this type with pro-English pipe-dreams and saw therein an obstacle to Nazification. Another reason for Kállay's exaggerations was a certain impassiveness in his approach which tended towards cynicism, and towards an underestimation of the power and significance of words. He viewed politics and oratory or journalism to be two separate and independent categories. He may well have been encouraged in this by Ullein Reviczky, whose temperament was also inclined towards exaggeration. From the very start, however, there were passages in Kállay's speeches which differed radically from the dominant phraseology current in Axis circles at the time, and he expressed his real position on the Jewish question and on the Western powers very clearly indeed. He never inveighed against England or America; he only ever attacked Bolshevism, which was not only in keeping with his convictions, but also served as a useful alibi – rather like, for example, Ceausescu's anti-imperialist invective today.

In the meantime the "state of war" with America – which in December had been considered to be of only theoretical significance, and to which Roosevelt had not even reacted, being then of the opinion that the USA should ignore all such declarations of war from puppet-governments – had become mutual and thus also unequivocal. America now added Hungary to her list of enemy powers. According to Hull, Roosevelt's position had changed because Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria were offering increasing military support to the adversaries of the USA. With this and also the Russians in mind, Roosevelt decided, after several weeks of deliberation, to send an ultimatum (without a dead-line) via Switzerland to Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria, according to which the president would recommend the declaration of war to congress unless these governments produced sufficient proof of their intention to stop supplying military aid to the Axis powers.

Before sending the ultimatum, which would irrevocably determine these three nations as enemy states, Atherton, the deputy head of the European Department, wanted, by means of a propaganda campaign, to warn all these nations of the advantages of avoiding a state of war with America. To this end he suggested postponing the already drafted telegram until such a time as the results of the campaign could be established. Finally, he listed among his reasons the fact that, according to his information, Rumania and Bulgaria had lately been displaying a more rigid attitude towards Germany. He also attributed considerable significance to such Hungarian developments as the appointment of the "notoriously anti-German" Kállay, which he took as an indication of the failure of the Germans to select their own second-in-command. This suggested that the Hungarians no longer believed that Germany was in any position to force them into complete submission. What Atherton was not aware of was the balance of power, and he found

little support among his superiors. On March 24th the telegram was sent to Bern, and the Hungarian embassy in Switzerland forwarded it to the Hungarian government on April 7th. The text of the ultimatum emphasized the friendship of the Americans towards the Hungarian people. The Hungarians answered that they were fighting a defensive war against the Soviet Union as a consequence of the bombing of Kassa (Kosice). The Germans disapproved of the fact that the Hungarians had answered at all, because the Rumanians and the Bulgarians had sent no reply.

America's next step came during Molotov's visit to Washington, and was somewhat theatrically arranged. After lunch on May 30th, Roosevelt told Molotov that he couldn't bring himself to declare war on Rumania(!) as this would amount to no more than a waste of strength. That may well be, replied Molotov, but the Romanians are fighting the Russians. Roosevelt then turned to the members of the congress foreign affairs committee who were also present and asked how they would stand on a declaration of war on Rumania. Naturally they said that they would not oppose it, so Roosevelt suggested that they came to a decision on the matter the following week. And so, on June 5th the American declaration of war finally arrived.

The Anglo-Russian treaty of May 26th provided an opportunity for anti-English invective in Hungary, just as the exchange of diplomatic notes between Eden and Masaryk had done with regard to the first Vienna award. This display of "lip service" did not, however, convince the very people for whose benefit it was intended: the Germans. Instead it merely provided further ammunition for anti-Hungarian attitudes in the West which had already been engineered with considerable skill and success. In one sense, this was also the fate of Kállay's speech: those exaggerations which were intended to meet the requirements of Axis phraseology were picked up on in London, while those statements which deviated from the stock phrases of Axis rhetoric were — at least during the first months — noted in Berlin and in the capitals in the neighbouring states. After this even the tone of the press at home obstructed precisely the policies the Prime Minister was trying to pursue. According to Macartney, the language of the press was beneath contempt and even sunk to the level of vulgarity. The American declaration of war was presented as an empty threat, and one article even claimed that the American army could never become a significant factor in Europe. I should add that at least some of these journalists later sought refuge in the American occupied zone, while others, perhaps, tried to discover pro-Soviet sympathies deep inside themselves.

Prior to Kállay's visit to headquarters, Woermann summed up German-Hungarian relations in his records. According to these, the mutual anti-Soviet brotherhood-in-arms and the continued active participation of Hungarian troops (certain units of the 2nd Army had already taken up positions on the eastern front) had already been secured on the basis of statements made by both Bárdossy and Kállay. Hungary's relations with Italy and Bulgaria continued to be cordial. With the three neighbouring states, relations were tense. The signs of an anti-Hungarian bias on the part of these three governments were becoming increasingly apparent (such as the tactful intensification of the efforts of the new petit-entente, Sz-M.). Hungarian-Rumanian relations were typified by the recalling of the Hungarian ambassador in Bucharest as a protest against Marshal

Antonescu's speech. Rumania had been putting out wide-ranging anti-Hungarian propaganda — not in the newspapers, which were bound by a press-agreement, but in the speeches of her leaders and through sources in Switzerland, Spain and Portugal (etc.). A few days earlier, the attention of Bossy, the Rumanian ambassador, had been drawn to the condemnable propaganda spread in Germany (but not, apparently, to the equally condemnable propaganda spread in other countries). It seemed that both sides were reserving some military power for a possible quarrel over Transylvania at a later date. There was no hope of arranging direct talks between them. The only remaining alternative was to convince both sides to moderate their respective positions and to use the German-Italian officer committees to eliminate — or at least limit — the grounds for direct clashes. Hungarian-Slovak relations were dominated by Slovak territorial demands and by the demands of the Slovak minorities in Hungary. As regards the Croats, the decisive factor was the absence of a satisfactory solution to disagreement concerning the Mura region. Of the three appendixes, the first concerned the Hungarian-German debate over the cession of villages in the Mura region and the establishment of the river Mura as a frontier, while the second concerned both the interests of the Germans with regard to the modification of the Carpathian border and the imminent German-Hungarian talks. The third appendix concerned the Hungarian-Croatian frontier. This was of a non-committal character and helps to explain why the final settlement was postponed.

In his report, Schnurre drew attention to the fact that the compulsory Hungarian agricultural deliveries would become more important than they had been up until then, because deliveries could no longer be expected from the Yugoslavian, Croatian and Serbian territories and the Rumanian commitment could hardly be increased. The Hungarians appealed to the effects of the flood, but according to German estimates the crop was to be even more favourable than expected. The German clearing debt had risen over the previous year from 50 to 430 million marks, with further increases expected. (It had increased in other countries, too, but there is no suitably comparative data available on this.) Schnurre admitted that this debt would be a burden to the Hungarian domestic economy, but the basic German principle had to be adhered to: as long as the war went on, all participants would have to meet the demands necessary for its continuation, irrespective of the clearing situation. It would be possible to repay the clearing debt quite quickly after the war once peaceful production had been resumed. Finally, he mentioned Hungarian complaints in connection with the Bánság about the estates belonging to the Jewish firm "Ledrer" and about a certain meat factory, but he considered that the status quo should be maintained.

A very characteristic document was Luther's summary of Kállay's April 20th speech about the expropriation of Jewish property, the prohibition of Jewish settlement rights in the provinces, the racial categorization of Jews, Jewish emigration, the exclusion of Jews from gainful employment, and the final solution (without actually mentioning the decisive juncture, which was supposed to come after the war). In contrast to this he listed the aims of the Germans: 1. approval for the extension of deportation measures already in force in Germany to include Hungarian Jews living in Germany (later refused): 2. the

introduction of the yellow star in Hungary (later refused); 3. in spite of this, the eastward deportation of the Hungarian Jews as in the case of Slovakia, Croatia and Rumania; 4. an agreement to the effect that the Germans should have the right to expropriate the property of Hungarian Jews living in Germany and that the Hungarians should have the right to expropriate the property of German Jews living in Hungary. To this one should immediately add that during our visit the Germans did not even mention the Jewish question.

In his Memoirs, Kállay mistakenly records the month of the visit as April. It actually took place on the 7th and 8th of June. According to Kállay, Hitler first asked to be briefed on the situation in Hungary and in particular on Hungarian-Rumanian relations which, he had heard, had become critical. The Prime Minister gave a brief sketch of the internal situation then turned to military matters asking the Germans to keep their promise that the Hungarian forces would not be placed in the firing line, but used to "secure communications between the front line troops and the hinterland, thus safeguarding the German reinforcements". Then he underlined the fact that even if the Germans lost the war "the German people would still remain the largest group in Europe" whereas the Hungarians "might disappear without a trace on the Slav ocean". That was why, to Hungarians, independence was an issue "basic to the continuation of their national existence". In connection with the food supplies sent from Hungary to Germany, Kállay pointed out that even at home they had to contend with the difficulties caused by poor harvest. On the Jewish question he emphasized the quantitative differences between the situation in Germany, where the Jewish population was one percent, and in Hungary, where it was ten percent (a Trianon figure). For this reason the elimination of the Jews from economic life "could only be a gradual process and . . . could under no circumstances be achieved by force" (Kállay, Memoirs, pp. 90-91).

Then he turned to the matter of Antonescu's speech, speech, saying that "Hungary must arm and concentrate all her forces, not to send them against the Russians, but to be ready for the Rumanian attack". He quoted a Rumanian statement, according to which "they had German support for their aggression and had been promised Transylvania as their reward for taking part in the war against Russia" (Kállay, Memoirs, p. 92.).

Hitler listened to all that Kállay had to say without interruption, and neither then nor later made any reference to the Jewish question. After announcing that he would not intervene in Hungary's internal affairs, he turned straight to the Rumanian problem saying "that he did not mind in the least if we settled our differences with Rumania in battle, but he could not have us disturb his plans while the war continued in Russia". He would say exactly the same to the Rumanians. A solution would have to be found so as to prevent the conflict breaking out before the end of the war with Russia, which, incidentally, would be over by autumn. Just as he had warned Teleki and Csáky in the past, he now warned Kállay that the Rumanian soldiers were no longer what they once had been. "They had received German training and German leaders and the Rumanian army had been hardened in fierce fighting. The Hungarian army, on the other hand, had not merely refused German training (to my[ie. Kállay's] knowledge this question had never been raised), but it also had no experience in battle. . . The Rumanians had also

brought countless complaints about Hungarian behaviour. He could not be judge of these matters, but since it was the Rumanians, not the Hungarians, who had asked for the Vienna award, he was prepared to tell the Rumanians to adhere rigidly to the decisions of the award. He was also prepared to instruct all German authorities and officials to preserve the strictest neutrality and to stand aloof from the Hungarian-Rumanian dispute" (Kállay, *Memoirs*, p. 93.0. According to Macartney, Kállay spoke more passionately about the Rumanian issue (which had taken up the greater part of the talks), and assured Hitler that Hungary would remain totally loyal to her war duties. p. 95)

At noon on June 7th Hitler said that Kállay had come with Horthy's two "little requests": that both God and he should benevolently turn a blind eye if the Hungarians began fighting the Rumanians. For the Hungarians it would be a war against Asia, because in Hungarian eyes the border between Europe and Asia is located at the point where the influence of the orthodox church extends no further. Only those countries this side of the border — Kállay had said — had contributed to the cultural development of Europe and all its great achievements like the Renaissance. Then he pointed out that the river Tisza had the same significance for Hungarians as the Rhine had for Germans. He also spoke of the necessity of land reform, which should, however, be restricted to the extension of the smaller estates. He characterized István Horthy as something of a go-getter, whom the Hungarian soldiers fighting on the eastern front saw as a hero. This I can believe, because his father was also an exceptionally brave man. I think Horthy must have planned the whole thing very carefully. After all, if his son had won his spurs in the German army, Germany could hardly object to the fact that the Hungarians allowed him to serve as his father's deputy. Indeed they might even reward him later with the crown of St. Stephen (Hitler's secret conversations pp. 418-19.).

I don't believe Kállay would ever have gone quite that far on the Rumanian issue, but I do consider it possible that he might have hinted at the position held by Teleki and Csáky, and also at the possibility of a test of strength after the war, which Hitler might have understood as an intention.

After the Kállay-Hitler talks, the Führer, in the presence of Keitel, Jodl, Sztójay, Vörös and Homlok went over to the map and described the situation at the front. He also mentioned the summer offensive. During the lunchtime talks Kállay made a note of Hitler's comment that, as long as the war went on, they could not lay hands on the large estates (as Imrédy also must have realized) because they depended on the produce of these for their livelihood. "The Junkers were the best farmers and their sons the best soldiers", Hitler said. But after the war was being borne, both at the front and at home, by the NCO's of the SS. "These must be the backbone of the future German people." (Kállay, *Memoirs*, p. 94.).

The following day Ribbentrop would not allow Kállay to get a word in edgeways, and gave the usual lengthy speech about the international situation. Then he turned to the Rumanian question, producing a whole series of Rumanian papers documenting complaints about Hungarian behaviour. Next he began to speak about the grievances of the German minority in Hungary, complaining that the Hungarian government was not

complying with the Vienna agreement on ethnic groups. He warned the Prime Minister that the key to good German–Hungarian relations lay precisely in the conscientious fulfilment of the terms of this agreement. In reply, Kállay appealed to the great number of Hungarian generals who were of German origin, intending this as a sign of successful assimilation. This had been one of the central arguments of the Volksdeutsch movement against Hungary's nationalities policy, which had also been used to stress the inferiority of the Hungarians (Kállay, *Memoirs*, pp. 95–96.).

The visit had three important consequences. Firstly, Hitler promised to provide some form of mediation between the Hungarians and Rumanians, who had just expropriated the wheat and flour supply of the Hungarians in southern Transylvania. Kállay had not given this information to the newspapers, but after two cabinet meetings lodged a complaint in Rome and Berlin, stating that he would not send the third division of the 2nd Army to the eastern front until the Rumanians stopped persecuting the southern Transylvanian Hungarians. After renewed Hungarian pressure, a combined German–Italian committee began looking into the grievances in June, but only published its findings months later, which, according to Macartney, both the Hungarians and the Rumanians considered biased and inaccurate, but whose proposals they were forced to accept. The Hungarian government sent the promised troops to the front. Relations between the two countries, however, continued to be frosty.

Secondly, at Ribbentrop's request, the government gave its approval to further recruitment for the S.S.

The third consequence was Hitler's lengthy, two-sided discussion with Kállay of the possibility of a post-war Hungarian–Rumanian conflict. After the visit, Szentmiklósy told Jagow something to the effect that Hitler was no longer prepared to provide the Rumanians with guarantees. On July 18th Jagow reported with severe reservations that, according to reliable sources, Kállay had allegedly told his cabinet that after the war Hungary would settle her differences with Rumania in battle. Apparently, Defense Minister Bartha had told him exactly the same thing. The affair caused such a stir in Berlin that on July 18th Ribbentrop ordered Jagow to inform Kállay that he had been surprised to hear of any rumours whatsoever in Hungary concerning Kállay's secret talks with the Führer, "and false rumours at that". The information Jagow had received from Szentmiklósy was in certain respects incorrect. The Führer had not said that, according to Antonescu, a Hungarian–Rumanian conflict would be unavoidable after the end of the war, nor had Kállay said anything of the kind, and nor had the Führer stated that nothing would stand in the way of a Hungarian–Rumanian conflict after the war. What the Führer said was that the Vienna award was to be accepted and adhered to by everyone concerned because it was now necessary to concentrate all energies on the annihilation of the common enemy. If after the end of this war, anyone still felt like starting another war in Europe, that could not be helped. . . Thus Hitler's statement was unequivocally intended to be taken as sign of disinterestedness. On July 23rd Jagow carried out his instructions before Kállay, who listened to the end in a very cordial manner. He was sorry that Berlin was under the impression that the matter was not being treated with due secrecy in Hungary. He had had to brief the Defence Minister on the talks,

and the latter had only mentioned them to Jagow. After that Kállay basically stuck to his position. Consequently, Jagow announced that what he had just told Kállay was to be understood as authoritative and official, and that the Führer wished his talks with Kállay to be interpreted in this matter.

Returning to the epilogue to Kállay's visit to headquarters, on July 11th he spoke with great admiration to the governing party of Hitler's determination, purposiveness and of the ability of the Wehrmacht to carry out any tasks whatsoever. His experiences — he stated — had only strengthened his firm belief in the ultimate German victory. The press, according to Jagow, highlighted these passages.

Jagow wrote two reports about the meeting of the foreign affairs committee. According to one of these, Kállay had emphasized Hungarian—Rumanian relations, while the Germans considered them less dangerous and were not afraid of the complications which might lead to confrontation. The Führer had stated that he would guarantee the Vienna award. They had not requested new troops, only permission to recruit a further 10,000 Volksdeutsch soldiers for the S.S., to which Imrédy had objected in the name of Hungarian sovereignty. At the same time, he stated his whole-hearted agreement in this instance with Kállay's policy of increasing the war effort, but, without naming names, warned the Prime Minister that the majority of high-ranking officers objected to this policy. Kállay assured him that he could not tolerate such attitudes. According to the other confidential report, Kállay had, in connection with the issue of Hungarian—Rumanian relations, asked Hitler to use his influence to counter the impact of Rumanian anti-Hungarian propaganda in Germany and Italy, and to make sure that the German troops should not leave Rumania. Hitler — the report continued — had no intention of disturbing the large estates because he saw these as the only means of providing food for the German people. The right wing opposition received Kállay's pro-German statement with satisfaction while the well-known pro-English and pro-Jewish factions were all the more astounded. In the upper circles, gentlemen's clubs and the upper house of parliament, the right wing opposition spread rumours about wild anti-German and pro-English agitation. Kállay promised retaliation.

I myself noted down the following about our journey to East-Prussia:

I too went to the German headquarters. Szentmiklósy did not want to assist Kállay on his own, so, much to my surprise, took me with him. It was the first time I participated in a "Staatsbesuch" since 1938. Naturally, my first thought was that I had last seen Hitler immediately prior to the action which had brought about the present war: perhaps this visit would mark the beginning of the end of the war. Once again it occurred to me that in the autumn of 1935 Gömbös had been in Berlin. Szákváry had warned us not to forget to congratulate him on the third anniversary of his premiership. Led by Bobrik we assembled in the Adlon and Bobrik muttered a few words in Trieste-Hungarian. Gömbös answered deliberately and confidently that what had happened so far was only the beginning; the really great events were still to come. We walked over to him moved and speechless, and only I whispered to Kamillo: there's still divine providence. A year later Gömbös was dead, and ever since then I have treated my own comments with a little

superstition. Thus I looked forward to the visit fairly optimistically. After all, it did have one advantage — I would see East-Prussia, the only part of Germany I still did not know.

At Bruck we were received by Dornberg, deputy Gauleiter Gerland, Sztójay, Homlok and Mészáros. They lined up on the platform in true military fashion — the war protocol left nothing to the good breeding and manners of the individual. Before our arrival we had already been told that Kállay should alight from the first door of the saloon car, and that we should alight from the last door in order of rank, so we immediately got ourselves in line to the left of Kállay. Ribbentrop's escort stood facing us square on. The order of carriages was always fixed; usually we were given strict instructions as to how we were to line up and assemble. Colonel Pappenheim let out a sign of satisfaction: how good it was that one was always told what to do, and had therefore to think of nothing for oneself. One day it would be worth trying to write a proper description of this Prussian paradise in which, I imagine, the angels are primarily preoccupied with giving orders and the saved with nothing else but obeying them.

We had lunch in the German's large dining car, which was just like that of the Führer. It consisted of one large air-conditioned room, equipped with a built-in radio. At mealtimes — with the exception of breakfast — they always drew the curtains: *Kameradschaftsverdunkelung*, they called it — in order that the poor Germans outside with their rumbling stomachs should not see our luxurious spread. I cannot deny that it was a somewhat unpleasant feeling to sit at breakfast looking out through the window at the staring eyes of hungry soldiers outside. We were very well catered for, except for the fact that we were never once given dessert. The Germans ate enormous quantities of food, and at every possible opportunity. After our arrival at headquarters our special German escort received Ribbentrop's escort in the German dining car: one hour after breakfast they were handing out "Stulleka" as big as your palm. During the evening gathering the talkative general Bodenschatz had six Frankfurters on his plate at the first possible opportunity. This gluttony was highly typical, as was the fact that in the staff dining car of Dornberg's carriage, everything that was served — from the beer onwards — was of worse quality than that served in our carriage.

To enter the territory of the headquarters we had to pass through three military cordons. Guards equipped with mosquito nets raised the barriers set within the barbed wire fence. We were each individually given entrance cards which we did not once have to show, but which we had to return the same evening. The little bunker settlement was situated in a fresh, early-summer forest — here Hitler lived with his closest staff; here he had spent an exceptionally hard winter lasting almost eight months, and from here he continued to conduct the hopeless war. Not far away was Brauchitsch's former headquarters, and a little further on, Ribbentrop kept camp in the deserted castle of a former count between beautiful old oak trees. The Führer's headquarters was chiefly characterized by Prussian simplicity. Hitler lived in two bunker-rooms with low ceilings. The equally low-built "speisebunker" was painted in white, and maps hung on the walls. Opposite the Führer were maps of Asia and Europe. Germany, coloured red, seemed somewhat dwarfed by Russia and Asia. On the wall behind him were archaic wooden portraits of Ullrich v. Hutten and Götz v. Berlichingen, 'echt' representatives of German

history. Another similar woodcut hung on the wall: a knight in armour with a swastika on his shield.

Hitler had put on weight, or rather seemed to have swollen beyond his former size. His movements were still just as sprightly, but he seemed bigger and two very tired eyes looked out from his pale face. Keitel and Ribbentrop had also become heavier, and their eyes too looked tired. On Jodl's face there were red blotches which suggested a nervous disposition. The arms and ears of general Schmundt, the aide-de-camp, and v. Warlimond's almost Hollywoodesque profile were more reassuring. The facial expressions of the others – Mormann, Wolff, Schaub and the head of press, Dietrich, revealed nothing but admiration for the Führer, and the face of Kanneberg, the personal housekeeper, was just as attentive and willing as it had been in 1938, or during his time as a restaurant owner. At the beginning of lunch Dietrich told me that he was interested in horseracing, while ambassador Rintelen, my other neighbour, meditated on how, because of a discrepancy of scales, the maps in front of us still failed to point out how much smaller Europe was than Asia.

Jodl announced in a loud voice that the English had denied using starvation as a means of interrogating German prisoners of war in Africa, and had acted to quash any arbitrary instances of this. Hitler, tucking into an enormous portion of salad, acknowledged this news with considerable satisfaction and ordered that the 6,000 English POWs should also receive food and drink. That's the only way to treat the English, he said, and in his voice one could feel the hatred so well-known from his speeches. One must return blow for blow, that's the only language they understand. Hitler seemed talkative and generally quite calm. His emotions, however, followed their own course of associations and he suddenly turned on Roosevelt, who was just as mad as Wilson had been, and who would soon be taken away to their version of Lipótmező. The American people deserved such a leader; they were worse than the English, and this was the second time they had entrusted their fate to a madman.

Then the discussion meandered over to the occupied Russian territories. It seemed – said Hitler – that Russia had based all her policies on the assumption that everyone is out to deceive everyone else. The Ukrainian peasants had deceived the Jewish commissars, and the Jewish commissars had deceived their superiors. But the peasants had been the shrewdest. Suddenly, after less than six months chickens and animals had appeared as if from nowhere. They even had grain, and everything was 80–100% sown. The food supply for Europe, however, could only be guaranteed for autumn 1943. Ribbentrop nodded: yes, the food problem would only be solved the following autumn. Nobody noticed the contradiction, and Hitler had already moved on to another subject, maybe out of consideration for his Hungarian guest. He emphasized the advantages of the large estates and stressed that he would never revert to a system of small holdings, because it was only possible to experiment with innovations on the large estates. Only the large estates could produce good seed for the poor German soil, and only the large estates could provide the towns and the manufacturing community with food. Town folk could not be led back to the villages, and even the villagers would only stay but if they married peasant girls. He wanted to compensate the section of the demobilized soldiers with land, but only under

the condition that they married peasant girls. Town women would lead even their peasant husbands back to the town.

The lunch drew to a close. We lit up our cigarettes outside, but the Führer had already disappeared. It occurred to me that I didn't know the colour of his eyes; that although this was the third time I had seen him in person, I was no more aware of his extraordinariness, or even of the suggestive spell of his eyes, than I had been in February of 1933, when I listened to his first speech as Chancellor in the Sportpalast.

In the afternoon we went to the Mauer See and went out on the dark blue lake in motorboats. Here and there on the banks the lilacs were already in bloom; in East-Prussia spring had already arrived. The fields were quite dry, gentle slopes, endless fresh green colours. The light, or perhaps the very air had some special character all of its own, and was somehow different from our light and air at home. The people seemed heavy and big-boned; their large pale faces were sharply defined and their eyes set deeply back. In the winter everything had been covered by snow; in the headquarters of the motorized army everyone had had to rely on sledges. We had tea in the Gasthaus where we were given excellent English tea and real coffee. On the side-tables they served tea and coffee substitutes to visiting nurses and soldiers from the same pots.

