NHQ

The New Hungarian Quarterly

95

VOL. XXV ■ No. 95 ■ AUTUMN 1984 ■ £ 2 ■ $ 3.60

The New Hungarian Quarterly

Editorial offices
17 Rákóczi út, H-1088 Budapest, Hungary. Telephone: 136-857
Postal address: H-1906 Budapest, P.O.Box 223, Hungary

Annual subscription: $ 13.50 or equivalent post free to any address

Orders may be placed with
KULTURA FOREIGN TRADE COMPANY
H–1389 Budapest, P.O.B. 149
See also distributors listed on back page

Residents in Hungary may subscribe
at their local post office or at *Posta Központi Hírlapiroda*,
H-1900 Budapest V., József nádor tér 1.

Published by Lapkiadó Publishing House, Budapest
General manager: NORBERT SIKLÓSI

Printed in Hungary by Kossuth Printing House, Budapest

HU ISSN 0028-5390

Index: 26843

The New Hungarian Quarterly

VOL. XXV * No. 95

AUTUMN 1984

This issue went to press on April 5th 1984. Last proofs read on July 23th 1984

PRO DOMO ET PRO PATRIA

As I mentioned writing for the previous issue, the *NHQ* has entered its twenty-fifth year of publication. The occasion was remembered in London at a reception held at the Hungarian Embassy and at a working lunch given by the Science Policy Foundation. We are publishing some of the addresses under the collective heading The Twenty-Fifth Year. Allow me to specially mention Maurice Goldsmith, who spoke off the cuff, whose text was therefore not available. He has, for many years, been a good friend both to the paper and of its editor. In his speech he extended this friendship to Hungary as a whole, mentioning the surprises which an Englishman might experience travelling in Hungary or reading the *NHQ*.

Attentive readers will notice that we have moved forward the Economic Life section of the paper. This was warranted by the interest in the Hungarian economy shown internationally. The ongoing economic reform has been the major subject engaging Hungarian public opinion all 1983 and this year as well. The press participated in a debate which on occasion became much more passionate than what is normally expected from economists. The point is that they did not discuss abstract economic questions but the country's future. A section of the paper is therefore, in this issue, devoted to the Hungarian economy, the reasons for carrying on with the reform, and the principles which govern it. The most important of these was written by József Bognár, indeed it sums up in itself the argued for, and accepted, principles which will govern the carrying forward of the reform. Gerd Biró's description of the Hungarian economy in 1984 provides a more static background for Professor Bognár's discussion of the dynamics of change.

In my own London address, included in this issue, I once again explain why we lay such stress on publishing Hungarian poems in translation.

These poems are, however, only printed right at the front of an issue on special occasions, such as the 80th birthday of Dezső Keresztury, a grand old man of Hungarian intellectual life, scholar, poet and dramatist, and member of our Editorial Board. There are few in Hungary as well-known to old and young indeed I should say few are as beloved by as many as Dezső Keresztury is. He is identified as someone who in his person and his works alike expresses with equal strength what is European about Hungarians, and Hungarian about Europeans. Let me add once again that in Hungarian the term European does not merely denote a geographical fact, it also sets standards.

Dezső Keresztury will turn eighty on the 6th of September 1984, we had originally planned to include in this Autumn issue not only verse, but also a literary essay and an interview. Unfortunately there were delays in translation and the two prose texts had to be held over: they will be published in the next issue. Keresztury was the mentor of my youth, and the friend of my maturity and old age. Not only myself but many a writer, teacher, musician, and actor, as well as many thousands of readers think of him as a close friend. He is known in many guises, as a writer, historian of literature and student of German, as the editor of literary and music coffee table books, as one who shores up the ruins of crumbling chateaux, and puts new life into them; as the leading authority on János Arany and as the friend of Babits and Kodály. Many know him and respect him as a teacher, as a passionate, kind and demanding educator. Over the past half century or more I often knew him as the apostle of lost causes. No one has forgotten that he was the first post-war Minister of Culture and Education in Hungary. In not quite two years in office he laid the foundations, and started on the implementation of the basic principles of education through training and training through education. His principles and plans have been a source of inspiration to his successors ever since, but especially since 1957.

But Dezső Keresztury is first and foremost a poet, as Alan Dixon's translations bear out.

György Aczél's article on the rights of national minorities as a law of socialism is based on an address he gave. That national minorities enjoy such rights under socialism, in a manner guaranteed by the law of the land would appear to be obvious; there are situations, however, where it does not do any harm to stress the most obvious and refer to Hungarian examples.

The belief, entertained by many in the West, that psychoanalysis is not practised in socialist countries, is a legacy of the Cold War. The proof of the pudding is in the eating: Dr Imre Hermann, the author of an in-

depth study of Sándor Ferenczi, a member of the first generation of Freud's disciples, practised psychoanalysis in Budapest throughout his long working life, up to his death, at 95, in February this year. Zsuzsa Déri, who lived and worked in the US, and also died recently, wrote on the leading psychotherapists of Budapest, Sándor Ferenczi, Michael Balint, Lipót Szondi, and Imre Hermann himself, discussing their theories and practice.

The principle and practice of peaceful coexistence, one of the guiding lights of the *NHQ*, appears in this issue in two differing forms. József Pálfy writes on the history and current state of Austro-Hungarian relations, presenting them as a model of good-neighbourliness for countries with differing social and economic systems. The other coexistence is not between countries but refers to the dialogue between ideologies and between men and women. A symposium on the Responsibility of Man in the World Today was held at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Participants included Marxist philosophers from socialist and capitalist countries, as well as Roman Catholic, Protestant, Greek Orthodox, and Jewish theologians and philosophers from all over the world. We publish Professor József Lukács's keynote address on the sole alternative for mankind, and a contribution by Tamás Nyiri, a professor of theology, on reconciliation.

The first of a series of articles appears in the Arts section. The purpose is an overview of twentieth century Hungarian painting and the occasion the opening of a permanent exhibition covering that period as part of the National Gallery in Buda Castle, the first of its kind for some years. Hungarian social history, lacking a bourgeois period in the classical sense of the term, differs somewhat from that of Western Europe, and survival of conservative forms and conventions in art was one of the side-effects. But here and there an outstanding Hungarian artist found himself in the European vanguard. That often mentioned "getting there too late" does not apply to artists—and it is precisely to those that we wish to draw attention it. Judit Szabadi's two part article on the great figures of the early twentieth century who set their mark on styles of painting, starts the series. Articles on the painters of the period between the wars and the post-1945 era will follow.

THE EDITOR

NATIONAL MINORITY RIGHTS: THE LAW OF SOCIALISM

by

GYÖRGY ACZÉL

The foundation of the stable internal political situation in Hungary is trust, the consensus among workers, peasants and intellectuals, agreement between Party members and those who are not, the believers in God and materialists that we build socialism together, and how we build it, accepting as a national programme our share in this work.

The rights of the national minorities are an indispensable part of this socialist national common understanding. It is an important asset of our social progress that the national minorities do not merely build themselves a house but have also found a home in this country! In the poet's words: "It's only your country if you've got rights there!" The Hungary building socialism guarantees these rights to the national minorities—to communities as well as to every single individual.

This was not always so.

It is our conviction that it was right, and we consider it right and justified today too that those who committed crimes—be they Germans or Hungarians—were called to account. But it is with conviction that we say with Brecht that there are no sectarian or fascist nations, and that the people cannot be replaced! We deeply regret that innocent, and even progressive people too had to atone for crimes which they had not committed. This cannot be justified by the obviously right demand to do away with Nazism, German imperialism either. Just as history has proven that the turning of a national minority or of members of a faith, into scapegoats, the instigation of racional or national hatred cannot be a medicine for domestic problems.

This recognition was the condition for us returning, and being able to return to the noble heritage of *Deutsch–Ungartum*. This deeply engraved

* Based on an address delivered at the 6th Congress of the Democratic Association of Germans in Hungary, on December 3, 1983.

into our consciousness the lesson, which is not to be underestimated, that even out of such an extremely complex, frequently off, and poisoned, relationship as that between the Hungarians and the Germans living here there is a normal way out, there are possibilities for settling the issue, if we seriously and consistently assert the norms of socialism.

We have paid a high price for the lesson. The political and social conditions for closing this sad chapter were created more than twenty-five years ago, and we were able to start something new in this respect too. It is therefore a great pleasure for us—and for me, as Member of Parliament for Baranya County it is a personal joy too—to find that the Germans living in Hungary take part with their industriousness, their labour discipline and skills in the active realization of our common goals: they live here held in high esteem and in a manner worthy of man.

A socialist country does not grant or donate rights when it creates equality of opportunity, but fulfils its obligation towards itself, since this is the law of socialism. Uniformity would impoverish us, colourfulness enrichee socialism. Not only the plurality of languages but the meeting of cultures also enriches our common society, our shared state.

This is an extremely important principle of socialist evolution in Hungary. This is so even if some tell us that we have it easy, since our national minorities are small in numbers, and even they form a diaspora. This is not the way we approach this question! The national minorities policy of the Party and of the state—on a matter of basic principle—must be independent of the numbers that make up to national minorities. National minority policy is an organic part of policy as a whole. When dealing with questions of detail, numbers cannot, of course, be left out of account, nor whether they live in language islands or a diaspora. In the development of the institutional system serving their rights—our common rights—in that they should be able to develop their united and organic culture in all circumstances, this factor also has a role. But—I repeat—it does not, and cannot, affect basic principles.

*

It is worth stressing some of these basic principles, indicating also the conditions in which our Leninist nationality policy is being realized and progresses.

The socialist approach to the nationality question is inseparable from the class struggle throughout society, from class aspects. As the late Yuri Andropov rightly put it on the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the Soviet Union: "The successes achieved in the solution of the national

question do not in the least mean that all those problems have disappeared which arise from the fact that many nations and national minorities live and work together within the framework of a state which is a union. That can hardly happen as long as nations exist and as long as national differences exist. These will survive for a long time, for a much longer time than class differences." The correct interpretation and attitude of this fact requires constant attention and special care. Let me add: in our circumstances a great deal remains to be done in spite of the fact that in our country, in this area, the decisive part of the old problems are already behind us. After the socialist turn the Communists believed almost everywhere, in an enthusiastic and naive way, without having had any experience, that once embarked on a socialist course the national question would be solved, so to speak automatically. We must make people aware that these ideas were Utopian, precisely in order to make better and more dynamic use of the reserves that are present in socialism for the resolution of national problems and tensions.

*

Among the national minority rights the opportunity to nurse and tend the culture of the native languae and folk customs, and the future of the minority schools play an important role. I may add that in shaping the living conditions of the national minorities an inestimable role is played by what goes under the term urbanisation, the siting of industry, and the progress made by the infrastructure which determines all our lives. But just as tending the native language and other cultural factors cannot substitute for economic factors, neither can the latter replace or push into the background the former. Socialist national minorities policy demands the complex development of endowments and conditions.

The resolution of the 12th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party established: "An important element of the internationalist solution of the national question is the free growth of diglossal and bi-cultural citizens". For precisely this reason we urge that the national minorities in our country should learn and teach, in addition to their regional dialect the literary language of their people as well. In this the role of the family, of the kindergarten, of the school is extremely large. In order that they should be able to meet this requirement, they are justified—and we are justified—in demanding even greater assistance than today for the national minority intellectuals.

It is indispensable that the relationship between national minorities and the nations who speak their language should develop freely. It is our con-

viction that our national minorities have an important mission in the intensification of friendship among the nations. We may call this mission bridge-building, a connecting link, a stimulation, or whatever—the substance is the essence! We continue to urge cooperation with the neighbouring socialist countries and with the German Democratic Republic in this area too. We consider natural, are grateful for and request in the case of the Germans of Hungary, on the basis of the identity of our social system, the many-sided assistance from the institutions of the GDR. We also consider natural the interest which neighbouring Austria and the Federal Republic of Germany manifest in the lives of Germans in Hungary. We look on this question in harmony with the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic which serves peaceful coexistence, understanding and cooperation between the nations.

*

We set out from the Leninist doctrine that the majority cannot be too considerate enough towards the national minorities, and the national minorities and the national minorities can identify themselves with the cause of socialism the more they feel that the possibility for maintaining their characteristics, language and culture is guaranteed to them and the greater opportunities they have to maintain contacts with nations speaking the same language as they do. The normal functioning of this system of relations interweaving everyday life—atmosphere both at work and away from it—succeeds or fails not least owing to whether in the course of their long coexistence the various groups have been able to overcome every kind of xenophobia, of aversion to differences; whether the natural acknowledgement, and even mutual respect for and utilization of otherness within the community develops, as differences in language, traditions, customs, etc. If we do not think of differences in language and in folk customs in a hierarchical way, if this otherness is no longer an irritating factor but a natural human right, and this way of thinking is asserted on behalf of the majority towards the minority and vice versa, then a new human quality appears in everyday life which socialist society cannot do without. This means that the socialist national minorities policy must be asserted "above" as well as "below"—everywhere.

All of us carry the burden of a great responsibility that these justified expectations be met. In the past five years national consciousness has grown stronger and this also gives rise to further justified demands. The just and lasting solution of the national question can only be the fruit of the evolution

of socialist society and of socialist democracy. We consider the complete assertion of the Leninist principles of national policy one of the fundamental characteristics of socialism.

The German national minority in Hungary enriches our common homeland with considerable values in today's difficult situation. They fulfil a mission by tending their national culture: they enrich the culture of the entire Hungarian homeland, and at the same time that of all human beings speaking their language. It is our great common task that this country should stay on its feet economically, should develop its culture, should be a good and beautiful country to all of us.

I believe that there is no difference of opinion among us that the most important question for our country is the maintenance of peace. This is the foundation for the struggle for a better, and more harmonious future.

It is for this that I wish you success, creative energies and good results in your own lives too.

FROM OUR NEXT ISSUES

GYÖRGY LUKÁCS 1885–1985
Unpublished texts, letters, diaries, documents, photographs

THE OPENNESS OF THE MARXIAN THEORY
Miklós Almási

IN THE LABYRINTH OF THE THEORIES OF ALIENATION
Zoltán Frenyó

SOCIOGRAPHY INTO SOCIOLOGY
Chris Hann

HUNGARY AND THE TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS
Zoltán Krasznai

DEZSŐ KERESZTURY

POEMS

Translated by Alan Dixon

SLEEPLESS

I cannot sleep again, not that I feel
the shifting front beneath atomic storms
in space; it is some agitation harms
my rest: from peaceful bones I hear a dull

whimper, slow liquids push their way through all
the forehead's passages, the entrails' calms,
craving a pulse: it is that thing which forms
to name itself the soul perhaps, the fool,

and as it brims with the chaos of the world
it knows explosion is its only care,
a rocket dropping through the atmosphere,

and never fearful that it must be burned,
it wants, although uncertain, just to flare,
suspecting destiny might cheat it there.

FIELD OF FORCES

A dog all alone barks outside at the moon,
through the shadowy night a slow sniffing wind,
under frozen lumps the dead, rotting down,
are too deep to be reached by the frost's splitting hand;

here corpses, asleep like the living, are stretched;
false is the world where they fall in their dreams;
on the ghostly moonlight a tissue is etched;
a spider of gold hangs from space and its beams;

the far side of Earth can rejoice in the light;
here in reflection each thing is its shade,
and maenads are stiff, dead the grove and the sprite;
there in pain, pleasure, well-being, battle is made;

the outside capricious, the inside erratic;
the law of this life is deadly, chaotic.

RIPENING

O to be soaring still! to feel
steadying movement of
the muscles and to hover on
a flow of facing wind,
to circle between distances,
above, below, and filled
with the angels' nostalgia for Eden;
to live in hearts both old and young,
and even as remembrance
of gratitude for the gods'
permission to endure;
and seeking no advantage,
perhaps just an example of the chance
that even in a quagmire one can grow
to be a sturdy fruitful tree,
and not to make destruction
the subject of the poem,
and even out of the horror's depth
to hail the celebration: that
would be the proper way!—but time
has turned aside, it is not I
who soared in time; it lifted me
benumbed, or whirled me away,
and inside, I—just muscle, bone
and skin and viscera—know my soul is firm
and does not drowse; I scale and shed
my wounds and know that through
my metaphors, my sentences,
my masks, I hardly know the way

to show what reverberates: music,
moment, that which only
flows, the present, that
which is both past and future,
swirling, ever changing shape.

ULYSSES IN THE DUBLIN NIGHT

Seeking, ever seeking!

That's all my father handed down to his three sons;
Nathan Blum, the grocer at Mád, had risen from Galician depths,
not from the region of the Mediterranean Sea:
we are Greeks as well, but Greeks who besieged and captured
Troy,
for we became its leaven: my elder brother Hans
is famed as a physician in Berlin, a Prussian
Asclepius; György Virág, my younger brother, is
a conductor in Budapest, a Hungarian Arion, and I,
S. Bloom, salesman of wine and stout, am the hero of
a novel of today and set in Dublin, a sea
in civilization's cup, Odysseus circumcised,
and loyal citizen of my Irish homeland amongst fools
who hurl Irish bombs at the English and explosive works
in English at the world: and so he developed me from
his collage, a plate swarming with double exposures;
James Joyce,
genius of chaos, took me of all men as Irish Ulysses,
lurcher roaming the sedimented mud, sea deeps
of every metropolis.
Morning, before usual
boarding of the ship, I wormed myself out of the bed, and with
some squeamishness prepared our breakfast and served it to
Molly,
she still gasping the names of lovers into her pillow;
does anyone still want her now?—there are still some
for her and me as well it seems: I have desires;
well, not perhaps for those slack tits of hers she chucks
at me while in her heart of hearts there's nothing at all

hearing nothing; swallowing kidney and eggs and gulping
some mugs of tea, my old Penelope needs not, because
of me, undo at night the part she weaves each day.
She, that foul companion of my soul, my Spouse!
throws me something for all the many deals I missed,
—up yours! I say—I know all her abuse by heart;
I go instead wandering into the tideway of
the mist-lapped city under the bleary sun...
Venture
for the adventurous, a salesman must seek out,
promote! Tokay just now—made famous by the Greeks
in flight from the Turk; ours now this trade, we are
the new Greeks;
—I knew the vineyards in my youth, I sniffed the cellars,
but adventure, sea, the lights of cities lured—to swim
lubricious nights, or by gondola slide to trysting *donne*,
masked... enough!—it came to this: swaying in chains
of slight success and worthless contests won, docked here
in this black hole; rats run in the dark, cockroaches scurry
from light, drunks wallow from pubs, a scum that snorts and grunts;
but I believed I had lost only my innocence,
along with my illusions, and stood just ankle deep
in the quagmire at my throat.
We have stepped out into Space,
have split the atom, but here below on the Earth, at the end
of Gutenberg's Galaxy—one village now—the top
and bottom spit on non-stop: the great adventure of
the age happens without me; work of astounding minds
is brought to what by petty tacticians? Gladiators
had killed not to be killed, but how could all those millions
have saved themselves?—fire-power of rockets launched by no one
is entered into records by indifferent bureaucrats
and their computers, meanwhile the spattered mirrors of
my mirror-coated cell reflect each other: lights,
rain-streaks, mis-shapen, multiplied:—here is what must be:
plants suffocate and die in the thickened vapours of
deadly indifference, against the walls of glass
birds break, and in a maze of artifice mere man
is lost;—is that what I should promote?!
—In silent

twilight a woman approaches; Venus night-born, or Circe,
Calypso, Nausikaa—approaches through flaking
concatenated colonnades, galleries and cells, the same today
as how we fancied she would be, and we transformed,
as if sirens had chewed and spat me out, to piece
me up again; slight and suspended the woman approaching
becomes dumpy and real, standing, brazen virgin
with painted lips and honeyed mouth, ignorant of
the Jewish saviour and original sin: she waves
acceptance;—but of course I would prefer to make my way back
to Ithaca's masks of custom and order: to embrace my spouse;
but what can I do if I'm not given the sunlit world,
only disgusting alleys in which to live, ventures
with stakes that kill, and less of fame than limping draughts
can bring in stenches from the chemical plants.
"How huge
the sea must be!" I said to Nausie-Nessie among
scoffing pub-loafers, already sloshed enough myself—
"there we can be above the rest; even in the marsh
the oak can grow if the mud is rich, and we need not
be drowned in it, my own, my Calf-Eyed One; I know
too well your shelving creeks and the rain of sparks that spirts
along my spine with you: one has to search, to choose,
my Slattern-Muse, you too could share the dreamt return
of Eden's love adventure, yet all women are
Medusa: abhorrent fascination!"—she just stared—
"come now"—I dragged her; passed the frowzy pisshouse, stopped
there in the courtyard, the sky split and the Christmas tree
of the stars lit up: "look there!"—I pointed up and said
—"that one up there, the pole-star holding the axis of
our Earth, but that as well is circling how many suns?" . . .

I crave his mercy from the one who speaks from there
or from within!

AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN RELATIONS— MAINTAINING GOOD NEIGHBOURLINESS

by

JÓZSEF PÁLFY

Some dozen years ago tourist agencies in Vienna offered their American clients the Iron Curtain: tourists were taken by bus a hundred kilometres or so out of the former imperial capital to gaze in awe at the opposite shore of Lake Neusiedler (Fertő tó in Hungarian). These days a growing number of Austrian travel agencies bring groups on guided tours of Hungary, to Budapest and Lake Balaton; foreign tourism is one of the spectacularly developing areas of Hungarian–Austrian cooperation. A side-aspect of this is that Austria has granted a loan of $300 million to help develop transport and catering facilities for tourism in Hungary. Another is that the Hungarians are now offered foreign travel by a Hungarian–Austrian joint undertaking. Indeed, it is recognized in Vienna that Hungarian tourists in Austria, even if relatively low on foreign currency, have become an important factor in Austria's balance of tourism.

Of course, what we might call diplomatic tourism is more important. A sign of this is that it is practically impossible to list the high-level Hungarian–Austrian negotiations that have taken place in the past fifteen years. The first visit abroad, by Dr. Sinowatz, the new Austrian Chancellor, on assuming office was purposely undertaken to Austria's eastern neighbour. The statement at the end of the talks between the two heads of government is not without interest as it pointed out that it is important to have meetings and talks which, besides developing bilateral relations, can serve in the present-day tense international situation, to carry on the process of détente and the promotion of peace and security in Europe. It went on to point out that talks such as these serve as an example of the constructive dialogue possible between countries with different social systems.

It was not only on the occasion of his visit to Budapest and not merely by way of courtesy that the Austrian Chancellor told his hosts and jour-

nalists that he really could be conscious of the significance of Austro-Hungarian neighbourliness. The Chancellor was born in Burgenland, a region lying along the Hungarian frontier; he is attached to his native region, and whenever he can, after his day's work, in the evenings, he drives home to the former Hungarian village of Neufeld, where his family home still stands today. Speaking of his parents, Dr. Sinowatz mentioned that even then they had gone to a Hungarian school. He can demonstrate through his own family's experience how in the course of history Austrians, Croats, and Hungarians came together in that region.

Of course, during the centuries the historical climate was more often dark and charged with gloom—even violence and war—than it was clear and cloudless. Almost four hundred years of Habsburg rule often seemed hateful to the Hungarian people. The most glorious pages of Hungarian history are on the wars of independence waged against the Habsburgs even though all of these ended in defeat for the Hungarians. Small wonder then if, emotionally, a genuine sense of community was out of the question until virtually the early years of this century, in spite of the fact that after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, members of the Hungarian ruling class did their best to attach themselves to the Vienna Court, and to the political and economic potentates of the Monarchy.

True, economic development in the last third of the nineteenth century began to raise Hungary from its earlier feudal backwardness. Historians now are looking at this period from a different point of view. A picture more nuanced and even displaying positive elements is emerging to replace the earlier view, which represented the *K.u.K.* period as one in which the Hungarians were simply oppressed, exploited and hindered in their development.

I have just mentioned the *K.u.K.* period, *Kaiserlich und Königlich* (Imperial and Royal). The constitutional basis was that this was a personal union, the ruler being Austrian Emperor and Hungarian King at the same time. In the system established after 1867 there were certain common affairs, from common armed forces to common foreign affairs. In a political joke some fifty years after the dissolution of the Monarchy, *K.u.K.* was given a new meaning: *Kreisky und Kádár.* A joke, yes, but one which had an effective basis in the fact that the Hungarian party leader and the former Austrian Chancellor had really ushered in a new era in the history of the two neighbouring countries. Starting from mutual personal esteem, János Kádár and Bruno Kreisky created a new partnership

between Budapest and Vienna, one which managed to bridge the differences between the socio-economic systems of the two countries.

It is not just an empty formula used in communiqués; it is a fact that socialist Hungary and neutral Austria profess views which closely resemble or even concide with each other on a number of international issues. As an example of political and diplomatic cooperation, their joint participation in carrying on the Helsinki process can be cited. Both Budapest and Vienna were genuinely pleased with the successful conclusion to the Madrid meeting, in the interest of which a great deal had been done by the diplomacy of both countries. The two capitals are of one opinion on the great importance of the Stockholm conference on confidence-building measures, security and disarmament in Europe. This may open up new vistas in shaping European security. The two governments concur in the opinion that with proper goodwill, by mutual effort, and on the basis of reasonable compromises, it is possible to attain results even amidst today's strained international relations. Both socialist Hungary and neutral Austria are ready to support any useful effort and proposal which aims at strengthening confidence and cooperation between states or which aims to make it possible to reach agreements which, taking into account the security interests of all the states concerned, contribute to the realization of disarmament.

It was natural that the most spectacular development in this new *K.u.K.* era could be attained in the field of economic and trade relations between the two neighbouring countries. Trade between Hungary and Austria expanded very rapidly and attained its height in 1981, when the total value of two-way trade amounted to ÖS12,000 million. In 1982 it was less than that, but Austria has invariably remained Hungary's second most important trading partner among the advanced capitalist countries (the FRG being first). Trade with Austrian firms amounts to 5 per cent of the entire volume of Hungary's foreign trade; Austria has a 10 per cent share in Hungary's trade with advanced capitalist countries. The converse also holds: Hungary is second among Austria's socialist partners with a 2.4 per cent share of Austrian exports and a 1.4 per cent share of Austrian imports.

A large Austrian company's survey of the favourable conditions for cooperation with Hungary pointed to the following factors: "1. Geographical location, neighbourhood. 2. Common historical past. 3. Close human contacts. 4. Mutually complementary mentality. 5. Similar natio-

nal economies. 6. Identical technical language and similarity of roles played in the world economy."

Both Budapest and Vienna consider these conditions sufficient to continue developing their economic ties to their mutual benefit in the future.

In spite of the results it is obviously impossible to paint Hungarian–Austrian economic relations solely in rosy colours, especially now when economic development in both countries is slowing down and competition is becoming sharper both on the world and on our regional markets.

The Hungarian side can bring up the fact that the structure of Hungary's exports to Austria is more unfavourable than in the case of the average OECD country. Consumer goods and products from the engineering industry have a low share, while the proportions of raw material and fuel deliveries are very high. On the other hand, Hungary's natural resources mean that it is not possible to increase considerably exports of raw materials and fuels; thus an increase in trade cannot be based on these.

Trade in processed industrial products has not been able to develop dynamically enough and thus these articles have a very low share in Hungary's exports. Budapest makes no secret of the fact that the reason for this is that Hungarian industrial products are confronted with a considerable tariff disadvantage on the Austrian market. Austria conducts duty-free trade not only with the EFTA countries but also with the countries of the Common Market; however Hungarian commodities are accorded only most-favoured-nation status.

A relatively new sphere of economic relations is that which has created economic and technical cooperation between enterprises. As regards the number of cooperation agreements between Hungarian and Austrian enterprises, Austria is again second only to the Federal Republic of Germany with one hundred and twenty cooperation agreements between individual firms.

It is not only Hungarian industry and agriculture which benefits by cooperation. As a result of the world recession the mood for investment has abated somewhat, consequently the amount of privately financed construction has also decreased and a large number of Austrian construction companies are wrestling with financial problems. But not the firm which is building hotels in Budapest... This also accounts for the fact that several new proposals are on the negotiating table for the founding of joint enterprises which would be capable of joint construction activity on third markets.

In this connection it is worth emphasizing that in general an increasing number of opportunities are presenting themselves for cooperation on

third markets. A good number of results have already been registered in this field: enterprises of the two countries have successfully cooperated in producing installations for the food industry as well as in constructing power plants, in steel-making and vehicle manufacture. For example, a Hungarian and an Austrian firm jointly deliver railway carriages to Greece and Tunisia; Hungarian and Austrian manufacturers in cooperation have sold telecommunications equipment in Czechoslovakia. Both sides see the most dynamically developing opportunity for joint action now lies on third markets. The best illustration of the interest shown in such deals is the fact that in the occasion of the latest meeting of the Hungarian–Austrian commission on cooperation and goods exchange, late in September 1983, representatives of dozens of Austrian firms came to Budapest with a view to opening negotiations with managers of Hungarian enterprises on proposals for cooperation involving approximately ÖS7,000 million. During the meeting the Hungarian side gave information on the Hungarian plans for industrial development, specifying the branches of industry in which cooperation could be expanded. These are in energy, in the manufacture of energy-saving equipment, in synthetic materials, in machine-tool manufacturing, and in the production of pharmaceuticals.

There would be no point in denying that conflicts of interest still crop up here and there: retailers and department stores in Burgenland were not at all pleased to see that many Austrians living in the vicinity of the frontier did their Christmas shopping in 1983 on the Hungarian side of the frontier, in Sopron or Szombathely. According to estimates, customers coming from Austria spent about ÖS500 million in Hungarian shops. Even though business was being bolstered by these shoppers, the local population saw with some uneasiness and resentment that the "Austrian brothers-in-law" (a time-honoured name that has now been revived) were taking home Hungarian wines, liquors, salami, ham, sweets, cigarettes and even glassware in large quantities. This was increased by the knowledge, common to every Hungarian, that the difference in value between the schilling and the forint means that the Austrian visitor can buy Hungarian goods more cheaply. Fortunately the currency black market that was booming a few years ago has now practically ceased: the official rate now causes no loss to any Austrian or foreign visitor. People are no longer tempted to buy forints at better than the official price in Vienna and so now avoid the risks involved in such transactions. Austrian shopping tourism can eventually improve Hungary's balance of payments. At the same time, supply conditions in Hungary are also being put to the test by this

steady Austrian demand which becomes a veritable shopping invasion before major holidays.

All this has been made possible by the abolition of visas between the two countries. The time has gone when an Austrian citizen had a lengthy wait for Hungarian visa and had to bear the extra burden of obligatory currency exchange at a rate unfavourable to him.

Hungarian nationals, although they can travel to Austria without a visa, have to comply with certain Hungarian regulations. In essence, these mean that a Hungarian citizen is entitled to a holiday journey with his full allowance of foreign currency once every three years; he can travel to Austria with a minimum supply of currency, upon receiving an invitation from someone in Austria, once every year. On an organized conducted tour, Hungarians can visit our neighbour as many times a year as they can afford it. So, the people of Vienna now see many Hungarian buses around Mariahilferstrasse throughout the year.

The intention of improving the conditions for good-neighbourly coexistence is practically always present in Hungarian–Austrian relations. Both sides have agreed that their respective secondary-school certificates shall be mutually accepted and recognized as equivalent. There are new opportunities for Hungarian artists and sportsmen to perform in Austria. (This season, a contender for leading goal-scorer in Austrian football was the Hungarian footballer Tibor Nyilasi, who now plays for one of the best Austrian soccer teams.)

At the end of 1983 Austrian Television for the first time did a live broadcast from abroad of one of its popular talk shows. Participants from Hungary and Austria described what *Ungarn heute* was actually like. This joint programme was also an item of the cultural exchange between the two countries. So too are a number of other entertaining programmes, since it is not difficult to find a common language, for example in the world of operettas. Among those who worked in the legendary Vienna operetta genre were Hungarian composers such as Imre Kálmán and Ferenc Lehár. In exchange the Strausses used to mine Hungarian themes with gusto.

Cultural relations naturally bring up many more deeper and more enduring artistic memories. How many of the great figures of Hungarian literature fought against "political Vienna" while physically in geographical Vienna (not to mention the dungeons of Kufstein)? In reverse we

may pick out at random Lenau's poetry. It was thanks to the Esterházys' patronage of the arts that a Haydn could unfold his talents. We can also recall Beethoven's stay in Martonvásár,. One of the directors of the Budapest Opera House was none other than Gustav Mahler. And so forth. Even a random list could go on and on.

The Collegium Hungaricum represents Hungarian cultural life in Vienna. (There are still some who feel it is a pity that a controversial decision of the Hungarian government has recently given back to Austria the old Collegium Hungaricum, the Trautson Palace. Even Vienna, so rich in Baroque wonders, still lists it as an architectural masterpiece of Fischer von Erlach's.

Also worthy of notice in present-day relations between the two countries is the cooperation between the Hungarian and the Austrian Academies of Sciences. This has been on an organized basis since 1972. Joint work by historians is being pursued today in accordance with the new cooperation agreement signed in 1983. But the scholars do not only deal with the past; novel pursuits of theirs are cooperation in space research and in research on the Danube. Besides Hungarian university institutions, Vienna institutes participate as do certain university departments in Graz, Linz, and Salzburg. Hungarian and Austrian scientists are engaged in research of joint interest in eighteen areas in natural science and sociology.

Cultural cooperation between Hungary and Austria may extend also to the field of cultural diplomacy, since the Austrian side is showing readiness to take part in the preparations for the cultural forum to be held in Budapest in 1985. One of the decisions of the Madrid meeting was to convene this all-European cultural conference. Among those interested in carrying on the Helsinki process in the cultural sphere, it was the Austrians and the French who insisted most emphatically in Madrid that this forum should be organized in the Hungarian capital.

In our days the human factor is more and more markedly stressed in the relationship between the two Danubian countries. Cultural exchanges, economic cooperation, growing tourist traffic and many other fields of activity separately and collectively demonstrate that the development of human contacts creates mutual confidence. Chancellor Sinowatz declared that one of the greatest results of his visit to Budapest was the strengthening of mutual confidence. It is obvious that confidence has a still greater role to play when two countries with different socio-economic systems try to explore areas for fruitful cooperation. With fifteen years of experience and many advantages to point to, socialist Hungary and neutral Austria can profit from this trusting relationship not only for their own benefit

but also as a contribution to improving the political climate of this continent.

*

During his visit, Chancellor Sinowatz also took pains to emphasize the continuity of the policy of the Austrian government. In 1983 Austria had a new government, one which involved changes in its political make-up: a socialist cabinet was replaced by a socialist and liberal coalition. There was also an important personal change in that Bruno Kreisky left the Ballhausplatz palace. The ex-Chancellor, even when Minister of Foreign Affairs, had contributed to the shaping of good-neighbourly relations between the two countries, and as head of government he did even more to implement fruitful cooperation. All the more reason for Budapest to receive with satisfaction the new Chancellor's statement on the continuity of Austrian foreign policy towards Hungary. (A declaration to the same effect was made also by Foreign Minister Erwin Lanc, as well known from earlier ministerial posts in Budapest as the present-day head of government who, as Vice-Chancellor and Minister of Culture, had visited Budapest in 1981.) Dr Sinowatz, head of the new Austrian government, during his first official trip to Budapest in this capacity, could convince himself that the continuity displayed on the Hungarian side is exactly the same.

It was of symbolic significance that an item in the Chancellor's visit was the laying of the foundation-stone of the new arrival and departure building of Budapest's Ferihegy Airport. Austrian building companies have contracts worth ÖS600 million for the building of this new airport facility which will increase Hungarian tourist capacity by August 1985. "The Iron Curtain exists no more", the Austrian Chancellor, speaking at his press conference, referred to a remark made during his exchange of views with János Kádár. Talking to journalists, Chancellor Sinowatz laid special emphasis on how right it was for his first journey abroad as Chancellor to be to the Hungarian capital, thus making it possible for him to strengthen and continue building good relationships. Leaders of socialist Hungary and neutral Austria agree that détente is in the interest of all peoples, and that efforts should be made in common to stop any further heightening of the tension existing in the world today. Cooperation between the two countries has continued to strengthen in spite of a tense international situation. And this, when added to good-neighbourly relations, is of no small matter to Europe or the world.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF MAN IN THE WORLD TODAY

The Hungarian Academy of Sciences arranged an academic conference in Budapest between February 28 and March 1, 1984, on "The responsibility of man in the world today." Participants were Marxists from socialist and capitalist countries as well as Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox and Jewish theologians and philosophers from all parts of the world.

The participants of the conference were in agreement that the responsibility of man in respect of the danger to human life has grown considerably in the world today. The focus of this danger is the threat of a thermo-nuclear war; the danger is enhanced further by such problems as care for the starving millions of the Third World, the demographic explosion and the threatening disintegration of the metabolism between man and his environment. In the discussion, in respect of the danger of war, a consensus has come about that the concept of a just war is not applicable to thermo-nuclear war: there can be no justification for starting a war of this kind, it cannot be made legitimate by any kind of moral argument, just as little as the use of military force is justified in the resolution of ideological and political problems. The participants desire that the arms race should be slowed down and a balance should be achieved at a lower of armaments. At the same time, peace does not merely mean the silence of arms, but also the creation of conditions where human values can be protected and developed further.

The majority of participants in the conference emphasized the reciprocal postulation of peace and justice. A decisive role is due to such values which are equally valid on the ideological basis of the two systems of ideas which exert the greatest influence on the existence and progress of humanity—the different ideological bases of Marxism and of Christianity and in general the religions—and which can be demonstrated in the interest of progress in the course of the humanisation of all spheres of human life.

The discussions have shown that the authentic presentation of different views is especially important. The same applies to the tolerant exchange of views conducted in an atmosphere of mutual respect, the readiness to learn from the other side according to our own logic, in order to round off thereby the image of ourselves more precisely and completely, banning the spirit of sterile confrontation and argument. The participants at the conference are of the opinion that ideological and political prejudices should be avoided in discussion, and that everything should be done to increasingly realize the assertion of good intentions, or intentions furthering the common good.

On the following pages we are publishing two of the addresses: those by József Lukács and Tamás Nyíri.

THE SOLE ALTERNATIVE FOR HUMANITY

by

JÓZSEF LUKÁCS

„The responsibility of man in the world today"—when we decided on this name for our meeting, we were aware that the abstract (universal) categories included are mainly intended to make that reality transparent which we have to face today, so that we can give concrete meaning to this abstractness, using a scientific methodology. I should not like to return to some earlier forms of the dialogue, when sometimes—willy-nilly—the mere demonstration of philosophic convergences or divergences replaced debate. At the same time—clearly aware of the obviously inevitable ideological differences between us—on our part we should also like to reject most resolutely the spirit of a barren academic confrontation, and the way of looking at things which divides mankind into the good and the evil according to the answers given to the final ideological questions, avatars of truth and falsehood, godly or satanic forces, thereby rejecting the possibility of cooperation of theists and Marxists on concrete questions, but in the last resort questioning the sense of any exchange of views between them.

What is involved is not only the actual possibility and reality of such a process of dialogue and cooperation in spite of all difficulties of the past. Nor that, in our country, to which we invited you with such pleasure, this theoretical debate and practical contact, and even cooperation, is being realized in widening circles among people of different views. What is primary is of course that the world situation which we have to face, as the name of our meeting implies, asks every responsible person—to use Marx's term in its strictest sense—"under the pain of destruction" to search for new possibilities of objective debate and an exchange of opinions. We should not draw the conclusion from the deterioration of international relations that in such circumstances every endeavour is vain which strives for understanding—even if not for agreement—in the sphere of the spirit as well. On the contrary: the subjective factor, the importance of the moral responsibility of every single person increases exponentially precisely in such conditions.

The issue of issues, the risk of risks is the danger of thermo-nuclear catastrophe. This is the epicentre of the danger threatening humanity, the effect of which suffuses almost all other burning and comprehensive problems

of our complicated world. It is common knowledge that the horrendous amounts spent on armaments make it almost impossible to help two thousand million starving people, restricting the possibilities of new technologies that fight the pollution of the environment, hindering endeavours directed at the more rational distribution of the world's energy resources and the reduction of the negative consequences of the demographic explosion. They project the danger that the outer space and the oceans may also become zones of military conflicts instead of areas for cooperation.

Nevertheless, we have not met this time in order to take another close look at the world situation. Our task is now primarily to examine the human and moral substance of our responsibility for the business of the world, including the maintenance of peace, and whether the differences in attitude influence a common shouldering of responsibility by theists and Marxists, and generally the similar moral attitude of people, for the sake of saving humanity.

It is not my task to speak on behalf of our theist friends. But as the representative of a Marxist humanism, and above all as a European and Hungarian, I wish to express first of all my conviction that this common shouldering of responsibility, this common service of universal human interests is possible and necessary in harmony with our principles. It is possible in principle, since in the last resort the humanism of Marxism—also as the core of its atheism—means that we consider man and man alone the only author and actor of his own history. It follows that we cannot transfer this responsibility for our fate to any external necessity of power which acts without him. The contemporary theist, although he asks for the support of a supreme being, will certainly not deny that we must combine all our moral powers and need the shouldering of full responsibility to avoid evils in this world, and especially the worst, and that for the sake of this we must join forces with all those whose goodwill we have no reason to doubt. This goodwill must primarily be measured by what people do.

The shouldering of a common responsibility is also possible, because in the moral domain theists and Marxists—in keeping with their own values—are equally obliged to protest against those barriers, against those conditions of alienation which gravely hinder people in their search for happiness, in the development of their personality and communal ways of living. This is possible because we are both interested in opposing individual and group selfishness, amoral complacency, value-destroying destruction, the unsociable drive for material things, or lifeless élitism, in given cases taking practical action against them.

But this shouldering of a common responsibility appears not only possible

but inevitable in our days, since every path leading to the future, every kind of moral alternative potential is in danger.

This debate and dialogue—which this meeting also wishes to assist in its modest way—must clarify the sense in which we may speak, while maintaining our ideological differences, of the common future of mankind. Our discussions cannot competently decide political questions—this is, first of all, a forum for the exchange of social and moral ideas which play such an important role in the guiding of action. This is nevertheless an intellectual act which *sui generis* also has political importance. By putting in an appearance and looking over the other party, we can show whether we are willing and able to debate constructively and act together for the sake of humanity when needed. This kind of dialogue, in the spirit of responsibility, against complacency and irresponsibility, has obviously become inevitable.

What then is the timely substance of this shouldering of responsibility? Catholics, Orthodox Christians of the Eastern Rite, Protestants, Jews and Marxists can obviously give different meanings to these two concepts of the ideological differences does not make it impossible either that we, on both sides, accept the interdependence of the two categories that *diké* and *eiréne*, *tzedek* and *shalom*, *iustitia* and *pax* are closely correlated. Only that peace can be lasting which is based on justice, and only that society is just of which peace is an inherent necessity.

Some may perhaps share Kant's view that eternal peace is contrary to human nature: "*Der Mensch ist aus zu krummem Holz gemacht, dass aus ihm etwas gerades gezimmert werden könnte.*" But others—including myself—claim that man is not made of wood, and that it is our duty to create those conditions in which the conditions for justice are ensured to an ever increasing number of people. Whatever our opinion may be about the times in which swords are beaten into ploughshares, spears into pruning knives and bombs into power stations, whether we consider it a chiliastic utopia or a realistic possibility that arms should for ever be banned from the instrumentarium of disputes, we, on both sides, will agree with Kant that we should at least strive for eternal peace as if it were feasible, it is in that fashion that we can remove the threats of war.

This does not exhaust the Marxist view about the social guarantees of peace. But a Marxist does not proclaim out of some kind of tactical interest that his views presuppose the legacy of the Prophets Micah and Isaiah, St Augustine and Giacomo da Fiore, Rousseau and Kant, but exactly because, while our continent wrote its history with conflicts, wars and shedding of human blood, the longing for peace has persisted unextinguished in

European culture since the birth of the myths of a Golden Age interwoven with the desire for a more just and humane society, the most consistent form of which the Marxist sees in Communism. This endeavour lives as the proof of the generic unity of mankind, and at the same time as an earnest of the realization of this generity and every value carrying this generity, the bridging over of the precipices between desire and reality. We may of course argue much about what we mean by justice. I myself am very far from approving the maxim that one should throw bread at those who throw stones at you, not as if I sided in the least with the spirit of retribution. On the contrary: I see the goal of the struggle not in retribution of the sin of the other, but in putting an end to the general conditions of brutality, of aggression, of brute or cunning force, in bringing about conditions in which people consider it contrary to nature to throw stones at each other, for which we have to strive precisely because the events of our days so painfully often offer evidence to the contrary. The moral and political condemnation of revenge, of bloody terror, of aggression are just as necessary —as is borne out in the first place by the works of Marx and Lenin—as maintaining an ideological position against national, racial and class discrimination.

But all this does of course exhaust neither the substance of justice nor the genuine conditions of peace. For the sake of lasting peace conditions are necessary in which not only the silence of arms means peace, but where the guarantees of peace can also be ensured, i.e. where the human demand for justice and equality is not misappropriated for the benefit of some persons or groups, where the satisfaction of at least his elementary needs is ensured to every person, conditions which ensure an equal chance to all the talents, which do not further but handicap the reproduction and accumulation of grave social, economic, political and cultural inequalities that are an offence to human dignity. *Suum cuique*, to each his own, this perhaps means today that to everybody should be given what is due to him as a human and social being. This claim is certainly not alien to theists, especially not to Christians.

A society which is able to resolve continuously these contradictions, does not need to mask its own internal problems by military preparations. Here the ancient maxim *si vis pacem, para bellum* can perhaps be paraphrased: *si vis pacem, para iustitiam*. I do not claim of course that the country which is now receiving you with love and friendship has fully realized this aim—but by the joint efforts of people of different views it has achieved results in this area which are difficult to gainsay. In furthering such aims the Christians and Jews of Hungary are one with the Marxists.

By emphasizing the reciprocal postulation of justice and peace we do not

disregard the real differences between social systems, we do not eliminate any kind of ideological struggle. However, the danger of the thermo-nuclear holocaust compels us to rethink the relationship not only between peace and justice but also between war and justice. Marxists are entitled to use the Augustine notion of *bellum iustum*, of a just war, in their own interpretation. It can, for instance, hardly be doubted that the self-defence of countries attacked by Hitler was a just war, and I would say the same about the struggle of the people of Vietnam against French, and later American neo-colonialism. No Marxist will change his opinion about the justice of the fight which the toiling masses, the exploited or oppressed classes and nations lead against the current kind of capitalism.

But it is incontestable that views concerning the military solution of conflicts, especially the justness of a thermonuclear war have changed: to call a world war threatening the majority of the world's population with destruction just is shocking nonsense. Only one thing can be called just today: the universal acceptance of peaceful coexistence, the renouncing by every state of striving to become the leading power in the world, the renouncing of military solutions to ideological differences.

At the same time the morality of the ideological argument is certainly not a matter of indifference. This morality of the argument often bears witness whether those engaged in it aim at détente or tension, whether or not they are interested in instilling and reviving confidence. Unfortunately, nowadays we are able to witness a veritable inflation of moralizing in the press of some countries. But this is a type of moralizing which almost excludes the possibility of genuine ethical description: the objective survey of facts and intentions, of vested interests, of ways of life, of proclaimed values, of the proposals made is often replaced by prejudiced short-circuits, distortions, the denunciation of the other party; here the rational conditions of moral decisions become confused. In the artifically inflamed atmosphere of distrust, the bringing to its knees, economically, of the other party and even the popularization of the horrifying idea of limited nuclear war, the proclamation of the possibility and necessity of political and intellectual decapitation may also appear as justified.

This may also result in the denunciation of Christians who seek contact with those professing other views—which unfortunately happened also in preliminary press comments of our meeting—a return at this point to the logic of the Cold War and the distorting presentation of those Marxist attempts which, in the present situation, look on theists as potential allies against the danger of war.

In the language of morals all this can only be called sin which appears in the cloak of bearing false witness. But it is the same kind of sin if the proposals of the others are not considered worthy of response, or if part of the facts—for instance, the simple fact that the socialist countries need, if for no other reason, on account of their economic interests, peace and the reduction of armaments as much as they need bread—are passed over silence in the interest of a certain information strategy.

We are all aware that the so justified demand for a complete renunciation of force cannot be directly put into practice nowadays. Today the fragile balance in the world rests on the balance of armaments, unfortunately a balance on a very high level, which is very brittle. But at the same time we also avow all the nations a right to security and to peace without fear or anxiety. Consequently, while one desires that in international life the objective danger of war should be reduced again as far as possible through wide-ranging negotiations, that a lower level of armaments be realized, one also considers it necessary that mutual confidence should increase, since without confidence-building measures it is not possible to make progress today through negotiations alone.

Let us not underestimate in this respect the trust that one person puts in another. It is the custom in Hungary that one trusts everybody until they have proved themselves unworthy of this trust. This does not mean a kind of naiveté, a kind of anthropological optimism—born of illusions. What it does mean is that the given, voluntarily granted trust is apt to help bring out the good in our fellow men, helping to create a spirit of mutual goodwill. Unilateral—let me borrow the theological term—gratuitous confidence does not only bear witness to our own intentions but induces the other party too to reply in kind. On the other hand, breaking one's word may be evidence that the necessary goodwill is lacking, that secret intentions are concealed behind avowed aims.

The same applies to confidence in international relations. Consequently, when we speak of the voluntary freezing of armaments, when we stress that the unilateral giving up of the first nuclear strike or plans concerning the establishment of nuclear-free zones await reciprocity, when we approve a declaration in which the parties mutually renounce the use of force, we are stressing all this now because we may expect from these moral and political gestures an important and favourable social and psychological effect; the reduction of opportunities for the unjustified slander of the other party, the end of prejudices, and the shouldering of responsibilities. Now, after the siting of rockets in Western Europe all this has, unfortunately, become more difficult. But inducements for building confidence must not be relaxed

now either, and this must be especially so in meetings such as ours, where the moral dimensions of solutions are being pondered.

We have made available to the participants of this meeting those maxims which were worked out, concerning the principles of dialogue, at the 1982 Florence meeting of the Viennese peace institutions, by a working party appointed for this purpose, of which Riffat Hassan, Rudolf Weiler, Gerhard Kade and myself were the members.

The text of the maxims is as follows:—*Guidelines for a dialogue between Marxists, Christians and those who follow some other religious faith:*

1) Each and everyone must join in the dialogue with an honest and sincere heart and must assume the same honesty and sincerity in the other.

2) Each participant must be accepted as a person and also as representing a certain other wordly and/or secular ideology. All ideologies and political positions represented in the dialogue must be accepted as worthy of respect by all participants.

3) Each ideology can be defined only by a participant in the dialogue who professes it, i.e. Christianity is what the Christians say it is, and Marxism is what the Marxists say it is. Participants may state what they perceive the others' position to be, but must not make statements about ideologies which they do not support.

4) Dialogue is not a debate where participants or groups seek to defeat the others. It is to be understood as a supportive encounter in which each participant listens as openly, and carefully as he/she can to the others attempting to understand the other ideologies and political positions as accurately and thoroughly as possible. Each participant must try to put him/herself in the place of the other and his/her concerns and anxieties.

5) An important requirement for authentic dialogue is readiness to trust each other. We cannot trust what we do not know. Therefore, in the process of dialogue, we must be open to corrections of misinformation about each other. It facilitates the development of trust if nobody claims to be a repository of truth.

6) A series of such dialogues would in itself constitute a contribution to world peace creating a more favourable climate for dealing with existing conflicts, and solving common human problems.

It is clear that not only moral problems should be borne in mind but also the good manners that govern every debate worthy of name. It is still true that *le style c'est l'homme*. That maxim refers not only to the question "how" but also to "what" needs to be done. It is not, therefore, superfluous to pay close attention to how such maxims should be applied. We must be sincere with each other in debate, and let me add: this can be mainly ensured

if we primarily expect us to present clearly the connection between our ideological, sociological and ethical positions and our actions. Attention, sensitivity, openness and punctiliousness towards the ideological position of the other does not exclude but postulates the open avowal of our own position. We may agree that we have to keep in mind in what way it is possible to reach agreement according to the logic of the position of the other party, and not by the abandonment of this logic and the imposition of our own logic on the other. We may agree—discarding both arrogance and procrastination—on respect and tolerance towards the other person: also given different views. We must agree that both the obliteration or the forced dramatization of differences must be avoided. And if we disagree with the identification of theoretical, moral questions and political problems, we must also refrain from disregarding the real political possibilities for asserting our positions.

All this certainly makes a strong claim on the spirit, tests the morality, and represents also a certain risk. Some have perhaps recoiled from this difficult task, others underestimate or perhaps describe as harmful such a common, responsible debate between Marxists and theists. On behalf of the Institute of Philosophy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and of the academic Inter-institutional Peace Research Centre, I am the more grateful to you, who have come from distant countries, in this far from easy situation, also accepting practical difficulties, in order to provide evidence by your presence of the importance and justification of the dialogue, and with it of the sole realistic alternative open to us, and that is coexistence. The fact of our meeting itself demonstrates that in responsible persons the consciousness of responsibility for the future is vividly alive, a future which, whatever it may be like, cannot be shaped independent of the endeavours of the representatives of the two greatest ideological trends of the time, the Marxists and theists. We have no other choice but to be optimists: the only realizable alternative for humanity is the issue.

THE COMMAND OF RECONCILIATION

by

TAMÁS NYÍRI

As a Catholic Christian I should like to say something about our subject as I understand it. Christians can understand one another as redeemed people.

Forming part of the concept of redemption is what man owes to, or expects from, another man or that entirely different one whom we call God. Paul sees the chief actor of the work of redemption in God himself: "...God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them; and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation" is what we can read in the second epistle to the Corinthians. But with God's action goes man's response, with ethics goes the dogma. Indeed Paul continues in the said place: "...be ye reconciled to God." Not that God must be appeased but people must be redeemed from hatred and animosity, the apostle tells us. God actually needs no satisfaction, but man must be delivered from his own prison so as to become able to accept the pure gift of obliging love.

Reconciliation

What with all disagreement about the value and essence of the Christian tidings of redemption, remarkable agreement exists between Christians and non-Christians, believers and unbelievers, confessors and contestants of the Christian faith, even between different Christian Churches and theological schools: they are all agreed that Christians have to be people of reconciliation. He who calls himself a Christian entitles thereby other people to expect that he will stand up for reconciliation between people, for God has in Christ "given to us the ministry of reconciliation", says Paul.

Where reconciliation occurs, there is always a rift bridged over, a dispute settled; disputants are brought to move from opposition to junction, to cooperation. There is agreement that the making of such peace should be the aim of Christian effort. There is agreement also that this obligation is in force for every human being, that it is meant for all people.

It seems self-evident that in general this essence is beautiful and to be approved but, as soon as from the merely edifying relationship one enters

into an obligatory one, it raises no end of questions: Is universality to be regarded as unlimited? May not there be limits beyond which reconciliation can and must no longer be aimed at—limits which are set by specific differences, by inferiority or by serious guilt?

The thought of practising poses further questions. Does the ideal have a chance of realization? Are insuperable forces not opposed to it? Where in fact would it find a promise? Who would have sufficient strength for it? And finally: who would take sufficient pleasure in it? For effort towards reconciliation, out of irresistible pleasure, ought to arrive at reconciliation. Even when the command "You shall be a reconciling man" would have evidence of conscience pursuant to the value judgement "Reconciliation is better than disputation", still a fundamental difference fails to be removed. I myself am entangled in the unreconciled world. I ought to be rid of this entaglement in order to be a pleased reconciler.

Where is then the reason for the command of reconciliation?

The reason for the command of reconciliation

The reason for the command of reconciliation is the reconciliation between God and people in Jesus Christ. This historical observation prompts one to inquire after the internal reason for the command of reconciliation. In the following I shall point out a few important characteristics.

Based upon the process of reconciliation and redemption, the command of reconciliation is a call for action resulting from a passion. Man should not make a standing jump, so to speak, but spring like one gathering momentum from a happening. The action called for is the continuation of an action already in progress previously, which reaches and pushes him, and which means to swing on in his action. Since man without God is not rich, he has to moderate the moral demand, as it happens in any philosophical ethic, and comes in practice to the suggestion of a reasonable conciliation of interests. While action results from the passion, and reconciliation from the happening that God has reconciled us unto himself (II. Cor. V, 19), the laborious effort of the poor produces a sharing of the man made rich.

The previous reconciliation process changes resignation into confidence as it changes poverty into richness. Obstacles get us to change from idealists into realists, to become resigned people who make both ends meet. Experience of life preaches to us every day: resign yourselves both to the restrictedness of what you have and to the restrictedness of what you are able to do! Resign yourselves also to the restrictions which are imposed on

your good will by the limitations, silliness and wickedness of others! The irresistibility of God's previous act of reconciliation in Christ is appeal, comfort and encouragement for our human act of reconciliation. Resulting from divine reconciliation, our reconciliation is given a new chance, courage for the impossible, and hope where there is nothing to hope for. We base our hope not only on belief in a residue of goodness in every man, although we definitely hold on to this goodness, but we believe, for all people, in the creative grace of God and, in view of it, we venture to act reconcilingly. Approximately as Don Quixote did, who treated the girls of a house of joy as gentlewomen. With the result that little by little they joined in the game and behaved towards the knight-errant also as gentlewomen did.

Reconciliation means bringing together hitherto separated persons. In the reconciling action we help people to know one another "face to face" over the fence erected between them, to recognize one another as brothers and to behave like people who need one another and are responsible for one another. But by what reason do they belong together? By reason of Jesus. "For", says Paul, "he is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us; having abolished in his flesh the enmity... so making peace; and that he might reconcile both unto God in one body by the cross... And came and preached peace to you which were afar off, and to them that were nigh" (Eph. II, 14–17). He is reconciliation in his person; it is in his existence and in his story that God and man *and* man and man are brought together, inseparably united. Through our reconciliation we should not possibly create first what does not exist as yet, but in it we should comply with what, through Christ, is already objective reality.

It is furthermore implied in the facts of history, in which Jesus Christ is our reconciliation, that the reality of reconciliation covers the whole of real human life. It must not be reduced spiritually, it cannot be sufficiently understood "materialistically". Reconciliation by itself never means only a mental process, a meeting of people on a purely spiritual plane, on a plane only religious or only private beyond the real social complexities, interests and conflicts. Christian reconciliation ought not to know any Docetist modesty. It sees people in their real, genuine conflicts and works on the removal of the causes of alienation. The gap between God and man having really been bridged over, Christian reconciliation can no longer recognize gaps of any kind as unbridgeable and actually stands exactly between the personal, the material, the political, economic, social, racial and sexual differences. Accruing to human reconciliation from divine reconciliation is the immodesty which cannot rest satisfied with a partial domain.

Christian life is the life of the reconciled as well as of the reconcilers; not only of those ready for peace but of the makers of peace. As Jesus said, Christians can be identified not by their being the victors but by their putting an end to wars, by the fact that they waive even rights and claims rather than take part in wars and disputes. Reconciliation means inspiring confidence, granting freedom, it means being good, providing protection, letting bygones be bygones. In it, in this behaviour, consists the connection between redemption and responsibility. It is, however, precisely this connection that becomes the tribunal for Christian man and the Church. Ecclesiastical history is also a history of the steady separation of redemption and responsibility.

The gaps between people have not again and again been bridged over, the social conflicts have not always been tackled. The reality of reconciliation has not intervened in the world through the medium of Christian reconciliation. Universal brotherhood has been reduced to the brotherhood of believers and to their way of thinking, i.e. it has been reduced in the religious sense. Different theological theories have been devised in order to justify the world's being left unchanged, and have increasingly exerted an inwardly hardening effect on the existing walls of partition.

This separation of redemption and responsibility, of dogma and commandment on the Christian side preceded the humanistic severance of commandment from dogma. The dogma without consequences found its reverse in the practice devoid of dogmas. To the shame of the Christians it could then happen that this practice devoid of dogmas sometimes became heavier with consequences for the action than the Christian dogma. What has been said of the meaning of divine reconciliation for human action still calls for proof in Christian practice.

How can God's action swing on in our action? How can our action gain from God's action inexhaustibleness, hope, universality, an urge for reality? The task of our discourses can be shown so that reconciliation is examined in response to their concrete message and conclusions are drawn for us here and now. Christian reconciliation is namely a reconciliation by which we have "not only something to drink but also something to cook", as Ernst Bloch once said with regard to hope.

EPISODE FROM A MEMOIR

(Short Story)

by

PÉTER NÁDAS

Somewhat inexperienced in the reception of the kinds of emotional current which may flow from another man, I was led to believe that I had been misguided by Mrs Neubert's heated communication concerning Melchior, and that these currents of attraction, sensed both with and from the shoulders, were not directed towards me, but were emanations of our feelings for Thea; it was around Thea that we both circled.

And so we took our seats, the dumbfounded Frenchman first, I next to him, followed by Melchior with Thea to his right, and finally Mrs Neubert, the only one to end up in the place she had chosen.

There, upon the seat with which he had provided me, Melchior must have sensed my embarassment at once, however meticulously I kept my elbow from touching his on the armrest we shared, for the satisfaction of having usurped the Frenchman from his rightful possession was no less uncomfortable than the little darts of jealousy which pricked me whenever I thought of Thea, as if I could make claims upon somebody who was not only not mine for the claiming, but whom I had no conscious desire to possess, even though it would still hurt, the wanting and not wanting to lose her, seeing her taken away beneath my very nose, about to compete with the other man, who, as if wanting to complicate the already awkward situation, placed the palm of his hand upon my knee in a friendly fashion, looking me in the eye for a moment and smiling, our shoulders brushing in spite of themselves, then with an uneasy purse of the lips removing his hand and turning back to Thea as if nothing had happened, swiftly reorchestrating his smile.

The sound of Melchior's smile, of the uneasy purse of his lips remained within me, as I leant forward on my chair to get as far away as I could, resting my elbow on the balustrade so as not to feel the emotional disturbance precipitating from the warmth of his body, as if he had spoken to me in a

real voice, with real words, his tones wandering in a space of echoes, in a dark and empty room.

The applause broke first on the balcony, then on the third floor, and then above us on the second, pouring in a wave across the theatre when the conductor appeared before the orchestra, and flaring up over the first rows of the stalls as the light of the crystal chandelier hanging from the rosetta of the white ceiling dimmed and went out.

Somehow his voice was so familiar, warm and low-pitched, suggestive of strength, resolution, self-confidence, capable of not taking itself seriously, of playing games with itself, not as a matter of pretence, but in order to preserve a reasonable distance, deepening at such times to a good-humoured drone, but from where familiar, and in what way I cannot tell, nor did I seek the explanation of its proximity in my memory, and still the voice continued to circle within me with such purpose, spreading and ringing and droning back, as if forever testing different pitches and positions inside me, searching for its proper place, or sense, for that little space or nerve in the corresponding duct of the brain where the storehouse of a former utterance resides, so fastidiously set aside, and yet now at this particular moment so utterly unnaproachable.

Arriving in Berlin nearly two months before this performance I was put up in a bedsitter on the fourth floor of the first corner house on the Chaussee Strasse by the Oranienburg Gate, an old and cheerlessly grey tenement block; naturally there were no longer any town gates, only as much as the name preserved from the kind of map that history had quite literally swept from its table and burned, and to speak of a cheerless and grey building is to say little, for at least in those parts of town where the destruction of war had left the barest remnants of what once had been, all the houses were like that; cheerless and grey but not at all lacking in style, provided we are not led by habit to restrict the notion of style to the impressive, and are willing to acknowledge with all impartiality that every human edifice bears the stamp of the material and spiritual conditions of its construction upon its very face, that is after all what style is about, and nothing more.

Or it may also bear the stamp of destruction, which, forging a similar kind of chain within human history, had not been so complete here as in other parts of town where the wind of emptiness still blew among the newest of buildings; here it was still possible to stop the gaps, to fill in the burnt skeleton of the buildings with the flesh of new walls, for enough stone had been left standing to reasonably warrant the addition of more to answer to the fundamental human need of shelter and defence against the weather, and some of the familiar, reliable and thus rather attractive parts of the

basic structure still survived from before the time of destruction, and although the dismal gables, patched and fortified, could not hope to imitate their former selves, they still managed to preserve the outline of the earlier streets and squares, bequeathing a sketch of the former shape and spirit of the town, even if only the barest of traces were left of its lively, swaggering and greedy style, once so mendaciously ornamented, seeming both thrifty while prodigal, and down to earth while playing at seriousness.

The new style of the house-fronts was filled with the blood of the old, haunted by the dead image of the old principles and the old order.

The point at which Hannover Strasse, the magnificent Friedrich Strasse, the former Elsass and now Wilhelm Pieck Strasse, and the Chaussee crossed, which had once formed an attractive little square, now reeked of the living dead in this sorry resurrection, almost always lifelessly quiet, disturbed only by the rattle of an occasional tram, an empty setting where different eras merge and are built into one another; an advertising pillar stood in the middle of the little square, left behind from an earlier age, its belly ripped and riddled with shrapnel, and a clock with a broken face upon its top, reflected in the nebulous glass of the shop windows, half blinded by the dust, telling the time in that obscure mirror, precisely by not telling it, or rather by telling petrified time, that bygone half past four.

Deep down beneath the thin crust of the road, underground trains would rumble perceptibly from time to time, up and along, then fading away into the depths, the railway itself unapproachable, its stations walled up, leaving blind entrances in the small islands of Friedrich Strasse, which during my first days I had not understood, that is, until Mrs Neubert quite readily put me in the picture, saying that this underground line, here, right beneath us, actually linked up with the western part of the city, and didn't belong to us, that's how she put it, didn't belong to us, and there was absolutely no point my looking for it on the map, I wouldn't find it there, but I didn't understand; well then I should listen to her, she said, and she would explain that if, say, I lived in the west, if, that is, I were a westerner, I could get on at, say, Koch Strasse and the train would take me straight through, passing us here, right under here, there's a station just beneath us, and they would slow down, but weren't allowed to stop, simply had to pass on through under this part of the city, until getting into the so-called western section again, and I'd be able to get out there, at Reinickendorf Strasse, and had I understood now?

Everybody understands his own town, but the street names of a strange city and its notions of east and west remain no more than a mere abstraction to even the most topographically informed of visitors equipped with the

finest sense of orientation, for the image is always missing from the name, or the experience from the image, but all the same I understood, simply because I didn't have to have been born there to understand, that there was something here under the road which didn't exist, or more precisely that we had to think didn't exist in order to preserve our own peace of mind, allowing of its life only in our memories of the old town, even though it still belonged to the very pulse of that town today, and as such really did exist, but then only for those on the other side, who for their part could not get out at the guarded and walled up stations, if only because a ghost train has no stations, and who therefore no more existed for us than we for them.

I understood nearly everything, I said, only didn't see why the trains had to slow down at these non-existent, though actually existing stations, and why they needed guards when nobody could get on or off, and what kind of guards anyway, from which side, and guarding what, if the stations were walled up, and then how could they get out when off duty, and a thousand other questions, for while I really did understand to a certain extent, it was all still a bit too complicated for me, I said, or I simply wasn't up to understanding its logic.

If I carried on in that mocking tone of voice she wouldn't answer any more questions, she said with the offended consciousness of a native, and so I kept silent from then on.

And somehow the fourth floor apartment on the Chaussee Strasse was of that very same style; as soon as one stepped into the parlour through the wide leaves of the richly fashioned door one was aware of its aroma, each step creaking on the dark floor of the empty hall, at places filled in with simple planks of wood, and it was not hard to imagine a more finely toned creak muted by a thick eastern carpet, or the picture of a thick-set maid hurrying out in the full light of the chandelier, and the brightly dressed ladies and gentlemen crowding through the door; rambling, battened corridors connected the kitchen, the maid's room and the various larders, spare rooms and bathrooms to the actual living space of the masters of the house, which consisted of five chamber-like rooms opening out upon one another, and from which the grandly arched windows now looked out upon the dull and dreary gables; I myself was put up in what once had been one of the maid's rooms.

From my window I could see the blackened partition wall of the neighbouring house, it was quite close, which meant that my room was almost completely dark even by day, adding to the rather modest character of my accomodation—an iron bed, a huge cupboard whose every joint creaked, the usual chair and table with stained table-cloth, and at least twenty carefully

framed certificates upon the patterned wall which, God only knows why, had been placed there by the landlord.

Lying peacefully on my bed I would spend hours staring dreamily out of the window, as if upon the black, map-like relief of the opposite wall one could still follow the huge tongues of the crackling flames which had once poured down from the burning timbers of the roof, and one could almost feel that former wind, or windstorm, which had risen up from the heat of the fire, the horrible outbreak of fire leaving its mark for the future, former pointed stains of soot left by the licking of flames upon a wall which had nonethless stood its ground.

In every respect I tried to treat my room as no more than a temporary dormitory, spending as little time there as possible, and if I was ever really left with nothing better to do, I would climb in to the wash-tub of a bed, putting a hand over one ear and the plug of my pocket radio in the other so as not to hear the noise of all the people living around me; four children lived in the flat, with a grandfather, a disabled grandmother, a father who came home drunk on beer nearly every night, and a mother with a colourless face who seemed touchingly young beside her children, fragile and hunted, with warmly speaking eyes and a fever for activity, somehow always reminding me of Thea, or rather the other way round, as if in one of her film roles Thea had spoken of who this woman might really be, if only she could speak out what was inside her.

And so I'd listen to programmes on the radio in which I had no interest, hardly paying any attention at all, simply staring out of the window without really thinking of anything in particular, just letting my body lie inert in a state of rootlessness, homelessness, so as not to allow it any memories of its own.

And as if approaching gradually from afar, the voice of a man stepped into my mind while it was still thinking against its own memories, a deep voice, pleasantly mild, laughing or smiling, or more exactly the almost tangible, visible cheerfulness which had sat immovably on the unfamiliar face over lunch, until I caught myself listening, listening to him, not hearing what he said, but straining to catch the way he spoke, pondering as to who he could be.

He was speaking to an ancient *diseuse*, chatting to her so easily, so flexibly, that they might have been sitting in front of a cup of coffee instead of a microphone, which it seemed the old woman had forgotten about altogether, because of the way she was giggling, the words pouring from her mouth with maddening speed, turning at times into no more than a childish babbling, once again giving the excited intimacy of their situation a sense

of visibility, without their prattle sounding in the least bit superficial, punctuated as it was with old recordings, about which the man knew everything, from the period to which they belonged, a period which had now frayed into the past, and was quite quite clearly the object of their conversation, to the character of that cosmopolitan city, throbbing, charming, easy-going and cruel, whose very life was recalled in the old woman's cooing and girlish laughter, without ever allowing his knowledge to become intrusive, indeed even letting himself be corrected with a helpful mumble or cough, or an open admission of error, while still preserving in the tone of his voice the possibility that the old woman had been misled by the partiality of her memory, again without this tone ever risking the possibility of insult, for its gentle, loving boyishness, and scholarly diligence simply embraced and seduced her; and when the programme came to an end, and I learned that he'd be on again at the same time next week, it was as if all my spiritual and bodily needs had been completely satisfied, and taking the plug out of my ear I quickly switched off the radio.

He really did come on again at the same time the following week, but to my surprise hardly spoke at all as the programme was devoted to famous opera singers performing hits and chansons, interesting little museum pieces sung by figures like Lotte Lehmann, Chaliapin and Richard Tauber, while he did no more than announce their names, which pleased me in spite of my disappointment; it meant that he was modest, and only talkative when making others talk, which excited me, and if only he wouldn't make mistakes, if only he would be more consistent.

In fact he remained consistent, but I no longer listened because one night, wanting a glass of water perhaps, I wandered out into the kitchen where the young woman was preparing leeks, for she too worked during the day, in an asbestos factory I believe she had said, only doing day shifts because of the children, which meant she had to cook the following day's lunch the evening before, and I sat down beside her and we talked softly for a while, or rather I did most of the talking, while she forced out the odd word reluctantly, hesitantly, continuing to cut up the leeks while I found things to say like, I'd push the big cupboard over to the other side of the wall if she didn't mind, because it blocked out the little light that actually came into the room, but she would give no answer, simply went on cutting up leeks into thick slices, and so I took the risk of suggesting that, for the remainder of my stay, I might take those certificates off the wall, that is, of course, if it was alright with her.

The knife stopped in her hand and she looked at me with her warm brown eyes, so softly and peacefully for that brief moment of silence that I simply

looked back at her completely unsuspectingly, enjoying her beauty, troubled only by the way she drew up her narrow shoulders like a cat about to purr, but then, dipping hand and knife back into the bowl of water, as if about to burst into tears and writhe with her whole body, she began to yell with all her might into my still unsuspecting face, her eyes shut and using the most rigorous of linguistic constructions, all the offences I had committed unto her in the name of others, for who did they think she was just doing whatever they liked, whatever they damn well liked, shoving her about all over the place, the dirty stinking foreigners, shitty little Vietnamese and all those other rotten negroes, making her work her arse off even on the Communist Sunday, and still having the cheek, the absolute impertinence, to walk in and make her clear up their filthy turds after them, and couldn't she have a moment to herself in her own flat? oh no, they just go on sticking their dirty tongues into everything, stinking out her pots and pans, who did they think they were, and what the hell did they think she was, not even knowing where they'd been dragged in from, why should she care, she didn't give a damn, none of her business, but they didn't even realise that she'd left a rotten brush for them to wipe their filthy foreign backsides with when they'd had a crap in her W.C.

When she had finished yelling about the blacks and Vietnamese I got up and, really wanting to help her, would have liked to have eased her trembling shoulders down with my hand, but even the mere possibility of my touch seized her shaking body with protest, and, her howl rising up into a scream, she snatched after the knife swimming among the vegetables with such energy that I thought it better to smartly withdraw my hand, and completely losing all verbal presence of mind because I had to grapple with my tongue for words which wanted to tumble out in my native language, I stammered: you don't need to get worked up, I'll move out right now if I can, but the words were like oil on a fire and she went on screeching at the top of her voice, chasing after me with the knife as I pulled back from the kitchen and screaming her final words into the huge emptiness of the hall.

Splashing about in the waves of applause the conductor took up his position, looked to the left and the right, bowing his back as if about to dive, then raised his arms in the light of the music stands, and a warm expectant silence filled the theatre; dawn was breaking coldly upon the stage.

Leaning over to the Frenchman I whispered in his ear that he could see we were in a prison; but his face remained motionless in the soft twilight.

The pause of his surprise lasted no longer than a single breath, for the unmelodious rattle of the first four bars of the overture reechoed the downpour of the applause, as if to smash any pretensions of theatricality, to

silence us, blind us and sweep us away; the first four splitting staccato bars of the rumbling of the shattered earth seemed to render ridiculous and trivial the simple-minded endeavours of our lives, so that the held breath, withdrawn at the terrible sight of the stoney abyss, should be released once more, after the crowning silence, through the mouth of a clarinet, the upward striving melody of desire, but coming also from down there, an exquisite melody from the depths, lovingly, longing for mercy, on the mouths of the gentle bassoons and begging oboes, yearning for freedom, and forging upwards, even if the rocky wall of the abyss sends back the echo of its sign as an angry rumble, swelling, strengthening, rolling like a river, flooding, filling in the cracks and fissures of its adversary fate, of the whole abyss, but storming and raging in vain, pouring forth rocks, stones and pebbles in vain, for it may never forget that its strength is no more than that of a feeble brooklet compared to the power that allows it to swell, and rules over it, undefeatable, completely undefeatable, until from somewhere, from above, from the distance, from outside, the familiar and long awaited, unhoped for and unhopable fanfare sounds, the triumphant salvation, clear as daylight, the absurdly symbolic liberator; the voice of freedom in which the body is peeled to the very soul, in the way a lover discards his tiresome clothes.

Only when the overture was finished did I dare move, which earlier would have been improper and insulting, for now we had leant back at the same time, and he smiled at me happily as if we mutually approved of what had happened, of the music, and of the fact that we were sitting there together, and a thin beam of light strayed in through the slits of the rampart, the narrow ray of a stage sun upon the courtyard of the castle prison.

Translated by Richard Aczel

ECONOMIC LIFE

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN ECONOMIC REFORM

by

JÓZSEF BOGNÁR

I.

Foreign observers and businessmen approach the subject of the present position of the Hungarian economy from various angles. Some stress the efforts to restore the economic balance of the country and how these manifest themselves. Others place most emphasis on the intentions of Hungary's political and economic leaders to continue developing the economic reform that was launched in 1968.

Many question whether it is possible or expedient to implement or to continue to develop a reform during a period of economic retrenchment, when the real and psychological advantages of the greater initiative and freedom of action provided by the reform are blurred by the coercive measures that must inevitably accompany a policy aimed at restoring economic balance.

Such a policy undoubtedly contains a specific formula, involving some curbing of growth, investments, imports and consumption, and the new factors necessary to restore balance only enter the picture at a later time. These curbs, however, apply only to short-term phenomena, for in the longer term efforts must be directed at changing the factors which have provoked and elicited the imbalance.

The most decisive factor in changing those elements which caused the economic imbalance is, in fact, the continuation of the 1968 reform, for that reform sets out to alter the current system of institutions, along with the social background, and the economic mechanism, in such a way as to enable production to be utilized more favourably, costs to fall and efficiency to increase. As long as the capital, labour, materials and imports content per unit of production remains unjustifiably high, any growth in production will tend to increase rather than eliminate the deficit.

Imbalance is evidence that, in a given period and under a given system of conditions in the world economy, the economic system is operating

unsatisfactorily. The imbalance mainly characteristic of the 1970s (75 per cent of Hungary's indebtedness derives from the years 1973–1978) has had two main causes. The first lies in the protracted changes in the world economy that began with the oil crisis: they have radically altered the world economic conditions under which the Hungarian economy operates. These profound changes in international price and cost relations have brought about a 20 per cent deterioration in Hungary's terms of trade. In trade with other members of the CMEA, this deterioration in terms of trade appears after a deferment of a few years, but once it has appeared its scale is no smaller than it is in trade outside the CMEA. This 20 per cent deterioration in terms of trade means that we must sell 20 per cent more in exchange for the same amount of energy or raw materials. It has resulted in a 10 per cent fall in national income.

The other main reason why indebtedness grew was that there was a halt in the implementation of the 1968 reform. Those who devised the reform had reckoned on being able to continue developing it in the early 1970s through a foreign trade orientation. Because of the political and social conditions that evolved the process of the reform was held back; indeed, certain measures contrary to the spirit of the reform were taken in the alleged or apparent interest of the country's larger industry. This also meant that changes in Hungary were frozen or slowed down at the very time when certain epochal changes in the world economy were calling for an acceleration of the process of adaptation.

At the end of 1978 and the beginning of 1979, Hungary's economic policy-makers recognized the gravity of the changes in the world economy and the dangers inherent in further delay. The economic policy line was corrected with the launching of a whole series of measures that aimed to restore economic balance and stability. But the consequences of the previous retardation were that Hungary's adaptation came a few years later than it should have, after conditions at home had deteriorated and when, by the late 1970s, there had also been a major deterioration in the world economic environment. From the 1980s onwards world trade stagnated and a marked crisis also occurred in the international monetary system. These made it increasingly difficult to increase exports and receive the credits required to sustain liquidity.

