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THE RIGHT TO REMEMBER

As I write I contemplate the page proofs of *NHQ* 110, especially the empty pages at the front which I must fill, or rather may fill, at this late date. We are in mid-May, and this is the Summer 1988 issue which really went to press on March 3rd. I have often complained of the long gap between press date and publication date though I am well aware that it is not the business of a quarterly to present the news of the day, or to comment on them. What we have always tried to do is place Hungarian political, economic and cultural events and processes in their own context and in the broader context of the European, indeed the world, mainstream, drawing attention to the new without neglecting traditions. Lately, however, things have speeded up in Hungary. The need to carry forward and accelerate the economic reform has presented itself with ever more demanding urgency. The same is true of the desire to transform the system of political institutions and to do something about morale and confidence that have both been shaken by economic difficulties and political uncertainty. So much that is interesting and surprisingly critical—including some long-overdue self-criticism—has lately appeared in dailies and periodicals, been broadcast and televised, that we felt in danger of falling behind, losing touch not only with the front runners but with entrenched processes, thus losing that credibility as well which we have jealously guarded over almost thirty years.

Nevertheless, we have to carry on. We therefore did our best to compile an issue which will not merely be readable in a few months' time but which will also keep its validity. Károly Grósz's article should be mentioned first and not because the author is the Prime Minister of the country* but because he here first discusses, for readers abroad, the policy of the government he formed a year ago. What he has to say is, of course, substantially the same as what he does say when he addresses the Hungarian public but, in the

* Since going to press Károly Grósz has also been elected General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

nature of the case, he here expressed himself more concisely when discussing the state of the country, or the programme of the government, clearly expounding how he interprets the idea of reform which is the guiding theme of his government's policy. Reversing the usual order of publication Károly Grósz's article first appeared as an offprint, making it available to journalists before the press conference he gave in London on the occasion of his recent visit to England. Károly Grósz, after devoting most of his article to the difficulties, expresses the hope that Hungarians, in social and political reforms, will show themselves worthy of the boldness in renewal they displayed in the economic reform.

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Kálmán Kulcsár's "Modernisation and Reform" provides, as it were, a sociological pendant to these political ideas. His starting point is the difference between Western Europe and Eastern Central Europe as regards both the interpretation of the notion, and the practice, of modernisation. Hungary underwent a two-directional modernisation in which, on occasion, economic rationalism found itself in opposition to those who stressed national traditions. It thus became typically Hungarian that modernisation of both the western and the eastern European type found support. Kálmán Kulcsár goes on to discuss the events of the last twenty years endeavouring to establish the relationship between the reform which is in process and genuine social modernisation, that is democratic progress. He helps explain why the reform slowed down in Hungary and what kind of recognitions prompted the political leadership in recent years to strengthen the reform—that is the process of modernisation—once again.

Two further articles which, in an indirect way, complement each other, deal with this subject. Vera Nyitrai, President of the Central Office of Statistics, discusses the present and future of the Hungarian economy. Examining the main features of 1987 she establishes that the year was Janus-faced. On the one hand economic decline continued, on the other there were favourable signs, pointing to a better future. Lately Hungary's image in the West has been largely based on drawing general conclusions from a number of negative features. Vera Nyitrai throws a more objective light on the whole situation without, however, distracting attention from the sins of commission and omission, and the weaknesses. The presentation of the economic events of a year makes it possible to create a basis which clarifies the foundations of future stabilisation and recovery. In the second part of her article she lists and explains what has to be done in the first place in 1988, the year of the start of the process of stabilisation. Speaking as the first

reader of the article I cannot claim that I found this long line of difficulties particularly cheerful.

István Harcsa's approach to the problems is very different. He took part in a time budget survey conducted by the Central Office of Statistics, and some of the conclusions he reached truly amazed me. He noticed that there is a much closer connection between time-budgets and standards of living than had been supposed by Hungarian sociologists. To put it in a slightly oversimplified way: in the late forties one income sufficed to keep a family, starting with the fifties two incomes were necessary, and, since the end of the seventies, not even two incomes have been enough. It became essential that breadwinners should engage in extra gainful employment, over and above the normal eight hour day. One and all suffer the social and economic consequences which this entails, including the damage to health and human relations in general. One may well presume that this distortion in the time-budget is a major source of the present deterioration in morale in Hungary.

There is no need to stress that Hungary's economic difficulties are not unique. Interdependence is a prominent characteristic of the world economy today. Few know more about this question than József Bognár. In a succint article he outlines the most important changes in economics and politics over the past fifteen years and goes on to propose an equilibrium based on East–West economic cooperation which would be in the interest of both sides. What he has to say is truly an economic catechism for a world of essening tension, that is changing in the right direction.

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The section that follows in this issue is headed Transylvania. This is a burning question in Hungary today, there is no pathos involved if I say that the term refers to a painful wound. It is difficult to explain to non-Hungarians why Transylvania, more precisely the situation of the Hungarian national minority in Rumania, its present and future, occupies our minds now to the degree that it does. The *mot juste* is anxiety. The causes of this anxiety are explained by writers, historians, archeologists. As a preliminary let me say that Transylvania forms the south-eastern parts of the Carpathian Basin. For around a thousand years it was one of the lands of the Hungarian Crown. The Peace Treaty of Trianon united it with Rumania in 1919, in 1940 the Vienna Award restored a part of it to Hungary, and the 1947 Paris Peace Treaty re-established the Trianon frontiers. Around two million Hungarians live in Transylvania, fewer than that according to official Rumanian census figures but Hungarians there consider themselves to be more numerous.

The section is opened by a text by András Sütő, a Transylvanian writer, and one of the masters of living Hungarian prose. In an interview compiled on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday he described what that minimum was which a minority needs to live a life worthy of man. Do turn to page 110 and read what is much more than a fine piece of prose: it could, in fact should, serve as the preamble to legislation on national minorities. The text was quoted in a broadcast interview last March by Mátyás Szűrös, a Secretary to the Central Committee. He added that, looking back over the past three years, there is a conclusion that can be unambiguously drawn. Bearing in mind the limited resources available "it has been, and still is, the determined intention of Hungarian policy to act systematically in the interests of improving the lot of Hungarians whereever they may live. Let me state unambiguously that Hungarian minorities living outside the frontiers of the country, particularly those within the Carpathian Basin, are part of the Hungarian nation. This intention finds expression in proposals made at various international conferences in favour of declarations guaranteeing the rights of national minorities. Given constructive negotiating partners the intention comes true. International cooperation, covering national minority issues as well, with Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and Austria serves as an example."

Let me add on my part that it is naturally an elemental requirement for the Hungarian nation to act in the most determined way, in a reciprocal manner, and enlisting the support of one and all, to ensure that the rights and conditions listed by András Sütő should become a reality. "Whatever baseless accusations may be made," Szűrös stressed, "however much they might trumpet about 'interference in domestic affairs', friends and negotiating partners alike are aware that Hungary respects norms and facts laid down in international documents as well. It is due to our socialist principles and our openness that we must act systematically and persistently to ensure that members of Hungarian national minorities who form part of the Hungarian nation should participate as equals in the prosperity of the the countries of which they are citizens. Our experience is that Rumanian policy has no wish to collaborate in this. We have no desire to call on factors that are not part of bilateral relations to act as what one might call mediators in order to ensure that things change and that progress be made in Hungaro–Rumanian contacts and relations. On the other hand we propose to exploit all those political, economic, cultural and information options which are exclusively part of Hungarian sovereignty. It is our determined conviction that a fair and open attitude aimed at extending these contacts best serves the interests of the Hungarian and the Rumanian people and the cause of

social progress. This is a general human problem, and it directly affects both nations."

I have quoted Mátyás Szűrös at such length since both official Hungarian policy and Hungarian public opinion have shown great restraint, for many decades, as regards the situation of the Hungarian minority. The position has, however, deteriorated, and it continues to deteriorate, even in the weeks since this issue went to press. First the use of Hungarian place names in Transylvania was officially prohibited, then, most recently, a plan published at the highest level in Rumania has given rise to unprecedented anxiety: in the years to come all villages with fewer than three thousand inhabitants will be liquidated. The people will be moved to high-rise housing estates and their erstwhile homes will be turned into ploughed fields. Hungarians in Hungary and Transylvania have every reason to fear that a start will be made with Hungarian inhabited villages.

Another aspect of the issue, that of refugees from Rumania and their resettlement in Hungary, will be dealt with in future numbers. In the present one Ildikó Lipcsey writes on the situation and Rumanian policy in historical terms, describing the changes of recent years. András Gerő discusses the genesis of the three-volume History of Transylvania. He is not sparing in his criticism of Hungarian science policy which, in recent decades, frequently shackled historiography. Gábor Vékony has written a critical account of the theory of Daco-Roman continuity and Ferenc L. Gazsó contributes a travelogue which is the fruit of a recent journey to Transylvania.

Space does not permit me to do more than mention a number of articles written on the occasion of the 450th anniversary of the death of Sigismund of Luxembourg, Holy Roman Emperor and King of Hungary.

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Sándor Csoóri and Ottó Orbán represent literature. Csoóri has made his name as a poet and must be considered to be one of the leading figures of contemporary Hungarian literary life. He describes an incident in the Calvinist Church of his native village which he revisited on the occasion of the induction of a new minister. Translations of verses by Ottó Orbán are accompanied by an interview with him. Orbán spent some time recently as a visiting professor at American universities and it is this experience which largely inspired the poems here published. The interview appears under the paradoxical heading "The Hope of Remembering" which reflects the state of mind of many Hungarian writers today.

THE EDITOR

A POLICY OF RENEWAL

by

KÁROLY GRÓSZ

What I should like to discuss in the first place is the way I see the Hungarian political situation and the kind of atmosphere that prevails in the country. The two are not identical, though there are many interactions. I am firmly convinced that the great majority of Hungarians accept the social system under which they live, socialism. More or less passionately and effectively they look for more efficient forms and institutions of socialism. This is a search for a way that leads to renewal. It is not directed against the regime but seeks its strengthening. The decisive majority think in terms of a socialist conceptual system. People look on values described as socialist as their own. These include the defining role of social property (with the accent on defining, for some considerable time now social property has not been considered to be exclusive), the operation of a leading Marxist Party which shows flexibility and thinks in a modern way, further membership of the world socialist community, and the endeavour to reconcile the national interest and the demands of internationalism.

As regards the prevailing atmosphere the situation is more complex. The public mood is pregnant with tensions and shows a tendency leading to further deterioration. Prevailing morale is much worse than the situation of individuals would justify but better than indicated by the objective economic conditions in which Hungary finds itself.

Nervousness and hope, confidence and lack of it, as well as fear of the future, are all present in this atmosphere. Now one element is more pronounced, now the other. Illusions and lack of information figure prominently in thinking about the future. There is a concentration on the questions of the day with insufficient attention to the long-term options. There is less tolerance for politicians and much tittle-tattle and gossip. A great many think in terms of personalities and not policies. The numbers of the dis-

illusioned, the fed-up and the fence-sitters are growing apace. At the same time it is to the credit of the atmosphere that far-reaching changes in the economy and in social arrangements are very much in demand. In this respect there is a wide-ranging consensus, when it comes to the nature and direction of changes, however, opinions differ widely. There is agreement all round that the economic reform cannot be systematically continued if the political institutions are not modernised. The substance of the modernisation of political institutions is, however, interpreted in a widely differing manner. Much more is expected of a reform than that could possibly deliver. There is also a danger of a deflection of attention from the key issues, that is from the worries and tensions that have their origin in the economy. What is more, in keeping with economic anxieties, public attention largely concentrates on two problems: on the system of management, and on distribution. Less attention is given to production. This suggests a certain disproportion.

The national debt

The quality and efficiency of economic activity is the central issue today. This also contributes to the atmosphere and not only because it directly affects standards of living but also because people would like to know how the country got into this situation. The major worry is the huge convertible currency debt. Hungary occupies thirtieth place amongst the world's debtors, and curiously also precisely the thirtieth place when it comes to per capita indebtedness.

Hungary accounts for 0.21 per cent of the world population, 0.35 per cent of GDP, 0.44 per cent of exports and one per cent of the world's total debt. On January 1st, 1988, Hungary's total net debt amounted to $ 10,900 millions. Not everyone agrees on the figures since methods of calculation differ, Hungary's are not the same as the IMF's. Calculations are difficult since yens and Swiss francs are transformed into dollar units and currency rates fluctuate just about every day. It is worth mentioning that Hungary, since 1973, enjoyed an active trade balance in just one single year, 1984. Between 1981 and 1986 Hungary's foreign debt grew by 18 per cent in dollars but 64 per cent in real terms.

High interest rates are another major cause of anxiety. Therefore, if there is no rate of return on capital of at least 15 per cent, the raised credit is not useful. The trouble is basically due to domestic reasons since the return on the capital invested generally did not reach 14 to 15 per cent. The causes are manifold, extending all the way from a mistaken investment policy to a bad system of incentives and lax labour discipline. On top of it all, since 1973,

the Hungarian economy suffered a loss of 800,000 million forints owing to deteriorating terms of trade. The aim of the Government Programme is to put an end to a further growth of indebtedness by 1990. That appears feasible. This permitted me to declare in Parliament at the time of the passing of the Government Programme: "We must undergo a renewal of a kind that will permit the survival of what we created, indeed the strengthening of its foundations."

The implementation of the Government Programme

Those were the conditions under which the systematic implementation of the Government Programme started in the summer of 1987. It will be in force until 1990. I would place the emphasis on the term systematic and that, bearing in mind the Hungarian situation, the fits and starts of a reform process that has been going on these twenty years, is no small thing. The 1988 National Economic Plan already gives effect to two of the basic objectives; to start with restoring economic equilibrium within a few years, and secondly, reliance on livelier technological progress, the gradual transformation of the product structure.

The state of the world, in particular the recognition of the interdependence of international security, as formulated by Mikhail Gorbachov, created favourable outside conditions for this implementation which started in January this year. The improvement in Soviet–American relations palpably reduced international tension. In this connection it ought to be said that it has seldom happened before that the outside world should show so much sympathy for what Hungary is trying to do. This is not only true of the other socialist countries but also of states whose social system differs. They are all anxious that Hungary should succeed, and the common interest has prompted them to lend a helping hand more than once.

I am not arguing that the intention is always above board in every case but it is certainly true that those forces in the capitalist world which believe that the future belongs to cooperation between the two systems tend to identify Hungarian ways as a suitable form for such common action. Hungary's open foreign policy is even more effective in the context of this international process. The efforts which Hungary made before détente once again replaced tension are more likely to bear fruit. The dialogue with countries such as Great Britain, whose social and economic system differs from Hungary's, is part of this policy. Mrs Thatcher was one of those Western European heads of government who visited Hungary, familiarising herself with the situation of the country, and experiencing the openness of its foreign policy.

Hopeful signs

Too little time has passed to be able to speak of substantial changes in the economy. It is indeed one of the essential features of our time that the present troubled state of affairs, and this is true of the economy and of society as a whole, is the consequence of long-lasting processes, of the events of the past fifteen years. Stabilisation and revival therefore also require a longer period of time. Considerable patience is needed. It would be truly a great achievement if long lasting processes that brought the country to the brink of crisis are reversed within three years.

Indeed there are certain changes already, one might call them hopeful signs. Compared to the two preceding years, convertible currency industrial exports have grown considerably and as a result the non-rubel balance of trade and payments deficit, as well as that of the budget, have all been reduced. The real value of production has considerably grown after the earlier setback. Economic growth was greater than stipulated by the plan. Value added grew by three per cent, and national income by two and a half. True enough, if these figures are corrected by the deterioration in the terms of trade, then national income is no higher than in 1984. Certain quality indices of production have improved, included value added per person employed. Exports have grown by 3.2 per cent, as planned, though I have to add that imports have also grown, by 2.6 per cent, which is more than that stipulated by the plan.

Favourable processes have not, however, been forceful enough and therefore do not fully accord with the Programme. The product structure has not changed as much as desirable, nor has there been any improvement in the quantity of material used. Hungarian commodity trade cannot be said to have satisfied requirements.

The background

As I mentioned before, my experience suggests that the decisive majority of Hungarians favours socialism. They accept the leading role of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, approve of the commitments of the country to other socialist countries, and agree with the openness of Hungarian foreign policy and its support for peace and progress. I therefore judge the political situation in the country to be fundamentally favourable, though the public mood is not as good. But mood is volatile and can improve as fast as it deteriorates.

One cannot blame one or two causes, the factors, to my mind, are highly

complicated. Hungarians have long been liable to extreme fluctuations in mood. I have no wish to create a national stereotype but it is true that we tend to blow up minor successes into major victories and look on small setbacks as world shattering tragedies. Let me, by way of example, mention a sitting of the Parliament a few months back. The basic situation had not changed, nevertheless a relative mood of optimism spread first inside the House, and afterwards in the country. A few months passed and everyone impatiently demands tangible results and since there are none but, on the contrary, the troubles and tribulations of the difficult road that leads to results are beginning to manifest themselves, gloom and despond promptly appear.

The characteristics of reform-mindedness

Some might not agree but in my view a peculiar aspect connected with the reform is part and parcel of the present mood. In Hungary support for the reform has been largely confined to the media. It was something for public consumption. Nothing much was done in substance, as regards behaviour and attitudes. To put it more crudely: everything in the reform that was of advantage to one and all had no difficulty in obtaining support, but everything that meant sacrifices or a tightening of belts—and no reform is possible without them—was rejected outright.

A debt due to perennially accumulating social excess consumption—primarily in the form of investments that were failures—which ran to the tune of thousands of millions has so far been reckoned a mere quantitative issue. But a net debt of eleven thousand million dollars creates a new situation. This is already qualitatively different, both economically and socially. It is no longer true that an individual can isolate himself. It is clear now that the total bankruptcy of the economy also sweeps away islands of stability and places individuals as well in a most difficult situation. This eleven thousand million dollars debt really places the economy on the brink of such an abyss. In such a situation the shock of recognition hits one, one realizes that there is a danger that a man might lose everything he has put together in thirty years.

My own feeling is that what is taking place in Hungary now is a process of recognition manifesting itself as a series of shocks, that far more is involved than a possible shortfall of five hundred million dollars when the annual debt instalment becomes due, or thirty thousand million forints missing from the coffers of the state—the deficit of the budget.

One must reckon with the fact that in the absence of a substantial transformation the threat of insolvency will continue for many years to come.

After that many more years would have to pass until it would become possible to create a structure which would be able to change the position radically, and fundamentally transform the options open to the country.

Another interesting aspect is usually mentioned when the public mood is discussed and that is the effects of the 1988 passport regulations. There is even more travel to Western Europe and even to America; Hungarians meeting other kinds of developments might be justifiably dissatisfied with the performance of their own country since, after all, the troubles of the world economy were universal. They affected everybody.

I have already referred to the way I interpret the state of thinking about the reform in Hungary. Oversimplified ways of looking at things are the cause of much trouble. Let me give a concrete example: in what way should the changes be presented? György Lukács once said that there is more to progress than merely building the new, the demolition of the obsolete is part of it. In Hungary, however, the idea has always been to build and go on building, carrying the obsolete forward as well since there is no way of ridding oneself of it.

Politics and the economy

Politics must play its part in creating a springboard that will make it possible for an economy on the brink of a crisis to take off again. The danger is there that, in order to make the Programme look more attractive, politicians tend to lose touch with reality. This occurred a number of times in the past and is, of course, one of the causes of the present lack of confidence. The options open must be properly surveyed and the limitations must be recognised. The temptation must be resisted at all costs to allow the difficult situation to stop one surveying the situation objectively, recognising limitations to action. The absence of confidence of the enterprises in the government, and of the people in the country's leaders, must be overcome by a detailed and sober presentation of the situation and of the options that are open for action.

The basic guarantee must be the quality of the Programme. To ensure this it is not sufficient for the government to provide the score, it must also rehearse the orchestra. The public must play its part in drafting the Programme to make it possible for them to keep an eye on the quality of the work done, in order to judge whether implementation is at all possible. The economic plan passed by the 13th Party Congress acts as a cautionary tale. Its weakness was that high notes found their way into the score which the instruments available were not able to manage. At such times there is no alternative to playing at a lower pitch.

There is another essential aspect when it comes to politics. There may be an alternative. There is more than one possible programme, the objective can perhaps be defined differently, another course may be set, one which better surveys reserves and better exploits the possibilities. And that may well demand a different leadership. It is this genuine problem which justifies those who take a different view to things. Speaking about myself, I am convinced that there is something in these different kinds of approach. In this difficult situation it is particularly important that every well-intentioned proposal be considered.

The foundations on which consensus was based thirty years ago in a different historical situation cannot be recreated today. One cannot step into the same river twice. That was a broadly based consensus indeed and it was shored up by the fact that there was a clean break with the mistakes of the 1945–1956 period. The basic principles of the nascent socialist system were maintained but at the same time the political line was altogether different. The aims were completely other, and that could be made attractive to everybody. At the same time the consensus was continuously strengthened by steady economic progress, the distribution of the increment, rising standards of living, the upward mobility of wide sections of society, and the progress made by socialist democracy.

The trouble was that once, starting with the mid-seventies, economic performance noticeably declined, the same method of dividing up the cake was continued. More and more credits were raised to finance this, instead of renewing the economy. This manner of maintaining the consensus survived its economic basis by five to ten years. The consensus, however, contained another current as well which referred to the more civilised human relation. These days this is accepted as the most natural thing in the world, at the time it radiated the magic of novelty.

There is no need to deny all our yesterdays, only the weaknesses. The trouble is that there are vested interests involved. There are people who stand to lose if yesterday's weaknesses are put an end to. And the economic basis of the earlier consensus is no longer present either. Present resources are much tighter.

How could one extend this basis? By preserving what is valuable of the past and by being united in creating the new. What must be preserved is that essential element of the earlier Hungarian policy that everyone be looked on as an ally who is willing to play a part in the renewal of the country.

That which is valuable can only be preserved if the obsolete can be clearly rejected. When this rejection necessarily extends over a wide front one finds oneself confronting a great many people. Temporarily this government finds itself in confrontation with just about everybody since it demands more of everybody, and gives less.

This narrows the basis of the consensus, and the present situation will continue for some years. A consensus must be established for these years of transition, covering questions of great importance. Something that can be relied on is that the whole country agrees that changes must be made. Management and employees, Party members and those who are not, are all of the same opinion. There is also agreement that Hungary, the country itself, is at stake. Commitment to country and nation, if nothing else, creates a consensus on the widest basis. What I value particularly is the way Archbishop László Paskai approaches things. He said at a conference which I convened recently that the Roman Catholic Church is well aware that the country's future is at stake and that it is guided by the desire to relax existing tensions. Over and above this elemental recognition there will obviously be disagreements on particular questions. The next step forward will again and again be decided in debate. Consensus presupposes ongoing dialogue with every section of society.

There are two directions in which, in my opinion, continuing changes are justified. State authorities must cease acting as nannies and leave decisions to the enterprises, the cooperatives and individuals. Many, making a false distinction, look on this as a retreat by the state, and yet what makes such action necessary is precisely the need to allow the state to operate effectively.

The second field of change closely follows from the first. Institutions based on autonomy must be created which will make it possible for citizens to act independently within a stable legal framework, in all those areas from which the state will withdraw. The government, on the other hand, must pay closer attention to the key questions of society, the economy, culture, home and foreign policy.

I think that autonomous communal organization, which is a new feature in Hungary, is particularly valuable. The potential which exists in a well organized local community, or the importance of various forms in which people can organize their activities is already fully accepted.

There is still too much uniformity in all this activity, particularly as regards democracy in action, largely due to the absence of precedents. I sup-

port respect for a diversity based on local features. This also strengthens and enriches national cohesion and is, indeed, part of the process of reform.

A few basic rules must be obeyed: the association, community or journal to be founded must not be opposed to the system, and it must not serve antisemitism, race-hatred, and incitement against other nations. Once this is clear they may organize in keeping with the interests and desires of the local population.

There was a time when it was often said that outside conditions created the greatest handicap for the Hungarian reform. We were supposed to be sailing into the wind. The headwind has turned into a tailwind. Plans of reform are on the agenda in just about every socialist country. What I have in mind in the first place is *perestroika* in the Soviet Union, or the great transformation which China is undergoing. But Hungary has not slowed down either, indeed things have really accelerated lately. Just this year a new taxation system was introduced, and I hope that Parliament will pass the new Law on Associations, which will be an important step forward, for both political and organizational reasons, indeed as a matter of principle. A Committee of Reform has been established which is intensively engaged in a long term modernisation of methods of management. In that respect, I am sure, Hungary has not fallen behind, either by the country's own standards or compared to the other socialist countries which have similarly embarked on reforms. There is a sense, though, where the advance is not as great as the situation would justify.

As regards the way the wind blows internationally I can only say that, thank heavens, that has grown stronger in the right direction. A by-product of this is, of course, that the Hungarian role as pioneers has somewhat lost in status, but that is not of the essence.

Every socialist country lives its own life. That also means that the efforts at renewal cannot really be compared. In my view there is one identity, and that lies in the intention, the efforts made to bring about a renewal. The desire of one and all is a socialism based on a modern and efficient economy.

There is need for a far more detailed and better considered survey and reconciliation of particular interests in the awareness that social consensus is not a static state of affairs. On the contrary, it is a process which will always be part of our lives. The times have gone when the rules of cooperation were laid down once and for all for a whole period. In my view we are on the threshold of an age when we all have to work hard every day to establish a consensus. All this naturally presupposes openness in every area of life, that is socialist democracy. It is the intention of Hungarians that, in social and political reforms, they should show themselves worthy of the boldness in renewal which they displayed in the economic reform.

THE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF THE HUNGARIAN ECONOMY

by

VERA NYITRAI

The economic situation took an adverse turn in Hungary in the second half of the eighties as it did in several other countries. Recognition of the deteriorating tendencies came late, only in 1986, but the year of 1987 was already a time of action prompted by that recognition. The Hungarian parliament voted in favour of the working programme of the government aimed at stabilisation, and the establishment of the conditions of a future upswing, once the downward slide of the economy is stopped.

Major characteristics of the 1987 situation

The year of 1987 is regarded as a Janus-faced time, when further deterioration was just as evident as flimmers of favourable tendencies pointing towards progress. Continuation of indebtedness and, at the back of that, the persistent negative result of the convertible export-import balance are warnings for the future. There were factors behind these phenomena that could only be partially influenced relying on the country's own resources. One of these factors was the series of elemental disasters that struck agriculture in recent years. In 1987, for instance, heavy winter frost caused much damage. Harvests declined by about 4 per cent and the growth in stock raising was less than stipulated by the plan. Although the cooperative farms were able to counter-balance the damage suffered by extending their industrial and building activities along with other non-agricultural operations the total output of agriculture was only at the level of the previous year, registering no growth.

1987 began adversely for industry but the second half of the year brought faster progress than the first. Consequent to that state-owned industrial enterprises and industrial cooperatives together produced more than the plan

stipulated, the volume of their output exceeded the result of the previous year by 3.7 per cent. Within that the output of manufactured goods increased strongly, reaching the industrial average, due to exceptional increase of demand towards the end of the year—when feverish buying was evident. The output of the building materials industry rose by 6.9 per cent, that of light industry by 2.9 per cent and that of the engineering industry by 3.8 per cent. More dynamism was evident during the year also in the activities of the food processing and chemicals industries due partly to the sudden increase of consumer demand towards the end of the year. With the exception of metallurgy every one of the major industries produced more than the plan envisaged. This suggests that industrial units had reserves not completely utilised before. The increasing volume of production assisted better exploitation of capacities and a more efficient utilisation of the available industrial labour force. Due to these circumstances the productivity of industrial labour (calculated per head of workers) increased by 6.1 per cent in 1987 compared to the previous year. However, the earlier structural problems found no solution yet in spite of that faster growth.

The renewal process of products and activities is relatively slow in Hungarian industry. The proportion of new products barely exceeds the annual average of 2.5–3 per cent in industry, although it is considerably higher in the most dynamic sectors, such as the communications, and vacuum engineering industries and toolmaking. Effective presence in the world market demanded more radical renewal in these sectors and some Hungarian industrial enterprises were capable of responding to that challenge. This ability to flexible adjustment, however, is not yet characteristic of the Hungarian industrial average. The pharmaceutical industry, sectors of the chemicals industry manufacturing household goods and cosmetics and the rubber industry, which is gaining ground in a variety of markets, achieved faster development and more favourable structural renewal.

Progress in the construction industry was fair in 1987. This was the first year in the past ten years, when total production increased by 5.3 per cent although not as many homes were constructed as planned. The new system of taxation forced private people to complete building projects financed from savings and loans as soon as possible and to begin others, obtaining materials before the introduction of VAT, thus considerably cheaper. The effect was obviously strong as regards buildings built by their owners or private contractors. Unusually mild weather prevalent in the last quarter of 1987 also helped the building industry.

The picture is not as favourable from the external economic aspect. The import surplus was higher than planned, or expected on the basis of calcula-

tions made during the year. The principal cause was the continued increase in imports paid for in convertible currency, although their lessening was planned, due to a much stronger demand for imported goods during the year. Although exports for convertible currency increased at an annual rate of almost 15 per cent—that is more than planned—the growth in imports almost counter-balanced this. Exports increased not only at current prices but also in volume to the tune of 5 per cent. The export of metallurgical and chemical products, various component parts and a series of light industry products to developed capitalist countries grew strongly. The situation was not as favourable in engineering although boosting the export of engineering industry products to developed capitalist countries has been a clear objective for years. 1987 was not successful in this respect. Analyses show that exports for convertible currency could not increase even more because market restrictions impeded growth, and because export performance started rather slowly in the first half of the year. The lag could not be fully made up in the second half. The change of the regulatory system during the year, and the introduction of a competitive system clearly stimulated such exports.

Rouble accounted exports shaped favourably. The balance of trade was positive in that respect. Enterprises not only met their obligations but also succeeded in satisfying some of the additional demand in a number of fields, although the picture was rather variable in that respect too. Some sectors could not completely satisfy their contractual obligations last year. The balance of trade surplus, however, resulted not only from additional exports but also from a shortage of desirable import goods.

International travel made a favourable contribution to the balance of payments. New records were achieved in 1987 in that field although the early did not indicate this. The result was due to the long summer season which continued well into the autumn, and also to improvements in Hungarian catering. It must be added, though, that while the situation was outstanding in respect of the number of foreign arrivals, the comparative results regarding the length of their stay are still below the international average. A total of 19 million foreign nationals entered Hungary in 1987, of whom 12 million were visitors and 7 million transit passengers or people on day trips. The 1987 data also indicate an extension of the area whence a regular flow of visitors originate. Many foreign visitors, however, spend only a few days in Hungary, and move on towards a coast, or go home after a short stay of 5–6 days. More must be done to persuade them to stay on.

It ought to be mentioned as well that the balance in the tourist trade was the result of changes in two directions: one was the number of foreign visitors to Hungary and the amount of money they spent here, the other the

number of Hungarians visiting foreign countries and the amount of foreign exchange they took with them. Fortunately, the latter also tends to grow, therefore the yearly growth in the net gain in income from tourism is even more appreciated.

From the point of view of the general standard of living, 1987 was not favourable, a fact that was in line with the intentions of the government. Economic performance measured in terms of GDP increased at a slow annual rate of 1.6 per cent in the preceding six years. At the same time, domestic consumption, and within that per capita consumption, also increased at a similar rate, while loans raised abroad increased the indebtedness of the country. Putting a stop to the growth in the stock of debt in convertible currencies, and maintaining the liquidity of the country, was the first of the fundamental objectives of the government programme. This made a temporary cutting back of private consumption unavoidable. However, that had not yet occurred in 1987; indeed, in the second half of the year and particularly in the last months of 1987, private consumption increased considerably—as I already indicated—consequent to the announcement of the two new systems of taxation and price rise, rather heavy anticipating shopping was the result. Retail sales exceeded 1986 figures by 13.3 per cent at current prices and by 5 per cent at comparative prices. The volume of sales increased only by 3.1 per cent in the first half of the year, 3.7 per cent in the third quarter and about 9 per cent in the last quarter. Although the explosive growth in demand caused shortages in some fields (principally building materials), trade in general stood up well to the assault of shoppers and met the rapidly growing demand. A characteristic detail is that the sale of clothing, which generally did not grow in the eighties, registered a 4 per cent growth in volume compared to the previous year. The announcement of steep increases in the cost of children's clothing and particularly of baby wear naturally stimulated heavy shopping of these items, but even the sale of ladies' and men's wear increased, although the price of these generally fell on the 1st of January 1988.

The government announced in the second half of 1987 that consumer prices would be raised in excess of the planned level and that the rises might reach 9 per cent during the year. Actual consumer price rises totalled 8.6 per cent. The difference was due principally to the obligation of the enterprises to report intended price rises in advance. The government used this to stop the enterprises responding to lively demand by steep price rises. The rise in consumer prices naturally had a differing effect on various people. Families with three or more children felt them more than average. Savings bank deposits increased slightly during the year, but this growth was due entirely

to accrued interest. The net total of savings bank deposits was less at the end than at the beginning of the year.

Demand for investments, particularly the level of investment projects financed by the enterprises, continued to grow. A considerable part of the profits generated by enterprises was spent on investment and this in itself indicates a favourable tendency for the future.

The year of 1987, particularly the second half of that year, was characterised by more determined steps by the government towards reviewing the situation of uneconomic enterprises which were unable to cope with their low efficiency problems. It is envisaged that bankruptcies will be unavoidable in some instances, while in some fields firms will have to be restructured. The government announced this intention some time ago, but realisation started late. Owing to the complications of the earlier systems of taxation, and subsidies, it was rather difficult to establish whether the activities of a particular enterprise were clearly inefficient or uneconomic. Occasional losses, or losses of part of an enterprise's capital in themselves were not always unambigous indicators of inefficiency, since the price system itself is not always a consistent standard. Introduction of VAT and of an income tax on the 1st of January 1988 marks an important step. Concurrently, a number of earlier forms of taxation will be discontinued and prices will be reshuffled to keep up more closely with fluctuations in world market prices. Liquidation and restructuring in 1987 could not rely on these new instruments. Thus procedures could, and had to be, started only in the case of enterprises, where it was crystal clear that their activities were not economic by any standards, and a change in their organizational form was justified. In the majority of the cases the point was not the liquidation of activities but of organizational forms. Decentralisation was carried out mainly in over-grown enterprises with diversified activities, and this, in many instances, helped to see which of the diversified activities were to be continued and which had to be discontinued. The process has not yet finished since the reorganization of the situation of some large enterprises formerly given preferences is still going on. The decentralisation of Ganz Mávag and Tatabánya Collieries, for instance, came into effect on the 1st of January 1988 and the units, which were made independent, have already started operating. Reorganization schemes carried out earlier, for instance at the the Csepel Works, indicate that some of the enterprises given independence by the breaking up of that corporation (one of which is the Machine Tool Factory) considerable success was achieved in production and profitability through the clarification of organizational conditions, management and new ideas.

The review of the organizational structure is of great importance not only

in the enterprise sphere but also in the state administration. The reorganization process of government administration started in 1987. This was not motivated excusively by the new government programme since the review of the administrative machinery already started two years earlier. However, the review involved the scrutiny of numerous activities, thus the presentation of the results of the review and the formulation of the new government programme coincided in the second half of 1987. This coincidence is rather fortunate for the review of the administration furthers the cause of more economic and efficient management as well as the reform of the activities of business entities. The first steps towards the reform of the administrative activities were already taken by the internal reorganization of some departments, the rationalisation of personnel, the revision of background activities and the establishment of new forms of control. The work of the government was also reformed, it assumed a much more cabinet-like image based more heavily on the independence of the ministries. This independence involves not only rights, but naturally also greater responsibilities than earlier.

Major tasks for 1988

The working programme of the government and the 1988 plan defined the tasks of the first year of the stabilisation period. 1987general performance further underlined the timeliness of these tasks. Improving the balance of the economy and, within that, curbing the growth of convertible currency debts, remains a fundamental issue. Thus production can increase only in those fields, and to such extent, where, and to which, balance requirements permit. Basing the reshaping of the production structure on the achievements of technical development is desirable. The international competitiveness of industry has to improve.

Reform of the economic mechanism will continue as it did in 1987. The reform process has been going on for twenty years in Hungary and the country achieved much in that time. But serious problems also emerged. One of these was price reform. The government made repeated attempts to adjust the price system to world market conditions without managing to do so. It became clear that it was not possible to work a price system without a market that is under merely simulated market conditions. Real market conditions, however, are inconceivable without awareness of costs of production, and their breakdown. Thus in order to see clearly the relation between state control, financial control in the first place and the producers, the economy had to be placed on a new footing.

The taxation system and the system of subsidies was confused right until 1987. VAT introduced on the 1st of January 1988, is much closer to a form of taxation successfully used by a number of Western European capitalist countries for years. The purchase tax is passed on to the final consumer. This method bases the evaluation of the efficiency of products and activities on far more adequate foundations, thus assisting the preparation of decisions and the clear observation of their implementation. Introduction of the new system of taxation necessitated the re-arrangement of prices in the producer as well as in the consumer sphere. I emphasise the term re-arrangement and not a price reform, since this step is only an element of a possible price reform and in itself does not yet mean a price reform in the wider sense. But it undoubtedly benefits the Hungarian economy by making prices mirror realistic conditions.

Some of the effects of this system were received with understandable misgivings by consumers. The reduction of considerable subsidies of consumer goods, and their discontinuation wherever possible, has been on the agenda for years. This motivated increases in the price of basic consumer goods, milk, bread, meat and caused only an extremely steep rise in the price of formerly heavily subsidised baby-wear, children's clothing and school equipment. During the past forty years development period of the socialist economy, the people became accustomed to considerable subsidies for these products and certain services, such as laundering and dry cleaning. They find it difficult to get used to the new prices. The government is providing some help by giving assistance to needy people. The amount earmarked for child welfare increased from the 1st of January 1988 partly by the extension of the child care allowance until the child reaches the age of two, partly by increasing the child allowance. A system was introduced also to preserve the real value of pensions of aged people unable to supplement their income. This affects principally people over the age of 70. These measures exemplify the practical realisation of the principle of social assistance to those who need it instead of subsidising products. Although the discontinuation of subsidies is a logical step on the basis of purely economic considerations, the transition, the period of getting used to it, will not be easy in Hungary.

The 1988 plan reckons with a decline in the standard of living. The equilibrium problems that haunt the economy necessitate about a 2–2.5 per cent cut-back in private consumption. The per capita real wages of workers and employees will drop more significantly, by about 9 per cent. Obviously, this average will be strongly dispersed. It is expected that it will be more significant in some districts of the country (particularly in the northern

counties) and that some thousands will lose their jobs. Job seekers, mainly the unskilled and recent school leavers, might not be able to find employment for some time. The government provides financial asisstance for the retraining and re-employment of these people. An Employment Fund has been set up for the purpose.

The economic situation of the country will reach a state of social and political equilibrium only when the price reform is followed by an adequate reform of wages. The latter forms part of medium-term government plans.

There is an element in this series of measures, which needs special explanation. This is the change in the conditions of obtaining housing. The latter is one of the most serious problems of young people getting married in Hungary. Although the situation is not all that bad in international comparison, on the basis of room per head, or homes per 100 people, there are serious problems in the home pattern. Many aged people live on their own in a large home, while a great many young people must save and wait for years for a home of their own. The sudden jump in the price of building materials does not augur well for those hoping to build. This problem of the young people must be tackled differently, by direct loans made available on preferential terms and by refunding VAT included in the price of building materials to those who build their own homes. Home-savings accounts bearing special interest rates and bank loans on preferential terms also assist the home-seekers.

The 1988 plan reckons with a surplus in convertible currency-accounted foreign trade. The way to achieve that is to ensure that the increase in exports will be greater than that in imports. This is also a substantially more difficult task than earlier for industry, with emphasis on manufacturing, and within it, the engineering industry. I wish to underline that every survey has indicated the presence of the needed reserves in industry. Expanding industrial activities are capable of holding their own competitive markets. Nevertheless, marketing activities must be improved.

A statistical enquiry some time ago indicated that Hungarian industry included areas capable of dynamic growth even under the worsening world market conditions. On the basis of 1980–1985 economic records it is clear that there are a good number of products able to comply with external market requirements. This resulted, for instance, in boosting the production of programme-controlled lathes by 140 per cent (more than 80 per cent were exported), that of machine drills by 65 per cent (of which almost two-thirds were exported), while the production of microwave equipment increased by 640 per cent in 5 years, and almost three times as many colour television sets were made in 1985 than in 1980, and so on to automatic telephone exchanges and a good number of other industrial products. Looking at this

from another aspect, it became clear that a considerable number of Hungarian industrial enterprises including engineering state enterprises and cooperatives and pharmaceutical manufacturers, were able to hold their own on the world market, indeed, to increase their activities, given suitable market security.

In numerous instances they increased their exports to South-East Asia, China and the countries of the area. A number of Hungarian enterprises penetrated Latin American markets and strengthened their activities there, while many enterprises endeavoured to hold their own in developed capitalist markets, if not amongst the frontrunners then, at least, amongst the also ran. The requirements indicated here are natural for enterprises in a market economy since the market puts a mark on all of their activities; Hungarian enterprises, however, have lived for a long time in a protected position, where they had to comply with plan directives and the state protected them from most of the market effects. For instance, the effect of the 1972–73 world economic price explosion was cushioned by the budget for a considerable time, thus it reached the enterprises in a tamed form and only after a long delay. Sticking to one's market position became the primary consideration under present conditions, and that will have to motivate the attitude of enterprises.

Some of the dynamic enterprises and activities are in the light and food processing industries, such as dairy enterprises, which properly changed their product structure to meet domestic and foreign consumer demand, or furniture makers prepared to meet the strongly differentiated demand of domestic consumers who were able to improve their export performance as well.

The enquiries mentioned indicated the presence of large-, medium-, and small organizations in Hungarian industry capable of breaking out of the current difficulties thanks to concentrated attention. The new regulatory system and its modified elements clearly intend to support these. A central wage regulation was introduced, the so-called wages-club members may increase the remuneration of their workers at a substantially higher rate than the average by increasing performance under very tough conditions. This gives an advantage to efficiently managed enterprises. Member enterprises and cooperatives of this club have an opportunity of succeeding in export competition, the conditions of which have become tougher in recent years, and they also have gained ground thanks to World Bank tenders. In order to promote further growth of this rather limited sphere it is necessary to develop a suitable environment, which must have not only economic but also social characteristics. What I have in mind is first of all that subcontractors of similar standard must exist in the background of the dynamically progressing enterprises and activities, since, for instance, a condition of successful

performance of a furniture factory is to ensure that the quality of textile materials used by it, is also of high quality and the guarantee given complies with international requirements. There are two matters, however, in this respect, which merit special attention.

One is that the internal organization of enterprises be closely linked to the efficiency of activities, including the standard of mechanisation, and the proportion of live and mechanical labour in material handling. Undoubtedly, progress has taken place in this field. The proportion of live labour employed on that purpose was considerably reduced in a fast progressing industries where modern mechanical systems of material handling were introduced. The fastest developing, most efficient enterprises commissioned domestic or foreign management consultants to carry out detailed examinations of their activities. That involved a thorough examination of the results of their activities and the cost incurred in those, jointly with management consultants well-acquainted with the operations of similar foreign enterprises. The presence of reserves, the exploitation of which would increase their efficiency, was ascertained on the basis of such comparisons. Although the invitation to foreign experts did not meet with the approval of the staff of particular enterprises, practice showed that productivity improved in most of them consequent to such surveys and so did the quality of management. They also progressed rapidly in the exploration of reserves. I believe this is the field where Hungarian industrial enterprises still have much to do.

Macroeconomic figures indicate also large reserves in material and energy consumption. The country achieved good results in reducing energy inputs already in the early eighties, but there have been no further improvements since the mid-eighties. The reason behind that is primarily the insufficient rate of technological renewal, the fact that use of energy-intensive technologies still characterises a rather large sphere. Realisation of the structural policy ideas of industry is helped also by an energy rationalisation programme financed by the World Bank, and the results of the enterprises participating in this will undoubtedly have an influence on a greater field. There are many known ways of reducing material and energy input. Considerable results can be achieved mainly in the course of designing and product development, but the improvement of the technology used also has a favourable influence. The structural transformation programme of industry pinpoints areas where considerable development may be achieved in the next few years. Decisions by the government are not enough. The spontaneous activity of enterprises is also necessary.

The scope of enterprises will improve somewhat in 1988, when a number of measures will promote technical renewal. The new-type banking system,

particularly the establishment of commercial banks, may also assist innovatively inclined enterprises to obtain bank loans. Naturally, they still have to learn the methods.

The 1988 plan rightly reckons with human resources in the economy and favourable reaction on the part of the public. It is generally accepted that the reserves of intellectual and labour resources are considerable in Hungary. A number of earlier schemes indicated the possibility of higher performance (as proved by the setting up of intra-enterprise working teams in the early eighties), provided that the work of small and large teams is adequately organized and managed. In this respect the Hungarian economy can rely on new methods of state control and on innovative management.

Government measures introduced to alleviate the temporary problems of social security and employment are intended to promote the growth of a social environment suitable for economic renewal. Having been a statistician and economist for forty years, my opinion is that the results of the past thirty years, the international reputation of the Hungarian economy, and the reform provide a good background for this work.

SOME LESSONS OF A TIME BUDGET

Structural problems — imposed economic and social tracks

by

ISTVÁN HARCSA

Hungarian economists have paid close attention—in the course of the examination of the conditions of reproduction—to the cyclic nature of investment, to the functioning of the mechanisms serving the reproduction of shortages to the circumstances of the bringing about of an economic structure ignoring Hungary's endowments and to the reasons of the conservation of the existing structure. It was in the course of the reproduction of these processes that the Hungarian economy lost its ability to adapt to the world economy and became divorced from its processes. This was why the opportunities for an economic and social policy of modernisation were reduced.

On the other hand, relatively little attention has been paid to the presentation of the social consequence of these processes, although it is important to know by what financial resources the above-mentioned economic processes were fed and what the social consequences of the creation of these resources were. In this paper I am focussing primarily on the connections of this creation of resources with the utilisation and distribution of the social time fund. I am examining the creation of resources from the aspect what price was paid by society (measured in the time fund) for keeping alive the Stalinist model of growth the foundations of which were laid by the economic policy of the end of the forties and early fifties. "In this model a relatively important part of producers produce 'a spurious social product', through which 'spurious social incomes' are brought about. There are many goods which would be impossible to sell as goods on a normally functioning market".*

To the extent that regularities could be observed in the cyclic nature of the processes of investments, in the reproduction of shortage or the mecha-

* Palánkai, Tibor: *A megújulás útjai* (The roads of renewal). In: Közgazdasági Szemle, 1987, No. 1, p. 1372

nisms shaping the economic structure, regularities occurred in the mechanism of creating resources and in its social effect as well. To see things clearly it is necessary to know these too, seeing that in the course of their functioning these structural processes can reach critical points where both the economic and social processes, for some reason, arrive at the limit of their tolerance and load-bearing capacity. In my opinion in the late eighties Hungary is approaching such a period.

Important data have been provided for the examination of these questions by the early results of the latest (1986–1987 time budget—way of life survey of the Central Office of Statistics. These results—complemented by information from other sources—appear to contradict the theory of economics called overdistribution by the experts. Translated into the language of politics this goes: "We consumed more than we produced." The economic substance of overdistribution is that in a given economy the combined quantities spent on consumption and accumulation exceed the size of the income produced. (I shall return to the examination of this question.)

Looking at it historically, the theory of overdistribution is but the appearance in a new cloak (and in new circumstances) of a cyclically occurring problem of creating resources. This problem caused by constraint could in every case be solved by the increased tapping of private resources. But the reasons bringing about the constraint have changed historically. In the first part of my paper I shall try to outline the sequence of graver situations of constraints, stressing the common and the differing features.

These constraints were always created by causes of an economic nature, but the appearance of these constraints always involved social consequences. In the beginning this mostly meant that of the time fund of society spent on gainful productive work an ever increasing quantity of time was tied down by the time spent in the socialist sector and, in conjunction with this, the time spent in the household economy in a broader sense diminished gradually. The examination of what society gained and what it lost as a result of this regrouping of the time fund—on the individual and on the social level—is a separate question. Although the time fund tied down in the socialist sector was reduced at a later stage, the time gained was amply counterbalanced by the increasing time input into extra work done in the second economy.

It is important to trace these processes historically, even if only because this makes it possible to give a more comprehensive answer to the more and more often raised question how the Hungarian economy arrived at its present situation which can be considered critical. The historic examples indicate sufficiently that the strategy of overcoming the problems which

CHANGES IN THE SOCIAL WORKING TIME FUND*

Annually, million hours

Activities	Based on 1977 and Spring 1986 time budget data		Number of hours worked, calculated on the basis off overall nationwide employment figures	
	1977	1986	1974	1985
Work performed by active earners at the principal place of employment	9,281.1	8,504.1	9,778.2	8,772.5
Income-supplementing activity of active earners (non-agricultural)	28.8	264.3	108.4	301.6
Income-supplementing activity of inactive earners and dependents (non-agricultural)	620.6	527.9	371.3	446.5
Small-scale farming including:	2,754.3	3,409.3		
—active earners	1,737.5	1,896.6		
—inactive earners	632.0	1,137.0		
—dependents	384.8	375.7		
Building and housing maintenance on own account	321.6	471.5		
including: —active earners	266.9	374.7		
—inactive earners	33.7	79.6		
—dependents	21.0	17.2		
TOTAL:	13,060.4	13,177.1		

* The Department of Agricultural Statistics of the Central Office of Statistics surveys every ten years in detail the time spent small-scale farming. But the collection of data covers only households which qualify as farms according to the criteria of the survey. In the time budget survey we did not set a minimum limit in respect of the size of the farm, and thus the data reflect also the farming activities of those households which, on account of their size, are not included in the surveys of small farms.

Within the framework of construction statistics, data are also collected concerning building activities on own account. But these data cover a narrower scope than those included in the time budget survey, since they do not contain time spent on the maintenance of dwellings.

The employment data do not include the working time of independent farmers.

tried to break of a situation of constraints repeatedly by reducing public consumption, can only mean the hiding of the basic structural problems and the further postponement of a genuine solution.

Historic stages in the negative incentive to labour

1) In order to understand more precisely the disturbances in the functioning of the present model of growth, it is necessary to go back to the second half of the 1940s (the period of postwar reconstruction). As regards economic policy the question can be formulated in the following way: what could be done in a destroyed country which lacked both capital and a raw material base, and had only its own manpower available? Obviously it could rely only on that.

Another question is what an economic policy could do to ensure a more intense exploitation of manpower? Lacking capital, there could be no incentives for more (better) work, nor could efficiency be improved through technical development. Consequently the authorities could have recourse only to the method of negative incentive*, i.e. labour was artifically cheapened.

Research has confirmed that the stabilization program of 1946 (the creation of the *forint*) basically served this aim. Cheaper labour meant that the consumption fund was reduced. In an economy short of capital this creation of supplementary resources is inevitable, but can be made use of only in brief transitional periods, as otherwise—in an economy which is as open as the Hungarian—grave disturbances occur in the relationship of the factors of productions (labour, raw materials, technology) to each other. Consequently, the benefits are short-term benefits only. From the aspect of the firms this benefit means that costs can be kept low and consequently the appetite for cheap manpower to feed expanding production increases insatiably. All this offers a good opportunity for first laying the foundation of, and then accelerating, extensive economic growth.

At the same time, the dangers also lurk around the corner. Cheap labour makes technical development unnecessary (or at least reduces its urgency) furthermore the human resource is gradually devalued. The economic environment necessary for modernisation cannot be created in such circumstances. In the long term a clear disturbance occurs in the evaluation of the forces of production, genuine value ratios are disturbed and resources, including manpower—or looking at things from another aspect: a considerable part of the social working time fund—are attracted by sectors and firms which run at a loss in terms of genuine production. In any event it can be said

* This incentive is negative because interest in more (better) work is not created by workers being stimulated by higher wages to do more (better) work but by the reduction—at critical stages—of earlier rates of pay. Shortages can thus only be overcome by individuals doing more work in quantity and quality.

that from the angle of the firms and of the economy in general, cheap manpower feeds ambivalent processes.

The situation is different looked at from the angle of individual members of the work force. They confront an existential situation in which maintaining earlier standards of living usually requires an increase in time spent on gainful work (be it on the individual or family level). This functioning of the model can also be interpreted as shifting the shortages of resources from the level of the economy, that is the state, to that of individuals.

The first stage of negative incentives did not come to an end with the conpletion of reconstruction, seeing that reconstruction was promptly followed by equally resource-demanding exaggerated industrialisation. The stepped-up constraint of the acquisition of additional resources did not occur only because there was too much industrial development, but also because an industrial structure based on heavy industry was out of keeping with the natural resources of the country, and consequently cost more than where the conditions were right. This must be emphasised also because the Hungarian economy has not to this day recovered from the damage produced by that sort of trail-blazing. It can be established *ex post facto* that a peculiar self-generating spiral of growth was created due to which trends of economic development lacking adequate foundation diverted the entire economy towards the extended reproduction of shortages. As a result, in retrospect, it becomes clear that numerous steps aimed at restructuring did no more than mark time which starting with the mid-seventies drove the country in the direction of an ever deeper structural crisis.

As regards families, the above mentioned regrouping of the social working time fund made itself felt as a gradual impossibility of the one or one-and-a-half earner family model. Consequently women—initially urban women—bit by bit could no longer concentrate on running the household and bringing up their family, activities that used to be much more time-consuming than they are today. The time withdrawn from the household had to be devoted to gainful employment. In that enforced situation the women were persuaded to consider themselves fortunate because a job-creating economic policy helped out families which found themselves short of necessities. This led to a peculiar trap the maws of which still hold tight both the economy and society owing to the creation of the sustaining mechanisms. (An ampler explanation will be provided later.) The regrouping of the available time fund thus started both on the social and the family level.

From the end of the 1940s another type of the regrouping of resources gradually got under way as industry attracted more and more workers from

agriculture which struggled with an open and latent surplus of manpower. However, within a short time this structural policy went beyond the limits of rationality and, thanks to the—already mentioned—exaggeration of the development of heavy industry, it created a growing shortage of resources.

This shortage of resources could only be overcome by increasing the burdens of individuals. The suitable instrument proved to be the opening price scissors between agricultural and industrial commodities and an exaggerated system of mandatory procurement. It was a peculiar feature of this process that it basically affected only the rural population. After the event it is difficult to estimate how much this economic policy diverted from the social time fund. It was at that time that the socialist sector, and within it industry, started the continuous and effective process of siphoning off resouces.

A brief degression to the social marking time which was passed on from the economic foundations would appear to be in order, primarily to social mobility and the conditions of employment. It can be established from research done so far that the structural changes which were unnecessary from the aspect of economic rationality set off processes of mobility which were unnecessary socially, and which in the last resort should be described as enforced mobility. This includes the flight from the land prompted by the unlimited agrarian price scissors as well as the more massive than justified full-time employment of women. Enforced mobility as the mediator of the distorted processes was given the role—as the shifter of manpower—of regrouping the social time fund in order to maintain that economic marking of time. In this way it itself turned into social marking of time. This shows conspicuously how some social processes can be put into the service not only of correct but also of wrong processes.

The first stage of negative incentive ended in 1956, although the rearrangement of prices in 1959, or the economic interests at the back of this measure again diverted the processes in a direction which in the last resort served the cheapening of labour. As a result of price rearrangements, the share of wages within total costs fell from 23.9 to 18.2 per cent.* We can consider this a delayed twitch seeing that this step was also fed by the recurring shortage of resources. What had to be done was to acquire additional resources for the extended maintenance of the industrial structure which had been developed earlier. By that time the recommendation made by the 1957 Government Committee on the Economy had been forgotten. That had pointed out: "We have to be aware of the fact that we are poorly

* Source: Pető, Iván–Szakács, Sándor: *A hazai gazdaság négy évtizedének története* (History of four decades of the Hungarian economy). 1945–1985. I. Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó, 1985, pp. 365 and 377.

endowed with sources of energy or numerous industrial raw materials. We have to accept the consequences of this fact."

But the consequences were not accepted. What also helped was that the second campaign for the organization of agricultural cooperatives in 1959 promised the redundancy of more people who had previously lived on the land and consequent mobility. Thus this step—from the aspect of the negative incentive—was in harmony with the rearrangement of prices in 1959. It goes without saying that people who left agriculture following incentives of that sort were willing to accept work in industry for lower wages.

The social consequence of this process was that—with some delay—the impossibility of the one-earner family model became obvious in villages as well. With the collectivisation of the means of production the foundation for the household economy ceased. And the socialist sector extended by the farm cooperatives gradually absorbed the women "released" from the household economy, and this stopped the process by which the socialist sector—through expanding industrialisation—absorbed and regrouped that part of the social time fund which could be siphoned off from the household economy and regrouped from agriculture.

2) The regrouping of resources following the logic of the extensive development of the economy made it finally possible—by the huge swelling of the time fund of the socialist sector—that from the second half of the sixties to the beginning of the seventies, accompained by a world market boom, standards of living could grow: the 1968 Economic Reform helped to bring about this favourable turn of events. The economy became somewhat more responsive to market effects thanks to greater independence being given to firms and measures which somewhat restricted the radius of rigid central planning. However, the fragility of this policy of economic development soon became obvious because—caught in the trap set by the kind of structure it created for itself—the Hungarian economy was unable to respond properly to the challenges of the world market in the early seventies. By conserving the earlier structure it in essence even steered the economy straight into the wind of the world economic flows. The economic and social price of this, of course, had to be paid.

In the new situation the resources needed for a growth in—and later the maintenance of—the standard of living, and the resources needed for the maintenance of the artificial industrial structure, became exhausted much at the same time. Understandably the dollar loans raised could not conceal the cumulated shortages of resources for long.

In the last resort it was these facts which created the need for repeated

negative incentives which made heavier the burdens carried by the people. It became obvious that to sustain a standard of living in keeping with what the age demanded the two-earner family model too was inadequate. But people could not adequately respond to this challenge since the first wave of negative incentives had already siphoned off to a considerable degree the time that had earlier been occupied in households. There were two options: a reduction in consumption or do extra work, at the expense of either time that was still spent in households or that of leisure. Most people chose the second strategy. In this they were assisted by the fact that in the meantime the official weekly working hours had been reduced from 48 hours to 44 and then to 42 hours.

Thus the constraints of the economy struggling with shortages coincided with those of individuals, and this laid the foundation for the second economy known as the sector of extra work.

In an unprecedented way the rural population was the first to react. This was made possible basically by an agricultural policy which first tolerated and then moderately supported small-scale production. In addition, other factors too, such as the necessity to obtain housing stimulated the rural population to engage in small-scale production. Not even in the earlier economically favourable period was any real provision made to finance the rehabilitation of deteriorated village housing out of state funds.

Thus the time spent by the rural population on producing for the market increased considerably, and its way of life became highly work-centered. Leisure almost completely disappeared.

The unfavourable effects on the standard of living of course made themselves felt also in town. Real wages stagnated mainly because of the deterioration of terms on which one could obtain housing. The urban population too took on additional work. This tendency, however, became clearest in the eighties.

3) What can be observed in the second half of the 1980s leads to the conclusion that the next, historically third stage, of negative incentives is on the horizon. In recent years the shortage of resources available to the state has become more acute. The second economy, which in the meantime had grown considerably in some areas, was unable to stabilise the economy as a whole. The efficiency of the latter is declining. In such circumstances the government is increasingly forced to tap the second economy as well. This purpose is served by the tax reform introduced in 1988. It is difficult to foresee exactly the economic and social consequences of the latter. It is, however, very likely that this will drive considerable numbers into a state of self-exploitation where they liberally devour their own substance.

Summing up the long-term consequences of the three stages outlined above one can discern over almost four decades a regrouping of the social time fund which not only served much that was sound but also kept alive an economy functioning on wrong foundations. Cheap labour is a trap both in the economic and the social sense, since even in itself—but especially intensified by being accompained by other unfavourable processes—it leads to a distorted economic structure, and in this way to the accumulation of tension. The institutional condition for these processes has been the exaggerated reduction of the value-measuring function of the market. In such circumstances there is no guarantee whatever that, given the economic constraints necessarily arising in the course of the functioning of the present model, the shortages of resources would not be dealt with at the expense of the public. Equally, in this model of development, there is no guarantee that the economy forced in the initial stage onto an imposed structural path—owing to the reproduction of shortages—would be able to get out of the vicious circle of the mechanisms reproducing this imposed course.

Appraisal of the national time fund of the eighties

The existing conditions are reflected by the most recent time budget survey of the Central Office of Statistics for 1986/1987* which tries to trace concurrently the economic and social aspects of social time budgeting.

One of the most important questions of the survey was the present size of the social working time fund, i.e. how much time people spend on gainful productive activity. A further important question was the changes which could be observed compared to the conditions recorded ten years earlier in the time budget survey of 1976–1977. To control the data we compared results with information from other sources, including the collection of overall nationwide employment data.

The preliminary figures calculated in this way show that since the mid-seventies the time spent on gainful productive work has not diminished, but has even increased somewhat. This is the more noteworthy since in the period under survey the length of official working hours has been reduced considerably, and in addition, in the filling in of this mildly rising time fund 200,000 fewer persons took part than in the mid-seventies.

This leads to the conclusion that the very heavily work-centered way of living, measured in the mid-seventies, has not abated, but rather intensified.

* The first results of the survey "Time budget, 1977 and Spring 1986", Central Office of Statistics, 1987, which contains the data of the first three months of the year-long survey were published recently.

However, within this global trend a considerable internal shift has occurred between time at the principal place of employment (the first economy) and the second economy known as the extra work sector. Earlier the time spent in the first economy accounted for 71 per cent of the total time spent on gainful productive activity and the share of the second economy was 29 per cent. At present this ratio is 64 to 36 per cent. The gradual advance of the second economy which can be sensed in other ways too can consequently be confirmed by social time budgeting. Due to the internal rearrangement of the time fund, the proportion of income derived from the two economies has also changed considerably. Earlier the net income for working in the socialist sector amounted for 71 per cent of income earned by work, at present for 63 per cent.

All this indicates the devaluation of the role of the first economy. In the awareness of this some people argue that the reduction of the role of the first economy is linked to less time being spent on its activites. This assumption is behind the—political—slogan of "let us defend the working time fund" (meaning, of course, the time fund of the first economy). In reality the problem of the Hungarian economy is not that the time fund of the first economy is diminishing, but that the distribution of the time fund concerned ignores consideration of efficiency. A large and increasing proportion of this time fund is tied down by firms which produce losses and by the crisis sectors. Consequently, if the working time fund of the first economy were increased this would only result in the intensification of the crisis, which would be caused by the loss-producing time fund.

However, the devaluation of the first economy caused rearrangements not in the macro-sphere only, but resulted in considerable modifications in the life strategy of a great many people.

The last 15 to 20 years can be interpreted from the aspect of time management also as a reflection of the historic phases of the recognition of the compulsion to earn a living. In the initial stage, in the late sixties and early seventies, basically only the rural population—and within this the agricultural population—was in a situation where it had to do additional work, mainly to overcome inherited handicaps. (What also helped was the traditional work ethic of peasants.) Later mechanics, precision engineers, and various construction and tertiary servicing trades found opportunities for joining in the second economy. Most recently office workers, especially professional people, had to recognise that the family model of two earners no longer provided financial security.

There is good reason therefore why professionals have recently tended to participate in the second economy more than most in order to supplement

their incomes. They experienced their difficult situation as the devaluation of intellectual work.

At the same time, the economic ebb of the 1980s has affected most heavily those too who are at the most critical stage of life from the aspect of the family life cycle, that is the recently married and the retired. The time budget figures show that owing to the greater difficulty to make ends meet doing extra work is more usual in both these groups.

Thus problems of an economic origin have overflowed into significant social consequences. The chain of causality does not end here either. Under the influence of a basically economic motivation significant changes occurred also in the order of values of society.

A detailed description of these is beyond the scope of this paper, and consequently I shall only pick out some of the most important conclusions of the time budget and way of life survey mentioned. One important change indicates that the devaluation of the intellectual potential can be detected not only in the raw economic processes but also in everyday behaviour. Conspicuous evidence is that in ten years the time spent by professional men on further training and study has been nearly halved.

The compulsion to make ends meet gives less time for a healthy life. Little and less and less time is available for exercise and sports, for recreation as such. A result has been that the life expectancy of males between 30 and 60 has dropped to the 1941 level.

Finally, mention should be made of a tendency that, as a side effect of the compulsion to make ends meet and the desire for a certain autonomy, appears in an increasing part of human activities. People feel and recognise that as far as their livelihood is concerned they can increasingly rely on themselves alone. This stimulates them to search for opportunities of an alternative livelihood, including taxi-driving, or engaging in some aspect of catering by people who have engineering or teaching degrees. It must be added to this that this desire for autonomy—in the absence of safety nets of social solidarity—inevitably leads in the direction of de-socialisation.

Numerically expressed trends concerning economic and social processes as well as the order of values, which could be pointed out on the basis of the time budget—way of life survey mentioned are very important. In the elaboration of ways and strategies leading out of the present situation these factors must inevitably be taken into consideration. It is necessary to stress this, because nowadays—within the strategy of finding a way out—there is an overemphasis on the taxation of individual incomes. To judge the extent of the latter it is sufficient to mention that the reduction of real wages by ten per cent planned for 1988 alone takes 50, 000 million forints out of the

pockets of the public while the maintenance of the real value of the various social allowances cannot be ensured either. All this is guided to a considerable extent by the spirit of the overdistribution theory which I mentioned in my introduction, a theory which, however, does not give an economically or socially acceptable explanation to the problems which occur.

Let me list the facts which confirm the untenability of this theory of overdistribution. A decisive element in the birth of this theory is undoubtedly the debt servicing obligation of three thousand million dollars annually, which may even increase in the near future. Due to this the main attention of the economic leadership is tied down by acute problems, and consequently their horizons are inevitably narrowed. The instrumentarium of economic policy is inevitably pervaded by restrictions which cover almost everything, restrictions which cannot be steered in the present model according to the principles of economic logic, and which consequently mostly have a counter productive effect. The history of cyclically occurring restrictions supports this finding.

The oft-mentioned deterioration in the terms of trade has played a decisive role in the accumulation of foreign debts. But it is also true that

CHANGES IN THE TERMS OF TRADE OF HUNGARY

(percentage)

1970=100 per cent

	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
Total	97.9	96.6	89.4	83.1	84.9	82.0	81.5
Rubel accounted	96.3	96.6	97.0	88.5	86.6	84.0	82.1
Non-rubel accounted	100.6	98.1	83.6	77.8	83,.	79.9	80.6
	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Total	80.1	80.3	79.7	77.9	75.9	74.3	73.6
Rubel accounted	80.7	79.8	76.7	74.3	72.3	70.8	70.5
Non-rubel accounted	79.6	80.7	82.5	81.6	79.7	77.9	76.8

Source: Bauer, Tamás: Crisis instead of cycles. In: Közgazdasági Szemle, 1987, No. 12. p. 1415

this unfavourable process was already—indirectly—predicted by the already quoted writings of thirty years ago, and it can consequently be said that its occurrence—if the model continued unchanged—could be foreseen.

The data showing the deterioration in the terms of trade show that, compared to 1970, Hungarian export goods are worth approximately one

quarter less. It should be mentioned that the indices showing the deterioration in the terms of trade are wrongly considered, as far as their economic substance is concerned as indices showing the devaluation of national labour, in fact they indicate the devaluation of the national product. From the aspect of social content this is an expression of the extent of the artificial and imposed reduction of incomes earned by work—from the international perspective. (Other factors of production offer few possibilities for a reduction in costs, and therefore the losses are mostly passed onto labour.) This finding is supported by the fact that behind every loss, whether it appears on the international or the domestic market. There is work performed by national labour. From another aspect these indices show also the original income-producing capacity of the economy, since there is some original income behind each and every loss, which of course does not reappear after having been sunk into reproduction. To judge the performance of the Hungarian economy more realistically this lost performance must also be taken into account, which, owing to the compulsion to compensate for losses, the leadership cannot keep within the natural circular flow of the economy.

The international approach strenghtened the conclusion which can be drawn on the basis of the indices of domestic income distribution, i.e. that the amount devoted to subsidising firms in the red (which appear in the deficit of the state budget) is also a wasteful use of national labour.

It should be mentioned as a further argument that since 1970—with the exception of one or two years—the combined amount spent on consumption and investments has not exceeded national income. At the same time national income even rose between 1975 and 1985 by approximately 23 per cent, while real wages mostly stagnated. Seeing that wages do not contain the costs of obtaining housing—assuming an overdistribution—it is difficult to discover out of what resources approximately 600,000 private dwellings had been built in the meantime. There was necessarily additional work behind this housing construction. This can be opposed by a row of figures which show the amounts spent on subsidising firms. That sum rose between 1981 and 1986 alone from 85,300 million to 141, 700 million forint.

One of the biggest dangers of negative incentives is that the worker—who finds himself in a situation of constraints due to the economy struggling with troubles of adaptation—can respond basically only by making more of his labour available. This is shown by the history of the negative incentive.

Consequently this form of incentive is by itself sufficient to be a drag on efficiency-improving processes.

Only positive incentives can result in progress both on the macro and micro level, and this necessitates basically the qualitative use of manpower.

INTERDEPENDENCE IN THE WORLD ECONOMY

by

JÓZSEF BOGNÁR

One may approach the economic effect of the two alternative systems on each other from several aspects and time frames. I wish to emphasise by way of introduction that in this article I examine the competition, struggle and cooperation of the two systems setting out from the problems of the year 2000, i.e. from the aspect of the potential for development of states which constitute a single world community and are increasingly dependent on each other. This aspect is termed by Gorbachev the real dialectics of evolution in the present.

I should like to define the expressions economic effect, and effect in general for the purposes of this article, since I do not mean by it the sum of efforts made to achieve goals over a narrow range, but what are called *indirect effects* as well, in the broadest sense of the term. I consider direct effects asserting themselves within a narrow range, for instance if, in order to reduce consumption, the price of a product is increased, and consequently the sale of the product concerned does indeed fall. On the other hand, I call it an indirect effect asserting itself over a wide range when in the fifties the socialist countries frequently bought western grain and thereby increased world market prices and prevented the outbreak of the threatening agricultural crisis. It has to be pointed out at this stage that in the case of similar processes the effect is usually not direct, but asserts itself through the conditions of the world economy.

My third preliminary remark refers to the external economy. I consider external economic policy a decisive element of economic strategy, since an external economic strategy asserts itself even in the naive concept of a closed national economy, viz. the strategy of isolation. However, Soviet history too proved convincingly that complete isolation is impossible, since in the twenties—in addition to trade—concessions were also introduced, joint companies were established, technical transfer and know-how agreements

were entered into and such important projects as the Dniepr hydro-power station, the Stalingrad and Kharkov tractor factories, the Gorky car factory, or the Magnitogorsk metallurgical works were established in cooperation with capitalist enterprises. It goes without saying that every country brings to the socialist system its own natural and economic-geographic situation and environment. A given country can have the size of a continent, can be extremely rich in natural resources, have a large population and important industry (in 1917 Tsarist Russia was the world's fifth industrial power), and another country can be small, poor in natural resources, industrially extremely backward, can even have a monocultural economy in a capitalist environment. It would obviously be impossible and even irrational if two countries and economies which differed to such an extent practised an identical foreign trade policy.

But external economic policy plays a large role in the economic development of the various countries, even irrespective of the endowments and differences mentioned.

No sober person can deny that external economic strategy must be examined setting out from the situation of the national economy concerned, since in the economy it is usually not the largest volume but the most rational solution that has to be followed. It is also incontestable that the economically strong powers have often exploited the economies of the smaller countries through foreign trade.

Nevertheless, in the case of growing and economically relatively independent (the latter should perhaps today already be replaced by the concept of interdependence realized in the spirit of equality) economies, the external economy

a) is one of the driving forces of economic growth, since it plays a major role in growth, in the development of the structure, in technical progress, in profitability (e.g. profit instead of subsidies) as well as in bringing about economic equilibrium;

b) makes a healthy division of labour possible and furthers a rational selection among options and goals;

c) furthers the importing of advanced technology, know-how and marketing;

d) creates suitable conditions for the expansion of development resources (credit, imports of capital, joint ventures);

e) enables the economy to acquire abilities and capabilities which nature did not allot to the economies concerned.

Of course, in the case and situation of every society and economy—especially if there is a change in regime—the dilemma between economic progress

and economic independence arises. However, these requirements only appear to contradict each other, since an economically backward—not progressing—country is not independent in its economic policy. On the other hand, the capabilities of nations are promoted precisely by economic progress, since without it the nation can lose its self-respect and its cohesive forces as well.

It is also beyond doubt that one can and must think about progress—as about other economic questions—only in dynamic terms, since the denial of the achievements of the surrounding world, of progress in technology and information, or the turning of one's back on them, is not the approach which carries a nation forward, but the adaptation of the principles of the modern economy and of technical organization which are combined with the best forces and abilities of a society. It has become clear in the case of not only Japan, or of other Southeast Asian countries but also in that of China that progress is made when adhering to the economic-technical principles shaping the period and not in their negation.

The opening of the relatively closed national economies requires considerable circumspection, since, in the period of a relatively closed economy, power political structures and interest groups came about which felt the subsidising of the money-losing industries to be a sort of patriotic duty, and thereby prevented the development of the necessary export capacities.

The logical consequence of such an economic policy and behaviour are uncovered imports and the accumulation of debts.

Major changes in the economy and policies

In the past fifteen-odd years in the world economy and world politics have found themselves in a stage where major changes are needed.

— Economic reforms have been and are being introduced in the socialist countries which—besides the broad development of commodity, monetary and market conditions—carry in themselves the needs of socio-political changes and a process that points towards democracy.

— The seminal changes in the world economy invaded the lives of nations, placing economic rationality on new foundations—e.g. by an end to free goods—creating new global problems and risks.

— The technical revolution gathered speed. This carries in itself a multitude of new opportunities and risks, and has made the governing of humanity and of the nations more complex.

— The technical revolution extended to the entire globe and brought about new economic centres in Japan, in Southeast Asia, in the Pacific.

Incidentally, each of these new factors has increased the importance of external economic factors.

These huge changes—of which I shall have more to say below—appeared already earlier in military technology and forced the leading powers of our globe to re-appraise their military political strategy. The balance of mutual deterrence or terror came about as the resultant of this re-appraisal, as a new balancing factor, i.e. technology enforced peace. (In Europe, where no armed conflict has occurred, although, on other continents, there have been numerous local wars.) The technical revolution, which gathered strength with the seminal change in the world economy in the seventies, made the balance of mutual deterrence uncertain and gave rise to new armaments which increased instability.

The expenditure on armaments reached astronomic figures, without bringing bigger security to any party. In addition to nuclear insecurity, a new problem was the advance of the neo-conservative forces in the USA and in Western Europe, which fed the flame of anti-Soviet hysteria.

It was in this so critical and deteriorating context that Gorbachov's world political ideas made their appearance. He not only recognised but expressly declared that the security of the two leading military powers depended on each other. He consequently suggested that the necessary identical security should be ensured by the leading powers and the other countries on a low level of armaments.

Gorbachov's approach and the world political ideas based on it became the decisive factor of international politics at the best of times. This fact has different reasons in the balance of mutual deterrence:

— The inclination to over-armament hidden in the model, since the degree of readiness of the other party is only conjectured; it is based on intelligence reports instead of precise agreements which have so far been narrow, and in addition covers only the weapon-systems known by the two parties.

— This caused an unparalleled acceleration of the extraordinary instability of the balance and covered more and more areas in the period of the technological revolution,

— the extremely high costs of the model, which have kept on growing.

Within the armaments sphere in the narrower, i.e. military, sense of the term, the model, viz. the balance of mutual deterrence has caused or set off even graver problems:

— The three leading military powers (Soviet Union, United States, China), found themselves in a difficult economic situation on account of the extremely high costs of armament which is proved convincingly

by the fact that the Soviet Union and China started reforms in order to stop the widening of the economic gap, and the United States is compelled to change its economic policy under the conditions of a persistent budgetary deficit, a continued trade deficit, and a continually weakening dollar. Simultaneously, the defeated nations in the Second World War, Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany, are getting into an economically privileged position, in both the technical and the monetary domains.

— In the atmosphere of irritation and suspicion—which the model of the balance of mutual deterrence created and strengthened—the solution of the increasingly important and dangerous global problems became well-nigh impossible.

In the existing world situation—involving one hundred and eighty national economies with radically differing ideological, political and economic values—an agreement based on negotiation is necessary in respect of some questions in connection with the environment—the biosphere, air, water, forests, etc.—the risks of technologies—nuclear, chemical, biological—as well as the economic progress of our globe, such as the production and distribution of natural resources, the application or rejection of new technologies, the feeding of more than 6,000 million people, the reduction of inequalities, the partial or universal nature of the international organizations and systems, etc.

It is obvious that these problems which are so essential from the aspect of the future of mankind—and which mostly cause additional burdens of increased costs to the national economies—could not be solved in an international atmosphere defined by the balance of mutual deterrence.

Owing to the rapid cyclical changes in international affairs it was not possible for lasting economic cooperation to get under way although, in modern economy, stable, long-term models based on a reconciliation of interests are the most useful.

The various countries, economies and integrations have often taken steps to render the economic situation of the other party more difficult and to obstruct its progress, although the fact of interdependence has become a reality in the economy as well.

Finally two further negative characteristics of the balance of mutual deterrence should be mentioned. One is that it was able to prevent war in Europe only, since the number of armed conflicts on other continents has been around two hundred.