In the evening only Kállay, Ribbentrop, Keitel, Sztójay and Jagow dined with the Führer. Dietrich Sepp, the commander of the Leibstandarte also arrived. He had been fishing somewhere in the Ukraine. They used to call him Der Fürst von Mariupol und Taganrog, but I didn't dare ask him how he had received this nickname. Perhaps he had killed a particularly great number of Jews in that region, or had fought particularly bravely. Or was it because he had caught a particularly large pike? He was a good-humoured, suntanned and ordinary little man. Everyone tried to please him and would chat with him loudly and jovially. I sat between Bodenschatz and the Führer's doctor, who proudly told me that he had the prettiest little plot in Schwanenwerden; nicer even than the one belonging to Göbbels' doctor, with 300 metres right beside the lake. Unfortunately, however, he could hardly ever go there, as the Führer always wanted him at his side. He mentioned his business interests in Pest, and I immediately hinted at the fact that I knew something of their background. This he found a little embarrassing, but invited me all the more heartily to visit him. At first Bodenschatz had a lot to eat, then started to tease Hewel acting out the Göring-Ribbentrop duo in miniature. They teased one another like schoolboys with adolescent humour and adolescent awkwardness, laughing out loud. Pubertocracy. Bodenschatz said he was sorry about the departure of Dezső László and assured me that to that very day they maintained good contact with him.

Hewel began to talk about his visit to Finland; with genuine admiration he mentioned the fact that 16% of the Finns had taken up arms, (whereas in Germany the figure is only 10%) even though they only had rubbishy aeroplanes to fight with. Even to take off in those planes was to fly in the face of providence. Here I could only agree with him, but then they all started talking about the Führer and that was that. Everyone tried to say something bigger and better about him. They boasted about him, and, through him, about themselves. This is how I learned that the Führer supervised even the seating

arrangements and he was very disappointed if he had to sit anywhere near an ugly woman. He told one of his ministers not to let his wife appear in a certain red dress, and for somebody else's wife even ordered a tailor. After one major reception in Rome, the chief of protocol had called ceremoniously for silence and, stammering profusely, had explained how on the evening of the previous day some women from the large fashion houses had slipped in, for which he most humbly apologized. The Führer had replied: what, those pretty women? It was a pleasure to look at them; I really enjoyed their company.

At half past nine we had to leave to make sure that Kállay and Ribbentrop didn't get back to the train before us and that the evening leave-taking should not happen without the usual business of standing in line. Thus Bodenschatz — who was renowned for being a great talker — did not, unfortunately, have a chance to get on to more interesting subjects. In the evening I took down Kállay's account of his talks with the Führer. The following day belonged to Ribbentrop. We went a few miles by train, then the usual lining up, followed by a walk with an advisor to the embassy, who had been a Landrat and was now the charge of the Staatsbesuche. Politics we mentioned not, apart from the odd comment he accidentally let slip.

Next we went by car to Lehndorff Castle. The road led us down a great avenue of oaks. The building must have last been restored in the 18th century. A rare and pleasing staircase led up to the first floor. Beautiful, but neglected and dilapidated furniture; ornate faiences bearing the family coat-of-arms; antlers and ancestors on the walls. The Lehndorff family had produced bishops as early as the 11th century. Guards wandered around the overgrown park. In front of the house, Gauss, the two Schmidts and Rintelen together with our delegation. The interpreter Schmidt explained everything with supercilious calm. He had still lost nothing of his interpreter's impersonality and disinterestedness, even though he had become the head of the Ministerbüro. He did not wear the party emblem, liked to bathe in the waggon and his greatest desire was to bomb the passengers of the Berlin municipal railway with soapy sponges. He made jokes about the longer working hours and told stories about his winter sledging escapades — he was not interested in our "business"; he was only the interpreter.

Kállay's talks with Ribbentrop went on for a long time and we arrived to the table late. I sat between Rintelen and the other Schmidt, the one from the press. Ribbentrop presided over the meal with stiff formality, but was more talkative and friendly than he had been in Budapest. Just for a change he singled out England for criticism, and Sir Robert Vansittard in particular, upon whom he poured out his scorn. England, of course, had already lost the war at the time of the Washington conference when she recognized America's naval parity and conceded the 5:3 ratio to Japan. After all, she could have known that Japan would not adhere to that. (As if the signing of the contract in itself would have made it possible for Japan to build more ships.) Still more decisive than this, however, was the demobilization of MacDonald. The English politicians had lost all their enthusiasm for "empire-making". Baldwin and Chamberlain were typical upright Englishmen, but Churchill was an adventurer, who in 1923 had paid £100 for the publication of a newspaper article intended to upset the repayment of debts between

allies. What had become of the likes of Clive and Hastings? Today's politicians hadn't the slightest idea about foreign affairs and Sir Robert could lead them wherever he so desired. The right person could have made good use of Sir Robert, but instead Sir Robert used the prime minister to further his own shady aims. He wasn't even an Englishman. He was of Dutch descent, and, to be sure, had Jewish blood in him as well. Otherwise he would never have been so biased against Germany. Lord Rothermere, one of the last great politicians of the Empire, could never make any headway. He repeatedly told the English that the empire would only be saved by means of an Anglo-German alliance. In 1935 he did at least manage in principle to arrange a meeting between Baldwin and Hitler and the Führer was all set to leave for chequers when "Van" intervened and the plan was thwarted. Even in 1936 he made another serious attempt when he invited Sir Robert to the Olympics and discussed the matter with him in detail. The latter accepted all Rothermere's premises, but his narrow-mindedness and stubbornness prevented him from being able to accept the obvious conclusion: an Anglo-German alliance.

And that was that as far as England was concerned. Even Göring contributed a few thrusts of the foil. Then he began to enquire quite earnestly about the causal relationship between the use of paprika in Hungarian cuisine and kidney disease. Kállay reassured him by saying: "Karlsbad hat davon gelebt, dass wir Nierenkrank waren." The subject shifted from Hungary to hunting, and Ribbentrop complained sadly that during the partition of Poland he had fought to the last ditch with Stalin in order to secure the Sувалки forest, and with it the excellent hunting ground that he had always yearned for. It was only with great difficulty that he had succeeded in achieving his goal, and he was merrily preparing for the great hunt when it turned out that there was no game in Sувалки whatsoever. This came as a great disappointment. There was hardly any game around headquarters either.

Kállay consoled him by saying that there were still very fine deer in Máramaros and by inviting him to come and hunt in Hungary. Ribbentrop said he would be only too pleased to come, and would also love to see Bábolna, but this would be impossible before the end of the war. His voice was serious and dignified. "Then come incognito; put on a large pair of dark glasses and a long dark false beard" — urged Kállay with a mischievous smile, indicating with his hands how long the beard would have to be in order to disguise his historical profile. He shouldn't even go anywhere near the government offices. As government representatives we should naturally regret this, but as Hungarians we should be overjoyed if he had a good time. Ribbentrop did not know what to say, and it was only his adjutant who managed to bridge the awkward gap between Ribbentrop's dignified seriousness and Kállay's "false beard" and cordial invitation, by whispering that our special train was more than two hours behind schedule. At this Ribbentrop stood up.

After the customary lining up and leave-taking Kállay gave a long and hearty wave from the train window previously designated by Dornberg. The visit had come to an end. The former Lord Lieutenant of Szabolcs county was not for a moment any the more deeply impressed than he might have once been upon seeing the Lord Lieutenant of Pest county. Pest county is at least twice as big as Szabolcs and the largest and most important county in the land, but Szabolcs is somehow finer, and it is only in Szabolcs that one finds Kállays. With the exception of Kánya and Teleki no Hungarian statesman had ever

visited Adolf Hitler with such composure and self-confidence. Kállay was not touched by the breeze of world history and was not taken in by the personal aura of one of the most significant men of our time. He did not say a word about his personal impressions, nor made a single personal comment about the whole visit and all that was discussed there. He did, however, speak with a certain stress about how Hitler had indicated his awareness of the fact that Rumania, Bulgaria and the former Yugoslavia could not be seen as consolidated states because they were not constituted by state-forming peoples. Hungary, on the other hand, was a consolidated state because of the Hungarian nation and because it had a natural ruling stratum in the ancient Hungarian nobility. One could see that Kállay was pleased to hear this — even from Hitler.

It was Sztójay who expressed unshakable optimism in the German victory. He didn't get on too well with Kállay; he could never manage to hold a two-sided conversation. Sztójay would just talk and talk, while Kállay drew on his long cigar, looking out of the window, nodding from time to time, or occasionally commenting that the rye was pretty good or that the potatoes were overgrown with weeds. Bárdossy would not have put up with Sztójay for ten minutes and would have attempted to convince him of what an ass he was. But that would have led to a discussion giving Sztójay just what he wanted. Kállay did not want to talk about politics; or rather he was satisfied to listen to Sztójay's report on current events. Homlok was decidedly sceptical. He would not interrupt Sztójay, but listened with an expression of condescension on his face. In private, however, he would say that he did not find the German situation particularly promising and that there were still serious problems as regards oil and provisions. Even since the war of words that had taken place in Berlin in the spring, when Homlok had campaigned for intervention in the war against Russia, I had not spoken to him, and nor did I take this present opportunity to do so. He had, however, heard some of my comments about Sztójay and when we parted he mysteriously recommended that I should hold the front at home.

I was particularly fond of General János Vörös at this time (although not for very long) because he spoke in dialect. This rare virtue has to be appreciated even if one does not otherwise agree with the person in question. He had a warm round face, friendly and unpretentious, but then he was a general in the army and thus believed unconditionally in the ultimate victory of the Germans. When it was mentioned that General Matzki, who kept the German records, calculated upon another 300 Russian divisions, Vörös saw this as excessively pessimistic and for his own part was only prepared to reckon on at most 220–240 divisions. He did, however, agree with the Germans that the Russians' equipment was still very good, but argued that their men were poorly trained making German superiority quite obvious. On the basis of data concerning the number of soldiers killed in battle, Kállay came to the conclusion that the Germans could at present only hope to occupy the oil wells to the north of the Caucasus, but Vörös was convinced that they would get much further. The great offensive was a taboo subject during the talk. Only certain detailed parts of it were mentioned, and when Vörös asked Pappenheim if they could make a joint record of what they had heard about military plans, including the great offensive, Pappenheim flushed with anger and reminded him in no uncertain terms

that they only spoke about the great offensive among themselves and not at the headquarters, a position which Vörös immediately endorsed. (1986: since then my opinion of Vörös has changed.) Szentmiklósy felt that the atmosphere was nowhere near as optimistic as it had been during the September visit. I, of course, had no means of comparing the two occasions, and had no long-standing acquaintance with any of those present. On the basis of the talks, however, I was able to draw the conclusion that their judgement had changed considerably. Seven or eight months earlier, one was always hearing: "Der Krieg ist natürlich bereits gewonnen." Now people were more inclined to say, in the most natural of voices, but still using a set phrase: "Der Krieg muss erst natürlich gewonnen werden." Perhaps they didn't actually doubt that the war would be won, for if they entertained any such doubts, everything would collapse around them. The war had to be won, because it was impossible for them to lose. In this way their optimism was toned down into the form of a hypothesis. This hypothetical optimism was rather like the logical foundation of a scientific theory: upon it a whole edifice was built out of a sense of duty, obedience, oath and loyalty to Germany. All it seemed to lack was faith and enthusiasm, which seemed to have been erased by a year of bloody fighting and the repeated postponement of the final victory. After a lot of Kirsch, someone explained to me that in the autumn, once the Russians had been defeated (for it was impossible that they should not be defeated), perhaps even England would realize that there was no sense in going on fighting, and then India, which the Japanese would not be able to occupy, would serve as a grand and even willing form of compensation . . .

Naturally the Russian theme came up again and again and it was clear that it preoccupied them continually. Russia's amazing resistance and industrial preparedness represented a major source of disappointment. After all, the Germans had been convinced that only they knew how to achieve great results with such means. Once again one of their illusions of monopoly had been shattered. But they were also shocked by the fanaticism, suicidal bravery and blind obedience that the Russian regime was capable of inspiring in its people. Trembling, they would tell of how the Russians had initially parachuted their partisans into action, then, finding this tactic too costly on parachutes, had resorted to dropping their partisans without them, working on the basis that out of every ten or fifteen, at least one or two would reach the ground in one piece. The rest would perish, but these would only be conscientiously and stubbornly carrying out orders. The Russians had changed completely since 1918, someone said. Until then they had been a benevolent and peaceful people; now they were capable of enormous ferocity. In vain did they say that the commissars were the real scoundrels, while the Russian people were merely obedient: they too were scoundrels precisely because they were so obedient. . . For his part, Gerland, the deputy Gauleiter, explained that the reason why there would be no repeat of 1918 was that the people now were obedient, and those who rebelled would be executed with their families. . . Ribbentrop's doctor, with whom I had already had a somewhat heretical discussion in Budapest, also spoke about the Russians, and once said in a very disillusioned voice: "Mit einem Volk kann man Alles machen, aber auch Alles. Man braucht nur eine Gestapo dazu, das blosse Dasein dieser Einrichtung garantiert, dass Alles den gewünschten Weg nehmen wird". I quietly asked him if it

wasn't possible to force a people to do good as well as bad, but he gave no answer. I tried to tone the question down a little: I am always amazed that it is possible to force people to achieve positive results. To this he answered: Nothing could be more simple; if they don't work they get nothing to eat; after going hungry for three days you can be sure they'll turn up for work. In this way the Russian example is both terrifying and inspiring for you can make a people do anything.

Much less was said about the Italians. They didn't only look down on them, but were extremely angry about the fact that of the seventy Italian divisions, no more than twenty were profitably positioned from the point of view of the Axis powers, while the rest were inactive. "Wir haben in Lybien einen Dreck zu suchen", said one of our fellow passengers with all the forthrightness of Gustav Siegfried I. Where would the Italians be without us, he went on. The English would be in Brennen, Szentmiklósy assured him. Then they began to curse the Italians vehemently for having sold their arms and tanks to the Chetniks. The general atmosphere of the visit was positively cordial, especially after the Kállay-Hitler talks. Up until then I had been aware of a certain sense of suspicion. I think they had expected us to try to reduce our military commitment to the Russian war because of the Rumanian threat. At first, all our complaints and reservations were met with the same stereotyped response — that there would be not repeat of 1916, that in no event would the Rumanians attack us. Later they suddenly became more understanding and were more generous with their halfpromises. This would, of course, mean little in practice, but Hitler was very friendly towards Kállay, took no interest in the Jewish question and — in the words of the Austrian social democrat Rudolf Fischer — made a concerted effort to say things which would evoke a feeling of sympathy in the Hungarian visitors. He also stated that King Carol II had asked him to arbitrate on three occasions. This was something of a novelty, and a significant one at that. Although it would, of course, have been good to have seen a copy of the letters. Hitler also admitted that we would at that time have defeated Rumania. The second Vienna award was therefore just as striking an example of German friendship as the first had been: it had been carried out in the interests of the other party.

All in all I neither saw nor experienced anything which made me modify the opinions I had held up until then.

June 23rd 1942

At the end of June, Hammerstein Kunrat sent a message with his son saying that he had no faith in the success of the great summer offensive, and that he did not believe that the Russian resistance would be broken. Kunrat spent four hours in Budapest on the way back from his military dispatch mission to Turkey. We met between trains, and together with Kálmán Hardy drove around Budapest. Kunrat told us indignantly about the scandals surrounding the diplomatic pouch. He wrote at great length about his Turkish experiences in his book *Spähtrupp*.

BUDAPEST IN 1900: CITY AND PEOPLE

JOHN LUKACS

"Buda-Pest!" wrote Blowitz, a most celebrated and most cosmopolitan journalist in fin-de-siècle Europe. "The very word names an idea which is big with the future. It is synonymous with restored liberty, unfolding now at each forward step; it is the future opening up before a growing people." A growing people indeed. During the last three decades of the nineteenth century Budapest—we shall see soon why Blowitz's usage of "Buda-Pest" was already outdated in 1894—was the fastest growing city in Europe. From 1890 to 1900 its population increased by more than 40 per cent. In 1900, with a total of 733,000 people it had become the sixth largest city of Europe, the largest one between Vienna and St. Petersburg. The growth after 1900 went on; but it was slowing down. In more than one way 1900 represented a zenith in the history of Budapest. There is a reason for the brevity of the historical sketch that follows. Until the nineteenth century the two towns of Buda and Pest did not amount to much.

There was a tiny Celtic settlement on the northern reaches of Buda, around one of its mineral springs. The Romans made that place the headquarters of their Pannonian legion, naming it "Aquincum". They seldom crossed the Danube. Where Pest is there was nothing. During the early Middle Ages Buda was scarcely a town; Pest a fledgling semi-barbaric village. Both were destroyed by a Tartar invasion in 1241. It was only during the fourteenth century that the kings of Hungary established their royal seat in Buda. On the Castle Hill of Buda a small renaissance court was created by the redoubtable King Matthias in the second half of the century. But a generation after his death first Pest and then Buda were conquered by the Turks. Buda was reconquered one hundred and forty-five years later by a Habsburg army, composed by many volunteers and mercenaries from all over Europe. There were relatively few Hungarians among them. The reason for this was that most of Hungary had been torn, ravaged, and depopulated in the century and half of Turkish rule. Twenty-five years after the Turks had left the population of Buda amounted to less than 13,000 and that of Pest to hardly more than 4,000. The two towns were unconnected, separated by the wide and ungoverned Danube, except by an occasionally assembled and then again disassembled pontoon bridge. Five hundred years after its medieval origins Pest was still not much more than a semi-Oriental river village; Buda consisted of clusters of simple houses and vineyards, inhabited by a few traders and artisans. Buda and Pest were only one hundred and sixty miles east of Vienna: but that was a distance between two worlds, one being Europe, the other something akin to the

Levant or even the Near East. In 1815, during the Congress of Vienna, Metternich was supposed to have said to one of his visitors as he pointed at the dusty road stretching away from Vienna toward Hungary that here was the end of Europe (or, as his Hungarian detractors were wont to quote him: "here Asia begins"). But the extraordinary rise of Budapest, of Hungary, of the Hungarian people, and of Hungarianness was around the corner.

In 1799 Buda had 24,306 inhabitants and Pest 29,870, a total of about 54,000 in 1890 the total was nearly 500,000, close to a ten-fold increase. Berlin was the only European city that grew at a comparable rate (eightfold) during the nineteenth century (from 1800 to 1890 the populations of Paris and London increased by 3–4 times); and the celebrated eleventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* would describe Budapest as "one of the handsomest capitals of Europe" (which Berlin was not).

Till after the middle of the eighteenth century the majority of the peoples of Buda and Pest were German-speaking. The reason for this was the above-mentioned depopulation of Hungary during the Turkish century, and the fact that the Habsburgs came to rule the country after the Turks. Some of the Habsburg emperors were not inimical to their Hungarian subjects and even to their aspirations; but the Magyar population, and its national consciousness, revived slowly. A considerable number of families from the Austrian crownlands and from the southern Germanies had come to settle in the two river towns, mostly in Buda. But one hundred and sixty years ago the sudden eruption of Hungarian national consciousness and of Hungarian nationalism began. The extraordinary rise of Budapest before 1900 was connected with the extraordinary force of Hungarian nationalism in the nineteenth century: extraordinary, because it had much to do with certain characteristics — strengths as well as weaknesses — of the Hungarian national genius. The factor of national character is often eschewed and avoided by historians and social thinkers in our times; nonetheless it is wrong and foolish to ignore, let alone deny, its existence. From Greece to Ireland, from Italy to Finland, nationalism proved to be the dominant political idea and reality of the nineteenth century, as indeed in Hungary; but there were elements in the Hungarian character that do not only distinguish a Kossuth from a Parnell or a Garibaldi or a Mavrocordato; they were, too, inevitable ingredients in the extraordinary rise of Budapest. That rise in numbers surpassed the revivification of other ancient capitals of newly independent nations, such as, say, modern Athens or modern Rome but it was not a matter of numbers alone; it brought about a generation of 1900: writers and scholars, artists and savants, of often reputed and of sometimes inflated world-wide fame. That was true of Vienna too: but Vienna in 1900 was the continuation of a great urban and artistic culture that a century before had been already marked by a Mozart, a Beethoven, a Haydn; and by a European political culture manifested by a Metternich or a Coblenz. In Budapest the flourishing of an urban and urban civilization appeared only a few decades after a time when the civilization of Hungary had been largely unknown abroad, and when even within Hungary urban culture had hardly existed at all.

The Hungarian national revival — the so-called Reform Age of Hungary — began to blossom after 1825, and it debouched onto the Hungarian revolution of 1848. Much of this national revival was the inspiration and the creation and the exemplification of The

Greatest Magyar, Count Stephen Széchenyi (the epithet was bestowed on him by his contemporaries) who, together with other amazing achievements, inspired, planned, and financed some of the first great buildings of Buda-Pest (including the Chain Bridge, the first permanent — and very impressive — bridge between the two cities). Yet his life, like the national revolution, ended in tragedy. The fiery and unpolitic temperament of his countrymen deserted him. They poured their hopes into the more radical and sentimental nationalism represented by Louis Kossuth. The result was the inspiring but failed Hungarian War of Independence of 1848—1849, during which Buda and Pest were twice occupied by an avenging Habsburg-Austrian army. Both towns suffered from the bombardments of a siege. But less than twenty years later the Emperor and Empress of Austria and their cabinet chose to offer a Compromise to Hungary, the so-called "Ausgleich" of 1867, whereby Hungary received a very substantial share of the privileges and the independence that its leaders had demanded in 1848. In sum, Hungary got something like near-complete Home Rule. The official name of the Austrian Empire became Austria-Hungary. It was then that the dynamic increase of the people and the prosperity and the building of Buda-Pest began. In 1867 its population was less than 270,000; it more than doubled in twenty-five years. In 1870 it was the sixteenth largest city in Europe; twenty-five years later it was the eighth, larger than Rome, Madrid, Naples, Hamburg, Lisbon, Liverpool, Brussels, Amsterdam. It was the second largest city of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy, having bypassed Prague easily, and coming closer and closer to the size — and to the importance — of Vienna in more than one way.

It did not become "Budapest" until 1873. Until then there had been three separate towns: Pest, Buda and Óbuda ("Ancient Buda", the smallest of the three). The reason for this was not only the broad dividing flow of the Danube. There were definite differences between their peoples, amounting to misunderstandings and even animosities on occasions. Buda (and to some extent Óbuda) was largely German-speaking, conservative, Catholic, and loyal to Habsburg rule. During the 1848 Revolution many of its people did not share the Magyar nationalist aspirations and the radical enthusiasms of Pest. For it was in Pest that the Revolution began; its leader was Kossuth, who had come from northeastern Hungary, a Protestant. Conversely the left-wing radicals of Pest distrusted Buda and its people. M. Táncsics, a political figure of the extreme left, opposed the unification of Buda-Pest in 1873 publicly; so did many of the people of Buda, though often careful enough not to voice these sentiments in public. To men such as Táncsics, coming from Cisdanubia, the eastern plains, often Protestant and deeply anti-Habsburg parts of the country, Buda represented the German, the Transdanubian, the Catholic and anti-nationalist portion of Hungary, with its inevitable Habsburg connections. These mixed loyalties of the people in Buda (and of a considerable number of people in Pest, too) lasted for a long time. Some of its political and cultural elements were still apparent as late as 1900. But the proportion of the Buda people was decreasing. In 1850 the population of the dual cities was nearly even, with 45 per cent of the people living on the western, Buda side. Twenty years later this proportion fell to 25 per cent. By 1900 only one of every six people in Budapest were inhabitants of Buda. Pest—in 1848 with its still

unpaved streets—was the dynamic side.* Even more important than these changing proportions was the rapidly declining prevalence of the German language. Whereas almost everywhere else in Eastern Europe (and also in certain portions of Hungary) German people maintained their own, at times proud and even arrogant, separation from the other populations surrounding them, in Budapest they allowed themselves to be merged with, and eventually absorbed by the Magyar majority: they became part and parcel of a linguistic, cultural, and even political Hungarianness. And so in 1872–73 there was relatively little open opposition, even in Buda, to the law creating the united municipality of Budapest (whose main municipal and parliamentary architect was, perhaps tellingly, a Hungarian Jewish patrician councilman, M. Wahrmann). The traditional animosities between Buda and Pest were fading, together with the decrease of the German population. Twenty years later, in 1892—upon the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Compromise, and of the Hungarian crowning of Franz Joseph I (ceremonies that, in 1867, took place significantly in Pest as well as in Buda)—his imperial and royal decree proclaimed Budapest to be a “székesfőváros”, a Capital and a Royal Seat, the equal in rank to Vienna.

On New Year's Day in 1896 the bells of the churches of Budapest rang and rang. They were announcing the “Millennium”. In 896, one thousand years before, the Magyar tribes led by their prince Árpád had ridden into Hungary from the east, to occupy the country and settle there. On a beautiful June day Franz Josef and the Empress-Queen Elizabeth arrived from Vienna to preside over the celebrations. They had a sense of the occasion; so had their Hungarian hosts. Franz Josef wore a Hungarian hussar uniform. The melancholy Elizabeth, beloved by all Hungarians, wan and beautiful, smiled through that long day of parades. (Their daughter, the archduchess Stephanie, carried and clicked her Kodak box camera, perhaps the first one seen in Budapest.) There was the ceremonial thunder of cannons, green-trousered heralds blowing silver trumpets, military parades, and a long procession of cavalry bands and regiments from the ancient counties of Hungary, many of them caparisoned in eighteenth and seventeenth-century military finery. (In the regiment of County Heves rode the young Count Mihály Károlyi, wearing a doublet of armor: twenty years later he would be the chief Hungarian gravedigger of the Habsburg monarchy: but who, including himself, would know that in 1896?) The municipality of Budapest had its own mounted delegation. (It included some of the great capitalists of the city: among others, the Swiss-born Haggemacher, owner of the largest brewery, and two ennobled Jewish magnates, owners of mills.)