Furthermore, there has also been a major deterioration in international political relations in the 1980s, with great tensions arising in the international security system. These have greatly complicated the situation, since extrication from the economic crisis calls for a degree of international cooperation that can scarcely be envisaged in the present situation in view

of the fact that international politics and the international economy are so closely connected.

Despite the negative factors in the situation at home and abroad, last year saw a considerable change for the better in Hungary's foreign trade position. A surplus of some $600m was achieved in the balance of trade in dollar-accounted trade. In addition to servicing the foreign debt, a modest repayment of debts could also be made. Nevertheless, ensuring the liquidity necessary for the repayment of credits as they expire and the high interest rates, which one must presumably associate with the high US budget deficit, and consequently with the arms race, continue to constitute problems for Hungary.

Apart from weaknesses in Hungary's marketing system, exports are still beset by difficulties caused by the near stagnation of the world market and by the slow process of recovery in western Europe as compared with the USA, Japan and the Pacific region. Hungarian foreign trade is still largely centred on Europe, despite efforts in recent years in overseas countries and the developing world; that is understandable in terms of the history of a small continental country.

Investment purchasing power has also been curbed; this helps to restore economic balance but it also leads to a protraction in time of investment projects and the postponement of certain development concepts.

Finally, Hungary has more or less achieved a balanced budget, although this means that an updating of the country's social and educational structures can only take place at a later date, presumably within the frame work of the reform.

The development of Hungary's foreign trade position is naturally inseparable from the developments and trends in the world economy and the international economic system.

As regards the CMEA, relations need to be intensified, but this can only be done through cooperation in manufacturing. Previously the dynamics were provided by steady annual increases in the supplies of Soviet energy and raw materials.

But cooperation based on manufacturing raises more complex problems than cooperation based on raw material supplies, and so in my view there is a need to modernize both the forms of cooperation established and the links of the CMEA with the world economy.

We hope that conditions in which this can come about will emerge and that the problems can be approached on a bilateral basis.

On a world scale, problems arise from the timing and spatial distribution of economic recovery. In terms of timing there is no cause for optimism

for Hungary, as mutual economic dependence is becoming more and more intensive, while international economic and political systems are becoming weaker and weaker (GATT, UNCTAD, the international monetary system, etc.).

In my opinion a complete recovery would require a certain amount of consensus and cooperation, in view of certain obstacles that still remain. There is the problem of indebtedness, and the decrease in purchasing power caused by debt servicing obligations; there is that of high interest rates; there is the predicament of the developing countries (apart from those in South East Asia and the Middle East); there are weaknesses in the international monetary system;. multilateral trade has weakened due to the lack of purchasing power

As a small country with a small economy, Hungary has a maximum interest in cooperation, and at least hopes that the situations which emerge internationally will not place it in an impossible position.

II

The changes in economic policy at home and in the world economy took place under an economic management system which had been launched in 1968, and which had suffered certain distortions because of a slow-down in its implementation during the early 1970s and the establishment of a specific system for supporting large industrial enterprises, a system out of keeping with the principles of the reform.

Because of these distortions Hungarian enterprises did not sense the effects of the changes after the oil price explosion which brought a major alteration on the world market.

Here I should like to refer very briefly to the conceptual changes incorporated in the 1968 reform as compared with the old system of central management that relied on plan directives.

Firstly, the launching of the 1968 reform did not change the Hungarian economy from being a planned economy, in the sense that plans continue to be at the centre of economic policy and still determine the basic development goals and distribution of means.

Nevertheless there was a significant difference; whereas the traditional system had intended to realize central plan directives as a connected unity, the reform has given preference to economic methods.

The relations between goods and money and market relations, are also present, through restricted, under a system of plan directives; but frequently

the endeavours that prevail in the directives go counter to the effects and relationships within the relations between goods and money and within market relations. From the long-term point of view, the most lasting features of the reform have been as follows.

Individual and group interests have been incorporated because of the recognition that they may further the prevalance of social (public) interests. Goods and money relations and market relations have developed since they further economic development during the transitional period and later in the period of a socialist economy. Administrative compulsions and restraints on companies have decreased and, instead, influence has been exerted on the economic environment around companies and the effects of this have been taken into consideration (decentralization). Incentives to enterprises have been enhanced on the basis of providing them with a profit motive. The cooperative sector has been accepted on terms of equality and has been reduced in the schematic view of organization. Links with the world economy (principally on the import side) have been strengthened. There is a programme to eliminate the economy of shortage; much has been done already in the market for consumer goods. Cooperation with foreign firms has been encouraged and export rights to certain production companies have been granted. Cooperative farms have integrated the household plots of their members. Production and marketing have been brought closer together and the rigid system of industry-by-industry separation has been loosened. The old, one-sided concept of industrialization has been replaced by economic policy considerations which are attuned to Hungary's economic potentials and the world's economic development trends. Finally steps have been taken to make society and the economy performance-orientated.

III

I have already referred to the fact that rectification of the causes and factors behind the economic imbalance can primarily be expected from a continuation of the economic reform. Experience has shown that the methods of continuous central management of the economy cannot solve every problem in a socialist economy and society. From time to time there is also a need for well-prepared reforms that encompass wide fields under a single concept. When introducing reforms, all the forms of movement and interrelations in society or the specific fields of the economy must be weighed and considered as connected elements of a unified system.

The present economic position of Hungary (the importance of foreign trade for production, the balance of payments surplus required, the extreme sensitivity of the economy to imports, and the economy's interdependence with the economic processes going on around it) indicates that the reform has to be orientated towards foreign trade activities.

There have to be closer links than before between domestic and external economic activities, and companies must not be shielded from external economic influences. To put it in another context, the changes that are taking place in world market prices in the competitive sector of the economy and the other market effects must be handled by the companies themselves, which they will only be able to do if they are sufficiently sensitive to the new circumstances and capable of acting in accordance with their own, direct economic interests. To achieve this requires proper means and the proper degree of flexibility. In other words the economic conditions that influence the position of a company must be shaped in such a way that they will be able to do so. To ensure the required flexibility and economic interest, the functions of production and marketing must be brought as close as possible to each other, so that they virtually become one.

One of the greatest faults of the earlier system was, in the initial period, to create a division between production and marketing functions, as it brought into being an industry that neglected the market and a marketing organization that lacked strength in relation to production.

In order to develop its exports, the Hungarian economy must cultivate a selective economic policy, since its financial limitations preclude a simultaneous development of all industries that would bring them all to an internationally high technical standard. Only in quite exceptional cases can a small economy arrive at technological peaks of achievement. However it is difficult to ensure profitable exports in the sharp competition of today and tomorrow by following the technological leads of others. Great care and circumspection is needed in organizing the technological transfer so vital to a small economy. New forms of enterprise need to be provided so that foreign capital can associate with Hungarian firms in various activities, on third markets, and so on. Finally, new forms of enterprise are also needed in foreign trade; independent exporting rights need to be granted to companies and cooperatives able to make use of them, and new forms of partnership are called for between domestic and foreign companies, ranging all the way to structures resembling trading houses.

The 1968 reform did not include any strong development of the forms and system of institutions for the circulation of capital in society; experience would seem to indicate that this is expedient, as up-to-date factories and

companies often suffer from a shortage of capital, while companies that lag behind or are out of date and unprofitable sometimes have frozen capital at their disposal. This calls for a development in the accumulation, use, investment and withdrawal of capital, in short in the mechanisms for the flow of capital. The state will continue to play a significant part in the circulation of capital, to some extent indirectly (establishment of allocations) and to some extent directly (dispensing of funds). A basic role in the redistribution will be played by bank credits. It will become possible for capital to flow between the main forms of socialist ownership (state and cooperative), for bonds and securities to be used as a means of regrouping, and for capital to be withdrawn through liquidation in cases where the business is being run at a loss.

Capital will circulate through the use of various forms of partnership and association, and also by making monetary deposits transferable. The role of trading capital will assume growing importance, and for state investments bonds will be issued.

The introduction of new forms by which social capital can circulate also presupposes a continuation of the development of the banking system. The functions of central banking and credit banking may well be divided, so as to enable to assess the profitability of granting credits and strengthen the business character of banking. The present position with the external and domestic balance of the economy and experience so far indicate that the banking system should function on two levels, that there should be more general commercial banks with an interest in making a profit in contact with the economic organizations and the general population. On the other hand the central bank, as one of the institutions for management of the economy, has to draw up monetary and credit policy and look after the issue of money. Finally there is need for an interest rate policy which will influence widely, through interest rates, the level of savings deposits and the money and capital markets.

Simultaneously with a transformation of the pricing and fiscal systems (particularly turnover tax), there must be a renewal of the system for regulating incomes and earnings.

In order to bring about profitable combinations of production factors, the expenses (taxes) of companies relating to the employment of labour are increasing, while the weight of taxation on profits and the levies on financial resources are being reduced. A change in the structure of net income will considerably alter income proportions. (It should be mentioned parenthetically that Hungary suffers a severe shortage of labour, but the

hitherto low costs of using labour have tended to encourage companies to use extra labour to solve their production problems.)

New concepts are also taking shape in relation to the wages paid to employees and the relations between earnings and income. In the future a larger proportion of employees' income will depend on the profits made by the companies they work for and the degree of success with which they operate. On the other hand greater inner mobility in large companies is ensured by allowing partnerships to be set up within the company to undertake specific tasks, for instance, assembly or maintenance, or complex technical tasks for a specific financial recompense usually defined as a lump sum. This brings members of partnerships that carry out their assignments successfully a higher income. The setting up of such partnerships and the choice of activity are voluntary.

In this way there may be considerably differences in earnings even between workers of the same occupation and with the same qualifications, depending on where they work and the forms their output takes.

Such incentives and more differentiation of earnings are expected to encourage the regrouping of efficient labour forces into modern factories and to motivate workers to increase performance.

Important changes are also to take place in the position of companies economically and socially. To put it briefly, they will develop into proper business undertakings, a precondition for which will be greater freedom to act and make decisions and growing responsibilities taken over from the administrative authorities.

The right of factories to make decisions is spreading to areas like the selection of the form for the company, with a range of types coming into being, the determination of certain prices, the movement of capital, the redemption of capital through bonds or in some other manner, the joining of capital, capital withdrawal, the establishment of subsidiaries, company mergers, increasing of the factory's assets, marketing, the right to export directly, the establishment of worker partnerships and so on. The posts of company general manager will be filled by competition, either through competitive selection for appointment or election.

A considerable advance in the new system of economic management is that it has assigned greater scope to the spontaneous activity of individuals. The progress made in Hungarian agriculture has borne out that such spontaneous activity is required not only to meet demand and to do away with shortages, but also because spontaneous activity develops the faculties

of the individual, the family and small groups of people, and boosts the kind of economic thinking that itself is based upon calculation. It also joins the individual directly, and not only through his work place, into the economic activity of society. Without such "preliminary schooling", the complex relationships in the national economy remain incomprehensible to the individual and small groups of people, since under centralized economic management factories were only assigned production tasks that derived from the economic deliberations of the powers that be. An attitude of mind that lacks economic calculation and experience cannot bring one closer to an understanding of economic policy.

The results of spontaneous activity also become tangible as a state of affairs in which people no longer expect the solution of various problems from above, in the process placing insupportable burdens on the state budget, but take the initiative themselves, contributing actively to the improvement of the situation.

Continued development of the economic reform is obviously not merely an economic matter in the narrow sense; it is, for several reasons, a social and political concern of decisive significance.

Firstly within a given society, economic and political problems are mingled and interdependent. This also means that the way in which economic processes are organized, which depends on interpretation of economic relations and interests, reacts strongly on issues of political structure. What I have in mind is structures within a given system. If economic processes are organized irrespective of the momentum of the economy and of the relations of interests, the authorities must then employ force institutionally, through a given structure. One can assume that in a system of economic management which takes economic relations and interests into consideration, the authorities more rarely have to intervene, and when they do so it is by using economic means. Thus the resulting situation is also more suitable in a number of ways for developing political democracy as well. Secondly, and on the other hand, economic power (the rights of decision-making and the sphere of competence) and the redistribution of incomes constitute so complicated a question in any society that it goes a long way in influencing the established relations of social equilibrium. Such a change means that certain sections gain and others lose, or at least feel they have lost.

Thirdly one must also consider that the policy of restoring economic balance is already stretching the patience of the general public.

Fourthly, in its progress so far, the socialist economy and society has sought advance on a general and proportionate basis and not on the kind

of selective basis that will for a few years increase differentials, although corrective periods can later be introduced. Finally, in the present world economic situation and in the present period for Hungarian foreign trading, society must markedly increase the speed at which it is able to react to economic impulses, which again affects a number of structural and conceptional problems.

Despite these difficulties and problems, the continuation of the economic reform will give a further impetus to democracy. A new situation will develop in the state, between the executive (administrative) and the legislative and judicial powers, in favour of the latter (new electoral law, development of the work of Parliament, setting up of a Constitutional Council). There will also be a redistribution of activities and responsibilities between the state (the executive) and society (voluntary organizations). New mechanism for collating interests will be worked out, so that diverse interests and endeavours are represented. The trade unions' sphere of authority and their tasks in safeguarding interests will be reinforced.

This process of democratization will be realized under the leadership of a hegemonic political party, which will strengthen during this process in taking initiatives, in political persuasion and in its role as an arbitrator.

All in all this means the expansion of the opportunities, range and tools for economic action within Hungary's socialist economy, and the enrichment of the range of methods available to the economic management system. It means an acceleration of the system of decision-making and action in the economy, enhancing the competitiveness of the socialist economy. It means an accelerated and stronger adaptation to the processes of the world economy, an ability which in an interdependent world economy is one of the driving forces for development. It means a boost to speedy development of the ability to innovate and to social self-motivation.

We wish to realize all this while maintaining the characteristics of our own fundamental scale of values and preserving the country's established international political positions. It follows logically that the Hungarian economy is intensely interested in improving both international economic relations and the international political climate.

GERD BÍRÓ

THE HUNGARIAN ECONOMY '84

The period the Hungarian economy is now going through started in 1982 and has as a primary feature the need to achieve a more balanced trade by increasing exports.

The high import demand of the national economy continues to restrict growth of production and imposes a limitation on investments by enterprises and on growth in the population's purchasing power. Economic policy seeks to meet these needs while at the same time protecting the standard of living and maintaining a balanced supply of consumer goods.

The forecast is that the present restrictions can be loosened in the 'eighties to the degree that there is an improvement in the ratio between the burden of debt servicing and export capacities.

The 1978 deficit in convertible currencies came to more than 1,000 million US dollars; however Hungary has now a surplus over the two years for 1982 and 1983 which also exceeded 1,000 million US dollars. Thus a reduction in the current convertible currency debt is now possible.

The ratio of exports to the national income rose from 49 per cent in 1980 to 53 per cent in 1983, and this ratio is planned to rise further in 1984.

In this difficult period for the world economy, Hungary—unlike many other countries—has met all her international obligations. This was made possible by the fact that exports for convertible currencies have increased by one-third since 1978 while imports have dropped by 12 per cent simultaneously.

This considerable improvement in the external economic balance was possible primarily by a reduction in investments, which in turn led to a reduction in imports and in domestic demand. The burden of improving the external balance fell primarily on profitable companies and cooperatives. Some of the profits realized by them had to be assigned to those companies which had incurred a loss. Naturally this had a detrimental effect on the efficiency of the entire national economy. Although Hungary is to raise loans abroad in 1984 too, the servicing of debts—the total of payments and interest due—is to exceed the external credit sources that are counted on. It is to cover this difference and to reduce the debts that an export surplus of some 700 to 800 million US dollars is needed. In such circumstances there appears to be good grounds for planning an increase of between 1.5 and 2 per cent of the national income, with the improvement of the external balance requiring approximately twice this increment in 1984.

In other words this means that the increase in the national income cannot be made use of at home and, indeed, a further 1 or 2 per cent must be used to service debts. This in turn necessitates a reduction in investment by 8 to 10 per cent.

In 1984 investments totalling 220,000 million forints are envisaged—approximately 5,000 million US dollars. Out of this some 40,000 million is expected to be in the form of investments by consumers, mainly to build flats and homes. This means incidentally that the personal savings are a significant surplus for the development of the infrastructure.

The Hungarian economy now disposes of many unexplored reserves which make increase in efficiency possible even at the planned level of investment. These reserves

include further improving the energy structure, rationalizing the use of materials and energy, modernizing technology, and re-grouping resources from non-profitable to efficient companies.

The credit policy of the National Bank of Hungary plays an important role in this re-grouping of resources. At present Hungarian companies receive 9 per cent interest on one-year term deposits and 11 per cent on term deposits of two years. This is a positive real interest since they exceed the rise in producers' costs, and in some areas—primarily in the case of companies of low efficiency—produce a higher return than that on their own capital investment. In addition, bonds issued by institutions and companies—and lately by cooperatives—will in future have a greater role in redistributing resources.

International Financial Relations

Hungary continues to count on loans from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The executive board of the International Monetary Fund approved in January 1984 a new credit agreement with Hungary to the amount of 425 million SDR, some 450 million US dollars. The six-year credit, which may be drawn in a single year, will provide financial support to help achieve the objectives of Hungarian economic policy in 1984.

In its official press release on the credit, the International Monetary Fund stated that in the recent past Hungarian economic policy had been directed towards redressing the considerable foreign trade deficit. Incidentally, between 1982 and December 1983 the International Monetary Fund had already granted two medium-term credits to Hungary, to a total of approximately 600 million US dollars.

The World Bank, for its part, examined which Hungarian developmental projects it would be able to support, and granted on favourable terms 109 million US dollars for the energy rationalization programme and 130 million US dollars for the grain programme.

One of the most noteworthy commercial announcements in the past year was the partnership financing system conceived by the World Bank. Recognizing that the international organizations alone did not dispose of adequate means to satisfy the demands for financing presented to them, the World Bank created a new partnership financing system which is called a B credit; under this system the World Bank shares in the financing of an investment project by commercial banks. So, for instance, the World Bank took up 15 per cent in partnership financing credits granted to Hungary, and agreed to grant this partnership financing credit for the term when the last instalments of the credits of the commercial banks fell due.

Within the framework of partnership financing the Arab Banking Corporation organized a 200 million US dollar credit for Hungary which was oversubscribed by 65 per cent. The magazine *Institutional Investor*, in its annual summary, called this one of the outstanding credit transactions of 1983.

The second credit of this nature was organized in 1983 by the Long-Term Credit Bank of Japan of approximately 70 million US dollars. The credit was for a term of seven years, and the interest on it adjusted to the internal interest rates applying in Japan. Incidentally, in Japan several banks competed to participate in the partnership financing programmes mentioned. As a result, the Bank of Tokyo, instead of participating, itself granted a loan of 15 million US dollars for five years.

However it is not the amount but the fact and terms of these credit operations that deserve attention. It is obvious that in our unstable world the participation of the World Bank is a stabilizing factor for the banks granting the credit. It is an expression of international confidence in Hungary that the World Bank chose this country to be the first recipient under this new programme.

Hungarian industrial policy for the 'eighties must be focussed on the improvement of international competitiveness, adaptability, and efficiency. It thus follows that closely linking industrial policy to the world market is indispensable and for this foreign trade policy has to perform the role of link.

Trends in Industrial Development in the Eighties

The Hungarian economy in the widening division of labour with the OECD countries offers a number of comparative advantages, such as her agrarian endowments, or the comparatively low costs of her highly qualified manpower. In addition, at present there is adequate effective demand for highly processed industrial products, of highly specific character or special design, especially in the industrialized countries.

In addition, Hungarian industry possesses advantages derived from the division of labour achieved within the CMEA. For many products this makes possible manufacturing runs which approach the optimum. Integration within the CMEA has made possible the dynamic growth of Hungarian industry over the past thirty years, whose growth in output has been ninefold since 1950, to cite but one indicator.

Today it is agreed in essence that the efficiency of the Hungarian manufacturing industry can be improved mainly through export expansion to the demanding markets of the industrialized countries; this means that Hungary too has an interest in an improvement to the world economic climate and in the unfolding of international conditions and an atmosphere which will strengthen the trend towards interdependence.

There was in the past a narrow technical approach which largely disregarded the market and has proved to be sterile; it led to inefficient investments being frequently made in Hungarian industry; technical development proved to be self-serving as the motivation was not, or was not sufficiently, market-oriented. From now on, instead of production, sales must be made the point of departure for Hungarian companies in their decisions related to development.

These decisions must primarily be made at the company level because the pressure for improving the industrial structure is no longer to increase the share of some branches within overall industrial production, but to improve the supply of certain products; i.e. in other words, it lies in the micro-structure, which cannot in most cases be established or decided centrally. Here it is also necessary to encourage the much wider establishment of small and medium-size companies, which adjust flexibly to market influences; these, along with industrial cooperatives and privately-owned small industrial units, offer a good production background to larger industrial units and are themselves also capable of exporting products which can be produced economically. When setting priorities for Hungarian industrial policy, the industrial products that are generally not considered as competitive are those where low wages or unskilled workforce are the preconditions for their sale. In addition, products which reduce Hungary's position on the world market because of their high proportion of raw materials or energy input are considered obsolete.

Since resources needed for development are in short supply in Hungary, Hungarian manufacturing is only at the highest technical level in a few exceptional cases; however, through the level of achieved development—which is largely medium by international standards—it is possible and necessary to attempt further development of some Hungarian products and to build up a position as a reliable international supplier.

In this area the proportion of labour-

intensive products should only increase if this means an increase in profitability and efficiency—for instance, through the improvement of quality, design, or packaging.

Consequently, for the foreseeable future it is advisable to improve the competitiveness of and the international goodwill towards the Hungarian manufacturing industry by means of, *inter alia*, supplying semi-finished products, certain services and through certain engineering products. There is a relatively favourable starting-point for this in that out of the some one and a half million people working in Hungarian industry, 150 thousand have a tertiary or secondary technical degree, half of all manual workers are skilled, 40 per cent semi-skilled, and only 10 per cent unskilled workers.

Consequently, one priority for the management of Hungarian companies is to find market gaps for products that can be produced profitably; they can thereby lay the foundations for the company microsphere for growth which relies on flexible adaptability to rapidly changing demand on the world market.

In this respect, industrial policy has a primary task of creating conditions which compel companies to increase their international competitiveness; it should also stimulate them in this direction by providing the conditions needed for it.

Beyond this, central projects of economic policy are also called upon to improve the industry's competitiveness, mainly through the rationalization of energy management, the effective increase of material utilization, the development of the computer industry, electronics, and of complete industrial technologies.

Besides exploiting gaps in the market, Hungarian industry will also have to rely on the world market in future, especially in those sectors where, as the result of past industrial policy comparative advantages had been given to some products at least. The areas to be developed, on which all Hungarian specialists on industrial policy agree, are the following: modern industrial products linked to agriculture, buses and rear axles, pharmaceuticals and crop sprays, some sectors in telecommunications, and medical instruments and equipment.

Furthermore it is advisable to give priority to electronics and data processing in production technologies, information processing and decision-making; priority should also be given to furthering a structural transformation in Hungarian industry which will lead to material and energy saving. The aluminium industry, which is to be further developed on the basis of Hungarian bauxite deposits, alumina production capacity and long-term Hungarian–Soviet cooperation, must strengthen its market position by increasing the proportion of processed products in its range.

It would also be useful to give some priority to specialized products, which may increase productivity and competitiveness especially in the engineering industry. Suitable foreign partners are being sought for agreements which will involve the production of parts and components in large runs and which will involve specialization with all its benefits in efficiency and profitability.

In this objective of improving the international competitiveness of Hungarian industry, the adjustment of planning to the changed circumstances is also seen as being important. Emphasis is now being laid on the importance of reconciling interests prior to the preparation of national economic plans. By so doing national economic plans, the instrument of policy, should reflect reconciled interests. Thus institutes such as the trade unions, the Chamber of Commerce, the National Council of Cooperative Farms are drawn in at the preparatory stage of the plans in order that their comments can be taken into consideration.

In this area it is useful to confront the different interests, if necessary, in the course of prior reconciliation; the interest of the national economy should be asserted as much as possible against different particular interests.

Flexible adjustment to world market requirements is still often hindered by Hungarian industry not being an organic part of the international division of labour. In research and development, in services linked to production and in marketing, Hungarian companies mostly rely only on their own resources and staff. Consequently a certain contradiction exists between Hungary's open economy and the rather secluded position of the company micro-sphere.

Mutual Benefits of Joint Companies

At the same time, internationally competitive industries can in general only be developed in small countries if these are part and parcel of the world economy. It seems therefore useful to link Hungarian industry, mainly through joint companies, organically into the international division of labour. This is important not only for links with the organization ofthe international market but also for technology.

The joint companies to be established in Hungary by Western and Hungarian companies promise comparative advantages to the foreign partners. For instance, in Hungary services, sites, electricity, water, and building materials are cheaper, and raw materials produced in Hungary are usually also less expensive than in the most advanced industrialized countries.

In certain cases there may also be the fact that technology is often simpler than that in the most advanced industrialized countries, with a consequent lower cost in maintaining equipment. This fact may often render exports to developing countries easier, and may also further the establishment of joint companies for the purpose of cooperation on third markets.

Hungarian engineering, design bureaus, and Hungarian on-site experience in the developing countries should be taken into consideration In this context it should be noted that at present some ten thousand Hungarian specialists are working abroad, mostly in the developing countries. Numerous raw and basic materials imported from other CMEA countries are also relatively cheap in Hungary because these materials are imported free of duty and because rises in world market prices come into effect within the CMEA gradually, over five years.

Wages and salaries are substantially lower in Hungary than in the most advanced industrialized countries, which is partly due to the different price structure in Hungary. This gives a notable comparative advantage especially in forms of production where wages costs are relatively high.

Research and development work can also be carried out in Hungary competitively, and, for the most part, at a substantially cheaper cost than that which prevails on the world market.

The regulations governing joint companies are not inflexible; although in general the foreign share cannot be more than 49 per cent, the Minister for Finance may permit a higher foreign participation where there is justification for so doing. Consequently it is useful to clarify at the beginning of negotiations to establish a joint company whether such a permit can be expected in the given case; the primary factor is the benefits which the planned joint company may offer to Hungary.

The goal of Hungarian economic policy of promoting the establishment of joint companies in Hungary is reflected in the attitude of the authorities in issuing clearances. In this respect, the Hungarian authorities may be considered flexible.

The foreign partner may contribute to the share capital either in cash, or in machinery and equipment, or in the transfer of know-how or licences.

Hungarian companies are at present particularly interested in the establishment of joint companies in the fields of electronics, engineering, plastics, pharmaceutics, agriculture and food processing, textiles and clothing, paper and printing, furniture and construction.

Tax on profits for joint companies is 40 per cent in Hungary; the remainder of the profit can be transferred freely. Finally, it is possible to establish in Hungary off-shore joint companies operating in customs-free zones.

In all this, the primary consideration on the part of the Hungarian side is to develop new forms of international economic cooperation by which Hungary's participation in the international division of labour becomes dynamized and thus enable Hungarian industry to enter on a new path of growth.

LÁSZLÓ SZAMUELY

THE EASTERN EUROPEAN ECONOMIC SITUATION AND THE PROSPECTS OF FOREIGN TRADE

The seven CMEA member countries in Europe are the subject of this article. Many changes have occurred in their economic conditions and economic development since the mid-seventies. The first part of this paper will summarize these changes: the earlier trend of high economic growth rates has been broken; foreign debt reached unprecedented levels; a number of countries have liquidity problems, two asking for the rescheduling of their debts; improvements in the standard of living over two decades have changed into stagnation, and in some countries even deterioration. The cause and character of these changes are open to question and widely discussed. Are they caused by the world economic crisis and recession, i.e., by business-cycles, or are they due to a structural change in the world economy that the East European countries could not properly adapt to? But where should one look for the possible domestic reasons for insufficient readjustment? Subjective factors, weaknesses of economic policy or the given methods and systems of economic management? The answer to these questions will be sought by analyzing the internal causes, i.e. the operation of the individual economies and of CMEA cooperation.

The second part discusses the possible ways of overcoming these problems. It is evident that the economic policies for stabilization that are common today and that attempt to restore the shattered external and internal equilibria of the East European economies by slowing down economic growth and by implementing strict import restrictions can only be a temporary solution. It is also evident that the acceleration of economic growth is only possible along a new trajectory, i.e. by intensive economic development. This paper will discuss the two conditions of desirable intensive growth, both foreign and internal.

One of the conditions is the choice of foreign economic strategy. Some argue that future, stable economic growth can only be made possible by the intensification of intra-CMEA economic cooperation, by a decrease in the level of dependence on the world market and by the kind of cooperation now current in the CMEA. However, according to others—and the present author is amongst them—a modernization of the East European economies can take place only through becoming competitive on the world market; this presupposes the intensification of the trade, financial, technological and marketing relations with the world market. It is, at the same time, a

Based on a lecture delivered at the Institute of European Studies, University of Turin, on October 27th, 1983.

condition for reaching a higher level of intra-CMEA cooperation. The other condition is the development of the classical model of the planned economy formed half a century ago in a way that would make quick and flexible reactions to foreign and domestic demand possible, including the substitution of the quantitative (volume-) approach to economic growth by qualitative, that is efficiency criteria. Finally I propose to briefly discuss the short and long-run prospects of East-West trade.

1 A Modified Situation in the European CMEA countries

(1) The most striking sign of a change in the economic situation in Eastern Europe is the significant slow-down in economic growth. Overall economic growth in the seven countries taken together—measured in terms of net material product (NMP)* —recorded an increase of some 1.8 per cent in 1982. Compared with most developed market economies and the bulk of developing countries, even this rate of expansion can be considered relatively high—particularly when the unfavourable conditions prevailing in the world economy are taken into account. The following, however, has to be taken into account when evaluating this growth performance.

(a) The growth rate in 1982 is at the trough of a curve that has been declining almost continuously since 1976. The decline of the curve is rather steep: within six years the total growth rate has fallen from about 6 per cent to below 2 per cent. Within this the deceleration of economic growth was far more pronounced in the case of the six smaller CMEA countries in Europe than in that of the Soviet Union. From an aggregate of slightly above 6.2 per cent in 1976, this growth rate progressively declined — by an average of some 1.3 percentage points annually over the next five years. In 1981 there was an absolute contraction of NMP by 1.1 per cent. This was mainly due to the Polish crisis. But, as is made clear by the individual graphs of the Six, an absolute—although weak—decline took place not only in Poland but also in Hungary (1980) and Czechoslovakia (1981 and 1982).

(b) If we go back further to the past, not only to the mid-seventies but also 10–15 years earlier, we shall find that there was already a tendency towards a slight slowdown in the growth rates in earlier decades.

(c) Naturally, the slowdown in the growth rate as compared to the Golden Sixties is a fact of life that antedated the oil-shock. However, in the case of the socialist countries one has to consider that the approach to the growth rate has always been a crucial social and political question throughout the sixty years since the first socialist society was founded. Partly in order to accelerate the elimination of earlier underdevelopment, and partly because of the need to prove the superiority of the new social order, a high economic growth rate has always been an important—if not the most important—factor of the legitimization of the new social system in Central and Eastern Europe. This is the reason for the predominant growth-oriented character of all (planning, stimulation) mechanisms of the centrally planned economies. This socio-psychological environment also explains why the economic policy makers in all CMEA countries, without exception, insisted on the maintenance of high growth rates at all costs, even in the mid-seventies, when a radical change in the conditions for growth had already become apparent.

(2) The other feature signaling a change in the situation; the rocketing accumulation of hard-currency debts of the European CMEA-countries in the second half of the

* Here and below the economic output will be denoted in the categories of Material Product System (MPS) used by the official statistics of the CMEA countries. The UN use the same method in presenting statistical data.

70's is partly related to these attempts. Since the CMEA-countries do not publish official balance of payments, or capital, figures they do not inform each other about these either, estimates must be based on those supplied by the creditor Western banks. Whatever their faults or lacunae there is no doubt that they make the trends evident. It is therefore clear that the second part of the seventies saw a considerable growth in indebtedness. Between 1974 and 1976, that is in two years, total debt more than doubled and between 1975 and 1978 it doubled once again. The peak of this process was around 1980 and it has remained at more or less that level since. I shall discuss the reason for this halt in the growth of indebtedness later. At this stage I want to emphasize two factors: (a) the size of the debt to Western banks and governments; (b) the relatively short period (4–5 years) of rapid debt accumulation. All this made the CMEA countries' economies vulnerable to the ups and downs of the international market, as became evident at the beginning of the eighties.

(3) The general restriction on investments in the CMEA-countries which was characterized first by a slowdown and then in 1982 by an absolute decline in investment activity in each of the Six was also a novel feature of the late seventies and early eighties. Within the overall picture there was an absolute decline in Poland for four, in Hungary for three, in Czechoslovakia and Rumania for two consecutive years. (See Table 1) The preliminary figures for the first half of 1983 seem to show an end in this fall and even a certain reversal of the trend.

(4) The decline or stagnation in living standards and especially in real wages in some of the countries is not unprecedented but has not happened for at least a quarter of a century, since the fifties.

However, besides the figures a basic factor has to be considered and that is the standard of consumer goods supply that is

Table 1

Investments in the European CMEA countries
(annual average change, in per cent)

Country	1971–1975	1976–1980	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Bulgaria	8.6	4.0	0.6	—2.2	7.5	10.5	—3.1
Czechoslovakia	8.0	2.8	4.3	1.6	1.6	—4.6	—1.1[a]
German Democratic Republic	4.7	3.7	2.8	1.4	0.3	2.7	—6.4
Hungary	7.0	2.4	5.0	1.0	—5.8	—5.6	—2.6
Poland	18.4	—2.0	2.1	—7.9	—12.3	—22.7	—19.0[b]
Rumania	11.5	8.5	16.0	4.1	3.0	—7.0	—2.5
Soviet Union	7.0	3.4	6.0	0.7	2.3	3.8	2.0

[a] State investments
[b] State and cooperative investments
Source: Institute for Economic and Market Research, Budapest
Based on official CMEA figure

not reflected in the statistics. There have been serious shortages in some of the countries. News of this has not only filtered through in travellers' tales but is also implied official statements of representatives and in critical articles in the press of these countries. It should be stressed that these shortages are nowhere near as bad as those in the Soviet Union in the thirties in the era of Stalinist industrialization or in the immediate post-War period all over Central and Eastern Europe. What has occurred rather is that after decades of almost continuous growth, reaching relatively high levels, there was stagnation in some countries and a more serious decline occurred in others (Poland, Rumania). The situation would be much worse had the priorities of economic policies not changed. Maintaining living standards and doing away with shortages has become an important goal of governmental policies everywhere. This is also shown by the significant growth in the net imports of food by the region as a whole.

The four developments discussed above —I have emphasized only the most important aspects here—taken as a whole are, neither in magnitude nor character not all that unlike the crisis and stagnation faced by other parts of the world economy (including the most developed industrial countries). One can even say that the Central and East European socialist countries (with the exception of Poland), have so far survived the calamities related to the changes in the world economic business cycle with less of a social shock than other countries of similar economic development. What really causes anxiety among East European economists and decision-makers is the character of changes unprecedented in the history of the centrally planned economies. This is what gives rise to new questions, and presents a new challenge, forcing a search for new answers and fresh solutions.

Reasons and evaluations

The phenomena of the last four-five years in the European CMEA economies can—at first approximation—be viewed as a deflationary decline: in order to restore the deteriorated foreign and internal economic equilibrium governments, as part of a policy of stabilization, restrict the domestic use of the national income (investments and consumption), and as a result economic growth declines or slows down.[1]

The only question is: why and how could such an unprecedented situation arise in a centrally planned economy?

The direct cause—that gave rise to the events—at least in the case of the Six—was the deterioration of the foreign economic balance. The hard-currency debt of the CMEA countries, as already shown, has jumped up since 1974, and a slowdown in economic growth started only in 1978. The economic policy of the four or five years between these two dates is therefore

[1] There may be objections to the use of the concept deflationary decline, which suggests a deflationary crisis, since in the traditional sense a deflationary economic policy is used to reduce inflation, i.e. to stop price-rises, while in Eastern Europe a process of just the opposite character is going on: the acceleration of price rises to a greater or lesser extent in each country without exception. But one should keep in mind that the market-cleaning and balancing role of the prices in the fixed price system of the centrally planned economies is only secondary; they function mainly as measuring instruments for registration and calculation. In such circumstances the disequilibrium of demand and supply is signaled not by an increase in prices but by the multiplication of commodity shortages, along with all their unpleasant concomitants. This was already demonstrated in the early twenties, by some Soviet economists (see Szamuely, 1974, pp. 102–104). This is why the renewed price rises—paradoxially —are signs of steps towards the restoration of equilibrium, the elimination of repressed inflation, and the maintenance of the desirable ratios between the available resources and their use. The elimination of the foreign and internal overexpenditure (or as it is called in Hungary overdistribution), however, is the very essence of any deflationary policy.

directly responsible for economic expansion funded by loans obtained from Western sources.

The oil-shock of 1973 shook the foundations of the world economy, and was an especially severe blow to those smaller Central and East European countries which are poor in energy sources. The deterioration in general terms of trade of the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Hungary taken as a whole was 15–20 per cent in this period. (see Marer, 1981.) Since these countries cover almost all of their oil needs from the Soviet Union, the deterioration in the terms of trade of the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria vis-à-vis the Soviet Union was even more extensive.

Let Hungary serve as an example to demonstrate this loss. Since the export-import ratio in Net Material Product (NMP) is the biggest in Hungary amongst the CMEA countries—around 50 per cent—a 20 per cent deterioration in the terms of trade is equivalent to a 10 per cent loss in the NMP. But the index of the NMP produced internally—at fixed prices—still rapidly increased over these years, and the losses were reflected in the accumulation of foreign trade deficits and debts. Naturally, this trend could not have been carried on for ever; and a radical revision of economic policy took place in Hungary in 1978.

In addition, it was not only the terms of trade that changed in the second half of the seventies. The basis of intra-CMEA cooperation, e.e.—to oversimplify the situation somewhat—the exchange of manufactured goods produced by the six smaller socialist countries for energy (oil) and raw materials from the Soviet Union, has been affected as well. It is true that rapid post-War East European industrialisation was based on Soviet raw materials and its products were mainly (in some industrial branches overwhelmingly) meant for the Soviet market. But by the end of the seventies—independently of the world economic crisis but approximately at about the same time—the easily available and extractable resources of the Soviet Union had—as it turned out—become virtually exhausted. Extraction has moved more and more toward the eastern regions of the Soviet Union not only raising costs but also diminishing the possibilities of further expansion. As a result the export potential of the Soviet Union suffered certain limitations: first there was merely a slowing down of the expansion of crude oil, non-ferrous metals, and sawn timber products, which also became more expensive, but by the early eighties the volume of certain goods has stagnated and their supply even declined in absolute terms. (see Szikszay, 1982)

One more international factor urged the restoration of the foreign trade balance in the early eighties and that was the modified relation of the international money market to the CMEA countries. Application by Poland and Rumania for rescheduling of their debts for a time scared Western banks off the granting of further loans. On the other hand, sanctions following the declaration of martial law in Poland caused and still cause serious liquidity problems in all CMEA countries, Hungary included. The situation was further aggravated by a sudden withdrawal of large deposits by foreign bank customers. Rocketing interest rates in the recent years meant an additional burden on the debt servicing of East European countries.

A number of additional factors complete the above picture: the depression on the world market; the appearance of the newly industrializing countries on the established export markets of East European countries; the increasing use of open or hidden protectionism against Eastern European agricultural and industrial goods in the markets of the industrially developed countries, etc. All this seems to provide sufficient explanation to blame the weakening of the international economic positions of the East European countries on a coincidence of exogenous factors inde-

pendent of domestic conditions. But how independent and how unpredictable was the coincidence of these forces?

I already mentioned the general (appearing in all countries) faulty approach of economic policy that in 1974–1975 did not take proper note of the world economic crisis beginning at that time or of the fact that this was not only the usual trough of the business cycle but an abrupt acceleration of structural rearrangements that started earlier. This structural rearrangement changed the role of whole economic sectors, industries, regions in economic development. Of course, this insensitivity had its socio-psychological, ideological, political and institutional reasons. We mention only some of these:

a) the already mentioned insistence on maintaining the high rate of economic growth at all costs;

b) the ideological thesis according to which crises are only a characteristic of capitalist economy and planned economies by definition exclude them;

c) the conviction that the system of intra-CMEA cooperation makes the member countries independent of, sheltering them from, world market upsets; what is more, that the conditions of intra-CMEA cooperation will remain unchanged even in the face of changes in world economy;

d) the rigid isolation of domestic economic activities from the foreign economic events that results in the insensitivity of enterprises, and even of the sectoral ministries in charge, to the changing conditions on foreign markets.

Changes in the foreign economic conditions and the delayed and/or faulty reaction of the East European countries to these changes thus seem to explain why was it necessary to hold back economic development around 1980. But these were causes and reasons with merely and—probably—only short term, at the most medium term effects. In addition, they were valid only for the Six and not at all, or only to a limited extent, for the Soviet Union. External economic conditions and above all the terms of trade have changed favourably for the Soviet Union vis-à-vis both the world market and the CMEA countries. If we consider the developments of only the last four years (1979–1982), it can be calculated from UN data (United Nations, 1983 p. 250) that the terms of trade of the Soviet Union taken as a whole have improved by 20.3 per cent, and in trade with socialist countries (including Yugoslavia, non-European CMEA countries and other Asia centrally planned economies) by 18.5 per cent. Nevertheless the general economic growth indices are generally similar to those of the Six as is reflected by the figures.

Thus the slowdown of economic growth has—beyond changes in the external economic conditions—other, domestic reasons that can be changed and influenced only in the long run. What are these? The three factors below are not a complete list:

(1) The exhaustion of the sources of extensive growth.

(2) The strategy and orientation of economic development so far.

(3) The system of planning and management of national economies (what is called the economic mechanism).

Concerning the first point it is accepted that in the East European countries that have reached a certain level of economic development it was possible to extend the volume of production meeting the less sophisticated demand of the population relatively quickly by the methods of extensive development. The cheap labour force moving away from the agriculture and the apparent amplitude of natural resources not fully exploited earlier (including such goods as land and water reckoned free at the time) assured the expansion of industrial capacities on a basically unchanged technological level. These resources—as predicted by specialists for a long time—have been exhausted everywhere, not only in East

Europe but also in the Soviet Union. The other side of the coin is that as a result of the accumulating problems in labour, material, and energy supply and as the utilization of production capacities and fixed assets diminishes, the efficiency of investments declines, i.e. the capital intensity of production increases.

This is how in the East European countries the paradoxical situation occured of a simultaneous labour, capital, material and energy shortage. These factors of production are of course not in short supply in their relation to each other but in the context of the target-system of economic policy and within the framework provided by the means used to achieve these targets.

However necessary and imperative it may be to find a solution in order to restore the external economic equilibrium and the international credit standing of the CMEA countries, the present deflationary decline temporarily interrupting economic growth can not by itself offer a solution for the contradictions originating in extensive growth.

Ways must therefore be found by changing the other two factors causing the slowdown in the economic growth.

2 Intensive (qualitative) development

Although it covers a much wider group of problems intensive growth, or the new trajectory of growth, as it is called in Hungary, is closely connected with the economic development and foreign trade strategies.

The socialist planned economy *in statu nascendi* was an autarkic economy. In the hostile environment in which Soviet Russia found itself, it was not only understandable but to a certain extent justified, and, due to the available resources of the country, a feasible economic policy for a long time. But the Soviet industrialization policy before the Second World War aimed for a special type of autarky: it didnot exclude the possibility of imports but wished to make available to the whole of Soviet industry, and to metallurgy and engineering in the first place, the most advanced equipment imported from the West, naturally, in order to make such imports unnecessary in the future. (In that sense it was different from China's policy of self-reliance in the sixties.) But the only purpose of an industrialization entailing great sacrifices was to meet domestic demand, and nobody thought of establishing export capacities. The imported equipment was paid for in grain, timber and minerals.

The new East European planned economies after the Second World War took to the beaten path of Stalinist industrialization. They—true enough, in an extraordinarily acute situation—even accepted the idea of autarky, which is absurd for small countries, the serious consequences of which were felt already in the mid-fifties. This idea of national autarky was replaced by the more rational notion of CMEA-scale autarky in the early sixties. It should be remembered however that even in the more relaxed international atmosphere of the sixties, the CMEA countries in the renewed East-West economic relations—although at a higher level—still carried on with one-sided Stalinist notions of economic development characteristic for the thirties. As A. Köves an Hungarian economist rightly emphasized in 1978: "it was never noticed that it might be a source of problems for development policy that, while imports from the capitalist countries attained an important role in economic development and in the functioning of the economy, the need to increase exports to the West was still ignored when the fundamental trends of economic development were determined. Though products of such sectors as agriculture, the food processing industry, or light industry played a major role in the Western exports of smaller CMEA countries, being given greater attention than before, these were industries that were not

in the forefront of modernization. Industries that enjoyed priority in development policy (and whose development was mainly promoted by imports originating from the West) manufactured products primarily not for Western export but for domestic use or for export to CMEA countries. The price had to be payed in the next decade."

There was a heavy penalty for this strange bifurcation of the economies in the modified world economic circumstances of the next decade. Heavy industry, enjoying preferences, and often established with the help of Western imports (and partly financed by loans) was not able to produce the export-outputs balancing the Western import-inputs necessary for its maintenance. At the same time, the light and food-processing industries that created the earlier export earnings whose development was not furthered, proved to be the most vulnerable to world market competition and most hit by open protectionism and disguised discrimination.

The conscious striving for a defensive isolation from world market effects resulted in pricesetting, financial, trade, etc. systems different from those of the world market. (see Marer and Montias, 1981) These systems successfully helped to approach the aims of extensive economic growth discussed above. However the adjustment to new and modified circumstances necessitated the introduction of new methods and structures. What some economists said about their own economy in Czechoslovakia can be applied to each CMEA country: "The branch pattern of the economy in the CSSR has been shaped in completely different circumstances as to the price relations in world markets, outlet possibilities availability of energy resources and other raw materials compared with what they are nowadays, or what they can possibly be expected to look like in the eighties. Even the choice of priority industries was made according to criteria, the validity of which are questionable from this point of view. The inevitable reconsideration of the branch pattern of the economy along these lines is also a crucial requisite of an efficient allocation of capital investment resources." (Vintrová, Klacek, Kupka, 1982, p. 29.)

It is now evident to everybody in the CMEA countries that intensive development needs the most advanced technology, accelerated technological change, the greatest possible economy in the use of materials and energy, strict quality control, etc. Although there is no complete consensus, nobody argues openly that this development method should be or can be applied in isolation from the effects of the world economy and the world market. On the contrary: it is possible to list and quote important official decisions, declarations and measures that underline the importance of exports to the West and urge the achievement and maintenance of competitiveness on Western markets of CMEA produced goods. Nowadays, when outlining CMEA development prospect, there is hardly a whisper of isolation from the West, it is more usual to emphasize that intra-CMEA cooperation programmes should also support the expansion of exports to the West (Bogomolov, 1983.).

There are disagreements and arguments concerning the methods. The dominant view among economists and political decision-makers still seems to be that the much desired intensive development should be achieved by methods used in the period of quantitative (extensive) growth, i.e. by development projects determined centrally in physical terms and coordinated by governments (see Shiryaev, 1983). Thus the obsolete intra-CMEA trade system based on bilateral barter would still remain valid, a system that—in the absence of real money —does not allow the value-aspect of common actions (i.e. the cost-benefit relation) to be sufficiently taken into consideration. Consequently, it does not allow for the assurance of the participating countries' real interests either. (See Csaba, 1979.)

However, a view argued by the majority of Hungarian economists for five or six years is also gaining ground. The squeeze, it is said, should be escaped by East European countries through active and offensive adjustment to world economic changes (Bognár, 1979; Csaba, 1980; Köves, 1981, 1982). Thus the solution is not regression on the part of restricted East-West relations, or re-directing them to the intra-CMEA sphere, since this is impossible in practice without great disturbances in, or even paralysis in the economic life of the CMEA countries. (The import restrictions necessary in recent years also point to the fact that it is hardly possible or permissible to continue in this direction.) There is need to establish an export oriented structure and a change in the method of economic relations that would create criteria and conditions similar to those of the world market, i.e. that would adjust firms within a country to a market climate and would also prepare and force them to compete on the world market.

Naturally, the most important condition and key to this is a modification of domestic economic mechanisms in a manner that conforms with the demands of the market (Krasznai, Laki, 1982), i.e., internal economic reforms. In this respect there are important changes in just about every country: a new stage of the economic reform is being prepared in Hungary; there have been very considerable changes in Bulgaria in recent years; there are reports of new ideas, proposals from the Soviet Union, etc.

3 Short and longterm prospects

For the six smaller European CMEA countries the main problem is still the restoration of external economic equilibrium. In trade with the Western and developing sountries this implies a trade surplus that would allow the repayment of the accumulated debts and interest payments. In this way they could fully regain their earlier credit-standing, again finding a key to medium and longterm loans, putting an end to the liquidity problems that still haunt them. In the trade with the Soviet Union, their biggest energy and raw material supplier, these countries gradually have to increase the volume of their exports in order to pay for the—although constant or even slightly decreasing in volume but increasing in price—Soviet supplies, i.e. to make up for the ongoing deterioration in the terms of trade. Both tasks necessitate a net outflow of the domestic product produced, i.e. a smaller domestic use, since an improvement in efficiency of a degree that would counterbalance these losses is impossible in the short run. As argued earlier, this process is the essence of the deflationary crisis in the East European countries.

What kind of foreign trade balance was produced by this deflationary decline? A reference to Table 2 shows the position since 1979 on.

As far as the East European "Six" are concerned in the last two years (1981 and 1982), they did not succeed in increasing their exports in value terms in their convertible trade (with developed market economies and developing countries). The modest increase in volume terms could not even counterbalance the fall in prices. There was only one possible solution: a drastic cut in the imports (by one-third within two years—in value terms). In the trade with the socialist countries, the bulk of which is with the Soviet Union, the increase of exports in value terms was approximately in balance with the increase of imports in value terms (the volume of the latter has decreased). This indicates that annual deficits in the trade with the Soviet Union taken as a whole did not increase, i.e. due to the deterioration in terms of trade there was an outflow of funds.

Table 2

Eastern Europe (the Six) and the Soviet Union: Changes in foreign trade by value and volume, according to major trading regions, 1979–1982 *(per cent)*

	Exports				Imports			
	1970	1980	1981	1982	1979	1980	1981	1982
EASTERN EUROPE								
Total trade								
Value[a]	17.1	12.2	0.5	3.5	13.1	12.2	—3.1	4.1
Volume	8	2	2	4	2	1	—5	—6
of which:								
Trade with socialist countries								
Value[b]	10.8	5.9	8.4	11.1	7.5	8.8	11.1	8.8
Volume	7	—2	—	4	2	—	1	—2
Trade with developed market economies and developing countries								
Value[a]	25.2	22.0	0.1	—3.2	18.5	15.6	—13.1	—19.8
Volume	2	8	3	4	—1	2	—11	—14
SOVIET UNION								
Total trade								
Value[a]	23.6	18.2	3.8	8.3*	13.9	18.6	6.8	7.1*
Volume	0.6	1.6	0.4	5	1.0	7.3	8.2	8
of which:								
Trade with socialist countries								
Value[b]	11.2	13.9	15.9	9.1*	3.4	10.3	13.1	16.2*
Volume	3.2	4.0	—1.1	—3	—1.2	3.4	4.9	9
Trade with developed market economies and developing countries								
Value[a]	34.3	22.2	2.8	8.6*	23.6	27.9	12.2	—1.1*
Volume	—3.3	—1.4	4.0	15	4.6	11.7	10.6	6

Source: Economic Survey of Europe in 1982 p. 250.
[a] In US Dollars
[b] In transferable roubles
* Estimate by the secretariat of the EEC

In the case of the Soviet Union the foreign trade performance was definitely successful: it could counterbalance the fall in the world market prices of its main export item, crude oil, by increasing the export volumes (including the exports of natural gas) on the convertible currency markets in the last two years (1981 and 1982) while in the preceding two years (1979 and 1980) the spectacular rise in export values was caused by the second oil price "explosion" (in volume the exports,

Table 3

Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union: trade balances 1979–1982
(Thousand millions of US dollars)

Country group	1979	1980	1981	1982[a]
		Eastern Europe		
World	—5.1	—5.8	—2.6	4.0
Socialist countries	—0.1	—1.6	—3.1	—1.5
Developed market economies	—5.4	—3.8	—2.9	1.1
Developing countries	0.4	—0.4	3.4	4.3
		Soviet Union		
World	6.9	8.0	6.2	7.6
Socialist countries	3.3	5.0	6.2	4.1
Developed market economies	—1.1	0.2	—1.2	—
Developing countries	4.7	2.7	1.2	3.5

Source: Economic Survey of Europe in 1982, 1983, p. 254.
[a] Preliminary estimates.

in fact, declined). Thus the Soviet imports —unlike those of the East European countries—have increased both in volume and in value terms.

Considering the trade balances and the balance of payments these efforts produced spectacular results and economists in many countries are talking about dramatic changes and even about a historic about turn.

It is made clear by table 3 that a significant about turn was first registered in 1981, when the overall East European trade deficit was reduced by almost half and a small surplus was attained with the market economies (developing countries included). However, owing to the rise in interest rates that year, the East European countries' current account in convertible currencies nonetheless remained in deficit. In 1982, by contrast, the improvement in the trade balances appeared to have been large enough to offset the deficit on invisibles and thus to assure also a current account surplus of 1 milliard US dollars. According to UN sources (United Nations, 1983, p. 266) Eastern Europe's current account taken as a whole (including the Soviet Union) changed from a deficit of more than 6 milliard dollars in 1981 to an estimated surplus of 5 milliard in 1982, that is a reversal of 11 milliard dollars in a single year! The Six account for 6 milliard dollars of this swing, and the Soviet Union for the remainder.

The resulting surplus is broadly consistent with the reduction in the net external debt of the Eastern European countries as reflected in net liability data reported by the Bank for International Settelements. According to this, the first three quarters of 1982 showed a dramatic reversal in East-West financial flow. Total East European net liabilities vis-à-vis BIS reporting banks declined by 2.4 milliard dollars (at constant exchange rates) which compares with a 7.6 milliard increase in the first three quarters of 1981. Commenting on this UN economists note: "In other words, for the first time since these statistics have been kept, the Eastern countries were net providers of funds to the international financial system, implying a reversal in the net transfer of resources and thus a reduction in their net debt." (United Nations, 1983. p. 236). The Secretariat of the EEC

estimates the decrease in the CMEA countries' net debt in 1982 as 8 milliard dollars (including the fact that, due to the revaluation of the dollar, a significant portion of the Eastern debt in non-dollar currencies was devaluated.)

The enthuasiasm of the authors of the ECE Survey and some other economists, however, is somewhat exaggerated, since their evaluation was based on transactions of BIS reporting banks. But the sad feature of the early eighties was the restricted access of the CMEA countries to the usual banking credit sources -mostly for non-economic motives. Thus they were compelled to rely extensively on the much less favourable short run commercial (suppliers') credits (returning ironically to the already forgotten practice of the Cold War years). These credits are not registered by any international finance institution. To be driven out of the institutionalised international financial system is not a sign of a healthy development. Let us rather accept the fact —which can be supported also by foreign trade statistics of CMEA countries—that the process of mounting indebtedness has stopped and was possibly slightly reversed. This is of great importance, too.

Thus the foreign trade readjustment has been rapid and successful.

An operation carried out in an emergency situation was evidence of great vitality, bringing unexpected physical and psychological resources to the surface. The loss of blood suffered during the operation was, however, unnecessarily large due to a coincidence of unfavourable exogenous and endogenous circumstances. Later therapy indicates a lengthy period of convalescences and even that will not certainly lead to complete recovery. In this sense there is a double danger:

(1) In order to be able to operate, the input of nutritive materials (imports) that are necessary for the sustenance and the recovery of the organism has been dangerously decreased. At the same time, there was a net outflow of funds necessary for recovery. If this process does not come to a halt, even those who originally were interested in it—i.e. foreign banks and governments for whom the operation successfully assured the repayment of their loans as well as profits—can suffer serious losses. This is so, since if they continue to refuse to return these funds for short-sighted business or political reasons, the East European economies will be a further diminished market for their own economies looking for an upturn. On the other hand, the constant shrinking of investment activities threatens to postpone the quest for modernization and competitiveness of the East European economies, making the bankers' ability to recover the money loaned earlier doubtful.

(2) The emergency operation was carried out in the East European countries by strictly centralized restrictive measures. This is reflected in the results, too: it was not the exports that have increased, but the imports were held back. The quick restoration of foreign trade balances seems to justify the efficiency of these methods as compared to the ideas of the reformers who expect a radical change in the economic system to achieve competitiveness in the world market and a change to the above mentioned intensive trajectory. Naturally this can not happen overnight, but as a result of a lengthy evolutionary process. It is to be feared (and there are already serious signs referring to this e.g. in Hungary and Poland and perhaps in other countries too) that the above mentioned solution for the deflationary crisis, while not leading to the restoration of dynamic economic growth, may establish a socio-psychological atmosphere that favours the "proven" direct, centralization methods and not the new initiatives necessary for reforms, thus preserving extensive growth already deprived of its sources. This would foreshadow a lenghty period of economic stagnation.

Both dangers are real and in a certain sense they strengthen each other, but the probable result is not an apocalypse but compromises: a gradual—although slower than desirable—upturn in foreign trade activity that under the still rigorous conditions of the world economy will, as an oppressive force, make internal economic (and social) reforms necessary.

References

Bognár, J. (1979): Relations of the CMEA with the world economy at the beginning of a new era. Acta Oeconomica (Budapest), Vol. 23 (1–2), pp. 1–16.

Bogomolov, O. (1983): Coordination of economic policy. New Times, Moscow, No. 5. January.

Csaba, L. (1979): Some problems of the international socialist monetary system. Acta Oeconomica, Vol. 23 (1–2), pp. 17–37.

Csaba, L. (1980): Impacts of world economic changes on the CMEA. Acta Oeconomica, Vol 25 (1–2), pp. 93–115.

Köves, A. (1978): Socialist economy and world economy. Acta Oeconomica, Vol. 21 (4), pp. 299–311.

Köves, A. (1981): Turning inward or turning outward: reflections on the foreign economic strategy of CMEA countries. Acta Oeconomica, Vol. 26 (1–2), pp. 51–69.

Köves, A. (1982): Alternative foreign economic strategies for the CMEA countries. Konjunkturpolitik, 28. Jahrgang, Heft 5, pp. 324–341.

Krasznai, Z.–Laki, M. (1982): Conditions and possibilites of cooperation in production and trade with Western firms in Hungary. Acta Oeconomica, Vol. 29 (1–2), pp. 149–166.

Marer, P. (1981): Economic performance and prospects in Eastern Europe: analytical summary and interpretation of findings. In: East European Economic Assessment. A compendium of papers submitted to the Joint Economic Committee Congress of the United States. Part 2. Washington, D. C., pp. 19–95.

Marer, P. and Montias, J. M. (1981): CMEA integration: theory and practice. In: East European Economic Assessment. Part 2. Op. cit. pp. 148–195.

Shiryaev, Yu. (1983): Working for intensification. World Marxist Review, Vol. 26, No. 4. April. pp. 69–75.

Szamuely, L. (1974): First models of the socialist economic systems. Principles and theories. Budapest. Akadémiai Kiadó.

Szikszay, B. (1982): Aspects of the international coordination of national economic plans. Acta Oeconomica, Vol. 28 (1–2), pp. 179–185. United Nations (1983): Economic Survey of Europe in 1982. Prepared by the secretariat of the Economic Commission for Europe. New York.

Vintrová, R., Klacek, J., Kupka, V. (1982): Economic growth in the CSSR, its barriers and efficiency. Czechoslovak Economic Papers, No. 20. Prague, pp. 7–29.

SHORTAGES AND CONSTRAINTS

János Kornai: *A hiány*. Közgazdasági, 1980, 1982, 658 pp. *Economics of Shortage*, North Holland Publishing Co., Amsterdam, Oxford, New York. 1980. 631 pp.

"In scientific work, most things that look complicated are in fact frightfully simple once you have got around to understanding them. True research means that you look at something that a thousand people have seen before you but you think something that has occurred to no one yet," Nobel laureate Albert Szent-Györgyi once said in a TV interview. His way of putting it is a fair description also of János Kornai's *Economics of Shortage* which in fact is based on fairly widely known facts and findings. Outstanding among the findings are the propositions of Kornai's own earlier work, the fruits of a critical rethinking of his own earlier research. No less fundamental, however, are the insights and findings of other research into the concrete processes of functioning of the economies of socialist countries since the 1920s. Finally, it is by no means irrelevant that what Kornai strives to unravel includes issues which cut near the bone, issues which generate what Samuelson has called our personal interest in the economy, and which even in the most pedestrian sense are in the air: why we have to queue for basic goods and services, why material is supplied in fits and starts where we work etc., etc.

Faithful to his original intention, Kornai refuses to tinker with established theory: rather, he constructs the laws of operation of economic systems out of the facts of real life. His concern is with the general laws behind a multitude of individual shortages; such laws exist because the shortage economy is not simply an economy where intense shortages arise with regularity, but, in a more general way, is a well-defined mode of economic management as evolved in the European socialist countries.

In his description of the way the microsphere of the economy operates, Kornai starts out from a survey of the constraints limiting expansion, that is the growth of firms. In classical free-enterprise capitalism, the firms' scope for action is limited by the demand for their products. This is why that system can be termed demand-constrained. In the traditional socialist economy, on the other hand, the decisive power in the market is wielded by sellers rather than by buyers; the neuralgic point, the main constraint on the expansion of the firm is not output but the procurement of the resources, of the inputs required for the processes of production. In the economic system of socialism, then, strivings to expand production come up against a resource constraint sooner than against any other. Production essentially is the combining together of a variety of resources (inputs); the scope for growth is limited by the resource that is in shortest supply. If that particular resource is fully utilized, then instantaneously (temporarily) unutilized capacities, that is slacks, are likely to arise in most if not all other resources. The existence of slacks (slacks exceeding a certain reasonable level, that is) is a regular and distinctive feature of a planned economy.

The constraints on the expansion of firms are different under different economic management structures. This is due to the existence—and is a function of status at any one time—of a third constraint, called the budget constraint, expressive of the way the firms can finance their operations. This behavioural-type constraint is called "hard" by Kornai if a firm's purchases of inputs must not exceed the sales proceeds of its products. In other words, if the firm overspends under a "hard" budget constraint, it is bound to

go bankrupt sooner or later. In contrast the budget constraint to which the traditional socialist enterprise is exposed is "soft" in Kornai's terminology because the enterprises's demand is not limited at all rigidly by its liquidity status; even if it incurs recurrent losses, this does not drive it bankrupt in any real sense of the term.

Persistent shortages, demand that cannot be met, and the "soft" budget constraint which is behind both are the natural state of the economies of socialist countries rather than an out-of-the-ordinary one. Kornai terms this state the norm (the normal state); what he means is that this is an established, well-entrenched situation, a state that people have grown used to; it is a descriptive term rather than one expressing a value judgement. In the market sense, this state of the system is not one of equilibrium, not one where demand is balanced by supply. Kornai defines it as an equilibrium in the broader sense of the term, one in which what would be imbalances in the market sense have grown so persistent that they can be regarded as constants of the situation. A process of regulation (of control) belongs to this persistence and to this norm. This propels any actual behaviour pattern towards the norm, thereby ensuring the survival of the system.

*

After the presentation of his conceptual apparatus, Kornai embarks upon a description of how economic systems work. The point he makes in Part I of the book ("Adjustment without prices") is that, given a different set of social and economic institutions, a different norm—that is, a set of different economic conditions—the economic entities will develop different interest patterns and strivings; these find expression in different behaviour and action patterns. The reason for this is that the relation between buyer and seller is no simple exchange of goods; rather, it sets up a social relationship between the two market antagonists. In a shortage economy, the seller outranks the buyer, so that it is the buyer who must curry favour with the seller.

In these cirsumstances, it is not the seller who will adjust (adapt) to the buyer's demands; it is the buyer who will have to submit to the seller's dictate, reproducing thereby the asymmetric power relationship between them. True, this does not mean that the buyer is entirely at the seller's mercy, but neither does it mean that he has a free choice among the classical market alternatives. In the course of submission, termed forced adjustment, firms deploy different instruments at different points in time. If the buyer's intent to buy is not crowned by immediate success, he must at once take a decision whether to go on insisting on the commodity that he originally wanted. If his need for that commodity cannot be substituted—that is, if he is ready to make an additional effort towards procuring it—then, in a process called instantaneous adjustment, he will either keep on shopping for the commodity in question or patiently wait for it to become available, or else he tries, if he deems such a course hopeful, to ingratiate himself with the seller in one way or another. If rebuffed, the buyer can still reduce his output or change his output pattern. Most often, however, he resorts to a strategy of forced substitution; he changes his input pattern (the resource combination that he uses). In the short term (meaning a period over which the firm's fixed assets remain the same), the buyer adapts to shortage primarily through input-pattern adjustments. On the other hand, in the long-term process of adjustment, which is the struggle for investment resources, the relevant relationship is no longer one between the buyer and the seller; having emerged from the microsphere, we now find the relationship between the claimant and the allocator of resources to be the decisive one. Kornai shows that, given the institutional set-up of a socialist economy in which investment resources are not allocated entrepreneur fashion, on a business-like basis, the investment sphere is exposed

to the same sort of resource constraint as current production is. Going one step further, beyond exposing the interrelationship between the resource constraints affecting the two spheres, Kornai shows that the decisive momentum in the evolution of the economic system into a shortage economy is tension in the investment sphere. In other words, it is true not only, and simply, in the sphere of current production that shortage begets shortage; the different phases of adjustment to shortage can also exert a mutual-excitation-type influence on each other. All this is an immediate consequence of the firms' internal urge to expand, of a set of growth- and size-dependent advantages from which certain profits can be wrung in the process of adjustment to shortage, given the fact that the bargaining positions of bigger firms tend to be stronger.

*

Part II of the book examines the specific adjustment behaviour patterns of firms, non-profit institutions and households in the presence of prices. The discussion focuses on the price category since, as shown by experience, up to the present at least, of the East European socialist countries, commodities and money do not disappear from everyday economic life even if top economic management is committed to the abolition of commodity and money relations; those do in fact survive, if for no other reason, then because the budget constraint of the household sector is unmistakably a "hard" one. On the other hand, the most that one can say about prices in these countries is that they are present, because the influence that prices exert in the classical market on the economic entities is, of course, absent from the socialist economy. The role of prices is itself intermediate in situations in between the two extremes described above. For such an intermediate case, the reader is referred to the Hungarian situation after the introduction in 1968 of the New Economic Mechanism.

The "harder" the budget constraint, the more sensitive is the firm to prices. The "softer" the constraint, on the other hand, the greater will be its propensity to respond to shortage-type rather than to price-type signals (to adjust to shortages rather than to prices). This, among other things, is why the type of price preferred by the economy (contract or administered) is of so slight a relevance; in whatever way prices are defined in the formal sense, the essential thing about them is that their influence is small. Other things being equal, changing the numerical values of prices or changing the pricing system as a whole will not interrupt the reproduction of persistent shortages. In the inter firm sphere passing on higher prices is no problem. Nor are prices more relevant in the sphere of consumption; even though households do face a "hard" budget constraint, the firms and non-profit institutions with their "soft" budget constraints will suck up the commodities in the consumption fund; hence, higher prices do not mitigate the intensity of shortage. The same holds for wages as the price of labour. Modifying wages policy cannot in itself do away with an all-pervasive, persistent labour shortage as long as the "soft" budget constraint of firms is maintained, and so is in consequence also their well-nigh insatiable demand for labour.

*

It is with all these criteria in mind that Kornai evaluates the Hungarian economic reform of 1968. He points to the strengthened ties set up between the price signals and the firms' responses (to the "hardening" of the budget constraint in Kornai's terminology). This shift in the norm has resulted in a very real reduction of shortage intensity over the past fifteen years. Simultaneously, however, an overt inflationary pressure has built up in the economy, both on the wages and on the prices side. The explanation for this pressure is to be looked for in the reform proper, more specifically in its limited nature, limited in the sense that it did not

combine a revived profit motive with a sufficient "hardening" of the budget constraint; the upshot was an amplification of the forces that drive prices up. In sum, although shortage intensity was reduced, the shortage economy as such has not been extirpated. The very general conclusion that emerges for the economies with a "soft" budget constraint is that the introduction of the profit motive and the elaboration of a concrete set of material-incentive rules, cannot in themselves do away with the shortage economy. What is needed in addition is changing the rules regulating the growth and survival of firms and, in the same context, changing the relation of the firms to the state.

It is precisely this thesis that the last two chapters of the book expound in some detail. They first present the principal macroeconomic laws of the shortage economy (the macro-interrelationships) in terms of a model based on the principles of hydraulic (the suction model). In another approach, they use the analogy of the parent-child relationship to dissect the institutional background to the budget constraint, that is the degrees of paternalism, and the degrees of closeness of the relation between firms and state.

Kornai's shortage-economy model is a closed-economy model: this is quite consistent with the real-world situation even though the 1980s did see an exacerbation of foreign-trade-generated tensions in the East European countries. In a classical planned economy one of the target functions of the system of means and ends and of institutional relations has been the isolation of the economy from the external world. With a view to separating their non-market economies from market economies, the Eastern European countries have isolated their microspheres from external markets by inserting an offsetting mechanism between their domestic and foreign-trade prices and by maintaining the inconvertibility of their currencies. Simultaneously, foreign trade (or, more specifically, imports) has long been the most flexible and least conflict-prone means of overcoming concrete bottlenecks in the microsphere. Yet such relaxation could be temporary at best a postponement as against true internal relief. Moreover, the well-nigh insatiable demand for imports generated by an intense shortage situation has transformed internal shortages arising at the micro level into an ever-growing trade deficit, it being increasingly hard, with export capabilities inadequate as a direct consequence of the "soft" budget constraint, to pay for the imports needed to relax the tensions. On the other hand, reliance upon external resources (external borrowing) did come up against a "hard" constraint in the early 1980s. This is how external economic relations have become the most effective change-enforcing goad, however long they had made it possible to defer a reform of the economic mechanism and to uphold a shortage economy. Yet, in the process, under the impact of some swinging import restrictions, paternalistic relations between the state and the firms owned by it have grown strongest in the foreign trade sphere. One of the implications of all this is that rethinking the mode of functioning of an economy must encompass, in addition to a reassessment of the relationship between state and firms, also the resolution of the conflict between the East European economies' real-economy (import-trade) opening towards the rest of the world on the one hand, and their institutional closedness on the other, the setting up of organic links between their external economic relations and their internal relations of reproduction.*

All this holds for Hungary as well even though, after 1968, that country introduced a multi-channel regulation of the firms by

* István Salgó and Iván Szegvári: "Le rôle du commerce extérieur dans les pays de l'Est et les mutations de l'économie mondiale." *In: Reflets et perspectives de la vie économique*, Bruxelles, Novembre 1983.

** Cf. also László Antal: "Development—with some digression." *Acta Oeconomica*, Vol. 23, Nos. 3–4, 1979.

means of prices and financial instruments, a step that brought about a qualitative change in the state-to-firm relationship.** This is worth stressing also because Kornai's work, while providing an excellent analysis on the way the classical socialist economy operates under its system of directive planning, does not, as a direct consequence of its overriding concern with that system, provide any truly satisfactory answers to the questions raised by the process of abandoning that system, such as the nature and modalities of the change of norm involved, the principal traits of the situation after the change, or the features of the capital market to be set up and the way they affect the firms' budget constraints.

Kornai's book makes no concrete proposals concerning the next steps to be taken by the East European economies. Nor does it express any value judgements as regards the facts as described, but his presentation of those does make the point that the specific features of the different economic systems should not be judged one-sidedly and that the achievements regarded as good things tend to have their bad sides too. Yet Kornai does identify the focal issue; in the tangled skein of relations among shortages, growth and the institutions, he posits, revising his own earlier position, the institutional element as the crucial one, and states a reassessment of the state-to-firms relationship to be the central factor, the key issue of the reform.

The significance of this highly readable and thought-provoking book is outstanding on several counts. It stimulates economics, in the socialist countries above all, to debate and further progress. Since its appearance, Kornai has published several complementary books and papers that explore the fringes of the ideas first expounded in *Economics of Shortage*. Research by others towards the concretization and verification of its argument has also been widespread. The conceptual framework created and made use of by Kornai has penetrated day-by-day economics and has at the same time overlapped into other disciplines; interest in the ideas of the book has been shown also by sociologists, psychologists, etc., simply because forced trajectories, forced substitutions, and forced choices are by no means confined to the economy in this part of the world. Fascination with Kornai's ideas may be explained by the light they shed on important interrelationships among subjects that used to be investigated in isolation before; it was this approach that permitted Kornai to delve deeper than most before him into the exploration of objective reality.

Let me finally point to the international importance of the book, due not just to the comprehensive and profound insight it provides into the functioning of socialist economies but also to its remarkable achievement in comparative economics, that is the creation of a consistent conceptual framework for the comparison of different economic systems. As regards the breadth of interest in this outstanding work, the facts speak for themselves; first published in English, the book has, within a short time, seen its second edition in Hungarian, and is soon to appear also in French.

ISTVÁN SALGÓ

THE TWENTY-FIFTH YEAR

ONCE AGAIN IN LONDON WITH THE GIRAFFE

by

IVÁN BOLDIZSÁR

When *The New Hungarian Quarterly* entered its twenty-fifth year in March 1984 I was invited to give two addresses in London; or rather the same talk twice. Both were on the same day. I gave the first in the Ivory House, down in the docks, next door to warehouses, on the waterside. The Ivory House too used to be a warehouse, it was converted into flats and offices, as it happens also twenty-five years ago. The Science Policy Foundation holds its monthly working lunch there, to which twelve to sixteen people are invited. They include simple Nobel laureate physicists, editors of weeklies, writers, diplomatists, surgeons or physicians, and teachers.

My second talk was given in Belgravia. Rezső Bányász, the Hungarian Ambassador, invited contributors resident in Britain, translators, old readers, and friends of the editorial staff. The great hall of the Embassy was full, folding chairs had to be put up. They could not all have been there for the sake of the Hungarian wines to be tasted afterwards. What I said follows:

Who and what the eponymous giraffe is and what sort of twenty-five years I am talking about, is all contained in my giraffe book, published in English as well in 1966 by Macmillan of London as *Doing England with a Giraffe*, in a translation by Bertha Gaster, who was the Giraffe's English language editor for many years, and the late Mari Kuttna, who also did a stint as such.

Let me now quote from the first chapter:

"Travelling from Paris to Calais in 1961, a young Englishman in the train asked me where I came from, and why I was going to England. I explained.

"So you edit an English language periodical?"

"Yes."

"In Budapest?"

"Yes."

"Do they make you do it?"

"No."

"Is it a Communist propaganda pamphlet?"

"No."

„What's the sense of you doing it if you don't have to?"

"What's the sense of your going to Paris if you don't have to?"

They laughed.

"Well, what sort of a periodical is it then?"

An old Budapest joke occurred to me.

"A small boy is taken to the Zoo for the first time. He stops transfixed in front of the giraffe. 'Do you like him?' —asks his mother. 'I dont' know' —the boy answers."

"There's no such animal," chimed in two of my English travelling companions.

The old Budapest joke is an old London joke as well.

Later on board ship to Dover, one of my companions seeing me pass in front of the Immigration Officer, leant over and called across:

"This gentleman's come to England with a giraffe."

I repeated the giraffe story to the Officer, showing a copy of the journal.

From that time on the story served me as a calling card in England. It still does."

*

Twenty-four years passed since. I was anxiously carrying the third issue of *The New Hungarian Quarterly*. If someone had told me then that the journal would be in its twenty-fifth year in 1984, that I would carry No. 92 in my luggage, that we were working on No. 95 in Budapest, and that, should the heavenly powers and those of Niniveh permit, the hundredth would appear by the end of next year, I would have shaken him warmly by the hand, thanked him for his kind thoughts, and thought him a fool. Benevolent journalists and writers in Budapest had expected the paper to survive for two or three. I was hoping for somewhat more, then one of my earliest daydreams had come true. Since my grammar school days and especially since I began to write I had always wanted to break the language barrier and lessen the frustration every Hungarian feels because our country, our literature, our identity is unknown, or worse: wrongly known. That is why I learnt to speak English, French and German.

As for the birth of the Giraffe time had been ripe when—and I am in the fortunate position to quote *The Guardian* of this very morning.

Let me first explain the powers of heaven and Niniveh. I was quoting one of the great Hungarian poets of the first half of this century: Mihály Babits. You don't know who Mihály Babits was? That happens to be one of the reasons that justify *The New Hungarian Quarterly*. It is as if a Hungarian reader did not know who T. S. Eliot was, but every Hungarian reader does know. For around a quarter of a century we at *The New Hungarian Quarterly* have been hard at work trying to make known the names of Babits and other great writers and poets who contributed to European literature in Hungarian to at least a small section of the English reading public. It could be that we have succeeded to some extent.

The powers of heaven and Niniveh figure in Jonah, Babits' most famous long poem. Jonah who has escaped from the bowels of the whale is Europe whom the Second World War threatened to swallow. After his escape Jonah promises God that he will do what he has been asked to do, the heavenly powers, and those of Niniveh, permitting.

The powers of heaven, of Budapest and London have allowed me to do for a long time, for half my adult life, what I was entrusted with, and what I formulated thus in the first issue of the journal, in September 1960:

"It is quite an undertaking for Hungarians to edit and publish in Budapest an English-language periodical intended to be read in the English-speaking world. In the audacity and difficulty of this task—and it is not only the linguistic difficulty we have in mind—there is something of what the Hungarian language denotes by the word *virtus*. This term is not identical with the Latin *virtus* from which it derives, and is only a remote relative of the English virtue. *Virtus* is an undertaking which at first sight surpasses the strength of a person or of a group, but in itself or in its aims is too significant or attractive for its challenge to be resisted."

"Could a more attractive task be conceived of than to afford English-speaking readers, one of the world's largest language groups, an insight into the life and thinking of a small but much-talked-about, and often misrepresented nation?"

"The editorial staff of this magazine would be lacking in *virtus* if they were to pursue that aim by reducing their work to a sort of information service supplying data and handing out declarative statements. To avoid this we mean to deal in this magazine not only with the successes achieved in socialist Hungary, but also with its problems. Indeed, these problems will be discussed more often than the successes, because it is our ambition —in the words of another early twentieth century poet, Endre Ady—to "Show ourselves to all mankind." And, speaking of poetry, we want English-speaking readers to share our belief that Hungary boasts some

really good poets; we want to break down the barrier of an isolated language and give other nations a glimpse of literature which, we like to believe, is not unworthy of standing beside Bartók's music."

I concluded my introductory article by paying tribute to the memory of József Balogh, the editor of the "old" *Hungarian Quarterly* which was published in Budapest in the years preceding the Second World War. (József Balogh fell victim to the Nazi terror in Hungary in 1944.) And I pointed out finally that there was an initial link between the editors and the prospective readers of our journal: "the determination never to allow the return of a world in which individuals, groups or nations have to face annihilation."