The other is that it is not possible to build peace relying exclusively on the balance of armaments and agreements linked to it, because peace does not

simply mean the avoidance or prevention of war, but a structure which cannot be brought about under the conditions of an arms race.

If we reckon today that the Cold War is over in essence—since capital, technology, know-how, credit and manpower, in addition to goods, flow between east and west, the energy supply of West Berlin will be based on Soviet natural gas, by agreement between the two German governments one million East Germans can visit West Germany this year—then the problem arises on what system European equilibrium can be based instead of mutual deterrence? It is obvious that the system of balances is the resultant of numerous contradictory factors, and a system can only be exchanged for another system.

A balance of mutual interest

It can be assumed that the balance of mutual deterrence can only be replaced by the balance of mutual interest, in the bringing about and strengthening of which the economy must play a leading role. In this sense, economic cooperation is not only an economic interest, but a political and security interest as well. Of course, economic interest and cooperation also have a risk factor, but this is a fragment of the risk involved in the balance of mutual deterrence, on the one hand, and on the other, furthers the development of the different countries, the opposite of which was true of the obsolete system of security.

What effect does then—in greater detail and more concretely—East-West economic cooperation have

a) on the socialist countries,
b) on the capitalist countries,
c) on the solution of the global problems and on the governability of the world today,
d) on those countries of the developing world which have not yet been able to take off as regards development?

East-West economic cooperation relying on mutual interests, as the antinomy of the balance of mutual deterrence, can assist in numerous respects the socialist countries which struggle with the problems of economic reform and political and social changes. Among these, let me mention the following:

— The reduction of expenditure on armaments would increase the financial resources available for investment, the renewal of technology, and the raising of the standard of living. As a consequence, the annual growth in the national income would also increase, which would mean

the development of the infrastructure and a rise in funds available for welfare.

— One of the highly important aims of the economic reform is a more vigorous fitting into the world economy, since at present we are in a situation where we must in practice already put up with processes which are detrimental, or are felt to be detrimental, to us, but our own structure is not yet capable of making us share in the genuine benefits of cooperation. Incidentally, in the years ahead the extent of fitting into the international economy and adaptation to it will play a decisive role in the growth of every economy.

— It accelerates the technical progress of the economies, which is indispensable, because the advance of the Southeast Asian economic, technical and monetary centres can drive Hungarian industrial products of middling standard out of western markets to such a degree that we will not be able to sell there at all, or only at very depressed prices, and it may also raise the standard of marketing and management in Hungary, since these skills have taken huge strides forward in the period of Hungarian relative isolation.

— Within the framework of cooperation it can help us to credits and markets, which can reduce the weaknesses which exist in our economic resources and can forward e.g. Hungarian goods to new markets, something that is indispensable, since we can only get out of the present crisis by considerably increasing convertible currency exports.

— The improvement of cooperation, the learning of better methods, the conquest of new markets, the progress of technology stimulate the national capabilities and can represent a way out of the kind of provincialism which was unable to understand the involved and contradictory interconnections between world processes and our economies, and consequently did not even make an effort to understand increasingly dynamic world progress.

— Finally, cooperation—precisely by the mobilisation of intellectual energies and abilities which have been left unexploited—can offer a new impetus to economic endeavours which became slowed down or even stagnated in the past couple of years.

It could also reduce the social tensions which always arise in a stagnating economy and exert vigorous pressure on the government.

There are, of course, risks, but let me emphasise that in a relatively young society which has promised a dynamism and progress unknown earlier, there is no more demoralising and dangerous factor than stagnation, than the inability to grow, than the demonstration of impotence.

If we wish to discover the mutual interests of the West which can potentially promote cooperation, we have to set out primarily from the economic situation of these countries. The seminal change in the world economy affected these countries with elementary force, and inflation, unemployment, and unused capacities occurred already at the first stage of the process. They were able to slow down inflation initially only by cutting back production and by extreme monetary restrictions. Later neo-conservative economists formulated a new policy, as part of which they offered tax concessions to investors, and reduced the budgetary deficit by reducing the amount available for welfare and culture. Unemployment figures soared, they now run at between 5 and 18 per cent in the wealthy countries. Instead of fixed, they introduced floating exchange rates, which caused numerous problems. In the meantime, owing to inflation and petrol dollars, huge debts were accumulated which—with great difficulty—are still kept under control, but the danger threatens that they will sooner or later become uncontrollable.

However, supply-side economics has done great things by accelerating technical progress. The terms of trade have changed to suit the interests of the industrialised world, and the prices of raw materials and agricultural products have declined. As a consequence, the debts of the developing countries grew. This has vigorously reduced their international purchasing power.

Advantages of cooperation

What can East-West economic cooperation in Europe offer to these countries?

— The first benefit will be in the western countries, the reduction of expenditure on arms, will reduce the budgetary deficit and thereby reduce the interest rate; i.e. potentially it would increase investments. Besides the achievements of supply-side economics regarding technical progress, the growth rate of national income and of world trade has been lagging behind that of the sixties, when the former was 5 per cent and the latter 9–10 per cent, as against 2–2.5 per cent 4 per cent respectively at present. The reduction of arms expenditure would mean the more economy-centred distribution of existing financial resources. The reduction of arms expenditure is especially important for the US, owing to its serious budget deficit, which, in addition, is responsible for the high interest rate.

— The second barrier to technical progress is the absence of markets. Since the end of the Second World War the main source of growth

and development of the capitalist countries has been the extension and improvement of cooperation among each other (Marshall Plan, Common Market, etc.). Since the advance of the Southeast Asian countries, this otherwise very important instrument has no longer been able to do its job as before, since the latter export to the USA and to Western Europe more than the industrialised countries do to Southeast Asia. The purchasing power of the developing countries—as has already been pointed out—has declined considerably. There is good reason why for these two or three years past one could discern appearances that remind of a trade war in some relationships, e.g. between the US and Japan. Such things are lined to the fact that supply-side economics has put and end to, or minimised, those methods of swelling purchasing power which played an important role in the welfare state age.

In such conditions at home and abroad the market plays a decisive role including—at the present stage—the 450 million consumers-strong market of the socialist community. In contrast with most of the Soviet policies of the sixties a decisive community of interest exists in effective, or potentially effective, demand of the market.

— It cannot be doubted that the capitalist economies are able to cope with relative ease with unemployment rates of 5–6 per cent in the USA and 2–3 per cent in Western Europe. In some West European countries, however, unemployment is substantially higher. The Netherlands lead with 17–18 per cent. Among the young this ratio is generally higher. Due to technical restructuring a pool of the new poor is being recruited as well. The growth in East-West trade, and growing exports by western countries mean new employment. The reduction in unemployment would therefore be an additional benefit.

— Extensive cooperation can be established in the domain of the organized division of industrial work, especially in the production of sub-assemblies and components for third markets; a division of labour of this nature would—due to proximity—make the European products more competitive on various markets.

— Clear common interests exist in the solution of many global problems, from the protection of the environment to the infrastructure.

— The area of common interests can be expanded in joint ventures and joint research and development.

The stock exchange crisis appears to be behind us, but it seems that the budgetary deficit will continue in the US beyond the year 2000. Huge German and Japanese surpluses will accumulate year after year, the high propensity to save of the Japanese and unbridled American consumerism find

themselves in a state of conflict. The US has turned into a debtor country which behaves as if it were a creditor.

An international economic system would be useful which strove for balanced and forceful exchanges, which in the present world would be one of the conditions for East-West economic cooperation.

Global problems

Let me insist on the benefical effects of East-West cooperation for global problems. I believe that today nobody any longer has to be convinced that the global environmental problems threaten the future of the whole of mankind. However, in the given international climate, no broad international cooperation can be established without East-West cooperation since in this respect the interpretation of national sovereignity, the development of international norms, and not only an exchange of experience but the development of international verification systems and effective cooperation are essential. Chernobyl has confirmed that such systems are or will be necessary also in the case of hazardous technologies. Arbitration courts will also be needed which can decide on the costs of prevention and on compensation for damage done.

The deterioration of the natural environment, the almost daily new problems, as well as the rapid diffusion of hazardous technologies all prove that there is urgent need for cooperation of this nature. However, even a slight familiarity with politics tells you that cooperation of this nature can only be established on the basis of significant political agreement and confidence.

I include among the global problems those international institutions which influence the functioning of the entire world economy, i.e. have a universal effect, but are not universal as far as their membership is concerned, such as the international monetary system, including the IMF and the World Bank, of which the Soviet Union is not a member, although in recent years several socialist countries—including Hungary—have joined them. There can be no doubt either that these institutions which struggle with huge problems also have to be reformed, not only because of their present representative or voting systems, but on account of the monetary situation of the world economy.

The necessity for reform is confirmed by facts like the accumulation of debts, the relationship between the falling dollar and other leading currencies, the problem of interest rates, the risks of floating exchange rates, closer ties between national economic policies and the world monetary system, the relationship between the IMF and the commercial banks, and the like.

It is obvious that the participation of the Soviet Union—which is also possible only in the case of substantially improved East-West relations—would considerably ease the rational solution of these problems for the sake of the whole of mankind and of the world economy.

Finally, it would be useful to look at the problems linked to economic cooperation between the two systems from the aspect of the development potential of the Third World.

The Third World has changed. Some Southeast Asian countries are among the most rapidly developing countries in the world economy and the dynamism of their exports threatens even the position of the leading capitalist countries. On the other hand, Africa and some Asian and Latin American countries suffer from extremely grave political and economic ills, and their per capita consumption diminishes year by year. It should, of course, be taken into consideration that the rate of population growth does not show any decline in Africa, and a growth of 4–5 per cent in national income would be needed to raise per capita consumption. Climatic changes for shorter or longer periods have led to droughts in the Sub-Sahara zone. Famines are still frequent.

Almost all developing countries must confront serious indebtedness ($ 1200 billion), high interest payments and falling raw material prices. In the case of most countries this means that, owing to the interest burdens, they have hardly any chance to import, although they have barely escaped a monocultural structure. It is consequently understandable that the difficult economic situation and the absence of prospects pushes a considerable part of the population of these countries towards irrationalism, like religious fundamentalism and terrorism.

It is obvious that such processes can only be kept in check in a new economic world order within which East and West cooperate.

The range of such problems is extremely wide, since the modernisation of the tribal societies to the limit which is demanded by an economic order relying on the profit motive extends from the problems of tropical agriculture to the innovation and establishment of modern health and hygiene facilities. Close attention must also be paid to the improvement of the conditions for economic growth in these countries, not only through credits or technical assistance, but also the relative stabilization of raw material- and energy prices.

To sum up:

— In all stages of evolution since 1917, the economic power relations between the two alternative and competing systems have differed substantially

from political or military power relations. Consequently, the examination and comparison of the economic power relations demands particular methods even within economics. Economic power relations are not characterised in themselves by the commonplace that the share of the European socialist countries in international trade is 9 per cent, while that of the developed capitalist countries is around 70 per cent. The fact that the share of the socialist countries in world production has been fluctuating around 20 per cent, prompts the conclusion that the negation, and later the underdevelopment of the commodity, monetary and market relations have hindered the socialist countries in the exploitation of the advantages offered by international trade. It can be assumed that our standing in monetary instruments is comparable rather to our share in trade than to our share in production.

The power relations in world trade and in the international monetary system indicate that there is a great need for the rebuilding and modernisation of the economies, although these are proceeding rather slowly.

It is a further difficulty that the motive forces abolished—directly or indirectly—in the period of socialist reorganization have not yet been replaced.

— The order of magnitude of economic relations between the two systems, their nature and importance have changed several times in the course of the past seventy years. The Soviet Union is in a more favourable position—compared to the smaller countries—not only because it is a great continental power disposing over huge natural resources, but also because its most difficult years coincided with the gravest crisis capitalism has ever experienced.

This situation changed radically after the Second World War; starting with the Marshall Plan the capitalist world has in essence enjoyed an uninterrupted boom, and—despite a crisis lasting a couple of years—it was able to confront the present seminal changes with renewed strength. On the other hand, the European socialist countries—owing to their rigid socio-political and economic structure—were unable to adjust.

— Complete isolation from the capitalist economy is not possible, and is not desirable either. Our globe forms a single community. Natural resources, accumulated assets, scientific and technical capacities, the factors of innovation, technical and economic know-how are all divided extremely unevenly. Huge surpluses coexist with terrible shortages, and—in addition—population density does not conform to the incidence of resources. As a consequence surpluses seek markets and shortages levelling. Where accelerated growth is part of the policy, these shortages occur even more acutely. There have been and there are situations when some economic links are temporarily interrupted, but they

are sooner or later bridged over. This proved as true of the national debt of Czarist Russia as of indemnification for nationalisation.

— Even if in some acute periods economic relations between the countries of different systems are restricted exclusively to the exchange of goods, as happened in the Soviet Union in the thirties, an isolation from the world market does not occur even then, since the exchanges in question are transacted on world market terms.

— With the mitigation of the Cold War, and still on the basis of the balance of mutual deterrence, the exchange of goods in the narrow sense was followed by an import-opening of the socialist countries, which placed economic relations on a relatively stable foundation. Economic policy, however, permitted the development of export capacities needed to pay for imports; consequently an accumulation of debts has occurred, and balance of payments problems are becoming graver. In this situation the economic growth and development of the socialist countries depend increasingly on western imports, credits and rates of interest.

— We can count on relatively balanced, or even favourable, economic conditions and results only if the socialist countries—including Hungary—are export-oriented, and are able to supply to the capitalist world, as a resultant of their technical progress, modern, precisely functioning, high quality products and components which meet market requirements.

It goes without saying that adequate marketing, advanced distribution systems, and courteous, efficient services are needed, which assume an advanced production discipline and commercial reliability.

This requires economic theories and sound practice, as well as economic conditions serving progress, all the way from incentives through foreign exchange policy and technical innovation.

I am, of course, aware that the international scenario sketched in this study has an alternative; but this alternative implies chasing one's own tail, including as it does: the negation of interests in cooperation, the reduction of contacts in the spirit of mutual suspicion, no solutions for the hazards threatening the future of *homo sapiens*, and an arms race which cannot be balanced by to-morrow's technology, but diverts the potential energies of progress to an even much higher extent than today.

OTTÓ ORBÁN

POEMS

Translated by Eric Mottram

EUROPE

I have always backed off from the word.
In the Thirties Europe meant French. But was it only then?
Not in earlier centuries? A bloody lesson learned that
Europe was Balmazújváros as well as Notre Dame!
But in America I was European. And not because of megalopolis
the size of regions, and so on. The difference was never size.
My time reared us as an easygoing builder with millennial
movements. Peoples on peoples, ideas on ideas, a house was erected
and a stable and secret tracks adjusted by later blueprints.
Beginning and end met as ever on that Continent. And at the end
of those secret passages, some ray of light... some fixed idea...
for what else is hope? But what am I doing here elsewhere
with T's grandfather who yelled at the Nazi slamming the boxcar
door on him. We are living in a constitutional state! Protein
chain of contradictions stretched between two worlds, live wire
between burst of laughter and mourning, I went to the window
with nothing better to do, looked at the Iowa River roll the
Indian name in its poison-green waters slowly southwards.

AMERICA

America I travelled your routes and spark ejaculations from black
    spirited old engines entered my life
America roads on the roadless space between two coasts in darkness
    sporadic lightless log cabins speed by
    polar winds wave their seas on clay earth
where fortune flings blind a conqueror on the shore and in blood conflict

Rocky Mountains lakes palms galloping horsemen become scalps
awaiting the knife of movies
and no later excuses for genocide for mountains of corpses
the idea of liberty brands cattle and stalks the corral with sweaty foot gear
and saloon din fills time with violence belched in the True Story of Man
tamed into a moral tale and book page history
America victory and defeat Mankind's sizes before our eyes
I headed north and the frozen Charles River was Walt Whitman's frost
beard in Boston
and beyond the road the West's cornfields were fever yellow bodies
of dead lovers
America your poem is beyond poetry
a risk the size of this planet
I have seen your face on a Southern boy in the Truckdrivers' Plaza
speaking through meat stuffed in both cheeks
SO Y'RE A WRITER OK WHAT D'YA WRITE THEN
brothers briefly then in the black orphanage without beginning or end
alien trucks that exchange our headlight flashes on night highways
or stars that overtake in velocities of the Milky Way

THE DAZZLING DIFFERENCE IN SIZE

Minnesota Public Radio, Metro area traffic report

A big country this—I feel its vast body function
lungs expanding from Canada to Mexico
contracting and exhaling masses of cars now
raving in the afternoon rush hour;
change lanes, accelerate, brake—I am
one of them: in the mutual dependence rhythm...
One of them? what a joke! easier for a camel through the needle's eye...
A lot of things here I love, especially
there is nothing more to envy—
for what world wonder could change me,
change a fact: I am what is missing here:
the sense that everything happens at close body range, the tight shirt necks?
I have nothing to expect from coloured bubbles men blow:
I am travelling in an existing country—I can't stand it and I love it...

UNDER THE THUNDERING ROOF

Hamline University, St. Paul, Minnesota

Nothing more inscrutable that the caprices of the real;
what we think we know is just a membrane, cell fluid ocean on both sides—
impossible for a lifetime's dread,
so humanize it, claim it shows a sense of humour . . .
Who knows what life compensates me for, and why now—
for war, hospital, that never-gained diploma?
It is late, late, chuckles Professor Orbán from Hungary,
already hit by the dark current of air and though a cripple
still permitted his raving adolescent self, almost free. . .
Should he forfeit this for TV commercial glitzy junk?
Here I sit in an era of imperial glitter, air-conditioner humming,
teaching simple Romans the complex psyche of Barbarians—
their plane-tortured thundering roof of empire too hefty
for me to reinforce with my calcified spine.

THE DECISION

Mount Kisco

I too could have decided to leave for good,
grieving or thriving now like the others in a three-bathroom house. . .
If only I had made myself find a decent job. . .
I did more or less pass for professor, did I not. . .
I am just playing with rainbow marbles—
the decision to stay Hungarian emerged from tough business considerations,
although instinct performed the meticulous Japanese market research:
that explosive mixture inherited from my parents
needed a firm hand and a sound character,
and I could only be me mostly in my native city, of all places,
where I remained in a vise of language and misfortune in spite of so many
influences—
after each spasmodic malarial attack on style I stayed me.
Poet and inventor. Like the Arizona man who first sailed across the desert
I invented flying in the dust, a patch of sky over my head.

CHURCH POLICY IN HUNGARY

by

IMRE MIKLÓS

In 1987 for the first time the Hungarian National Assembly debated the church policy of the government, the development of relations between the State and the Churches in Hungary and the functioning of the State Office of Church Affairs.

It is not unimportant in the Hungary of today that the relationship between the State and the Churches and religious denominations has long been satisfactorily settled. Today we live in a period of dialogue and constructive cooperation.

The background

This present situation did not come about overnight: it is the result of several decades of development and hard work which, moving from opposition to the assumption of responsibility in the building of socialism, resulted in action taken together for the good of the country. The democratic transformation of power and political conditions after 1945 radically altered the relationship between the State and the Churches. Just as had often happened in the course of history, the Churches had difficulty in adapting themselves to new circumstances and the new society taking shape amidst revolutionary changes also had difficulty in assimilating the institutions of the old social order. The accommodation of the Churches and the attitude of the State to them had to be determined. The Churches were separated from the State, so that the Churches and religious denominations could achieve a full and genuine equality of rights for the first time in Hungarian history.

A significant event of the settlement of relations was the conclusion, in the period from 1948 to 1950, of agreements between the State and the

Based on the text of the author's report to the Hungarian National Assembly at its autumn session of 1987.

various Churches and denominations. Through these agreements the Churches and religious denominations recognized the political system and laws of the Hungarian People's Republic; the State, on its side, in the spirit of the 1949 Constitution, guaranteed the conditions of religious freedom.

In the first half of the 1950s, however, the development of relations in accordance with these said agreements was hampered by dogmatic distortions in political life, by a lack of trust in the Churches, by an intolerance which offended the believers, as well as by certain attempts which regressive forces inside the Churches were making to obstruct the popular democratic transformation. All this led to confusion in policy towards the churches, and this circumstance was further aggravated by the events of 1956.

When this serious social disturbance was over, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party set its policy of alliance on new foundations with a view to the national unity that was indispensable to the fulfilment of the tasks facing society. It started from the understanding that the successful construction of a socialist society was conditional on the unity and political alliance of people professing different views on the world.

This policy implies full a recognition of the equal rights of citizens and a termination of all discrimination against them. It has become possible for the faithful to be free of conflicts of conscience and participate in the construction of socialism as citizens of equal standing.

The basis of ecclesiastic policy

The government built its church policy upon principles reckoning with the realities of society and answering the ideals of socialist humanism. This effort relied on ever broader support. Within an historically short time, understanding between Marxist and religious believers began to improve, confidence between the State and the Churches grew, their collaboration developed and became part of the life of society.

Also instrumental in the development of this more favourable situation were the profound changes taking place within the Churches. Engaged in extensive theological re-examination, the Churches reconsidered their relationships with society and brought up to date their methods of regulating themselves. They accepted that liberty of conscience and freedom of religion must not be in opposition to civil rights and civic duty. They were convinced that Hungary's ecclesiastical policy rested on a constitutional basis and its implementation was guaranteed by law.

The conditions of church policy were improved further by a particular convention concluded in 1964 between the Hungarian People's Republic and

the Vatican. Under this arrangement the Vatican recognised, among other things, the manner in which Catholic bishops were to be appointed and the taking of an oath of allegiance by priests to the State. The convention provided an impulse to the development of relations between the Catholic Church of Hungary and the Holy See, as well as between the Hungarian government and the Vatican. A consideration for mutual interests facilitated the gradual settlement of outstanding matters in church policy. An event of paramount importance for the strengthening and continued development of relations was the meeting in 1977 between János Kádár and Pope Paul VI. What the Secretary-General of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party said during his stay in Rome deservedly won attention and appreciation in the Vatican and gratified the Catholic faithful in Hungary. Let me quote from it: "...both of us have stated with satisfaction that our intentions coincide: the Vatican and the government of the Hungarian People's Republic will also in the future strive to ensure that the current favourable process shall continue. Let us listen to each other, let us allow for the interests of the other side and have respect for them."

Social development resulted in the establishment and consolidation, both in substance and quality, of higher-level political contacts between the State and the Churches. Thus the Churches contributed to elevating the moral standard of society, to enhancing its spiritual life, and to taking an active part in coping with the economic, social, cultural and moral tasks in the service of common interests. The Hungarian State regards this activity of the Churches as socially useful and promotes and recognises it.

Liberty of conscience and freedom of religion in Hungary are unlimited. This circumstance is in harmony with the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and offers good conditions for further development as well. Ideological affiliation, including religious affiliation, is considered to be the private affair of citizens, thus the question of religion does not figure in any official survey of personal data. Religious conviction cannot be the source of any advantage or disadvantage. The Churches and religious denominations can function freely. In their houses of worship they hold divine services without hindrance, perform the ceremonies required by the faithful, and call religious gatherings as they please. Children of practising parents can have religious instruction. The Churches maintain establishments for the training of priests, the Catholic and Calvinist Churches and the Israelite community run secondary schools and various institutions; they have press and other organs of communication of their own to aid them in their activity, and they collect church-maintenance contribution from the faithful and receive domestic and foreign donations.

The Churches and religious denominations developed their institutions in accordance with the requirements of religious life. Between 1945 and 1986 they erected or completely rebuilt 306 Roman Catholic, 23 Greek Catholic and 46 Calvinist churches and houses of worship, as well as 33 Lutheran churches and places of prayer. The member Churches of the Council of Free Churches built a total of 185 new places of congregation and prayer, while the National Commission of Hungarian Isrealites and the Transdanubian district of the Jewish community built one new synagogue.

The new generation of priests in Hungary is educated in the higher training institutes of the Churches and religious denominations. The Roman Catholic Church maintains five seminaries (in Budapest, Eger, Győr, Szeged, Esztergom), the religious orders (Benedictines, Franciscans, Piarists) have one theological seminary each. University-level training of scholarly status takes place at the Pázmány Péter Theological Academy of Budapest. The Greek Catholic Church maintains a seminary at Nyíregyháza. The training of new Calvinist ministers, including theological training and extension training, takes place at the theological academies functioning within the Calvinist College of Debrecen and the Ráday College of Budapest, while Lutheran clergymen receive training at the Lutheran Theological Academy and Theological Centre in Budapest. The Council of Free Churches and the Baptist Church each maintain one institution for the training of their clergy. In 1987 the above theological academies and colleges were attended by 648 students, of whom 75 were graduated. The Rabbinical Training Institute, in addition to Hungarian students, also admits foreign trainees. At present two Soviet rabbinical students pursue their studies at the Institute. The higher-grade ecclesiastic institutions are also centres for higher studies in theology. Church leaders make it possible for clergy of an academic bent to participate in postgraduate training and to take degrees at some well-known foreign universities, such as those of Rome, Paris, Geneva.

The agreements concluded in 1948–50 between the State and the Churches also allow the functioning of church schools. Secondary-school studies are pursued by 2,887 boys and girls in 10 (including 8 Catholic, 1 Calvinist and 1 Jewish) denominational secondary schools in Hungary.

A Jewish *gimnázium* operates in Budapest, the Calvinist in Debrecen; there is one Piarist *gimnázium* in Budapest and one in Kecskemét, the Benedictines maintain one at Pannonhalma and one at Esztergom and one at Szentendre, while both Budapest and Debrecen have a Catholic *gimnázium* for girls. Education in these establishments follows the curricula and textbooks of

state schools, but the teachers can freely expound the differing views of their own denominations. Most of the *gimnázium* have student hostels, too, where intensive ecclesiastical education is carried on. The standards of training in these middle schools is such that boys and girls finishing secondary school in them have the same chances of admission to universities as the students from the best state schools.

As implied above, the Lutheran Church has no *gimnázium* of its own. Under the agreement of 1948 concluded with the Hungarian State the Lutheran Church was authorised to maintain schools; however, internal problems and the difficulties of upkeep compelled it to let the State take over the Budapest Fasor *gimnázium*, deservedly famous for its alumni. Many have lately pressed for the restitution of this school. In the ensuing negotiations with church leaders, the State Office of Church Affairs has made it clear that there is no reason why a new Lutheran *gimnázium* should not be established, but this will be feasible only if the Church can raise the funds for creating the appropriate personal and material conditions, or rather if it can meet the upkeep expenses of the school. There is still talk of the establishment of another grammar school at the initiative of the Calvinist Church and its members. The creation of the necessary facilities is now under discussion by an ecclesiastical working committee set up for this purpose.

Mass media

The Churches and religious denominations maintain publishing firms which produce newspapers and periodicals. Those interested can choose from 18 newspapers and periodicals with a combined circulation of more than 200 thousand. In 1987 the ten ecclesiastic publishers issued books in more than one million copies. The range of available books has recently become increasingly diversified. In addition to devotional books, more and more literary and academic works of religious inspiration have appeared. The array is enlarged by the growing number of new publications coming from state-owned publishing houses, mostly books concerned with recent research and which disseminate knowledge enriching the universal culture of humanity. Such publications are *The World of the Bible, Encyclopedia of the History of Religion, Protestant Theology in Hungary 1945–1980, Ideas and Choices, The Catholic Church in Hungary 1944–1971, John-Paul II.*

Religious services of the Churches and denominations are broadcast by Hungarian Radio at regular intervals. Included here are, for example, 18 Catholic services and 13 Calvinist and 12 Jewish divine services. The mem-

ber Churches of the Council of Free Churches have asked for, and have been granted, similar opportunities to broadcast public worship by Hungarian Radio beginning in 1988. Similarly to state publishing houses, Radio and Television consider it their duty to inform the public on the historical and ethical values of the Bible and with events in ecclesiastical history which played a significant role in world history. Among others, the radio serials *Myths and Legends in the Bible* and *Gods, Saviours and Prophets* are examples of this.

Hungarian Television also has its share in broadcasting programmes on religious history and related subjects. Such was, for example, a serial in which Hungarian historians, together with authorities on literature, cultural and ecclesiastical history, along with ecclesiastic scholars of various denominations, talked of the role of religion and the Bible in the history of universal and Hungarian culture. This very diverse programme includes TV adaptations of Hungarian and foreign musical compositions and literary works inspired by religion.

Television has also undertaken to present the role played by religions and denomination in various countries of the world, the relationship between the priests and believers living there. Such broadcasts include a twenty-three part series *The Reverends* shot in eight countries (Italy, USA, Japan, Israel, Nicaragua, etc.), or the four-part series *Roads of Utah* shot in Utah State, dealing with the Mormon Church and the members of its organization.

The autonomy of Churches

The Churches and religious denominations appoint or elect their officials in accordance with their own regulations and the State respects their autonomy. At the same time, it is in their common interest to see to it that leading positions of the Churches are filled by persons who observe the laws of the State and consider it their duty to urge believers equally to do so. This is why appointment to vacant ecclesiastical positions is subject to prior consent by the State. As has been mentioned, clergymen of the Churches, lay and ecclesiastic leaders, on the occasion of their installation, take an oath of allegiance to the State.

In like manner as other communities, the Churches express their views on questions concerning the people as a whole, and give practical help to the solving of their problems and to the promotion of the development of society. Representatives of the Churches have free access to the forums of Hungarian social and political life. They hold elective offices in the National Assembly,

the Presidential Council, local and county councils, in the national and local organs of the Patriotic People's Front and in the peace movement. Having won the confidence of the electorate, about one fifth of the priests of various denominations take part in the work of state and public organizations. Ecclesiastics in public offices represent their electorate while, of course, they act in accordance with the interests of their respective Churches.

The leaders of Churches and public organizations regularly meet in consultation. Thus, for example, the leaders of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front and its county organs meet church leaders several times annually to exchange views. Equally regular are the informative and consultative meetings, of a nation-wide or local character, held by priests, as well as the conferences which local leaders in villages hold with the local clergymen. In most cases, the day to day practice has evolved an effective cooperation between the local functionaries and the clergy of the various denominations.

The struggle for peace and security has from the very outset been one of the most important aspects of political cooperation. The Peace Committee of Catholic Priests, functioning as a branch of the National Peace Council, the Opus Pacis and the Interchurch Peace Committee representing the Protestant and minor denomination and the Jewish Community, have a considerable part in fulfilling the purposes of the Hungarian and the international peace movement.

In the spring of 1984 for the first time, at the initiative of the Churches' peace movements, representatives of all Churches and religious denominations came together to meet in conference in the Budapest House of Parliament. The subjects of the discussions for this national meeting of Churches were clearly and concisely defined: "With responsibility for the country and for mankind." The participants explained their views and stated their common position on actions by which they might give voice to their sense of responsibility for the well-being of the country and for the peace of mankind.

International forums

In accordance with their religious doctrines, the Hungarian Churches use various forums at home and abroad to take a stand for peace, disarmament, social justice, for the strengthening of confidence between the peoples and for dialogue and cooperation. Through their consistent attitudes and views they have acquired considerable prestige for themselves and for Hungary. This can be seen in the fact that representatives of the Hungarian Churches

hold important posts in a number of ecumenical organizations. In the past few years several international conferences of a religious nature were held in Hungary. Of outstanding importance among these were, for example, the Christian Peace Conference and several consultations of the Berlin Conference of European Catholics, the World Assembly of the Universal Lutheran Union, the conference of secretaries of European Catholic Episcopates, the meeting of the World Jewish Congress Executive Committee. These assemblies also helped foreign guests to form an accurate picture of life in Hungary. Now that the world expects a new stage of détente to begin, the Hungarian Churches can rightly feel that their efforts have not been in vain. Their work towards the preservation of peace has added considerably to what political leaders have been able to achieve in negotiations.

Social activities

The social activities of the Churches are in harmony with the general welfare system established by the government and the social movements. The Churches play a part in carrying out the national programme of health care and have an active role to play in supporting the physically and mentally handicapped and the needy old. The State provides moral and financial assistance in order to maintain and modernise the social institutions of the Churches, to cover the charges of welfare work and the expenses incurred in. the vocational training of nursing staff. It promotes the Churches' endeavours to introduce new methods of helping the social adaptation of alcoholics and juveniles at risk. This is also why it has made contributions to the establishment of a number of new Church-managed welfare homes and new convents taking part in the social activities of the Catholic Church.

The related activities of the Churches can be roughly summed up as follows:

The social functions of the Catholic Church are organized and coordinated by the Roman Catholic Charity Service, which is responsible for the accommodation of monks in need of nursing and provides for their retirement on pension. Institutional nursing of handicapped children has started in the past few years. At present more than 1,000 persons are under care in 18 welfare homes. Seven of the 18 with accommodation for 587 people are managed and maintained by the State. The homes run by the Catholic Church also take a growing share in caring for the laity as well as the clergy. Some parishes help provide home care for needy old people in their neighbourhood. General and psychiatric care is provided for children who are

blind or of defective vision or hearing, who have locomotive disorders or are mentally handicapped. The aid of psychologists is also enlisted for this purpose. Extension of the charitable activities of the Catholic Church called for the employment of more specialists in the institutions, so in 1987 the Esztergom Archdiocese established, with the consent of the Hungarian State, the religious order of Our Lady of Hungary for women.

The Synodal Office Charity Service Department, under the auspices of the Calvinist Church, maintains 16 social institutions in which 350 church workers care for 100 needy persons. In addition, sick children are under care in 6 homes. The Temperance Mission of the Calvinist Church coordinates the work of church volunteers in the fight against alcoholism, and provides assistance in prevention, treatment and after-care.

The Lutheran Church maintains, under the supervision of the Church Diaconate Division and in the management of congregations, 16 social welfare homes in which 211 employees look after 393 sick persons and 205 handicapped children.

Invalid members of the Jewish denomination are cared for in 13 social welfare homes. In addition to receiving general and medical treatment, they participate in religious and ritual services. Treatment is given to 125 inpatients in the Charity Hospital of Budapest, and 65 persons are attended to in the Nursing Home. In Budapest the denomination maintains an orphanage, an infant school and a day centre for old-age pensioners.

The Ecumenical Council of Hungarian Churches—a working community established for the strengthening of domestic and international ecumenical relations of the Protestant, Orthodox and Free Churches—has recruited volunteer activists of the member Churches to set up the Mission for the Rescue of Abandoned Juveniles. The working party active in this Mission, in cooperation with public health institutions and other organizations, coordinates church activities pursued in the interest of the rehabilitation of young people having difficulty in adapting to society.

The Hungarian State endorses the extension of the social activities of Churches and denominations. It contributes to the maintenance of homes, has a share in the expenses of nursing children under care, and cancels the duty on gifts sent from abroad for social purposes. More extensive development of those institutions is made difficult by the shortage of funds and specialist personnel at the disposal of the Churches.

One third of the 8,700 historic buildings which have been declared national monuments are the property of the Churches. Their protection is a common task in the interest of the nation.

In the past few years, in spite of the increasingly stringent economic conditions, a good many ecclesiastical buildings and churches regarded as monuments of art have been renovated. Considerable development is to be observed in the matter of cooperation in the accumulation of ecclesiastical collections, in historical research, in the promotion of the movement for the enlargement of people's knowledge of their homeland. A similar development is taking place also in the field of environmental protection.

Despite all the existing difficulties, the Hungarian Churches play an important part in shaping relations with the Hungarian populations living beyond the frontiers and in helping the preservation of their mother tongue. In cooperation with the World Federation of Hungarians they regularly send Bibles and other books to the Hungarian religious communities living in emigration or within a national minority abroad, and take part in organizing Hungarian-language camps and conferences. At the same time they take proper care that members of the nationalities living in Hungary may exercise their religion in their own native languages.

The dialogue between Marxists and believers has recently intensified and brought new results. The level of relations between the State and the Churches, the qualitative change in cooperation between the two have made it possible and necessary for the dialogue to cover the clarification of theoretical questions. The dialogue between Hungarian Marxist and religious theoreticians first took place with Protestant theologians at a conference held in Debrecen in 1981. At the initiative of the Hungarian Churches, this dialogue assumed international dimensions. In 1984 came the first international Marxist-Christian dialogue, and then, following upon that, the international conference of Marxist and Roman Catholic scholars first convened at Budapest in October 1986.* An important achievement in the dialogue was that the participants, by retaining their own world outlook, were able, despite ideological differences, to discuss many of the large questions of mankind and society and to accept a common responsibility. Both sides are interested in ensuring that the dialogue shall continue to develop in the future and its international horizon shall broaden further.

In the recent past the Churches have suffered lamentable losses. Changes

* *NHQ* 106.

have taken place in many of their traditional functions, among others, within the Catholic, the Calvinist, the Lutheran Church and the Jewish community. Among those who are no longer with us are some generally esteemed and respected personalities in authority such as Cardinal László Lékai of the Roman Catholic Church, President-Bishop Zoltán Káldy of the Lutheran Church, Chief Rabbis László Salgó and Sándor Scheiber. Much to our regret, the Calvinist Bishop Tibor Bartha has retired. New church leaders have recently been appointed or elected to replace them. I am convinced that this succession of one generation by another, which is a natural concomitant of life, leaves conditions unchanged for the work to be done together on the basis of mutual respect. The necessary basis and guarantee for this lie in the persons of the new church leaders, in the real interests of the Churches, as well as in the developments of the past three decades and in the well-tried principles and practice of Hungarian church policy.

Differences of opinion

Under the conditions of good relations between the State and the Churches and religious denominations, difficulties and—in connection with their elimination—differences of opinion as well as controversies arise from time to time. But the intention of both sides is to solve the disputed questions with an eye to mutual interests.

We know that different views exist in judging Hungarian church policy. Considering the improvement of relations between the State and the Churches, some are anxious for the cause of socialism while others fear for the future of the Churches. The State Office of Church Affairs attempts to persuade, relying on the facts, in order to make those who profess such views better understand the principles and purposes of Hungary's church policy.

In assessing the situation we have to note that there are people who are not happy to see that the Churches have found their place within socialist society. Some individuals and minor dissident groups are unable and unwilling to identify themselves with the progress made so far and would like to change the course of development. In their attacks on the socialist State, they do not shrink from discrediting even leaders of their own Churches.

Hungarian church policy regards the various issues concerning dogma, church discipline and ecclessiastic organization, problems which arise within practically all religious denominations, as internal affairs of the Churches. There is controversy around the Catholic base communities and difficulties arise primarily within the Church. By renewing the forms of their activity,

by shaping their organizational framework, the Churches try to comply with social changes and the changing religious demands of the believers. At the same time church policy must not lose sight of the fact that, under the pretext of dogmatic and organizational disputes, certain persons initiate irresponsible political actions with the purpose of disturbing the relations between the State and the Churches.

Hungary respects and safeguards human rights. But the exercise of rights is inseparable from the fulfilment of duties. One such a constitutional duty is defence of the country. This is recognised by the overwhelming majority of religious people; the religious young, apart from a few exceptions, fulfil this civic duty imposed by the law. Hungarian church leaders have stated as their opinion that preparation for armed defence of the country is not contrary to the doctrines and historical traditions of the Churches. It is in this spirit that the Hungarian Catholic Episcopate has taken a stand in its public declaration on military service.

Those in charge of the conduct of church policy give proper attention to the above-mentioned negative symptoms, but they do not intend to take part in the internal disputes of Churches in the future either.

We have to mention also the fact that religious intolerance can still be observed here and there in our society and even racial and religious bias occurs sporadically. We condemn these phenomena emphatically. To suppress them requires of us consistent political work and, on occasion, the application of specific legal measures as well. We think that the fight against these harmful manifestations is a constitutional obligation of political and church leaders alike, as well as of all Hungarians who love their country and for the unity of the nation.

The Office of Church Affairs

Initially, affairs concerning the Churches were conducted by the Ministry of Cults and Public Education. Act I of 1951 reorganized the Ministry and set up a State Office of Church Affairs charged with the tasks concerning the Churches and religious denominations.

The Office is an administrative organ of nation-wide competence, which performs its functions under the direction and supervision of the government. One of its foremost tasks is to ensure that the conventions and agreements concluded with the Churches and religious denominations are duly implemented by the contracting parties.

Our Office maintains consistent and substantial relations with the world ecclesiastical organisations. In the course of negotiations with their represen-

tatives, we regularly exchange view of matters concerning the Hungarian Churches as well as on topical international questions. In accordance with the convention concluded with the Vatican in 1964, we hold regular meetings with representatives of the Holy See. Our talks show that efforts are made on both sides to solve the problems satisfactorily and to achieve further progress.

The Office of Church Affairs carries on extensive dialogues with the Universal Lutheran Union, the World Ecumenical Council, and the Conference of European Churches. Regular and important meetings are held, among the world organizations of the denominations belonging to the Council of Free Churches, with the General Conference and the World Baptist Federation.

To cover the personnel and material expenses of the Churches, the State applies a regular subsidy of 75 million forints a year. During the past few decades we have established, in our everyday work, constructive relations of partnership based on mutual trust with the representatives of the Churches. In recent years we have experienced that an increasing number of religious people also turn to our Office with their requests, problems and proposals. We do our best to assist them.

The development of church policy has furnished historically valuable experiences. The most important of them is, in our view, the conclusion that in the building of socialism, in the settlement of the problems facing mankind, we have many common aims and duties, for the fulfilment of which religious and non-religious people alike can, and do indeed, work steadily and effectively.

We know, however, that the current situation is not perfect, not fully accomplished. The development of society, its democratisation, confronts us with new tasks day after day.

A SWALLOW IN CHURCH

by

SÁNDOR CSOÓRI

The Calvinist congregation of Zámoly is inducting a new minister. Such an event is no longer a sensation, but neither is it an everyday affair. The church is packed with people and flowers. Everyone who can be there is here, young and old alike. Three rows of benches are swathed in black by the gathered cloaks of his brother ministers. If my memory serves me right, the last such induction in the village took place forty-five years ago. Then I saw the old minister, who is now leaving, climb up to the pulpit.

Actually, I have come back home to see him off rather than to greet the new arrival. Not because of the sentimentality engendered by the swift passage of time, but out of simple respect. Without E. B.'s prompting, I would never have left Zámoly but would have stayed there, and would have become an elder of the congregation at best. But he, a theologian and minister who had even been to the famous universities of England, must have discerned an unusual sparkle of light in the slanted eyes of the young peasant lad, and unselfishly insisted that I too continue my education.

The faithful are attending to the details of the ceremony: the induction speech, the Gospel read during the consecration, the young minister's self-confessional sermon on loyalty and service. I, on the other hand, am attending to the ebb and flow of the response of those present—do the words, does the Word, still kindle fire in their hearts? Do the Apostle Paul's admonitions on the power of love, without which all purposes are vain and futile, affect them? There is silence among the white walls, and piety, too, but these do not seem to come from the depths of the soul. Rather, curiosity and personal participation seem to be more to the purpose than being moved. With the passing of time, this too has dispersed.

If my memory does not betray me, the Calvinists of my village were not really all that religious either. I didn't see anyone praying or pretending to

be saintly even among the flock of old women. But from their forerunners they had all, without exception, inherited the pure and exalted archetypal experience of protest. The uplifted head, the chests expanded with the singing of the Psalms, affected me more than any religious sentiment. I can still see the men singing. The god-fearing Psalms, too, they sang as though they did not fear God at all, but just wanted to re-assure Him that He is the One they have trusted since the beginning of time. Self-respect and pride made the white linen shirts and the high-necked black waistcoats tighten on them. Such singing verges on heresy, but the fact that it is free and that this trust is addressed to such great heights sent such a shiver down my spine the likes of which I have since felt only rarely, at times of high tension of great plays.

Nothing has remained of this ecclesiastic shiver. Except for Sundays and holidays, the people of old heard relatively little preaching or instruction. People today, on the other hand, are exhausted by the contamination of lectures and words. Their souls are instructed and refined from morning to night. No wonder that even the wise admonitions fall by the wayside, if words of wisdom barely touch them.

As I ruminate over all this, a swallow flies through the open door of the church. It is so confused by the great mass of people inside that it begins to fly wildly to and fro. It seems to sense nothing but only wants to escape. Of course, it could slip out the door the same way it had whisked in, but to do that it would have to came down by a good two metres, almost to the heads of those sitting on the benches. Of such dare-devilry it is, however, incapable.

The ministers go on with their work. They take vows, talk, and through them the Prophets, the Evangelists, even the Lord himself speaks, but it is obvious that no one is paying any attention. The sole protagonist is the trapped bird. The woman sitting next to me whispers and sighs, "I hope the poor thing doesn't get a stroke or hit that murderous window pane!" One had already died in this way. Taking the wrong turn, it had sailed in through the churchyard with a piece of straw in its beak, and even though the bell-ringer had left the door open on purpose, it thrashed from wall to wall; its body was found three days later in front of the Lord's Table.

The congregation could not now suffer a change of heart with the best of intentions. Shyly holding their breath, the people continue to watch the unfortunate bird. Before they had ignored only the preaching, but now were Moses himself to appear in person with his famous stone tablets, Jacob with his dream of the ladder, or the ascetic Calvin of Geneva, a nervous wreck with his Reformer's profile, their appearance would go unheeded. Every

heart beats in sympathy with the swallow. Is this empathy in us Christian, too, perhaps? Has it come from understanding? Or selfishness? Or experience? Or has it been sweated out of nature itself through the centuries, like iron from the iron-ore thrust in the five? Which past and which sentiment has erupted so suddenly in those gathered here? The profound one Thomas Mann writes about in *Joseph and his Brethren?* Or one with a clearly traceable story and facts?

After much anxiety, the ceremony is interrupted at last by a boy of about ten. He climbs up to the high window of the church and opens the upper pane. The ministers continue to preach; the faithful are worried sick about the swallow. Will it find its way out now? Perhaps it's blind with terror? There, there, silly bird! The open window is right there, in front of your nose! The window facing east is yours! The rest are closed, we'd need a ladder, but that's quite out of the question now!

The swallow's wings flutter. It hits the wall. It flies awkwardly around the ceiling and knocks against the lamp. The porcelain rings out sonorously, and the mysterious sound brings, instead of the voice of God, the mercy of freedom to all hearts, and it can't be that so much mercy should not add up. And it does add up, and in a flash, the swallow disappears through the tiny window.

A satisfied murmur rises from the benches, a great sense of relief. God is my witness, such pure joy and piety has not visited any of our hearts since the induction ceremony has begun.

Translated by Judith E. Sollosy

MODERNISATION AND THE REFORM

by

KÁLMÁN KULCSÁR

The story of the term modernisation itself requires discussion. As a historic process, modernisation produces two *foci:* the centre-periphery relationship, and the differences of evolution strongly influenced by organic or artificially introduced elements.

The centre-periphery relationship has been identified by economic historians in the past fifteen years. In certain periods the main trend of evolution occurred in certain centres, supported by the exploitation of fringe regions. As long as the world economy was not interdependent, centres could exist that were barely—if at all—in contact with each other (e.g. Europe, China, India and the Inca and the Maya-Aztec empires). However, with the coming about of interdependence, a single—though expanding—centre gradually came into being, in relation to which earlier centres too became peripheries or semi-peripheries. However, this process produced also reversed connections, inasmuch as some peripheries then found themselves in a central position (e.g. Scandinavia in Europe, Japan, etc.).

As long as several parallel centres existed, several societies could be said to evolve in an organic, i.e. autochthonous way. The different centres—due to various factors and interconnections which cannot be detailed here—arrived at different levels of development, and produced social structures, conditions and cultures which differed from each other. The standards of development, especially its technical, organizational and to a certain extent scientific indices, as well as historic coincidences of the given period, at the time when the progress of technology and of the world economy established continuous contacts between the different centres, created a less favourable position for some. As a consequence, some earlier centres—not to mention the peripheries—became more and more dependent on Western Europe, which had already become industrialised by the first half of the 19th century. Its central nature became even stronger in the second half of the 19th century

and in the 20th century, complemented as it was by North America, Scandinavia and Central Europe.

The consequence of the peripheral or semi-peripheral position, however, was not merely exploitation, an unfavourable economic situation, the subordination, but also the interruption of the earlier organic evolution. But the interruption of organic evolution did not unequivocally imply violent external intervention. In some cases stagnation, running out of breath, and consequently a certain constraint to adapt, accompanied by the attraction of ways current in the centre, was the result. Locking on the socio-economic system of the centre, its political and legal institutions, or some of its elements, as an example, has been a substantial element in the centre-periphery relationship.

The substance of the process of modernisation is the resolution of the contradiction which has come about as a result of challenges resulting from the organically developed centre societies and the necessity to respond to these challenges which interrupted and diverted organic evolution (sometimes stagnation) of the peripheral societies. But such situations differed from each other on account of numerous factors.

For instance, some regions found themselves in a peripheral or semi-peripheral position as a result of protracted processes. Thus, the societies of Eastern or Eastern Central Europe were compelled to an adaptation which played an important role in their further evolution in conflict—while they were still in a tribal-clan stage—with the institutions of feudalism. The adopted institutions led to a social evolution which was already in arrears compared to the centre but was, at the same time, something different as well. This evolution was characterised by the transformation of the adopted institutions through the original features, by a cyclically repeated compulsion to reform brought about by the again and again necessary processes of adaptation of external models. Even with the impetus given to this modernisation in the 19th century, it has been unable to this very day—when signs of an endogenous progress relying on internal resources become manifest—to get a firm hold of the second stage of modernisation, which is autonomous.

Some societies of the former centres escaped colonisation, the cruellest variant of the centre-periphery relationship, and have tried, from a subordinate position, following longer stagnation and wrestling with the problems of initial adaptation, to modernise relying on their own endowments, responding to challenges from both external and own evolution, as e.g. Japan in the second half of the 19th century and China today.

Although considerable differences exist between the earlier colonial countries, their essential features, i.e. the continuation of a modernisation

started by the colonial power and based primarily on the model of the former colonial society, and more recently emphasis on endogenous factors, etc., have created a historically identical situation.

A Two-stage adaptation

The overcoming of the evolutionary differences manifest in the centre-periphery relationship, i.e. modernisation, is not simple catching up, but a two-stage adaptation. The process of fitting into the world economy, and let me add, into the global community—which in the long term can eliminate subordination—can only be achieved after the impetus of modernisation, in its second, sustaining stage. This can come about as a process which relies on the internal conditions of the given society, including its specific turns, by an evolution which turns organic (i.e. makes unnecessary repeated impetuses, accompanied by cyclic reform compulsions). This is the genuine substance of the process of modernisation.

Emphasising the importance of the historic interconnections, I consider the most important characteristic of modernity to be the ability of a society to make social changes through its own resources. It may be claimed that then every society is always modern, since even a highly stagnating society is capable of some change. The substance of conventions changes everywhere even if slowly and following reinterpretation. But, such an ability to change has, in the given case, a content and components which are linked to the already described situation. Changes are involved in the course of which a peripheral or semi-peripheral society is capable of endogenous development, of reducing the disadvantages caused by the peripheral situation, and of eliminating them in the long term. In other words, this society is capable of functioning adequately, responding to changing external and internal conditions. This is, in the first place, the development of a social structure which is—in every aspect, but at the very least in its dominant features—the basis of further progress, and a political system which is able to ensure the continuous functioning of the internal factors of social change.

In principle, this concept is not linked to westernisation, i.e. the adoption, as a model of modernity of the economic, political, and in general, the institutional system of developed western societies. Consequently, the political reservations opposed to modernity and the concept of modernisation, which mostly reflect a conservative view of society and also influence Marxist social theory, are unfounded, as is the interpretation of this concept as having an ethnocentric nature.

The success of modernisation is not the successful adoption of the economic and social features and institutional system of that centre which provided the example, but the bringing about of social conditions which are capable of self-motion, of ensuring successful adaptation. This motion lifts the given society out of a condition showing the characteristics of the periphery, even though this may take some time. The fitting into world economic processes relying on endogenous factors, assists the continuation of this movement.

The double effect of the models of Western progress, i.e. their nature of creating both a measure of value and a resistance, is much stronger in the former colonies than has been manifest in the modernisation of Eastern and Eastern Central Europe. The concept and model of populist modernisation was also formulated. According to this, the traditional peasant communities are not only capable of autonomous modernisation (although under the influence of the external environment), but also assist the integration of society as such. As Ishwaran argued, it is no exaggeration to say that populist modernisation continuously maintains and strengthens the process of nation-building in India. The question of populist modernisation—in which the value of the endogenous factors and their role are stressed—leads to an interesting problem.

Social rationality vs. tradition

According to S. N. Eisenstadt, the problem of modern society is the confrontation of modern social rationality with tradition, and religious or mystical experience. He writes that rationality is often interpreted as technical efficiency, as a consequence of which man became the master of his fate. But—he continues—deprived of every common value and orientation, man can become an uncontrollable being, at the mercy of his unregulated instincts and the incalculability of conflicting interests. Consequently, maintaining solidarity and justice has become very important in modern societies. That this is a real enough problem, as Chesnaux showed, demonstrated by the attempts made, even in modern countries, to attempt flight from the pressure of modernisation, by a new individualism, ways of life based on a longing for the past, sects and drugs, the irrational ideas and superstitions, etc., or utopian forms of alternative modernisation.

But in modernising societies, this question still appears with a reversed emphasis; namely, ways of thinking and customs—even if not rooted in tradition—can effectively handicap rationality, in action, in decision-making,

in organisation, etc. This is the more so since many vested interests are involved. But the problem mentioned by Eisenstadt is a real one. The questioning of one system of values is not always—and especially not immediately—followed by a new one. Consequently, the continuity and change of values, the question of the place of tradition in a modern society, is no small problem for modernisation.

The yardstick of the modernisation process, if one can at all think of such a thing, is the capacity and readiness of a society to adapt and renew, to which is added also the successful reconciliation of the changes necessary for the renewal and the values established earlier.

A further question can be formulated: is the problem of identity, which has appeared in some cases of modernisation and which is being debated more and more vigorously, just a defence mechanism against the world-wide processes, or is it, even if possibly in a distorted ideological form, precisely an expression of the necessary rationality of reliance on historically given conditions?

The question can be muddied up even further. When do these endogenous conditions bring about or maintain parochial conditions and cultural characteristics which render the adaptation of society difficult; or when do these aspects and a parochial culture become aggressive, considering themselves a valuable example to other societies, possibly to the whole of mankind?

In the first instance the parish pump ideologies turned fundamentalist (be they rooted in tradition or linked to artificially created pseudo-traditions) may lead even to the interruption of the process of modernisation. (This happened e.g. in Burma, and will possibly happen in Iran.) They can also slow down the process, as e.g. in interwar Hungary, or in the Soviet Union in recent decades.

Hungary and modernisation

The history of Hungary exemplifies an ongoing struggle against backwardness, showing adaptations to the centre, and recurring compulsions to reform inspired by the desire to catch with those believed to be somewhere in front. Of the offered models of the social institutions, of western and eastern Europe, these reforms generally endeavoured to transplant the western model to Hungary. True enough, the country, located in Eastern Central Europe has many features characteristic of the East. After the Second World War attempts were made to transplant the model of society devised in the eastern region to a Hungary interwoven with elements of western culture. This was the result of immediately preceding world events. It is also

true that such reforms, whether they were preceded by revolutions or outside pressure substituting for a revolution, or were not, were in the last resort implemented disfunctionally, distorted in many of their aspects, producing social and political resistance and several times challenging by their problematic nature the vision of a Hungarian society based primarily on organic historic evolution. Between the wars the idea of a good society of the populist movement appeared as such a vision, some elements of which have even been fitted into the Hungarian model which has been taking shape since the end of the sixties.

However, if we accept Wallerstein's proposition that it is not individual societies but the world system that progresses, we must also accept his conclusion that we cannot study individual societies (within their historically contingent political frontiers) as societies disposing over an autonomous and internally evolving structure, if these structures are created primarily by worldwide processes, and by responses to these processes. As centre-periphery relations become global, the processes and phenomena within this system can make themselves independent in fewer and fewer elements, even if global effects can be mediated in a way which is shaped further to a certain extent by regional characteristics. But these original particularities and the nature of these particularities modifying the external influences continue to keep alive what Karl W. Deutsch called 'residual variety', which has active importance also in the formulation of answers to effects derived from world processes, and can thus further shape differences. How strong all those particularities may remain which today sustain local plurality against international technical progress which necessarily strengthens convergence, is a question for the future. But one may well suspect that the technical progress postulated as the foundation of convergence has a dual context. In many respects it requires similar conditions for efficient functioning, but as against technical progress creating increasingly uniform trends in ways of living cultural, national, religious and ethnic identities create, or maintain, differences which were already considered obsolete, or even give rise to new ones.

Reform and modernisation

If we now examine modernisation in the past twenty years in Hungary, we cannot disregard the most important event of these years and that is the start and later history of the reform. Indeed, the position of the reform and of modernisation in Hungary can be truly understood only in relation to each other.

The reform introduced in 1968 was substantially of an economic nature. It is, however, beyond doubt that the circumstance that such a step could be taken reflected also political changes. The initial impetus was of economic compulsion. It endeavoured to transform economic management which produced ever more disfunctions and proved to be less and less efficient, and appeared an indispensable step for the replacement of extensive by intensive economic growth. This economic reform set itself two objectives: first, that the reformed economy should be able to adjust better to the world economy and thereby increase its own efficiency, and second, to improve standards of living as a consequence of the first.

We all know the history of the reform, although the real reasons for some turning points have not yet been fully clarified. Some conclusions can nevertheless be drawn from this history. If we compare these conclusions with the modernisation that followed the impetus, we can establish interesting coincidences between the reform and modernisation.

Let us look at some, by way of example. One of the basic ideas of the reform of Hungarian economic management has been the accelerated introduction of new technologies in firms that appear to be efficient, and which, on the basis of domestic conditions, can be integrated in the world economy with a hope of success, firms which are capable of continuous renewal. Progress is the fruit of selectivity, and both are tied to the application of knowledge, of science, not only to technologies but also to organization, management, etc. This growing ability to apply confirmed knowledge throughout production is one of the essential elements of modernisation: modernity is the social, cultural and psychological framework which furthers the application of science in production. As Nash argued a condition of all this is a cultural-social sphere in which a system of values is created which promotes a continuous search for new knowledge.

Social activity and politics

It can hardly be contested that, *inter alia*, Hungary is up against precisely this problem, just as it cannot be denied that the reform so far has not produced a solution. The reception of confirmed knowledge is not promoted by the economic regulators. In many cases the economy structurally resists —also on account of the over-bureaucratised and over-hierarchised enterprise structure as well as on account of the characteristics of the technological structure—and in fact the structural conditions and functioning mechanisms have not yet been created which give a real chance for knowledge to penetrate the processes of decision-making on various levels.

The Hungarian reform puts a particular emphasis on creativity. And indeed—as Arnold Toynbee said—it depends on the creative minority and the degree of its creativity whether a society can progress, giving an adequate answer to the challenges which it meets. The other side of the question is what happens if the creative minority begins to govern and in its social standing the elements of governing become dominant, the importance of creativity being relegated to the background? Will its ability to provide answers be reduced to an extent where it causes stagnation, possibly even decline?

Let us not argue now about the universal validity of Toynbee's reasoning. It is incontestable that in Hungary the social standing of the creative minority, whether we look at its scope of activity or payment for its performance, or the environment in which it functions, does little to promote creativity. Much has already been said about this. Beginning with Ferenc Erdei, the ranking of professional skill below politics has often been discussed, and we are also aware that the external and internal hierarchic dependence of institutions, the reciprocity which can be experienced in personal contacts, or even a patron-client relation, which frequently lie behind political relations, the all-pervasive bureaucracy hold back precisely the flight of creative abilities and thereby the social capacity for renewal. This situation has not so far been changed fundamentally by the course of the reform. What is proclaimed has been changed, but sometimes even the earlier political slogans have survived unaltered. Some critics of the reform have even argued that the reform itself had to be considered some kind of device serving the interests of members of the professions.

A manifest basic idea of the reform has been the assertion of the laws of economics, or to be more exact, the provision of increased scope for these laws, the replacement of administration by business management. This is an important element of modernisation which can result in the clear separation of the spheres of social activities and then an organic cooperation among them. Particular interconnections function in all spheres of social activity, and spontaneous processes arise on their basis. It follows that such spheres of activity create their own rationality, and this is why we can speak e.g. of economic rationality, political rationality, legal rationality, etc., to mention only some. Organizations (just like persons) operating in such spheres of activity—if we are to expect rational behaviour from them—must be constructed taking into account the rationality of these spheres. Their regulation cannot be divorced from the requirements of this rationality. If the organization or regulation does not operate according to the rationality of the given sphere of activity, a spontaneous system of conditions evolves sooner or later

out of the relations of this sphere which diverts the behaviour of the actors in the given sphere—be they persons or organizations—from the expected behaviour pattern. It is e.g. at this point that evasion of the law, all the ineffectiveness of legal regulation, appears.

Politics and economics

Social activities and their rationality can also be approached through several problematic elements. The best known and most mentioned question is the relationship between the political leadership and economic activity, however—bearing in mind the domination of the political system in Hungary—the same question can also be raised in the relationship between politics and every other sphere of social activity. Those who have so far discussed this problem, have tended to narrow it down. This applies even more to the political debate. Politicians and journalists have asked whether politics should withdraw from the economy. Unfortunately, this simplification reacts on a proper examination of the problem, creating an unfavourable context from the start.

Only the discussion of the substance of political rationality can lead to an understanding of the relationship between politics and other spheres of activity, including the economy. That a separate political reason exists (the principle of which is the will), was already known to the young Marx, and to political thinkers even before him. That the final criterion of political rationality is the holding on to power can hardly be contested. Some would then conclude from this the use of political means without any restrictions, or in a milder form, power politics relying exclusively on power, and its direct instruments. However, political rationality has other components as well, e.g. the reconciliation of interests (even if weighting them) and, what is especially important for modernisation, the reconciliation of the rationality of different spheres of action. Such a reconciliation tries to formulate or influence the conditions of action in all spheres of activity while taking into consideration other rationalities, so that the disfunctional effect on other areas of activities or decisions made within one sphere should be reduced to a minimum. It is the coming about of such a political rationality that can lend to politics a character by conforming to its nature, which would, of course, not only obviate, but make impossible, the taking over of the making of decisions within various spheres of activity, and thus the substitution of one rationality for another.

A further consequence of the separation of the spheres of social activity

—and of organic cooperation brought about by it and its condition—is the organization of the various bodies for a certain function, the abolition of bodies which have no social function, and consequently of organization which have a symbolic nature but are not linked to the progress of society, as well as the clarification of the substance of the role of various positions. (The latter is the more necessary since a traditional approach to one's role and corresponding behaviour are very often linked to modern roles.)

The modernisation of the political system also means the modernisation of public administration. This is already almost a commonplace just as the fact that the importance of organizations, in Weber's sense, increases in this process. These are organizations disposing of well-defined characteristics, relying primarily on skill and rational activity, which can become truly effective only—and this means also the reduction of bureaucratic phenomena in the pejorative sense—if their structural characteristics can assert themselves. In other words, if they are really organized for rationally realisable functions, if they truly rely on skill, etc., and even then their functioning is influenced by the economic political and cultural phenomena of the environment in which they operate.

The question has already been asked by many, how successful an economic reform can be if the political system is not changed. References are made to one authoritarian political system or another—e.g. Japan or, more recently, South Korea. Others mention the multiple example of the liberal political system, and with at least as much justification. To this I may add that in their first stage of evolution the socialist societies were able to concentrate considerable energies thanks to their centralised authoritarian system. Disfunctional consequences can be enumerated, as well as failures, and elsewhere I have already tried to indicate that in many cases the positive and the negative consequences derive from the same decision. We also find examples where liberal-democratic systems led finally to an authoritarian regime owing to their own disfunctions, just as there are examples where the latter dissolved at a surprising speed and were replaced by a liberal-democratic political system.

A COURSE FOR DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS

Some contradictions are inevitable. In the process of modernisation—and this applies to the Eastern periphery or semi-periphery of Europe as well as to the large majority of developing countries—the compulsion to reform has brought about in almost every situation a reform initiated from above.

This has usually been implemented by an authoritarian political regime. However, both economic progress and modernisation can become successful in the long term too if in the economy, and even in all spheres of social activity, a mechanism develops which is capable of automatically responding to new challenges, adapting to the changing circumstances, bringing about and making accepted the necessary changes. Thinking of what has already been said above in this connection, I believe that it is almost superfluous to stress that, in the second stage of the modernisation process, the functioning of such a mechanism is the foundation of the rationality of the different spheres of activity. This, however, is difficult (if at all possible) to achieve in an authoritarian political system.

On the other hand, changing from an authoritarian to some kind of democratic political system is difficult in itself. It is difficult because, for the authoritarian leadership, introducing democratic ways into the political system is problematic—even in the case of people who subjectively have the best of intentions—and is impeded not only by the accustomed paternalistic approach and vested interests, but also by existing political habits. It is further difficult—especially in the socialist countries—because the socialist political system was shaped—according to the logic of events—in an authoritarian way in the eastern peripheries and semi-peripheries of Europe (and in Asia and Africa). A course for democratic progress still has to be charted (and that in circumstances where authoritarian features are—at least in the eyes of many—identical with what is meant by socialism). Finally, a peculiar contradiction has also come about, precisely in the second stage of modernisation, which is interlinked with the reform process. The cause for this contradiction is that our political system, owing to its present (meaning those of the last twenty years) conditions, owing to its historically shaped, but still effective, functions, is still working from the top downwards. This necessarily further strengthens the role of the centre in the entire process of the construction serving modernisation, its methods, political and legal instruments. In this way it keeps alive not only an organizational context and system of dependence which does not favour autonomous responsibility and action, but also political habits which, in the eastern periphery of Europe—at an intensity depending on the historic evolution of the different societies—are largely of a paternalistic nature, i.e. they impede autonomous action.

I have already explained elsewhere and a brief reference may suffice here, that a further characteristic of such political habits is looking up to authority, *Untertan* type behaviour, that is that of subjects who lack the virtues of citizens, which is mostly apolitical in the sunny periods of history. But when

things cloud over, and there are pervasive social problems, this may easily be replaced by an irrational and politically irresponsible rebellious behaviour, which pays no heed to the case in hand, and which may even lead to violence. Consequently, irrespective of the already mentioned dangerous consequences of the political structure of an authoritarian nature, which brings about, and—when it has already been brought about—maintains, the system of hierarchic dependence, which strengthens the element of domination as against the element of skill in institutions, and certainly impedes rational action and restrains creativity, this authoritarianism also creates favourable conditions for a type of behaviour which is opposed to predictable mechanisms capable of spontaneous adjustment.

And here the particular interdependence of the spheres of social activities which is not affected by the process of their differentiation becomes significant. Men who display rationality in their economic behaviour, and such should be formed by the economic reform, can much more easily become rational in their political actions too, and, other things being equal, the same applies to organizations as well. Consequently, not only the reform but the process of modernisation with it, are politically endangered when people or organizations are induced to irrational economic activity. This is true in case of both frequent retroactive legislation which is unfair to private enterpreneurs, prompting them to be interested in making a quick return in the first place, and to the legal regulation which deflects state-owned enterprises and cooperative from actions which would be rational in a real situation. I have not yet mentioned an organizational practice which makes their economically rational behaviour difficult or even impossible from the start. Gerschenkron refers to the importance in history of social approval of enterprise in the process of modernisation. He also points out that where this social approval or consensus was absent, and sentiments opposing enterprise were strong, the state—with its courts and police as well as its legislation—protected the enterpreneurs and their interests against a hostile environment. But if—as has been the case in Hungary in the past twenty years—legislation, and even more so legal practice, does not only fail to protect an enterprise against unfavourable social judgement, but much rather expresses some kind of popular jealousy, the most important characteristic of which appears to be the endeavour to make exaggerated incomes impossible, the development of a social medium which is favourable to enterprise can hardly be expected.

The endeavour to circumvent legal regulations, which reduces the effectiveness of law to an extraordinary extent and renders the necessary control of the economy relative, is only one consequence of all this. In the last

resort, such a regulation can lead—especially as the effect of the taxing away of the income by *ex post facto* rules and decisions—to uncertainty in the economy, and can be even interpreted as an invitation to political opposition.

A resolution of the contradiction between a reform process from the top downwards and the intended automatic mechanisms can be expected only from the creation of a critical public of persons acting rationally both politically and economically. This cannot be the fruit of education and agitprop alone, important as these may be. The most vital condition is the necessary structural and organizational change of the existing economic, political, etc. institutional system. Rational behaviour must be promoted consistently and free of periodic retreats in both the political and the economic system. I have already explained elsewhere that the actual change in political habits, the development of its new elements, can be expected only from the social experience of the changed and lasting functioning of the amended political system. This applies also to that critical public which acts rationally in the economy. In other words, the lasting functioning of the political and the economic systems in accordance with their own rationality shapes politically and economically rational behaviour, which is the most important social substance of democratic progress also as far as successful modernisation is concerned.

Resistance to the reform

The role of law—which is only touched on here—is a separate aspect of modernisation. But since I have repeatedly tried to discuss this question, I only shall confine myself to drawing attention to its importance.

It can be established with general validity that the implementation of the reform in a single area or the transformation of some elements of one sphere of activity can be a short-term tactical move, but in such cases the contexts left unchanged rearrange the process. The isolated introduction of some new elements into the technological process of industry, or attention to merely some elements in modernisation, lead to the same result. Society cannot be modernised in a single, or a few, areas.

The reform itself, at its present stage, as a process providing for further modernisation, is not free of contradictions in Hungary. It can also be established, and this has been made clear by many aspects of Hungarian society over the past twenty years, that progress in the present stage of the reform which started out as economic but has necessarily become broader, also has identical aspects in respect of the resistance which it induces.

If, however, we wanted to discuss resistance to the reform and to the second stage of modernisation, some distinctions have to be made. Resistance, even should it occur over a broad connected front, has different sources.

Short-term resistance caused by factors in the given situation can be approached the most easily. An example of such a situational resistance was the general caution, but in some cases opposition, in the political leadership, e.g. at the time when the anti-reform attitude of neighbouring socialist countries was apparent. Factors tied to such a situation led to measures caused by the economic conditions unfavourable to the reform, e.g. a restrictive financial policy aimed at the maintenance of the equilibrium, and its consequences. The social mood prevalent today can also be described as such. It associates economic difficulties and their consequences (e.g. price rises)—in the absence of adequate information—with the reform, and looks back with longing to the recent past. Here it is not subjective resistance which is the most important factor—although this can become stronger exploiting such a situation, and is in fact becoming stronger—but the consequences. Structural resistance can, however, also be reflected in situational resistance (and can even intensify it). The contexts are more difficult to explore. Their effect is long-term, their overcoming can only be expected from the successful progress of the reform and of modernisation. Structural resistance can be linked to the structural phenomena of the political system, to the economic structure, and, at present, to the industrial structure. However, such phenomena occur also on the level of thinking. In recent decades they have come about e.g. in the structure of interests, in some aspects of the ideology, in ideas which were once the prime movers of action but are now obsolete, and even in opinions thought to be scientific. Finally, it should not be forgotten that the élite also uses some modern ideologies, this, however, does not necessarily work for modernisation in the long term. Let me mention only of the vulgarisation of Marxism and of its use as a scientific ideology in various stages of the history of socialism. But the phenomena of structural resistance are also characteristic. On the one hand, they have an influence in some elements of e.g. the situational resistance; thus in the early seventies some groups indeed succeeded in slowing down the process, bringing about a standstill and regression, starting a process of recentralisation, exploiting measures caused by the situation, evaluating them as having a more universal meaning than warranted, and even as steps back. On the other hand, the consequences of another type of resistance can also manifest themselves in the structural elements.

Structural resistance is the consequence of structural continuity. It can

appear in the continuity which lives in the structure of society, in its political, ideological, administrative structures and conventions, in the largely traditional interpretation of the roles of status in modern structures, in historically evolved political and legal ways, and in this context, e.g., in the socio-political importance of charisma, etc. Such elements can be the consequences of economic backwardness, including the postulation of rapid growth without realistic conditions (the sky is the limit). Related to this is economic development relying on tokens, such as looking on heavy industry, especially steel, or modern airports, as tokens of progress, the endeavour to achieve spectacular success, neglecting the nature of resources, etc. For instance, in almost all developing countries, and the socialist societies as well, the progress of agriculture was neglected; even in Hungary, where this approach has changed and practice has led to welcome successes, an ideological opposition to agriculture, reappears again and again. Unfortunately, there are many more examples. It is already clear today that economic progress is connected with the attitude of a society towards skills, education and science, and with an approach, spurring on or curbing the spirit of enterprise, whether performance or dominance is more highly valued. In Hungary a fertile soil for resistance is provided by the effective functioning of the system of personal contacts in politics, in the economy, and practically in all spheres of life. This circumstance indicates, for instance, the possibility for old traditions to appear in new forms, but we can also reckon with certain aspects of traditionalism, which is the validation, or even legitimation, of behaviour demanded by the given time and situation, by norms leading back to the past, the linking of the new to earlier values. This is an ideology which looks to the past of a country or society as a frame of reference. All this can be strengthened by the ideological effect of evolution, the belief in the security and unchangeability of the image of the world.

Let me stress again that these phenomena occurring on the three levels of resistance are interconnected. They strengthen each other and—since there are also interests backing them—it is extremely difficult not only to change them but even to explore them.

The technological gap

The intertwining of the reform process and of the second stage of modernisation raises the reform to a historic order of magnitude. But the reform is lent an even more substantial prespective if we also take the third connection into consideration.

However, the analysis of this third connection does not strictly belong to the present subject and consequently I shall merely mention it.

The socialist societies which appeared in Eastern Europe and in Central Eastern Europe are also the consequence and continuation of a particular path of social evolution. Along this path, in some countries, the process of modernisation was able to gain an impetus, in others, where under the influence of the characteristics of the time, following an earlier upswing, the process was slowed down and possibly even came to a standstill, the upswing also took place. All this occurred in a new social system which can be described as a radical change in ownership relations, the establishment of a particular political system, cultural evolution. The birth and gathering strength of this new social system today has consequences on a global scale.

These consequences of a global scope have significantly changed the world economic system relying on the capitalist socio-economic order, but the latter, which—at least up to the present—has been able to adjust to the new conditions, has retained basically its capitalistic nature. In the most advanced countries it has produced in the last decade a sudden technical progress, whose consequences are still unfathomable.

All this leads to two further conclusions. First, that the socialist societies must separately and together, if we think of the processes of a global nature, essentially adjust to the world economic system based on capitalism, and adjust in their external economic activity, to the conditions produced by the latter. Second, rapid technical progress has created a new difference between the developed countries and the socialist societies on the eastern peripheries of Europe, and widened the already existing technological gap, including also management techniques. As a consequence, closing the technological gap has not yet occurred despite important successes achieved in comparison to the earlier condition of these societies. The peripheral, or at best semi-peripheral situation, continues.

But if the economic-political structure of our countries—taking also all other factors into consideration—has been unable in recent decades to produce adequate technical progress, there must obviously be obstructing factors which—following the earlier classification—are of a structural and of a historic nature. Therefore, structural changes, that is, reforms are necessary. Consequently, the reform which—with whatever contradictions—attempts to achieve progress in our society and in the new conditions of socialist social evolution, and tries to develop an approach to socialism which corresponds to the conditions of the present and of the foreseeable future, certainly leads in its substance beyond the solution of the problems set by the given situation or even by the second stage of modernisation.

HISTORY

SIGISMUND OF LUXEMBURG, KING OF HUNGARY (1387–1437)

by

ERNŐ MAROSI

Sigismund (b. 1368), son of Charles IV Holy Roman Emperor and King of Bohemia, brother to King Venceslas IV of Bohemia, by marrying Queen Mary of the house of Anjou, succeeded the Anjou dynasty in Hungary in 1387. His reign, which lasted around fifty years, was as important for Europe as for Hungary. He was elected Holy Roman Emperor in 1411 but crowned emperor only in 1433. He succeeded Venceslas as King of Bohemia in 1420 though his rule there was fully established only in the last year of his life.

Sigismund was a major figure of an age whose conflicts are truthfully reflected in Shakespeare's historical plays. He obtained the throne of Hungary at the cost of major compromises that curtailed royal power, and it took him nearly twenty years to restore his authority and consolidate his rule. The symbol of the power-political alliance he concluded with the high aristocracy of his kingdom was a knightly order, the Order of the Dragon, founded in 1408. As a knight and crusader he opposed the Turkish menace, and commanded a splendid army in which the most famous figure from the West was John, Duke of Nevers, the later *Jean sans Peur*. This proud army was routed at Nicopolis. Eustache Deschamps, a Paris court poet, expressed the sorrow of France and bitternesss against Sigismund for having abandoned the knight taken prisoner.

With great negotiating skill he re-established the unity of the Western Church split into three factions, at the Council of Constance, but his success was overshadowed by John Hus being burned at the stake—perfidiously, in spite of the safe-conduct granted to him. The price Sigismund had to pay for this were the protracted Hussite wars. This struggle divided his forces at a time when the Turks were already threatening Hungary. The expansion of

Ottoman power could not be long resisted by the Byzantine Emperor. Sigismund was also involved in the rise to great power of the Habsburgs, and in the early steps, leading to the much later domination of Prussia, of the Hohenzollerns.

Historians have not been kind to Sigismund. Some condemned, others neglected him. The linguistic diversity and dispersion of documents made them difficult of access and his person aroused antipathies. Hungarian historians in the past saw Sigismund as a careless, untalented, unscrupulously cynical and amoral personality, as an oppressor of Bohemians and Hungarians. This image has changed only recently. Greater understanding is now shown and the lineaments of a tolerant pragmatist more successful in negotiations than in the field, a clever political economist, in short, a politician in the modern sense, are becoming outlined.

Hungarian historians in recent years have done much to create this image of Sigismund. In 1984 a major work on Sigismund was published by Elemér Mályusz, the nestor of Hungarian historians. The Archives of the Age of Sigismund which he initiated produced a mass of data that still await evaluation. Archaeologists and art historians have also thrown light on culture in the Hungary of those days. The conditions of understanding the age have changed. Our precursors maintained that a country flourished at a time of well ordered peace, our way of looking at things however makes it easier to realize that conflicts, tensions and periods of transition can also lead to a flourishing of culture and the arts.