From Buda to Pest the King and Queen rode in a crystal-paned baroque coach from Maria Theresa's time. The holy object of St. Stephen's crown was brought to the still unfinished monumental Parliament building. (There was a moment of anxiety: the hasp and the lock of the Crown's old iron chest were badly rusted. Two nobles of the royal entourage rode off to find a locksmith who hastened to open it—after he had been put quickly into a tailcoat.) On the great open field to the west of Castle Hill (*Vérmező*: a

*But already during the five years before 1848 the population of Pest increased by more than one-third. Rents were, in the average, 40% higher than in Buda.

Budapest Champ de Mars) oxen were broiled on giant spits for the populace. On the eastern edge of Pest a grand world's fair had been built in the newly laid out City Park, with many impressive buildings, including a fine replica of an entire late-medieval Transylvanian castle on the shores of the lake in the park. There were captive balloons, panoramas, a real military balloon ascending, the first movie newsreel made by a Hungarian, the brilliant blaze of electric illuminations, endless music. Budapest had nearly six million visitors that year, most of them from the Hungarian provinces. Within a few months the Gallery of Fine Arts, the palace of the High Court of Justice, the first electric underground tramway line, the last stretch of the Pest Ring boulevards were completed, and the building of the new wing of the royal castle had begun.

In 1900 Budapest was the destination for most of the foreign visitors to Hungary. Tourism to Hungary was only at its beginnings, amounting to about 130,000 visitors in 1895. (It nearly doubled by 1912: 250,000.) In 1900 there were about fifty hotels, of all kinds, in Budapest. In 1902 the first new type of a modern "pension" appeared.

Many of these visitors were attracted by the pleasantries of a modern city and by the agreeableness of its sight. Elsewhere in Hungary—especially in Transdanubia, in the mountain regions of Upper Hungary and in Transylvania—there were many pretty, old provincial towns, often still partly medieval but that was not where travellers were drawn around the turn of the century. Like Paris (rather than Berlin) Budapest was the central hub of the national railroad network. The express trains from Vienna (and the Orient-Express), equipped with a comfortable dining car, reached Budapest in four hours and forty minutes. Beginning with 1892 the reforms of the Minister of Transports, Gábor Baross, led to an extremely rapid extension of the national railroad network (and also to a new, cheaper schedule of fares). The railroad mileage had grown from 11,240 kilometers in 1890 to 17,011 in 1900, and the number of locomotives from 1,680 to 2,917. By 1900 all of the latter were being built by the Hungarian locomotive and engine factories. The Hungarian National Railroads (MÁV) were separate from Austria; and 85 per cent of the lines were those of the MÁV. The rail density of Hungary (the length of tracks per 100,000 people) came just after France, ahead of Austria and even of the great railroad network of imperial Germany. Accordingly the passenger traffic increased nearly seventeenfold during the thirty years before 1900. There was a phenomenal increase in freight traffic too: from 3 million tons in 1866 to 275 million in 1894. As almost everywhere else in Europe at the time, there were three classes for coach passengers (in Wilhelminian Germany there were four). The two great termini, the West and the East station were, as we have seen, among the largest and most modern ones in Europe, completed in 1878 and 1883, respectively. Their external platforms, siding and branch tracks were constantly extended, nearly doubling in ten years, in part because of the increasing traffic of commuters. The commuter rail lines (HÉV), independent of the national system, began in 1888. In the year 1900 it sold 3 million tickets. From 1896 to 1913 it became electrified, and its traffic had increased thirteenfold.

By 1900 Budapest had become the largest port on the nearly 2,000 mile stretch of the Danube. The national fluvial transportation company (MFTR) overtook the Austrian DGT. River transport was cheaper than rail transport, both for passengers and freight.

There was a pleasant overnight trip from Vienna to Budapest on the large white-painted paddle steamers; the cabins of First Class were very commodious. The increase of freight traffic was also due to the regulation of the Iron Gate narrows on the lower Danube. The Danube boats were interesting to watch. Their funnels were slightly angled and hinged, since they had to be bowed down to pass under the bridges. The funnels of the freight steamers were higher than was customary at the time; the silhouettes of the passenger boats were portly and broad-hipped. Except for the above-mentioned "propeller" ferrying passenger to and from Buda and Pest, they were paddle-wheeled. The barges were pulled rather than pushed. Shortly after 1900 the construction of a large freight harbour with docks primarily for the purpose of loading and unloading agricultural goods, began to the south of Pest.

Automobiles were still rare in 1900. The old Vienna-Budapest highway was only partially paved. The first motor car, (a Benz, owned by a visitor) pattered along the streets of Pest in 1895. By 1905 there were 159 private automobiles; and the construction of the Hungarian-made "Marta" taxis had begun. Some of the private automobiles were electric ones: high-wheeled, boxy, resembling elegant hansom cabs, with tufted plush seats and small glass vases affixed to the interior windowframes, usually holding a single rose. (One of these the electric car of the then president of the First Commercial Bank, Leó Lánczy, graced—if that is the word—the streets of Budapest for nearly forty years: a trademark of sorts.) In 1896–7 János Csonka, an excellent engineer designed small electric cars for the Budapest postal service. In 1900 the Royal Hungarian Automobile Club (KMAC) was founded. Of course most of the private traffic in 1900 was still horse drawn. It consisted of private carriages, licensed and numbered one-horse and two-horse hack coaches (the "konflis", "fiáker" and "komfortáblis") and unnumbered ones. In 1904 there were 856 one-horse, 456 two-horse and 539 unnumbered carriages. The last were the more expensive ones, hired not only for special occasions but by people who were loath to give the impression that they did not have a coach of their own.* On Sundays, except in mid-winter, the elegantly curving Stephanie Avenue in the City Part was the place for the carriage corso, not unsimilar to that of Hyde park in London. The equipages and the occasional mounts of the aristocracy and some of the upper classes were espied and followed with great interest by the assembled families of the carriageless and horseless.

The first electric street car ran along a one-mile stretch of the Ring, starting from the West Station, in 1887. By 1900 electric trolleys were replacing many of the older horse cars. The total length of electric trolley lines grew from 110 miles in 1896 to nearly 200 miles by 1905. The upper classes eschewed these, perhaps because of their frequent crowdedness, unwilling to rub elbows with the proletarians of the city (trolley fares were cheap). Exceptions for their limitations of patronage were the lines running to the outer

*It is interesting, and perhaps significant, that left-side drive was the rule in Hungary (until 1941, when the German military requested that it be changed to the right). This may have been yet another result of the wish to assert Magyar independence from Austria; and there were Hungarians who argued that it was a natural consequence of the habit of Hungarian horsemen, whose sabres and scabbards hung on the left, to be lifted by the right arm when needed.

districts of the city, the elevated line to Castle Hill, the cogwheel railway to the Svábhegy and the already mentioned, spacious, clean and comfortable "Franz Josef" underground line.

By 1900 most of the public services of Budapest, including its public transportation, were already municipally owned, governed and financed. Budapest, like Vienna, was served by city water works that produced truly excellent water. This was a great change from earlier decades when the filtration of the water of the Danube, especially in Pest, was insufficient and unsanitary. The quality of the Budapest drinking water was so good that by the 1890s some of the companies bottling the celebrated mineral spring-waters of Buda (and of Margaret Island) decided to shift their marketing to exports. Indeed, unlike in many other European cities, mineral water was disappearing from the daily tables of Budapest, save when its bottles were meant to accompany wines. The average inhabitant's consumption of water increased considerably, from 157 litres per person in the year 1896 to 231 litres in 1910.

In 1900 most of the streets, houses and rooms of Budapest were still gaslit. Around dusk the lamp-lighters, with their long sticks, were a common sight in the pavements. The purification and densification of piped gas had made progress, which was a great help for housewives and their cooks: gas-fired stoves and ranges in the kitchens had begun to replace the dirtier and more laborious coal-fired ones; gas-fired hot-water tanks (so-called "geysers") were installed in the more modern apartment houses. The first electric streetlights appeared in Pest as early as 1873. Electric lighting took a great surge upward during the glamorous illuminations of the Millennium exhibition. In 1900 the ratio of private electric light to gaslight was one to four; and it was not until 1909 that electric street-lighting replaced the gaslights in most streets. The city electric power stations were thoroughly modern at that time, even in the design of their architecture. The municipal fire service of Budapest was excellent. The city suffered no serious fires for over a decade. The number of mailboxes doubled in the decade before 1900; the increase of letter traffic was very considerable (from 3.6 million in 1895 to 14.2 million in 1913). The first telephone in Budapest was installed in 1881 (its inventor, Tivadar Puskás of wide renown, was highly esteemed by Thomas Edison). By 1890 long-distance calls to Vienna were possible; by 1900 such connections were extended to Berlin. Private subscribers were still few, about six thousand. (By 1913 there were more than 27,000.)

Mention must be made of a fairly unusual municipal service, that of the city ambulance corps (*Mentők*), reliable and much respected till this day. Its establishment was a consequence of the tremendous improvement of the standards of medical training in Budapest, where the Medical School of the university had come up to the highly reputed standards of Vienna. Here we must at least mention the progress in public health services, including the standards of medical care and of medical equipment in the public hospitals of the city. At the same time, the middle and upper classes depended much less on hospitals than on the services and house calls of family doctors; (and such house calls were available to all classes of the population). When members of the middle- or upper-class families were in need of operations or for more intensive medical care they took a room in a private sanatorium.

To this general and statistical portrait of the progress of municipal services in 1900 belongs mention of the establishment of public comfort stations in Budapest. They were serviced by old women, public employees, who were in charge of the cleaning and of the keys to the private toilet booths, dependent on a pittance of a municipal salary and on tips. These sheet-metal pavilions, invariably painted pea green, were more private than the *vespasiennes* of Paris. Tar-paint was applied to their urinals, attempting to drench, or at least overcome the foul smell of their interiors, usually with indifferent results. There were 32 of them in 1893 and 50 in 1902, often hidden among the trees and copses of the public squares.

1900 was a turning point for Hungary and for Budapest. But we can see this only in retrospect. No one knew then what was to come: that the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 would mark the end of an era that for Hungary and Budapest so definitely started in 1867. It was then that the glorious rise and prosperity of the city began (another illustration of the condition that material prosperity is a consequence of psychic and social and political climates, rather than the reverse). Two-thirds of this 1867–1914 chapter had passed by 1900. The seeds of troubles were already there – socially, politically, psychologically. Indeed, they had already begun to appear in the 1890s somewhere near the half-mark of those forty-seven years. Yet historical life has its momentum: the self-confident progress went on with increasing speed, largely unaware of the turn of the road; and so it was only a few years after 1900 that the speed began to slacken somewhat and all kinds of troubles had grown enough to appear on the surface. The still largely untroubled climate of Budapest in 1900 reflected the condition of the generally still prevalent confidence of its leading classes. The *fin-de-siècle* pessimism, the drastic break with the nineteenth-century habits of thought and perception that had appeared in Vienna and Paris and even London during the last decade of the passing century was not yet evident, let alone predominant, in Budapest. But only a few years after 1900 the symptoms of a malaise—in the literal meaning of the word, an uneasy ill feeling—began to clutch at the hearts of people. It was there in national and city politics: latest by 1904 the difficult, though generally accepted, equilibrium of the Compromise was broken. We can glimpse this from the rhetorical question posed by the Prime Minister István Tisza in the Parliament, in 1904: “Just contrast the picture of our country in 1866 with that of 1896! Thirty years of such flourishing, such growth, such increase of material, spiritual, moral and intellectual capital! Should it be so easy to tear out such thirty years from the life of a nation?” The tone of this statement was not plaintive—Tisza was too severe a character for that—but it was censorious as well as regretful: and that regretfulness already depended on the perspective of retrospect.

In sum, the grounds for optimism were no longer solid—even though material progress was still going on. And that progress was still considerable. Within Hungary at large the main national product, wheat, was more than double in 1900 than what it had been thirty years earlier; the yields per acre had doubled too; so had the cattle population. What happened by 1900 was that Budapest finance had caught up with that growth of agricultural and industrial production. In the 1870s many of the capital investments in Budapest (and the industries of Hungary at large) still depended on Parisian and Viennese

banks; but high finance had come to Budapest by 1900, so that Budapest had become the banking center of Eastern Europe. The number of Hungarian banks alone increased from 11 in 1867 to more than 160 in 1900. Some of these banks, such as the First Hungarian Commercial and the Hungarian Credit Bank were now in the same league with the great Central European financial institutions—as indeed their palatial buildings showed. Savings institutions grew, too, from 29 in 1867 to 455 in 1890. Sixty per cent of the machine industry of the country was in Budapest. Some of these were very modern: the Ganz factory, for example, was well-known in Europe: its manufactures included the first electric-railroad engines in the world, delivered to the Valtellina railroad in Northern Italy. The number of industrial establishments, ranging from small machine shops to the giant factories of the Manfréd Weiss works more than doubled during the four years from 1896 to 1900 alone (from 11,796 to 28,980); the number of their workers rose accordingly, from 63,000 to 100,000 within four years, rising further to 177,00 during the following decade.

These figures indicate how after 1900 the momentum still prevailed, but at a considerably slower pace than during the feverish years before 1900. Before 1900, for example, Budapest was the largest city of mills in the entire world. (In that year Minneapolis passed it.) Wheat from the great plains of Hungary, and also the grain products of the Balkans, were turned into flour in the great mills of Budapest. But many of the successful entrepreneurs who had begun their careers as grain traders earlier in the nineteenth century and then became founders and owners of the mills were switching their interests and enterprises and capital to other investments around 1900. The Hungarian export of flour—predominant in Europe in the 1870—was beginning to decline, even though after 1900 its volume and its destinations were still impressive. (Among other things, Hungary was the main exporter of flour to Brazil!) This was generally the case with other agricultural products, too. The big slaughterhouses and abattoirs of the Tenth District suffered from a plague of hog fever around 1890, and the phyloxera ravaged the vineyards of Buda in the 1880s. Yet, by 1900 these damages were recovered. In 1896 Hungarian exports were still three times those of 1874. After 1900 this progress began to diminish.

There was a compensation for this—for Budapest, rather than for Hungary at large. This consisted of the fact that the increasing population of the city meant an increase of consumers; production followed consumption and producers consumers. Thus the agricultural ring around Budapest went on growing, despite the transformation of the city into an industrial metropolis. The vineyards within the municipal boundaries of Budapest still grew, from 355 acres in 1900 to 401 acres in 1910, despite the condition that the development of the national railroads brought cheap wine to the metropolis from faraway Hungarian places and that by 1900 few families of Pest owned their own vineyards in Buda, a custom that had been prevalent as late as 1890. Into the outer districts of the city a new agricultural population was coming. Hundreds of thousands of peasants were leaving their villages in search for better fortunes in the ring around Budapest. Some of them went to work in the factories, a country-to-city migration that was typical of the nineteenth century throughout Europe, though this happened in Hungary later than in western Europe; but many of them worked to produce and sell vegetables, fruits, and

other kinds of food for the people of the new metropolis. This new increase of the population had definite effects on the demography of the city. Even more than in other cities of that time, Budapest had not only spread out along concentric circles, but the farthest suburbs (except for the residential villa districts) were often those of the poorest people. From 1890 to 1910 the population of Hungary increased by nearly 20 per cent, of Budapest by 79 per cent, and of its suburbs by nearly 238 per cent. It was thus that from the Great Compromise to the Great War, from 1867 to 1914, Budapest was the fastest growing city in Europe, even though after 1900 the birth rate among its population had slowed down.

It was a European city. No haughty Viennese would say in 1900 what Metternich had suggested eighty-five years earlier, that Hungary belonged to the "Orient". For a Viennese to go to Buda or to Pest in, say, 1820, was an expedition. By 1900 a Viennese who had some business in Budapest found it pleasant to go there, perhaps especially in the summer. He may have been critical of Budapest, and of Hungarian politics (as Viennese often were) but the criticism would contain elements of respect and perhaps even of jealousy. There were comforts and pleasures to be had in that city that were at least equal to those of Vienna; prices were somewhat cheaper; and their sojourn would be seasoned with a peculiar spice of Hungarianness, including a pungent soupçon of paprika. When in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries a traveller from Greece or from the Balkans was packing his bags to travel northwest, to Trieste or to Vienna, he would say: "I am going to Europe." In 1900 he might have said the same when going to Budapest.

It was, at least in some sense, a cosmopolitan city—and not only because of its hotels and restaurants but because so many of the people foreign travellers would meet spoke the languages of Europe. Most people knew German and many people spoke some French. This was not only due to the loneliness of the Magyar language which has no relative among the great families of European languages, whence the frequent linguistic abilities of Hungarians. It was also due to the cultural appetites of the generations around 1900 and to the requirements of *bon ton* among the upper classes.

During the nineteenth century, as we have seen, Budapest and Berlin were the two fastest growing cities in Europe; and between 1867 and 1914 Budapest was *the* fastest growing one. Let us once more sump up the increase:

1720	about	11,000 people
1831		103,000
1867		280,000
1900		733,000
1910		880,000
1913		933,000

In the ten years before 1900 the population of Budapest grew by the amazing rate of 45 per cent. In 1867 Buda and Pest were the seventeenth largest city in Europe, by 1900 the sixth. The proportion of the capital city to the country at large was not unusual: the people of Budapest amounted to slightly more than 4 per cent of the population of Hungary (the proportion of Paris to the rest of France, or of London to the rest of

Britain were larger). What was unusual was the comparison of Budapest with other cities of Hungary, of which the second largest, Szeged, amounted only to 13 per cent of the capital city.

After 1900 the rate of rise was slowing down. The people of Budapest now had fewer children. To bring up children in the city was more difficult, burdensome and expensive than to bring them up in the country where there was often a place or a function for them in the barnyards and the fields. The crowding in the apartments was a factor. There were two other developments, one negative, the other—perhaps—positive. The minds and the habits of many of the families who had moved into the city were governed by their religion less than before. This happened not only among Catholics but also among Protestants and Jews. Large families were becoming rare. As in other European countries, notably in France, the availability of male prophylactics had nothing to do with this; something like “birth control” was widely practiced among more and more married people in one way or another. The, perhaps positive, factor was that the diminution in the number of children meant that they had become the subjects of increasing attention. More interest and more money could be spent on their education. Certainly among the middle and upper class families it was taken for granted, latest after 1880, that their children would not leave the family circle and would not begin to earn their way until sometime during the third decade of their lives. But among the lower classes, too, children were sent to school for a much longer period than before; and the requirements of the schools were such that young people could not keep up their studies while having a job, on the side. Among the middle classes the—often unspoken but generally observed—belief reigned to the effect that their children, whether boys or girls, must not attain a social, educational, or professional status that would be, even to the slightest degree, beneath that of their parents. It was desirable and proper that they—especially boys—should rise above them. Such family ambitions were not typical of the old aristocratic families. Yet, with all of their self-confidence and social position, their children, too had to maintain not only the social but the educational status of their parents, whence the frequent employment of private tutors, to which I shall return.

Some of these matters were not peculiar to Budapest in 1900. What was singular to it was the high rate of increase in its population even when a drastic decrease in the size of its families took place. One of these reasons was the continuous growth of the agricultural ring around Budapest. Another element was the large improvement in standards of health. In 1867 the Pest death-rate was one of the highest among comparable European cities. Notwithstanding the conditions of urban overcrowding, during the twenty-five years before 1900 the death rate in Budapest dropped by half. Infant mortality also declined by fifty per cent from 1869 to 1900. The mass killers of the nineteenth century, infectious diseases such as tuberculosis, were fading, while life expectancy was rising, though only slowly. In these respects Budapest in 1900 had caught up with Vienna, which is remarkable when we consider that proletarian overcrowding in Vienna was less than in Budapest, and that the Viennese municipal health services were a model for much of Europe.

In 1900 the number of illegitimate children in Budapest was still unusually high. Another peculiarity in the composition of the people was the unusual imbalance between women and men: in 1900 1088 females for every 1000 males of the city. One explanation for this is the large number of domestic servants, who were almost all women (male servants, such as butlers or coachmen, existed only in the households of the aristocracy). As late as 1870 every fifth person in Buda and Pest was a domestic servant—a proportion twice as large as that in Vienna, and three times larger than in Berlin. One consequence of this was that among the poorer classes men and women married late. In 1900 among people over twenty years age only 56 per cent of males and 44 per cent of females were married, a proportion much lower than elsewhere in the country. But because of the rapid industrialization of Budapest there came a change after 1900. Because most of the industrial workers were young men, the average age of the population remained fairly young, younger than that of the generally aging urban population of other European cities;* but industrial workers now included many females, too. From 1900 to 1910 the number of women employed in domestic service rose only by 24 per cent, while the number of those employed in industry rose by 37 per cent. Whereas in 1880 only one of every three working women in Budapest was employed in industry, their proportion had grown to more than half in 1900, and to more than two-thirds in 1910.

The working classes were the largest portion of the people of Budapest; but by 1900 the tone of Budapest was that of a bourgeois city. Perhaps within all of Eastern Europe it was the only bourgeois city. Its atmosphere, its ways of life were more bourgeois than St. Petersburg and Moscow; but Russia was geographically, rather than culturally, part of Europe. (If we exclude Tsarist Russia from "Europe", then Budapest in 1900 was already the *fifth* largest European city, after London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna.) There exists a descriptive novel about the Rumanian capital city of Bucharest around 1900 by the Rumanian novelist Ion Marin Sadoveanu. The differences between the atmosphere, the people, and the habits of Bucharest and Budapest were not only immeasurably greater than those between Budapest and Vienna; it is almost as if the differences were larger than those of two neighbouring nations; it is the difference of two civilisations.

But these are matters for which the illustrative evidence of statistics is no longer sufficient.** We are facing qualities of life, not quantities. The bourgeois classes of Budapest were a minority in 1900; a numerically lesser minority than the proportion of corresponding classes in Vienna or Paris. Yet their influence—not only their material or

*It is significant that the characteristics of internal migration and of external migration (that is, of emigration) in Hungary coincide on one point. Around 1900 most of the young people who came to Budapest to seek their fortunes came from the same counties and regions (mostly from the north of Hungary) wherefrom most of the people left to seek their fortunes in America.

**The Budapest City Office of Statistics was one of the most reputed in Europe, led by a great statistician, József Kőrösy, whose important (and pioneering) works in modern urban statistics were also published in Paris and in Vienna. It is melancholy to record that one of the ablest successors at the head of that office of the Jewish Kőrösy, after 1920, was the determinedly anti-semitic Aladár Kovách.

financial but their mental influence—was dominant. Evidences for this existed on all kinds of levels. There was the prevalence of bourgeois buildings, that sea of apartment-houses. The rooms of the working classes were, of course, dreadfully poorer in comfort and even in sanitation than those of the bourgeois; but they, too, lived in apartment-houses, for the first time in their lives. The clothing of the great majority of the people of Budapest, including the working classes, also followed middle-class standards and habits by 1900. Unlike in most of the provincial cities of Hungary, unlike in other large cities of Eastern Europe, peasant clothing and other rural habits were disappearing fast. By 1900 the street-wear of most industrial working men in Budapest was that of a dark sack-suit. It was the custom of some of the advanced workers, especially of foremen, to wear a black derby even at their work-benches or lathes. The cloth-cap or the beret were still rare. This conformation to bourgeois fashions was more frequent among the men than among the women of the lower classes. The broad skirts, the boots, and the black kerchiefs of the Hungarian peasantry were worn not only by the older married women of the working class; they were ubiquitous among the women and girls of the factories and of the agricultural suburbs; and they were the off-duty clothing of most of the domestic servant girls.*

In 1900 the class structure of Hungary was highly articulated and consequently complicated. The class structure of Budapest reflected this national stratification, but its proportions were different.

Budapest was largely urban; Hungary was still half-feudal. There were, at that time, two aristocrates in Budapest: the older landowning one, and the newer financial one. But the use of the word "aristocracy" is inaccurate, since it applies to both groups only in a broad sense of the term. In Hungarian usage "aristocrat" meant a member of the high nobility: a prince, count, or baron. A "financial aristocrat" could be respected or envied: but the term was hardly more than an epithet; it even carried within itself a slightly pejorative sense, a touch of the critical. Around 1900, the high nobilitarian and the financial aristocracy could coexist rather well, and even collaborate or commingle on occasion; but the financial aristocracy—including those of its families who became ennobled by the King—was well aware of its relative social inferiority compared to the old nobility. After the French revolution the brilliant French writer Rivarol overheard a socially ambitious emigré, in the company of aristocratic emigrés in a Hamburg boarding-house, beginning a sentence with: "Nous aristocrates", "we aristocrats". Rivarol

*It may be of interest to note that there was no coincidence, or synchronization between the development of Hungarian architecture and that of Hungarian fashions in clothes. Neo-classical and Biedermeyer architecture (and Biedermeyer fashions among the women of Budapest) were still dominant at a time, before 1850, when male clothing was often pronouncedly national and Hungarian. And when after 1900 Hungarian national elements appear in the very styles and forms of buildings, the bourgeois uniformity of European styles of clothing is ubiquitous, except for the occasional ceremonial "díszmagyar".

On the other hand, the strenuous attempts at the creation of a Hungarian architectural style after 1900 coincide in the, much more praiseworthy and enduring, attempts of Bartók and Kodály towards deeply expressive Hungarian folk music, separating the latter not only from German and Austrian influences but also from the gaudy virtuosity of gypsy strings.

broke in: "This usage of the plural is very singular." No financial aristocrat in Budapest, even if ennobled, even if in possession of the title of baron, would have ever said "we aristocrats", no matter where.