Fifteen of us, including myself as editor, constituted the editorial board a quarter of a century ago. Of these nine are no longer with us, including names known even in this city, names illustrious in the history of twentieth century Hungarian literature, science and scholarship, it would be no exaggregation to say that some of them have made their mark on Hungarian history as such. Let me list them: László Bóka, the literary scholar; Ferenc Erdei, the father of the Hungarian agrarian miracle; Lajos Jánossy, the physicist, who also taught in Dublin at one time; Erik Molnár, the historian; László Németh, the writer and dramatist; László Országh, the English scholar and compiler of dictionaries, whose obituary is included in an issue which is now with the printers; Bence Szabolcsi, the musicologist; Áron Tamási, a master of Hungarian prose; and Imre Vajda, one of those who planned the Hungarian economic reform. Those of the first editorial board still happily with us are: József Bognár, the economist; Bruno Straub, the chemist; István Vas, the poet, whose work as readers of our journal know, translates particularly well into English; and Anna Zádor, the art historian.

Speaking of the departed, particularly in this place, I must mention Charles Snow, who, right from the start, was a faithful friend, counsellor and contributor, and indeed a personal friend to me. How could I forget the time when, ten years ago at the presentation of the *NHQ* Lukács special issue, right here in the Hungarian Embassy, he called our journal the best quarterly in the English language. All I could say that we are lucky that not too many quarterlies are published in the language.

Standing on the peak of the twenty-fifth year even an Englishman might permit himself to boast a little, or better continue to boast, let alone a Hungarian not noted for practising understatement.—A few weeks ago the young Irish professor, who is one of our language editors, received a letter from a London friend. The friend claimed to have been present

when an antiquarian bookseller offered someone £ 10 for a copy of the first issue of the "giraffe." That's fair appreciation in under twenty-five years, even accounting for inflation, bearing in mind that the price at the time had been three and six.

The second story is set in Geneva. I there took part in a round table on the subject of the unity and diversity of Europe. Eleven of us were there. I had taken a few issues along. I first offered a copy to Professor Stern who teaches history at Columbia University. He thanked me but explained with a smile that he was a subscriber. Didn't I know? True, there aren't all that many but I still don't carry a list in my head. I turned to a Principal in the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He too thanked me, but he saw copies in the office. A fellow of the Institute of Contemporary History of the Soviet Academy of Sciences answered me that he read this magazine as well. The young lady from Unesco reads every issue in the library. Four out of ten, not a bad ratio. I have not lived in vain.

I mentioned a colleague a minute ago without naming him. Let me name them all now, first introducing the staff of *The New Hungarian Quarterly*. Zoltán Halász is my deputy, we have been together this quarter of a century, growing old together. I do not know how ladies manage but Bori Liszka, the Editorial Secretary, has got younger every year in that same quarter of a century. Zsófia Zachár is the youngest, both in years and in seniority on the paper. She is listed as Music Editor but she is much more than that: she is responsible for the Focus section which presents with epigrammatic brevity what is, alas, sometimes padded out to epic proportions in the rest of the paper. The Literary Editor is Miklós Vajda, on our staff for twenty years as is Ágnes Széchy, the Art Editor. We have two Language Editors, one is Rudolf Fischer, the permanent Language Editor, for the last fifteen years making yearly trips to England in order not to become too Hungarized; the other is Peter Doherty, the temporary Language Editor, to whom I owe the story I just told you. Kati Könczöl types all our text, this one too and Teri Kristály, among many other chores, serves you coffee if you honour us with your company.

*

I wrote in the first issue of *The New Hungarian Quarterly* that the paper would publish poems so far as the limitations of translation made this possible. In this respect reality exceeded high-flying hopes. The journal published many hundreds of poems by the best contemporary Hungarian poets in translations that are not merely true to the spirit and the letter

but which are poems in their own right, and no wonder, since poets of a status and reputation equal to that of the authors of the original produce these translations. May I mention Edwin Morgan, William Jay Smith, Kenneth MacRobbie, Daniel Hoffman, Jascha Kessler, Eric Mottram, Alan Dixon, Laura Schiff of the more frequent translators, and Robert Graves, Ted Hughes, Donald Davie, Charles Tomlinson, Michael Hamburger, George MacBeth, Barbara Howes, Richard Wilbur, who contributed at least once. These poets do not know Hungarian, but they are provided with good literal versions, drawing attention to allusions and associations, of sound and meaning, be they literary, Biblical or folk, so that the translators, precisely because they are poets, are able to evoke the original in its full worth. The venture proved so successful that a collection, under the title *Modern Hungarian Poetry*, was issued jointly by Columbia University Press, New York, and Corvina Press, Budapest.

When the editorial staff of *The New Hungarian Quarterly* met to discuss my prospective London talk we asked ourselves to what we owed our survival for close on a quarter of a century. The answer, we think, may well be that giraffes are long lived because they exist in two worlds at the same time: their four feet are firmly on the ground where they were born, but their long necks allow them to see distant worlds as they rise above the treetops. Another way of putting it is that the secret of survival is harmony between permanence and change. What is permanent is the standard we want to keep up both as regards the inherent quality of the articles and criticism, the verse and prose fiction, reviews and illustrations, that we publish, and that of the translation. We may not always succeed but we do our best to ensure that the English is as good as possible. And what is also permanent is our raison d'être, what we want to achieve by contributing to knowledge about each other of two nations, two cultures, two social systems.

As far as change is concerned, this first quarter of a century of *The New Hungarian Quarterly* can be divided into three stages. The first was governed by the question: "The Hungarians, are they human?" — clearly modelled on "The English, are they human?" There was ample justification for it after the 1956 events and their reception abroad. What we wanted to show was that, after the great national tragedy, profiting from experience at the top and at the grass roots, we tried to be as human as our readers. In other words, what we tried to bring out was the ways in which we resemble the rest of Europe.

The second stage started around 1966–68: these are the years of the planning and the implementation of the Hungarian economic reform.

We tried to present in articles and criticism, and as reflected in literature as well, what recognitions and solutions, including the reform of the system of management, but going well beyond it, were being searched for, and found, in Hungary: such as a two-way openness of culture, the reintroduction of the right to be wrong, trips to all destinations the world over, the free-flow of contemporary literature and art, and information. In a nutshell: the welding of socialist ideas and practice with national traditions and the shared European heritage.

The third stage started eight to ten years ago. The journal tries to show that we are different, to demonstrate what is the socialist element, the socialist feature, the socialist determinant in contemporary Hungarian society, politics, the economy, culture, and in everyday existence. Is there anything that is specially Hungarian? Is there a Hungarian model? I am asked again and again. I answer with a "no" and a "yes". No, there is no Hungarian model because what is characteristic of Hungary today is precisely that which is owed, in our road towards socialism, to Hungarian identity, Hungarian history, Hungarian traditions and conventions, folk customs, the geographic location of the country, its natural resources, and most recent political perceptions. In one word: Hungarian reality. Other countries have to draw different conclusions, and learn different things from their own differing history, geography, resources, traditions.

Yes, there is a model for *The New Hungarian Quarterly:* the actual Hungarian society, with its specific features, is the model for editing this journal.

Let me return to what is permanent once again, and not only in ideals but also in practice. There are four points to which we give considerable attention when putting together the paper.

The first is to present this country not only by describing what is important *to us*, but also, and primarily, that in which interest is shown internationally, by the press, and the media as such, and that we wish to confirm or deny. One might call that the *connecting up principle* in editing *The New Hungarian Quarterly*.

Secondly, as I already mentioned twice, to report not only achievements, but also difficulties, anxieties and trouble-spots. We show events in a process of development.

Thirdly, to describe the country in such a way that it is always placed in its European context, that of the whole of Europe, I should mention that in Hungary Europe is not merely a geographical notion, it has moral connotations as well which refer to quality. We take it amiss when the press, or politicians, in the West say Europe and only mean the Europe of the Ten. I had the honour of being a guest at lunch of Her

Majesty's Ambassador in Budapest when he entertained Mrs Thatcher. All the Hungarians present were pleased when, in her toast, she made a point of stating that when she says Europe, she means our whole continent from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Fourthly, *The New Hungarian Quarterly* pays constant attention to the role of small nations in Europe and the world. We are well aware how tragicomical it is when the representatives of a small nation put on Great Power airs. One has to take into consideration the place which the country's territory, population, share of world production and trade, and the country's literature, music, art, philosophy, science and educational standards have determined. But the editorial staff is also aware that a small country can offer an example worthy of respect if it is capable of responding to the challenge of the times.

The conditions for the development of small countries, Hungary included, are certainly much more favourable at times of détente. But on the other hand, the role of a small country may be all the more important, the tougher international conditions are. I don't think I have to stress that here in London, certainly not since the first week in February. It is part of the recognition and acceptance of this role that Budapest was chosen as the venue of the 1985 European Cultural Forum. The New Hungarian Quarterly will publish a Special Issue on the occasion, and is looking forward to contributions from our friends in Britain.

The Cultural Forum will be a meeting of government delegations but this does not mean that writers, artists, scholarly and other people engaged in—as the Forum's provisional agenda calls it—creative work could and should not be present. And for this participation the initiative is not only in the hands of governments. In Hungary the preparatory committee consists of writers, artists, actors, historians, educators, sociologists, journalists and publishers.

*

The past twenty-five years, the close to a hundred issues and almost twenty-thousand printed pages, as well as your and our presence here suggest that the initial *virtus* has changed into service. I have not so far used the word which links us all, editors, writers and readers; there is *peace* in Europe, that is why we on the journal (and those who contribute to it, or read it, all) hope that in another twenty-five years, when many of us will no longer be around, *The New Hungarian Quarterly* will still appear as a modest leaven and continuous evidence of peace and of friendship between a great and a small country, between all great and small countries where real and virtual giraffes exist.

TRANSLATING POETRY FOR THE *NHQ*

by

EDWIN MORGAN

My first introduction to Hungarian poetry was probably quite a good one, though it was indirect. During the 1950s I came across a little volume of Umberto Albini's translations of Attila József, published in Florence in 1952. It had the Hungarian text facing the Italian versions (which I could read), and its strength was that it concentrated on only a handful of poems, but these among his best (e.g., 'Elegy,' 'Ode,' 'Night in the Suburbs'). I was greatly struck by József's work, and perhaps because I have an urban background myself (Glasgow) I liked particularly the pungence and atmosphere of his city and industrial imagery. I tried my hand at translating these poems, and had a few published in magazines in Britain and America at the beginning of the 1960s. Eventually nine of my József versions were printed in *Arion* at the time of the 'International 'Poetry Days in Budapest' conference of 1966, which I was fortunate enough to attend. And earlier in the same year I had begun what was to become a long and happy association with *The New Hungarian Quarterly*, when Miklós Vajda, its literary editor, asked me if I would attempt some further translations, by other poets, for the magazine. This I agreed to do, and the first fruits of my cooperation were three very different but to my mind very interesting poems: 'No Gold and Laurel' by Lajos Kassák, 'Postscript' by János Pilinszky, and 'Internus' by Sándor Weöres. These translations met with favour, and I went on to make versions of a broad range of Hungarian poets. Armed with the rough translations and notes supplied by *The New Hungarian Quarterly*, plus the original texts, plus my shelf-creaking copy of Országh's 2100-page dictionary, I gradually felt my way into Hungarian poetry, and came to have a great admiration for it, and a willing acceptance of a certain missionary role in trying to make it available to English-speaking readers.

Among earlier poets, I produced versions of Petőfi and Ady. My own Celtic name gave me a link with Petőfi's 'Homer and Ossian.' With the more difficult Ady, every conceivable link is sought for and stretched to the limit! However, the element of challenge is useful and stimulating to the translator who wants to do a good job and who enjoys coming to grips with literary effects he has not come across before. Individual twentieth-century poems which made a strong impression on me when I translated

them for *The New Hungarian Quarterly* would include István Vas's 'Budapest Elegy,' Sándor Weöres's 'Le Journal,' László Nagy's 'The Bliss of Sunday,' Gábor Garai's 'A Man is Beaten Up,' Sándor Csoóri's 'Barbarian Prayer,' and Ottó Orbán's 'Gaiety and Good Heart.' The considerable range of communicative and artistic effects produced by even that handful of poems argues a fairly healthy state of affairs in Hungarian poetry, and one would have to add many other names to it to complete the overall picture.

Although my own connection with the magazine has centred on poetry and its translation, I have always admired its general layout and informative coverage of current affairs, particularly (since my own interests lie there) in matters of culture, whether in art, music, drama, or prose fiction. The approach is professional and intelligent, without the coat-trailing and tub-thumping which afflict some periodicals. I offer my warm congratulations to *The New Hungarian Quarterly* on attaining its semi-jubilee, and hope it will traverse the next 25 years with confidence and style.

ACCESS TO A NATION'S CULTURE

by

ERIC MOTTRAM

One thing is incontrovertibly in our minds as we celebrate *The New Hungarian Quarterly* this evening: few if any journals give us regularly and brilliantly such access to a nation's culture as this one does. Its use to scholars, political historians, and anyone interested in literature and the arts is undoubted. We certainly need the mutual participation in our cultures the *Quarterly* demonstrates. And it is that sense of mutuality—for both Hungarians and English-reading people everywhere—which is the essential necessity which energizes the journal. It could have been sheer propaganda in the worst sense: it never has been. Hungarian writing is offered in its own right and with its own standards, and thereby can reach an international readership—and we, without Hungarian, gain access to some of the finest creative composition and some of the most vital information available in Europe.

The New Hungarian Quarterly is a publication of translation—and the command of different English idioms never fails to astonish us: and the seriousness of its responsibilities therefore comes through as an authen-

ticity. Translation is always a cultural transaction, never simply a matter of mere linguistics. It is part of cultural exchange, today more than ever of the utmost necessity. The mutual opening up of cultures to each other must cross the language barriers like an act of love rather than the inevitable formalities and distances of trade and politics.

As to what in practice we have been offered—I will restrict myself to my own responses rather than pretend to have grasped the significance of every page of the ninety or more issues. My own copy of No. 47, published in 1972, was a gift from a dear and respected colleague in Budapest University, whom I had the pleasure of helping when she was in London, and who died tragically recently. It was devoted to György Lukács—really a small book of his work, pictures from his life, appreciations and reminiscences: a permanent contribution to our knowledge. And this is the point: *The New Hungarian Quarterly* is never a compilation of ephemeral records but an onward-going book of the whole culture.

The exemplary place of poetry in its pages—so rare in European journalism—has in fact led to an actual book—*Modern Hungarian Poetry* (Columbia UP, 1977), edited by Miklós Vajda, the literary editor of the *Quarterly*, and introduced by William Jay Smith, the American poet who has outstandingly supported this work for many years—one of many English-speaking poets who have happily contributed their talents towards the circulation of their Hungarian colleagues.

Rather than attempting to recall too many of the fascinating accounts of film, theatre, dance, the visual arts and music, and articles on economics and the sciences, let me select to be representative, and, I hope, not too individous. In Volume 16 (1975) Gyula Illyés wrote on "The Business of Writers," and there were important interviews with the bio-chemist Albert Szent-Györgyi, the art historian Arnold Hauser, and the painter Vasarely. In Volume 17 (1976) we had a section of articles entitled "Literature in a Changing Society," and an essay on "What is Hungarian about Hungarian Cinema." And in Volume 18 (1977) what I can only call a significant account of the building of the Budapest Hilton. Volume 19 (1978) contained a homage for Tibor Déry, who died in 1977, and an article on the first Hungarian nuclear power station. Volume 20 (1979) had Ferenc Juhász's poem "Hommage to Karl Marx," together with a tribute for the poet's fiftieth birthday, two articles comparing cultural policies and arts support in Hungary and Britain, and an interview with the economist Thomas Balogh—and, of course, this volume contained the grand 75th issue itself, replete with celebratory letters from Hortense Calisher in America and C. P. Snow in Britain.

Volume 21 (1980) offered "The Social Responsibility of Hungarian Science," part of István Vas's autobiography, and an article on Attila József which could serve as an ideal introduction to the great poet—and not forgetting a batch of papers given at the outstandingly important Budapest American Studies Conference. Volume 22 (1981) was the Bartók centenary volume, with nineteen absolutely essential items on his life and work—but it also had to contain, sadly, a memorial for the poet János Pilinszky. Volume 23 (1982) gave us a highly interesting interview with one of those celebrated early figures of psychoanalysis who tend to be forgotten outside Hungary, Imre Hermann, together with a brilliant discussion on Darwinism by Hungarian biologists, and centennary tributes for Kodály and for Illyés on his eightieth birthday. That distinguished poet, a classic in his own time, had to have his memorial in turn in Volume 24 (1983)—along with a much-needed celebration of Mihály Babits, and a most informative autobiographical sketch by Lukács.

That is just a small part of the intellectual feast *The New Hungarian Quarterly* has provided, fully demonstrating that "dual principle" which, in his introduction to the 7th issue, the editor, Iván Boldizsár, told us he took from Thomas Mann's stated principles in editing *Mass und Wert* in the thirties: "passion and a sense of proportion"—a criterion, as he insists, demonstrated through the cooperation of his editorial board, which includes some of the finest minds in Hungary.

In the words of C. P. Snow's acknowledgement of the *Quarterly*'s excellence: "It has made us less ignorant... (and) has certainly made us aware of the most eminent Hungarians of our time... We are all in your debt. I hope you continue to make the debt increase."

Five years later, may I, on behalf of all *New Hungarian Quarterly* readers, endorse that indebtedness, congratulate the editors and their contributors, and wish the journal many further years of imaginative health and strength.

IN FOCUS

SOCIAL CHANGE AND MODERNIZATION

In East Central Europe, including Hungary, modernization occurred with delays and consequently with distortions. In the inter-war period, primarily owing to the survival of the system of large estates, modernization met with powerful structural obstacles. The military and political situation which came about after the Second World War removed these and consequently gave an impetus to modernization processes, but keeping to patterns designed in the Soviet Union where, additionally economic geography and social history had created different conditions, led to disfunctions.

The facts and figures of economic and social change, like the share of industry in national income, the ratio of women among those in employment, the proportion of those with higher qualifications, all point to modernization. It is worthy of notice, however, that these indices as well show that the real turn towards modernization occurred in the 1960s.

According to Professor Kulcsár, modernization really implies that society is able to respond flexibly to the challenge of outside circumstances and carries in itself the seeds of further progress. He goes on to investigate the extent to which the factors promoting further evolution exist in contemporary Hungarian society and what forces hinder their assertion.

Shortages in the economy, the corruption which they entail, and connected political effects all act as a brake on modernization. The irreversible consequences of past mistakes also impede progress. For instance, the unavoidable modernization of heavy industry units that incur losses, withdraws investment funds from areas where modernization of production might produce larger profits. The increased syphoning off of agricultural incomes also holds back things. This is the result of earlier ideological conditioning, and happens although investment in agriculture holds the promise of larger profits.

There are always conflicts of interests at the back of ideological disputes. Ideological opposition to modernization articulates the interests of those affected unfavourably by possible changes.

The economic regulators chosen by the central authorities of economic control, such as the present wage regulations, in many cases act against innovation, since they stand in the way of higher rewards for organizations and men offering a higher performance. Added emphasis on qualifications and skills as against political reliability is of decisive importance for modernization. Politicking played a dominant role before the Second World War in the control of Hungarian society and also did so in the first post-war

period. Today such considerations have become a substantial obstacle to modernization.

On the other hand, the peasantry which, reacting to mistaken policies had, in the 1950s, been inclined to conservative attitudes, has today become the most innovative section of Hungarian society. Family work organization and traditions of mutual help have adjusted to the needs of household plot farming. Work done after working hours and away from the job which is common amongst those who live on the land and to a lesser extent elsewhere has become an important motor of economic and social advancement. It is such work in one's supposed leisure hours that finances higher living standards, an adequate home and the ability to purchase consumer durables, including cars.

Finally Professor Kulcsár stresses the importance of the external factors in the future progress of modernization. External factors enforce certain modernization processes and neutralize the internal forces acting against the changes. On the other hand, the deterioration in the international political and economic situation may provide political justification for those at home who oppose modernization.

Kulcsár, Kálmán: "A társadalmi változások és a modernizáció Magyarországon" (Social changes and modernization in Hungary). *Társadalomkutatás*, 1983, No. 1, pp. 7–28.

R. A.

THE HARD FACTS OF SMALL ENTERPRISE

When two years ago legislation on the establishment of small enterprises was placed on the statute book, these were considered primarily as an instrument for raising the standard of living by those in authority over the economy. It was assumed that they would be suitable for considerably expanding the range of available goods and services as well as for the organization in the areas of production and consumption of activities which the established (big) organizations were unable to cope with efficiently.

Teréz Laky compares such ideas with the processes which occurred in fact. According to her calculations, 13,500 new organizations had been established by August 1983, in which approximately 125,000 persons were active. This is approximately 2 per cent of those employed in the economy, which in itself refutes the myth that "we are a country of entrepreneurs." The massive growth of enterprise is refuted also by the fact that only 21 per cent of the above-mentioned are active in the economic working associations and civil law associations which can be considered genuinely independent firms. (The other new forms are subunits of the state or the cooperative sector.) Teréz Laky also points out that the great majority of those who are active in the two new forms of enterprise have also kept their original job: three quarters of them are members of an economic working association or civil law association only as a second, part-time job. Continued membership of the socialist sector is characteristic of these forms as well, and this includes the intention of maintaining one's status as an employee.

This is even more true for the "economic working associations" operating within an enterprise, which—as Teréz Laky establishes—do not display any of the features of enterprises. (Their organizational dependence is unequivocal: they can only be formed with the agreement of the manager, and usually they can only work for their firm.) It seems that in this case—instead of the hoped for organizational transformation within the large firms by which small and large plants would coexist within the firm—the large plant shaped the company economic working associations in its own image and pressed them into the hierarchic system of the division of labour dictated from above. It had been hoped that these would be the joint enterprises of the firm and the staff, but in practice they carry out only supplementary activities as work teams.

Of all forms it is precisely the company economic working associations which have become the most widespread. If we include industrial and servicing cooperative trade groups, which have similar characteristics, then these two account for 63 per cent of the new economic organizations, and for 79 per cent of their membership. Instead of an entrepreneurial attitude, the employee attitude has remained characteristic: some tens of thousands members—mainly of the professions and skilled tradesmen—offer their out of working hours labour, skill and leisure in a legally instituionalized form.

Why has this, and this much, been realized of the expected changes?

1. It can be assumed that a considerable section of those participating in the small enterprises—and especially in the enterprise economic working associations—are interested only in an additional income obtainable without changing their legal status.

2. All those who have established a civil law association or economic working association represent at the same time the section which is ready to obey the law, as opposed to those who have continued to remain outside the proffered legality, who continue to work without a license, and thus are not taxed. Nevertheless, precisely those who were pleased to submit to the limits of lawful activity, and who thus strengthen the authoritative relations of society, often meet the kind of official rejections which they never experienced as moonlighters.

3. Even if they had the intention to invest in machinery, this is impeded by obstacles which can hardly be surmounted, such as the underdevelopment of the trade in means of production and the shortage of supplies. The price of new machines is impossibly high for them, and the offer of second-hand machines is insignificant, since the large enterprises hang on obstinately to their machine stock, including items which have been out of use for years and have been fully amortized. The market is narrowed further by a tax system which makes for the limitation of production, as well as by the changing readiness of state enterprises to act as buyers. In the course of her investigations, the author has not only heard about strengthening relations but also about vigorous isolation on the part of state companies.

For the time being the new economic organizations are cautious and distrustful. An age group is still active that has lived through the mass destructions of small businesses that were the fruit of a life-time's hard work, and the becoming superfluous of special skills and experience. The present entrepreneurs would like to feel confident, but in order to strengthen trust an undisturbed experience over a longer period is necessary. Every governmental action improving the financial conditions of operation, also strengthens confidence.

Laky, Teréz: "Mítoszok és valóság" (Myths and reality). *Valóság*, 1984, No. 1. pp. 1–17.

M. L.

FAIR COMPETITION

According to the principles of the Hungarian economic reform, emphasized since 1968, planning must be accompanied by economic relations of a market nature. The market postulates competition, but many obstacles have existed, and continue to exist, in the way of such competition getting off the ground. One of these is the obsoleteness of the Competition Act of 1923, which has survived from the capitalist legal system and has truly reached retirement age. It is certainly unable to satisfy current requirements, when in addition to new manifestations of unfair competition the monopolistic position of some enterprises and the abuse of this position represent a serious problem for the whole Hungarian economy.

To this day no new legislation on the law of competition has been drafted although it is overdue. The article by László Szalay how-

ever permits the presumption that a new competition act may be in the offing. Regulation fitting present needs in this area would not only contribute to the reduction of economic troubles caused by scarcity—inasmuch as sound regulation would reduce the opportunity to abuse positions of power—but it should also be possible to work out and give effect to ethical norms in business.

Earlier legislation only protected competitors against each other. Today protection must cover a wider range: the customer, that is consumers, must also be protected. Consequently, business practices must be fair not only when it comes to competitors but also in the interests of the whole of society. Of course, it will continue to be necessary to regulate such traditional questions of the law of competition as trade marks, business secrets, simple piracy. In recent years it has occurred that prior to a planned price rise some goods disappeared from the market, and after the rise the sellers obtained an unjustified income. This must be stopped. It also happened more than once recently that some enterprises made requests to other enterprises as the result of which the business contacts of the latter with third firms were terminated. That must be prohibited.

The article by László Szalay which proposes concrete reforms deals also with dishonest information. In Hungary, or in shortage economies in general, advertising of goods in short supply should be prohibited. The job of the legislator is more involved if he aims to deal with agreements which restrict competition. Longterm contracts which are economically necessary inevitably contain some elements of a cartel.

A flexible approach to the abuse of an economic power position is important. This—as has repeatedly been pointed out by Imre Vörös—another Hungarian expert on the question, certainly does not mean control of the enterprise's business policy, and the smuggling back by the back door direct intervention by central authorities. According to Vörös, an enterprise is in a superior economic power position the goods of which cannot be acquired from elsewhere, or only on terms which are much more unfavourable than usual from the aspect of the trade, the supplier and the given product.

Sanctions against unfair competition must deter similar behaviour. It should also be made possible that—on request—courts should be able to create contracts, if a supplier repeatedly refuses to contract with the same consumer.

Szalay, László: "Elgondolások a tisztességtelen gazdasági tevékenység tilalma jogi szabályozásáról" (Thoughts concerning the legal regulation of the prohibition of unfair economic activity). *Magyar Jog*, 1984, No. 1, pp. 10–19.)

A. S.

THE LABOUR ACT UNDER REVIEW

The Hungarian Labour Act which is valid today was passed fifteen years ago, complementing the economic reform measures then introduced. The main concern of regulation was to ensure conditions for autonomous enterprise management. It intended to protect employee interests by the extension of trade union rights, while in the case of individual violations of law independent authorities, mostly (on appeal) courts decide. Special importance is given to collective bargaining, resulting in a contract between management and the union branch. The experts expected that a consensus within an enterprise would result. Within its framework individual labour contracts continued, but according to present practice this is only an agreement on duties and wages, and is in essence a standard contract.

The labour code in force is judged in different ways by the participants in the current debate, the need to amend it is, however, beyond dispute. According to Professor Hagelmayer of Budapest, inconsistencies are the

main problem, but György Lőrincz, a section head in the Ministry of Justice, argues that the internal organization of the companies is over-centralized, and that efficiency has increased but minimally as compared to expectations. The causes must be sought principally in the lack of differentiation in labour law regulation. The free flow of labour is restricted and performance-oriented incomes are impeded by labour law being too conservative. It does not adequately take into consideration the existence of the second economy, in which—according to estimates—workers and employees spend one third of their entire working time. It is precisely for this reason that Lőrincz considers a new Labour Act desirable which provides a framework for a system of interests in which the satisfaction of the needs of each member of the organization is linked to the satisfactory assertion of the organizational goals. Professor Hagelmayer also argues that mechanisms must be established which allow working groups to assert their interests.

In opposition to the earlier theories, Professor Hagelmayer stresses that a collective labour dispute is not contrary to the socialist regulation of employment. Until now working groups within an enterprise could not act jointly, and thus they were only able to express their interests in the least rational and economic way, and that is tacitly: by a low performance. Making an internal consensus possible would make a large part of the central legislation—which however cannot always be enforced—superfluous.

Both authors argue in favour of the legal recognition of the autonomous groups within an enterprise. The autonomous group is the voluntary association of those doing identical work. The potentialities of this form of organization are shown not only by what happens in Japan but also by the small enterprises within Hungarian firms.

The new law should not focus on duties, but on performance. It should make it possible to choose among the below-mentioned organizational forms:

a) an organizational unit operating under the management of the entrepreneur, where the manager (on the basis of an interest in performance) would exercise all the employer rights over his subordinates, possibly making special contracts with them;

b) in the case of a collective enterprise the members of the group are jointly responsible for the result to which they are committed;

c) the members of the group do not undertake to perform a certain quantity of work. Consequently the head of the enterprise maintains power over them, but an agreement among the members decides on the distribution of the incomes;

d) the present organizational system should be maintained as an exception.

The comprehensive reform of the labour law demands changes on numerous other fundamental questions as well. There are still serious differences about what has to be done; Lőrincz argues that on all points in respect of a considerable part of workers and employees what should matter is not simply their status as employees but their legal standing of organizational membership. Professor Hagelmayer stresses—in addition to taking the protection of individual rights and individual differences into consideration—the importance that employers should employ people only to do necessary work, and only those who are suitable for it. Consequently she does not consider it necessary in the future either that giving notice by the employer should be subject to itemized causes, nor does she demand any justification for notice given by the employé. Given changes in employment owing to industrial reconstruction, labour exchanges and retraining allowances are the right method.

Hágelmayer, Istvánné: "Koncepció egy új Munka Törvénykönyv megalkotásához" (Ideas for the creation of a new Labour Code). *Jogtudományi Közlöny*, October 1983, pp. 611–622; Lőrincz, György: "Vállalkozás és munkaviszony" (Enterprise and employment). *Magyar Jog*, 1984, No. 1, pp. 30–39.

A. S.

HOW DID THE HORTHY–BETHLEN REGIME MANAGE TO WEATHER THE FRENCH FRANC SCANDAL IN 1926

When in December 1925, Arisztid Jankovich, a retired Hungarian staff colonel and his associates who tried to pass a large quantity of forged French one-thousand franc notes were arrested in the Netherlands, it became obvious to France, and the world within days, that these Hungarian gentlemen were not members of some private band of forgers. It soon turned out that they belonged to a nationalistic organization called *Nemzeti szövetség* (National Association), and the French minister in Budapest also reported that their aim was "to bring about a deterioration in the value of the franc as well as creating a fund for the armed recovery of territories which had been lost by virtue of the Treaty of Trianon."

The representatives of the Banque de France and French detectives arrived in Budapest at the end of December. The Bethlen government promised the French maximum support for the full clarification of the affair, the unmasking and punishment of the guilty, without any regard to personal and party interests. For some time leading French politicians, such as Prime Minister Aristide Briand or the Secretary General at the Quai d'Orsay Berthelet, although they strongly suspected that Hungarian governmental circles at least knew about the counterfeiting plot or were even accomplices, argued that "the affair should be unravelled not in a political but a legal way."

Bethlen and his associates of course tried to smooth over the affair as fast as possible, and on the lowest possible level. Although they were compelled to sacrifice and arrest an aristocrat (Prince Lajos Windischgraetz, who had an adventurous past) and a high-ranking police officer (National Police Commissioner Imre Nádosy), whose role was known to the French authorities, too, outside this they only conducted an investigation which deliberately led to a blind alley, covering a number of staff members of the Cartographic Institute, one of the places where the forgery was carried out. The official statement issued on January 9, 1926 so brazenly lied about the real background of the franc affair and its actual leaders—who held high office and disposed of great political weight—that this prompted even Briand and his government, who had been friendly and forthcoming until then to change their position. They had to take notice that the Hungarian authorities considered this to be the action of private persons and the investigation as closed.

This led to the loudest political scandal of the Hungary of the twenties, the scandal which had the largest echo abroad, and which for a few days threatened the very existence of the Bethlen government, and even of the entire Horthy regime.

The Hungarian liberal and legitimist (Habsburg restoration) opposition demanded the resignation of the government. The possibility that Regent Horthy might also have to resign was also mooted, because extreme right wing officers close to him were also under suspicion.

These facts had been known, of course, for some time. However, in recent years, as relevant records in various archives have become accessible, new facts have emerged. Bethlen and his associates tried to blame the crisis and its intensification, and the change in the French attitude on two external reasons: on an international propaganda campaign led by the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, Edvard Beneš, and on intrigues of the Hungarian democratic exiles led by Count Mihály Károlyi. Confidential French reports and other documents now make it clear that these factors were indeed very important in those weeks, but the decisive influence on the French was nevertheless the stubborness of the Hungarian government.

The Czechoslovak press and diplomatic

representatives indeed sharply attacked the Hungarian government. Beneš would certainly have been happy to get the experienced and clever Bethlen replaced by a less dangerous adversary in Hungary. But he did not want a really liberal, leftist government either, since—as Romsics rightly argues—, given a democratic Hungarian regime striving for sincere agreement, Czechoslovakia would have found it more difficult to avoid a mutually equitable revision of the frontiers.

On the other hand, the leaders of the democratic Hungarian exiles—with the support of the French left—wanted to persuade the French government to do exactly that, i.e. to compel a radical change of regime in Hungary. Count Károlyi proposed at the Quai d'Orsay that the liberal electoral law of 1920 should be reactivated and a liberal coalition government should be formed. Ernő Garami, a leading Social Democrat in exile, also proposed the removal of Horthy and Bethlen (a few days later only of Bethlen).

As the author writes, by February already several leading officials of the Quai d'Orsay also "accepted the view that making use of the franc affair a governmental crisis and a change in government could and should be brought about in Hungary." Even if there were some who were afraid of the uncertainty following the departure of the sober and clever Bethlen, France prepared to discuss the question at the March session of the League of Nations in a way which would further the liberalization of the Hungarian regime.

In the last resort this move failed, and France in fact lost a battle against Bethlen, who succeeded in saving himself and his regime. It was of course not he who was successful, but two other great powers persuaded France to abandon her original plan: conservative England, and Mussolini's Italy. Bethlen was once again able to convince the British politicians, who had supported him for some time, that only something worse could succeed him. The best opportunity of the inter-war period for the liberalization and democratization of Hungary was thus lost.

Romsics, Ignác: "Franciaország, Bethlen és a frankhamisítás" (France, Bethlen and the French franc counterfeiting plot). *Történelmi Szemle*, 1983, No. 1, pp. 67–86.

G. L.

CHURCH AND SOCIETY

The popular history monthly *História* devoted its entire double number 5–6 of 1983 to religious and church topics. The approximately thirty articles in the special number touch on the most diverse problems from the ancient religions to the present position of the churches in Hungary.

Two articles also have American aspects.

One is "József Mindszenty and the American embassy" by Péter Sipos and István Vida. The article does not deal with the years the Hungarian Primate spent, after 1956, as the guest of the American embassy in Budapest, but with the period of 1945–1948, when—before his arrest and trial—he was the actual and active head of the Hungarian Catholic Church.

The authors soon make their position clear: "József Mindszenty and his entourage played a decisive role in the fact that in the years following the liberation no dialogue developed between the church and the state, and that the Catholic Church found itself in stiff opposition to developments of the People's Democracy sort.

It is still not clear why, after the death of the Prince Primate Cardinal Jusztinián Serédi in the spring of 1945, the Vatican chose the little known Bishop of Veszprém. According to some sources he was recommended by the Jesuits, and according to others by Angelo Rotta, the Papal nuncio in Budapest. The main consideration may have been that he was a conservative prelate, to whom arrest by the Arrow Cross, the Hungarian fascists.

at the end of 1944, had lent a certain anti-fascist prestige. "Whatever the reason"—the authors write—"in the person of Mindszenty an obstinate, petty-minded prelate of modest ability came to Esztergom. Instead of trying to find a modus vivendi with the democratic forces and the Soviet Union, he rejected any kind of realistic policy, chose firm opposition, and sharply criticized the new People's Democracy."

In his sermons and pastoral letters he interfered in politics with a directness which is unusual for a senior churchman. He condemned the manner of the land reform and easier divorce, and tried to obstruct legislation connected with the proclamation of a republic. At the time of the elections he called on Catholics not to vote for the left.

He looked for support primarily to the United States and secondly to Great Britain. He regularly sent copies of his memoranda and protests addressed to the Hungarian government to the Budapest legacies of these two great powers, and then several times called personally on the American Minister Arthur Schoenfeld. In his letter of December 16, 1946 he explained that as "the only independent person in Hungary, his position compelled him to intervene in the affairs."

The State Department received these overtures on the part of the Hungarian Primate with mixed feelings. Arthur Schoenfeld, in his reply of December 27, thanked him for information on the Hungarian political situation, but emphatically drew Mindszenty's attention to the principle of the long-term policy of the United States that it does not interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries. It has been confirmed over a long time and in many different situations that this policy is the best guarantee for spontaneous, vigorous and genuinely democratic development. In his report to the State Department the minister explained that in his view Mindszenty deliberately sought martyrdom and relied on the expectation of early conflict between the Soviet Union and the western powers. He wrongly interpreted the role of the US in Hungary and completely misunderstood the position of the American legation in Budapest.

This ambigious situation continued also during the tenure of Schoenfeld's successor, Chapin. The Americans, although they were anxious about the direction developments in Hungary were taking did not listen to Mindszenty's requests urging direct intervention, if for no other reasons, say the authors, then since "from the aspect of the global interests of the US Eastern Europe and Hungary counted as 'secondary', and in their own interests they tried to rely on more moderate and reliable political forces."

The other article with references to America is that by Julianna Puskás. It discusses the Hungarian congregations established in the United States.

The largely peasant immigrants who went to America around the turn of the century established, already in 1890, the Hungarian Evangelical Reformed Church of Cleveland, as part of the American Reformed Church in the United States. This was later followed by others. By the mid-1920s two hundred Hungarian congregations had been established: 89 Reformed (Calvinist), 61 Roman Catholic, 13 Uniate, 9 Lutheran, 8 Jewish. In 23 localities there were small Baptist congregations.

"On the community level"—writes the author—"the churches came to represent ethnic traditions... serving the strengthening of the group consciousness and the demonstration of togetherness." They also undertook the institutionalized teaching of Hungarian, organizing Hungarian schools that functioned at weekends or during summer holidays. By creating a link between the past and future, they did much to assist the immigrants—who had been torn out of their original community and culture—and their adjustment to American conditions.

As the second generation grew up the nature and role of the Hungarian churches in America gradually modified. The English language and the values of the American

environment increasingly gained influence. Nowadays, as the number of new migrants diminishes, so does that the number of Hungarian churches. The customs of the early immigrants however are still mostly nursed by the churches.

Sipos, Péter–Vida, István: "Mindszenty József és az amerikai követség" (József Mindszenty and the American Legation) *História*, 1983, Nos. 5–6, pp. 40–42. Puskás, Julianna: "Magyar egyházak az Egyesült Államokban" (Hungarian churches in the United States). Ibid. pp. 49–51.

G. L.

THE LONGEST DAY: THE BEGINNINGS OF GREEK ASTRONOMY

Professor Árpád Szabó owes his reputation to his research into Greek mathematics. In his meticulously documented publications he presented a highly original as well as suggestive picture of the beginnings of deductive mathematics, a picture which, accepted or not, cannot be ignored. Recently, he turned his attention to the study of early Greek astronomy and astronomical geography, publishing his findings also in a book-length study, *Enklima* (Athens, 1982).

Szabó's starting point is an apparently insignificant note by Hipparchos (c. 190–120 B.C.), in which the great astronomer corrects the view of Aratos (315–240 B.C.) and Eudoxos (c. 408–355 B.C.) concerning the latitude of Greece, which would imply a ratio 5:3 for the length of the longest day of the year to the shortest. This ratio—according to Hipparchos—implies a duration of 15 hours for the longest day and a value of about 41° for the latitude, but in Greece the former is 14 and 3/5 hours and the latter only 37°, as can be calculated from the ratio of the *gnomon* (a vertical pole erected on a horizontal plane) to its equinoctial midday shadow.

Szabó derives a multitude of relevant observations from this simple correction. When and how could it have been discovered that the equinoctial midday shadow of the *gnomon* can be used to calculate the ratio of the longest to the shortest day as well as latitude? And just how was the equinoctial shadow itself obtained, since—unlike the shortest shadow at the summer solstice and the longest at the winter solstice—it is unobservable. Indeed, the equinoctial shadow can only be obtained by some kind of calculation requiring either an empirical numerical procedure or a model, reducing the shadow-changes of the gnomon to the annual path of the Sun. By using the fragmentary hints of the sources and some relevant particulars of the Vitruvian sun-dial construction, Árpád Szabó succeeded in reconstructing such a Sun-model, the seeds of which can be attributed to Anaximander. A further development of Anaximander's model—due most likely to Oinopides in the middle of the fifth century B.C.—led quite naturally to the notion and the numerical value of the obliquity of the ecliptic. Differences in the length of the days can, furthermore, in this model be easily represented by rotating the system of the equinoctial (i.e. the equatorial) and the (parallel) solstitial lines so that the world-axis, perpendicular to the equator, should show, directly, by its inclination the distance of the place in question from the equator, i.e. latitude. In order to perform the calculations, this simple *gnomon* world-picture had to be transformed into a spherical model, and appropriate tables of segments were needed; these, however, did not pose unsurmountable problems to Greek mathematicians in the fourth century B.C. Thus spherical astronomy as well as astronomical geography—and along with them trigonometry—started centuries earlier than was believed. But this is not the only fruit of Szabó's work. They involve—and this is rather more significant—an entirely new view of the beginnings and early development of Greek ideas on astronomy. By re-

constructing the *gnomon* world picture, Árpád Szabó opened up a whole new domain in the history of science, where obscure and thus far unintelligible fragments are allotted their proper place and the conventional view that oscillates between attributing everything to oriental borrowings or to the Greek miracle can be replaced by the rational (and documented) development of an empirically controllable scheme, rich in conceptual and theoretical possibilities.

Szabó, Árpád: "A leghosszabb nap" (The longest day). *MTA II. Oszt. Közl.*, 1980. Vol. 29. No. 3. pp. 217–233. Árpád, Szabó: "Die Muse der Pythagoreer" *Historia Mathematica*, 1974. Vol. 1. pp. 291–316. Szabó, Árpád: "Der Schattenzeiger. Ein altes Instrument der Astronomie, Geographie und Trigonometrie." *Humanismus und Technik*, 1978. Vol. 22. No. 2. pp. 37–62. Szabó, Árpád: Astronomische Messungen bei den Griechen im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. und ihr Instrument" *Historia Scientiarum*, Tokyo, 1981. No. 21. pp. 1–26.

L. V.

ROMAN BURIAL GROUNDS IN SAVARIA

The first town which the Romans built in the territory of what was later to become Hungary was Savaria, on the site now occupied by Szombathely. It was located along the Amber road, the important trade route connecting northern Italy with the Danubian marches of the empire, leading on to the Baltic. A military post occupied the site first in the early 1st century A.D. When the army began to advance to the Danube, the Emperor Claudius made arrangements for the administration of the central Danubian area, and a colony was founded on the site abandoned by the legions. Veterans of the XV. Apolinaris legion settled in the city, who were given land. The regular ground plan of the new colony followed the Italian pattern on parallel and rectangular streets. The early inhabitants were mostly North Italians, the Celtic population moving away, at least no Celtic artifacts have been found in Savaria burial grounds. Savaria became the centre of the imperial cult in Pannonia, and the meetings of the provincial council, the organization which represented the interests of the population, were also held there. Savaria maintained her importance also in the 4th century; when the province was divided into four parts, the civilian governer of Pannonia Prima took up residence there. At that time, already many Christians lived within the walls, presumably headed by a bishop. It is now believed that at the beginning of the 4th century, Saint Martin of Tours was born in Savaria.

Antiquitatum et historiae Sabariensis libri novem by István Schoenwisner was the first scholarly municipal history, published in 1791, in Hungary. The frescoes of one hall of the new bishop's palace built at the end of the 18th century depicted the Roman stone carvings and inscriptions of the city, which were known then and which still survive. The 19th century City Council regulated the collection of Roman inscriptions. At the time, the remains of a few larger Roman funerary monuments, built of bricks and stone, still stood in the surroundings. The road passing one of the monuments has been called the road of the idol stone, since the 14th century, after one of them.

Since the city covers the erstwhile colony and its workshop and cemetery areas, the exploration of the continuous fields of graves is especially difficult. However, in the course of the excavations and construction works of recent years the cemeteries surrounding the city have increasingly come to light. The Romans buried their dead outside Savaria, along the roads. These burial grounds stretched a long way because the tombs were placed in a few rows along the roads. The early burial grounds of Savaria followed the Amber road, the north-south highway of the colony, and were to the north and south. The dead were buried there mainly in the 1st and 2nd centuries, and in parts of this area cremation graves which corresponded to

the early Roman customs have been excavated. After burning the body, the ashes were collected in a large earthenware urn. Besides the urn smaller or larger glass and earthenware vessels and lamps were placed in the tomb as well as objects and jewels worn by the deceased. In one grave a rare pair of tools were placed which served for cleaning the body after gymnastics. In some cases, a crate of tiles was assembled in the tomb, and the ashes and the accessories were placed in these crates, but in Savaria, the most Romanized western part of Pannonia, stone urn burial of Italian origin spread already in the 1st century. The ashes and accessories were placed in a large glass vessel, which was then placed in a smaller or a larger angular stone crate.

Megyes, M.: "Leletmentések Savaria északi temetőjében" (The saving of relics in the northern cemetery of Savaria). *Savaria*, 1984, Nos. 11–12, pp. 177–207.

E. T.

ZOLTÁN KODÁLY'S EARLY DIARY

Many personal documents, hitherto unknown, were published in 1982 on the occasion of the centenary of the birth of Zoltán Kodály. They include a notebook, in which he recorded his diary while collecting folk music between 1906 and 1911.

The diary shows that this field work involved long walks, carrying a pack on his back, in unfamiliar regions, calling on villages he had never been to, involving physical effort. More than once he walked for long hours on forest paths, trudging through snow, facing biting winds. These fields trips offered an opportunity to discover how the other side lived.

The experience of nature meant much to Kodály. In those years he travelled the northern marches of the area where Hungarian is the native language, along the watershed between Slovak and Hungarian, a line which now runs through Slovakia. Kodály found poetic words to describe the "black pines pointing to the sky," reddish-brown beeches, the water-logged landscapes of the Csallóköz, where "the water is silverish, silverish willows and birch trees stand, and the meadows are silvery which are overgrown in by some white willous plant like needlegrass."

Then there were the village people. He tried to record faces, the features of an old shepherd, or wise old woman or radiant bride. He was fascinated by the human fates coming to light in conversations, the defencelessness of lone old people, peasant notions about things of importance, beliefs and festive customs. The diary tells that Kodály met an old swineherd who had known Vidróczki, the highwayman, whom Kodály was to immortalize years later in his "Mátra images." The old swineherd told him that Vidróczki, when still a boy had become invulnerable to weapons thanks to the supernatural powers of a witch, a *szép-asszony*. They were only able to kill him with his own *fokos*—a longhandled hatchet, or axe-headed staff, the swineherd's equivalent of a shepherd's crook—which a treacherous companion had grabbed from his hands.

Kodály's brief, concise sentences show how clearly he saw what ailed the peasants, their being at the mercy of the large estates system, the way of living of mining villages, the squalor, the gap between educated men and women and the people, how little they knew of their everyday life and problems.

What prompted Kodály to keep a diary? He gave the exercise-book a French title: "Voyage en Hongrie". This may perhaps be the influence of French literary examples, of which there were several in Kodály's library, such as the travelogue by the Marquis de Gerando or by Hector Berlioz's diary, in which Hungary also figures. Long walks, communing with nature, was a favoured pastime of Kodály's friends, e.g.

Béla Balázs mentioned walking trips which he undertook with Kodály.

Sz. Farkas, Márta: "Kodály: Voyage en Hongrie." *Ethnographia*, 1983, pp. 534–547.

T. H.

A RESEARCH CENTRE OF GERONTOLOGY

A major endeavour of gerontologists is to lengthen the active, productive lifespan. The Gerontological Centre of Budapest, headed by Professor Edit Beregi, is also concerned with the basic processes of aging, which includes the exploration of connections between the process of aging as such and ailments frequent in old age.

In Hungary, in the 55–59 age group the number and proportion of men who are ill rises considerably and with the advancing years it always exceeds that of women. The difference is greatest in those above 60. Every third hospital bed is occupied by someone over 60, and within this figure someone over 70 takes up every sixth or seventh bed. The demand for beds in chronic medical, ophtalmological, oncoradiological and urological wards rises significantly over the age of 60.

People over 60 require 32.8 per cent of all the treatment potential of hospitals; 41.8 per cent in Budapest but only 27.3 per cent in Pest county.

In the Gerontological Centre of Budapest, in addition to the animal ageing research multi-purpose longitudinal surveys, which follow up patients over a longer period, have also been carried out for approximately fifteen years. Women over 55 years and men over 60 years (i.e. those above Hungarian retirement age) who consider their health satisfactory are admitted to two bed rooms of the clinical section of the Gerontological Centre. The examination takes nine days and eovers general medicine, neurological and psychiatric tests, electrocardiography, the examination of respiratory functions as well as full laboratory tests. The examined persons are recalled for follow-up tests every second year until the age of 80, and annually over the age of 80. After the nine days the examined voluntary patients obtain a comprehensive report on the test results, as well as recommendations for further tests or therapy. Research teams deal with the changes in the immune functions following the aging of the organism, changes in general health in old age, and changes in the nervous system and the personality (mental aging, functioning of the memory, psychological conditions and functions) in old age.

Research so far has confirmed that the appearance of health hides various ailments in numerous cases. It turned out that only 30 per cent of the examined were completely healthy. Above 75 years this ratio fell to 15 per cent. With advancing age the frequency of ailments grows characteristically, in the form of polymorbidity. This research has great importance in epidemiological studies in Hungary through bringing hidden ailments to light, but even more so in gerontological prevention. The survey deals with the following opportunities for gerontological prevention:

1. The early discovery of ailments which are frequent in old age, and their effective treatment at an early stage;

2. Preparation for the age of retirement, the aim of which is the sustenance of physical and mental activity and protection against the psychological trauma of going into retirement which, it is argued, should already be started at the age of 50;

3. Personal preparation for aging, by educational lectures and preparation for a healthy way of life, which has been ensured regularly for years in the Gerontological Centre as part of counselling;

4. Adult education for the third stage of life. This was initiated by the Eger Teachers' College, and has been started since 1983 in Budapest too with 400 to 450 particpants,

providing a wide-range of lecturers including staff members of the Gerontological Centre.

Beregi, Edit: "Gerontológiai kutatások az élet minőségének javítására" (Gerontological research for improving the quality of life). *Magyar Tudomány*, 1980. No. 1, pp. 22–26.

L. I.

RUDOLF ANDORKA is Professor of Sociology at the Karl Marx University of Budapest... TAMÁS HOFER is section head at the Ethnographical Institute... LÁSZLÓ IVÁN is senior fellow at the Gerontological Research Centre... MIHÁLY LAKI is an economist at on the staff of the Research Institute of the Federation of Cooperatives... GYÖRGY LITVÁN's recent work is on the opposition movements in Hungary around the year 1900 ...ANDRÁS SAJÓ is senior research fellow at the Institute of Jurisprudence... ENDRE TÓTH is an archeologist on the staff of the National Museum ... LÁSZLÓ VEKERDI is the author of numerous books on science history

Társadalomkutatás—a monthly of the Economic and Legal Department of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Valóság—a monthly of the social sciences

Magyar Jog—a monthly of the Association of Hungarian Lawyers

Jogtudományi Közlöny—a monthly of the Legal and Political Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Történelmi Szemle—the quarterly of the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

História—a journal of the Hungarian Historical Society

MTA II. Osztályának Közleményei—a journal of the Philosophy and History Section of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Savaria—a journal published by the Museums of Vas County

Ethnographia—the quarterly of the Hungarian Ethnographical Society

Magyar Tudomány—a monthly of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

FROM OUR NEXT ISSUES

ALBERT SZENT-GYÖRGYI IN THE HUNGARIAN RESISTANCE
Zoltán Bay

A HUNGARIAN WRITER ON THE FALKLANDS, 1922
Zsigmond Remenyik

POEMS, SHORT STORIES
Judit Kemenczky, Dezső Tandori, Dezső Kosztolányi; Gyula Kurucz Imre Sarkadi, Péter Lengyel, Dezső Kosztolányi

THE EMERGENCE OF "NEW PAINTING" IN HUNGARY
Géza Perneczky

POST-IMPRESSIONISM AND SYMBOLISM IN HUNGARY
Judit Szabadi

SURVEYS

ZSUZSA DÉRI

THE THEORY AND THERAPY OF BALINT, FERENCZI, HERMANN, AND SZONDI

Zsuzsa (Susan) Déri was born in 1915 and died suddenly of a heart attack on February 16, 1983, in New York. The daughter of Dr. Kornél Kőrösi, professor of biology at the Medical School of Budapest, Déri received her degree at the College for the Training of the Teachers of the Handicapped.

She studied and then actively collaborated with Dr. Lipót Szondi, on whose work she later published a book in the United States, The Szondi Test. *Déri was one of the most promising young members of the Hungarian psychoanalytic movement, which, along with many other things, was thwarted by the rise of the Nazis, a threat that forced her to leave Hungary for the United States in 1942.*

Shortly after her arrival in the United States, she went to the University of Iowa to study with Dr Kurt Lewin and to take an American degree in psychology. After completing her studies there, she moved to New York City and began her psychoanalytic practice, in addition to holding a part-time research position. Eventually she also taught, and was greatly loved and admired by her students.

While adjusting to a new country and building up a psychoanalytic practice, she also raised a family. Her husband, Dr Ottó Déri, whom she married in Budapest, came to the United States shortly after she did. They had two sons: Peter Déri, now a clinical psychologist, and John Déri, now a resident in neurosurgery in California.

Susan Déri published frequently. Her last book, On Symbolism, *is now in press. Her writings reflect the creativity of her thinking and above all her great curiosity, about people, things and ideas. Her never-resting eye accurately registered both the good and the bad around her. Having a warm, generous nature, she was inclined to pay more attention to the good than to the bad, except in one area, the intellectual, where she held both herself and others to the highest standards. Outside psychology her great love was music.*

The following paper was presented by her at the Austin Riggs Mental Institution in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, in 1981, and again by her son Dr Peter Déri at the Department of Psychology of New York University in 1983, shortly after her death.

ILDIKÓ MOHÁCSY

The early development of psychoanalysis took place in Vienna, and some of it in Budapest. Even at the beginning of the 20th century these two cities were not further than approximately five hours of train-ride from each other, yet the cultural atmospheric differences were considerable. These differences were also exemplified in the psychoanalytic theories and consequently in aspects of treatment procedures which originated in these two birthplaces of psychoanalysis.

I intend to discuss the basic innovative ideas of four Hungarian psychiatrists: Ferenczi, Balint, Hermann and Szondi. Among

these, Szondi is the only one whose training was strictly speaking not psychoanalytic: he was a neurologist, endocrinologist and psychiatrist deeply steeped in the research of human genetics. There was close intellectual and scientific exchange between Szondi and the other three psychoanalysts.

I was fortunate in knowing very well three of these four psychoanalytic pioneers. Ferenczi is the only one I did not know personally. He died in 1933 before I started studying psychology. But Ferenczi's aura hung over the Budapest psychoanalytic and intellectual world, not only via his scientific contributions but also in the form of "stories," stories about the strange methods he used with his patients. Budapest was a gossipy city, with a good but sharp, often sarcastic, sense of humour. The Hungarian Psychoanalytic Society was formed in 1913 under the leadership of Ferenczi. He remained its president until his death in 1933.

It is not easy to find a common denominator among these four people. In their personality and research interests they were very different. Ferenczi and Balint, whose theoretical and technical innovations showed great similarity in the beginning, but in the course of time Balint became increasingly critical of Ferenczi's procedures. Ferenczi had been Balint's analyst and Hermann's control analyst.*

Let us try to find some shared aspects in the theoretical approach of these four psychiatrists, and also see in what way they differed from Freud and his circle in Vienna.

The Hungarians' scientific interest focused on the *very* beginning of human life, which in Szondi's case meant going back to the influence of the ancestral genes as they contribute to the shaping of the individual's biography, his personal "destiny." In Ferenczi's and Balint's case it meant going all the way back to the influence of the original foetal existence in the amniotic fluid. Their theories about the earliest mother-infant relationship shaped their psychoanalytical procedures. The core of Hermann's theory is the mother-infant "dual-union" and the far-reaching consequences of its psycho—biologically too-early dissolution in humans, particularly Western human life. He was the first to postulate a non-sexual primary instinctual drive—that of the "clinging instinct"—and its dialectical opposite—"to go in search." The clinging instinct refers to the infant's spontaneous reaching out to hold onto the mother. In his 1936 paper, Hermann postulated an instinctual drive for primary object relations. It represents an autonomous source of non-sexual and non-aggressive energy that, in its vicissitudes, contributes a great deal to the formation of the ego.

Szondi's theory of the stages of ego development incorporates, or one could say is based on, Hermann's theory of dual-union and the character-forming consequences of its premature dissolution. Balint's character types, the ocnophilic and the philobatic, show close affinity to Hermann's "clinging and going in search" drives, but Balint makes no mention of this connection.

None of these theorists accepts the stage of objectless primary narcissism as the first phase of human development. For all of them life begins with a *relationship* between two beings, the infant and his mother. This was a great deviation from the Viennese group. Present-day infant research bears out the Hungarians' theory which was formulated between 1910 and 1935.

Neither did the Budapest group accept the primacy of the oral drive. It was the whole infant's striving for contact *with*—or "primary love" for—mother that was considered the primary phase of psychic development. The infant was seen as an active and reactive organism whose character develops in response to the constant interplay between himself/herself and the caretaking environment.

* The author is mistaken on this point. Hermann attended Ferenczi's seminars (Editor's note).

This is in contrast to Freud's schema of the evolving stages of psycho-sexual part-instincts that strive for gratification through discharge of the dammed up oral, anal, and phallic libido. For instance, thumbsucking was not seen as pleasure-sucking for the gratification of oral libido, but rather as expression of the need for contact with mother. This is much closer to Winicott's concept of the "creation" of a transitional object. Autoerotism altogether was viewed as a reaction to the premature dissolution of the mother-child dual union, or as caused by the frustration of the infant's need for "primary object love." Ferenczi and Balint incorporated concrete acts of reparation of this early frustration into their treatment method. The importance of the Oedipal triangle was not denied *or* discussed by these researchers. But the character-and neurosis-shaping events were seen in the earliest vicissitudes of the child's need for object-relationship and love.

This was a bird's eye overview. Let us now consider somewhat more in detail the work of these Hungarian pioneers.

Szondi's destiny analysis

Let us start with Szondi, who is now past eighty-eight years old, is very well and active as head of his Szondi Institute for Depth Psychology in Zurich. A *bridge* is the emblem of his Institute, an emblem which is on all their publications and stationary. This expresses Szondi's theoretical and human orientation—namely his conviction that building bridges is the essence of therapy. Bridges among people, bridges between the strata of the human psyche, bridges between the schools of depth psychology, each of which now considers a different layer of the unconscious as its working territory. Freud's territory is the personal, repressed unconscious; Szondi's the "familial," genetically laid down unconscious, and Jung's the racial, collective unconscious. Szondi accepts this three-fold conceptualization, but wants to build the connecting bridges between them. His Institute for Depth Psychology in Zurich is a research, training and treatment centre aiming at the synthesis of these directions of depth psychology. But Szondi himself always was and still is only concerned with bridge building between Freud and himself. *Analysis Terminable and Interminable* gave Szondi the impetus to work out the biological underpinnings for instinct theory.

It is in *Analysis Terminable and Interminable* (1938) and in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1919) that Freud expressed his belief in the overwhelming power of the constitutional strength of instincts, against which the efforts of therapy "come to naught," to quote Freud.

Szondi based his theory and his therapy on the genetic constitutional origin of instincts, accepting their limit-defining function regarding the aims of therapy, without, however, Freud's pervasive pessimism when it comes to the conservative, repetition-producing, constitutional power of instincts versus the modifying power of therapy.

Szondi believes that the genes set limits to the possible forms of individual destiny or personal biography, but also that within these outer limits there is a wide range of possible canelizations for constitutionally given instinctual tendencies. The aim of therapy is to facilitate the constructive forms of such channelizations.

Szondi's therapeutic work aims at building bridges that link the deepest bio-psychological layers with those of the behavioural stratum where destiny-shaping manifest choices of everyday life are carried out. Szondi's psychotherapy, which he calls *Schicksalsanalysis* (destiny analysis), aims at making these connecting links conscious, so that the patient understands how his deepest biological-genetic urges influence his destiny-shaping choices. Making these links conscious decreases the repetitive tyranny of the genes, which, unbeknownst to the individual,

always aim at the re-establishment of previous forms of life. These are the genetically laid down instincts, the roots of the repetition compulsion. This biological repetition compulsion drives the individual toward choices that lead to the re-establishment of forms of life from the repertoire of the person's familial past, particularly past forms of manifest pathology which in the individual are "repressed": from open manifestation by the overpowering effect of the dominant genes. The biologically "repressed," latent-recessive gene-anlage represents each person's "familial unconscious," a Szondi concept which, like all repressed content, strives for manifest form of appearance. To reduce this potentially harmful, genetically driven acting-out and to lend flexibility and "directability" through conscious knowledge to the genes' obstinate and literally conservative driving force is the aim of Szondi's *Schicksalsanalyse*.

The affinity between Szondi's theory and Freud's concepts of the repetition compulsion and "transference," which is a manifestation of the repetition compulsion, is obvious. A 1948 paper by Balint on Szondi's *Schicksalsanalyse* and a 1967 paper by me on "Changing Concepts of Transference in Depth Psychology" point out and explicate this connection. In psychoanalysis the choice-determining ancestor" is the early internalized "object," usually the internalized parent-imagos. *Schicksalsanalyse* deals with the effects of the earliest, literally *internalized* objects by the newly conceived organism, namely the material internalization of ancestral genes. The organism's very first imprinting or patterning with form and content takes place through the effect of these regressive tendencies as active form-developing factors. He even mentions Ortvay, a Hungarian biochemist, who before 1928 already had drawn a parallel between Freudian repression and Mendel's discovery of the effect of dominant genes.

Szondi's theory of genotropism underlies his experimental choice-method, the Szondi Test. The use and interpretation of this test is also part of his therapeutic method of *Schicksalsanalysis* in its attempt to make the links between the genetically determined familial unconscious and the individual's life pattern-shaping choices, conscious to the patient.

It was no small privilege to have been first a student, then research and teaching assistant and co-worker of Szondi's in the crucial years when he worked out his theory and test method. We workers at his clinic were the "genotropic family," as we called ourselves, a small group of intensely loyal and passionately dedicated Szondi workers for whom every day brought some exciting discovery about the meaning of various test-profile constellations. After we found new meanings by the empirical procedure the attempt at theoretical explication followed. These were based partly on Szondi's own concepts, but psychoanalytic theory pervades Szondi test interpretation. Most specifically, Hermann's theory of the mother-infant dual-union and its theoretical underpinning, the "instinct-pair" of "clinging and going on-the-search."

The eight-factorial system of the Szondi Test was (is) my mother-tongue (or is it 'father-tongue?') in psychology, the basic system upon which all other conceptual systems and languages were projected and this gained real meaning by this cross-assimilation with the "basic matrix." I was lucky to be able to learn complex psychoanalytic phenomena this way, because the construction of the test profile itself is the concrete, visual form of a "scientific model" for the functioning of instinctual drives and defenses. It is the special beauty of the Szondi Test that the complex gestalt quality of the instinctual and defense structure is directly reflected in visual form in the shape of the test profile. Abstract concepts such as integration, split, rigidity, intensity, ambivalence, projection, introjection, Sado-masochism, pairs of opposing instinctual drives, such as for example Hermann's "to cling

and go-in-search"—these are all visually perceivable patterns on the test profiles. There is an isomorphic congruence between the subject's complex psychodynamics and the simple visual record of his "like" and "dislike" choice-reactions among the 48 photographs of mental patients that comprise the Szondi Test.

The gradually gained insights into Szondi's theory and the meaning of the test results were presented at the weekly "small seminars" at the clinic. More formal presentations were given at the "big monthly meetings" in Szondi's home, in his beautiful large study which for these occasions was set up as a lecture room. These large seminars were the forum for lectures on wide-ranging topics, given by representatives of different fields: psychoanalysis, Jungian psychology, mythology, general psychology and, of course, for Szondi, about his own research, and occasionally for us, the "members of the genotropic family," who worked at the clinic. The Hermanns and Balints regularly attended these, occasionally read papers, as did old Dr Hollós, Szondi's best friend. Dr. Andrew Pető, the psychoanalyst now in New York and his late wife Dr Elizabeth Kardos, who was second in command at Szondi's clinic, were also regular participants. A regular participant and lecturer at the large seminars was Karl Kerényi, the classical scholar and authority on myths, who later worked with Jung and collaborated with Thomas Mann on his Joseph trilogy. Dr Jolán Jacobi, who later became one of Jung's most prominent disciples in Zurich, read her first Jungian theoretical paper, which became the core of her best known book, at one of Szondi' big seminars.

These big seminars were intellectually most exciting. Much conceptual bridging over between different theoretical approaches took place. Once I presented three mother daughter *folie à deux* pairs illustrated with their series of Szondi Test profiles and placed theoretically within the framework of Hermann's "dual union" theory, specifically illustrating the paranoid "fusing over" identification of the mothers and the introjective identifications of the daughters. These forms of identification are original concepts of Hermann. It was while preparing this paper that I really understood Hermann's thoughts. His appreciation of my paper made me very happy.

Hermann's seminars

Both Hermanns were very much interested in Szondi's theories. Alice Hermann even participated in a weekly study group on the test led by me. I was officially the teacher but I learned a lot from Alice Hermann. She and her husband collaborated on all of their scientific work. Alice died a few years ago in Budapest. In a short autobiographical note Hermann stated that if not for the constant scientific cooperation between his wife and him he would not have been able to produce the work he did.

As a candidate at the Psychoanalytic Institute I was allowed to attend Hermann's seminar on masochism. This was a very difficult theoretical seminar which dealt with masochism from the point of view of the necessary but psychobiologically premature dissolution of the mother-infant dual-union. Practically the whole Freudian metapsychology was reviewed and re-thought under the aegis of Hermann's newly postulated pair of instincts, those of "clinging" and "going-in-search."

Individuation in Hermann's theory starts with the trauma of the dissolution of the primary mother-child dual union. At this point the child goes "in search" of new objects to "hold onto." Depending on the time and manner of the dissolution and on the constitutional givens of the child, healthy, creative or pathological consequences can follow from this sequence of events. At the trauma of forced separation, the activity of the clinging hands can turn into sadistic tearing and scratching, or the hands can

become passive objects for masochistic self-destructive activities such as self-inflicted "tearing into" and biting (the oral instinct *per se* does not figure in this theory). "Fusing into" and "tearing away from" proclivities are other attempted reparations of the separation trauma. They can become compulsively repetitive character features, both types easily leading to sado-masochistic object relations, resentful fighting unions. The fusing into partner feels rejected but can torture with clinging and complaints, while the "tearer away" seeks resolution of the separation trauma by compulsively and repetitively pulling away—however without total separation. The pattern can be repeated sequentially in different unions, sometimes the same person taking the opposite role of his or her previous one. Substance and shopping addictions are other attempts at overcoming the separation trauma by "clinging" to non-human objects.

The themes of these seminars reflected Hermann's quiet, deep-thinking leadership, a quality seconded by Alice. Quality and formal steps of thinking were of cardinal interest for Hermann. "Deep thinking" *per se* was the topic of several of his papers. Through the painful effect of the repetition compulsion, which itself was derived from the trauma of too-early separation from the mother's body, deep thinking was connected with eroticization of the brain and with masochism. The derivation of the formal gestalt qualities of thought processes from their instinctual origins was of great concern for both Hermanns. These analytic researches into the formal qualities of thinking are related to what in the United States became known as "cognitive styles" in the 1950s (George Klein, Hermann Witkin). Except that Hermann's first studies on dichotomizing thinking (the dual step) on perceptual and thought emphasis on the edges or on the center, date from the 1920's. Hermann gave his last paper at his 89th birthday celebration, published in the *International Review of Psychoanalysis*, in 1980. It deals with the formal dual steps in Schreber's delusional thinking. Hermann had training and a special interest in mathematics (his study on the origin of the non-Euclidian geometry of the two Bólyais), in Fechner, and also a great interest in the psychology of other specific talents. These were connected to the erotization of the executive organs of clinging and separating. Alice received her doctorate in Germany under the influence of gestalt psychology. The instinctual origin of gestalt organizational processes was of central interest to both of them. The so-called "dual step" of dichotomizing thinking as well as the preferences for "edge-reactions" and "centre-reactions" in organisational and choice processes were connected with the vicissitudes of the "clinging instinct," with the traumatic early interference with this instinctual propensity, and the ensuing drive toward "going-in-search." If hope to reach this aim is given up, then cultivation of the next step, of "turning away from" and emphasis on oneness, can follow (the "centre"). Not only formal steps of thinking but erotization of thinking itself correspond to these instinct-based proclivities.

There is an obvious correspondence between Hermann's instinct of "clinging-and-go-in-search" and Balint's categories of the "ocnophilic" and the "philobatic" types, as elaborated in his books *Thrills and Regression* (1959) and *The Basic Fault* (1968). Bálint does not mention this correspondence. The later relationship between Hermann and Balint was not too cordial.

Both Ferenczi and Balint were theoretically-emotionally strongly "anti-parent" and therefore the analyst's role as the "good parent" whom the patient never had was integrated into their psychoanalytic technique. However, Ferenczi went much further in acting out gratifying "parent-small child" situations in the course of his treatment of adults than Balint ever did, and toward the end of his life Balint gave up his acts of gratification altogether. True, for a long time Balint too emphasized the need for the

analyst to gratify *some* of the patient's infantile demands in that phase of analysis which he calls the regression to "rebirth." This, by the way, is a Ferenczi concept which Balint never mentions as such. Balint must have always differed in his interventions from Ferenczi because in one of his late papers Balint refers to some of Ferenczi's gratification procedures as not quotable.

Ferenczi and Freud

When reading some of Ferenczi's theoretical papers, for instance "The Stages in the Development of the Sense of Reality" (1913), and theoretical passages in his "technique" papers, one gets the feeling almost of a genius mind. Yet the extremes and the reversals of his technical innovations also suggest some unbalanced acting out of a driven person (or, in Szondi's terminology, and "hy" factorial "hysteroid" person) whose judgements regarding the analytic situation were often faulty. Balint, in his obituary essay on Ferenczi, calls Ferenczi's "the most tragic fate in the history of psychoanalysis," the *enfant terrible* of psychoanalysis (although in a way Ferenczi seemed to have enjoyed this reputation of his). Balint describes Ferenczi as the personification of his favourite dream example, the "wise baby." To quote from Balint's essay: "Ferenczi was essentially a child all his life. It took some time for his critical faculty to catch up with his enthusiasm." He also mentions Ferenczi's "ready identification with the child in his patients" and his reputation as the "haven of lost cases." Ferenczi felt misunderstood, analogously to the content of his very last paper given in 1933, the "Confusion of Tongues Between Adults and the Child." His childlike adoration of his teacher Freud is well known and painfully illustrated in one of his last letters, written in 1932 to Freud, one year before his own death:

> "*The tone* of gentle reproach in your letter *is*, I am sure, *deserved*. To be quite frank, *I was prepared for much worse*... of late years it is true that I have been very much, perhaps far too much, absorbed and preoccupied in my work, trying to understand my patients. But whatever the motives *which lead to this kind of isolation... probably everyone has to go through such periods, though it is true that in my case they have developed rather late — as you once said, rather like a deferred puberty.*
>
> Mit vielen herzlichen Grüssen, Ihr ergebener Ferenczi"

In a much earlier letter from Freud to Ferenczi, a letter written October 2, 1910, after a shared trip to Italy, Freud writes: "... I often wished that you would pull yourself out of the infantile role and place yourself beside me as a companion on an equal footing. Something you were unable to do... you were inhibited and dreary. So much for my educational efforts"... Signed, "Your faithful Freud."

Ferenczi maintained his position as an admiring pupil to Freud during all his life in spite of some radically conflicting views. Ferenczi changed his therapeutic approach from year to year, not only differing from that of Freud but also from his own earlier procedures.

In contrast to Freud's belief in the analyst's passive attitude Ferenczi became decidedly active and closely involved with his patients. To quote Izette de Forest, Ferenczi's most admiring disciple, ex-patient and friend, "That the patient needed love, and only love, was his belief." He saw the transference as the "central therapeutic implement" which "can bring about the necessary re-living and resolving of the original trauma."

This much does not contradict either Freud's or most analysts' conviction. The

desirable forms of the patient's "re-living" is another matter. Here Ferenczi went to extremes, and Freud increasingly disapproved. And still there was never a complete break, nothing like what happened with Adler, Jung, Rank, or Silberer. This is quite amazing and must mean that in spite of all the disapproval Freud recognized Ferenczi's brilliance. Maybe he was even impressed by Ferenczi's unswerving central interest in relieving the suffering of his patients—something Freud declared should not figure in the analyst's mind—and finally it must have been Ferenczi's emotional loyalty and adoration of his master. The fact that he lived in Budapest and Freud in Vienna must have also helped. Ferenczi went to visit when he felt like it, he did not have to attend the weekly Wednesday meetings and expose himself to weekly criticism. Of course, neither did Jung, but then Jung's personality and his area of disagreement with Freud were very different from Ferenczi's. One really cannot figure this out, probably because unconscious factors were the most important.

Balint and the concept of primary love

Ferenczi's most brilliant trainee, who followed, developed and modified Ferenczi's ideas, was Balint. He admired Ferenczi but not in the childlike way Ferenczi related to Freud. Balint remained youthful and was full of *joie de vivre* but he certainly was not childlike. I knew the Balints well from the time of my teens from skiing and hiking and rowing trips with the Budapest Medical Walkers' Club to which my family belonged. They were lots of fun and even taught me that one can lie to one's parents.

Like the Hermanns', so was the Balints' marriage a very happy one and so did Balint in the preface to his book of collected papers, *Primary Love and Psychoanalytic Technique*, published after Alice's death, state that he could not separate his own theoretical contributions from those of Alice since all throug htheir marriage they had discussed all their thoughts with each other. That book includes a beautiful 1939 paper written by Alice Balint alone, "Love for the Mother and Mother Love." She traces the development of the infant's sense of reality after the dissolution of the "primitive attachment" to the mother. Again, the influence of Hermann's "clinging and going-in-search" instinct is obvious but in this case with acknowledgement of this fact. Alice Balint also wrote a paper on the infant's fear of being dropped, a specific fear she derived from Hermann's concept of the "clinging instinct." She was one of the earliest child analysts and wrote an important book on the *Psychology of the Nursery*. Her Ph. D. thesis was in ethology; and besides the early mother-child relationship and the pre-Oedipal phase, her main interest centred on the psychology of folklore and fairy tales.

Balint's love of the thrills of expert skiing and mountain climbing might have furnished the subjective basis for his concept of "philobatism" in his book, *Thrills and Regression* (1959). The philobat loves the pleasure of overcoming the dangers implied in thrills and adventures. Funfairs, amusement parks, are made for philobats who love losing contact with the earth, who love the feeling of giddiness and vertigo. If not himself an acrobat, a philobat gets a thrill from watching and identifying with the precarious positions of the tightrope walker-acrobat. The philobat loves the challenge of being away from support, of having to rely on his own skills. The philobat does not need to hold onto objects of the world, no clinging for him, he *watches* the world. The distance perception of sight is the philobat's favoured sense modality. He loves the objectless (and therefore) "friendly expanses." Balint admits that the "love of friendly expanses" was suggested by Ferenczi's *Thalassa:* the eternal longing for existence in the unbounded element of water.

"Ocnophilia" is the polar opposite of philobatism. The ocnophile needs the secu-

rity of holding onto objects. He finds the objectless empty spaces "horrid."

According to Balint both types develop in reaction to the trauma of discovering the existence of objects. The "harmonious mix up" of the outside elements and the "inside"—like the fetus' existence in the amniotic fluid, or as air permeates our lungs—precedes both the philobatic and ocnophilic attitude toward the world. The ocnophil's clinging to objects is not more primitive or primary than the philobat's avoidance of object attachment. Both are reactions to the traumatic realization that "primary love" cannot be fulfilled. What Balint calls "primary love" corresponds to the "total harmonious mix-up" between inside and outside, the prototype being the mix-up between the fish and the water surrounding *and* contained within its body. The eternal human wish and longing is for the reestablishment of this archaic harmony with the world. "Primary love," whether by the infant or by the patient in the analytic situation, assumes the above state. According to Balint the infant *does* experience the existence of the external world, only assumes a total identity between his own and the other one's needs. He wants to be loved without the need for reciprocal return of love. He expects to receive everything he or she wants without consideration for the giver. The realization of the object as *entity* with its own needs and characteristics is experienced as a traumatic rupture, a clash between himself and the world. In the worst case this rupture amounts to the "basic fault" caused by the total lack of "fit" between mother and infant. The psycho-physiological consequences of the basic fault are irreversible. These patients do not regress to a "new beginning" but remain fixated in addiction-like, repetitively demanding but unsatisfiable malignant states.

Ocnophilia or philobatism originate in the period of the "basic fault". Primary narcissism as well as autoeroticism and sadism are not innate characteristics but the secondary reactions to frustrated object love. Balint quotes Ferenczi in regard to their shared belief that the infant lives in libidinal object relation from the very beginning.

The analyst's role

To my mind it is a matter of personal choice of definition whether one wants to accept Balint's description of "primary love" as having anything to do with what can be called "love." It does matter though that Balint's view of primary love directly influences his analytic technique, as is expressed in the title of his book. Balint sees in the "new beginning" phase of analysis the patient's necessary and therapeutically beneficial regression to the stage of primary love with all its infantile demands clamouring loudly for gratification. He warns the analyst not to frighten off these demands made by the patient and adds that these infantile demands "should be met to a considerable degree." ("On the Termination of Analysis," 1949) There is no reason for the analyst to worry about offering gratification since the patient in this deeply regressed state is like the innocent young child who knows the calm tenderness of forepleasure and not the orgastic climax of end pleasure. But the patient is a repressed adult, *not* a child. The patient's demand can be vehement and passionate, but if fulfilled at the right time and in the right way seemingly small and certainly "innocent" gratification can put the patient into a blissful, calm mood. Balint's eternal example, which I heard from Budapest to New York, is the analyst allowing the patient to *clutch his finger*. Another often-repeated example of the event of "new beginning" is the unfulfilled, inhibited 30 year-old woman patient who had never dared do a *somersault*. Balint suggested she try to do one right there during the session... and she did. This was the moment of "new beginning," and from then on she became orgattic and fulfilled in all

aspects of her life. I don't doubt the story but doubt the cause-effect relationship between the somersault and the ensuing good things in the patient's life. It is dangerous advice for young analysts to make them believe that much dramatic—rather, histrionic—events are needed in order to turn around the patient's wheel of fortune. I assume the effect of good analytic work over a long period of time leads to the improvement of the patient's life.