The age of Sigismund was clearly such a time of transition, of social, political and religious troubles. Hungarian historians have lately come to accept it as one of outstanding achievement in Central Europe. The importance of Sigismund's building of royal residences in Buda and Pozsony has been highlighted by successful excavations. Many pieces of sculpture* were found in Buda in 1974: one of the rare groups of finds in the soft style which can be precisely located and the singular significance of which lies not only in its thematic richness but also in the fact that the artists who worked here synthesized the ways of various schools. Only fragments have survived of what goldsmiths, painters and illuminators produced in Hungary under the reign of Sigismund; but even these fragments clearly show the contours of an artistic centre. In the future it will no longer be possible to write the history of European art in the early 15th century without referring to what went on in Hungary.

A major exhibition at the Museum of the History of Budapest, held be-

* *NHQ* 55.

tween May and November 1987, on the occasion of the 600th anniversary of Sigismund's coronation, displayed relics of the age of Sigismund, many lent by institutions abroad. The Art History Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences issued a catalogue in two volumes, which included a number of important contributions to the history of Sigismund.* In June 1987 an international conference of historians carried out a reappraisal of the role of Sigismund and of the events of his time.

* *NHQ* 109 (In Focus).

PÁL ENGEL

THE TRAVELLING KING: SIGISMUND'S ITINERARY

Sigismund was crowned king of Hungary at Székesfehérvár on March 31, 1387. On April 1st, he travelled to his royal residence in Buda, where he spent a month or so. In May he left for Sempte on the River Vág, where on the 16th he came to an agreement with his cousins, the Moravian margraves, on the administration of Hungarian territories beyond the Vág, which was under their authority. On the 27th he was back in Buda, but ten days later, receiving news that his wife, Queen Mary, had been released by the rebel lords, he set off for Slavonia. On July 4 he met Mary at Zagreb and stayed there for nearly a month, while his adherents seized one by one, the enemy's Slavonian strongholds. Between August 10th and 13th he directed the siege of Gomnec. On September 10, after his return from Slavonia, he went to Nagyvárad, to visit the tomb of his knightly ideal, Saint Ladislas the King. From there he betook himself to Diósgyőr favoured by the Angevin kings as a place of reservation, then, after about three weeks, he returned to Visegrád, and Buda. In the meantime he called at Zólyom, another Angevin residence he favoured. In the middle of December he was off again to Győr, where he had an appointment, perhaps with one of the Moravian margraves. By the end of the year he was back in Buda.

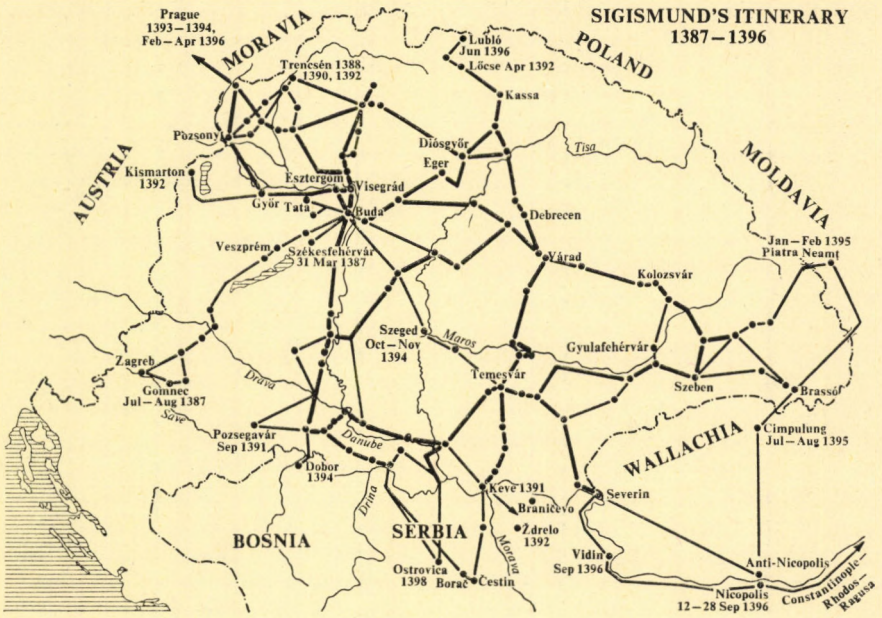
As regards mobility, the fifty years that followed Sigismund's reign in no way differed from the first. Like most medieval princes, he was on the move just about all his life. The goal and character of his journeys were much like those outlined above: they always had a clearly defined purpose. The medieval kings of Hungary managed all of their important affairs in person. In times of war they usually led the army; when they had to negotiate with one of their neighbours they called on them in their country or, more usually, they arranged a meeting in the vicinity of the border. When it so happened that they were not otherwise occupied they spent a few days or weeks at one or the other of their hunting-grounds, such as Zólyom, Diósgyőr or the Vértes hills, relaxing after the stress of public business. Nothing is known of travel for travel's sake. In Hungary—at least in the 14th–15th centuries when the kings' itineraries can be traced with approximate precision—there is no indication that their travels were motivated, over and above considerations of politics and relaxation, also by other reasons such as, for example, facilitating the approvisioning of

the court. Sigismund's Polish contemporary, Vladislav II (1386–1434), also travelled about a good deal. Every year—virtually according to a set programme—he made a tour of the provinces of his country. This continuous *Königsumritt* was not customary in Hungary, where the kings always travelled for a special purpose.

Establishing Sigismund's itineraries calls for circumspection. One can base oneself solely on a series of dated royal papers, what can be gathered from them is only occasionally added to by data in sources of a different type. Things are confused by the fact that Sigismund used several royal seals simultaneously but did not have all of them with him on all his journeys. Except for the last year of his reign, the one he most frequently carried was, it seems, the Hungarian privy seal. After 1411 on, he also kept the Holy Roman Imperial priory seal near at hand, but it often happened that the latter seal was carried a few days' journey ahead or behind him. The attached sketch maps have all been drawn up on the basis of documentary evidence. Up to 1410 Elemér Mályusz's *Records of the Age of Sigismund* (vols I–II. Budapest, 1951–58), and for the period after 1411, Wilhelm Altmann's *Die Urkunden Kaiser Sigmunds:* Regesta imperii XI, I–II. Innsbruck, 1896–1900 have been used, occasionally adding to both of them data from unpublished (or recently published) sources.

Those compiled itineraries confirm the fact that in the greater part of Sigismund's reign Buda was the royal seat and the most permanent centre of power in Hungary. Every year when he was in Hungary, up to 1426, Sigismund spent a long time there: Buda was the starting point of his journeys in Hungary and he returned there when the job was complete. In the language of our time one might say he worked out of Buda. Towards the end of his life he gave preference to Pozsony. In a two-year stay in the south country he only spent two days in Buda, and both in 1429–30 and, after his return to Hungary, in 1434–36, he resided mainly in Pozsony. although in 1436 he spent a month in Buda. While Buda was the royal seat, Visegrád continued to be the second residence, between 1387 and 1426 Sigismund stayed there on altogether thirty-two occasions in fifteen years. He much favoured the royal castle of Zólyom County: Zólyomlipcse, Végles and Zólyom itself, most of all during the summer months, a fact indicating that he went there not only for blood sports but also to shelter from the heat. Between 1387 and 1423 he visited those places in thirteen years, returning there every year between 1387 and 1393, then between 1403 and 1406. He also liked Diósgyőr: we know of eleven visits he made there in 9 years between 1387 and 1424. In 1424 he made Queen Barbara, his second wife, a present of both Diósgyőr and Zólyom County, and was never to return to either place. By then the castle of Tata was his favourite country residence; he took a liking to it in 1409, when he went there four times within a year, probably because the building of the castle started at the time. Until 1435 he is known to have been to Tata on twenty-two occasions, of the centrally situated places in the country he gladly called on Esztergom, and not only because it was usually on his way travelling. Between 1393 and 1399 he spent a few days every year with his intimate Chancellor Kanizsai, and he frequently showed up there again in the 1402s. In these years he visited regularly Székesfehérvár, probably on account of construction started there around 1420. In 1423 he went to near-by Ozora, probably in order to inspect the new palazzo-like castle of his Florentine follower Pipo Scolari.

At that time seven main routes led from Buda, the centre, to the gates of the country. Of course, the greatest role among them belonged to Pozsony, to which the usual way led via Esztergom–Neszmély–Győr–Óvár. Although Vienna could be reached without crossing the Danube, Sigismund broke his journey in Pozsony on all his trips to Austria or the West, on the way there and back. Thus Sigismund visited the city or the royal



Map 1

castle towering over it on thirty-nine occasions in twenty-three years. (For the localities mentioned later the two key figures will be given in fraction form.) The other western main route started from Esztergom in the direction of Nyitra (5/5), Sempte (5/6) and Nagyszombat (16/25) towards Moravia and Bohemia, the frontier post being first at Holics (7/7, Újvár at the time) and from 1399 usually at Szakolca (7/10). The second gate to Moravia was at Trencsén (9/9). Sigismund went there five times between 1388 and 1410, probably in order to meet one of his Luxembourg relatives. The road from Kassa to Buda led on to Poland and Lithuania. From Kassa (12/16) the king usually proceeded to Szepes County, visiting Lőcse (8/8), Késmárk (6/8), Lubló (4/4) or possibly Igló (3/3), there to meet the king of Poland, or to continue on his journey to Cracow or Szandec. The road to the Grand Duke of Lithuania, on the other hand, led through Bártfa (2/3).

While the king often called on his western and northern neighbours with peaceful intentions, moving south he rode at the head of his troops on practically all occasions. Already in the times of the Angevin kings the roads leading to the southern gates of the country were the military roads. The easternmost operational base was Brassó (5/9), from where via the Törcsvár Pass on could reach the heart of Wallachia. Neither was Moldavia far off, and Sigismund in 1395, when coming home from his Moldavian campaign, reached Brassó via the Ojtoz Pass. (On the way there he probably had crossed by a pass situated farther north, perhaps the Békás Pass.) Another main crossing-place in the southern Carpathians, the Vöröstorony Pass near Nagyszeben, was not used by Hungarian armies under Sigismund, and therefore Szeben itself was of no strategic importance. But the most important junction of the East Balkan military roads was Temesvár (13/18). The campaigns on the Lower Danube started

there from the Cseri–Hodos–Karánsebes–Miháld–Orsova–Szörény route branching off in the direction of both Bulgaria and Wallachia, and it was usual to march from there against Serbia along another main road,which led, by touching Széphely, Apács, Érdsomlyó, Gerebenc and Haram, to the Keve ferry on the Danube. It seems that there existed also a third, southwestern route which led from Temesvár through Utvin and Olnas to Syrmia and, beyond it, to Serbia, but this must have been used only rarely, since Syrmia could be reached more comfortably from Buda. When starting on campaigns out of Brassó and Temesvár, Sigismund—like his predecessor Louis the Great—usually took the Buda–Nagyvárad road. It was at Nagyvárad that King Vladislav I assembled his forces for the Bulgarian campaign of 1444. The road leading from Buda through Szeged straight to Temesvár, a route preferred later by János Hunyadi, was apparently first used by Sigismund in 1426, when he went to Brassó. (Then he avoided Temesvár which is not surprising since this would have been a considerable detour, besides implying the crossing of mountains that the route along the River Maros would avoid.) All indications are that no beaten warpaths existed for the wars in West Serbia and Bosnia, probably because there the strategically suitable crossing-places over the River Sava and thus the possible directions of attack, were many. Crossing-places over the Sava are known, or can be supposed, to have been, proceeding from east to west, at Zimony, Szávaszentdemeter, Racsa, Árki and Dubocsac, but in Sigismund's itinerary there were additional ferries for crossing the Sava which we cannot locate. As the Keve ferry on the Danube opened the way to the Morava valley, so the Sava ferries were also situated most of the time opposite estuaries, as Árki was at the mouth of the Bosna and Racsa at the mouth of the Drina, the only places from where the heart of Bosnia could be reached. The Sava ferries were approached by the Hungarian armies along the ancient military road on the Danube bank. This led from Buda through Tolna in the direction of Báta, Dunaszekcső, Mohács and Majsa down to the Dráva, which it crossed at the time, apparently not at Eszék but at Valpó. The most important military crossing-place on the Danube between Buda and the Drava estuary was the Bátaszeremle ferry, where the royal army was probably joined by mounted troops from the eastern parts of the country. The Valpó ferry was occasionally reached from Báta through Pécsvárad, Pécs and Siklós. Further on, Diskó (6/9) and Pozsegavár (6/6) were, first of all, bases for Bosnian campaigns. On the other hand, turning off into the Drina valley, to Macsó and Serbia, was possible preferably from the main road which led (probably from Gara) through Ivánkaszentgyörgy, Németi, Hosszúbács and Nagyeng to Szávademeter and from there to Zimony, then to Belgrade. A much lesser role was played in Sigismund's itinerary by the otherwise vitally important route across Croatia and Slavonia, the road which, starting from Buda and following the line of Veszprém–Vázsony–Kanizsa–Zákány–Kapronca–Kőrös led to Zagreb and, from there, through Topuszko to Bihács.

The itinerary reconstructed in this manner is an exceptionally important source of the political history of the reign of Sigismund, because the route traversed by the king as it were displays his entire political activity. It not only enables us to establish precisely the chronology of events known from other sources, but it often informs us of happenings not recorded in other documents.

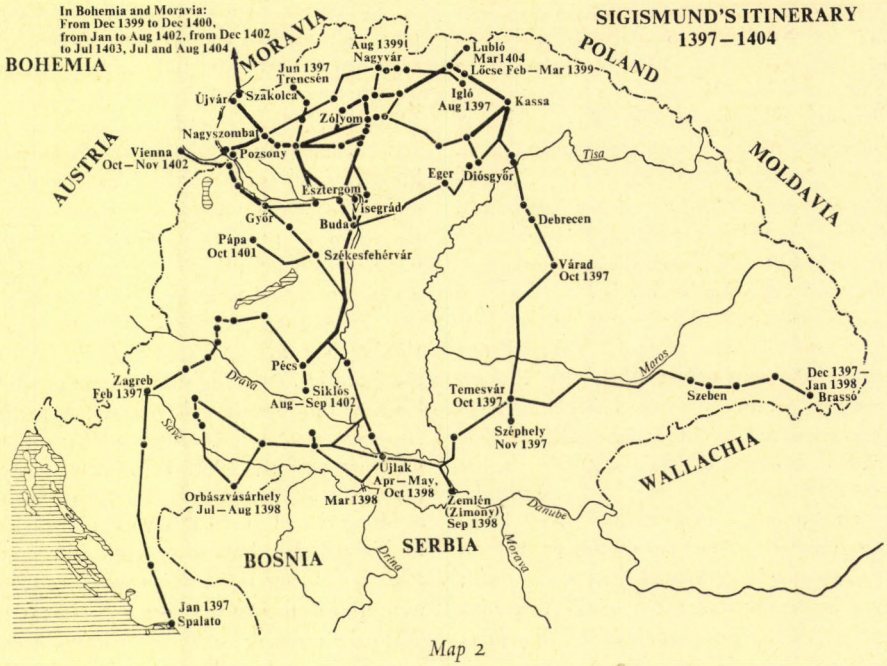
Sigismund's itinerary and, accordingly, the periods of his political activity are shown in the attached sketch maps. His reign lasted nearly fifty-one years, it can be divided into six periods, each of which had its own specific features.

The first period lasted from his coronation up to the year of the Nicopolis disaster (1387–1396). The map accurately demonstrates the foreign policy of the period: priority was given to an offensive war to force the Turks back on the Balkans. At the outset

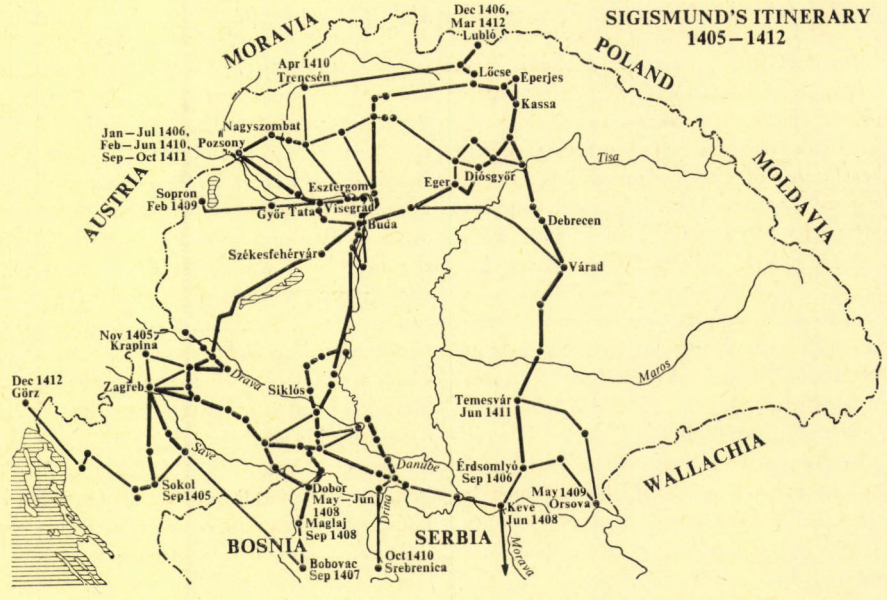
Sigismund was still preoccupied with the suppression of the Horváti party (Slavonian campaign in 1387, Bosnian campaign in 1394) and later he became involved in the domestic affairs of the Bohemian kingdom of his brother Venceslas (journeys to Prague in 1393–94 and 1396), but the Turkish question was soon to eclipse all other problems. Serbia having become a Turkish vassal state after the battle of Kossovo Polje (June 1389), Ottoman expansionism reached the frontiers of Hungary, and the response to the challenge was a pressing problem. The challenge came from two sides: while the Turkish conquest put an end to the earlier Hungarian hegemony on the Balkan Peninsula, placing its vassals and near-vassals under foreign control and, what is more, under alien rule, intrusions in the southern marches by Turkish and Serbian marauders starting in 1390 threatened the security of the country itself, to a degree unparalleled since the Tartar invasions more than a hundred and fifty years earlier. The only conceivable response, as continuation of the great-power policy of the Angevin kings, was an offensive war. It can be shown that Sigismund and his captains at first lived in the hope of scoring as easy victories as had been part of the Balkan campaigns of Louis the Great. Between the autumn of 1389 and the summer of 1392 the king made four invasions into Serbia, and in the summer of 1395 he invaded Wallachia for the fifth time. The Moldavian campaign in January 1395 was also in keeping with Angevin policy, although it was not really linked to the Turkish policy. Since these campaigns largely failed, it came to the Nicopolis crusade of 1396 planned as a showdown. It involved international forces. The catastrophe in which it ended concluded the first period of Sigismund's reign. Then it became manifest once and for all that Hungary had lost its sphere of influence on the Balkans, that consequently it would have to give up its great-power policy and act in terms of its entirely new position as the weaker party on the defensive.

As appears from *Map* 2, Sigismund immediately reached this conclusion. As soon as he had arrived home (in January 1397), by getting round the Balkan after the defeat at Nicopolis, having escaped to a Black Sea port and circumnavigating the Balkan Peninsula, his attention was concentrated for some years on the Bohemian question. He spent almost the whole of 1398 on the southern border but he did not bring himself to attack the Turkish-occupied territory. The laws which the Temesvár Diet enacted in October 1397 also bore the marks of panic and of being on the defensive. Later Sigismund spent most of his time in Bohemia and Moravia, on futile efforts to get Venceslas to ensure his supremacy vis-à-vis the Moravian margraves and the unruly Bohemian mobility. The majority of Hungarian magnates was not symphathetic to his policies. First they took him into custody for some months in 1401, then they went over into open rebellion early in 1403. With the assistance of his supporters, however, Sigismund easily defeated the rebels, and from that time up to his death he was able to attend to his ramifying and ever greater political ambitions.

The next period of Sigismund's reign (*Map* 3, 1405–1412) neglecting Bohemia, once again concentrated on the Balkans, Bosnia in particular. His 1405 campaign in the Una valley was directed against the Bosnian Prince Hervoja, then in 1407, in the spring and autumn of 1408, and finally in 1410 on four occasions, he penetrated into the heart of Bosnia itself. He succeeded, though only temporarily, in forcing that country into submission. His surprising obstinacy regarding Bosnia was connected with a new strategy of defence against the Turks. Sigismund tried to forestall Turkish raids by converting his southern neighbours into bugfer states. Mircea, the Old Prince of Wallachia, was his vassal from 1395 and received Hungarian estates in recognition of his allegiance. After 1403 the Despot of Serbia, Stephan Lazarevic did the same and turned into one of the biggest landowners of Hun-


SIGISMUND'S ITINERARY
1397–1404
In Bohemia and Moravia:
From Dec 1399 to Dec 1400,
from Jan to Aug 1402, from Dec 1402
to Jul 1403, Jul and Aug 1404
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
POLAND
MOLDAVIA
AUSTRIA
WALLACHIA
BOSNIA
SERBIA
Aug 1399
Nagyvár
Jun 1397
Trencsén
Újvár
Szakolca
Lubló
Mar 1404
Lőcse Feb – Mar 1399
Igló
Aug 1397
Kassa
Zólyom
Nagyszombat
Vienna
Oct – Nov 1402
Pozsony
Tisa
Eger
Diósgyőr
Esztergom
Visegrád
Győr
Buda
Debrecen
Pápa
Oct 1401
Székesfehérvár
Várad
Oct 1397
Pécs
Maros
Zagreb
Feb 1397
Drava
Siklós
Aug – Sep 1402
Temesvár
Oct 1397
Szeben
Dec 1397 –
Jan 1398
Brassó
Sava
Széphely
Nov 1397
Újlak
Apr – May,
Oct 1398
Orbászvásárhely
Jul – Aug 1398
Mar 1398
Zemlén
(Zimony)
Sep 1398
Danube
Morava
Drina
Jan 1397
Spalato

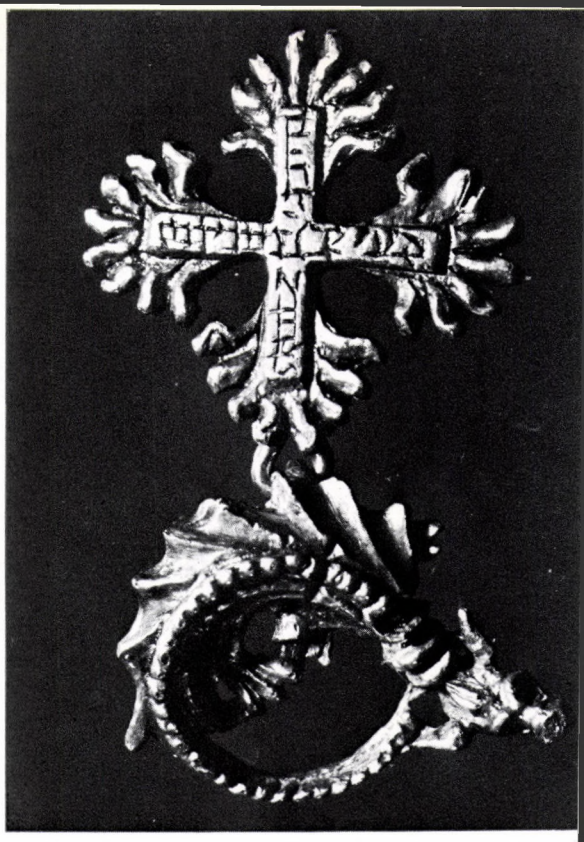
Map 2


SIGISMUND'S ITINERARY
1405–1412
MORAVIA
POLAND
MOLDAVIA
AUSTRIA
WALLACHIA
BOSNIA
SERBIA
Dec 1406,
Mar 1412
Lubló
Apr 1410
Trencsén
Lőcse
Eperjes
Kassa
Jan – Jul 1406,
Feb – Jun 1410,
Sep – Oct 1411
Nagyszombat
Pozsony
Tisa
Diósgyőr
Eger
Sopron
Feb 1409
Esztergom
Győr
Tata
Visegrád
Buda
Debrecen
Székesfehérvár
Várad
Nov 1405
Krapina
Maros
Dec 1412
Görz
Zagreb
Drava
Siklós
Temesvár
Jun 1411
Sava
Danube
Érdsomlyó
Sep 1406
Sokol
Sep 1405
Dobor
May – Jun
1408
Maglaj
Sep 1408
Drina
May 1409,
Orsova
Kevé
Jun 1408
Morava
Oct 1410
Srebrenica
Bobovac
Sep 1407

Map 3

THE EMPEROR SIGISMUND REPRESENTED AS THE SUN. JOHANN HARTLIEB, KRIEGSBUCH, c. 1440.
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

Great Seal of Sigismund. (The third of the Hungarian Royal Seals.) Obverse.
Budapest, National Archives

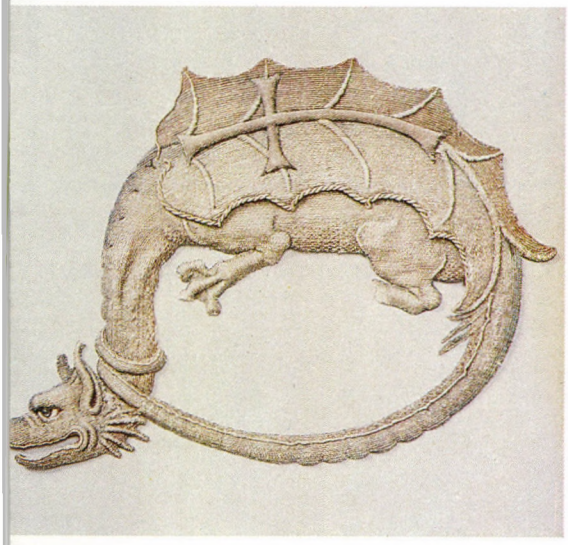


Order of the dragon in silver. From the Livland find, 1429. *West Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum*

Insignia of the order of the dragon, detail from an ivory saddle ornament in the Jankovich collection.
Budapest, National Museum

Glazed tile from the Benedictine Abbey of Vértesszentkereszt with the arms of the order of the dragon of Sigismund. After 1420. *Tata, Kuny Domokos Museum*

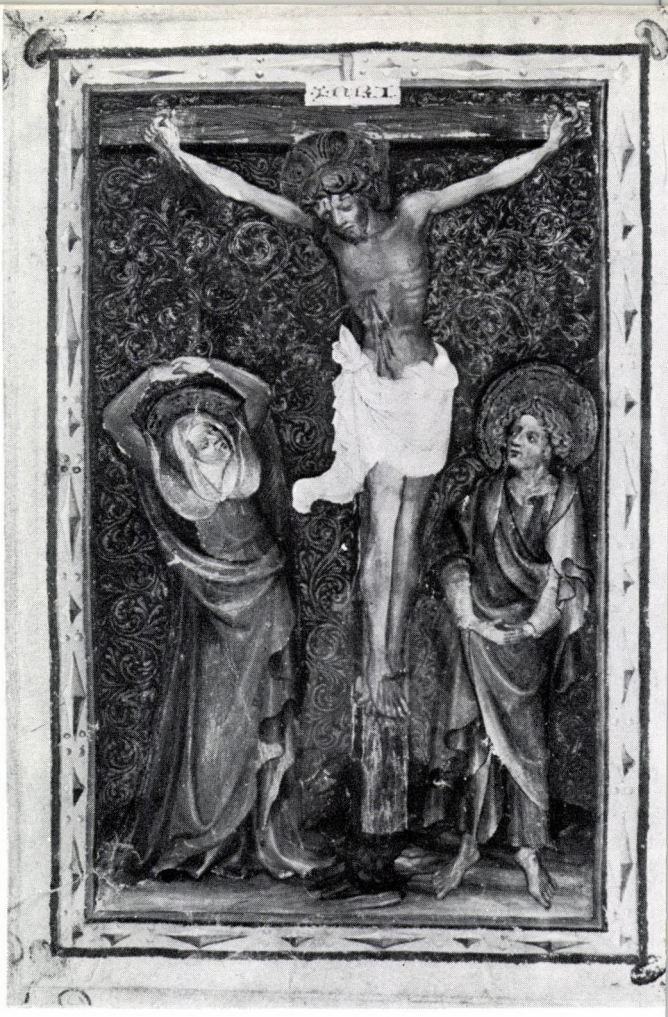
INITIAL WITH REPRESENTATION OF THE IMMACULATE VIRGIN. BREVIARY OF GYÖRGY PÁLÓCZI, ARCHBISHOP OF ESZTERGOM, c. 1435.
Salzburg, Universitätsbibliothek.



THE ORDER OF THE DRAGON IN EMBROIDERY.
Munich, Bayrisches Nationalmuseum.

HEAD OF KING SIGISMUND, HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR AND KING OF HUNGARY. c. 1450.
Görlitz, Historisches Museum der Stadt.

All reproductions by György Makk

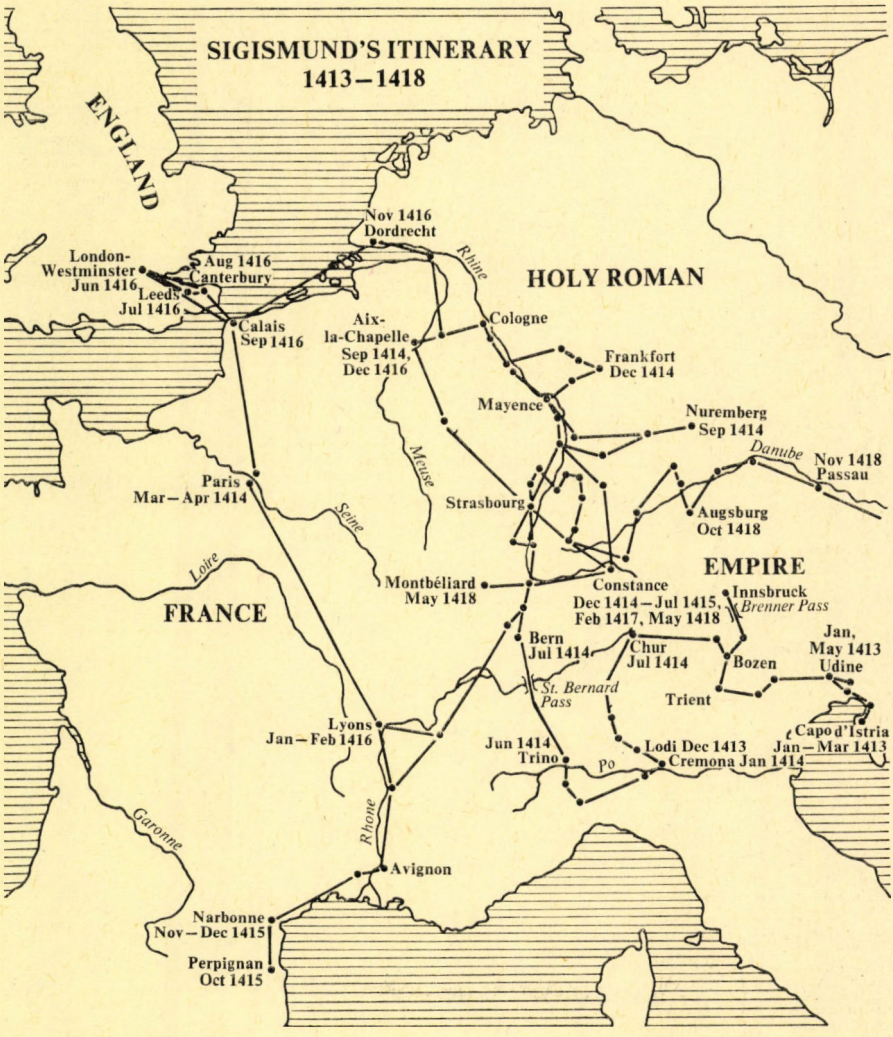


CRUCIFIXION. UNKNOWN CZECH MASTER. THE POZSONY MISSAL, c. 1400.
Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts

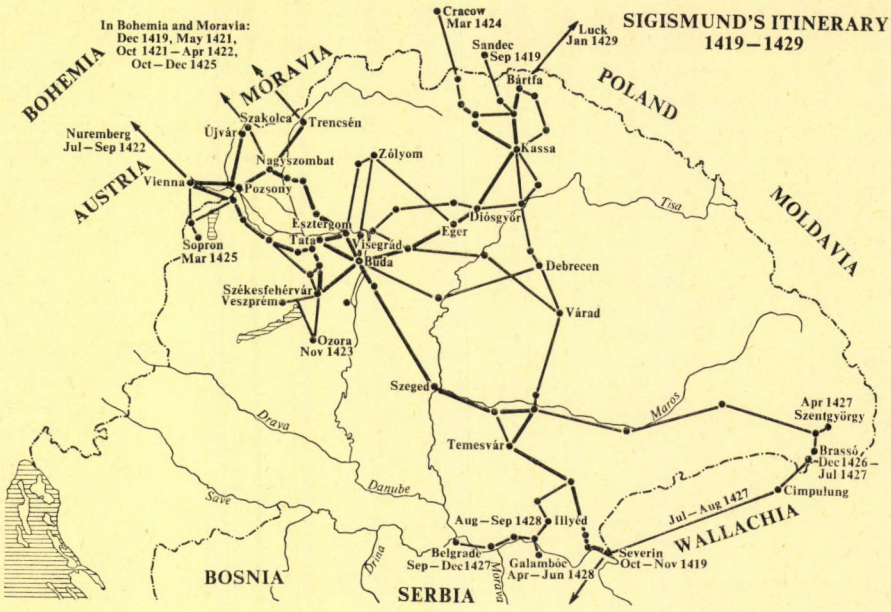
FIGURE OF A BISHOP, FROM THE BUDA CASTLE FIND. 1420.
Budapest, Historical Museum

gary. Among the southern neighbours Bosnia was the only one which made difficulties about accepting Sigismund as liège lord. The change was finally brought about by the submission of Hervoja in 1409. He also was given Hungarian estates as a reward. The close relations maintained with the Despot and Mircea are demonstrated by Sigismund's journeys to Érdsomlyó, Orsova and Temesvár in 1406, 1409 and 1411, places he probably visited only to meet his vassals.

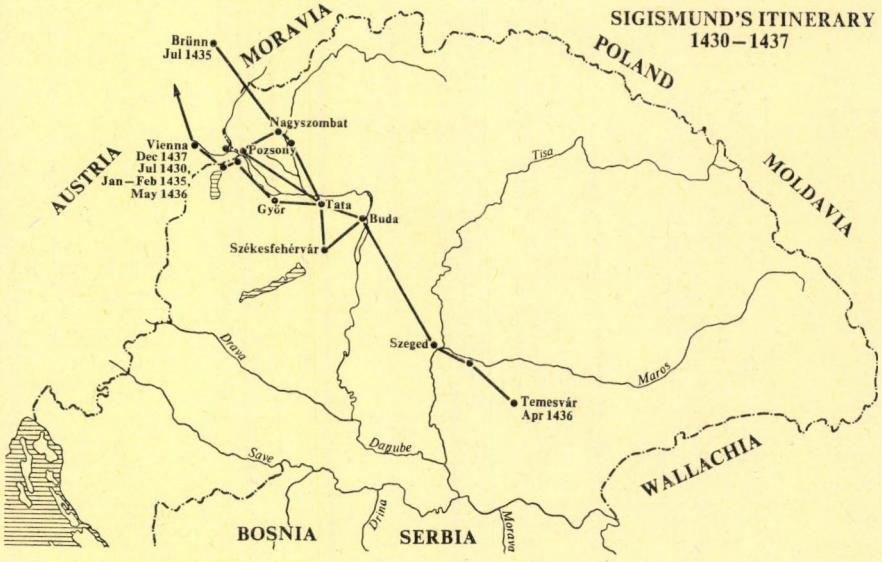
So far Sigismund had generally followed the traditional routes of Hungarian kings. An entirely new stage of his reign began in 1410, when he was elected Holy Roman Emperor. His title made him the highest-ranking secular prince in Western Europe, and his political aims were first of all, though



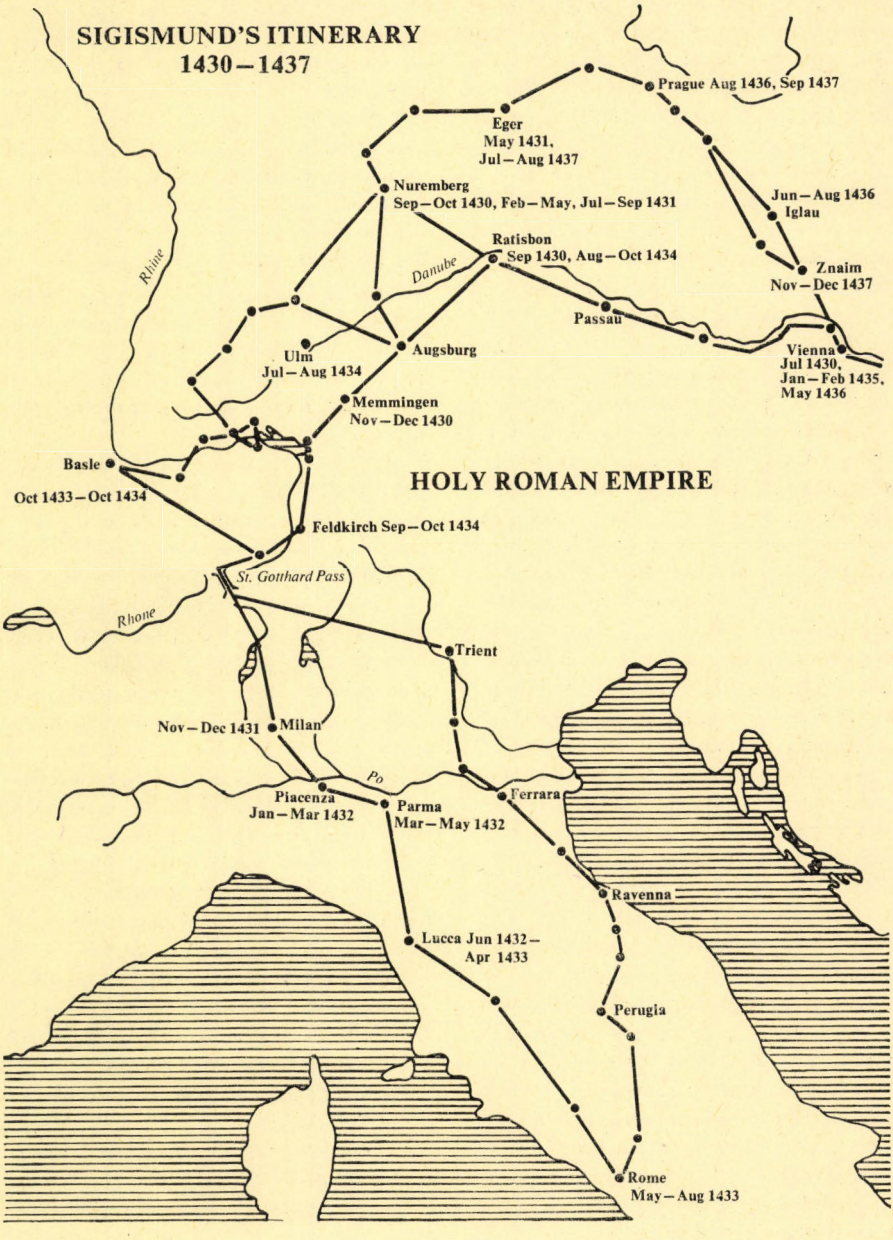
Map 4


SIGISMUND'S ITINERARY
1419–1429
In Bohemia and Moravia:
Dec 1419, May 1421,
Oct 1421 – Apr 1422,
Oct – Dec 1425
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
POLAND
MOLDAVIA
AUSTRIA
WALLACHIA
BOSNIA
SERBIA
Cracow
Mar 1424
Luck
Jan 1429
Sandec
Sep 1419
Bártfa
Kassa
Szakolca
Trencsén
Újvár
Nuremberg
Jul – Sep 1422
Nagyszombat
Zólyom
Vienna
Pozsony
Tisa
Diósgyör
Esztergom
Tata
Visegrád
Buda
Eger
Sopron
Mar 1425
Debrecen
Székesfehérvár
Veszprém
Várad
Ozora
Nov 1423
Szeged
Maros
Apr 1427
Szentgyörgy
Drava
Temesvár
Brassó
Dec 1426 –
Jul 1427
Danube
Save
Cimpulung
Jul – Aug 1427
Aug – Sep 1428
Illyéd
Drina
Belgrade
Sep – Dec 1427
Galambóc
Apr – Jun 1428
Severin
Oct – Nov 1419
Morava

Map 5


SIGISMUND'S ITINERARY
1430–1437
MORAVIA
POLAND
MOLDAVIA
AUSTRIA
WALLACHIA
BOSNIA
SERBIA
Brünn
Jul 1435
Nagyszombat
Vienna
Dec 1437
Jul 1430,
Jan – Feb 1435,
May 1436
Pozsony
Tisa
Györ
Tata
Buda
Székesfehérvár
Drava
Szeged
Maros
Temesvár
Apr 1436
Danube
Save
Drina
Morava

Map 6


SIGISMUND'S ITINERARY
1430–1437
Prague Aug 1436, Sep 1437
Eger
May 1431,
Jul–Aug 1437
Nuremberg
Sep–Oct 1430, Feb–May, Jul–Sep 1431
Jun–Aug 1436
Iglau
Ratisbon
Sep 1430, Aug–Oct 1434
Znaim
Nov–Dec 1437
Rhine
Danube
Passau
Ulm
Jul–Aug 1434
Augsburg
Vienna
Jul 1430,
Jan–Feb 1435,
May 1436
Memmingen
Nov–Dec 1430
Basle
Oct 1433–Oct 1434
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Feldkirch Sep–Oct 1434
St. Gotthard Pass
Rhone
Trient
Nov–Dec 1431
Milan
Po
Piacenza
Jan–Mar 1432
Parma
Mar–May 1432
Ferrara
Ravenna
Lucca Jun 1432–
Apr 1433
Perugia
Rome
May–Aug 1433

Map 7

not always, those of the Holy Roman Emperor. The change of policy is made clear by *Map 4* (1413–1418): Sigismund spent this time in Western Europe. He was the first king of Hungary to spend such a long continuous period abroad. The king left Hungary towards the end of 1412, at the time still with a Hungarian policy. His objective was war with Venice for the recovery of Dalmatia. Since he failed and was compelled to conclude an armistice in April 1413, he moved on, not homewards but on to Lombardy; in 1414 he moved on to Germany, where he was at long last crowned in Aix-la-Chapelle on the 8th of November, and finally to Constance where a General Council was to meet as urged by Sigismund himself. From that time on, his stay in the West centred on Constance. In 1415 he went to Narbonne and Perpignan to negotiate with the king of Aragon in person and try and remove the obstacles in the way of the termination of the papal schism. In Paris and London in 1416 he attempted to mediate in the Hundred Years' War that had recently been resumed, between Henry V of England and the French since he thought that the war between the two countries threatened the peace achieved at Constance. In 1417, after the deposition of the three rivalling popes, the cardinals elected Martin V, whereupon Sigismund's job was by and large completed. Early in 1419 he returned to Hungary.

After his successful sojourn in western Europe, Sigismund, as *Map 5* shows, was preoccupied mainly with the Hussite and the Turkish question. In 1419 he inherited the throne of Bohemia from Venceslas, and since he was unable to reach an agreement with the Utraquists who had in the meantime seized power, he tried to put them down by force of arms (1419–21, 1421–22, 1425). In 1422 he attended the Nuremberg Imperial Diet also in order to enlist the support of the princes against the Utraquists. It was also mainly the Hussite question that prompted him to meet the Polish and Lithuanian rulers on several occasions (1419, 1423, 1424, 1429). Meanwhile, on the southern border, the Ottoman threat had revived. For twenty years, after—following Bayazid's defeat by the Mongols at Ankara in 1402—it had abated. After Mircea died in 1418, Sigismund went to Wallachia in 1419 to ensure a favourable succession. At the end of 1426 he marched there again. He spent two years on the southern confines (December 1426 to November 1428), occupying Belgrade, which he forced the Despot of Serbia to surrender to him. He wanted to retake the Serbian border fortress of Galambóc which the Turks had occupied, but was defeated there in June 1428.

He spent his last years dealing with Imperial and Bohemian affairs (*Map 6*, 1430–1437). In the summer of 1430 he left Hungary to stay abroad for more than four years. In Germany he spent most his time on securing allies against the Hussites. By 1431 he managed to organize a crusade, but it proved a failure as his earlier attempts. For two years after this fiasco (1431–1433) he was engrossed in the affairs of Italy. His aim was to subdue Venice, but he failed again, moreover, for nine months from July 1432 on, he was held up at Siena surrounded by the enemy. But he achieved his other long-desired aim in Rome, as Pope Eugene IV, in May 1433, put on his head the imperial crown unclaimed for fifty-five years. (Previously, in November 1431, he had been crowned king of Italy in Milan.) From Rome he betook himself to the new General Council in Basle, where he spent half a year on the preparation of a church reform. In the autumn of 1434 he returned to Hungary, but in 1436 he went to Bohemia in order to exercise his royal rights following a compromise with the Utraquists (Prague compacts, 1433) after the Taborites' defeat at Lipany (1434) and prolonged negotiations. In the autumn of 1437, however, he thought it better to leave Prague, but death overtook him on the way to Hungary at Znaim in Moravia.

JÁNOS VÉGH

PORTRAITS OF SIGISMUND

A painting in Vienna and two drawings in Paris serve as a starting point when examining the portrayals of Sigismund. The painting in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, a full-face portrait with the head slightly turned away, was thoroughly examined by Johannes Wilde, who made the identification by comparing it with a later silver coin that was clearly derived from it. Scholars disagree; some attribute it to Pisanello (or his workshop) or to a Prague master from the period following the Capuchin series of half-length Apostle-figures, but all agreed on dating it around 1430. The fine drawings in profile in the Louvre are part of the Vallardi Codex, and this fact alone is conclusive proof of Pisanello's authorship. No one has doubted this in recent years, and it is evident that the drawings were made during Sigismund's stay in Italy in 1423–33 when he was crowned Holy Roman Emperor. Keys to identification following Wilde's article were the insignia of the Order of the Dragon round the neck of one of the figures and the fur-cap on the head of the other.

The features noticeable on them and regarded as characteristic of Sigismund are the following: a long face, lips slightly parted, a high forehead made larger by going bald, a nose that is long rather than aquiline, large eyes, a forked beard, which certainly does not come to point, and with the brim turned up in front and covering the back of the head.

Usually these facial features and the fur cap serve to prove whether or not the portrait in question really represents Sigismund; the probability of identification is heightened and the portrait character of the picture can be confirmed if the Emperor/King was in the given region at the time, or somewhat earlier. I know of no other genuine portrait depicting him.

*

Portrait of Sigismund, from the Görlitz Town Hall; Historisches Museum der Stadt, Görlitz, about 1450, after an early 15th century original.

The identity of the person on the portrait is established by the known features and by the inscription on the lower part of the panel: "TU PIUS JUSTUS QUONDAM REX MAXIMUS ORBIS/LAUDIBUS ETERNIS NUNC SIGISMUNDE NITES". It follows that the picture was painted after Sigismund's death. Görlitz was part of his Lusatian estates which belonged to the Crown of Bohemia. At the time of the Hussite wars Görlitz remained loyal to Sigismund; in recognition it was granted a number of trading privileges, followed by a ceremonial confirmation and additions to the town's coat of arms immediately after the coronation.

The features are unequivocally Sigismund's, yet the picture noticeably differs from the majority of well-known portraits, since his lips are closed. This prototype did not lose its popularity during subsequent decades either, for it served as a basis also for the portrait of Sigismund enthroned in the Thuróczi chronicle (Zs. 45). Considering the peculiar bulge of the chest, the conspicuous absence of arms, and still more the red background showing up under the shoulders on both sides, we must assume that the prototype must have been a bust. (Because of the closed lips one has to reject the supposition of Bertalan Kéry, that the painter of the panel took as a model the Sigismund statue of the Ulm townhall.) The herm used as the prototype showing the features of the emperor, which has been lost, may have been sculpted for a St Sigismund reliquary. This would at least be a good explanation of its similarity to the nearly contemporary head-reliquary of St Ladislas in Győr. Judging by the size of the beard and the fur cap, the original must

not have been of a date earlier than the second decade of that century. This is why we have to reject the supposition of Ernst Buchner who, having identified some really archaic marks, speaks of a prototype dated about 1400.

Certain ways of depicting the face, and still more the beard, suggest that the Görlitz picture must have been painted about 1450. But some details of the presentation are certainly singularly archaic for that dating. The manner of painting the horizontal twisted trimmings on the robe is remarkably plastic, and is made still more so by the ornamental band or the decorative disc pinned on the fur cap. Noticeably bulging coloured beads are set in the paint. Restorers in 1960 discovered that semi-precious stones must have been there and contemplated replacing the heads with some material of nobler quality.

ÉVA KOVÁCS

THE CHIVALRIC ORDER OF THE DRAGON

An important role was played by the Order of the Dragon, or rather its requisites in the policy and ceremonies of Sigismund of Luxemburg. Historians have always—though with different emphasis—considered the order either as a means of securing succession to the throne in the female line or as an association in which Sigismund united his greatest barons and hoped for allies. Conspicuous in the ranks of Founder-Knights the society created in 1408 was the oppressive predominance of the Garai–Cillei clan, the queen's kin. Besides Sigismund and his twenty-two barons, Queen Barbara was also among the founders. Certain chivalric orders —including the Garter in England—had ladies as members but the point here seems to have been something different: the Order of the Dragon belonged not only to the King of Hungary but to the Queen of Hungary as well. Not only did Sigismund emphasise this in respect of Queen Barbara, but their daughter Elizabeth also behaved as a sovereign of the Order.

The Holy Roman Emperor and King Sigismund was buried at Nagyvárad with an enamelled dragon badge (as far as I know, this was the only occasion that the pendant of an order formed part fo the burial insignia of a ruler), evidence that the devices of the Order of the Dragon had accompanied his life for at least thirty years. Although it is just the dragon jewel of all the insignia that has been lost, judging from the drawing made of the finds there can be no doubt that it was the pendant of the order, even if it does not strictly correspond to the prescriptions of the charter of foundation, or to the version with a flaming cross known from portrayals and verified by written sources. The device of the royal Order of the Dragon, as prescribed in the charter of foundation, showed a wounded dragon curled up in a circle, with the tail round its neck, and a cruciform bleeding wound cut into its back—the cross of St George, its vanquisher. It would appear that the broken-winged and blood-covered monster in Sigismund's tomb answers rather to another description of later date in a letter sent to Grand Duke Vitold of Lithuania and his wife (Aug. 3rd, 1429). This letter, inviting Vitold to join Sigismund's society, speaks of a dragon ripped open from head to tail, covered with drops of blood, and also of the cross, but not in connection with the wound: it is the cross of Christ, with which having descended into limbo before his glorious resurrection, he forced the locks of hell and,

using his power, bore down on the arch enemy Leviathan, this writhing serpent of the evils of hell.

So, this would be the flame-jetting equal-armed cross, bearing a motto, but it was not customary to represent it as a sign of triumph in the scene of the Resurrection, with Christ at the porch of hell. At this point one should quote Windecke who was equally baffled by the problem of two insignia, one associated with a flaming cross and the other representing only the dragon. He offers the explanation that Sigismund conferred the dragon insignia with a cross on the greatest favourites, or rather that only twenty-four Knights were permitted the full insignia, and others, the majority, the dragon device only. I do not like to argue that a well-informed trusted man, or any sort of contemporary source, was mistaken but it already seems certain that this explanation is of only limited validity, either as regards the charter of foundation or in respect of the funeral insignia. So far the notion was held implicity that the cross was merely an accessory of the dragon, a less essential part of the insignia, although it has long been known about from a large blue velvet paramentum (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) with flaming crosses, originally from the Wiener Neustadt chapel of the Austrian Order St George. It is also known, from French and Burgundian chroniclers, that at his entry into Paris (1416) Sigismund wore, over his chainmail, a black *huque* with a a large ash-coloured cross back and front. Thus the cross holds good by itself as well, it may have a specific symbolic meaning, and an origin independent of the dragon can be taken for granted. On the other hand, there exists a plastically embroidered large dragon (Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich) perfectly answering the charter of foundation, then the ceremonical sword of York, which had certainly once been Sigismund's, and a saddle covered with carved bone (Hungarian National Museum, Budapest) formerly part of the Jankovich collection, and also very likely Sigismund's—all of them with dragon devices without cross. This means that cross and dragon are separable, they belong together and they don't—but why can they be separated and nevertheless belong together, and what is the implication of the occasional independent appearance of one or the other? What does it mean that on Sigismund's greater imperial seal—the presence of the insignia of the order is likewise unique in this respect!—the two appear together so that they are separate. The monarch sits on his throne with shield-holding double-headed imperial eagles. In front of him the small vermiform dragon coils at his feet, more or less in profile and consequently reduced in its emblematic character, while the other element, the cross appears over Sigismund's right shoulder. In the first document on Hungarian Knights of the Dragon, mention is made of the cross as well, with almost the same words as in the letter to the Grupa, Duke of Lithuania, only here the same words do not describe the cross on the insignia but, speaking of the Order's objectives, they evoke the "flag of the inspiring cross." The Emperor King will use the Order to suit his changing political interests, but the letter determines his Order-establishing position and the purpose of the Order in simple terms which have been valid, one might say, for many centuries. He speaks, first of all, in his capacity as a sovereign placed on the throne by the grace of God and engaged in securing the welfare and salvation of his people, as one who, "not only with his acts but with tangible symbols derived from the example of the eternal heavenly kingdom's master, guides his subjects on to the road leading towards he eternal heavenly kingdom... to the praise and glory of Jesus Christ, son of the living God." Thereafter he evokes the universal Christian symbols of the ancient antagonism, the principles of good and evil, in the uninterrupted struggle between the two. The victorious struggle with the arch enemy, the writhing dragon, was launched by Jesus Christ triumphant with the help of the cross; it was the sign of the

cross that the saints who followed him put their trust in—the dragon-killing saintly martyr, as well as St Margaret, virgin and martyr, who, by calling the miracle-working cross to help, escaped unhurt from the belly of the dragon split in two. Knights of the Order wore the dragon insignia when off to fight the adherents of the wicked foe and primeval dragon, the heathens and heretics, and to annihilate other nations which seek to place in jeopardy the one true faith, Christ's cross and our countries, as well as in defence of the faith, and in its service. Here follows the description of the insignia, the variant with the Cross of St George.

The circular dragon-serpent is an archaic pre-Christian symbol. The dragon of the Order is a carefully made-up, beautifully stylised figure. The previous forms of the monster biting into its tail are on stone-carvings and miniatures, where the decorative effect of the pattern could be highlighted. Of course, this writhing serpent is the evil which often appears coiled around the lower part of the crucifix (the most famous example of the period is a remarkable item of Jean de Berry's collection). On the insignia, however, we see it dead, the ring indicating the agonizing last movements. It should be said that it does not always signify the evil, not even within Christian symbolism, and frequently it is a symbol of war. The monster is linked to the Founder with some ambiguity. The red dragon was part of the ancient arms of Luxembourg (the crest). This is why Sigismund was styled the red dragon of the Apocalypse.

The flaming cross, the other part of the insignia or, more precisely, the outward form of the other insignia, calls for a certain explanation.

Rudolf Chadraba described an earlier, relatively hidden aspect of the activity as patron of the Emperor Charles IV, the character and sources of political representation. At the centre was the worship of the True Cross, in its Imperial Byzantine aspect. This meant that the monarch was the new Constantine, and his wife was the new Helena. From the edifices erected by the emperor, Chadraba inferred the antique symbols of world hegemony, the idea of the *sacrum imperium* rooted in pre-Christian times; and from the complex of edifices he inferred the symbols of triumph of world-wide victory. The principal enemies of Rome in Constantine's time were the Persians, so the two victories gained over them constitute the principal triumph. In the period which thinks in analogies it is easy to replace the Persians by the Turks, and the Emperors Constantine and Heraclius by the Christian monarch who will fight the decisive, the final battle. This decisive third battle will take place on the banks of the Danube, as claimed by the *Legenda aurea* version of the legend of the Cross. The *Crux stemmata* emerged as a triumphal sign before the Persian campaign as a guarantee of Constantine's victory.

It can be shown that Sigismund was aware of this legend version. His tutor was Niccolò Baccari who doubtless had a share in formulating the ideas of Charles IV. Not only the first-born Venceslas but also Sigismund was brought up to rule since he was a boy at the court of his future father-in-law, Louis of Anjou, King of Hungary. The worship of the True Cross of Christ was current in Hungary as well, for in earlier times it was the image of this relic that evolved into the emblem of Hungarian sovereignty—the apostolic double cross. Like all of his contemporaries, Sigismund liked symbols, the figurative language of signs, for he even formulated it in the charter of foundation of the Order. His choice of device was excellent in its simplicity: Sigismund chose the cross in the brilliant, Gothic, variant of Constantine's sign of victory, in the form of a symbol that is a flame. This was a bold and engaging gesture, indicative of his readiness to undertake a great role. What he had learnt from his father in this regard he expressed in the simplest manner possible. Compared to the elaborate, educated language of symbols of

Charles IV, this was demotic, but not comparable to Venceslas's amorous riddles.

The cross evidently preceded the dragon, it must have been its personal insignia; that it later became an important part of the Order founded by him was not exceptional but was far from usual in the history of insignia. The *briquet de Bourgogne*, the flint and stone, was also Philip the Good's own device —a livery, of course, which could be worn also by members of the household—before it started on its life lasting to this day as a permanent complement to the gold chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece.

One can surely presume that the choice of insignia was connected with Nicopolis. This was the occasion on the banks of the Danube for which Sigismund must have prepared for the third and—according to prophecies—decisive showdown against the enemy of Christendom. Nothing is more natural than to evoke the old sign of triumph on this occasion. One can find also other minor traces which may, in a certain sense, be taken as evidence. Humbert of Savoy, Count of Remont, was one of Sigismund's companions-in-arms at Nicopolis, one of many western knights who was taken captive, and on his return home be used the following device: *Iddio è giusto;* and this—being a nearly contemporary authentic Italian translation of the device on the flaming cross—was obviously a memory of the aborted "journey to Hungary."

No mention has so far been made of the device which reads: *O quam misericors est Deus, iustus et pius;* in other authentic variants the last word is *clemens* or *patiens* inscribed crosswise on the cross. Fairly unusual epithets: they befit the devout monarch rather than God, more precisely they can easily be applied to the Christian emperor, a peace-loving Alexander the Great. To a Christian emperor who is *miles Christi*, a soldier of Christ, even if he reigns not in a really militant but in a Christian spirit. But, ultimately, Sigismund professed to be a soldier, and after some little time he reinterpreted the defeat at Nicopolis. He transcended it. This is how his figure, as portrayed by the brushwork of the Van Eycks on their *Adoration of the Lamb*, came to be included amongst Christ's knights, as an equal companion of St George and St Martin, like King Stephen who, according to Bishop Hartvik's legend, fought his fight under the banner of the two against the pagan Koppány. This may well be the explanation of the difference of two later seals, contemporary though unlike, as regards the insignia, that is the difference between the above-mentioned Great Imperial Seal and the Hungarian royal seal used at the same time. Order's devices are not frequent on coins and seals, but they do occur; on an imperial seal they are unique. As far as the Hungarian royal seal is concerned, Sigismund provided still in the charter of foundation that his successors as kings of Hungary should be Knights of the Order; it is therefore normal for his royal seal to display the form that had by then become so to speak official, which had grown out from the combination of the two insignia. As regards the imperial seal, the theoretical ruler of the Christian universe reverted to the earlier, original meaning of the insignia, he wished them to tell more than that being Emperor meant he was a Knight of the Order. Sigismund, even though he did not defeat the Turks, put a stop to the division of the Church and was successful in his fight against the Hussites; he could look on himself as one who had fulfilled the foremost duty of a Christian emperor: this is why the defeated dragon lies at his feet and the triumphal cross glitters over his right shoulder.

SCULPTURE FROM THE AGE OF SIGISMUND IN THE CASTLE OF BUDA

A small number of pieces of sculpture were excavated at Buda Castle in the 1950s, such as a console with a female head, torsos and other carvings. It became evident during the 1974 excavations that they belonged to the same group and the same period. The 1974 items discovered by László Zolnay also came from several sites:* the vast majority were found in an interior space or court of a building, but some among rubble in the neighbourhood; what is more, a fragment, the head of a Madonna, was discovered even farther away as late as 1979.

The find cannot be considered a closed one: essential parts have been lost, have perhaps been re-used, are still in unknown and unexplored places, or may have been destroyed in the course of uncontrolled work. The site cannot be considered to have been systematically excavated either; archaeological evidence of the circumstances of their burying is not available. Neither is anything precise known about the function of the space where they were discovered in the rubble. It is certain that they were buried together with much other stuff, suggesting a stone mason's workshop; moreover, it also seems certain that the sculptures, roughly defaced and broken, were carelessly handled. It can be presumed that they found their way as filling up after the demolition of earlier dwellings within the northern outer perimeter following the extension of Buda under Sigismund.

It is difficult to decide whether they were displaced during the demolition of a building, or whether they had never been set up at any place. There are among them unfinished pieces (unfinished at least in the sense that their attributes and painting are often missing) but also some which may earlier have been erected somewhere. In any event the sculptures must have been used as filling material shortly after their making. The coins found together with them or nearby also suggest this.

They are not mentioned in any written sources, so the only possibility of dating them is provided by stylistic analysis. On the other hand, sources describe in detail the abounding sculptural and heraldic ornamentation of the buildings of the age of Sigismund (e.g. a Sigismund statue erected above the entrance gate to the palace, a heraldic tower of the New Palace), and this information is sometimes supported also by architectural fragments. The notes of Bertrandon de la Brocquière are the first source about the stoppage of Sigismund's Buda constructions and about the ensuing unemployment of the French masons. Some of them he met on the opposite Pest side of the Danube on the construction of a tower belonging to the fortification system of the Buda Castle.

Bonfini who, writing about building under King Matthias, describes the unfinished state of Sigismund's constructions as evidenced also by the medieval name "incomplete tower" of a section of the palace. Its being unfinished, however, should not be interpreted literally since e.g. Pedro de Tafur admired finished buildings there, and at the time of Ladislas Hunyadi's execution the courtiers looked out of the windows of the New Palace. Until 1446 the Castle of Buda was in the hands of Palatine László Hédervári; upon his death John Hunyadi took it over on behalf of the Estates of the realm. The very large-scale filling-up that can be regarded as the concluding phase of the fortification work begun under Sigismund most probably took place during the interregnum when Buda Castle again acquired increased importance in the civil war. That may have been the time at which the unfinished statues were buried—in all probability as furnishings of an abandoned sculpture workshop.

* *NHQ* 55.

The statues belong to two cycles that are clearly separable as regards both their subjects and sizes. A Madonna and saints (apostles, prophets, and other male and female figures) make up one, and nearly life-size figures of men and women in elegant clothes as well as bishops the other. They either were court dress or armour. Figures of smaller size undoubtedly constituted their retinue: those carried their weapons and coats of arms. Some of the figures in elegant attire must also have belonged to the retinue: similarly dressed figures are often found in pairs. Their garment contain no heraldic identifying marks of the sort that is frequent in the figure sculpture of the period. What came to light was the fragment of a shield displaying the Hungarian coat of arms with the apostolic cross as well as a piece from a Bohemian royal helmet crest. These clearly indicate Sigismund but permit no closer dating. The group included also figural consoles: the fragment with a woman's head excavated earlier, and two finds of 1974, a prophet and a reading monk. The connection between the consoles and the figures is not known. The two larger statue series are productions of one and the same workshop. The hands which carved them can no more be distinguished from the subjects or compositional types which naturally are in keeping with the subjects.

1. An important group of statues, including the figural consoles, is from a workshop which bears a very close relationship, occasionally pointing to identical carving hands, to the soft-style statues from Grosslobming in Upper Austria, now in the *Österreichische Galerie* of Vienna and in the *Liebighaus* in Frankfurt. Thus the figures of St George and a bishop in the Österreichische Galerie and the *Annuntiata* of the Liebighaus show very close affinity in detail with the Buda pieces; in the armour, the facial types, in the execution of wrinkles, and minor decorative items, e.g. tassels. To this group belong the figure of a knight, that of a bishop and the Madonna. Several figures and fragments display similar features but also differing qualities, mostly minor subtleties. These point to a workshop employing a large number of sculptors: The Grosslobming statues and the works associated with them, which were once attributed to a single sculptor, are in fact productions of a larger workshop.

2. A few statues—all belonging to the series of saints—suggest the activity in Buda of a craftsman trained in the West, most likely in Brabant. This includes the torsos and heads of saints. These statues can be distinguished from the work of the aforementioned workshop also by their bases which imitate the surface of the soil. The 15th century sculpture of Brabant transmitted numerous features originating in the Paris court to the Rhineland, thus to Cologne (prophets of the town hall, the sepulchral monument of Archbishop Saarwerden), to Aix-la-Chapelle (apostle figures of the choir). This link explains the relationship of the statues and the early work of Hans Multscher. In all probability he had been apprenticed in the workshop of a mason who had carved the apostles of Aix-la-Chapelle. This western trained mason may have gone to Buda after Sigismund's journey to the Council, his presence clearly indicates their being produced in the twenties.

3. Some statues definitely point to followers of a western trained mason and even to their intention to imitate him. The fact that the rendering of details (hands, features, hair, drapery) was unsuccessful is a likely indication of an epigone, trained in a Central European workshop. The base form imitating the surface of the soil occurs there as well. Figures of saints and the torso of a *sergeant d'armes* are typical.

4. Some of the heads are indicative of a sweeping, cubic conception. It is probable that fragments showing similar sweeping patterned draperies belong to them. Their material is also for the most part cruder than the fine granular limestone preferably used by the first group but in particular by the mason of the second group. As this mason trans-

cends the soft style, one can tell his style by the tombstones carved in a local workshop in Buda perhaps in the early 1430s for several members of the Stibor family; that is, his activity extended into the thirties (perhaps beyond his years in the Castle workshop). Since the armour on the Stibor tombstone in Székesfehérvár also displays decorative details identical with the Grosslobming statue of St George, this mason can also be reckoned among those who continued the practice of the Grosslobming workshop.

E. M.

TÜNDE WEHLI

ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS

Written sources and surviving manuscripts bear witness to a growing interest in Hungary in the work of scribes and illuminatory in the last quarter of the 14th century and the early fifteenth. Nevertheless, only bits and pieces of evidence are available on the illumination of books at the time.

King Sigismund inherited the library of the Hungarian kings of the House of Anjou as well as that of his bibliophile younger brother, King Venceslas of Bohemia. All the same books did not play a major role in the life of the court. Neither could it be that the aristocracy were patrons of note of illuminators. We now know of only one richly illuminated MS owned by a lay man, the missal of Duke Hervoja of Spalato (Topkapi Serai, Constantinople). Hervoja was sometimes on bad and sometimes on good terms with Sigismund. The MS does tell us something about the character and standards of the royal court's illuminators.

There is little evidence about MSS owned by members of the Church hierarchy. The last will of Bishop Andrea Scolari of Várad refers to a few books, including a Bible said to be *de littera gallica*, which he bequeathed to a monastery to be founded. Scholars mentioned three MSS linked to Archbishop György Pálóczi of Esztergom. One of them is an Esztergom antiphonal, style criticism suggests that it was copied not at the orders of the archbishop, but after his death, around the middle of the 15th century. The other two MSS—a breviary (Universitätsbibliothek, Salzburg, M. II, 11: M. 14) and a missal (National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Cod. Lat. 359, M. 15)—were written earlier by order of Archbishop Pálóczi of Esztergom. This breviary, a MSS of better quality, is important iconographically because it contains not only images of St Stephen and St Ladislas but also one of the earliest portrayals made for a Hungarian client of the *Mulier sole* in a contemporary style. The place of making of the two MSS is still disputed. The fact, however, that they do not fit in with the Melk-Vienna—Salzburg line of development rich in such items, excludes Esztergom. There is much more available on MSS owned by the church. There are inventories of many libraries with stocks of several hundred volumes. St Martin's of Pozsony is said to have owned many MSS in the early 15th century. There were also theological works, Bibles and law books and not only MSS which served liturgical practice.

In the first half of the 15th century the copying and illuminating of MSS as well as the form and conditions of the pursuit of this craft underwent considerable changes. Related activities in monasteries and convents clearly suffered a decline. This is apparent in the low standard of most of the liturgical MSS, as well as of the execution of

documents issued by ancient chapters of Arad, Pozsony, Kolozsmonostor, Jászó, etc. Quality illumination took place at most only in the cathedrals and urban parish churches. That too appears not to have been local work but that of itinerant limners. It is due to the activity of a great number of such itinerant artists that the appearance of illuminations originating in the age of Sigismund was for quite a time pretty heterogeneous and that a more homogeneous, local style can be said to have come into being in Pozsony, the earliest towards the end of that period.

The style of illuminations was influenced primarily by nearby centres. There were few links with Italy. The influence of the French and Flemish schools, leading in Europe at that time, was demonstrated by Gyöngyi Török on a soft-style canon sheet from a Pozsony missal. The Bible in *littera gallica* mentioned in Andrea Scolari's will was most certainly a "pocket-size Bible" decorated with figural and ornamental initials, which was copied in large numbers for the higher clergy.

The majority of Hungarian MSS originating in the last quarter of the 14th century usually followed Bohemian models.

Hungarian-Bohemian relations underwent some changes owing to the migration of artists from the Prague workshop, which was established by the master of the Gerona *Martyrologium*.

The new centres of this production came into being in the years of Hussite wars in Bohemia. A few MSS made in Pozsony and in Upper Hungary during the first quarter of the 15th century testify to the influence of illuminators active in Vienna.

TRANSYLVANIA

THE DIGNITY OF THE PARTICULAR

by

ANDRÁS SÜTŐ

In 1987, when András Sütő turned sixty, I asked him to give an interview. He declined it, so as a birthday greeting, I have compiled the present text making use of earlier conversations. *(László Abloncz y*, June 17, 1987)

Let's start with your recently published fairy play, Kalandozások Ihajcsuhajdiában *(Adventures in Good Time Land). Will it be followed by a new play of the same kind?*

A new fairy play is part of my plans. But how one's plans come true, what it succeeds in doing, and finally what its message turns out to be, can only be said at the very end of the work, after one has gone in from the time of planning, that is from outside, into the autchtonous world of the work itself. In there you are surprised to find out that this or that takes a different shape, in contrast to your prior ideas. Just as you cannot know in advance what the final shape of the crown of a tree will be. It is therefore better if one keeps silent about what is not yet finished.

Then let us speak about a finished work. The Hungarian State Theatre of Kolozsvár is going to perform your comedy Vidám sirató egy bolyongó porszemért *(Merry wake for a roaming speck of dust). What are the guiding ideas of the production?*

My mind is exercised by whether we will succeed in combining gaiety and bitterness in a manner which makes the author's intention more forceful and clearer than in earlier performances. György Harag successfully produced the play in Marosvásárhely some time ago. We talked a great deal about the shortcomings of the work as regards suitability for the stage. It was really for his sake that I rewrote the play. By the time I finished, György Harag was no longer with us.

If, like your hero Gábor Zetelaki, you came to life not in twenty but in a hundred years, what kind of world would you like to wake up in?

Not like ours, that's for sure.

In our conversation ten years ago you called our life a play in three acts. You described the third act as the period in which a man tries to keep down the foreboding

of death. You mentioned Gyula Illyés's Kháron ladikja *(Charon's punt). Now that you are sixty ,does the feeling grow stronger in you that a new chapter in your life is about to start? Or does the date mean nothing you to? Do you remember what your attitude, as a young man, was when your parents reached this age? And what was your attitude when the models you looked up to, your writer friends, turned sixty, Gyula Illyés, Károly Kós, and others?*

By the time you are sixty, death squats down beside you, and keeps an eye on your every movement. First you are frightened, you wake in alarm from your dream with your heart throbbing because you had to escape, fighting shortness of breath. Then you get accustomed to his nearness, as in fairy-tales to the dragon and you sleep under the same roof. But you begin to drive yourself the more, to make up for what you have missed. Live, the wise saying bells me, as if every moment were your last. As a writer, I never lived like that. Politics took up much of my energy. It may well be, however, that what I have not written was to the advantage of what I did write. Today I am glad that all those novels came a cropper which I had started according to the formula of the fifties, I threw them straight into the fire disillusioned both with myself and the formula. Now that I have no formula, I have to race against death. I know that the time will come when he will overcome me, but until then I will still fling a thing or two into his face. My father and my mother at the same age? I thought them young. And my writer friends—of the elder generation—I looked on them as ancients. Mainly because of their authority. In my eyes Károly Kós was a grand old man when he was fifty.

You have started to write fairy tales with a considerable impetus. When your children were small, you did not write any tales. You told tales to your grandchildren. Where does this sudden enthusiasm derive from?

Új Élet, our illustrated magazine in Transylvania some time ago started a new section for children which they called Duty Grandfather. Grandfathers told tales. I thought I should join them. Then I remembered how much I knew about nature. Woods and meadows, the forest beasts and birds, trouts in streams all ask to become part of tales. I must save all I can from my mortality. So in this way I will have assembled a volume of tales by the end of this year.

What else are you working on?

A short story, a novel, travel notes. Travelling at home, of course.

And travelling abroad?

Right now I may not travel.

When did the Kriterion Publishing House of Bucharest last publish a book by you?

Seven years ago. *Évek, hazajáró lelkek* (Years, visiting ghosts).

And since then? Have you, perhaps, written nothing?

I have written a great deal. But as far as publishing is concerned, these have been my seven lean years.

Did you not submit anything to the publisher?

Among other things I am waiting for the opinion of preliminary readers concerning three plays; it will be two years in July since I submitted them.

People look for your books in the shops?

There are none, and there have not been any, for seven years.

What, in your opinion, is the minimum a given national minority needs for a human existence?

For many years now, as long as I added my voice to the public discussion, I spoke about these conditions wherever I had occasion to do so. A national minority, especially if nearly two million people are involved, which forms part of a nation living in its own state, has the right to demand that the concept of equality should not be reduced to some sort of universal human rights, like the right to work, equality before the law, the ballot, and so on. These are basic, extremely important rights, but do not exhaust the conditions which can keep alive a national minority also in its ethnic character. Its life and growth, even its survival, can consequently only be assured if—beyond the civil rights of individuals—these are also collective rights. It must be able to establish the framework of its own culture and fill it in with its own national culture, just like the nation of the state in which the national minority lives. Many ifs follow. If education in its own native idiom—its national language—can be used beyond private life in public life too, both in speech and in writing; if it is represented on all political levels proportionate to its numbers; if its representatives can reveal openly and sincerely what causes anxiety to their constituency; if the state takes care that rights proclaimed constitutionally should not be distorted by local and subjective interpretations; if normal ties of the national minority with the larger nation to which it belongs and its cultural and scientific life are assured; if it indeed can fill the role of a bridge between the nation of its own state and the nation to which it ethnically belongs.

In one word, if it can be itself, a peculiar hue in the whole of a state where the dignity of the particular is respected, or in other words, all conditions of the existence and flourishing of a given ethnic group. All this is, of course, only part of the answer that can be given to the question. All I have mentioned are elementary conditions. Rights.

And the obligations? Where there are rights, the responsible awareness of civic obligations necessarily develops. And the entire, complex process of coexistence shapes its forms in a reassuring, and even encouraging, way.

ANDRÁS GERŐ

HUNGARIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY AND THE *HISTORY OF TRANSYLVANIA*

The past is increasingly of topical interest. At least so it appears from the unparalleled success of *A History of Transylvania*, whose three volumes appearing towards the end of 1986 sold, despite the rather high price, forty thousand copies in a short time; the second edition that has since come out achieved a similar success. Its editor, Béla Köpeczi, has announced that a third edition is in train, a fourth edition will incorporate conclusions from the debates it has inspired and that a single-volume condensation will be published in several foreign languages.

No other scholarly work ever excited so much interest in Hungary. This is, of course, not only because of historiographical merits but something else—such as politics, feelings, national consciousness—must be in the background. The link between the book and its milieu is in itself also part of East European history and part of the highly ramified history of Transylvania.

A comprehensive history of Transylvania, though different from this one in size and character, was last published in Hungary in 1946. No work of a similar nature has appeared here for some forty years. New generations have grown up who have been in a position to hear much but know little about Transylvania. The reasons for this hiatus of forty years were legion; here we will content ourselves with just two types of interrelated reasons, the first professional and the second political.

After 1948 Hungarian historiography underwent changes similar to those which took place in many other fields of intellectual life. Important scholarly centres, among them those concerned with Eastern European studies were liquidated. Key positions were occupied by young historians who, historical studies of their nature demanding long-term investment, could only much later be expected to produce results based on independent research. The writing of history, however, took another direction and had to base itself not on research but on ideological precepts: the new political establishment in the making also demanded ideological and historical justification, for legitimation. Prevalent in the interpretation of the past was almost as a disclaimer of all previous findings, the demands of a policy of self-justification: history had become "the maidservant of politics". (Here it is worth referring to a book, *History of the Hungarian People*, published early in the 1950s and intended as a representative tome.) Of course, not all historians matched the ideological expectations but research-orientation had to be paid for by acquiescing in a peripheral position.