The old nobility were the great landowner magnates of Hungary. They held a very large proportion of the Hungarian land. By 1900 the value and the income of their large estates have begun to decrease; but that decrease was uneven and they were not, as yet, threatened by the full devolution of feudalism into capitalism. There were only a handful of Magyar princely families. (Franz Josef elevated many counts, even more barons, but only one Hungarian prince, Tassiló Festetics, who did not live in Budapest.) The divisions among the high nobility lay elsewhere. There were a few non-Hungarian counts and barons who had very large estates, mostly in northwestern and western Hungary, residing often in Vienna but seldom, if ever, in Budapest. There were the members of the old Hungarian nobility who held positions in the high ranks of the Austro-Hungarian government, many of them in the diplomatic service. There were other members of the Hungarian nobility, mostly of eastern Hungary and Transylvania, whose estates were smaller and who were considerably less wealthy than the others. And the best known, and perhaps the most respected were the high noble families who were long and deeply rooted in Hungarian history, families whose members had associated themselves with the causes of Magyar patriotism and independence both before and during the nineteenth century—Batthyányis, Széchenyis, Eszterházys, Andrássys—even as all of them were unreservedly loyal to the Dual Monarchy in 1900. This was the group which, in addition to their great country houses, chose to establish their houses in Pest (unless they possessed ancestral houses on Castle Hill) during the nineteenth century. Their patriotism, and their political interests were the sources of that choice. The urbanization of Budapest and its culture contributed further to that inclination. A few of them took part in the government of the city; one of them, the eccentric Count Frigyes Podmaniczky, served as the vicepresident of the Council of Public Works. They had their own club, the National Casino, which remained restricted and exclusive, its membership dependent almost exclusively on birth. They married mostly among themselves; the sources of their wealth and income was still predominantly land and forestry in 1900; but their intermarriages with the financial "aristocracy"* and their financial and political independence with Budapest high capitalism had already begun.

Still their ways of life were quite distinct. For one thing, their sons and daughters were educated at home, by private tutors, often till their twelfth year. Then their sons were customarily sent to the gymnasiums of certain religious orders, and their daughters to convent schools till the ages of seventeen or eighteen. Most of these families were Catholics; they often employed a family priest. There was at times a small private chapel not only in their country houses but in their small places in Budapest. They were more cosmopolitan than the other classes. They had connections with other European noble families, often well beyond the frontiers of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. They were

*These intermarriages were occasionally those of aristocratic men with the daughters of rich, often Jewish families; the opposite was rarely the case.

taught French at an early age, which almost all of them spoke faultlessly and fluently. Their sons also learned riding, fencing, shooting, hunting. Their clothes were often cut by English tailors, one or two of whom travelled to Vienna every year for that purpose. Much of this was not very different from the lives of other continental noble families of the period. Yet there were differences, sometimes significant ones. In 1900 many of these Hungarian nobles no longer saw their Budapest residences as temporary or secondary. In Germany or Poland or Italy (the Roman aristocracy excepted) such families chose to spend little time in the national capital; often they had no houses of their own there at all. In Budapest there was no such thing as a "season". Only during the high summer months could one be sure to find these families in their country seats, away from the capital. Nor was there a definite aristocratic quarter of the city, save for some streets on Castle Hill and in the streets around the Museum Ring. Another matter: unlike in Vienna, many of these families were not indifferent to currents of urban and national culture. They were interested in politics; on occasion there were writers and even painters among them. They frequented not only the Opera but also the flourishing national theaters. Unlike in France of 1789, and unlike in other European nations around 1900, in this still half-feudal nation popular hatred for the high nobility was generally absent.

Yet we must not exaggerate their merits. Their patronage of the arts was limited. They had few remarkable collections of art. More important was the condition that some of the younger men of these families, surely around 1900, were fairly idle, having no taste either for the management of their estates or even for the diplomatic service. The careers that members of such families had espoused earlier—that of high military, or high civil-service positions—no longer drew many of them. Perhaps one of the reasons for this was their liking for the pleasures of Budapest. A frequent vice among them was gambling. It was after years of remarkable dissipation, and after more than considerable losses in gambling, that the Károlyi family helped to launch the young Mihály Károlyi's career in politics. He became a national figure soon, mostly because of his vocal proposition of radical and "modern" ideas.

Among the high nobility the women were, generally speaking, more sedate than the men. They were more religious and conservative. The fiery Hungarian temperament notwithstanding, extramarital scandals among the high Hungarian nobility were relatively rare at the time. There was little of the raffishness of the Edwardian aristocracy among them, perhaps because life and the diet of daily pleasures in nineteenth-century Hungary was less constrained than that of Victorian England.

Beneath them on the social but not on the financial scale stood the families of the Hungarian gentry. People regarded them, as they regarded themselves, as categorically superior to the financial aristocracy (and not only because many of the families of the latter were Jewish or Jewish in their origins). In this respect the society of Hungary resembled Poland in some ways and England in others. The gentry families, especially in Budapest, had less money than the financial aristocracy and less than much of the bourgeoisie. But then in Hungary an unusually large proportion of people were "nobles"—according to some estimates, as many as one of every ten people as late as in

1848—mostly because of a peculiar constitutional law dating back to the early sixteenth century. They lived on the land; they had many petty privileges and constitutional rights; their titles—true, stretching the category somewhat—were the Hungarian equivalents of a *von* or a *de*. In essence, they were a *petite noblesse terrienne*, with a fierce desire for independence, both personal and national, and with many acquired handicaps and inherited vices. The word “gentry”, borrowed from English (“*dzsentrí*” in Hungarian) did not become current until the 1880s. There was, at that time, a proud and widespread accepted idea in Hungary (corresponding with some of the ideas that Englishmen had about Hungary at the time) that the Hungarian constitution resembled, if not paralleled, that of England, because of the chronological near-coincidence of the rights that the nobles of England had extracted from their king in their Magna Charta in 1215, and Hungarians from their king in their Golden Bull in 1222; and because of the belief that the main source of English and of Hungarian freedoms resided in the existence of an independent landed gentry class, with its inherited sense of freedoms and with its practice of self-government, and with its taste for country life. We need not analyze the validities and the shortcomings of this agreeable, and not entirely untruthful, comparison—except to say that at the very time when this word “gentry” became widespread in Hungary the social structures of England and Hungary could hardly have been more different. For by 1880 the Hungarian petty nobility was in considerable, and often grave, financial and material decline. They were in trouble for many reasons. Their land holdings, the quality and the profitability of their agriculture could not compete with that of the larger, better-run estates. Consequently many gentry families migrated to Budapest, without relinquishing their sense of pride and of importance, and without giving up of what remained of their estates and of their, alas, often run-down country houses. But they did not wish to go into commerce, finance, industry, business. What was open to them was a new source of income: that of civil service positions. Outside Budapest leading governmental positions remained in the hands of the gentry, in many ways as late as 1944. In Budapest the centralization of government, and the establishment of many government institutions included other possibilities. The Austro-Hungarian as well as the particularly Hungarian civil service consisted of twelve grades. Member of the nobility, functioning as ministers, ambassadors, chief judges, generals, etc. were in Grades 1–3; the jobs occupied by the gentry usually spread through Grades 4 to 10. These jobs gave them authority, security, pensions. But they were not a moneyed class, and their income meant less and less as the nineteenth century drew toward its end.

Consequently, they were inclined to become critical and jealous of the more successful and rising people of the capital, and perhaps especially of Jews. But there was more to these nascent animosities than mere financial frustration and material envy. The gentry saw themselves, with some reason, to have been the truly national and historical class, the flag-bearers of Hungarian independence. They were apt to be critical of most features of the 1867 Compromise with Austria. They looked down on most private occupations, including administrative ones. For every Hungarian Jew employed in the governmental, civil, or municipal services there were eight non-Jewish civil servants, usually from the ranks of the gentry; among white-collar employees in private firms the ratio was nearly

the reverse. In Budapest the number of state and municipal employees increased fivefold from 1867 to 1900. There was a rising need for auditors, and accountants. The sons of the gentry were uninterested in such jobs. As late as in the 1870s they were filled by clerical arrivals from Austria and Germany. Meanwhile the gentry were becoming less sure of themselves. Some time after 1890 the term and meaning of "gentry" in Budapest—though not yet in the provinces—began to overlap with another term, that of the "gentlemanly middle-class" (*úri középosztály*), suggesting at least an increase of their identification with urbanity. A decade later came another change which is significant, and perhaps ominous, in retrospect. People began to refer to their class as "the Christian middle-class", "Christian" in this sense being a negative adjective, meaning, simply and squarely, non-Jewish.*

It was thus that while there were few evidently and predominantly "gentry" districts in Budapest in 1900, there were certain gentry streets and predominantly gentry houses. We know more about the lives of the Magyar gentry than about those of the aristocracy, because of the many novels (and even studies) that dealt with the, sometimes tragic, and often tragicomic fortunes of that class. Many of these dealt with the amplitude of their pretensions and the emptiness of their purses; the title of Kálmán Mikszáth's "Fancy Misery" (*Cifra nyomorúság*) is alone telling. But Mikszáth wrote mostly about their lives in the small towns of the provinces. The lives and the workings of the minds of the gentry civil-servant in Budapest were more complex. The best thing we can say about them is that they were strong-minded, reliable and proud. Their shortcomings were those of a narrow nationalism which had grown out of the older, county-related patriotism, and a consequently narrow cultivation of a nationalist culture that was as intense as it was shallow. It included their fondness for gypsy music, for nationalist literature, for declarative rhetoric, whether in poetry or in politics. Their sons were now, for the first time, required to have a university degree (usually in law), for the proposal of acquiring a civil service position; but their education was, more than often, rigid and narrow. This middle-class was far less cosmopolitan than either the aristocracy or the Jewish bourgeoisie: and this was, for them and for Hungary, ultimately disastrous, since they had eloquent but insubstantial illusions about the world and about other nations, with fatal consequences for Hungarian politics and the destiny of the nation. Yet this class represented a bridge between the city and the country. They brought some of the agreeable atmosphere of the countryside into their Budapest houses and apartments. There was something in the atmosphere of Budapest in 1900 that was both provincial and

*Another element worth noticing consisted in the then extant suspicions and animosities between Catholics and Protestants. While the aristocracy was predominantly Catholic, the gentry was both Catholic and Protestant. (The Protestants of Hungary, and of Budapest, amounted to 25 to 30 per cent of the population.) These religious affiliations were represented in politics. Most Hungarian Protestants were nationalists and anti-Habsburg. Even among the gentry marriages between Catholic and Protestant families posed certain difficulties, mostly because Catholic families insisted on the Catholic baptism and religious upbringing of children in mixed marriages. Since 1895 the Catholic church could no longer insist on this as a condition of legal marriage; but many families kept insisting on it, often to the extent of including it in a contract.

gentry-like: the "green" restaurants of Buda, for example, or the erect bearing of their often beautiful young daughters at the university balls, or even some of their other habits, good and bad (including duelling) that some of the men of the urban bourgeoisie were inclined to emulate. For the latter the aristocracy was too far above them in the social stratosphere, whereas the gentry were, after all, almost within hailing distance. This, and perhaps only this, explains how the Magyar gentry in Budapest represented something similar to the squierarchy of England: proud rather than fashionable, they seemed to represent the essence of the race.

Thus there were three factors—all of them mental, not material—that put the gentry above the financial aristocracy in the estimation of people even in 1900, at that time of the peak of capitalism, of the Money Age. One of them was the still accepted idea that the gentry were the flagbearers of Hungarianness, the prime representatives of the nation. The other was race: the gentry were not Jewish, while the financial aristocracy was largely Jewish, at least in their origins. Yet anti-semitism is an inadequate explanation for this: had the majority of the financial aristocracy not been Jewish, this social hierarchy would not have been different—because of the low Hungarian esteem for commerce and finance. A country gentleman was more respected than a banker—at least as long as he paid his bills (even after a long delay) and left good tips. The bankers knew that. What mattered was a certain style of behaviour and of bearing.* Consequently many men—rather than women—were attracted to some of the gentry habits and adopted them. The financial aristocracy, and many families of the upper bourgeoisie brought country houses and estates; they sought a noble predicate (about which later); on occasion their sons fought a duel or two. But there was a certain reciprocity. It was not merely the usual reciprocity of the attraction of wealth for birth and of birth for wealth. It was a reciprocity of attitudes. The wives and daughters of the gentry took notice of the cosmopolitan elegance of the women of the financial aristocracy and adopted their fashions and clothes when they could afford them and there were younger sons of the gentry who took interest and pleasure in the intellectual and cultural commerce of Budapest because, not despite, its cosmopolitanism. In 1900 the elements of a fatal discord and division between the urban and the populist, between the commercial and the agrarian, between the cosmopolitan and the nationalist, between the non-Jewish Hungarian and the Jewish-Hungarian culture and civilization of Budapest were already there. But the break had not yet come. Their coexistence was still generally peaceful and obviously fruitful. Notwithstanding the differences and the jealousies, the misunderstandings and the animosities were not yet profound; and the flourishing of Budapest around 1900 was the outcome of that.

Above the middle-middle and the lower-middle classes stood the wealthy citizenry of Budapest: a class to which "financial aristocracy" and "patricians" would be equally applicable in 1900, despite the occasionally still extant shades of differences between these terms and their subjects. By 1900 these differences had faded; and this was due to a historical development. Because of the old Hungarian attitudes and, perhaps of the

*A typical Hungarian conversation, reported by my mother. She asked a family friend: "You seem to be downhearted a bit." He: "Ah! If I could only afford to live the way I live!"

Hungarian temperament, the national disdain for commerce and finance lasted for a long time. In the first half of the nineteenth century the financiers and manufacturers and wealthy traders and artisans of Pest and Buda were mostly non-Magyar families. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, taking advantage not only of evident commercial opportunities but of their chance of emigrating from the then domains of the Ottoman Empire, Greek families established themselves in Pest. These families (Sina, Sacelláry, Lyka, Mannó, Agorasztó, Haris, Muráthy became their Magyarized names) were among the first of the Pest patricians. Around the middle of the century other enterprising foreigners came to Buda and Pest and soon established fortunes there, mostly in the building and manufacturing industries: the Norwegian Gregersen; the Swiss Ganz, Aebly, Haggemacher (and Gundel); an occasional Rumanian (Gozsdu) or Serbian (Petrovics, Vrányi, Grabovszky, Bogosich, Mocsonyi—again, Magyarized names) families. But most patricians in Buda and Pest were still German. It was a largely German patriciate that ruled the city of governments of Buda and at times even of Pest. Some of these families (Luczenbacher, Wagner, Wurm, Heinrich, Röck, Drasche, Dreher, Kauser) were not only respected; they became both Magyarized and rich. Most of them were builders and manufacturers. Around 1830 a few Jewish families began to rise. Their names (Wodianer, Ullmann) have an honorable place not only in the financial history of Pest but in the political and cultural history of Hungary. They identified themselves with the 1848 Revolution and War of Independence, often at great risk to their fortunes and freedoms. Most of their fortunes had come from the grain trade. After 1867 things changed, and not only because the law establishing the emancipation of Jews in Hungary passed with a very large majority. From grain-trading some of these families shifted their interests and investments into mills, manufactures, industry, ultimately to finance. Thereafter other Jewish entrepreneurial families (Hatvany-Deutsch, Herzog, Strasser, Kornfeld, Weiss, Chorin, Fellner, Tafler-Györgyey) joined their ranks. When Budapest, by 1900, had become the largest financial center of Europe east of Vienna, these banks were directed mostly (though not exclusively) by members of the Jewish financial aristocracy.

Much of this was reflected in the politics of the city. What happened in Budapest from 1870 to 1900 reflected, as in a microcosm, the rise and the decline of the overall relationship of capitalism with liberalism in the world. In 1871–72 the city fathers voted law, according to which half of the city deputies—two hundred men—would consist of the payers of the highest taxes on the city rolls. This was not such a crude materialist step as it might seem in retrospect. To the contrary: it was a progressive and liberal step at the time. Its purpose was to reduce the influence of the feudal elements in the city assembly, including the presence of the ancient entrenched guilds. In 1871–72 it was generally agreed that this reform of the city assembly was “anti-reactionary”. Still there was some opposition to it, with the effect that the original proposal of the law was slightly revised; the presence of the largest taxpayers in the city assembly would not be automatic: they would be elected from among the 1,200 highest taxpayers. The precise, painstaking researches of the fine urban historian of Budapest, Károly Vörös, reconstructed the devolution thereafter. For about fifteen years there was no radical change in the general

profile of the highest taxpayers, that is, of the richest people in Budapest.* There were many aristocrats among them, many of the German builders, and a number of rising capitalists.** After 1888 the Budapest building boom changed this. The old patriciate was beginning to disappear from the rolls of the highest taxpayers. At the same time the newer kind of capitalist: owners of real estate, mostly of houses, were rising. In 1888 211 of the highest taxpayers came from the latter group, by 1903 466. By 1900 house-owning landlords constituted the largest group among the 1,200 leading taxpayers: 34.05 per cent. After them came the category of merchants: 21.85 per cent. No other group amounted to more than 10 per cent. (The third group were bankers: 8.46% and factory-owners: 7.14%.) The composition of the wealthiest class in Budapest had changed drastically. The problem was no longer that of the remnants of the feudal order; it was that of the, largely unbridled, capitalist order, or disorder.

This was a sociological phenomenon, not very different from the rise of urban capitalists, including Jewish ones, in Berlin or Vienna or Paris around 1900. But there also existed a cultural condition in Budapest that was perhaps unique. The assimilation of this financial aristocracy—and also much of the Jewish upper-middle-class—in Hungary was perhaps the most complete in Europe. It was not only that (as also elsewhere) some of these families had intermarried with the gentry and with the aristocracy. It was not only that some of these families had converted to Christian religions during the nineteenth century—and, so far as we can tell, out of deeper convictions than mere social ambitions.*** The ambitions, habits, and even manners of the financial aristocracy wholly conformed to those of the gentry—to the upper families of the gentry, rather than to the nobility. By 1890 it was almost *de rigueur* for the financial aristocracy to acquire a country estate—which they managed very well, and often with considerably more consideration for their tenants and peasants than the landowners of other classes. In Vienna or Berlin or London or New York the atmosphere and the tone of the drawing-room of a Jewish financier was perceptibly different from that of a Gentile magnate. In Budapest, and in the Hungarian country, these differences were subdued to the extent of having been hardly perceptible: foreign visitors could not recognize them until they were reminded of the social origins of their hosts. What we may see here, in retrospect, are certain admirable characteristics of a class of people who were seldom ostentatious or arrogant, who took great pride in the strict probity of their financial operations and in the cultural and moral standards within their families. Conversely—and this is another, perhaps unique, phenomenon—respect for some of these families, with their well-established names, continued in Budapest for a long time. It survived the rise of middle-class and,

*As elsewhere in the world, statistics of taxation, i.e. the figures of *declared* taxes were not always, and not inevitably, an accurate reflection of true assets or income.

**The ratio of the highest taxpayers between liberal Pest and conservative Buda remained substantially the same for more than twenty years: one to eight. (By 1912 the share of Buda dropped to one in twelve.)

***In 1900 the exclusively aristocratic National Casino had seven Jewish members, the upper-gentry Country Casino a few more. They were not necessarily converts. This, again, was unique. Aristocratic clubs in Vienna, Paris, Germany would have no Jewish members at the time.

later, of popular anti-semitism, lasting, in some ways, through the worst years of the Hitler period and the Second World War.

That financial and manufacturing aristocracy was, of course, but the top layer of the Jewish population in Budapest. That population was unusually large, having grown from 16 per cent in 1872 to 21.5 per cent in 1900. Karl Lueger, the selectively but definitely anti-semitic Mayor of Vienna allowed to deliver himself of the epithet "Juda-pest" on occasion. (His dislike of Hungarians was at least as strong—if not stronger—than his dislike of Jews.) During the last decades of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth century three thousand Jews, on the average, arrived in Budapest each year. In the beginning many of these came to Budapest from the West, from the Bohemian and Moravian provinces of the Habsburg Empire. After 1867 many of them came from the East, from the more primitive villages of Galicia in eastern Poland, and also from Russia. Until about 1860 Jewish traders and artisans in Buda and Pest were often handicapped by discrimination. Their licenses and their trade were restricted by the older, mostly German, guilds. Apprentices of the latter rioted against Jews in 1848. This was one of the reasons why almost all Jews in Hungary identified themselves with the Magyar national cause in 1848 and thereafter. The other reason was the ease of their Magyarization. Because of the earlier decrees of the Emperor Josef II most of the Jews in Hungary had German names; but a considerable minority—one-third, or more—Magyarized their names during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. There were a few identifiable Magyar-Jewish family names and first names; but these were a minority. An even smaller minority were those, recently arrived, Jews from eastern Europe who spoke Yiddish. Among the Jewish congregations the modern-liberal "Neolog" were predominant; Orthodox Jews were relatively few. Ninety per cent of Austrian Jews lived in Vienna whereas only about 20% of Hungarian Jews lived in Budapest. Most Jews in Hungary were dispersed, many of them assimilated among the Magyar population in the small towns of the provinces. There were, however, districts in Pest where the population was considerably Jewish; in a few streets 60 or 70 per cent. In 1900 there existed typically, and predominantly, Jewish clubs, Jewish coffeehouses, Jewish restaurants: but not exclusively so. The Leopoldstadt Casino of the Jewish upper bourgeoisie had a fair number of Gentile members. Political and popular anti-semitism began to appear on the surface in the early 1880s. But it was not yet particularly popular in Budapest. Theodor Herzl, the founder of modern Zionism, was a Jew born in Hungary; but his career as a journalist, and his discovery of Zionism—out of his shock of recognition that, because of ineradicable antisemitic sentiments, the ideal of total Jewish assimilation in liberal Europe was an illusion—occurred in Vienna, not in Budapest. There were, of course, Jewish elements in Budapest who evoked popular dislike and distrust: usurious landlords, fast-talking schemers in business, comer-cutters, successful skaters on thin ice—and on thin paper. Yet as late as 1900 the large proportion of Jewish lawyers and physicians in Budapest inspired little resentment by the population. Many people in Budapest would depend on these Jewish professionals, whose standards of learning and of practice were generally high. Few occupations were closed to Jews, most of these by unspoken custom rather than by fiat: certain high positions in the civil and diplomatic service, for example.

This does not mean that antisemitism did not exist at the time. Its expressions and manifestations were beginning to surface—within political parties and in cultural affairs.

When we contemplate the large, broad, lower part of the social pyramid of Budapest around 1900 we are facing gradations that are perhaps less subtle but not less complicated than those distinguishing some of the relationships of the upper classes. There was one, rather definite, though not entirely leakproof barrier separating those families who had at least one domestic servant, and those who had none. It was this difference—not differences in income, and not differences in occupations—that divided what we may call the lower-middle class of Budapest from the working-class. But even this line was less definite than before, say, 1880 when it may be said that the majority of the people of Budapest were engaged in serving a minority, in one way or another. We have seen that the proportion of those engaged in domestic service began to decrease after 1900, while the proportion of industrial—and of agricultural—workers was rising. The wages of domestic servants were increasing, too, though they were still abysmally low. The crowded conditions of the middle-class and lower-middle-class apartments allowed for less and less space for the purpose of harboring even a single, and pathetically undemanding, peasant servant girl. More important was the rapid industrialization of the city, and the consequent opportunities of other, better-paying, work. The industrial working-class now attracted tens of thousands of young men from the provinces. It nearly doubled between 1890 and 1910. By 1900 it had brought about a new class: a—fairly self-conscious—Budapest proletariat, whose members (especially the men) rather quickly adopted many urban habits, from their clothing to their everyday language. As early as in 1868 a working-class speaker raised a serious voice of protest against the then new conditions: he said that workers were no longer humans, they had become mere material. In the 1890s the first strikes occurred, including a large-strike-movement by bricklayers in 1897. There were occasional demonstrations in the industrial districts, involving, among other things, demands for the reduction of the twelve (sometimes fourteen-) hour working day. Closer to the inner districts, in some of the apartment-houses the tenants of tenements demonstrated against their landlords. On other occasions the demonstrations of the working-class approached the Inner City: they took place on and around the central sections of the Ring. Such occurrences were still infrequent in 1900; but the palpable presence of a new kind of working-class was already there. There were a new kind of people in some of the streets and districts of Budapest, even though this was seldom visible in Buda and in the Inner District of Pest.

There were differences in class-consciousness not only between domestic servants and factory-workers but between either of them and the multiple layers of the lower classes, which included the considerable group of janitors and assistant janitors of the private houses and public buildings, the very numerous low-grade employees of the civil, municipal and other institutions (*altisztek*) including policemen, firemen, trolley-conductors, street-sweepers, garbagemen, etc. Few of them were unionized in 1900; even among factory-workers only 8,666 belonged to unions in 1901, but six years later there were already 130,000 of them. There were important differences separating foremen from other workers, and workers in some occupations from others. Printers had relatively

the highest reputation and the best pay. In 1900 there were nearly 8,000 printers in Budapest, in 560 printingshops, many of them using the modern linotype machines. A list of the different occupations would be interminable; and it would not be very different from that of other European cities of that time. There were perhaps only two disparate groups that were peculiar to Budapest around 1900. One was the already mentioned, and still rapidly growing agricultural population, often within the metropolitan confines of the city. The other was the peculiar institution of the guild of porter-messengers (*hordárok*), one of the few physical occupations that included many Jews. There were jacks-of-all-trades, their duties encompassing a wide variety, ranging from the discreet transportation of love-letters to that of heavy baggage. And on the bottom of the social scale and pyramid lived the floating population of destitutes, amounting perhaps to two out of every ten people in the bourgeoning, flourishing city. One of every three inhabitants of Budapest had no dwelling of their own: sub-lessees, many of whom were not even occupants of a cramped airless chamber. They were renters of a bed or of a mattress for the night.