Acting-out behaviour within the session seems to have exerted a special attraction for both Ferenczi and Balint, though Balint's analytic attitude seems to have changed considerably after his conceptualization of the character type of the "philobat". This also coincided with his increasing distancing himself from Ferenczi's beliefs. First, he wholeheartedly agreed with Ferenczi that the lifeblood of analysis is the patient's intense "transference" love to the analyst—an attitude the analyst should strengthen. In the last chapter of *Thrills and Regression* Balint warns against the "ocnophilic" bias built into the analytic treatment. By this time he means the analyst's tendency to interpret a lot. This fosters the patient's belief in the analyst's power through knowledge; plus the emphasis on transference interpretation as the *only* "mutative" ones, an attitude that results in continuously drawing the patient's attention to the analyst. On the other hand the patient's silence or other ways of distancing himself from the analyst are interpreted as hostility and resistance. In contrast to this situation a "philobatic bias" pervading the analytic situation would respect the patient's silence as his need to "enter friendly expanses" alone. A philobatic bias would go altogether with less interpretation and the analyst's more innocuous presence. "Management" would be more important in psychoanalysis than interpretation (Winnicott). The analyst would be just "there" like a "friendly substance" of basic elements, like air or water. Any self-delineation of his own existence would repeat the trauma of the appearance of delineated objects. (Balint reminds us of the linguistic relationship between "object" and "objectionable," a clever idea. The looming up of objects, even in the form of the analyst, indicates the patient's lost infantile world of "harmonious mix-up" with his environment. Balint admits that both biases in their extreme forms represent danger. However, it is obvious that, at least during that period, he tended, or wanted to tend, toward the "philobatic bias". It is hard to imagine Balint's vibrant temperament being innocuously "present" like air.

The origin of the ego in the matrix of mother-child relationship

To recapitulate: these four Hungarian analysts are all "object relations" theorists and practitioners, decades before the term was coined in the psychoanalytic literature. None of them views the newborn as a "closed system" born in the state of primary narcissism, driven only by the need to reduce the pain caused by the accumulation of instinctual tension in the libidinously charged organs. "Our" four analysts, too, talk about the infant's instinctual need and urges, but for them the need for relationship with mother is itself the aim of an instinctual drive, more basic than either the "oral" or "anal" pregenital instinctual cravings. A *whole* infant is in need of contact *with*—or need of love *from*—the mother. This view puts the origin of ego development and character formation, healthy or pathological, right where it belongs: in the matrix of the earliest mother-child relationship.

This view holds for Szondi too in spite of his genetically conceptualized eight-factoral instinct system. Yet in the course of individual development he too sees the infant's separation from the mother as the basic trauma, while the reaction-forms to the original trauma depend on the relative weights and intensities of all the qualitatively different instinct-factors that, in varying

proportions, are part and parcel of each human being's energy household. The whole of ego and "self" development is viewed as the highly complex reaction-pattern to the dissolution of the primary dual union, and a continuous attempt at the re-establishment of some equilibrium after the basic rupture has taken place (visible in test-profiles of different age children). With Ferenczi, Hermann and Balint the crucially disruptive role of early mother-child separation is more obviously the centre of their theories.

After having established the essential common denominator in the four Hungarians' developmental theories, what about their therapeutic technique? Is their theoretical emphasis on the earliest vicissitudes of the mother-child relationship reflected in their treatment method? By now we know the answer to this question relative to Ferenczi and Balint. Szondi's basic theory too is reflected in the form of his therapy. Hermann never wrote about technical problems, innovative or otherwise. He is the pure theoretician. I believe that his heuristic change of analytic instinct theory left his basic Freudian stance as a therapist unchanged. I am sure he introduced no new "parameters" into the so-called "classical" Freudian method, probably even less so than Freud himself. Hermann's quietly serious nature fits well with the Freudian demand for the analyst's non-directive "passivity." With him there was no acted out participation with—or purposeful eliciting of acting out in the patient. I am sure Hermann enjoys listening quietly with "freely hovering" attention in order to arrive at correct interpretations. Unlike Ferenczi and Balint he trusts the therapeutic effect of verbal interpretations and new insights the patient gains, even if processed intellectually. "Intellectual," for him does not mean emotionally sterile, since the process of thinking has its intellectual underpinnings and brain functioning, like that of any other executive organ, can be eroticized. The corollaries of his new instinct theory must be evident in the content of his interpretations, not in the rest of the analyst's behavior. Acting out with the patient would be anathema for Hermann.

On the other hand, Ferenczi and Balint were very much interested in translating their theoretical convictions into innovative therapeutic procedures. Some of Balint's procedures and convictions have been discussed. Ferenczi repeatedly expressed his doubts regarding the therapeutic efficacy of verbal communication. His reservations about the uninterrupted flow of the patient's so-called "free association" are well taken. Much more than Freud, he was aware of the Janus face of speech, which can hide and separate as well as reveal and connect. The experiential aspect was for Ferenczi the essence of analysis—still a well taken principle. The trouble started with the ways he produced "experiences" and the kinds of experiences he produced. Since he believed that the parents' early malevolent treatment of the child was at the basis of neuroses and psychoses, he went into extravagant acting-out of what he believed to be beneficial parent-child relationships. First he acted the firm, order-giving father. This was his "active" period. Then his method changed from giving orders and prohibitions in order to change existing tension patterns to that of the indulging mother. Later his aim was to increase "relaxation" and neocatharsis to the point where many of his patients went into an "autohypnotic trance" and in this state acted out and supposedly re-lived the most "shocking" childhood traumata. Sometimes they felt close to death or even experienced death transitorily. Ferenczi hints at the possibility that these experiences of death and revival might have been for real. Since Ferenczi was known to have been an expert hypnotist since his teens, I question the authenticity of these scenes, particularly their being authentic repetitions of early traumata. More probably they were hypnotically induced hysterical attacks of unknown historical validity. In the year of his own

death, as the speaker at Freud's 75th birthday, Ferenczi denounced the therapeutic validity of his "deep relaxation" method on the basis of having caused unnecessary death-like panic and suffering in his patients. Actually many people may have been harmed by them. But I think he also helped some psychotics nobody else would have taken into treatment. And who knows? With his love for drama he may have dramatically exaggerated the frequency and intensity of those attacks in the state of trance. One can even think of the possible effectiveness of psycho-shock treatment for some psychotics. There is much one can learn from Ferenczi with regard to child development, the steps in the development of the sense of reality, the interaction between muscle innervations, emotions and verbal communication. His style of treatment remains questionable, to say the least.

Balint's method does not need further discussion here; nor by now do we have to compare Balint's and Ferenczi's procedures.

Szondi's *Schicksalsanalysis* is based on his hereditary theory, on the dangerously repetitive "transference power" of the latent recessive genes. The aim of therapy is to bring into the patient's consciousness the structure of his "familial unconscious." Far from fatalistic pessimism, Szondi sees the instinctual forces inherent in the genes as "multipotential" that can find channelization through varied, though not infinitely so, activities. Each gene factor has its own "fan" of potential discharge avenues. The *Schicksalsanalyst* actively guides the patient toward his positive "Existence-possibilities." The multipotentiality of the genetic factors—learned from test results and family trees—leads Szondi to the concept of "operotropism" which means that potentially dangerous instinctual drives can be channelized into specifically fitting professions and occupations. Proper operotropic channelization of dangerous instinctual tendencies figures as centrally in *Schicksalsanalysis* as did or still does the attainment of the genital level of sexuality in Freudian psychoanalysis.

Szondi's original paradigm for operotropism was: one does not have to become psychotic; one can become a psychiatrist. He also works with what he calls the psycho-shock method which might or might not have been influenced by Ferenczi. With compelling repetition of certain key words, Szondi produces in the patient a short-lived acting out within the session of his most dangerous genetically laid down latent potential. Such sessions can last two to three hours, until the patient regains his normal controls.

In conclusion, I feel privileged to have grown up in Hungary because the atmosphere for learning and the general cultural atmosphere in Budapest was so rich. In my professional and human development I have much to thank for, to the four people discussed here, as well as to a number of others.

IMRE HERMANN

SÁNDOR FERENCZI THE MAN

This is the text of an address Imre Hermann gave to the Psychotherapy Working Group of the Society of Hungarian Neurologists and Psychiatrists on the centenary of the birth of Sándor Ferenczi, June 1st 1974. Doctor Hermann died on 22. February, 1984 at the age of 95. He became a member of the International Psychoanalytical Association in 1919 and maintained continuity of membership to his death. It was largely due to him that the practice of psychoanalyis in Budapest was not interrupted at any time, indeed, he saw patients up to a few weeks before his death here.

I first met Sándor Ferenczi in 1911 when he was thirty-eight years old and in the initial phase of his career as a psychoanalyst. I was twenty-two, a fourth-year medical student at the time; I had heard that Ferenczi was recruiting students for an introductory course in psychoanalysis which he was about to start. I presented myself and was given a friendly reception.

After his last lecture Ferenczi invited remarks and criticism from us students—an invitation which I took up. In a token of friendship, Ferenczi invited me to the evening meetings of his circle of friends, which included the writers Ignotus, Frigyes Karinthy and Dezső Kosztolányi, the pianist Sándor Kovács, the drama critic Sándor Hevesi and the manufacturer Antal Freund.

The years passed. I had been on voluntary service in the army for a year, followed by four years of wartime service. At the end of this Ferenczi not only had me admitted in January 1919 to the Hungarian Psychoanalytical Society (founded in 1913) but had me elected as secretary.

He supported me in my practice, gave me professional advice, and it is likely that the early publication of my studies is also to his doing. In 1932 he pressed for a German edition of my book on methodology*, despite the fact that I had not pointed out Ferenczi's innovative recommendations in this work. I believe he gave similar support to my contemporaries: Zsigmond Pfeifer, Géza Róheim, Sándor Radó. In 1919 he received a university professorship under the Republic of Councils—the first professor of psychoanalysis anywhere in the world—but this in no way altered his friendly attitude. And when he was bedridden with pernicious anaemia, a disease which was barely treatable under the primitive liver therapy then applied, he sent for me, a few days before his death in 1933, received me with his usual kindness and asked me to do him a favour as a friend.

How can I describe this friendly attitude of his? He was always ready to help, he never made one feel conscious of his superiority, he never wished to give the impression of being better than others. Occasionally, other features of his personality did clash with his modesty. His sparkling wit sometimes burst forth under the stimulation of a friendly atmosphere and could give others the impression his being supercilious. I remember one occasion, probably in 1917, when I was on leave from the front, I visited him in his room in the Royal Hotel in Budapest. I explained earlier psychological experiments of mine on choice processes. When speaking of edge reactions and centre reactions and saying that in principle adults would also opt for the same choice as six or seven year old children, he became excited and exclaimed: "... *greift nur hinein ins volle Menschenleben*"—a line from Goethe's *Faust*. This strange, appropriate, though at

* Die Psychoanalyse als Methode (Zweite neubearbeitete Auflage). Köln, 1963.

first hearing, not quite fitting comment confused me; I should have known at the time that what he wanted was to express his sympathy with me.

Later I myself heard Ferenczi say that when a colleague approached him with a patient's problem, he was often overwhelmed by the feeling that it would be best if the patient himself was transferred to him. This did not come from a sense of superiority but from sympathy and his strong sense of *vocation*.

This friendliness can also be seen in his introduction to the *Aus der Kindheit eines Proletarmädchens.** Ferenczi felt great sympathy for this unfortunate, intelligent girl. He explained to her that someone wanting to kill oneself was ill and arranged a date to begin treatment. Even until then he had received her several times. He had her diary translated and published; he regretted deeply that he was unable to save her. In his postcript to the diary Ferenczi wrote: "The beauty and fidelity of her description of landscapes and natural phenomena make the girl's diary unforgettable. And above all her misfortunes the inexhaustible love of her mother for her hovers like gentle sunshine; her exquisit sensitivity and intuition in all her misfortune and social exclusion merit admiration." (The girl's parents looked after a garden of the house's owner in return for a flat: the father, when not drunk, was an odd job man, the mother struggled to make both ends meet.) The *Diary* says: "Rich children are lucky, they can learn many things, and (learning) is a form of entertainment for them with which they are spoilt at home and they are given chocolate if they know something. Their memory is not burdened with all the horrible things they cannot get rid of. Furthermore, the teacher treats them with artificial respect. It was like this in our school... I believe that many poor children learn poorly or only moderately for similar reasons and not because they are less talented." Ferenczi took responsibility for the above words which were considered subversive in those times, in 1929.

I have mentioned Ferenczi's sense of vocation; his friendliness had a role here too: the analyst should be kind to his patient even to the point of being humble and be always ready to give help. Ferenczi thought that Freud's treatment was unfriendly. This is stated in the fourth volume of his collected works, *Bausteine zur Psychoanalyse.*** The analyst should be sincere with his patient and give credence to his criticism. At the beginning of therapy he dispensed commands and prohibitions but friendship soon got the upper hand and these were softened to friendly recommendations.

The other ingredient of his kindliness was his *modesty*. He wanted to be as modest in his treatment of patients as he was in everyday life. He said that an analyst's self-effacement should not be a studied pose but an admission of the limits of his knowledge. "I for one," he said in 1929, "have become truly modest through the constant oscillation in my concepts. Therefore what I have said here is doomed to the same fate: much of it can be considered true only in part." (*Bausteine*, Vol. III. p. 475)

The sense of vocation was accompanied by a *search after truth*, a *sharpness of observation*, and a fineness of description. He searched for truth within and without. Hence he proclaimed that the analyst should discard "professional" hypocrisy. The patient must hear the truth from us. There exists a higher order of truth for the sake of which even the imperative of compulsory secrecy must be discarded. (Ibid. IV. p. 268) And: affection for the patient cannot go so far

* Vorbericht und Schlussbemerkungen zu "Aus der Kindheit eines Proletarmädchens". Aufzeichnungen einer 19jährigen Selbstmörderin über ihre ersten zehn Lebensjahre. *Zeitschrift für psycohanalytische Pädagogik*, 1929, 3, pp. 141–171.

** S. Ferenczi: *Bausteine zur Psychoanalyse*. Bd. I–IV. Bern und Stuttgart, 1964.

that when the analyst is asked to make too great a financial sacrifice, then that sacrifice should be made. But in this case he must admit the true state of things and the impossibility of limitless affection. (Ibid. p. 267) One may suggest an interpretation but that must be true. (Ibid. p. 282) The same applies to children, they also must be told the truth. And a neurotic person is a child. (Ibid. p. 292) The sense of justice requires us to admit our mistakes to the patient.

The ambition of achieving inner truth demands self-analysis. Ferenczi pursued this even during his final illness. He said that self-analysis could be completed only with the help of patients. (ibid. p. 285) He agreed with Jung's thesis that the physician's duty towards himself was to rid himself of his fears as far as possible, through therapy. Ferenczi, although so weakened by disease that he was barely able to walk, perceived in his self-analysis the phenomenon discovered by Johannes Müller among his patients: when one is deep in silence, with muscles relaxed, the phenomenon of hypnogogy occurs. Dreamlike images, fantastic visual images appear before one's eyes. Ferenczi said that they replaced sleep at night—at that time he was already unable to sleep. (ibid. p. 268) As to the accuracy and beauty of his description, I have never heard anybody presenting dreams or cases as Ferenczi could present them. When he narrated them they became living realities. Perhaps the reason for this was that he never embellished and everything he said was imbued with the truth, with his sense of vocation and the purity of his observation. Unfortunately there is no record of his lectures and text, and his gestures and accents do not come across in writing.

Let us now see how others judged Ferenczi the man. Lou Andreas-Salomé, that friend of great men, thought that he was the most gifted and most spiritual of the psychoanalysts who emerged in the 1910s aroud Freud. His was not the present but the future. Freud himself praised Ferenczi's many-sidedness, originality, the depth of his talent, his congeniality, humanity and openness to everything important, on several occasions in public. He believed that Ferenczi's greatest achievement was his *Versuch einer Genitaltheorie*, published in 1924, and also known under its shorter title of *Thalassa*. This was probably a turning point in his life because afterwards, as Freud put it, "our friend gradually slid out of our circle as if he was retreating into his solitary work. The will to help and heal gained ascendancy over him... Our science will certainly not forget him."* In Budapest this retreat was interpreted by us as resentment and the call of vocation.

Here is another witness, Ernest Jones, once president of the English Society. He had been analysed by Ferenczi in the summer of 1913 (and perhaps later too on other occasions, for shorter periods). The treatment had been very useful, he himself wrote, as he had become much more balanced. In his 1959 autobiography he wrote of Ferenczi that he had a winning personality, one full of childlike imagination which made him entirely suited to the work of an analyst. He was a keen observer and very intuitive, and he loved truth. He saw into people's soul but was fair and tolerant. He had many more ideas than those he had put down on paper but and here comes the *but*—his ideas were uneven in quality because he was not blessed with the faculty of objective and critical judgement.

There is a certain ambivalence in these lines of Jones. I must, however, briefly now refer to a deplorable statement made by him. In his biography of Freud, Jones wrote that Ferenczi had spent his last years in a state of psychosis. Although it is true that pernicious anaemia can be accompanied by mental illness, muscular weakness—funicular myelosis—was in the case of Ferenczi

* S. Freud: "Sándor Ferenczi," (Nachruf). G.W. Bd. 16.

its major symptom. His notes to the end of 1932 are available; these show at most instability but *not* mental illness.

Indeed he wrote a great deal on the state of his muscles. In the fourth volume of *Bausteine*, there is a short study dated September 1932, on a "casus Gehunfähigkeit" (a case of inability to walk) which is presumably a description of himself (p. 263). When writing on his patients, it was his custom to give the initial letters of their names and not refer to them as "cases." Patient A, patient B, patient K are frequently mentioned in his notes but not in this particular instance. Here is an excerpt: "Suggestion without the will to act. Tiredness, exhaustion. Somebody grabs our arm (without helping physically) we lean (rely) on the person who directs our steps. We think of many things but we care only for the direction indicated by this person. *Suddenly* walking becomes troublesome. Every action requires a double investment of energy: *decision* and *execution*. The inability to make a decision (weakness) can make the simplest movement very difficult and exhausting. If we leave the decision to somebody else, the *same* movement ceases to become laborious." Then a discussion of the regressive psychology of hysteria follows. It is also remarkable that he speaks of this case of locomotive difficulty in the first person plural—which is unusual—he refers to himself in the form of reflexion. A year earlier, in March 1931, he had written already on "the absolute paralysis of motility" which included the cessation of perception (Wahrnehmung) and thinking (ibid. p. 244). Jones seems not to have known of all.

Though praising his mentor, Jones found also many faults with him. There is abundant evidence published to refer to his allegation that Ferenczi was insane in the last years of his life. Jones has been accused of prejudice but they offer no acceptable evidence for this. Jones defended himself by saying that he had referred only to the last days. I, for one, have found an instance of prejudice which may be said to derive from psychoanalysis.* It is on page 109 of Jones' autobiography *(Free Associations)*. The text runs: "Semmelweis had been interned in a lunatic asylum in Budapest for daring to proclaim that tubercular patients improved in an open-air regime, but his suggestion had been revived in Switzerland." The text represses the fact that Semmelweis was in fact insane and there are other tendentious mistakes. Semmelweis was placed in a lunatic asylum in Austria not in Budapest. He did indeed discover the antiseptic prophylaxis of puerperal fever but it was not this which had him in a lunatic asylum—he was truly insane. The open-air cure had been suggested by Frigyes Korányi who also made the reference to Switzerland. However, Semmelweis's rival was an *Englishman*, Joseph Lister, a more successful pioneer of antisepsis. In *this* particular case it was true that the Hungarian rival of the Englishman had been transferred to a lunatic asylum. It is this that Jones has repressed; indeed Jones even contested Semmelweis's discovery although after several visits to Budapest he must have known of the Hungarian doctor's life and work.

Einstein wrote in his *Autobiography* that the essence of the life of people like him was *what* they thought and *how* they thought it, and not what they did or suffered. Ferenczi was a different type of man. In outlining what he thought I could not omit what he did: he helped and cured people with his best efforts, even through his own suffering, he tried to understand in order to cure.

*The subject has been treated in greater detail by the present author in another study. See "L'objectivité du diagnostic de Jones concernant la maladie de Ferenczi." In: *Revue Française de Psychoanalyse*. 1974, 38, pp. 557–559

MIHÁLY HOPPÁL

CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF SHAMANISM AND THEIR TRACES IN HUNGARIAN FOLK BELIEF

Shamanism today

It may surprise some to hear that there are contemporary forms of shamanism in many parts of the world. Ethnographers in both the United States of America and the Soviet Union came upon shamans who were still practising in the 1930s. Thus, for instance, the American anthropologist M. E. Oppler met a young Apache whose father, mother and mother's sister were well-known tribal shamans. Similarly, the Soviet researcher V. I. Weinstein was still coming across shamans in the fifties in the region of Central Asia inhabited by the Soyots. At the same time in Central Asia field research by V. N. Basilov[1] led him to an Uzbekh shaman called Tasmatbaksi (which means the shaman from Baks) who cured sick people by the sound of his drum, and was a transvestite, which is one of the classical marks of shamanism. This Soviet researcher collected rich material in the sixties on sex changes, memories of which were still alive and fresh in the sixties in folk tales. The twentieth century forms of Central Asian shamanism—as established by Basilov—are interesting not only because they represent a local variety of a widely distributed phenomenon but also because they constitute a special variety which has sustained a late condition of shamanism and did so under the complete and centuries long dominance of a monotheistic religion. (The same, of course, is also true of the Hungarian tradition.)

Clearly, then shamanism is today a living cultural fact. However the characteristic form of shamanism nowadays, which has, of course, already undergone transformation in many cases, is found not only in remote regions, but, interestingly enough, in large towns in places where a fertile soil for old beliefs was not to be expected.

Thus, a recent American publication[2] describes the life of a small community of South-East Asian refugees in the city of Portland, Oregon. These villagers who had fled from Viet-Nam and Laos and suffered considerably are at least as dependent on each other in the pressures, of their urban environment as they had been in their tiny villages in the jungle. In their cultural context it is very important for them to help each other and ensure that their community links are not destroyed. The spiritual leaders of the small groups, or to use the term employed by anthropologists, the shamans, who are also refugees in the United States evidently play an important part in this.

A great many features of classical Siberian shamanism can be found in other cultures, including the shaman's roletaking function, a function which seems to occur also in the novel urban environment. It is interesting to note that the shaman passes through a psychic process in the course of which he arrives from the condition of weakness to one of strength. This shows that he was no psychopath with a weak constitution, as used to be frequently held, but rather an individual possessing special qualities, similar in many respects to psychiatrists. Earlier it had been held—for instance by Mircea Eliade[3]—that the shamans were mentally disturbed or even feeble-minded; more recently this view has been critized vigorously by anthropologists. In particular, scholars investigating the shamanism of the North-American Indians claim that the shamans hardly differ from other members of their community. From this point of view, shamanism is not a religion but a technique, which in theory may appear within the framework of any of the great world religions.[4]

Apart from the influence of these major

world religions, another interesting topic for future research may be the influence of today's changing social and technical environment on the contemporary forms of shamanism. Here an interesting example with a Hungarian connection was supplied by an anthropologist who described the case of a painter living in Brussels who had left Hungary before the Second World War, and who had developed a particular self-curing and meditational technique. In trances cued by auto-suggestion he uses drugs, bells and clappers. Over several months Marion Wenzel conducted detailed interviews with the artist who holds his work to be of shamanistic inspiration, and she established that what was said by József Soós can be compared typologically with descriptions of the initation of shamans who live (or have lived) in other parts of the world.[5]

At the Paris conference on shamanism of November 1981, a Belgian ethnologist, Jean Severy, also reported on his meetings with this Hungarian painter, his abstract pictures of a shamanistic inspiration, and on his technique for inducing trance. This artist who had left home at an early age is interesting—especially to the eyes of the young Belgian—since he has built up his peculiar pictorial world and trance technique out of childhood memories, faint memories of histories of beliefs, a technique in which sound has a therapeutic value. From his stories (which this author has been lucky enough to tape) it turns out that some elements of the Hungarian system of beliefs and some links with the shamanistic group of beliefs have survived years of living in a foreign culture; through this cluster of memories Jóska Soós was able to create a sort of urban model for shamanism, one which had in essence never existed. We may claim that this is a new form of folklore which has been brought about by the urban environment, or that it is simply a continuation of folklore which has found a form of existence in the atmosphere of the metropolis. These latter statements are, in fact, also a set of questions which can be posed not only on shamanism but, more generally, on this century's forms of folklore.

Interesting questions arise from these examples on the forms that the survival of folklore take in our electronic age and on how traditional system of beliefs adjusts to the modern and urban way of life. The reasons for such a survival, in many cases a revival, should be food for thought to anthropologists. Shamanism does not merely involve the revival of religious notions but is a resurrection of some kind of symbol-creating cultural behaviour. Becoming a shaman entails the acceptance of a number of symbols; it can be argued that it also entails a rearrangement of the identity as well.

The creation of symbols is always a culturally determined activity which is largely influenced by the given system of beliefs; here it is necessary to refer to the cultural importance of the notion of belief.[6] The individual always carries in himself those beliefs through which he is able to construct the world of his symbols, especially in religion and in ideology. To formulate this theoretically, symbolism can be defined as a process which is inseparable from the mechanisms arranging the ethnic identity. In addition to the last two examples mentioned, some more recent data from South Korea also indicate that the mechanisms sustaining the cultural identity continue to function in a cultural environment which also produces radical changes; or even that it is exactly there where they function, since they have a personality and culture stabilizing function.[7] South Korea is one of those few Asian countries which underwent extremely rapid industrialization in the recent past. Research nevertheless reports on shamanism as a living phenomenon; see, for instance, the biography of six women with the social standing of shamans.

Since the sustenance of ethnic consciousness is very important to both the community and the individual, the process of the recreation of the ethnic symbols must involve a

high degree of redundancy. In other words, the creation of symbols results from a multichannel coding process, through a multiple transmission, in order to eliminate every possible disturbing circumstance; herein lies an explanation for its endurance and tenacity.

Another cause is presumably to be sought in the fact that we appropriate the symbols and the mechanisms of coding continually from early childhood in the course of our socialization. In this process of appropriation the electronic media (wireless, television, films) have accepted an active role, even to the extent of seeing revival as a sort of project. Folk dancing, for some North American Indian tribes inseparable from the sun-dance, is according to some being practised today by more people than one hundred years ago; folk singing, which includes the singing of epics by the Central Asian Kirgiz (which this author was fortunate enough to hear) also represents a link rich in symbols between the cultural past and the present. For the members of a community who belong together historically these emotional symbols (like the sun-dance) are important to their festivities, especially in multicultural or ethnically varied countries as the United States or the Soviet Union.[8] Folklore can help sustain the consciousness of the identity of the community. It seems that this kind of social consciousness is much more permanent than had been earlier assumed.

To be more precise, the ideology of culture, including the system of beliefs to which the past world of phenomena of and present shamanism belong forms an important part of ethnic identity. So much that it may become an effective political force; there are examples where political movements have been reorganized through shamanistic rites and what has been reported is by no means the only occurrence in our century. Events in the last decade, the seventies, provide good examples of the revival of religious beliefs—including some that are most irrational; partly in order to confirm themselves and partly in the service of various forms of nationalism.

It is, however, the task of the anthropologist to throw light upon another aspect hardly noticed by the everyday approach of politics. This is a well-known mechanism of culture, which quite simply works on the continuity of cultural traditions; shamanism is no exception to this rule. If this view is accepted, then the contemporary forms of shamanism have to be investigated, since they are as much expressions of the given culture as any other fact.

Traces of shamanism in Hungarian popular beliefs

In view of the aforesaid, it is hardly surprising that traces of shamanism can be discovered in Hungarian popular beliefs to this day. Since the Hungarian language belongs to the Finno-Ugrian family of languages, research into Hungarian folk beliefs from the start has looked for parallels with Hungarian popular beliefs among distant folk in Eurasia. Scholars have long held that the ancient religion of the pagan Hungarians did not differ much from the beliefs of the Siberians, the general term for which is shamanism.

Classical examples of Siberian shamanism were found among the distant Lapps and Samoyeds, but also among the Voguls and Ostyaks, whose languages are more closely related. The other Finno-Ugrians, especially the Finns, have retained only faint traces of their old religion as far as shamanism is concerned. According to old records the name for Lapp magicians was *noita* and *noiade* (which also went into Finnish); this is cognate with Vogul *najt*. Such coincidences may point to a common root of shamanism. Among the Votyaks, the presenter of the sacrifice was called the *tuno*, for whom the neighbouring Cheremiss word was *kart*. Early Hungarian writing on mythology identified the sacrificer with the *táltos*, who

presented the sacrifice of the horse. Here it is only possible to speak of identical customs of sacrificing animals, as the Finno-Ugrian nomenclature does not provide any guide as to a common origin. The etymology of the Hungarian word *táltos* is not clear, though recently it has been suggested that it may be of Ugrian origin—see also Vogul *tült* and Ostyak *tolt* which mean "magic force"[10].

Hungarian research since the mid-19th century has shown a great interest in shamanism. In the age of romanticism scholars, or rathes adventurous voyagers, feverishly searched for brother peoples; Hungarian explorers also visited the distant corners of the Oriental world. Less-known among them are Gábor Szentkatolnay and Benedek Baráthossy-Balogh. The latter especially returned with valuable objects and texts from his three journeys along the Amur river in the 1890s. In the past fifty years interest in shamanism has not diminished, and approximately one hundred publications have dealt with this question. Jenő Fazekas surveyed the history of research at a symposium held in 1962, which to the present writer's knowledge was the last conference held on shamanism in Europe prior to that in Paris.

Fazekas described the earlier literature, especially work by Géza Róheim and Sándor Solymossy, when he stressed some features of Hungarian beliefs which are comparable to data from Central Asia and the Far East. It is interesting that he considers four figures in Hungarian popular belief *(táltos, tudós, garabonciás, regős)* shaman-like figures, and he thinks that these may be traced to one ancient figure.[11]

This is not the place to cover Vilmos Diószegi's work in detail, as his research is well-known; he demonstrated in a number of monographs traces of shamanism in Hungarian popular culture.[12] The first, which was criticised by ethnographers, though never in print, is still a basic guide to the subject.

After Vilmos Diószegi's untimely death research on shamanism in Hungary came to a temporary halt but younger ethnographers soon set out along the course he charted. One comprehensive work on ethno-medicine devotes a separate chapter to a description of shamanistic elements in Hungarian ethno-medical practise.[13] In addition there has been vivid interest among psychiatrists in investigating delusions and neuroses, which are seen to preserve shamanistic elements.

A study by the London-based Hungarian literary historian Lóránd Czigány discusses a species of toadstool, *Amanita Muscarias*. It is known to have been widely used all over the world, but especially in Siberia by the shamans as a hallucinatory agent. There are some data in Hungarian folk belief too attesting to its use (especially in the case of love spells); much cannot be hoped for since by its nature its use was a jealously guarded secret and the mortal risk it entailed also militates against reporting. However, Czigány did discover an interesting and valuable indirect proof for the use of the toadstool. According to these beliefs, the knowledgeable shepherds, the *táltos*, when they visited a house in their poor clothing, always asked for milk only. The villagers saw this modest wish as being a sign of their *táltos*-ness. Indeed, we can cite a more recently collected contribution of which Czigány could not have been aware:

> "They were born with teeth, and they had to be very careful about them until the age of seven. Because if bad weather came, they were stolen, they were taken away, and they could not look after them well enough, they were taken away, they took the children away. So they are the kind of *táltos*, aren't they, who were born with teeth so that they can steer the clouds in bad weather. And they sometimes came down to earth too, and went to people and asked for something to eat. They went in to the woman and asked for milk. And the woman said that she did not have any milk, although she had milk. They knew that she had milk, only did not want to give any. They told her: very well, if you have no milk, you will

have water! And they sent such rain to earth that water ran over the threshold and through the window."[14]

This motif had been left entirely out of account as insignificant description. However, pharmacology has demonstrated that milk, because of its effective detoxicating effect, would have been a suitable antidote to mushroom poisoning.[15]

Recent collections of old texts have revealed more and more of the figure of the *táltos*. The following important features of the figure can be put forward for comparative studies: the *táltos* child is born with teeth; when he turns seven he disappears (to roam the nearby meadows and reeds—note the frequency and significance of the number seven in *táltos* beliefs), if he does not disappear, he becomes ill and subject to fits, and then falls into a long and deep sleep. Because of this death-like sleep, the Hungarian language has the expression *elrejtőzött* ("he hid"), whose root lies in the verb *révül* (falling into trance). The great poet János Arany used this expression in his epic *Toldi:*

"But he did not die, only in a way
As when somebody hides deeply..."
(Prose translation)

The trance or hiding are in essence an expression of one of the most essential elements of shamanism, another world journey in the course of which the candidate comes into the possession of knowledge. This journey has survived in Hungarian popular belief, especially in necromantic beliefs.

A further important feature of the group of beliefs on the *táltos* was the motif which followed that of asking for milk; that the *táltos* could send a storm and rain onto the house or village if he did not get any milk. It is then clear that he had superhuman abilities. Further, and this characteristic is especially important for mythological comparisons, he can change shape, he can turn into a steer in order to fight an enemy under this shape. It is especially in the stories of shepherds of the Plain that detailed descriptions of fights between steers of various colours (black and white, red and blue) are met with. Diószegi compared these fights with those of the shamans of the reindeer-herding peoples, where their helping spirits fought in the shape of reindeer stags; among the horse-herding peoples of the steppe the spirits of the shamans fought in the shape of stallions or of steers of heavenly origin.[16]

Research has established that the beliefs of shamanism may be considered the backbone of heathen Hungarian faith. Nor did the generation of scholars preceding ours search in vain for the relics of shamanism in folk tales as well as in belief-legends. The picture of the tree reaching to heaven is well-known in Hungarian folk stories as is the figure of the young swine-herd climbing it. This has been identified with the figure of the rite of initiation (climbing up the shaman tree or ladder represented the condition of being in a trance). The motif of climbing the tree is in fact a trip to the other world—this time upward—where the shaman can contact superior powers and can thus in essence fulfil his mediating role.

It should be noted however that there are critical voices among Hungarian folklore specialists, which, even if they do not deny the fact of Hungarian shamanism (although some actually do), at least put a strong question mark over it, without however criticizing or repudiating in detail Vilmos Diószegi's huge work.[17] More recent work suggests that it seems likely that the Hungarians of the Magyar conquest (the still heathen Hungarians) were no longer unequivocally shamanists (as had already earlier been pointed out by Király[18], but may rather be considered as being in possession of a syncretic system of beliefs, since in the South Russian steppe they would have been acquainted with Nestorian Christianity and Judaism and, earlier, in Southern Siberia with the Sogd Manichean proselytizing.[19]

Despite the fact that the Hungarians

have been Christians since the end of the tenth century, the heathen traces of shamanism[20] are present in the material collected in the past few decades. The *táltos* was considered a characteristic figure of a village or region, who was remembered vividly, almost every village having once had its own learned man, *táltos*, or learned shepherd[21]. Their deeds were still remembered quite recently, and in some places even the use of the sieve kept up the memory of the drum. These everyday working implements were often used also formagic (e.g. fortune-telling, medication).

Let me now describe some recently collected data of Hungarian shamanism in folklore.

In mid-1977 I was visited by a writer friend, Pál Gágyor, from Czechoslovakia, who told me that he had met a former shepherd who had told him some interesting things. He proposed that we should visit the man. In the last week of December 1977 we did so. He was in his forties and worked as a tractor driver. He lived with his seven children at the very edge of a village in a two-room house, in the northeastern part of the Hungarian-speaking region of Slovakia, in a small village whose population is Hungarian. In earlier centuries this border village was in a secluded area—it is surrounded by marshes—consequently the memory of the people there has retained an archaic verbal legacy (texts from this region have been published in several collections of beliefs and legends).

It turned out from his story that his father had been a famous shepherd, known far and near and respected especially as a medicine man. The old man was often called on, even in the fifties, to cure animals. The motifs of the stories about him agree with the elements of the legends about shepherds with magic power, such a shepherd for instance, having been able to scatter the flock of the other shepherd (his enemy), while being able to keep together or reunite his own, also by magic.

Our man is the youngest son of the old learned shepherd who died some years before. According to tradition, knowledge must be passed on to, and only to, the youngest son. András P. spent his childhood and youth with his father as a shepherd. According to him, his initiation occurred at the age of 14, when during a night standing on the crossroad in a circle drawn around him he had to withstand the terror of frightful visions. This is a well-known subject in Hungarian epics and in histories of beliefs in other countries as well. The crossroad became, with its extra-territoriality, the scene of the initiation rite, and the frightening monsters and tribulations are typical elements in shamanistic initation.

Our man reported that, in the possession of superhuman (or merely special) abilities, he had cured a girl:

> "They fetched me at midnight... the mouth of the child was foaming... this is a heart ailment... she throws herself to the ground... without a word I must take undergarments from this person, worn for nine days, to a place where many people pass (for example, a crossroad), I must not speak to anybody, I hang the undergarment on a briar and leave it there!"

This type of treatment is very rare and occurs only in the north-eastern region. In other stories he spoke of the ways of sending a spell of love and that this ability also exists. He is equally versed in the taking away (conjuring away) and returning, or keeping, the cows milk.

> "Let us say that if there is no milk then twelve kinds of herbs are needed. If there is no butter, another twelve have to be added... one has to go to the stable. The first egg is needed of a hen, which, let us say, first lays an egg in spring. The hen should be entirely white or entirely black. I put these into a cup, which, let us say, has been used a lot, and bury it under the threshold or under the crib. So the milk cannot be taken away."

Elements of this story are well-known in the system of Hungarian beliefs, so in essence there was nothing surprising in the stories of the former shepherd. What radiated through these memories was the strength of his belief: he believed in his power, in the truth of the beliefs, in the effect of magic practises. He is strong both in his physical and psychic make-up, and strong too in his convictions and beliefs. Presumably this is why in the course of the interviews he often fell silent and did not want to talk about some details, as if he were projecting or wanted to guard some details of the knowledge which he considered important.

Part of the method of collection was that I checked, in two ways, the stories which András P. told us about his father and the ancient magic knowledge of the shepherds. I made him tell the same story again after one and two years, so that two or three variants are available of the same text. (The total of approximately 300 pages of interviews are now being put together into a monograph.) The other control was that I visited the two older brothers of the interviewee, who had also been shepherds with their father, although for a much shorter time. From them I often learned also small details which my interviewee first did not want to reveal, claiming that he did not want to transfer his full knowledge. There was generally some kind of distrust in him, which is understandable, since we had asked him to impart the knowledge which gave him his powers.

Under detailed questioning he mentioned that his father still used in the course of healing a sieve, drum-like in appearance, and having the function of a drum; this he called *bőrosta* (wide sieve). Scholars searching for traces of Hungarian shamanism discovered that the sieve was often employed as a drum in magic ritual, especially where healing was involved.

> "...Going in, old Hódas drew away... only sat quietly. He bowed his head and looked in front of himself for a long time. His eyes open, yet it was as if he was asleep. They waited for him to do something. Suddenly he nodded, waved his hand, shook his head. The woman took a sieve out from under the bed, and put it on the bench in front of the oven with a long wooden ladle. Then he began to speak: "Be quiet. Don't do anything only be quiet!", he said, "Don't disturb the one who is coming!" He pressed the sieve against his chest, closed his eyes and drummed on it. First slowly, then quicker. He kept saying something. "A large tree had grown, under it the road divided into three branches..." This was how he began. By the time he finished his song he drummed very hard on the sieve...[22].

In addition to this account, which was collected on the Great Hungarian Plain, we may turn to a tale, which contains a mention of the sieve being used for healing and for fortune-telling:

> "The shepherd from Kunsziget, János Virág, told fortunes with his sieve. He, for instance, told the thief who had stolen the animals. 'The piglets had once been stolen also from my grandfather. He drummed it out on the sieve who the thief was. The piglets were found in his place. He put white and black beans on the sieve, perhaps forty-one beans. Then he started to hit the side fo the sieve with a knife. The beans jumped about on the sieve, and the way in which they stopped showed him what to foretell.' We even know about him that he was able to cure with his sieve. He removed the spells of people who suffered. He kept hitting the crust of the cribble with his hands until the caster of the spell had enough of it."[23]

Many other facts can be cited about the magic use of the cribble.

When I asked our man what the sieve was made of, he answered that it was made of leather. (Its correct pronunciation would be "bőrrosta" (leather sieve), but instead he contracted the consonant and this was how it

became "bőrosta" (wide sieve). Such sieves covered by leather were common in almost all regions of the country right up to the first half of this century. Recently (in 1980) my friend photographed what are presumably the last pieces in Transylvania, where I myself also photographed sieves made of leather in 1969 at Korond. Although these sieves were objects of everyday life (the first written mention of them is dated 1587), the special (cross-like!) pattern of the holes appears to contradict this. There are many data showing that the cribbles were used for fortune-telling, i.e. in the course of magic.

Some data speak about the sieve expressly as the attribute of the *táltos* or the learned shepherd:

> "József Rostás of Vajka was a sieve-maker and roamed from village to village peddling his sieves. He looked into the sieve, with its holes looking towards, the sky, and this was how he cured people. This was how he said what had to be done! At Öttevény and Ikrény there were long ago also learned women who were able to medicate with a sieve. They threw grains of corn into the sieve and told fortunes from that. They also put embers on the wishing-bone of a goose, blew and nursed them until the bone splintered. They told fortunes from the splinters..."

> "It is known about the *táltos* of Cikolasziget, the shepherd Kelemen that he put embers on the chaffsieve, threw herbs on it and smoked the sick animals. While doing this he cast a spell by incantations as if counting backwards. He was also called to old wakes. He smoked the evil out of the dead so that they would rest in peace... He put embers on an old sieve and threw herbs on them from his pocket. According to others he put a young birch shoot on the embers, it sizzled on it like fat. He circled the body with it and also murmured something."[24]

When we asked our shepherd why he called the sieve wide and not a leather sieve, he answered: "Because there is room in it for everything!" — This answer coincides surprisingly with an explanation given during a witchcraft trial in 1728 where it was mentioned that the *táltos* or wizzard of superhuman power carried one hundred persons across the water in his cribble.

> "Dániel Rósa indicated in 1728 for witchcraft answered when charged and asked: "Were you able to carry people across on a dickey, cloak or a boat?" that he could have done if he had wanted to, but he never did so, since there was room for one hundred in a sieve."[25]

Other information from the other end of the country confirms that this belief about the sieve of special capability was common:

> "...It is also being said about the learned shepherd that at the time the cattle grazed in the Danube bend at Bogdány and scattered every midnight. The shepherd said that at midnight a twirling sieve crossed the water, forty-one embers were on it, and this made the animals scatter. József Páli was called to help. He sat in ambush on the shore. And after midnight the twirling sieve indeed came, full of embers. He put on the whip the magic lash from his hat (this makes a cracking sound—M.H.) and knocked it three times against the sieve. All the embers fell into the water from it, and the sieve twirled back to the other shore. It never came over again and the cattle did not scatter either."[26]

At the time Vilmos Diószegi wrote the article *Shamanism* in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, where he established that the shaman often travelled along some river where his boat was his drum. According to Lapp data collected by I. T. Itkonen of Finland, the drum of the Lapp shaman was also often called a boat.[27]

Summing up one may well claim that the identity of drum = sieve = boat, which is an important characteristic of the system of beliefs of shamanism, has essentially been

kept up to our days by Hungarian popular beliefs. This is a further confirmation of Diószegi's theories.

NOTES

1. Balázs, J.: "The Entrancement of the Hungarian Shaman". in V. Diószegi (Ed.) *Popular Belief and Folklore Traditions in Siberia.* Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1967. pp. 53–75. Basilov, V. N.: "Shamanism in Central Asia", Az A. Bharati (ed.): The Realm of Extra-Human Agents and Audiences. Hague-Paris: Monton, 1976. pp. 149–157. Basilov, V. II., "Some Results of the Study of the Vestiges of Shamanism in Central Asia", Paper for the 1st Intercongress of IUAES, Amsterdam (MS), 1981. Cho, Hung-Yuan: "Zum Problem der sogenannten Yoltugori des Chonsingut im Koreanischen Schamanismus." Mitteilung aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde Bd. 10. 77–107.0. Hamburg: 1980.

2. Sweeney, M.: "Southeast Asians (A Hmong Shaman in Portland)" Cityfolk (Ed. by S. Siperin). (Oregon Art Commission) 1981. pp. 11–18. Szabó, T. A., (Ed.), *Erdélyi Magyar Szótörténeti Tár.* Bucharest: Kriterion, 1976.

3. Eliade, M.: *Shamanism: An Archaic Technique of Ecstasy.* New York, Pantheon, 1964.

4. Hallowell, A. I.: *The Role of Conjuring in Salteaus Society.* Philadelphia University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942.

5. Venzel, M.: "Artists, Blacksmiths, Magicians in Hungary", A Brief Synopsis of a paper for a Symposium on Arts. Artisans and Societies at Leicester. (MS)

6. Hoppál, M.: "Belief Systems". A. W. Burghardt és K. Hölker (Editors): *Text Processing.* Berlin–New York, de Gruyter, 1979. 236–252. o. Hoppál, M.: "Az Égigérő fa gyökerei—Berze Nagy János mitológiai tanulmányai". (The roots of the tree that reaches to heaven) Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve. Pécs, 1981 pp. 267–273.

7. Cho. Hung-Yuan: "Some Problems in the Study of Korean Shamanism". (MS) 1981.

8. Toelken, B.: "The Ethnic Impulse in Folklore". Cityfolk (Ed. by S. Siperin (Oregon Art Commission) pp. 4–10. Weinstein, S. I., "The Tuvan (soyot) Shaman's Drum and the Ceremony of its 'Enlivening'". in Diószegi, V. (Ed.). *Popular Beliefs and Folklore Tradition.* Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1968. pp. 331–338.

9. Kemnitzer, L. S.: "How Shamanic Ritual Helps Organize a Diffuse Political Revitalization Movement?" *Ethnomedicine,* 1977. Vol. 4. No. 1–2, Kim-Harvey, Youngsük: *Six Korean Women: The Socialization of Shamans.* St. Paul—New York: 1979. Kim, Tongui: *Uhwa, the Shaman.* New York, Larchwood, 1979.

10. Hoppál, M.: "Az uráli népek hiedelemvilága és a sámánizmus." (The folk beliefs of the peoples of the Urals and Shamanism) in Hajdu P. (Ed.): *Uráli népek* (The peoples of the Urals) Budapest, Corvina Press, 1975. pp. 211–233.

11. Fazekas, J.: "Hungarian Shamanism". In A. C. M. Edsman (Ed.): *Studies in Shamanism.* Stockholm, Almqvist, 1967. pp. 97–119. Glick, L. B., A review of Andreas Lommel: *Shamanism: The Beginnings of Art. Current Antropology,* 1970. pp. 141–142. Halla, Pai Huhn: *Kut, Korean Shamanist Rituals.* Elisabeth, New Jersey-Seul, Hollym Internat. Corp. 1978.

12. Diószegi, V.: *A sámánhit emlékei a magyar népi műveltségben,* Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1958; Diószegi, V., *Sámánizmus.* (Shamanism) Budapest, Gondolat Kiadó, 1962.

13. Hoppál, M.–Törő, L.: *Népi gyógyítás Magyarországon.* (Folk medicine in Hungary) Budapest, Medicina, 1975. Höfer, A.: "Is the *bombo* an Extatic? Some Ritual Techniques of Tamang Shamanism." C. C. Fürer–Haimendorf (Editors): *Contribution to the Antropology of Nepal.* Warminster, Aris and Phillip, 1974. pp. 168–182.; Höfer, A.: *Tamang Ritual Text* I. *Beiträge zur Südasienforschung,* Band 65. Wiesbaden, Steiner, 1982; Kelemen, A.: "Schamanistische Überbleibsel im dem Volksglauben und der Volksheilkund Ungarns". Carare, Wiesbaden, 1980. 3. pp. 217–224.

14. Csorba, B.: "Temerini hiedelemmondák". (Temerin legends exemplifying superstitions) *Hungarológiai Közlemények,* (Újvidék) XII. 1980. pp. 42–43., 111–141.

15. Czigány, L. G.: "The Use of Hallucinogens and the Shamanistic Tradition of the Finno-Ugric People". *The Slavonic and East European Review.* Vol. 68. No. 2., 1980. pp. 212–217.

16. Diószegi op. cit.

17. Voigt, V., "A sámánizmus mint etnológiai kutatási probléma." (Shamanism as a problem for ethnological research) *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények.* 1965. pp. 379–390.

18. Király, Gy.: *A magyar ősköltészet,* (Ancient Hungarian poetry) Budapest, 1921. Ethika-Könyvtár Vol. 7.

19. Hoppál op. cit. 1981.

20. Kralovánszky, A.: "An Anthropomorphic Shamanic Musical Instrument from Eight to Twelfth Centuries A.D." In A. Bharati (Ed.): *The Realm of the Extra-Human-Agents and Audiences.* The Hague–Paris, Mouton, 1976. pp. 339–345.

21. Dömötör, T.: A review of Andreas Lommel: *Shamanism: The Beginnings of Art, Current Anthropology* II/1. pp. 39–48. Dömötör, T.: *A magyar nép hiedelemvilága.* Budapest, Corvina Press, 1980.

22. Szüch, S.: "A sámánizmus emléke a nagykunsági népi orvoslásban". (Shamanism in Greater Cumanian folk medicine)
23. Simaffy, L.: "A honfoglaló magyarság hitvilágának maradványai a Kisalföldön." (Relics of the folk beliefs of the landtaking Hungarians on the Little Plain.) *Arrabona*, 1964, pp. 309–332.
24. Timaffy, op. cit.
25. Diószegi *op. cit.*
26. Timaffy *op. cit.*
27. Siikala, A. L.: *The Rite Technique of the Siberian Shaman*. Helsinki, 1978. FFC No. 220.

SÁNDOR MALLER

A PIONEER OF ANGLO-HUNGARIAN RELATIONS

In Memoriam Sándor Fest (1883–1944)

Sándor Fest was born hundred years ago. Because of his premature death, his work was not complete but his achievements in scholarship remain of fundamental importance, and students of his have created a school. In the recent past English studies in Hungary have acquired a number of centres and students in Hungary itself have been joined by others, living outside the country's borders, to continue the work; so too has the balance in research fields changed: historical themes have increased in Hungarian–English comparative studies. This same change in theme can, incidentally, be observed in the work of Sándor Fest himself.

Almost fifty years have passed since he gave us our first English class in the Eötvös College. He had become a university teacher in the same year but did not drop his teaching at a secondary school. Before our first lesson, we had learned that our teacher had been born in Szepesváralja on November 21, 1883, had studied in Igló and then become a student at the Eötvös College. Reading Hungarian and German, he had studied Hungarian linguistics under Zoltán Gombocz, later director of the College, and Hungarian literature from János Horváth, the prominent literary historian. Zoltán Kodály was two years ahead of him; also a student of Hungarian and German, he was at the same time attending the Academy of Music. The future historian Gyula Szekfű, the writers Dezső Szabó and Géza Laczkó, the future art historian Tibor Gerevich and the linguist Dezső Pais all belonged to this first generation of students of the Eötvös College.

Professor Fest arrived always on time. His students saw a smiling, sun-tanned, slender though wiry man with spectacles and a thick moustache enter the classroom. He asked a few informal questions and then proceeded to outline the work-plan for the first semester, one which remained fixed for many years to come. He treated us beginners as colleagues right from the start and told us at the end of the first lesson: "Naturally you are going to take a doctorate after university—this is our way of doing things in this college; so you'll do well if you choose a subject for your undergraduate thesis which will serve as a preliminary work for your doctoral dissertation. By the way, you may count on my help in everything." He said this so naturally that we immediately took it for granted; indeed, five years later it all happened as he had predicted and just as he had given it to us as a duty in that first lesson and on many occasions afterwards.

This lesson also opened wider vistas. Sándor Fest explained his concepts for

English studies and for the teaching of English language and literature at the secondary level. When we later came on his articles on the topic, we found that these plans had been nurtured for over thirty years. He used to point out that modern life was not compatible with intellectual isolation or narrowness—we had to learn from foreign countries in order to be able to be more ourselves. We had to learn from everyone who had something to teach us; our culture must draw on every source capable of making our intellectual life fruitful. The culture of England can be one of these sources without making us Anglomaniacs. Nor should we forget the Hungarians living in America detached from the nation, and with whom the threads of linguistic comprehension are becoming thinner and thinner and could, indeed, be broken. Consequently, we should not teach the history of literature in our schools but acquaint ourselves and our pupils with the great works of English literature through reading them. Nor should we neglect the presentation of the long relations—from the Middle Ages to the Puritan influence and to the awareness of England as a model especially through István Széchenyi and the assimilation of this model into our general education in the first half on the nineteenth century.

Sándor Fest had first learned English at home. At university he attended lectures on English and French literature and by the age of twenty he had a working knowledge of German, French, and English and, of course, Greek and Latin.

His career as a scholar began with a linguistic dissertation: *Metathesis in the Hungarian Language* (1907), during the years he spent teaching in Brassó (1907–1911), he studied English literary influences in Hungary. From Brassó he moved to Budapest and taught in the *gimnázium* attached to the Faculty of Arts. He spent much of his free time in the library of the National Museum, reading Hungarian newspapers and periodicals up to the year 1848 and collecting every English reference. He planned to continue the collection until 1867, then until 1900, and finally until 1920.

In the beginning he concerned himself mostly with Shakespeare and Shakespearean motifs in the works of Hungarian writers, and especially in the œuvre of Mihály Vörösmarty, the greatest of the Hungarian romantic poets of the nineteenth century. Then he became interested in allusions and references to Pope and Byron in Hungarian literary works and in the English references in the extensive correspondence of Ferenc Kazinczy, the language reformer of the early nineteenth century. He next became interested in the influence and knowledge of English literature of János Arany, a nineteenth-century poet considered the greatest stylist in the Hungarian language and the best Shakespeare translator to this day. In 1917 came a book which distilled his findings and which is still a basic work: *Angol irodalmi hatások hazánkban Széchenyi István fellépéséig* (English Literary Influences in Hungary up to István Széchenyi). This was Sándor Fest's most important contribution to English–Hungarian literary relations and the continuation was left mainly to later students.

Fest sought out with the same zeal everything written by the English about Hungarians. Although his findings ran the gamut from Shakespeare's Hungarian references to Ben Jonson and Marlowe, to all the ambassadors, bishops, travellers, and soldiers who had ever set foot in Hungary, this collection naturally could not be complete. What did the English know of the two Princes of Transylvania, Gábor Bethlen and Imre Thököly? What was the image of Hungary in English novels between 1700 and 1848, what did the English know of Hungarian literature before 1830? A second book followed in 1920: *Angolok Magyarországon a reformkorszakban. 1825–1848* (English People in Hungary in the Reform Age. 1825–1848). This was the period when English travellers and their readers showed

an amount of interest in Hungary and Transylvania that was exceptional by earlier standards. It seemed that Hungary had become fashionable, especially after John Paget's *Hungary and Transylvania* (1839),* and this interest increased during the War of Independence of 1848–49 and in the fifties, especially after Lajos Kossuth's journey to England an America. Sándor Fest maintained a passionate interest in all these topics right up to his death.

In 1904 Fest's father gave up his job as a postmaster, moved to the United States bought a small farm and sent economic information (and the occasional suggestion) to Hungarian newspapers. While teaching in Brassó, Sándor Fest visited his family four times and travelled through America; he made also three separate journeys to England. His journeys to America bore fruit in two essays: one on the first Hungarian settlers in America, the second on American–Hungarian contacts prior to the Kossuth emigration. Both of these broke fresh ground in American studies in Hungary.

As a result of a great deal of lobbying, the Ministry of Religion and Public Education set up a special commission in 1913 to discuss the introduction of English into the *gimnázium* or grammar school. One member of this commission was a university professor, Bernát Alexander; Fest himself was also on the commission since he had been teaching English in the *gimnázium* attached to the Budapest Faculty of Arts for the previous two years. The two pressed for the general introduction of the subject. By the time this ambitious project has been set in motion the World War swept it away. When it surfaced again in 1924 only ten or so schools, chiefly Protestant, were willing to introduce the teaching of English as an optional subject in the four upper grades of the secondary level. Sándor Fest felt that he had been put on the shelf; he was never even commissioned to write textbooks. The times were also politically unfavourable; Fest was a liberal-minded democrat and had never made a secret of it. Although he was thoroughly qualified for a university post, he had no prospects whatever of becoming a university teacher. A personal disaster also affected him when his wife died leaving him with a small daughter in delicate health. In the meantime his own father had returned from the USA to settle in Austria, near Graz, and in 1925 Sándor Fest, after eighteen years of teaching, gave up his post, bought a small farm and settled, together with his second wife, near his father in Schloss Reinthal, St. Peter bei Graz. Immediately father and son vied with each other as to who was producing the better fruit.

Sándor Fest, however, had not entirely given up his scholarly plans. He continued to study English–Hungarian historical relations with the same assiduity, the university library of Graz proving to be an excellent hunting ground. Friends visited him in summer in his small private school where he prepared students for examinations during the school-year.

After this voluntary absence of ten years he was invited in 1934 to return and join the staff of the Lutheran *Gimnázium* of Budapest.** Meanwhile his old classmates at the Eötvös College had become university professors, writers, or public figures. Fest had started under a severe handicap but he was to make up for it in the ten years that were still given to him.

From 1934 onwards articles and studies poured from his pen: he published in all leading Hungarian periodicals, including *The Hungarian Quarterly* where he was a regular contributor. The years in Graz had indeed proved very fruitful. He wrote papers on the Hungarian origin of St. Margaret of Scotland; on the two sons of Edmund Ironside who got to Hungary; he wrote two

* *NHQ* 93.

** See the interview with Eugene Wigner in *NHQ* 51.

versions of a long treatise, refuting all possible counter-argument. Finally six prominent English historians acknowledged that he was right, and that the grave at Dunfermlin, visited by many Hungarian travellers in the nineteenth century, did in fact contain the ashes of a grandchild of St. Stephen, the first king of Hungary. Other papers discussed the similarity of the evolution of the English and Hungarian constitutions; others had observed this similarity too but it was Sándor Fest who discovered the personal connection between the authors of the Magna Carta and the Golden Bull of 1222. He was the first to draw attention to other contacts in the Middle Ages, to English–Hungarian Protestant relations in the sixteenth-eighteenth century, and to Hungarian–Irish contacts. Apart from his discoveries, which were many, he enriched much that was already known with new information. In this period he concerned himself with the English sources of the first Hungarian historian, Anonymus, of the thirteenth century, with the Toldi saga, the first Hungarian translation of the Bible, and with the English references in the legend of Lőrinc Tar.

Between 1936 and 1944 he was nominally the co-editor and in reality the soul of *Studies in English Philology*. The six volumes were for the most part made up of articles and papers based on original research, and explored cultural and historical contacts and relations of greater of lesser importance in the hope of a future synthesis. A bibliography completed the annual publication, thus making work easier for the next generation of students. Most articles were suggested by Sándor Fest who frequently made his own file cards available to young researchers; he was never happier than when the tyro's attempts were rewarded with success.

From 1938 onwards he continued as a university teacher and corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He had also been appointed to the English Department of the University of Debrecen. From the mid-thirties on there had been much talk of the need for a second English faculty department in the country. English was being taught in secondary schools and not enough teachers were graduating from Budapest University to take up all the posts available. This was not the only reason however. Against the audible rumbling of the Second World War in the background, the creation of the Debrecen faculty was the implementation of a joint decision on the part of the British and Hungarian government: in the context of the time, is was an act of major importance both from the academic and national viewpoints. Relations between Debrecen and Britain go back over 300 years; it was this continuous relationship with English schools and universities that determined the town for the role of housing a workshop whose main purpose was the exploration of Anglo–Hungarian cultural and historical relations and to demonstrate them in the service of national interest under the direction of a professor, whose work had qualified to realize these very aims. So it was entirely natural that Sándor Fest was selected as the most suitable person to hold the post at the earliest stages of the intergovernmental discussions. On the closing day of the Munich talks, September 30, 1938, the new professor delivered an address to the staff members and students of the Faculty of Arts. The time had lent a harder political content to his courageous profession of what he believed and proclaimed to the end:

"The most intensive contacts between England and Hungary occurred in the Middle Ages, in the Age of Puritanism, and in the beginning of the nineteenth century, that is in the period when this country was called upon to defend its Constitution, when it had to fight for its religious liberty, and when liberal ideas overthrew antiquated notions and prejudices. In each of these epochs the English example was a potent factor in development. At times Hungarians followed it instinctively, at times con-

sciously and deliberately, for there was something in it that was profoundly congenial to our own spirit—a burning, ineradicable love of liberty." Late in September 1938 such an address had the ring of a proclamation.

During the six years of his professorship, ten doctoral dissertations and several articles were published, the work of old and new students based on thorough studies, adding new material to the planned synthesis of Hungarian–English historical and cultural relations which, alas, still remains to be done.

Beside his university work Fest co-edited textbooks with Miklós Szenczi and László Országh for the four upper grades of the gimnázium; he also co-edited a cheap bilingual pocket dictionary for wider usage in collaboration with Lajos Biró and József Willer. Earlier he had cooperated in the Hungarian translation of Professor Macartney's *Hungary*.

As he had done earlier in the Eötvös College he built his university lectures around the greatest English writers. I heard quite a few of them when I came to Debrecen from the English College of Sárospatak, a town not far off.* There could never be enough of Shakespeare, his works were studied in every semester, just as in our time when we had listened to a record of John Gielgud's—in the thirties a rare treat in Hungary. Then came Chaucer, the sixteenth century, Milton, Dr. Johnson, the novelists of the eighteenth century, the great English romantics, and naturally the compulsory though not overwhelming courses on Old and Middle English.

In 1943, as a step towards a larger book to be written after the war, Fest reviewed the history of Anglo–Hungarian relations tn a long essay based mostly on his own iresearch. To this day this is the best summary of a theme which covers 900 years. He intended it as a form of political information in that vital phase of the war and publication in English was planned for Stockholm. This did not happen and the essay became posthumous, published only in 1969 under the title *Anglo–Hungarian Historical and Cultural Relations* in the newly resumed *Studies in English Philology*.

I met him for the last time in 1944 in Debrecen at his home, then I saw him in the university's air-raid shelter among a crowd during an air-raid conversing smilingly with the people around him. He used to walk to this shelter from his professorial house nearby to the sound of the siren.

In April 1945 I wrote to his address in Debrecen but the card was returned by the post-office. My wife handed it to me in front of the Sárospatak College in an interval between two lessons. A slip of paper was attached to it—"died." Imre Révész, bishop of Debrecen, also confirmed the news. I learned the details later.

In the early autumn of 1944 Sándor Fest and his family, accompanied by László Országh who was then in the army and later his successor at the Eötvös College, travelled from Debrecen to Budapest. This is a journey of a few hours but it then took two days. He put up at the Regent house, temporarily, as he said and believed, because it had a bomb-proof shelter and because there he could be near at hand at eventual official talks. He invited a colleague, Béla Vasady, to move in too but the Vasady family stayed in Pest arguing that they could never get across the Danube if the time came for them to go back to Debrecen.

On December 30, the ammunition accumulated in the court of the building was hit by stray gunfire, the house collapsed, and the forty people in the cellar were killed instantly by the blast as they sat beside one another. They were all buried in a common grave.

Three years later the grave was opened in the presence of Fest's brother-in-law, professor János Horváth, and István Gál, then secretary of the Hungarian–British Society; Fest was identified by a tramway season ticket in the pocket of his overcoat.

* *NHQ* 92.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

REPORTING FROM OLD AGE

Gyula Illyés: *A Semmi közelít* (The Void comes closer). Szépirodalmi, 1984, 308 pp.; István Vas: *Ráérünk* (There is still time). Szépirodalmi, 1984, 110 pp.

There are epoch-making poets: they either usher in a new poetic era, or dominate an era through their work. After Rimbaud or T. S. Eliot, for that matter, the clock of poetry has kept different time. A certain way of approach, a certain handling of material, a certain tone and even type of verse came to be the model and be dominant on the surface of poetry looked at from a perspective.

Gyula Illyés (1902–1983), whose poetic œuvre has a number of times been presented directly and indirectly by *The New Hungarian Quarterly*,* was such an epochal poet in both senses from the point of view of the development of Hungarian poetry. He drew a boundary line, created something new in his young days when he was rising, in the late twenties when abandoning the experimental, formally revolutionary avant-garde movement, he shaped more clearly and plainly, in a manner more comprehensible to the reader, a body of poetry just as much inspired by revolution as it was shocking or inciting in its factual content. He solved for himself a universal contradiction of the avant-garde, for a while at least: he removed the avant-garde protest addressed to the few, to the exclusive circle of those in the know, from the élitism it had indulged in all over the world, for all its intentions of being a call to action. From the exclusiveness which in effect determined and weakened its efficiency in Hungary, a Central European state whose working class and entire peasantry still laboured in practically feudal shackles while their cultural level fell way short of understanding modern poetry and from poets' problems on style. So, turning away from the experimental in poetry, or at least keeping at a distance from it for a long period (despite having been part of it in his adolescence and having joined the surrealist movement during his sojourn in Paris), Illyés also wanted to write for those from among whom he had come and grown up, and whose intolerable and undeserved conditions of life he exposed to the world both in verse and in prose, for example, in *A puszták népe* (The People of the Puszta). Thereby he struck a new note in Hungarian poetry, at the least a note different from that fashionable at the time or held to be valid for demanding poetry. This was more deeply attached to traditions, linked with everyday, unaffected speech yet arousing in the modern manner for its contents and conceptions.

* See Illyés: poems, *NHQ* 33, 35, 37, 46, 48, 56, 63, 88, 91; interview: 91; drama, 12, 13; fiction, essay, articles, memoirs, 1, 4, 17, 20, 25, 47, 48, 50, 52, 66. On Illyés, 88, 91.

But Illyés's poetical œuvre has had an epochal effect, indeed perhaps even more so, in the second sense of the term. It may be an exaggeration, yet there has perhaps been no Hungarian poet so far—from the honest practitioner to the large camp of epigones—who exercised an effect comparable to his; who influenced and even determined the tone, themes and everyday practice of common poetry. All this he did while evolving a model of behaviour and expression for all those for whom it is at all possible to create a model. For, although in the early 'forties he practically inherited from Mihály Babits the mantle of this prince of poets—both his literary review and his aura of authority—and for however long he was (a good forty years) first among his peers and among those who were by no means his peers, yet those who gradually grew up to him were those who did not take him as their model, did not come from under his wing. They were not members of a numerous and fashionable Illyés school. Illyés was in other words a prominent, suggestive representative of the type of poet who was gradually becoming particular to European poetry. When the trend was to objectify non-narrative verse, he was the spontaneous poet who professed that every poem is an occasional poem. He was from the admired camp of the Victor Hugos, of the Petőfis, for whom writing poetry meant keeping a diary. A single observation (he is a sharp observer), or a momentary inner vibration of lyrical thought generates the poem in him, although what is important in the poem itself is not so much the creative impression—a gathering storm, say, an old peasant hoeing, the sight of the traffic jam on Place de la Concorde—as that which the impression sets in motion inside. What is important is the restless, heated, volcanic condition of the internal world, which brings about the eruption of verse under the slightest external influence. A poet of this kind is able to put into verse anything at anv time, because to him the occasion is mostly only the catalyst for the constantly ready versifying process within him. It is relatively easy to define by and large, to catch in a loosely-woven net of logic, what it is that fills this internal world in permanent readiness and causes it to roll on endlessly. To put it in a crudely simplified way, perhaps unbecoming to his greatness, this is a never static complex of questions on the peasantry, the Hungarian people, humanity, and liberty. Although located on the coordinates of a different situation and of a different time, yet this complex is akin to that which worried Petőfi who, with his struggle for the people's rghts in an ascendant period, was a supreme example for Illyés in his youth. (Indeed, he even wrote a fine book on Petőfi.)

This parallel with the last century may prompt us to suspect in advance that, for specific determinations of our social and national existence, there can exist in Hungarian poetry a (nearly prescriptive) poetic vocation, a sort of function, which is rare in societies surer of their existence and more bourgeois in character, where it comes to the surface only at the time of serious national catastrophes (the Second World War, the French Resistance). It may be that a poet who is a great poet is at the same time, as it were, the depository of the problems of national existence: in the words of another poet of the same kind, made of the same stuff, "A sentry keeping guard over national existence."

Gyula Illyés, whose last, posthumous volume I shall review in the following, was a national poet of this kind. One who ceaselessly wrestled with the harassing and vital problems of the Hungarian nation. Just as Victor Hugo or Shelley cannot be reduced to their political poetry, however grandiose their brilliant hymns of liberty, this reduction also underestimates Illyés. His poetic personality is considerably deeper, more complex than the social function he took upon himself and the

function he performed as a sentry. What is more, and the reason why this function itself is efficient—beyond a certain political efficiency—is that it is merely a part within a human and poetic completeness. Our habit of mind in storing facts is to make certain reductions, to storing, with reference to each poet, merely something significant, brilliant, polarized, occasionally shocking in its tragic nature. But till we arrive at this kind of simplification while reading a work, we are under much more complex human and aesthetic impressions. Moreover, reduction itself can come about only if previously we have let these more complete impressions pass through us. Feeling out the poetic personality, finding an easier and more general access to its values, seems to be a *sine qua non* here since the reception of lyric poetry is more personal and more affective than the reception of other literary genres.

To come back to Illyés: however essential (especially to the Hungarian reader) the role he filled in public life as a national poet and the enormous prestige that surrounded him, still more essential is the poet himself and the completeness shaped in his œuvre, in which that role is only a single but important segment. To be able to reach this is the approach worthy of the poet and one which correctly appreciates his poetry. Immense in volume because of its spontaneity, Illyés's rich œuvre offered ample scope for this approach from the very first, and the opportunity was particularly enhanced by the poetry of his old age, by the series of volumes forced to answer the ultimate questions of existence, outstanding among them the posthumous volume which looks death in the face, *A Semmi közelít* (The void comes closer).

In the seventh decade of his life, as these late volumes show, Illyés found himself face to face with the fact that he was deceived by his supreme optimism. The promising future, which had always shone like a rainbow before him in his natural good health, in his sober physical optimism, disappeared, was gone. He had so impatiently expected the future in his young days and had urged it on so much at historic turning-points; nor did he cease to summon its healing and redemptive appearance time and again later. (In the cluster of Illyés's favourite words, "future" has a distinguished place.) But unexpectedly, instead of the comfort it might have afforded him, he had to experience its absence, the slow but ever increasing emptying of what the word meant to him personally. This is spelt out, through a series of brilliant observations and meditations, in an essay *Kháron Ladikján* (On Charon's ferry or the symptoms of aging), which has been published in a number of foreign languages. The new fact as scrutinized in an exceptional confrontation, the fact of ageing, the unfaithfulness of his bride-to-be, the future, urged the poet to face the most difficult of questions in poetry, the web of the fundamental questions of existence, with which his poetry as a whole had dealt relatively little with. Easy it is not, though easier for metaphysicians, for believers to answer questions on the order of existence, the yawning grave, the incomprehensible emptiness of the nothing. But when someone who, like Illyés, has written: "This heart is already too heavy to trust in God," what can he do? Or he who in the volume *Minden lehet* (Everything is possible, 1973)—one of the deepest of his works—expresses thoughts such as this: "Some think they hear voices from beyond existence, from beyond the earth. We hear nothing of the sort. Only here, on this earth, here on this earth, in an earthly tone of voice, can we smooth out the differences we have with those from beyond the earth, if they exist at all."

Our "differences"—let us mark the word—namely with Him or with those who "invented" the order of Creation, the mechanism of existence. These differences, the horrible contradictions of existence, are the reason why Illyés's argumentative poems, which progress with short logical steps, be-

come overheated and are saturated with suggestive, visionary and the almost irrational elements of a poet's own logic which entangle the inexpressible in words. And in this volume *Minden lehet* Illyés created the summit of his late poetry, a particular sort of metaphysics: his explanation of life and history seen from the ultimate questions.

A Semmi közelít, this volume of Illyés's poems written in the past three or four years, and collected and published (under Mátyás Domokos's expert editing) after the poet's death, is not a repeated effort to cope with the question of questions, struggling with the most difficult one. The unusually large collection (Illyés used to publish his new poems in smaller volumes every three years or so) attests to the fact that, on reaching a great age and beset by illness, the poet proceeds to write not so much as a mental exertion, by way of protest, but rather in an effort to prove his strength. In the loneliness of old age, "on the ocean of timelessness," where he has neither a compass nor a chart to lead him to infinity (he adds, "to the gods!"), he writes day after day as if he were compelled to pass the time on a voyage between continents. Whatever occurs to him becomes verse. Yet it is not a comforting pleasure cruise. This is how Mihály Babits, Illyés's master, speaks of this final journey in one of his last poems: "Blessed is he who, amidst ice in the polar night, is awaited by the chance of doubt and hope. The only chance and certain end of my trip is death." And as this difference shows through the fabric of poem after poem of Illyés's, as their fabric becomes frayed now here, now there like an irreparably tattered rag, the experience is produced of a tragic aspect of expectation without a future — which few lyrical poets have ever disclosed from day to day, from hour to hour. This the poet does not by aligning remarkable or great poems, but as he did in the past, perhaps a little more so, through diary-like notes in verse which issue forth from his contemplation. Here the contemplation itself earries such a burden of the proximity of death that it has an impact which is catharctic on a level akin to that of tragedy.

*

Philosopher c'est apprendre à mourir, István Vas quotes from Montaigne in a poem of his latest volume, *Ráérünk* (There is still time). But Montaigne's words, like most axioms, can be reversed. Nor is it less true as: "philosophizing means defying death" — or at least looking it in the face. This brings us immediately to the inmost core of István Vas's new volume, to the constant knot of thoughts whose strings and most diverse ramifications are the individual poems. Philosophizing? About death, about the ceasing of individual existence? This is a pristine conception (a preconception?) of poets—and of the enjoyers of poetry—one from which only certain poets of antiquity and the non-lyric poets of the eighteenth century exempted themselves on the ground that philosophic scrutiny, struggling with logic, philosophy as such, as "things-in-themselves," are a burden on verse rather than its lever. They are ballast and not balloons. Death is only a trump card for poets, their affective argument, rather than an explored topic of reasonable speculation.

So then is this, from a certain point of view, a tradition-breaking, eccentric work which points to an antiromantic culmination of a poetic career that was romantic at its beginning? The conclusion is premature. The truth in it is the concentration of objective scrutiny and a hardening and coarsening of an old tone of verse, of a melody composed in a minor key. But that inner monologue, that restless, keen and bouncing contemplation with its sudden changes of view, which István Vas's poetry has always been feeding on, is not even now different from what it has earlier been. It is characterized by an intellectualism which goes to the root of things, feeling what is right and what is wrong in them equally; characteristic too is the sort of concealed sentimentalism which

the poet is almost ashamed of, and which in a Heine-like shift, changes into irony or self-irony. At the most, sentimentalism may be more sustained and restrained today, and irony more emphatic and bitter. This change—the slow transformation in István Vas's ideas and of his modern and almost metaphysical belief in reason—is brought about by a certain development, from volume to volume, of a view of life which is based, as in all of us, somewhere upon the twin pillars of philosophy and faith. In addition, it should be clear that in Hungarian poetry, and even perhaps in the rich diversity of all poetry, István Vas's attachment to rationalism, to this poetically valid and efficient variety of rationalism, is unique. A reflection of the eighteenth-century belief in reason has seemed to shine out in his poetry. The various strokes of fate of the twentieth century (persecution, risk of death in war, the crisis of faith in socialism) have been survived and avoided by this Hungarian poet; he is firmly convinced that the world can eventually be improved and man, in possession of his exceptional faculty, his right mind, will make progress though slowly, even with set-backs—and by no means in a trice, as the go-ahead optimists of our times have thought. (Vas's experienced faith, grappling with doubts, has nothing in common with them.) Moreover, his individual rationalism has also put out feelers in the direction of irrationality, and even there, among the problems of existence incomprehensible to reason, he has found for himself something promising to take hold of. With a mind which is incontestably *credo quia absurdum est*, he believes that death is a chance of acquiring knowledge: in the blissful chain of knowledge it will unlock the principal, ultimate secret. And he believes also—in such a way as belief is to be taken literally in a poem—that the ego, the poetic subject, exists from time immemorial, from the beginning of earthly existence, and likewise it is and will be somehow present on the plane of another existence.

It is only a matter of formulation whether this is a sort of Oriental or Christian rationalism; or whether it is simply something poetlike, worthy of a poet.

But since what we are talking about is no other than poetry, the essential thing is here not how to describe this faith but its degree of lyrical heat, its suggestiveness. And in this respect there cannot be, nor is there, anything to be desired. Every worthwhile poet involuntarily shows his readers what is important to him and what is not. In verse it is possible also to lie with words (examples of this abound), but the tone, the heat of the words, just as in speech, is something more delicate, much more expressive, in the positive direction just as in the negative. It is no accident that the penetrating, great accomplishments of István Vas's poetry are mostly manifestations of rational metaphysics, or metaphysical rationalism, prying into the ultimate questions of time, existence, and human progress (*Óda az észhez*, "Ode to reason," *Monádok*, "Monads," *Önelemzés*, "Self-analysis," *Rapszódia egy őszi kertben*, "Rhapsody in an autumn garden," etc.). These all show the common lyrical ardour of a mind probing secrets, and of an existence shaken by its realizations; nor is it accidental that in this husky-voiced, non-feverish new volume the outstanding poem *Tétlenül* (Idly), as well as quite a few others, recall the former theme of faith and almost the old heated tone. "Oh, understanding, my real otherworld!" he reverts to the old thesis which at one time he put into words, for example, as follows: "What else could salvation be to me? Understanding what my heart and reason cannot understand. What else could even God do to me? He can make me understand or damn me for it."