The fact that ideological considerations were preferred to scholarly achievement could not yet have prevented a Transylvanian history from being written, as is shown by the publication of a short, comprehensive history of Hungary. Here, however, the obstacle was already one of ideological intent. A simplified interpretation of the class-war view of history laid stress on the dichotomy between oppressor and oppressed, and did not attach too much importance to the concept of nation or to the historical components of national consciousness. Furthermore, often in simple schematic opposition to the politics and ideology of the Horthy era, it merely reversed the plus and minus signs. Incidentally, the ideological prejudices of the Horthy era were thereby handed down to us. Thus the question of Transylvania could not even be

raised, because propounding it would have been tantamount to advocating nationalism, which had been utterly repudiated. Otherwise, in the spirit of the 1919 traditions, of the Republic of Councils and of the slogan of internationalism it was thought that the new social system beginning to take shape also in Rumania would solve and settle the national problem together with the questions concerning nationalities.

The year 1956 gave a political indication that the above ideological construction—and whatever of it had been left unstated—might have had some logical coherence but did not have much to do with the public thinking in the country. The question of national feeling, that of "being Hungarian", presented itself with overwhelming force; it became evident that it was a problem that could not simply be dismissed.

Although a little slowly, the drawing of conclusions began. In the Soviet Union, at the beginning of the sixties, there were attempts to redefine the idea of the nation. In Hungary, simultaneously with this, a leading historian of the era, Erik Molnár launched a debate on the concept of nation. Though the debate broke new ground, it nevertheless was channelled by post-Stalinist considerations, with the historians being divided as to whether national solidarity or class difference should matter more or whether Hungarians living beyond the frontiers belonged to the nation at all. In the sixties moreover a school of historians had emerged which was capable of meeting considerable scholarly demands. This is well shown by the two-volume history of Hungary published in 1964. By its nature that was able to rely mostly on historians who, because of their speciality and for reasons of policy or their age, were not "within the main current" during the 1950s and could thus later engage in laying the foundations of scholarly specialisation. It was at least as important, however, that the political milieu had begun to render possible a new way of thinking about things—even if these had been taboo—such as national history, national consciousness, national feeling. An outstanding professional performance, and very much a sign of the new times, was an essay written by Jenő Szűcs in 1968 and published in 1970 bearing the title "*A nemzet historikuma és a történelem nemzeti látószöge*" (Historical Evolution of the Nation and the National Angle of the View of History). Szűcs spoke up, among other things, for scholarship and a uniform system of concepts in historiography. His examples included issues of different and conflicting Rumanian and Hungarian interpretations in Hungarian-Rumanian coexistence.

In the 1970s it was already obvious that Hungarian historians both as regards unbiased attitudes and professional standards, had become capable of a synthesis that was new even if not quite consistent. This is attested to by the ten-volume history of Hungary, or rather those of its volumes published from the mid-1970s. A good number of biographies and monographs have also come out, each dealing with a single figure or period in Transylvanian history. With specialised knowledge coming into prominence, paradoxically, something has become evident that never caused any particular problem to ideologically based historiography, namely that erudition is of no use when certain sources are hardly, or not at all accessible. The sources in question are those which are located outside present-day Hungary. This factor has doubtless hindered and continues to hinder research, still, by the second half of the 1970s, the prerequisites were there, even if only partly, for writing a Transylvanian history. The fact is that there was nothing in principle to prevent the preparation by 1980—as was originally intended—of a work similar to that which was to appear six years later.

However, no such history came out in 1980. Slow-working authors, new data—these were certainly factors that were responsible for the delay. But when the idea of an undertaking of this kind arose, the ideological and political milieu in which the work

would be published must have also been considered.

With direct central ideological expectations dropped from the approach of historical scholarship in Hungary, what still remained politically and ideologically important was the standing of history as a discipline, or rather the context of its achievement. This is true in particular when the work at issue—not for its content but simply for the very fact of its publication—is also given a political interpretation both at home and abroad; nor is there anything unduly surprising if we know that a publication dealing with this subject had been considered unimportant for about forty years. There could have been no doubt that a protest was likely to be forthcoming from the Rumanian side. The very reason why there could be no illusions in this respect is that we know from our own practice in Hungary the implications of the relationship in the 1950s between historiography and politics. To put it plainly, writing history in Rumania has not the same position as it has in Hungary. Asynchronism means the difference between the conditions in which Hungarian historiography was in the 1950s and, say, in the 1970s or 1980s. A negative reaction was certainly to be expected if only because even the Rumanian–Hungarian negotiations of the 1960s and 1970s with a view to comparing schoolbooks failed to bring the viewpoints of the parties closer.

Still, the appearance of *A History of Transylvania* in 1986 rather than earlier, I feel, was not to its scholarly detriment. For it became possible for quite a few of the contributors to do more than polish up material published earlier: they were able to formulate their views in suitable accordance with new research results.

This is not the place to go into details that would demonstrate and appraise the new contributions the volume had to offer from the point of view of scholarship. Given the specialization that now exists in historical atudies, it would be well-nigh impossible for s single man to make such an attempt. All that I can do is to point out how valuable this work is as a piece of scholarship and morally.

To begin with, what we have here is not a sort of history as *arrière-pensée*. In other words, the past cannot be explained in present-day conditions; the different contributors have made use of methods that allow them to pry into the inner logic of events and processes. In formulating their views on particular questions, they have been guided not by theoretical prejudices but by data held to be of significance. What they have written is not a polemical essay but an expression of their own opinions. (Hence the differences of view to be found in the work's annotations.) Their statements are characterised by freedom from passion and emotion, even in cases where the facts often do arouse emotions. Perhaps most important of all, prevailing throughout is an attitude which—having respect for mutual rights—attempts to understand and not to pass superficial judgement. This does not preclude appreciation, albeit naturally more of it is descriptive than qualificative. The authors present Transylvanian history as an organic part of Hungarian history and as the history of nationalities that live together.

Greatest interest has probably been elicited by those chapters where the standpoint adopted by the Rumanian writing of history widely differs from that adopted by Hungarian historiography. One of those is the chapter "From Dacia to Transylvania" (written by István Bóna) which, precisely because of the Daco-Rumanian theory, discusses that period with particular thoroughness, using an entirely new way of approach, and shows its own validity through coherent historical arguments. I have to mention also Ambrus Miskolczy and Zoltán Szász, who review the past of Transylvania from the Reform Era up to Trianon; their task has been no less than that of surveying and interpreting Hungarian-Rumanian-Saxon relationships, which experienced so many, and often bloody, conflicts and which still exercise a strong influence on modern consciousness. It has fallen

to Béla Köpeczi's lot to write the section claiming perhaps the greatest attention, namely that which deals with Transylvania from 1918 up to our days. Here the reader is given a short overview.

As in cases of this kind, a compilation is a source of both strength and weakness. The differences among the contributors make it occasionally difficult to harmonize the texts, to make indeed particular points of view consistently prevail; indeed, even preferences can change, thus there are some who write more extensively on cultural history while others give it no importance.

On the whole, the Akadémia Publishing House has brought out a work of scholarly authority and, through its inherent values, an ethical as well as scholarly accomplishment. The contributors are able to emphasise Hungarian interest, the search for historic truth and a respect for universal human rights in such a manner that none of these elements is conflict; indeed all of them demonstrate that only such an approach can hold out the chance of replacing anger with hope.

The work that appeared at the end of 1986 was conceived in such spirit, or rather it was then that Hungarian cultural policy decided on publishing it. More plainly, it was then that professional erudition and the political will met. In a certain sense, this is reflected in the person of its editor, Béla Köpeczi, who is a historian and also Minister of Culture.

On publication a situation arose which, however curious, was not unexpected in view of what had happened before: a genuine achievement of academic science became a bestseller. Official Rumanian reaction was one of brusque and outright rejection, a reaction that was not very surprising, given the differences of opinion between Rumanian and Hungarian historiography. At the most, the extent of rejection was unexpected, for it is rare indeed for a head of state to challenge an academic work by historians. The book received a favourable reception in a number of countries, in written reviews (in *Le Monde* and *The Times Literary Supplement* for example, and in broadcast reviews, from the BBC for example). As far as I know, the only peremptory rejection of the work appeared in the form of a full-page advertisement in *The Times* for April 7, 1987, calling attention to an article published in Rumania by three Rumanian historians. The Greek individual who had placed the advertisement in the paper and his address are allegedly fictitious.

When the Rumanian protest was voiced, the book had already sold out in Hungary. Hungarian public opinion had not been influenced by the actual Rumanian reaction but had acted on its own impulses in displaying an interest in the book; this interest was incidentally given a further impulse by the negative response from Bucharest. A contributing factor was certainly, and still is, the growing attraction of history as a discipline. In my view, however, it would be misleading to attribute commercial success exclusively to this circumstance. More to the point is, I think, the fact that a considerable section of the Hungarian public has been prompted by ideological, political and emotional reasons to turn so avidly towards this achievement of scholarship. Nor would it really be a mistake to suppose that this was taken into consideration at the time of publication. For it is easy to understand that what has been and is still hidden in the Hungarian public with such an interest in the subject is not simply a thirst for knowledge. It is usually said that, since between one and a half to two million Hungarians are living in Rumania, the ties of kinship and friendship are woven through national boundaries: thus the number of those in Hungary who are thus linked to Transylvania can be estimated at millions. At the same time, one must not forget two more factors beyond this circle, limited as it is in comparison with the number of Hungarians who live in Hungary itself.

One of these two factors is the trauma of Trianon for Hungarian national consciousness. Trianon can be interpreted rationally, it can be criticised and rejected from the na-

tionalist and internationalist points of view alike, but it cannot be digested emotionally. This indigestibility does not arise merely from national feeling but follows from the violation of the ethical system of European culture, of its claim to truth and justice. Precisely because it is an indigestible experience, it is all too easy to build upon it a political course—which was what the Horthy regime did. It has also been shown that action taken against an unjust decision, when it is imbedded in unjust aims, can lead to national tragedy just as the Great War did.

Transylvania became a symbol as it were for the trauma of Trianon, because it had affected and still affects most Hungarians. The irredentism of the Horthy era made it evident that this trauma could be put to political use and also that chauvinist nationalism was conducive logically to national destruction. However, it should not be forgotten that the discrediting of Hungarian interwar policy did not do away with the Trianon problem in national consciousness.

The second factor, which is perhaps more relevant today, is that of Hungary's policy following the Second World War. True to the logic of reversing signs, it had for a long time taken no notice of the above and branded any raking up of Trianon with the disgracing mark of nationalism and chauvinism. Those who made and supported that policy supposed that the problem would go away if they simply kept silent about it. They believed that if they broke the barometer, the weather would change for the better. Pressing more and more heavily upon the Trianon experience, which had been a forbidden topic and could only be discussed in part even up to these days, was the mass of information, coming from personal contacts, that pointed clearly to our responsibility without power for the Hungarian of Transylvania. Paradoxically, the interplay of these factors, each similar in their distressing logic, exercised a very salutary effect, one that revived the best traditions of European progressive thinking and attitudes. Hungarian society took a growing interest in human rights and became sensitive not to territorial but to human problems. Therefore, when scholarly erudition and the political will combined to produce *A History of Transylvania*, a considerable section of the public, in view of the previous forty years, rightly came to the conclusion that an avenue was opening to the justification of its sentimental and political interest that had been suppressed earlier.

This academic work has thus found itself in a peculiar situation. Its context has turned out not to be exactly the same as it should be in the narrow sense. Both official Rumania and Hungary, though from different viewpoints and for different reasons, have adopted and continue to maintain a particular political and emotional attitude to it. A specific consequence of this is that the range of effective scholarly criticism is thus restricted, since contrary views can come in for political stigmatisation. The only chance for progress consists in the appearance of as many scholarly debates as possible on questions of detail and conceptional issues alike. A significant event in this process was a three-day conference held in Debrecen, in October 1987.

The situation that has arisen is not untypical of East Europe: there is something that is not identical with itself, consequently the attitude taken to it is not directed at it alone. Scholarship is scholarship, yet it assumes a different role because of national history and actual policy. This is why I think that the past seems to have become increasingly topical. Yet we should probably have a simpler task, and our national consciousness would operate more soundly despite all its inherited traumas, if the present were a subject of topical interest. This is, of course, not a matter for scholarship but for politics, yet it really is of such importance that politics should not use the specific East European model for its tool but set itself the task of resolving the situation. Because if the past is past and the present is present, then the future may perhaps be a future. And this is not such an alarming prospect.

GÁBOR VÉKONY

THE THEORY OF DACO-RUMANIAN CONTINUITY

The origin of the Rumanians and the settlement of Transylvania

Because of the conquest of the Balkans by the Romans, a considerable Latin-speaking population appeared in the northern and western parts of the peninsula. In the Modern Age we know of but two remnants of this, the Rumanian and the Dalmatian languages. Dalmatian, spoken on the Adriatic litoral in the cities had become extinct by the end of the last century, while four kinds of Rumanian are known in Southeast Europe: northern Rumanian spoken in Rumania and in the surrounding countries (also termed Daco-Rumanian), Macedo-Rumanian spoken in Greece, Yugoslavia and Albania, Megleno-Rumanian spoken in Bulgaria and Greece, and Istro-Rumanian spoken on the Istrian peninsula. These four Rumanian languages became separate after the eleventh century; up to then their precursor had been spoken within a smaller area. The first relics of this precursor, Common Rumanian, can be dated from the end of the sixth century in toponyms and glosses south of the Balkan Mountains. A record of a people called Vlachorichin around Saloniki dates from the eighth century. These can be identified with the Rumanians who were then and in the later Middle Ages, consistently called Vlach. The area where the Rumanian languages were developed can be placed—through connections with Albanian and Bulgarian Slavonic—at the southern part the Balkan peninsula. It was there that toponyms were retained without interruption from Antiquity to the Modern Age—including the name of Saloniki.

Who were the Vlach?

The first certain occurrence of the name Vlach was in a.D. 976, when migrating Vlachs killed, between Castoria and Lake Prespa, David, brother of the later Bulgarian Tsar Samuel. After this event, which took place close to the border of modern Yugoslavia and Greece, from A.D. 1020 we already know of Vlachs on the entire territory of Bulgaria, and there are several mentions of them dating from the tenth century. Typically, even at that time, they were known as shepherds. The daughter of the Byzantine Emperor, Anna Komnena, mentioned that those who chose the nomadic life were called Vlachs in the common language. Thus, even at that time—just as in much corresponding data later—the name Vlach need not have referred to Rumanians only (although it then undoubtedly included mostly them), but also others who led a shepherd's life.

The first data concerning the origin of the Vlach living in the Balkan peninsula are also from the second half of the eleventh century. The Byzantine official Kekaumenos wrote of the Vlachs: "...these are the so-called Dacians and Bessa. Earlier they lived near the River Danube and the Saos, which we now call the River Savas, where now the Serbs live, in fortified and unaccessible places. Trusting in these, they feigned friendship and submission to the earlier emperors of the Romans, and coming out of their fortresses they pillaged the Roman provinces. So, becoming angry with them... they destroyed them. And they, leaving those regions, dispersed in the whole of Epiros and Macedonia but the majority of them settled in Hellas."

At a superficial reading, this mention by Kekaumenos may serve as evidence for the descent of the Rumanians from the Dacians (and the Bessae), and thus as evidence for the theory of Daco-Rumanian continuity. However, Kekaumenos places the earlier homeland of the Vlachs within the territory of the Serbia of the time, northwest of mod-

ern Skopje, and south of Belgrade, where, in those times, Rumanians indeed lived in considerable numbers. In keeping with the custom of his times, he also gave antique names to the Vlachs just as in contemporary writings the Bulgarians were called Moesians, and the Serbs were called Triballes. Since he believed that the Vlachs could be identified with the Dacians (also), he recounted everything he knew of the latter. Consequently, the text of Kekaumenos can only be taken as evidence that the Vlachs were not aboriginal to Greece. At the same time, we have to consider it remarkable that he knew nothing of their Neo-Latin language. This can hardly be explained merely by his being ignorant of Latin, not recognizing the connection between Rumanian and Latin, but much rather by the fact that for Kekaumenos the word Vlach meant only nomads, who were made up of different people speaking several languages, which is rendered likely also by the Slavonic and Greek names for the Vlachs mentioned by him. Consequently, Kekaumenos's story was not in some Roman tradition, but was simply a scholastic construction, the more so since he had no knowledge either of Dacia, established by Trajan north of the Danube (106–271), or of the Dacian province established by the Emperor Aurelian south of the Danube.

The account of Kekaumenos on the Vlachs had no echo in Byzantine writings. At the time of the Hungarian Byzantine wars of the twelfth century Kinnamos wrote, in connection with an event of 1167, that the Vlachs are called old settlers from Italy. This claim originating in oral tradition regarding the Italian origin of the Vlachs, has realistic foundations, and we meet it several times later too, in comments in medieval and early modern periods concerning the origin of the Rumanians.

The continuity theory of Italian humanists

However, all this did not refer to the Northern Rumanians, to those living in the territory of the former Roman province, Trajan's Dacia. It could not refer to them because the first mention of Rumanians north of the Danube is dated around 110, when Ioachim, Steward of Szeben, sent troops which included Rumanians (Olaci) to relieve the besieged Vidin. Typically, Rudolf von Ems, who wrote universal chronicle towards the middle of the thirteenth century, still knew of Rumanians only "beyond the snowy mountains", that is, outside the Carpathians, in what was later Walachia (and perhaps in Moldavia) *(wilde Vlachin jensit das sneberges)*. There only exist much later mentions on the origin of the northern Rumanians. In his letter to King Louis the Great, 1345, Pope Clement VI mentions "Roman Vlachs" (Olachi Romani), who live in the Transylvanian, Transalpine and Szerémség parts of Hungary, but this can only be a reflection of the rather well-known fact that the Vlachs were of Roman origin, as the Papal court had already stressed several times in its correspondence with the Assenide Bulgarian-Vlach rulers. The first who dealt in detail with the origin of the northern Rumanians was the Florentine humanist Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1549), who said in a work written in 1451 that there were settlers left behind by Trajan in the western parts of Eastern Europe, who had kept much of their Latin language. This information came from oral sources, about which we know no more, but it can be taken for granted that it referred to Rumanians in Moldavia. The information that the language of the Rumanians of Moldavia was similar to Italian certainly came to Italy from an Italian merchant town on the Black Sea coast, where humanists well versed in the history of Rome had linked it to Trajan's Dacian conquest and to the Romans who had settled north of the Danube. It is, however, important that this author did not make any mention of Dacia. Moldavia, which, from the end of the fourteenth century, spread from the Carpathians to the River Dniester and to the Black Sea, was east of the Dacia of Roman times, and

the first data on the 'Romanness' of the northern Rumanians, as of the Rumanians of the Balkans, did not refer to the Rumanians living within the limits of Trajan's province.

The notion that the northern Rumanian were the descendants of Trajan's Dacian settlers, appeared in a fully developed form in the writings of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (1405–1464), the later Pope Pius II (1458–1464). This noted humanist spoke of the Rumanians north of the Danube as the descendants of those Roman soldiers who were sent to fight the Dacians. The Roman legions were assumed to be under a certain Flaccus, from whom the Rumanians got their name (Flaccus being later turned into Vlachus).

According to Aeneas Sylvius, the language of the Rumanians was Roman, but had been corrupted to the extent that it could hardly be understood by Italians.

After these antecedents, Antonio Bonfini made the descent of the Rumanians from the Dacian Roman colonists and from Trajan's legions the subject of a quasi-scientific study. Bonfini (?1427–1502), who from 1486 lived in Hungary, had local knowledge, unlike his compatriot predecessors, who only relied on hearsay. He knew the Roman inscriptions and ruins in Hungary, and he knew Italian literature. Nevertheless, the sole—though often stressed—evidence for the Roman origin of the Rumanians is that their language confirms Roman descent alone with the incidental and implicit fact that they live where the Dacians once lived. He gives several explanations why these Rumanians—Romans—are nevertheless called Valach. He rejected the argument of Aeneas Sylvius that they must have been named after Flaccus; he explained the origin of their name, through a Greek etymology, by their being good archers; however, he also considered it possible that they got their name from Diocletian's daughter Valeria, or from the province named after her. These are the etymologies of a humanist scholar; a reader today may doubt whether Bonfini ever saw anything of Roman Dacia. Nevertheless, this is where the territory of the former Roman province was first mentioned together with the Rumanians as descendants of the Roman settlers, and it was in formulation that contained the nucleus of the theory of Daco-Rumanian continuity, as it were, in bud. Bonfini was, of course, interested not only in this, but also in the descent of King Matthias Corvinus. That is why he mentions the patrician Roman Corvinus family, from which the Hunyadis were supposed to have descended.

The Rumanian descent of King Matthias provided considerable impetus to the humanists of his time discussing the Roman origin of the Rumanians. This could already be observed in connection with his father, János Hunyadi (inter alia in Pietro Ransano). It was from these writings, and from the popular works by Aeneas Sylvius, that the Roman origin of the Rumanians and their settlement by Trajan found its way into numerous sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors, to be handed down to eighteenth-century scholarship, whether of Hungarian, Transylvanian Saxon or of other European origin. *Flaccus dux*, as the explanation of the Vlach name of the Rumanians, was slowly dropped from the original version, but the view lived on for a long time that the Rumanians were Italians. One reason for this was that in Polish the Italians and the Rumanians had a similar name (in Hungarian too: *olasz* and *oláh* respectively) and thus discerning a link between the two peoples was quite obvious.

The humanist view on the origin of the Rumanians was a conclusion based on reasonable premises by the scholarship of the era. The facts were:

1. a people lived at the lower reaches of the Danube, in the region of the Eastern-Carpathians, whose language resembled Latin and Italian,

2. in the region this people was given the same name as the Italians,

3. the Roman Emperor Trajan defeat-

ed the Dacians, occupied their country, and sent Roman settlers there,

4. the territory of the Dacians, Dacia, was in the region where the Vlachs speaking a language resembling Latin was found.

A natural conclusion from such premises was that the Vlachy, the Rumanians, were the descendants of Trajan's settlers. Knowing only these facts, this is an obvious conclusion not only for fifteenth- and sixteenth-century humanists, but even for someone living today.

Eighteenth-century views

The humanist idea of the descent of the Rumanians from the Dacian Romans—based on the knowledge available at the time—naturally found its way into Rumanian scholarship. However, this happened as late as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although the first mention is dated from 1532. It is also interesting to note that Rumanian tradition is aware of the settlement of Rumanians in Transylvania and in medieval Hungary. According to their earliest anonymous chronicle, written around 1504, King Ladislas gave them land in Máramaros, and at a place called Kőrös, between the Maros and the Tisza rivers. "They settled there and began to marry Hungarian women and convert them to their Christian faith." Early Rumanian historians generally held that the Rumanians were of Italian descent, which is not surprising if one knows the antecendents. As far as the origin of the Rumanians is concerned, almost all the views now held were already known then: the late settlement of the Rumanians in the Carpathian basin, the earliest Anonymus Chronicle, as well as in the *Letopiseţul unguresc*, or Hungarian yearbook, used by several historians), the descent from Trajan's soldiers (Miron Costin, Dimitrie Cantemir), the participation of the Dacians in Rumanian ethnogenesis (Constantin Cantacuzino).

In the eighteenth century, the origin of the Rumanians became a political question. The Transylvanian Rumanians were already striving for emancipation, the beginnings of which struggle can be dated from the Union of the Orthodox Rumanians of Transylvania with Rome (1697). By then, the largest single ethnic group in Transylvania were the Rumanians; however, they had no political rights, unlike the "three nations" (Hungarian, Saxon and Székely). Bishop Inochentie Micu-Klein, arguing for these political rights, declared as early as 1735: "We are the oldest inhabitants of Transylvania, having been here since the Emperor Trajan". The *Supplex libellus Valachorum*, a petition written in 1791 to serve political purposes, also states that the Rumanians descend from the colonists of the Emperor Trajan. From then on, political interests for a long period determined attitudes to Roman continuity in Dacia. The passionate debate, which was conducted by Rumanians, Hungarians and Germans, clarified many points on the origin and history of the Rumanians, and thus can ultimately be considered useful for our knowledge of history. In this debate an important role was played by three members of the Transylvanian School, known as the Transylvanian Trias, Samuil Micu-Klein (1745–1806), Georghe Şincai (1753–1816) and Petru Maior (1754–1821). All three were Uniates, that is they belonged to the Greek Catholic Church, and had been educated in Vienna and Rome. Both Şincai and Maior read Rumanian proofs for the University Press of Buda, and both were well versed in Hungarian historiography. The Transylvanian Trias only taught the survival of the Romans in Dacia; it never occurred to them—for which there are examples in Rumanian territories outside Transylvania—that the local Dacian population might have been latinised. Today we meet with the reverse of this view: it is argued that the the Dacian aboroginal population became latinised in the area occupied by the Romans and remained in place when the forces of the empire withdrew from this region.

The Balkan Peninsula and the Carpathian Basin in the era of the Great Migrations

Of course, nobody of sober mind would claim that not a single person speaking Latin remained in Dacia after 271, when the Romans abandoned it. It must, however, be considered that, with the exception of the Greeks, there is no people on the Balkan Peninsula or in the Carpathian region which did not arrive at the places where they lived now in the first ten centuries A.D., or to be more exact, after the collapse of the Roman empire.

We find today Slavs, Hungarians, Turks, and here and there Germans in those areas where Tracians, Illyrians, Dacians, Pannonians, Celts or Greeks and Latins lived around the birth of Christ. Although the Albanians are usually recorded as aboriginals, it has long been known that they are not aboriginal to the area they now occupy and there are good reasons for assuming that they are late settlers on the Balkan peninsula. In addition to the Albanians, Slavs, Hungarians and Turks who settled in the region, we are aware of several peoples and languages which also settled in the Balkan Peninsula and in the Carpathian region later, but of whom there is no trace today since they have been completely assimilated. There is no need to list the peoples which settled by the end of the fifth century within the boundaries of the Roman empire (i. e. the Balkan peninsula), be they Iranian-speaking Alans, Germanic tribes or even Huns. The Germanic-speaking Heruls who settled in 512 in the northern part of modern Bulgaria and about the year 535 around Belgrade, have disappeared; true, they could not have been very large in numbers. No trace has been left of the heirs to Hun rule, the Gepids who occupied the eastern half of the Carpathian basin, although they are still mentioned in 8th and 9th century sources. There were a number of Turkic peoples of which there remains no trace: Bulgarians, who were already at the lower reaches of the Danube at the end of the fifth century; and there are records of their having been in the Carpathian basin in the seventh century: then there are the Bulgarian Kuturgurs, who lived on the lower reaches of the Danube and south of the Danube in the sixth century, the Avars who settled in the Carpathian basin in 567–586, the Danubian Bulgarians who established a state south of the Danube in 681 (and gave their name to modern Bulgaria and its people), the Onogundur, who were closely related to them and lived in the Carpathian Basin in the eighth century, or the Onogur or Wangari who spoke a Bulgarian–Turkic language and settled there in the ninth century. Both south and north of the Danube, the Turkic peoples which settled there after the tenth century, the Vardariot Turks, the Patzinaks and the Cumanians, have disappeared without a trace.

Germanic tribes and Huns in Dacia

In such a turmoil of peoples and events, it is difficult to believe that the latinised groups which may have remained in place in the Dacia abandoned by the Romans, would have survived unchanged. The outstanding Rumanian linguist, Alexander Philippide writes that it is not possible to know what happened to such people who remained in place, and who must have spoken a different language to the precursor of modern Rumanian. Fortunately, our not overabundant sources are sufficient to form a reliable picture. We know that twenty years after the final evacuation of the province, in 291, the Goth Tevings and Taifals waged war against the Vandals and Gepids. Before 271 these Germanic tribes were to be found exclusively in the vicinity of Dacia, The war between them was certainly caused by the abandonment of the province and had occupation by Dacia as its goal, indeed, we have written proof from around 360 that Taifals, Victoals and Tervings in the area of the Roman province established by Emperor Trajan and

that the allied Taifal and Terving were victors in this late third-century war, but the Victoal Vandals were also able to hold on to some parts of Dacia. This is also reflected in the archeological material. Life ended in the Roman towns, there were no further burials in the large urban cemeteries; at the same time, Goth remnants well-known from Eastern Europe appeared in the territory of Transylvania, their characteristic village settlements, such as that at Sepsiszentgyörgy, and cremated burials at Baráthely. The Goths, Taifals and Vandals invading the territory had no use for the Roman towns, the buildings abandoned by the earlier inhabitants went into ruin and disappeared as did the names of the towns themselves. Not a single name of a Roman town survived in the territory of Roman Dacia, evidence that they had no inhabitants to pass on these names to those who followed later, as happened in Pannonia, where there is all the same no trace of Romanism.

In addition to the Germanic tribes listed, there are of course other peoples in the area of Dacia to be taken into account. In 367, when the Emperor Valens crossed to the northern bank of the Danube from modern Bulgaria, the Goths fled from him to the mountains of the Serrus. These mountains were the Southern Carpathians. Although we know nothing of the Serrus, we know that between 376 and 381 Athanaric, King of the Goths, fleeing from the Huns, drove the Sarmatians from the territory of Caucalanda. Since Caucalanda were the South-Eastern Carpathians, it is likely that the Serrus were Sarmatians speaking an Iranian language. This is confirmed by the Sarmatian traces of the archeological material of this period, as for instance at Maroscsapó.

During the rule of the Huns and the period that followed, the ethnic and political situation of these regions was completely rearranged. The Ostrogoths dominated by the Huns went to Transylvania at that time, while after the collapse of Hun rule the Gepids occupied what had been Dacia, not only Transylvania, but also the parts beyond the Carpathians. The richest princely relics of the Gepids were found there, near the River Szamos, Apahida and Szamosfalva. Along the River Maros there are many remnants of villages and burial places, such as Baráthely, Marosfalva, etc.

Iordanes, the historian of the Goths, in the mid- sixth century, describes the exact extent of the territory under Gepid rule. In its western part flows the river Tisza, in the south it is bordered by the Danube and in the east by the River Prut (Flutausis). These surround Dacia. Consequently, Transylvania was a central of Gepid power, Iordanes' description and archeological finds agree on this.

Avars and Bulgarians

In 567, the Gepids were defeated by the Avars, who were of Asian origin and spoke a Turkic language. Although later Gepid relics have been found in the territory of Transylvania (Mezőbánd, Marosveresmart), characteristic Avar finds have been excavated from the late 6th century, in the south-eastern parts of Transylvania, at Koron and Erzsébetváros. Characteristic huts of the Slavs from the same period, dug into the ground, dated with certainty to the seventh century, have also been discovered with their simple vessels. Although written sources are rather scarce from this period, we do know something about the ethnic composition of the Avar empire: Avars, Slavs, Gepids and Bulgarians lived within its territory. It should be added that Avars *and* Bulgarians refers to various ethnic groups speaking Turkic languages. Both names were also used in the political sense. It was in this sense that an unknown author, Geographus Ravennatis, wrote at the end of the eighth century that Dacia called Gepidia was now inhabited by Huns, also called Avars. What the archeological finds can add to this is that, beside the Avar cemeteries, considerable numbers of Slav cemeteries were also found in Transyl-

vania, mainly close to the borders. The expression by the Geographer of Ravenna "Huns also called Avars", calls for the comment that at the time both names designated peoples of eastern origin, mostly speaking Turkic languages, and leading a nomadic life. We indeed know from other sources that in the eighth century larger numbers of groups speaking a Bulgarian–Turkic language lived in the Carpathian basin, and Transylvania was distinguished from other regions by the larger number of Slavs.

After 795, when the Avar empire collapsed and its western areas came under Frankish rule, the former Dacia, including Transylvania, came into the possession of the Bulgarians. Characteristic of this period are cemeteries, such as that of Baráthely, or that of Maroskarna, with both cremation and earth burials which suggest Bulgarian links. The primary consequence of the appearance of Bulgarians was that large numbers of Slavs entered the southern parts of Transylvania from the lower reaches of the Danube, and relics like those of Maroskarna indicate that they included people speaking the Bulgarian–Turkic language. There must also have been Slavs who moved there from Eastern Europe. There is evidence that early in the 920s the Abodrites lived in the Bulgarian marches, in Dacia along the Danube. Along the River Szamos (Szilágynagyfalu, Szamosfalva), Slavonic mound burial sites have been found from this period which are evidence of the presence of East European Slavs.

Transylvania in the ninth century

Ninth-century Transylvania was, therefore, inhabited by Bulgarian Turks, Eastern Slavs and South Slavs. However, the latter, as can be concluded from linguistic data, did not speak the precursor of modern Bulgarian, but a dialect which is closer to modern Serbian. In connection with the Bulgarians spreading north, it has been suggested earlier, and some argue now, that this could have been the time when the migration of the Rumanians from the Balkan peninsula may have started. However, there are no sources either written or archeological to support this, on the other hand, in the Rumanian versions of Transylvanian geographic names there would have to be traces of names which had been given by the Bulgarian Turks living there. It is, however, well known that the names of the larger rivers entered Rumanian from Hungarian, and Bălgrad—the original Rumanian name of Gyulafehérvár—is a late adoption from Transylvanian Slav or from Hungarian. It is customary to refer, as proof of the Rumanian presence in the ninth century, to the Anonymus Scribe of King Béla, P. magister, who indeed mentioned Rumanians in Transylvania in the period of the Magyar conquest. Anonymus' method of describing the ethnic make-up of the Carpathian basin at the time of the Magyar conquest by placing peoples which lived outside the borders of Hungary in his own time (thirteenth century) inside it. Consequently, if this is proof of anything, it is evidence only that, at the time of Anonymus, Rumanians could not have lived within the Carpathian basin. We have seen that the chronicle by Rudolf vom Ems also described them as being beyond the Carpathians in the mid-thirteenth century.

Thus in 895 the conquering Magyars found Slavs and Bulgarian Turks within the territory of earstwhile Dacia. Victory over the Bulgarians enabled them to occupy, at the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century, the entire territory of Transylvania. We indeed find cemeteries indicating early occupation in several places, including those of Kolozsvár-Zápolya utca or of Marosgombás. The tradition embodied in the Hungarian chronicles also indicates that Transylvania was one of the first regions to be occupied in the Carpathian basin. Another question is which of the conquerors settled in the territory of Transylvania. The absence of the tribal names of the conquering Ma-

gyars suggests that the associated Khazar-Kabars settled there. Differences in the Transylvanian burials, and particularities of objects found also indicate that these can be considered as deriving from a population which was related to the conquering Magyars but was distinct from them. This is indicated by the name of the river Küküllő, which is of Turkic origin and also by one objects inscribed with a Khazar script.

This brief survey makes it clear that there is no trace of the Romans in Dacia after the abandonment of the province in 271. If something of a living Latin derived language had persisted locally, it would have developed into an entirely different language than Rumanian, which could have developed only in the Balkan peninsula. How long the ancestors of the Rumanians lived out of this region is shown by the fact that even the Latin name of the River Danube was lost in the language, as the modern Rumanian name of the Danube (Dunăre) is a loan-word from the Slavonic. Crucially, the names of the large rivers are usually maintained even by those who live further removed from these rivers.

The data which some mention today as evidence of continuity are misinterpretations of archeological finds. According to our present knowledge, the theory of continuity, whose origins go back to humanism, is not supported by the facts.

ILDIKÓ LIPCSEY

HUNGARIANS IN RUMANIA: 1945–1987

Transylvania which covers approximately 100,000 square kilometers in the South-East of the Carpathian Basin belonged to Hungary from the time of the Hungarian conquest (892–896). Owing to its geographic position, Transylvania enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy under a dignitary known in Hungarian as a *vajda* within the Hungarian Kingdom after Saint Stephen the King (1000–1038) established the Hungarian state. When a large part of Hungary was occupied by the Turks in the 16th century, Transylvania became a principality enjoying relative independence. In 1848 the Transylvanian Estates legislated for union with Hungary. The Peace Treaty of Trianon after the First World War gave Transylvania to Rumania.

As a result, some two million ethnic Hungarians have constituted a national minority in Rumania since 1920. Thus Transylvania became part of Rumania, which had been formed in 1859 by the union of two Ruma-

	In 1914		In 1920	
	area	population	area	population
Hungary	283,000 km²	18,264.533	93,000 km²	7,600.000
Rumania	137,903 km²	7,234.919	295,049 km²	15,704.000

Fluctuations in the numbers of the three major national groups in Transylvania

	1460–90	1660	1712	1760	1851	1910	1930
Rumanians	100,000 20 per cent	30–40 per cent	47 per cent	58.25 per cent	1,225 618 59.5 per cent	53.8 per cent	3.233 362 58.2 per cent
Hungarians	250,000 50 per cent	45–50 per cent	262,000 34 per cent	27.83 per cent	536.803 26.03 per cent	31.7 per cent	1.481 164 26.7 per cent
Germans	70,000 14 per cent	10–15 per cent	19 per cent	13.88 per cent	192,000 9.4 per cent	10.8 per cent	542,068 9.8 per cent

nian principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, since for various reasons—wars, epidemics, influx of Rumanian peasants invited to settle there or seeking refuge—the number of Rumanians came to be larger than that of Hungarians and Germans, also known as Saxons, combined.

The position of the then one and a half million Hungarians in Rumania was regulated by two agreements, the *Gyulafehérvár provisions* (December 1st, 1918) and the *International National Minorities Agreement* (December 9th, 1919). Both of these guaranteed the autonomy of educational, cultural and religious life. These provisions were not included in the Rumanian constitution in 1924, however, which guaranteed only general human rights—freedom of speech, right of assembly, punishing incitement against religious, racial or national groups—to Rumanian and non-Rumanian citizens of the country.

The Rumanian governments between the two world pursued policies of covert as well as open assimilation. These were aimed mainly at the schools, and cultural and economic associations of the national minorities. They wanted to change the established ethnic image of Transylvania by the reduction of the strength of the national minority groups. In Székely land, where one third of the Transylvanian Hungarians lived, they employed teachers speaking no Hungarian in the schools, encouraging their stay there with extraordinarily favourable conditions. Workers of national minority groups suffered unemployment and tradesmen were taxed far more than their Rumanian counterparts. The Hungarian peasants suffered discrimination when the agrarian reform was carried out in 1921. Teaching in Hungarian continued mainly in church schools and even these could enrol only limited numbers of pupils of their own denomination and not others whose name suggested German or Jewish origin. The number of schools was not even half of those in Transylvania before Trianon. The Hungarians had to make heavy sacrifices to main-

tain their centuries-old colleges, secondary schools, extensive institutional system, theatres, cultural associations, libraries and publishers under difficult conditions. Thus, while there were 355 state and private libraries, 1417 people's libraries, 195 readers' and social clubs in Transylvania in 1918, only 234 private libraries, 179 people's libraries, 106 readers' and social clubs functioned by 1928.

To complete the picture, it needs to be mentioned that the Rumanian parliamentary opposition of the day acted as a certain counterweight and dampened government measures against the national minorities. The League of Nations in Geneva also functioned as an international forum of varying success offering the opportunity of protest against repressive measures. The Hungarian government between the two wars persistently claimed the return of Transylvania, this was partly realised with the support of the Axis powers and thanks to the Second Vienna Award in 1940. After the Second World War, the Paris Peace Treaty set the Vienna Awards aside and restored the Trianon borders.

Illusion of equality: 1945–1946

After the 23rd of August 1944 the Rumanian Communist Party (RCP) was able to win the support of many Hungarians. The explanation for this has many aspects but is really quite simple.

1. The official position between the two wars was that Rumania is a homogeneous and indivisible national state, the RCP however, had declared that since 27 per cent of the population of Rumania were members of national minorities, the country was a multinational state.

The RCP not only denounced nationalism, but also included in its platform the Leninist principle of self-determination from 1924 onwards to the point of secession of particular territories from the state. Between late 1944 and early 1947 several signs indicated that the Rumanian Communist Party adhered to this position.

2. Between 1944 and 1947 the two largest non-communist parties, the National Peasant Party and the National Liberal Party discussed the expulsion of all of the national minorities and wanted to extend the collective responsibility declared in January to apply to the Germans also to the Hungarians; the Groza government and the RCP declared, however, that they wished to settle the problem of the national minorities by guaranteeing the fullest equality of status.

3. Prime Minister Groza entertained ideas of a federation of Central-East European countries within a general European integration, which was to be preceded by bilateral Rumanian–Hungarian, Rumanian–Yugoslav and Bulgarian–Rumanian customs unions.

4. The most important element was that the Hungarian Popular Alliance (HPA), which rallied the Hungarians in Rumania, was acknowledged as an organization representing interests, the higher authority of every Hungarian institution. The Hungarian Popular Alliance established a permanent working relation with the Rumanian government and the ministries, and had the right to express opinions and make proposals, while it also acted in respect of every issue concerning the Hungarians. The functioning of the political, economic, cultural, scientific, health and benefit society institutional systems of the Hungarians was guaranteed even if they had to be maintained again from their own resources, with minimal government helps. A total of six Hungarian state theatres operated at Kolozsvár (Cluj), Arad, Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfîntu Gheorghe), Nagyvárad (Oradea), Szatmár (Satu Mare), and Marosvásárhely (Tîrgu Mureș) 12 dailies, 10 weeklies, 25 periodicals appeared, a number of Hungarian publishers functioned and the Hungarian writers could establish their own writers' association. The Hungarians were

	1918	1928	1947	1968	1976	1978	1982	
Kindergartens	449	18	300	1230	955	1079	1074	
Elementary schools	2576	1168	1790	1060	1337	1276	1307	
Secondary schools for boys	135	28	14	sections				complete schools and sections
Secondary schools for girls	59	18	38	137	106	120	373	complete schools and sections
Teachers' and Kindergarten teachers' colleges	33	7	15					
Commercial schools	22	5	14					
Trade schools	10	–	13					
Agricultural schools	10	–						
Colleges and Universities	10	–	7					Bolyai University, 8 faculties Arts College, 3 faculties Agricultural College Hungarian Section of the Rumanian Technical University Medical and Pharmaceutical University Roman Catholic Theological College Calvinist Theological College

* At the Kolozsvár Arts College, the Conservatorium of Music, the Art College and the College of Dramatic Arts functioned as independent institutions. The same applied to the Faculty of Law and the Faculty of Economics at Bolyai University.

** Section = Class

free to develop their educational system in the country from kindergartens to universities. Although they were in a far more advantageous position than between the two wars, they still did not manage to cater for every Hungarian pupil in Hungarian schools. They, naturally, officially recognised that Rumanian was the language of the state and that the teaching of certain subjects naturally took place in Rumanian.

The Rumanian national minorities policy appeared at its best at the time of the Paris Peace Conference when the Hungarian Popular Alliance, encouraged by the Rumanian government, worked out a draft bill in April–May 1946, in full detail, which guaranteed, in addition to general human rights, also collective rights to national minorities acknowledged as separate political entities. The bill was to guarantee the spoken and written use of the native language in administration, where it was spoken by 15 per cent of the local population, furthermore self-government in districts where the proportion of national minorities was 65 per cent or more. It also provided for the establishment of a higher authority of national minorities, the extension of the Ministry of National Minorities headed by an eminent Hungarian lawyer, Lajos Takáts, and the establishment of national minority committees in each ministry. The draft bill thus went beyond autonomy in educational and cultural life.

The national minorities policy of the Groza government and of the Rumanian Communist Party were influenced by a number of factors.

1. The return of Northern Transylvania to Rumania—where the anti-Rumanian excesses of the Hungarian gendarmerie were followed by anti-Hungarian terror for which an organization known as the Maniu Guard was responsible and the introduction of a common Rumanian–Hungarian administration in mid-November 1944 under Soviet military command—was made subject by the Soviet Union to the establishment of a government in Rumania that guaranteed order, democracy and the equal rights of national minorities. These conditions are contained in a letter addressed by Stalin to Dr Petru Groza in early March 1945.

2. The Rumanian government wanted to stabilise the country at all costs by the time of the Paris Peace Conference. That meant not only that they had to comply with the demand of Western governments that non-communist parties could participate at in the elections, but also that the national minorities problem had to be settled. They had to prove that the old policy of assimilation was a thing of the past, that the government and the Communist Party had once and for all made a break with Rumanian nationalism. A statement of the General Secretary of the RCP to the June 6th, 1946 meeting of the Central Committee was characteristic of that era: the Communist Party "looked on the Hungarians in Transylvania as an ally of the democratic forces against reaction." Only a victory of the left at the elections ensured full equal rights to the national minorities, but if Maniu's party won—and they reminded of the 1944 atrocities of the Guard, beheadings in Hungarian villages, and threats of expulsion,—the Hungarians would be forced to flee from their native land carrying no more than 50 kilogrammes of possessions.

The election victory of the Rumanian left was also due to such well-calculated statements, since the HPA also supported it with its own half a million votes. They soon had to realise, however, that these declarations were no more than tactics. Rumania signed the Peace Treaty on the 10th of February 1947. Neither the coalition parties nor the fellow travellers were needed any longer. The left-wing allies, the Social Democratic Party and the Hungarian Popular Alliance had also outlived their usefulness. The Communists took great steps forward towards a one-party system, which was growing progressively anti-Hungarian.

Stalinist methods

The Rumanian Workers' Party (RWP), that is the Communists, supported Stalin's theory that the building of socialism proceeds under the conditions of more acute class war at their June 10–11, 1948 meeting.

The national minority policy also entered a new phase. As soon as the Communist Party seized power, it also changed its former attitude to the national minority question. In the course of the frame-up trials in November and December 1949 almost all of the leaders of the HPA, the representatives of churchmen, writers, Hungarian cooperatives, Social Democrats and Communists were arrested and framed up in much the same way as in the other People's Democracies.

In the spring of 1950, a start was made on re-examining the activities of Hungarian universities, colleges, theatres and literature. According to the control committee of the Party—some of the teaching staff of the Hungarian and History staff of the Bolyai University in Kolozsvár did not sufficiently act in a manner expected by the Party. At the College of Music, Arts and Dramatic Arts, where the language of instruction was Hungarian, they accused numerous teachers that they were still under the influence of bourgeois ideologies, idealism, cosmopolitanism, nationalism and mysticism, which—they warned ominously—were the ideological arms of imperialism and the class enemy against the People's Democracies. The Hungarian-language Colleges of Music and Arts were abolished at the beginning of the 1950/51 academic year and were amalgamated with similar Rumanian institutions. This was followed by the removal of dozens of eminent university and secondary-school teachers. The result was a tragic decline in the standards of education in Transylvania in quantity as well as in quality.

In May 1952, Gheorghiu-Dej dealt with the "Muscovites" in the Party. Vasile Luca, Minister of Finance, Ana Pauker, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Teohari Georgescu, Minister of the Interior were attacked and expelled from the Party. The result was the concentration of power in a single hand and the strengthening of the personality cult. Gheorghiu-Dej thought the time had come to take the next step back in national minority policy.

The Hungarian Autonomous Region

A new constitution came into force in Rumania on the 24th of September 1952. According to Gheorghiu-Dej, the new constitution had to express that the national minorities policy of the Rumanian Communist Party was based on the right and consistent application of the teachings of Stalin. The country was divided into 18 regions. One of these was the Hungarian Autonomous Region, where Hungarians formed a solid block. The Region consisted of the four Székely counties: Csik, Udvarhely, Háromszék and Maros. But the Hungarian Autonomous Region included only a part of the Hungarian-inhabited area. It left out the Hungarian area of Aranyosszék, and the Barcaság, and also Kolozsvár and its district, where some 210,000 Hungarians lived, not to mention the borde rarea abutting on Hungary where some 650,000 Hungarians lived. The circumstance that 75–95 per cent of the population of towns was Hungarian, while the villages around them had a Rumanian population was characteristic of the ethnic map of Transylvania. The 1910 statistics showed an interesting picture in this respect. The 1948 census counted 1,499,780 Hungarians.

The population of the Hungarian Autonomous Region was the following:

County	Total population	Hungarians	County seat	Population
Udvarhely	127,330	123,959	Székelyudvarhely	9,549
Csík	146,685	127,481	Csíkszereda	5,280
Háromszék	138,441	121,941	Sepsiszentgyörgy	12,670
Maros	327,925	166,738	Marosvásárhely	34,943

A total of 740,381 people, 539,669 of whom were Hungarians

According to the 1948 local government areas large numbers of Hungarians also lived in the following counties:

According to the figures, one third of the Hungarians in Rumania lived in the territory of the Hungarian Autonomous Region. The constitution promised legislation to ensure autonomy to the Hungarian Autonomous Region. This never happened and in practice it

County	Total population	Hungarians	County seat	Population
Kolozs	366,193	118,825	Kolozsvár	67,977
Szilágy	373,220	141,369	Zilah	6,566
Temes	528,652	108,481	Temesvár	16,139
Bihar	515,591	164,896	Nagyvárad	52,541
Szatmár	312,391	104,419	Szatmár	30,535
	total 2,096,057	637,978		

* In 1910 of the population of Kolozsvár (58,480) 49,634 were Hungarians, 6,581 Rumanians, Nagyvárad (61,034) 56,527, 2,870, Szatmár (34,151) 32,563 2,870.

was no more than one of the new administrative units of the country. A positive feature was that—at least at the beginning—contrary to the practice between the two wars when Transylvania was actually inundated with officials from Old Rumania even to the detriment of the Transylvanian Rumanians, local people were employed in social and economic life.

Many people attached high hopes to the Hungarian Autonomous Region. They thought that local autonomy would, in time, be extended to all of the Hungarian-populated areas in Rumania in keeping with the 1946 national minorities draft bill of the Hungarian Popular Alliance, broken down to counties and towns. But the reverse took place. Rights were not extended but restricted. The use of the two languages in offices and in public life, bilingual signs and Hun-

garian schools had been natural until that time in Hungarian inhabited areas, from then on this was limited to the Hungarian Autonomous Region. Marosvásárhely, its centre, with the Teleki library, the Medical and Pharmaceutical University and with the transfer of the College of Dramatic Arts was an important focal point of Székely land, but did not come even close to Kolozsvár, the old capital of Transylvania, which in the 15th and 16th centuries rivalled Buda and Western European cities. Gothic and Renaissance master-works were produced and located there. After 1526 the Princes of Transylvania dreamed there about uniting a country torn in three. That was the town where the Transylvanian Museum was founded in 1790 and the first permanent Hungarian theatre established in 1792, followed by the Transylvanian Hungarian Economic Association in 1844, the Law College in 1863, the Agricultural Institute in 1869 and the Transylvanian Cultural Society in 1888. Kolozsvár University, first established in the 16th century, started teaching again in 1872. This was the town of the University Library, of the Conservatorium of Music, of Ethnology, Archeology, Linguistics and History Museums, of the Transylvanian Archives —that is of most centres of Hungarian intellectual life. The desire was clear: these were to wither and cease; and the existence of the Hungarian Autonomous Region offered an excuse.

Speaking of the latter, Gheorgiu-Dej stated in January 1953: "The problem of the national minorities has been solved in Rumania." The logical inference was that the organizations for the protection of interests of national minorities, such as the Hungarian Popular Alliance or the Ministry for National Minorities, were no longer needed.

Several international factors, thus the Cold War and the break with Yugoslavia, were also instrumental in the deterioration of the national minorities situation. At the same time, the position of national minorities indicated, like a sensitive instrument that the dictatorship doubly weighed on members of national minorities. They suffered as did every other citizen and on top of it as members of a national minority. Hungarians were especially discriminated against when the kulak lists were drawn up. Many Hungarians in Transylvania are Roman Catholics, which means that when members of that faith were framed up, including Áron Márton, the popular Bishop of Transylvania, they were charged with being agents of the Vatican and gaoled.

After 1953

After the death of Stalin in 1953, an opportunity offered itself in the People's Democracies as well, for the healthy further development of socialism. This, however, did not apply to Rumania, where unsuccessful attempts of de-Stalinisation were made only in literary life in 1953 and 1956. Life continued to be determined by the class struggle and the pace of industrialization. There was very little arable land in the territory of the then Autonomous Hungarian Region. The shortage of land has, since the beginning of the century, prompted many people to emigrate in search of work. Between the two world wars, when Transylvania was already part of Rumania, emigration to Bucharest was sizeable and the number of Hungarians increased there to one hundred thousand by the thirties. Others went elsewhere, many of them to America. The industrialisation policy could have dealt with chronic shortages of industrial employment, but what happened in fact was that Rumanians from Old Rumania were settled in the towns of Transylvania since the fifties to this day, most of them unskilled workers. Their number is now estimated at around one million and their presence forced down the proportion of Hungarians to the national average of 10–12 per cent. In 1930, the population of Transylvania totalled 5,543,250. That increased to 6,719.000 by 1966. Today some 7,500,000

people live there as a result of settlement and not of natural increase.

They concluded the Pătrășcanu case, that had been dragging on since 1948 by executing him with several others in April 1954—a good year after Stalin's death. At the same time, they also made preparations for a military court to pass death-sentences on a number of Transylvanian Hungarians languishing in gaol. (Fortunately, this did not eventuate.) At the March 1953 meeting of the Rumanian Writers' Federation, they still demanded that writers "depict the results achieved by the magnificent era of Stalin." In June, the literary journal *Irodalmi Almanach* ceased publication. In the year they closed the doors of two more Hungarian educational institutes, the *College of Law and Public Administration* and the Agricultural College. Difficulties were put in the way of newspapers, journals and books from Hungary. Arguing that Hungarian-language education was ensured in the Hungarian Autonomous Region, many Hungarian schools elsewhere in Transylvania were closed. Salaries paid by schools, periodicals, or at the Bolyai University of Kolozsvár, were much lower than in similar Rumanian institutes. The protection of the Hungarian historic monuments was also neglected.

Prominent Hungarians in Rumania active in cultural and public life expressed their complaints in a number of memoranda between December 1954 and March 1955 which they submitted to Party and government authorities. In these they protested that the use of Hungarian was restricted in cultural and official life outside the Hungarian Autonomous Region. They also protested that Hungarian literature in Rumania was referred to as Rumanian literature in Hungarian and that it was intended to close Hungarian schools in Moldavia. They proposed that Hungarian and German be made compulsory subjects in the schools of Transylvania, and Hungarian language and literature be taught at Bucharest University. They asked that a scholarly journal be devoted to Hungarian studies and that clear discrimination against Hungarians in many walks of life be put an end to.

The Consequence of the 20th Congress and the 1956 events in Hungary

Between the spring of 1955 and June 1958, uncertainty and the tactics of tightening and loosening characterised home policy, thus also national minority policy of Rumania. After the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, Gheorghiu-Dej admitted that the personality cult had been influential in Rumania as well, but—he added—that had come to an end with the removal of the Luca–Georgescu–Pauker faction. The policy, which promoted "the artificial escalation of the class war" was wrong, but the persons mentioned were responsible for that. Some of the organs of State Security had abused legality, but he personally had nothing to do with that. Nevertheless, the Rumanian party was not completely averse either to the process of relaxation in neighbouring socialist countries. In 1955 and 1956, they released Hungarians gaoled following frame-ups and they were rehabilitated within a short time. They relaxed—for a while—the programme of the homogeneisation of the nation, the forced assimilation of national minorities into the Rumanian majority. A department of Hungarian language and literature was established at the Bucharest university, several new Hungarian secondary schools and two teachers' colleges were founded, as well as Centre in Bucharest. A National Minorities Inspectorate of Schools was established to deal with educational matters and a decision was taken that there would be Hungarian 5th forms where there were fifteen Hungarian pupils and 6th and 7th forms where there were ten. A party resolution decreed that entry examinations to universities could also be taken in Hungarian. A Hungarian nationality department

was established at the secretariat of the Writers' Federation, the Hungarian-language journal *Korunk* was published again and a number of new journals were started: including *Művelődés*, a scholarly journal and a paper for children. Book publishing for national minorities was also reorganized. At the same time, Gheorghiu-Dej charged all the Hungarians in Rumania with Revisionism, meaning by that both the ideological revisionism of Marxism associated with Imre Nagy, and territorial revisionism.

Then new Hungarian trials took place in Rumania, starting with June 1957.

The policy of assimilation

In the summer of 1958, a series of articles were published in the Hungarian-language literary journal *Utunk*, which criticised contemporary Hungarian writing in Rumania. The effect was so depressing that barely any works of lasting value were produced in the next few years. In the spring of 1959, the Bolyai and the Babes universities were merged at Kolozsvár, which meant that, in practice, there was no Hungarian university. As a protest against that new manifestation of cultural genocide, Professor László Szabédi, the noted poet, committed suicide. In the next ten years the number of Hungarian schools was halved, the excuse being the need for mergers. Special teaching declined to a minimum, the new recruitment of Hungarian-trained engineers ceased. The staffing of major administrative institutions such as the Ministries of Defence, Interior and External Affairs, with Rumanians only—became the rule. Newly introduced labour measures also worked against the Hungarians. From then on, the government authorities assigned people to particular positions. In practice that meant that a great percentage of the Hungarians were sent to work in Old Rumania, for instance a pharmacist with his home in Nagyvárad was sent to Rimnicul Sărat, or an agricultural engineer from Marosvásárhely to Ploești and so on, and this has been going on ever since. Moving to the towns was individually considered—naturally to the detriment of Hungarians. In certain jobs only 10 per cent of Hungarians were employed. This was true of Transylvania as well.

In the course of the realisation of the objectives of Rumanian assimilation, the Hungarian Autonomous Region was changed in 1961. Rumanian-populated areas or what had been County Beszterce–Naszód were added to its territory, while considerable Hungarian-populated areas (County Háromszék and of Sepsi and Kézdi districts) were taken away. This, naturally, changed the national ratios within the Hungarian Autonomous Region to the detriment of Hungarians. Neglect of industrial development in Székely land also reduced the number of Hungarians there. Since agricultural production was not capable of employing sufficient labour, Hungarians were encouraged to move from the place of their birth and settle in industrialising, Rumanian-populated areas.

At a meeting between the 30th of November and 5th of December 1961, the Rumanian Workers' Party again rejected the need for reform. They declared Luca and Ana Pauker, and lately Ion Chișinevski and Miron Constantinescu, responsible for the mistakes. The crimes of the latter included that, as member of a Party delegation to the major towns of Transylvania in the autumn of 1956 in order to prevent rioting, he began negotiations with the rebels about the democratisation of public life and social reforms. The programme of homogeneisation of the nation was stressed again and so did the notion of Rumanian writers speaking and writing in Hungarian. The foreign policy of the country changed also, there was an approach to China and a certain independence of the common line of the socialist countries. From then onwards, Rumania brushed aside criticism of her national

minorities policy by calling it interference in domestic affairs.

The solitary positive effect of the sixties from the Hungarian point of view was that the Hungarian victims of the 1949 trials were at last freed in 1963, and those who were sentenced in the 1957 trials also regained their freedom.

After the death of Gheorge Gheorghiu-Dej and the appointment of the new General Secretary, Nicolae Ceaușescu (he had been associated with the end of the Hungarian University of Kolozsvár in 1959) as well as the 9th congress of the RCP held between the 19th and 24th of June 1965 indicated that a certain thaw was in the offing. Contrary to the earlier leftism, the new General Secretary emphasized in those days that neither the nation nor national minorities vanished under the conditions of building socialism: indeed, the prospects for comprehensive progress were better than ever. But a major step backwards was taken in 1969, when the old county system was restored and the Hungarian Autonomous Region, then inhabited by 818,968 people in an area of 12,250 square kilometres, made up of eight districts eleven towns and two hundred and thirty-three villages were abolished.

Just as the Rumanians reacted with concessions to the 1956 events, the 1968 Czechoslovak crisis was also followed by self-criticism and the conciliation of the national minorities. Nicolae Ceaușescu made Gheorghiu-Dej, his one-time mentor responsible for publicly revealed errors, and promised corrections to benefit the national minorities as well.

Temporary improvement did in fact occur. In a tour of the Székely country in August 1968 Ceaușescu promised to end the neglect of that part of the country and held out hopes for major government assistance.

Bilingual signs and street names once again appeared in Transylvania. Newspapers were published. A national minority book publisher was established under the name of *Kriterion*, but the other publishers—the Political and the Scientific Publisher, Facla, Ceres, Dacia, Meridiane, Eminescu, Albatroy and Creangă—also published Hungarian books. National minority secretariats and boards were formed in some ministries, such as the Ministry of Education and Art. In the Bucharest Nicolae Iorga Institute of History, a team was formed for research into the past of national minorities, and research projects concerning the common Rumanian–Hungarian past were supported in universities, museums and libraries. New Hungarian museums, cultural institutions and libraries were established, some 500 dramatic societies and 400 singing, music and dancing groups were formed. Transylvania was intellectually on the boil. Previously no more than 20–30 Hungarian books had been published annually, but more than 200 appeared each year in the early seventies. The number of Hungarian-language radio and television broadcasts increased. Hungarian masterpieces in poetry, drama, the essay, the fine arts, and science were produced in Transylvania in the late sixties and early seventies. (Sütő, Szilágyi, Deák, Brenner, etc.)

Following the October 24th–25th, 1968, meeting of the Central Committee of the RCP, the Council of Workers of Hungarian and German Nationality was formed. The objectives of the Council—as the relevant resolutions described—included not only the intensive participation of the national minorities in the political and economic programme of the Party, and in the building of socialism, but also the studying and solution of the special problems of the Hungarian minority... The councils were obliged to contribute to the encouragement of scientific, artistic and literary creative work in the native language. Hungarians in Rumania hoped that the Council of Workers of Hungarian Nationality would fill the

same role as the Hungarian Popular Alliance had once done. Nothing at all was realised of this.

The policy of homogenising the nation and forced industrialisation 1972–1985

The policy of the Ceaușescu-style personal despotism, of which the almost genocidal repression of the Hungarian national minority became a part, started in 1972. Ceaușescu declared at the June 1972 meeting of the Central Committee of the RCP that Rumania was a developing socialist country which had to make up for its economic backwardness in fifteen years (compared to the standard of capitalist countries). By 1980 industrial production had to grow by about 550–650 per cent above the 1970 level, agricultural production must grow by 23–24 per cent annually. These indices were further increased year after year. An average annual growth of production of 12 per cent was stipulated. They planned that the population of the country would reach the 25 million mark by 1990 and as many as 9.5 million of the 11–12 million active workers would be employed in industry. Forced industrialisation, extensive centralisation, a tough ideological and cultural policy, and administrative measures severely aggravated the position of the Hungarian national minority. The same happened as in 1948, when the forced industrialisation programme was pursued at the expense of the national minorities. The first attempt to homogenise society (the nation) was made in 1974, at the 11th Congress of the RCP. A discussion of this issue started in the inner circles of the party in the autumn of 1973. At Party forums they openly spoke of: a) assimilation or b) emigration as alternatives. At the 11th Congress of the Party—on the 27th and 28th of November 1974—Ceaușescu declared: "They worry beyond the borders that national particularities will come to an end with industrialisation ... That does not worry us in the least."

The policy of repression was carried out with ruthless consistency after the Congress. We propose to describe here some characteristic facts and processes:

1) The size of Hungarian-language-newspapers and journals was reduced by 30–40 per cent between 1975 and 1985, and the number of copies in which they were published by 30–50 per cent;

2) A start was made on cutting all links with Hungary;

3) They ordered the surrender of national and church objects of value;

4) National archives legislation declared all documents that were older than 30 years to be State property. Consequent to the latter measure the examination of historic documents now depends on permission being given by Rumanian state authorities, which can deny that arbitrarily to anybody wanting to explore any detail of the past of Transylvania concerning Hungarian history;

5) The new restrictions on giving accommodation prohibited the accommodation of foreign citizens at private homes, with the result that Hungarians visiting their relatives in Transylvania can stay only with parents, children, or siblings.

6) At the Council of Workers of Hungarian Nationality just as at similar congresses between 1947 and 1953 specific problems of national minorities were barely mentioned, instead of that they were obliged to discuss the common Rumanian objectives.

Educational repression, that is the oppression that weighs on education in the native language, is the most painful. They held out the prospect of, and in fact by 1984–85 they fully realised, an educational policy in which—using the words of the General Secretary—what matters will be what is taught and not at in what language it is taught. (See the December 1975 meeting of the Council of Workers of Hungarian

Nationality: "What matters ultimately, and independently of what language they use singing, reciting, performing a drama or writing, is what they say and what they write."

A policy aimed both against the national minorities and against the country to which they were linked, was initiated in 1982. It involved press campaigns against noted Hungarian personalities, publications, writers, books, and did not spare even leaders of the country. In organized campaigns several publications and books were issued, which described the historic past of Hungary and the common Rumanian–Hungarian past in a distorted way. When personal identity cards were changed in 1982, they re-introduced the analysis of family names in the Székely counties, translated Hungarian names arbitrarily into Rumanian, giving Rumanian versions of Hungarian Christian names. The editor of the weekly *Hét*, and the head of the Hungarian section of the Political Publishers were dismissed early in 1983 and the Kriterion Publishing House was attacked as well. The material of museums in Transylvania and particularly in the Székely country was rearranged in such manner that 30 per cent of the exhibits are made up of pre-10th century relics, documents, which allegedly offered evidence for Daco-Roman continuity and the history of 2050 years of a homogeneous, independent Rumanian national state. The local Hungarian television broadcasts of the Kolozsvár and Marosvásárhely stations were stopped and the radio there no longer broadcast in Hungarian either. Even the Hungarian television programme of Bucharest station ceased and the Hungarian-language programme of Bucharest radio was reduced to one hour a day. The national minority committee working at the Ministry of Education and Arts was disbanded.

Doing away with education in Hungarian was more important than anything else from the aspect of the future of Hungarians. Language is the means whereby a national minority can learn about its past, its history, and its cultural, scientific and economic achievements. If their language is taken away, so is their past, present and future. They used the most varied methods. In the 1971–72 academic year they changed 70 per cent of the Hungarian girls' academic secondary schools to trade-schools. In the 1973/74 academic year these same Hungarian trade-schools were changed into Rumanian ones by government order. Within three years, therefore, 70 per cent of Hungarian girls' academic secondary schools became Rumanian trade schools. The establishment of Hungarian schools and Hungarian classes was made subject to stringent conditions. Elementary school education can be started in Hungarian only if there are at least 25 Hungarian native speakers for each class. Secondary school teaching in Hungarian can start only if at least 36 pupils enrol in each class. If the number of pupils does not reach this, teaching in Hungarian is not permitted. At the same time, Rumanian-language classes can be started anywhere, no matter how few pupils enrol. All of this means, naturally, the limitation, restriction of teaching in Hungarian. The practice of employing Rumanian teachers, who speak no Hungarian, in schools in Hungarian areas was revived. They even ordered that Hungarian can only be spoken in kindergartens between 8 and 10 in the morning, and only Rumanian outside those hours.

At the December 1984 congress of the RCP Ceaușescu declared that Rumania has entered a new phase of development—the process of homogeneisation of society and the nation has been completed. This meant that there was a homogeneous Rumanian history, and the history of national minorities is part of that: one can no longer speak of a Hungarian or Saxon nation, but only of a homogeneous Rumanian nation.

The Council of Workers of Hungarian Nationality had to approve the resolutions

of the Congress at its December 26th, 1984, meeting.

Article 22 of the Rumanian constitution states that "In the Rumanian Socialist Republic the free use of the native language as well as books, newspapers, journals, theatres and education in their native tongue are guaranteed to national minorities. In administrative districts where besides Rumanians people of other nations live as well every organization and institution should use in speech and in writing their language as well, such other citizens who are familiar with the language and mode of living of the local population."

Thus the resolution passed at the 13th Congress of the RCP in December 1984 concerning the "unification of the nation", national homogeneisation, in other words the disappearance of national minorities, as well as the measures that followed the publication of the *History of Transylvania* (Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1986) and the hostile national minorities policy contradict the constitution.

Discrimination against Hungarians is conspicuous at every level. Lajos Fazekas, who is also Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, is the sole Hungarian amongst 23 members of the Political Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the RCP, and there are only two Hungarians among the substitute members: József Szász, First Secretary of County Krassó-Szörény Party Committee and Mihály Gere, President of the Council of Workers of Hungarian Nationality. There is no Hungarian member of the government, and only 5 per cent of the members of the Great National Assembly are Hungarians, that is about half as many as the proportion of Hungarians in Rumania. (The last census was held in 1977, when 1,700,000 Hungarians lived in the country. Their number now exceeds 2 million.) The ratio of Hungarians is only about 20 per cent amongst leaders of political, social and scientific institutions, even in the regions where Hungarians are in majority. For instance, in County Maros, where the ratio of Rumanians and Hungarians is fifty-fifty, there is only one Hungarian amongst the 11 County and Party secretaries.

The regional national minorities broadcasting stations of the Rumanian Radio at Kolozsvár, Marosvásárhely and Temesvár ceased broadcasting in the first quarter of 1985, their offices were liquidated and their staff of about 600 was made redundant. Hungarian television broadcasts suffered a similar fate. From 1986 onwards the material of Transylvanian museums was taken to Bucharest—e.g. the medieval and modern-age material of Kolozsvár Lapidary, which naturally consisted of Hungarian relics; Hungarian books were made unaccessible to readers in the libraries. Bilingual street signs were taken down in Transylvania, including the Székely country and during 1987 most of the Hungarian street names in the Transylvanian towns were replaced by Rumanian ones. Hungarian book publishing declined by about a third in ten years: 265 Hungarian books were published in 1972, 225 in 1980, and considerably fewer than 200 in 1987. In the Groza era 6 independent Hungarian theatres functioned in Rumania—and even more in 1956, for at Kolozsvár alone four Hungarian theatre companies operated—there are no more than two today: at Kolozsvár and Temesvár. The two big Hungarian theatres in the Székely country, at Marosvásárhely and Sepsiszentgyörgy, were reduced to sections of the Rumanian theatres.

As mentioned above, the constitution guarantees in principle education in the native language at every level—to wit kindergartens, general schools, secondary schools and universities—yet the situation of education in Hungarian is gradually deteriorating and presenting a tragic picture. The tendency is clear: complete regression, withering away.

The number of general and secondary schools in the last 40 years fell as follows: while there were 1790 Hungarian primary schools and 173 secondary schools in Rumania in 1947, there remained only 1,276 primary schools by the 1979/80 academic year

Hungarians could be educated in their own language in a total of 120 secondary schools and sections. The latter figure does not imply separate secondary schools since it includes a number of Hungarian classes within Rumanian secondary schools (the precise number was not published in official statistics). About 13–14 per cent of Hungarian primary school children were educated in Hungarian schools in 1977/78, only 7–8 per cent in the 1980/81 academic year and 5 per cent in 1986/87. Only a few Hungarian classes remained in the centuries-old Hungarian secondary schools. For instance, there were 11 Hungarian secondary schools in Kolozsvár in 1944/45, 9 in 1973/74, and 7 in 1978/79. They were whittled down to three in the early eighties, and there is none now. The situation is similar in the Székely counties, where 50–85 per cent of the population are Hungarians. Ten years ago the proportion of Hungarian and Rumanian schools was 3 : 1 there, today the situation is exactly the reverse (1 : 3). Since 1959, there has been no Hungarian institution of tertiary education. (In the time of the Groza government 5 Hungarian universities and academies functioned in Rumania not counting the two academies of theology.) The practice introduced in 1956, which allowed entry examinations in Hungarian at every university of the country and also provided that where there 7 or more Hungarian students they could request the setting up of a Hungarian group was ended. The only institutes of tertiary education where Hungarian students can study in Hungarian today are the *department of Hungarian language and literature at the Babes–Bólyai university* and the *Academy of Dramatic Art at Marosvásárhely*. The number of both the Hungarian teachers and Hungarian students is diminishing year by year: teachers are pensioned off at the age of 60 and nobody is appointed to replace them. As many as 32 people lectured at the *Hungarian Language and Literature Department* of Babes–Bólyai University in 1964/65, today only 14. As many as 25 students graduated there annually between 1968 and 1974, but only 10–20 a year between 1975 and 1984. Only seven students graduated in the 1986/87 academic year in Hungarian, but since the government allots the places of employment of graduate teachers, engineers, doctors, fewer and fewer of them find employment in the Hungarian-populated districts of Transylvania. (No official data are available.) Hungarian middle and higher executives are placed almost without exception in Rumanian-populated areas. The numbers the Calvinist Academy of Theology may enrol decreased from 45 to 25, then, in, in 1985, to 10. Almost 100 of the 400 Calvinist congregations are without a minister. The situation is somewhat better at the Catholic Theological Seminary, where 14 new theologians enrolled in 1987. The number of the members of the Calvinist Church in Rumania is close to 800,000, and there are almost 1,000,000 Catholics.

According to the resolution passed at the December 1987 conference of the RCP "Rumania is a national state... where of various peoples settled in the course of the centuries coexist with the Rumanian people." Rumania rejected interference by Hungary "in the domestic affairs of the country, even in its national minorities policy. They denounced the Hungarian press and books on the subject of Transylvania and Hungarians in Transylvania, as well as eminent figures of political and cultural life, because they refused to acknowledge the theory of Daco-Roman continuity, the hypothesis that the Rumanians and their ancestors have lived in the territory of contemporary Rumania continuously for 2500 years.

Representatives of the Hungarian national minority refer as firmly as possible to the time of the Groza government, when equal rights were guaranteed to national minorities. The guarantee of harmonic development of the socialist society—in both countries and in the whole region—is the assurance of the collective rights of national minorities, the acknowledgement of national minorities as

autonomous ethnic, historical and political lunits. This involves Ministries for National Minorities and Institutes for the Study of National Minority Affairs, education in the native language from kindergarten to university, acknowledgement of the right to independent cultural, scientific and economic institutions, in short a guarantee by the state of their collective survival and progress.

All these are, however, non-existent for the Hungarian minority in Rumania, and deepgoing changes in the Rumanian national minorities policy would be needed to change the present tragic situation.

FERENC L. GAZSÓ

A JOURNEY TO TRANSYLVANIA IN EARLY 1988

A large town soon follows the Hungarian border. Oradea, the signs say. We are on the streets of Nagyvárad. Hungary is fifteen kilometers away.

We are travelling through a geographical unit. Transylvania covers 99,800 square kilometres and lies in the embrace of the Eastern and Southern Carpathians.

The largest national minority of Europe lives in this country. According to estimates, some two to two and a half million Hungarians, about 12–13 per cent of the total population of Rumania, live here. Rumanian statistics put the figure at 7–8 per cent, that is about 1,7 million Rumanian citizens who are ethnic Hungarians on the basis of 1977 figures.

"How much colour, how many colours, and what calm, noble faces"—thus Endre Ady, the poet, responded seeing Kalotaszeg people on their way home from church. Nowadays they put on their splendid folk costume only on rare occasions. But their embroidery is still of the pattern inherited from the great-grandmothers. One is welcomed by embroidered covers, by blouses displayed like banners, over many kilometers. The women are busy with their needle-work sitting in front of the gate. The colours are a bit loud, yarn bought in shops is no match for the old home-dyed stuff. A richly embroidered short-sleeved blouse costs 600 lei. If one can pay with sugar, spice, soap or drugs, indeed, with sweets, one can be sure of some price reduction.

Old and young stand by the roads of Transylvania moving their arms up and down. They wave, because they want to travel. On the buses reminiscent of bathyscapes, with gas tanks on top, passengers are hanging on to the steps.

Citizens of other countries wishing to penetrate into the interior of Transylvania must queue for petrol coupons. That's what we did. Four people solicited us during the hour we waited wanting forints. One hundred lei for one hundred forints. The official rate of exchange is a hundred and seventy forints for a hundred leis. Three others offered 250 leis for a 10 litre petrol coupon—which we bought for a hundred leis.

A young hitchhiker told us he worked 50 kilometers from home, 2–3 hours travel each day. He was a health visitor. That was the job he could get. He went to a specialized health secondary school, his was the last class, which could take their finals in Hungarian, their native language. One had to live. His income—including travel allowance—

A slightly abridged version of an article which appeared in the Budapest daily *Magyar Hírlap* on January 30, 1988

was 2,200 lei a month. His wife was then on a 112-day maternity leave with their baby son, and they were already worrying whether the baby would get used to the crèche. He must be placed there, since the woman next door would care for him for 800 lei and full board. They could not afford that. They obtained a home of their own recently, and the payments take half of their earnings. Travel also costs a lot, he added, and offered 20 lei to us, when he said good-bye. That is the custom, even the engine driver would not let you ride the freight cars for nothing.

Marosvásárhely comedians

Thanks to the direction of wind we are welcomed by a penetrating smell of ammonia to Marosvásárhely. As in every other larger town in Transylvania, the older part is dwarfed by rows of prefabricated highrise-housing. Home building keeps in step with industrialisation. The latter also involves resettlement on a national scale. In a quarter of a century the urban population of Transylvania increased, according to conservative estimates, by almost a million. Most—at least 80 per cent—are Rumanians from the other side of the Carpathians. The government assists the new settlers. They are given a 10,000 to 30,000 lei settlement allowance. All this is done systematically, since the number of new settlers is annually stipulated in respect of specially selected towns under a 1968 government order. Thus the population of Marosvásárhely was meant to grow by one thousand in 1987. Applications are individually considered. The Kossuth-bearded health visitor, as he mentioned, could not move to the town now, even if he wanted to, since he is not on the roll of the new settlers.

Marosvásárhely is a county seat. The town became the capital of the Hungarian Autonomous Region in 1952. The Autonomous Region was created that year out of four, then still predominantly Hungarian inhabited counties; Kolozsvár, a far more important historical centre was outside the boundaries of these four counties. The next rearrangement took place in 1960. Such purely Hungarian-populated districts as Sepsi or Kézdi were not attached to the Autonomous Maros–Magyar Region, while other areas of mixed population were. Only seven years passed before the next reorganization. The county system was re-established in Rumania in 1967 and the map as well as the nation distribution changed again. No official figures are available for the ethnic distribution of the last ten years.

Israeli, German and Hungarian tourists—mostly returning natives—busily click their cameras in the heart of the town. The Art Nouveau former town hall, today Party headquarters, with its majolica-tiled roof is reminiscent of the Cifra Palace of Kecskemét, and the Cultural Palace, built early this century, of the Academy of Music building in Budapest.