There was, however, much social mobility in Budapest in 1900. It was social mobility that drew many people to the city; it was social mobility, too, which deeply disturbed others, out of various motives ranging from respect of tradition to pulsations of envy, and often with a hardly divisible human mixture of both. Here was the duality of the city: liberal in many ways, but with the social democracy rising; bourgeois with feudal elements; urban with provincial features; a place marked by rapid and even astounding change, yet one in which the desire for stability was very widespread. Historians must not overlook the dominant, though often invisible, sentiment of the nineteenth century,—the desire for respectability, which involved *all* classes of the population. In Budapest—unlike in other cities of Eastern Europe, and also unlike in many of the smaller towns of Hungary—it was possible for the poorer classes to emulate, imitate, actually adopt certain urban and bourgeois habits and standards. For many of the working-class women this had become a desirable thing to do. Another element in social mobility, in the—relative—democratization of the people of Budapest was that of their schooling. Illiteracy declined, amazingly so. In 1870 one-third of the people of Buda and Pest were illiterate. By 1900 less than ten per cent were. Illiteracy was much lower in Budapest (and also in Hungary at large) than not only in Eastern Europe but in many Western European countries: Italy, Portugal, Spain, lower even than in certain south-central *départements* of France.

An important element in social mobility, and in the consequent fulfilment of certain aspirations, was the linguistic homogenization, the rapid Magyarization of the language and commerce of Budapest. It was—and this duality reflected the complexity of the Dual Monarchy itself—a city where very many people spoke German; yet it had ceased to be a predominantly German-speaking city for at least a generation. As late as in 1851 German was the main language of a slight majority in Pest, and five out of six people in Buda. This was also true of the majority of Jews at the time. But after 1860 this changed. Among other things, German ceased to be the main language of the Jewish population. Generally speaking, Magyar-Jewish Pest was outstripping German-Hungarian Buda. As late as in

1870 those whose first language was Magyar amounted only to 46 per cent of the peoples of the two cities; but they had become a predominant majority in Pest, though not yet in Buda. By 1900 the number of those who *only* spoke German had fallen to 4.3 per cent. (Those who only spoke Hungarian amounted to 38.7 per cent.) Thus the majority of the peoples of Budapest was still bilingual, at least to some extent; but in 1900 those whose first language was Hungarian amounted to eight out of ten people, and those whose first language was German only to one out of seven. There was no longer a German theatre in Budapest. Among the daily newspapers, too, 17 or 18 were Hungarian and only 4 or 5 German. There was only one important German language paper, the *Pester Lloyd*, a kind of "Wall Street Journal" of the times—owned and edited by a Hungarian Jewish newspaperman of great intelligence. In 1896 the most celebrated and loved long-ruling Lord Mayor of Budapest, Károly Kammermayer, retired. He was a typical descendant of the solid German patrician families; but throughout his public career he identified himself with the Hungarian national cause. His funeral, a year later, was accompanied by public mourning and ceremonies only second to that of Kossuth three years before.* This rapid change from German-speaking to Magyar-speaking predominance produced relatively few animosities at the time. During the second half of the nineteenth century the city of Prague, too, changed from predominantly German-speaking to Czech-speaking: and the result was an increasingly tense and adversary relationship among Germans and Czechs in Bohemia and Moravia. In Budapest other animosities were appearing: but as late as 1900 they were still beneath the apparent surface. In any event, these did not involve troubles between the still German-speaking and the Magyar-speaking elements of population. At any rate, the triumph of the Magyar language was nearly complete. Even the Slovak-language families (they were particularly numerous on the lowest levels of the building industry) ceased to speak their ancestral language. Their children would consider themselves wholly Hungarian.

This was, by and large, the case with most of the thousands of recently arrived Jews from the East. In Budapest by 1900 (unlike further to the east, and in New York, for example) Yiddish speaking among the Jewish population was rare. Around 1900 a German- or Slovak-accented Magyar speech was not only easier to recognize but it was even more often a butt of jokes than a Jewish-Hungarian accent. We find evidence of this in the literature of the period, including the comic weeklies and the newspapers. On the other hand a certain kind of Budapestian street-language was in full development, a kind of argot** that had both proletarian and *boulevardier* elements, with a sprinkling of—often Magyarized—Viennese, French, Gypsy and even some Yiddish words and idioms. It is perhaps significant that in 1900 elements of this kind of speech had been adopted by almost every class, and perhaps especially by the younger generations among them. A

*After 1896 came a rapid succession of lord mayors: Károly Ráth and József Márkus. Both of them died soon after their assumption of their high offices. But the old City Hall was demolished, too; a new city hall and a new kind of city politics came into being after 1900.

**Argot, not jargon. The Hungarian word "jargon" (zsargon) at the time meant Yiddish-speaking.

conscious insistence in using the more ornate idioms and lengthier phrases and even the much slower pace and rhythm of the older Magyar habits of expression was kept up only by the older families, and by others on certain official occasions: for, as in Austria, there were many bureaucratic and ceremonial phrases and expressions in the official language of the government (and also of the military). As in other matters, a displeasure with the quicker, more irreverent and more superficial habits of Budapest, including its speech, was sometimes evident among those of the gentry who had relatively recently moved from their country habitations to the capital city.

The rapid Magyarization of Budapest was a welcome thing, with many fruitful consequences to the national culture and literature. At the same time it could contribute to a kind of Magyar self-centeredness, amounting to provinciality. The aristocracy and much of the bourgeoisie were aware of this. They knew how Hungarian was an orphan among the European languages, having no relationship to the great Germanic and Latin and Slavic families. Thus, while Latin and German and some Greek were still required subjects in the Gymnasiums, the habit of private tutoring in European languages had spread from the aristocratic to those of the upper- and middle bourgeois families. Many of these had a German-speaking governess for their children. These "Fräuleins", unmarried women from Austria or Southern Germany, many of whom eventually became members of the family, confidantes of the woman of the house, and stayed on even after their erstwhile charges had grown to adulthood. There was much private tutoring in French (which was a required subject in most of the convent schools for girls), just about none in English. There was another group of customary tutors: the music-teachers. The piano teacher (again, more than often a woman) would ring the bell of the apartment door on a prescribed weekly afternoon, behind which door her student would cringe, conscious of not having done the prescribed exercises for the week, those endlessly boring difficult etudes by Czerny or Diabelli.

The social stratification of Budapest was manifested, too, by the different places of vacations. Some of the wealthier families owned or rented summer houses on the high hills of Buda wherefrom the head of the family could descend to his business in the city because of the improvements of roads and of public transit by 1900. But the very people who could afford such a second dwelling in the high summer months were, in most cases, the same people for whom a summer vacation abroad was social requirement. "Abroad" meant Austria or Bohemian watering-places, the then famous spas of Karlsbad, Marienbad, Ischl, Gastein, the Simmering, etc. Within Hungary there were few places where the standards of hotels would fulfill the requirements of the haute bourgeoisie: those in the Tatra mountains, in Pöstyén in northwestern Hungary, and in a few places along lake Balaton whose attractions for summer vacations were only beginning, and where soon the families of the gentry and those of the Jewish middle-classes would establish separate places for themselves. Generally speaking, the further abroad the vacation, the higher its social prestige. A family trip to France meant more than a visit to Italy, and a summer sojourn in the high Alps of Switzerland more than one in the Bavarian or Austrian Alps. In 1900 winter vacations were still rare, except for an occasional brief sojourn on the French Riviera.

In these respects the high nobility and the upper-middle class had something in common. They were more cosmopolitan than the other classes. At least in cultural matters (and also in the extent of their loyalty to the monarchy) they were less nationalists than other classes and than the gentry. This was not only reflected in their linguistic training but also in their cultural interests. In 1900 the few considerable private collections of art existed in some of the houses of these people. Far more general and widespread was the theatrical culture of Budapest. In 1900 the city had at least six theaters of which three had opened during the ten preceding years. Most of these, including the Opera, were frequented by all of the educated classes. A historical reason for this was the role that the Magyar theatres, their actors and actresses, assumed already in the early nineteenth century, when they were visible and important instruments of the national revival. In 1900 the theatrical culture of Budapest—ranging from the quality of the playwrights, the literary erudition of the directors, the efficiency of the stagecraft and the excellence of many of the actors and actresses—was on a very high level.* In addition to the *varietés*, cabarets, orpheums there was, too, a peculiarly Hungarian form of thespian culture, that of the *népszínmű*, popular plays often favoured by the less sophisticated gentry and by the lower-middle classes. Their plays were nationalist, provincial, and often shallow. By 1900 they had begun to disappear—as had, too, the former German-speaking theatres.

In this portrait of the people of Budapest around the turn of the century it is perhaps not improper to say something about the relations of the sexes. The double standard, prevalent almost everywhere in the Western world at the time, was a matter taken for granted in Hungary, too. Virginité and chastity of girls before marriage was not only desirable, it was so demanded. For young men it was not. A sexual adventure for a married man was, on occasion, overlooked; for a married woman, customarily speaking, it was not. Divorce was rare—even though, unlike in other Catholic countries, after 1895 the legal possibility for it existed. In these matters there were no significant differences between the Catholic and Protestant and Jewish families—and, somewhat surprisingly, not many differences between the upper and the middle classes. Most marriages were still arranged between families. It was unlikely that an engagement would take place without the family of the bride having some connection with, or at least substantial information about the family of the groom. A broken engagement could amount to a tragedy, to an—often wholly undeserved—stain on the social position of a young woman; in many instances she would give up the idea of marrying for good. It was difficult, nay, almost impossible for a young girl to meet a young man outside of the social circles arranged by her family, and outside certain accepted places: the dancing-classes, the skating-club, the balls of the various university faculties, the county balls (for the gentry), and perhaps a family introduction in the foyers of the Opera or of the theaters. Unmarried girls were chaperoned everywhere, including their shopping in the streets or even their midday walk home from their schools; the chaperones ranging from a governess or a stiff old-maid of

*In 1900 a celebrated actress (actress, rather than actor) was seen as a national asset. In some instances streets and public squares were named after them.

an aunt to a slatternly maid, since this practice reached down to the lower levels of the middle-class.

Much of this was not different from life in, say, Vienna or other European cities around 1900. There were, however, certain different nuances in the daily lives and in the mental climate of Budapest that may deserve attention. We have seen that there were many illegitimate marriages and illegitimate children among the lowest classes, where illegitimacy was less of a stigma than elsewhere; the same thing was true of the rigid observance of female virginity.* Yet the double standard was even stronger among the lower classes than elsewhere—when it involved life after, not before, marriage. An erring working-class wife would run the risk of being severely beaten by her husband, and of finding herself an outcast among neighbours. Another condition in Budapest that was different from other cosmopolitan capitals of the world in 1900 was the relative absence of a demi-monde: of a class of women of easy, rather than deprives, morals, long-range mistresses haughtily above the short-range prostitutes. Save perhaps for the liaisons of certain actresses, *cocottes* and *grandes horizontales* in Budapest in 1900 were rare. (Those young women who were attracted to such careers had gone to seek their fortunes abroad.) Unmarried young men and married men satisfied their sexual desires with visits to the various brothels, whose prices and arrangements ran from the richest to the poorest, reflecting the social gradations of the city. Extramarital affairs would involve, on occasion, the wife of someone you knew, that is, from one's own social class. (Since there were few inns or hotels that would rent rooms during the day it was very difficult to find a place for such assignations.) It was even more difficult, nay, impossible to keep them secret: because in spite of the growing population and the crowds, Budapest in 1900 was still a place where—at least within the confines of a class—everybody knew everybody.

A liaison of a man of the bourgeoisie with a shopgirl or a *modiste*—a frequent practice in Vienna or in Paris at the time—was relatively rare. So was the practice of part-time prostitutes. Another rarity in Budapest (and in Hungary) was the evidence of homosexuality among males. In all of the records, including those of the police and, even more significant, in the rich and gossipy journalism and literature of the period, we find very few examples of it. There are more—often cautiously suggested—evidences of homosexuality among females. The reason for that may have been that in Budapest around 1900 masculinity and virility were still very dominant; the supremacy of the male was unquestioned and unquestionable, sometimes to the detriment of feminine sensitivities.**

*Interestingly enough illegitimacy (as well as divorce) were occasionally overlooked among the gentry families (but not among the bourgeois ones). The writer Sándor Hunyady, was the love-child of the author Sándor Bródy and of the actress Margit Hunyady, the latter the daughter of Transylvanian gentry. Discriminations experienced by Sándor Hunyady in consequence to his illegitimate condition were minimal (perhaps because of the high professional and moral reputation of his mother).

**The language—or, rather, the then prevailing usage—of the Magyar language reflects this. Two: equally frequent and acceptable, words for one's husband were *férjem* ("my husband") and *uram* ("my master"; or "my lord"). The second usage has now almost disappeared—but only during the last few decades. "Wife" in Magyar, however, has the lovely meaning of "my halfness"—a proper noun and not, like "my better half", a phrase.

Sensitivities: yes. Desires: perhaps. What separated the mental and psychical climate of Budapest from nearby Vienna around 1900 was the still largely absent sense of a spreading neurosis, even among the bourgeoisie. A fin-de-siècle malaise began to appear in some of the arts and in politics. But the psychic worlds of Freud or even of Schnitzler, were much farther than that 280-minute train ride to Vienna. In 1900 Budapest was more optimistic than Vienna, even though the traditional streaks of a dark Hungarian pessimism were extant. These ways of thinking, and the psychic atmosphere of Budapest, had much to do, too, with the declarative character of the Magyar language. Whether optimists or pessimists, the people of Budapest, they wore their bourgeois period, were expressive. They wore their minds, if not their hearts, on their sleeves. Their concerns, their problems, their strengths and their failures, were evident in their conscious expressions of all kinds, rather than suppressed or submerged on subconscious levels. We have seen how, by 1900, the change in the tone of the city, the rapid replacement of some of the older patricians by more and more parvenus and nouveaux riches was perhaps the most disturbing development in the social climate, and that it would have many baneful consequences in politics. Reaction against this development came through expressions of outspoken, rather than through suppressed, envy. Yet that disturbance, too, was social rather than financial, psychic rather than material, because of the frequent cavalier (and, on occasion, nonchalant) Hungarian disinterest in money as such—something that may, again, seem to be reflected in the Hungarian idiom. How much money do you *make* a year? an American will ask. How much do you *earn*? (“verdienen”) asks the German. How much do you *win*? (“gagner”, “gagnare”, “ganar”) say the light-spirited Latin tongues. “Mennyit keresel?” “How much are you *looking for*?” says the Magyar language, for reasons that the excellent three-volume etymological dictionary cannot really explain, except to inform us that the desire to achieve, the effort, was originally implicit in the verb “keresni”. “If I could only afford to live the way I live!” In 1900 that was not the problem of everyone in Budapest—surely not of the bourgeois classes, where financial probity was often unexceptionable, and who were seldom ostentatious. It was the problem—and the affliction—of Hungarian politics at large.

PÁL TÉREY: STUDENT OF BRITISH COUNTRY LIFE

GEORGE F. CUSHING

Much has been written about Hungarian travellers of the Age of Reform, who visited Britain in the wake of Széchenyi and Wesselényi to study political, social and technical developments in order to make use of their experiences when they returned to Hungary. Some left substantial accounts of their journeys, like Bertalan Szemere, István Gorove and Lőrinc Tóth; others incorporated the results of their studies into other works, like József Eötvös, and their views are well-known. After 1849, when numerous refugees settled in Britain, the main focus switches to their activities, and once again we have a considerable number of accounts of them, from Ferenc Pulszky and Dániel Kászonyi to Gyula Tanárky and others. All of them are admirable in their own way, and give a colourful picture of life in Britain at the time, but none of them really succeeds in penetrating that most British of all institutions, the country family and its life. Certain stereotypes emerge; the British character is described usually as rather cold and unbending; Szemere compares and contrasts it with that of the French and Germans, and concludes that comfort, wealth and freedom are the commonest words heard among the folk he meets, but that there are several negative aspects (such as a lack of musical ability) which produce a somewhat muted impression.¹ But it must be remembered that most of the writers, both before and after the Revolution of 1848, were either staying in hotels and boarding-houses for a relatively short time or living with other Hungarians in the cities to which they drifted as refugees after the Revolution. Very few of them succeeded in becoming part of the family, unless, as in the case of Széchenyi and Sándor Teleki, there were family connections.²

Very little is written about country life either, since apart from horse-racing in the countryside and a few visits to picturesque parts of the country like the Scottish lowlands and lakes, most travellers stayed in towns.

This is what makes a little-known book by Pál Térey so interesting. His name is practically unknown today, but he wrote by far the most detailed account in Hungarian of British farm-life at a time when the mechanization of farming was spreading rapidly throughout the country. His *Angol-Skóthoni Napló*, published privately in Pest in 1859, describes his practical experience as a student of agriculture in Britain, and is clearly intended to be used as a guide for those who follow in his footsteps, as well as a useful reference-work for Hungarian farmers who may be tempted to mechanize their operations.

The author, who lived from 1831 to 1883, was born in Nagykároly, and it therefore seems likely that he was related to the Mari Térey who is known from literary history as the friend of Júlia Szendrey, Petőfi's wife. He embarked on a military career which was suddenly broken in two by the Revolution of 1848; he rapidly became a major in the hussars and was an aide to Klapka at Komárom. After the siege there, he left the country and studied briefly in Munich before gaining a pardon and returning to enter the service of the County of Szatmár. This did not last long, because in 1858 he began to study agriculture seriously, embarking on a long study-tour which took him first to model farms in Transdanubia (notably Cenk), then to Ursendorf in Lower Austria to see Baron Ward's mechanized farm; from here he travelled to Dresden, Frankfurt and Hohenheim, where there was a famous agricultural school. Here he studied for some four weeks, leaving with two other Hungarian companions, Ödön Hallósy and Béla Nagy, for Brussels, where they saw how flax was produced and manufactured, and Britain, where after a very brief stay in London they travelled to Lincoln to begin their studies. Térey had a number of letters of introduction from the Hungarian Farmer's Society (MGE) which proved useful as a way of opening the door to farming life in both England and Scotland. From time to time during his stay he reported back to sponsors and friends in Hungary, and on his return after some nine months abroad, he wrote his lengthy and detailed book.

Térey had one thing in common with earlier visitors, and that was his youth. (Széchenyi was 24 when he first visited Britain, for example, and Ágoston Trefort had travelled through most of northern Europe at the age of 19.) He was 27, and clearly devoted to his subject. It is also clear from his book that he preferred the practice of agriculture to the theory, and though at first he was astonished to find that there were virtually no agricultural colleges in Britain (there was one at Cirencester, in Gloucestershire, and Oxford University had begun to take tentative steps in that field, but these were all), he soon came to enjoy the practical guidance he received.

Térey had a letter of introduction to the firm of Clayton and Shuttleworth in Lincoln, one of the largest manufacturers of agricultural machinery in the country—and one whose name was familiar enough in Hungary, for up to the time of nationalization in 1948, the firm of Hofherr, Schrantz, Clayton & Shuttleworth was established in Budapest, and their initials HSCS were a common sight on the tractors of those times. Though Térey committed a social gaffe in taking his letter of introduction personally, Mr Clayton advised him to stay in Lincoln and study there. At first there were problems, since the Hungarian students could not find a farmer who was willing to give them board and lodging and to teach them at the same time. In the end they lived in lodgings in Lincoln itself and found an experienced farmer, Mr Mawer, who agreed to teach them for £ 80 for three months—a very large sum in those days. He lived some two miles from the city and had three farms to supervise. So the Hungarian students (who were now four, since another one, Imre Ebeczky, joined them there) walked out to meet Mr Mawer in the early morning and spent the whole day with him, sometimes learning the theory, but more often observing the practice of farming and taking part in it. In the evening Térey returned to his lodgings to write up his records. He declares that he had never been so happy in his life, once he had come to terms with the English language, of which he had

very little knowledge when he first arrived there, and in a town of some 30,000 inhabitants he could find nobody with a knowledge of German who could teach him English through that language. In the end he compromised with lessons from a schoolmaster who knew Latin. But then he also had to acquire the specialized vocabulary of farming and—something that was in its infancy then,—the technical vocabulary necessary for describing farm machinery. Here it should be added that Lincoln was a good choice, since it was, and still is, the centre of a large and varied farming area, with flat lands to the south and more hilly regions to the north, and the soil is fertile; moreover farming standards have long been high in the county, so that Térey was able to see and experience the most efficient and progressive methods during his course of training. He himself regarded his time there as worth two whole years of theory. Mr Mawer proved a good tutor, who gradually extended the range of his knowledge and took him to model farms and exhibitions in other parts of the country, all of which he recorded with more attention to detail than any other Hungarian traveller in Britain—in fact his account is of the greatest possible value to those interested in the history of agriculture and rural life, since it contains precise facts and figures on every aspect of the subject.

Térey stresses the importance of country life from the very beginning of his account:

“Whoever wishes to know the real beauty of England and Scotland and the secrets of farming and comprehend them properly must first of all become acquainted with country life. It is in this that these people find their entire happiness; from the highest aristocracy and the rich city-dweller to the least and poorest folk it is there that they find the poetry of life—where poetry is no longer fantasy but the word made flesh! The industry and work of the farmer have realized the dreams of the poets and have transformed these countries into a flourishing evergreen garden where the spirit of Shakespeare, Byron, Burns, Goldschmit (i.e. Goldsmith) and the other classical poets still lives and will continue to live by the comfortable hearth in the tiniest cottage.”³

From this rhapsodic introduction, he goes on to warn his readers against prejudices that have arisen from watching the behaviour of Englishmen abroad or in London clubs—or, much more interestingly, from the attitude of certain statesmen: this is clearly a reference to the official British policy with regard to Austria and Hungary after 1849. If Hungarians wish to obtain a realistic picture of the English as they really are, then the country is the place to see and experience this; the country towns, scattered villages and farmhouses are the right objects of study.

“So let us leave London . . . and seek the English people *par excellence* there; let us acquaint ourselves with the reality behind the poetic dream, let us seek friends there and once we have entered the home of a farmer or countryman, let us rid ourselves of our continental habits. . . and when we have found our way among social customs that are so very different from our own, we shall find trusty friends who will guide us with a sure hand towards the goal we have set ourselves. . . Whoever does not feel himself strong enough to make himself at home with English social customs should go to England merely to observe, but not to study seriously; there he will find only reserve and silent lips and besides not achieving the aims of his study, he will never be able to enjoy what is fine and uplifting in the country, what is the basis of the

happiness of this nation, what is inexpressible in words—and what lies in the inner social life there.”⁴

He then gives some good practical advice for prospective students:

“First obtain proper statistical data (here he implies a good general knowledge of the country)
 Speak English well
 Adapt yourself to the social habits of England
 Have sufficient money to cover the journey
 Have a clear conception of the agricultural situation in Hungary and a strong desire to study; only then will the expected results be reached.”⁵

Then, putting his precepts into practice, he provides a summary of British statistics, geography, climate, religious observance (this is important because of the virtual cessation of all work and pleasures on Sundays) and the types and sizes of various farms and estates, colleges, institutions and societies. He lists journals and books, and ends his practical introduction with a list of weights and measures, imports and exports of agricultural products and taxes and duties payable on everything concerned with agriculture.

Térey then describes his studies. And here it must be noted that he was in Britain at a favourable time, for the memories of 1848 were still fresh. He himself was surprised to discover how much knowledge there was of what had happened then, and he comments that it was a great advantage to be Hungarian.⁶ This was particularly so in Scotland. He also remarks that he has visited schools where a *History of Hungary* was given to pupils as a Christmas present.⁷ This was presumably the book published in London in 1856 by Edwin L. Godkin, entitled *The History of Hungary and the Magyars*; this is something of a mystery, since it has much in common with a French volume, *La Hongrie* (Paris, 1853), edited by M. J. Boldényi, alias Pál Szabó, whose whole life seems to have been spent in escaping from his creditors.

From the very beginning of his journey of study, Térey notes social habits and customs. There was, as already mentioned, the problem of his letter of introduction to Clayton and Shuttleworth in Lincoln. He went with it to Mr Clayton's private house instead of sending it by post. Not surprisingly, Mr Clayton was somewhat startled to discover an unknown foreigner on his doorstep, but “since he had some notion of foreign habits, he did not censor me too severely for this lapse on my part. . . , but readily offered to be of service and help.”⁸ This allows Térey to comment on the frequently-stated truth that the Englishman's home is his castle, and that there are proper ways of entering it. He stresses the importance of a letter of introduction, which opens doors to almost everything, and points out that nobody is interested in one's passport.