In spite of this, the recurrent appearance of the beliefs professed with great verve in the past, the volume *Ráérünk*, just as its predecessors, shows more than one variety of the old behaviour. As if no longer only the intellectual arching but even the way of conceiving verse were in the making. A like-

minded fellow-poet and critic, the late György Rónay, reviewed Vas's collected poems some twenty years ago in these terms: "István Vas is not a poet with a mythic imagination who makes clear the meaning of an image or a story in the image or the story itself... His inspiration and versification are allegorical rather than symbolic, explicative rather than figurative, he composes rather than makes us see or, more precisely, when making us see he does so by composing in the first place; it is by gripping and fixing and conveying the crux of the matter intellectually that he lets it be seen." What is there still to be added to this now? A sort of thing which Rónay, with his keen critical eye, already noticed in an earlier volume, a something that is yet more striking here in *Ráérünk:* the intellectual absorption of István Vas, the translator of Eliot, became, in Eliot's manner, more realistic and existential at the same time. More realistic in such a way that the concrete (the momentary situation or event) has a major part to play in the poem (the moment has always played a certain part in Vas's poetry), but today it is less a springboard merely for the intellect, which with its own emotionally loaded current remains within the scope of the concrete object actuating the poem. The concrete is to him no pretext for speaking in verse, but the object of versified speculation. Should I quote here opening lines from the volume *Ráérünk,* it would be clear how many concrete objects are taken from the everyday. I should be setting down phrases such as: "Well, the sun has nevertheless shone forth. It is the autumn sun," or "There's no seeing far from the middle of the garden here," or "The fertilizer has been brought in. It will produce roses," or again "Wearing a jacket I'm crossing Elizabeth Bridge." How is it possible to keep to such concrete things? The fact is that the poet makes the succession of those objects and the examination of their meanings into a system of symbols expressive of his existence. Vas is visibly striving to unfold from conspicuous trivialities his own everyday life that is not in the least indifferent to poetry. It is not in sequences of sparkling thoughts and ideas (this is the fundamental change) but through those trivialities that he touches upon the larger questions. This is neither a down-to-earth endeavour, perplexing in its intention, nor an exclusive one.

The volume *Ráérünk* has two cycles, the larger bearing the (very characteristic) title of "Systems of Symbols," the other is named "Anacreontic Songs." In the "Systems of Symbols" cycle there are, of course, poems written in other modes of expression, too. (A well-known feature of Vas is his exploitation of different manners of speech, of historical, mythological situations. Among his poems that have justly become famous, the titles are indicative: "From Rachel's Laments," "Horace's Theme with Variations," "Branisko," "From Teresa of Avila's Admonitions," "Nagyszombat, 1704," etc.) Here as well, while taking up a problem area in modern physics, he writes an *ars poetica* out of a conversation between Einstein and Heisenberg and even exploits several times the biblical messages, Jesus's parables. Yet, in the course of outlining the basic subject, when musing over the boundaries of existence and non-existence in a manner determining the volume, he starts from realistic and apparently insignificant concrete objects and even remains within their bounds. The change of colours and seasons in the garden of his Szentendre summer residence, the simple world seen from intimately close quarters day after day, becomes here the system of symbols of lyric poetry, a form of broader meaning of the expression, of the awareness of life. (The same thing appears in the same manner in the second cycle, the "Anacreontic Songs.") Thus the material of the poems, their arching, blacking out the accustomed light of the intellect, becomes more realistic. Naturally it becomes more existential, too, for the point of reference of the entire system of symbols of the garden, of the change of seasons, is the person of the poet, his individual life, and the intermit-

tently looming and frightening limit to his existence.

István Vas professes in the epilogue to his *Összegyűjtött versek* (Collected Poems)—and the present writer would agree—that the efficacy of a poet's life-work probably depends on his personality, on the accurate portrayal of his personality, on the facts and the story he lets the reader see of his environment. It is in this that the lyric or philosophical confrontation, this life-and-death learning, has its justification. In the declining years everybody becomes aware of dying, according to his age, state of health, and sensibility. The individual gradually is filled with this awareness, just as a vessel under a dripping tap. And since men are spherical vessels after the form of our skulls, we are able, when filled up, to magnify what shines through us, and thus emphasize it as a magnifying lens does. To emphasize existence itself. There are grounds for the common belief that poets usually have two important periods: in their youth and in their old age—the period of brand-new experiences and that of more profound re-experiencing. István Vas, having reached this second period, living in this Montaignesque stage and giving up his ardours but not his scope of movement, has for a good time been making something other than what he had made. His verse has become more naked, almost verging upon prose. Through a new system of symbols created by his personal reputation, this lyricism is just as effective now as it was at the time of his memorable great accomplishments.

BALÁZS LENGYEL

THE LITERARY ESSAY

László Cs. Szabó: *Alkalom* (Occasion). Essays on literature and art. Gondolat, Budapest, 1982, 606 pp.

László Cs. Szabó, who lives in London, has had his first book published in Hungary for thirty-five years. After this enforced silence a lengthy volume of selected essays, *Alkalom* (Occasion), has appeared here, quickly followed by a collection of stories, *Közel és távol* (Near and Far).

Thirty-five years is a long time in a writer's life. Indeed, it is long even within the apparently infinite time-span of literature itself. Of course Cs. Szabó has published well over a dozen books in Hungarian abroad. After leaving the country in 1949 and taking a post with the Hungarian Section of the BBC in 1951, he simply continued writing from where he had left off and in exactly the manner as before. However, what he published during this time—essays, short stories, biographical and travel pieces, radio plays, poetry—only arrived in Hungary undercover, through the agency of friends. During the thirty-five years of his hidden literary presence here (even his name had not been mentioned in public) the Hungarian reading public has to all extents and purposes changed. New generations have arrived and many of his old admirers have died. Now that Cs. Szabó is again being published in Hungary (and he himself regularly visits the country), the past must be conjured up for the Hungarian reading public. Thus it would be useful to go back to the 1930s in order to make clear his prominence in Hungarian literature. Ironically, we must approach a recent book with the words "once upon a time...".

Once upon a time, then, in the thirties there was a talented generation who were actually called the "generation of essayists," although, beside the excellent essayists, they

numbered poets such as Gyula Illyés, and writers of prose such as Antal Szerb, Miklós Szentkuthy (the pioneer of the Hungarian experimental novel), László Németh, Endre Illés, and another novelist living abroad, Sándor Márai. This generation, in which Cs. Szabó was prominent, launched a literary process that is today considered classic for the values it produced. It was a process which above all gained the highest standards for Hungarian literature as far as analysis and thought went. However, Cs. Szabó emphasizes in his preface to *Occasion* that he is simply a writer and not an essayist (and he is right to say so), however passionately he rejects it, the label, 'a generation of essayists,' is nevertheless impossible to avoid. In their cultivation of the Hungarian public these essayists were able to do something that medicine or genetics can only dream of. The effect they have had on intellectual standards reaches, despite the obstacles, right down to our days. Even today we are building upon what they achieved, we are using their approaches just as they used those of Mihály Babits, the great twentieth-century Hungarian poet and essayist.*

This brings us to the heart of the matter: the school of essay-writing established by Babits himself. The school taught the art of seeing and thinking, and, despite the brilliance of what was produced at the time and was still being produced in the fifties and after, it barely managed to survive; it was held back and pushed aside to the margins of Hungarian intellectual life. Despite its educative and electrifying force, the dynamism of its communication, its insistence on looking for truth in many directions and on responding to many points of view, despite all this, and despite its suggestive literary qualities, for a long time its presence was only dimly felt in our literature, under cover as it were, behind the curtain. Occasional flashes of its values were glimpsed (in works by György Rónay or István Vas), but it barely touched the surface of life and scarcely had any effect on public thinking. This great school, nevertheless, has survived and its influence is again being freely exerted.

This rich selection under review here offers us essays written between 1960 and 1980, namely those produced after 1949 and unknown in Hungary up to now. There should be no sharp division between what was written before and after that date; *Occasion* offers just that to assess Cs. Szabó's position on the staff of the school.

The preface has a characteristic sentence: "Erudition does not hurt even when it is too great." This—and the irony implied—might well serve as a motto to all of Cs. Szabó's work. The reader meeting him here for the first time may be stunned by the profusion and range of his knowledge. A quick glance through the book reveals literary portraits, art criticism, comprehensive studies on Hungarian, English, French, and Greek literature, from Miklós Zrínyi and Kelemen Mikes, through scintillating commentaries on Shakespeare, to Victor Hugo, Byron, Proust, and T. S. Eliot. The real variety comes from those studies on fine arts which make up the bulk of the volume: from Michelangelo through Palladio, Carpaccio, Poussin, Goya, Claude Lorrain, and Delacroix, to Turner and Henry Moore.

Indeed, the reader who is more accustomed to scholarly criticism may wonder exactly what form of writing he is dealing with, where such a variety of subjects can find a place. It is obvious that he has to do with a singular genre of essay whose roots are deep in the European tradition. It is obvious that it is something that sees its main purpose as suggesting experience rather than the objectifying description usual in our age. Moreover, the experience suggested is complex, one in which the work under discussion and the personality and the life of its creator are placed with vivid effect within a rich delineation of their age. This means that there are at least three roots from which

* *NHQ* 90

the "subjective" experience draws sustenance. Cs. Szabó undertakes to impart and revive the experience through a scholarly wealth of knowledge (here the "too great erudition" is needed), using a writer's technique with conventions of style and arrangement that are close to Romantic. (The essay on Turner in *NHQ* 93 displays perfectly the style.)

This veiled method needs closer examination. The essay, "The Old Michelangelo," begins: "His head is a damaged statue. He has to wear it till death, he cannot model another for it... As to his figure and gait, he is a well-proportioned ape rather than a Tuscan nobleman." One of the Turner studies (not the shorter and more objective one which was published in *NHQ* 93) commences: "Not tall as stature goes, yet he is well-built and thick-set, reserved and taciturn; better thus since what he says is rarely well-put; his appearance seems unpolished and English to the foreign eye, blatantly not that of a city dweller; he could well be a cattle-breeder or horse-breaker, or a seafaring captain, his physique is that of hard wearing wool, the kind which in bygone times was made on a Scottish peasant's loom for lifelong wear..." The two quotations may make it clear that his method is to start from a character sketch, where it is worth giving, or from physical appearance, where it is important. As the character sketch develops in depth and breadth, Cs. Szabó provides us with an enormous range of information in a manner that is as simple as it is elegant. By this point the reader may already be dazzled. He may be further dazzled when the character sketch becomes a description of the period. For Cs. Szabó always works through a broad description of the age; yet he does not repeat generalities which, unfortunately, the didactic prose of today accustoms us to; what he gives us is documented historical description resulting from a careful turning over of his material. Here his great erudition —by no means hurtful—culls the period and presents with an array of knowledge, from the most diverse fields (history, literature, cultural history, political economics, economic history). There are citations from autobiographies, diaries, letters, poems, obscure documents, and the animation of what is set in front of us is of the sort we associate with illusionists. Yet his secret lies neither in erudition nor even in his improbable range of knowledge, but in the ease with which he activates and animates this profusion. Cs. Szabó conjures and arranges: this is his act, his art.

This manner of arranging is, I have said, particular to him and you may describe it as following the experience or as "subjective," whichever you prefer. Gábor Halász (one of the finest essayists of his generation and murdered by the fascists) had something thought-provoking to say on the "scientific objectivism" so fetishized in our age. "The facts," Halász argues, "have us in their power; the figure (whom we write on) is in our power." All this means that when portraying someone we can only write on the experience that has arisen in us after we have assessed all the facts. If we are unfaithful to this experience or if—what is more typical of our works—we fail to experience the figure we are discussing, we may be "exact," scholarly even; but what we write will be impossible for others to learn from, it will be without any value whatsoever. Someone else will have to follow in our footsteps to "give new life" to our collection of facts. In this sense, life-giving is one of Cs. Szabó's strongest suits. He, in short, does experience. However, the way the experience takes shape in his text is never through a forced exploration of what is, in effect, a preconception—a well-known hazard to an essayist—he gives shape and coherence to the mass of facts, data and documents summoned up. In so doing they come alive. All this is brought about simply through the typical movement of a writer's (especially a novelist's) imagination. Roger Martin du Gard's diary puts it well: "I have had the ability to imagine things as they happen

in reality." Without this ability one is no novelist. This same ability is spoken of by Cs. Szabó when, writing on Proust, he points out that: "Those who are visionaries, and not mere describers, can create a world more enduring than reality, even if those visionaries are apparently describers of reality." I have a well-grounded suspicion that this visionary quality on a reduced scale is an important element at this level of the portrait-essay.

Certainly so, for example, when giving shape to the figure who is, after all, "in our power." But how and to what extent Cs. Szabó makes use of this power of his is, of course, difficult to check upon. It is likewise hard to discern how the writer's subject "enters" the visionary's picture, how he penetrates it and colours it. At the most we can occasionally list the more obvious clues, the fingerprints or the imprint of car tracks or shoes in a detective story. Cs. Szabó gives us many portraits of people who have produced work while living far from home, including Poussin and Victor Hugo; he quotes Dante in his portrayal of Michelangelo leaving Florence or of Goya, of whom he even remarks: "He deserted his country at the age of seventy-eight. There is no precedent for this in history." One of his favourite Hungarian authors is Kelemen Mikes who lived in exiled seclusion in distant Turkey, an exile following the failure of the Hungarian struggle for freedom in the eighteenth century. Other clues which point to Cs. Szabó's subject can be found in the beginning of his essay on "Epiphany:" "What does a religious exile, taking refuge in a foreign land, live by? It is what a political outcast must do. He carries on his old trade if he can accommodate himself to his new world." The opening sentence of the essay, "The Four Quarters," on T. S. Eliot: "It was American poets or, to be exact, their *voluntary émigrés* (my italics), and not Englishmen, who discovered the four French corner-stones of modern poetry for the Anglo-Saxon world." Finally, the decisive clue, which calls for no comment, as I copy it from the first page of the first essay in *Occasion* (it is on Poussin): "Every now and then comes a mortal with the eternal order of the Universe in his heart and mind. Only with the greatest difficulty can he safeguard this treasure from his fellow-beings, especially when these are his fellow-countrymen. For no one is a prophet in his country. As an outcast he goes far into exile or as a guest into a foreign country; he goes there to hover between anvil and hammer, to live for the timeless order of the firmament which has wonderfully touched him. The anvil is his native country which he takes with him to the grave, and the hammer is the alien environment which sparkingly hardens him anew day after day."

The clues should not lead to the simple conclusion that he who thinks of home though living far away in seclusion must of necessity write in this manner. It would be better to pay attention to what confirms Gábor Halász's view and can be applied generally to the higher level of the essay of which Cs. Szabó is unquestionably one of its better practitioners. (To what has validity for the genre and, what is more, a universal aesthetic validity.) This is the advance of the person in what are called the objectifying genres, the novel and the essay. The personal and, let us add, the personal as an important criterion for value (above a certain literary level). I mean here the merging of genres, so characteristic of our age; just as subjective and lyrical verse takes on objective (abstract, alienating, narrative) elements, so too this descriptive and discursive genre is imbued with subjectivity. (Subjectivity in this genre has a not inconsiderable tradition, going back, for example, to Montaigne.) For a long time narrative prose has been held to be capable of being used for a variety of purposes: the novel to be a matter of talent and assiduity. What today seem to be more acceptable as near decisive criteria for standard is how intensely personal

is the writer's need to communicate and how suggestive his perception of experience.

A distinction is needed here right away; for this, as for Cs. Szabó, T. S. Eliot can be turned to for his observation that what poetry is good for is not giving vent to feelings. Neither is the more subjective essay. The presence of personality is concealed. There is no way of proving that Cs. Szabó had himself in mind too when saying of Goya: "Presumably he was afraid of losing his reason. Like most great artists he was the best doctor for himself. Had he not been so productive a creator, and had hell been confined him within the deaf man, he might really have gone mad." What can be taken for granted is that Cs. Szabó, writing and publishing in his mother tongue abroad, knows from experience that writing is a cure for insanity.

"Too great" erudition, the vividly perceived complex experience and knowledge organically and spontaneously—all these elements of Cs. Szabó's essays move him "to like writing about creations as Alexandria once did." We have not yet spoken of another quality: his manner of writing, his care in writing. Of this he says in the foreword: "I have no working method. When buckling down to the two hundredth essay after a few days of the irritated tension of the preparations, I suffer from the same nerves I had when I was writing my twentieth forty years ago. I have never followed any working pattern... I am driven into writing under a frenzied sort of compulsion, I attack the theme almost as in a sleepwalk. Understandably, the first composition goes to the waste-paper basket. The logical arrangement is left to the second draft, and this too is handwritten in the awareness that I shall also have to scrap it. Only at the third operation, in the course of painful polishing of the style, do I sit down to the typewriter... This too is patch upon patch and though passing my own cursory censorship, will need polishing again. Only the fourth or fifth version will be allowed under the reader's eyes, with the resigned feeling that at any rate there is no such thing as a 'finally final' text."

So, he still has a working method. One should never have instant faith in the confessions of us writers. This working method makes it obvious that the highly demanding and precisely revised and polished text is the 'not finally final' version in question. A version which, I have to add, is not only stylistically "smartened" by literary devices, but is at the same time the product of a particular elliptic way of thinking and way of editing which both narrates and exhibits. One has to give all one's attention to it, in order to learn the quicker than usual elaborate steps and mental pirouettes of its intellectual rhythm. One has to be able to follow its daring leaps. We have to use a vivid imagination to fill the space between, as if we were reading verse. But whoever once commits himself to this far form painful learning process (every artistic pleasure is ultimately a kind of exertion), whoever learns Cs. Szabó, even if he is not overendowed with erudition and cannot grasp every allusion, will partake of an exceptional intellectual pleasure. I have to say something almost blasphemous: the reader will positively be entertained by following the writer's dynamic intellectual movements. He will find that everything Cs. Szabó talks about is interesting. I may, of course, say this more finely, and the characteristics I have tried to outline above may perhaps infiltrate into my final description. The essay of the Cs. Szabó type is powerful, enduring, as elegant as a modern bridge with a vast tightened arch. Like the Golden Gate bridge of San Francisco. It has a function and offers real pleasure.

B. L.

NOVELISTS ON THE TRAPEZE

Gergely, Ágnes: *Stációk* (Stations). Szépirodalmi, 1983, 307 pp.; Mohás, Lívia: *Zuhog, zuhog a hó* (The snow falls and falls). Magvető, 1983. 283 pp.; Kolozsvári-Papp, László: *Halálugrás kezdőknek és haladóknak* (Salto Mortale for the beginner and the advanced practitioner). Szépirodalmi, 1983. 212 pp.

At the end of Ágnes Gergely's novel *Stációk* (Stations), just as at the end of the Way of the Cross and on the cross itself, the protagonist is left entirely on her own. Quite a number of the many characters in the novel enter into close or distant relationships with the heroine, Romola Gábriel, for longer or shorter periods during the twenty-five years of her life the narration covers. In some way or another she loses them all: some of them die, some betray her, others leave the country or find themselves in prison, others simply drift away. In the winter of 1956, on the morrow of the "regrettable events," Romola Gábriel, standing by the fresh grave of her grandparents, awakened to the "terrible realization that the only solution to her life would be to go away from here because if she did not tear everything out from herself by its roots, if she did not learn this most dangerous of trapeze jumps, the *salto mortale*, she would never learn it; and she *knew* with the same merciless lucidity that she would not go, would not root out anything from herself, and would never trust anything to a vacuum, not even her desires... and that the only thing left to her was the earth and the service of death: ... she must save the dead from perishing..."

There is an important character in the novel, a left-wing lawyer, of Slovak origin but Hungarian at heart, who has been imprisoned under Horthy before the war, and again in the fifties under Rákosi's reign of terror; his life too consists of the stations of a Calvary. At a passionate university meeting in September 1956, this man delivers a lecture on an event in 1935 when the gendarmerie fired into the people of the village of Velméd, explaining how the incident has been distorted at different times for particular purposes. The incident itself is described in its entire historical and dramatic reality in an earlier chapter. "They sacrificed the whole truth for the sake of avoiding confrontation with some awkward partial truths. They adapted the living, frail, and blinded people to their phantom image extracted from books. In doing so they justified the corrupt Hungarian feudalism because a phantom people is no better than a rabble. And newer layers of lies and silence settled on the memory of the murdered."

Don't wait twenty-one years for the truth—says the lawyer to his audience. "Approach it as long as it is still living. Don't be afraid, you won't be buried under it. The truth has no layers."

During her calvary the idea which helps Romola Gábriel survive and remain in a country where she has lost everybody and everything is her desire to save the dead from perishing and dig out their truth. She has long to wait, more than twenty-one years; the novel, the truth, is set down in our days, twenty-five years after the events. Romola Gábriel is both the fictional heroine and the author of the novel which, at the end of her own story, she is writing. (The novel closes with Romola Gábriel writing down the first sentence of what the reader has just read.) As writer she is the literary double of Ágnes Gergely herself.

Stations is then an autobiographical novel which has frequent resort to fictional narrative and differs in many details from its author's own life. Just as her fictional heroine Romola Gábriel, Ágnes Gergely was born in

JÁNOS MATTIS TEUTSCH: DARK LANDSCAPE,
OIL ON CARDBOARD, 1918. 60×69 CM.

Courtesy Janus Pannonius Museum, Pécs

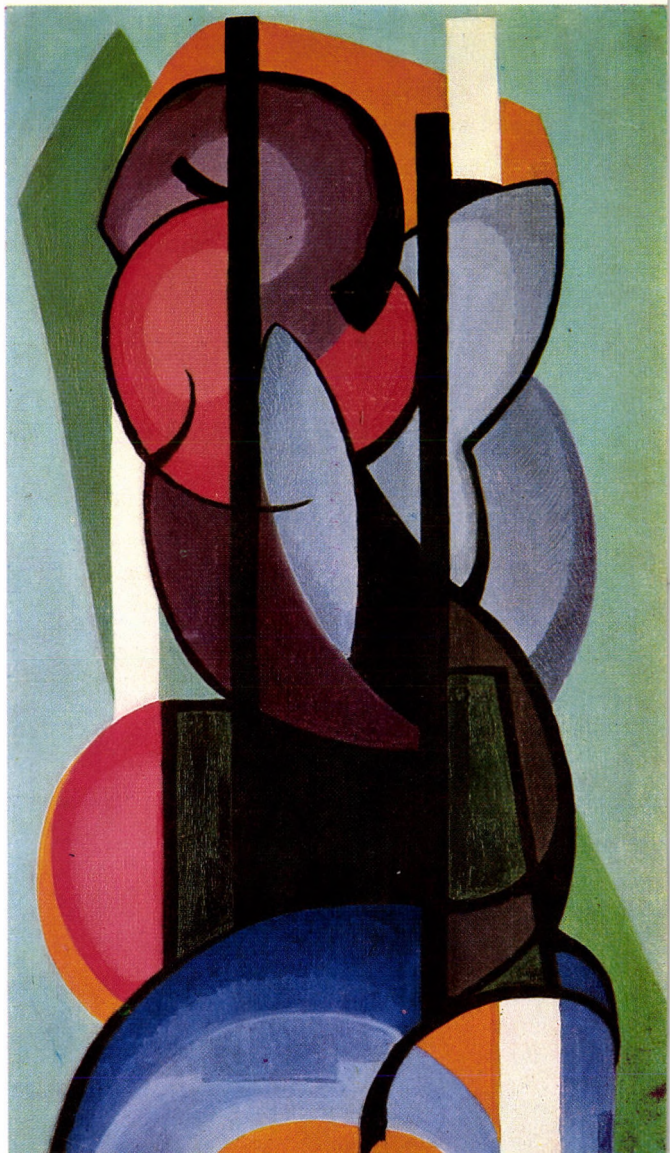
JÁNOS MATTIS TEUTSCH: TREE WITH MOURNING FIGURE
OIL ON CANVAS, 1909. 25×34 CM

Courtesy Mattis Teutsch Collection, Brassó

JÁNOS MATTIS TEUTSCH: THE BLUE RIDER. OIL ON CANVAS. 1925. 146×80 CM.

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Kolozsvár

Károly Szélényi



JÁNOS MATTIS TEUTSCH:

a large village on the Hungarian Plain and had relatives in Transdanubia, the west of Hungary. In 1950, at the age of 17, she entered a factory as an apprentice turner, and later, after a special exam, went to Budapest University to study English.

The novel is structured along these three stations of the village, the factory, and the university. The village of "Velméd," although fictional, can be identified with the writer's own place of birth, that area called the Stormy Corner of South-east Hungary, so named because it was the hotbed of Hungarian agrarian-socialist movements. Romola Gábriel is the daughter of a comfortably-off family of craftsmen, a situation which gives her mother the chance of taking a husband from a "higher" social class, the intelligentsia. The father is a left-wing journalist who, as a suspect element, vanishes for ever in a forced-labour camp after Hungary is occupied by the Germans. His wife and daughter are deported because of their Jewish origins but manage to escape, remain in hiding, and in 1945, return to their village. This first station has a somewhat uncertain narrative point of view, as doing so from the standpoint of the child Romola would be to sacrifice an accurate sociographic and political description of the village. The author's major ambition, however, is to tell the story from the beginning as it is embedded in the history of the age itself.

The solution the author hits on is to relate the first part of the story through the eyes of Romola's lover-to-be, Gyula Joós, seven years older than the girl. The village and everyone in it, including Romola's family with whom he is on intimate terms, is presented through him. From time to time, however, the narrative detaches itself from the two protagonists and is limited to offering a tableau of a village and small town with their many characters.

The second station is the factory and leads the reader into the fifties with its slogans, work-competitions, and informers. The climax of the story comes with the autumn of 1956 in Budapest. These years are presented much more vividly and with greater feeling than the rural period. However, the best features of that first part, the diversity of the characters and the drama of the village scenes are weaker. Narrative is often replaced by a simple enumeration of historical data; although there are still many people around the heroine, they are either dim shadows whose links to her are momentary or occasional, or they show no development from the first part of the novel. One feature has to be deliberate: all those around Romola whenever or wherever they turn up have come from "Velméd." Natives of Velméd are everywhere, in the factory, at the university, in the forced-labour camp, and among the party functionaries. As this is improbable and gives rise to so many artificially contrived incidents, one is left with a feeling of either disproportion or of an attempt at stylization which is not recognizable because not consistently carried out.

On her sleeve-notes Ágnes Gergely calls her novel a Romeo and Juliet story; indeed, an early chapter bears the title "Montague and Capulet." However, the depiction of the relationship between Romola and Gyula is somewhat confusing. Yet the girl's Jewish origins cannot be an unbridgeable gap between the lovers, and it is not described in the novel as a passion resembling that of Romeo and Juliet. As with other relationships between Romola and the people of Velméd, that between Romola and Gyula is sketchy and incomplete, so its tragic ending, Gyula's alienation, scarcely shatters the reader. The greatest merit of the novel is the justice done to the dead and its expression of a sincere moral passion. This, however valuable, is not enough for a novel.

*

Stations discusses a period of thirty years, the emergence of one generation, sometimes from the viewpoint of a family story. *Zubog*,

zuhog a hó (The snow falls and falls), a new novel from Lívia Mohás, extends the period surveyed to almost a century, and evokes three generations of a family, their turning-points and crucial moments and events, indeed one could say, the mythical moments in the life of a family from the end of the nineteenth century up to our own days.

Indeed, the actual beginning goes still further back, emerging from family legends dating from the middle of the nineteenth century. This, of course, is the period of the independence movements around 1848 when the family's forbears took a stand for independence which involved some risk to their social position. An old-fashioned family tree decorates the inside covers, showing five generations of the family. The chronicle which, on the early pages, still lingers in an "ancestral hall smelling of cabbage, sage, and asphodel," finally decides to settle on the middle generation, the grandparents of the survivor, and begin with an evocation of them and their world.

The manner of this evocation is, however, very irregular. The novel is not the usual family story for, when Lívia Mohás writes on the grandparents, it is by no means sure that she is writing only of them. Generations merge into each other in a strange way. The shadow of those forebears evoked in the overture continues to haunt their descendants throughout the story. Those chapters which discuss members of this or that generation are not distinct parts of the book; they blend into each other and the dreamlike correspondence created by interrelated motifs makes the characters seem now an older generation, now from a succeeding one and now repetitions of themselves. Sándor Rozsovics, an estate steward and son of Imre Rozsovics, the village schoolmaster and cantor, has a recurring dream around the time of the birth of his son László-Ottó in which snow falls and falls in a sinister cloister and this snow covers, stifles and buries everything. "He wanted to slit the drapery of the curtained future and glance through the opening but man has been deprived of this chance; the drapery cracks very seldom, perhaps in dreams but then in such a muddled and strange manner that the essence remains hidden." László-Ottó, the last son of the Rozsovics family, dies in February 1942 on the Russian front while "the snow fell and fell as it had once in the ill-omened dream of his father Sándor."

"So everything repeats itself: the names, markets, knives, crosses, and bell-tolls, the wisteria and the afternoon teas and cakes as if everybody at least once had the power to control the past of his ancestors, perhaps to rectify in a forward stream what has been askew in their lives or simply to safeguard what has been worthwhile."

Lívia Mohás has most probably been inspired by the myth-making Latin American writers. Her book, however, is not a family chronicle as such, as the story, compiled and combined of the elements alluded to, is somewhat fragmentary. What she has written is more of a family memory in which the past has not been preserved according to the rules governing a certain reality—although we may well ask what sort of reality—not even to the extent everyone remembers his own personal past. (Again let us bear in mind that since Proust we know how subjective these memories are.) The family memory is the source of the family mythology which depends at least as much upon objects, relics and, more recently, on photographs as on an oral and written tradition handed down from generation to generation. The author seems to have invited the reader to look into the family archives, to view the collection of relics ind old boxes, cupboards, and drawers, to leaf through the yellowed brittle letters and dusty copy-books with their entries in faded ink, to look into musty cooking books, calendars, and magazines.

Seen thus the novel is the imitation of an archaic, pedantic family chronicle. There is an amazing abundance of long-forgotten details on the way of life of the provincial Hungarian lower middle-classes and on the

gems of their practical wisdom. In this world the tireless housewife and mother had a key role: she was the centre of the household and family, an omniscient authority on everything; this description lends some matriarchal accents to this long-gone provincial lifestyle although many remember it as having rather more patriarchal features. At night the women in the house wake up and start to whisper softly to each other: "They exchanged their thoughts in half-asleep and half-awake soft streams, and decided on weddings, christenings, guests and the food offered, on life, death, poultry, and calf-rearing. As if in the drizzling obscurity they perceived the outlines and significance of things better. Then they slept deeply for one short hour, and by the time the dawn and the morning filtered through the window, they did their duty with impetus, they did not think, hesitate or dream, they simply acted."

Their men meditate. The schoolmaster and cantor retreats into the apiary to dream, read, and repress his grievances over the occasion of having fingers burnt because of a poem critical of the emperor published in the local paper. One of his two sons is beset with wanderlust; he sails to America right after finishing secondary school, and, although he does return, never feels settled anywhere. His brother gains experiences in the First World War which mark him for life and in a dream foresees the death of his son. The sister of this boy retains the movements and gestures of her forebears but is far from being the legendary support of old; she follows her uncle to America and becomes a loner, a psychoanalyst quack, "curing" neurotics like herself.

This woman is the only living descendant of the family and her art studio in New York peopled by maniac patients keeps recurring as the forebears are conjured up; yet she does not become the bearer of the family memory. This Henrietta-Maria is the least successfully achieved character in the book. In agreement with the author's purpose of creating myth and chronicle, the book's characters linked and coalescing into each other, are both alive and dead, and as real as the asphodel-surrounded statues which stand in the porch of family legends. Indeed, they are themselves as others. Yet in this strangely ambiguous state only the figures of the grandparents are real and alive; the aggrieved and brooding schoolmaster and his wonderful, life-giving wife are of flesh and blood. Ultimately, the sketchy story of their descendants fails to make them relevant despite their inherent fascination and the original stunts employed in the narrative.

*

László Kolozsvári Papp's novel *Halálugrás kezdőknek és haladóknak* (Salto Mortale for the beginner and the advanced practitioner) is the story of events before and after of a suicide in the form of two monologues. The setting is the Budapest of the seventies, the form the first-person confession of the two heroes—incidentally, they are virtually the only characters to appear—as it is set down in the police record of the investigation. Obviously, this kind of record is hardly imaginable in actual police practice. One monologue is by the suicide, a man who has long studied the *salto mortale* summersault and is in fact an advanced student of self-destruction; the second monologue is by the survivor, the woman whose love is doomed but who, a mere beginner in the *salto mortale*, is now freed of the compulsion to follow her lover's example and seems to refrain from further experiments.

The first part is the woman's interior monologue in the hours directly after her lover's death and her associations of their earlier periods together. She is full of bitterness and defeat, she is cramped and lame, she carries in herself those oppressive years of youth spent in the narrow stifling atmosphere of a small town. She has achieved everything by herself: a degree in fine arts, an apartment acquired on the death of an old woman with whom she had contracted to

provide for in life in return for ownership of the flat. But she almost died herself through having to witness the old woman's dying agony: her remaining strength and faith were exhausted in the struggle. Then she met Zoltán and with him came a chance to love somebody without inhibition or ulterior motive, to love for the sake of loving. However, her monologue shows that this Zoltán was double-faced. On the one hand he was someone "with clear thoughts, and sincere emotions whose merciless vision of essentials was enveloped in refined manners;" on the other hand, he was the embodiment of the cynical outsider who masked his nausea for fellow humans through these refined manners and philantropy.

The second monologue is from this vain, self-complacent and self-destructive individual who has wasted all his talents. The fictional basis of his monologue is the "explanation of himself" to the woman. His narcissistic self-revelation and self-vivisection are the justification for his statement but his monologue separates itself from this intention and gains its own independent life.

Zoltán's monologue is in reality a vehement and even rhapsodical essay on the inertia of contemporary Hungarian society and those intellectual parasites who have adapted to this way of life. This passionate characterization of himself and of society sometimes luxuriates in metaphor and aphorisms and may be technically justified, in that Zoltán is a sharp-eyed observer and a lucid thinker. However, as his exposition progresses, there is the impression that it is not the fictional character's voice which is being heard but rather that of the writer himself who cannot resist the opportunity to air his grievances.

"The true reason for my politeness is evasion," says Zoltán, and up to this point we can believe that these are the words of his hero. But then explanation is heaped upon explanation, until finally we are not reading a novel but excerpts from an essay: "And as such, I realize the essence of our society: the refusal to accept responsibility." Zoltán accepts the world as it is and, although he has the ability to change it, he devotes all his energy to serving it. Vera, the woman, perhaps because she is a beginner, one who does not come from an intellectual background, the "progressive" descendant of a great family, sees the world only as a possibility for a different, newer one. "Hence," says Zoltán again, "I know that if there will ever be a Hungary to my liking it will not be achieved by me but by you: but you are only a handful and we overwhelm you with our mass, we dull your ambitions and neutralize you through things such as our good manners, mature considerations and our unending shirking of responsibility. And we can hardly wait to see you accept responsibility for something so that we can strangle and isolate you."

Zoltán—and the author with him—sees everything precisely and clearly, and his self-denouncing monologue is itself an observation on the pathological state of society. Thus he sees that he himself is morally dead and can only be redeemed through Vera's love for him. If Vera renounces him, he will be past saving; as a man of the world, experienced in life and in the *salto mortale*, he will know his duty.

The novel does not reveal how much this love can bear, how it was born and how it exists, nor how the suspicious Vera came to love that monster—as Zoltán sees and describes himself—nor whether her love is sincere. Kolozsvári-Papp has outlined a thesis and then tried to bring it to life through the devices of fiction, but it is an attempt that fails. The characters are not of flesh and blood, they remain phantoms in front of an even more blurred background; even stimulating and topical social problems remain on the level of polemicel discussion.

Novel-writing may also be seen as an acrobatic feat akin to that of the *salto mortale:* on the evidence here, not one of the writers under discussion has yet mastered it.

MIKLÓS GYÖRFFY

THE ABSTRACT VISION OF MATTIS-TEUTSCH

Júlia Szabó: *Mattis-Teutsch.* Corvina, 1983. 92 pp.
41 colour, 27 black-and-white plates. In Hungarian.

While practically all handbooks and catalogues on Hungarian art in the twenties mention Sándor Bortnyik, Lajos Kassák, László Moholy-Nagy and recently, with much less reason, Béla Kádár and Hugó Scheiber, the oeuvre of Mattis-Teutsch has not attracted international interest and research. The undeserved neglect his work met within his own lifetime continued after his death in 1960 until quite recently.

János Mattis-Teutsch was born in Brassó in 1884, and throughout his life he was in the closest contact with three cultures: Hungarian, Rumanian and German; his autograph notes are in these languages and his work was an integral part of the avantgarde movements of these countries. Yet, paradoxically, he shifted from his native town much less often than any of his well-known contemporaries. His way of life has certainly contributed to his absence from international exhibitons and publications after 1932.

Júlia Szabó's monograph offers a good analysis of the sources and links of the artist's special vision and the spiritual world to which he, together with Kandinsky, Franz Marc, Frantisek Kupka and Rudolf Steiner belonged, and which inspired not only his painting *Blue Rider* but also all of his *Flowers of the Soul* series. The paintings of Kandinsky, Ciurlionis, Kupka and Máttis-Teutsch have a common starting point, the "interior timbre of things." The paintings and coloured sculptures of Mattis-Teutsch are characterized by a mystical, organic vision which is detached from the directly perceptible. ". . . the experiences of colour and movement are inseparable from one other," says Júlia Szabó, "the chief motif is the torrent of colour streams struggling with, and vitalizing each other. The blues soar towards the heights, the oranges and yellows press down to the earth, the reds cover and give warmth, the violets mourn passionately, and beside each of them appear the greens, the colour of the earth, laden with plants which want to associate with every other colour."

Mattis-Teutsch's vision was not unique —though not aware of the fact, he belonged to a broader international circle whose other, well-known members were similarly unaware of his presence. Apart from this, links with the artists mentioned by Júlia Szabó, his associations also connected him to Matiushin, the mystic Russian painter of the twenties, whose influence reached far and wide. His interlinked forms recalling matting show a kinship with those of Mattis-Teutsch which revolve in circles round an inner nucleus. Up to the mid-twenties Mattis-Teutsch avoided straight lines, hard angles and constructive geometrical compositions. From 1916 he had devoted himself exclusively to painting and sculpting—for him the two were inseparable—and as early as 1917 had had a one-man show and that not in his native town but in Budapest.

"Lajos Kassák discovered in him one of the first representatives of expressionism and the abstract, and hence opened the exhibition hall of the periodical MA in 1917 to the paintings, drawings and sculptures of Mattis-Teutsch," Júlia Szabó observes. Lajos Kassák was an important poet who pioneered free verse in Hungary, who was also the champion of avantgarde art, a key figure in the Hungarian and European movement. Kassák's revolutionary ideology and proletarian consciousness, the dynamism with which he wanted to transform the world were in complete contrast to the

mystic and introverted temperament of Mattis-Teutsch. Similarly, the strictly geometrical, simplified paintings with their reduced colours that Kassák produced in the early twenties were also the opposite of Mattis-Teutsch's streaming and amorphous pictorial world. Yet Kassák signalled the beginning of his movement with the name of Mattis-Teutsch from Brassó; this movement achieved great significance in the twenties. The only possible explanation is that despite all their differences, Kassák perceived the young artists's outstanding talent, and wished to give him room and scope without constraining his style. Kassák was also the editor of an album of Mattis-Teutsch's linocuts; these rely on the expressive force of black and white, an effect which shows something of the influence of Masereel's series of black and white drawings. In 1918 the painter's horizon expanded further when the *Sturm*, a major avantgarde gallery in Berlin gave him an exhibition and the same year saw his second show in MA, and an exhibition of his works in Brassó, a demonstration of the fact that for him the three cultures were equally valid.

Júlia Szabó analyses the relations of Mattis-Teutsch and the Hungarian avantgarde and activism though gives less space to the Rumanian avantgarde with which the artist had become closer after his return in 1920. The Rumanian avantgarde—not unlike the Hungarian—crystallized around periodicals which not only announced new achievements but also initiated and organized the different tendencies competing and alternating with each other. The most significant Rumanian periodical, *Contimporanul*, which was also the longest-lived, organized a large international exhibition in 1924 where Mattis-Teutsch stood among artists such as Brâncuși, Arp, Schwitters, Segal and others. After 1925 his works were reproduced in the periodicals *Punct*, *Integral*, and in 1930 in *Alge*.

Up to 1933 he had had exhibitions in Brassó, Bucharest and Budapest, although his base remained Brassó. In those years his international contacts faded, and in 1933 he retired from the world of art and worked only as a teacher until 1944. While in the nineteen tens and even in the early twenties he had been a focus of interest for different periodicals from MA, *Sturm* to the Rumanian reviews, he later became lonely and isolated. His later paintings did not come up to the standard of his earlier work, and after 1932 he stopped sculpting altogether. This decline had human, personal and also social causes but considerations of a political nature and even of art policy also exerted their influence. The artistic career of Mattis-Teutsch had been a steep ascent, practically unique in the turbulent period of the avantgarde when, despite the World War, young artists in different countries were united by common aspirations and élan. When the avantgarde revolt was over, Mattis-Teutsch was unable to find his place alone and to advance in any direction. When he moved home he had most of his sculptures destroyed; obviously not simply because he had no place for them in the new apartment but because he did not see any sense in their existence. (Many paintings of Lajos Kassák perished in this same senseless way; unfortunately they were among his best but the outside world did not appreciate them and the artist himself did not give them any importance at the time.) However, the majority of Mattis-Teutsch's paintings have survived in Brassó, and Zoltán Banner wrote the first monograph on the artist in Bucharest. This has been followed now by Júlia Szabó's excellent book which discusses his art with a scholarly thoroughness as part and parcel of the pioneering efforts of the period. A text in Hungarian and German accompanied by many coloured and black-and-white plates will bring to the notice of foreign readers an artist so senselessly forgotten for too many years. Mattis-Teutsch's oeuvre was a contribution which enriched the whole European avantgarde.

KRISZTINA PASSUTH

LISZT TRIUMPHANT

Alan Walker: *Franz Liszt*. Volume One. The Virtuoso Years 1811–1847. Knopf. New York, 1983, Faber & Faber. London, 1983. XXIII+481 pp.

"The definitive biographical and musical study of Liszt for our time," claims the jacket of this, the first volume of three planned by Professor Alan Walker. We have been waiting for a work like this for many years, for there can be few people on whom so much—and so much untruth—has been written as Liszt. The task is indeed enormous: Liszt, the man and performer (pianist and conductor), teacher and composer, was a key figure of the nineteenth century.

In a long and extraordinarily full life, he left a huge and varied musical œuvre. There is an ocean of writing on Liszt but the sources are basically incomplete: the notoriously inaccurate edition of his correspondence (with many letters still unpublished), the pieces missing from the *Gesammelte Schriften*, the unpublished French originals, and, finally, the occasional journalism of the day on Liszt, are also for the most part unknown. Nor is there a reliable detailed catalogue which indicates the sources of items, and the academic edition of his music is also in its early stage. There are many errors, misinterpretations, and distortions to be rectified and many unclarified blank areas.

Since Liszt's career was a mirror to his century, there is a need to know the large historical connections, the artistic and philosophical trends, the personalities, especially those who had a direct share in his life. There is a need to be aware of the historical and social, the national and cultural problems in all the places where he sojourned, and that means practically all of Europe. Then, of course, the writer on Liszt must know Liszt's enormous œuvre thoroughly, its place in music, its relationship with its own time, the past and future; there is a need to know areas only marginally related to his music, the understanding of which is still absolutely necessary, such as Gypsy music.[1] (One must be able to distinguish between a country's folk music played by Gypsies and the Gypsy folklore itself.)

The time-span of this first volume is the nineteenth century up to 1848 and the location is the most widely-flung in Liszt's life, the Habsburg monarchy from which he started and, across all this, a rise of national consciousness in the Hungarian Reform Age. It involves the Paris of Louis Philippe, the Revolution of 1830 and the Restoration, the Paris where he matured to adulthood, whose language became his own and which remained his cherished city right up to his death. It involves the Romantic age in art, the artists and philosophers he encountered, and the salons which patronized art. But it also involves the German principalities, Britain, the Iberian peninsula and Italy, Russia and the Empire of the Turkish Sultan, for his concert tours took him from Moscow to Gibraltar, from Edinburgh to Constantinople. He was celebrated and welcomed everywhere, meeting and befriending all sorts of people, ladies and gentlemen, the important and the unimportant alike.

These are only the basic problems. As one is immersed in the theme, others emerge.

1. Serge Gut: *Franz Liszt. Les éléments du langage musical*. Paris, 1975, Klincksieck. The author believes that the Hungarian popular music played by Gypsies and called "Gypsy music" was really Gypsy music, and discussed the "tzigane" and "tzigano-hongrois" elements of Liszt's music. For more details see Klára Hamburger: "Où est l'Europe Orientale?" In: *Studia Musicologica*, Budapest. T. XVI. p. 18. 1976.

The first volume of his trilogy masterfully shows that Professor Alan Walker is the man capable of overcoming them.

He has already published some important books on Liszt: an *Introductory Biography* in 1971, and the excellent *Franz Liszt, The Man and his Music* (London, 1970) was edited by him; he contributed important chapters to this book, "Liszt's Musical Background," and "Liszt and the Twentieth Century."

Ten years of research were devoted to this first volume; Professor Walker has travelled extensively in Europe and in the United States in pursuit of his research (although Liszt never visited the United States, many important documents are to be found there). Then he had the patience, the eye, and the judgement to investigate the mostly unknown local documents in Weimar, Bayreuth, Budapest, and Rome, in Austria, Czechoslovakia, England, and the United States in order to clarify Liszt's nationality and his way of life, his character and what he himself and those around him actully did. His knowledge of the contemporary press is really fascinating: he quotes not only from French, English, and German newspapers but—for the first time in Western literature on Liszt—from Hungarian newspapers of the nineteenth century, and even from Ukrainian, Rumanian, and Turkish press sources.

He is fully aware of the problems of the "continent" and even of the particularities of Central and East Central Europe, which is an exceptional virtue. At the same time he views them with the distance and clarity necessary. He is the first Western writer to declare "Liszt was Hungarian in thought and word and deed." (p. 48) However strange it may now seem, earlier Liszt monographs, whether French or English, did not acknowledge Liszt's Hungarianness and ignored or were not even aware of the complex of problems around Liszt and Hungary. Peter Raabe (after 1935 president of the notorious Nazi Reichsmusikkammer) published an important monograph on Liszt in 1931; this book, like the commemorative plaque[2] placed by the Third Reich Germany on the house where he was born at Doborján (Raiding), which is still there, declares him to be German. Bartók's inaugural lecture at the Hungarian Academy in 1936 raises all the relevant viewpoints accepted by contemporary musicology; he clearly demonstrated the family's Austrian origin, stressed Liszt's French acculturation, his attitude as a *citoyen du monde*, the universal impact and significance of his music but also the fact that "Liszt himself always maintained, whether Hungary's fortunes were good or bad, that he was a Hungarian."[3] Yet even today, French[4] and German[5] musicologists still raise the complaint, without any scholarly justification, of "preconceptions" and of "monopolizing" and "Magyarizing" Liszt.

Alan Walker does his best to familiarize his readers with that strange nineteenth-century Europe of many countries and languages and especially Central and East Central Europe, where the frontiers have since changed quite considerably. The book begins with two family trees of Liszt and an ingenious Concordance Table which gives the names of towns and localities as they were in Liszt's own time, their eventual name, the country which they belonged to then and to which they now belong. He thus manages to avoid many misunderstand-

2. The plaque on the house where Liszt was born states: "Hier wurde Franz Liszt am 22. Oktober 1811 geboren. Diese Gedenktafel weiht dem deutschen Meister das deutsche Volk."

3. Béla Bartók: "Liszt-problémák" (Liszt problems). Inaugural lecture at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1936. Quoted from *Béla Bartók Essays*, Ed. by Benjamin Suchoff. p. 509.

4. Serge Gut, *op.cit.*

5. Norbert Nagler: "Die verspätete Zukunftsmusik," and Norbert Nagler: "Das Liszt-Bild—ein wirkungsgeschichtliches Missverständnis?" Both in: *Musik-Konzepte 12, Franz Liszt*. Edited by Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn. München, March 1980.

ings and unnecessary explanation in the text itself.

Maps and diagrams in this splendidly produced book orient the reader and provide clear information on the concert tours and the rich programmes of Liszt's virtuoso years during which he covered practically all the continent of Europe. Footnotes give the exact source of references and quotations. Major literary sources are cited in abbreviated form and the abbreviations are explained in the bibliography. (Students would, however, have welcomed another diagram: a detailed chronological table which would include also Professor Walker's new data and which would reveal at first glance where Liszt stayed when and what he did there. Perhaps this will be supplied at the end of volume three?)

The work is well-proportioned, dividing into four parts, two of five and one each of four and seven chapters. Their subtitles make it a highly accessible reference book. It is both congenial and up-to-date in approach in that it discusses Liszt's life and art as one unit, departing from the "*I. Leben —II. Schaffen*" type of division. The Prologue offers a critical review of the main literature on Liszt,[6] states his position on much-discussed questions such as the authorship of Liszt's prose-writings,[7] and convincingly refutes several still surviving rumours on alleged secret descendants.

Alan Walker's book is primarily the description of a career. Local research permits him to describe Liszt's life from his birth in 1811 until 1847, the year when he settled in Weimar; no other author has even approximated his accuracy. He throws light on a number of obscure or deliberately ignored important moments and corrects many errors which have been repeated from book

6. Professor Walker, bringing to bear his knowledge of the relevant material, states that Peter Raabe's work on the Weimar years is quite weak although as the director of the Liszt Museum in Weimar between 1910 and 1944 he had the richest of material at his disposal (pp. 18–19). According to Professor Walker, the early years of Liszt in Hungary and Paris "constitute the weakest sections of this book." I would add that Raabe knew next to nothing about the years in Rome, and that his greatest misjudgement is his qualification of Liszt's late, astonishingly modern, creative period as a senile decline.

7. Alan Walker refers to unpublished manuscripts discovered by himself and uses them to prove (pp. 20–21) that one cannot declare unambiguously that Liszt was not the author of his own prose works and only lent his name to the works of his two companions, as the literature has claimed ever since Emil Haraszti. The "co-author" of the essays discussed in this volume is Marie d'Agoult. I fully share Professor Walker's view that everything referring concretely to *music* in these writings are Liszt's ideas even if the formulation was drafted by the countess. Concerning the social problems touched upon by these writings he was certainly in agreement with the countess, who sympathized with progressive views. The situation becomes more problematic later with Princess Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein as his co-author. Her contribution will surely be discussed in detail in the subsequent volumes. However, with regard to the book on Chopin (pp. 20–23) it is useful to recall what Wagner said on this, according to Cosima (Cosima Wagner: *Die Tagebücher*, Bd. II. Ed. u. komm. v. Martin Gregor-Dellin und Dietrich Mack. München–Zürich, 1977, Piper): November 22, 1878: "beginnt [...] Chopin von meinem Vater [...] Zu Mittag aber sagt er mir, es müsse doch von Vulpius sein (Fürstin Caroline) [...]" "Dienstag, 26: "Er [...] muss lachen, indem er berichtet, dass er wiederum im *Chopin* gelesen und recht abgestossen sei von der übertriebenen Sprache. [...] Und nun diese Übertreibungen, diese Schilderungen, das ist slavisch, und diese polnischen Zitate, wer spricht denn polnisch ausser den Polen, höchstens ein russischer Polizeiagent." (pp. 239, 240).

With regard to the book *Des Bohémiens* I am convinced that everything which does not refer concretely to music has been penned by Carolyne. And I am also convinced that Liszt did not even know about the chapter on the Jews in the new edition of the book in 1881. Its timing was most unfortunate in that it coincided with the notorious Tiszaeszlár trial in Hungary, involving a charge of ritual murder and the wave of anti-Semitism which followed it; after the event Liszt gallantly accepted all its terrible consequences. For further details see Klára Hamburger: *Liszt*, second enlarged edition, Budapest, 1980. pp. 350–356. In Hungarian, but with English and German editions planned for 1986. (and also M. Eckhardt's article in this issue. Ed. note).

to book. What Professor Walker has written is in effect a pioneering work: he is the first author to check all data where possible. So he reproduces for us the death certificate of Liszt's father, Adam Liszt, from the register in the city archives of Boulogne-sur-Mer; he checked that Adam Liszt had been buried there and even proves that neither Liszt himself nor his mother ever visited the grave, which has since disappeared.

On page 248 the original text of the birth certificate of Cosima Liszt is given. This clarifies several things; among them that she was born in Como, not in Bellagio, and not on December 25th but on the 24th; that her mother's name is given as Caterina de Flavigny (Marie d'Agoult's actual maiden name;), and that Franz Liszt is declared to be her father.

In the light of many details which are here revealed and clarified, Liszt's first companion, Marie d'Agoult, emerges as a new person, indeed, it can be seen that she has been described falsely and tendentiously by biographers.

The detailed description of Liszt's concert tours all over Europe is documented with ample, so far unknown local information, press reports, and diaries (for instance, Orlando Parry's on the tour in England, on page 361).[8]

The author has attributed decisive importance to the artist's family background and childhood; here, Hungarian readers will especially appreciate the thorough analysis of Liszt's family and Hungarian environment. Professor Walker is the first non-Hungarian writer to mention the genealogical research of István Csekey (1937) and Ernő Békefi (1973), and—along with their catalogue numbers—the family letters in the Esterházy Archives in the Széchényi Library of Budapest.[9]

As to the concerts and their circumstances in Hungary, Professor Walker has made use of both archive documents and new secondary works: he quotes abundantly from the contemporary Hungarian press (presumably with the help of his many Hungarian friends acknowledged in the opening pages); even Hungarian authors have not quoted as many contemporary sources. At the same time he sees to it that his readers learn something of the particular conditions and emotions of Hungarians in the Reform Age and he manages to describe the relations between Liszt and Hungary in the light of these.

In all its intentions, this biography is primarily a description of Liszt's career; as such it is excellent, detailed, far-reaching, accurate, and a landmark, one feels that the author has set himself the task of exploring and describing the facts. Interpreting the artist's fascinating personality in all its

8. Page 147 has a photocopy of Liszt's induction as a chevalier of the Légion d'Honneur. The background to this, that is the recommendations and drafts of French politicians, are in the Archives Nationales of Paris marked F21 1000: the letter of Baron Alexis de Michels of December 3, 1858, and that of the *Ministre d'État* A. Fould of December 27, 1858. The latter gives the reason for conferring this honour on Liszt in these terms: "M. Liszt, Maître de Chapelle de S.A.R. le Grand Duc de Saxe est, vous le savez, Monsieur le Ministre, un artiste hors ligne: c'est en France que son talent s'est révélé et que sa réputation s'est fait [the next sentence has been later deleted]: la France a donc des droits sur sa gloire." This refutes the allegations of Emil Haraszti ("Deux agents secrets de deux causes ennemies—Wagner et Liszt". In: *Révue d'Histoire diplomatique*. Paris 1952 juillet-décembre) according to which Liszt was not given the Order for his merits in music but for the information services he rendered in the court of Weimar on behalf of Napoleon III.

9. Imre Fábián and Arisztid Valkó also quoted from the letter, in the German original with photocopies in the *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 1961/9, in an article entitled "Aus Franz Liszt's Jugend" (pp. 430–436). Following Arisztid Valkó's articles in *Magyar Zene* in 1961, I also quoted from them in the Hungarian edition of my book *Liszt Ferenc* (Budapest, 1966, Gondolat; second revised edition, 1980) and in the first German edition (Budapest, 1973 Corvina). The statement on page 78 is thus not correct.

contradictions and bringing it to life is only of secondary concern to Professor Walker; one feels that this restraint must have been deliberate. Indeed, very probably, he has wished to counterbalance Ernest Newman's notoriously malicious *The Man Liszt*,[10] a work well known to the English reader; he has rather tried to play down the contradictions and to stress unambiguously Liszt's positive qualities. As someone who has been dealing with the subject for some twenty years, I have to disagree with Professor Walker in this respect. In my view Liszt's human qualities are outstanding and lend life to his figure exactly because they were not exclusive; he was no saint but a typical artist and man of the nineteenth century (although not a child of the *schlimmes 19. Jahrhundert*, as Thomas Mann said of Wagner, but of the *gutes*) whose humble origin, limited education and his foreignness in Paris were the cause of much inhibition in his youth which was to be compensated for later. Alan Walker sees his conquests of women rather as Platonic friendships (p. 390). I think this is an unnecessary excuse. It is indeed a mark of his personal charm, masculine good looks, and his grand-seigneur manner that, whether he willed it or not, women practically fell into his arms. That he never caught a venereal disease (a fact which is referred to on page 390) proves rather that he selected his partners with discernment and that his social contacts were mainly with the higher (and apparently healthy) strata of society. Professor Walker knows the earlier literature on this subject much better than I myself do but as he seems to have omitted it deliberately, I would like to quote from a very interesting letter recently published.[11] It was written by Liszt's second companion, Carolyne Wittgenstein, to Eduard von Liszt, a lawyer and a relative of Liszt's in Vienna, on May 30, 1875. The deeply offended princess begs Liszt's older cousin to appeal to his better self and persuade him to behave "decently" and at least not reveal to the whole world Liszt's relations with "Mici Genast à Weymar, la Janina à Pesth, la Meyendorff à présent." I think we may take her word for it when she writes: "Seulement, il est faible et quand une femme *veut* s'emparer de lui, il ne sait pas lui résister."

Relatively small space has been given in this first volume to Liszt's development as a composer, to the presentation and analysis of his style. (Several important works are not even mentioned[12].) Alan Walker is much more interested in Liszt as a pianist and performer, from his first recital to the technical details of his piano-playing. In the chapter "Liszt and the Keyboard," all this is presented in fascinating detail and also through programmes, the reminiscences of eye-witnesses, and musical examples.

I would like to add to this first volume

10. London, 1934, Cassell.

11. Maria P. Eckhardt-Cornelia Knotik: *Franz Liszt und sein Kreis in Briefen und Dokumenten aus den Beständen des Burgenländischen Landesmuseums*. Hrsg. vom Burgenländischen Landesmuseum in Eisenstadt. Eisenstadt, 1983. (Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten aus dem Burgenland. Heft 66.) Letter no. 33. pp. 66–70.

12. For example, mention is not made of the piano concerto *Malédiction*, the pieces of the *Album d'un voyageur*, later not included in *Années de Pèlérinage*—he does not speak of the development in the elaboration of Hungarian songs and rhapsodies *(Magyar Dalok—Magyar Rapszódiák)*; the only Schubert transcription mentioned is Erlkönig, etc. I would like to remark here that I miss the listing of several works of basic importance by two Hungarian authors which appeared in German:

(A.) Gárdonyi, Zoltán: (1) *Die ungarischen Stileigentümlichkeiten in den musikalischen Werken F. Liszts*. Berlin, 1931.
(2) "Nationale Thematik in der Musik F. Liszts bis zum Jahre 1848." In: *Studia Musicologica*, Budapest. T. V. fasc. 1–4, 1963.
(3) "Neue Tonleiter und Sequenztypen in Liszts Frühwerken". In: *B. Szabolcsi Septuagenario*. Budapest, 1969.
(4) "Neue Ordnungsprinzipien der Tonhöhen in Liszts Frühwerken" (in: *Franz Liszt, Beiträge von ungarischen Autoren*. Hrsg. von Klára Hamburger. Budapest, 1978.)

(B.) Rudolf Kókai: *Franz Liszt in seinen frühen Klavierwerken*. Budapest–Kassel, 1969.

of the trilogy some of the new information which emerges every day: the material in question consists of some letters of Liszt's mother, Anna Liszt. (Walker mentions that there are very few documents on her.) In the biographies—as in real life—she has been relegated to a modest role in the background. These 21 letters are to be found in the Ollivier bequest of the Manuscript Department of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Fifteen of them were written to her grand-daughter Blandine Liszt-Ollivier in German (N.a.fr. 25.179); four to Émile Ollivier (N.a.fr. 25.192), and two to Démosthène Ollivier (N.a.fr. 25.179); the last six are in French.[13]

These letters offer a more complete picture of Liszt's mother, her life in Paris, her fluency in French, and of her relations with grandchildren, grandson-in-law and their families; we learn too that Anna Liszt referred to Hungarians as her son's fellow countrymen (*ses compatriotes*—September 20, 1865). Some of her remarks have a concrete bearing on the first phase of Liszt's life discussed. The first two refer to Liszt as a baby. She wrote to Blandine in St Tropez on July 8, 1862, after the birth of her child: "[...] l'enfant est laid [...] die ersten Tage nach seiner Geburt mein Sohn auch."

In another letter written to the "young mother" (July 27, 1862) she remembered the times when her child was small.

"Ich habe dir öfter erzählt mein Sohn war immer anders als viele andere Kinder selbst in der Wiege ohne, Gott bewahre mich, eine Eitelkeit darin gesetzt zu haben. Es wusste ja niemand nichts davon als ich. Ich war in Raiding auf der närrischen Seite, aber es giebt Kinder prodigue [...] Als dein Vater zu reden anfing sprach Er gleich die Worte gut aus. Eh, bien, Er war dem Tode öfter nahe, und Gott erhielt Ihm."

In the same letter Anna Liszt mentioned her long-dead husband. (Who, as Professor Walker also notes, was not often remembered.) The good grandmother wished to send Adam Liszt's old silver watch to Blandine so that she could present it as a gift to Dr. Isnard, her brother-in-law, who helped to deliver her child: "ich habe eine excellente Uhr anglais von meinem Mann, die Er sehr theuer gekauft hatte in London, und er sagte mir oft dass sie so gut ist. Sie ist von Silber aber sie ist mehr werth als manche goldene. Sie ist nun eingeschlossen seit 35 Jahr bei mir. [...] Mein Mann liebte diese Uhr sehr, und Er nahm sie immer mit auf seine Reisen."

And finally a very important remark on Marie d'Agoult which characterizes the magnanimity of both Liszt and his mother (Paris, August 18, 1859): "Mein liebes Kind es wäre viel zu sprechen von deiner Mutter d'ancienne temps aber indem es nichts erfreuliches ist weder für Euch Kinder, noch für mich, so schweige ich. ne la haissons pas. Ich erinnere mich que votre pêre vous à recommander dans des lettres de prié pour elle."

In conclusion, I would like to make some minor corrections of detail.

In the Concordance Table: Cernovcy belongs today to the USSR, not to Rumania. Lemberg was part of Austria (Galicia), not of Germany, in the nineteenth century.

p. 5.: The newspaper *Bohemia*, reporting on the concerts in 1840 in Prague, is not Slovakian but Czech.

p. 13.: The letters written by Agnes Street-Klindworth to Liszt have not disappeared, they are in Weimar. I have even copies of some of them which deal with the events preceding the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867.

p. 97.: The letters of Adam Liszt—six in total—are now in the Archives Nationales of Paris, marked O^3 1667, dr. 11 (année 1825). Number 1, 2, and 6 were published by G. Vauthier in the *Revue Musicale* in 1911; Emil Haraszti was the first to publish numbers 3, 4, and 5 (and reprinted 1 and 2), also in the *Revue Musicale*, in 1936.

13. The spelling is Anna Liszt's. These letters are to be published in *Magyar Zene* and *Acta Musicologica* this year.

p. 322.: The series *Hungarian Historical Portraits* has seven parts, not six; the most important, the musical portrait of Count László Teleki, has been omitted.

p. 322: The description of the Hungarian situation is somewhat inaccurate and summary here: "Liszt came to admire Széchenyi and other liberal politicians, such as Ferenc Deák and József Eötvös"—so far, this is true. But the following is not: "These were the men who, *under* (my italics, K.H.) Lajos Kossuth, were to lead Hungary in the Revolution of 1848, and eventually win for her a measure of freedom from Austria."

pp. 332–333: The name of Father Albach (†1853) is missing in the description of Liszt's relations with the Franciscan order, although Liszt knew him as a child. He was a friar in the Franciscan house at Eisenstadt. Liszt visited him there in 1848, and dedicated to him his early *Pater Noster* and the Mass for Men's Choir. Liszt himself wrote of him: "Im Eisenstädter Franziskanerkloster besuchte ich 1848 den lieben herzlichen Pater Albach und widmete ihm meine Messe für Männerstimmen." (To the composer J. F. Király in Eisenstadt, dated from Antwerp, June 5, 1885.)—And to Carolyne on April 13, 1858 from Vienna when he reported his previous visit to the Franciscans of Pest: "Albach y a un petit monument avec le médaillon qui se trouve dans ma chambre du rez-de chaussée."

p. 336: "Magasan repül a daru" (The crane flies high) is a Hungarian popular song and not a folksong.

These are, of course, really insignificant trifles. Dr. Walker's book is outstanding in its approach, its information, its structure, and its style: it is a standard work, a landmark in research on Liszt for which one can only congratulate the author. I await the next volumes with excitement and with expectation: for what new information they will reveal, for what else will have to be revised in our study of Liszt.

KLÁRA HAMBURGER

ART AND ARCHEOLOGY

TWENTIETH CENTURY HUNGARIAN ART

The new permanent exhibition at the Budapest National Gallery

Eighty years ago, in 1904, Lajos Fülep, then starting out as a young art critic, ventured in an article written on the winter show in the Budapest Art Gallery that "the present period in our art will be one of the most important." In the subsequent decades in his writings as a critic, art historian, and philosopher he expressed much less enthusiastic views about contemporary Hungarian art; sometimes he felt that its social conditions were such that the creation of universal values in that medium amounted to a miracle. Individual works and whole œuvres, the problems solved individually or jointly in the past eight decades justify the prediction of 1904 and others the later doubts.

Twentieth-century art in Hungary means a series of works of universal rank and quality but this does not mean that this art expressing high-standard intellectual efforts and conveying important messages could, or can meet with its universal and domestic public.

Hence the permanent exhibition of twentieth-century Hungarian paintings and sculptures opened in the National Gallery in 1983 is a major event—not only for art but also for Hungarian culture as a whole and, indeed, for a more comprehensive view of twentieth-century European art. For the time being, the exhibition has no pretensions to completeness since it exhibits only the collection of the National Gallery itself. To view the twentieth century in Hungary, visits have to be made to Kaposvár to see the József Rippl-Rónai memorial and the picture gallery in the town, or to Badacsony, to see József Egry's works, to Pécs to visit the enlarged Csontváry Museum, the Modern Gallery, and other commemorative museums. Epoch-making works are to be seen in Szentendre by the Ferenczy family, Béla Czóbel, or in Jenő Barcsay's museum house. The gallery of Miskolc contains major works in its collection of nineteenth and twentieth-century paintings; Béla Kondor is worthily represented. In the town of Székesfehérvár the main periods and meeting-points of Hungarian art in this century have been shown in a series of exhibitions planned since the mid-sixties, and some halls accommodate great masters permanently. One of the gifts of autumn 1983 was the opening of the art gallery in Kecskemét which mainly shows twentieth-century paintings; the culture house of Zalaegerszeg showed the main body of Lajos Vajda's œuvre for several weeks.

One could enumerate other plans now at different stages of realization: the new art gallery of Pécs is designed to show more of the big modern collection, the gallery of Szombathely and a museum in Paks will offer a cross-section of the trends of the last twenty years. Beside all these and in keeping with our cultural traditions it is of major importance to have the paintings and

sculptures of our century in the Hungarian National Gallery as a living memory to the order of the connection of past and present. This exhibition can finally be seen by new generations who have seen many works only in reproductions or periodical exhibitions: although with regard to early works of the period it does not even offer the selection given by its predecessor in the 1950s in the Museum of Fine Arts or in the old National Gallery's twentieth-century collection, it shows more works of later periods and reaches into later years than both earlier shows.

Although this is not the boldest venture of 1983, since the newly arranged Kiscell Museum shows a cross-section of Budapest art up to the '80s—the efforts of the National Gallery merit appreciation. The public exhibition of a considerable part of its collection is fortunate, along with its intention to try to give on some points different accents to twentieth-century painting than did the earlier nationwide exhibitions of museums.

Typically our National Gallery is, after all, an institution originating in the nineteenth century, and its responsibility is in principle opposed to the internationalism of the present century's trend in art and to the ideal of supranational art. The museum of the twentieth century should show the new visual artistic values and new intellectual riches not only of Europe but of America, Asia, Africa, and Australia—the whole world. But for the moment there exists no such total museum—although since the early 1900s several outstanding museum keepers planned its establishment. The museums showing twentieth-century art throughout the world can send spiritual messages to each other by demonstrating parallel tendencies and similar phenomena in art, and considering that owing to the particular process of historical development there exist national particularities and local values which cannot be transplanted elsewhere in twentieth-century art, it is only fair to show these too. The Hungarian National Gallery tried to accomplish this task in 1983 with its selection of the material collected in different periods according to different value judgements, by exhibiting them in the restored halls of the former royal castle.

JÚLIA SZABÓ

MAJOR MODERN HUNGARIAN PAINTERS

PART I

Historians of Hungarian art have sketched an image of the twentieth century over several decades with three frames of reference: one being turning-points of the First and Second World Wars, another the various styles and schools of painting, and the third that of those creators of styles who either outgrew schools or were more or less independent of them. However simple and obvious this basic thesis, applying this triple frame of reference involves further difficulties. There are always artists and artistic phenomena difficult to include in the categories of sequence in time, style, or individuality, or to include at all even through a sort of manipulation of classification; the very nature of the latter offers patterns for grasping œuvres and trends which are much

more colourful and involved than the patterns. If, for instance, it is generally true of the principal movement in the development of modern Hungarian art that events in world history set caesurae in our artistic life, there are still some artistic careers which crossed these borders without showing any essential change.

Similarly it is the exceptions, the divergences, the lack of an unequivocal stamp which hinder orientation if one tries to think in trends or schools of art. The Nagybánya School, which was the overture of modern Hungarian art, incontestably had a coherent nucleus of a break-through in attitude through which the conditions for the viability of twentieth-century Hungarian painting were created; even this school often found itself, being shaped through the crossfire of aesthetic ideals in contradiction with each other. It faced and solved the problem of the painting of light and of *plein air*, finding here an entirely new attitude towards colour, yet it continued to use elements of genre-painting, and it was also affected by the demand for monumental figural compositions created by reverence for history. If, on the other hand, we divide all Nagybánya painting into individual œuvres, and thus, as it were, project the two methods of examination onto each other, it would be difficult to find a painter who could be completely identified with naturalism and who was a determining factor in the aesthetics and stylistic developments of Nagybánya.

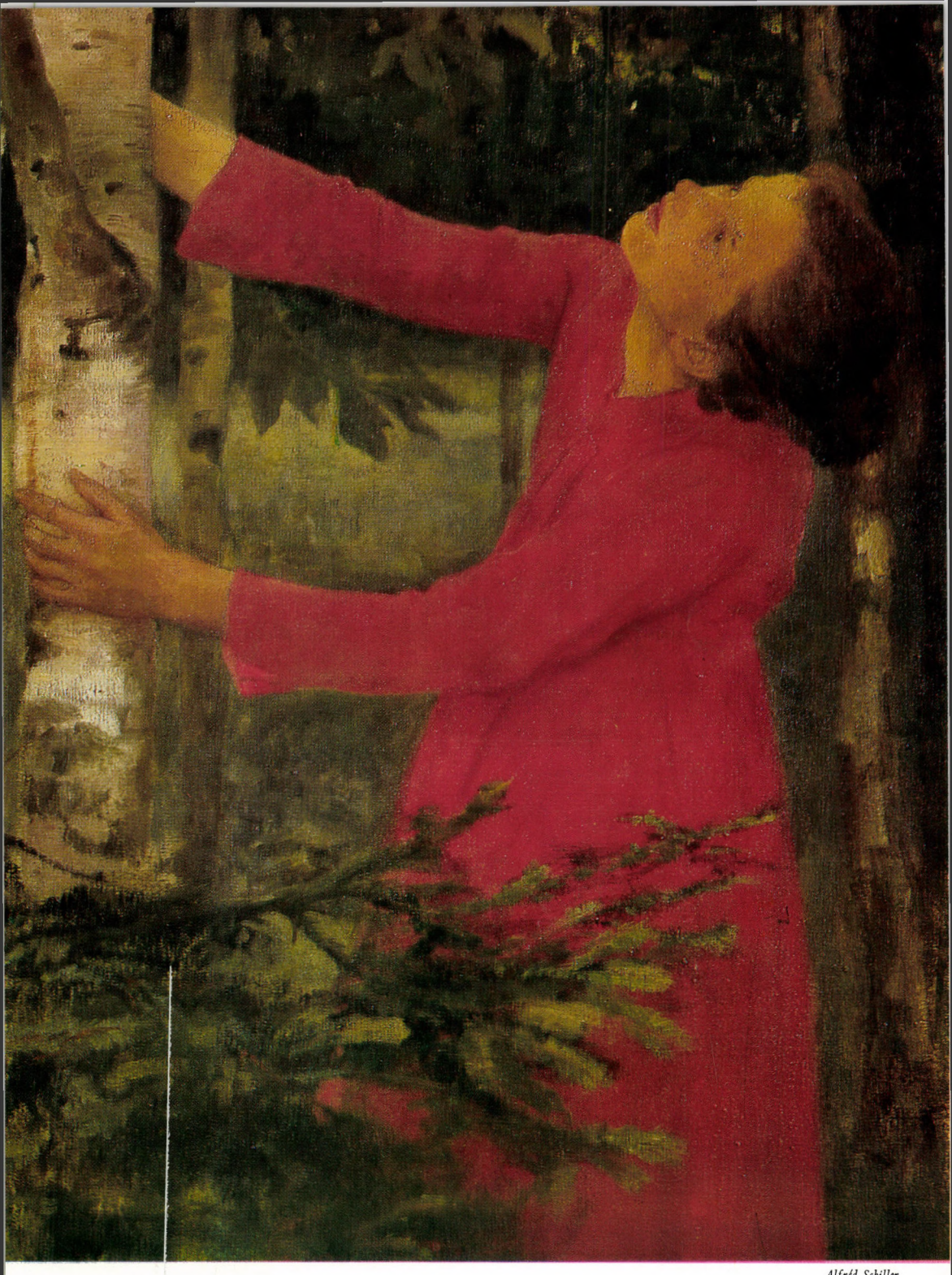
Thus the three kinds of facts in art history continuously correct and reformulate each other, thereby creating a curve of truth which fluctuates permanently and can never really be fixed. Ultimately recourse has to be taken to this radical yet subjective approach if we involve all the three aspects in order to make the stylistic innovators stand out. The intensity and influence of their personality also throws light on the artistic phenomena and trends.

Károly Ferenczy (1862–1917) and the Nagybánya School[1]

This can be seen in examining the Nagybánya school, the source of modern Hungarian art, when we set it against the work of Károly Ferenczy, the painter genius of the group. But in fact what is involved here is not a comparison or contrasting, but an intellectual enterprise in which we rely in essence and exclusively on the message of Ferenczy's painting; this is precisely because of its extraordinary quality of accomplishment, one which authenticates all of the Nagybánya phenomenon. True, the founding master of the group (formed in 1896) was not Ferenczy but Simon Hollósy[2] (1857–1918), who brought home with him that generation of his Munich school who were the freshest and most receptive to both naturalism and the problems of *plein air*. However he left the Nagybánya group as early as 1901, moving to another part of Hungary. This conflict with himself was brought about exactly by those artistic demands dictated by Nagybánya on whose timeliness he was clear, but which he found difficult to meet, namely to paint outdoors and not in a studio. Although Béla Iványi Grünwald (1867–1940), who settled in Nagybánya, had a *plein-air* period full of light and a reliance on the visual experiences offered by nature, even around 1906 a demand for a decorative approach became stronger in his painting. This attitude which unites the lessons of both Secession and Fauvism, was already entirely alien to the ideas which brought Nagybánya to life, the cult of nature and sentiment.

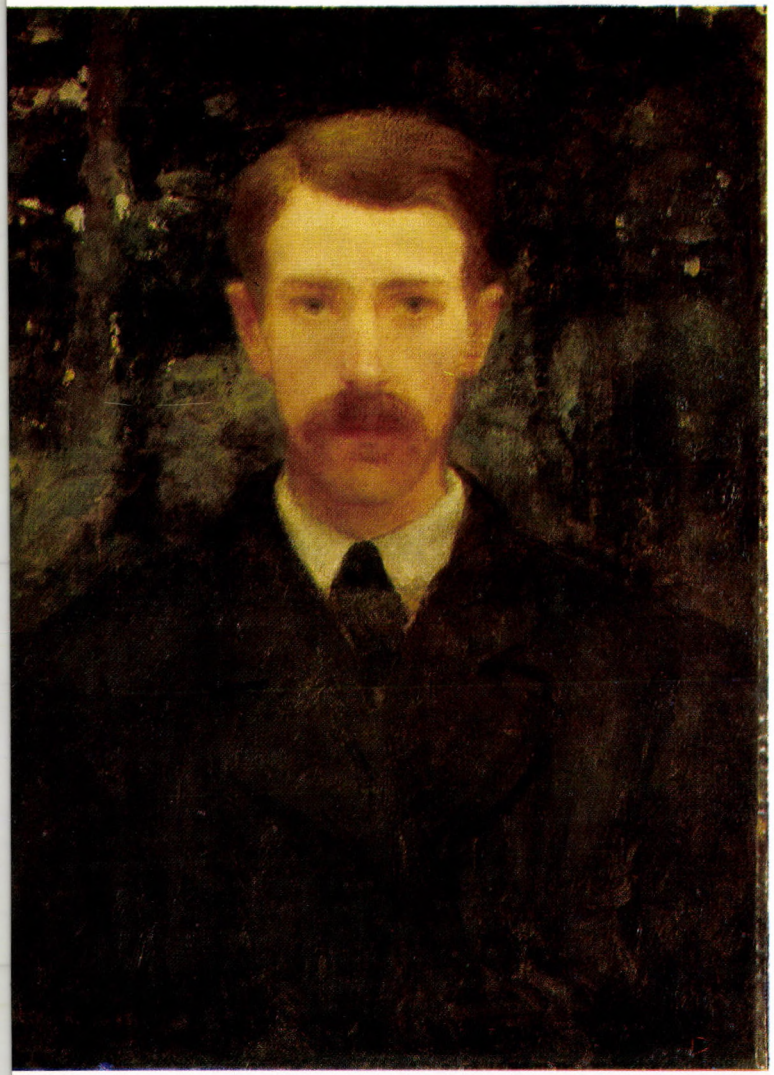
In contrast, Károly Ferenczy fitted smoothly into the Nagybánya environment without any recoiling or hesitance, without any violence against himself or painstaking academic industry. His œuvre became the very model of Nagybánya painting because

[1] *NHQ* 71.
[2] *NHQ* 71.