The town theatre was built in the early seventies. The bi-lingual posters of the Hungarian section advertises Shakespeare's *As You Like It*. But the mood of the company is far from being comic. Government subsidies of the Hungarian section of the Marosvásárhely theatre were cut from seven million lei to two million lei as part of general austerity measures, thus they must find the balance of their budget themselves. Of course, such things do not only happen in Rumania. It is getting more and more difficult to stage plays. The Kolozsvár company has only 50,000 lei for scenery and costumes this year. That is the Hungarian company.

The programme policy of theatres is carefully controlled by expert committees at the county and national level. They take care that a due proportion of Rumanian plays are performed in Hungarian as well. Pessimist works are not performed nowadays. We heard this in theatrical circles: this was the reason why the Rumanian theatre of Nagyvárad, removed Madách's *The Tragedy*

of Man—in Octavian Goga's translation—from the repertory.

In Nagyvárad András Sütő's comedy, the *Jolly Ghost* had been advertised by the bilingual posters of the State Theatre. But books by either Sütő or Károly Kós, the great Transylvanian Hungarian writer and artist, could not be found in any of the book-shops. Indeed, the works of the latter were removed—on the centenary of his birth—from textbooks and other publications. Attendance at bilingual recitals is poor. The actors can only tour outside the county provided they get permission from the County Cultural Committee.

Artists do not enjoy a privileged position, they have their share of the difficulties. The Philharmonic Orchestra of Marosvásárhely, for instance, began their season later than usual last year and were on leave without pay in the meantime. Actors—Rumanians and Hungarians—generally get paid about 70–80 per cent of their salary. However, this does not put them at a disadvantage vis-à-vis industrial workers, engineers or economists, for the same applies to them.

Even the casting of Adam and Eve in the scene in Paradise could be a worry should a Hungarian theatre manage to stage *The Tragedy of Man* all the same. The Transylvanian Hungarian theatrical profession is depleted by ageing and mortality, and also the emigration of actors—which increased in the last two or three years—and also by the gradual decline in the number of Hungarian students at the István Szentgyörgyi College of Drama. Last year, classes started with 3–4 students.

In the Teleki Library, which contains Hungarian-language book rarities of matchless value, two rooms are open to visitors. A copy of the Koncz Code, the songs of Sebestyén Tinódi and the first Tibetan dictionary compiled by Sándor Kőrösi Csoma are on display. An exhibition of the paintings of Imre Nagy disappeared from the walls and the works of eminent painters of the Nagybánya school cannot be seen either in the Exhibition Hall of the Cultural Palace. They were taken down 'temporarily', the caretaker tells us.

Street names change: Rákóczi utca was renamed Strada Avram Jancu, and new names were given also to Kossuth utca and Bethlen sétány. Nyár utca turned into *Primavera*.

Burial at Erdőszentgyörgy

Gyulakuta—Well of the Gyula according to its original name—was settled in the age of the Árpád dynasty. Industry has caught up with it, a thermal power station belches smoke on the ourtskirts. Some 2,500 people live in the village, including six Rumanian families. The children of the latter are still very young, thus the language of instruction is Rumanian only in the lower four classes of the ten-class schools.

The law stipulating a minimum of 25 pupils to start a fifth class in Hungarian came into force in 1973. At least 36 pupils are needed to form Hungarian classes in secondary schools, but the language of instruction is changed to Rumanian if three or more Rumanian pupils enrol.

The Calvinist minister walked along a path at the bottom of the gardens known only to the locals to meet us. The church dates back to the 13th century, it has a coffered ceiling. The red and white banner of Chief Árpád is seen on the fragments of a fresco. Not far from that is the ornate coat of arms of the Lázár family, once patrons of the church.

A few villages on, at Erdőszentgyörgy, women dressed in black carry church banners. A young minister and members of the choir walk behind them at the head of the men. The funeral of a widow; she moved to the village to live with her son recently, even so some two hundred people are paying the last honours to her. Someone remarks that perhaps three times as many mourners would be present had she been a local. It is a

Calvinist funeral, yet more than one bell is heard in this village of mixed population, of two religions. The bell tolls also in the Greek Orthodox church. Most likely, her Rumanian neighbours paid the bell-ringer, as it is the custom in these parts. And it is also traditional that relatives offer cake and fruit brandy to the mourners walking down from the cemetery hill, to all, who paid their respects to the deceased, be they Hungarian or Rumanian, locals or strangers.

Why? We had to drive several hundred kilometres to hear the authentic answer from a shepherd in County Háromszék: "Men never had trouble with their neighbours in Transylvania." Calvinists and Orthodox, Hungarians and Rumanians Székelys and Saxons have always got on peacefully. This is how Károly Kós wrote about this in 1934 in book published by the Crafts Gild of Transylvania: *"A thousand years is a long time even in the life of nations and cultures. A wonderful miracle happened on the soil of Transylvania in a thousand years: three nations, three cultures lived side by side, and intermixed, so that each of the three maintained—because they could maintain—their own separate identity. Indeed, in the meantime they also assumed a common character different from every foreign or related neighbouring nation."*

We ran into an engineer somewhere along the Nagyküküllő river. He was going to the county seat to expedite some official papers. He was making arrangements to visit Hungary. He had close relatives over there, though not close enough to have the letter of invitation accepted by the authorities, only a first cousin. He must therefore visit Hungary as a tourist. He was waiting for the bus in vain, it had used up its fuel ration and the afternoon run had been cancelled.

He had been a child when he last visited Hungary. It was hard for him to make up his mind this time. He does not want to sponge on his cousin but he cannot buy forints, and he lacks the commercial talent for making the currency he needs by petty trading like many others do.

A laboratory assistant aged 27 who married an Italian. She has already waited seven months for her exit permit. Consent in principle was given reasonably quickly in Bucharest, then she lost her job with one month's notice. Since then she has just been sitting around, waiting.

A university lecturer and his wife, a teacher, found temporary work in a cannery. They are nailing crates for they must make a living, having two children, while the thorough, multi-level enquiry into their case is finished, and their exit permit—hopefully—will be granted.

According to the Hungarian government spokesman, in 1980 a total of 3,284 Rumanian citizens applied for a settlement permit to the Hungarian authorities. The number of Rumanian citizens wishing to settle in Hungary was 3,308 in the first half of 1987. The Hungarian authorities consider the applications in the spirit of the international agreements and basically in terms of family reunification.

Listening to the young engineer one notices that—although he is Hungarian—his pronunciation is odd, occasionally he has to search for the right word. He admits that he speaks Rumanian better than Hungarian, since he had a Rumanian education since the age of 15. They still speak Hungarian at home, but they often switch to Rumanian. They do that for the sake of his young sister so she would not be handicapped at school.

He has no desire to deny his Hungarian identity, but he prefers to speak the language he more thoroughly masters. Meetings and functions are held in Rumanian in Transylvania. He is interested in sport, and the sporting press is in Rumanian. He would be happy to read Hungarian newspapers if they were allowed in from Hungary, just as he still listens mostly to the Hungarian radio. But newspapers do not get in, and subscriptions have been cancelled. The only journal that a friend of his receives is *Sakkélet* (Chess Life), but he does not enjoy chess.

The problem is who should teach Hun-

garian, where and how? Since the eighties Hungarian-language instruction at the Babes–Bolyai University of Kolozsvár has been confined to the Hungarian department. The number of students is declining, 6–8 in a class. Two years ago the teaching language of the ideological subjects also became Rumanian. Teaching in Hungarian was also discountinued around that time at the once autonomous Academy of Arts and Music, and now the training of Hungarian teachers and kindergarten teachers is limited to two secondary schools for girls.

Hungarians from Rumania last graduated in Hungary in 1979. Since then there have been neither long-term scholarship holders, nor students attending short courses. In Rumania, Hungarian students are explicitly forbidden to use lecture notes or literature printed in Hungary.

If someone still graduates as a teacher of Hungarian or of some other language in Transylvania, he usually has to move to Old Rumania to get professional experience for three years. Then he must sit for a confirmation examination, and if he fails his diploma is cancelled. Teachers whose appointment is confirmed may apply for positions in Transylvania, closer to their home and family, where appointments are made subject to a competitive examination. In fact in this part of Rumania no-one has heard of competitive examinations for secondary-school teachers for six years although such announcements are closely watched.

In two years—that is in 1986–87—a total of 240 teachers speaking only Rumanian were appointed to positions in the purely Hungarian-inhabited counties of Hargita and Kovászna. Instruction is then in the native language of the teachers and not of the pupils.

A secondary-school physics master taught four Hungarian and two Rumanian classes back in 1985. The following year this ratio was reversed by the superior authorities. That happened in a town where 85 per cent of the people are Hungarians. Since then he holds all his classes in two languages. As a form-master he holds assembly in Hungarian since there are no Rumanians in his form. He takes his class to excursions all over Transylvania, camping in areas where Hungarian television stations can be received. He is demanding and strict, raising standards as high as the abilities of his pupils permit. As many as 22 of a total of 35 pupils went on to university or college. Most of them will continue their studies outside Transylvania. Those who had to go elsewhere as well as the others who could stay keep asking him for books. He distributed several copies of András Sütő's *My Mother Promises Sweet Dreams*, to his former pupils, until he had none left. Now he quoted partly by heart: "*... the grass bends in the wind but survives.*"

Where Petőfi disappeared

Sándor Petőfi is a dear friend of everyone. He is an object of worship. Streets and squares were named after him. His statues mostly face those of Bălcescu, in Székelykeresztúr as well as in Csíkszereda. And of course, also at Segesvár, in the vicinity of which the life of the poet came to its end. Outside Fehéregyháza, where the Cossacks very likely caught up with him, a spring stands gurgling fresh, cool water, above it there is the poet in relief. József Lengyel, the surgeon of the beaten Honvéd army spoke to him last—said a man in his fifties, queuing up for water. He is a driver with a Segesvár factory, who visits the spot with his sons each year on the anniversary of the poet's death.

Székelykeresztúr, from where Petőfi set out for the battle, is not far, but already in County Hargita. There and in County Kovászna the street signs are all bilingual. We found Imre Nagy paintings in the cultural centre. "Colours rescued from beneath the the frost", wrote Sütő, who looked on this stubbornly persevering painter of Székely land as a friend.

The old pear-tree at the Gyárfás manor where Petőfi spent his last night still stands. The legend holds that the poet recited his poems there to one of the daughters. There is a tablet in front of the tree with Sándor Kányádi's lines: "The old tree is dying (Petőfi's old pear tree) They say it had seen him a writing a poem for the last time." Since he resigned his membership of the Rumanian Writers' Federation last summer, Sándor Kányádi's books share the fate of those of Károly Kós.

Wherever we drop in we are given a friendly reception and treated hospitably through there is little to go round. We drank home-made wine as we listened to a teacher couple. They obtained a young pig for 2,000 lei. Not being state property it could be slaughtered. They bought wheat and fodder for 4,000 lei in order to supplement their ration. This is where the money goes. The rest is spent on their two grown-up sons. The younger one has just finished the tenth form, getting ready to go to university. His brother left school three years ago, since then he does odd jobs—when he gets them—and regularly sits for entry examinations. Last year was the third time when he who had done so well at school failed. Since 1984 all examinations even in Transylvania are in Rumanian.

As long as national ratios were taken into account in these parts at the entry examinations some 7–8 per cent of the Hungarian applicants made it for university. But that is a thing of the past. The principle is: "*Let us not divide what is united in life!*" There is no numerus clausus now. According to conservative estimates, these days it is considered a good result if 4–5 per cent Hungarian applicants make it to Transylvanian institutions of higher learning.

No overnight guests

Close to midnight we got up to go. Our hosts did not press us to stay, they mention that people who failed to report that they had overnight guests were fined 3,000–5,000 lei. And if you do report the fact? we asked. "That amounts to self-accusation. We know of no case when permission was given."

At the Parajd pithead a miner exchanges salt for soap. He told us that what we saw were the new workings. The old salt mine with its arched entrance was exhausted in 1981. Before that, international artists' camps were organized there, statues and chandeliers were carved of salt and the tourists flocked there to admire them. Since the old workings were flooded these are but fond memories.

The road from Parajd takes us straight to Korond, the village of potters. More than three hundred potter families live there. At the stalls lining the road we see a pair of glazed pottery pigeons—Laurel and Hardy—not ruly jugs and plates. But the best of Korond pottery decorated with snakes, birds, trees of life, is not seen here but in the workshop of the makers, the Páll and Józsa families. They do not advertise. Those, who want to see them will find them.

The same is true of those who want to find the house where Áron Tamási was born in a steep lane in Farkaslaka. The locals returning home from work watch who greets them and how, and take their hat off only when they are satisfied. In these parts nothing but Hungarian is heard. The author of *Ábel* willed in Budapest that he be buried in his native soil. When he died, and father and son Szervátiusz decided to carve his legendary figures in stone, the people of the village rolled a block of granite weighing several hundredweight from the Hargita to the boundary of the village.

Balázs Orbán, the romantic historian, author of a six-volume description of Székely land, really felt at home in Udvarhely, as he put it: "In the mother town of the mother-country." This was where the free Székelys held their meetings in bygone years. Udvarhely is today off the beaten track in Transylvania, since the railway, which will

connect it with the basin of Csík is just in the early stage of construction.

The folk dance movement of the town, however, which spread to the whole of Transylvania in the seventies, made Udvarhely a spiritual centre for a short time. Hungarian-language television programmes dealt with its annual meeting every year. By the eighties the folk-dance movement had to be discontinued and Hungarian-language television programmes were stopped soon afterwards.

We were off to cross the Hargita, the snowclad mountain chain that stretches along the country almost parallel with the Carpathians right to Erdővidék (Forest Country), the birthplace of Elek Benedek, the writer of tales. There is a Hungarian-language sign outside Csíkszereda: "Szereda welcomes you, dear guests!" Csíksomlyó, the place of Whitsun pilgrimages, which is noted for the mystery plays performed there, is nowadays an outer suburb of Szereda.

Horse and man

At Mádéfalva, 200 of the young Székely, who did not want to serve the Habsburgs and refused military service to the Empress Maria Theresa were slaughtered by the mercenaries of Baron Siskovics on the night of January 7th, 1764. A memorial reminds people in the village of the havoc of Mádéfalva. The church-strongholds in the neighbourhood fell off *the call of the free Székelys,* the defence of the Hungarian country—and of the constantly threatened existence of the people of these parts.

A rare event distinguished this Sunday from all others. A coach-driving competition was held at the football ground of Csíkbánfalva just when we were there. A brass-band provided the music, bacon was barbecued and lollypops were sold. The local Party secretary delivered the opening address at the presidential table mounted on the tray of a truck. This was one of the local trials for the national Daciada sports event, which "faithfully mirrored the close unity of horse and man". Then came the parade of the decorated coaches. The president of the people's council of Csicsó wore folk trews. The President, Chief Veterinary Surgeon and the Head of the Stud of the Dánfalva cooperative farm wore their Sunday best complete with riding boots.

When we reached the winding road in the vicinity of Gyilkos lake we passed hamlets which appeared in rapid succession along the road right to this point. The Békás Canyon nearby had given passage to Cumans, Tartars and Turks, o the Russians hastening to help the Habsburgs and to modern armies in two world wars. Up on high, one sees an Altar-stone, not the sun. People fleeing the Tartars prayed there, according to tradition. Today the Coat of Arms of the Socialist Republic of Rumania shines on its peak with the date 1944–1984.

Since the administrative reorganization, Háromszék has been called County Kovászna. Its seat is still Sepsiszentgyörgy. The road leads through moors. At least one does not have to be afraid of bears—the locals say. The lights of the eleven-floor hotel go out at eight o'clock in Sepsiszentgyörgy. They assure us at the reception desk that this is done only to save energy. The eastern half of the town was cloaked in darkness. They have no vacant rooms: all taken up by Rumanians on organized sightseeing tours.

Singing, with scant hope

We drove to Réti tó for accommodation. "There is a wedding in our street": the singers are lads and lassies in their late teens or early twenties.

They left a trade school last year, and since they may not hold a function in Hungarian under the new regulations of the school, they came here, to a lake in Lower Csík, to take leave of each other and to stay as long as their food lasts.

Not only the boys, the girls too are plumbers and gas-fitters. In the last year at school the boys learnt the tricks of the trade

on the job while the girls first practice sewing, then painting and decorating.

Everybody was Hungarian in the class, the language of instruction was changed to Rumanian only after the eighth class.

It does not matter what kind of paper they get, the important thing is to have a school-leaving certificate, on the basis of which they can sit for an entry examination. Almost all of them applied for enrolment somewhere, they were just waiting for the results with scant hopes, since in the last two years—during their trade training—they studied little. No doubt, not much was expected of them.

Those who will not gain admission will go to work. They will be given a job, where they will be employed as driver's mates, seamstresses, labourers, or perhaps as gas-fitters or plumbers. Those who refuse the work offered may try their luck elsewhere, but cannot hope to find much more than odd jobs. They may, perhaps, wait another year sitting at home until the next entry examinations, unless they move to some other district.

The wages were withheld...

The morning took us away from the moorland, we were heading further south, to Brassó, where two hundred thousand people live. Hungarian is spoken less frequently here, as we leave the ornate Székely gates. The homes here are closed, and inward-turning. In the fortified Lutheran church of Hermány and in its vicinity one hears nothing but German. And in Brassó also, Hungarian is heard only here and there. Most people speak Rumanian or German.

Once a typical Saxon town, Brassó now welcomes you with high-rise housing stretched out for kilometers. The town is growing rapidly. Even the historic centre shows that the town is in a state of transformation. The main square, Piața 23 August, was fenced in by broads when we were there. Policemen gaurded the fence.

We had to make a roundabout of about a kilometre to reach the almost unreachable Black Church, the southeasternmost Gothic church in Europe. The walls were blackened in the Great Fire of 1689. The story, uniquely on this trip, is told in five languages for the benefit of tourists.

The Hungarian spirit had seen better times in Brassó. *Brassói Lapok* was the most valued paper of Transylvanian Hungarians between the two wars. It attracted democratic-minded writers and journalists, amongst them Áron Tamási and Sándor Kacsó. The town has no Hungarian school now, even though perhaps only Marosvásárhely has more Hungarian inhabitants.

It was a sunny day last year, when we walked around the streets of the second-biggest town of Rumania, Brassó. We had no idea then that it was to become the scene of dramatic events in the middle of November. In a report dated 2nd of December 1987 the Agerpres agency let the world know that an extraordinary workers' meeting was held at the Brassó motor works, where the executives were sacked and a new management appointed. The participants of the workers' meeting, according to the agency, supported a motion that those of the workers of the factory, who broke the law and provoked disorder should be charged before a court and be dismissed. Agerpres suggests that the former management of the factory broke the law and regulations. They arbitrarily levelled wages without considering performance. All of that provided the background to "deeds alien to the socialist system" perpetrated by some of the workers, went on Agerpres.

Agerpres was seventeen days late. A serious incident had taken place in Brassó on the 15th of November. On that Sunday morning, the day of the municipal elections, more than ten thousand people demonstrated in the town. According to *Újvidéki Magyar Szó* Brassó was occupied by the army which assisted the local police force in dispersing the protesting masses. Some claimed that the mass demonstration went on for six

hours. Two policemen were killed. Many demonstrators were arrested. None of that was reported by Agerpres.

The demonstrations had started at the Steagul Rosu motor works, where wages were withheld because they had not fulfilled the plan. The General Manager promised that everyone would get their money that Sunday provided they worked a Sunday shift in honour of the election. On Sunday, however, the men were told there would be no pay, since the banks were closed.

The workers then left the factory and set out towards the heart of the town. They pushed their way into public buildings. They carried off whatever food they found. Western news agencies reported that the Rumanian Security Service had arrested more tha a thousand.

Not long after the Brassó events several hundred university students marched on the streets of Temesvár. Pamphlets were distributed in Kolozsvár and in Bucharest rubber tyres with petrol were set ablaze.

We drive through Saxon villages without encountering a single soul. Since the mid-seventies the numbers of those who left for Germany has snowballed.

If you turn off the highway and take a sideroad, you get to Torockó. German craftsmen settled there in the 13th century bringing with them the know-how of the iron-worker trade. The sun rises twice at Torockó. First it appears on the horizon, then, as if it had changed its mind, it hides behind Székelykő, which towers above the village. The people of Torockó survived when the iron ore mines, which provided their living, were closed down because Torockó refused to offer recruits to the Imperial army. Now, like in Kalotaszeg, the system of one family—one child results in silent genosuicide. There are hardly any children in the village. The people are suspicious, as if they had been disturbed in their hiding place, and receive strangers with fear and trembling.

Székelykő provided a haven to the people of Torockó at times of peril. The walls of the colleges guarded the spirit of Transylvania. The first printing presses operated in the more than three-centuries-old colleges of Kolozsvár, Vásárhely, Udvarhely, Sepsi, Csíksomlyó, and Zilah, which also were the cradles of the theatre. Nagyenyed could, probably, claim primacy. Miklós Kis of Tótfalu, typefounder, János Cserei of Apácza, the encyclopaedist, Sándor Csoma of Kőrös, the Tibetan scholar, Farkas and János Bolyai, the mathematicians, Zsigmond Kemény, Miklós Barabás, Sámuel Köteles all studied at Nagyenyed. And so did, in our time, Lajos Áprily, the poet, and András Sütő, the writer. Once even the college had to take refuge from the Turks. The caves of Székelykő at Torockó gave them shelter. The schoolbell still stands in the school-yard, with the relief of the founder, Gábor Bethlen, nearby. The building houses a trade school.

Unfortunately, by the time we found accommodation at Kolozsvár in the luxury hotel Belvedere, we were again too late to watch the Rumanian television news. We could have switched to another station, were not the dial covered by a piece ofaluminium.

We took a walk in the town. King Matthias Corvinus in bronze sits proudly on his horse in front of Saint Michael's. Facing him is a statue of Romulus and Remus with the she-wolf. The house where the just king was born lies a few minute's walk away. Bocskai, Captain of the Hajdus and Prince of Transylvania was born two houses on. A clerk of the Statistical Office, housed in the building, guides us to the memorial tablet discretely positioned in the yard.

The last day is devoted to remembrance. The Házsongárd cemetery, where by-gone greats of the Transylvanian culture rest, also shows an image of change. Apáczai, Szenczi-Molnár, Jósika, Brassai, Jenő Dzsida rest amongst dilapidated tombstones. A man took fresh flowers to the grave of his uncle. He came to say farewell. At Házsongárd too, only close relatives can extend the tenure of a burial plot for another twentfive years.

FROM THE PRESS

TOWARDS A RENEWAL OF THE CONSENSUS

"In the last two to three decades the world around us and the position of socialism have changed. During this time the positions of Hungary have also changed, even when compared to five years ago." These words were used by János Berecz, member of the Political Committee, and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, in his article in the daily *Népszabadság*, on December 31st, 1987. In this he analysed the present mood and the debates within Hungarian society and through this outlined the contours of a possible new social-political consensus. He mentioned that the growth of Hungary's international prestige had increased national self-esteem in earlier years but the difficulties of the latter years have weakened it. "We have become uncertain, a low-spirited country", wrote Berecz, adding that those who spread the mood of crisis undervalued the efforts and work of a people of several decades.

Berecz pointed out further that the realisation of the reform was the only possible course for the country to rise since the reform was the means of socialist self-renewal. Mistakes have been made in the past, there are contradictions and points of tension in the economy. In his formulation, Hungarian reform policy—within the unity of permanence and change—puts the accent on change: individual reform measures must be coordinated. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party specifically calls its programme, "programme for economic and social evolution" and the government has worked out its aims in the spirit of that long-range project; the first phase of this is now in progress and is aimed at stabilisation but it contains the elements of evolution. It is obvious that the programme in train of realisation does not meet with everyone's approval; it is inconceivable that it would leave everyone's position untouched and not interfere with their interests. The greater part of the population will be compelled to make sacrifices: this is the price of evolution.

The economic aspects of the reform are inseparable from social and political renewal. Socialist democracy, the possibility of participation and intervention, access to information based on mutual trust and its intensification must be extended, through this it will be possible to develop public sentiment capable of providing the foundation for carrying out the tasks of evolution. The key question in politics remains the preservation of the people's power. In the practice that has historically developed in Hungary, the guarantee of this is the assertion of the party's leading role and the active participation of the masses in directing society.

The author attributes great importance to openness, calling it the indispensable element of all democratic political practice. In socialism, oppenness naturally also contains the opportunity to criticise political, institu-

tional and governmental activity: this is the basic condition for public interference in common matters.

The party's leading role being the key question of reforming the political institutional system, Berecz concerned himself with the details of changing this leading role. In his opinion the party must apply very few instruments of power in order to assert its leading role and try to exert its influence rather through political, ideological and active means. At the same time, party members should represent the ideas of the party as individuals, in their own sphere—not through power reflexes but efficiently explaining their standpoint.

For Berecz one of the cardinal points of the development of the political institutional system is a further increase in the government's autonomy. The further expansion of the role and influence of Parliament is also desirable, an expansion that has already been set out on in the recent past.

The author would also like to see flexibility in applying Marxist ideology, as in Hungarian society non-Marxist ideologies also exert an influence. Whichever ideas carry in them the elements of truth, the party and Marxists must be open-minded and ready to discuss them. Marxism does not strive for monopoly but for hegemony. All this does not mean that what lies in store in the development of socialist democracy is divisiveness. The prospect is that of the socialist unity of society, the assertion of public interest—without prejudicing, although eventually limiting, individual or group interests. The prospects for socialist democracy are those of self-government, which means essentially the participation of the whole society in shaping politicies, in decision-making, in organising and directing their implementation and their control. Self-government is developing in smaller communities, and with the extension of the scope of existing representative bodies, the institutionalizing of the popular selection and the assertion of other elements of self-government, it will also be possible to extend self-administration.

In the concluding part of his article, Berecz emphasized the importance of consensus because—as he said—socialism can be built only by the joint forces of society. He emphasized the importance of consensus between generations because "the rising generation has no experience of success." His final conclusion is that in Hungary consensus exists for building a more efficiently functioning socialism. "But yesterday's unity has not remained unchanged", and is exposed to trials: a new consensus has become necessary. We must find the foundations on which the party can build its new alliance—but not by rejecting the old foundations; because to give one example, the relations of state and church, Marxism–Leninism and religion have been built on lasting principles. Now a new kind of cooperation must be established among people with different opinions and different conceptions of the future. A major condition of this is a higher level of political culture and tolerance.

NATIONAL INTERESTS AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

In an interview published in the daily *Népszabadság* on December 31 of last year, Géza Kótai, head of the international department of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, said he considered the international developments of 1987 basically positive, and pointed out that the historical assessment of the Soviet–American summit and the double-zero option will depend on whether they start a "chain reaction of disarmament."

In the changing international situation the realisation is growing in Europe that the countries of the politically divided continent have important common interests: the first being to guarantee European security. Géza Kótai mentioned a certain ambivalence perceptible in Europe in connection with the double-zero option. On the one hand, all responsible European leaders approved and welcomed the Soviet–American agreement, on the other hand in some circles, because of the presumed weakening of American nuclear commitment, the demand for an intensification of military cooperation and arms levels has increased. "I am convinced", declared Kótai, "that the solution lies in guaranteeing the security of Europe, not against each other, but together." With the hoped-for strategic agreement between the great powers, conventional European forces and arms must also be reduced to "reasonably sufficient" level, a level sufficient for reliable defence but not for attack. A many-sided cooperation on all levels between the two blocs and their member states is desirable for Europe's countries to be able individually and together to hold their own in worldwide economic competition.

The process of reform emerging in the socialist countries is also of major importance for international developments. In the long term, productive capacity can gradually take over the role of the military factor in the balance of the countries belonging to two different social systems. This is especially important for Hungary, as proved by what is being done in the two largest socialist countries, the Soviet Union and China; Hungary has been advancing in the contemporary mainstream of socialist development for the last two decades. Amid the economic difficulties with which Hungary has had to cope, the readiness for cooperation has a positive effect, according to Kótai. On the socialist side, it is the demand for deepening relations that is typical and Hungary's most important Western partners are also willing to develop relations to mutual advantage. Several countries have expressed their interest in the success of the Hungarian reform.

Géza Kótai gave special emphasis to the "problems which have an international projection", as he put it, in the region of Eastern Central Europe, the question of national minorities. He said that there has been progress in several respects; with the Hungarian Workers' Federation in Czechoslovakia it was possible to establish a promising cooperation; Hungarian scholars are investigating problems of national minorities in cooperation with two Yugoslav republics, Slovenia and Croatia; with the Soviet Union, they are studying the forms of relations, with Austria an exploration of the economic aspects of the contracts between national minorities is being undertaken. "We regret that our relationship with Rumania has not developed in this spirit and, in truth, this is not the only field of cooperation where we can witness stagnation or even retreat. We have raised all this in a matter-of-fact way at the last meeting of Hungarian–Rumanian CC secretaries in June 1987 and since then—alas, without any result. We continue our efforts firmly and soberly for mutual understanding and good-neighbourliness." He emphasized further

that Hungarian foreign policy strived for unhampered contact and communication between peoples because this was obviously the best means for eliminating the prejudices that distort the consciousness of peoples and nations. Historical and contemporary examples show that the contrary attitude has produced tensions in relations both within countries and in their international relations.

Finally Kótai spoke of the objectives and priorities of Hungarian foreign policy. Hungary continues to regard the improving of relations with neighbouring countries as a central task, along with the strengthening of the connecting role of national minorities, following their fates with attention and assistance. "We are thinking hard on ways and means to establish an even closer cooperation with our neighbours, the states of the Danube Basin. Thus, in the future we wish to participate fully in the Alpine–Adria Working Community promoting the cooperation of the provinces and counties of several adjacent Central European countries." As an active participant in the Helsinki process, Hungary wishes to concern herself primarily with human rights, including the individual and collective rights of national minorities; do her best for the successful completion of the follow-up meeting in Vienna. She sees a possibly greater role in the process of European arms limitations and participating in the establishment of a Central European zone of "reduced armament." Hungary, with the modest but not negligible opportunities available to her foreign policy, wants to have her share in the development of mature détente and in making East-West cooperation irreversible."

IN FOCUS

REFORM THROUGH COMPROMISE

In mid-1985 the Central Committee of the HSWP formed a sub-committee to prepare a comprehensive review of the role of the Party in the administration, the economy, etc., and the political system as such. This committee sought advice from a number of political scientists and management consultants. István Schlett's article should be interpreted as a submission to this committee and a contribution to the discussion.

Schlett points out first of all that the present Hungarian reform atmosphere abounds with doubts and a lack of credibility fuelled by a series of measures that went off half cock and many outright failures. This can produce polarisation, and consequently Schlett considers a compromise between "reasonable conservatives" and "reasonable reformers" necessary and even urgent. A readiness for cooperation, tolerance and political wisdom are needed on both sides. Everything must be open to discussion, Schlett argues even basic issues that were earlier considered tabus, such as the leading role of the Party, membership of, and the consequences of that membership, the Warsaw Pact, must also be re-interpreted. Schlett himself offers considered arguments and shows a readiness for compromise as one of the "reasonable reformers."

"What has to be reformed and why?" —he asks. His main point is that a political system and structure conceived in the class war does not meet the requirements of the present social peace. This system was developed by a Communist Party which was organized to conquer political power and for struggle, a party of militants. The system has been dominated by this spirit to this day. In the course of the struggle it made the autonomous organization of various interest groups in society impossible. The representative system became a mere formality void of substance. In the impetus of the total transformation of society, the Party seized hold of—or assimilated to itself—every instrument and institution capable of expressing the political will. In this way it also transpoliticised those particular interests which are not of a political nature. However, in today's peaceful conditions, after power has been seized, this political structure is no longer adequate. Interventions by the Party are far too frequent and cover too wide a range of social processes, at the same time displaying insensitivity, over-centralisation and clumsiness.

"What has to be done and how?"—is the question introducing the proposals. According to Schlett, the leading role of the Party and representative democracy of a bourgeois type are compatible. This necessitates, first of all, the rational and constitutional limitation of the Party's role. The proposed structure reminds of a presidential system although it is not identical with it. The Party would nominate the head of state—or

the body practising the functions of the head of state—a decision then confirmed by a plebiscite. The Party would be authorised to influence the general processes of socio-political life. The President (Presidium) would appoint the Prime Minister who would head a strong executive. The composition of Parliament would show a certain limited pluralism. In the course of its functioning, it would confront and discuss several different economic, social, cultural, policies. The further actors of the system would be non-political organizations, as for instance organizations representing interests, (e.g. chambers of employers, trade unions), associations, as well as autonomous municipalities. All this would make possible the articulation and open discussion of many kinds of interests, in which the Party would participate only as an organization guaranteeing the socialist nature of what happened.

Társadalmi Szemle which published the article started off the discussion with some critical remarks. Attention was drawn to the fact that, after 1957, Party control and the Party's role have no longer been interpreted in terms of a rigorous application of the logic of the class war. Schlett neglected the historic variants. Doubts were expressed whether the separation of presidential and governmental power would not place the government in a vice between the President (Presidium) and Parliament pressures that remained unreconciled on principle. And what of the theoretical guiding function of the Party in a system in which the Party would only be competent to set the general course of the country's political progress, while the particular policies (from economic policy to education) would be formulated by the coordination of many kinds of opinions expressed in Parliament and in the ongoing public debate.

Schlett, István: "Közelítések a politikai rendszer reformjához" (An approach to the reform of the political system). *Társadalmi Szemle*, 1987. No. 7. pp. 41–56.

G. V.

THE PARTY AND ECONOMIC CONTROL

There are few Hungarian writings on economics or political science that discuss the role of the Communist Party in economic control. The starting point of Zoltán Nemes's article is that the Central Committee of the HSWP has placed itself at the top of the administrative system, replacing the government.

The Party is an organization which takes part in the decision-making process of the management of the economy and supervises (in the economy as well) the work of the state apparatus. It carries out its job with conviction. The central agencies of the Marxist–Leninist Party form an entity together with the state administration as a decision-making centre.

The economic reform makes an organizational-institutional reform inevitable. However, according to Zoltán Nemes, who is a member of the Secretariat of the Council of Ministers, what has to be investigated is not the limits of the interference of the Party or of the state with the economy. In the economic management there is at present a single political government, and this is not the Council of Ministers, but the Central Committee of the HSWP. From the aspect of the party guidance of the economy the basic criterion must be that institutional guarantees should be formulated which concentrate optimum economic decisions and the coordination of economic interests.

The style of the Party's work must therefore gradually become consultative. The emphasis on the economy-organizing activity of the state (government) would increase. The rational division of labour between the political and economic leadership assumes cooperation between the Party and the government. This should be based on a clear division of powers. The novelty in this is that, in the operative control of the economy, the Party should restrict its participation to a minimum. In its role of determining

strategic decisions, the Party takes politically motivated decisions. The detailed definition of the substance of the implementation and operation of the strategy thus defined—and economic information for the Party leadership—should be the duty of the government. At the same time Nemes rejects, in accordance with the present Hungarian practice—that the Party should take on legislative tasks.

According to Nemes, in a socialist economy planning is the basic category. Party guidance takes on a consultative-cooperative nature in the process of planning. The monopoly of the Party is not able to change the fact either that decisions are made through reconciliation by the apparatuses of the Party and of other organizations. This necessitates the democratisation of decision-making. It is a new element that in addition to class and group interest, attention has to be paid also to differences between the interests of various organizations and institutions.

In the interest-reconciling model, the Party explores the articulation of interests and passes this on to the state administration as a non-rigid order of priorities.

Does it follow from the leading role of the Party and from democratic centralism that, in the course of the process of the assertion of interests, interests have to be conveyed to the highest central authorities of the Party? According to Nemes, it would be better to divert the issues towards the instruments of popular representation and the government apparatus. Governmental economic control necessarily has more direct contact with the actors of the economy. The dominance of Party guidance is necessary, but it must not become overwhelming.

Nemes, Zoltán: A Párt és a gazdasági irányítás (The party and economic management). *Jogtudományi Közlöny*, 1987, No. 7. pp. 351–358.

A. S.

PROTECTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT—THROUGH FINES?

At the present fines are the most effective item in the protection of the environment, states András Tamás. It is perhaps precisely for this reason that they are at the crossfire of attacks.

The imposition of a fine does not improve the condition of the environment. The polluter who has been fined often has the best of intentions but e.g. foreign currency for the protective equipment is lacking, or the new technology does not prove to be effective.

Although pollution is accompanied by condemnation, this has no moral foundation. At the most we can speak of social rationality. This lays the burden of the tasks of actually protecting the environment on those whose activity endangers the environment.

For producers the protection of the environment represents additional costs. The compulsion to protect the environment introduces non-market mechanisms into the process of production. In recent years Hungarian firms should have been able to react to market impulses. But as the firms meet more and more difficulties, and resources diminish, so do investments in the protection of the environment and thus the fine takes on central importance.

The Hungarian law, eight kinds of fines serve the protection of the soil, the waters, the air, the biosphere and of the landscape as the environment of towns and villages. Some fines are attached to the emission of pollutants (emission fines). This expresses that, with the existing technologies, prevention is the sole acceptable method. If pollution has already occurred, there is no way in which it can be eliminated completely. An acceptable limit is set, and a fine is imposed for additional emission. On such occasions the fault usually lies with the technology, and it can be eliminated by its improvement. But the protection of caves or of rare species

cannot be handled by norms of emission. Here the specific objects are protected.

According to András Tamás, our regulations concerning fines are unexceptionable as far as the principle of the method is concerned. It is, however, not advisable to render production impossible in the name of the protection of the environment.

How can one express a judgement on the environment protecting behaviour of the polluter who is made responsible for the protection of the environment? In law this is recognized but in a single case: the withdrawal of a certain area of agricultural land from production can be compensated by rendering land of a similar size productive. Beyond this, if the polluters reduce pollution by investment, progressive fine does not have to be paid. In addition, the law makes an exemption from the payment of fines possible if such payments would lead to financial ruin.

A system can be imagined in which the authority would credit to the polluter every activity by which he protects the environment. So for instance, good marks collected in the protection of the air would be taken into consideration in the case of pollution in other areas, e.g. of water.

Tamás, András: "Bírság és bonum a környezet védelmében" (Fines and bonuses in the protection of the environment). *Jogtudományi Közlöny*, 1987, No. 5. pp. 227–233.

A. S.

RECOVERY OF THE AILING ECONOMY

Keeping up with European standards, not falling too far behind the more developed countries—this watchword has moved Hungarians for a thousand years, and still does. The threat that the gap may set in as permanent is more timely today than ever before. The actions of those in charge of the Hungarian economy proved themselves insufficient, and the patience of the population is gradually becoming exhausted. In 1986 real wages were smaller than those of 1978. Necessary structural changes have not been carried out and most varied grave social problems have become accumulatively effective. Those in charge have tried, in several successive ways, to adjust to world economic process initiated by the 1973 energy and raw material price explosion. Until 1978 they tried to avoid social conflicts by borrowing abroad and fast economic growth on the basis of the existing economic structure. In 1978 the economic problems became that serious that the leadership decided to slow down growth. It restrained domestic consumption by reducing investment, increasing exports to repay foreign loans. Confidence following the export surplus of 1983–1984 led to a relative relaxation of restrictions and as a consequence the accumulation of debts continued. But structural changes were neglected, and in the absence of the necessary investment the infrastructure and the natural environment further deteriorated.

Mária Petschnig argues that economic adaptation must be achieved in the immediate future by giving more scope to market forces releasing resources which are frozen because capital is inefficiently employed. The economies of the developed capitalist countries must serve as the guiding posts and a readiness must be shown to confront the conflicts such a policy implies.

A shortage of capital is frequently mentioned as the main factor obstructing adaptation. According to Mária Petschnig, the most important handicap is not insufficient money but the nature of the social conditions.

1. The present system of economic management has become inoperable. The national economic plan does not regulate the activities of firms, because there are no instructions, and the indirect market regulating instruments (prices, credit, profit and loss) do not adequately influence the activity of firms for the absence of genuine market

conditions. Instead, bargaining between the central authorities and firms decides what is produced and other aspects of business strategy.

2. The large firms do not adjust primarily to the market conditions, i.e. horizontally, but to the authorities above them in the hierarchy, i.e. vertically. In an economy of shortages they can get hold of the resources needed by them through the higher authorities. Small enterprises (simple-type cooperative, civil law associations, economic working partnership, individual artisans and petty trades) are not numerous or strong enough to offer serious competition. Mária Petschnig argues that the small enterprises restrain production, since they cannot expand, and their high income elicits adverse reactions.

3. Bureaucratic coordination is slower and less flexible than market coordination. Owing to bureaucratised economic control firms have lost the habit of self-regulation.

4. So far the reforms have relied on pragmatism leaving the old ideology intact. Thus, invoking a surviving abstract image of socialism, there are many who are apprehensive about the future socialism because of the reforms.

5. The role of the HSWP in economic control is uncertain, not being institutionalised. Consequently, the central Party authorities get bogged down in details and are unable to work out a strategy. The same is true of county and city Party committees. This has given rise to an attitude where they expect guidance and the solution of problems from above. For them the most advantageous attitude is to be as colourless as possible, since this cannot lead to any trouble. In addition, the activity of the Party apparatus is not subject to direct and continuous control. Social control exists, but only *ex post facto*, after the decisions have been implemented. Social control before decisions are taken is necessary and so is a continuous feedback from society. But this is restrained by the fear felt by many that outspoken criticism, the demand for improvements and the reform of the system, may sooner or later be interpreted as opposition to the regime.

Petschnig, Mária: "Gazdaságunk alkalmazkodásának korlátai" (Limits to the adaptation of the economy). *Valóság*, 1987. No. 8. pp. 12–21.

R. A.

PROFIT-SHY ENTREPRENEURS

At the end of 1986, 450–500,000 individuals, ten percent of those in active employment, worked in the new forms of small enterprise. In 1985, 129,000 old and new type small enterprises operated in Hungary: 12,000 new type small enterprises (193 stateowned small enter-prises, 758 simple-type cooperative, approximately 200 civil law associations, 9,300 economic working partnerships, 900 cooperative groups in farming and 500 in retailing), 77,000 independent artisans, 28,000 petty traders, 11,600 leased units in catering. In other words, the approximately 5,000 conventional units (firms, cooperatives, etc.) of the socialist sector are surrounded by 129,000 economic units. These have become an indispensable part of the Hungarian economy. For those who work in them doing without the income derived from that source is also unimaginable, although approximately four fifhts of the 450–500,000 persons mentioned have their principal employment in the socialist sector, and their income from the small enterpreneurial sector is supposed to be only a supplement of their wages or salaries.

(Teréz Laky does not discuss the 22–23,000 intrapreneurial working teams and 2,800 cooperative groups, or small-scale farming, in which—overwhelmingly after normal working hours at one's place of employment—approximately one half of Hungary's population is engaged.)

Nevertheless, almost everybody is dissatisfied with the progress of the small enterprises. Public opinion is dissatisfied, because

in conjunction with the growth in the number of small enterprises the shortage of goods and services has hardly dimished. The economic authorities are dissatisfied, because the small enterprises—like the large enterprises of the socialist sector—do not compete for the consumers, and do not tie down incomes accumulated by some people either, since very little capital is invested. Finally, the majority of the small enterpreneurs are also dissatisfied, because the conditions for their operation (e.g. the availability of materials and equipment) do not improve, while their tax burdens are growing. According to Teréz Laky, one reason for the dissatisfaction with the small enterprises is that they do not exploit the opportunities which are open to them. For instance, 2 to 6 persons work in their majority, although the limits set for the various forms are much wider.

To explain this, she differentiates between three types of small organizations, from the aspect of the economic aims and functions. These are:

1. Small organizations selling the additional work of the participants. In these the aim is that the participants should supplement their wages or salaries, no capital is invested, and the participants use the incomes to increase their consumption. This includes the large majority of those working in the new types of small enterprises.

2. Small producers. Their aim is to provide a livelihood for their family. They strive for stability, not for growth, and consequently modify and increase their offer only to a limited extent. The capital invested is very small, no more than is necessary to stay competitive. They spend the greater part of their income on consumption. This group includes the overwhelming majority of independent artisans, petty traders and lessees of catering establishments.

3. Genuine entrepreneurs. Their aim is profit, they react flexibly to changes in demand, they invest substantial capital, and use the majority of their income for further investment.

Teréz Laky presents several concrete examples of the latter but establishes that there are few of them. She goes on to draw attention to the circumstances which impede the spreading of the entrepreneurial type of small enterprise. She first mentions the ambiguity of the political judgement of the private sector. On the one hand, its indispensability is stressed, but so is its supplementary or complementary role compared to the socialist sector. This is also manifest in the fact that the small entities of the private sector continue to be handicapped in many respects compared to the entities of the socialist sector. The administration does still not seem to consider the creation of self-employment worthy of support, although this could play an important role in absorbing threatening unemployment. In such conditions, only exceptionally ambitious people undertake to operate their small entities as an enterprise. In the view of Teréz Laky, the small private sector should receive unambiguous political stimulation and economic support, since it could well play an important and growing role in the modern economy.

Laky, Teréz: "Eloszlott mítoszok — tétova szándékok" (Dispelled myths—wavering intentions). *Valóság*, 1987. No. 7. pp. 34–49.

R. A.

SMALL FIRMS, BIG LOSSES

Thanks to the urgings from the reform-minded economists and the logic of a declining economy, the breaking up of firms in a monopoly position which had been swollen by repeated mergers, into smaller, autonomous entities, has become a top priority of the Hungarian economic reform.

However, economists studying reorganizations have established that a process started at the beginning of the eighties, has now bogged down. The way the small state-owned firms established in the course of the decentralisation have functioned so far has further fuelled doubts.

In 1982 only three small state-owned firms were established, in 1983, however, already 132, 148 in 1984, 196 operated in 1985 including 160 in the repair and servicing industries. Their rapid growth was due to various preferences (simplified reporting of data, simple and more favourable than the average taxation, especially in the tertiary sector, further reduction of taxes starting in 1985, etc.). All of the established small firms existed earlier too, under another name and/or different dependence. Their majority were established by breaking up two nationwide trusts. One of the important reasons for their decentralisation had been the consistently poor efficiency of these large organizations. The efficiency indices of these organizations had for years been well below similar indices of cooperatives and artisans conducting the same sort of activities.

However, the new small firms did not achieve the expected results. Their efficiency indices are consistently poorer than those of other small entities of a new type conducting a similar activity (subsidiaries, simple-type cooperatives, cooperative subsidiaries). Income per number employed is lowest in the state-owned small firms, and they account for one-third of the small units in the red.

Teréz Laky argues that the main reason of this poor performance is that the administration did not undertake to create a form of ownership and organization appropriate to this small scale servicing activity. This was prevented basically by a way of thinking which insisted that same sort of superior status attached to state ownership, although the experience of many years has shown that cooperatives, and especially the independent artisans, have done much better than the state-owned firms. When the large entities were decentralised, it nevertheless again proved to be more important to protect the already invested state assets than to examine viable organizational forms and the true need for capital of the various activities, basing decisions on the latter.

Faced with poor performance, new plans of reorganization have been drafted. The essence of these is that even smaller independent units should be established within the small firms. This will be done mainly by more leasing of the operation of workshops. But this form has been unable to make headway for years now. Nevertheless another idea has been discarded which still figures in the original plans, i.e. that the smaller workshops should be let to artisans or the working partnerships of artisans. This is because the political apparatus includes many who oppose the spreading of private ownership, and consequently refuse to accept the advantages of small scale industrial organization. Nor do those who work for the small firms desire to be independent, since moonlighting while working for a state-owned firm suits them better than the risks of self-employment. Meanwhile, the autonomy of firms in difficulties has also been diminishing: all-encompassing regulation and supervision by the controllers, the growing obligation to supply data which make interference possible, have together made the state-owned small firms an organic part of the hierarchy of economic entities.

Teréz Laky concludes that if the foundations are not revised critically, modernisation will only result in half-way solutions in the reproduction of the problems.

Laky, Teréz: "A szervezeti decentralizáció félmegoldása: az állami kisvállalat" (A halfway solution of organizational decentralisation: The state-owned small firm). *Közgazdasági Szemle*, 1988. No. 1. pp. 49–63.

M. L.

THE LABOUR MARKET AND THE GENERAL SCHOOL

The eight-year general school, established in the post-war period is still the foundation of the Hungarian schooling system. Its curricula and textbooks have been changed with growing frequency but the basic declared aims are still the same: to make the same education available to every child between the ages of 6 and 14. This institution which was conceived in the spirit of democratic levelling, is today undergoing a crisis, Bálint Surányi claims. Until recently there were no protests against the nature of the general school in Hungary. Things were accepted, even if with ambiguous feelings and sometimes passionate criticism, by those who demanded higher standards, i.e. by the more privileged social groups, nor did those protest who were barely able to meet the requirements of this type of school.

This consensus was due essentially to two factors. In spite of the common—and forever fuller—curricula and norms, there are big differences in the standards of schools. These differences, which are known to every informed parent, have resulted in peculiar strategies. The more fastidious use every official and inofficial channel to find better schools in which better teachers teach the more intelligent, harder working children in more favourable conditions and at an above-average standard. As long as these individual strategies are successful on a massive scale, it is not in the interest of anybody to question the institutional form itself.

Surányi argues that the other reason for the social consensus vis-à-vis this type of school is to be sought in the particularities of the Hungarian labour market. The Hungarian labour market created by the duality of strict economic planning and widespread second economy had, until recently, two important characteristics. It provided work for everybody, but gave no premium to knowledge acquired at school, i.e. it was possible to obtain the same or a higher income leaving school early and with poor results as e.g. with an engineering degree, not to speak of teachers or scientists. (An university lecturer in theoretical physics or a stipendiary magistrate, at the age of forty, earns 30 per cent less than a bus driver.)

Favourable prospects on the labour market made school failure easy to bear: it was sufficient for the pupil to show a minimum of conformity in order to have the same or better chances in competition on the labour market for higher incomes. Conformism as a behaviourial strategy at school was supported by the teachers themselves, primarily by tacitly reducing standards and this was at some times supported by the authorities and at others accepted as inevitable. The characteristics of the labour market also persuaded those who did better at school that they had to apply individual strategies. Even if they had not got into better schools, various types of in-service training even made professional employment possible. It is also true that the effectiveness of higher qualification in competition on the labour market also depended on the application of individual strategies.

The economic regression which occurred in the 1980s and the reform policies which followed and which, with their early measures, directed at the reduction of uneconomical production, have already resulted in some unemployment, may change the consensus within a short time. If school performance has an effect on the labour market in respect of those who are unable to meet the requirements of the general school, there is no rational behaviourial strategy for them within the school. This is especially true if the growing importance of skills and knowledge in the labour market also puts an end to the reduction of educational standards.

Rewards for higher qualifications on the labour market may make it more important to acquire such qualifications. The number of those may grow who demand guarantees (e.g. in the form of certificates confirming

skill) that school performance will be rewarded by the labour market or in higher studies.

The analysis of Bálint Surányi makes the point that the still existing social consensus vis-à-vis the eight-year general school depended on an economic and social environment which no longer exists.

Surányi, Bálint: "A munkaerőpiac és az általános iskola társadalmi elfogadottsága" (The labour market and social acceptance of the general primary school). *Valóság*, 1987. No. 7. pp. 50–62

G. H.

A SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC EDITOR AND PUBLICIST

So far three issues have appeared of the periodical *Századvég*, issued by the Social Science College of law students of Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest. It is fresh and youthful, in every respect. The front cover shows seven great Hungarian thinkers on social issues of this century: the poet and writer-prophets Endre Ady and Dezső Szabó, the radical-democratic sociologist Oszkár Jászi, the Catholic-conservative historian Gyula Szekfű, Mihály Babits and László Németh, two rival literary figures of the thirties, who fought against each other a war of generations, and finally István Bibó, the political thinker who has grown into a legend after his death. Their ensemble, in spite of all their contradictions, expresses something of the ambitions of the generation of young intellectuals which is now establishing its identity.

The contents of the periodical are similarly open, in respect of both subject and school of thought. An outspoken paper discusses how the Treaty of Trianon is remembered in the country today. An American–Hungarian sociologist writes on the civil society. There are sections dealing with urgent East European and reform problems. Two articles in the Observer section formed part of the material of last year's Karl Polányi memorial meeting held in Budapest.

The Living Past section, the most extensive, includes mostly unknown writings by prominent modern Hungarian thinkers. In the current issue it is a selection from the writings of a man whose portrait would have added another school of throught to the cover: social democracy.

Illés Mónus (1888–1944) was born a hundred years ago. He was killed by the Hungarian Arrow Cross gang at the very end of the Second World War. He was one of the noblest and most attractive leaders of Hungarian Social Democrats. Between 1934 and 1939 he edited the party's daily *Népszava*, and also its theoretical journal *Szocializmus*. His biography, as the authors János Gyurgyák and László Tőkéczki write, "does not contain any great events. We can see it as the slow gradual rise of a self-taught labour leader, one that is not of course independent of the historic conditions. At the peak of his career he enjoyed great authority, was morally recognized even by his adversaries, and was a farsighted leader of the Hungarian Social Democratic movement."

Illés Mónus tried to instill a new spirit into the Social Democratic Party, which was clumsy and conservative in many respects and had the nature of a sect which was isolated from the majority of Hungarians. "The socialist movement", he wrote, "must be a social movement the problems of which are the problems of society." His conclusion was that "the new duty of the socialist parties is to rise above their class character."

As editor and publicist he did much to serve this purpose. He sought and found contacts with different currents in the Hungarian literature and intellectual life of his time. He recognized that *Népszava* could not confine itself to publishing the enthusiastic but amateurish worker poets, and he began to print in both his journals poems and articles by Attila József, who had come into conflict with the Communist Party. He

also published Ferenc Fejtő, and the populist Peter Veres. He closely followed the work of the rural sociology school of writers, and tried to clarify views and divergencies of opinions in his friendly but always analytical and critical articles.

The selection of writings here published demonstrates his international outlook (e.g. his obituaries of Eduard Bernstein, Karl Kautsky, and Otto Bauer) and his sense of national responsibility.

Gyurgyák, János–Tőkéczky, László: "A magyar szociáldemokrácia múltjából — Mónus Illés" (From the past of Hungarian Social Democracy—Illés Mónus). *Századvég*, 1987. No. 3. pp. 158–251.

Gy. L.

GOLD TREASURES FROM THE CARPATHIAN BASIN

Attila Kiss has thoroughly examined gold gravefinds and other treasures in the Carpathian basin that can be dated from the 5th to the 10th century A.D. This meant nomadic tribes of eastern steppe origin (Attila's Huns, the early and late Avars, and finally the Hungarians), and also Germanic tribes that spent a shorter or longer time in the area. The finds include such important items as the Szeged–Nagyszéksós treasure (from the tomb of a contemporary of Attila, perhaps a member of his family), that of Hódmezővásárhely–Szikáncs (1439 Byzantine soliduses weighing six and a half kilogramms, part of the tax paid to the Huns), or the Nagyszentmiklós treasure from the second hald of the 8th century, the late Avar period (the weight of the 23 vessels amounts to almost exactly 10 kilogramms). The total weight of these and similar finds is 55 kilogrammes which is several times more than the entire weight of the presently known 5–10th century gold finds of the whole of Europe west of the Carpathian basin. Kiss proceeds to explain why gold finds abound in this region.

He points out that the Eastern Roman Empire bought peace from the Barbarians threatening its frontiers East and North by the payment of an annual subsidy. Thus, between 430 and 450 they sent annually increasing quantities of gold to the Huns: 114.60 kg in 430, and in 435 already its double, finally between 443 and 450 687–688 kg annually. This was a huge quantity even if we are aware that at the time the total income of Byzantium was around 90,000 kg, measured in gold, and out of this they paid a much higher, sometimes even 1,000 kg gold subsidy to the Persians which threatened the Empire from the East. After the end of the Hun empire (death of Attila in 453), the subsidy was still due to the Germanic princes who were his heirs in the Carpathian basin, but this amounted to a maximum of 100 kg annually, and slowly came to an end.

When the early Avars from the East settled in the Carpathian basin in 567, and under the rule of the Kagan Bayan threatened Constaninople they were able to obtain 60,000 solidus (272 kg of gold) from Byzantium annually after 573. This was gradually increased to 617 kg, and they were already able to obtain 120–140,000 solidus annually (644–635 kg) in return for peace, a total of approximately 20 tons over fifty three years. For the next two centuries and a half there are no written sources about the Byzantine gold subsidy, and it appears that the Byzantines no longer considered the Avars of the Carpathian basin to be sufficiently dangerous, and later the Hungarians either, to feel compelled to pay an annual subsidy.

The thorough lists drawn up by Attila Kiss demonstrate clearly what happened. The tombs and treasures of the Carpathian basin precisely reflect the gold sent from Constantinople to the Huns between 430 and 450,

and later to the Avars between 573 and 626. The number and weight of the gold buried simultaneously with the receipt of the subsidy or shortly after is rather high. It is also clearly visible that some of the tax sent to the Huns got into the hands of their Germanic subjects, in turn buried in tombs up to 500. The graph of the archeological finds shows clearly the reappearance of considerable quantities of gold in the early Avar period (up to approximately 650), e.g. the recently discovered grave of Kunbábony, which is not entirely intact but still weighs 2.5 kg. On the other hand, it is interesting that a considerable quantity of gold finds can be dated between 750 and 800 (mainly the Nagyszentmiklós treasure). This can no longer be linked to the Byzantine gold subsidy. It is clear that what is involved here is only the remnant in gold of what was received by the Avars between 573 and 626, i.e. remnants of the erstwhile treasury of the Kagan. A contemporary source also speaks of the huge treasury of the Kagan. In 795 Erich, Duke of Friaul with a few men reached the camp of the Kagan, somewhere between the rivers Tisza and Danube, and carried off gold, silver and silk to Aix-la-Chapelle, to the treasury of Charlemagne, in fifteen carts drawn by four oxen each. Attila Kiss draws the important conclusion that for the barbarian rulers of the age of the great migrations gold and silver were not capital to be used in economic activity but a token of status. This is the reason why the number of princely tombs containing gold is much lower west of Hungary.

Kiss, Attila: "Die Goldfunde des Karpatenbeckens vom 5–10. Jahrundert. Angaben zu den Vergleichsmöglichkeiten der schriftlichen und archäologischen Quellen" (Gold finds in the Carpathian basin from the 5–10th centuries. Data for the possibility to compare written and archeological sources). *Acta Archaeologica Ac. Sc. Hungaricae*, 1986. No. 38. pp. 105–145.

J. M.

CULTURAL DETERMINANTS OF HEALTH

After the Turks were driven out, after 1712, the hills of Tolna and Baranya counties were resettled, among others by Germans, mostly from Habsburg domains near the Rhine. These German peasants, assisted by an enlightened mercantilist economic policy, but largely due to their skills and work ethic flourished in their new homes. When capitalism reached rural Hungary they were better able to exploit the opportunities offered by the market than the ethnic Hungarians and South Slavs of the same area. Between the two wars, and even before the Great War, the Germans of Tolna and Baranya prospered while the others economically lagged behind. The Hungarians developed a luxurious folk art, spent much on cutting a fine figure and practised strict birth control, with only one child to a couple, the Germans remained more modest in their everyday life, dress and festive customs, but expanded and modernised their farms. In Tolna county, at and around Bonyhád, cattle-breeding and dairy farming of a high standard was practised by the Germans.

The author, an economist in Szekszárd, in Tolna county, is of partly German peasant stock. He examines the effect on their health of the culture and way of living of the Germans of Tolna county. He sets out from the assumption that an analysis and evaluation of historic sources makes it possible to explore the historic models of the way of living and of the values and mentality backing them. The available sources are rather sparse. They include old descriptions, e.g. a characterization one of which from 1829 is of all villages of Tolna county, the customs and morals of their inhabitants. The sources point out that the Germans compared to the Hungarians work harder and insist that the women and children also do agricultural work. They do not like luxury, but rather strive for accumulation. The other side of

the coin was that some felt themselves to be harnessed to a rigid materialism. The Germans were induced to economic expansion by their system of inheritance. The eldest son inherited the entire farm, but had to pay cash to his brothers and sisters. A consequence of this self-exploitation was that a considerable number of the German lads proved to be unfit for military service owing to the damage done by working too hard and too early. (This is quoted from a medical examination made in neighbouring Baranya county.) The Germans who had come from different regions usually married only within the village, were endogamous, and even within the villages only those intermarried who had a similar financial background. This had biologically harmful effects. The expectation of economic success and the consequences of the system of inheritance often caused lasting hostility among siblings and with it psychological troubles. Owing to the one-sided concentration on waxing rich they unhealthily restricted their own consumption, for instance sold all the milk and did not give liberally even to their little children. The way of thinking, the connection between local culture and health can directly be examined in the notions developed about health and sickness. In the name of the rational work ethic, they hardly saw a doctor, because of the expense.

This article, which essentially discusses the period between 1800 and 1954, indicates the growing acceptance of the approach which examines health and the disturbances to health also as a function of psychological, social and cultural factors. This approach can have a major role in health planning.

Solymár, Imre: "A völgységi svábság értékorientációi, történeti életmódja és ennek néhány orvosegészségügyi vetülete" (Value orientations and the historic way of living of the Suebian population of the Völgység region, including some medical health projections). *Orvostörténeti Közlemények—Communicationes de Historia Artis Medicinae*, 1987. Vol. 102–104 (1983). pp. 139–156.

T. H.

TRADITIONAL PEASANT MEDICINE

In recent years interest has grown in Hungary too in non-western traditional treatments. One sign of this is the popularity of acupuncture—it is now also available in state health services—and the increasing popularity of herbal medicine. Interest extends to the traditional knowledge of health practices of Hungarian peasants, the medicaments they extract from various herbs, etc. Historians of medicine took an interest in this subject earlier as well as part of cultural history. Nowadays the exploration of peasant cures is motivated to a great extent by the intention and hope that natural ways which are usable today can be learnt from peasant traditions. Ethnographers, physicians, medical historians, botanists hold conferences every second or third year. One of the bases of research is the Semmelweis Museum of Medical History in Budapest, and another base the Ethnographic Department of the Museum of Szekszárd, where countrywide archives on folk medicine have been established.

A retired medical practitioner at Szentendre, Dr Andor Oláh, has an important role in the research into folk medicine. Based on his research work over several decades he published a book in 1986 under the title "New moon, new king!—the biography of Hungarian popular medicine". In this he discusses the treatment applied by Hungarian peasants, but beyond this also the traditional knowledge of the peasantry about the functioning of the human body, the disturbances of function, popular physiology and popular pharmacology.

The monthly *Forrás* has published an interview with Dr Andor Oláh, which presents his personal approach to the subject. He is also interested in the theory of traditional medical treatment. He has studied therapies preceding western medicine. He translated into Hungarian several works by Hippocrates and by some classics of Indian

medicine. His Hungarian example is a book *Pax Corporis* by Ferenc Pápai-Páriz, a 17th century physician, a compendium of the scientific discoveries of the period and also the natural treatments of the popular tradition.

Speaking of the folk medicine itself, Andor Oláh talked of his contacts with village healers, women who gave you a rub, and women herbalists. He found that they were excellent observers and had precise experimental knowledge. Some of them had read books on the subject. They included a healer from the East Hungarian village of Pitvaros, who achieved his successes by his unmatched sensitivity and human qualities. In the trial of a village healer who was charged with quackery, Dr Andor Oláh gave evidence as an expert. The accused was found not guilty. Many people healed by him were present at his trial as well as medical students from nearby Szeged, and gave evidence of the good effect of his simple and natural treatments.

Dr Andor Oláh plans to write books on several outstanding peasant healers. He points out as a lesson of his examination that in old times the village community itself, with its close-knit network of relations, could be considered a psycho-hygienic and psycho-therapeutic environment. Folk therapies were always inventive in manipulating the psychological factors of ailments. The example of the popular healers can provide a lesson for the relationship between doctor and patient in today's urban environment.

Bosnyák, Sándor: "A nyolcadik nap küszöbén. Beszélgetés dr. Oláh Andor orvossal" (On the threshold of the eighth day. An interview with Dr Andor Oláh). *Forrás*, 1987. No. 7. pp. 90–95.

T. H.

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Társadalmi Szemle—ideological and political monthly of the HSWP

Jogtudományi Közlöny—monthly of the Legal and Political Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Valóság—a monthly of the social sciences

Közgazdasági Szemle—a monthly of the Committee for Economic Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Századvég—journal produced by the students of the Social Science College of Budapest University

Acta Archaeologica—serial publication of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Orvostörténeti Közlemények—journal published by the Semmelweis Museum, Library and Archives of Medical History

Forrás—a literary monthly published in Kecskemét

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

HARD TIMES

Present Continuous. Contemporary Hungarian Writing. Edited by István Bart. Translation from the Hungarian by Richard L. Aczel and twelve others. Corvina, Budapest, 1986. 400 pp. In English.

Every year tourists by the thousands come to Hungary. Many are now English-speaking, and whether or not they have personal history here by virtue of Hungarian ancestry, they all seem awed and respectful of the place for being so palpably rich in history. Budapest especially. The bullet holes on some of the buildings, streets lined and curved in Baroque splendour, the castle above the Danube and the old fortress on Gellért Hill all serve as reminders that great forces have surged here—not only military forces but successively powerful social systems—from Roman legions to Turkish pashas, from Habsburg royalty to socialist idealism. Budapest and Hungary in the light of this history might be great open-air museums, except the tourists can also see local vitality continuing, as if Hungarian culture had bobbed along with the crests and troughs of its international history. Budapest streets are filled with posters for rock and classical music concerts; the abundance of movie houses and theatres shows a rich Hungarian performing arts industry, and plentiful bookstores are well-stocked with works of old and new Hungarian and translated foreign literature. There are various guidebooks and maps, of course, showing the bare outlines of all this, but now Corvina Press has done the service of putting together in paperback a collection of prose in English translation, *Present Continuous*, so that the tourists may see all at once something of the kaleidoscope of more intimate Hungarian experiences since the Second World War.

One theme in particular recurs throughout this book: that history is a quicksand. The stories and memoirs collected here have the corollary theme of how contemporary Hungarians have repeatedly had to learn that social realities change, that one can never really trust the appearances of things, nor can one be certain that people are what they seem.

These views on historical quicksands take many forms. In one story, set during the war, Ferenc Sánta describes shepherds cutting wood being confronted by armed horsemen, the "Nazis" of the title. The tension in this confrontation arises from the ominous and threatening manner of the Nazis, who are looking for someone. The shepherds cannot ask why. They can scarcely know what these visitors are up to; they only know that the world outside their woods has so many

threats and dangers that they must practise their own high degree of stoicism and deference.

Another piece placed early in this book, Iván Boldizsár's "Meeting the General," also deals with the Second World War and its immediate aftermath. Here the story involves the narrator, Boldizsár himself, as a young Undersecretary of State in the new post-war government. He unexpectedly meets a certain general in the new Army and recoils in horror, having personal knowledge, as a wartime political prisoner, of the man's sordid history. Boldizsár doesn't know what to do. Perhaps the general joined the Resistance in 1944, or proved some other use to the new Army. The narrator avoids dealing with his contradictory and vexing suspicions, only to learn two years later that the general was then executed after a phony Stalinist trial. Had the narrator denounced him, the general would have lost his rank, but would not have been tried and would have lived; a quandary showing how in Hungary's recent past there often was simply no right way to act.

Other stories in the collection evidence fewer ambiguities. For Mihály Sükösd history is the game in which international powers have played with Hungary's borders, leaving millions of Hungarians outside the nation, with family ties, folk customs, and cultural practices vulnerable to foreign regimes. All this history for Sükösd comes down to one telling instance, when the government of neighbouring Rumania denies his father a visa, preventing him from attending his own father's funeral in Transylvania. Says Sükösd of his father—an otherwise down-to-earth man, a surgeon-colonel in the Hungarian People's Army:

"He locked himself away in his room, and I watched him through the keyhole; he was dressed in his uniform, lying on his stomach, his face burrowed in an embroidered cushion, his epaulettes shaking. Very likely he was crying; probably for the first and last time in his adult life."

Eszter Anóka describes another intolerable feature of Hungarian history in her memoir, "Illatos utca, 5, Budapest." Here she reacts to the grinding poverty in which so many urban dwellers were living as recently as the early 1950s. She remembers the close quarters, the inescapable stench, and the ever-present want of the working-class district where she was a girl, but she remembers, too, the inhumanity spurred by such conditions:

"It was common knowledge that brothers and sisters were living together as man and wife, that sisters swapped husbands around, that a father was having sexual relations with his daughter, that many of the girls were tupenny whores, that the men and boys visited prostitutes and stabbed each other, that the men would beat their wives, and that their wives give as good as they got."

Anóka survived. Other writers show other survival skills: Zsolt Csalog describes a gypsy girl surviving the wholesale murder of her people in the war; György Száraz describes a boy surviving the mass relocations of the late 1940s; and Endre Fejes describes common folk negotiating loves and putting their lives together as new shots rang out in 1956. History seems not to have been easy in much of this book, as if Hungarian lives were frequently subject to forces beyond the control of Hungarians.

Pathos, however, does not rule. This is perhaps because although various forms of annihilation have periodically been visited on the nation, Hungary has survived—and more than survived—for more than a thousand years. During this time the people have changed racially with influxes of population, and the language too has naturally expanded; accordingly, it may be that language is the key for survival: the repository for memories and hopes, the kernel from which old passion may surface again. As the poet Mihály Babits said, "what used to be still is in some way; nothing can be lost from life."

Babits is not included in *Present Continuous* (he died in 1941) but his faith in Hungarian

vitality is fully reflected. As acorns may be said to contain the fully effulgent memory of oaks past and oaks-to-be, regardless of time, so stories such as these may uphold cultural dynamics in spite of history. In the final analysis, history, quicksand and havoc that it is, does not matter. It is bunk, as Henry Ford said: and as hundreds of thousands of Hungarian emigrants periodically have said in turn, fleeing history. Culture, on the other hand, does matter. And many of the stories in this book show Hungarian culture to depend not on history, but on how individuals suffer, grow, and uphold each other's pasts and promises.

A variety of personalities and characters are to be found here, from the nameless man of Endre Illés's "Room 212," who is governed by fears from an undisclosed past, to the jocular pals in István Gáll's "The Great Adventure," who radiate the cynicism and pluck of Hungary's quasi-legal Second Economy. More positive types are shown in stories by Bulcsú Bertha and Endre Vészi: the former's "Babylonia" with the enlightenment of modern businessmen; the latter's "Ólmosi-Bleier's Last Work" with the uproarious revenge a crotchety sculptor takes on a banal bureaucrat. History in these stories has receded to the background, leaving people to be measured against themselves and their relations with others.

Perhaps the most stunning story in this book, for the effects of people on each other, is Gyula Kurucz's "Showdown." In it a mother and her grown son engage in a bitter contest of wills. Their hostility arises in part, the narrator says, from an opprobrious Hungarian housing situation (the book's only overt barb) whereby mother, father, and grown son are still living together. More exactly it arises because mother and son love to fight, and totally give themselves up to the stupid logic of their quarrel, with the father an enfeebled, kindly, helpless bystander. Both prove cunning and calculating; the mother wins, it seems, when she brilliantly stages a suicide. The son learns at the hospital that the dosage of sleeping pills she actually took was limited to a shrewd theatricality, but by then something else has happened, something truly and irretrievably spontaneous. The son learns this when he returns from the hospital to find his father unconscious and near death: out of genuine shock and sorrow at the apparent loss of his wife, he has followed her with the dosage of pills she had faked.

Kurucz's powerful story does more than show the tragedy of one small family. It shows that essentially stupid forms of inertia may rule, and that innocent people may fall victim to them. This may happen to nations or to families. On the other hand, as stories here also suggest, people may thwart this inertia—circumvent it, modify it, and shape it appropriately. Even cramped personalities, like acorns, have it in them to rise up over their circumstances.

Present Continuous contains many such acorns.

One of these, György Száraz's "Roast Pheasant with Groats," is not a work of art in the way Kurucz's family saga is. Száraz is too angry over the accidents of Hungarian history to write completely artfully about them. His boyhood experience was of the displacement of peoples in the aftermath of the war and, unlike Sükösd, who underwent these events through the enforced separation of his family from their Transylvanian relatives, Száraz and his family were relocated to one of many villages where all nationalities were victims. There are Russians who have lost wives and children to Germans, Csángós who lost Bukovinian homes for resettlement in Yugoslavia, a tide of homeless Czechs, Poles, and Rumanians, and Swabians evicted from ancestral Hungarian homes by British, American, and Russian diplomats. The swirl is poignant and bittersweet. Száraz feels the pulse of this humanity and inhumanity. Inhumane himself at one point to a Swabian village elder, later he learns of the elder's own sad fate:

"During the second wave of relocations,

when the police would descend upon the village in a surprise raid, the same old man was to make his getaway through the gardens in the back of the houses, only to hide for several months, spending the remainder of his life in a stable, waiting for his son's return from the war."

There is no return. The son, Száraz also learns, had "disappeared at the front in 1943, after enlisting in the Hungarian army, just to get away from the SS recruiters."

Similar sober sympathy is shown in the story by Ákos Kertész "Snapshot." In this story three young women end up at a party quietly talking with each other about the abortions each has had. One girl, called the philosophy student, remembers succumbing to fright and nervousness which were so great that, waiting on the doctor's examining table, she fell asleep "just like a snotty-nosed kid." The young woman here called the blonde girl recalls the shock of the operation itself and the still greater pains of her boyfriend's fickleness and her family's unavailability. Still exhausted from that "prying in your insides with a sharp-edged spoon" and "the tearing of tissues" which she'd thought she could hear, she collapsed in bed at home, where her mother, unable to be confided in, caller her "a lazy dog." The third young woman, ostensibly happily married, tells how many years earlier, aged sixteen, and drunk at a party, the boys took turns on her. She neither knew she was pregnant, nor which boy might be the father, when a teacher finally called attention to her swelling. For her abortion "they filled her with water or some other kind of liquid, she could not tell," she relates, and "her belly swelled up like a barrel, because the child had to be drowned in it, because she was past the fifth month and it had moved."

The women talk this way, with "some sort of trust," with "peace, perhaps the security of knowledge... sharing a secret," while the men who accompany them, "not quite three metres from them," are engrossed in their own animated conversation about abstractions, the universe, and "lofty ideas."

Ferenc Karinthy's "Requiem" is propelled by a similar contrast between characters who have grown, mellowed, and developed through real pains, and another character who has led a much more comfortable life since leaving Hungary years earlier. Here the narrator attends a funeral in Budapest, where he was a young man thirty years before. At the time, he had thought, he was leaving the country only to study at a foreign university, but the Second World War broke out. Things happened. The years passed. Things happened to those who remained behind, as well, and the narrator now looks upon them and wonders about them all.

Two other stories in the book powerfully evoke individuals in the crucible of history, László Gyurkó's "A Family Novel" and György G. Kardos's "The First Lines."

Gyurkó's story involves an old man, the narrator's Uncle Karl, and his career from prosperity to decline. Gyurkó is dexterously skilled at describing the array of things comprising old Karl's world, from the entertaining in his prime, the wealth of jams, compotes, berries, pears, currants, pickles, paprikas, beets, bacon, hams, and cheeses of his country home, to the *post mortem* of ruin, when all that remains after Karl's passing is a smell in the old house which Gyurkó had not noticed till then: "an undefinable mixture of mould, dust, of peeling paint and rags stuffed into window cracks, of the fur of dogs cats long gone, and of cushions riddled with moths."

Whether dealing with society or rural dereliction, lyricism informs Gyurkó's writing; yet he inordinately restricts himself to scenes and externals. He never asks hard questions of his characters, nor does he probe the fault lines of human relations.

György G. Kardos shows a profounder understanding of the limits to material preoccupations and social complacencies. In "The First Lines" he evokes a world—the

era between the wars—richly filled with things, except Kardos's preoccupation isn't simply with the charm of those things, nor with the spectacle of any mindless drifting in them. Kardos's heart goes out to his characters instead, because they are constantly weaving fictions out of their past lives. "That is how we lived on the edge of reality and fantasy," he says, perfectly aware that people with any real life or humanity always add up to something much more than their times or accessories.

What is it that people add up to? The answer is, of course, culture. *Present Continuous* admirably reveals some crucial slices of Hungarian culture since the Second World War. Editor István Bart and a range of capable translators deserve credit for producing this kaleidoscope of a volume. Tourists will buy it and read it, in the expensive rooms of the Danube hotels or in the homes of their Hungarian relatives and friends. One cannot predict the effect it will have, but miracles, like those of language, those of the acorn, are predicated on something more than what one sees, and what time brings. *Present Continuous* shows, for the most part, that Hungarians still believe in miracles.

PHILIP BALLA

HUNGARIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE EIGHTIES

Mátyás Szűrös: *Hazánk és Európa* (Our Country and Europe). Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1987, pp. 364.

"Hungary has been an integral part of Europe for eleven centuries. Hungarian policy—over and above those parts of it related to her social system, her ties of alliance or to her global interests—also has a fundamental European definition"... says Mátyás Szűrös in the preamble to his book. It is a thought that runs right through the writings of the Secretary of the HSWP Central Committee responsible for foreign policy that are collected in this book. "One could also say that the European character appears in a particularly concentrated manner in the instance of Hungary", he adds, "since the nation lives on the border of two cultural spheres, two world systems, seeking for opportunities of mutual prosperity with other nations. Hungary has already done much and is also ready to do much for the assertion of common European interests in the future. This is in line with national interests as well as with common interests."