Térey had plenty of opportunity to observe family life. As his knowledge of both English and farming methods developed, Mr Mawer, who seems to have been a very sensible instructor, took him to a mixture of large estates and smaller farms to display different types of agriculture, and he met landowners and farmers of all kinds socially as well as professionally. So he describes how after visiting a model farm on the estate of the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir Castle, the local manager entertained neighbouring farmers

and the Hungarian students to dinner in his house.⁹ He also comments on the fact that most owners of large estates are excellent farmers too, unlike the Hungarian aristocracy. Another social occasion is the market, or rather the dinner at the end of the transaction of business at the market, when the local farmers meet at an inn to eat a hearty meal. He was invited several times to such a dinner and describes the event as a relaxation. The farmers are open and friendly; although they elect a chairman for the dinner, there are no formal toasts or formalities of any kind, and afterwards there may be singing or friendly talk. (This kind of scene, incidentally, has been beautifully described in English fiction, notably in Constance Holme's *The Lonely Plough*, first published in 1914.) Térey notes the difference between the friendliness at dinner and the serious transactions of a few hours earlier, and comments that the British do not mix business with pleasure; at the market they concentrate on the former, but once it is finished, they relax. And here he inserts a description of a political dinner he attended in Lincoln, a "meeting and dinner of the parliamentary reformers", to which he was invited by a rich factory-owner by the name of Norton. Now whether this was his future father-in-law or not is uncertain, but he certainly married a Miss Norton, though not during his study-tour.¹⁰

Térey's travels took him to London, to see the annual Smithfield Show (still very much part of the agricultural scene in England), to Essex and Northamptonshire to see special farming methods, and to various towns in the east of England (Ipswich, Boston and Grantham) where agricultural machinery was produced; this is one of his main interests, and at the end of his book he has a virtual catalogue of all the machines then in use, with illustrations and detailed descriptions of their performance, often from his own observation. He also took the opportunity to visit a coal-mine near Newcastle, noting, like other Hungarian travellers, the dreadful conditions of work underground and the dangerous life of the miners. They are comparatively well-paid, he observes, earning two or three times as much as a farm-labourer, but they work in far less healthy circumstances and cannot obtain life-insurance.¹¹ After this grim experience, he has a much more pleasant one—a visit to Gretna Green, the famous place just over the Scottish border where the village blacksmith performed marriages (Babits's poem of the same title, written in 1906, recalls the romance attached to the place). He declares that in previous years some 300–400 couples were married over the anvil each year, but that now the numbers had decreased, and that there were in the blacksmith's register some names from high society, notably the Duke of Capua, the son of King Francis I of Sicily, who had married a Miss Caroline Smyth there in 1836.¹² These visits were on his way to Scotland, where once again the letter of introduction worked wonders. Here he was passed on from farmer to farmer, each of whom welcomed him into his home and showed him what he wished to see. One of these fãrm-visits took him to East Craigil farm, near Edinburgh:

"We returned to the farmhouse at dusk; here we were greeted by food on the table, a good fire and the farmer's pretty young wife. Two pairs of slippers were set out for us by the fire. At the request of the hostess, and following her husband's example, I too unlaced my heavy boots and soon began to feel comfortable in slippers. I should point out that I found this custom not only here, but in many places throughout Scotland and England. . . We said a prayer, ate and

again said grace. Then for two hours I got out my notebook and took down details of the farm. Meanwhile our hostess sat beside us in the brightly-lit room with its three gas lamps, sewing and occasionally putting more coal on the fire. When she saw me close my notebook and I had thanked her husband, she asked me to tell them something about Hungary and our customs, and I gladly did so. But I was astonished when she interrupted my account from time to time to tell me of events and scenes I had omitted, not suspecting that they would be of the slightest interest to ladies abroad. . . . When the table had been cleared, the two women-servants came in, the man of the house opened the family bible and the room became a prayer-room. We all knelt down and the head of the family read some psalms, then said evening prayers, after which there was silence. Then the servants and the hostess left us, and the last scene of the day ensued: a glass of Scotch whisky mixed with sugar and hot water, together with a pipe of tobacco, and then we too went to bed."¹³

This is the kind of detail that makes *Angol-Skóthoni napló* so different from most travellers' accounts, and it leads to an entire chapter devoted to farm life as Térey saw it. He prefaces it with a well-known quotation from Oliver Goldsmith's *The Deserted Village* ("Sweet Auburn, loveliest village of the plain. . ."), though curiously he omits the part of the line mentioning "whispering lovers". Clearly he regards English farm-life as idyllic, though he is careful to note that his experience of it is limited to farmers who are neither gentry nor smallholders: he describes those who farm between 200 and 800 acres (140–563 *hold*), in other words the typical land-holding in Eastern England and lowland Scotland. The farmer appears at market in a well-cut suit and coat, a top-hat and black tie with a clean collar and thicksoled boots. He either rides a good horse or travels in a light dog-cart. And he is there to do business—something that distinguishes him sharply from Hungarian farmers; moreover he is a good businessman as well as farmer.¹⁴

The typical farmhouse is described in detail, and there are illustrations and plans of what are instantly recognizable as good solid Victorian farmhouses in Eastern England. He points out that they are not expensively-furnished, and that the front door is always firmly shut. There is no attempt at symmetry on the outside; inside all is planned for comfort. It stands apart from the other farm buildings, partly because in that way the air is cleaner, and partly because sparks from the tall chimneys might set fire to them. Frequently there is a pond or grove of trees nearby. Inside, everything is designed for practical purposes. On the ground-floor and in the bedrooms there are thick carpets, and the walls are papered and not painted. The pictures are generally of landscapes (this was the age of English landscape-painting) or may be engravings. The rooms downstairs rarely contain sofas, and have a "picturesque confusion", with small tables holding picture-albums, freshly-cut flowers and other ornaments. The bedrooms are simple and severe for "the Englishman would not dream of receiving even his best friend in his bedroom, where there is never any heating and he uses it solely for sleeping and washing."¹⁵ Indeed, the guest at a farmhouse cannot leave the company, but must go to bed at the same time as everyone else, and then he simply gets a small candle to take with him. Incidentally this lack of heating in bedrooms persists even today. There is a splendid passage in Pál Tábori's *Londoni napló* (1945) describing how he had a road accident on the way between Dover and Canterbury one cold foggy night, and had to spend the night in a

hotel, where there was delicious heat everywhere except in the bedrooms, and the porter assured him that it was unhealthy to have warm bedrooms.¹⁶

As for the inhabitants of the farmhouse, the farmer himself is intensely practical. He knows his subject thoroughly, is reluctant to adopt methods he has not tried for himself, and is convinced of his own ability to farm. Once indoors, he is a family man, and family happiness is one of the chief features of the farming community everywhere. Britain has strict views and laws designed to protect family life, and great store is set by the faithfulness of husband and wife. The women spend their days entirely in the farmhouse and the surrounding garden, and are devoted to their husbands, whose affairs do not concern them. The children and the house keep them fully occupied.

Although the outward appearance of these farms and their inhabitants suggests some wealth, the farmers are not rich; they do not collect treasures and have no hidden sources of wealth. They prefer comfort, spending their income on their housekeeping and any unexpected gains are ploughed back into their farms. Their active life in the open gives them a great appetite, and they are accustomed to the best bread, tasty meat and the strongest beer, wine and spirits. But these they use in moderation: drunkenness is rare. "In brief, beneath the slightly rough exterior of the farmer we find a natural and healthy kernel."¹⁷ He is hospitable and friendly, but only to those for whom he has some real attraction, and this develops slowly; so that he usually only has one or two acquaintances whom he will call friends, though he tries to maintain good relations with his neighbours. But once he makes friends, that lasts for a lifetime. He is reserved in manner towards those he does not know, but with friends he is open—and it is offensive for friends to show reserve to him. That is why, when he invites friends to his house, he always informs them who else will be there, in case there might be some stiffness in the company. It is better to refuse an invitation than risk upsetting the host by behaving stiffly at his table.

Térey then goes on to consider etiquette. One does not make introductions in the street. It is proper to be introduced by an acquaintance and with a certain degree of formality; otherwise a letter of introduction will be equally appropriate. Soon an invitation will be received, and if it is to dinner, then the best can be expected. "The French are masters of preparing food, the English give more attention to the raw material."¹⁸ He then sketches a typical dinner, noting that it is customary for each course to be cleared before beginning the next, and that at the end of the meal the table is cleared and fruit and wine placed on the polished surface. Then the ladies retire to the drawing-room, where after an hour or so the men join them for a cup of tea. But there are various rules of behaviour to be observed, and most of them have to be caught, not taught. First, it is rude not to appear punctually. Then when dinner is announced, one must wait for the hostess to decide who shall accompany whom and where one is to sit at the table. And so he continues with very sensible advice. Feminists will be pleased to read that in his view women rule English society; men make up for this by sitting together for a long time after meals and in Parliament and their clubs. Girls have more freedom than in Hungary and through their education acquire a certain independence; this lasts until they get married, and then begins what would appear to Hungarians to be imprisonment—except that the English-woman regards this imprisonment as earthly paradise, and she

desires nothing more than a happy family home. There is no point in behaving slavishly towards women in England; they will only despise one for it. Girls go about unaccompanied, but married women are accompanied by their husbands when they go out; the same is true of attendance at concerts or dances. But one should not greet them in the street unless they make the first move.

As for children, they are linked to their parents by love and respect, and the parents do not behave like tyrants to them but instruct them gently. Fathers never ask their sons what they have been doing, nor women their daughters, because they do not need to: the children will tell them. There is total trust between them.

No doubt Térey describes the best of country life as he sees it in the families that he visited. But even so, his observation is as detailed as that of Péter Apor, for example, writing about the old customs in his *Metamorphosis Transylvaniae*. And the technical side of his book is equally detailed, with minute descriptions of the farms he visited and the agricultural machinery he examined, all with Hungarian conditions in mind. Like the travellers of the Reform Age, he is comparing and contrasting—but this time not political manifestations or constitutional problems, but practical farming methods. While he was in Britain, he wrote articles for various Hungarian agricultural journals (*Vadász- és Versenylap*, *Gazdasági Lapok*, *Falusi Gazda* and *Magyar Gazda*). He also wrote a number of detailed letters which are printed either in the text of his book or in the appendix. Some of these deal with aspects not treated in the main text, such as horse-breeding and racing (subjects which had been in evidence since Széchenyi's first visit in 1815). Nevertheless the unique contribution of Térey is his fine description of country life. In its own way, it is as valuable a contribution to knowledge of that period as Paget's *Hungary and Transylvania* is for students of Hungarian life.

One of the Hungarian contacts he had in Britain was also concerned with agriculture. This was Gyula Tanárky, of whom he includes a brief biography, and whose diary of the years 1849–1866 was published in the *Magyar Századok* series in 1961.¹⁹ Tanárky had been a farm manager in Hungary before the Revolution and came to Britain with the Pulszky family, where he acted as tutor; he also did some tutoring in the Kossuth family while they were in London. Tanárky found a new outlet for his love of farming in Britain, where he, like Térey, became interested in machinery and wrote articles about the latest developments in *Gazdasági Lapok* from 1856 onwards. Later, like Bertalan Szemere, he became a wine-merchant for a time. Unfortunately this diary has no record of the years between 1853 and 1858, but there are one or two references to Térey in it, from which it would appear that Térey maintained contacts with Kossuth and Klapka in particular.^{19a}

It is interesting to note that both Tanárky and Térey returned to Hungary to continue their careers in agriculture. Tanárky became representative for one of the British machinery firms (Ruston & Hornsby), and Térey went back to make use of his new knowledge. In 1862 he was sent back to London as the representative of MGE to the World Exhibition; in 1864 he studied the production of flax in France. In the following year he played a leading role in the national agricultural exhibition in Hungary and in 1867 he was the official representative of Hungary at the Paris Exhibition, there being awarded the cross of the Légion d'Honneur and made a member of the French Académie

Nationale. Then, like Tanárky, he became the Hungarian representative for the English agricultural machinery firm of Rabey & Sons. He died at Budafok (Promontor) at the early age of 52. Apart from his one book and a number of articles on agriculture he published nothing. Yet he can be seen as a man of foresight, who knew what he wanted to achieve in a certain specific field and did so. He was one of the pioneers of modern agriculture in Hungary, having seen the benefits of mechanization in Britain. And he also succeeded in writing one of the most detailed descriptions of English farming and family life in existence, either in Hungarian or in English. The motto of his book is characteristic of the man:

"There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress."

He believed in change, and did his best to encourage it. Some 19 years after his death, a party of English farmers from Essex paid a visit to Hungary, and on their return published an account of their experiences.²⁰ In addition to the main account of their trip, the book contains the comments of individual members of the party, most of whom believed that there was much to learn from farming methods there, an interesting comment on the tremendous progress that had been made, thanks to the pioneering work of such figures as the undeservedly forgotten Térey.

Notes

1. Szemere Bertalan, *Utazás külföldön*, ed. Steinert Ágota, Budapest, 1983, p. 312.
2. Széchenyi's sister-in-law was Caroline Meade; Sándor Teleki's first wife was the daughter of Lord and Lady Langdale.
3. Térey Pál, *Angol-Skóthoni Napló 1858. és 1859. évekről*, Pest, 1859, p. 2. (Hereafter Térey)
4. Térey, p. 3.
5. Térey, p. 4.
6. Térey, p. 27.
7. Térey, p. 28.
8. Térey, p. 32.
9. Térey, p. 38.
10. Szinnyei József, *Magyar trók élete és munkái*, XIV, Budapest, 1914, p. 19 (under Térey Gábor).
11. Térey, p. 118.
12. Térey, p. 120.
13. Térey, p. 133-4.
14. Térey, p. 155.
15. Térey, p. 157.
16. Tábori Pál, *Londoni napló*, London, 1945, p. 11.
17. Térey, p. 161.
18. Térey, p. 164.
19. *Tanárky Gyula naplója* (1849-1866), ed. Koltay-Kastner Jenő, Budapest, 1961.
- 19^a Tanárky, pp. 64-5, 78, 87, 149-150.
20. T. S. Dymond, ed., *Agricultural Industry and Education in Hungary*, Chelmsford, 1902.

WEALTH AND MARITAL MOBILITY IN WESTERN HUNGARY: FELTORONY, 1827-1920

BLAIR R. HOLMES and MARGIE G. HOLMES

Department of History
Brigham Young University

I. Introduction

A common belief among historians of the family is that the selection of spouses in the past was partially, if not primarily, determined by economic factors. According to this view, each family was interested in utilizing the marriages of its children to improve, or at least to maintain, the economic status of the family. As a result, the critical importance of mate selection was not left entirely in the hands of the potential couple. Rather, the parents and, often, the extended family involved themselves in the selection process. Because the fortunes of one family could be affected greatly by the ties to another, the parents and other close relatives felt an obligation to exercise their influence.

Hungary, a country in which the nature and level of economic development and the distribution of land during the nineteenth century determined largely the social structure, provides an appropriate setting in which to examine the relationship between marriage and wealth.² Because Hungary was, essentially, an agricultural country, the peasant groups were predominant. By the end of the 18th century, the small-holders (serf-farmers) constituted 45.6% of the population, and the cottagers were 29.2%, which was nearly three-quarters (74.8%) of the populace.³ In the village of Feltorony, in Moson County, the national census of 1828 revealed a similar pattern. A total of 221 dwellings were surveyed, with inhabitants being enumerated in 210 of them. The total adult population of the village, excluding those older than 60 years of age, was 479 persons. 398 of the adults were classified according to occupation. The community claimed one "honored one", who was a petty noble or, more likely, the representative of the noble owners of the village, the Archduke Charles, the victor at Aspern, and his children. The balance of the inhabitants belonged to the vast servile population of Hungary. Of the households for which the heads were listed, 33.8% were small-holders (*coloni*) and 34.3% were cottagers (*inquilini*), a total of 68.1%. The remaining 31.9% of the agrarian population were dwarf-cottagers (*subinquilini*).⁴

The small-holders represented the upper level of peasant society in Feltorony and possessed a disproportionate share of the plowland, meadowland and livestock. The cottagers, who possessed houses, held very little land and livestock, but had a right to the communal pasture. The dwarf-cottagers did not own plow- or meadowland, and were often employed as hired hands.

II. History of peasant land holdings in Hungary

Serfdom had a long history in Hungary and became particularly oppressive after an unsuccessful peasant revolt in the early sixteenth century. The situation created by resultant *Tripartitum* of 1514 continued until the 18th century, when the landlords, due to improved transportation and the rising prices for farm products, became increasingly interested in manorial production and sought to enlarge their holdings of land at the expense of the peasantry. To prevent the impoverishment and divestiture of the servile population of its land, Empress Maria Theresa enacted the *Urbarium*. This "national standardization of serfdom" was instituted between 1766 and 1772.⁵

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the *Urbarium* was its determination of what area of land would belong to the serfs and the holdings which would remain in manorial production. Although the amount of land granted to the peasants varied among the Hungarian provinces, the peasants could no longer be deprived of their right to work the land and to transfer their holdings to their heirs. Only in the case of extreme incompetence could a landholder be deprived of his holdings. Although not the free owner of the land allotted to him, the serf was the proprietor.⁶

Land in the villages of Hungary was allotted on the *telek* system, which was a fixed area determined for each county according to the quality and quantity of land available. The *telek*, or *Session*, consisted of several plots of land: a plot in the village, where the peasant maintained his house, garden, fruit trees and livestock; and shares of plowland, the common pasture, meadow and forest.⁷

In the Great Hungarian Plain, a full *telek* (*Session*) ranged as high as 58 cadastral yokes (approximately 82 acres), while in other provinces the holdings were as small as 22 yokes.⁸ Prior to 1848, the minimum size into which a *Session* could be subdivided was 1/8 of an allotment. Originally, one *Session* (*jobbágytelek*) was supposed to be an area large enough to yield adequate produce for eight serfs and their families, and to enable them to fulfill their obligations to the landlord, the church and the state. Because of the common practice of dividing holdings, however, many peasants were reduced to near poverty.

At the other extreme, a peasant was allowed to accumulate a maximum of four *Sessionen*, which would have been a source of relatively considerable wealth. Few peasants, though, acquired such extensive holdings and most were subject to the loss of part of their land due to partitioning it among their children.⁹

III. Peasant land holdings in Feltorony

The inhabitants of Feltorony were fortunate to live in a county where the peasants possessed more land than elsewhere in Hungary. In Moson County (Wieselburg), a *Vollbauer* (*colonus*, small-holder) was not always considered, as in other counties, a person who possessed only one *Session* of land, but a possessor of 4 *Sessionen* in an area where a *Session* ranged from 32 to 39 cadastral yokes.¹⁰ In addition, 80% of the

provincial land was held by the peasantry, with less than one-fifth remaining in the hands of the lords for manorial production.¹¹

In Feltonry, a *Session* of land appears to have been 64.67 *hold* of plowland. This estimation is based on the Urbarial granting of one local *Session* to each small-holder and the fact that most landowners in the community possessed either one *Session* of 64.67 *hold*, or nearly even fractions of 1/2 (32.33 *hold*); 1/4 (17.44 *hold*); or 1/8 allotment (8.67 *hold*) of plowland. There was a total of 92 landowners in the community, with an average of 0.73 *Session*, which was more than three times the national average.¹²

Table 1.¹³ Distribution of plowland – 1828

Amount of Plowland	No. of Owners	% of Landowners
More than 64.67 <i>hold</i>	4	4.4
64.67 <i>hold</i>	44	48.9
More than 32.33 <i>hold</i>	18	20.0
32.33 <i>hold</i>	5	5.6
17.33 <i>hold</i>	18	20.0
8.67 <i>hold</i>	1	1.1
Totals	90	100.0

In addition to plowland, a *Session* in Feltonry included 3 *hold* of meadow and an undetermined amount of the communal pasture. Each of the possessors of a full portion of plowland owned a full share of meadowland, whereas lesser landholders did not. There was a nearly exact correlation between the amounts of plowland and meadowland possessed. Each owner of a full allotment of plowland obtained 3 *hold* of meadow. Those persons with a half allotment of plowland received 1 1/2 or 2 *hold* of meadow. One *hold* of meadow was granted to those who held a quarter portion of plowland, while the owner of a one-eighth *Session* had 1/2 *hold* of meadow.

Table 2. Distribution of meadowland – 1828

Amount of Meadowland	No. of Owners	% of Landowners
More than 3 <i>hold</i>	4	4.4
3 <i>hold</i>	44	48.9
2 <i>hold</i>	18	20.0
1 1/2 <i>hold</i>	5	5.6
1 <i>hold</i>	18	20.0
1/2 <i>hold</i>	1	1.1
Totals	90	100.0

The distribution of land for vineyards at Feltorony was clearly unrelated to other land holdings. In fact, owners of large amounts of plow- and meadowland possessed relatively little of the vineyards. The village contained a total of 1037 1/2 "hoes" of vineyard. Although all of the small-holders owned plow- and meadowland, less than half (43.7%) appear to have worked vineyards. While comprising one-third (33.8%) of those in the agricultural group, these small-holders possessed slightly more than one-sixth (18.3%) of the wine-producing land. In contrast, the cottagers, while nearly equal to the small-holders in numbers, held 44.3% of the vineyards, while only 7.4% of the plowland and 8.7% of the meadows. Also, a larger percentage of the cottagers (81.9%) possessed vineyards. A similar percentage of the dwarf-cottagers (80.6%) worked in the wine industry and possessed a share of the vineyards (33.5%) nearly equal to their numbers (31.9%) in the land-working population. None of the dwarf-cottagers possessed meadows or plowland. (See Table 3.)

Table 3. Composite Percentage of Land Holdings - 1828

Status	Plowland	Meadow	Vineyard
Small-holder	92.6	91.3	18.3
Cottager	7.4	8.7	44.3
Dwarf-cottager	0.0	0.0	33.5
Unknown	-	-	3.9

Composite average of land holdings - 1828

Status	Plowland	Meadow	Vineyard
Small-holder	56.5 <i>hold</i>	2.73 <i>hold</i>	2.68 "hoes"
Cottager	4.45	0.26	6.39
Dwarf-cottager	0.0	0.0	5.19
Unknown	0.0	0.0	10.0

IV. The relationship of marriage to landownership

At some time prior to the eighteenth century, the serf population likely had enough land to support itself, hence the development of the *telek* system, a scheme which provided each peasant family with enough land to obtain the necessities of life. After the end of the Turkish overlordship in Hungary, the population grew rapidly because of natural increase and immigration. As the land became increasingly crowded and it was impossible or not allowed for the serfs to obtain more land from the nobility, the peasants were required to divide and subdivide their plots.¹⁴ The most common occasion for such subdivisions was upon the marriage of children. In 1828 the small-holders in Feltorony were relatively well-off and had not fallen victim to the fragmentation of holdings to the degree that was common throughout much of Hungary. One means

through which families retarded the loss of landownership through subdivision was to marry their children to members of families of similar wealth. Thus, when the land was divided to provide for the new couple, all parties concerned had more property than if the union involved a less wealthy family.¹⁵

The 1828 census conducted in Feltorony listed the land and livestock holdings of the inhabitants of this rural community in extreme western Hungary. Table 3 shows that small-holders owned the most land of the three peasant categories and that dwarf-cottagers owned the least. A similar ranking of wealth is indicated in Table 4, where livestock ownership is specified for the three groups.

Table 4. Percentage of livestock holdings – 1828

	Coloni	Inquilini	Subinquilini
Yoked Cattle	99.2	0.8	0.0
Cows with calves	51.0	28.8	20.2
Cows without calves	80.0	11.5	8.5
Bulls/Heifers over 3 yrs.	89.0	7.7	3.3
Bulls/Heifers over 2 yrs.	80.6	11.3	8.1
Horses over 3 yrs.	81.6	17.6	0.8
Horses over 2 yrs.	91.5	8.6	0.0
Sheep	74.5	12.9	12.6
Pigs	94.3	3.8	1.9

The number and type of livestock were a reflection of the amount and type of land possessed by the populace. A dwarf-cottager with a few "hoes" of vineyard would have little need for oxen or horses, whereas a small-holder with a *Session* of plowland would find draft animals a necessity. The more equitable distribution of cows and sheep indicate that all members of the community practiced animal husbandry to obtain meat and animal by-products.

Between 1828 and 1848, 72 marriages occurred in which the parents of the bride and groom can be identified positively as Feltorony residents who were included in the census. These marriages were analyzed to determine the degree of homogamy in occupation and wealth. Table 5 shows that the brides came from families of slightly higher occupational ranking. About 11 per cent more of the brides' than the grooms' fathers were small-holders. Given a scheme in which small-holders are ranked 3, cottagers 2, and dwarf-cottages 1, the mean occupational score of the brides' fathers was 2.33, while that of the grooms' was 2.13. Brides' fathers also owned more land and livestock (means = 34.38 *hold* and 12.22 head, respectively) than did grooms' fathers (means = 29.20 *hold* and 10.15 head).

Correlation of brides' fathers' occupational rankings with grooms' fathers', number of *hold* of land possessed by brides' fathers with those of grooms' fathers, and the number of livestock owned by brides' fathers with those of grooms' fathers produced coefficients of 0.27, 0.29 and 0.19, respectively. These correlations indicate a moderate degree of occupational and wealth homogamy.

Table 5. Occupational rankings of fathers of brides and grooms

	Brides N (%)	Grooms N (%)
Small-holders	35 (48.6%)	27 (37.5%)
Cottagers	26 (36.1%)	25 (34.7%)
Dwarf-cottagers	11 (15.3%)	18 (25.0%)

Their difference scores were computed to provide more information about similarity of marriage partners' economic status. The first score was determined by subtracting the groom's father's occupational ranking from the bride's father's. The second subtracted the amount of land owned by the groom's father from that of the bride's father, and the third followed the same procedure using the number of livestock.

Table 6 shows that in about 46 per cent of the marriages there was no occupational difference. Another 43 per cent scored -1 or +1. A mean difference of 0.2 indicates that where differences occurred they favored the groom, i.e. grooms married into wealthier families than those from which they originated. A negative mean score would have indicated upward mobility through marriage for the brides.