Alfréd Schiller

KÁROLY FERENCZY: BIRDSONG. 1893. OIL ON CANVAS. 105×77,5 CM



Alfréd Schiller

Károly Ferenczy: Self-portrait, 1893, oil on canvas, 68×53 cm

Károly Ferenczy: October, 1903, oil on canvas, 126×107 cm

KÁROLY FERENCZY: CHILDREN ON HORSEBACK. 1905. OIL ON CANVAS. 140 × 165 CM

Private Collection Courtesy György Hidas

Alfréd Schiller

KÁROLY FERENCZY: SUMMERDAY. 1906. OIL ON CANVAS. 100 × 103,2 CM

József Rippl-Rónai:
Illustration to "Les Vierges"
poems by Rodenbach 1896.
coloured litograph. 22 × 17 cm

József Rippl-Rónai:
Festival in Bretagne. 1895.
coloured lithograph; 39 × 52,5 cm

Alfréd Schiller

Alfréd Schiller

JÓZSEF RIPPL-RÓNAI: LADY IN BLUE. 1911. OIL, CANVAS. 64×48 CM.
Private collection Courtesy László Steiner

József Rippl-Rónai:
Last self portrait. 1927.
pastel, cardboard, 49×40 cm

József Rippl-Rónai: Painter in the garden. 1912. oil on cardboard 49×69 cm

Private collection, Courtesy György Hidas

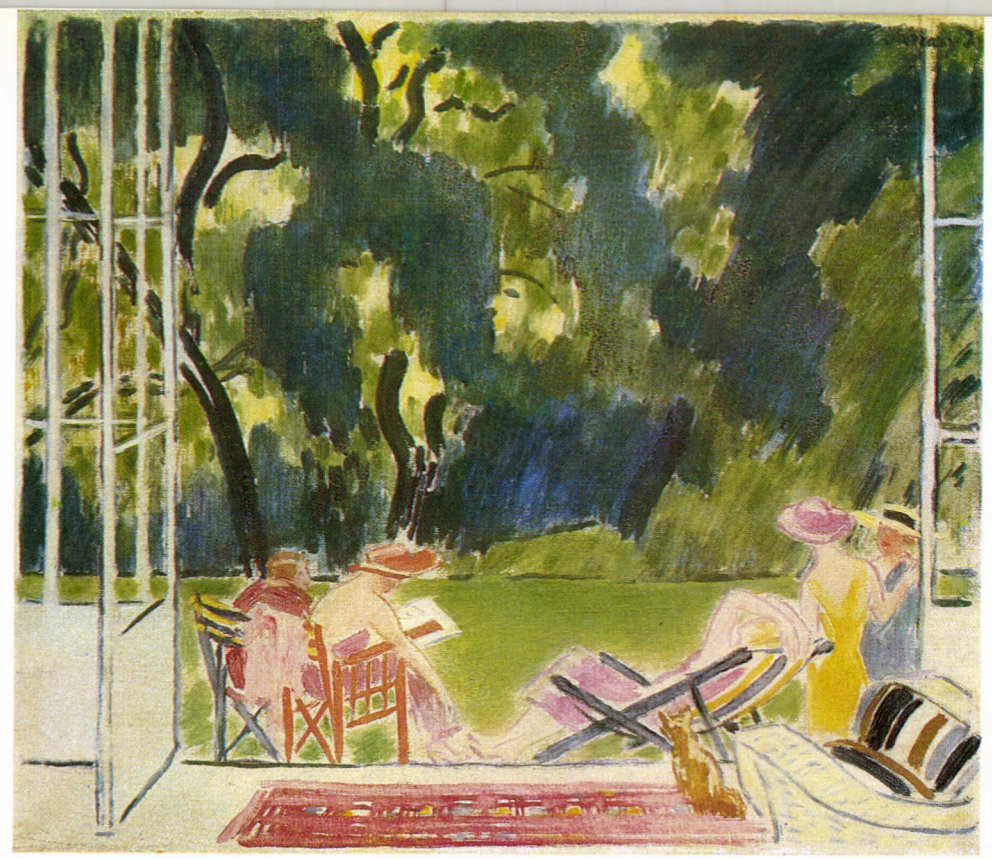
Alfréd Schiller

JÓZSEF RIPPL-RÓNAI: WOMAN IN WHITE DOTTED DRESS. 1889. OIL ON CANVAS. 187×75 CM.

Károly Szélényi

JÁNOS VASZARY: WOMAN WITH CATS. CCA 1900. OIL ON CANVAS. 158×39,5 CM

Private collection Courtesy Andor Keleti



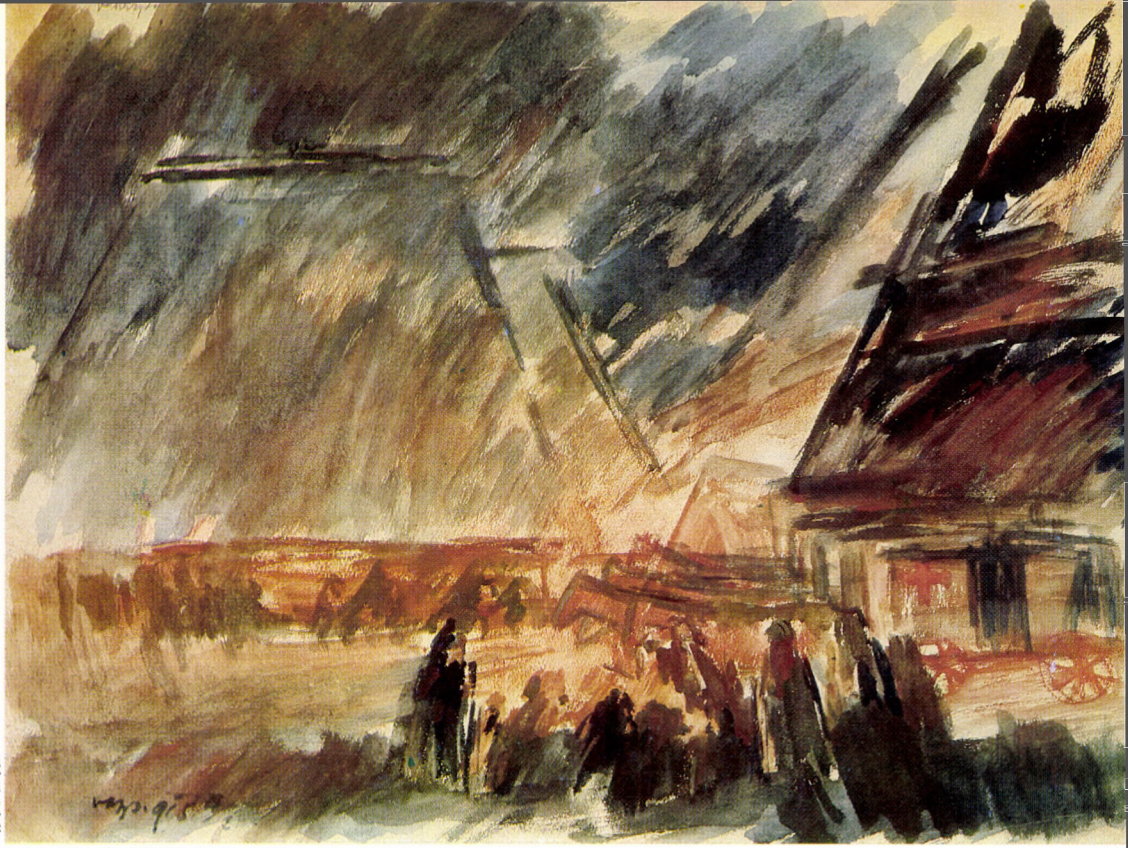
Alfred Schiller

JÁNOS VASZARY: IN THE PARK. 1936. OIL ON CANVAS. 63×80.5 CM

JÁNOS VASZARY: RIDERS IN A PARK. 1919. OIL ON CANVAS, 80×101 CM

Alfréd Schiller

JÁNOS VASZARY: WOMAN WITH BLACK HAT. 1894. OIL ON CARDBOARD. 35×26.5 CM.



Alfréd Schiller

JÁNOS VASZARY: SOLDIERS IN A CARPATHIAN VILLAGE. CCA. 1916. OIL ON CANVAS. 142 × 124 CM.

JÁNOS VASZARY: ESCORTING THE PRISONERS. OIL ON CANVAS, CCA. 1916.

of the extraordinary way in which his search for a path as a painter harmonized with the experience of the Nagybánya landscape and way of life, which postulated each other as self-evident. The subject and vision applied to the subject, the intimate dialogue between man and nature and their organic belonging together is the substance of the paintings born here. "The landscape is biblically monumental," Ferenczy said of the region, and he found in the varied beauty of the landscape the background for his painting of biblical subjects. And later, when the topics of his paintings became intimate and simple to the extent of being almost banal, they nevertheless included man who was hardly acting, whose existence could hardly be commented on, but who was poetically an equal partner to nature.

All this happened to Ferenczy when he had already behind him the Bastien-Lepage "fine naturalism" which was enjoying such high prestige in Munich; already in 1903 he had drawn a sharp separation between himself and his works, painted in that spirit. He judged that when he had painted the pictures *Girls Nursing Flowers* (1889), *Boys Throwing Pebbles* (1890), or *Divorce* (1892) he "still had insufficient knowledge of art and of nature." But the extent to which he had been prepared for Nagybánya, namely that he had carried in himself the demand for the Nagybánya way of seeing things, is proved by his *Bird Song* (1893). The leaves of the forest permeated by light already invoke the looseness of the impressionistic painting of atmosphere, but the link between the female figure in a red frock and nature points beyond the casuality of the moment. Nature is present here not only in its own light, colours, noises, shadows, lawn, tree trunks, foliage—this incidentally is also the most individual feature of all Ferenczy pictures later except for the most orthodox pieces of what is called the "sunny period"; but it invokes a characteristic mood, being the scene of physical and psychological renewal. The pregnant woman tenderly touches the bark of the tree, her pale face turned upward is imbued by enjoyment and rapture; this unpretentious gesture of hers involves a feeling of elevation and devotion. It is interesting that this imbuement can be found throughout his first Nagybánya period (1896–1901) and it continues to be present in some works of his second, more rational period (1901–1905). Even the *Children on Horseback* (1905), painted in the middle of the "sunny period," is imbued by a vibrating, almost melancholic poetry and poetic beauty. The horses cut—with their diagonal bodies—into the greenly whirling, concave space and are themselves cut off at the edges of the picture; it is they that raise the composition to a monumental scale, along with their charming little horsemen they are beyond the everyday. The sentimental fullness of the scene is enhanced by the contrast between the small girl in blue in the sunlight and the darker-clad child blending into the shadow, as it is also by the conscious, though apparently casual, showing of the one from the back and the other from the front. This is a fixed, timeless moment of reality in which so much sensual pleasure is amassed that the movement, the fading away and the pain of transience are made obvious simultaneously.

The beginning of Ferenczy's Nagybánya period is marked by the biblical pictures. Then the need to make the meaning of the painting lasting was still so strong in him that he wanted to meet it even through the subject of the picture. Nevertheless it would be erroneous to consider those works depicting biblical stories as religious paintings: the crowd in the *Sermon on the Mount* (1896) consists of local people in contemporary dress. And the experience of the sight of the *The Three Magi* has a very similar source to that of the profane picture *Evening Mood with Horses*. Even if the topic suggests the meaning of the picture, its substance owes much more to the manner of painting.

In other words, the religiousness of Ferenczy cannot be discovered in his attraction to biblical subjects or in a doctrinal belief

in God, but in his characteristic approach to nature. It was in fact—irrespective of the subject—his pantheistic experience of nature that elevated his paintings into the sacral regions of devotion and humility, be they the *Bird Song* (1893), *The Three Magi* (1881), the *Evening Mood with Horses* (1889), the *The Sacrifice of Abraham* (1901), or the *Painter and Model in the Forest* (1901).

If in the later years—between 1901 and 1905—the link between landscape and man retained its intimacy, it functioned much more as the material for pictorial analysis than as the scene of Ferenczy's personal emotions. The *Evening in March* (1902), the *Woman Painter* (1903), the *October* (1903), the *Morning Sunshine* (1905), paintings full of light—with their resolved colours and sharp contrasts—are already the manifestations of a more objective and analytical approach, in which the attitudes and techniques of impressionism have both come to maturity. The conquest of sunlight, the creation of *valeur* has taken place.

Ferenczy described his painting as "colouristic naturalism on a synthetic foundation," in which forms summed up in a decorative way, the artistic rhythm of motifs transposed into a plane; pure pictoriality has come into its own—at the expense of naturalism. From 1906, as a teacher at the Budapest Art College he withdrew to paint to the studio: portraits, still lives, nudes reminiscent of the pictorial firmness of post-impressionism (*Triple Portrait*, 1911; *Porcelain Parrots*, 1907; *Nude in Red Background*, 1912). This period of his does not belong to the history of Nagybánya painting, whose most united period came to an end when certain painters left the group, the so-called neoists, and when Ferenczy moved to Budapest. This period, the final development of his career was thought through logically. The fact is that in Ferenczy's œuvre the fundamental pictorial problems of the era were concentrated in such a way that while he resolved all, he also always created for himself the possibility of building further This was how his art became the setting of the formal achievements of naturalism, impressionism, and post-impressionism. But this was not done by the sterility of formulae but in a way determined by his individual perception, brilliant intellect, and bashful sentimentality, in which the indissoluble, harmonic unity of nature imbued by his spirit and by the blending of man into it still appeared in an authentic and sensually enjoyable pictorial form.

József Rippl-Rónai (1861–1927) and the Hungarian Art Nouveau[3]

It we place beside Károly Ferenczy the art of the other great innovator of style, József Rippl-Rónai, it becomes clear in what a broad period of time and even contrary to any kind of chronological "logic" modern Hungarian art unfolded. How awkward is the fact that hardly had Ferenczy settled in Nagybánya to fight for his first achievements in naturalistic *plein-air* painting, when Rippl-Rónai had brought to a close the period in which he had created those stylized pictures of his which went beyond the idea of representation. Without Ferenczy there would be no Hungarian impressionism; yet Rippl-Rónai skipped both naturalism and impressionism in order to join—after a Munich detour of little interest to him and a short "apprenticeship" with Munkácsy in Paris—directly in one of the mainstreams of European painting.

In 1889 he painted his *Woman in White-dotted Dress*, which marked his separation from both, a naturalism relying on the reproduction of reality and the theatrically costumed world of Munkácsy's paintings. It renounces dramatization and reaches for a deeper characterization, the challengingly frivolous posture; the fragility of the proportions are just as novel as its manner of painting. It uses a transparent, thin coat of paint,

3 *NHQ* 49, 70.

it almost completely excludes spatiality, silhouettes of forms are delineated by a sharp line, and colours are reduced in such a way that the shaded grades of the greys and browns came into their own. Through this painting of his, Rippl-Rónai at once came upon the approach which characterized the work of the group of painters who organized under the name "Nabis" and which corresponded to the planar art, the cult of lines, the refined colour harmony and decorativeness of Art Nouveau. Thus he became first a spiritual relative of the Nabis and later a member of the group. His taste and receptivity made him part of the stream of modern French art: he exhibited in the Palais Galleria, in the Salon du Champ de Mars, struck up a friendship with the editor of the *Revue Blanche*, Thadée Natanson; he had a booklet of colour litographs published by the famous art dealer Bing, whose text was written by the Belgian poet Rodenbach. The *Woman in White-dotted Dress* opened that period of ten years interpreted by Rippl-Rónai as the "black period" which unfolded in Paris and in Neuilly. His pictures of women continued to express a pictorial attitude which was related to Whistler's and mediated strong effects of mood: the *Slim Woman with Vase* (1892), the *Girl with Cage* (1892), the gobelin oil sketch of the *Woman with Rose* (1898) are visualizations of the slim woman of elongated proportions, fitted into a picture of narrow format, whose airiness, impersonality and whose affected posture and gesture all demonstrate the etherial and sensual marks of the refined, almost decadent ideal of beauty held by the period.

But his portraits of women go beyond the genre of a portrait which records the features of the model: the *Lady with Black Veil*, the dreamy *Portrait of Countess Andrássy*, *Spanish Woman*, *Woman in Violet Dress* condense the features of the fashionable, frivolous, and mysterious woman, as they appear with immovable calm under the shadow of exorbitant hats.

As a matter of fact, nothing "happens" in the pictures of the "black period": old women staring in front of themselves (*Grandmother*, 1892, *Old Lady with a Bunch of Violets*, 1895), young women like flowers or almost in a trance, room corners in the twilight (*Twilight in an Intimate Room*, *Two Women in Mourning Dress*), as well as a casual scene from the everyday life of Paris (*Bowlers*, 1892), and the thematic variations of the apparently unassuming *Woman in the Garden*, which are simple documents of everyday life. In them it is not the activity of the moment, and thereby its casuality which takes shape, but on the contrary, the pictures condense the essence of the moment, usually some quiet mood in which there is room both for spontaneous pleasure and a melancholy acceptance of transience.

Although the pleasing stylized forms of Art Nouveau and its fluent language could easily have become a habit, Rippl-Rónai did not academize his decorative expression. His pictures move along a wide scale and they sound in different registers of pictorial realization. In his work pictures giving the illusion of space appear simultaneously with extreme stylization; beside categoric contour, there are the almost interrupted formations of softly vague forms, bodies reminiscent of Carrière getting lost in the depth of the blacks; besides the "thematic" pictures, there is the Whistlerian themelessness. Just as his entire French "black period" is not uniformly black, since in his pictures of a graphic effect—behind the "backdrop" of a single dominant colour setting the mood—the fine shades of the tender greys, browns, phosphorescent greens faintly appear, in which red, pink, or violet colour accords are sometimes also sounded.

Whatever fullness Rippl-Rónai's art achieved abroad, he always longed to return home. It became more and more obvious that he experienced Paris for Budapest; he considered his successes there the repositories for success in Hungary. At that time Hungary had not yet come to terms with Nagybánya let alone reached the stage of being

receptive to Rippl-Rónai's modernity. For instance, a famous Hungarian art critic had this to say of him in 1900: "Only let him not search among Hungarian matters. The heartbeat of our virgin, pure, innocent, simple land is not understood by Rippl-Rónai's disposition, which is West European, decadent, enervated, almost tending towards the perverted... We welcome everything that is modern, but only as long as it is healthy." In the end—unconsciously, and not as the result of a deliberate compromise—Rippl-Rónai did become assimilated to the Hungarian land, and it was not Hungarian public opinion that grew up to his adulthood. In 1899 he travelled to Banyuls, the birthplace of Maillol, where he was overwhelmed by the landscape: "Here I soon saw everything colourfully, though not yet sunny," he wrote in his memoirs. "Here I painted those pictures, whose religiously simple but colourful motifs offer a transition from the 'black' series to the sunny, or if you like, resoundingly colourful series."

His return to Kaposvár in 1902 marked his acclimatization to Hungary both as man and painter. His descriptive paintings, immersed in detail with perspectives giving the feeling of deep space, with tremulous colours finely shaded, shows little likeness to the generous stylization of his Parisian period, the lapidary and concise assertion of the expressive power of line. When in 1907 Rippl-Rónai came to a new period, to the pictorial expression called "dotted" after its spots of clean colours, in spite of the almost drastic simplification of the motifs he brought about—in essence—pictures of a realistic nature.

All this makes it obvious that Rippl-Rónai's ability to create a style was asserted most thoroughly during his Paris period. Although his art did no find immediate followers, nevertheless what he achieved was of an epoch-making importance, breaking through the visual conventions of the period. The outstanding art historian Lajos Fülep justifiably says: "Rippl-Rónai was the only one who brought fresh and live blood into Hungarian painting; at home he was in one person everything, he was the Cézanne and Gauguin of Hungarian painting, even what can be called impressionism in the better sense of the word, even Vuillard, Bonnard, etc. He was himself the reaction to the academy, to Nagybánya, he represented himself here the aristocratic movement about which I said above that besides the hullabalaloo of naturalism it prepared the biggest surprises."

János Vaszary (1867–1939)

János Vaszary[4] fulfilled in modern Hungarian painting a function similar to that of Rippl-Rónai in that his pictorial thinking was free of prejudice. His rich and varied work, the aesthetic purity, his importance as a teacher, his flexibility and modernity, his willingness to support the ambitions of the avant-guard, made him one of those outstanding personalities who had a real influence on both his own and the generation after him. However, his conscious statement of his aesthetic views and his style-creating commitment were accompanied by a sanguine creative temperament that did not consistently work out a single way of artistic expression or a further extension of his own original forms, but took shape in numerous varieties of pictorial visualization, in extremes which often contrasted and even contradicted each other. This was how almost all impulses of the era's search for an artistic path blended in his art; he left behind him brilliant reminders of his ability to assimilate: works which show the imprint of naturalism, post-impressionism, impressionism, expressionism.

His studies began in Munich in the spirit of the fine naturalism of the Bastien-Lepage kind; after many stays in Paris and studies at

4 *NHQ* 49, 69, 70.

the Julian Academy he concluded: "It suffices to start out from nature or to remember it with a suggestive power." *The Woman with Black Hat*, painted in 1894, made it obvious that he had hit on the generous shaping of forms, the construction of pictures which is a feature of the best of French post-impressionism. The idol-like face of the woman, a challenging and beautiful impersonality, reduces the human being to one of the non-emphatic components in the plane of the painting; it shows that Vaszary has come close to the form-creating potential of autochtonous art. From 1896—obviously from literary and philosophic influences too—he painted one after the other those paintings of his which may be included in the range of the Munich *Jugendstil*, which also strongly touch on symbolism. The *At the Well* (1896), the *Byzantine Madonna* (1897), the *Golden Age* (1898), the *Live Key* (1899), *To Spring* (1900), *Adam and Eve* (1901) are the most important products of his Art Nouveau period; they were complemented at the beginning of the 1900s by interieurs with one or two figures, and as a sort of closing note by *After Bath*, painted in 1903. His carpet and gobelin designs *Shepherd* (1899), *Marketers* (1904), *Gingerbread-maker* (1904), were also in the spirit of Secession,[5] but even more in the mark of the stylizing trend and plane art of French Art Nouveau, just as were his last masterpieces of panel painting *(Woman in a Blue Dress with Lilacs, Woman in Violet Dress with Cat)*.

The above list indicates that not even Vaszary's painting kindred to the substantial and formal range of Secession, in its attitude to reality and visualization, was uniform. He blended the eclecticism reminiscent of the German *Jugendstil*, which had arisen out of the maze of academic representation of the body, the romantic perception of the landscape, and exotic complements along with the pure aesthetic of decorative composition of the French trend. The *Golden Age* is one of these atmospherically taut pictures, where the loving couple, invested with Schopenhauerean melancholy, embrace against a romantic backdrop of classical statues, roses, and bushes. The alienness of this theatrical scene, its aristocratic and nostalgic affectation is enhanced by the glimmer of green and golden hues flooding the entire surface of the picture and by the golden frame.

Not long after his entire Secessionary period, there is the contrasting effect of the pictures on peasant themes which Vaszary painted from 1900. These concise paintings place before us figures—village day-labourers, poor people, and peasants—which discard every element of anecdote; instead of representing weariness and marginality they turn into representatives of strength, health, and dignified human behaviour. He succeeded especially in *Somogy Lad* (1904) in increasing raw vigour and robustness until it overwhelms, where the man in a red shirt—in the close foreground—and the horse he is leading actually pry apart the plane of the picture. The red shirt, the blue sky, and the intensive light on the green foliage also anticipate a new turn in Vaszary's art: colour domination and colour reduction are replaced by rich, almost luxurious colouring.

After a short impressionistic intermezzo (1905–1907) Vaszary again returned to the analysis of the structure of space and forms. In this he came close to the aesthetic principles of the first representatives of Hungarian avant-garde art, the group of painters known by the name of "The Eights."[6]

Vaszary's pictorial temperament always gave the upper hand to spontaneity and the emotional component even if both were bound up with a conscious intention of creating a style. For this reason the hard, gaunt draftsmanship of his analytic paintings occurred alongside an expressionism that had already matured, and which later determined his paintings for many years, forming in fact the longest period of his entire career. Al-

[5] *NHQ* 69, 70.

[6] *NHQ* 55, 62.

ready the inner tension, sharp contrast, vigorous strokes of the brush in *Colours in Blue* (1912) (depicting his wife) carry his passion for expressionism. When the Great War broke out he worked as a war correspondent in Serbia; the pictorial forms which had matured earlier became the obvious way to express the staggering experience. In his war pictures Vaszary reports on the man who shows his mettle amidst the killings and natural disasters; the suffering, the resistance, the struggle are shaped by the dramatic contrast of the dark line-up of soldiers kept together in sombre blocks and the glittering sky behind them. The paint really sparkles on his pictures, the deep reds and bluish-blacks glimmer in the vicinity of the white clods of snow.

Between 1914 and 1918 Vaszary came into the possession of pictorial values of which he made good use for a long time, enriching them with fresh impulses. His painting in the 'twenties continues to feature dense solid blocks of paint, colour accords of a deep fire; his last artistic period replaces these by lighter painting making use of the colour culture of Dufy and van Dongen.

Vaszary's turns of style are consequences of a pictorial attitude which is infrequent in the history of Hungarian art. He did not change his way of expression in order to adjust to fashion, out of some sort of conformism, but on the contrary, creatively and free of any kind of prejudice; there was always the accompanying risk of an intellectual adventure, a search for an artistic path, a re-beginning. An attitude which is ready for initiative and renewal is an important artistic accomplishment because of its flexibility and its opening the gate to modernity; but it is validated by the works. Vaszary's Secessionism, his depicting of peasants, using the lessons of *plein air*, and his expressionism never show the marks of a secondary afterthought, enervation, or complacency, but they sprang from a blend of invention and exceptional pictorial quality.

JUDIT SZABADI

ILONA KESERÜ'S LYRICAL OBJECTIVITY

Ilona Keserü's[1] retrospective in three large rooms of the Budapest Műcsarnok presents a selection of the artist's output of thirty years, including paintings from her college years, studies and elaborate, mature works alike. In spite of the many stylistic periods and of the intense emotions behind them, I shall attempt to summarize her career as a painter.

I first became conscious of Ilona Keserü's name at her exhibition in 1964, which concentrated on pebbles and stones; her monochrome approach of that time is far removed from the Ilona Keserü of today. In fact, her career goes back before her stone period. "I come from Pécs", she writes, "where my teacher was Ferenc Martyn[2] from the time I was about 12 to 13. I had to draw very exactly, chairs, pieces of wood, potatoes, plants and shells, after nature. In short, nature studies. And heads." It was certainly a happy coincidence that the Transdanubian town happened to have living there a suggestive painter such as Ferenc Martyn, an artist still active today, who in the 1930s was a member, along with Kandinsky, Mondrian and Naum Gabo, of the group called *Abstraction-Création*, in Paris. Ms Keserü studied in a special secondary school for fine arts and in the Budapest Arts College. Her figurative *Old Woman* (1953) and the strongly foreshortened *Girl Reading* (1955) of this time show minute detail and preci-

[1] See also *NHQ* 43, 74
[2] *NHQ* 73

sion. Her *First Abstract Picture* is dated 1958.

The first memorable canvas to follow the pebble period was *Silvery Picture* (1964), dominated by dead silver and black in a system of serrated oblongs with serrated, wave borderlines, in which the blank surfaces already were assigned a significant role. However this was not yet the Ilona Keserü who worked in colours, nor was *In Memory of an Actress* (1965), held in white, on which she glued an objet trouvé, a piece of lace once belonging to the great tragic actress Mari Jászai, one of her own forebears. Thus her *Red Picture* at an exhibition of young artists, Studio '66, did more than hold the attention of spectators responsive to a fresh tone for it is one of her masterpieces, the hungry satisfaction of her craving for colour after years of a dearth of colours. Her brush moves with an irresistible speed—evrything is dynamic, and the red among the pure colours has a psychical effect. Alongside the strident colours her greys, graphites and oil pastels achieve the same sweep as more active colours. "This picture is a direct pictorial manifestation of an intellectual and nervous state," she said, calling what she was doing gesture painting.

*

After some companion pieces to *Red Picture*, Ms Keserü sought out other paths and has been seeking ever since. From the freedom of wide gestures she turned to discipline. *Mirror Reflection* (1968) is a geometrical structure, with lines resembling the traces of a comb and arcs of concentric circles with different radii. The texture of the paintwork fills the field, and at first sight one does not even notice the mirror reflection, as the pattern is duplicated only in the drawing; each patch, each paint serpent, each parallel curve is intentionally different in colour. A related piece is *Message* (1968), which marks a cardinal point in the œuvre and resembles an other-world Highway Code diagram. The variations of black and coloured marks with their sharp delineations and the concision of emblems are applied against the white background more loosely than in *Mirror Reflection;* yet the seeming decomposition of *Message* tells the viewer more than the taut bearing of the earlier work. Omission becomes a dominant element too. According to what I was told, the painter first cut off the excessively many empty sections but sewed them back with relish some years later. The vertical, narrow oblong in *We'll go to Szentendre* (1979) she painted some ten years later, is a reversion to an earlier type; the signs resembling fruits or the patterns of playing cards in some places display a different tone and graphic character.

*

Ilona Keserü has developed a motif which she has been repeating stubbornly for some fifteen years—an arched, doubly broken, symmetrical wave line, which is usually interpreted as a biological symbol. Some ten years ago over the phone, I mentioned that I was going to Balatonudvari, and she made me promise to go and see the old graveyard there. It was in that graveyard I found the archetype for this motif, in the upper border of 18th century tombstones which take the shape of reversed hearts. Later the painter discovered the arch of a horse's back in her own element too (the even more strongly marked ogival arch being an architectural category). This broken arch dominates a long cycle which opened with the table of *Tomb Stones I* (1967), and further forms of it appear in her dualist pictures; here however the motif only forms one of the constituents, the other being the province of the pure colours of refraction. Thus at the time of Concept Art she had become preoccupied with the long forgotten problems of light and colour of Impressionism, and it is small wonder that she was a welcomed at the exhibition of new sensibility as a precursor. "Since 1973 the theme and object of my pictures has been the breaking down of colours," she says, "my pictures concerned with colour theory are didactic:

I work (1) with the colours of the rainbow, and (2) with the colours of the skin. I was searching for a neutral intermediate colour and found the flesh colour—in hues ranging from the skin of the darkest Negro to that of our own skin." Her *Space in the Offing* (1980) and a great many of its companion pieces in this long cycle are all the outcome of these considerations. Sharp-eyed collectors purchased the pictures in this cycle at the Hungarian exhibition in Paris, and red dots also appeared on the labels under these canvases in the Pierre Cardin Gallery. The cycle reaches its climax in All—I (1980) ("because it has all the colours in it") and continues *All—II* (1981), in which the painter reduces her wavy line into a gestured arch. The next direct step was *Colour Mirror* (1982), in which alongside the two motifs of flesh colour and the colours of the rainbow, the viewer can see himself in the plane of the silvered mirror.

Like many other painters Ilona Keserü began to feel constricted by two dimensions and longed for a third. An early attempt is *Hill* (1973), which employs the technique of oil and canvas embossing. On *Engaged Column* (1970) there appears one of her favourite accessories of the time—a tangle of strings. *Earth-Water* (1972) presents a system of waves embossed of canvas one under the other. *Space in the Making* (1972), another relief, displays a surface with regular wave lines painted in oil, with the intensive, broad colour bands crossing each other and forming an ensemble of octagonal elements in a pattern of an irregular beehive. This and its companion pieces have earned for Ilona Keserü the inaccurate classification of Op Artist.

*

An outstanding colour work is her monumental oil, *In Honour of Sándor Weöres* (1982). Bands of vivid colours start out from the left of a horizontal, narrow oblong, crossing in the middle distance and tapering off towards the end. It consists of three pieces, each carrying a different pictorial message, which make up a connected whole. Close to it in colouring is *Colour Groups Encountering* (1982), her first real plastic work of spatial dimensions—a painted canvas spanned by two cylinders and erected on a rectangular foot. The surface presents a screw thread of sparkling colours, the working-out of a problem of colour dynamics. This piece now seems to have been a prelude to her largest kinetic plastic work: *Space Painting with Six Columns* (1983), which is a mural for an elementary school, with six cylinders striped in a spiral line and placed on ball-bearings in front of the background of the painting, each nearly 3 metres in height and which can be moved around by the children as they wish. Another monumental work greets the visitor from a huge photograph in the entrance hall to the exhibition. The Land Art structure of *Plastered Up Forms* (1971–3) carries the artist's calling card, the doubly broken wavy line. This work, half a metre in height and in area 70 square metres, is of crushed marble and broken limestone and is to be seen in the Villány stone quarry in Transdanubia.

*

Naturally, the œuvre of an artist includes atypical pieces, usually the first attempts at a cycle of which ultimately only that piece has been completed. *Stitchery* (1969), one such work, is a soft canvas picture with hard geometrical lines, recalling suprematism. Ilona Keserü is known as a colourist even if sometimes she exploits a scantiness of colour. The panel of *Condition* (1967) presents a scrawl in grey, mixed with a dash of brown. The double nude in *Couple* (1967) is her only Pop Art composition. The two faces are photographs, the bodies drawings, against an opulently luxuriant pencil pattern. *Morning—Noon—Evening* (1970), with its overstuffed grey, light grey and white textile lining resembles a stage, or perhaps a doll's house. *Sky—Hill—Water* (1981) is a traditional nocturnal landscape, the way the artist sees from

the window of her Budapest flat the wide Danube with the rocky, steep Gellért Hill directly behind it.

Ilona Keserü's art consists of a justified, not a self-determining abstraction, it expresses objectivity through lyricism. Her pictures are the work of a personality with physical and mental strength. She feels a strong attraction for the monumental, her manual skill is brilliant, yet she does not merely display. And it has been a long time since I have heard anyone speak of workshop activity in such a considered, thought-out way as Ilona Keserü has.

JÁNOS FRANK

NEW TENDENCIES IN THE ART OF THE MEDAL

The 1960s saw an upward trend in the art of the medal in Hungary. The foundations were an established tradition and the influence of a few outstanding masters such as Béni Ferenczy, Miklós Borsos, and Iván Szabó, the latter a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts. The growing number of exhibitions and presentations outside Hungary, the various competitions led to a further development of workshops and by the second half of the 1970s there was a distinct revival in the genre. Now that this process has matured and sufficient time has elapsed it is possible to evaluate the development as a whole and to conclude that there are not only isolated phenomena but also some well-outlined new tendencies.

The extension of content and function in individual works has been considerable though this in itself is not remarkable. Even at the end of the last century, the classic French commemorative medals had displayed new features of content in that the artists had fashioned their medals independently of events or persons. The formal modifications were even more important. Those artists who make models and plaques are sculptors almost without exception, and their thinking in sculptural terms, especially in the last ten years, has repressed the traditional concepts of the medal. A further change has been that designers tried to translate applied art into the language of medalling and thus produced works of a new style.

In Hungary the changes in content are also true for the commemorative medal and there are new symbols and symbol systems. Those working in this way express their emotions and views about the world and its affairs with more sincerity and openness than their predecessors did; ideas inspired by scientific and technological progress are also to be found in their work. Enikő Szőllősy's *Voyage to the Moon*, 1970 shows the expansion of our view of the cosmos. For contemporary man space is a familiar theme, a part of everyday life. The artist expressed this as yet unformulated state of mind through traditional means, proving at the same time that new contents do not necessarily demand the emergence of new forms.

This medal also relates to another characteristic theme of Hungarian medallists. In addition to landscape and natural setting, townscapes appear on the medals as the environment in which we live and with which we have emotional ties. There are also more interieurs than before. The experience of space, through further abstraction, became a theme for many medals such as Róbert Csíkszentmihályi's *Hortobágy* (1973) on which the undulating surface suggests the infiniteness of that part of Hungary, noted for its mirages. The appearance of space as a theme has coincided with the emergence of new symbols of modern views on life. The infinite can express perspectives, the endlessness of man' s world and its emotional satu-

ration, joy, or its opposite, loneliness. This complex content is related to an analysis of the relationship between mass and space, and to a new interpretation of space which is based on the principle of form-stretching. These appear in many diverse works, the earliest examples being the medals of Tamás Vígh.

While these changes in content described above usually remained within the range of the classical medal, new forms aimed at renewing the traditional concepts. Many artists feel the need of developing a more modern outlook; besides they have now captured a segment of the public which had hitherto been untouched by the genre and these people prefer original formal solutions. So even medals of a basically conventional format such as András Kiss Nagy's *Type Caster*, 1983 or the commemorative medal of Miklós Borsos and Miklós Melocco made for the 100th anniversary of the Opera House (1984) show evidence of the artists' intention to model new shapes; because of sensitive craftsmanship the effect produced by the more voluminous body and greater thickness of the medals did not act against the emphasis on plastic values. Many pieces tend to follow this trend of renewal continuing the Hungarian tradition of technical excellence and fineness of chiselling.

One of the most interesting ideas in the renewal of the format is the factual breaking up of the surface. The first example was *Message*, *c.* 1978, by László Kenéz. The full-length female nude lies beneath the broken-up upper layer suggesting that man's emotional and intellectual life has several levels and is regulated by their social context. Modern literature and art have long looked into the hidden world of man: the medal, although its symbols have always enabled it to express abstract messages, captures a hitherto unexplored aspect of intellectual abstraction here.

Using negative-positive forms has produced interesting solutions in sculpture, inspired also by the medal. In Erika Ligeti's medal *Moussorgsky* (1972) the face rising from the negative form is itself a spiritual-formal idea which is consistently pursued even through the inscriptions. The inscription on the obverse is repeated as a mirror reflection on the reverse in such a way that it corresponds to the position of the obverse. Thus the negative formation of the letters are seen on the obverse whose decoratively beautiful forms frame a representation of Saint George. On Antal Czinder's *Variations*, 1972 this play of negative-positive has an important meaning. The positive female figure in the foreground is accompanied by four negative versions of the same figure, just as we ourselves are accompanied by our own past or, in another interpretation, just as everybody is accompanied by this determining environment, by those persons and events which accompany one's past with such weird resemblance. There are three picture planes in the horizontal arrangement: the background, the realistic positive figure, and the negative figures rushing into each other. The play of negative and positive contains many still unexplored ideas—forms of identical mass may suggest opposite meanings: all the possibilities in this relationship are far from being exhausted, and the intimacy of the genre and its small size are in themselves inspiring.

Another novelty occurs in a work of Antal Czinder. In his medal *The Courtyard*, 1964 he tried to use colour for the purposes of plasticity. On the bronze surface verdigris of different shades suggest subtle and delicate light relations. The spatial arrangement of the medal is such that the spectator feels himself inside the courtyard, participating in the scene. The wall which closes the courtyard as a natural background reinforces the impression that the blue of the fragment of sky seen through the window and the door to the courtyard create almost a perfect illusion of natural conditions of light. Czinder also added to bronze, materials fully harmonizing with the contents of his work: glass, velvet, mirror, paper.

An old problem is how to place a medal

in such a way that both sides are accessible to the spectator. One solution is the standing medal whose form enables it to be supported in some way at its edge. The main requirement here is that this support should look natural. Erika Ligeti's portrait of Bartók has been split and the artist has shaped two gently-curving shell-forms on both parts so that the medal stands on them as on a sole. On one side is the composer's portrait *en face*, on the reverse an inscription in finely typographed letters. Through the split, between the edges of the medal, five chords stretch as the five lines of a score, thus symbolizing Bartók's own work as an artist. If the classic rules of medal construction are applied to the piece the amazing result is that it agrees with them in every detail. The portrait, the inscription, and the symbol enhancing their interpretation are new in form but they certainly do not transcend the limits of medal-making; they do not reach over into the realm of small sculpture because the spatial arrangement and construction of the work is in accord with the conventions of the medal.

Tamás Asszonyi's *Outside and Inside*, 1972 is an original working of a familiar theme. The relationship of interior and exterior space has been suggested through the perforation of the medal. The arrangement of the two sides in the same space is ensured by a repetition of the motifs on the reverse, their revolving in space, and by the window having a real opening.

Some Hungarian artists are expanding the plastic possibilities of medals by the use of coloured enamel. This classic goldsmith's technique is acceptable on medals if the theme justifies it; it does so in the case of a medal by János István Nagy made for the occasion of the return of the Hungarian crown from the United States in 1978. The letters arising out of the red enamel background complement the accurately modelled crown which is decorated with coloured stones.

A young, talented self-taught artist, Tibor Budahelyi, also exploits sound effects. While retaining the traditional concept of medal-making as to material, theme, and processing; nevertheless his works carry in themselves the basic intimacy associated with the genre and awaken the nostalgia of being able to swing it in our hands. If we touch the little metal tongues they give forth a purely musical sound and although the idea is obviously for a single occasion, it merits attention; though innovative it is linked to the traditions of the genre.

Steel is only one of the new materials used in medal-making. Among many experiments and new ideas, a series by László Cs. Kovács, *Ages*, (1981), is remarkable: the pieces are carved in hard wood, Russian oak. This artist has also made medals in stone and pebbles. József Palotás uses aluminium and, as his work shows, he likes to combine several kinds of material so as to make his forms appear in different colours. Tibor Csiky and others make similar pieces of chromium steel. These tendencies carry over the most recent work in painting and in industrial art into medal-making: one of the first and most successful representatives of this trend is Mária Lugossy. Her pieces, in chrome steel and plexi, are outstanding, and have the highest standard of execution. The appearance of new materials has mainly resulted from solutions farthest from the traditional forms; certain questions of construction had come to the foreground such as movement in space, layers of space, relation between space and plane and so on, and have become independent themes in themselves. These problems could only be solved if artists went beyond the classical formal order of the medal.

Series have remained a frequent and favourite mode: the artist expresses or approaches a problem from several angles on several medals. There are also new concepts for series: the young Péter Csíkvári made a three-piece series entitled *Leonardo da Vinci* (1983). On the obverse is Leonardo immersed in thought and his signature, the reverses con-

stitute an indivisible and united whole. The plastic transposition of Leonardo's fresco *The Last Supper* allows a perfect aesthetic response only if they are put closely one beside another. This new interpretation of a series seems to be tending to change the dimensional proportions of medals, which earlier had been ensured by the discretional, longitudinal and transversal proportions of plaques.

In view of this multiplicity of new content and form it can be asked whether these novelties are still medals. There are pieces indeed which are completely detached from the classical conventions of the genre, and can be considered more as small plastic pieces, such as a series by Tamás Vígh: *Medals to the Poetry of Iván Rozgonyi*, (1977); these have created a well-merited sensation. The stereoscopic effect is of equal value in all three dimensions but organizers of exhibitions and critics classify them among the medals in accordance with international practice.

There is one characteristic feature these multifarious and diverse works have in common and this is the perfection of their execution. The careful finish of the surface and the high quality of the workmanship is common to all medals and links the modern to the classical. If the artists continue on this course, they will have practically unlimited possibilities for developing their art without having to abandon the historical qualities of the genre.

VIKTÓRIA KOVÁSZNAI

TEXTILES IN SPACE AND IN STAGE COSTUMES

Lujza Gecser's exhibition at the Műcsarnok and Ágnes Gyarmathy's in the Fényes Gallery

There was extraordinary interest in and reaction to an exhibition by the young textile artist, Lujza Gecser, at the Art Gallery. The vivid reactions made the visitors' book exciting reading. (It cannot be said that exhibitions leave people indifferent in Hungary.)

The New Wave in textile art in Hungary, the parading of new answers and experiments by the young generation in place of the traditional gobelin has prepared the ground for Lujza Gecser. When textiles "came off the wall" in the late sixties, and "stood on their own feet"—almost literally in some cases—they brought about heated arguments and strong emotions. Magdalena Abakanowicz from Poland is an international figure now; her huge, roughly surfaced, heavy materials hanging in space from heights of six or seven metres have become standard fixtures at all the more prestigious exhibitions, and have taken their place among the most expensive items in the art market. At that time Hungarian artists still had to convince the critics in lengthy statements on why they were not producing decorative motifs or why their works were trying to exist in space.

Lujza Gecser is one of the second generation of this New Wave. Her 1975 work, *Hidak* (Bridges)—which she showed again at this exhibition—was the work which marked her breakthrough. The design, in sisal, is in essence a rope-ladder hung between two fixed points—the bridges; its real theme is the curve created between the two points of suspension by the material. Lujza Gecser said of what interested her most at the time: "From the aspect of shaping, textile materials have two essential properties: hanging, ease in shaping, and an inner tension of the material that can be increased through various means. Helping or counteracting one another is the second, these two important

properties make possible the design of spatial forms subject to their own laws."

At the time this work was being made, this renewal in Hungarian textiles was living through its analytic, experimental phase. While others were dissecting textile ply, the smallest unit of the material, or a singular motif of weaving and spinning, Lujza Gecser was concentrating her attention on some immanent, essential property of textile; she turned not to rational analysis, but to methods that were sensitive and intuitive which fitted her temperament better.

The first room of her present exhibition shows evidence of this period. Besides Bridges, works called Textile Designs Stiffened with Plastic, which were first exhibited at the Museum of Applied Arts in 1977, are also shown here.* These objects have gone through a surprising metamorphosis, presumably because of the time which has elapsed. They had a slightly awkward, ungainly effect in 1977 and even the idea seemed to have been anti-material, anti-textile: the artist dipped cyclamen-coloured plies of sisal into a fast-setting glue, and they took on the incidental form given to them by a swinging motion. All this seems wonderfully airy, graceful today, a superior handling of the material; the formations dangle and float from invisible nylon threads and introduce the feeling of weightlessness into the architectural space.

More recent works by Lujza Gecser are shown in the second and third halls of the exhibition; they document her departure from textile art as it is construed in the strict sense.

The stumbling-block is the second hall, its interior resplendently decorated in black, white, and silver. In this space, enhanced with mirrors and niches, strange ghost-like linen formations loom: ethereal figures from dreams after death or dreams foreboding death. Owing to the arrangement of the mirrors and the space, the visitor seems to lose himself in the labyrinth and this ensemble of extreme colours and floating ghosts may induce a peculiar emotional and psychic state. (This happens to certain visitors and not to others.) The apparition is more grotesque than suggestive: it is conducive more to some inarticulate distress, to the world of the adolescent death-wish rather than to the notion of death developing in the mature, adult mind. If this interior were as well worked out emotionally and conceptionally as it is aesthetically, it might well shock. As it is, however, it remains largely ineffective.

Gecser's most recent pseudo-textile works are exhibited in the fourth hall. She has used ribbons of film, to 'weave' pictures; photographs cut in strips are used as threads. The idea is fully successful only in two or three works. In most instances the experience is determined by the ugliness and perishable nature of the material. It might have been better if the artist had turned again to her "antiques" exhibited in the first hall, and thus given us the *textile* artist we appreciated so much earlier.

Stage and Costume Designs by Ágnes Gyarmathy in the Adolf Fényes Gallery

The work of a theatrical designer can really only live in the theatre: taken out of this complex and living context they are lame, limited. That the work of Ágnes Gyarmathy can mean something even to people who have not seen them on the stage, is due to an outstanding exhibition lay-out by Krisztina Jerger.

Only one room was available and that almost too small; here the director had to pile up props, costumes, stage accessories, for plays, operas, and films. Considering the sheer diversity of the commissions handled by Ágnes Gyarmathy over some twenty years, these objects could hardly have lived under a common roof, had the director not hit on the only possible solution. The feeling is of walking into the home of somebody

* *NHQ* 70.

who has just left and of stealthily trying to read the owner's life from the objects there. There are some nonchalant secession, pearl-decorated "retro" dresses on a hall-stand; the accessories of well-worn original antiques, petit-point or pearl-decorated handbags, lace-trimmed parasols hang from the ceiling. There are also some less nonchalantly handled dresses, which demand respect: dresses for the upper middle-class on dress stands, once worn by the stiff-backed, wide-shouldered, disciplined ladies of the last century. The objects too have their story to tell. In and on the arms of a huge, soft arm-chair a bevy of dolls look at us with their porcelain heads.

But the owner of the room is also at home elsewhere. An amazing angel's wing adorns a corner (the central motif of Ferenc Kardos's film, Heavenly Hosts), and Boris Godunov's robes, resplendent with gems, stand in the centre. This absent owner also has a sense of humour. A "hairy chair," and others possessing their own character, are scattered around the room (for the play, *The Dragon*, by Soviet playwright Yevgeny Shvarts).

The exhibition demonstrates in Ágnes Gyarmathy a type of theatrical designer that was almost non-existent some ten years ago. It used to be that set and costume designers were two separate and distinct categories in the Hungarian theatre. The obvious concept is that one and the same person should be responsible for the design of the whole, since the spectacle has to be uniform, provide all kinds of information and be immediately and easily readible. The catalogue of the exhibition recalls that Brecht once pointed out that the director and cast must pay attention to the ideas of the stage designer on the play and on how to stage it theatrically. No directions should be given to the designer in advance—at least not prescriptively—and co-operation is successful when play, performance, and scenic component bring about a symbiosis between director and designer. In this sense the theatrical designer is a creative partner, and not simply an illustrator, a mere creator of stage illusions.

The exhibition has congenially demonstrated the nature of this versatile and eventful career in a crowded room through very few objects. It has succeeded in bringing out the essence of twenty years' work. Those costumes, accessories, and stage designs shown attest in their versatility to surety of taste, sense of style, and a rich imagination. Even designs made for many films by Ágnes Gyarmathy, among them István Szabó's Oscar-winning *Mephisto*, find their place here.

ÉVA FORGÁCS

THE ROMAN ROADS OF PANNONIA

In 1981, after some years of preliminary work, a methodical exploration began of the old Roman roads of north-eastern Pannonia, that section of the province which is part of Hungary today. The programme requires financial support over several years, but its execution is now urgent, as agricultural and other work is slowly removing the traces of these roads. Mapping them also gives promise of being an essential aid to discovering the topography of Pannonia in that it will provide a so far almost completely untapped source of information. This comprehensive work is being organized and directed by archeologists from the Hungarian National Museum and from the Savaria Museum in Szombathely; staff members of the Archeological Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and of several provincial museums are also taking part. Not only are

traces of the roads being mapped but the posts and watch-towers along the roads are being excavated.

The peaceful conquest of Pannonia

The conquest of the Pannonian region began in the reign of Emperor Augustus, between the years 12 and 9 B.C., when Roman armies defeated the Dalmatians and the Pannonians and occupied the area between the rivers Sava and Drava, the southern part of what was to become Pannonia. (The official name of the region at the time was Illyricum, which also included Dalmatia.)[1] Later the army gradually advanced north of the Drava, incorporating first the region neighbouring on Norcium (in modern Austria) and later, in all probability during the reign of Claudius, the area extending to the Danube in the East, thus completing the occupation of the province. The conquest of the region between the Sava and the Drava permitted the build- ing of a road connecting Italy to Asia Minor. The road started out from northern Italy and reached the Danube through the Sava valley; from there it led through the Balkans to the Bosphorus, thus ensuring land contact with Asia Minor and Egypt. Building and protecting the road called for the annexation of the neighbouring area. At the same time, the section of the road leading to the Danube also provided an adequate means for military movements and reinforcements against the Dacians in the south-eastern Carpathians. The Dacians constituted a dangerous threat, making inroads into the Empire and threatening Roman interests. There was good reason why Augustus's successor, Tiberius, had the reach of the Danube bordering on the Dacians regulated, and the construction of a road along the river was commenced.

The German tribes north of the Danube, the country of Maroboduus the Marcomannian also represented a potential danger for Rome. Towards the end of the reign of Augustus a concerted attack was launched by Sentius Saturninus in the West and by Tiberius, the heir apparent, in the East, with the combined armies of Illyricum, nited at the Danube. The direction of their attack was determined by the mountain-range of the Alps: Tiberius led his army northwards along an axis made possible by the plains, where the mountains were no longer an obstruction. It was at the eastern foot hills of the Alps that the route was free northwards—this is the first known information on Roman soldiers in northwestern Pannonia. Tiberius reached the Danube near what later became Carnuntum, that is at the point where the important road starting out from Aquileia (in northern Italy) later reached the Danube. This route was known and used in prehistoric times, linking northern Italy with the Baltic area.[2] So the Roman army advanced through an area which was already partly known, and where it could make use of the knowledge of the terrain gained by early traders. This prehistoric trade route had been determined by the same geographical features that later influenced the direction of Tiberius's attack, as farther to the West the Alps would have blocked his line of advance. This route was not as yet a proper road, being only a wide zone that had proved to be most suitable as a trading route.[3] The strategic significance of Tibe-

[1] For summaries of the history of Pannonia, with further bibliographies, see A. Mócsy: *Pannonia, Paulys Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplement IX, Stuttgart, 1962; A. Mócsy: *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, London—Boston, 1974.

[2] Lectures at the international conference in Szombathely, treated questions of relations between the Mediterranean and Northern Europe: "Nord-Süd Beziehungen. Historische und kulturelle Zusammenhänge und Handelsbeziehungen die osteuropäischen Bernsteinstrasse entlang vom I. Jahrtausend v. u. Z. bis zum Ende der römischen Kaiserzeit", Savaria 16. 1982. (Szombathely, 1983) and J. Wielowiejski: "The main amber route at the time of the Roman Empire" (in Polish), Warsaw, 1980.

[3] On Carnuntum, E. Swoboda: *Carnuntum*, Graz-Cologne, 1964.

rius's base of operations on the Danube is also borne out by the fact that later a military camp was established in the area, in Carnuntum. This was the nearest legionary camp to Italy in Pannonia and it was there that messengers with imperial orders first reached the Danube frontier. Thus it became and remained the seat of the governor of Pannonia.[4]

This prehistoric route, which the army had now also tried, determined the later line of the advance of Roman armies towards the North up to the Danube. The building of the road began in the third decade of the ist century A. D.; the track was marked out, crossing places selected on the rivers Drava, Mura, Zala and Raba, and embankments were constructed for the future roadway. The military significance of the road is clearly indicated by the military camps built at its two ends and along the road in Poetovio (Ptuj, Yugoslavia), Sala (Zalalövő), Savaria (Szombathely) and Carnuntum (near Deutsch-Altenburg, Austria). Recent excavations have unearthed the road and remnants of camps and fortified post stations along it.

It was also along this road that the first Roman city north of the Sava was founded. In the middle of the first century A. D. the Emperor Claudius established the colony of Savaria for veteran legionaries. The road also became the main axis for the dissemination of Latinity in the Danube region. In modern times it has been called the Amber Road, since in antiquity amber found on the Baltic of coast the North Sea was one of the goods brought along this route to Italy.[5] Pliny the elder, in his *Natural History* writes of an enterprising Roman knight who had travelled along the route and measured its distance as early as under the reign of the Emperor Nero (A. D. 54–69).

"The distance from Carnuntum in Pannonia to the coasts of Germany from which amber is brought to us is some 600 miles, a fact which has been confirmed only recently. There is still living a Roman knight who was commissioned to procure amber by Julianus when the latter was in charge of a display of gladiators given by the Emperor Nero." (Pliny: *Natural History*, XXXVII, 45—The Loeb Classical Library, London, 1962.)

The Amber Road, leading northwards to Carnuntum on the Danube, branched off at Poetovio from the road running eastwards between the Sava and Drava; these were virtually the southern and western border roads of Pannonia.

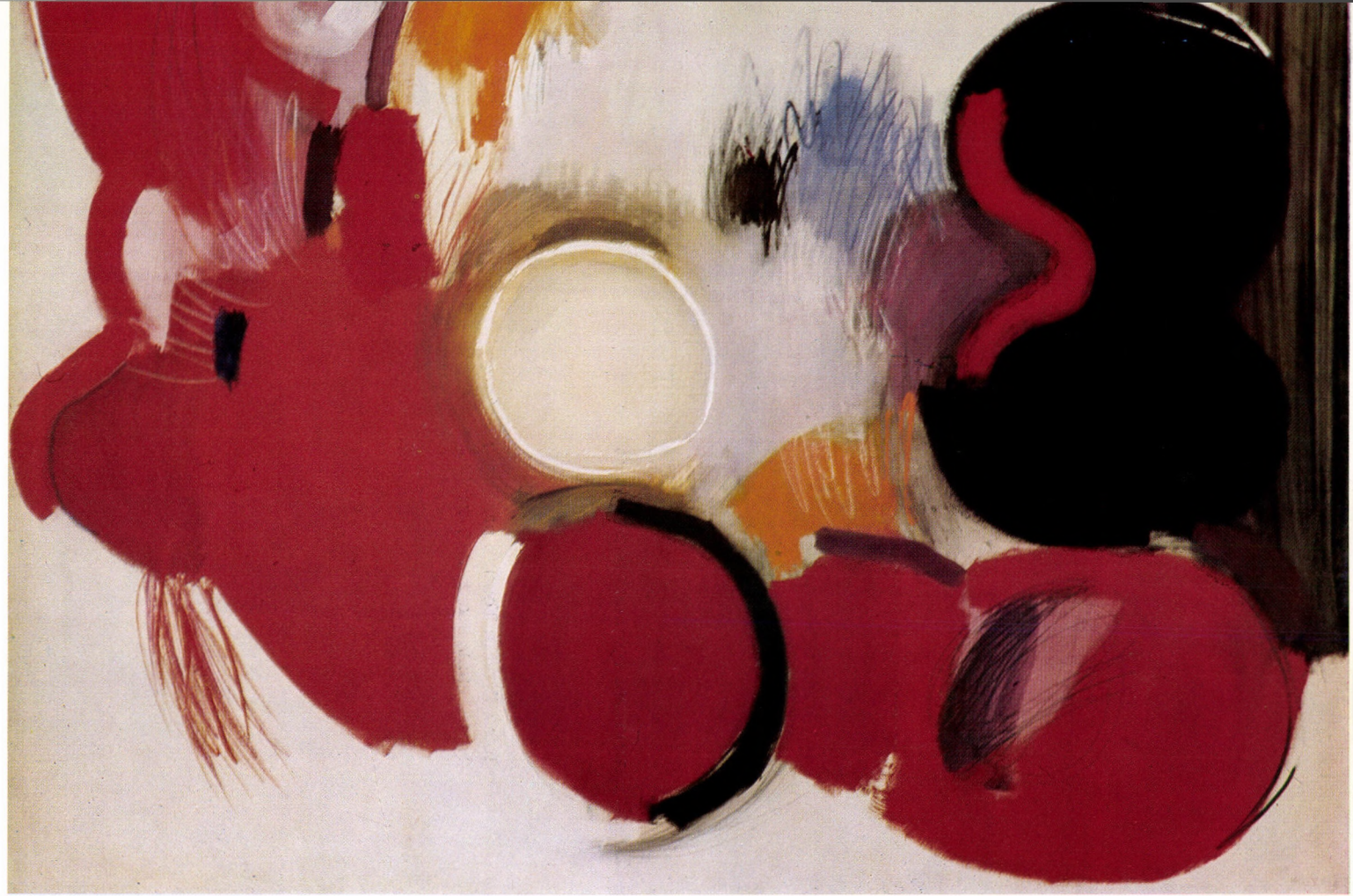
The Legionary camps and the Danube limes

The line of camps along the Danube was built gradually in the second half of the first century A. D.[6] As they were established, the army garrisoned along the roads leading towards the borders of the province was gradually advanced to the bank of the Danube; this produced a defence line that

4 On the occupation of Carnuntum: D. Gabler: "Zum Anfangsdatum des römischen Carnuntum", *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft der Freunde Carnuntums*, 1981: 3, 2–32; E. Tóth: "A legio XV Apollinaris carnuntumi állomásozásának kérdéséhez" (On the Question of the Garrisoning of the Legion XV Apollinaris in Carnuntum), *Studia Antiqua*, 27, 1980, 254–65; M. Kandler: "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Grabungen im Legionslager Carnuntum", *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 115, 1978, 335–51. On the Roman conquest of Pannonia: E. Tóth: "...protulique fines Illyrici ad ripam fluminis Danuvii", *Archeolovski Vestnik* (Ljubljana) 27, 1977, 278–87; E. Tóth: "Die Entstehung der gemeinsamen Grenzen zwischen Pannonien und Noricum", *Archeolovski Vestnik*, 31, 1981, 80–88.

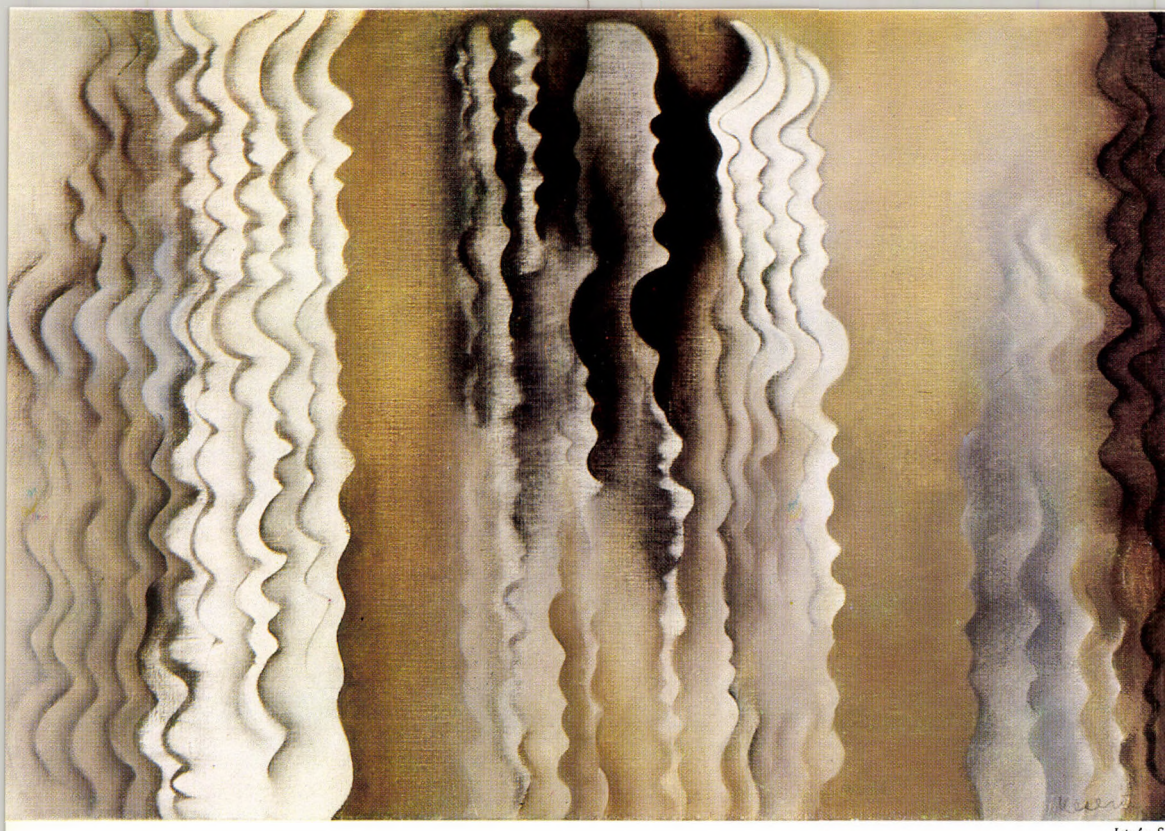
5 For the amber trade: M. Pasquinucci: "Aquileia and Amber Trade", *Savaria*, 16, 1982, 273–81, and in the volume of studies: *Studi e ricerche sulla problematica dell'ambra* (Rome, 1975.)

6 E. Tóth–G. Vékony: "Beiträge zu Pannoniens Geschichte im Zeitalter des Vespasianus", *Acta Archaeologica Hung.*, 22, 1970, 133–61; E. Tóth: "Zur Militärgeschichte der frühflavischer Zeit Pannoniens: Cirpi", *Alba Regia* (Székesfehérvár), 18, 1981, 37–38.



Zsolt Szabóky

ILONA KESERŰ: RED PICTURE. 1965. OIL, PASTEL, CANVAS, SHELLAC, 120×165 CM

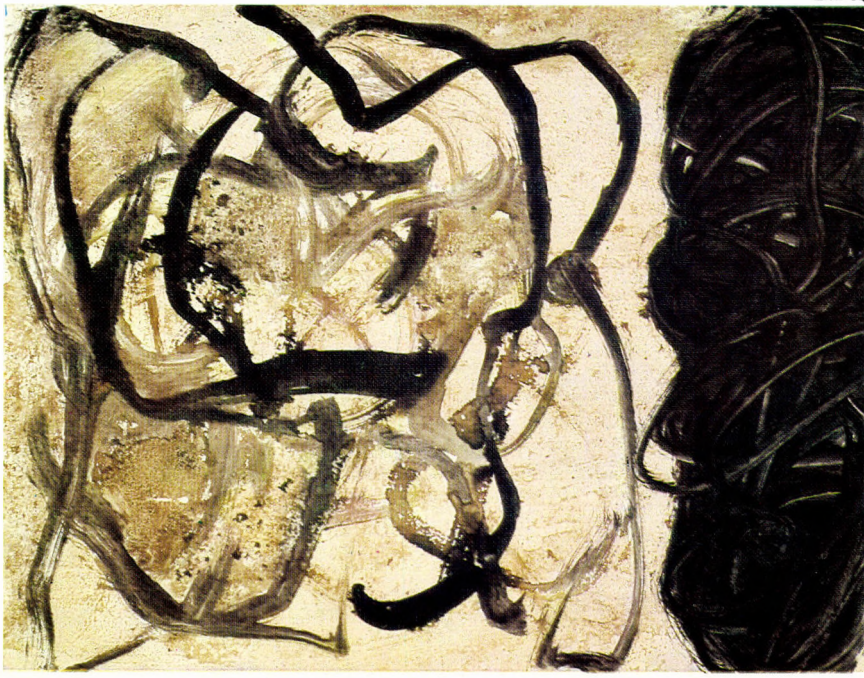


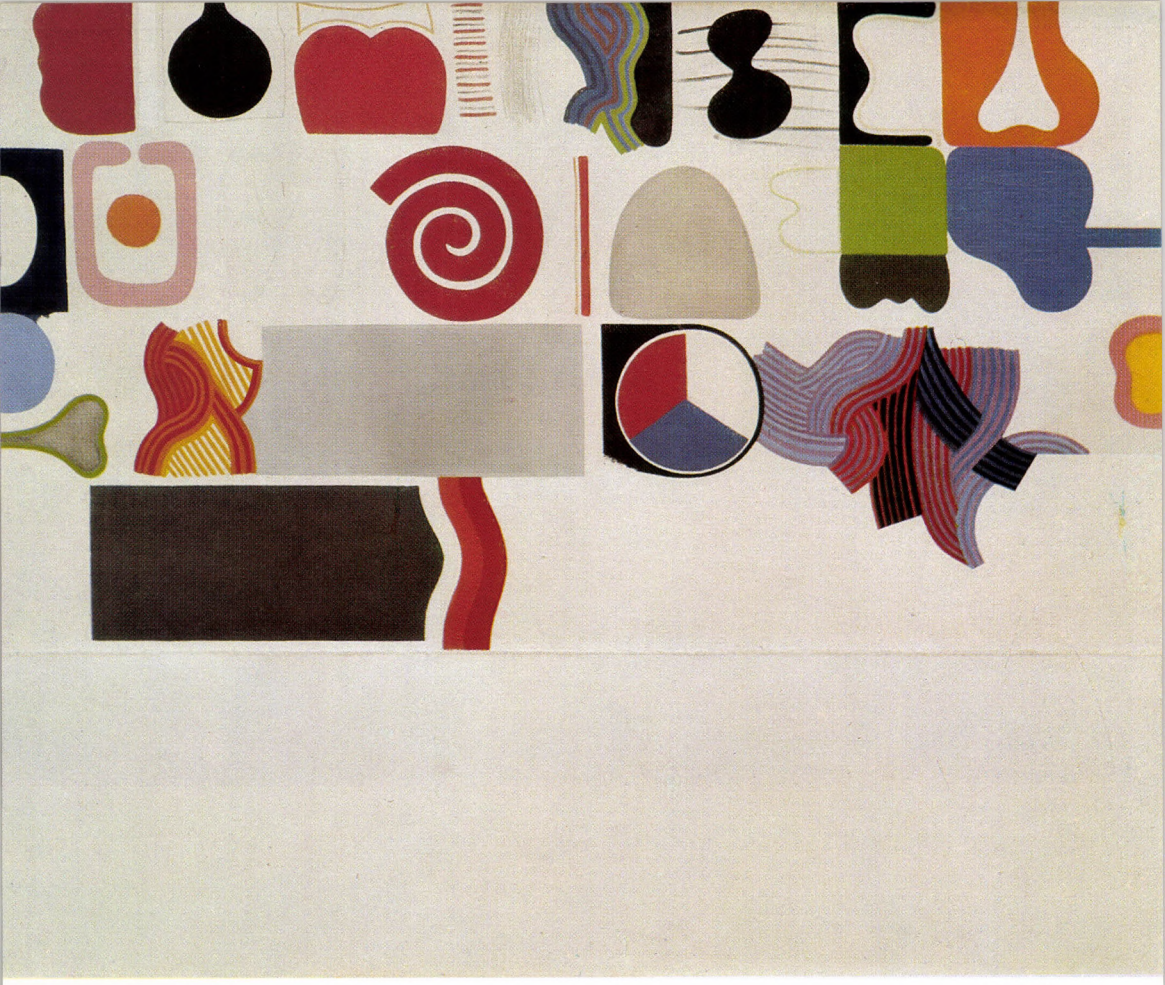
István S

ILONA KESERŰ: FORMATIONS. 1965. OIL ON CANVAS. 40×60 CM

ILONA KESERŰ: TOUSLED DRAWING I. 1965.
PAPER, CHINA INK. 23×35 CM

Zsolt Sz

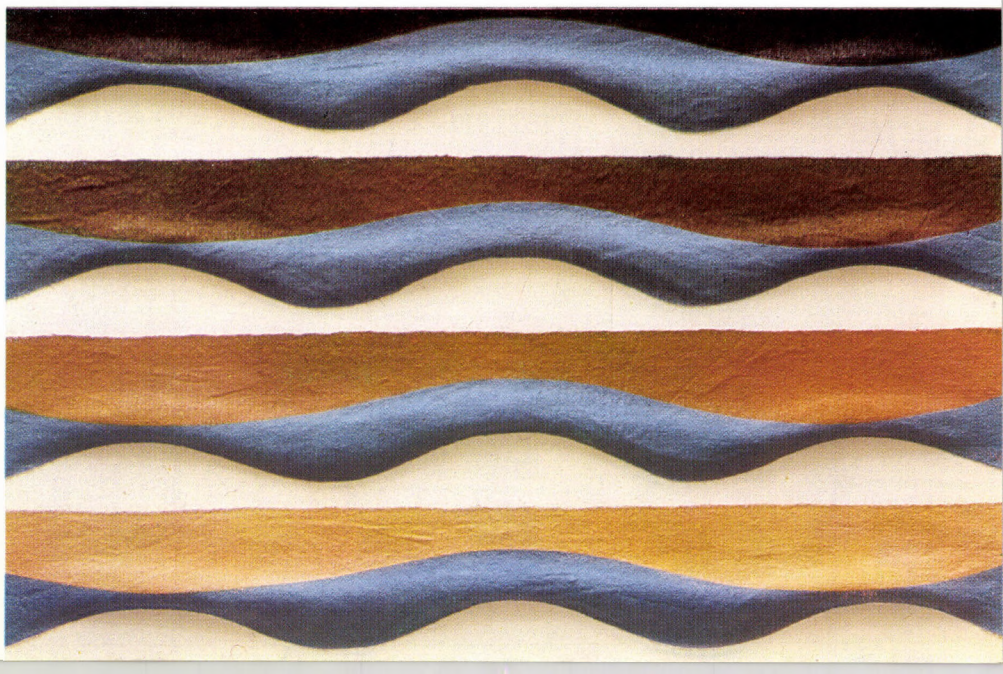


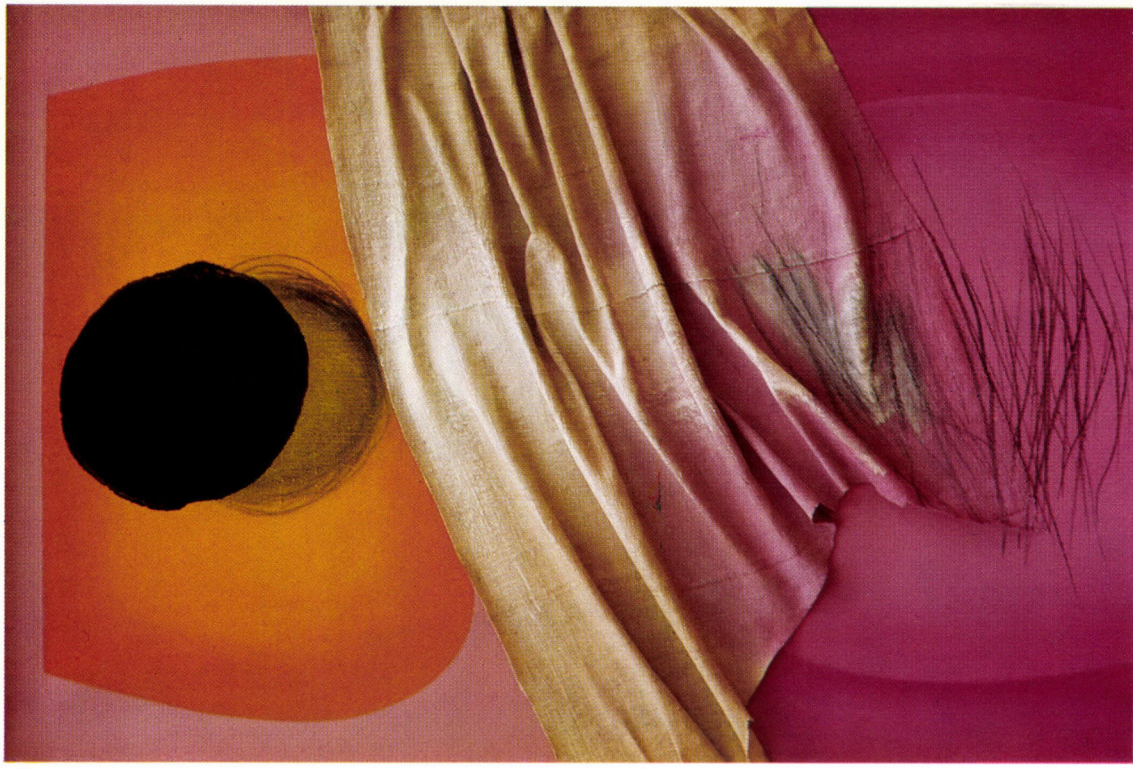


Ilona Keserű: Message. 1968. oil on canvas. 120×160 cm

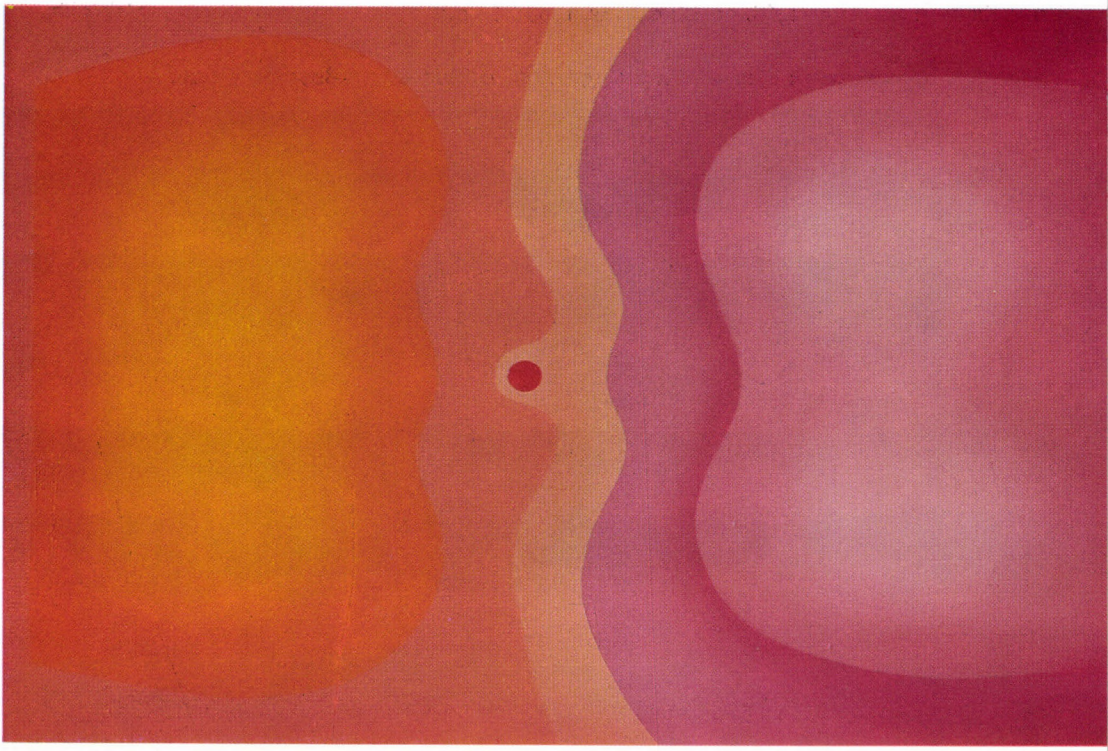
Zsolt Szabóky

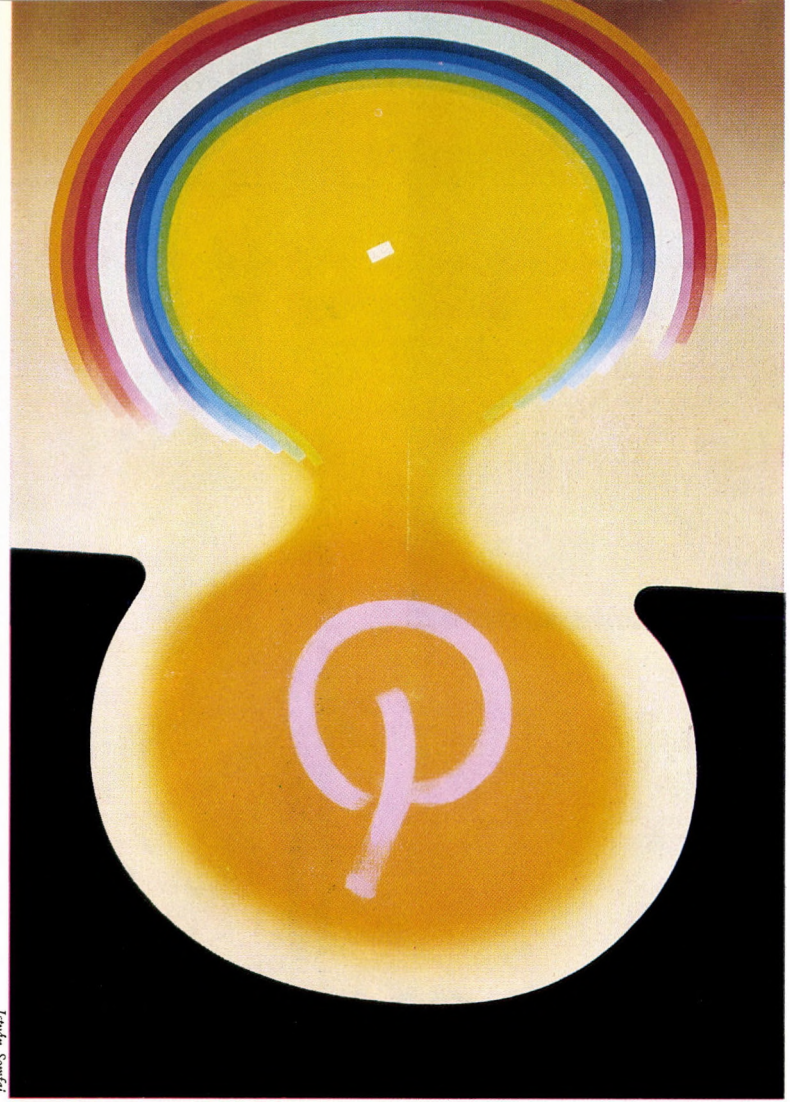
Ilona Keserű: Soil — Water. 1981. oil, canvas relief. 80×120×3 cm.