A consistent philosophy of history runs through his writings: the awareness that, although the Hungarians are living almost at the geometrical centre of Europe and their paramount intention and ambition has always been to be abreast with the European vanguard, occasionally they have found themselves forced to the peripheries as a consequence of historic events. Staying abreast has been successful primarily in the cultural sphere: suffice to mention Liszt, Bartók, Kodály and the various Hungarian Nobel-laureates. The author refers to the Reform Age of the early nineteenth century as the period in the history of the Hungarian nation when it succeeded in achieving the highest degree of Europeanness. Just as revolution and reform were linked then, the current Hungarian reform does not mean estrangement from revolution. The criterion of the Hungarian reform policy is that the progress of civilization and socialist politics

is to continue under consolidated conditions.

This is the historical and philosophical foundation on which the system of ideas that unfolds in these lectures, essays, interviews and radio statements is built. Their subject is usually an assessment of developments in world politics and an analysis of Hungarian foreign policy within this.

Recognizing the common European interests and acting accordingly is what could be stated as one of the basic foreign policy ideas of Mátyás Szűrös. "The representation of special European interests can be defined within the framework of international security," he writes, "and this is both possible and desirable even when two opposing military and alliance systems are in existence. The concentration of military power in our continent is twenty times the world average. Armed conflict between the two alliances in Europe would almost certainly escalate to a nuclear war and result in the complete destruction of our continent. It is obvious, therefore, that Europe has more interest in the furthering of disarmament, in *détente*, than any other continent."

He points out that Hungarian foreign policy has taken and continues to take an active part in the promotion of peace and security in Europe. The convening of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation was urged by the 1969 Budapest appeal and Hungary participated from the onset—and is still participating—in the efforts aimed at deepening the process hallmarked by the name of Helsinki. Hungary contributed to the broadening and the securing of the continuity of this process by staging the Budapest European Cultural Forum in 1985. "With a considered, initiative position at the Forum, Hungary was doing its best to make the world aware of the value of Europeanness, the interdependence of the peoples of the continent, the importance of the common culture, national interests and European universality," writes Mátyás Szűrös.

The increased importance internationally of small and medium-size countries is the other leading motif in Szűrös's arguments. While he acknowledges as a fundamental fact of contemporary international life that only the Soviet Union and the United States are capable of pursuing global policy and that their role is decisive in the world, he also directs attention to the significance of the international activities and roles of small countries and medium-sized powers.

The author refers to the already historic example that, after 1979, small and medium-sized European countries—including Hungary—made successful efforts to maintain dialogue between East and West, to avert an irreparable deterioration in international relations. During that period, general European relations did not automatically reflect the cooling of Soviet–American relations.

As Mátyás Szűrös states, the increased activity of small and medium-size countries is also characteristic of Hungarian foreign policy. Even in rather adverse international situation in the early eighties Hungary came forward with initiatives in the interest of preserving the continuity of dialogue, the rebuilding of confidence and the promoting of mutual understanding. Thus in the single year of 1984, in a period of strained international relations, there were more meetings between Hungarian and West European leaders than in all the twenty-three years between the two world wars. It may not be immodest to add that Hungarian foreign policy also contributed to the preparation of the ground for the thawing in the international situation that we are witnessing in the late eighties.

The specific marked features of the Hungarian foreign policy, which Mátyás Szűrös considers as more and more visible in the second half of the eighties, are based on the realities of life; in part Hungarian foreign policy became better attuned to specific features of domestic and economic policy, in part it is in keeping with the most im-

portant international processes of our age. "Hungary is a country that is building socialism, a sovereign, committed member of the socialist community, of its economic political and military alliance. Therefore our task is to simultaneously represent our national interests and the interests of the internationalist community in order to establish as favourable as possible external conditions for the domestic life of the country. Naturally, the protection and representation of the national interests is first, for nobody other than the people of this country will do that. The appropriate expression, protection and representation of Hungary's own interests must be born by the people of the country. Naturally, it must not be exercised at the expense of others."

One of the very important changes in most recent years has been the loosening of hierarchical relations in both alliance systems, and the slackening of patronage. Increasing demand is evident in both alliance systems on behalf of the minor allies for a more decisive assertion of their interests, for building and guaranteeing equal partnership relations. This broadened scope has made possible the increase in Hungarian foreign policy activities and the fuller development of autonomous and defining features. Considerable results have been achieved in consequence. The balanced system of relations produced by Hungarian foreign policy should be mentioned in the first place. As Mátyás Szűrös points out, Hungary has never in the course of its history enjoyed a position like that of the present, when her relations with all of the leading Powers are regular. "Current Hungarian foreign policy," he writes, "attaches great importance to the further development of its relations established with the Great Powers and large countries from the Soviet Union and the United States to Japan and India in keeping with the specific features of each relation, and that these should reach the level of substantial cooperation." In a lecture given to the Institute of East-West Security in New York he specifically referred to the orderliness of relations with the United State: "We consider it as a heartening fact", he pointed out, "that our cooperation is not burdened with substantial unsolved problems and our determination to go further relying on what has so far been achieved is mutually strong." In another piece entitled "Hungarians and Germans in the Centre of Europe", he treats Hungarian–West German relations. The relations between the Hungarian People's Democracy and the Federal Republic of Germany are well-ordered and characterized by cooperation based on mutual interests and advantages. No political problem acts as a brake on these relations and cooperation between the two countries is developing vigorously in every sphere. "Hungarian progressive thinking has always had the fundamental ambition," he writes, "of establishing good relations and friendly cooperation with the Danubian peoples and countries. I believe this has been achieved, with the exception of perhaps one country. Much remains to be done yet in this respect. We highly value the particularly good relations established with Austria. I think we must go further on this course."

The issue of Hungarian national minorities living beyond the border of the country poses a very important question to Hungarian foreign policy. Europe's largest national minority is the Hungarian one: two-thirds of fifteen million Hungarians live within the present borders of the country; 3.5 million Hungarians have been citizens of our neighbouring countries since the peace treaties that ended the First World War, and the strength of the Hungarian diaspora, who for various reasons settled in faraway countries, is estimated at about one million. "We cannot be indifferent to the developments in the lives of Hungarian-speaking people living in neighbouring countries or anywhere else in the world, to the question of the assertion of their minority rights, of the satisfaction of their needs for their native tongue and culture. We are unswerving

believers in the development of democratic international relations, in the constant widening of friendly intercourse between nations and peoples. We are convinced that our objectives are in harmony with the need to establish mutual understanding and trust, which are of crucial importance to international relations, with the principles of the Final Act of Helsinki and the norms of international law." Mátyás Szűrös points out that Hungarian foreign policy has, for long, been perhaps too reserved on this problem. "Socialism has not solved any question automatically and will not solve this one either we must constantly feel with it..." but, he adds elsewhere: "... Hungarians living in large masses in the neighbouring countries and the national minorities living in Hungary ... do not necessarily strengthen the elements of mistrust, but may form an actual connecting link, a bridge between our countries. This is one of the reasons why Hungarians, on their behalf, encourage national minorities living in the territory of the country to make use of their ever growing rights—as an organic part of the process of democratization. We do not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, but we cannot be indifferent to the development of the lives of Hungarian-speaking people living in neighbouring countries or anywhere else in the world, to the assertion of their individual and collective minority rights, to the satisfaction of their need for their native tongue and culture, to securing an unhindered maintenance of contact with the mother nation for them. We regard these as fundamental human rights." In a radio interview Mátyás Szűrös spoke concretely on the situation of the Hungarian national minority in Rumania. He emphasised that the correct, Marxist handling of the situation of the Hungarian national minority living in Rumania is in the first place the business of Rumania: it is an internal affair, a right and a responsibility of Rumania. But it is not the business of Rumania only. National issues, the problem of national minorities have also international effects... The realization of Lenin's policy on national minorities is a substantial element in socialist democracy. In the spirit of this, meeting the demands of national minorities requires constant care, attention and great tact, the development of conditions under which they can assert their individual and collective rights including a free and unhindered increase in contacts with people speaking the same language but living within the borders of other states. This is how national minorities may become specific linking elements for inter-state relations and factors in the strengthening of international security.

The interactions of the reform and international economic cooperation are a frequently recurring subject of comment by Mátyás Szűrös. While he places himself fully behind a vigorous further development of the reform process, he emphasises that its success in Hungary, where almost half the national income is realized through external relations, depends to a considerable extent on the success of participation in the international division of labour. It is clear that relations with the socialist countries are decisive here too and that the reform processes developing in the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries have increased the scope for movement in the Hungarian reform. At the same time, since the Hungarian reform process began almost twenty years earlier, experimenting with new solutions still poses new tasks to the Hungarian reformers—for instance Hungary is the first socialist country where a value added tax has been introduced. The renewal of CMEA is an important part in the reform process from Hungary's point of view. The political will exists here, but there are still serious contradictions and differences between the member countries; consequently a rather long transitional stage must be expected. Hungary is fundamentally interested in the acceleration

of the reform process of CMEA and holds out the promise that Hungary will continue to be initiative in this respect.

Mátyás Szűrös describes the relations established with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank as unambiguously positive: these relations are logical consequences of the Hungarian reform process and the openness of the Hungarian external economy. The role of these institutions in the handling of the Hungarian balance of payments problems must not be belittled. "But one must not entertain illusions", he adds realistically." Referring to the current negotiations with the European Economic Community, he points out that the objective of these negotiations is an agreement on trade cooperation and this could mean the end of unfavourable terms of trade for Hungary. He warns of illusions on this too: the signing of the agreement may not bring a change in itself, but in the long run it may provide a solid foundation for widening relations with Western Europe.

In this volume, Mátyás Szűrös gives an erudite analysis of Hungarian foreign policy based on his assimilation of a considerable body of material. His review of the links between the reform process and international relations, of the characteristic features of Hungarian foreign policy, the efforts made by a small country in the interest of dialogue and cooperation, provides an opportunity to the reader to trace other lines of force as well, along which the future of our larger home, Europe is developing.

ZOLTÁN HALÁSZ

THE VOICE OF THE PENMAN

Sándor Weöres: *Kútbanéző* (Gazing into the Well). Magvető, 1987. 168 pp.*

In the early thirties, Sándor Weöres was an infant prodigy. In time the prodigy became a great poet. In the first volume of his autobiography, *Nehéz szerelem* (Difficult Love), István Vas relates how when as a young man he first went to pay homage to Dezső Kosztolányi, taking along a manuscript, he found in the room a child in short trousers (Vas is three years Weöres's senior), whom Kosztolányi introduced as the great poet of the future. By the age of fifteen, this "child" knew almost everything to be learned from the luminaries of poetry, whether living or dead. Like Rimbaud on the threshold of his unfolding, he mastered, with an incredible gift for the language, the tone and the idiom, the manners of tingeing and presentation—all the tricks employed by the best of the poets of the day. He was comfortable in the possession of the secrets of the masters. The poems in his famous first volume, *Hideg van* (It is Cold, 1934) provided an amazing proof of how individual achievements, the result of serious effort, become, in the rapid stream of poetry, public property to the following generation. It was perhaps his flair for stylistic pastiche—later to lead to so many masterpieces and linguistic fireworks—that spared him a more strenuous path on his way to the standard he reached at that time. (Quite a few pieces in *It is Cold*, pastiches of folksongs and nursery rhymes, have by now become part of every Hungarian childhood.)

"Ady opened new fields to my eyes, Babits taught me the flavour of the song, and Kosztolányi, that I should never bend before the ever-changing tastes of times," wrote the

* For translations of Sándor Weöres's poems see *NHQ* 23, 31, 32, 41, 46, 87, 93, 107

young poet who had already made his name. But the young Weöres had another, undeclared master. For he, the mercurial experimenter, who surpassed what had been achieved in a way that recalls Rimbaud, and who tested all the possibilities of poetry to absurdity, must have received his ultimate normative guideline from Milán Füst. Even if one takes the playful mood and inclination to innovation as being part of way of making poetry from the outset, the two main traits of his: the depersonalization of the individual message and the avoidance of poems based on non-recurring experiences, resonate with the poetry of Milán Füst. Weöres has stretched the objectification of present-day poetry (which in Hungary was initiated by Milán Füst and Mihály Babits, and so pregnantly by T. S. Eliot and Saint-John Perse) in a manner that comes close to excess. Over decades, this has led to a denial of the personality, eliminating the poetic ego inflated by his Hungarian forerunners; it has led to a programme which, under the influence of oriental philosophies, professes the resolution of the lyrical personality, and of individual existence in general, in something primeval and communal, and to a harmony existing from time immemorial and eternally valid.

In Weöres's often expressed artistic credo, the poet is only the transmitter of this harmony, a mouth through which a higher world speaks to us from above. Whether this coincides with those philosophical systems to which his critics like to refer or is in contrast with them, it is impossible to deny that this philosophical resonance has brought about poetic climaxes and that his line of thought has had a beneficial effect on Hungarian non-narrative poetry, as a whole. By ceaselessly attacking the ultimate questions of existence, Weöres, with some of his eminent fellow-poets, has restored to poetry its fundamental assignment, which seemed to have been forgotten in the ordinary practice of even some quite important poets. It is precisely along this course, and through this unyielding pursuit that Weöres has joined the ranks of the great names in poetry now. Furthermore, as the pioneers of modern poetry did, he has found the specific permutations of the language which go beyond the functions of conveying information towards an independent utilisation of linguistic signs. This recognition has led to many individual hits during his career, which have had their effect quietly, and also to quite a few experiments that created a great stir and were used off against the poet and against poetry. The particular ambiance that surrounds literature in Hungary was scandalised by the totally meaningless "panyigai panyigai panyigai ü" in his *Dance Tune*, and by the *Note Clusters*, which has not got a single regular Hungarian word in it (a pure lettrist attempt) instead of noting the great poems that exist alongside the finger-exercises and are in part based on the finger-exercises.

All this, of course, is a thing of the past, even though a lack of comprehension for many years excluded the poet from the world of letters, or to be blunt, during the personality cult of the 1950s, even eliminated his works from the poetry that was published. Silence, and a lack of publication, leaves no artist unaffected. Weöres's poetic profile too assumed sharper features, and the smooth surfaces on which various inscriptions might have been made, were left with indelible marks. Depersonalisation also led in the case of those he followed to the historical theme and the donning of ancestral masks; in the years of enforced solitude, it turned Weöres more forcefully towards mythology. Episodes from Greek, Christian, Jewish and oriental mythologies assume a bustling life in his poetry at its peak, with the full sophistication of modern verse, with a luxuriating plasticity and expressive non-disclosure. While the conjuring up of ancestral parables and the creation of new myths usually have some pragmatic moral imperative hidden in them which has brought them into being, in Weöres's mythology, however, reaching back to mankind's prehistory, this imperative is present incidentally or scarcely at all. Rather

he depicts the tragic outsets, a past that repeats itself, and resurrects a realm of parables in which the divine and the human have not been separated yet. This primeval unity, the osmotic uniting of the heavenly and the earthly, the familiar peculiarity of most mythologies, and the eternal validity of this unity, is—paradoxically—one of the most personal messages of Weöres, who eschews personal messages. Precisely by suggesting this validity so powerfully, he succeeds in raising the old tale into a broad modern myth, a myth of man threatened by the fate of the nuclear age.

But this creation of a modern mythology linked with the ancient is only one feature of Weöres's poetic profile. Although this is the terrain of his truly great achievements, there is another feature that supports his exceptional poetic popularity. This poet, who often defies decoding, replete with philosophical visions, is, through a not negligible part of his œuvre, the favourite of kindergarten and school children. Practically all Hungarian children receive their first experience of poetry from him. This they do through poems that were not specifically written for children. Weöres's experimental mood, his playful testing of the emotional values of the language, rhyme and rhythm, his scamp-like or charming grimaces, brilliant technical feats have joined to create a body of poetry for children. Their unsought general success throws light on a specific context—the euphoria that seizes the poet while he tests the possibilities inherent in words is close to the euphoria experienced by the child at the possibility of playing with words.

But suffice with this. Philosophical and transcendental inclination on the one hand, and a nearly childish playfulness on the other, offer extremes which can be spanned by the arch of a great poetry. After the years of enforced withdrawal, which were not spent in idleness, Weöres collected all his work up to that time in 1956 in *A hallgatás tornya* (The Tower of Silence). This was followed, in 1964, by *Tűzkút* (Well of Fire), in 1968 by *Merülő Saturnus* (Saturn Declining), and in 1970 by his *Collected Writings*. Although these latter are collections of poems from incomparably calmer years, they change hardly anything in the profile of the writer. What he attempts in the poetry of *Saturn Declining*, for example, is essentially the same as he did in the myth-creating years, as the modern visionary of *The Rape of the Earth*, *The Fall of Mabruh*, *Medeia* and *Minotaur*. On the border between two worlds, he professes, the poet can reach the divine by submerging in the "well of his own self," and can rhapsodize as a "god and goddess." "The earth shudders and feeds on it, it dies of you and then revives from such a song.—Other songs are at most skill." Although he left off the creation of mythology, he continued to choose mythological themes. After the manner of removing the ego from poetry, Weöres again conjures up ancient scenes, presenting them in large and sophisticated frescoes. For example, the selling of Joseph or the story of Tannhäuser. These are the aftershocks of the volcanic years. But the basic material of the new volume is different still. It is the work not of the creator of myths but of the playful, empathic and the often congenial poet of pastiches. *In Saturn Declining*, Weöres devotes a whole cycle to an imaginary Hungarian poetess of the early nineteenth century, and ingeniously reflects in "her" poems the influences of famous Hungarian poets of her time; this was the cycle which later served as the basis for his highly successful *Psyche*. With the same empathy, he appears to change into the personae of two Armenian monks, two Slav poets, and, using a French translation, rewrites a whole series of hymns by Gregory of Nareck, the tenth-century Armenian ecclesiarch. Faced with this, one may ask whether Weöres's poetry is dominated by empathy and Protean stylistic playfulness. One should not be afraid of answering in the affirmative, for it is dominated by this as well. But if one accepts without any reserva-

tions the creative power of playfulness in children's poetry, why should one have reservations about accepting linguistic creativity as value in poetry? One of the paradoxes of poetry as a genre, to articulate interjections, framing them in rhymes and rhythm, is prevalent in poetry as such and not merely in children's poetry. Weöres's linguistic disposition is based on the background contents of words, with locutions and phrases, and with the hidden meaning of the modified syntax. This is a semantic knowledge and not a structural one. To put it simply, a magic, or indeed poetic knowledge. The point of departure, the theme itself is almost irrelevant to him: after some three or four words he manages to put readers in a state of heightened uncertainty felt over a communication that cannot be exactly unravelled and prepares them for an encounter with something unutterable. Readers enter with him into a realm in which the lexically inventoried Hungarian words carry a meaning that differs from the explanatory examples of usage. Is this an abuse of the dictionary? A twisting of the communicative, information-bearing signals of commonsense daily routine? If this is abuse, then the poetry of two millennia would have to be trimmed and rejected and swarms of suspicious minstrels, bards and rhymers banished from our conscience, as they too have, in proportion to their abilities, left to us a considerable number of linguistic crimes. Weöres has carried on with this "sinful-wizardly" grand poetry. But one should not think that this "abuse" is merely directed to naming the unnamable, without presenting the individual phenomenon more profoundly. It is precisely the conformity of the two (the unity of tangibility and abstraction) that provides the balance in his poetry. In the poem *Stewardesses on the Plane*, for instance, he writes, "hovering female crew dressed in the undressing of smiles." This lexically nonsensical information is not only clear but also reveals the essence.

There is only one new poetic theme, and a reflective tone, in *Saturn Declining*, and in his later *Posta Messziről* (Letters from afar), which appeared in 1984. This is the sense of growing old, of approaching death, without fearing it (death, according to Weöres, merely opens the door to more profound regions). The principled propagator of impersonality in these later poems suddenly becomes movingly and thought-provokingly personal.

This shift, the quiet introduction and later domination of that limitless subject of aging, has undeniably added a new shade to Weöres's monumental corpus of poetry. First he clothed this topic in myths, now in his latest volume, *Gazing into the Well*, he simply faces up to its challenge. It is not as if he were no longer imbued with a curiosity seeking the secrets behind the surface of things, an animistic explanation of phenomena, of earthly vegetation. It is not as if he were no longer imbued with a lively quest for some higher and sublimer law which marks his whole poetry. Now that he has come to close quarters with the law he has caught sight of, and experienced it acting on himself, a change in his poetic approach has occurred. Amy Károlyi, his wife and herself a poet, writes in the sleeve-notes, that Weöres's poetry has shifted over the past fifteen years in a subjective direction and that he who had once turned against the ego-centred approach of Romanticism in Hungarian literature, today writes in a more personal tone. Yet, she adds, it is up to the reader to decide whether this poetry is personal or depersonalising.

What is certain is that for quite some time, and particularly in his latest volume, Weöres has admitted the reader closer to himself, and presented his personal lot and problems more intimately. For instance, when he begins a poem with "I have forgotten how to write poems, / But without poems / it's hard to bear", even if one does not take the confession literally, the depth of suffering that can be felt is that of Weöres

and not that of men in general. When one reads, "I am alien to myself," or the fragment, "The whole world / is in shortage / only a mottled / dream remains," one senses a descent deeper and deeper into a well of personal suffering, a permanent disposition. No matter with what pessimism and despair the poet relates his state, or whatever he wishes to suggest about it, this "thorn bearing" period of "waiting for death to come" has also been created by Weöres. Even if he does not embark on lenghty works that call for the intense concentration of his powers, his hand is clearly discernible on his more fragmentary and improvisatory poems; they include some with a powerful incandescense, which illuminate the human firmament with their fireworks. Sometimes even the conceptual sparks throw a far-reaching light. I cannot refrain from quoting a two-liner and a three-line one. The first puts the question, "Should we by any chance throw out / the ruined, finished tomorrow?" and the *Three-liner* (as its title puts it) states, "After the creation / the first day in hell / is still sunny."

What then is the mark Weöres's hand has left on these fragments, these concentrated lines? What is in them that makes the Hungarian reader notice them among the daily flow of poetry, according them the same exceptional position, marvelled at as an heirloom, as the improvisations which were set on scraps of paper by János Arany, who for those with a sense of the more profound flavours of the language (and sadly only for those) has remained an abiding writer. There is a faculty akin to Arany's that operates with an unchanged intensity in Weöres as well. What exactly is it? By and large it is revealed in *Wanderings of a Concept*. A concept—it happens to be a yacht that comes to the poet's mind, and the word starts out and during its wanderings it touches on all the related concepts, the shores, the hill, the lighthouse, the shell and the medusa, and in the prodigious pace of the poem, reaches within a matter of seconds, the sun and the moon, light and darkness, and the globe itself, orbiting in cosmos. What is the secret of this? In Weöres's singular poetic idiom, the words are magnetic: the mysterious magnetism they received from the poet, draws them to making a poem—indeed in accord with a cosmic progression. This magnetism has remained alive today, in the "thorn bearing" period.

This latest volume, *Gazing into the Well*, even if more subjective than the previous ones, containing direct confessions on the poet's emotional state, does not differ from the other Weöres volumes. At its best, it interweaves the divine fabric of poetry with a personal human legend, a human fate which also offers some footholds.

BALÁZS LENGYEL

FAITH AND DISAPPOINTMENT

Gyula Illyés: *A Szentlélek karaványja* (The Caravan of the Holy Ghost). Szépirodalmi, 1987. 348 pp.; András Domahidy: *Vénasszonyok nyara* (Indian Summer). Magvető, 1987. 302 pp.; Magda Szabó: *Az ajtó* (The Door). Magvető, 1987. 305 pp.

Gyula Illyés, who died in 1983, was the last member of the generation who first published in the 1920s. Since then, prose, poetry, diary entries and excerpts from his detailed autobiographical novel cycle are being published, one after the other. The completed parts of this unfinished work and the notes, sketches and versions suggesting the outlines of the unwritten chapters were published as *A Szentlélek karaványja* (The Caravan of the Holy Ghost). The annotation, editing, correcting, preface and appendix were the work of György Száraz, editor of the periodical *Kortárs* and himself a writer of historical dramas and essays. Száraz himself was an engaged writer, whose pen argued for the co-existence of East-Central European peoples, following—with qualifications—that of Gyula Illyés; his premature death in January 1988, 25 years younger than Illyés, was a sad blow. Part of the grief may reside in a sense that the inherited task would crush those who accept it now more than in those hard times in which Gyula Illyés had proved himself.

The Caravan of the Holy Ghost treats one of those difficult periods in close connection with the previous volumes of the autobiographical cycle. The first part, *Kora tavasz* (Early Spring), appeared in 1941 and evoked the era of the Hungarian revolutions of 1918–19. Illyés disguised it as "pure fiction," with invented heroes to circumvent censorship. *Hunok Párisban* (Huns in Paris) followed in 1946; undisguised in its autobiographical inspiration it revived the lives of Hungarian revolutionary exiles in Paris in the 1920s. The years that followed this book did not favour historical truth. Illyés only published his new volume of the planned cycle in 1979: this was *Beatrice apródjai* (The Pages of Beatrice). It evoked the year following the crushing of the Republic of Councils, and the teenage author's participation in the illegal actions aimed at helping those in trouble. *The Caravan of the Holy Ghost* takes it up from about the year 1921 focussing on the illegal organization whose unmasking reached the young would-be writer who had by then escaped in time to Paris. Many interesting details and the outlines of its structure have been revealed in the book compiled by György Száraz and labelled a "novel"; it is rather an incomplete vase reconstructed from broken shards by an expert restorer. The editor has performed a sort of reconstruction work in addition to rescuing the piece, since he arranged the completed parts even though a thematic and structural sketch was lacking. The structure of *The Pages of Beatrice*, apparently arbitrary in its subjective arrangement without any chronological or thematic order, presumably encouraged him but it must have been also an impediment using the highly personal as a principle of organization. Thus *The Caravan of the Holy Ghost* remains a fragmentary work which could be arranged in a different way but its parts, the variations on motifs and the notes referring to missing parts, give an idea of what Illyés was trying to achieve. With these, and in the knowledge of his other works, we can also deduce his method of treatment.

With regard to the topic Illyés himself said of the whole cycle that "My enthusiasm was aroused by the realization that intellectual life had never offered a worthy

representation of the most decisive years of the Hungarian people in the twentieth century, the source of all our troubles. We do not know what has happened, we do not know it authentically, because we do not even know with historical clarity what happened to the Hungarian people between 1918 and 1925."

The Caravan of the Holy Ghost examines the nature of the resolute faith of the socialist-communist left. The title comes from a poem of Ady's which evokes the jobbers of the merchant called Holy Ghost whose brains are loaded with baggages full of the Word from Buddha to Moses and to Jesus, who waste their blood, who have been washed with hail from the beginning, and who, tempest-beaten and jackal-torn, are waiting to be paid at last: pay up, Holy Ghost because there has been too much sad, mad love for nothing. Illyés saw in the revolutionaries of the first third of the century the rear-guard of the Holy Ghost's caravan with their baggage filled with the Word: "We can hardly imagine today that in the beginning of the twentieth century, from the turn of the century to the mid-1920s and even longer, that the better members of the human race and even the masses lived in a faith, in a true renaissance of the faith that mankind could be redeemed from sin from one day to the next through the world revolution. This was a belief of mankind which, as far as I know, had not been experienced by Europe since the Reformation ... We had also a heroic, nobly innocent generation, with a gigantic venture whose experiences will go with them into the grave if we cannot adequately express them."

The Caravan of the Holy Ghost promised to become that same special Illyésian combination of autobiographical novel, memoir and essay as *The Pages of Beatrice* was. It contains abundant personal and family memories, sometimes oldmannishly long-winded in the rough, unpolished versions. Their inspiration and frame are the experiences of Illyés in the summer of 1921, after his matriculation in Budapest, which the engaged though not yet fully developed son of the people spent in his native Transdanubian village. Although the discussions on the class struggle which had awakened his awareness were interrupted for a while, the farms and villages of Tolna with their many nationalities recovering from the Great War were bringing the young Illyés to maturity. He, on the "crossroads"—the sub-title of the first structural unit—pondered whether to become an intellectual or a manual worker, not because he saw any contradiction between the two but because he wanted to see how to reconcile them within his personal fate.

The chapters "The Proclaimers of Faith" and "Two Adjoining Castles" relate details of the efforts at organizing in that autumn in Pest. University students, most of them under 20, workers, future artists in loose and later closer connection with the higher functionaries of the Republic in exile in Vienna, held regular self-improving meetings and discussions on their own initiatives and in parallel with university lectures; they stencilled leaflets, prepared for action in the firm conviction that the resurrection of the revolution was a matter of days. Personal memories are evoked here almost always in the context of the problems and characterization of the revolutionary generation; with one or the other event and figure, Illyés interrupts his own memories and continues on the basis of other people's recollections, contemporary sources, and analytical detours. He did not work out the romantic details of the conspiracy, its betrayal by an influential young gentleman, the rolling-up of the group and his own departure. This we learn from the memoirs of a comrade-in-arms, from which Illyés himself has also drawn.

A relatively large amount of material has been found about the person and views of some "proclaimers of faith" or the "optimists" as they were called in a later sub-title. This corresponds obviously to the title

of the only important literary treatment of the period, the *roman à clef Optimisták* (Optimists) by Ervin Sinkó, also a participant in the events. Although one or the other naturally exerted a strong influence on Illyés from this small group, only Illyés himself achieved great status and the characters who played a leading role in the novel are today hardly remembered by history or literature. Incidentally, they did not think of themselves as communists or social democrats or as the disciplined fighters of any organized party, rather as free socialists and avant-gardists. This is the basis for the later charge by the hard-liners that Illyés, after coming close to the world of the workers, had distanced himself from it under the impact of artists and other middle-class circles. A few well-known figures are mentioned in Illyés's memoirs, György Lukács primarily but, in passing, mention is given to Ernő Gerő, József Révai, Béla Kun and some other figures of the Hungarian communist movement who later acquired a dubious fame. On this point the so far relatively innocent theme of the faith of the faith-proclaimers acquires some delicate overtones. The question is whether the strategists and tacticians who believed themselves rational social revolutionaries were also mystic believers, at least in their initial, youthful enthusiasm and dauntlessness; were they atheists bearing the weight of their baggage with the Word who put their goal beyond life? Illyés was inclined to think so, and in connection with the career of Lukács, he noted some details on the philosopher who considered himself the tool of history's self-knowledge and hence did not recoil from actions which his personal and scholarly conscience could have set down as crimes. But all these are only sketches and notes and how they would have been connected with the description of the march of *The Caravan of the Holy Ghost*, what details Illyés would have added to the picture of the revolutionary generation, will never be known.

András Domahidy's novel *Vénasszonyok nyara* (Indian Summer) is set in another crucial period in the Hungary of this century, the years after the Second World War which saw the distribution of the land and the three years of coalition government. The angle of viewing is new: the historical turn is described by a young representative of the former ruling class, an heir deprived of his estates. Domahidy wrote the novel during his years in Australia in the 1960s, and it first appeared in Rome twenty years before its Hungarian publication. Making the easy assumption that the novel is autobiographical, the reader can foreseee the probable ending, the exile gone into by author and protagonist, the common fate of many ex-landowners. Domahidy lives in Australia just as Ernő Normai does, one of the central figures in Illyés's *The Caravan of the Holy Ghost*, a calm, reasonable member of the organizing students, author of the memoirs in the appendix and recently published in its full text under the title *Beatrice egyik apródja* (One Page of Beatrice). Australian exile has become the fate of the engaged left-wing young worker and of the ex-officer and landed gentry class.

Domahidy's hero, Pál Becsky escapes from American captivity along with a fellow officer; they return to his ancestral North-Eastern Hungary, to the county of Szabolcs-Szatmár where he has left his mother and his property. He knows of course that everything has changed, that his property, one of the small estates characteristic of the region, has been distributed. His companion, Dusan, the son of a more aristocratic and wealthier family also knows what to expect and looks forward to it with grim humour; for the moment the only solution they see is to go home and try to gain a foothold in post-war Hungary. Dusan, totally alone, and soon realizing that he has nothing to do, travels to Budapest and mixes with some other déclassés in the capital trying to fish in troubled waters. Becsky has not been totally

uprooted by the people's take-over, he has his mother and a part of his countryhouse and garden where he tries to recommence life. He is much tougher than Dusan, closer to the earth and to the peasants, a capable and competent farmer who, on his occasional visits to Budapest, does not indulge in tearful merry-making with old acquaintances living of their fortunes or plotting their escape—he simply makes purchases for his farm. He hopes that his competence and attachment to the soil will be appreciated and that his orchard at least will be returned to him. Although love touches him fleetingly in Budapest he does not want it, he wants his trees.

Meanwhile the country is moving left, Rákosi's "salami-tactics" are cutting each of the other parties of the coalition out of power; although Becsky is given promises he is losing faith in them. Gradually he realizes that a radically different world is being prepared, one which does not want him, does not want his competence and love of farming. Now man will not matter, only an abstract idea and power will be of importance. Before being removed by force and deported, like so many of his class who remained at home, he emigrated to Australia with the woman who has waited for him.

Indian Summer, the title of the novel refers to those three years of coalition government in which the illusion was entertained that, although the world had changed radically and the privileges of the thousand-year-old ruling class had disappeared for ever, man himself, competence, tradition, a kind of heritage would still be needed, and if one really wished it, one could "switch over". This illusion of Indian summer quickly passed, and that Pál Becsky, although at the price of sacrifices, managed to get off, was among other things, the consequence of his disillusion and common sense which nobody wanted. This is the bitter moral of Domahidy's novel yet the historical lesson is formulated without passionate accusations; indeed, it is built on the tenderness of homesickness and memories.

Domahidy's novel demonstrates the author's attachment to his native soil in its language too. It is moving to see how a man who has lived far from his country for many years and for whom language has never been his primary tool, clings to his native tongue with awe and love, and how he has preserved words and turns of phrases known to fewer and fewer people even in the old country. Domahidy's novel, albeit with considerable delay, has become accorded a literary value primarily because of its language; it does not distinguish itself so much through its other novelistic aspects. The description of the environment is authentic, the vivid representation of the life of the post-war déclassés in Budapest in particular is of major documentary value; the use of the interior monologue and the shifting of angles of vision are adept but the plotting is a little clumsy and circumstantial and the hero is idealized. Indeed, the lovers waiting for each other almost unconsciously in an attitude of 'just because' would fit into a romantic novel. Domahidy can animate sociological detail but his psychology is less original and successful.

A new novel by seventy-year-old Magda Szabó, *Az ajtó* (The Door) is also autobiographically inspired. Writers now seem to be increasingly writing only through their own experience. Despite this, *The Door* is very different from the two broad types of autobiographical novels, the openly personal and the transposed, fictionalized. In Magda Szabó's novel the leading character is not the authoress but a dominant figure in her environment; just as she has dedicated several previous books to one or the other fixed star in her life, her mother and her husband. The heroine of *The Door* is Emerenc Szeredás, an old woman who has been a servant all her life, starting off as a maid, then later becoming the untiring maid of all

work for a street in Buda. Formally the writer's housekeeper, in reality she is more a member of the family, a partner in the full sense of the word. *The Door* is her memorial but not static, not a still but a very dynamic work, suffused with tensions. On the one hand, Magda Szabó uses the narrative to almost canonize her heroine in a way that recalls Böll's *Gruppenbild mit Dame*, which also focused on a woman who, as a kind of lay nun, had spent her life in the service of the outcasts of society, inspired by a sort of pure early Christian love, rising Madonna-like above the troubled vortexes of history. Böll's method of treating his subject seems to have inspired Szabó; both works reconstruct their heroines' life posthumously and display respect and emotion towards a lay saint; the major difference is that Magda Szabó is personally touched by the fate of her heroine and feels responsibility and remorse for her death. This personal interest is the aspect which, especially in the last third of the book, provides the evocation of the life of Emerenc Szeredás with an intense dramatic tension.

The daughter of a simple village craftsman, the almost biblical blows which rained on her family compelled her to become independent very early. In the 1930s this meant for her, as for most of these girls, entering service, The sufferings crystallized her personality: blessed with an almost supernatural sense, this woman knew always whom and when she could help and with what. At the same time, she had a definite and firm opinion of the world of those who did not need her help. Emerenc Szeredás was the good Samaritan who cooked for the sick and brought them medicine, swept the sidewalk, hid those who were persecuted, took in stray cats, cleaned rooms and helped the dying pass over to the next world. All this she does not do with humility or piety, in the service of some abstract goal or idea, but in the firm conviction that this is her business and that no-one else can do it better. She doesn't care a fig for religion, politics, art—frivolities all. She values manual work. She could be thought of as stolid and dull, and indeed, many of her declarations try the writer's patience; yet her sermonising superiority, unshatterable self-assurance and unerring instincts always seem to put her in the right. She seems to be a person who truly and unfailingly knows how to live and die with human dignity. She also seems to know that not everybody can have such a sovereign personality and that therefore it is her natural duty to bestow services and favours on some people and to deprive others ostentatiously of them; she rules over the street where she is maid for all work like a tyrant but also as the font of justice. Emerenc Szeredás is not an easy person to deal with—if she loves somebody she does not show it but her love is unconditional. Nor is she easy to deal with since she knows instinctively what man regulated by civilization knows less and less: "that love cannot be expressed softly, regularly and articulately, and that I cannot shape its form," and that "if you love you must be able also to kill..."

Emerenc has secrets which she guards jealously from her "subjects." As if she could have become what she was only by ceasing to be what she had been. In reality it is the other way round: she has become what she is because of what has happened to her in the past. The symbol of her secrets is "the door" of her porter's lodge through which no-one is allowed to enter. For a long time she has received her "followers" only on the landing in front of her flat. After a long time she lets the writer into her sanctum. The authoress gradually learns her secrets and so becomes Emerenc's favourite, a confidante and partner, almost a daughter. Needing her services and liking her more and more, she surrenders to Emerenc but the old servant also surrenders to the writer. There is of course nothing extraordinary beyond the door, only the companions of Emerenc's lonely life: nine cats which she never allowed out, where sooner or later they might come to harm. Beyond the door there is another blocked-up

door, behind which are the personal effects of a deported Jewish family whose daughter Emerenc has saved as her own; these possessions are only one of her secrets, she does not want to own them and bequeathes them to the authoress.

She is very old when one days she falls seriously ill. She allows no visitors, accepting food but not doctors or treatment. She does not answer the door and a stench begins to come from the flat. Later she recovers but remains helpless. The authoress, together with other neighbours, decides to act. Taking an unfair advantage of the fact that the old woman allows her to enter, they burst in and have her carried off to hospital. Having played her role as door-opener, the writer leaves Emerenc to herself; she must hurry off to receive a literary prize, and then go abroad on a delegation. Emerenc dies of the shame of people having seen her exposed in the smelly, filthy flat to which she has withdrawn to die unseen. She dies of the disappointment caused by the false humanity of the authoress. She wanted to die in the same sovereign way that she has lived in but those who are supposed to love her have not permitted it. *The Door* is an important and—especially where it touches on the illness and humiliation of Emerenc—a profound work on the sterilized contradictoriness and lies of love and its primitive roots.

MIKLÓS GYÖRFFY

A COMPLEX ANALYSIS OF EAST-WEST ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Gerd Bíró: *A kelet-nyugati kereskedelem fejlődési tendenciái a 80-as években.* (Trends of Development in East-West Trade During the Eighties.) Budapest, 1986, Közgazdasági és Jogi Könyvkiadó, 152 pp.

Gerd Biró is a specialist in East-West economic relations. Here he places these relations in a detailed global context. Its tendencies are essentially influenced by the state of Soviet–American relations. After analysing a wealth of information, however, the author concludes that this bi-polarity of relations does not constrain the external economic policies of small European countries within narrow limits. An initiating role for small and medium countries becomes larger when it comes to promoting dialogue and in the development of rational compromises. The fact that East-West relations on this continent have not completely followed the fluctuations in Soviet–American relations in the past few years also indicates the comparative depth of the European roots of détente; this has meant more than a positive regional factor since it has been able to a certain extent to affect Soviet–American relations too, particularly most recently.

Making use of both the international press and his own extensive contacts, Biró concludes that the formula which argues that the economic gains of the East mean a military disadvantage for the West, is proving less and less valid in Europe. Indeed, there is an evident increase in the development of international division of labour, which implies that West-European interest in the economic success of its Eastern trading partners is growing. For this reason Western Europe has begun to reassess East-West interdependence.

The weakening position of Western

Europe in production and trade has impelled it to move in a new direction in the long as well as the shorter term. The fact that the Pacific region has for a considerable time been the most dynamically developing region of the world economy, with a share of world trade which has been growing year after year, poses a new challenge to Europe. Numerous analyses published in Western Europe demonstrate numerically the loss of opportunity of Western Europe within the world economy; one reason for this is that West-European countries are exposed to the dual pressure of American technology and Japanese and South-East Asian labour. The obvious way to relieve that pressure seems to be expansion towards the neighbouring East-European countries. Gerd Biró's analysis of the interdependence between the two parts of the European economy convincingly explains how the strengthening of East-West relations could reinforce the economic and political positions of Western Europe.

Progress, however, is not automatic. The author objectively reviews the conditions (on both sides) that would have to be created if cooperation is to be stimulated.

Outlining the problems on the CMEA side, he starts out from the fact that the stagnation of Western imports and the structural obsolescence of exports from the CMEA countries reduced Western interest in East-West economic cooperation in recent years. In order to demonstrate clearly, to Western countries, the comparative advantages of a possible development of cooperation within the European economic region the CMEA countries must make considerable efforts to strengthen the world market orientation of their economic policy and to intensify their participation in the international division of labour. By so doing they could modernize to an extent their exports and this would permit them to increase their convertible currency imports without increasing their debt. Thus the most significant current external economic problem facing CMEA member countries is their weakness in competitive exports.

As regards the West European countries, however, the author considers it necessary that various protectionist or discriminative barriers be eliminated if relations within the European economic region are to be developed.

Biró believes that the need for an institutional solution in order to prevent the regional integrations acting as a brake on the further development of East-West relations is increasingly recognized in both the Eastern and the Western parts of the European economic region.

Hungarian–Austrian relations are generally recognized as an example of relations of countries belonging to different social systems. In this book the author devotes a separate chapter to the position occupied by Austria in East-West economic relations; here he also discusses in detail Austro-Hungarian relations. These relations are quite diverse and besides the actual exchange of goods they also cover travel, credit and capital. Their particular advantage is shown by the $300 million credit under which Austrian construction companies built tourist facilities (principally hotels) in Hungary. The scheme provided work for the Austrian construction industry while increasing Hungary's tourist capacity. In the author's view an Austro-Hungarian free-trade agreement would seem to be the most suitable for a further development of economic relations between the two countries.

How are the structural changes of the world economy mirrored in East-West trade? According to Biró, the two principal factors in the problems of East-West trade in recent years have been the acceleration of the structural transformation of the world economy and the extreme tardiness of the adjustment process within the CMEA member countries. The author sees the principal cause of this in the circumstance that, until recently, most of the European member

countries of the CMEA made little effort to reform the operation of their economies. Arguing from a wealth of statistical data, the book comes to the conclusion that as a result of the structural changes in world economic demand the smaller European CMEA countries have considerable supplies of products mainly in out-dated industrial sectors. This phenomenon is aggravated by the sharpening of competition among sellers as developing and newly industrializing countries are pushing the CMEA countries further and further behind in international markets.

The solutions found by CMEA countries to this challenge are overwhelmingly defensive in nature. The smaller CMEA countries, especially dependent on the world market, find their interest lies in modifying CMEA's methods of operation, taking into consideration world market competition.

The structure of East-West trade is vitally important from the aspect of the future of relations. In other words, as long as mutual demand and supply coincide, these relations will develop almost automatically, driven by economic interests, and their development will become less dependent on fluctuations in political relations.

In recent years Hungarian economic policy has recognized that the basis for new growth in the Hungarian economy must be an external economic policy aimed at strengthening its world economic positions rather than a defensive strategy concentrating on the security of supplies. The author casts a critical eye on the slow assertion of this recognition in practice (including the position taken by the enterprises) and outlines what is required for this external economic strategy to have quicker results.

The most important Western economic partner that CMEA has is the Federal Republic of Germany, to which a full quarter of the trade by volume between OECD and CMEA countries falls (the share of the United Kingdom is less than 5 per cent). The CMEA countries share 6 per cent of West Germany's external trade among themselves. The importance of this is evident also for some German companies: in 1982 as much as 27 per cent of the exports of the Mannesmann company was transacted with CMEA countries.

Certain features of Hungarian–West German economic relations also explain the position of the Federal Republic. In choosing her business partners Hungary gives preference to countries where the economic structure has undergone a faster than average transformation, thus making prospects for cooperation in manufacturing and for developing division of labour more promising. The prospects offered by West German cooperation correspond to these criteria, which is reflected also in the structure of commodity exchange between the two countries: machinery accounts for a high proportion of Hungarian imports from the Federal Republic while, for instance, 76,000 Hungarian refrigerators are sold annually on the West-German market. The some 350 cooperation agreements between Hungarian and West German companies indicate the depth and organic nature of the relations between companies in both countries. Provided suitable Hungarian preparations are made, the opening of the Rhine–Main–Danube canal could improve the conditions for Central European economic cooperation by the first half of the nineties.

There is a complete chapter on a special area of the East-West trade: that between the two German states. Biró gives a detailed analysis of the economic and political nexus that affects these relations (stating that economic interests dominate these relations in the DDR and political motivation in the Federal Republic), as well as the terms of trade and the special institutional system of these relations.

After the development of travel, commodity and credit contacts, most new developments in East-West economic relations are now in the field of capital relations. Hungary regards joint enterprises operating

in Hungary with Western capital as channels leading to the world market. The author describes how socialist attitudes to direct investments have changed and points out that Hungarian economic policy has given the green light to progress by abandoning anachronistic dogma. The reforms in Hungarian economic control will also assist direct Western capital investment in Hungary in the second half of the eighties. (At the moment some 80 joint enterprises are operating with a total Western capital of about $100 million.) The book describes the commercial areas of the joint enterprises established so far and those preferred by the Hungarian authorities. Biró explains (and also criticizes) the investment conditions arguing that taxation allowances and the rounding of administrative corners will increase Western companies' interest in direct investment in Hungary. Making use of international comparisons, Biró produces a whole series of recommendations for Hungarian economic policy with the objective of encouraging direct Western capital investment. The notion that barter forms the general pattern for East-West trade is commonly held in Western business circles. By looking at international patterns, the book reveals, however, that the advance of barter is a general symptom in international trade whose cause is to be found in marketing and payment difficulties and in the diversified nature of transactions made by great international concerns. This marked advance in barter is the consequence of considerable changes that have occurred in both the macro-sphere and the micro-sphere. While numerous international organizations oppose this form of trade in principle, the majority of governments not only tolerate, but even encourage these deals—particularly in the most recent past.

In the case of Hungary, the turnover of barter deals (in the broadest sense of the term) amounts to about 8 per cent of total trade in convertible currency. This is less than the estimated average of East-West trade and even than the average recorded in world trade. Since barter broadens the scope for sound trading and thus results in the widening of markets, it is not impossible that their proportion will increase in Hungary's trade, particularly in existing relations with heavily indebted developing countries.

In the closing chapter of his book, Gerd Biró makes a number of points on the ways and means for Hungary to improve her international competitiveness. The development of a suitable economic environment is a prime condition, as it would be wishful thinking to believe that companies domestically accustomed to bureaucratic methods could be flexible on the world market. He urges that companies should find their interests lie in exporting, that the export of services be upgraded and that innovation be fully developed. In order to achieve this, he argues that the standard of education and training must be raised (particularly in foreign languages and technical knowledge), while the means of economic diplomacy must also be employed more systematically and resolutely.

It is hoped that this short review succeeds in demonstrating the genuinely multi-dimensional character of Gerd Biró's book. While he specifies the position of East-West trade in the present political and economic processes—almost as viewed from a satellite—he also demonstrates (through looking at specific areas) the modes of operation of these relations giving the practical example of a few countries and forms of operation. Undoubtedly all this contributes to a better understanding of East-West trade and to the exploration of future opportunities for the development of the whole European economic region.

The book, despite its versatility, does not fully satisfy. The explanation for this must be sought in the cavalier treatment accorded to monetary questions. True, the statistical appendix contains figures covering the convertible currency balance of trade of the East European socialist countries and the

state of their indebtedness, it is my considered opinion, however, that monetary processes should have been separately expounded, perhaps in a chapter apart. The prospects of the West-East capital flow only look real if repayments—though they be at a later period of time—are also discussed. At the same time the rigidity of methods of settling accounts (absence of convertibility) within the CMEA acts as a curb on direct investments as well since it puts obstacles in the way of firms operating with the use of western capital in this or that socialist country being able to treat the whole CMEA area as their immediate market.

The author's restrained optimism would be better founded if he told us at least as much of the monetary aspects of East-West contacts as he does about non-monetary ways of settling accounts. Many misunderstandings that arise in the economic dialogue between East and West could be obviated if the West did not confine itself to thinking in monetary, and the East in commodity terms.

EGON KEMENES

"THE HOPE OF REMEMBERING"

An interview with Ottó Orbán

Your Where Does the Poet Come From *contains the lines: "The writer is a sailor. Indeed, if he is a real sailor, he does not sail the waters along the shore but those of the open and unknown sea. Like Columbus and Cousteau." Is the poet's profession so dangerous?*

If he knows the risks of creation, yes. Of course, when he embarks on it he has no idea about it yet. He feels that something is squeezing his throat and he would like to get rid of something bearing on him. And that is what poetry is all about, there is actually no more to it than that—because it won't be more later. But he must take risks if what he is going to say will be important and what he is saying should really be what he intends to say: he must learn his trade through suffering. There is no poetry without discovery.

Critics believe that it was difficult for you to find your own voice, to discover what is worth taking tasks for.

I believe that I am an especially lucky man. I am saying this now that I have barely turned fifty and am fighting against a fairly serious illness, when it is not yet clear who is going to win this contest, when we do not yet know whether it will be the illness or medical science that will breast the tape. I still consider myself lucky. My birth predestined me to learn through plenty of suffering: I cannot see the world in black-and-white, I cannot interpret things as either-or.

My mother came from the poverty that is found in fairy tales. She came from such a depth of Hungarian society that I can only trace my ancestors back to my grandparents. My father, however, came from a comparatively well-to-do Jewish family. His family had a richer branch and a poorer, petty-bourgeois branch. I had hardly been able to understand in what world I was living when I was forced to choose between them. But the world made my choice for me. My father was killed and I was left with my mother in a house destroyed by bombs. Later the question cropped up whose heritage I was actually continuing. And it became un-

For poems by Ottó Orbán see the present issue pp. 54–56 and NHQ 33, 37, 49, 58, 67, 71, 72.

equivocally obvious to me that this would be a mad and murderous choice. I cannot choose. My only choice is not choosing.

In my latest volume there is a poem in which I write that I am descending into the ground with my obsessive Too-Too's; I also write that war also kills by making out its crazy Either-Or's to be true. This Too-Too might also mean that one wants to behave as a diplomat but poetry is not a field in which diplomacy has much of a chance. This Too-Too means Yesses and Noes that must also be given a clear articulation. This demands a kind of constancy, a fairly enduring nature. Still, it was in the cellar, in the shelter, that I received real inspiration, or perhaps, a vision of the world.

Naturally, I realized quite soon that poetry is also a trade that has to be learnt. That was when that part of poetry which can be learnt became important to me. I had to spend an awful lot of time in learning this. It took me so long, you would say, not because I was unable to choose but, as I've already said, because I refused to choose and refused to be stuck with only one thing. Actually, this was not an easy matter since it gave rise to misunderstandings. I spent a great many years during which some of my fellow-writers doubted that I had a personality of my own and that I had any real opinions of my own since I could not be attached to a single poetic form, a single poetic behaviour.

It was an experience I underwent when still a child that in life we encounter simultaneously death and laughter, heroism and vulgarity, light and darkness; the tortures of hell and the petty dialogues of survival are intertwined with each other inseparably. I have a very good ear for dialogue. For many years I treasured dialogues which somehow sounded unbelievable in the cellar between two bombardments. These sentences were heard by a child who was unable to internalize them. But some kind of a tape-recorder was running which preserved the voices and the fragmentary nature of what was experienced. I was trying to find a form through which the unadjustable could be adjusted. That is the reason why I had to experiment with so many things: sounds, forms, this and that. My problem was not what type of a poet I should become. I was simply trying to get rid of something but I felt if I approached it from one end, half of the matter would be neglected, if from the other end, the other half. So I was constantly dissatisfied with myself.

You call yourself somewhere a "ferocious eye-witness."

There is no animosity meant in that. What lies behind it is, perhaps, in spite of myself too. That is to say, I look upon myself as an actor on this stage, and that is the only way I may judge myself. Of course, I was aware of this being an impossible game: you cannot be as objective with yourself as with others and the world. But as much as the limitations of personality and soul permit, I like to project myself onto the stage too. I share the responsibility, the common fate. I do not believe that, just because the poet writes poems, he is entitled to different treatment, one deserved exceptionally by him.

You have referred to poetry as a dubious profession on several occasions.

Well, here it is important to provide a careful wording of what my doubts are directed at. They are directed at my own profession, whether the world conjured up and described through the means of poetry can be traced back to the suffering from which the compulsion or even the joy of formulation originates; whether the poem which, should we say, is written as a specific medicine is really suitable to alleviate at least our own pain. Will it not be too beautiful just by being formulated? Will something not be lost? That is the eternal dilemma of moulding life into literature. My doubts are directed only at this act and whether I have managed to transform life into poetry. Probably I'll never manage to attain this goal. At the same time I strongly disagree with the idea, fashionable today, that poetry is a genre

slowly dying out. My own experience contradicts it. For example, not long ago I taught poetry to American students in the computers' world for half a year.

Speaking of America, your poem 'Europe' contains the lines: "I always shrank from this word... still I was a European in America."

First I should say a few words about being Hungarian. I was also lucky when I suddenly realized that I was incurably Hungarian. It dawned on me that this reluctance to choose was my being a Hungarian itself. I never felt Hungarian professionally. I was extremely lucky to have had the chance to travel to a great many countries. And when abroad, as if in a mirror, I saw myself, it became clear that all my gestures, all my judgements—including my taste—were deeply, and with a strength I had not realized, connected to the experience which is my childhood, which is Hungary.

One important trip took me straight to India. There I was greatly impressed by the huge dimensions of things and also by the misery of the world. When I travelled to America I took with me not only my Hungarian attachment but also the shame I experienced in India where I wanted to introduce myself by saying that I had come from a small, poor country in Europe but the words stuck in my throat and I realized that I was the biggest fool on the Indian subcontinent because I intended to say something that was rude. I had to realize that there I was a "rich American." With my Hungarian background, I arrived in America with some kind of a value system. I may call it a moral yardstick, and that was my being European. That somehow protected me. As it had dawned on me in India as my first and heartrending recognition that I was a more Hungarian Hungarian than I had ever thought of myself, in a similar manner, I had to realize in America that I was not only a Hungarian but, beyond that and within that, a European. I carried the reflexes of a culture which demonstrated its importance, its connections and uniformity in this alien medium.

When speaking of the famous Downtown Table Society of the young intellectuals of the 'sixties, you used the notion of "emotional leftism." Do you think that this carries a meaning today?

After coming back from America, I definitely do. Through those words I wanted to indicate that our leftism was somehow separated from daily politics. It was not the result of our intentions but the nature of our experiences. Each of us had come from a different place or direction, but each of us had brought a cartload of suffering and unfortunate experiences about those who always paid the bills presented by history. That was where our unity lay. That was our connecting link, apart from the natural force which brings young artists to each other at the start of their careers. That was a great community force—coupled with the experiences of the 'fifties and the more or less still fresh experiences of war. Some kind of plebeian God may know what it was. I might, perhaps, put it as social sensitivity. In that respect, I believe, our leftism of the time may be looked upon as timely and incurable even today. It's something you acquire for a lifetime.

You are fond of articulating through paradoxes. This is what you wrote about yourself: "I have found my voice in not having a single voice. I have found my personality in the recognition that the poet's personality is not a kind of clay jug in which the poem curdles like milk."

There is something I wish to add to that. I am near enough to a comic maniac of self-interpretation. My compulsive mania is that I want to know myself. That is possible up to a certain limit and impossible beyond that. But my desire is to widen the limits a bit and learn some more about myself and, in that way, about the world, too. For example, the experience of rereading my own collected poems was, for me, unique. Of course I was not knocked off my feet by their greatness or exquisiteness. Yet,

I discovered that although it was only later that I hit upon that unity or composition which may after all be referred to by myself and others too as my voice, actually something had been there from the very beginning and that something was trying to find its own proportions and finally did find them in the very fact that there is no *one* voice. Today I feel that I am free as a poet. I write what I know and how I know it. That is perhaps the consequence of age as well: the diversity of voices are increasingly imbued with a personality more straightforward than before, today the poems are somehow able to get closer to my everyday life. That's also the consequence of this freedom.

As regards my first volume, both my friends and those who were not my friends largely criticized me for the world depicted by my poems being too colourful and everything in them being too loud and glowing white. It may have taken me as long as ten years to realize that it was the black cellar wall, against which stood the candle that fell off when Chain Bridge was blown up, that I want to smear with these crazy colours. I am blinded so much by the brightness of spring because my eyes are being burnt by the light that hit me when we emerged from the cellar.

You have written several times on the world being ruled by some kind of chronic absence of ideals in our day.

Today one may more or less understand what I wanted to express by pointing out that I could only comprehend and make use of this world as an experience of the senses. For saying that at the beginning of the 'sixties, I was labelled as representing a blindly anti-philosophical approach. The fact is that I cannot say what exactly is caused by this lack of ideals among different parts of society. That is for sociology. I perceive, in our life, gestures, movements, conversations what is maimed in our soul by this loss of hope or perspective. (That is something I cannot say in a less poetic way, since in one way or another we still possess a soul.) And I do so in what my own child asks me and what I can answer him. I wish to keep consciously the proportion of life and death that I brought with me from the cellar. From poem to poem I try to describe the hope that the cellar burnt into me. That is ridiculously sublime to the philosopher. But if we consider philosophy as the backbone of poetic behaviour here, then we are faced by a very clear idea easy to outline: the picture emerges in me again and again that we are ascending from the cellar, coats covered by powder from bricks, faces green and grey, much wrinkled, even those of the young, and the whole scene is lost in a brightness covering the entire screen, something like a film by Fellini.

I am aware of being unable to spare both myself and the world shocking experiences. Neither can I save myself or the world disappointments and miseries. But I also know that there are moments in our lives which we must not forget. Let us call that the hope of remembering.

KÁROLY T. VÖRÖS

ARTS AND ARCHEOLOGY

TACHIST GEOMETRY

The Tamás Hencze Retrospective

Hencze is one of the moving spirits of the Hungarian neo-avantgarde of the 1960s. His very first appearance made his name and it has since been enhanced in countries such as Germany, Austria and Venezuela. If anyone knows him well, I do since I have been following his work since its beginnings. However, his retrospective in the Budapest Ernst Museum a year before his 50th birthday, showed me a very different Tamás Hencze. With a new cycle taking up an entire hall and with the selection of his works and emphasis on their points of junction, he manipulated viewers into seeing his older, well-known works in a new light. Hencze's idiom is purity and laconic formulation; his vocabulary is sophisticatedly simple. He combines lyricism and sensitivity with an engineer's precision and cold calculation.

A quarter of a century ago his abstract style was classed as new geometry, Minimal Art, and he himself liked this classification. However—to continue paradoxes—he was a Hard Edge painter who painted atmospheric and sfumato edges like the impressionists. His motifs and motif-series were laid on with a rubber roller instead of the brush or the spatula. At the time this was a means to achieve his well-calculated contingency. Twenty-five years ago he was called 'that spotted man'. From the spotted structures of his rhythmically articulated blurred-edged disks (in the 1970s) he presented a series consisting of smaller pictures almost as a footnote to the exhibition.

The *Dynamic Structure:* (1973) grey-silver stripes repeated with merciless monotony and emphatically poor in colour hanging on the first wall remind me a half-pulled-down blind but in fact I am fascinated by its elementary force. The same in a different register: the four, narrow, upright rectangles in *grisaille* of the series *Vertical Atmosphere* (1980) with their severe vertical streaks. The *Vertical Red* (1980) of the same size and meaning was put beside them only at the exhibition. In keeping with its title, the picture's grey stripe field is counterpointed by a single central red streak. In addition, all the items in this ensemble which, with this fifth piece, can be considered a series, have been framed by a uniform round-edged white picture-rail to emphasize their belonging together. All along the exhibition one can observe Hencze's preference for the narrow, standing canvas-stretcher form: this mode of seeing is linked to the verticality of Chinese silk-painting derived from the woven material. Most paintings, the school blackboard, the cinema or television screen are horizontal, comprehensibly, since our eyes are on a horizontal plane. Tamás Hencze has sought for himself a new space: the upper part of the exhibition hall, that dead region where the pictures end, and only the wires are extended. In this way, maybe unconsciously, he has acquired the

advantage of placing more pictures than others because he extended the motifs to the spaces between pictures high up. So he was able to have more pictures at the exhibition, yet have them arranged elegantly and well-spaced. He placed 75 pictures in the Ernst Museum and the hall's white walls remained also visible.

The vertical stripes closed in upright rectangular forms continue on the walls but they never bore us because each of them offers a different interest and stimulation. In the trio of *Atmospheric Spaces* (1978) and *Resonant Space I–II* (1979) the sfumato-painted stripes—although in a plane—create the effect of the kanellura of Greek columns—if we switch over our eyes gently, we can even see them as convex rods. The kanelluras of the central panel are pure grey, their two neighbours have also red and blue-black stripes. *Repetitions I–IV.* (1982) is a monumental work, not only because of its size (200 × 600 cm). It also consists of four parts but probably only to make transportation easier. Like all pictures of Hencze, it is simple to describe. The central part, a rectangle lying on its side, is made up of vertical stripes, to the right is a diagonal line in a white field, to the left a broken arc. This work would fit into the spacious hall of a museum or the vestibule of a public building. Its content? The puritan complexity so characteristic of Hencze and—I cannot formulate it differently—a cathartic effect commanding respect.

The trapezoids (1981), pictures in trapezoid form, were produced in the era of the *shaped canvas*. Their sizes and shapes are identical but their motifs are manifold, with grey stripes, with more complicated systems of stripes, or with dominantly purely black-keyed monochromous fields. There is even a trapezoid with amorphous edges; obviously a paraphrase of Hencze's earlier exhibition entitled *Fire Pictures* (1980)* consisting of pictures with burnt edges. The trapezoid may hang upside down looking like a flowerpot on the wall like Hencze's triangle-shaped pictures. The painter does not even prescribe which should be their top: there is freedom to improvise: they may be placed differently from exhibition to exhibition. The message of the triangles is related to that of the trapezoids, namely the white or black *Triangular Space* (1980). *The Red Triangle* (1981) hanging with its apex downwards stands out among the monochromous specimens: a uniform, majestic, static Pompeian red, with a single additional motif, the vertical dividing line but this not too thin grey bar painted in relief is the main motif. As an unexpected fioritura the painter has fixed a brilliant pink frame on the triangle which does not match the picture's deep red at all. This *scherzo* completes the picture's content and tone. (Seven years later six young contemporary painters and sculptors organized an exhibition in honour of those triangles under the title *Pyramid—Hommage à Hencze.*)

In the early 1980s Hencze seemed to break with his constructivist approach and movement-negating static pictures from which, by the way, kinetics had never been absent. This meant that the latent movement became manifest. Perhaps he felt nostalgia for his youthful action painting; he put down the roller and took up the brush again. The background of his five square-metre panels is pure, faultless white, the trace of the brush is an emotional line. As in Eastern calligraphy, the picture is made with a single movement. I would never have guessed his technique had he not told me himself: at first he paints the sample with a single sweep, then cuts it out as a pattern with all its contingencies. The real picture is painted from this pattern with a pseudo-spontaneity. It is different from *Pattern Painting*, more relaxed but at the same time more severe and reticent. One could say that the dress rehearsal of Hencze's gesture painting is the pattern and its première the painted picture itself.

The documents of the first step he took after turning away from rhythmic painting appeared in a joint exhibition with the sculp-

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tor Gyula Gulyás in 1984, *Plaster and Paint**. Upon the white ground there are two components: an iridescent plastic black, grey or coloured serpentine. The starting point is the iridescent spectrum band with steel-hard edges. This laconic motif-system offers countless variations. In *Red Accent* (1983) the red rectangle is smaller, the grey gesture is more emphatic; in *Big Movement* (1984) the rectangle-streak and the zig-zag whose tail ends in a regular semi-circle are equal in quantity. These panels are complemented with a snow-white one; this empty square is as equal in rank with the panels containing motifs as an interval in music or a blank space in printing.

A later piece of this series, *Gesture* (1985), is a *pièce unique*. Nothing has changed, the leading role is still played by a grey zig-zag and the constant red rectangle but in this painting the latter is given a perspective *in space*, although not constructed according to the rules of linear but of axonometric perspective; it stretches into space and points at us. It is three-dimensional, has thickness and looks like a minimum-painted iron bar. This kind of perspective has no precedent and no successor in Hencze's work.

The second step in Hencze's turning away from his structuralist past is the further development of the above-described series. He clings stubbornly to his basic idea in the mid-eighties, the background has remained snow-white but in the new cycle the brush-strokes are broader, the serpentine thicker and more subtle, one sees even the apparently spontaneous splashes of fresh paint. The colour is blue-black, the red rectangle is also here. But in the works of this cycle all motif-ensembles have turned from vertical into diagonal, and the often-mentioned rectangular shape emits a beam of light like a halogen reflector and cuts through the middle of the serpentine, dividing it in two with its blurred edges. (*Colour Refraction* II. 1987). Hencze used the effect of this beam of light in his exhibition *Visual Stories*,** in 1977. As I have mentioned before, Hencze's pictures with their upright, narrow shapes occupy also the upper regions of the exhibition hall; indeed, with some psychological motive the painter rather overplays this attitude in *Colour Refraction* I (1987), where he puts the group of his favourite motifs on top of the narrow oblong canvas leaving the middle and lower parts empty.

Obviously the approach of this retrospective exhibition animated the painter in 1987 to take a third step, and turn to new forms and colours. The work of his most recent period is present in the big glassroofed hall of the Ernst museum. This change has also been smooth, a harmonious transition. Loránd Hegyi, author of the preamble to the catalogue of the exhibition wrote: "Hencze has managed to reexamine his own former monolithical method without giving up himself." He remained himself when the gesture has become autonomous—but still on a white ground—the brush trace iridescent, the thinly put-on paint almost transparent, the whole effect metallic. *Blue Gesture* (1987) marks the transition with its traces of hard-contoured angular stripes. In my view *Tachist Geometry for György Jovánovits* (1987) belongs also to the period of transition where the emotional line of the arched movement is complemented with pairs of red straight lines arranged in the shape of an X. The title was a joke of Jovánovits's but it is really pertinent: it could be called Hencze's artistic credo.

Next comes the gesture, the motion and its arched brush trace without any addition on the panels of *Blue Sign* (1987) and *Green Sign* (1987). *Red-White-Green Gesture* (1987) the artist has arranged the colours of the Hungarian tricolore beside each other with three quarter-arc patches on the picture field below the median line, severely, as always.

By chance a triptychon had taken shape on the main wall of the hall from three new,

* *NHQ* 97

** *NHQ* 68

complex, and of course vertical, narrow panel pictures. They completely refute what has been alleged of this painter, namely that his works are poor in colour. This richly and colourfully elaborated trio crowns and concludes the entire exhibition. Their common feature is the vertical key all along the picture and the peacock-feathers of the transversal gestures. The earliest is *Description of a Work* (1986) where brush-strokes on the grey tint are blue-black and red; the orange background of *Eastern Tone* (1987) has been shifted left to the picture's edge, crossed by agitated brown, grey and red brush-strokes. The broad vertical streak of *Coloured Citation* (1987) is chrome yellow, with the traces of free, iridescent green and blue movements of the hand, This wall is the trifurcated variant of the same idea with different colour moods and different elaborations.

Hencze's charisma has three coefficients: quality—of major importance—knowledge of the secrets of paradoxes, and the ability to further expand our concepts of space.

JÁNOS FRANK

ENDRE RÁTKAY AND HIS TRIPTYCHS

Endre Rátkay provides his public with a difficult lesson. The old myths are dreamt anew in his enormous pictures and he attempts the near impossible in those erotic works of his, with their psychologically loaded quotations: to synthesize the cultural, sociological and political aspects of the present into some semblance of a system. He makes equal use of the myths, Biblical and ancient, of historic events, of his own life and of myths of his own making. The scale is inspired by Csontváry and a thorough knowledge of folk and prehistoric art and of his surrealist predecessors combine to him the courage to engage in these associative adventures.

Rátkay was born in 1928 in Pesterzsébet, one of the suburbs of Budapest. At the academy he was a pupil of Aurél Bernáth, Bertalan Pór and László Bencze; he was advised, in 1950, before getting his degree, to leave the institute as he did not conform to the axioms of the official art of the time. He then taught drawing for a spell and read omnivorously, being influenced strongly by Dante, Villon and Rabelais. He studied tribal art for several years. After a journey to Italy in 1964, he painted more than a hundred small panel pictures (*The Rape of Europa, Psalm of King Armstrong, Resurrection, Daedaleus and Icarus*). He was, however, dissatisfied with the results, considering that his painting reflected only part of the world and not the entire universe. So he started with the creation of his iconostases. These are those pictures of his that are arranged horizontally and vertically; the groups are connected by a common subject and common ground colours.

Apocrypha, or the *Red Icon*, as it is called after its background colour, consists of three wings and each of these wings of 15 pictures. The first wing recounts the history of the Jews from Fall to the Diaspora; the second, called the Gospel of Andrew, after himself, his interpretation of the life of Jesus and the third is the Apocalipsis cum figuris. This composition is a paraphrase of the history of the Jewish and Christian religions. The figures often bring to mind tribal art and the rich pictorial material is—like a modern comic—embellished with quotations from Thomas Mann, Villon, García Lorca, Dante, Sándor Weöres and with mediaeval Latin sayings.

The second work of a similar scale is the *Mythologicon*, also called *Blue Icon* after its colour; here freest flights of fantasy operate. The first wing recounts some scenes from

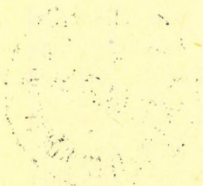
Greek mythology, the second the Trojan War and the third scenes from the Odyssey. In this work the artist makes ample use of the grotesque; Odysseus at one point is depicted as Dirty Fred, the Captain (a well-known popular figure from the adventure stories of Jenő Rejtő, alias P. Howard—who died in a German concentration camp—read and re-read ever since the thirties). Here Rátkay is referring to the common roots of classical myths and the myths of modern fiction. The greatest and most grandiose picture is the *Golden Icon* or *Calendar;* it consists of 15 units and each has nine pictures; on the top there are tympani, at the bottom three predellas. In this three-part—as the artist calls it—systematic world history, although it is everything except a system, the part referring to Hungary is placed in the middle, flanked by two parts on world history.

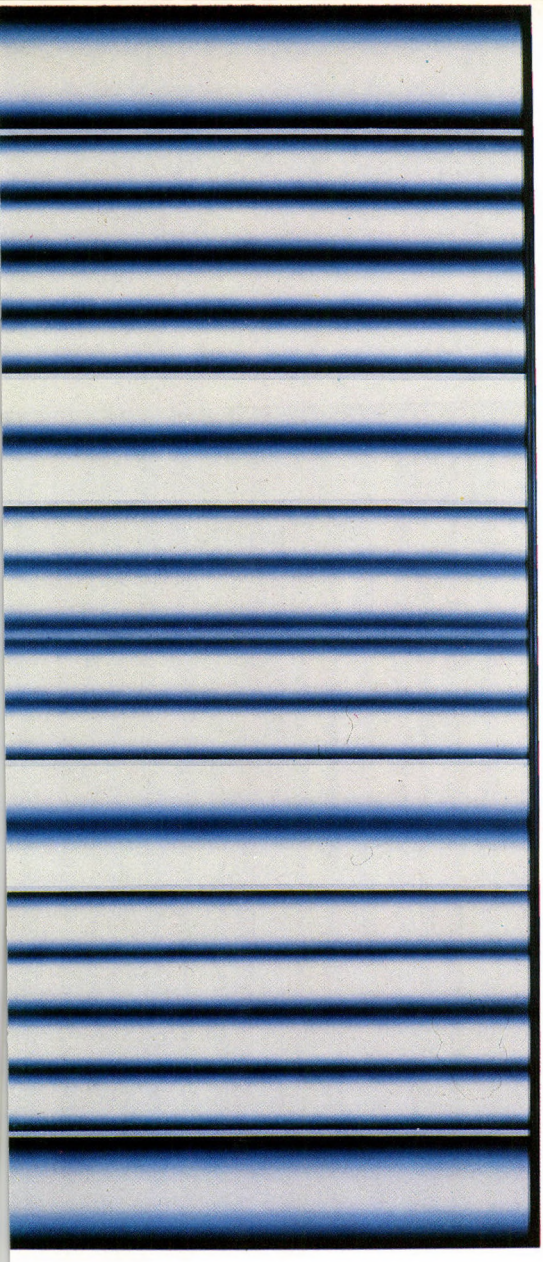
Five pictures of the first part scenes from Egypt until the 20th century, the third part depicts events from the history of this and the last centuries. The lower pictures of the middle segment recount Hungarian history and the upper part events in the life of the artist and his friends. The *finis operis* of this great "Rátkayada" is the figure of Christ from the Last Judgement in the Sistine Chapel. The composition is made up of 415 different pictures and took fifteen years to complete. It is extremely rich in details of which just one will be mentioned: the tableau on De Gaulle carrying the title "Vive Charlemagne II." The picture is mostly filled by the General wearing a kepi. Above him a Madonna of Fouquet's, at his side part of a Gothic stained-glass window and a beautiful girlish Botticelli figure, under him cyclists of Léger's, the Head of an Ox by Picasso and a gate of Szentendre by Dezső Korniss. Under this, part of the Champs-Elysées with the Etoile, then the figure of De Gaulle is repeated and the whole is completed by a tricolour and another work of Picasso's. The above list shows the typical Rátkay procedure of reciting well-known cultural motifs, at least to specialists; he doesn't reformulate these motives in his own style, they remain quotations and so bring their own aura.

It would take a large book to present all the associative fields of Endre Rátkay. The sources for the pictures, redrawn with the precision of miniature makers, are quite wide in range, although they remain within the bounds of Jewish-Christian culture. He depicts territories of existence which are important or which he considers important; however, he does not go beyond the limits of general knowledge and does not enter the unenterable. His aim is more to shock and to provoke; he quotes separate pictures, which are well known from other contexts; some of these quotes are paintings, some are well-known photographs; he provokes by combining and mounting the picture stock of the individual in accordance with his own knowledge, and so creates new combinations of contents (and forms), hallucinations. The usual aspect of the well-known is discredited and a divergent world of the imagination emerges. He also provokes by the shock use of erotic elements.

Surrealism is often mentioned in connection with him. It is undoubtedly true that Rátkay has made use of the methods of surrealism, but he avoids automatisms or the use of disparate elements. Inherences are easy to follow and to interpret. Old myths are dreamt anew by combining real and unreal worlds, by mixing grotesque, funny and erotic elements, and so new ones are created.