Table 6. Difference scores between occupations of fathers of brides and grooms, 1828-1848

Score	N	%
-2	2	2.8
-1	12	17.1
0	32	45.7
1	18	25.7
2	6	8.6

mean = 0.20

Difference scores based on land and livestock had means of 5.18 and 2.07, respectively. Both of these values suggests a small degree of upward mobility for grooms. In other words, brides' fathers owned an average of about 7 *hold* of land and 2 head of livestock more than the grooms' fathers.

While the mean difference scores show the direction of mobility, the mean of the absolute difference scores provides an indication of the degree of mobility. The absolute difference means were 0.66 for occupational rank, 24.18 *hold* of land, and 9.88 head of livestock. Ratios of mean absolute difference scores to largest possible absolute difference scores were computed. These ratios were 0.329 for occupational difference, 0.333 for land ownership differences, and 0.353 for livestock ownership differences. Eleven per cent of the marriages were characterized by no difference in land ownership with the modal difference being 5 *hold*. Thirty-two per cent had either no or 5 *hold* differences.

No difference in livestock ownership occurred in 7 per cent of the marriages with the mode being 1.

The small size of the ratios combined with the proportion of marriages with no occupational difference provides evidence that homogamy in economic status occurred to a substantial degree in Feltorony in 1828. Families were successful in maintaining their social status through the marriages of their children and retarding the decline into poverty resulting from the division of land among children. Where upward mobility occurred, it favored grooms, perhaps because brides' families were generally wealthier.

V. Patterns of wealth homogamy from 1827 to 1920

When fathers' occupational rankings were correlated with their land holdings and head of livestock, the coefficients were 0.76 and 0.82 for grooms and 0.77 and 0.81 for brides. These high correlations suggest that the occupational rankings are reasonably accurate indicators of family wealth. They can be used with confidence to detect changes in marriage patterns across the century.

The parish register of the community from 1827 to 1920, inclusive, is available and lists for each marriage the wedded couple, the parents of the bride and groom and the occupations of the parents and the newly married pair. Thus it is possible to examine the marriages during the period of the register to learn if the brides and grooms married within their own economic levels or changed their economic levels through marriage.

As marriage data were collected during the century, the terms used to describe the agricultural population changed and multiplied. Between 1827 and 1920, the categories colonus minor (dwarf-holder), domuncularius (hired hand) and famulus (day-laborer) accounted for nearly one-third of the occupations of the fathers of the brides and grooms. Day-laborers and hired hands were agricultural workers, but the day-laborers likely had more job stability and better pay.¹⁶ Colonus minor appears to have designated a farmer with less land and livestock than a small-holder, but more than a cottager. In order to increase the number of subjects, these categories will be included in the occupational rankings for the longitudinal analysis. Two variations will be used. A more conservative scheme will rank small-holders as 4, cottagers as 3, dwarf cottagers as 2, and farm workers, (famuli and domunculari) as 1. A second ranking will have six categories in the following order of descending wealth: small-holders (coloni), dwarfholders (coloni minor), cottagers, dwarf-cottagers, day laborers (famuli) and hired hands (domunculari).

Using the more conservative ranking scheme, 62.5% of the marriages over the century united brides and grooms whose fathers were of the same occupation. The mean difference score was -0.02 , indicating a very slight tendency for brides to marry grooms from wealthier families. Table 7 shows that brides were slightly upwardly mobile in five of the periods, while grooms married up the economic scale in four periods. The analysis of variance shows that if one were attempting to infer from a sample to a population that the mean difference scores for, the nine periods are sufficiently similar, that such differences could be attributed to chance rather than to systematic difference between

periods ($F=93$, $p=0.49$). This analysis is based on complete data from parish registers across the century, rather than a sample of the data. Therefore, the inferential statistic is not necessary, but does give an indication that the variations from negative to positive in mean difference scores from period to period are small and relatively unimportant.

Table 7. Mean difference scores between occupations of fathers of brides and grooms, 1827-1920

Four-category scheme			
Time Period	N	Mean	Absolute Mean
1827-1839	87	0.149	0.494
1840-1850	75	-0.213	0.880
1851-1862	83	0.181	1.217
1863-1874	103	-0.107	1.194
1875-1884	90	-0.078	0.878
1885-1895	69	-0.217	0.565
1896-1904	81	-0.049	0.296
1905-1912	46	0.109	0.413
1913-1920	38	0.079	0.342
Total	672	-0.025	0.754

Six-category scheme			
Time Period	N	Mean	Absolute Mean
1827-1839	106	0.208	1.038
1840-1850	79	-0.278	1.392
1851-1862	84	0.250	1.988
1863-1874	104	-0.173	1.942
1875-1884	91	-0.099	1.484
1885-1895	83	-0.060	1.120
1896-1904	115	-0.035	1.061
1905-1912	75	-0.027	0.853
1913-1920	58	0.207	1.000
Total	795	-0.006	1.335

When the ranking scheme using six categories is used, the results are very similar. About 53 per cent of the marriages involved families with the same occupational class. The mean difference score was -0.006 . Six of the periods were characterized by upward mobility for brides and three for grooms. (See Table 7.) Except for one period (1905-1912), the valence of the mean score was the same for both ranking systems. No significant differences between periods were detected by analysis of variance for the six category ranking scheme ($F=0.58$, $p=0.79$). Therefore, according to analysis with both

ranking schemes, the pattern of occupational differences throughout the century did not favor brides or grooms to any substantial degree.

The mean absolute difference score of the conservative occupational ranking scheme for the century is 0.75. The largest possible difference with this scheme is 3. With the six category ranking scheme, the mean is 1.33 of a possible 5. The ratios of mean difference score to largest possible score are 0.25 and 0.27, respectively, for the two ranking schemes. This indicates that homogamy in occupational class existed to a considerable degree across the nineteenth century. Significant differences in degree of homogamy occurred in some periods, however ($F=8.45$, $p=0.00$ using the conservative ranking scheme; $F=5.16$, $p=0.00$ for the six category scheme). Table 7 shows the periods between 1851 and 1874 to be the highest in wealth difference of marriage partners' families. The least amount of difference occurred at the beginning of the century (before 1839) and at the end (after 1896).

VI. Summary and conclusions

While the data examined do not reveal the degree to which the peasants of Feltorony were required to subdivide their property, it is evident that the institution of marriage was used to maintain the wealth status of the families of the village and forestall economic decline as long as possible. Whatever the range of friendships of a person of marriageable age, little consideration was given to making a relationship permanent if the prospective partners were from different economic strata. Although a family might be required ultimately to partition its holdings among its children, the necessity of economic survival and the desires of the extended family resulted in marital alliances which reduced the potential impoverishment of the peasantry of Feltorony.

The majority of marriages in the village across the nineteenth century united children from families of similar wealth, regardless of whether the economic indicator was occupational status, landownership or livestock possession. Economic mobility through marriage was very limited and, when it did occur, there was no consistent pattern favoring one gender. There were some variations in degree of economic homogamy, with the greatest amount occurring at the beginning and end of the time period examined. Overall, the data support the contention that economic factors played a critical role in mate selection in nineteenth-century Hungarian society.

Notes

1. Research funds for this project were provided by the Women's Research Institute, the Department of History and the Center for Family and Community History, all of Brigham Young University.
2. Edit Fel and Tamas Hofer, *Proper Peasants. Traditional Life in a Hungarian Village*, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No. 46 (Chicago: Aldine, 1969), p. 33.
3. Rudolf Andorka, *Population and Socio-economic Change in Peasant Societies: The Historical Record of Hungary. 1700 to the Present* (Rome: Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, 1978), p. 8.

4. Microfilm copies of the 1828 census of Moson County and the parish registers of Feltorony from 1827 to 1920 are contained in the Genealogical Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City, Utah. For this project, the following rolls of film were used:
 Nos. 623058–623060. Census of Moson County, Hungary, 1828.
 No. 700271. Births, 1895–1904: Feltorony.
 No. 700272. Births, 1905–1920: Feltorony.
 No. 700273. Marriages, 1895–1920: Feltorony.
 No. 700274. Deaths, 1895–1920: Feltorony.
 No. 700861. Births, Marriages, Deaths, 1827–1864: Feltorony.
 No. 700862. Births, Marriages, Deaths, 1865–1895: Feltorony.
 No. 719825. Census of Moson Country, Hungary, 1848.
5. Andorka, 7; Fel, 31; Henrik Marczali, *Hungary in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: University Press, 1910), p. 192.
6. Heinrich Ditz, *Die Ungarische Landwirtschaft* (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1867), p. 107.
7. Fel, 24.
8. Ditz, 93–94. The size of the Hungarian yoke varied from 1100 to 1300 square fathoms (Klafter), while a cadastral yoke was 1600 square fathoms. A fathom is usually approximately six feet. Vörös estimates that the average serf plot in Hungary consisted of one *hold* (1.42 acres) for houseplot, and between 22.7 and 53.2 acres of plowland, and between 8.5 and 31.2 acres of meadow and/or pasture. Cf. Antal Vörös, "Age of Preparation: Hungarian Agrarian Conditions between 1848–1914," ed Joseph Held, *The Modernization of Agriculture: Rural Transformation in Hungary, 1848–1975*, East European Monographs, vol. 63 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), p. 51, fn. 1.
9. Ditz, 95–96.
10. It was only possible for any person to possess more than one *Session* if the village total comprised more than 40 *Urbarialsessionen*. For each additional 40 *Sessionen*, it was possible to have individual owners of more than one *Session*. Thus, a community with more than 160 *Sessionen* could have potentially individual landowners with four *Sessionen*, which was the maximum allowed. Cf. Ditz, 94.
11. W. Hecke, *Die Landwirtschaft der Umgebung von Ungarisch-Altenburg und die landwirtschaftliche Lehranstalt daselbst in Briefen* (Wien: Braumüller, 1861), pp. 29–43.
12. Ditz, 94.
13. The figures are derived from the 1828 census for Feltorony. The amounts of individual holdings were the following:
- | <i>Amount of Land</i> | <i>Number of Landholders</i> |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| 129.33 <i>hold</i> | 1 |
| 97 | 1 |
| 82 | 1 |
| 73.33 | 1 |
| 64.67 | 44 see Fel, p. 56. |
| 34.67 | 17 |
| 34.33 | 1 |
| 32.33 | 5 |
| 17.33 | 18 |
| 8.67 | 1 |
14. Andorka, 7.
15. *Ibid.*, 7, 16.
16. Jerome Blum, "The Village and the Family," ed. Jerome Blum, *Our Forgotten Past. Seven Centuries of Life on the Land* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1982), p. 14.

SOCIAL VALUES IN LITERATURE

In this paper I intend to draw attention to certain theoretical and methodological aspects of Hungarian research concerning value-sociology over the past ten years.

This research began in the middle of the seventies at the Institute of Literary Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Our aim was to draw conclusions concerning social, or more precisely literary value consciousness on the basis of an analysis of the Hungarian short story from 1945 to the present day. I shall attempt to show what kinds of values appeared and disappeared over the period analysed, considering how frequently and with what emphasis these values came to the fore, whether their role was positive or negative, and how, over the process of time, their positions altered in relation to one another.

Our starting point is self-evident. Everyone knows that literature is one of the richest sources as regards the knowledge of social consciousness. Literature does not merely portray the notions of value and modes of thought of a given age, but also exerts an influence – through its readers – upon the very formation of these.

Our investigation nevertheless presented us with a complicated task. To build up a suitable method for this research was not easy. From the outset we were quite aware of the fact that due to the intermediary position of our investigation it was liable to produce antagonism in literary and sociological circles alike. In analysing literary works we disregarded literary and aesthetic values form the start and concerned ourselves solely with the interpretation of values appearing in the works themselves. At the same time we took into consideration the poetic and modal specificity of the works considered, so our approach could not properly be called sociological.

Here I can do no more than refer to those conceptual considerations which delineated our research.

The literary critic is first and foremost concerned with the aesthetic and literary values of literary works. Understandably so, after all it is in the ascertainment of these values that he is qualified. The effect of literature, however, amounts to much more than this, in that the literary public may not be reduced to the professional readings of critics. Right from the start the author takes the life-experience of his potential reader into consideration, not merely his level of literary culture. It was precisely this that we tried to exploit in undertaking the presentation of the social images appearing within the literary work itself.

But the question is more complex than any such reassuring answer would allow. The question of what we do and do not choose to analyse is merely a matter of practical decision. Insofar as we are interested in the formation of *literary consciousness* we exclude popular works of a less artistic nature. That is to say, the criteria of our normative selection was that the short story possesses some kind of aesthetic quality, although we did not define this quality with any great precision.

We did not define it because more subtle classification would have influenced in advance the potential results of our investigation. A consideration of the artistic success of the works examined would have complicated or even foreclosed the possibility of the information we held to be of importance: the comparison of the values appearing in the works. The sociological credibility of the literary work and its aesthetic value are of course in the last instance related, but a preoccupation with these "last instance" problems oversteps the possibilities of empirical analysis.

The sociologist on the other hand is not in the least interested in the aesthetic value of literature, the assessment of which is anyway beyond his competence. For this reason he either ignores it altogether, or only considers it as a given parameter of analysis; that is to say, he conceives of the work as belonging to a higher or lower literary category. As far as the credibility of information is concerned he does not distinguish between the literary and the non-literary text. For us this disposition was unacceptable. We held that in the case of a work with artistic pretensions the possibilities were quite different from those of a non-literary text.

On the one hand the degree of exactitude afforded by the well tested techniques of content-analysis is inaccessible in that artistic texts abound in connotative secondary meanings. Often even the reading of the apparently most simple categories requires prior — non-sociological — interpretation. Thus for example in the short stories of the seventies occupations more than once are used as pretexts, with waiters and bill-collectors acting as incognitoes for intellectuals.

On the other hand, we do not generally consider literary works — even if we view them as sociological documents — as representatives of social consciousness, but rather as representatives of one special aspect of this latter: literary consciousness. One cannot overemphasize the significance of specific literary conventions in production and reception. It would be a mistake to explain the meaning of literary works purely in unmediated social terms. For example the question of the degrees to which the thematic specificities of Hungarian fiction at the end of the sixties (the focus upon the hobo way of life and the mutinization of female characters) originate from literary fashions and conventions, in this case a Hungarian adaptation of American beatnik literature, is a matter for separate investigation. Only at the end of analysis can we really determine what kinds of social observations play an active part in the choice of theme.

I think that without these kinds of considerations and restrictions we might expect more of the evaluation of literary works than such evaluation is capable or qualified to produce.

It was after this that the real methodological work began. We had to decide the kind of conceptions and categories with which to work; for example what to term in general

"value", and how this could be identifiable, recognizable in terms of the concrete types of value in the texts themselves.

We took our definition of value from the psychologist *Ferenc Méri*. He adopted the attitude, mainly known from the specialist literature of social psychology, which emphasized the role of value in orienting human behaviour. This attitude is perhaps most succinctly expressed by *H. Cantrill*, according to whom: "man strives after values in order to find guidance in them".

The social psychological approach seemed suitable to our purposes because we may interpret short stories as a specific form of human behaviour. Indeed we may do so in two ways. On the one hand in the fictive world of the short story the characters and narrator constitute a more or less definite point of view on the basis of which they judge and evaluate. On the other hand, the short story as a whole – and here the social consciousness is by no means fictive – "acts" like a speaking or rather persuading partner who offers a fixed position, a gesture of evaluation. Correspondingly in the course of analysis we turn to the description of the system of values of each point of view locatable in the work (major and minor characters, the narrator) and in charting the relationships and conflicts of value we attempt to grasp the value structure of the story as a whole.

Our definition of value runs as follows: a *value* may be defined as an expression of quality which appears in the form of, or rather as the result of a conscious choice, preference or affirmation which almost always evokes some positive emotional gain in the evaluator. In the literary text we may identify as a value any phenomenon (character, object, conception) associated with such an expression of quality.

We do not analyse values in isolation, but as series and complexes consisting of varieties of positive, negative and ambivalent values; that is, *dimensions of value* which themselves stand in relation, or may come into relation with other value dimensions in the production of *sets*. For example the dimensions of *life and death, health and illness, strength and weakness* along with others constitute the set of *vital values*. Between these value dimensions and sets relations of superiority, inferiority and equality may develop; to the delineated hierarchy of values we give the name *value configuration*.

I hope I have been able to give an idea of the complexity of the phenomenon we understand by the term value. The act of classification, the object of value and the evaluating subject constitute a unity to such a great extent that it is impossible to interpret the one without a consideration of the other two. This is why the notion of *point of view* is so important to us. The value is not independent of the evaluator; only in a given system of values – the evaluator's own system of values – can validity be considered unequivocal.

If this formulation is correct, our own interpretations of value must be expected to operate from an unified point of view. This is in part solved by a *value catalogue* which we compiled on the basis of our experimental analyses. This value catalogue contained all the most important notions of value we could identify and illustrate in the texts.

The value catalogue contained a hundred and sixty value dimensions, classifying these into the following eleven sets: *vital values, personality values, emotional values,*

behavioural values, *moral* values, *political* values, *ideological* values, *life-style* values, *economic* values, *knowledge* values and *aesthetic* values.

These designations were not entirely happy; for example the emotions always play a large part in evaluation, and the gesture of evaluation itself can be interpreted behaviourally from the outset. But we did not consider the designations themselves to be of the greatest importance, rather the definable delineations of the sets, even if we were aware of the fact that any such delineations may only be relative.

Thus for example the *patriotic-unpatriotic* value dimension can be seen at once as political, moral, ideological and emotional. Personality and behavioural values frequently overlap, as do the ideological and life-style value sets, and still more complicated is the question of classification of moral values. It is not rare for the oppositions between different values (such as *work* and *family*) to appear in the consciousness of characters as a conflict of moral values. That is to say, one of the fundamental functions of moral values is precisely that of equalizing and mediation. Nonetheless it is difficult to delimit the place of this set in relation to the other value sets.

We have seen how it has been necessary to introduce distinctions between *primary* and *secondary* values. When moral values stand in for, or rather represent other values — economic, ideological, life-style, etc. —, they are merely secondary in relation to the latter. This phenomenon can indeed be typical of a given age. At the end of the forties for example, under pressures from the political leadership, Hungarian literature had to engage in agitation to resist the influence of the church, to support nationalization, to force peasants to join cooperatives and other such functions. According to the conceptions of the age the difference between literature and open propaganda was that the former could represent the correct political orientation in the form of a moral value. (That is, it was not interested in disguising, but strengthening the desired political aims.)

Through our disclosure of these relations and oppositions of value we may further conclude that the value consciousness is a multi-layered formation and that we must distinguish between its *surface* and *deep structures*. For example significant surface oppositions can be located between the liberalizing view of the early sixties. Power and morality only very rarely come into opposition in the plots of the short stories of the fifties, and when they do, this conflict never produces tragic consequences. In contrast to this the tragic opposition of power and morality is a popular theme in our literature of the early sixties.

At the deeper level, however, only the literature of the seventies brought about radical change in terms of view-points. Our value analyses showed that our literature of the early sixties was still typified by a tone of moralism, didacticism and pathos, and the gesture of reckoning mentioned above (the lament of the confrontation of power and morality) was motivated by exactly the same thinking as that of the fifties. At that time most authors believed that the possibilities of individual and social well-being were interdependent, and that in order to create a worthy level of human life, the institutional conditions of such a life must first be realized. As a matter of fact they called the political leadership of the fifties to account because of their negligence in this area. In the seventies, on the other hand, the earlier premises themselves became the objects of doubt.

More and more writers refused the possibility of the institutional side of well-being. To this is related the rapid headway of the ironic-grotesque tone.

In conclusion I should like to speak about one of the most important concerns of our research: the way we attempted to remain *open minded*.

This was no easy task. Obviously even the most cautiously compiled catalogue of values cannot contain every single category, nor take into account every possibility of value. For this reason we do not conceive of our catalogue as closed. Its extension, of course, is governed by certain practical limits. Too many categories would have confused the catalogue and have endangered the possibility of common analysis.

We are also aware that the catalogue is no more than a common analytical frame, and only really useful as a point of departure. The values appearing in the texts of the short stories are variable and enormous in number. The catalogue merely contains those notions of value in the texts most accessible to generalization. But other ungeneralizable aspects can be of equal importance – such as a scene, an event or a specific type of character.

As an example I might refer to a short story which, quoting Che Guevara's *Bolivian Diary*, depicts this Latin-American country as a promised land. There at least – the text suggests – one may die for one's country, while in other lands, like our own, such a possibility does not even come into consideration and all is a stagnant mire. What is important to value analysis is not only that the absence of freedom forms the central problem of this short story, but rather the fact that the author presents this absence through the opposition and idealization of scenes. It is for this reason that we may not stop at the simple reading and identification of value categories, but must go on to undertake the complete charting of the text's system of values.

The work of interpretation takes place over several stages. The analysis is necessarily subjective, but must *not* be arbitrary. The credibility of the results is not merely guaranteed by the common methodology and catalogue of values. In our group every short story is analysed by several people whose analyses are brought together by others, in an attempt to clear up biases. We check value descriptions by returning to the texts and elucidate the causes of significant differences through additional analysis. Obviously we cannot escape our own shadow: our own evaluative point of view plays as large a part in the reconstructed literary consciousness produced by our analysis as that of the short stories themselves.

MTA

Irodalomtudományi Intézet

András Veres

HUNGARIAN RESOURCE COLLECTIONS

A bibliographic survey

The purpose of this paper is to provide the student of Hungarian studies with a statistical, thematic and bibliographic summary of Hungarian book collections in Canadian libraries. The present paper is based on a more comprehensive study delivered to the second conference of Hungarian research librarians held in Budapest in 1985. The thematic outline of Hungarica collections in Canada in the first attempt to combine the literary output of scientific disciplines and publications is the humanities and the social sciences. The summary of conventional and computer-assisted information retrieval should help the scholar make the most of a highly advanced and automated system unique anywhere in the world.

I. Statistical survey

The first paper relating to Hungarian book collections in Canada was prepared by Rezső Dabas, published in *Kanadai Magyar Újság* in 1976.¹ The Dabas paper was based on a survey containing information received from seventeen Canadian public libraries. Dr. Dabas came to the conclusion that the 17 libraries held 15,876 Hungarian books, of which the Metropolitan Toronto Library held 10,054 copies, while the Vancouver Public Library's Hungarica collection was a modest 50 books or the Montreal city library's Hungarian holdings was registered at 87 titles.²

The main shortcomings of the Dabas-survey were manifested by the fact that it had disregarded the rich Hungarian collections held by the National Library of Canada, the major academic libraries throughout the nation, not to mention the Hungarian cultural centres and religious organizations. A recent survey conducted by the present author indicates the fact that the Multilingual Department of the National Library of Canada has a Hungarian collection of 14,000 copies of 4,000 titles, of which 12,000 copies had been circulated to recipient Canadian libraries in 1984. The Hungarica collection of the University of Toronto Library is more than 25,000 items, while the holdings of the Toronto-based Hungarian Cultural Centre are more than 32,000 books and monographic publications. My information received from the Canadian libraries indicates that the size of the Hungarica collections is about the same as that of a decade ago, the holdings of the Calgary, Vancouver and London public libraries have increased by tenfold, due to the request for publications by the local Hungarian community. This leads us to the conclusion that the size and nature of Hungarian book collections are determined by the multicultural policy of the local municipalities and by the intellectual and cultural activities of the local Hungarian readers.

II. Thematic survey

A careful study of our Hungarica collections indicates that there are two major types of publications held by Canadian libraries: books relating to the humanities and social sciences and publications in the scientific disciplines.³ The former includes books of creative writing, e.g. poetry, fiction and drama, as well as publications in history, sociography, anthropology, political science, religious studies, immigration, demography, literature and so on. The latter contains publications in the areas of biology, chemistry, biochemistry, biotechnology, medicine, animal health, agricultural sciences and the related subjects, fields that Hungarian researchers have distinguished themselves in throughout the decades.

Our Hungarica collections are quite rich in books and studies authored by Hungarian-born Canadian scholars including the sociologist John Kosa, the historian Martin Kovács, Nándor Dreisziger, Bennett Kovrig, Tibor Baráth, the literary historian and educator George Bisztray, Charles Wojatsek, to name but a few. Group one includes those who were born in Hungary and received their formal education in that country. The second group includes those who left Hungary at a tender age and spent their formative years in Canada. The former group, headed by Dr. Tibor Baráth, formerly a professor of the University of Kolozsvár, is devoted to the study of Hungarian history and historiography, concentrating on historical-political events of international origin that had adverse effects on the Hungarian people. Subjects such as the Treaty of Trianon, Hungary's relationships with her neighbours, the problem of Hungarian minorities in the successor states, the question of the origin of the Magyars and other sensitive topics considered taboo by their fellow historians in the old country are favoured by the older generation researchers. *Európa felszabadítása*, and *A jövő szolgálatában*, by József Berzy, *The Ethnic History of Transylvania*, and *Origin of Rumanians* by Endre Haraszi, as well as the studies of György Nagy relating to inter-ethnic problems and the fate of Magyars in Hungary and in the successor states form this "revisionist" school of history. The pioneering works of Professor Baráth, especially the three-volume, monumental history of the origin of the Hungarian people entitled *A magyar népek őstörténete*, and his *The Early Hungarians: In the Light of Recent Historical Research* are invaluable sources of Hungarian research.