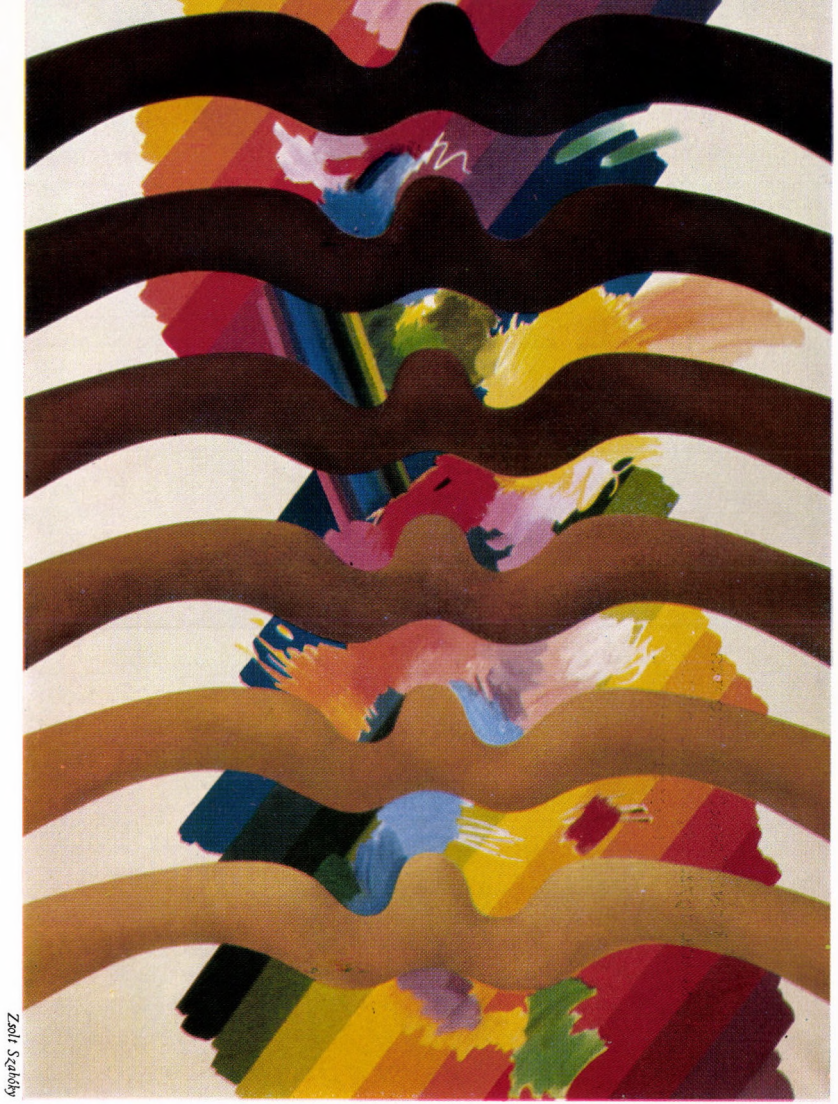
Zsolt Szabók





István Somfai

Ilona Keserű: Magic picture. 1980. oil on canvas. 120×80 cm.



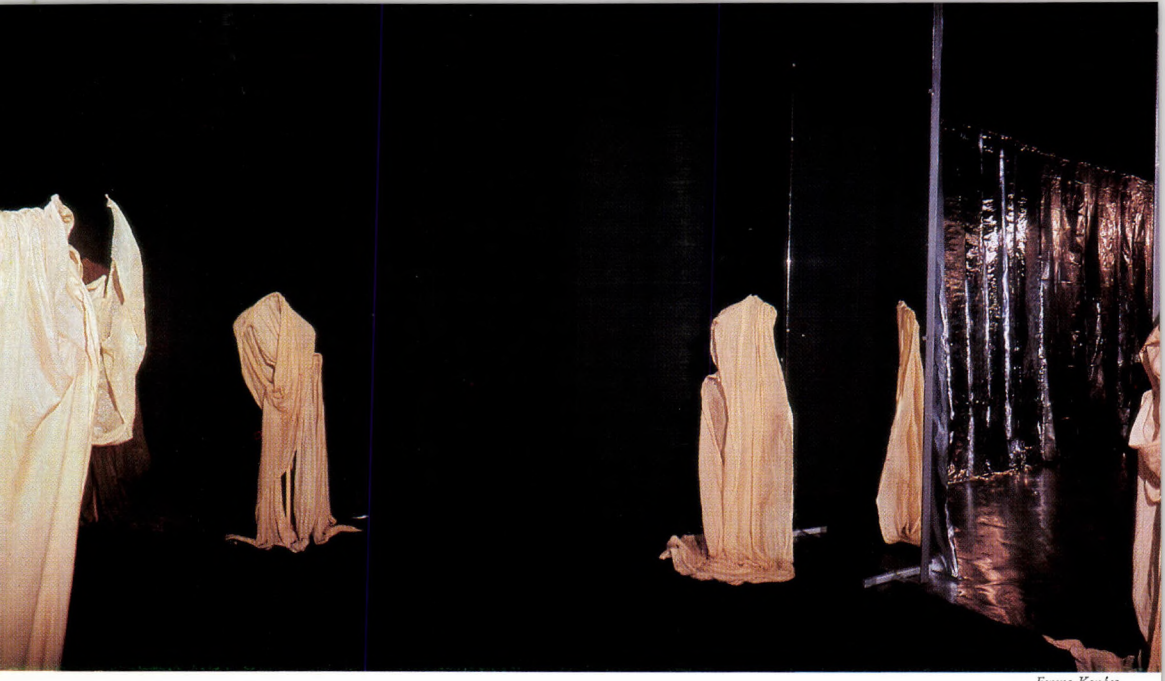
Zsolt Szabóky

Ilona Keserű: All I. 1980. oil on canvas. 170×120 cm.

Ilona Keserű: Developing space. 1972. oil, painted relief. 180×110×12 cm.

Zsolt Szabóky

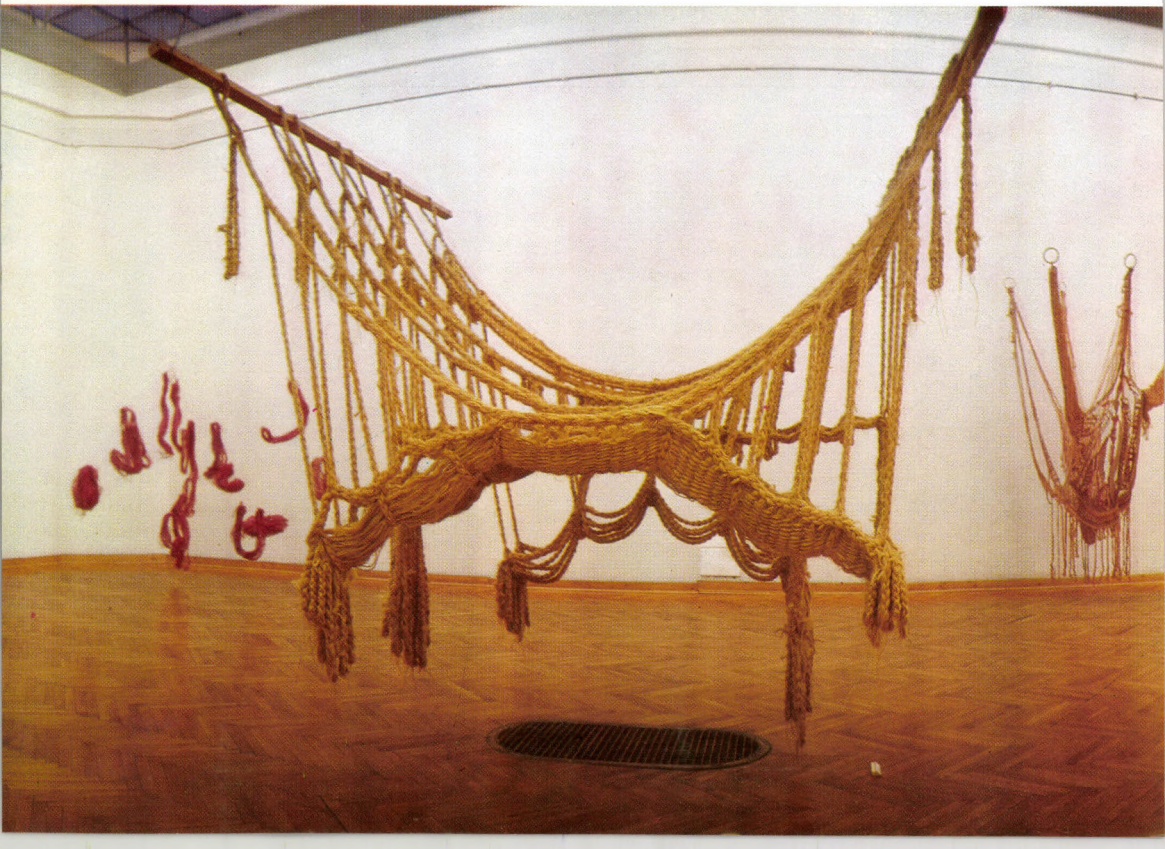
Ilona Keserű: Hommage to Sándor Weöres. 1982. oil, canvas relief. 80×36×5 cm.



Ferenc Kovács

LUJZA GECSER: DRAPINGS R. I–X.

LUJZA GECSER: BRIDGES



Ferenc Kovács

ÁGNES GYARMATHY: VIEW OF THE EXHIBITION. 1984

ÁGNES GYARMATHY: CLOAK FOR THE FILM "MEPHISTO"

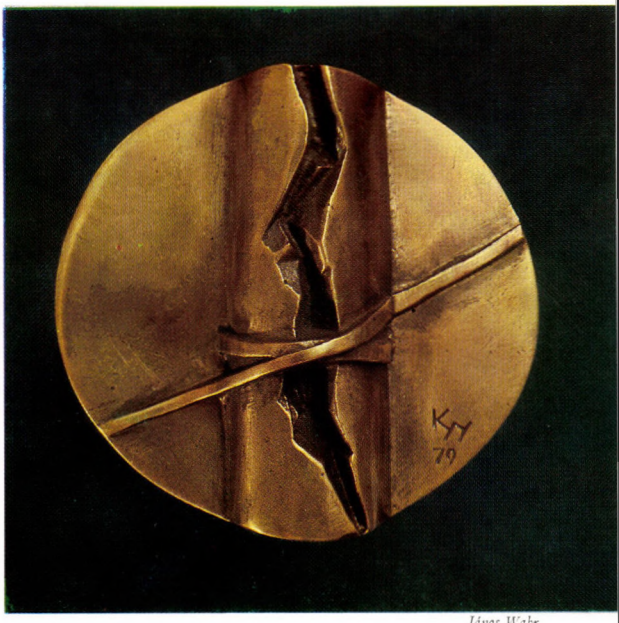
ÁGNES GYARMATHY: STOOL OF MEMORIES FOR CHEKHOV'S "THE CHERRY ORCHARD".

Miklós Borsos: Music festival in Nyírbátor. 1979. bronze. Ø 11,3 cm

András Kiss Nagy: Nature II. bronze Ø 7,6 cm

Tamás Vigh: Illustration to a poem

György Kiss: Bandages IV; bronze Ø 8 cm. 1979



János Wahr

Erika Ligeti: Leporello. bronze. 13 pieces, each 8,7×8,7 cm

Gábor Szabó: Móric Sándor the devilish rider I. bronze, Ø 9 cm

Tamás Asszonyi: Torso I. bronzf, Ø 9 cm

Miklós Melocco: Memorial medal for the centenary of the Budapest Opera House. bronze. 10 cm 1984

Antal Czinder:
Hommage to Hillary.
bronze. Ø 10 cm

László Cs. Kovács:
Castle chapel in
Esztergom I. the rosette
stone Ø 14,2 cm

Roman road from Szombathely (Savaria)

Roman milestones from the Limes. (Hungarian National Museum)

István Murányi

remained essentially unchanged up to the 4th century. After this redeployment towns were founded at the sites of former camps (Savaria, Salla, Poetovio, and perhaps also Gorsium (Tác), etc.), and the network of roads, which had originally been built for military purposes, permitted communication between them. This meant that the camps and the roads connecting them, which had been built during the occupation for strategic reasons, basically determined the later network of settlements in the province. Exploration of these roads thus also helps a study of this network.

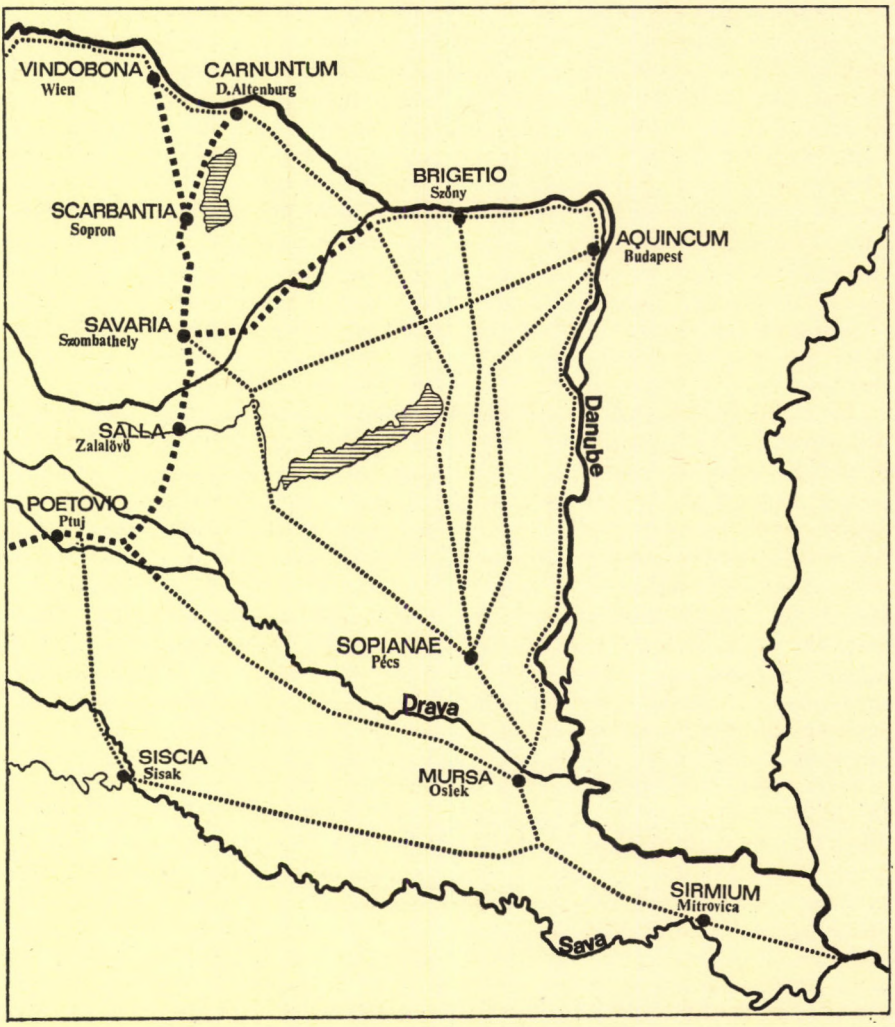
From what has been learnt so far from the excavations, the most important phases in establishing the *limes* along the Danube occurred in the reigns of Claudius (41–54) and Vespasian (69–79), with the stabilization of the camps taking place under Traian (98–117) and Hadrian (117–138).[7] In addition to the overland communication between the camps along its course, the Danube also offered a faster and easier link for the transport of reinforcements and building materials. The river was kept under control by boats of the Danube fleet.

Partial registers of the main roads of the Empire have survived in two works dating from the period. *Tabula Peutingeriana* is now considered a sketchy, distorted map. In addition to the great rivers and some mountains, it marks the most important roads, towns and stations, giving the distances between them, in all probability for the information of the imperial postal service.[8] The *Tabula* lists the earliest three roads mentioned above which formed the backbone of the road network in Pannonia. The other source, *Itinerarium Antonini*, was compiled in the reign of Diocletian, in the last decade of the third century.[9] This mentions many more roads in Pannonia and takes into consideration the new administration; the same three roads still form the backbone of the list. The listing of the road sections in Pannonia makes it clear that the work was intended to provide information on communications between the administrative centres and the legionary camps in the province; the descriptions of the routes refer to connections between the administrative centres, the seats of the province and the legionary camps. This is particularly clear in the cases of the northern parts of Pannonia, Pannonia Prima and Valeria, both of military significance. Savaria, the civil seat of Pannonia Prima, had roads leading to the legionary camp of Vindobona, the camp and procuratorial seat at Carnuntum, and also to legionary camps and the procuratorial seat of the neighbouring eastern province (Brigetio: Szőny, Aquincum: Budapest), as well as its civilian administrative centre of Sopianae (Pécs). A similar network of roads was based on Sopianae. It is precisely this structure of the *Itinerarium* which, for want of other information, provides the most suggestive and strongest argument for the claim that in the 4th century Sopianae was the capital of the province of Valeria. In addition, the *Itinerarium* lists a great many towns along the roads within the province (Mursella, Bassiana, Cimbriana, Limusa, Silacenae, Floriana, Gorsium, etc.); the sites of most of these have not yet been identified. This will become possible only after the track of the roads has been precisely established. The roads which feature in the *Itinerarium* were those of imperial significance; they were those which had been first constructed, kept in constant repair, and used for official transport and postal services *(cursus publicus)*. Our exploration of the terrain has confirmed that these were constructed in a most thorough manner. The highest importance,

7 D. Gabler: "Some Remarks on the History of the Danubian Limes of the First and Second Century", *Archaeológiai Értesítő*, 104, 1977, 145–75 (in Hungarian, with English résumé).

8 A. M. Levi: *Itineraria picta, Contributo allo studio della Tabula Peutingeriana* Rome, 1967.

9 O. Cuntz: *Itineraria romana I, Itineraria Antonini Augusti et Burdigalense*, Leipzig, 1929.



Main roads and road junctions in Pannonia. Bold dotted lines indicate roads which are subject of field-work in progress.

however, was attached to the road that linked the camps along the *limes;* here orientation has been facilitated by a series of milestones, which also marked repair work.

*

Road construction in Pannonia thus took place parallel with the occupation, in stages that can now be clearly established. The roads, which at first were of military significance, later became the basis for the network of towns. In certain cases they made use of trading routes that had been in use even prior to the Roman occupation. Finally, after the collapse of Roman rule in Pannonia, from the early years of the 5th

century onwards, these roads determined the route of the migrating barbarian peoples, who invaded the area from the North and the East, and they even influenced the development, in medieval times, of Hungarian settlement in that western part of Hungary which had once formed part of the Roman Empire. Many sections of Roman roads were in use in the Middle Ages, and indeed are still being used today as dirt roads and roadways (including certain sections of the Amber Road). Others have survived as tracks or paths marking the boundaries of plots, and in still other cases the former Roman road is merely indicated by lines or bands of pebbles or slightly protruding banks, leading through ploughlands and pastures. Thus exploring the Roman roads leads to the disclosure of a significant archeological source, one which throws light on a number of points in the history of the Roman province, and also on the history of the periods that preceded and followed the Roman occupation. This exploration is also essential in order to determine the topography of settlement and to identify the sites of towns.

Records on Roman roads first appear in documents from the age of the House of the Árpád[10] in the 13th century. Naturally they do not refer to Roman roads as such, but mention features and use names in the cases of certain roads and places which unambigously point to old Roman roads. Terms such as *via* and *strata antiqua* do not necessarily indicate Roman roads. What is striking, however, is that the attribute *antiqua* appears much more frequently in connection with the region that once had been part of the Roman Empire than it does in relation to eastern Hungary, which had never been a Roman province. This means that even though now there can be no definitive answer in every case as to whether or not the term *via antiqua* really refers to a Roman road, the attribute can be generally connected with Roman roads in Roman Hungary. Other terms in the documents refer even more directly to Roman roads: *via lapidosa, via levata, via murata* all point to made roads, which may be considered Roman roads. In this period of the Middle Ages roads were not built, they were not gravelled or cobbled *(lapidosa)*, nor were they banked *(levata)*. In some places even the surface of the Roman roads survived in good condition: one example being the *via antiqua cementario opere supereffusa* in southern Pannonia, which refers to a cement-bonded road.

Finally, in the Middle Ages there was even a special name for Roman roads in Hungarian: *öttevény út.*[11] The word appears in dozens of medieval and even later documents; in each case it refers to roads that can be identified as Roman roads (most references being to the Amber Road and to the road that linked Savaria with the *limes*). The word *öttevény* is no longer used in spoken Hungarian, but the old form still appears in geographical names. *Öttevény* meant "pouring," and its use in this context originated from the fact that the pebble bank of the Roman roads, particularly after being destroyed or ploughed away, resembles a band of pebbles washed away and settled by river flood waters, which was also called "pouring." In medieval descriptions the boundaries of estates were marked in relation to trees, shrubs and natural formations such as hills, waters and roads. The pebbling of the old Roman roads was still clearly recognizable at the time and thus made use of in describing estate borders. The word *öttevény*, the old form for the word "pour-

[10] For research on Pannonian roads: "Pannonia római útvonalainak kutatásáról" (Exploration of Roman Roads in Pannonia) *Somogyi Múzeumok Közleményei*, 2, 1975, 275–78. For medieval references to Roman roads: Gy. Glaser: "A római utak nevei a középkori okleveleinkben" (Names of Roman Roads in Hungarian Medieval Documents), *Magyar Nyelv*, 27, 1931, 317–19.

[11] E. Tóth: "Via eötteven seu via antiqua Romanorum," *Magyar Nyelv*, 73, 1977, 194–201.

ing," became a place name, and underwent no changes as the language evolved and thus has been preserved over many centuries.

References to Roman roads in medieval documents have helped exploration, as their location can usually be inferred from these written sources. Another important source for this work are 18th and 19th century hand-drawn maps in which roads are more than once marked as *via Romanorum*. Another major assistance is provided by collections of place names;[12] place names which can be precisely located provide excellent guidance for topographical autopsy. Once a section of a Roman road has been found with their help it can be followed for several kilometres. Aerial photographs are also of great assistance. In recent years we have succeeded in spotting and mapping the section of the Amber Road that ran through Hungary.[13] We have also mapped the road that led from Savaria to the *limes*. Posts along the roads have also been found and their excavation has already begun. One of the fortified posts along the Amber Road guarded the crossing place on the banks of the Raba, and we have succeeded in identifying this with one of the posts mentioned in the *Itinerarium Antonini*. We have found further stations, positioned at regular distances (10 Roman miles, or some 15 kilometres). Through mapping the roads, the ruins in the village of Árpás along the Rába were clearly identified with the municipality of Mursella;[14] the distance measured along the route between Savaria and Mursella corresponds to the information given in the *Itinerarium*.

Field-work has yielded much information on the structure and features of the roads. On plains they were straight, in hilly regions they tend to maintain a small angle of slope, avoiding elevations. The builders insisted on even levels even when it meant a longer track. The roads ran on pebble embanking, some 50 to 70 cm high and 5 to 7 metres wide. The upper layer of the crushed pebbles was held together by mortared clay. The surface of thish as disappeared over the centuries, but the traces of the mortar that stuck to the pebbles reveal its presence. Watch posts, relay stations, inns were set up at regular distances along the roads; the exact function of these can only be determined after the completion of the excavations. Little is known about their system throughout the Empire, not only in Pannonia. The excavation of the posts along the Amber Route will provide answers to many questions on Roman roads. Progress has already been made in the identification of Roman place names, the knowledge of the ground-plans of the posts, and in the chronology of road construction.

The exploration of the roads in northwestern Pannonia will be continued in the eastern region of the province as well.

ENDRE TÓTH

[12] Volumes published so far: Zala County (Budapest, 1964), Somogy County (Budapest, 1974), Tolna County (Budapest, 1981) and Vas County (Szombathely, 1982).

[13] For results so far of the road research project: V. Cserményi–E. Tóth: "Der Abschnitt der Bernsteinstrasse in Ungarn", *Savaria*, 16, 1982, 283–90; E. Tóth: "A Savaria–Bassiana útszakasz" (The Road-Section between Savaria and Bassiana), *Archaeológiai Értesítő*, 104, 1977, 65–76.

[14] *NHQ* 93, In Focus. (Ed. note).

MUSICAL LIFE

MÁRIA ECKHARDT

NEW DOCUMENTS ON LISZT AS AUTHOR

Liszt's literary works occupy a quantitatively significant place in the composer's rich œuvre; they include a great many articles, studies of varying length and two books: *Chopin* (1852) and the 1859 *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie* (The Gypsies and their Music in Hungary). Although his collected writings *(Gesammelte Schriften*, 1880–83) make up seven volumes,[1] by no means do they include everything written by Liszt.

No simple conclusion can be drawn from this enormous quantity. Some pieces excited a storm even at the time of their writing. As regards the books alone: the Polish composer's relatives and intimate friends followed with repugnance the writing of *Chopin;*[2] the well-intentioned but erroneous statements claiming a complete identity between Gypsy and Hungarian music in *Des Bohémiens*... caused a furious press controversy which cooled relations between Liszt and his compatriots for a considerable time,[3] and the second, revised edition of the same book in 1881, containing an expanded and far from flattering chapter on Jews justifiably offended many people.[4]

Reading several (though not all) of Liszt's writings today, what strikes one is how much more involved and verbose they are than his letters and how many concessions they make to fashionable literary tastes of the day. Nevertheless Liszt's output as a writer cannot be ignored. By peeling away the not always attractive outer husk one usually comes upon a significant core. Liszt's literary works do possess the clear value of conveying ideas on art and the role of the artist in society which remain valid to the present day, of giving marvellously sharp-eyed evaluations of rare insight and emphathy on his contemporaries (Berlioz, Wagner, Schumann, Chopin and others), and of formulating the theory of programme music along with scores of other statements which bring the reader nearer to understanding Liszt and the art of a period with many contradictory features.

In his general cultivation Liszt was a self-educated man and as he was continuously occupied as a virtuoso pianist and composer, he was suspected even by his contemporaries of wearing borrowed clothes in his literary works. As Alan Walker, the author of the latest, excellent Liszt biography,[5] points out, the October 2, 1838 number of the *Pariser Zeitung* voiced the supposition that the articles Liszt had published in the *Revue et Gazette Musicale* from 1835 onwards, were written by his companion Marie d'Agoult. This was unambiguously refuted by the editor of the review and there was no more mention of the matter. It was accepted more or less by all that Liszt had an extensive output as a writer; in recognition of this the volumes of his *Gesammelte Schriften* appeared during his own lifetime. Its editor, Lina Ramann, carried out the very useful work

in making Liszt's most important books and articles available together, still the edition did raise several problems. Liszt originally wrote in French, but in the *Gesammelte Schriften* Ramann published everything in German translation.[6] Moreover, volumes IV and V are marked "Deutsch bearbeitet von Lina Ramann", indicating that she had not merely translated but also revised the writings. Revision is, in fact, the appropriate word, as Ramann at places gave fairly free interpretations to Liszt's highly individual French, which is often difficult to translate. In spite of this, she did not include a list of her sources, at the most referring to the year the piece in question was written with no indication of its exact date and place of original publication. These omissions were only partly made up for later. Under the title *Pages Romantiques*, Jean Chantavoine in 1912 published several writings of the *Gesammelte Schriften*, Volume II, in their original form as they had appeared in French in the *Revue et Gazette Musicale* between 1835 and 1840.[7] But the same has not been done for the other volumes. As far as the books are concerned *(Chopin* in *Gesammelte Schriften* I, *Des Bohémiens* in *Gesammelte Schriften* VI), these, of course, are easily available in their original publications. However the articles written for periodicals and newspapers are now difficult to trace, partly because their dates of publication do not feature even in comprehensive bibliographies of Liszt's works,[8] and partly because the papers themselves are now rarities. Thus the present-day reader in most cases has to rest content with Ramann's versions and these are even used as the basis for recent publications on the subject.[9]

Let me return to the question of authorship. Marie d'Agoult, who definitively broke with Liszt in 1844, subsequently made a notable literary career under the name of Daniel Stern and this inevitably gave again rise to the idea that she must have played a certain part in Liszt's early writings. This was confirmed in 1933–34 when the Liszt–D'Agoult correspondence was published.[10] If this was so, who then could have been the (co)-author of the later writings from Liszt's Weimar years? Here too an easy answer seems to present itself: Liszt's second companion was the princess Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein, who later also devoted herself to writing. Even if she had neither the talent nor the success of Marie d'Agoult, she left behind a considerable body of writings at least as far as length is concerned.[11] It was never a secret to Liszt's pupils and friends in Weimar that the princess did have a say in how Liszt wrote and, indeed, sometimes in his actual wording. Peter Cornelius even mentions in his diary how hard he toiled over the translation of some Liszt articles into German because of the constant objections and alterations made by the princess.[12]

Now that the correspondence between Liszt and Marie d'Agoult and a great many other authentic sources have been published, no one argues that everything Liszt wrote was produced fully independently by the composer himself. It is now accepted that Liszt's two companions took an active part in their genesis. Nor are there many now who support another extreme view, once held by the eminent Liszt scholar Emil Haraszti, according to which "Liszt never wrote anything but his private letters."[13] This was a view that appeared in the 1930s when Liszt's idealized image of former years was subjected to sharp criticism and underwent much modifications. Scholars today are inclined rather to treat Liszt's writings one by one; for a small number the two women's authorship can be clearly demonstrated, in the case of others it is equally clear that they can only have come from Liszt, while the majority were obviously joint productions both in content and form. For a detailed account of the subject, the reader is referred to two recent, highly realistic discussions of the issue in the books by Serge Gut and Alan Walker.[14]

Walker points out that all the conflicting

views and mysteries that arise from Liszt's literary works are partly due to the fact that their original manuscripts have not survived. As exceptions to this, he himself lists three documents, unknown to, or ignored by those engaged in the subject: a comprehensive draft of Liszt's early article *On the Position of Artists* (1835), signed by Liszt and now in the British Library in London; the holograph of Liszt's preface to his Symphonic Poems, in the Goethe–Schiller Archiv in Weimar; and the holograph sketch of the essay *De la fondation Goethe à Weimar*, in the same archives.[15]

To this list can be added a further four documents and a yet unknown correspondence which also offers additional information on the work of Liszt the writer.

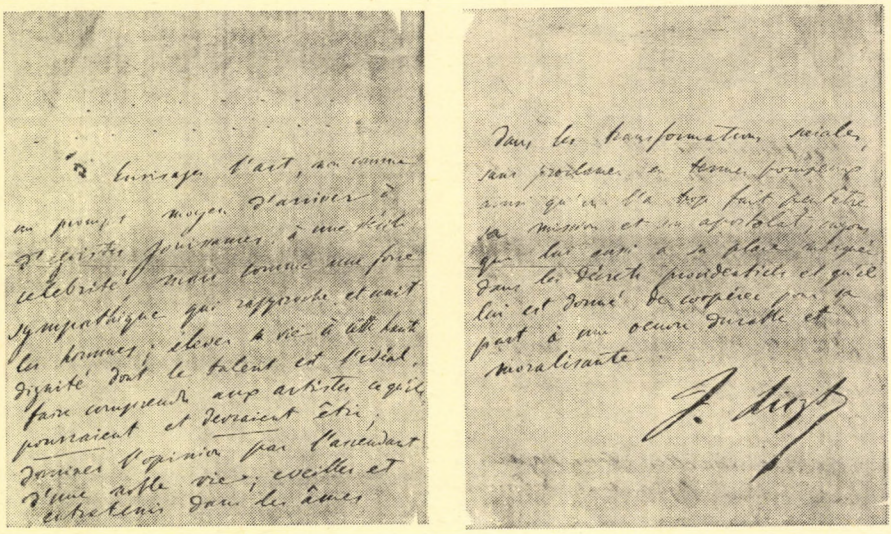
1.

The Liszt legacy in the Goethe–Schiller Archiv in Weimar (which contains the manuscripts section of the former Liszt Museum) includes a Liszt manuscript under number I/1, "Aufzeichnungen über die Aufgabe des Künstlers in der Gegenwart, cca 1835" (Notes on the Task of the Artist in the Present Time). The three pages of the manuscript are in Liszt's clear and sweeping hand. On the first page broken lines indicate that the text which follows is an excerpt taken from some longer text. At the foot of page 3 Liszt's firmly formulated signature attest to the autograph (Figures 1–2).

The full text reads as follows:

Envisager l'art, non comme un prompt moyen d'arriver à d'egoistes jouissances, à une stérile celebrité, mais comme une force sympathique qui rapproche et unit les hommes; élever sa vie à cette haute dignité dont le talent est l'idéal, faire comprendre aux artistes ce qu'ils pourraient *et* devraient *être; dominer l'opinion par l'ascendant d'une noble vie; eveiller et entretenir dans les âmes l'enthousiasme du beau, si voisin de la passion du bien, telle est la tâche que devra s'imposer l'Artiste aujourd'hui.*

Cette tâche est difficile, mais elle n'est point impossible. De larges voies sont ouvertes à toutes les ambitions, une compréhension sympathique est assuré à toute homme qui mettra son labeur au ser-



(1–2) Paganini. An Obituary—excerpt. Autograph by Liszt, Weimar NFG/GSA 1/1.

vice d'une conviction ou d'un sentiment; chacun pressent pour la société des destinées nouvelles: sans s'exagérer outre mesure l'importance de l'artiste dans les transformations sociales, sans proclamer en termes pompeux ainsi qu'on l'a trop fait peut-être sa mission et son apostolat, croyons que lui aussi a sa place marquée dans les décrets providentiels et qu'il lui est donné de coopérer pour sa part à une œuvre durable et moralisante.

*F. Liszt**

Despite the designation given in the catalogue, the text is in Liszt's *Paganini. An Obituary*, dating from 1840. The piece is short but highly significant in its concepts and is to be found in Volume II/1 of the *Gesammelte Schriften;*[16] it has been omitted from Chantavoine's selection. The excerpt quoted here corresponds to the three penultimate paragraphs on pp. 111–2 of the *Gesammelte Schriften*, differing in the arrangement of the paragraphs; the only important difference, is that the concrete reference to Paganini in the volume does not feature at the end of the first long sentence in this manuscript. This raises the question as to what the function of this short manuscript might have been. To my view it is certainly not a draft or a printer's manuscript of a section of *Paganini. An obituary*. The suspension periods at the beginning of the manuscript, the continuous and faultless writing and the omission of the reference to Paganini rather seem to indicate that Liszt for some reason or other copied out the most important thoughts, those that can be generalized, from the completed article. Perhaps he intended them as a few memorial lines for a young artist. In any case the spectacularly signed autograph unambiguously indicates that the ideas it contains come from Liszt himself. They are typical expressions of the ideals of the young artist who was imbued with his sense of vocation, who had faith and trust in transformation and renewal.

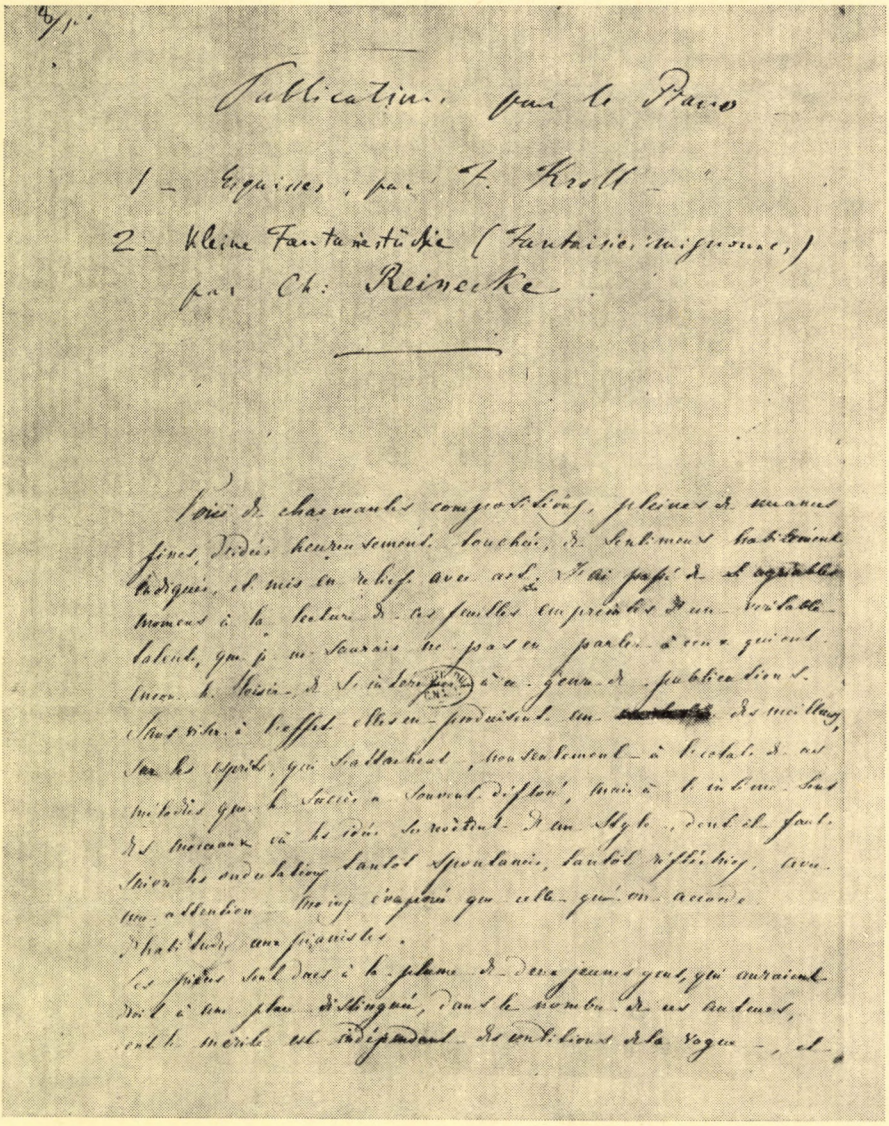
2.

The following document is preserved in the Music Department of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. It is catalogued under No. 8 of the Liszt letters although it is not a letter but the manuscript of a complete Liszt article. The title reads: *Publications pour le Piano—1—Esquisses, par F. Kroll—2—Kleine Fantasiestücke (Fantaisies mignonnes) par Ch. Reinecke.* The article is one of those writings of Liszt which have sunk into complete oblivion. It was not included in the *Gesammelte Schriften*, and is not mentioned in any bibliography of Liszt's works. It appeared in the July 1, 1849 number of the Paris paper *La Musique*, under a slightly different title: *Quelques Conseils aux Artistes à propos DES ESQUISSES PAR F. KROLL ET DES ESQUISSES MIGNONNES PAR CH. REINECKE, pour le piano* (Some Advice for Artists in Connection with F. Kroll's *Esquisses* and Ch. Reinecke's *Esquisses mignonnes*, for the piano).

The manuscript offers interesting evidence of the co-operation between Liszt

* "Considering art not as some quick means to arrive at selfish pleasures or a sterile fame, but as a sympathetic force which approaches and unites people; raising life to that high dignity whose ideal is talent, making artists understand what they *could* and *should* be; dominating public opinion through the ascendancy of a noble life; awakening and nourishing in souls enthusiasm for beauty, which stands close to the passion for the good, this is the task to be undertaken by the Artist of our day.

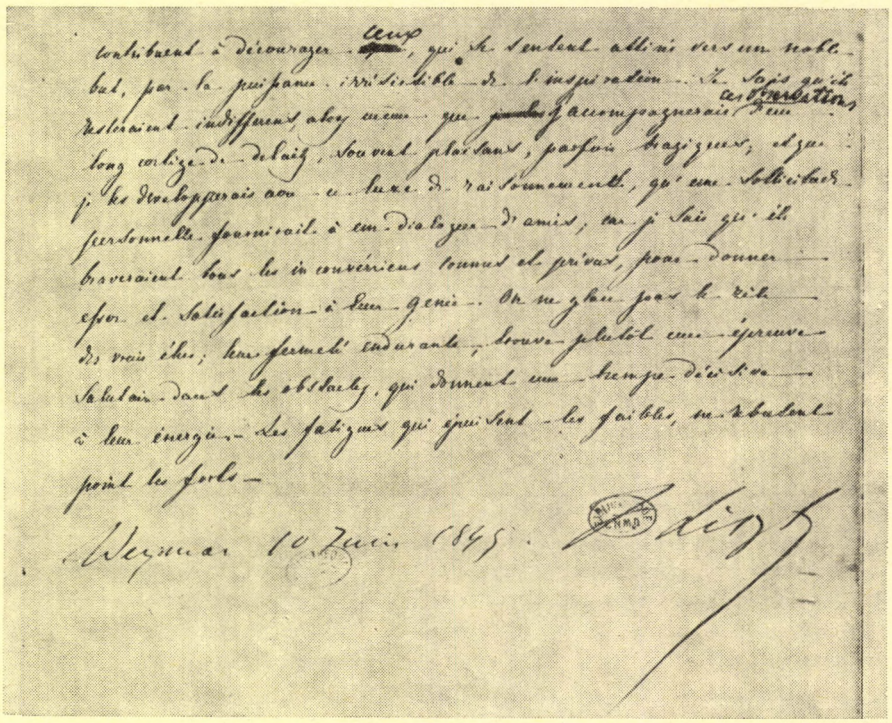
This task is difficult, but it is not impossible. Wide paths are open to all ambitions, a sympathetic comprehension is assured to everyone who places his activity at the service of a conviction or an emotion; we all feel that a new destiny awaits society: without exaggerating out of measure the importance of the artist in social transformations, without proclaming in pompous terms his mission and apostolic role, as has been too often done, let us believe that he has his appointed place in the decrees of providence and it is given to him to co-operate on his part in an enduring and moralistic work. F. Liszt"



(3) Publications pour le Piano (Kroll, Reinecke). Manuscript by Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein, with Liszt's autograph title, signature and corrections. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, page 1.

and his second companion Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein, as it is in Carolyne's hand, with the title written by Liszt, who also made several corrections in the text, dated it *(Weymar 10 Juin 1849)*[17] and signed it. Of the seven pages of the manuscript the first and last are given in Figures 3 and 4.

In 1978 I published and reviewed the full French text of the manuscript, discussing the relationship between Liszt and the



(4) Publications pour le Piano (Kroll, Reinecke). Manuscript by Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein, with Liszt's autograph title, signature and corrections. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, page 7.

composers dealt with in an article in *Zenetudományi Dolgozatok*, the year-book of the Musicological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.[18] Since Liszt's article is completely forgotten, here follow some longer passages in an English translation. The sections in Liszt's hand (even single words) are given in Roman letters in the italicized text. Words underlined by Carolyne or Liszt are here too underlined.

Piano Publications

1—Esquisses, by F. Kroll

2—Kleine Fantasiestücke (Fantaisies mignonnes) by Ch. Reinecke

These are enchanting compositions, with ever so many delicate nuances, ideas grasped with a felicitous hand, and skilfully elaborated and artfully enhanced emotions. I have spent so many pleasant moments in reading these sheets, which bear the stamp of true talent that I cannot leave them unmentioned to those who still have the time to take interest in this type of publications. These works, without aiming to impress, exercise a splendid effect on souls with an attraction not merely for the brightness of these melodies which success has often deflowered, but for the inner meaning of the pieces; in these works the ideas assume a style whose undulations, now spontaneous and now conscious, have to be listened to with a less flitting attention than is usually reserved for pianists.

The pieces are by the hands of two young men who would be entitled to a distinguished place among composers whose merits are independent of the whims of fashion, and who have held for a

long time the attention of connoisseurs with a real interest in well-expressed, beautiful things. They are easy to perform, and their acceptance would not call for the overcoming of prejudices frightened by the mere approach of what is called eccentric music. They are short, with a sound easy to grasp, and belong to the genre which is gaining more and more ground from day to day and, particularly in Germany, forming a whole school of musician-poets, as it unites reverie and great knowledge—these two distinguishing marks of the German spirit. Most of them are fond of providing little frames for artfully elaborated images. It seems that Mendelssohn's Songs Without Words (Lieder ohne Worte) opened the path towards this noteworthy development, of individual emotion and intimate impressions. At present the head of this school is, naturally, Mr Robert Schumann, on account of his great many compositions which serve as models (Novellettes, Scenes of Childhood, Spanish Scenes, Oriental Scenes, Kreisleriana, Fantasias, Arabesques, Humoresques, Ballads, Legends, and so on and so forth), and by his having been able to lend them such considerable value.

Mr Reinecke is one of those most eminent pianists who could be heard this winter at several concerts in the Gewandhaus in Leipzig, where audiences accustomed to the most splendid performances, justly received him with the esteem and sympathy due him. [. . .] We know his formally rich and emotionally sublime trios and quartets [. . .] with a noble reserved manner as their main characteristic.

Mr Kroll has published less than his colleague, but the quality of his works raises him to the level of his more productive fellow-composers. Having idled for a year in Weimar (this dolce far niente resembling the limbo from where the imagination later liberates distinct figures), and having compelled my admiration with the resources of his spirit, delicate, penetrating, teasing yet not rancorous, he settled recently in Berlin, where he is certain to further enhance his reputation.

Following these two careers, which should be brilliant. I am sad to see all the many barriers obstructing their paths; and I am even sorrier to recall my memories of so many other young men! [. . .]

People nowadays are elbowing, pushing and running in the artistic arena in such haste and confusion that the artist himself scarcely finds a place there any more. Art for some is a craft just like any other craft; for others it is more amusing than other crafts; they seek for some frivolous means in it to vindicate its advantages, existing or non-existing; others still seek in art an opportunity to show off in salons—and these intruders outdo the legitimate children of the family both in number, pretentiousness and artifice. People endowed with great talent, who disdain petty means, often find themselves in a situation of being outstripped precisely by those with whom they did not even dream to enter the lists at all; so that the authentic initiates of the cult of art who nevertheless have to live by the altar, ask themselves despondently: how are we to do it then?

Moreover, the handicaps of immoderate rivalry do not constitute the only obstacle along an artist's career today. A general commotion can be felt everywhere. Political passions intrude violently into everyone's life. So many things, so many existences have become questionable that no one knows where and how to get out of the turmoil, that is where and how to find the calm necessary for an elaborate creation of works that have to leave a lasting trace. Well, there is nothing more woeful than this frittering away of our means, emotions and desires, which, spreading at once into much too many directions, scatters our thoughts, reduces their effect and makes them resemble springs which instead of cleaving a deep and wide bed for themselves, spread out into ever so many insignificant streamlets. [. . .]

Based on these considerations, I say that for all those who have embraced this career with the resolution of doing their work honestly, it would be important to seize more thoroughly, in advance, the vexations and difficulties. [. . .] It is a great and fine thing to devote oneself to the Ideal, to Art, for which and not only by which one is to live as it has been aptly put by a modern

columnist; but those who wish to bravely take this path, should realize before setting out that very often it is dreary and painful despite the trinkets that it is nowadays strewn with; they should aim at becoming more closely acquainted with the agencies and forces of inertia which have to be made use of there; they should devote some thought to the fact that art springing from emotion is principally a vocation which, as with every vocation, frequently requires submissions painful to one's heart, and a stubborn perseverance stronger than one's weaknesses in those bleak *moments which always hover over fame due to uncertainty on the part of the public.* [. . .]

I do not fear that these comments, which could be confirmed in part by famous and in part by touching examples will add to the discouragement of those *who feel attracted by an irresistible force of inspiration towards a noble goal.* [. . .] *The ardour of the real elect cannot be dampened; their persevering constancy will even see a salutary trial in the obstacles, which provide a decisive thoughness for their energy.—The strains which exhaust the weak do not deter the strong.*

Weymar, June 10, 1849, F. Liszt.

Compared with the excerpt from *Paganini. An Obituary*, this article of 1849 employs a wording which is much more verbose and involved. But Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein, in that typical style of hers, obviously formulated the personal and artistic problems that were occupying Liszt. This is why Liszt felt justified in signing and publishing the article. In his letters to Kroll and Reinecke, dating almost from the same time, he set down similar thoughts, even if in a much simpler way, on the need for artistic concentration and a sense of vocation such as on the difficulties of the lives of the elect and their unswerving faith.[19]

3.

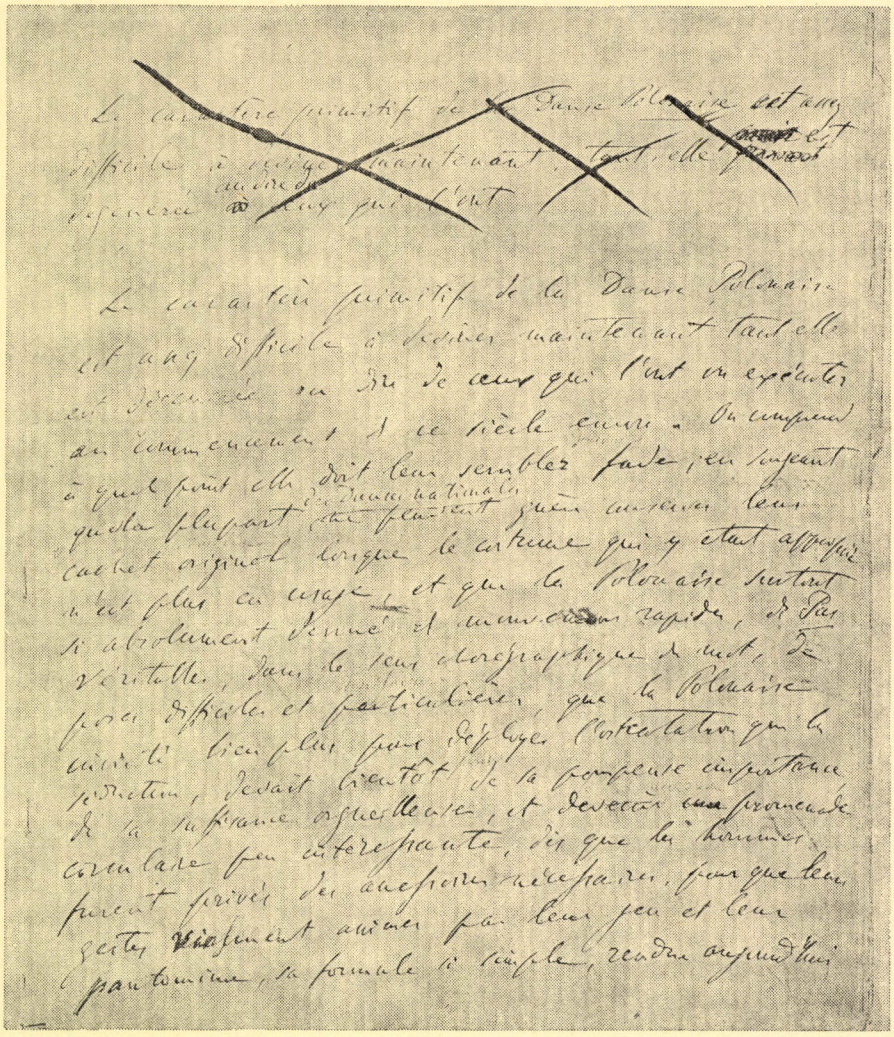
In 1976 the Musikantiquariat Hans Schneider of Tutzing, Federal Republic of Germany, contained an advertisement in its catalogue No. 200 for a twenty-three page Liszt manuscript: "N° 96 LISZT, FRANZ. Eigh. Manuskript. [Weimar 1850/51] 24 1/4 S. 4°. Urschrift des zweiten Kapitels der berühmten Abhandlung von Liszt: Chopin. [. . .] Das bedeutende Manuskript enthält zahlreiche Zusätze (meist in Blei) sowie eine ganzseitige Nachschrift von der Hand der Fürstin Wittgenstein."

Originally the manuscript had formed part of the collection of one of Liszt's pupils, August Göllerich (1859–1923); after the death of Göllerich and his wife it had been deposited for some time at the Bruckner Conservatory in Linz. When the decision was made to liquidate the collection, Wilhelm Jerger published a short review on the Liszt autographs in the periodical *Musikforschung*.[20] At the auction the document in question was purchased by a German private collector. Through the services of the noted German Liszt scholar Dr Friedrich Schnapp, who died in the summer of 1983, we have received a Xerox copy of the full manuscript,[21] whose first page, also included in the antiquarian's catalogue is reproduced (Figure 5.) (For the rest of the manuscript we have been unable to obtain permission as the present owner is unknown to us).

Liszt's *Chopin* was first published in continuous, complete form by Escudier of Paris in 1852. The manuscript corresponds to the section from line 19 on page 23 to line 7 on page 45 in this edition.

This manuscript also shows close collaboration between Liszt and Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein, but here the situation is the reverse of that pertaining to the article on Kroll and Reinecke. Here the basic text, a draft with several corrections and insertions, is in Liszt's hand. This was looked through by Carolyne, who proposed a good many minor changes, which she entered between the lines, generally in pencil. She added two lengthy insertions at the end of the manuscript for which there was no room on the relevant pages of Liszt's manuscript.

Interestingly it is precisely the description



(5) Chopin—excerpt. Autograph by Liszt, with Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein's corrections. Private possession, page 1.

of the polonaise of the Chopin book which has come to light in Liszt's original formulation. One might have thought that this general section, related to Polish customs and historical traditions was committed to paper by Carolyne, who was of Polish extraction and always considered herself a Polish patriot and an expert on Polish matters. Naturally Liszt's virtuoso concert tours brought him on to Polish soil, and he had many Polish acquaintances and friends besides Chopin.[22] Still it is highly probable that he discussed the subject fully with Carolyne before formulating the part on the polonaise. So the changes suggested by the princess in the description of the old

traditions of the polonaise mostly concern some expressions and stylistic turns, and have little to do with the essence. Both of Carolyne's longer insertions[23] feature in the section dealing concretely with Chopin, but in content they amount to futile verbiage. As an example let us quote the first, shorter insertion. Liszt writes on the cadences of Chopin's polonaises, whose chords recall to him the image of a sword clanking in its scabbard and that of a martial, commanding man. Carolyne enlarged this passage with a description of the warrior's impatiently prancing horse in its ornate caparison.

[Liszt]: "*Les cadences y furent marqués par des accords qu'on dirait le bruit des sabres remués dans leur forreau; le murmure des voix au lieu de feindre de tièdes pourparlers d'amour, firent retentir des notes basses et pleines come celles des poitrines habitués à comander* [Carolyne:] auxquelles répondit le hennissement fougeux et éloigné de ces chevaux du désert de si noble élégante encolure, piaffant avec impatience et ... [illegible word], regardant de leur oeil doux intelligent et plein de feu, et pourtant avec tant de grâce leurs caparaçonnements incrustés de turquoises ou de rubis."

Carolyne's corrections are generally intended to polish Liszt's style, as the following two short examples indicate.

[Liszt:]	[Carolyne:]
On n'avait garde d'avancer come si l'on était pressé, come si l'on se deplaçait par nécessité. [...]	On n'avait garde d'avancer avec hâte de se déplacer précipitament comme mû par une nécessité.[24] [...]
Le motif principal a quelque chose de sinistre comme l'heure qui précède l'orage; l'oreille croit saisir des interjections amères, un defi jeté à tous les elémens. Subitement le retour continu d'une tonique au comencement de chaque mesure fait entendre [...]	Le motif principal est d'un air de sinistre comme l'heure qui précède l'ouragan; l'oreille croit saisir des interjections exaspérées, un defi jeté à tous les elémens. Incontinent le retour prolongé d'une tonique au comencement de chaque mesure fait entendre[25] [...]

Comparing the manuscript with the version published in 1852 of *Chopin*, it becomes evident that Carolyne's corrections (apart from a few trifles) were all taken into consideration. Nevertheless there are several smaller and larger divergences between the manuscript and the published form, with the latter including sections which do not yet feature in the manuscript (for example, the long author's note at the foot of page 41 and the quotation of the Byron poem on top of page 44). In certain sections there is a marked change in the order of paragraphs (for instance, on pp. 36–7, which corresponds to page 15 in the manuscript). In other places the changes only take the form of a few insertions, omissions or alterations concerning half sentences. A corrected fair copy was possibly made for the printer, or the proofs must have been corrected thoroughly. Continual correction and rewriting formed an organic part of the working method both of Liszt and Carolyne.

The publication of *Chopin* in 1852 was not the final chapter in the history of this work. In 1879 Breitkopf and Härtel of Leipzig brought out a new and revised edition. It is in connection with this edition that I would like to refer briefly to an interesting exchange of letters between Liszt and Carolyne. Breitkopf raised the idea of a new edition as early as 1874, and into the work of revision, Liszt drew Carolyne who by the time had long since been living in Rome, buried in the manuscript of her endless work on ecclesiastical policy. On Liszt's part it was a mark of thoughtfulness and devotion, a recall of their former collaboration, to accept Carolyne's help in the revision. But he had to pay dearly for it. Originally they intended to spend two or three evenings in reading through the book

and, shelving all disputes on "literary requirements," completing the preparation for the new edition.[26] Carolyne however kept the copy with her and wanted to monopolize the work of revision almost completely. Her innumerable corrections and expansions needlessly increased the size, decreased the value of the work and also delayed the publication of the new edition. This led to serious conflict between Liszt and Carolyne, the traces of which, however, cannot be found in their correspondence as it has been published; the editor La Mara (Marie Lipsius) carefully omitted all the parts, sometimes complete letters, which refer to the subject. But the original letters have survived in the Liszt collection of the Goethe-Schiller Archiv in Weimar, with drafts of several of them featuring in Liszt's book of letters of 1877–8, preserved in Budapest.[27]

The correspondence on this second edition of *Chopin* could easily be the subject of a separate article. Here we quote a single excerpt as an interesting snippet on the authorship of Liszt's literary works. On April 25, 1877 Liszt wrote to Carolyne:[28] *"Vous me donnez d'excellentes instructions relativement à la nouvelle édition; cependant il sera nécessaire que je copie tous vos changements, malgré les assurances de Grégorovius sur l'expertise et l'habileté des protes de Leipzig. Quant à ma susceptibilité d'auteur, elle est entièrement de votre invention: je n'ai jamais caché que vous m'aviez beaucoup aidé pour ce Chopin; tout au contraire; et 'faire les choses ouvertement' (jusque'à l'excès parfois) est fort ma coutume. Par conséquent, ce n'est pas la crainte des soupçons des protes qui me retient, mais bien celle d'un gâchis d'imprimerie—votre manuscrit etant des plus embrouillés.—Avant la publication je vous enverrai les dernières épreuves."* *

* "You give me excellent instructions regarding the new edition; nevertheless it will be necessary for me to copy all your changes, despite Grégorovius' assurance on the expertise and skill of the Leipzig type-setters. As to my author's sensitivity, this is entirely your invention; I never made a secret of your extensive help at the time in this *Chopin;* on the contrary; and 'to act openly' (sometimes exaggeratedly so) is a real habit with me. Consequently, it is not fear of the insinuations of the setters which holds me back, much rather of a blunder in printing—your manuscript being extremely embroiled.—Before the publication I shall send you the final proofs."

Liszt obviously wished not only to spare the printer Carolyne's almost illegible handwriting, but also to regain control of his own work. The correspondence bears further proofs of this (there is, for example, a letter in which Liszt goes through Carolyne's corrections page for page, adding his own comments). Unfortunately Carolyne triumphed—apart from a few exceptions, *Chopin* finally appeared in the new version drawn up by her. Under such circumstances it is understandable that when it came to a new edition of *The Gypsies*, Liszt, by then an old man, no longer felt strong enough to take the work of revision out of Carolyne's hand, which led to the unfortunate consequences already mentioned.

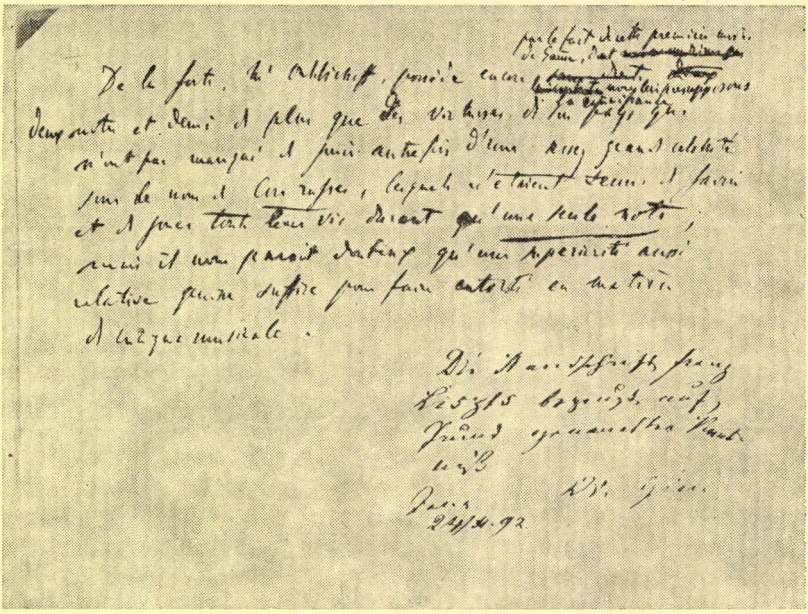
4.

The last document presented here has, since 1982, formed part of the collection of manuscripts on local history in the Liszt Ferenc Museum in Sopron.[29] The manuscript (along with one of Liszt's letters) was presented to the Sopron museum by János Scholz, a musician of Hungarian extraction and former cellist of the Roth String Quartet, now living in the United States.[30]

The manuscript consists of a single draft page in Liszt's hand, as shown in Figure 6. It is an excerpt, in the original French formulation, from a short article, *Kritik der Kritik. Ulibischeff und Séroff*, which Liszt wrote for the January 1, 1858 number of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*.

There are several corrections in the text which reads:

De la sorte, M^r^ Oulibischeff, possède encore par le fait de cette première moitié de Game, dont nous lui presupposons la connaissance deux notes et demi de



(6) Criticism of Criticism—excerpt (draft). Autograph by Liszt, Sopron, Liszt Museum.

plus que les virtuoses de son pays qui n'ont pas manqué de jouir autrefois d'une assez grande celebrité sous le nom de Cors russes, *lesquels n'étaient tenus de savoir et de jouer toute leur vie durant qu'*une seule note; *mais il nous parait douteux qu'une superiorité aussi relative puisse suffire pour faire autorité en matière de critique musicale."* *

The article is included in Volume V of the *Gesammelte Schriften;* the manuscript corresponds to the sentence that begins in line 15 on page 222, but with one slight difference: in the volume the last subordinate clause is longer and has Beethoven's name featuring in it. The event that led up to writing the article was the publication of a book by Alexander Dimitryevich Ulibishev (Oulibicheff, 1794–1858) in 1857, *Beethoven, ses critiques et ses glossateurs,* which sharply attacked the "extravagances" of works by the aged Beethoven. Ulibishev's analyses made it clear that he was a dilettante whose musical knowledge was scanty. Liszt, for whom Beethoven remained the most highly revered model throughout his life, turned with biting sarcasm on the dilettante "Beethoven critic," and he eagerly welcomed an article by Alexander Nikolayevich Serov (Seroff, 1820–1871), which refutes and ridicules one by one the absurd claims of his compatriot. In final conclusion of his own article, Liszt cites a significant sentence from Serov: "If a theory does not tally with the practice of an enormous genius, it will never be a lasting one, as art lives its life not in books but in works of art."

The Gothic characters at the foot of the

* "In this manner, Mr Oulibischeff, has through this first half of the scale, as we suppose, a knowledge two and a half notes greater than that of his compatriots, the virtuosos who once enjoyed great fame under the name of *Cors Russes,* who had only to know and play throughout their lives *a single note;* yet it seems dubious to me to deem such a relative superiority sufficient for someone to make himself out as an authority in the field of music criticism."

manuscript certify the authenticity of the document: "Die Handschrift Franz Liszts bezeugt auf Grund genauester Kenntniß Dr. Gille. Jena 24/4. 92."

Carl Gille (1813–1899), a lawyer in Jena and a close friend of Liszt's, did much to popularize his works. After the composer's death he became the first custodian of the Liszt Museum in Weimar. Gille certified to the manuscript being in Liszt's hand, but *Kritik der Kritik* had been presumed to be the work of Liszt alone on account of its content, even before the draft came to light. The essence of this writing concerns the defence not only of Beethoven but of creative freedom and the right for artistic invention in general, concepts which around 1858 were central in Liszt's life. It was not accidental that a few weeks after the appearance of the article Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein wrote to Eduard Liszt, the composer's oncle-cousin, "You've given Liszt great pleasure by approving of his article of January 1, 'Kritik der Kritik'."[31] It was not Liszt the writer who was flattered by the recognition. Liszt as a composer, performer and writer contended for everything that was new, and was pleased to find that as well as his many antagonists there were people who understood and agreed with his aims.

What then is the actual significance of the documents presented here? As already mentioned, for a long time not one of the manuscripts of Liszt's literary works were known. Now seven authentic manuscripts (including those listed by Walker) are at the disposal of scholars, and there is every reason to expect still more to come to light. These documents help dispel the obscurity around Liszt the writer, bring the ideas of Liszt the composer closer and lead to a better understanding of the Liszt phenomenon as a whole, one which still holds many exciting mysteries in store.

NOTES

1. Volumes I–VI according to the original numbering, but Volume III was published in 2 fascicles. A planned Volume VII was not, however, published.

2. Chopin's sister left a great many questions unanswered in the questionnaire Liszt sent her on November 14, 1849, before embarking on his book (see Scharlitt, Bernard: 'Ein Brief und Fragebogen Liszts an die Schwester Chopins', *Musikalisches Wochenblatt*, Leipzig, 1907, No. 44). The collection of the Chopin Society (TIFC) in Warsaw includes unpublished letters by Chopin's pupil Jane Stirling to Chopin's sister Ludwika Jędrzewiczowa, in which Stirling speaks disparagingly of the freshly published book and approves of the sisters not assisting Liszt by providing information.

3. The polemic which began in the Hungarian press even before the appearance of the book, engaged, apart from various unimportant faultfinders, such renowned artists and scholars as Ágoston Adelburg, István Bartalus, Sámuel Brassai, Sándor Czeke, István Fáy, Ede Reményi and Kálmán Simonffy.

4. For more details see Hamburger, Klára: *Liszt*, 2nd, revised ed., Budapest, 1980, pp. 350–56; Riehn, Rainer: 'Wider die Verunglimpfung des Andenkens Verstorbener' in *Musik-Konzepte* 12, March 1980, pp. 100–14.

5. Walker, Alan: *Franz Liszt*, Vol. 1: *The Virtuoso Years*, New York, London, 1983.

6. Some of the articles appeared in German translation right at the time of first publication, e.g. those written for the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. Many were translated by Peter Cornelius (1824–1874), Liszt's pupil, and a composer and poet.

7. The writings in Chantavoine's volume are: *De la situation des artistes*, *Lettre d'un voyageur à M. George Sand*, and *Lettres d'un bachelier ès musique*.

8. Raabe, Peter: *Liszt's Schaffen*, Berlin, 1931, ²Tutzing 1968; Searle, Humphrey: 'Liszt, Franz (Ferenc)' in: *The New Grove*, Vol. 11, London etc. 1980; Milstein, Jakov Isakovich: *F. Liszt*, Moscow: 1956, ²1971, Hungarian edition: Budapest, 1964.

9. E.g. Hankiss, János: *Liszt Ferenc válogatott írásai I–II* (Selected Writings of Ferenc Liszt), Budapest, 1959, Franz Liszt: *Schriften zur Tonkunst*, ed. Wolfgang Marggraf, Leipzig, 1981.

10. Ollivier, Daniel: *Correspondance de Liszt et de la comtesse d'Agoult*, Paris, 1933–4.

11. Her principal work was, *Causes intérieures*

de la faiblesse extérieure de l'Église en 1870, in 24 volumes.

12. Cornelius, Peter: *Ausgewählte Briefe, nebst Tagebuchblättern und Gelegenheitsgedichten, Vols I–II*, Leipzig, 1904–5. Quoted by Walker, p. 21.

13. Haraszti, Emil: 'Le problème Liszt' in *Acta Musicologica*, December 1937. Quoted by Walker, p. 20.

14. Gut, Serge: *Franz Liszt: Les éléments du language musical*, Chapter "Liszt écrivain", Paris, 1975; Walker op. cit. pp. 15–23.

15. Walker, op. cit. p. 21.

16. *Paganini. Ein Nekrolog*, pp. 108–12.

17. The catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale erroneously dates the article 1845, see also Bloch-Michel, Antoine: *Bibliothèque Nationale. Lettres autographes conservées au Département de la Musique, catalogue sommaire*, Paris, 1984, p. 184.

18. Eckhardt, Mária: 'Párizsi Liszt-dokumentum 1849-ből' [A Liszt Document from 1849, in Paris] in *Zenetudományi Dolgozatok 1978*, Budapest, 1979, pp. 79–93.

19. Liszt's letter to Franz Kroll: Weimar, May 30, 1849, in Prahács, Margit: *Franz Liszt, Briefe aus ungarischen Sammlungen 1835–1886*, Budapest, 1966, No. 32; his letter to Carl Reinecke: Weimar, May 30, 1849 in La Mara: *Franz Liszt's Briefe, Vol. I*, Leipzig, 1893, No. 59.

20. Jerger, Wilhelm: 'Die Handschriften Franz Liszts aus dem Nachlaß von August Göllerich in Linz' in *Die Musikforschung*, 1976/3, pp. 17–25. Jerger did not realize the manuscript as an excerpt from the book *Chopin*.

21. I wish to express my thanks here to Imre Sulyok, who had handed over Schnapp's Xerox copy to me for a detailed study.

22. Liszt refers to his personal experiences in *Chopin* ("Lorsque nous nous sommes trouvés dans la patrie de Chopin...", p. 32). See also: Sochacki, Stanislaw Andrzej: *Liszt Ferenc és a lengyelek* [Ferenc Liszt and the Poles], Budapest, 1963.

23. The insertions were meant to page 19 in Liszt's manuscript, and they correspond to lines 3–9 on page 41 and the text from line 15 on page 42 to line 9 on page 43, respectively, of the 1852 edition.

24. The last two lines on page 8 and the first line on page 9 in the manuscript, corresponding to lines 16–18 on page 30 in the published form, in Carolyne's version.

25. Lines 8–12 on page 21 in the manuscript, corresponding to lines 8–13 on page 44 in the published form, in Carolyne's version.

26. See Liszt's letter to Carolyne dated Villa d'Este, January 6, 1876, marked 90/2, No. 2 in the Liszt Legacy in the NFG/Goethe–Schiller Archiv in Weimar, published by La Mara: *Franz Liszts Briefe Vol. VII*, Leipzig, 1902, No. 127.

27. Liszt's letter-book is preserved in the Music Division of the National Széchényi Library in Budapest under shelf-number Ms. mus. 376, and is now in course of publication. For Liszt's letter-books see: Eckhardt, Mária: 'Zur Frage der Liszt'schen Briefkonzeptbücher' in *Liszt-Studien II, Kongreßbericht Eisenstadt 1978*, ed. Serge Gut, Munich–Salzburg, 1981.

28. The letter is dated April 25, 1877; the draft features under No. 70 in Liszt's letter-book, and the fair copy, which was posted is marked 91/1, No. 15 in the Liszt Legacy in Weimar. Published by La Mara, op. cit. No. 181, here, however, the paragraph in question is omitted.

29. Shelf number: LFM Helytört. Kéziratgyűjtemény [Collection of Manuscripts on Local History], 82. 1. 1.

30. Scholz bought the manuscript in a French second-hand bookshop (Librairie de l'Abbaye, 27 rue de l'Abbaye, 27 rue Bonaparte, Paris VIe). Its previous provenance is unknown.

31. The letter is dated January 16, 1858, Weimar. See: Eckhardt, Maria and Knotik, Cornelia: *Franz Liszt und sein Kreis in Briefen und Dokumenten aus den Beständen des Burgenländischen Landesmuseums*, Eisenstadt, 1983, No. 9.

OUT OF THE ORDINARY

New recordings of works by Boïto, Puccini, Verdi, Liszt, Mahler, Ligeti, and Balassa

Hungaroton has been continuing its valuable and enterprising policy of recording good but unusual works which are little known and have the added virtue of adapting themselves well to the particular talents of the available Hungarian musicians. The new recording of Boïto's late opera *Nerone* is an excellent case in point (SLPD 12487-9) as is proved by the number of opera-buffs of my acquaintance who pricked up their ears when I told them that this previously unrecorded work could at last be heard, and in a good performance. Another example is the (not new) recording of Liszt's *Christus* under Miklós Forrai (LPX 11506-8). It's natural, of course, that a Budapest company should promote the works of Liszt, as well as Haydn, Bartók and Kodály. The opera sets, on the other hand, might be seen as acts of supererogation. Recent additions to this category are a fine Puccini *Gianni Schicchi* (SLPD 12541) and—rather more variable—Verdi's *Simone Boccanegra* (SLPD 12522-24). But Hungaroton could usefully spread this particular net beyond the world of opera and oratorio. I notice, for instance, that the works of Stravinsky are, with a few exceptions, little recorded in performances apart from those conducted by the master himself, whose quality is notoriously erratic. We badly need a first-class *Les Noces* (Hungary has both the pianists and the choirs to do it justice), while to this day *Perséphone* has never been recorded except under Stravinsky—and these are two of his greatest works. I could add that not all of Stravinsky's Russian forebears have been kindly treated by the gramophone.

The *Nerone* set is, in any case, a major achievement and a valuable supplement to our knowledge of late-romantic Italian opera. Boïto, who was of course Verdi's librettist in *Otello* and *Falstaff* (as well as for the revised version of *Boccanegra*, as it happens), wrote two operas on his own account of which the relatively well-known *Mefistofele* is an early work, while *Nerone* hung fire for over forty years and was still unfinished at Boïto's death, in 1918, though the libretto (by Boïto, of course) had been published 17 years earlier. The last of the five acts was never composed at all, while the orchestration of the rest had to be completed by Tommasini and Toscanini, who conducted the first performance at last in 1924, no less than 54 years after the original completion of the text.

Nerone is in the fullest sense a grand opera. Though its theme is the apparently intimate and psychologically complex one of the nature of evil, Boïto works it out on the public platform of Roman life, politics and religion in a way that is no less spectacular and grandiose for being carefully researched and rather self-consciously "accurate" (readers of the libretto, which is included, will need a good dictionary of Roman history to hand if they want to be sure excatly what everyone is wearing or carrying at any given moment). It is no doubt characteristic of Boïto, who was an intellectual and a thinker among Italian musicians, that the trappings of stage melodrama should be so painstakingly used to intensify a psychological theme. Not only are the Christian and Romano-priestly factions given much more subtlety than is normal in this kind of opera by the careful portrayal of their leading members (who moreover give for once an impression of actually understanding what they are supposed, as a matter of convention, to represent), but Nero's own relation to both is brilliantly complicated by his willingness to destroy either or both on a purely personal whim; the scene in which he actually tears

apart the trick-temple of the hierophant Simon Magus is electrifying theatre precisely because it shows him acting outside convention (tyrants in operas always believe what their priests tell them) but *in* character (Nero is violent and superstitious, but only about things he cannot, he thinks, comprehend). This role was offered, incidentally, to Caruso, who even accepted it but never in the end took it, and that gives some idea, perhaps, of the quality and scope of the part.

Although it would be idle to claim that Boïto was a composer of the front rank, it is some measure of his underrated abilities in this field that he is not at all dwarfed musically by the task he set himself as a writer. *Nerone* is consistently exciting and powerful both in its big set pieces (there are as many processions as in any opera by Meyerbeer) and in its attempts to penetrate the motivation of characters like Nero or the Vestal Virgin Rubria who has been converted to Christianity. Stylistically it is inevitably a bit of a mixture, with late Verdi (always a threat to Boïto's creative personality), the newer verismists, and certain other modern, especially expressionist, tendencies vying with each other in a manner which reflects the polarities of the drama itself. Boïto is not unlike Puccini in this eclecticism, if hardly a composer of the same order. In any case *Nerone* is a thoroughly arresting and enjoyable work, and I very much hope this recording will lead to a stage production.

The American conductor Eve Queler directs a performance that is very much worthy of its object. The opera is a demanding one vocally (it would be admittedly even worse to have to perform Boïto's stage directions at the same time as his music). But János Nagy (Nero), József Dene (Simon Magus), Klára Takács (Rubria) and Ilona Tokody (Asteria), among several others, sing with virtuosity and great vocal presence, where a lesser cast might have left one wondering how far Boïto's artistic vision measured up to his intellectual idea. There is also brilliant playing by the Hungarian State Opera Orchestra and very fine chorus work from the Hungarian Radio and Television Chorus.

Of the other operatic issues I mentioned earlier, *Gianni Schicchi* which was completed in the year of Boïto's death (just as *Nerone* was first performed in the year of Puccini's), comes off far the better. György Melis is a witty and personable Schicchi, Magda Kalmár and Dénes Gulyás sing delightfully as the (temporarily) star-crossed lovers Lauretta and Rinuccio, and the minor castings, so important in this piece, are excellent. János Ferencsik, at 77, responds as vigorously as one would expect to a work so vividly endowed with the characteristic vitality of the aging master. The *Boccanegra*, under Giuseppe Patané, is also stylishly played but less strongly cast. Lajos Miller, a baritone I have admired in other contexts, is overparted as the sea-captain, lacking something of the dark ferocity the part calls for, while the bass József Gregor seems simply not in his best voice as Fiesco; and though Veronika Kincses and János Nagy carol sweetly enough as the young lovers, their work sounds conventional in a context of diluted political and psychological subtlety.

Liszt's sprawling oratorio *Christus* brings us back to the regions of neglected romantic religious drama. But though *Christus*, like *Nerone*, was a long time in the composition (Liszt finished it in 1866) it is not really an ambitious work in quite the same sense, since it openly consists of no less than 14 movements which are quite distinct and self-contained, even though their *raison d'être* appears to be to accomplish a grand presentation of the frameworks of the Christian story, from the Nativity to the Resurrection. Though there have been recent complete performances, it is hard seriously to think of *Christus* as one, integrated work, in the way one does of Handel's *Messiah*—its parts are too disparate, too uneven in style and quality, too diverse in artistic texture. On the one hand we have

the exquisite Nativity music, large stretches of it orchestral, highly pictorial and glowing like a Renaissance altar-piece; on the other the earnest, devotional Passion music, with its almost liturgical flavour, its leaning towards words rather than pictures. As so often with 19th-century sacred choral music, such dichotomies are emphasized by the fact that the most serious music is not usually the best, so that the work, taken as a whole, tends to lose impetus at just those points where it most needs to gain it. The exquisite 'Christmas-Oratorio' section, with its daring, icon-like stillness of harmony brings out the best in the author of the *Années de Pélerinage*, where many of the later parts only confirm the worthiness of his intentions.