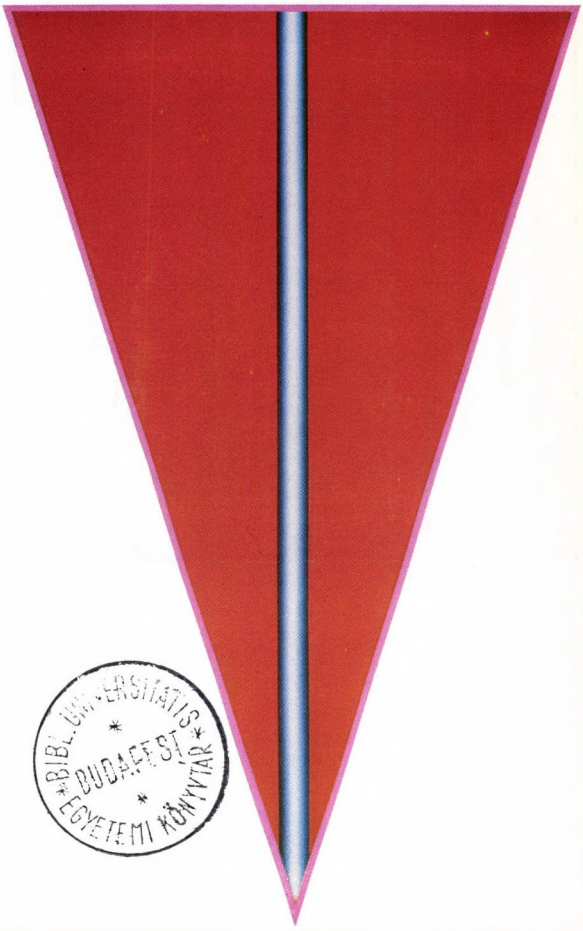
SÁNDOR LÁNCZ



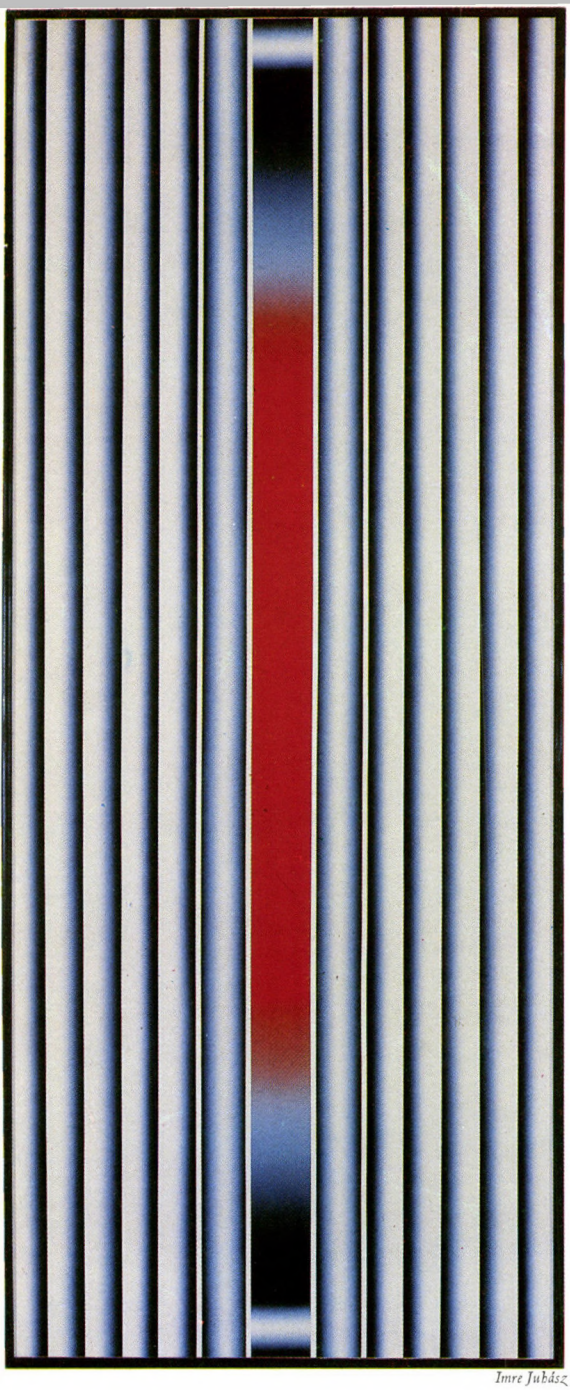


Tamás Hencze: Dynamic structure, 1973.
Oil, canvas, 250×120 cm.
István Király Museum, Székesfehérvár

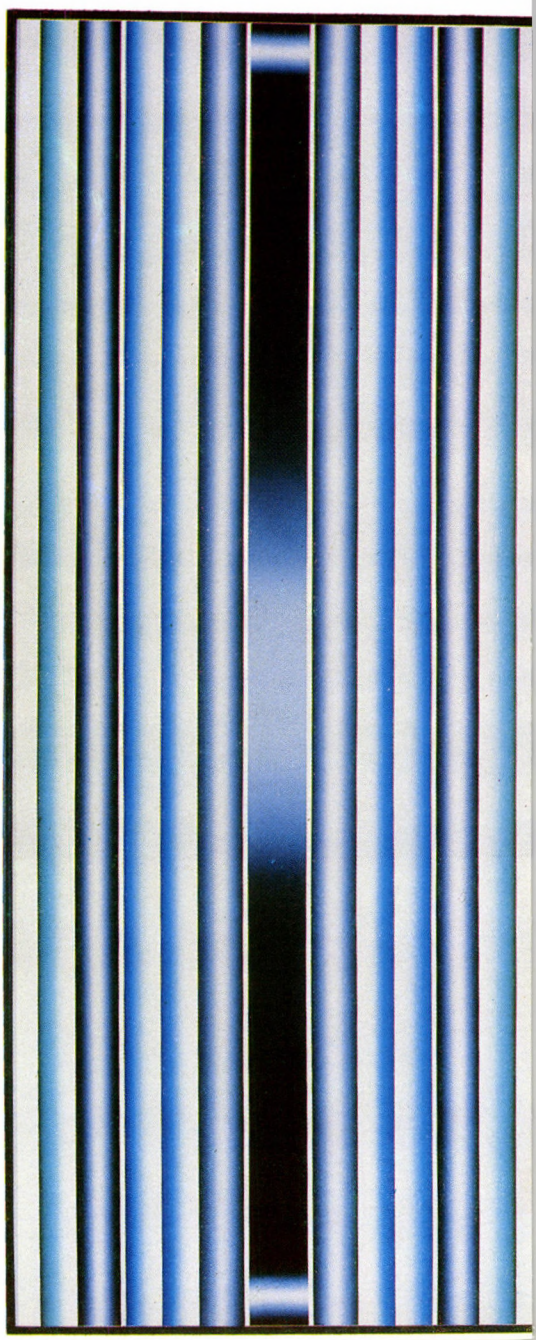
Imre Jubász



iás Hencze: The red triangle, 1981. Oil, canvas,
×150 cm.



Tamás Hencze: Resonant space I.–II. 1979.
Oil, canvas, 250×100 cm. each.

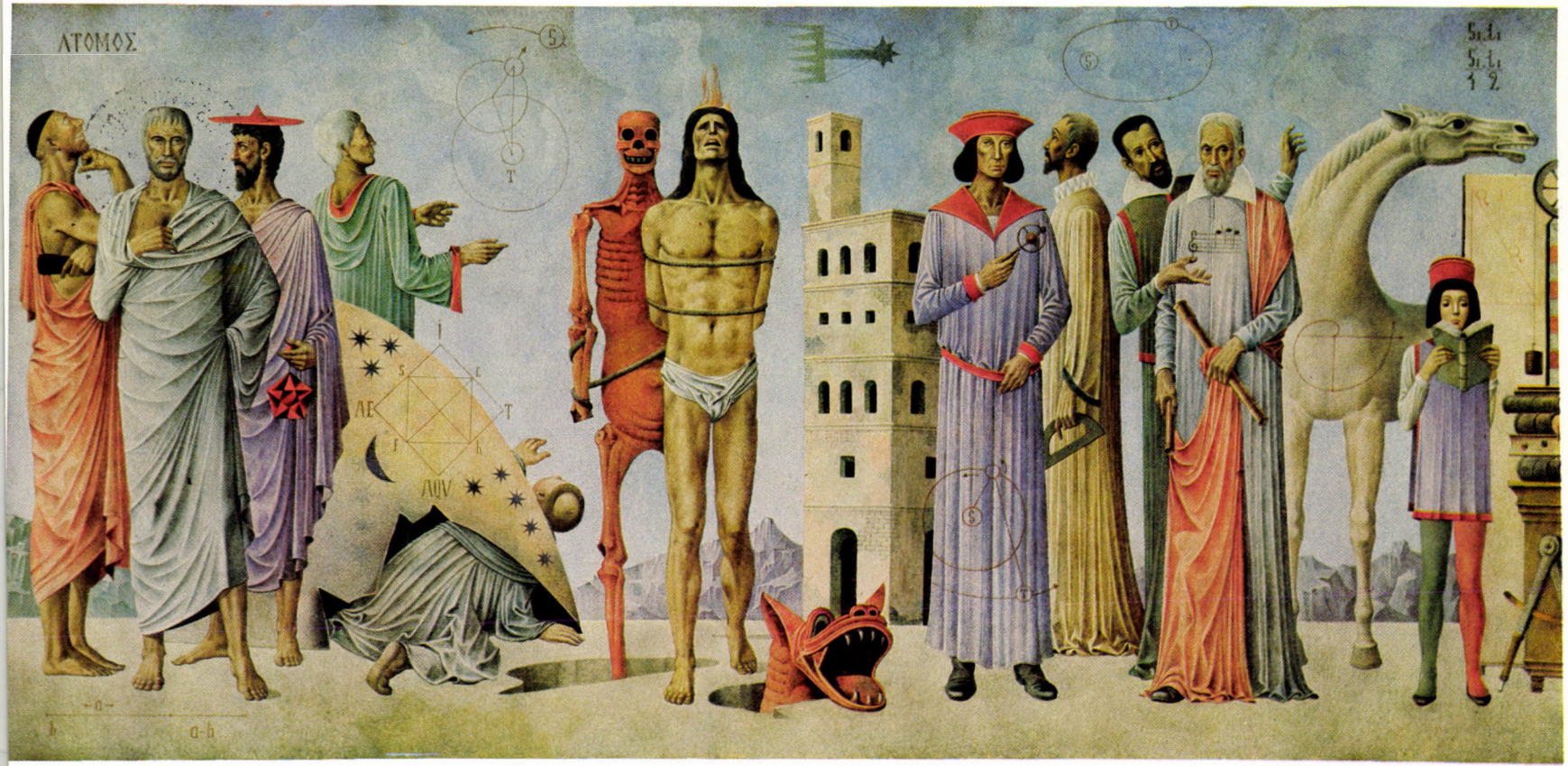


Imre Jubász

Tamás Hencze: Oriental sound, 1987. Oil, acrylic, canvas, 250 × 120 cm.

Imre Juhász

Tamás Hencze: Coloured citation, 1987. Oil, acrylic, canvas, 250 × 120 cm.



István Somfai

ENDRE RÁTKAY: ANNALES I.—DEATH AND THE HORSE, 1983. OIL, FIBRE FRESQUE, 217×450 CM.

István Somfai

ENDRE RÁTKAY: ONE WING FROM MYTHOLOGICON, 1965–1973. OIL, FIBRE. 1,5 × 10,5 M.

Endre Rátkay: Almanach. One of the fifteen wings. 1965–1980. Oil, fibre. 13,5×3,5 m. each.

Endre Rátkay: Detail from almanach.

Miklós Sulyok

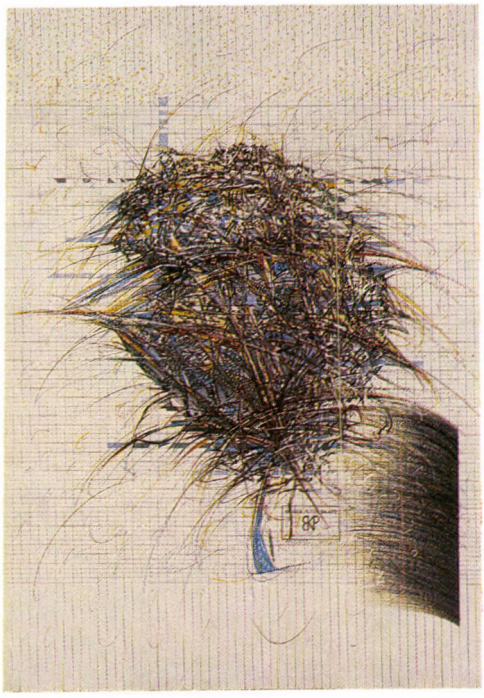
Áron Gábor: Flightiness II. 1987. Mixed technique, 155×127 cm.

Áron Gábor: Monsoon, 1987. Mixed technique, 126×185 cm.

Péter Balázs Kovács: The big fish, 1986. Oil, canvas, 410×240 cm.

Péter Balázs Kovács: Anxiety, 1984. Pencil, paper, 75,8×55,8 cm.

Miklós Sulyok



Péter Balázs Kovács: Sensitivity. 1985. Oil, canvas, button, sponge. 200×140×8 cm.

Géza Molnár
Kálmán Vas

ANALYSIS AND SENSIBILITY

Two young painters: Áron Gábor and Péter Balázs Kovács

Young Hungarian painters who began in the early 1980s, were most strongly influenced by two sets of ideas. In their art school years, they were affected by the objective and reductive approach of concept and minimal art, and even by photography and experimental films. Around 1983–84, just after they had started on their careers but while still in an exploratory stage, the new wave struck and emotions, gestures and strident colours became the main features of painting. Thus their art was shaped almost simultaneously by the cool, documenting avantgarde, and by the trans-avantgarde, which brought a new sensibility to colour to the fore.

Alongside János Szirtes[1], Lóránt Méhes, János Vető[2], András Böröcz and László Révész, this generation includes Áron Gábor and Péter Balázs Kovács. They started in the same medium, their reactions to avantgarde and transavantgarde were similar, and yet their work is utterly different, as both have filtered through their individual personalities, something different out of the multifariousness of modern art. Áron Gábor graduated from the Art School in 1981. His teacher, Ignác Kokas, allowed his students every opportunity for creation and orientation, this was still something very positive act in the second half of the 1970s, given the conservative spirit prevailing at the time. Thus Áron Gábor developed an artistic approach through the expressive style he derived from the Art School and his studies with the unofficial Indigo group, led by Miklós Erdély; this latter placed an emphasis on interdisciplinary combinations and laid stress upon creativity.

The mid-1980s brought a major change to the outlook in Hungarian fine arts, particularly in painting. Gábor, inspired by this new atmosphere, attempted to unite the achievements of the avantgarde, which up till then had been looked upon as something with the typical characteristics of new painting, this new deal. His reliance on two sources can be best assessed in his graphic works of the first three or four years of the 1980s, which present various media placed in several layers on the same surface. The basis layer is an enlarged film, a link with his earlier period of experimental photography. This bottom layer forms the photographic base for more resolved linear outlines, for instance figures taking after oriental erotic drawings, these again are covered by graffiti-like motifs that have been sprayed on (e.g. *Charming Tangle*).

His paintings from around 1985 display a mixture of lyrical non-figuration and more concrete formations. *Babel* is marked by delicate, soft tonal transitions. But the works that followed brought a growing number of direct forms and figures, mainly of animals, beavers and cats. These works contain a specifically stratified space, and are crowded, somewhat dissonant and eclectic. However, his eclecticism is different from that of the pictures of the new-painting artists, who combine stylistic elements from different ages, since he superimposes various techniques.

His latest pictures, from 1987, have already abandoned this stratification of techniques, although they have maintained their typical layered construction; rather they are painted in a uniform figural, expressive style. *In Moonsoon* (1987) the street, houses and shopwindows can be seen through the window of a clothes shop, the view at some points being obscured by rows of dresses. The decorative colouring and resolved forms of this picture practically conjure up new-painting.

[1] *NHQ* 104
[2] *NHQ* 108

The painting technique is close to the new wave but it is also linked to the traditions of the avantgarde of the 1970s. Gábor is here cultivating kind of grotesque-epic-figurative-ironical mode.

Gábor's is a most divergent art. Apart from his drawings and paintings in the exhibition, he has also produced computer drawings and installations. He is playing an active part in Hungarian performance art too, which has taken a new lease of life in the 1980s.

*

Although Péter Balázs Kovács graduated from the Gobelin Department of the Applied Arts School in 1983, he considers himself primarily a painter and graphic artist. His style was also shaped by the change in artistic views that took place in Hungary in the first third of the 1980s. His first silk-screen prints, dating from his student days, show the influence of concept and minimal art. But since 1984, he has turned out individual pencil drawings, with subtly drawn, guided gestures, covering a self-portrait, that have a squared screen as their background (*Indifference*, 1984, *Sensibility*, 1984).

His painting in yellow, orange and red, are also marked by gestures shaped with an almost graphical precision with black and dark-blue shades, but they use vibrant, dotted spots of paint rather than squared screens for their background. As with his drawings, these paintings disguise a self-portrait in the net of painted lines, cut it up into pulsating, meandering gestures (*Private Matters*, 1985, *Great Portrait*, 1986). His manner of expression is also determined by the analysing avantgarde and the luxuriance of form and colour of new-painting; but it is a manner in which reason always predominates over unleashad emotions—this is designed, not spontaneous, painting. This minimal outlook can also be felt in his choice of themes: he tackles one or two, which he circumambulates with infinite thoroughness. The composition of his pictures dating from 1986 and 1987 is looser, with the gestures becoming looser, a growing decorativeness, and the appearance of greens, golds and pinks (*Portrait in Gold*, 1987).

Colour and ease also mark his large textile paintings: *Big Fish* (1986), *Red Fish* (1987) and *Private Banner* (1987). In these Kovács seems to have returned to the textile (though in the past years too, he has designed a few gobelins alongside his paintings and drawings), if not to weaving, to painting it. The decorative character of textile painting has made for works that are bolder and more scintillating, with an enhancement of motifs and forms. Since the middle of 1987 his subjects have also become more varied, his colours more extensive, thus marking the beginning of a more resolved and colourful period in his painting.

LAJOS LÓSKA

THE CATHEDRAL TREASURY OF ESZTERGOM

Newly arranged and considerably enlarged, the Treasury of the Cathedral of Esztergom, Hungary's richest of its kind, opened in December 1987. It was a little late to mark a centenary: Prince Primate János Simor had opened the Cathedral Treasury to the public 101 years ago, in 1886.

Esztergom is Hungary's oldest diocese founded by St Stephen. It is the seat of the Primate of the country and between the eleventh and thirteenth century it was a royal residence. The sacristy containing the cathedral's liturgical vessels must have been a genuine treasury in the Middle Ages. Although it has suffered many losses in the course of history, some very important objects have survived to this day.

Medieval treasuries have been in a permanent state of ebb and flow and the Esztergom treasury was no exception. Liturgical vessels and garments are also property, they may be stolen, pawned or given as gifts. Their value lay in their material and use, their nature as art objects, so important to us today, was only briefly and temporarily, of the essence. As far as one can gather from the frequently drawn-up registers after the first inventory of Esztergom in 1528 and the donations and legacies given to the Treasury, the transformation and melting down of old objects was a constant practice, their material being used to make new objects. In time of war the kings utilised church treasures for minting coins to cover military expenses.

What happened to the treasury of György Szelepcsényi, Prince Primate at the time of the liberation from the Turks in the seventeenth century, was typical. In 1683 a considerable portion of the treasures of Esztergom held in his house in Vienna were used to defray the costs of the defence of Vienna. Even so he bequeathed many works of art to the Cathedral, among them rings with precious stones. Three years after his death the chapter pawned them to pay for the making of a large silver cross and six candlesticks from various old silver objects (including twelve smaller candlesticks). The cross is in the Treasury but the six candlesticks were minted in 1793 and added to the War Chest. The precious stones and pearls of György Szelepcsényi's four pectoral crosses were added in 1790 to the Cross of the Coronation Oath, Chasuble and Mitre upon the order of Prince Primate József Batthyány whereas the crosses themselves—with many other objects—were melted down to form a new silver canopy. This, in turn, together with many silver objects from the Batthyány estate, were surrendered by the chapter in 1810 to the Mint at Pozsony for the purpose of coining. The last occasion when Esztergom relics went into military hands was in 1848—then an era of prosperity followed.

The Prince Primate's collection

János Simor became Prince Primate in 1867 and was inspired by the example of prelates who had been great patrons of art. His intent was to collect the dispersed remnants of his predecessors' art objects. First he purchased over five-hundred pictures, then he bought sculptures, reliquaries, medieval goldsmith work and textiles from the Schnütgen collection in Cologne and so laid the foundation of the Christian Museum of Esztergom. Bishop Arnold Ipolyi, one of the leading art historians of the 19th century. was a contemporary of Simor's. He was a scholarly art collector of critical acumen and he bequeathed his collection to the Christian Museum of Esztergom. Beside collecting European works of art, both prelates attempted to save old Hungarian church relics. They purchased and exchanged altar pieces, valuable textiles and medieval altar paraphernalia from and with provincial churches. Some of these were placed in the treasury by

Prince Primate Simor to increase the contents reduced over the centuries; his successors did the same with the liturgical accessories of the Ipolyi-collection in 1920. One of the most beautiful cloisonné Gothic chalices was acquired by Simor from the church of Szakolca; the Gothic ciborium with its chased ornament, fifteenth-century chalices and chasubles, a copeclasp made in Transylvania, and the treasury's finest thirteenth-century corpuses from Limoges and reliquaries come from the Ipolyi-collection. Simor had many old objects restored, he had the silk backing of the perishable chasubles renewed and the shank of the Apostolic Cross made; he ordered much goldsmith's work in Vienna on designs of József Lippert, who also built the Basilica. Of those in a historicising style, a number of chalices, shrines, monstrances, altar crosses, croziers and mitres are still in the Cathedral Treasury.

After Simor's death the care of the Treasury became the task of Canon Antal Lepold who, in cooperation with Tibor Gerevich, director of the Christian Museum, added to the collection for many years up to his death after the Second World War. He had studied the history of the Treasury and compiled its catalogue. Since 1954 the status of the Christian Museum and the Cathedral Treasury has changed slightly since the state now has a role, mainly financial, in matters related to research or the display, as exhibitions, of the objects. This also applies to the rearrangement.

In the introductory words of Archbishop László Paskay, the Treasury's second century has begun with its presentation in a new, more spacious and worthier place. The designers were Pál Cséfalvay, director of the Christian Museum and Katalin Dávid[1], Inspector of Church Relics. Their work has been in the spirit of Prince Primate Simor: almost all the vestments and vessels of the Christian Museum were taken up to the Cathedral. In quantity the exhibition is fascinating though its character has changed a little. It is no longer purely a Cathedral Treasury but has become a museum. At the same time, the principles of arrangement have followed the Cathedral Treasury's order of placing the objects, primarily according to their function. In this way many deservedly famous, historically and artistically important objects are overwhelmed by the number of exhibits and are not noticed by the general public. This is compounded by the fact that only a few objects have descriptive inscriptions, most have only numbers that have to be looked up in a list. Luckily one can still buy Pál Cséfalvay's handy booklet published in 1984 in four languages on the Treasury of the Cathedral of Esztergom: the numbers in it correspond to the numbers of the exhibits. But this booklet presents only seventy outstanding specimens from the old Treasury whereas 366 pieces are exhibited here.

[1] *NHQ* 78

Treasury and vestry

The treasury consists of two halls, the smaller containing the textiles hung in rows in huge glass cases on two levels. This suggests the organizers' idea that the Treasury should also serve as a vestry. The pieces in the first row which are visible in their entirety are of course the finest chasubles and copes: the oldest specimens, not in use now, are in separate cases. The fourteenth-century Anjou tapestry, has also been put here. The tapestry has been compiled from several parts: in its centre is the silk-embroidered figure of Christ stepping out of his grave. The figure has been cut out from a black lenten shroud and combined with the intact parts of a red velvet altar decoration with gold and silver embroidery. The embroidery of metallized thread consists of plant patterns and stars; in its upper stripe the Angevin royal arms with the cross and lily are repeated four times. The tapestry is a late acquisition, once in the Paulician church of Göncruszka; later it fell into the private

hands and Canon Lepold bought it for the treasury through an art dealer.

Entering the larger hall, the spectator is immediately before one of the most valuable treasures, the Byzantine Staurothèque in the first case. The reliquary made of silver plate fixed onto a panel is decorated with figurative scenes in golden cloisonné enamel. In the centre is a cross of ebony which once contained a piece from the True Cross. Around it the rectangular field is divided in three; on the top are enamel pictures of lamenting angels, on the two sides of the cross Constantine the Great and his mother Helena who, according to tradition, found Christ's cross. In the bottom stripe two scenes from Christ's agony, his capture, and the taking down from the cross. By not representing the most important event, the crucifixion itself, the intention was to focus attention on the relic in the cross. The finely wrought cloisonné enamel plate is surrounded with a broad silver frame with arabesques containing reliefs of the major saints of the Eastern church. The Staurothèque was first mentioned in the treasury's inventory in 1609, in the estate of Archbishop János Kutassy. Because of the unusually detailed description, it can be identified beyond any doubt and the date of its making is also given: "*Quae tabula A.D. 1190 est Facta*". A stylistic analysis shows that the object belongs to that period; thus those who drew up the inventory must have been familiar with data showing that the reliquary had come to Hungary in the late twelfth century.

The coronation oath cross, an outstanding work of Hungarian Romanesque goldsmithry of the thirteenth century, is somewhat hidden in the case among the late-Gothic objects that surround it. The front of the 40 cm high golden cross is covered with luxuriant vegetal filigree ornaments rising high above the base; on the rear, the filigree consists of flat, regular spirals. The rich precious-stone and pearl-decorations of the front have had more stones added in later ages. In 1634 Prince Primate Péter Pázmány had a new enamel-decorated base made for the cross, two four lobed gold plates with a reliquary and representations of the Virgin were also added; the three plates of the original filigree-ornamented base which had probably been damaged were repaired and applied to the new base. After this repair or completion, the cross began to be used at coronations: since then the sources have called it the Coronation Oath Cross. The crucifix was produced in the goldsmith's workshop of the court of Béla IV (1235–70); fortunately many other works from this workshop have been preserved in treasuries abroad along with four copeclasps in the Hungarian National Museum. The pair of the cross of Esztergom is in the treasury of St Vitus in Prague; a large gold cross combined from two crowns of the daughters of Béla IV is in the treasury of the cathedral of Cracow and an intact crown in its original form on the St Sigismund reliquary in Plock.

Royal bequests

The Matthias-calvary, this most valuable and unique treasure stands in a separate case. Its upper part is the most splendid creation of the West-European goldsmith's art and of late medieval courtly pomp; one of the few existing relics of gold *ronde-bosse* enamel (gold-based sculpture enamel). The gold cross of the calvary is covered with enamelled vine-tendrils, precious stones and pearls; enamel also covers the statuettes of the Saviour, the Virgin and John the Evangelist. Beneath the hill of Calvary is a Gothic hall, in whose centre Christ is bound to a pillar and in whose corners are statuettes of the prophets. After perusing thousands of items in medieval French inventories, the art historian Éva Kovács found a close description of this unique piece of goldsmith's work in the bequest of Philip the Bold of Burgundy, whose wife, Margaret of Flanders, had it made for him in Paris for the New

Year of 1403. According to the description, its pedestal was shaped from architectural forms. On the present Renaissance pedestal of heavy gold those squatting sphynxes hold the (1469–1490) Bohemian Hungarian royal arms of Matthias Corvinus. In the absence of data, we do not know how and when this French calvary got to Hungary but the splendid pedestal in itself shows that it was one of the highly valued pieces in Matthias' Treasury. After his death his natural son János Corvin pawned it and then gave full title to it, to Tamás Bakócz Archbishop of Esztergom; it thus found its way into the Cathedral treasury.

Three goblets of bison horn with gilded silver mounting had also come into the possession of the Cathedral from a royal treasury. Two had been given to Sigismund, Holy Roman Emperor and King of Hungary, by the Grand Master of the Order of Teutonic Knights in 1408; he in turn gave them to the archbishop, György Pálóczy; the third was donated to the treasury by János Corvin. The arms of King Sigismund and Archbishop Pálóczy are on the largest of them, with dragons on its enamel-ornamented pedestal and angels on its shank. On its cover the leafy ornaments and the statuette of Saint George in the Gothic niche on its tip are from the age of Prince Primate Simor. The royal table decorations were used for sacramental oil in the Cathedral.

The precious works described above come from royal courts and most came into the possession of archbishops who donated or bequeathed them to the Catedral. But the greater part of the treasury was acquired by prelates who wanted to add to the wealth and splendour of their Cathedral and its liturgy. Although only an infinitesimal part of the items listed in their estates remains in the treasury today a long series of Esztergom Archbishops are represented from Dénes Széchy (died 1465) to László Lékay, who died in 1986. From most only one or two objects have remained but of the bequest of Cardinal Péter Pázmány (died 1637). a special showcase of textiles could be made up. His pectoral cross with precious stones, episcopal ring and newly restored ebony house-altar, made in Augsburg, with silver relief decorations, are also on show in the Treasury. Of all the Hungarian kings only St Stephen was crowned in Esztergom. Later coronations took place at Székesfehérvár, Pozsony and Buda. The ceremony itself was always performed by the Archbishop of Esztergom, which is why the accessories and vestments are there. Like the regalia themselves they stem from different ages. Beside the Coronation Oath Cross, the Treasury also contains the 15th Century Apostolic Cross, carried at the head of the procession, a work made in Italy of gilded silver, with reliefs and niello ornaments. The mitre with pearl embroiders and precious stones is of the age of the archbishop György Pálóczy (died 1439), the flower-patterned chasuble embroidered with pearls was made around 1670, the gold-embroidered pluviale (coronation cloak) in 1720.

The Treasury had also secular patrons: some very important objects are owed to them. István Baráti, steward of the Prince Primate's estate, donated a large rock crystal cross with gilded silver mounting and base, made in Italy towards the end of the 14th century: in 1607 the donor added a silver corpus, garnets and his own arms. The gilded cross of László Zeleméry, administrator of the Archdiocese, made in 1586 and decorated with pearls and precious stones is also there.

The finest Hungarian late-Gothic chalice was made to the order of a Transylvanian nobleman, Benedek Suki, around 1440 for the cathedral of Gyulafehérvár. One of the bishops translated from there had probably brought it with him before the inventory of the Esztergom treasury was made in 1609. It contains the ornaments typical of contemporary goldsmiths, enamel flowers, delicately raised scenes with an enamel background,

tiny cast figures in the richly articulated Gothic niches of the node and shank, saints and angels.

The arms of Palatine István Báthory and his wife with the insignia of the Order of the Dragon are embroidered on a chasuble made around 1520: its ground is pomegranate-ornamented Florentine gold-brocade, the raised-embroidery of its cross is Hungarian. The Madonna crowned by angels, St Margaret, St Dorothea, St Catherine and St Barbara stand in niches embroidered with pearls and golden threads—they were the most popular female saints of the Middle Ages. It had originally belonged to the Premonstratensian provostship of Ipolyság but was recorded in the Esztergom inventory of 1609.

In memory of Prince Primate Simor, the exhibition presents an object of the Christian Museum purchased by him in Cologne: a shrine in the form of a female herm, probably from the 14th century.

The new exhibiton is above the old treasury hall, in the interior close that leads from the basilica to the never-erected archbishop's palace. Its furnishings were designed by György Fekete and executed by the Central Museum Board. The upward extension of the iron structure of the cases, the superstructure of iron vaults imitating the roof structure of a church has not been a very fortunate solution because it disrupts the harmony of the calm barrel-vault of the classicist interior space.

ZSUZSA LOVAG

STAINED GLASS AND MOSAICS AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

The design of stained glass and mosaics flourished in the Middle Ages, losing its importance with the emergence of the Renaissance. The rebirth in the 19th century entailed many problems of genre. The rediscovery and mastery of techniques came with the practical problems of restoring the works of the past.

In Hungary the renewal of the stained glass began with the development of the romantic cult of the Middle Ages. The first works were historicist attempts to evoke lost values; their themes and forms dominated the art for a long time. The founding of the National Institute of Stained Glass in 1878 provided a new impetus. The major work was the stained windows of the Matthias church in the Castle of Buda after the designs of Bertalan Székely and Károly Lotz: their decorative historicism can be regarded as the starting point of new trends.

From the turn of the century until the outbreak of the Great War, windows and mosaics became par excellence the forms for Art Nouveau decorativism and monumentality.

Ornaments based on the rhythmic play of thick contours and the patches of colour enclosed within them are also typical of glass windows: the acceptance and use of the new decorative principles gave this art a major role.

The best masters not only emphasized formal features in the manner of Art Noveau, they also took over the light-symbolism of stained glass. Light which shaped the whole space expressed the spirit through its very immateriality. It served the ends of symbolism in its attempt to find reality behind objects. The golden brilliance of mosaics evoked both medieval art and transmitted symbolic content in the way that Art

Nouveau painting and graphics had made use of gold and brilliant mosaic-like broken surfaces.

The Hungarian designers of windows and mosaics used several approaches. József Rippl-Rónai, a member of the painters' group Nabis, was one of the first representatives of *cloisonnisme*, which surrounded objects with emphatic contours thus reducing them to flat colour surfaces; this stylisation recalled the lead contours of glass windows. His first work, the glass ceiling in the dining-room of the Andrássy Palace (1898) is now known only from photographs. The window designed for the former Japan Coffee-House could have been a design for a carpet or a wallpaper. The glass window of the Budapest Ernst Museum (1912) is an outstanding work of his where he adapted the pointillist technique of the 1910s and its decorative concision to the special idiom of stained glass.

The artists of the Gödöllő school, Aladár Körösfői-Kriesch, Sándor Nagy and Mariska Undi, followed the historicist tradition and also exploited symbolical light-mysticism. Sándor Nagy wrote in 1913: "Above all media, I am most fond of glass, since the colours are well-nigh supra-material by virtue of their transparent qualities."

The windows of the National Salon were made to the designs of Sándor Nagy and Körösfői-Kriesch. Contemporary critics celebrated them as the *ver sacrum* of Hungarian art. In this work, the designers attempted to unite Art Nouveau and folk art motifs. Sándor Nagy designed glass windows for the Veszprém theatre; they were given the title of the Magic of Folk Art (they were made by Károly Majoros). He made another glass window, The Banquet of Attila, for the Hungarian Exhibition Hall at Venice. He based his design on folk artefects, the motifs of wood-carvings and on historical works. Körösfői-Kriesch designed mosaics representing the major turning points of his own life. His compositions are strictly two-dimensional, the figures are highly stylized, the overall effect is monumental.

Despite its small dimensions, the compositon Good Shepherd by Körösfői-Kriesch in 1918 (Budapest, Central Roman Catholic Seminary) is also monumental through its calm and homogeneous colour scheme. Sándor Nagy's cabinet glass windows and monumental compositions stand out in their graphic diversity and the conscious application of colour symbols. The traditional theme of the canonized kings of Hungary was given a new and decorative formulation in his windows for the Town Hall of Szabadka (1912).

One of the major works of the painter Károly Kernstok was a large window design, completed by 1911, for the lobby of the Schiffer-house in Budapest. In the several parts of the window stand figures, dressed and nude under blooming trees suggesting the harmony between man and nature. Kernstok evoked an idealized world but his is a distinguished Art Nouveau treatment of the Arcadia theme. While the flowering trees reflected the decorative spirit of Art Nouveau, Kernstok came close to constructivism with the figures. He did not break the decorative unity and composed the branches of the trees and the figures' movements into a rhythmic unity. He too treated a Hungarian historical theme in The Seven Chiefs made for the Town Hall of Debrecen.

Miksa Róth (1865–1944) and his studio started to operate in 1885. Their starting point was primarily neo-Gothic. He contributed to the Parliament Building, strongly influenced by Imre Steindl's neo-Gothic style. During a tour of Western Europe he copied details from the stained windows of the church of Montmorency. Miksa Róth founded his workshop in a very favourable era. Capitalist growth and industrialization began after the compromise of 1867 and was well established by the 1880s. With the enactment of the law on industrial expansion

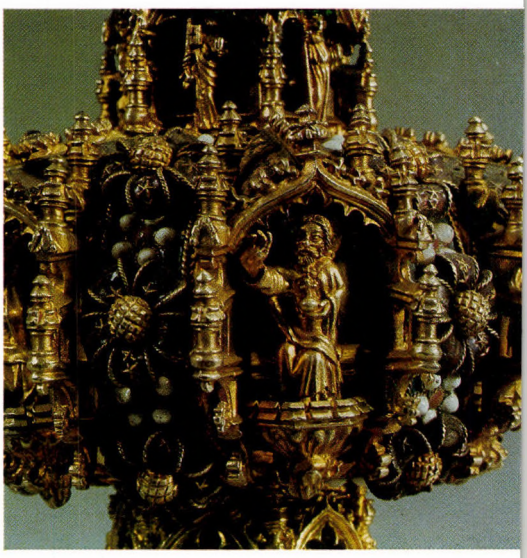
NJOU TAPESTRY. SECOND HALF OF THE 14TH CENTURY.
UNGARIAN EMBROIDERY.

CORONATION CROSS. MIDDLE OF THE 13TH CENTURY. HUNGARIAN.

STAUROTEQUE. END OF THE 12TH CENTURY. BYZANTIUM

Cup of Benedek Suki. About 1400, hungarian wo

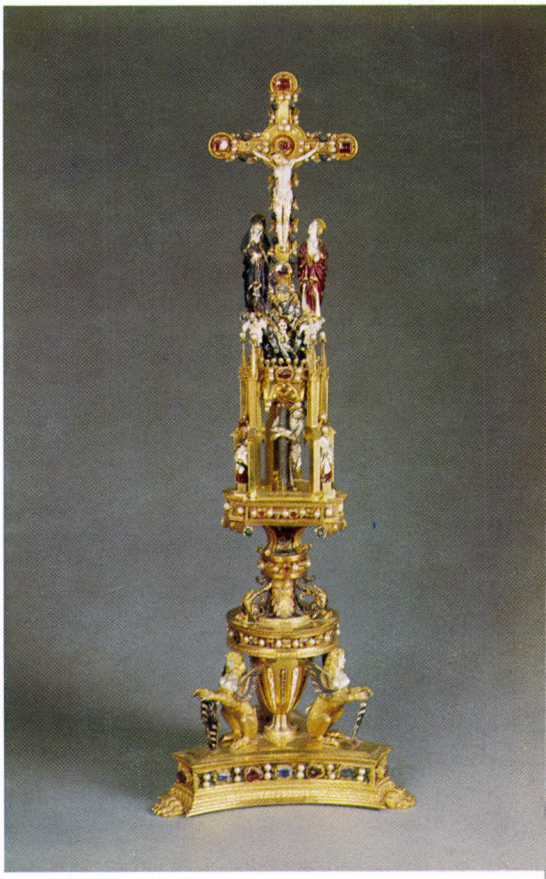
Detail of the Suki cup: The Magi



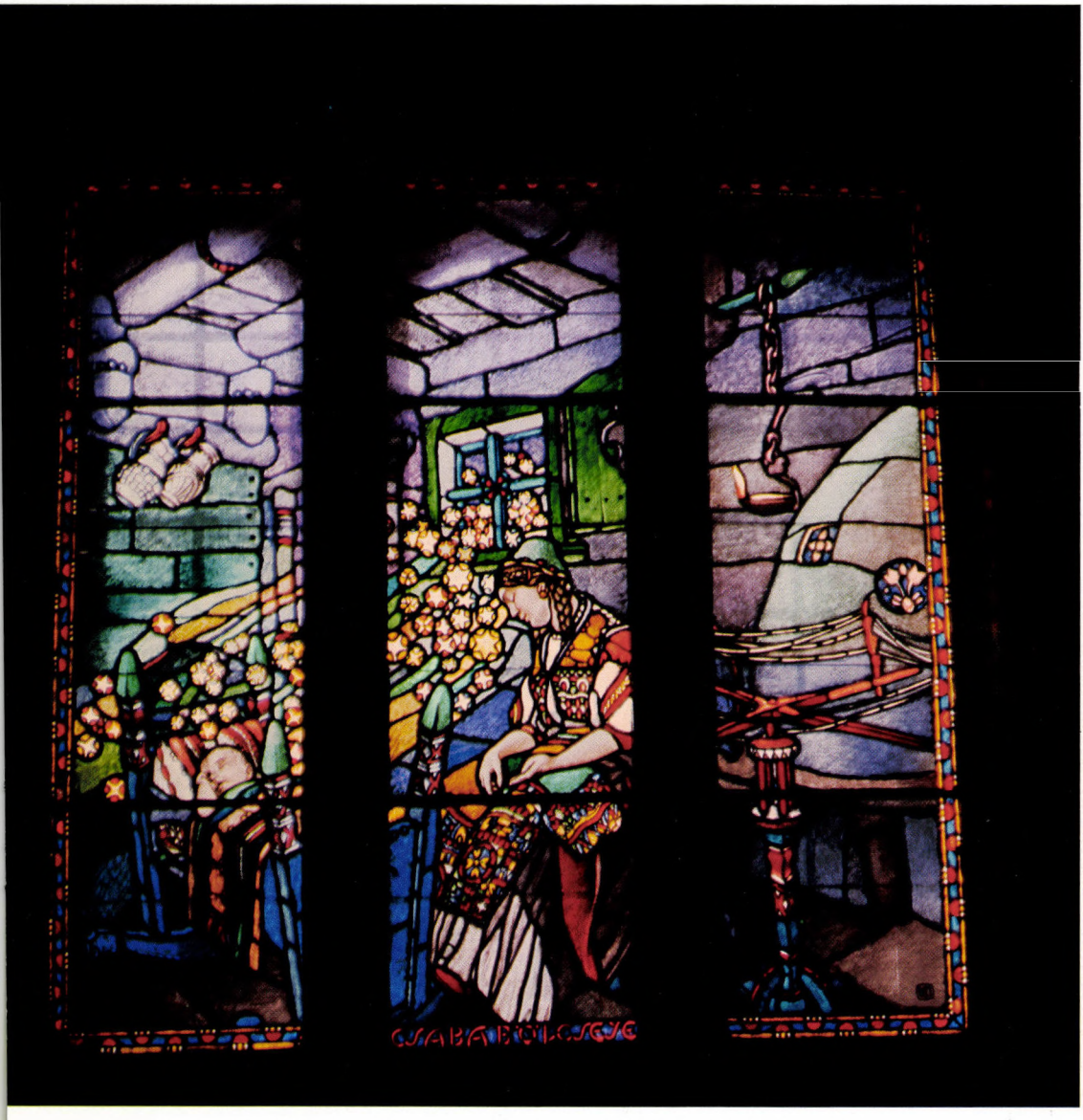
Detail of the Suki cup: Nodus

Chasuble with the coat-of-arms of István Báthory. Golden brocade of Florence, Hungarian embroidery, about 1520.

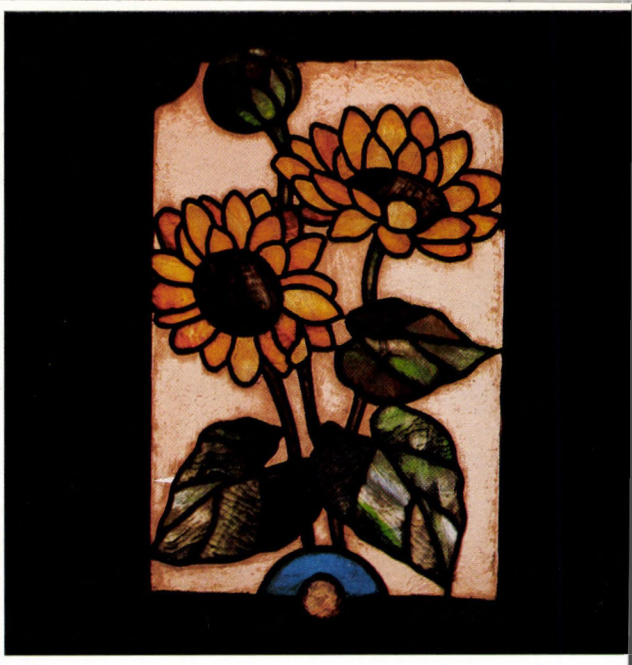
Matthias Calvary. Upper part from Paris, 1402, base from Milan or Buda, 1469–1490.



Sigismund's horn cup. Rhine region, about 1408



Ede Toroczkay Wigand: The cradle of Csaba. Window of the Glass Room of the Marosvásárhely Cultural Palace. 1913. Detail.



Miksa Róth: Sunflowers, cca 1900. Glass window, 61×43 cm.
Budapest, private collection.

Miksa Róth: Rising Sun, 1900. Mixed technique, 170×75 cm.
Budapest, private collection

Miksa Róth: Mosaic with pomegranate, cca 1900. Mixed technique, 69×110 cm.
Budapest, private collection

Sándor Nagy–Miksa Róth: Saint Stephen and Saint Ladislas, Kings of Hungary, 1912. In the Szabadka Town Hall.

Budapest, Museum of Applied Arts

György Makky

in 1881, the banks lent considerable amounts to entrepreneurs. In Budapest and in the provinces many public and private buildings were constructed, richly decorated within and without: frescoes, sculptures, glass windows and mosaics. The boom in building reached its peak around the turn of the century. It led to the establishment of many studies but Miksa Róth's distinguished itself through the high quality of its products. His was the first to use Louis G. Tiffany's opalizing, rich glasses in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Róth's abrupt change of style, his break with historicism was primarily due to his familiarity with Tiffany glass. He met Karl Engelbrecht, a stained-glass artist from Hamburg, in 1897; he was already using Tiffany's "American glass" ("favrile glass"), and provided the Róth workshop with it. The glass window Swan presented at the exhibiton of the Hungarian Association of Applied Art in 1898 used this new type of glass.

Tóth also introduced glass mosaic in Hungary. In 1899 he was awarded a gold medal for his use of glass mosaic and opalescent glass. His mosaic compositions combined techniques and won important prizes in the Paris World Exhibition in 1900 and in other international exhibitions.

His windows of opalizing glass are extremely varied, drawing inspiration from the international range of Art Nouveau symbols, learned from German pattern books, in his glass windows using landscapes, figurative or floreal motifs. One work is after the poster Alfons Mucha designed for the 20th exhibition of the Salon des Cents in 1896. Some glass window designs also show the influence of Eugène Grasset's graceful female figures.

Párka (Fate) and *Felkelő nap* (Sunrise), both 1899, and *Pax*, 1900, are symmetrically structured with a combination of glass mosaic and Tiffany glass. This liking for geometry and the insertion of figures from antique mythology are both features of Austrian Art Nouveau.

He made frequent use of folk art motifs. His majolica frieze with tulips is the best-known example in this style; here he used Zsolnay's eosin. In 1901, at the Christmas exhibition of the Association of Applied Art he provided his *Liliomos tájkép* (Landscape with Lily) with a frame made up of large folk art motfs. The glass mosaic fire-place presented at the same exhibition demonstrated an effortless utilisation of Art Nouveau forms. As against compositions based on the free play of lines these works are geometrically coordinated. His mosaic *Gránátalmás* (Pomegranate) 1900, has fruit forms that stand out in their plasticity.

Beside his realistic fruit friezes, landscapes, decorative patterns luxuriating in colours and forms, his works on religious themes demonstrate a compositional method built on symmetrical construction and frontal positioning that recalls their Byzantine prototypes: *Krisztus, Angyali üdvözlet* (Annunciation), 1904; *Madonna*, before 1906; *Patrona Hungariae*, 1907. His transcriptions of mosaics contradict the technique: after the painting of Bertalan Székely in the Deák Mausoleum, and after the paintings of Lotz, Benczúr, Deák Ébner and György Vastagh in the St Stephen Basilica.

Along with the studios of Károly Majoros (Mayböhm), Majoros and Bátky, István Forgó and Co., Gida Waltherr, Imre Zsellér, to mention only a few, Miksa Róth received the greatest number of commisions. The windows of the Town Hall of Kecskemét, the former Sonnenberg mansions of Budapest, the Hotel Pannonia and the Babocsy villa all came from his workshop. One of his most outstanding works are the glass mosaics and windows of the Music Academy and the the ornaments for the frontage of Ödön Lechner's Postal Savings Bank. The front of the former Lederer Palace in Bajza utca was designed by Károly Kernstok. The mosaics for the Kossuth Mausoleum in the Kerepesi cemetery are to Dezső Kölber's design. The mosaics in the hall of the Széchenyi thermal bath that imitate the

golden-blue colours of Ravenna mosaics are less well known—the designer was Zsigmond Vajda. Róth designed the windows for many banks, among them the Hungarian General Credit Bank, the Austro-Hungarian Bank (now the Hungarian National Bank). He made also glass balls in the form of drops, flowers and stars used to decorate residential blocks and public buildings.

The Róth studio also executed orders from abroad. The circular 13-m diametric glass painting on the ceiling of the Teatro Nacional of Mexico was one such and was designed by Géza Maróti. The workshop also received orders from Oslo and Boston. In the 1920s and 30s many windows were produced for churches in Budapest and the provinces and for the building of the National Archives.

A long and most fruitful cooperation established itself between Miksa Róth and the artists of the Gödöllő school. The windows of the Palace of Culture at Marosvásárhely 1913, are outstanding among the works of Sándor Nagy and Ede Thoroczkai Wigand. The front-mosaic was designed by Aladár Körösfői-Kriesch. They combined the Hungarian theme and folk art motifs with the symbols and forms of Art Nouveau. Ede Thoroczkai Wigand started from the theory of the identity of Huns and Széklers and used the forms of folk timber architecture in drawing the legendary scenes of the past: Réka's manor house, Csaba's cradle.

In his pictorial representations of Székler ballads, Sándor Nagy suggested elements related to the ancient beliefs of the people, to the medieval Christian past and to pagan antiquity. In the ballad *Júlia szép leány* (Beautiful Girl Julia) the white lamb holds the sun and the moon between its horns. The horn is related to the deer in the legend describing the origins of the people or to the ancient cult in popular belief about the shaman, the abductor of young girls. The heroines of his ballads are depicted through the favourite pictorial types of Art Nouveau and symbolism. *Szép Salamon Sára* (Beautiful Sára Salamon) is the new formulation of the satanism of the late 19th century, the struggle of the woman and the incubus. The triptych treating the story of Kata Kádár represents the mystic unity of death and love. The slim female figure floating in the water is also a special re-formulation of the Ophelia motif.

In Transylvania the Palace of Culture of Marosvásárhely reflects of the historical view and national self-image of the early years of our century. The window *Bethlen Gábor kora* (Gábor Bethlen and His Age) was made to the pattern of Miksa Róth adjusted to the style of Körösfői-Kriesch.

The windows of the chapel of Lipótmező in Budapest were designed by Sándor Nagy (1914). This is a very harmonious work both in its colouring and composition. The religious content is expressed not only through the figures and flowers but also through the symbolic use of colours. These take on a special meaning in the window representing the Last Judgement. The calm colour harmony of the windows in the nave shows real mastery. Sándor Nagy's designs were compared by contemporary critics to the windows of the church of Steinhof, the Viennese mental hospital. But his art is nearer to the stained-glass revival initiated by the pre-Raphaelites, and his style recalls that of contemporary English glass designers, such as Anning Bell.

Miksa Róth used new methods for the windows of Marosvásárhely and Lipótmező. He drew the figures and ornaments on the "antique glass" with ferric oxide coating of the glass imitated the colour disparities of medieval glass windows. Beside using glasses with differing thickness (invented by Tiffany) this method achieved deep glowing colours which fill his works with an individual life.

The outstanding period for windows in Hungary were the years after 1910.

KATALIN GELLÉR

THE LATE NEOLITHIC OF THE TISZA REGION

Over several thousand years the territory of Hungary was more than once the borderline between two worlds. In the 4th–5th centuries it was the crossroads of migrating Germanic tribes and the Asiatic Huns. More than once it was an integral part of one or another large political economic unit (for instance, as a province of the Roman Empire). Nor was it rare for the territory to find itself divided between two powers. Sir Stuart Piggott wrote when attempting to describe the sixth millennium B. C.: "We must look at an area of common traditions curiously coincident in boundaries with that of the Ottoman Empire at the dawn of early modern times." He had in mind the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when the Kingdom of Hungary (the whole Carpathian Basin) was divided between two great powers and the boundary line ran through the middle of the Hungarian Plain and Transdanubia. This historical example is very apt since millennia earlier the situation had been similar.

At the dawn of the Neolithic, during the 6th millennium B. C., on the road to real civilization a new way of life emerged involving land cultivation and animal husbandry and, as a result, stable, village-like settlements. These two innovations which were of enormous significance came from the East and from the Near East. Initially, they were adopted in South-Eastern Europe: first in Greece and later in more northernly regions of the Balkans. With adaptations to local conditions or gradual acculturation of local groups in the course of a century or two, they spread northwards from the Balkans fairly rapidly. This spread was in two directions: to the Carpathian Basin, and through the Lower Danube to the plain between the Carpathians and the Dniepr up to the forest steppe. The first version finding its way to Hungary and Transylvania is referred to as the Körös culture while the Eastern group is called the Bug-Dniester culture.

However, while this system of Oriental origin of land cultivation and way of life in the Neolithic conquered or colonised virtually all the Balkans, an interesting thing happened in the Carpathian Basin: it suddenly stopped at a point in the Tisza valley (somewhere north of Szolnok) and in the middle of Transdanubia (along a line at the southern shore of Lake Balaton). However, this halt to the spreading process could not have had geographical reasons. It almost seems as if these changes reached tribes (through the mediation of the Körös culture) which were initially reluctant to adopt them wholesale. The prehistoric evidence for the arrival and influence of the Körös culture is primarily objects made of clay, mainly pottery and statuettes. North of the line dividing the two parts of the Carpathian Basin, running slantwise from South-West to North-East, the clay vessels and statuettes characteristic of the Körös culture cannot be found. Especially striking is the fact that the Körös culture failed to penetrate the Tokaj Hills on the fringe of plains which are particularly suited for settlement since it is the only place on the whole Continent of Europe where obsidian, the volcanic glass from which stone implements are made, is found. It is the northern limit of the Körös culture of the Early Neolithic which, coincidentally, almost precisely coincides with the northern border of the Ottoman Empire, or, as regards Transylvania, with its sphere of influence. Another coincidence is that the origin of the Körös culture lies within the same area as the core of this Ottoman Empire.

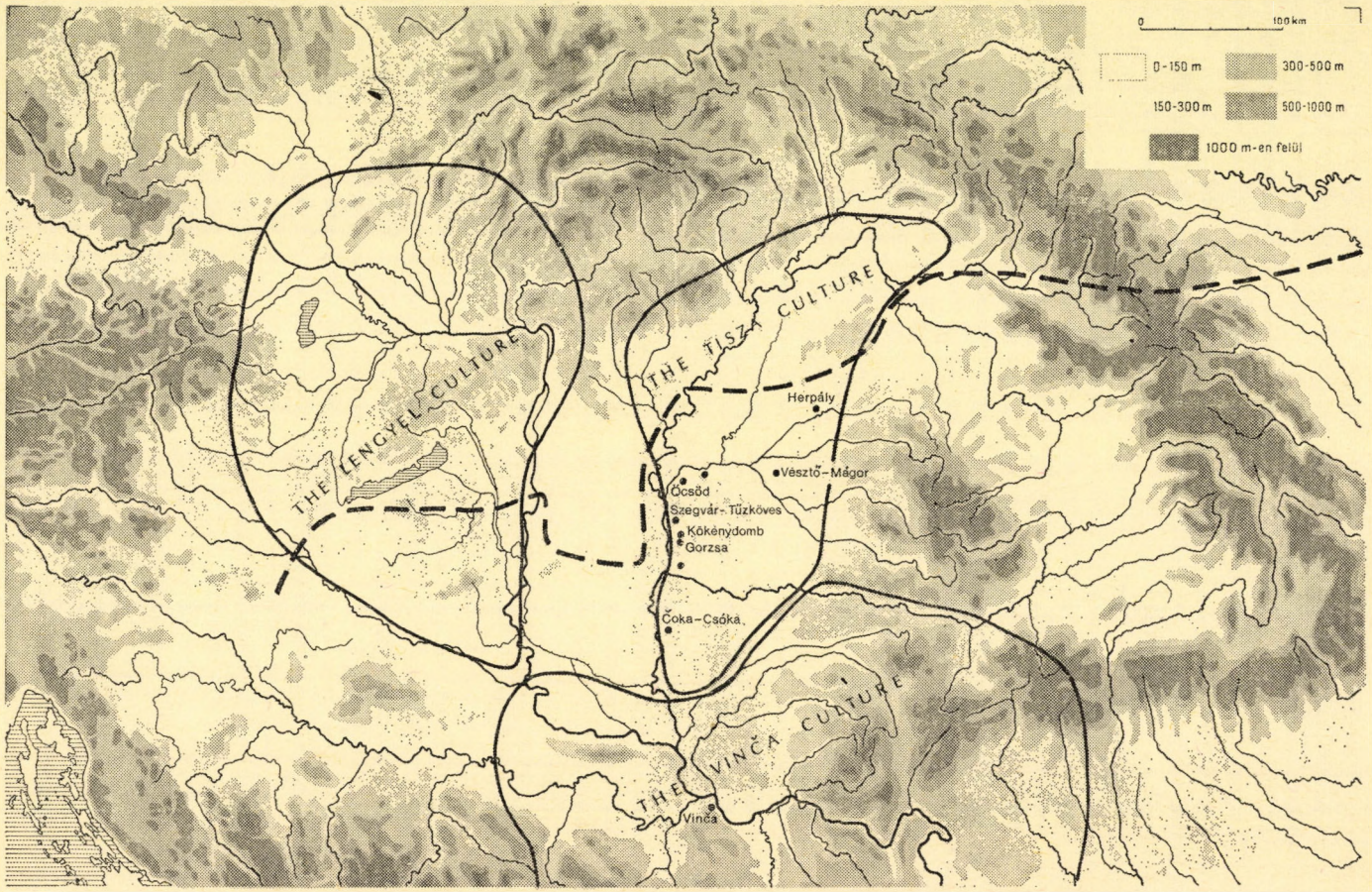
What might have happened in those zones of Europe to which the Körös culture did not spread at the beginning of the Neolithic? It is possible that the native tribes in the adjacent territories retreated from the

innovations though could not be uninfluenced by them. Since these innovations and inventions were well suited to the climatic potential following the Ice Age and other conditions, they were much more productive than the old, affording a more ample food supply and a greater security of life as well as providing a greater degree of comfort. Thus, in those territories where later the Imperial Ottoman conquests stopped in the sixteenth century A. D., another type of Neolithic intellectual and material culture was formed. This refers to the local Neolithic inhabitants (tribes) who were permanently settled there. Moreover, there is no doubt that this culture came into being by utilizing and adapting the innovations of the Körös culture. This happened in the case of pottery, which is a source that tells scholars most. This new pottery is fully connected to the regions west and north-west of Hungary, primarily through the Danube valley. Its decoration patterns gave the name to the culture that of Linear Pottery (or, as Gordon Childe called it, Early Danubian Ware). It played an enormous role in spreading the civilization of the Neolithic almost all over Europe, from the Baltic to Scandinavia, to the Atlantic shores as far as the British Isles.

Today international research universally accepts that this culture of Linear Pottery, which defined the further development of all of Central Europe and its adjacent territories for centuries, came into existence on the territory of present-day Hungary during the second half of the 5th millennium B. C., somewhere in the eastern and southern parts of Transdanubia. One of the sites of key importance is in Bicske, in the vicinity of Budapest, next to the Vienna–Budapest motorway. This earliest Linear Pottery of the Bicske type (and the innovations that went with it) spread within a very short time, almost like wildfire, to the Danube valley, and then the Elbe and the Rhine, but only in the large areas of loess soil north of the Alps and the Carpathians. It is probable that this rapid spread was the consequence of the fact that the innovations taken over from the more or less alien people of the Körös culture were now spreading among the Linear pottery tribes who were related to each other. Therefore it is understandable that the Early Neolithic finds in Hungary play a role of key importance in the spread of Neolithic ways in Central and North-western Europe. It is likely that this key role was recognised by Gordon Childe and thus, that it was this that prompted him to give such attention to the Neolithic in Hungary.

Naturally, this picture is oversimplified. For, under the innovative influences of the Körös culture, another Linear Pottery group was established in the northern parts of the Great Hungarian Plain, and that too as the specific local culture of the inhabitants of those regions. However, this Great Plain Linear Pottery significantly differs not only from the material culture of the Körös culture but from that of the genetically related people of Transdanubia and Central Europe as well. These differences had such deep roots that they continued for long centuries, until the end of the Bronze Age.

This triple distribution of the Körös culture in the south, and the two groups of Linear Pottery culture was the result of deeply rooted factors that survived for a very long time, practically till the end of the third millennium B. C. The direct successors of Central European Linear Pottery lived in Transdanubia and in the western parts of Slovakia. That is called the Lengyel culture by archaeologists and is famous for its type site in Transdanubia containing beautifully formed and painted clay vessels. The descendants of the Great Plain Linear Pottery people lived in the Tisza Valley and on the fringes of Transylvania as well as in the Northern Hills, while the successors of the Körös culture people lived in the southernmost regions of the country. The former are referred to as the people of the Tisza culture and the latter as the Vinca culture. Naturally, several mixtures, border shifts, new



Boundary between the Neolithic cultures of the Balkans and the Danubian areat of Central Europe

groupings and tribal territorial changes occurred, but the basic trends continued. There is, however, one important exception, as we shall see below.

The stream of innovations which brought the first advances of agriculture to the Carpathian Basin through the mediation of Körös culture had a specific feature in the primary regions. The inhabitants of villages with a relatively large population lived in the same place for a long time, for centuries or even for millennia. Thus their rubbish, the debris of their continually renewed buildings slowly accumulated huge mounds, or *tells*, some which are as high as 40–50 metres in Asia Minor or in the Middle East. Strangely enough, while the cultures of the Early Neolithic just spreading were already living on such *tells* in the Balkans or in Greece (although their size did not reach those in the Orient), the people of the Körös culture did not follow this pattern of settlement. The reasons are not known to us. It is possible that the man of the Körös culture was ethnically alien to the peoples of the Balkans, but it is also possible that, on the Hungarian Plain, there was no need for such a concentration of settlements in the Early Neolithic, since there was an opportunity to spread out in a geographically and economically open large area. Population density was low for the time being. Thus, we may say that in the 5th millennium, the settlement form of the Körös culture was linear (and not rising upwards in a *tell*-like manner), scattered and not intensive.

After all that, it is hardly necessary to explain why the settlement structure of both groups of the Linear Pottery, in Transdanubia and in the Great Plain was even more scattered and simpler than that of the Körös culture in the 5th millennium. Their houses were loosely arranged, almost scattered, and were constructed of huge beams rather than wattle-and-daub; thus they could none the less form intensive, tell-like settlements, leaving behind rich debris. In spite of that, both Linear Pottery groups must have possessed some extra energy, since by the middle of the 4th millennium they had conquered all the territory of the Körös culture in Transdanubia and almost all its old region in the Tisza Valley, while spreading from North to South. The Körös culture, or its direct successor, the Vinca culture, was pushed back to the Banat, in the South of the Great Hungarian Plain.

At this moment, however, large *tells* appeared all of a sudden at Vinca, near Belgrade, and in the area of the Vinca culture (famous for its figurines, sanctuaries, stone and bone jewellery). Since the Vinca culture could not have inherited this settlement form its predecessor, the Körös (or Starcevo) culture, it raises questions immediately as to how this settlement pattern was adopted first in the North Balkans and, shortly afterwards, in the Tisza plain at the time of the Tisza culture. The answer depends on whether we consider the *tell* way of life, and settlement form, a specific manifestation of an agricultural civilisation, almost its condition, and at the same time its consequence, or merely a general formal phenomenon which in certain places constituted an integral part of the early process of civilisation, but in other places merely a chance occurrence. Nevertheless, it is likely that, at a given level of development of the early village agricultural societies, under certain conditions and in certain geographical conditions (as on large rivers, or on highlands), *tells* were inevitably created in conjuction with the concentration processes of society. These *tells* did not necessarily lead to an urban way of life but an urban way of life could only come into being in relation to the *tell* settlement pattern (i.e. as the result of social concentration).

The northernmost and westernmost territory of *tells* in Eurasia is formed by the Hungarian part of the Tisza Great Plain, the Tisza culture itself, the late successor of the Great Plain Linear Pottery and its related cultures.

Perhaps this introductory sketch indicates what the Tisza culture means to Europe, and why such great importance is attached internationally to an exhibition at Szolnok at the end of September 1987: The Late Neolithic of the Tisza Region (arranged by the Directorate General of the Szolnok County Museums).

The first and most important observation is the sheer scale of settlement concentration that took place in the Great Plan in such a short period of time. The total number of settlements of the Tisza culture known today in the whole Great Plain (including the adjacent territories of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia) is 112, and that of related Late Neolithic groups no more than 60. Only 20 of the, total 112 are genuine *tells*, the rest are small scattered settlements, farmsteads of only one or two buildings each. Thus, the overwhelming majority of the population lived in these large settlements on these *tells* while the farms facilitated the cultivation of lands which were used to support the *tell* population. This concentration can be seen more clearly in comparison with the late phase of the previous period, that of Linear Pottery. In the Great Plain territory there were several hundred or rather several thousand small settlements of Linear Pottery groups still maintaining the linear structure inherited from the Körös culture (or from earlier foragers), or the timber longhouses generally characteristic of the Linear Pottery culture. On the Tisza *tells*, primarily, because of the danger of fire, houses could not be built of timber only so the walls were *pisé* or wattle-and-daub. Their internal structure also changed, to an even more urban type, with furniture, storage places, ovens, interior and exterior ornamentation, sophisticated household and farming equipment, especially utensils, benches and beds. On the tells streets and squares were formed among the houses; indeed there are traces of a hierarchy among the individual buildings.

These finds demonstrate the central situation of the Tisza culture, in particular of its large settlements in the Carpathian Basin. This culture brought to the North and to the West the Spondylus shell from the Mediterranian area. This was used as the basic material for jewellery. They traded obsidian from the Tokaj region which was used for sickle blades in the south. It was also at this time that trade in Transylvanian copper started. Wandering craftsmen and traders prepared and transported large quantities of shell and marble pearls and beads, other jewels and even small statuettes to those who had ordered them (shown by two hidden hoards discovered at Csóka and Kremenyák hill). They were in all likelihood bartered for agricultural produce, which is suggested by the fact that most of the excavations bring to the surface jars and granaries for storing surpluses.

An interesting phenomenon of the European Neolithic is that in the Balkans virtually thousands of different clay representations (statuettes and vessels) of men and animals were excavated in living areas and more rarely found in graves. Such creations, however, are rare in the territory which was mostly that of Linear Pottery and its successors (excepting some areas of the Lengyel Painted Pottery). It is actually the Tisza culture where we may safely say that statues and anthropomorphic vessels were produced, (fine even in comparison with the Balkans and Asia Minor). A significant portion of them represents a female figure sitting on a throne, probably a goddess. Others were large vessels probably used for storing sowing seeds. However, we rarely find male figurines amongst all these female representations. At the largest Tisza *tell* settlement, Tüzköves near Szegvár, an enthroned male statuette, unique in the European Neolithic, was found. This proud male figure carries a sickle, an attribute of an ancient harvest deity on the right shoulder. It is very likely that this statue represents the chief is of harvest god, the head of the pantheon, a figure similar to Chronos in Greek mythol-

ogy; nor can it be fully excluded that in this statue of Szegvár we have the ancient forerunner of this early Greek, or even pre-Greek, god. This assumption is supported by the fact that the furniture of the Tisza sanctuaries excavated so far, as well as the sacrificial remains observed in them, display a great number of links with both early Greek ritual customs and ritual practices with which we are familiar from 2nd millennium B.C. cuneiform texts of the Hittites or of the Hatti peoples of Asia Minor. On the basis of this, and some other data, it may even be conjectured that the Tisza culture was the heir to a group of Proto-Indo-Europeans from a larger PIE group represented by the Linear Pottery known as the Western Group (i.e. the forerunners of the Celtic, Italic, Germanic, Slavic and Baltic peoples).

The intention is that this exhibition should travel to several West European cities during 1988 (including Paris, London and Rome).

JÁNOS MAKKAY

ART AND REVOLUTION

An Exhibition of the Russian and Soviet Avantgarde Art in Budapest

"...among the arts represented in the exhibition painting without any doubt clearly has pride of place. In this field the Russians introduced a new force and new opportunities to Europe. And their painting shows them the direction of progress for attaining their new human ideal, the constructive way of life..." wrote Lajos Kassák in 1922 on the Russian exhibition in Berlin. This equally applies to the exhibition arranged in the winter of 1987–88 in the Műcsarnok of Budapest presenting Russian art between 1910 and 1932. With regard to painting this is the most important exhibition of the Russian avantgarde to appear yet, there being many more paintings than in the *Moscou–Paris 1979* at the Pompidou Centre. The significance of the Budapest exhibition is enhanced by the fact that it presents many hitherto unseen masterpieces, mostly from unknown collections of small Russian towns.

There have been surveys of this period before in Hungary. In 1983 there was a representative exhibition of Soviet art in the Museum of Fine Arts which presented the major works of the 1920s and early 1930s. In recent years the Corvina publishing house has brought out over a dozen monographs on the major artists of the Russian avantgarde including the first comprehensive monograph on Rodchenko by German Karginov and a volume of studies on Tatlin which offered a detailed analysis of his work. A comprehensive work on the Russian avantgarde by D. V. Sarabyanov, one of the leading experts on the period, is scheduled to appear soon in Hungarian. Nor should we forget some very interesting contemporary publications, such as a study by Ernő Kállai on Malevich published in 1927 in *Das Kunstblatt*. German art historians called Kállai the first Western interpreter of Malevich. László Moholy-Nagy was in contact with Rodchenko in 1923 and was greatly interested in Russian constructivism.

Even to attempt to present the more than 700 exhibits in the Műcsarnok here would be futile; there is not even room enough to outline the extremely rich trends and diverse groupings of the period in question. The

A clay figure found at Endrőd.
Körös Culture. 20 cm high.

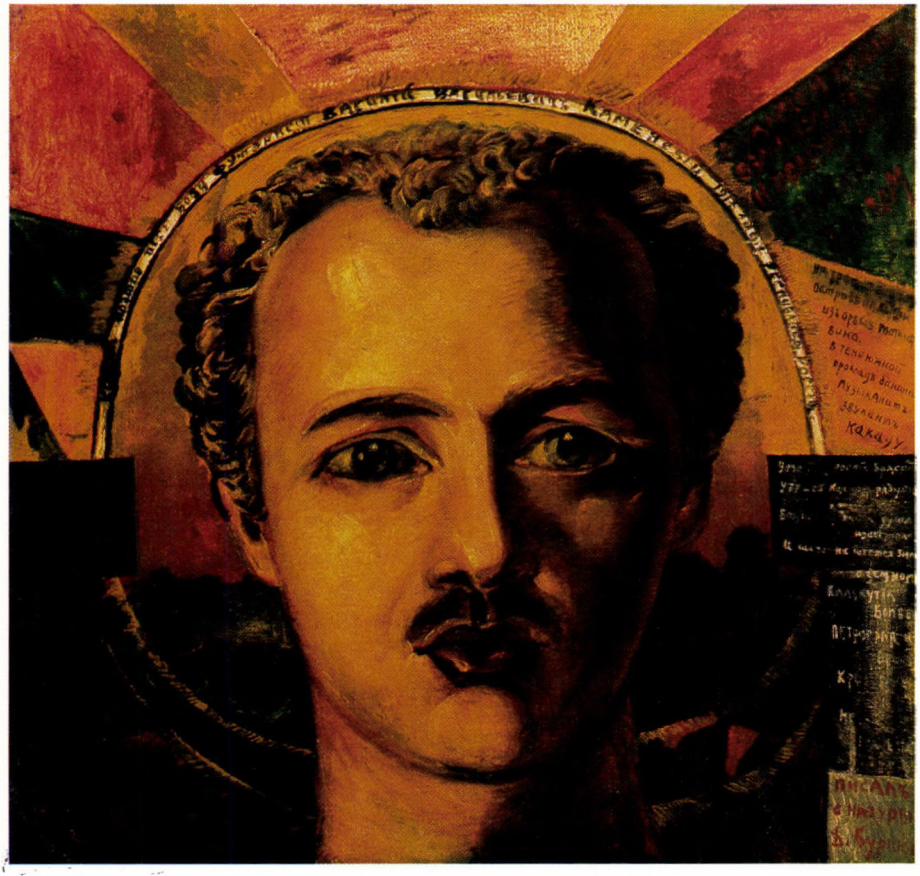
Tibor Kádas

Clay figure of a God.
Reconstruction.
Found at Vésztő–Mágor. Tisza
Culture, 80 cm high

Clay harvest God figure with a reapi
hook. Found at Szegvár–Tűzköves.
Tisza Culture. 28 cm high

Clay figure with a linear pattern.
Found at Szarvas on the Great Plain.
28 cm high

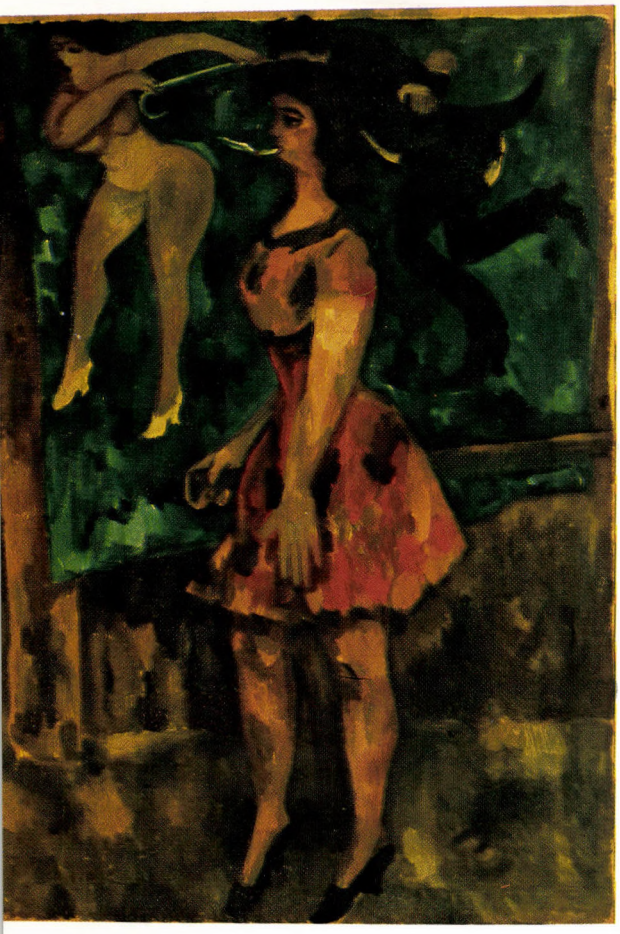
MARC CHAGALL: MUSE, PHENOMENON, 1917. OIL ON CANVAS, 157×140 CM.
Collection Z. K. Gordeyeva



D. D. Burliuk:
Portrait of the p
Vassily Kamensky,
1917. Oil on canv
104×104 cm.
Russian Museum, Leni

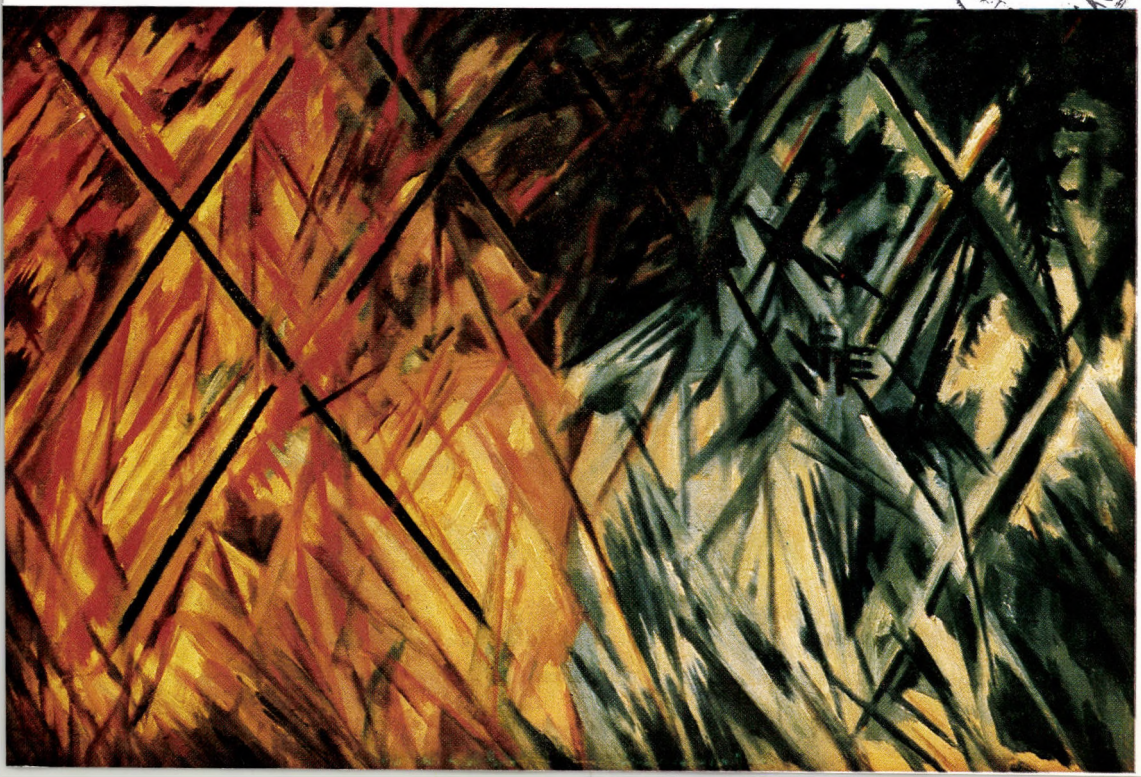
N. S. Goncharova:
Harvest, 1911. Oil on
canvas, 92×99 cm.
Museum of Fine Arts, Omsk

Zsolt Szabóky



M. F. Larionov: Circus dancer, 1911.
Oil on canvas, 105×73,6 cm.
Regional Museum of Fine Arts, Omsk

M. F. Larionov: Luchist lines, 1912–1913. Oil on canvas, 52,5×78,5 cm.
State Art Museum of Bashkiria, Ufa



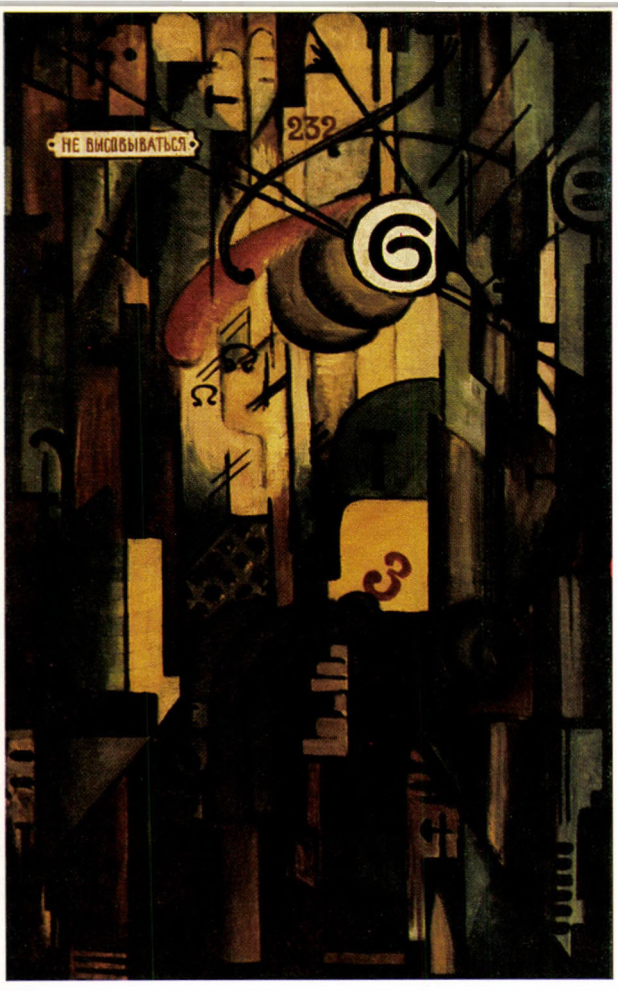
V. E. TATLIN: NUDE, 1913. OIL ON CANVAS, 143×108 CM.
Tretiakov Gallery, Moscow

Zsolt Szabóky

P. N. FILONOV: CARNIVAL—FROM WINTER TO SUMMER, 1913–1914.
OIL ON CANVAS, 98×71 CM.
Russian Museum, Leningrad

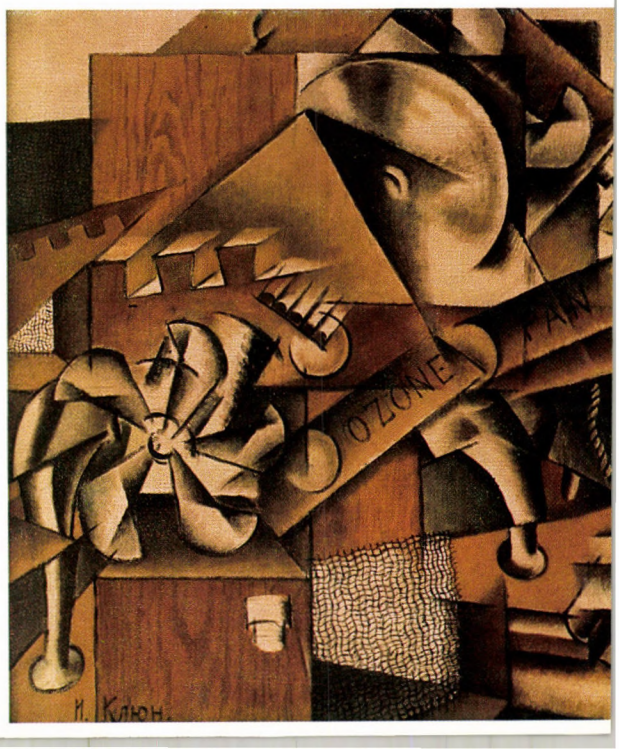
V. V. KANDINSKY: NON-OBJECTIVE,
OIL ON CANVAS, 50×66 CM.
Museum of Art, Krasnodar

O. V. ROZANOVA: URBAN LANDSCAPE,
1913–1914. OIL ON CANVAS,
71×71 CM.
Museum of Art, Kuibishev



M. I. Menkov: Tramway no. 6., 1914.
Oil on canvas, 82×51 cm.
Museum of Art, Kuibishev

Zsolt Szabóky



I. V. Kliun: Air freshener. Oil on canvas, 75×66 cm.
Russian Museum, Leningrad

stimulating introductory study in the catalogue by Anatoly Strigaliov in Hungarian and English is a helpful guide to orientation, and the best proposition is to contemplate freely the material which offers viewers much to admire. M. F. Larionov, one of the most original and manysided of Russian avantgarde painters is still not given his due merits. Beside *Winter* (1912) part of his famous series *Seasons*, we could see masterpieces such as the *Circus Dancer* (1911), not yet fully appreciated or two gems from the State Art Museum of Bashkiria in Ufa, the *City Street* and *Luchist Lines*. Mikhail Vasilievich Le-Dentu who died very young in 1917 had been a friend of Larionov and his colourful, picturesque works were often related to the latter's best works. Here he surprised viewers with his *Turning Motor Car* preserved in the Regional Gallery of Oriol.