The historians belonging to the second group tend to make a more relaxed approach to the study of Hungarian history, although some of the younger scholars, such as Professors N. F. Dreisziger and Bennett Kovrig have carried out research into Hungary's recent history and have arrived at striking conclusions. Their books on Hungary's involvement in the Second World War, *Hungary's Way to World War II* by N. F. Dreisziger, and Hungary's history following World War II: *Communism in Hungary from Kun to Kádár*, *The Hungarian People's Republic* and *The Myth of Liberation: East-Central Europe in U. S. Diplomacy and Politics since 1914* by Bennett Kovrig are an important part of our Hungarica collections. The majority of this group, however, appears to prefer concentrating on the more established aspects of Hungarian history, including the study of the Rákóczi War of Independence, Louis Kossuth and the Freedom Fight of

1848–1849, Hungary's role in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the revolutions of 1918–1919.

Those Hungarian scholars writing in English such as N. F. Dreisziger, M. L. Kovács, S. M. Papp, R. Blumstock and above all, the late John Kosa, are mainly interested in the investigation of the Hungarian experience in Canada, a subject sorely neglected until quite recently. These historians and sociologists have published extensively on such topics as alienation amongst Hungarian-Canadians. Authors of this group include M. L. Kovács: *Assimilation and alienation in Ethnic Groups*, and *Assimilation versus Integration*, Korányi, E. K. et al., *On Adaptive Difficulties of Some Hungarian Immigrants*, John Kosa, *Immigration and adjustments of the Hungarians in Canada*, his *Land of Choice: The Hungarians in Canada*, and Mészáros, A. F., *Adaptation to Life in Canada*. The last two decades have witnessed the publications of a number of important Hungarica works on early Hungarian immigration and settlement in Canada by Professors M. L. Kovács and N. F. Dreisziger. More recently, a trend in regional, sociographic studies has surfaced under the leadership of Professor Robert Blumstock. Published by the National Museum of Canada the work is entitled, *Békevár: Working Papers on a Canadian Prairie Community*. The importance of Canadian historical documents and archival material pertaining to Hungarians has been realized by several young Hungarian students including Susan M. Papp and Carmela Patrias.

The study of Hungarian literature is another significant body of the Hungarian–Canadian book collections. There are close to 500 entries listed by this author in his centennial bibliographic survey published by the Canadian Plains Research Center. Exhaustive studies of current Hungarian literary trends in Canada were scarce until recently. These gaps are being filled by Professor George Bisztray's published study entitled *Canadian Hungarian Literature: Values Lost and Found*, and his forthcoming book, as well as John Miska's series of papers including *Modern Hungarian Poetry in Canada* (A magyar irodalom két dimenziója), and his *Hungarian Fiction written in English*.

The above scholastic accomplishments have opened up a new era in Hungarian studies in Canada as shown by the ever increasing graduate theses authored by Canadian students and papers published by leading Canadian publishers, periodicals and trade magazines.⁴

III. Bibliographic access

The true value of a Hungarica collection depends on its bibliographic access. Judy Young has noted in one of her papers that the extensive collections in the Canadian non-official languages publications are accessible through more than fifty bibliographic works.⁵ The following is an outline of the various systems that can enhance the usefulness of our published resources. The Hungarologist will find that there are two basic types of retrieval systems, one being the conventional, or printed bibliographic sources, the other a computer-assisted service available through the National Library of Canada and the local information centres.

1. Conventional (Print) Sources

Bibliographies, catalogues

The most commonly used bibliographic sources include national bibliographies; *Canadiana*, *National Union Catalog*, *Canadian Theses/Thèses canadiennes*, trade journals and union lists such as *Books in Canada*, *Canadian Books in Print*, *Quill & Quire*, *Canadian Periodical Index*, and the individual library catalogues. The latter can be printed catalogues and accessions lists such as the 200-page Hungarian holdings put out by the Metropolitan Toronto Library, or the bibliographic series of the University of Toronto library's Hungarian collection compiled by Iván Halász de Béky and the comprehensive bibliographies prepared by József Telek on Hungarian historical sources.

The Hungarologist will also find useful information in the numerous subject compilations published periodically by the Canadian magazines such as the *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, *The University of Toronto Quarterly*, *Quill & Quire*, *Canadian Periodical Index*, *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, etc. Of the individual bibliographies the following titles are most informative: A. Gregorovich: *Canadian Ethnic Group Bibliography*, P. C. Briant: *Ethnic Groups in Canada: A Bibliography of Research 1959-1961*, D. McLaren: *Ontario Ethno-cultural Newspapers, 1834-1972*, and J. Miska: *Ethnic and Native Canadian Literature 1850-1979*. The most comprehensive source material on Hungarica collections in this country by the author of this paper was published under the title *Canadian Studies on Hungarians: An Annotated Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Sources*. It includes 1,300 references to books, monographs, research papers, graduate theses, archival collections and a complete list of Canadian Hungarian literary publications.

Of the archival collections the valuable holdings of the Public Archives of Canada, the National Art Gallery and the Multicultural History Society of Ontario are invaluable for the student of Hungarian studies. Other printed material on Hungarians include the related government publications such as the three books of *The Canadian Family Tree*, the numerous parliamentary committee reports and a host of Canadian trade journals, i.e. *Foreign Trade*, *Financial Post*, *Canadian Forum*, *External Affairs*, *Canadian Commerce*. Several major literary journals are among the reliable sources of Hungarian data, including the prestigious *Maclean's*, *Saturday Night*, *Canadian Literature*, and *Hungarian Studies Review*. The works of Hungarian Canadian authors are represented in such anthologies as *Made in Canada*, *Volvox*, *Canadian Fiction Magazine*, *The Sound of Time* and the anthology series of the Hungarian Canadian Authors. Other Hungarian-language sources providing information on our literary heritage include the periodicals *Új Látóhatár*, *Katolikus Szemle*, *Arkánium*, *Krónika* and *Irodalmi Újság*.

2. Computer-assisted Systems

The traditional method of literature searching is supplemented, if not downright replaced, by new, computerized techniques. The Hungarologist will find most useful the

retrospective online system called CAN/OLE, Canadian-Online Enquiries, offered by the National Library of Canada. Bibliographic retrieval is based on search strategies prepared by the requester and the library staff. The resulting printouts contain complete bibliographic data on information available within the CAN/OLE system. Another automated system of interest is called UTLAS, a service offered by the University of Toronto Library, based on Input from that library and the member libraries from across the nation. There are a number of automated systems of information retrieval used by the individual libraries such as the powerful DOBIS and the equally effective Canadian-based GEAC, a minicomputer in public and major government libraries. The scientific disciplines are well endowed with print and nonprint services. A researcher interested in Hungarian scientific achievements in medicine, biochemistry or the life-sciences are able to utilize a current awareness service called CAN/SDI, Canadian/Selective Dissemination of Information, offered by the national science library: Canada Institute for Scientific and Technical Information, or by using any of the major government library collections in Agriculture Canada, Environment Canada, Energy Mines and Resources, and the university libraries.

The Canadian hungarologists are in a fortunate position to have a supportive government, whose generous grants and moral encouragement had contributed to the development of good research and library facilities. It is hoped that Hungarian research institute will help create a new climate of opinion by encouraging individual scholars, bibliographers and librarians to unearth the vast amount of information available to the public.

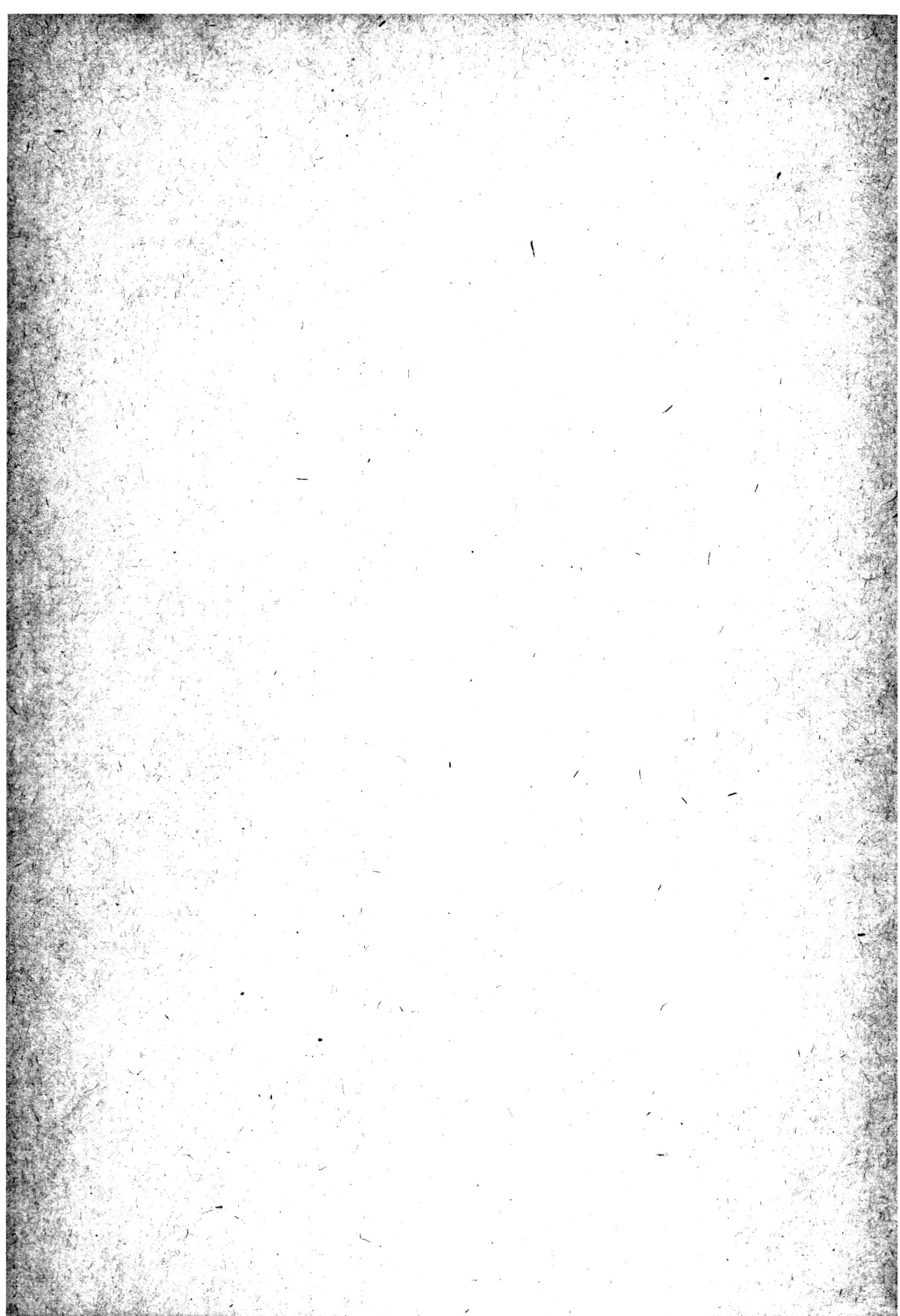
Notes

1. Dabas, Rezső "Magyar könyvállomány Kanadában. . ." [Hungarian Book Collections in Canada] KANADAI MAGYAR UJSÁG 1976 (April 30): 2, 6; (May 7): 3, 6.
2. According to R. Dabas, the distribution of Hungarian books in Canadian public libraries was as follows: Montreal 87 books, Ottawa 600, Oshawa 283, Toronto 10,054, Kitchener 230, Hamilton 1,235, Welland 330, London 600, Windsor 1,035, Winnipeg 550, Edmonton 270, Calgary 200, Lethbridge 100, Vancouver 50, Victoria 87. My own survey conducted in 1985 shows that the size of the Hungarian book collections in the public libraries, by and large, is the same, which can be attributed to the limited amount of shelving space available for library stacks. There are a few exceptions, such as the Calgary Public Library, whose collection has grown to over 1,000 Hungarian books and the Vancouver Public Library's to over 200.
3. My experience as a scientific librarian led me to believe that there is a great demand for Hungarian research papers and books in Canada. I have received several requests for translating into English a number of Hungarian scientific papers on health of animals, soil science, medicine and biotechnology. The libraries of Agriculture Canada, Environment Canada, Energy, Mines and Resources and, above all, the Canada Institute for Scientific and Technical Information maintain extensive collections by Hungarian researchers in Hungarian or in translation.
4. An annotated compilation by this author: *Canadian University Studies on Hungarians*, includes 20 graduate theses. The chronological index of my *Canadian Studies on Hungarians* shows the following increase in Hungarian-related publications over the decades: 1885-1950: 39 citations listed, 1951-1960: 140 references, 1961-1970: 250, 1971-1980: 465 titles, and 1981 to 1985: 392 publications located. These figures do not include the valuable articles and papers published in

Hungarian newspapers. It is hoped that the Hungarian Studies Association will encourage its bibliographers to compile a comprehensive bibliography of articles of Hungarian newspapers in Canada.

5. Judy Young: "Some Thoughts about the Present State of Bibliography in the Area of Canadian Ethnic Studies." In: A. B. Piternick, ed. *Bibliography for Canadian Studies: Present Trends and Future Needs. . . Proceedings of a Conference. . .* (Willowdale, Ont.: Association for Canadian Studies, 1981) pp. 38-47.

John Miska



REVIEWS

Erdély Története 3 Vols. (various authors)

Too much of the existing writing on Transylvania suffers from the fatal flaw being one-dimensional. These writings assume tacitly that there is only one history or politics or sociology or whatever of Transylvania and that all others are illegitimate, malign, stupid, etc. The central divide is, of course, nationality. Any approach infused by the national element begins from the proposition that the Hungarian/Rumanian/German/Ruritanian, etc. history of Transylvania is the sole possible account and that anyone who fails to recognize this is an enemy. That in outline is the nationalist case. In practice, of course, the actual representation of the nationalist approach may be more sophisticated and be decked out with a variety of scientific or pseudo-scientific ornamentation, ranging from pretentious footnotes, through the scattering of disrelated statistical data, to the appearance of logical argumentation.

This line of thought is, in the final analysis, great labour and little profit. Works having these assumptions as their ultimate origins may be full of weird and wonderful data and, to that extent, be useful as a store-house of information, but otherwise their status must remain marginal. They will always be marked by their polemical and teleological antecedents and suffer from reductionism. They may have their value in the way that fairy tales do, but they will not make a contribution to cognitive growth, except perhaps as examples of the pathologies that abound in national-cultural disputes.

The disbenefit of this mind-set is not, though it should be, self-evident. Essentially, if an entire community is united in its belief that the moon is made of green cheese and, furthermore, that anyone who denies this and argues that the moon is in reality constituted wholly of a mixture of brimstone and turpentine is wrong, it will have difficulty in coming to terms with the true nature of selenology. Transylvania has for a long time had this unreal quality in both the Hungarian and Rumanian mind-set. Indeed, for the ideologies of both nations it plays a role quite distinct from the real socio-economic and political features that the province possesses. Thus in approaching any work dealing with Transylvania, whether it is of Hungarian or of Rumanian provenance, one must begin by identifying these *a priori* assumptions that are used to create the matrix within which the works in question are formulated.

My argument, therefore, is that in their approach to the scientific analysis – historical, political, economic, ethnic, etc. – of Transylvania, both Hungarians and Rumanians are handicapped by the danger of being caught up in a dualism, in which the link between the realm of ideas and the realm of material objects is weak to non-existent. This proposition comes very close to what I would term “political oneirataxia” the inability to tell the difference between fantasy and reality in politics.¹

It is crucial to recognize the existence of political oneirataxia, seeing that the three volume *History of Transylvania*² under review must evidently pass the test before it can be considered as scientific or not. In a word, not least because it has already been assailed in the most bitter terms as

¹ This concept is virtually identical to the term “political hysteria” used by István Bibó, but is preferred to “hysteria” given the connotations that the word has in colloquial English.

² Erdély Története

propaganda by Rumanians at home and abroad, any reviewer must decide whether or not the work passes muster as a contribution to the scientific writing on Central European history.

My own view is that it does, but this does not mean that it passes with flying colours. On the contrary, precisely because the work deserves to be taken very seriously, its shortcomings, whether these derive from the inadequacy of the authors approach or the constraints of politics, must be subjected to the same strict analysis that all scientific argument deserves. In this connection, I should like to make it clear that I am no specialist on the mediaeval or early modern periods and can say nothing on the earlier parts of the *History* except that they read well and are interesting. But I do have views on what the book has to say about Transylvania in the post-Ausgleich period, especially in the 20th century.

The section on the interwar history of Transylvania is, to my mind, unsatisfactory and represents a missed opportunity to tackle certain issues of current relevance in uncovering the true nature of the province. Crucially, this chapter is not really marked by any inner understanding of the fact, for fact it is, that Transylvania is in numerous respects qualitatively different from Hungary, that its population of whatever nationality has a different perception of events and that it underwent a markedly different set of experiences from what took place in Hungary. Indeed, it is little more than a data bank and avoids asking hard questions or tackling real issues. Thus while Hungarian society lived through the Soviet Republic and the White Terror, Transylvanians did not. While Hungary experienced the construction of a neo-k.u.k. political system under Horthy and Bethlen, Transylvania did not. Conversely, Hungary did not undergo the cultural and political dislocation of the superimposition of an alien political system, whereas Transylvania, Rumanians as much as Hungarians, did.

One often has the sense while reading this book that its authors have difficulty with the differentness of Transylvania, both at the affective and the experiential levels. My argument in this connection is that there are aspects of Transylvania that are as different from Hungary as, say, Poland and just because many of its inhabitants speak Hungarian, regard themselves as Hungarian and are members of a broadly defined Hungarian ethno-cultural community, this does not mean that they think, behave, respond as Hungarians from Hungary do. To insist on this assumption, which many Hungarians in Hungary unconsciously do, is to fall into the trap of reductionism sketched in the foregoing and to deny the Transylvanian Hungarians the choice of determining their own destiny, which incidentally is exactly what they accuse the Rumanians of doing (correctly in my view).

The missing element from the *History* is any attempt to confront the fact that Transylvania is a multi-national province and has been for most of its history. The review of the Rumanian national movement in the 19th century and references to the activities of the Rumanian state are no substitutes for a deeper analysis of Hungarian-Rumanian relations, which would take as its starting point the proposition that the two nationalities in Transylvania influence each other's perceptions and self-perceptions, auto and heterostereotypes and consequently the Hungarians' political behaviour must differ from those of the Hungarians in Hungary. There is no suggestion in the *History* that the Rumanians of Transylvania might likewise have and have had different political aspirations from those of their co-nationals in the Regat and that this, too, might have had an impact on the Hungarian history of the province.

There is a widespread view that all Hungarians share the same political identity, that the Hungarians of Transylvania have little or nothing in common with the Rumanians of Transylvania, that their development has for all practical purposes been left untouched by their continuous interaction with Rumanians and with the Rumanian state and, that this should be so. Indeed, some – not that there is any trace of this position in the *History* – go farther and argue that anyone who denies the normativity of the political unity of the Hungarian nation is exposing it to danger. In reality, any analysis of Transylvania from the Hungarian standpoint, which I would insist has a validity within the terms I have set out, should, inter alia, ask the question, in how many ways can one be Hungarian? Is there only one, the one defined within the confines of the Hungarian state, or are there others?

The section on the post-1945 period is even more sketchy and innocent of analysis than the interwar passages and, perhaps this is understandable if not exactly excusable by the scientific criteria that I am using here. Yet here too there is a missed opportunity. By undertaking a comparative analysis of what happened in Transylvania, using developments in Hungary as the bench-mark, much light could have been shed precisely on the qualities of the Hungarian ethno-cultural community, on how its members respond to a very similar experience (the Stalinist transformation), where the differences between the two lie and why. My point here is that Hungary represents a standard of comparison for Transylvania (and vice versa) and, because different parts of the Hungarian ethno-cultural community are involved, aspects of the aetiology of Hungary's socio-political development could have been validly illuminated.

It might be argued that the authors of the *History* refrained from undertaking this kind of analysis for fear of the repercussions from Rumania. If so, this proved to be a miscalculation and, indeed, would by definition always have been a miscalculation. The central point here is that just as Transylvania performs certain oneirataxic functions in the Hungarian mind-set, it has equivalent ones in the Rumanian, with the consequence that no writing about Transylvania from Hungary will ever be accepted by Rumanians, simply because it is Hungarian. The inference is that the authors of the *History* did not think through their contextual analysis, and failed to see that whatever they wrote – probably even if they had filled all the three volumes with Daco-Roman apologetics – it would have been denounced by the Rumanians as antagonistic, ill-willed, malevolent, chauvinistic etc. So, there was nothing to lose. The 20th century sections of the book could have been approached with the same rigour that the authors applied to the earlier periods.

The implication of this omission is that opinion in Hungary has been denied a chance to be brought face to face with the reality, as opposed to the oneirataxia, of Transylvania. Some of this confrontation would have been painful, some of it would have been difficult to assimilate and some would certainly have been fruitful in encouraging at least some Hungarians to reflect on their own predicament as a nation and to dispel some of the mythic fog that surrounds the thorny topic of Hungary and the successor states and the relationship between Hungarians from different politics.

When looked at from the safe distance of London, one is struck by the two ultimately inappropriate roles that Transylvania is called upon to play in the matrix of Hungarian politics. In the first place, Transylvania is endowed with a powerful symbolic role at the level of affective meaning as the land that guaranteed the continuity of Hungarian statehood and this role, in turn, has allowed Transylvania to be metamorphosed into something other than the flesh and blood, rocks and earth that actually make up the province. Transylvania has been endowed with near supernatural qualities of ethnic purity and authenticity which it does not possess, never has possessed and, incidentally, cannot possess. Transylvania the myth land exists in the realm of ideas and cannot be conflated with the Transylvania that actually constitutes the north-western third of Rumania.

Second, Transylvania is increasingly coming to play the role of a surrogate in contemporary Hungarian politics – as political, economic, social conditions in Hungary deteriorate and as the pressure on the Hungarians of Rumania intensifies, there has emerged a growing tendency to see the former in terms of the latter, to merge the two and to concentrate on seeking to improve the situation of the minority as a substitute for doing something in Hungary. I have defined this process much more starkly, of course, than it exists in real life and what I have sketched should be treated as an ideal type.

Nevertheless, the process is real. And because Transylvania and Hungary are not the same, concentration on the former is a distraction from the problems of the latter, made all the easier by the sense that at the end of the day, there is very little that Hungarians in Hungary can effectively do to improve conditions in Rumania. In this connection, a clearer, more rigorous approach in the *History* could have made a major contribution to clearing the intellectual decks in Hungary. And that, in turn, could have been an important step in the still outstanding process of assisting Hungarian opinion to come to terms with the loss of empire of 1918. At the very least, this kind of analysis

would have illuminated what actually was lost, as distinct from what the myth values prompt Hungarians to believe they lost.

If I have been critical of the *History* that is because I believe that its appearance in the final form that it has taken represents a missed opportunity. On the other hand, it would be unfair not to reflect on the many positive aspects of this publication, both textually and contextually. As regards the former, the *History* offers a clear narrative account, in considerable detail, of Transylvania. Regarding the latter, for all my reservations, I take the view that the work is well up to the best standards of history writing in Europe, that where there are details or emphases that are open to question, these are entirely within the scientific paradigm. In a word, as far as I am concerned, this is a work of history and not of propaganda or apologetics. The fact that it may not fully satisfy all its readers, myself included, in no way derogates from this proposition. On the other hand, the fact that it has been singled out by Rumanian polemicists does nothing either to enhance or detract from its qualities. It must be judged not by the criteria of politics or nationalist frustration, whether Rumanian or Hungarian or any other, but by those that are accepted as scientific in the broad European cultural arena. By this test, the book must be assessed positively. The news that foreign language editions are under preparation is welcome. It deserves a readership wider than the one that is guaranteed by the Hungarian language.

The London School of Economic
and Political Sciences
London

George Schöpflin

CONTRIBUTORS

George F. CUSHING	University of London School of Slavonic and East European Studies London, Great Britain
Ian FAIRLEY	14 Claremont Road, Wivenhoe, Essex, Great Britain
Blair R. HOLMES, Margie G. HOLMES	Brigham Young University Department of History Provo, Utah, USA
Victor KARADY	Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales Groupe de Sociologie Politique et Morale Paris, France
John LUKACS	Chestnut Hill College Pennsylvania, USA
John MISKA	1402-71 Somerset St. W. Ottawa, Ontario, Canada
George SCHÖPFLIN	The London School of Economics and Political Sciences London, Great Britain
Aladár SZEGEDY-MASZÁK	Washington, D.C. USA
András VERES	Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Irodalomtudományi Intézete Budapest, Hungary

INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS

Hungarian Studies follows in general *The MLA Style Sheet*, available at most scholarly institutions. For the format of the articles, reviews or short notices please consult one of our recent issues. Detailed instructions for preparing manuscripts are available from the editors. All manuscripts should be sent in two full copies, including all notes, tables and bibliographic references. Illustrations can be sent in one copy, indicating the copyrights. Manuscripts should include the title of the paper, author's full names, postal address and their institutional affiliations. The authors will receive one set of proof in which they are asked to correct only the misprints. Proofs should be returned to our Budapest editorial address within two weeks of receipt. Fifty offprints will be supplied free of charge.

270. -

From the Contents of Forthcoming Issues

Péter Váczy: Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos and the Saga of the Hungarian Conquest

Mihály Szegedy-Maszák: Romantic Irony in 19th Century Hungarian Literature

Kathryn Milun: Translating Argirus

Michael Sozan: Food Deprivation and Social Stratification in Pre-War Hungary

Júlia Bendl: Herkunft eines Philosophen — Die Kindheit of Georg Lukács

Ferenc Odorics: The Metaphoricity in the Novels by Gion Nándor