Tatlin's female nude had a special place in the exhibition. The figure emanates force and harmony, and—as many of his exhibited drawings—its structure suggests his later constructivist masterpieces. Mayakovsky, who saw Tatlin as the leader of constructivism, wrote in 1922 that "The new term in art, constructivism, did not come from France but from Russia." In the 1930s Tatlin, like many other avantgarde artists, was attacked and censured; in 1963 a writer belonging to the group around Kassák, János Mácza who taught in Moscow, defended him in an article entitled "Tatlin and the Letatlin," which was intended for *Izvestiya* but never published. In its conclusion, he wrote the prophetic words: "For us Tatlin will neither be an idol nor an eccentric. He will be one of those who felt out the new paths of art."

Kandinsky used to call his native town "white-stone", "golden-fronted" "dear mother Moscow." The early chief works of lyrical abstraction are represented not only by his famous "Composition No. 6" in the Hermitage but also by masterpieces from the museums of Krasnodar, Riazan, and Tbilisi. In contrast to lyrical abstraction there are the symbol-creating, mystic and mythic works of the great theorist and representative of geometrical abstraction, Malevich: several of his works were preserved in small Soviet museums.

In this parade of Russian and Soviet art of the 1910s and 1920s there are of course works quite unrelated to the avantgarde through interesting representatives of their age. I. E. Grabar's belated and captivating impressionism is a surprise. True, he owes his fame not so much to his paintings but to his writings on art, to his talents as an organizer and particularly to his hunting down and restoring lost Russian icons. Here our attention is directed to him by an unknown anecdote: Grabar had spent his early childhood on the estate of his grandfather in the Carpathian Ukraine in Hungary. His 1937 autobiography says "I was born on March 13th, 1871, in Budapest, where at the time my father was an M. P... Soon after my graduation from the university in the 1890s identity cards had to be exchanged again... The drunken official who copied the earlier identity card mixed up the data and put down Petersburg as my place of birth. From then on it was always so recorded, despite my protests, so I am registered as a native of Petersburg in my most recent identity card."

Looking at the works of M. V. Dobruzhinsky and V. A. Favorsky, one of the masters of Russian woodcut, we should mention that both were students at the Munich school of the Hungarian Simon Hollósy. Favorsky wrote: "...I remember meeting Hollósy in my young days when I had just a foretaste of art. I remember him with deep gratitude. Of course he was not the only one who taught and trained me, but he was the first who opened for me the gates of art and taught me to look for artistic truth in the model; for this I'll be always grateful to him." The Hungarian Béla Uitz is also represented in the exhibition: he moved to the Soviet Union at the age of 39 and resettled in Hungary at the age of 83. Here he

is represented with a feeble work, the poster design *Dictatorship of the Proletariat.*

It would be too much only to enumerate the important works, so mention will only be made of the sensational Chagalls of the Gordeyeva collection, especially the large *Muse, Phenomenon.*

The students of the Russian avantgarde have long ignored P. N. Filonov, that sensitive and original representative of analytic painting; then, in 1984, Nicoletta Misler and John E. Bowlt discussed his fascinating oeuvre in an excellent volume and published the artist's theoretical writings. Maybe this was one of the reasons why Filonov has been represented with four works including *Shrovetide, From Winter to Summer,* and *Universal Flowering.*

Some of the works on exhibition consciously or unconsciously, bear some of the traits of old Russian art. We should not forget that until the beginning of the eighteenth century, icon painting was the only form of panel painting in Russia and it continued to play a major role also later. In every home there were several icons and their world of colour and form influenced, if almost imperceptibly, Russian visual culture. One of the major works in the exhibition, D. D. Burliuk's painting of the poet Vassily Kandinsky is an outstanding example. The halo around the head, the inscriptions, the light radiating in the background evoke the icons of the Saviour. Among the exhibited lithographs of N. S. Goncharova, some evoke folk-engravings of the nineteenth century *krasnusski,* simple icons with firm contours and dark colours. This is not accidental since Larionov and Goncharova admired folk and primitive art. The pure and etherealised *Women of Pskov* by A. A. Leporskaya is obviously related to the traditions of icon painting. The relation of the Russian avantgarde and icon painting is much deeper and has more to it than compositional features.

Students did not concern themselves with the important role of Russian icons in the formation of geometrical abstract compositions. The severe compositional proportions of Russian icon painting are well known. The placing of the heads and halos and their size are strictly determined. Size depends upon the ratio of the height and breadth of the icon panel. In the development of suprematist forms and suprematist outlook wishing to suggest removal from the world of objects, icon painting, which applied geometrical structures and aspired to timelessness, gave much support. This can be observed in the works of Malevich where the mystic signs also appear. This is what we feel when looking at *Suprematism* painted around 1917 and preserved in the museum of Krasnodar.

Maybe it is unusual and exaggerated to say that Larionov's luchism achieving a lyrical effect with the accentuation of light beams and creating a new world of its own recalls, somewhat surprisingly, the views of the Hesychasts about divine light and radiation. According to Gregorios Palamas, if we pray adequately we may receive a share of the divine light, i.e. the emanation of divinity. This light had been seen by the apostles on Mount Tabor at the transfiguration of Christ. In the Russian transfiguration icons painted under Hesychast influence, the light beams and many-coloured rays are painted in great detail. We do not know whether Larionov studied the theoretical writings of the Hesychasts but he must have been familiar with the transfiguration icons reflecting them.

GYÖRGY RUZSA

THEATRE AND FILM

EVERYDAY RITES

István Csurka: *Vizsgák és fegyelmik* (Exams and disciplinary actions); Tibor Zalán: *Ószeresek* (Second-hand dealers); Péter Nádas: *Takarítás* (House-cleaning).

In our century some authors have tried to return the theatre to ritual. Among them are obsessive theorists such as Artaud, playwrights such as Genet and directors such as Grotowski. Others, perhaps less determined, seek ritual elements in everyday life either because they believe that they can be considered at least as relics of rites, or because they doubt their existence in a pure form and take pleasure in presenting their distortions. This is how modern rites and parodies of rites—indeed blends of the two—are to be seen in some productions.

István Csurka is one of the mischievous doubters. In earlier plays, he more than once presented surrogate actions, substituting for genuine social actions, as secular rites. The intellectuals in *Fall Guy for Tonight** submerged their disillusion and lack of communal conscience in endless games of poker. In *Deficit*, two friendly couples exchange wives, not for the sake of sexual satisfaction but in obedience to some distorted nostalgia for action, to enliven their dull days. In *Lament for a Concierge*, an accepted social rite is turned inside out: a pompous group of sociologists engaged in a survey are faced with those living on the peripheries and lose their consciousness of their intellectual superiority. Csurka's latest play, *Exams and Disciplinary Actions*, mainly follows the dramatic structure of this latter play. He thus considers the object presented as a social model. The role which was filled in *Lament for a Concierge* by the sociological survey, is played here by an adjudication committee.

The action is focussed on an amateur festival, or rather its grotesque consequences. The theatrical groups have already presented their performances, the adjudication committee has made its decision, but for some reason it cannot be announced. At the opening of the play, the adjudication committee again meets in the hastily decorated hall of a hunting lodge. They don't really know what they should do. They are waiting for the representatives of the organizers. Outside, in the park, the impatient competitors wait for the result. This is the basic situation. The societal model in miniature is made up of the organizers, the adjudication committee, the competitors—the three sides of a triangle. What is their relationship to each other? This is the question the play puts.

For the model to function, consensus would be necessary. In the jargonized formulation of one of the characters, "the pledge for responsible democratic adjudication is the treble unity." At the moment the discovery is made that "there is something wrong" with the independent decision of the committee, unity dissolves. It is not possible to know what exactly is "wrong"—it would be too simple if this were possible. It is

* See excerpts in *NHQ* 39

easier to accept that a misunderstanding has occurred. It is, of course, uncertain who misunderstood whom, but in any case this can only have negative consequences for the adjudication committee. Consequently, the committee has to engage in a search within itself, has to purge its ranks of the elements which do not belong. While it is doing this, it is strictly kept from making contact with the competitors so as not to "let itself get into the tow" of the field of competitors (as the phrase went in the fifties). It nevertheless cannot avoid being relieved once it is declared that "these" are already useless elements. At the most, some may succeed in making their way into the new adjudication committee, which is already called "The National Result Announcing Commission," and its responsibility is for the announcement of results on a nationwide level. There will be some who ask "how long do you think one can do this to the field of competitors?" but the person who asks himself belongs to them, and their opinion does not count, not even if they finally arbitrarily announce the result. Because all that counts is that somebody should be able to be a committee member, and for this he must be aware of the rule according to which "one can have a few drinks with the field, one can establish sexual contacts with the field, one can have a summer home built of the bricks stolen by it, but never enter into an alliance with it."

Clearly this little Hungarian story, called a "lamentable comedy" by its author, is to be taken both literally and metaphorically. Csurka examines the hierarchy of society, the relationship of the leaders and the led to each other, and warns where the dissolution of the "treble unity" leads. To a divided adjudication committee, to administrative interference by the organizers, to a disrupted field of competitors. Let us not forget that an amateur festival is concerned—and not only that. The critical tension of the play comes from the continuous contradiction between the affair which is not too large and the words which are. But the allegories work truly if every detail is valid on the basic level of the action and certain details are also valid by transmission. Csurka separates the situation and the sentences. The situation applies only to an amateur festival, but the most important sentences do not fit the situation and can be interpreted metaphorically only. There are very few sentences which carry a twin meaning, thus the more universal for having established their authenticity in the basic situation.

For instance the argument that the deeds of some spring from the beliefs they hold, and those of others do not, and they are nevertheless members of the same committee and it is completely immaterial to the main official of the organizers as to who is a believer and who is not, and consequently he does not believe either—well, this argument makes no sense at all in connection with an amateur festival, it does not stand on its legs dramatically. Csurka has not succeeded in creating the ambivalence of the interpretation of "committee membership," and consequently, the fictional social prestige which is given to membership within the background meanings of the play, is unintelligible. But since the concept of committee membership is closely tied to the other two, to the "field of competitors" and the "organizers," these cannot function either; dramatically the treble unity is disrupted. The play does have its witty remarks and some good characters but it lacks a functional dramaturgy.

The director István Horvai is tested in understanding the language of Csurka and the adjudication committee which can mostly be seen in the micro-realism of the Pesti Színház production. He places the teasing sentences that form the backbone of the play into cliché situations, thus creating the comic rite of endless meetings, sub-committees, visits by important persons. He succeeds in bringing to life some well-done characters. On the other hand, there are problems with the presentation of the "field". Csurka probably did not imagine a good humoured group

intruding with samples of competing numbers, but a more ragged crowd to symbolize the harmful consequences of incompetent adjudication. Of course, as it is said in the play, the real things happen out of themselves; the ship travels on the ocean, the passengers eat, drink, vomit, make love, while the adjudication committee complains on the first-class deck. In other words—with another metaphor—it is engaged in a prestige activity, that is, it practices its self-justifying social rite.

To a certain extent, the presentation of Tibor Zalán's *Second-hand Dealers* in the creative workshop of Studio K is an initiation ceremony. This is the stage début of an author who, in his early thirties, was already well-known as a poet and critic. Whether the piece is actually a first play, is a moot point; another has already been performed as a reading and at a professional theatre conference it was the material for a "workshop," being analysed in public and having had actors rehearse it under a director.

It is better to approach the play from the side of the performing ensemble than from that of the author. Studio K—to put it paradoxically—is the most professional amateur ensemble in Hungary. It emerged in the later half of the seventies, and after a long "laboratory" phase it made its name almost overnight for a production of *Woyzeck*. At the time the devoted and months-long intensity of rehearsal and the high standard of performance by untrained actors was unusual. Both the way of living in a commune and the technique of the ensemble differed from the traditional. They played both *Woyzeck* and later Genet's *The Balcony* in an "open space" in Peter Brook's sense. In these productions the actors moved among the spectators, the action "wandered" with the audience, in the case of the Genet play, over several scenes, from room to room. Both productions achieved a reputation abroad and the ensemble received frequent invitations to festivals and avantgarde theatres.

This first period in the history of Studio K ended in the early eighties. Its actors dispersed, changed careers or continued them elsewhere, taking part in various theatre and film productions; there was even one who founded his own ensemble. The founder, leader and director of the ensemble, Tamás Fodor, began work afresh with new members, and after a few productions accepted an offer from the Szigligeti Theatre of Szolnok. This did not mean that Studio K had become merged into a professional theatre; it merely joined it organizationally, thus partly ensuring the financial conditions for survival. Its actors were given parts in some productions by the repertory company and were also given the opportunity for independent productions. Tamás Fodor also became the director of the Szolnok Theatre, from 1987 its general director, staging very successful productions with the professional ensemble.

After these antecedents it is perhaps surprising that the combined enterprise of Tibor Zalán, known for his commitment to the avantgarde and the experimenting Studio K, is really closer to the traditional theatre. This is so even if in external appearance the play does not recall the performances in velvet-chaired theatres. The audience on entering the auditorium finds itself in a flea market. The stands of the dealers, close to each other, are segments of a circle, and form a full circle. Everything is on sale here: antiques, stamps, picture postcards, old books and magazines, clothes, odds and ends, car parts and so on. And they are literally on sale and in the thirty minutes before the start of the performance everybody can buy what they fancy from the dealers who are of course actors. Bargaining is permitted.

At first sight the play is naturalistic. The second-hand dealers live their everyday life, put out their wares, make coffee, put up a plastic shield when it begins to rain and take it down when the rain stops. Since no customers are coming, they can chat or rather bicker with each other. The nonsensical, actionless presence slowly uncovers their hid-

den conflicts, which are caused partly by their obscure pasts, their various backgrounds, their financial status kept secret from each other—and partly by some obscurely exposed dealing in drugs. It is part of the author's intentions that the audience can also have only suspicions about this, and does not come closer to discovering the secrets in the course of the play. On the contrary, uncertainty increases, and stranger and stranger, more and more inexplicable events take place. One actor suddenly falls sick and dies. Or has he only fainted? There is no way of knowing. Consequently, it cannot be known either whether the person who resurrects him, has worked a miracle or taken part in a charade. Some of the actors permit themselves from time to time some threatening statements, it appears as if one definitely had achieved power over the others, he invokes potent protectors, and to add weight to this goes away to make phone calls. Then the tables are turned: those who have been on top suddenly find themselves at the bottom, the new bullies also go to make phone calls, but by the time they return, the situation has changed again. The one who has been shot, reappears later, the one who has been poisoned, is hale and healthy. It finally turns out that the telephone on the corner has been out of order for days...

Tibor Zalán is playing with his audience speaking seriously all the same. His naturalistic play sprinkled with the absurd is at one and the same time a still-life, a parody of a myth and a political pamphlet. It is regrettable that it is written unevenly and it lacks the driving force of thoughts to raise it to a philosophic level. The production also gives rise to mixed reactions. The actors are still short of experience, and consequently, simple natural existence on the stage—the mere living of the everyday rites—causes them the most technical problems. At the points where the play culminates, where they have to bring forth elementary passions out of their own internal reserves, they are much more convincing. On such occasions it is indeed frightening that we are forced to face ourselves. This is not only because, as the audience, we sit around this flea market, this tower of Babel which can also be interpreted as the symbol of our inability to make peace with each other; we, the audience, are "on the other side" too. In the course of the play we can discover our own malevolent instincts, our craving for power and desire for the destruction on others.

It happens but seldom that a play attracts a literature around it before having a normal theatrical life. Let us imagine Aristotle writing his *Poetics* relying on the unperformed manuscripts of the great triad of writers of tragedies, while in the antique Greek amphitheatres authors since forgotten are being played. This is not to compare Péter Nádas with Euripides; nevertheless, a contemporary Aristotle would have no chance at all of formulating rules out of Nádas's dramatic achievement save on the basis of the publication of the plays. But I am certain of two things. One is that Nádas did not write book-dramas—although this is not to tell too much, since every drama is a semi-finished product before it has been performed; the other is that the theatric quality established is of exceptional importance.

The trilogy of plays by the now forty-six-year-old author have only been performed three times in ten years. But analyses, essays, have been written about them. It is as if an opera critic had to write his critique from the score alone of *Don Giovanni*. Nor do I wish to compare Nádas to Mozart, and I do not even claim that his plays are scores into which the "opera" is coded—the author himself placing his *House-cleaning* in this genre—but I do claim that they are in fact librettos and that they become plays in the full sense only if the musical quality is "set" to them in the production. The critics and essay-writers accomplished in their different interpretations the task which primarily should have been performed by the theatres.

There are, of course, many excuses. The essence of Nádas's plays is not the story, the social and psychological background of the figures is blurred, instead of a linear or logical order of events or the already equally conventional disruption of time, they are developed in a musical structure, in variations of themes and motifs. And as far as their approach to reality is concerned, naturalism and stylization, historicity and rite are boldly mixed together. All this has hardly any precedent in the Hungarian theatre, and consequently an entirely new process of building up the role, or playing technique, has had to be worked out for the actor. So too, in the evaluation of the work, a routine critical approach would lead nowhere.

House-cleaning has now been produced by the Géza Gárdonyi Theatre in Eger, directed by Judit Elek, who is better known as a film director. The performance realizes exactly the formal requirements of the play. The room and antichamber built at the front of the stage correspond indeed to the biedermeier bourgeois flat prescribed by the author. In the course of the play, the empty area of the room has to be rearranged out of the furniture piled up in the anti-chamber, after the natural actions of cleaning—washing the glass door and scrubbing the floor—have been finished, into its original condition, while the relationships between the characters are being built up similarly retrospectively, out of the mosaics of memories. By the detailed choreography of physical actions—which has had some recent tradition on the Hungarian stage—the director creates the possibility for a web of internal happenings behind the plane of the natural action. The essence of the play is this internal plane, on which we have to reckon no longer only with the visible and the actual, but also with the invisible and what has not but could have happened.

The play brings to mind Jean Genet; the mechanism of role-playing and role substitution is somewhat similar to that of *Servants*. *House-cleaning* is about the relationship between a sixty-two-year-old woman, a thirty-two-year-old woman and a young man of twenty: their socially and biologically motivated struggle for each other and against each other. The "biography" of the three characters unfolds, ritually slowly, like three photographs which are dipped into solutions and are slowly printed onto each other. Klára, the martyred widow, has been living in this middle-class flat for thirty years with the life-size photographs of her revolutionary husband. She once moved here as a servant, to be near her lover, and now, after thirty years, she is forced by a young man and young woman for the "servant's work" of house-cleaning—to relive the past in her imagination. In this cruel game the elderly woman intends the role of her dead husband to the young man, but must fight against the more merciless resistance and purposeful counteraction of the young woman who takes on Klára's erstwhile role. One cannot know how much reality and how much fiction there is in the self-baring monologues of the characters, what is true, what is imagination, and what are lies. It cannot be known either whether the characters made up of the mosaics of the past are "more existent," or only the one among them—András—who can be seen on the lifesize photograph, and as the fourth actor, steps out of the picture at the end of the play. All this can only be decided by the quality of playing. According to the author's instructions, the style is *con amore* speaking, simultaneously intimate and theatrical (operatic), which arranges the scenes and motifs into arias, duetts and trios, and in which the immediate sensual presence of the actors is more important than the information carried by the text.

It is the paradox of the performance that the actors insist to the end on building their role in the realistic style they learned as their "mother tongue." In vain does it appear that they have in their thoughts clarified the substance of some section, if its biological consequence cannot be sensed in the permanent fluctuation of the power- and erotic

relations in the triangle of the protagonists. Out of the two planes of the play—the actual and the possible—the performance plays only on the first. There the details which are naturalistic by their inception are forceful and the cinematic montage, the dissolution of András stepping out of the picture is truly beautiful. On the whole, the production is nevertheless somewhat as if instead of *Don Giovanni*, Lorenzo da Ponte's libretto were played.

TAMÁS KOLTA

THE PUPPET THEATRE OF BUDAPEST

Elek Selmeczi: *Világhódító bábok* (World-Conquering Puppets). Corvina, 1986, 215 pp. With coloured and black and white illustrations.

Some years ago when the American playwright Arthur Miller visited Budapest, he spent the first afternoon of a short stay in the Hungarian State Puppet Theatre. Writers, poets, translators and critics were waiting for him patiently at the Budapest PEN Club until he arrived directly from the theatre. This was not an unusual happening, for the Puppet Theatre has an international reputation, partly created by its performing widely and frequently abroad. In the twenty years up to 1984, the company had made 86 journeys abroad in Africa, America, Asia and Europe. This great number of invitations is no mean achievement; over the same period an average of 1500 performances has been presented to almost half-million children and adults in Budapest and the province.

These figures are prominent in Elek Selmeczi's book *World-Conquering Puppets*. This well presented volume, illustrated in black-and-white and in colour, offers a comprehensive survey of the history of Hungarian puppetry, its European connections, and its present state, following the career of the State Puppet Theatre after its founding in 1949.

Historians set the emergence of some form of puppetry into the period of the Hungarian Renaissance in the fifteenth century. King Matthias' court saw the introduction by Italian masters of arts unknown in Hungary up to then, according to the historian Bonfini. We also learn from him that the puppet theatre was one of these; what he says refers only to secular puppet plays for entertaintment. The medieval puppet stage had a place in the churches, primarily tied with the celebrations of Christmas. After the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which saw the mystery plays translated from Latin into the vernacular, the Nativity plays of marionettes became even more popular.

Leaping across centuries of puppetry, honours should surely be given to the marionette theatre of Eszterháza, the Hungarian Versailles. Although this was only one part of the extensive patronage of the arts that developed in the ducal court of the Esterházys in the second half of the eighteenth century, even by European standards it stood out. The Kapellmeister of the Eszterházy family, Joseph Haydn, composed operas and puppet operas, for the two Eszterháza theatres. Maria Theresa herself attended the opening of the first Hungarian puppet theatre in Eszterháza with Haydn's *Philemon and Baucis* on September 12, 1773.

Haydn's marionette theatre was exclusively for adults, even opera seria were performed. The idea that the puppet theatre was primarily a children's theatre only emerged in the middle-class society of the nineteenth century. The first travelling puppet player-families appeared in the

middle of the last century although they did not then perform in Hungarian. The character of *Vitéz László*, the Hungarian puppet hero was born in the late decades of the nineteenth century at fair shows. Valiant Leslie—his name was first recorded by the German-language Budapest daily *Pester Lloyd*—embodied folk tradition and this helped make him immortal. His role in puppet shows at fairs was identical to that of his European brothers—Kasperle, Guignol, Kasparek, Petrushka, Jack Pudding—in the puppet traditions of other peoples. Although they have their differences, many basic traits make them brothers to one another. Their characteristics come from the world of the *commedia dell'arte*. Despite their characters developing separately, by virtue of a much deeper identity, they remain brothers for eternity.

The puppet drama with artistic pretensions which began to flourish in Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century arrived in Hungary with Art Nouveau. Obviously this art, with its intense stylisation and the conventions whereby a puppet can overstep the bounds of reality, does not find a public immediately. Artistic puppet theatres headed by writers, artists and composers sprang up, but for a lack of an audience they remained shortlived. Between the two world wars, there were puppeteers who made their puppets themselves and played in schools. After the Second World War in 1947, enterprising actors and artists established a professional puppet theatre called *Mesebarlang*, which had its own company and hall; two years later it became the present State Puppet Theatre operating with considerable state subsidy.

At the beginning, its productions resembled live theatre performances with puppets instead of actors. The puppets were naturalistic and circumstantial, their designers did not think of typifying them. The revolutionary mood of the era discarded all those traditions which had played some role in the art of the "privileged classes." Marionettes moved from above were placed in this category; the mechanical puppets of the Burattini type, moved from below with gloves or sticks, became the representatives of the exploited people triumphant in the class struggle. A performance by the Soviet puppeteer Sergei Obrastzov in 1950 in Budapest brought a lucky turn: under its influence the productions based on texts became more spectacular, more varied and imaginative. There can be no doubt that the Moscow company stimulated its Hungarian counterpart, heightened their sense of vocation and influenced both puppet and stage designs. Moreover, it demonstrated that puppetry could develop only through the assimilation of international influences.

In those years the theatre considered that its foremost task lay in creating an adult audience for itself. Their mainstay was satirical cabaret, and they took over the technical and artistic solutions of Obrastzov's theatre more and more mechanically. They paid much less attention to children's productions although, paradoxically, these were much better and more successful: well-known writers and poets wrote fairy-tale plays for the company.

There was a real revival in 1958 when Dezső Szilágyi took over the theatre's directorship. His starting point was that the theatre should be returned to the children. The new management paid attention to the aims of education: this they did voluntarily because the educational effect of puppetry was not widely recognized at that time. Many people think that the Puppet Theatre is a kind of public-manufacturing school where they "make" new theatre audiences. Dezső Szilágyi is aware of this opinion but thinks that the real task is greater: a work preventing the children from growing up "empty."

At the same time the social task set before the company also changed. The Puppet Theatre, originally a Budapest institution, became national, with a great number of places available to them and, accordingly, a

much larger company. Their responsibility was heightened by the fact that, unlike most European countries, in Hungary the State Puppet Theatre was the only professional puppet company. In those years more than 100 companies operated in the Soviet Union, 23 in Rumania, 16 in Czechoslovakia, 20–25 in Poland. In those years there was no theatre company aiming at children and the young in Hungary; hence for the youngest audiences the Puppet Theatre was their only access to the theatre. All that there could be done was to revive the educational traditions of itinerant puppet players. Since 1964 the Theatre's scope has extended to the whole country. Its various companies gave 8–10 performances per day in five or six places. The repertory contained 25–30 stock plays, half of which received almost 1,000 performances.

At the time Dezső Szilágyi summed up the aesthetic ambitions of the Puppet Theatre: "The artists try to assert the rules of the genre and make the puppet stage the setting of a pictorial representation of free soaring fantasy and poetry. The figures should not imitate men or actors but become creatures with their own laws and create generally valid types, indeed become the symbolic, enlarged presentations of one or another human trait. The situations and conflicts must be represented clearly and strongly on stage. All artistic elements of the puppet play—puppet, set, lighting, the plot, dialogue, music and the movement of the puppets—should be reduced to their essentials and in this way the performance should achieve a homogeneous artistic stylisation on a high plane."

Since 1964, they have also been playing to adults; instead of resorting to the earlier cabaret-type productions, they have tried to please theatre-connoisseurs. The first production was *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, for the 400th anniversary of Shakespeare's birth. The question was whether puppetry could add something new to the eternally valid ideas of the classic? The answer seems to be yes. What fascinates the spectator most, is the technical richness. Puck appears in the guise of ten different puppets during the performance, and the 23 speaking parts are performed by nine artists who also work as jugglers because the number of fairies, gnomes and other forest creatures beside the chief characters attains ninety. The "black theatre" tried out in earlier productions added a crucial technique. "Everything that live theatre cannot revive effectively with the trickiest techniques of production is produced by the puppet stage through its own natural means," wrote the theatre's director. The leading characters, the fairies, the lovers and the artisans live in their own separate world. The movement and material of the puppets and the actors' voice suggest this trinity. The fairies are floating most of the time on the upper level of the stage, they are made of light silk and mousseline, their voices are musical and melodious. The lovers are mechanical puppets with graceful but realistic movements; they appear in the middle part of the stage-space. The artisans are made of thick, heavy material, they are as down-to-earth, shrill and coarse as their dresses, made of terry cloth. This hierarchy of representation is dictated by the play's mystery-character. These levels are linked by the treefrog-like Puck, a puppet-bodied gnome and a mischievous apprentice wizard, realizing the miracle of metamorphosis from minute to minute who, while making his clownish somersaults, changes into a dog, a puffing boar, a bear and fire and flies round the globe, true to Shakespeare's text.

Encouraged by the success of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* the theatre diversified. They composed pupped pantomimes to modern ballets, they produced Bartók's *The Miraculous Mandarin* and *The Wooden Prince*, and Stravinsky's *Petrushka*. They responded to the fantasy world of Brittens' *The Prince of the Pagodas* with a series of technical coups. With Brechts' *The Seven Deadly Sins* and Dürrenmatt's *An Angel Comes to Babylon* they managed to transmit philosophical messages.

In 1966 they established experimental studio groups within the company with the aim of extending the repertory for adult productions. The productions this eventually gave rise to were diversified both technically and artistically and utilized puppets moved in various ways, shadow plays, marionettes, masks and objects, even live actors. Some outstandingly successful performances in which genres were combined were Tchaikovsky's *Nutcracker* Suite, Beckett's *Play without Words*, and Mrožek's grotesque *Strip-tease*. Dezső Szilágyi's study "The Plastic Element in the Puppet Theatre" calls the appearence together of the puppet and the actor a direct and interesting contrast. "Whether it is worth while to renounce that surplus of the puppet theatre, the homogeneity of the plastic component, and instead navigate between the Scylla and Charybdis of the not unifiable contrast of puppet and live actor, depends upon the aim of disillusionism. Is it a self-exhibiting constraint deriving from the feeling of inferiority of the puppet player vis-à-vis the live actor, is it formal theatricalism or is it some idea which cannot be expressed solely with the closed world of puppets? (Thus, the relationship of the mover and the moved, the exterior comment of the events in the puppet world, etc.). In the first two cases shipwreck is certain. Only through some ideal-cognitive motive can this way of creating an effect be kept within the category of art. Otherwise those who address their experiments to children must reckon with many frustrations. The disillusioned puppet theatre misses its aim in the case of naive spectators wishing to experience a world of illusions unperturbed, and it can be pedagogically harmful. At best these unveiling performances, made with goodwill but without the thorough consideration of their consequences, are recived with incomprehension, at worst they can cause psychological disturbances."

By the end of 1976 the Puppet Theatre was able to return to its old residence, which had been closed for renovation and modernization. Dezső Szilágyi had personally checked even the most insignificant details during the rebuilding right down to the driving in of nails, out of his conviction that the theatre had to serve the user. This is a fine modern building and with an auditorium seating 380, the second largest of its kind after the Central Puppet Theatre of Moscow, which takes almost 500 spectators. The company's reputation naturally does not reside in the size or appearance of its home. A comment from *France-Soir* is more to the point: "Their world is the world of dreams, poetry and music. These puppets find without any difficulty what our aesthetes look for with so much pain: the total theatre. They set them wise and the lesson is priceless: its subject is freedom." Similar praise has been lavished on the company from newspapers as diverse as *The Guardian* and *The Washington Post*.

What most reviewers seem to have in common in their reactions, is the triumph of the imagination achieved by the Puppet Theatre.

The greatest success of the Puppet Theatre has been to restore the imagination. Nor should it be thought that this would follow naturally from the puppet play's stylized world. We could see that first one had to overcome naturalism, the rigorous tradition of "true-to-life" puppets. Their success has been the result of well-considered, persistent work. Thus the Puppet Theatre managed to cope with the works of Brecht, Mrožek, Beckett and Dürrenmatt before the "legitimate" theatre in Hungary.

Dezső Szilágyi's description is close to an artistic credo: "The traditional puppet and shadow theatre have imitated man for two thousand years; today's puppet theatre symbolizes and represents man by using materials or lifeless objects. Therefore we prefer to call our activity animated theatre... We do not want to narrate or illustrate what we have to say but express and represent it dramatically in our own idiom."

T. K.

LIFE BEFORE THE CAMERA

Pál Schiffer—Gábor Havas: *Kovbojok* (Cowboys); Pál Schiffer—Bálint Magyar: *A Dunánál* (Magyar Stories)

The Hungarian documentary film has its own specific features. These include memoir-making by Sándor Sára or the Gulyás brothers: the past comes to life and is shown through the prism of remembrance in which national questions are analysed and our national tragedies reflected; there is reportage of József Magyar, ironically exposing the absurdities of Hungarian life, institutions, thought; a third type is that of Pál Schiffer, most probably best described as sociological. This is not to say that there is no contact or overlapping between these different approaches; this threefold classification, however, seems more or less correct when basic aims of the film makers are taken into consideration. Sára and the Gulyás brothers, as mentioned, evoke the past, Magyar deals with contemporary institutions and customs, Schiffer is interested in the influence of the present on the future.

I would like to stress this influence on the future; anyone seeing the Schiffer film *Cowboys* would have the impression that the film lives the life of its protagonists, and the year and the half of their lives it represents began when the camera started rolling. The protagonists do not speak of or testify on their life, situation, problems—something almost natural in a documentary film—they simply live before the camera.

How Pál Schiffer managed was a secret for a long time for the public and even for critics. Then, some weeks after the film was shown, the sociologist Gábor Havas, co-author of the scenario, related in an article that he, Havas, had spent several months on location before shooting started. He made friends with those who were to appear in the film and then was present at the shooting. This confidence based on friendship made it possible for participants to speak straight. The presence of the camera did not disturb them, and they truly relived their lives. The same method was used when making the Dunapataj film. There the preliminary work and presence of Bálint Magyar, the other co-author, loosened tongues.

Pál Schiffer's secret is that he found collaborators who prepared, and made possible, this novel, and typically Hungarian method of making documentaries.

This method focuses on vital social problems and trying predicaments, approaching and representing them in a way that could not be achieved by pure fiction nor by pure sociology. The film recounts the story of five men and a woman who are approached by the local agricultural co-operative—which includes six villages—and they sign a contract to keep cows. This way they become independent contractors—"cowboys." The enterprising, hopeful, ambitious young people, however, cannot make a success of it; they face financial failure, large debts owed to the cooperative and the bitter question of what to do next.

The film tries to describe only, not to judge. Judgement is left to the viewer and this is what makes the film authentic and free of special pleading. We hear the contractors saying the main cause for their failure was that the co-operative did not keep its side of the bargain, understandable though the reasons for this may have been; we also hear the management of the co-operative saying that the contractors were not always able—also for reasons that were understandable—to keep their side of the bargain. Thus we are confronted with the fact that the liquidation of traditional small farms—and of handicrafts—also brought an end to the traditional methods handed down from fathers to sons; we also have to face

the fact that where conflicts occur, the large enterprise has an advantage over a smaller opponent because of the loopholes and ambiguities in the legal provisions, because they have a greater administrative routine, better personal contacts and more experienced lawyers. So too do we have to face the neo-feudal mentality and behaviour of some prominent village figures. There is a scene which makes the blood boil; a lawyer is speaking to one of the "cowboys" in a style that gives the impression that equality before the law had not been established years ago, rebuking him for daring to compare himself with the highly respected president of the co-operative.

The behaviour of equal contractors, superior authorities and feudal lords are merged in those with power. At the same time, the very real danger the "cowboys" face of becoming heavy-drinking loafers is also depicted although respectable examples to the contrary are also shown. Some are the cause of their own misfortunes, some are victims of circumstances and some succeed. Just as in life. There is only one objection to make, but disapproval should be stressed. With very few exceptions, every documentary film-maker who makes a film longer than a maximum of two hours is his own worst enemy. This film runs for almost four hours. I can accept that the director needed all four hours—although I occasionally had the impression that the film had come to an end—to say everything he wanted to about the five protagonists. Perhaps restricting himself to the story of two or three of them would have made for a shorter film.

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A later and no less interesting documentary film of Pál Schiffer's, which seems to be giving the background to *Cowboys*, took its title from one of Attila József's poems *By the Danube*. Indeed, the film seems to have been inspired by it: "Enough of conflict goes into that need / which must confess the past. /The battle which our ancestors fought / / Through recollection is resolved in peace, / And settling at long last the price of thought / / This is our task, and none too short a lease. /"*

The film is set in the village of Dunapataj—the atmosphere is permeated by confessing the past and recollections resolved in peace while the events of October and November of 1956 are related. The leading figures in the village are asked about those days and about what happened later to those who played an active role in the events of that autumn. Pál Schiffer, in the manner of a true documentary-maker, approaches his subject without taking historic judgements for granted. He doesn't make a film about a revolution or about a counter-revolution, but about the destiny and character of those caught in a historic storm. Their behaviour was motivated by their own life-stories, injuries, sense of justice, the amount of information they had and their integrity on both sides of the divided nation. There is the moving detail that the leaders of the local communist party (newly elected in October) conceal and defend the former party secretary and the communist teacher of the village, because they knew them to be well-meaning and how later, in October 1957, the party secretary, who had meanwhile regained his position and power, helped to clear the officials facing charges for their part in the October days of the previous year. Equally touching is the fact that the innocently interned and discharged former chairman of the revolutionary committee forgives because of his religious beliefs and that the communist schoolteacher who was persecuted and humiliated in October does precisely the same because of his irreligious views. So it is soothing that the generally respected—whether resident or not—old men of a peaceful village have the opportunity to remember this stormy, often self-sacrificing period in their lives, which is sometimes

* Translated by Edwin Morgan, *NHQ* 78.

regarded through distorting and unjust generalizations. They have made their peace with the present but they have not forgotten still sensitive wounds: calumniation, humiliation and injuries.

The film endeavours to represent the justice of the individual, to document the subjective truth which becomes objective truth by being confronted with other subjective truths. It recounts the truth of everyday people who live and work in this small village, where History with a capital H always comes from the outside. Here too, the struggle between different ideas and ideologies is covered by a sort of protective netting, woven out of the solidarity of people who live together and know each other, who may speak evil of or slander their neighbours but do not threaten each other's lives, safety, existence—not even during principles or personal matters.

It is natural that as everywhere in this country, there was a strong and passionable condemnation of the sins of Rákosi's clique, the expectations and opinions of the people of the village also differ on prospects for the future, the possibilities of renewal, the judgement of the events in the greater towns and Budapest; but all these opinions have in common the wish to protect life, work and values achieved and by a desire to be just and fair. Very clearly, this is the typical attitude in this village, and Schiffer is interested in people whose behaviour was determined by real or presumed justice and ideas.

Neither the cynical despots of the Rákosi period nor the troublemakers, demagogues, hooligans, nor the later denunciators, slanderers and casual avengers appear personally in the film. Some are named. But, naturally, this doesn't make the film an idyll; the division of the nation divides the village too; the events are interpreted as different national tragedies by those who represent different ideals; the historic tragedy influences personal fates in different ways, sometimes causing breaches, tragedies of conscience or existence, unjust punishments.

Magyar Stories speaks of all this with a deeply moving sincerity. The gallery also includes the gifted former secretary of the village council, who emigrated to the USA, where, after much struggle, difficulty and failure he became well-off, as the owner of a popular resturant, the Old Budapest, much favoured by visiting Hungarian actors, artists and politicians, and of a farm near Washington, as part of the circle of Senator Doyle, a guest of receptions at the White House, and who came back to spend his final years and die at home. He didn't make a secret of the fact that he loved the USA, thought it a good place to live and to make money, that he sympathized with the Republican Party—and still felt at home in Hungary.

The film cuts back and forth between the personal stories in parallel with the historic events. In these personal stories the history of Hungary over forty years is shown, in all its pleasures and sorrows, successes and failures—as seen from below.

ERVIN GYERTYÁN

MUSICAL LIFE

JÁNOS BREUER

SCHOENBERG AND HIS HUNGARIAN ADVOCATES

On June 20th, 1910, a 21-year-old Hungarian musician, wrote a letter to Arnold Schoenberg in Vienna:

"Dear Sir,

News of your compositions has already reached our Academy of Music, from whose piano teachers' department I have recently graduated, and since it is my intention to give piano recitals of modern Austrian, Hungarian and French compositions in Budapest, and if possible also in Vienna, I would like to include some of your piano pieces in the programme. I would therefore like to ask you to be so kind as to send me some of them, possibly manuscripts or copies."

The writer of the letter, Imre Balabán (1889–1947) studied the piano under Béla Bartók for two years at the Budapest Academy of Music, as well as studying composition. In the autumn of 1910 he was as a conductor at a theatre in Reichenberg (Bohemia), and for the following few years taught the piano in Budapest's most prestigious private music school. However, on the explicit wish of his family, he eventually gave up music as a profession for a business career in insurance. From 1932 to 1939, and again from 1945 to 1947 he was president of the Hungarian section of the International Society for Contemporary Music and his wide range of connections were of great use to the section in arranging concerts.

Balabán corresponded with Schoenberg between 1910 and 1912. Only his letters of that correspondence have survived as his home was destroyed during the Second World War and Schoenberg's letters perished. Balabán's letters, however, make it clear that there was an exchange of letters and, to the best of my knowledge, he was the first Hungarian musician to establish a relationship with Schoenberg.

Schoenberg, who was not overindulged by performances, sent Balabán a copy of the score of his still unpublished Three Piano Pieces op. 11, by return of post. The letter he enclosed must have displayed a modicum of mistrust, since nothing of his had previously been performed in Hungary. In an undated letter thanking him for the score, Balabán reassured Schoenberg of being familiar with the use of the chords built of fourths that the piece featured and added he had studied with keen interest the composer's Second String Quartet with soprano solo. In 1910 this work was only available in the composer's own publication, in a limited edition.

"If I am able to arrange the concert I have planned, I will not fail to visit you in Vienna and listen to you performing the pieces," Balabán wrote.

But Balabán's Schoenberg concerts never came about. Schoenberg, of course, could not have known that the musician had signed a conductor's contract and had set aside the score of Three Piano Pieces; indeed, when he was looking for a pianist

for his composer's evening in Munich on January 1, 1911, he thought of Balabán as a possible soloist for it. Meanwhile Balabán had fallen ill and he excused himself in a letter from Abbazia, saying that due to his illness he did not have sufficient time to master the work. The letter makes it clear that Balabán had shown the score of Schoenberg's Second String Quartet's to the Waldbauer String Quartet (later the Hungarian String Quartet) who had made their début with the first performance of the First Quartet of Bartók and Kodály in the spring of 1910, and that they seriously considered performing Schoenberg's piece. In the same letter Balabán raised the idea of Schoenberg holding a composer's evening in Budapest in February 1911. The plan, however, fell through, since Marie Gutheil-Schoder, the only singer familiar with the soprano solo of the work, demanded a fee too high for the Waldbauers, in the first season of their existence.

Balabán informed Schoenberg of this on May 2, 1911, but he invited the composer to attend a Budapest concert organized by the Galilei Circle on May 7 (featuring works by Bartók, Kodály, Leó Weiner and some young composers) and visit the exhibition of the group of ultra-progressive artists called The Eight. There is no proof whatever for Schoenberg visiting Budapest for that occasion or at any other time.

This letter also includes a piece of information of much greater import. "I showed your kind postcard to Mr Bartók for inspection, and on his behalf asked the Károly Rozsnyai publishing firm to forward the 14 Bagatelles and the Two Elegies to you by today's mail. Mr Bartók thinks you will find sections suitable for your purposes mainly in the elegies and the Bagatelle in C."

We can only infer what example Schoenberg needed from Bartók's music. He completed his *Harmonielehre* in September 1910, and, in January 1911, retrieved the manuscript from his publishers to continue work on it in the spring and summer of the year. That was the time he added the chapter on the *Quartenharmonien*, and he might have recalled Balabán's assurance of being familiar with this harmonic phenomena, and possibly assumed he had encountered it in Bartók's works. The music examples in the first edition of *Harmonielehre* (Vienna, 1911) are exclusively from German and Austrian composers, with the sole exception of Bartók; indeed he gave an extract from his Tenth Bagatelle which Balabán had suggested. Several decades later, Zoltán Kodály also recalled that Schoenberg had asked Bartók in a letter for examples for his *Harmonielehre*.[2]

Later the correspondence centred on a Budapest performance of Schoenberg's works. In the spring of 1911 the Society of New Hungarian Music was formed, with the aims of influencing musical life in Hungary and of promoting the performance of contemporary works (their plans included the establishment of a public music library and the foundation of a new symphony orchestra that would give concert series for young people and popular concerts with low entrance fees). The chairman was Béla Bartók, and Imre Balabán the secretary. In 1911–12, the society was only able to organize a total of four chamber-music evenings; in March 1912, lack of official support and of public interest led to its dissolution.

On June 10, 1911, Balabán informed Schoenberg that "The Society of New Hungarian Music, which was set up recently, has decided to perform your Second String Quartet in the coming season." A recurring subject in the letters is the reference to Marie Gutheil-Schoder's demand for an exorbitant fee. (She requested 800 crowns, more than the double of Bartók's monthly salary as a teacher at the Academy of Music.) But the issue must have been settled somehow or other, as the letter of November 2, 1911, was full of good news for Schoenberg, who meanwhile had moved to Berlin:

"The performance of your Second String Quartet has been scheduled for March 26, 1912. Madame Gutheil-Schoder is also ready to perform some of your songs. The Wald-

bauers shall play the Sextet even before the string quartet, at one of their own concerts."

The "Sextet" referred to is *Verklärte Nacht*. And, naturally, there were also plans for the performance of the Three Piano Pieces. However, not one of these intended performances did in fact take place. Schoenberg's music was first heard in Hungary on December 9, 1917, at a literary and musical evening organized by Lajos Kassák's avant-garde periodical *Ma*, when the second piece of Op. 11 was performed by another Bartók pupil, Piroska Hevesi. All the compositions, which if performed in the early 1910s, would have been counted as topical, were billed in Budapest in the 1920s and 30s. It is partly due to this singular delay that Hungarian audiences only met the Schoenberg of dodecaphonic music in the 1960s.

Imre Balabán made two attempts (on July 6 and November 2, 1911) to persuade Schoenberg to become a member of the Society of New Hungarian Music. We do not know whether or not he did. The Schoenberg documents in the Washington Library of Congress do not include an enrolment from among Balabán's letters, while Balabán's own papers have been destroyed.

Balabán concluded his letter of November 2, 1911, by saying: "With your permission, I shall write to you more often, and I hope you too will let me hear from you from time to time." Yet the relationship was soon broken off, presumably as a consequence of the cancellation of all the planned and promised performances. We only know of one more exchange of letters. On January 12, 1912, Schoenberg asked Balabán for information on what happened to the exhibition of his paintings in Budapest. Balabán was on a folksong collecting tour and he was forwarded the letter on January 23. "I go home tomorrow and will immediately write to you about the pictures in the 'Művészház'." This promised letter reporting on the exhibition, however, must have either been lost or never written, as there is no trace of it in Schoenberg's bequest.

In all probability it was while preparing for his composer's evening on February 4, 1912 in Berlin that Schoenberg attempted to turn to Imre Balabán for the last time, when he was faced with several contributors cancelling their performance. "Petri is leaving for London on the 29th for five weeks. Therefore have to find another pianist for the piano pieces, George[3] and older songs. Have been thinking of Balabar [sic!] ...."[4] knowing it seems, that Imre Balabán had never played any of his works.

In 1911, when Schoenberg virtually fled from hostile Vienna to Berlin, his friends issued an appeal for pupils in *PAN*, a Berlin periodical supporting the modern in the arts. This appeal was republished only by *Zeneközlöny*, a Budapest music review, in its 6 November 1911 issue. Although unsigned, I take the appeal to have been issued by Imre Balabán, since as part of the appeal for pupils, the article calls attention to the Schoenberg premières planned by the Society of New Hungarian Music. It was possibly owing to this appeal that soon afterwards a young Hungarian musician, Antal Molnár reported to Schoenberg.

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It was presumably in connection with the intended Budapest performances that in June 1912 Antal Molnár (1890–1983) published a long study on Schoenberg in the most prestigeous Hungarian literary periodical, *Nyugat*[5]. In the extensive body of writing on Schoenberg, this was the first piece written by someone outside the composer's narrow circle of pupils and which placed his music into the perspective of musical history, recognised its significance and discussed it in a thorough knowledge of practically the whole œuvre up to that time. Antal Molnár, one of the greatest figures in modern Hungarian musicology, was twenty-two years old when he wrote this article. As a viola player, he was one of the founding members of the Waldbauer String Quartet; as such he was

also acquainted with Schoenberg's music as a musician. The Waldbauers prepared the first performance of Bartók's First Quartet with more than a hundred rehearsals. So one can imagine the hard work they invested in rehearsing Schoenberg's sextet, *Verklärte Nacht* and his Second String Quartet. It is typical of how Antal Molnár kept abreast that in his article he referred to Schoenberg's *Harmonielehre*, which had only been published in November 1911. His analysis was, of course, of a critical tone. After all, Molnár held Bartók and Kodály as models and Hungarian music, on its road to emancipation, was oriented to France rather than to Germany and Austria. His intention of acting as a mediator is also evident from the fact that in February 1913 he reviewed, also in *Nyugat*, the music supplement of the *Blauer Reiter* almanach, which published, in May 1912, Schoenberg's *Herzgewachse* and a song each by Berg and Webern.

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In 1924, the narrowest circle of Schoenberg's friends published for his 50th birthday an album of photographs of the composer's pupils. The only Hungarian musician who was considered a pupil, Alexander (Sándor) Jemnitz, wrote the following in his typical pearly letters, beside his photograph: "Schoenberg's private composition student in Berlin, from November 1913 until June 1915. At present he lives in Budapest as a composer, teacher and writer on music."[7] On August 27, 1948, Jemnitz wrote to his close friend, Theodor Wiesengrund-Adorno, to Los Angeles: "Right now it is part of good manners to abuse Schoenberg. But I advocate his cause dauntlessly. He is the Spinoza of music. Everybody reviles him and learns from him, or rather: they learn from him and revile him. Even if views differ temporarily on his works, the principles acting in them are of eternal validity, because they are the timeless tendencies and trends of every musical creation. As in the case of Spinoza, the method of correct work can be studied in his works as in no one else's."

At the time this letter was written, Schoenberg's orthodox followers did not find the composer's latest works radical enough, while his Eastern European critics, in the spirit of Zhdanov's views on music, rejected his œuvre as a whole, branding it as formalist.

Sándor Jemnitz (1890–1963), however, remained faithful to the ideals of his youth. From 1906 to 1908 he studied composition at the Budapest Academy of Music under Hans Koessler, who had taught Bartók and Kodály, and he continued his studies at the Leipzig Conservatory under eminent teachers (studying composition with Max Reger, conducting with Arthur Nikisch, the organ with Karl Straube, the organist of the Thomaskirche in Leipzig and the violin with Hans Sitt). Between 1924 and 1949 he was music critic of *Népszava*, the daily paper of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party. He was an advocate of modern music and promoted it among the workers. Jemnitz the composer was regularly featured at ISCM concerts, he was especially appreciated in Germany and Theodor Wiesengrund-Adorno wrote a number of review articles on his pieces. As a former pupil of Schoenberg and a committed Social Democrat, in the 1950s he was forced to withdraw. From 1957 onwards, his works could be heard again more often, he could once again publish reviews and books on music; before his death he went to Darmstadt to give a talk as a witness of historical times.

Schoenberg's legacy includes 25 letters and postcards sent by Jemnitz between 1912 and 1918; Jemnitz preserved 11 letters and postcards and one telegram from Schoenberg.[8] Seven more of Schoenberg's letters, which have been lost, can be reconstructed from Jemnitz's own correspondence.

The relationship was, of course, initiated by Jemnitz, who first wrote to Schoenberg on May 17, 1912:

"Would you make it possible for a very

young conductor, but one who is filled with profound esteem for you and your works, to call on you on his way to the location of his summer contract, and perhaps present some of his own works?"

Schoenberg, who was not overburdened with pupils in Berlin either, must have replied by return of post (this letter has been lost), since on May 27 Jemnitz acknowledged its receipt, adding that he would be in Berlin around June 6. In a letter of June 13, he refers to their first meeting. Jemnitz spent the summer of 1912 in the Dutch seaside resort of Scheweningen as an assistant conductor and coach. His letter of June 13 is dated from there and it is a veritable confession. "First of all, let me thank you for the possibility of making your acquaintance. You are just as I have pictured you to myself and I am yours forever." I think it likely that the two had hit it off exceptionally well, as the 22-year-old Jemnitz goes on to set forth in detail to the 38-year-old maestro, ill-disposed towards contradiction and with ample teaching experiences, how differently he interprets homophony and polyphony.

During that summer of 1912, Jemnitz showered Schoenberg with 8–9 page long letters asking for his help (the replies have again been lost and their existence can only be inferred). He felt dissatisfied with the theatrical routine at the resort and asked Schoenberg for professional advice. In an undated letter, presumably from late August he writes that a theatrical contract would soon take him to Cernovic in Galicia, but passing through Berlin he would visit Schoenberg again, sometime in September. This second meeting must also have taken place. Jemnitz wrote his first letter from Cernovic on June 5, 1913 and went on to write: "I have a question and request to you; should you find my works suitable, would you be kind enough to recommend me to Universal Edition. ... I have brought you one of my piano sonatas, my piano pieces and songs, which I thought might be somewhat to your liking." Schoenberg could not have written to the publishers as in his letter of June 15, 1917 Jemnitz repeated his request. Universal Edition in Vienna only published his compositions from 1927 onwards.

On October 18, 1913, the young Hungarian musician again sent word to Schoenberg. He told him he was to spend the winter in Berlin and would like to show him his new works. Nor could this have been a traditional teacher-student relationship this time either. According to the kind information of Jerry McBride, the head of the Archives of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute in Los Angeles, Jemnitz's name does not feature in Schoenberg's pocket diaries of 1913 and 1914, in which he set down the lessons he gave his pupils. But the five postcards from Schoenberg from that period in Jemnitz's bequest[8] give times suitable for Jemnitz's visits. This indicates five visits, although naturally there may have been even more than that. Be that as it may, it was not Schoenberg but Max Reger who had a profound influence on Jemnitz's compositional style, as was recognized by Theodor Wiesengrund-Adorno in his penetrating study on Jemnitz, which appeared in the form of a lengthy review, in 1928.[9]

After the outbreak of the Great War, Jemnitz was called up for military service. The picture postcard of October 23, 1914, in which he took leave of Schoenberg, is a photograph of Jemnitz himself. It was about that time he sent Schoenberg his first work to appear in print, the Piano Sonata op. 8 (Wunderhorn Edition), with the dedication: "To Mr Arnold Schoenberg with the most sincere esteem, Sándor Jemnitz, Berlin [19] 14." One other dedicated and two undedicated Jemnitz scores have also survived in Schoenbeg's bequest.[10] It is perhaps no exaggeration to consider it a manifestation of sympathy that Schoenberg preserved these scores during his enforced wanderings, throughout his life.

On his return to Hungary and after finally being exempted from military service, Jemnitz sought to re-establish contact throughout the war. He sent a whole range

of reproachful letters to Schoenberg, who replied extremely rarely. Unfortunately some of Schoenberg's letters have not survived in Jemnitz's legacy, although their existence can be proved from Jemnitz's own correspondence. "How much has the symphony grown?" Jemnitz asked on December 15, 1915. Thus, Schoenberg must have confided to him that he was working on a symphony for soloists, choir and orchestra. This work was never completed and only the sketches for it have survived.

The letters tell us that Jemnitz, who had been reared on German music and was always in its thrall, having left Berlin could not find a place for himself in the Hungarian musical scene. His letter of February 6, 1916, had some disastrous things to tell of the works he had recently heard by Dohnányi and Weiner, and even on Bartók: "I also heard a suite by Bartók. It is skilful but crude and not elaborated, like everything I know by him." He referred to Bartók's early Suite No. 1. He must have been unaware of the great esteem his correspondent cherished for the Hungarian composer. (This negative opinion, which is not exceptional on Jemnitz's part, is all the stranger since as a music critic he was one of the most ardent and appreciative Hungarian supporters of Bartók from the mid-1920s on.)

Jemnitz's bequest includes two of Schoenberg's letters (December 29, 1916, February 15, 1917) and two postcards (October 13 and November 24, 1917) from the war-time years.[11] They tell about the oratorio *Die Jakobsleiter* he was working on and works that had appeared in print. "When are you coming to Vienna?" Schoenberg asked on November 24, 1917. But Jemnitz could not go to Vienna during the war.

On September 11, 1918, Schoenberg sent a telegram: "Next week I must go to Budapest for a passport. Cable back whether you are there and can arrange hotel accommodation."[12] Schoenberg was about to go to Switzerland, and as his family came from Northern Hungary, he was supposed to apply for his passport in Budapest. In the end he got it in Vienna, but he only informed Jemnitz of this on September 24,[13] when explaining why his visit to Budapest had not taken place. He wrote in a very friendly tone: "I would be most pleased to see you. Once you wanted to come to Vienna, what happened? How are you? Are you working on something?" It was in answer to this Jemnitz sent him, on October 16, 1918, his freshly published Nine Songs op. 9, enclosed in the last letter of his that has survived in Schoenberg's bequest.

This signified an end to the period when they corresponded regularly. During the following decade—or more exactly until Schoenberg's emigration, in 1933—they must have met more than once at the ISCM festivals and other contemporary music events. Jemnitz the music critic did everything to popularize Schoenberg's music in Hungary. Although at the time he no longer was active as a conductor, he did conduct on a single occasion in Budapest: on March 31, 1931, the Municipal Orchestra played under his baton the orchestral version of *Verklärte Nacht*. He also planned to conduct *Pierrot lunaire;* this, however, remained a plan and the work was first heard in Hungary in the 1960s.

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The relationship between Schoenberg and Bartók will be discussed in a later article. The final Hungarian musician who deserves special mention is Tibor Varga (b. 1921), the eminent violinist and teacher, who emigrated after 1945 and is at present living in Switzerland. In 1949 he gave the first European performance of Schoenberg's Violin Concerto op. 36 completed in 1936, and his Fantasy for violin with piano accompaniment op. 47 of 1949.* Since Schoenberg never returned to Europe, their relationship was restricted to correspondence. Schoenberg learnt from his friends in Europe what an

* See *NHQ* 102.

enthralling performance Varga had given of his Violin Concerto which he was later able to hear for himself through a non-commercial recording.

I know of five letters written by Schoenberg to Tibor Varga (July 15 and December 8, 1949, January 3 and 25, 1950, and June 27, 1951). In the last one the composer, who died on July 13, 1951, wrote on the recording of the *Violin Concerto:**

"... I was struck by your powerful interpretation of my music ... it sounds as if you had known the piece for 25 years, your interpretation is so mature, so expressive and well-phrased. Frankly, I have never heard a performance of such perfection unless I have had a hand in the shaping of every detail. It is proof not only of your outstanding talent that you have found the key to my music all by yourself; it also gives me great pleasure because it demonstrates that my music is capable of talking meaningfully to the genuine musician; he will understand me without the need for any explanations, from the music itself.

"Thank you very much for this experience. I wish I were younger and could supply you with more material of this kind, I will certainly follow your interpretations with close attention. I hope to hear a performance of my Violin Fantasia as well, in the near future."

NOTES

1. The German originals of the letters by Imre Balabán and Sándor Jemnitz quoted here are preserved in the Music Division of the Library of Congress in Washington. I wish to thank here Wayne D. Shirley, who, on September 8, 1981, sent me photocopies of the letters. Publication of the letters has been assented to by the legal heirs, the children of the correspondents, Péter Balabán, Mrs. István Ágn ée Judit Balabán and János Jemnitz, and I offer my sincere gratitude for their permission.
2. Kodály's recollection quoted by D. Dille: "Die Beziehungen zwischen Bartók and Schoenberg" in *Documenta Bartókiana* 2, Ed. D. Dille, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1965, pp. 53–61. The reference to Kodály on p. 61.
3. Fünfzehn Gedichte aus Das Buch der Hängenden Garten, Op. 15, text by Stephan George.
4. Anita Luginbühl: "Attempt at a Diary by Arnold Schoenberg" in *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute*, Vol. No. 1, June 1986, pp. 7–52. The reference to Balabán on p. 13.
5. Antal Molnár: "Schönberg Arnold" in *Nyugat*, Vol. 5, June 1, 1912, pp. 931–936. New edition: Ed. J. Breuer: *Zenei írások a Nyugatban* (Musical Writings in the periodical Nyugat), Editio Musica, Budapest, 1978, pp. 84–93.
6. Antal Molnár: "Music Supplements to the 'Blauer Reiter'" in *Nyugat*, Vol. 6, February 16 1913, pp. 321–2. New edition: *ibid.* pp. 98–100.
7. I am indebted to Clara Steuermann, former keeper of the Archives of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute in Los Angeles, for a photocopy of the Jemnitz page in the birthday album.
8. In Ed. Vera Lampert: *Jemnitz Sándor válogatott zenekritikái. Függelék* (Selected Music Reviews by Sándor Jemnitz. Appendix), Editio Musica Budapest, 1973, pp. 433–8.

8a *Ibid.* pp. 633–5.

9. Theodor Wiesengrund-Adorno: "Marginalien zur Sonata von Alexander Jemnitz" in *Neue Musik-Zeitung*, Vol. 49, December 1928, pp. 387–90.
10. Again my gratitude to Clara Steuermann for a photocopy of the title pages of the four Jemnitz scores.
11. Lampert, op. cit. pp. 435–7.
12. *Ibid.* p. 437.
13. *Ibid.* p. 435.

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* See No 102

FROM UNPREDICTABLE CAGE TO PREDICTABLE TELEMANN

New records

There seems no end to the varieties of emptiness. Not only has John Cage continued for more than half a century to discover different ways of saying nothing, but younger composers, while sharing his avoidance of intention, paradoxically find themselves expressing each his or her own distinct personality. There is, for instance, no mistaking a work by László Sáry for one by Zoltán Jeney, despite the fact that both are in their mid-forties and are alumni of the Budapest New Music Studio. Sáry works with aimless jumbles of a few elements, Jeney with solemn presentations of simplicity. Sáry rolls his dice and comes up with 6112632161..., whereas Jeney writes 111111111.... At least, this is what the new records devoted to these composers suggest.

Sáry is represented on SLPX 12551 by three works: *A Continuity of Rotative Chords* for two pianos and two flutes (1975), *Pentagram* for prepared piano and five percussion players (1981) and *Five Melancholic Songs* for soprano and piano (also 1981). What is melancholic about the songs is depressive too in the other pieces: it is the wandering without reason within narrow ranges of choice, the blank acceptance of randomness. Because the basic features (pitches, rhythmic values) are so elementary and so exposed, one may have the sense of some mechanical operation in play; but there is no regularity to confirm such a conclusion, only the constant desultory change that is no change. There may, in the songs particularly, be suggestions of other styles, even of varieties of tonality, but these seem only haphazard occurrences; the music passes on. This deliberate, possibly desperate senselessness is easier to achieve in musical than in literary terms: it needs an art of time to convey the repeated message of inconsequence. However, Sáry has found texts exactly suited to his purposelessness by stringing together lines from Trakl taken out of context. Because Trakl often returned to favourite images, the *Five Melancholic Songs* have verbal repetitions to match their musical repetitiousness ("Klar in Blau Vogel zug", "das alter blauen Wassers", "die blaue Lieder"), while the phrases stand, like the musical events that accompany them, without connection and without meaning.

The songs are delivered with an appropriate folksong-like simplicity by Magda Tarkó, accompanied by Márta Kurtág. In the other two works the composer himself is involved, playing one of the pianos in *A Continuity* (the other pianist is András Wilheim, who also provides the programme notes) and one of the percussion parts in *Pentagram*. Both pieces are, like the songs, numbingly repetitive yet naggingly unpredictable. *Pentagram* is a prepared piano solo (played by László Vidovszky) decorated by percussion attacks of metal, glass, wood, ceramic and stone: the beautiful by-product is a fascinating study in resonance. *A Continuity* is rather more austere in effect, if only because it lacks this aura as a distraction from the unsystematic system: the two pianos play the same part, but with inevitable fuzziness of ensemble since there is no continuing pulse; meanwhile two flutes (Zoltán Gyöngyössy and István Matuz) baldly extend notes.

The new Jeney record (SLPX 12807) is devoted to just two works, *Arupa* for shipbells, tabla and drone (1981) and *Fantasia su una nota* for two chamber ensembles (1984). Possibly the former title has something to do with the fact that the piece is based on the Sarngadeva rhythmic formulae that have also absorbed Messiaen's attention: the

effect, with eight bells playing over the drum and sustained middle C (here generated by a synthesizer), is of a constant, regular and delicate tintinnabulation, something single continuing for almost twenty-three minutes. And this singleness is also essential to the nature of the *Fantasia su una nota*, which moves up a semitone to C sharp, sustained by synthesizers, flutes, strings and bell throughout, while another synthesizer and tuned percussion instruments floatingly improvise on chords over the drone. These are both meditative pieces, removed to an area of bliss and unassailable by reason.

There is another Sáry piece, but with more of Jeney's obsessive ostinato patterning, on the exciting début record of the percussion ensemble Amadinda (SLPD 12800). The work, with the apt title of *Pebble Playing in a Pot* (1978), is for two marimbas and antedates the formation of the ensemble in 1984 (it dates from 1978). Indeed, the only piece written for Amadinda here is István Márta's *Doll's House Story* (1985), a strange mixture of repetitiveness and synthesizer wailing: one feels there must be some story behind the story, but the sleeve note, unhelpfully, is concerned only with the ensemble and not with their repertory. That, though, is the only spot on a distinguished release. Amadinda play with electric attention and discipline, and they include a classic of the western percussion renaissance (Cage's *Second Construction* of 1940) along with transcriptions of African drumming and three encore pieces: rags by George Hamilton Green laid out for percussion quartet as if for a vast prepared piano.

More Cage is offered on SLPD 12893, which may be interpreted as a homage to the composer from his Hungarian admirers: Sáry and Jeney, along with Wilheim, Vidovszky and Barnabás Dukay, are the players in a superimposition of eighty pieces from the *Music for Piano* series of 1952–56; another five musicians, under the general direction of Péter Eötvös, lead proceedings in *Thirty Pieces for Five Orchestras* (1981), recorded by the Savaria Symphony Orchestra in Szombathely in 1986, when Cage was himself present.* Most of this later work is slow and thin-textured, so that although five separate ensembles are involved there is space to hear the single events and repeated single events of which the music is made. A mesostic, printed on the sleeve, registers the composer's gratitude for the "spirit" and "care" with which the musicians played: it is perhaps the care that is most apparent in the recording, since so much dragging repetition brings with it inexorably a feeling of lassitude. The piano pieces, speckled freely by chance, have no such sombre atmosphere, and Wilheim's production of the series (omitting only nos. 1–3 and 30, which have to be played as independent pieces) gives a feeling of freewheeling anarchy shaped only by fluctuations in density: a varying number of pebbles playing in a varying number of pots. In this realm of the random one has passed beyond aesthetic scrutiny. The existence of the record must be its own recommendation.

Some of the players of Cage's *Thirty Pieces* are perhaps to be found under different hats, or wigs, as members of the Capella Savaria, directed by Nicholas McGegan in Telemann's *Der geduldige Socrates* (SLPD 12957–61) and Handel's *Brockes Passion* (SLPD 12734–36). If so, they evidence the same care with rather more obvious spirit, the playing being lively, characterful (with solo oboes outstanding) and as well-tuned as authentic style makes possible. The Telemann, though, is a tiresome piece: a long comic opera which meanders amiably between its two main plots, one concerning a quartet of lovers like those of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, the other to do with the "patient Socrates" of the title and his pair of squabbling wives. There is little characterisation in the music, since Telemann would rather write a canon than differentiate between the voices of a duet; his lack of interest makes it entirely plausible

* *NHQ* 105

that some of the aria texts should have been left in their original Italian within an otherwise German libretto. Socrates in this incarnation becomes a bourgeois purveying homespun wisdom; the part is pleasantly sung, if with indifferent pronunciation, by József Gregor. Others in the cast include Guy de Mey, beautifully true and freshly ardent as the prince besieged by two ladies, and Paul Esswood, excellently achieving the virtuoso arias of the other prince whom they both ignore. The ladies themselves are nicely contrasted in tone, Éva Vámossy being brilliant and polished where Katalin Farkas has a more plangent, natural sound. What makes the whole experience seem futile is, besides the wearying convention of the da capo aria, the feeling all through that one is listening to weakened, softened Bach.

Of course, Handel in his only Passion also evokes memories, though the use of the Brockes verse paraphrase makes his work essentially different in kind from Bach's commentaries on Matthew and John: there is less drama, much less choral involvement, more pietist meditation in the many numbers for the Daughter of Sion (sung with rapturous simplicity by Mária Zádori) and A Faithful Soul (Farkas again, this time disturbingly out of tune). The recording is distinguished above all by the lyrical Jesus of Martin Klietmann. There is also again an excellent contribution from de Mey, who makes the portion of the work devoted to Peter's denial the most telling. Both these works were written for Hamburg: the Handel possibly in 1716 or 1717, the Telemann in 1721. Perhaps the Capella Savaria will follow them up with an opera by Reinhard Keiser.

PAUL GRIFFITHS

FROM OUR NEXT ISSUES

THREE DAYS WITH SÁNDOR VERESS
THE COMPOSER. Part 3
Ferenc Bónis

SCHOENBERG'S PAINTINGS
János Breuer

THREE UNPUBLISHED LETTERS BY LISZT
Klára Hamburger

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zete (In Memory of Petru Groza), 1984. See her "Petru Groza—Theory and Practice in Minority Rights," *NHQ* 99.

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LOVAG, Zsuzsa (b. 1944). Archeologist. A graduate of the University of Budapest. Head of the Section on the Middle Ages of the Hungarian National Museum. Her special field are medieval brazen work and the Hungarian regalia. Has published *A középkori bronzművesség emlékei Magyarországon* (Medieval brazen work in Hungary, 1979, *Aquamanilék* (Aquamaniles), 1984, *A magyar koronázás jelvényei* (The Hungarian regalia) with Éva Kovács, 1980.

MAKKAY, János (b. 1933). Archeologist. A graduate of the University of Budapest. 1956–1963 on the staff of the Déri Museum of Debrecen, 1963–1973 on that of the István Király Museum of Székesfehérvár, since 1973 on that of the Institute of Archeology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. His fields are Indoeuropean prehistory, the Neolithic Age and the history of religion. Publications include *Linear Pottery in Hungary*, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977 (in English); *A magyarországi neolitikum* (The Neolithic Age in Hungary), Gondolat, 1982 and *A tiszaszöllősi kincs* (The Tiszaszöllős Treasure), Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986 (an English translation is in preparation).

MAROSI, Ernő (b. 1940). Art historian. Senior lecturer at the Art History Department of the University of Budapest and deputy director of the Art History Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Specialises in medieval architecture and architectural sculpture on which he has published numerous books and studies, chiefly on Romanesque art and art history writing since the Renaissance. See "Courtly Art During the Reign of King Louis I," *NHQ* 90 and "Village Churches," 100.

MIKLÓS, Imre (b. 1927). Secretary of State, Head of the State Office for Ecclesiastic Affairs. Read history at the University of Budapest, 1946–51. His field is the history of the church. Has published, on this topic, in *Külpolitika*, a Hungarian journal for foreign affairs, *A Magyar Népköztársaság egyház politikájának négy évtizedéről* (On the Four Decades of the Church Policy by the Hungarian People's Republic), 1985, and *A magyar egyház nemzetközi tevékenysége* (The International Activity of the Hungarian Church), 1986 (also in English).

NYITRAI, Vera (b. 1926). Economist, statistician, Secretary of State, president of the Central Office of Statistics. Member of the International Statistical Institute and President of the UN Statistical Commission. Has published books and articles on industrial analyses, comparative studies, and articles on industrial analyses, efficiency and structural surveys. See "The International Contacts of Hungarian Statisticians," *NHQ* 92, "Statistics for the Nineties," 98 and "The Hungarian Economy in the World," 102.

ORBÁN, Ottó (b. 1936). Poet and translator. Has published seven volumes of poems and a great number of translations, as well as volumes of nursery rhymes. See his poems in *NHQ* 35, 37, 46, 58, 67, 71 as well as "Notes from America," 67 and "Poet in the Green Tent: László Nagy".

RUZSA, György (b. 1947). Art historian. A graduate in art history and Russian of the Universities of Budapest and Moscow.

1972–1975 a Researcher at the Moscow Lomonosov University. Since 1975 on the staff of the Budapest Museum of Applied Arts, now also on that of the Department of Art History of the University of Budapest. His fields are the Post-Byzantine and Russian art. Has published, *Larionoff*, Budapest, 1977, *Ikonok könyve* (Book of Icons), Budapest, 1981, *Nowgorod, Pleskau und der Russische Norden*, Hanau, 1981, *Feofan Grek*, Budapest, 1982 and *Ikonen in ungarischen Sammlungen*, Berlin, 1986.

SÜTŐ, András (b. 1927). Novelist, playwright, essayist. A leading figure in Hungarian literature and public life in Transylvania. His best known works include *Anyám könnyű álmot ígért* (My mother promised me sweet dreams) and a number of historical plays which are frequently performed in Budapest as well. See his "At the Graveside (of Gyula Illyés)" *NHQ* 91.

VÉKONY, Gábor (b. 1944). Archeologist, teaching at the Department of Archeology of the University of Budapest. His field is the prehistory of Central and Eastern Europe and of the period of the Great Migrations. The author of the chapter on the prehistory in *Erdély története* (History of Transylvania), 1986 and an essay on the Runic inscriptions from the later Great Migrations period (Késő-népvándorláskori rovásfeliratok a Kárpát-medencében) — 1987.

VÉGH, János (b. 1936). Art historian, heads the Department of Art History at the College of Arts and Crafts in Budapest. Works include: *Sixteenth-Century German Paintings in Hungarian Museums* (1972), *Early Netherlands Paintings* (1977), both from Corvina Press, also in English. See among his recent publications "A Concise Art History of Hungary," *NHQ* 84, "The Breakthrough to Modern Art," 89, "Medieval Art from Transylvania," 91, "King Matthias and the Renaissance in Hungary," 92 and "A Guide to Six Museums," 101.

VÖRÖS, T. Károly (b. 1960). Journalist in the cultural field. Read Hungarian and German at the Budapest University. Since 1976 on the staff of the *Kritika*, a monthly of literary criticism. His fields are contemporary German literature, the work of György Lukács and the sociology of literature.

WEHLI, Tünde (b. 1943). Art historian, a graduate of the University of Budapest. 1968–1970 on the staff of the Department of Art History of the same university. Since 1970 a member of the Research Group of Art History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Her fields are: illuminated MSS and the iconography of Medieval art. Her publications include *Az admonti biblia* (The Bible of Admont), 1977, *Lotharingische Apokalypse*, Leipzig, 1982 and *Flamand hóráskönyv* (Flemish Book of the Hours), 1986.

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