The Forrai recording has a recently issued rival, surprisingly enough, in a German recording conducted by Heinz Panzer (Vipro Classic, 0180.075), but though this version sung by the Choir of the Dortmund Musikverein and played by the generally excellent Cologne Philharmonic Orchestra has many virtues, it must be admitted that it is very much less polished and consistent in quality than the twelve year-old Hungarian performance. It suffers particularly from lax choral (and sometimes also solo vocal) intonation, and also from a peculiar recorded balance, while the Hungaroton recording by the Budapest Choir, the Kodály Girls' Choir and the Hungarian State Orchestra, is secure in both these respects, whatever it may lack in clear definition. On the whole this vast but shaky edifice of a work is well enough served by Forrai and his colleagues.

One feels differently about Liszt's symphonic poems, the best of which certainly do not deserve their neglect. Three of these get superb performances also from the apparently ageless Ferencsik and the Hungarian State Orchestra: *Les Préludes*, *Orpheus* and *Tasso* (SLPD 12446). They are not, of course, by any means the least played of the symphonic poems, but even so I must say in well over twenty years of professional concert-going in London I have never yet heard a concert performance of *Tasso* and not more than one or two of *Orpheus*, which, what's more, is at present unobtainable (apart from the record under review) on a single disc in the British Gramophon Catalogue. So it remains true that these fine works belong still to that happily dwindling body of works known by repute as works of importance in the history of music but not thought generally worthy of performance.

How oddly this contrasts with the recent history of Mahler appreciation. Taking again the British scene, with which I am familiar, it can safely be said that until a few enthusiasts started pushing Mahler in the late fifties, nobody here would even have argued that he was a historically important figure, that is, he would have been considered less important than Liszt, whose music of course wasn't played either. Suddenly there was a surge of Mahler, he had a centenary, and his music became well-known. No doubt he is a greater figure than Liszt, certainly he is easier to grasp as a whole, being very much one thing throughout where Liszt was protean and difficult to assess. Yet listening to Joó Árpád's excellent recording of the Eighth Symphony (SLPD 12543—44) I can't quite banish from my head Stravinsky's scurrilous and of course grossly biased judgement of this work in a letter to Delage: "Imagine that for two hours you are made to understand that two times two is four." There certainly are few more self-important works in the literature than the Symphony of a Thousand; and, though Liszt could also be self-important (back to *Christus*), he could also be self-effacing as well as intellectually severe. It is one of the most consistently intriguing facts about his work that, while it certainly influenced such as Mahler, the finale of whose Eighth must have been written in full awareness of Liszt's *Faust* Symphony, it also left its mark on Sibelius, and of course on Bartók, whose *Music for strings, percussion and celesta* is perhaps the climax of the Liszt

tradition, as we can judge once more in the performance Leonard Bernstein conducted with the Bavarian Radio Symphony Orchestra in Budapest's Erkel Theatre last November, now out on record (SLPD 12631, with Bernstein's own Divertimento and a Brahms Hungarian Dance).

I leave till last a brief consideration of one or two recent records of modern music, of which the most important comes, not from Hungaroton, but from Deutsche Grammophon, and consists of works by the expatriate Hungarian, György Ligeti, played by the Ensemble Intercontemporain under Pierre Boulez (410 651—1). This is not a record of the recent Ligeti, but presents a cross-section of the music he wrote during the sixties, the two "mimodramas" *Aventures* and *Nouvelles Aventures*, the string work *Ramifications*, and the Chamber Concerto—works which represent, respectively, the absurdist (proto-Macabre) Ligeti, the "tectural" Ligeti and, in embryo at least, the polyphonic Ligeti, but not yet the "melodious" Ligeti of *Melodien*. These works, so beautifully played and sung, and with their rather marked experimental tendencies, are worth comparing with a group of works by a rather younger Hungarian composer, Sándor Balassa, including the orchestral tone poems *Chant of Glarus* and *The Island of Everlasting Youth*, as well as the vocal works *Tresses* and the *Motet*, op. 26. The orchestral works here, especially, are among the best things Balassa has done, and yet, beside the Ligeti, they sound curiously old-fashioned, and would probably be judged by that single criterion in most of the so-called "progressive" centres of modern music in Western Europe, Balassa continues a lyrical expressionist tradition which has its roots in the late romantic sources of modernism; Ligeti, though also an artist with expressionist leanings, has used them for leverage into a totally new artistic posture which, in works more recent than any on the Boulez record, has begun once again to convey an "expressive" music. What is interesting to me about this is that I cannot feel that any of the Ligeti works recorded here are as substantial, artistically, as *Chant of Glarus*, and yet they seem to embody a response to the modern world which is, at bottom, more vigorous and vivid. I hope his is not just "progressive" snobbery, a sentiment with which I have little sympathy.

Not enough, certainly, to make me anything but impatient with two records displaying the flautist István Matuz's undoubted brilliance: the first sententiously titled "The New Flute" (SLX 11920), the other sycophantically "Five Matuziada" (SLPX 12228). The latter is a collection of quite lengthy pieces by László Dubrovay all for solo flute and with the apparently modest aim of showing what clever things a good flautist can do on his instruments in these post-Bartolozzi days, aided by electronic modulation. The fact that the flute is inherently a somewhat boring instrument to listen to for any stretch of time, even when forced into an unwilling schizophrenia, does not bother the minimalist Dubrovay any more than it has bothered a seemingly endless procession of composers for solo flute since Varèse first tried to demonstrate the connection between what a flute plays and what it is made of, and, by some obscure extension of reasoning, the pure substance of music itself. Varèse's *Density 21.5* figures on "The New Flute", along with Jolivet's interminable *Five Incantations*, some footling pieces by Dukay and, again, one of the Dubrovay *Matuziada*. I'm sorry to be ungracious about this very talented player, but enough is enough.

STEPHEN WALSH

BARTÓK AND ČAPEK IN THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Bartók was in touch with the Czech intellectual scene even before he met Čapek, naturally mostly with musicians and musicologists. He performed in Prague on several occasions and also attended an international folklore conference there in 1928. His personal, or at least indirect contacts are borne out by his letter of June 22, 1925 in which he asked Robert Gragger, a Hungarian member of the Berlin University staff, to send a copy each of the German edition of his work on Hungarian folksong *(Das ungarische Volkslied. Versuch einer Systematisierung der ungarischen Bauernmelodien*, Berlin–Leipzig, 1925.) to Leoš Janáček and Zdeněk Nejedlý.

Bartók was closely interested in the music and indeed the cultures of peoples settled near Hungarians. Less widely known is Čapek's similar attitude to Eastern European culture and his keen interest in music. The dramatist František Langer, a friend of Čapek, wrote about Čapek, the lover of folk-music: "Čapek regularly collected the music folklore of various peoples, the singularities of their rhythm, melodies, instruments and manner of performance, and his collection gradually grew to considerable proportions. His name became widely known as an expert collector so that record companies all over the world sent him their catalogues, and more than once he received recordings of rare value from scholarly institutions. Sometimes he showed us his records and tapes and offered expert explanations on the musical singularities, the interrelationships between melodies, and the concert of instruments." * There is a caricature of Čapek by Hugo Boettinger, dated 1930, in which he stands before an ancient gramophone with a record in his hand.

When Jenő Hubay performed in Prague, Čapek invited him to his home, and on that occasion the writer gave an interview to a reporter of the *Prágai Magyar Hírlap*. "Recently I perused a great Hungarian work on folklore, and I was reflecting on how many similarities there are between the Hungarian and the Czech peasant." Later he said, "I am closely acquainted with Bartók and Kodály; Hungarian music is autochtonous and rhythmical, far from bombastic, it is simple and honest. (December 18, 1932.)

Čapek saw in Bartók, whom he had met then, both a Hungarian musician and an ethnomusicologist. He valued Bartók's work, because it embodied the same artistic principles he professed himself. "The deeper an intellectual work is rooted in the national medium the greater the possibility for it to become part of universal culture," he wrote, and later, on several occasions, expounded the same idea in different forms. It is not surprising therefore that, when in July 1931, both Bartók and Čapek attended the conference of the *Commission Internationale de Co-Operation Intellectuelle*, set up under the auspices of the League of Nations, ** the July 19th 1931 issue of *Lidové noviny* carried an article by Čapek in which he presented Bartók in warm and appreciative terms as one of the luminaries of the time: "And that one over there, with an attentive small nose, is the Hungarian composer and pianist Béla Bartók, who has collected in a masterful fashion several thousand Slovak and Rumanian folksongs." He even illustrated his writing with a drawing of Bartók, with special stress on the characteristic contours of the head and of course the "attentive little nose." Comparing it with other Čapek drawings of renowned personalities, there is a striking emphasis on the intellect, as if Čapek, concentrating on the essential feature, wished to express the severe discipline of the creative spirit.

* *Byli a bylo* (Those Who Were and That Which Was), Prague, 1963. p. 105

** Miklós Simai: "Béla Bartók and the Permanent Committee on Literature of the League of Nations," *NHQ* 15.

A useful complement to all this is in a letter by Bartók to his mother, writing about Čapek and the session in general (July 13th 1931). Bartók felt the warmest sympathy, indeed friendship precisely for Čapek, and since Čapek seems to have been more at home in such international non-events where the essence is lost in formalities and intentions become smothered by the flood of rhetorics, Bartók looked to him to help find his bearings. "On my right the famous Čapek took his seat... How many faces—until I found out whom they belonged to, I always asked Čapek to tell me who was speaking." Čapek must have provided his neighbour at the table with adequate information as Bartók, writing on the election of the chairman of the session, notes, "Murray proposed Destrée, the former Belgian Minister of Education, who was elected Chairman, to everybody's satisfaction (I wonder what would have happened if I, for instance, had nominated our friend Čapek for this honour!)."

Of particular importance is the part of the letter in which Bartók writes about the commission he was given by the session and the proposal he had elaborated. In connection with the latter he notes, "Čapek had also had similar ideas, so we discussed them together." The final arrangement of Čapek's papers in Prague will perhaps shed light on what these ideas were. Here Bartók only speaks of his own proposal, which referred to gramophone recordings. Bartók elaborated his position that tunes should be recorded on several occasions, and it is easily possible that his concept tallied with Čapek's on a number of points. Bartók, at least according to his letter (and like Čapek, as appears from the tone of Čapek's article already mentioned), regarded such institutionalized forms of intellectual cooperation with understandable scepticism. It is worth quoting another section of his letter: "The Chairman gave an account of the dissolved *sous-commission*, the forerunner of the *comité*, and told us what it had achieved (so that these items need not be raised again, that was the main point). A number of decisions had been taken on the subject of folk art and the question of artistic translations (see the Prague Peasant Art Congress at which I took part three years ago). But with regard to music, they had nothing to show for their work; so now they are expecting me—as the only musician member—to make some sort of suggestion; only let me propose, and they will accept.

I explained that I could only suggest things that would cost a lot of money; they answered that this did not matter. So far so good; so I went ahead and that evening, drafted something (about gramophone records), which I read out the next day—in German. Čapek also had similar ideas, so we discussed them together. A sub-committee was formed, we drafted a resolution, which was, of course, different from the original and of no practical use, but it needed no money."

Čapek himself could scarcely have described with a more informal wit the way well-intentioned proposals of practical use get lost in the maze of sub-committees.

Bartók cherished a photograph of the conference hall, which shows him at Čapek's side, with Thomas Mann in the next chair and Paul Valéry, the chairman of the session, in front of them. The back of the photo is signed in the same order—Karel Čapek, Thomas Mann and Paul Valéry, followed by the signatures of other eminent performers on the intellectual scene of the interwar period.

*

Five years later, between June 8th and 12th, 1936, Bartók and Čapek attended another session of the *Commission Internationale de Co-Operation Intellectuelle*, this time in Budapest. By chance—was it really chance?—this get-together turned out to be the most noteworthy of all those arranged by this body of the League of Nations in the 1920s and '30s.

The topic set for discussion was the systematization and protection of European cultural values, under the title *Towards a New Humanism*. This must have set from the very outset a different tone to this scholary dialogue at a historical moment when the forces of inhumanity threatened the intellectual life of Europe with annihilation, imbuing the conference with political tension, an atmosphere that differed sharply from the lukewarm, pleasant mood that generally marked the earlier meetings. It was here that Thomas Mann formulated his famous position on the need for a timely type of humanism—a humanism of action. "It happened in the Hungarian capital," Thomas Mann later wrote, "that I addressed the open session, in an extemporised speech, against the murderers of freedom, and set forth the need for a militant democracy; this tactlessly offended against thoroughly academic and—if only due to the fascist delegates—fairly furtive character of the exchange of views, yet the Hungarian audience responded with a demonstrative expression of approval that lasted for several minutes, and I was enthusiastically embraced by the Czech poet Karel Čapek, who later died broken-hearted when his country was betrayed by democracy."

In his play *R.U.R.*, the first of his works to achieve international success, Čapek had already analysed the relationship between a one-sided technical and a many-sided humanist culture, which can spark off conflicts, and gave voice to his anxiety that an over-technical civilization may distort both the individual and society into a material factor, a mere object. At the same time he considered the achievements of intellectual culture to be universal, with a respect for anyone and any community whether small or great, weak or powerful. These achievements must be mobilized and activated before the menace of counter-forces. The philosophically learned Dr. Karel Čapek on several points followed the same train of thought that was elaborated the previous year by Edmund Husserl in his *Die Krisis der europäischen Wissenschaften und die transzendentale Phänomenologie*.

The merits of pioneers are always relative: events usually outrun them and in this case they have, unfortunately, even realized what the promulgator of danger still did not even dare to conceive. The Stockholm conference convened by the U.N. in 1972 established essentially what Čapek had warned against in Budapest—an unquestioning confidence in scientific and technological progress threatens humanity with the danger of annihilation. In 1936 scarcely 100,000 people were engaged in technical scientific research work all over the world, while today their number is over three millions. The warning Čapek voiced in Budapest and also expressed in the long series of his books, principally in *War with the Newts*, is valid today on an even more universal scale. Alongside Thomas Mann's address, Čapek's speech in defence of humanism made the strongest impact; the text was soon carried by *Szép Szó*, edited then by Pál Ignotus and Attila József, in Attila József's translation.

*

Čapek felt pleasantly surprised in Budapest to see that, as he put it in his article in *Lidové noviny* (June 28, 1936), "There were more than a few Hungarians" with whom he could talk about possibilities of an approach between the two nations. Both *Népszava* and *Literatura* carried statements by him, again providing a good opportunity for him to express his basic principles as a writer, which as I already pointed out, were on several points in keeping with Bartók's. "It is precisely the existence of peoples side by side which is fine and elevating. Each culture, however strongly I conceive and feel the internationalism of our culture, is national, expressing what is national. The beautiful thing is that poetry, culture and science do express national divergences. And the marvellous thing is that real culture never-

theless is generally intelligible." (*Népszava*, June 6th, 1936) In his article in *Literatura* (July 1st, 1936), Čapek, in answer to József Nádass, considers an approach between the two countries as "possible and desirable." "The peoples of Central Europe depend on each other and it is typical of their leaders that so little has been done so far in this directions." He also reminds his readers that a mutual acquaintanceship with each other's cultural values may pave the way towards a friendship between peoples; he himself knew and read Kosztolányi, Móricz and others, he esteemed and liked them and through them the Hungarian people. Speaking of the conference, Čapek regretted to mention that there was no exchange of views on concretely establishing such relations but, he added, he shared a position with Thomas Mann and Béla Bartók on all the debated questions of principle.

In his article in *Lidové noviny* Čapek dealt exhaustively with his encounters and experiences in Budapest, even if at some points in a witty manner called for by the kind of article he was writing. He tells us that Bartók invited him to his home in Csalán utca, and this event remained for him a particularly dear memory of Budapest. "Of the Hungarian participants at the conference," he wrote, "I was particularly impressed by the geographer Count Teleki with his lined scholarly countenance*, and, of course, by Béla Bartók, the great musician and ethnomusicologist, whose collections included thousands of Slovak and Rumanian tunes; a slightly built, shy man, in whose quiet little house on the fringe of Buda I enjoyed the experience of listening to the finest Rumanian doinas and the droll melodies from County Hont recorded on phonograph cylinders." He seems to have alluded to something similar in the interview he gave to the Budapest *Literatura* already quoted, in which he outlined some typical features of Hungarian and Czech literature and went on to state: "But in their deeper layers the two bodies of literature, the art of the two peoples show scores of common features. A strict division between ethnic cultures is a game for frivolous people. As there are a great many cognate words and common origins in the languages of neighbouring countries, the same holds true for their art and culture as well."

At the time Bartók played songs from his collection to Čapek, the intellectual *élite* of Europe was assembled in Budapest, from Paul Valéry through Thomas Mann and Georges Duhamel to Salvador de Madariaga, and so Bartók must have had a special reason for inviting precisely Čapek to listen to his Rumanian and Slovak folk music recordings.

*

No more direct information on the relationship between Bartók and Čapek is available. In any event it is worth mentioning that Čapek stressed on other occasions too the exceptional role music plays in preparing for, and strengthening, friendship among nations, a friendship he envisaged to be mutual, spontaneous, and above all without mental reservations. The kind of friendship that linked him to Bartók.

Bartók too remembered Čapek. When in 1945, he formulated a proposal on the transcription of Russian and other Slav names, he took, almost as a matter of course, the name of "our friend Čapek," as an example, who at the time had been dead for seven years, pointing in this indirect way too to their friendship.

LÁSZLÓ DOBOSSY

* Count Pál Teleki (1879–1941), alongside his numerous scholarly and political functions, was Hungary's official representative at the *Commission Internationale de Co-Operation Intellectuelle* from 1937 onwards. It was while he held office as Prime Minister (1939–41) that Hungary withdrew from the League of Nations. He committed suicide feeling dishonoured by being forced to agree to the passage of the German troops through Hungary shortly after signing a Pact with Yugoslavia (Editor's note).

THEATRE AND FILM

APPROACHES TO THE PRESENT

Péter Bornemisza: *Magyar Elektra* (Hungarian Electra); Sándor Weöres: *A kétfejű fenevad* (The Two-Headed Beast); György Spiró: *A kert* (The Garden); Endre Vészi: *A sárga telefon* (The Yellow Telephone)

Hungarian Electra

Six years before Shakespeare was born, a Hungarian student studying in Vienna translated Sophocles' *Electra* in 1558. The student was Péter Bornemisza, the twenty-three years old son of a noble family. The young man, who was strongly drawn to literature, had brought with him his Protestant convictions from home, his love of natural science and the ideas of free enquiry from Padua, and the tenets of the Reformation from Wittenberg; he studied criticism and textual interpretation under the leading professors in Vienna, one of the strongholds of humanism in Central Europe. His *Electra* translation was the practical outcome of these philological studies, akin to what we would call nowadays a seminar paper. Yet the theatre holds it as one of the first classics of dramatic literature written in Hungarian.

The theatre-goer of today should be aware that in the sixteenth century the relationship to the original work or, rather, the conceptions of translation, were not quite the same as today. Bornemisza, while in essence faithfully following the action of the Sophoclean tragedy, actually created an original Hungarian piece.

It was as if he had anticipated the director's theatre today: he adapted the Greek mythological theme to contemporary conditions at home. The Mycenaean palace of the Atridae becomes an authentic Hungarian aristocratic country house of the sixteenth century. The characters are contemporary Hungarian types. The king and the queen —Aegisthus and Clytemnestra—are cruel oligarchs, whose rule, lacking all morality, makes mock of the Christian pieties. To further emphasize their rakehell character, Bornemisza inserted a new figure into the plot: Parasitus, the fawning courtier, an intimate of a noble house in the customary way of the times. The translator-writer, for the sake of what he had to say, dealt in a similarly liberal manner with the structure of the Sophocles tragedy, dropping or regrouping scenes, shortening some and expanding others. Orestes' prayer, for example, becomes a veritable Protestant imploration in his hands. He had no need of Pylades, Orestes' friend; he merges with the Sophoclean Teacher, who is turned into a prominent figure, modelled on the contemporary preacher figure as the Master. In place of the female choir of antiquity there is a single old woman, who combines admonitions spoken in the psalmist's language and the everyday voice of the folk-figure.

The Protestant Bible's wrathful, avenging God speaks from Bornemisza's *Hungarian Electra*. His foreword states: "As the saying of Saint Paul, all writings were written for our benefit." For this reason Bornemisza could take as moral to his piece, that "the more the Lord delays his punishment, with all the more difficulty and bitterness does he scourge." Puritanism, however, fits marvellously with Bornemisza's humanism, just as in character also the reformer and the Renaissance personalities complement each

other. Above all, it is in its dramatic language, presenting Sophocles for the first time in Hungarian, that it is a masterwork of early Renaissance humanism. "This is wonderful language," Professor Péter Nagy has written, "bearing a freshness and strength capable of everything in its Hungarian character, in its popular nature—even of sublimity and in places it approaches even the Greek original in its concentration."

We have no reliable information on whether Bornemisza's *Electra* was presented on stage, by his fellows in Vienna or others. Nor do we know of any later performances, although the piece only fell into oblivion at the end of the eighteenth century. Zsigmond Móricz, the great Hungarian novelist of this century, rediscovered it for the theatre in 1923; since then it has usually been given as he revised it. Only in the most recent years—and rarely at that—has some director returned to the original version, which in its own archaic beauty offers a purer and more startling dramatic experience. The studio theatre of the National Theatre, the Castle Theatre, has made Bornemisza's piece the focus of its revivals, paying tribute, with a specific theatrical concept totally different from previous ones, to the author who died four hundred years ago in the summer of 1584.

The establishment of some kind of peasant ritual must have hovered before the eyes of director Imre Kerényi when he embellished and expanded the play into entertainment with music, dancing, and pantomime. The cast make their entrances most of the time in a ceremonial procession, often from the steeply descending steps of the auditorium. They accompany their delivery with stylized gestures of merry-making or mourning, and whether out of good spirits or tormenting grief they burst into folk-song. The director has also added to the action with a mime; he has the Electra prelude danced, presents the slaying of Agamemnon as a pantomime, and organizes the wedding of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra into the revelry of a stock nineteenth-century Hungarian play with music. He also presents what transpired behind the scenes in the "preliminary action." We see the tiny Electra rescuing the infant Orestes from the orgiastic wedding feast in her arms, then the "grown-up" actress, as she takes over the role from the child, and at the end Agamemnon in silhouette wreathing his daughter with myrtle.

In theory there is nothing objectionable in all this. If we can play Shakespeare in modern dress, then the Hungarianized Electra does not suffer from folk-dress, or from singing and dancing based on folk-music. Where the director is mistaken is in offering the garnish as the main course. He uses Bornemisza's text as currants and raisins for the folklore brioche he has already baked, and the consequences are serious. The impetus of the tragedy is constantly interrupted, speech is broken off and the actors thereby become incapable of unfolding the continuity of their dramatic characters. There is also another contradiction: the conflict between a laconic work and a verbose interpretation. Bornemisza's *Electra*—like its author—is too puritan, gaunt, and simple to bear the rather heterogeneous musical inserts added to it: it stifles under all this rustic homespun. Success cannot be brought by the actors tensed by energy; wherever they can, they deliver the noble rhetoric of the lathe-turned language, but in the end they are worsted. There is an additional error: after a performance that goes for two hours without a pause, a ballet version is presented, repeating in a style essentially similar everything that the audience had already seen up to then.

The Two-Headed Beast

The admonitions of Bornemisza's piece are not free from political overtones. It is not hard for us to imagine over the Hungary of that time the shadow of a wrathful God, tardy in his restoration of moral order. One-

third of the country at the time the Electra was written had for more than thirty years been under Turkish yoke. This is the setting for the historical tragicomedy, *The Two-Headed Beast*, or "*Pécs in 1686*," by the great Hungarian poet, now in his seventies, Sándor Weöres. Written twelve years ago, the play was given its first performance by the Budapest Vígszínház.

The year 1686 saw the recapture of Buda—the capital of the country—from the Turks. This was the victory that brought an end to a century and a half of Turkish rule; the liberated area could join with Transylvania which had remained an independent principality after the country's cleavage in three, and also with the Hungarian kingdom in the West which in practice was under Habsburg rule. (One possible interpretation of the drama's title is a reference to the double-headed eagle of the Habsburg coat-of-arms.)

Summarizing Weöres's ramified, picaresque plot is no easy task. The tragicomedy ranges over virtually all the territory of Hungary of the time as it follows the hero's forced flight from town to town. Ambrus Bornemisza, a figure created by Weöres, is none other than the great-great-grandson of the Péter Bornemisza who wrote the *Hungarian Electra*, a Protestant pastor, who cannot find his home in his own country. History surged across this small part of Europe in the dramatically indicated time and place, forcing anyone trying to survive fortune's changes into more and more senseless metamorphoses. The author of *The Two-Headed Beast* examines his historical subject as a specific East Central European preparation or concentrate. Without the slightest intention of timeliness he flashes the whole in a drop, the inevitable in the accidental, the present in the remote past. Another world, which—in the words of the piece itself—"is so far, strange, and variegated that everything fits into it."

The student Ambrus Bornemisza, leaving his fiancée, constantly has to flee, as a Protestant from Catholics persecuting those of other faiths; as a Calvinist from the Socinians. He is accused when in the territory of the Empire of Turcophilia, and vice versa; in either event he has to move on if he wants to save his skin. Tender female hands help him to flee from town to town, from house to house, from bed to bed. These chance trysts were not procured by deceitful voluptuousness but by a natural human instinct. "The lonely woman and the fleeing man huddle together like the two-headed beast, or horror will crush them," as one of the characters explains the situation—and the other meaning of the piece's title.

In the course of his journey the fleeing hero experiences how everything turns itself inside out, how people change their colours, some in order to preserve their faith, others in order to save themselves. The country is a gigantic self-concealing mechanism; nobody is what he appears to be. A Hungarian lesser nobleman hiring himself out to the Turks against the Habsburgs mourns in his janissary uniform the destruction of his family by the Turks. A janissary agha turns out to be a faithful Hungarian Catholic. The Turkish chief justice of the Southern Hungarian city of Pécs, cadi Ibrahim, is in reality a banker from Pozsony, of Italian extraction, Hungarian nationality, and of the Jewish faith, and his real name is Avram Mandelli. Most Turkish members of the Turkish army council are Bogumil Bulgarians, Tatars, or Caucasians, who, as the noose tightens around them, renounce their Muslim faith. And how many more disguises, how many inner masks, distorted characters under the masquerades! A Catholic abbot has underhand dealings with the Turks, but will not make his peace with the Calvinist pastor. Apoplectic, "veteran" Hungarian nobles, who had earlier left the Austrians to join the Turks, then the Turks to join with the Austrians in their resentment, constantly quarrel with each other over their differences in station and political opinions, but happily close ranks to abuse

someone of a nationality or faith different to theirs.

Sándor Weöres's piece is imbued with angelical, impish, childish humour, and magnanimously restores action to the stage. The rolling story abounds in episodes. One scene of absurd humour has Habsburg emperor and Turkish sultan cynically dallying with each other, at the expense of their peoples. In an episode recurring like a subterranean stream, an imperial official keeps appearing, who first, stranded in Turkish territory as an envoy, himself becomes a Muslim, then in his new faith barely manages to escape the cord sent by the sultan, ordering him to end his life, until finally a compatriot, the Habsburg general, has him executed as a traitor. His counterpart is the daughter of the Turkish–Italian–Jewish city magistrate, who claims she is Hungarian, and renouncing her faith, is willing to be Ambrus's loving woman. But history drives our fleeing hero further even from this noble-hearted girl, this time under the protection of a passionate amazon, who bears him a child, and after numerous adventures leads him back to his fiancée. A happy ending—yet there is something bitter in it. The play closes with a curious remark by the imperial general, made soft-witted by war and syphilis. In one of his rare moments of clarity he produces the motto: "Down with world history!" To the strength of this statement we may surmise the dramatist's resonance in it.

The poet Sándor Weöres, who in his lyrical works also willingly conceals himself—in his famous cycle of poems, *Psyche*, he created the complete biography and poetic œuvre of a fictitious Hungarian poetess of the beginning of the nineteenth century, together with her correspondence and the reviews written of her works—in *The Two-Headed Beast*, in a a flesh and blood genre, the theatre, he designates play-acting as the only possibility of survival. Vitriolic sarcasm and tender understanding are mixed in his attitude. Ambrus, whenever he can, even in flight, performs plays, teaches pastoral and romantic amorous plays to the girls who patronize him, until the greater drama of History orders the characters to step down from their improvised stage.

The director, Péter Valló, sets this wooden platform in the centre of the performance. Around it remain the various insignia, symbols, and objects of the Turkish, Austrian, and Hungarian world, jumbled together. As a stage metaphor it is perfect though it has difficulty in providing for the many strands of action in the play. The picaresque plot of *The Two-Headed Beast*, in all its lively turns, its variety of scene and character, is not given adequate scope by this static set. The play emphasizes the wax-works, the marionette character, rather than the impossible reality of the apparently absurd events. The real difficulty lies in the stylistic polyphony of the play. Weöres mixes not only stage forms—from the plays acted in schools in the Middle Ages to the modern cabaret—but also poetic forms. The true form of his play is pastiche: it revives baroque Hungarian, from the time prior to the language reform at the beginning of the nineteenth century, in a virtuoso manner. (This will most likely render the play untranslatable.) The actors strive admirably to sound natural and at the same time to convey the playful irony. The unusual demand explains why, metaphorically speaking, they do not always succeed in getting over the footlights. However, the dramatic message does resound from the performance: "However history, the great mincer, the blood puddle, turns, we will continue to play our separate little comedy."

The Garden

A second new piece by György Spiró came within a single season. I have already written earlier on *The Impostor*, which the Budapest Katona József Theatre had in its programme in the autumn of 1983.* The

* *NHQ* 94.

Csíky Gergely Theatre of Kaposvár premiered *The Garden*. (The author himself is a member of the company as dramaturgist.)

"The Garden" is unambiguously a political play, and for most people today it is a historical piece. It is set in 1954, specifically on May 24, when the Secretary General, Mátyás Rákosi, delivered his report at the Communist Party congress (then named the Hungarian Working People's Party). The perspective, which separates the writer of the play from his subject—Spiró was eight years old in 1954—may be described as historical, and in common with other dramatists of his generation, Géza Beremányi, Péter Nádas, and Mihály Kornis, he attempts to "grasp" it by analysing it. His method recalls most of all Rainer Werner Fassbinder, who in some of his films—for example in *Lola* and in the *Marriage of Maria Braun*—looked back on the social structure of West Germany of the 'fifties from the nineteen-seventies. Just as the *Marriage of Maria Braun* closes with photographic negatives of the successors of Chancellor Adenauer over a broadcast of the German–Hungarian football World Cup final, so does the previous day's 7–1 result of the Hungary–England match in Budapest figure in Spiró's piece with Rákosi's congress address over the radio on May 24, 1954. This speech is the political background of the basic situation in the play. "Just exactly why is the party congress starting today?" asks the character Öcsi. "It's self-evident: they calculated that we would hammer the English. Today there is such enormous national unity here, so enormous!..."

From the "elegant" garden of a house in the villa quarter of Buda, where the action of the play occurs, there is a view not only of Budapest, but also of a segment of Hungarian society of the early nineteen-fifties. "I had no idea this city was so beautiful. From up here," says Anna, the principal female figure, who is caught in the "garden's" mousetrap. For most of the characters in the piece the view from above is a way of life. The garden is at one and the same time reality and symbol, the reality and symbol of an exceptional position, of privilege and private property. The other side is "down," the city, the housing shortage; privation, the unvarying greyness of the poor suburban houses, of single-room homes. Anna comes from here. Cliché? If so, it is obviously intentional. Indeed the story is virtually melodramatic. Anna, the schoolteacher, falls in love on a single afternoon with János, the Party's famous poet and a head of department, and makes love to him on the terrace while the others are inside having lunch; then when she is just as suddenly disillusioned with him, she jumps from the roof of the ivied villa with the intention of committing suicide. It all seems to be the cheapest sort of sentimental stuff, presented in the most conventional drawing-room manner. It seems to be.

The Garden seems as if it were a conversational play. But only as if. The tension in the *actions gratuites* or in the non-disclosures lying behind the action, constantly questions style and structure, and at certain points even blasts them apart. We see an alien environment through the eyes of Anna—the outsider—bur unlike her we suspect all the way that "everything is other than it seems."

Anna is the Scholar's fiancée. Without any formal legal rehabilitation, the Scholar has just been released after three years of imprisonment following one of the spurious trials; this is the occasion for which János has invited him to his Buda villa. The group of friends has gathered, a collection of writers, poets, painters, doctors—members of the left-wing intelligentsia who had set out on their careers just before the war and are now all in their thirties. In their early days they had pulled off some quite big impressive achievements together, and after the war, had even created history. Since then, their ways have parted: for some it has meant prison and for others the garden. Of course, this is again a cliché. As is the moral consequence stemming from the development of their positions. Those in the garden eat steak,

drink real coffee and unadulterated wine, and in general enjoy life. János is the official poet, with an official car, his personal driver, his position of head of department and an official of the writers' association. He delivers lectures on Sándor Petőfi's revolutionary poetry, and with an uninhibited persuasion seduces any woman who comes his way. His current mistress is a model, who lives in the villa with the tacit agreement of his wife, a painter. Others in this circle of friends have compromised in their own manner. One with the fact that his under-age daughter has committed suicide on account of János. János's younger brother—also a poet—conceals his cynicism under a show of infantilism, and the surgeon conceals a nihilistic indifference behind his suave manner. The Scholar formulates the gap between the past and the present as: "These here were once my best friends. When they did not yet possess power."

It is obvious that Spiró speaks of those intellectuals who assumed an active role in the social changes, but in the Stalinist nineteen-fifties, for various reasons—not least as enjoyers of their privileges—they became unfaithful to their common ideals, betraying each other and their earlier, noble moral and political aims. The dramatic character of the moment we can only conjecture from what is visible on the stage; however, we know from the events that the government's programme proclaimed as an opening a year earlier was dissipated by an internal power struggle in the country's leadership following the 1954 congress. The characters of *The Garden*, naturally, do not know this as yet; Spiró indicates subtly the kind of methods János uses, partly through the Scholar, to switch over from a compromised political line to the wavelength of changes. Two of the finest moments in the piece are around a conflict in the arts: a poem of banal optimism as the Scholar "analyses" it in the columns of the contemporary daily paper, *Szabad Nép;* its parallel is a beautiful literary duel over a translation of a Milton sonnet between the Scholar and the Commander. (The Commander was once the group's most talented poet; now deranged, János has taken him out of his closed psychiatric ward for the day.) Spiró, the philologist, the poet, the literary translator who improvises parodies and pastiches effortlessly, is in his element here. All his wrath goes into the destruction of a ridiculously poor poem, yet is no worse a monstrosity than the contemporary average; this is done so that afterward his analysis of Milton's *On his Blindness* might set forth Spiró's views on poetry and politics. (The latter scene and its aesthetic view is reminiscent of the Tartuffe analysis in his previous play, *The Impostor*.)

The play has two questionable figures: the Scholar and Anna. It is they whose *actions gratuites* disrupt the conversational style. The Scholar is the anti-cliché of a cliché: he comes out of prison not strengthened in his convictions, as his predecessors in this type of play are, but tired, bitter, and disillusioned. Spiró does not allow him to strike up their old joking atmosphere. This is logical; the time that has elapsed since his release from prison was obviously sufficient for him to come up to "the garden" without illusions. His visit is perhaps not entirely motivated psychologically, and it is as though Spiró has deliberately stifled in him a part of his temper and what he has to say. Anna's motives are more resolute: three years of waiting have accumulated tensions within her, and instead of cathartic reunion, she gets back a stranger who is incapable of a private life. Of course, the question might be asked: whether it is likely that a schoolteacher in 1954 would have strolled into this mousetrap with such wonder and naiveté, particularly, if until this time she has belonged to the Scholar. Where, the viewer might be tempted to ask, has this woman lived? Neither Anna's burst of sexuality nor the love-making on the terrace fit into a "conversational play." This is where the conventional dramatic frame finally breaks apart, gradually revealing the signs of

deformity and the distortion in the characters. It is not surprising that at the end of the piece the garden is taken over by the enormous but gentle prehistoric monsters envisioned by the Commander; there seem to be more human features in them than in some of their more recent descendants domesticated to human form.

The Garden under László Babarczy's direction is a very successful production. No attempt was made to evoke a genuine drawing-room play. The set distorts reality, and also restores our sense of reality, for nothing is accepted as genuine, which in a more profound sense is not considered as dramatic truth. Instead of a garden resplendent in its May greenery according to the text, we see only its "half-tone," greyed variant, with its wild, man-size vegetation, preliminaries for the jungle motif of the last act. The audience is oppressed by the spring thunderstorm that sweeps across the stage, interrupting the Rákosi address over the "folk-radio"—incapable of receiving foreign stations—which is carried in and out to the terrace. (Spiró is accurate even here; according to the records, it rained on the afternoon of May 24, 1954.)

The Yellow Telephone

Endre Vészi,* well on his way towards seventy, and best known as poet, novelist, and short-story writer, rarely gives us a stage work. He is, however, among our most successful radio dramatists. His satire, *The Yellow Telephone*, premiered in the Játékszín, was originally for radio. And, as befits a good satire, it turns out to be furious, malicious, and sardonic.

There is a modern term in sociology that describes the piece well: contraselection. The story starts off with a "very important personage" in a high position, who is in need of a vacant chair in an academic institution which falls under his jurisdiction. As he himself good-naturedly remarks, it is merely a matter of a chair and bottom exchange. Somebody "up above" has become incompetent, and has to be started off "downward," into an institutional chair; a place has to be found in some company for the previous occupier of the chair. But for some reason—who knows why—the director of the academic institute appears deaf to the request, and so before long the chair is pulled out from beneath him. And this starts off the avalanche. The new director—the man "up above" who has been declared incompetent—dilettantishly proves incompetent in his new appointment as well. He soon comes into conflict with his subordinates, among them an ambitious young professional, who draws up a programme for an approaching conference in Stockholm. But, as the former director's man, he is in disfavour with the new one. Neither of them can bear the wrangling, the mutual badgering and animosity: the young expert resigns his appointment, and the director's heart resigns its duty. The former takes up rabbit-breeding and the latter departs for the Elysian fields. For the very newest director, who has been away for two years in Japan (and of whom they remark with horror that he will be capable of viewing Hungary with Japanese eyes), there remains a state of total ruin, a disorganized institute, and a half completed programme.

The writer of the satire is more interested in the mechanism of the contraselecting process than in the destinies of the individuals. The figures are present only in some typical, polarized attribute, like minute screws, components in an impersonally and irrationally functioning mechanism. From time to time the yellow telephone rings, the channel which conveys supporting, reminding, or suggestive information and instructions from "up above," from "down below," or "from the side." Sometimes the

* See the short story: "Chapters from the Life of Vera Angi," from which came Pál Gábor's successful film: "The Training of Vera," *NHQ* 89.

voice of the company's eminence in the background, the personnel director, is heard over it, in the manner of the Fates of antiquity, he weaves and mixes human destinies. At other times, however, it is not known who is at the other end of the line. At any rate the "suggestion" is designed strictly for individuals. The bitter days of the second director are sweetened by the very same "lady"—she also uses the telephone—because of whom the first director was condemned for moral turpitude, the excuse found for his transference. Moreover it is the same generous lady who telephones the third director, at the lowest moment of his struggle with the ruins; the piece ends with the technocrat—after several persistent rejections—finally accepting the "offer."

A specific quality of a good satire is that it pushes off to the sphere of fantasy from the soil of social reality, in other words, it follows the logic of existing absurd occurrences. In *The Yellow Telephone* we can recognize real anomalies. "There is full employment here," says one of the characters in the play, "and besides somewhere we are humans." In other words everybody works, nobody is put out into the street, the right to work is embodied in the Constitution. We only play a pleasant conversational game, "Exchange of chair and bottom." But in the meantime what happens to initiatives, to professional ambition, Endre Vészi's piece formulates precisely with its own light elegance. This witty production, directed by Gábor Berényi, enjoys considerable success. We greet it with laughter, but when we think about it, our spirits are depressed.

TAMÁS KOLTAI

HUNGARIAN FILM WEEK, 1984

János Rózsa: *Witches' Sabbath;* Ferenc Kardos: *Heavenly Hosts;* Gyula Maár: *Passing Fancy;* György Szomjas: *Light Physical Injuries;* János Xantus: *Eskimo Woman Feels Cold;* András Kovács: *An Afternoon Affair;* Zoltán Fábri: *The House-Warming;* Péter Bacsó: *Oh, Bloody Life;* Márta Mészáros: *Diary;* Imre Gyöngyössy–Barna Kabai: *Job's Revolt;* Gyula Gazdag: *Singing on the Treadmill; The Resolution;* Pál Schiffer: *The Model Gardener;* István Dárday–Györgyi Szalai: *Point of Departure;* Judit Elek: *Maria's Day*

The pattern of Hungarian film making, in which some forty or more working directors wait their turn to make one of the twenty or so films to which financial realities limit the annual production, means that most directors are able to work, at best, every second year, and a regular visitor to the Film Week becomes accustomed to seeing films by certain directors every even year, and work by others every odd year. Last year was the turn of Pál Sándor and Zsolt Kézdi Kovács, among the more established figures, and this year brought the prospect of new films from Márta Mészáros, Zoltán Fábri, András Kovács, and János Rózsa. Two other major figures, István Szabó and Károly Makk, are in the process of completing what could well be significant co-productions that involve extensive shooting abroad; István Gaál is waiting for the final go-ahead from the Italian RAI to start location shooting on his version of Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euri-*

dice, and Miklós Jancsó has been working primarily for Hungarian television and the theatre in recent months.

Several of last year's films received favourable attention at international film festivals throughout the year, and two of them also enjoyed a certain degree of commercial success abroad: Kézdi Kovács's *Forbidden Relations* and the modest and low-key, but very moving, first film by Pál Erdőss, *The Princess*. In addition, *Job's Revolt*, which was shown privately last year in not quite completed form, has just (at the time of writing in March) been nominated for a Best Foreign Film Oscar, and the film itself formed part of the official programme for this year. Advance word-of-mouth suggested that two films to look out for this time were Márta Mészáros' *Diary* (which should have been shown last year but was delayed because of some controversial aspects of its subject-matter), and *Light Physical Injuries*, by the young György Szomjas.

The gala opening-night screening was the lavish *Witches' Sabbath* (Boszorkányszombat), the most expensive Hungarian film in some years (though some foreign financing is involved too), directed by János Rózsa, and with elaborate special effects shot in London. The opening, with crows and ravens flying eerily and ominously through the sky, to be joined by technically perfect shots of witches on broomsticks, gave rise to considerable expectations as to the quality of what was to follow; unfortunately the remainder of the film is very uneven, uncertain in tone, and often heavy-handed and unconvincing in creating its fantastic and deliberately artificial world. The premise of the film—that the destined awakening of the Sleeping Beauty from her hundred-years' sleep is sabotaged by an archetypal Wicked Stepmother—allows for the introduction into the film of a whole host of fairytale characters and for some interesting accomplishments in set design, costumes, make-up (especially of the Wolf from "Little Red Riding Hood"), and special effects, but it is never clear just what point the film is trying to make. Is it purely a fantasy, designed mainly for children, or is it intended to have a deeper significance and is some murky political allegory lurking somewhere beneath the surface? Much of the film points in the first direction, but there are enough signs of the secondary intention to ensure that it falls between two stools: too sophisticated and confusing for most children, and yet not sharp and pointed enough to satisfy the expectations of an adult.

Another elaborately mounted fantasy, *Heavenly Hosts* (Mennyei seregek), directed by Ferenc Kardos, is also unable to produce a coherently handled narrative to match its often astonishing visual beauty (the photography is by Lajos Koltai, one of the few cameramen anywhere whose signature is obvious from the first frame of a film). The film is set in the seventeenth century and deals with the apparent arrival of an angel and his effect on the internecine warfare of the Hungarian society of the time; at the end the action is revealed to have taken place in a kind of time-warp and is thus not to be interpreted literally. Beautiful as it is, the film quickly becomes slow-moving and ponderous, and spectacle for its own sake drains it of any narrative momentum or urgency. A similar observation could be made regarding *Passing Fancy* (Felhőjáték), directed by Gyula Maár and based on a story by Tibor Déry and starring the Czech director and actor Jiři Menzel. Elegant, elegiac, and gently meandering, it is the kind of film whose true, and perfectly worthy, destiny is to bring a certain intellectual respectability to the wasteland of television rather than to inhabit a cinema screen.

György Szomjas's *Light Physical Injuries*,[1] which fully lived up to its advance reputa-

[1] Another title which will do more harm than good to its prospects of success in the English-speaking world. *Minor Bodily Harm* is a more idiomatic translation of the legal expression involved; an English critic suggested *Injured Parties*, which brings out both the legal and the personal aspects. The original is *Könnyű testi sértés*.

tion, is a very different matter. Set in a decidedly working class environment of seedy bars, cramped apartments, prisons, and darkly dangerous streets, and where the main character's job is to clean the accumulated dirt from the underside of trams at the end of the day's run, it is resolutely unglamorous and unpretty in its setting, its characters, and its action. After a quarrel with his wife Éva, Csaba tries to pick up a woman in a bar and becomes involved in a fight with her pimps, who want to charge more than the usual price for her services. In what seems legitimate self-defence, Csaba wounds one of his attackers with a knife and is sent to prison. On his release, he finds that Éva has taken up with another man, Miklós (in a wonderfully lumpish and sullen performance from Péter Andorai) and refuses to take him back. When he tries to force his way into the apartment, Éva calls the police; but, after questioning Csaba, they agree that he is officially entitled to live in the apartment. Csaba triumphantly claims one of the rooms in the tiny flat as his own and proceeds to bring home a series of women friends and make (and occasionally fake) noisy love to them in order both to cause the maximum embarrassment to Éva and Miklós and to remind Éva of what she is missing.

Éva remains unimpressed by this and constantly asks him to leave; in the meantime she has inaugurated divorce proceedings. Csaba has succeeded, however, in getting on Miklós' nerves and in undermining his sense of security in the strength of his relationship with Éva. He starts to resort to petty stratagems like cutting off Csaba's supplies of electricity and hot water, and complaining of his unsocial behaviour to the police, in the hope either of making life in the flat unbearable for him or at least provoking him to the kind of physical violence that would offer a pretext for having him arrested once more. Csaba easily avoids these obvious traps and seems to be working towards his own resolution of their impasse by taking an interest in a woman at his workplace who is a cut above him in her social position and her educational background and might offer some incentive for him to better himself. Left alone in the apartment with Éva one day, however, and reminiscing together about their past, they briefly rekindle their old affection for each other and make love. Despite Csaba's pleas that they should get together again permanently, Éva remains with Miklós and, on discovering that she is pregnant, says that she will marry Miklós, even though either man could well be the father. On hearing this, Csaba finally loses his self-control and allows Miklós's taunts to provoke him to a scuffle in the courtyard of the apartment building, in full view of all the neighbours (who have eagerly been waiting for this showdown to take place). Miklós is injured and Csaba returns to prison; rather unexpectedly, and perhaps as a suggestion that the whole messy cycle will start up again in a few months time, the remorseful Éva accompanies him tearfully to the prison gate.

The film is redeemed from being merely grimy and sordid by the skill, vitality, and even exuberance with which it is made. It is often unexpectedly funny, especially in the scene in the kitchen in which Csaba charms Éva out of her resentful hostility towards him by pretending to catch and release an imaginary fly, imitating the buzzing of the alternately trapped and free insect as he does so. The acting of all three principals is excellent throughout and one's sympathies and angers are constantly shifting from one to the other of them: all are flawed, self-centred and often morally unattractive, yet each is also vulnerable, pathetic, and confused. Szomjas gives us a sympathetic understanding of what could merely be an ugly and repulsive world, yet without ignoring the umpleasantness contained within it. His intimate and probing style is given added intensity by two basically unrealistic devices: the occasional cutting away from the action to comments on the characters' behaviour by a selection of biased and

inquisitive neighbours; and the repetition, often from a slightly different angle, of key moments of the action. At first this appeared to be merely an irritating stylistic tic, but, as the film proceeded, it gave added poignancy to those words or gestures with which, consciously or inadvertently, the characters knocked another nail into the coffin of their fate.

This is Szomjas' third film, and it certainly marks him out as a director to watch for in future. Rather unusually for a Hungarian film maker, he claims to be interested in making films that will appeal to a general audience, and is not—as most of his contemporaries are—primarily concerned with artistic quality or social significance. He came in for some rather sharp questioning at the Festival's press conference, however, when it was revealed that the black and white print shown to the foreign critics is intended only for export, while a colour print will circulate within Hungary itself. Though this decision was not made by Szomjas himself, he defended it on the grounds that the film may be seen more as a sociological document by foreigners and that black and white is more appropriate for a film of that kind. Most of the foreign critics found this distinction unacceptable: the film should stand or fall on its own merits and not be tampered with to suit presumed tastes or biases in non-Hungarian audiences. Those critics who managed to see the popular (i.e., colour) version of the film felt that it was both a different, and in many respects a better, work.

A first film by János Xantus, *Eskimo Woman Feels Cold* (Eszkimó asszony fázik) covers very similar ground to Szomjas' film, but is rather less convincing. It too begins with a stabbing, though this occurs at the film's chronological end, and the main action of the film is a flashback that reveals why the stabbing took place. Again too there is a strange triangular sexual relationship between two men and a woman: the deaf-and-dumb János, his wife Mari, and the young concert pianist Laci. Laci, who lives in England, returns to his native country for a concert engagement and meets and becomes attracted to Mari. Shallow, self-satisfied, and already discontented with his career, Laci allows his involvement with Mari to disrupt his professional commitments: on his return to London he deliberately insults an audience by playing a totally different programme to the one advertised and implying at the end that they are too stupid to notice the substitution. When his agent (and lover) remonstrates with him, he tells her that he is cancelling all his upcoming engagements and is returning to Hungary.

Back in Budapest he takes up an earlier interest in pop music and forms a band with Mari as its vocalist. He and Mari finally make love—in a bizarre and somewhat risible scene in which she reveals herself ignorant of the standard "missionary" position and insists that he make love to her in the same way that János does. She strips, turns her back to him and bends over, clutching a convenient sapling (the scene takes place out of doors) and invites the bemused Laci to penetrate her from the rear. Meanwhile a tethered donkey nearby brays noisily off-screen! (This might be the point to mention that this year's crop of films in general displayed an unusual amount of full frontal nudity, both male and female, and a good deal of graphically simulated sexual activity. Hungarian film makers at least do not seem to have been intimidated by the wave of neo-Puritanism that is sweeping commercial cinema in the West, and especially the United States).

Mari leaves János and settles in with Laci, though, in another parallel to *Light Physical Injuries*, she maintains contact with her husband and occasionally even makes love to him (in the manner already described). János becomes increasingly resentful of, and hostile to, Laci and insists on confronting him: after a fight in which János is badly beaten, a tentative truce ensues, and János not only

moves in to live with them, but performs as a drummer in their band. The tensions between them build up again, however: Laci starts to drink heavily and János resorts to acts of wanton cruelty like hanging Mari's pet cat. Finally Mari leaves and is last seen on a boat heading for foreign shores, while the film closes its circle by repeating the opening scene in which János stabs and kills Laci.

Once again it is a weak script that reduces the impact of what is often an interesting and provocative film. Too many of the situations and characters are simultaneously contrived and cliché-ridden: there is no particular *need* for János to be deaf and dumb, for instance, apart from the fact that this allows Xantus to give his enforced silence an enigmatic and somewhat sinister quality (and it also gives Andor Lukáts the advantage in the Best Actor stakes traditionally held by someone playing a role involving a handicap or deformity—he won the prize awarded by the Hungarian critics during the Film Week). And there are too many moments when the film seems to be trying too hard to be shocking or controversial. Nevertheless, it is an interesting beginning for its director and his career too should bear watching.

The unusual emphasis this year on films centering on personal, and especially sexual, relationships was continued in the new film by András Kovács, whose previous work has had a strongly political and social orientation. *An Afternoon Affair* (Szeretők) takes a conventional enough—and even banal—situation, in which a young woman separated from her husband becomes involved with a married man and can meet him only in those moments when he can find a convincing excuse to be absent from his wife. Vera (beautifully played by Mari Kiss) wants to combine financial and personal independence with a meaningful relationship with her lover Tamás (also finely portrayed, by György Cserhalmi) and believes his assurances that he and his wife are on the point of breaking up. At times, however, the strains of the situation become too much for her and she attempts, vainly, to leave him in search of something that offers a more permanent satisfaction. In desperation she even agrees to meet some of the men who have responded to a lonely hearts advertisement that her mother (who knows nothing of her affair with Tamás) has placed on her daughter's behalf. The men she encounters in this way are crude and insensitive compared to Tamás and assume that she has nothing more permanent in mind than the quick sexual liaison that they are seeking themselves.

Another possibility of escape is to accept a job abroad, but she abandons this idea when Tamás indicates that he is ready to leave his wife and acknowledge openly his relationship with Vera. A chance encounter when Vera has to enter hospital for a few days and sees Tamás coming on a visit, not to her, as she had expected, but to his wife, who has just given birth to their second child, makes it quite clear to her that the couple are far from being on the point of rupture after all; and, on her next meeting with Tamás, she tells him she has had enough of his prevarications and deceptions. Unexpectedly, however, Tamás' wife, who has known of the affair for some time, comes to see her and suggests that it might be best for all of them to continue as they are. Vera rejects this solution, yet agrees to meet Tamás once more nevertheless, and the film ends ambiguously with the two of them sitting together at their usual meeting place, but with the earlier trust and easiness gone forever.

Though the film breaks no new ground, either stylistically or thematically, it handles its perennial human problem sensitively and intelligently. My own main reservation about it is that I cannot imagine any circumstances in which someone as lovely as Mari Kiss could have even the slightest difficulty in finding a suitable mate: her main problem surely would be to fight them off rather than to attract them! More seriously, there is a sense in which the film is a little

too handsome and elegant for its own good: Szomjas' and even Xantus' less polished films give a stronger sense of the pain and confusion experienced by their protagonists.

Another veteran, Zoltán Fábri, maintains his characteristic balance between the personal and the social/political in *The House-Warming* (Gyertek el a névnapomra). The film begins strongly with a house-warming party in which the top people in a rural district (bureaucrats, managers, a newspaper editor, a doctor) gather together to wine and dine in sumptuous style and reminisce about their past. The spectacle of "the privileged class enjoying its privileges"[2] is interrupted by the arrival of a young couple, the daughter of László Biró, one of the participants, and her boy-friend. The young man's hostility to the corrupt and self-seeking abuse of power that he senses in the older generation (and which seems to be confirmed by the lavishness of their life-style) strikes a responsive chord in Biró, who had earlier warned his friends that they had fallen away from the high ideals of their past. Nevertheless, he is angered by the youth's open denunciation and his articulation of doubts that Biró would prefer not to have to confront so bluntly; in the ensuing quarrel he grabs a hunting rifle that his host has recently acquired and shoots the youth (who later dies).

From this point on, the film falls into the well-worn formula of: "Fearless Reporter Resists Threats and Intimidation to Expose Misdeeds in High Places." A journalist on the local newspaper suspects a cover-up in the official story that the shooting was an accident and sets out to try to discover the truth. In return she is subjected to a series of mysterious harassments, threats, and reprisals and is finally on the point of giving up when the remorseful Biró confesses all and kills himself. Though the film's willingness to expose entrenched privileges and the abuse of power is admirable enough, it is almost impossible at this stage to infuse genuine freshness into an overworked plot of this kind and the end result, unfortunately, is a strong sense of *déjà vu*.

Péter Bacsó appears to be one of the few directors able to come up with a new film every year, and *Oh, Bloody Life* (Te rongyos élet) returns both to the time period (the early 1950s) and the satirical tone of his critically successful *The Witness* of a few years ago. Lucy, a singer in musical comedies and operettas, is brusquely ordered one evening to leave her flat and most of her possessions and join a group of aristocratic class enemies who are being deported to the countryside, where they will perform physical labour under police surveillance. She is in fact of working class origin and has been divorced for years from the aristocratic husband, who now lives abroad, but facts are of little importance when confronted by bureaucratic and ideological zeal. The remainder of the film shows the bewildered deportees trying to maintain their old style of life in their new setting, and traces Lucy's involvements with three men: a fellow exile, a sex-crazy police captain with artistic ambitions, and a fanatical and somewhat pathetic local party secretary—who ends up being devoured by his pride and joy, a new threshing machine.

As with Fábri's film (and, to my taste, most of Bacsó's other work) the gap between admirable intention and uncertain execution give *Oh, Bloody Life*[3] a very uneven quality. Bacsó—like Márta Mészáros in her *The Land of Mirages* (Délibábok országa), a version of Gogol's *The Government Inspector* set in nineteenth century Hungary, lacks the comic flair that would enable him to do more than bring off a few sporadically and intermittently successful scenes. Neither film shows the mastery of comic timing the sense of the truly bizarre and grotesque, and the exploitation of the basic comic principle of

[2] A quote from George Cukor's film *The Philadelphia Story* (1940).

[3] The title of the song sung by the heroine at the end of the film.

incongruity that would give their films an overall unity and prevent them from lurching between scenes of open fare and scenes apparently intended to have a more serious significance. In Bacsó's film, for instance, several characters live in constant fear of summary execution if they fail to accomplish their assigned tasks successfully: this *could* have been exploited for black comedy effect, but instead is left to co-exist rather uneasily with the jocular tone of the remainder of the film.

Though Márta Mészáros' *Land of Mirages* gained her few friends it was a different matter with the semi-autobiographical *Diary* (Napló gyermekeimnek) which won the prize of the Hungarian critics and the newly established Gene Moskowitz Award presented by the foreign journalists attending the Film Week. As someone who has held strong reservations about most of Ms. Mészáros' earlier work, I am happy to agree that this is almost certainly her best film and one that combines a strong political statement with a deeply moving personal theme. The main action of the film takes place between 1947 and 1953 and begins with the teenaged Juli (played by the astonishing Zsuzsa Czinkóczi) arriving at Budapest airport after living in exile in the Soviet Union for most of her life. Her father, a sculptor, had disappeared during the purges of the late 1930s, and her mother had died shortly afterwards. She is to be looked after by her father's sister, Magda, a dedicated party activist.

Juli's emotional life is still centred round her relationships with her parents, and especially her father and the film returns constantly to those moments of happiness she had shared with them as a child: watching her father as he searches for materials in a quarry, and at work in his studio; or picnicking with her mother in areas of overwhelming natural grandeur, dominated by mountains and lakes. She resents her aunt's clumsy but well-meaning gestures of affection and continues to live in her own private world, neglecting her studies at the school for members of the party elite to which she is sent, and spending much of her time in the cinema searching for role models which will correspond to the needs of her own fantasy life. We are shown extracts from some of these films, which reflect not only Juli's private experience, but the overall move towards a rigid dogmatism in the Hungarian society of the period. From one of the first Hungarian film masterpieces, the humanistic *People on the Alps* (Emberek a havason, 1942) we move to a Greta Garbo film of the 1930s, and then works which are increasingly, and stridently, propagandistic, culminating in a truly awful piece in which a composer of the "wrong" kind of music is publicly berated and humiliated and a performance by massed choirs of music of the correctly optimistic and progressive type seems to fill the screen for ever. Elsewhere in *Diary* Márta Mészáros skilfully uses actual newsreel material of the period to give an authentic sense of time and place and also to chart the political mood of the period.

While becoming increasingly alienated from Magda, who refuses to allow her to try to contact other members of her parents' families and grows steadily more embittered at the girl's cool rejection of her gestures of affection and concern for her well-being, Juli makes a few friends elsewhere. A boy in her class at school shyly confesses that he is in love with her and they develop a delicately handled and restrained friendship for each other. She also meets János, a factory manager who is a friend of Magda's, and he gradually becomes both a substitute father-figure for her and a focus for her adolescent sexual affections (this aspect is merely hinted at, and there is never any question of a sexual relationship between them). The identification of her father with János is strengthened for the audience by the fact that Jan Nowicki plays both roles. Sensing her dissatisfaction with her home environment, János even offers to officially adopt her, but the offended Magda indignantly rejects the idea.

Thwarted in her attempts to gain Juli's affection, Magda (who has meanwhile accepted the perhaps too overtly symbolic job of governor of a women's prison) takes a more and more authoritarian stance towards her ward and, when Juli is brought home by the police one evening after having tried to run away, she acquiesces in the humiliating punishment that follows as the by now fifteen or sixteen year old girl is spanked by one of the older male members of the family with all the others watching. Juli's alienation from school and family is by now almost complete: at school she is forced to fill out a form giving "facts" about her father that she protests vainly are incorrect, and she is made aware of the inequalities in a supposedly classless society when she attends the birthday party of a schoolmate and is offered such hitherto unknown luxuries as bananas and other tropical fruit. Her true emotional life centres more and more around János and his crippled son, and the affection and consideration that they offer her.

One day, however (it is now 1953), she goes to visit János at his work and is told brusquely that he is no longer employed there. The pattern that had worked itself out in the Russia of the late 1930s is beginning to repeat itself in Hungary and, shortly afterwards, as she is spending the night with János and his son in their apartment, the police come to arrest János. The arrest interrupts a dream of Juli's in which she is once again a child in her father's company and she says goodbye to János in a manner that recalls her farewell when her father had been arrested earlier. This time Magda's family do offer her some support, but she decides nevertheless to live on her own. The film ends with her making a visit to János in prison, accompanied by his son, in a poignant image that places János behind one set of bars and Juli behind another, with a space between prohibiting even the slightest physical contact.

On one level, the film is a courageous, forceful, and subtle political statement, along the lines of Pál Gábor's *The Training of Vera* (Angi Vera), that avoids separating its characters into heroes and villains and instead shows people of good intentions being destroyed by a process that has, almost imperceptibly, gone insidiously and hideously wrong. More than this, however, it is a moving and convincing study of adolescent loneliness and self-discovery, with Juli's search for a father to replace the necessarily idealised figure that she has barely known as a child turning into a nigthmarish repetition of her earlier loss. With *Diary* Márta Mészáros fully earns the status of a major filmmaker that she has enjoyed, without full justification, for most of the past decade.

I wrote briefly about *Job's Revolt* (Jób lázadása), co-directed by Imre Gyöngyössy and Barna Kabai, when it was privately previewed last year.[4] Rather like *Diary*, it observes both personal and political tragedy through the eyes of a child, though here the boy is very much younger than Juli and unable to comprehend what is happening to him and to those he loves. In rural Hungary in 1943 an elderly and childless Jewish couple adopt a young Christian boy, with the intention of having someone who can perpetuate their way of life after their death. For the child it is a magical environment: he is fascinated by the religious rituals performed by the old man; by the mysteries of sex, both animal and human, that he observes without completely understanding; and by the arrival of a travelling picture show and the images that it can create on an ordinary white sheet. Meanwhile, as in Ms Mészáros's film, the family's happiness is threatened by political events far beyond their control: the boy finds himself taunted by other children for the incomprehensible crime of being Jewish, and he encounters a strange creature called a deserter while playing in the marsh one day. Anticipating their inevitable fate, the old couple decide

[4] *NHQ* 91.

to save the child at any rate: they leave him in the care of their newly married servants and lock themselves up in their house, refusing to see him or talk to him. A few days later soldiers arrive and a long procession of Jews is escorted out of town, watched by their sympathetic, and occasionally protesting, neighbours. The boy runs after the cart taking his "parents" away, pleading to be allowed to join them: with feigned coldness they order him to stay behind, for he is no child of theirs, and the bewildered and tearful Lackó is left staring after them as they disappear.

The obvious risks of sentimentality and the adoption of a faux-naive rather than a genuinely innocent viewpoint are not totally avoided by the film, especially on a second viewing, and there is perhaps rather too much emphasis on the boy's fascination with the sexual behaviour of the young servant couple. The vulnerable young boy (and his pet dog) is also a more easily sympathetic subject than an often sullen and rebellious teenager (as in *Diary*); yet the acting and direction avoid most of the pitfalls to produce something genuinely moving and affecting.

The one-year delay in the appearance of *Diary* pales almost to insignificance when compaired to the nearly ten years that separate two films by Gyula Gazdag from their completion and their eventual screening this year. *Singing on the Treadmill* (Bástyasétány 77), which was shown at a length (76 minutes) so far short of the normal running time for a feature film that one suspects that certain scenes, even now, are considered unacceptable, is a parody both of conventional musical comedy (or, rather, operetta) and of the relentlessly optimistic music that was shown in one of the 1940s film clips in *Diary*. The inhabitants of a valley are sent into a magical sleep by two strangers (one of them played by the Czech film director Evald Schorm) and told when they awake that they have the chance to build a new life for themselves if they follow the instructions given them. Everyone, except trouble makers, is to be welcome as part of the new community. They sort themselves out into various couples and attempt to make their dreams come true in a series of encounters and love duets that either take place in totally incongruous circumstances (in the middle of a lake, for example) or where the conventional sentimentality of the lyrics is deliberately being satirised. The film culminates in a rousingly positive chorus, which is undermined by the manner in which the music abruptly ends and the actors continue uneasily to go through the motions of their choreography in the embarrassing silence which ensues.

In contrast to the deliberate unreality of *Singing on the Treadmill*, *The Resolution* (A határozat) is one of the documentary investigations into the workings of the system of local politics in Hungary that were coming into vogue in the early 1970s (the time at which the film was made). The organising committee of a farm cooperative feel that the time has come to get rid of their chairman, who they have reason to believe is both incompetent and corrupt. As he can be removed only by a majority vote of the cooperative's members, they make public the accusations against him and bring the case before the Annual General Meeting at which all the members are present. The chairman stubbornly refuses to admit his guilt and receives unexpected support in some of the speeches from the floor. When the vote is taken, the majority decide to retain the chairman in his post. Taken aback by this, the committee first of all insist that any binding vote must be by a two-thirds majority and that voting will have to continue until that figure is reached; then, on consulting the rules once more, they admit that the vote is valid and accept their defeat. The camera then follows them through a series of private debates in which they discuss what went wrong and how they should have made quite sure that they had the necessary support among the members before taking the matter to a vote. An epilogue reveals that, at a later

date and employing more effective tactics, they succeeded in removing the chairman (who does seem to have been guilty of the charges brought against him).

Though *The Resolution* is unlikely to break box-office records either in Hungary or abroad, it is a good example of film being used for the purposes of responsible social comment and criticism. A more recent example of this tendency in Hungarian cinema, Pál Schiffer's *The Model Gardener* (Földi paradicsom) was not greeted with much enthusiasm by my fellow critics, and its interest is quite definitely limited to a local level. It consists of a series of interviews with an independent farmer (and members of his family) who earns an enormous income from the huge crop of tomatoes that he raises each year, but who is perpetually in debt because of the initial costs of starting his operation and the annual repairs and replacement of machinery that he has to carry out. The film's real interest, for me, was in the comments of his wife as, calmly and unemotionally, she admits to the belief that her life has been totally wasted: her husband's obsession with his project has left them no leisure time, no money to spend on anything beyond bare necessities, no friends, no companionship. Her married life has been sheer unrewarding drudgery, with not even the love of her children to compensate for this: she was simply the cook and laundrymaid while her husband, who administers the operation while the members of his family do the physical labour, had some time at least to play with them and talk to them. Schiffer, however, chooses not to emphasise this aspect of the subject and, to my mind, misses the opportunity to make something really interesting out of it.

The team of István Dárday and Györgyi Szalai, by now the masters of the uniquely Hungarian form of pseudodocumentary, offered this year *Point of Departure* (Átváltozás), a film almost $4^1/_2$ hours long. As in their earlier films, the characters and setting are fictionalised but based on the actual experiences and social roles of the non-actors who play the leading parts. The film deals with members of a family living in a large old house that is filled with valuable objects belonging to the owner, the Grandfather. His granddaughter Wanda is married to Gábor, a once promising poet whose creative talent has been paralysed by doubts and self-questionings. The other member of the household is Wanda's cousin Márta, a dancer who is totally wrapped up in her concern for her art and is almost totally uninterested in contact with others.

Much of the first hour of the film is filled with discussions between Gábor and his university friends about the possibilities of starting a literary magazine that would truly express the hope, ambitions, and frustrations of their own generation. For them officially approved art has become sterile and lifeless, a tissue of half-truths that no longer dares to examine the true realities of Hungarian (and Eastern European) society. The problem, however, is that they have to receive official permission—from the very people they so distrust—before they can start their magazine, and Gábor in particular is unable to come to terms with the paradox involved. How can you claim to be independent and unorthodox when you have to go, cap in hand, to beg permission to be independent and unorthodox?

Unable to resolve this dilemma, Gábor starts to spend more and more of his time in bed, neglecting opportunities to further his career, and indulging in all-night talk sessions, freely fortified with drink, that become increasingly circular and pointless. Wanda is alarmed by his lethargy and tries vainly to rouse him from it; meanwhile the Grandfather, sensing that his life is nearly over, tries to persuade her to leave Gábor, who he sees (with some justification from his own point of view) as a drunken wastrel who is ruining his beloved granddaughter's life. Finally the Grandfather dies, leaving the house to Wanda and its contents to Márta. To Wanda's horror, Márta promptly

decides to sell the contents, which represent a lifetime or more of tradition and continuity to her cousin, and use the money to further her career. Before leaving she drifts into a brief and meaningless affair with Gábor, who shows himself elsewhere in the film prepared to make love to any woman who shows the slightest interest in him. By the end of the film, the family unit has broken up, leaving Gábor and Wanda more or less where they have been throughout, with the former still talking endlessly about his plans and the possibilities of realising them.

After a rather tedious opening (and the film as a whole could benefit from cutting) the film settles into a fascinating exploration both of the personal inter-relationships among the family and of the problems of a lost generation of intellectuals who feel that their idealism is not only being ignored by the firmly entrenched older generation that holds all the reins of power, but is in danger of turning sour and self-destructive as a result. Though its formidable length and its excessive talkiness[5] virtually prohibit it from reaching a large popular audience, it raises very real issues about the relationship between the artist and society that could well be relevant to the continued health of Hungarian cultural life.

*

I ended my comments on last year's Film Week with a warning about the potential dangers involved in the increasing tendency towards coproductions, especially with American companies. Coproductions were not a major feature among this year's offerings, though the forthcoming release of Szabó's and Makk's new films should provide ample evidence as to whether these dangers have been avoided or not. The thought that crossed my mind during the less gripping moments of some of the less gripping films that I saw, concerned the audience that was envisaged when many of these films were conceived and approved for production. The overall tendency in Hungarian cinema in recent years has been to produce films that fall into three main categories: entertainment films, with no great pretensions to artistic value, destined mainly for the home market; the pseudo-documentaries that were designed to investigate rather than entertain; and art films that explore Hungarian realities but, at the same time may well attract the interest of a foreign audience too.

Several of this year's films seemed to fall rather uneasily between these categories, satisfying none of them completely. I have already mentioned *Witches' Sabbath* and *Heavenly Hosts*, which are too artistic to satisfy merely as entertainment and yet are not artistic enough to succeed on their chosen level. Gábor Koltai's rock musical *Stephen the King* (István, a király) may well be destined for some popular success within Hungary; but it is too derivative of works like *Jesus Christ Superstar* to capture a foreign market. The most striking example of a film without an audience, however, seemed to me to be Judit Elek's *Maria's Day* (Márianap), which is based on the problems faced by the widow of Sándor Petőfi in the years after his death. Again the film seems too self-consciously artistic to appeal to a large audience locally (despite some explicit simulated sex scenes), yet I cannot imagine it having much interest for an audience abroad to whom Petőfi (unjustly and unfairly no doubt) is little more than a name. Almost the only film maker on view this year who seemed both willing and able to bridge the gaps between local and international appeal, and between art and entertainment, and to do so with reasonable success, was György Szomjas, and it will be interesting to see if his example is followed by others.

GRAHAM PETRIE

5 Dárday and Györgyi Szalai might profit from trusting the *image* more than the word on occasion in their films. Some of the most expressive and powerful scenes in *Point of Departure* rely on a look or a gesture or a movement rather than on torrents of dialogue.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

ACZÉL, György (b. 1917). Member of the Political Committee and Secretary to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. See "The Socialist State and the Churches," *NHQ* 66, "Workdays and Prospects," 71, "Historical Contemporaries of the Present," 73, "Intellectuals in a Socialist Society," 75, "A New System of Values," 77, "The Social Responsibility of Hungarian Science," 78, "The Responsibility of the Mass Media," 84, "The Stages and Crises of Socialism—A Conversation," 87, and "The Challenge of our Age and the Response of Socialism," 90.

BÍRÓ, Gerd (b. 1926). Economist, heads the press section of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, editor of the journal *Marketing in Hungary*, author of a book on the Common Market. See "The Fourth Five-Year Plan and Hungarian Foreign Trade," *NHQ* 44, "Company Strategy and Joint Projects," 73, "An Economic Policy for the Eighties," 75 and "Hungarian Economic and Financial Policy and World Market Changes," 82.

BOGNÁR, József (b. 1917). Economist, Member of Parliament, heads the World Economy Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Member of the Editorial Board of, as well as a frequent contributor to, *NHQ*. See also "Economic Growth in Coexistence with Nature," *NHQ* 74, "Political and Security Factors—East West Economic Policy for the Eighties," 75, "Global Economic Security and Growth," 79, "Aspects of Structural Changes," 81, "The Driving Forces of Economic Development," 83, "Survival, Development, Economic Cooperation—A Draft for the Year 2000," 86, "Hungary's Progress in a World Economic Context," 87, "Economic Crisis in the Age of Mutual Dependences," 91 and "The World Food Crisis," 93.

DOBOSSY, László (b. 1910). Literary historian. Professor of the University of Budapest prior to his retirement. For many years guest professor at the Sorbonne and twice director of the Hungarian Institute in Paris. Has contributed to the comparative study of Eastern and Central European literatures with emphasis on Western European, in particular French, links. Author of eighteen volumes of essays, a huge body of publications in international journals as well as the standard Czech–Hungarian dictionary in two volumes, a history of French literature, a handbook on the literatures of neighbouring countries, and biographies of Karel Čapek, Jaroslav Hašek and Romain Rolland. See "The Two Greatest Ones—Széchenyi and Palacký," *NHQ* 91.

ECKHARDT, Mária (b. 1943). Musicologist, a graduate of the Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music. Since 1973 on the staff of the Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. She is a noted Liszt scholar with a wide range of publications including a collection of Liszt documents, edited with C. Knotek (Eisenstadt, 1983). Two books, one on the Liszt holographs in the Széchenyi Library and one on the Liszt legacy at the Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music, will be published shortly.

FORGÁCS, Éva (b. 1947). Art historian, on the staff of the Budapest Museum of Applied Arts. Has published *Kollázs és montázs* (Collage and Montage), Corvina Press, 1976, and studies on the Bauhaus and the art critic Ernő Kállai. Recent contributions include: "Tamás Losonczy: a Retrospective," *NHQ* 74, "Border Cases," 78, "József Jakovits's 'Vital Sculpture'," 80, "Soft Material, Hard Contours," 84 and "Károly Schmal's Three-Dimensional Pictures," 94.

FRANK, János (b. 1925). Art critic, one of our regular art reviewers.

GYÖRFFY, Miklós (b. 1942). Our reviewer of prose fiction.

HAMBURGER, Klára (b. 1934). Musicologist, music editor of *Gondolat*, a publishing house for non-fiction, since 1966. Her biography of Liszt, first published in 1966, has been frequently reprinted and was translated into German and English. A revised edition in English will be published by Corvina Press in 1985.

HOPPÁL, Mihály (b, 1942). Ethnologist, a graduate of the University of Debrecen. On the staff of the Ethnographic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. At present on a fellowship at Indiana University, Bloomington to study the Hungarian ethnic group, in the United States. His field of research is folk beliefs, popular medicine, shamanism, on wich he published widely. *Shamanism in Siberia,* ed. by Vilmos Diószegi and Mihály Hoppál, was published by Akadémia Publishers, in 1978.

KERESZTURY, Dezső (b. 1904). Poet, playwright, literary historian, essayist, member of the Editorial Board of this review, a former Minister of Culture and Education. Has published books of poems, a collection of essays, a life of János Arany, the 19th century Hungarian poet, as well as translations from German poets. See "Photo-Variations on Bluebeard's Castle," *NHQ* 63, "Tibor Déry in Marble," 65, an interview with him, 70, "Two Decisions," 74, and "The First Hungarian Poem," 93. Original titles of poems in this issue: *Álomtalan; Erőtér; Érlelődve; Ulysses a dublini éjszakában.*

KOLTAI, Tamás (b. 1942). Critic. A graduate of the University of Budapest. Since 1968 on the staff of *Színház*, a theatrical monthly. Has published a book on Peter Brook, two volumes of criticism and a volume of writings on the theatre of the sixties and seventies.

KOVÁSZNAI, Viktória. Art historian. A graduate of the University of Budapest. On the staff of the National Gallery. Her fields of research are modern Hungarian art with special reference to sculpture. See "Miklós Borsos at Seventy," *NHQ* 64.

LENGYEL, Balázs (b. 1918). Essayist and critic. Was the editor of *Újhold*, an important but short-lived (1946–1949) monthly magazine of new writing. From the early sixties till his recent retirement he was an editor in a publishing house for the young. Has published collections of his poetry reviews, two volumes of essays, as well as historical novels for the young. See "English Renaissance Drama in Hungarian," in *NHQ* 4, "Zoltán Zelk: An Outsider Vindicated," 84, "A Poet's Place," 90, Sándor Weöres: "The Poet as Playwright," 93 and "A Poet of Quiet Defiance," 94.

LUKÁCS, József (b. 1922). Philosopher, a graduate in medicine of the University of Budapest. Professor of Philosophy at the University of Budapest and director of the Institute of Philosophy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Member of the Steering Committee of the *Federation Internationale de la Societé Philosophique*. He specialises in social philosophy and the philosophy of history, as well in the theory and history of religion. His many publications include four collections of articles and a book on the typology of the antecedents of Christianity.

MALLER, Sándor (b. 1917). Was headmaster of the English College at Sárospatak and lecturer in Hungarian at the University of Aberdeen, later lecturer in English at the University of Debrecen. Was senior librarian at Debrecen University and the National Széchényi Library of Budapest. He became a staff member of the Unesco Secretariat, Paris (1957–1963) and was Secretary General of the Hungarian National Commission for Unesco (1963–

1978). See his previous contributions in *NHQ* 39, 56, 57, 83.

MOHÁCSY, Ildikó. Psychiatrist. A graduate of the University of Budapest. Since 1956 a resident of the U.S. She is Assistant Professor of Psychiatry, Mount Sinai Medical School. Attending Psychiatrist at New York Hospital, Cornell University.

MORGAN, Edwin (b. 1918). Poet, critic, Senior Lecturer in English at Glasgow University. His publications include volumes of poetry, translations and anthologies. A number of his translations form modern Hungarian poets appeared in the *NHQ* See his "Poetry and Translation," in *NHQ* 25 and "Modern Hungarian Poetry," in 31.

MOTTRAM, Eric (b. 1934). Reader in American literature, King's College, University of London. Author of "The Penguin Companion to American Literature" (with Malcolm Bradbury). Has published a number of volumes of poems, besides editing *Poetry Review*. See "Modern Hungarian Poetry — Incomprehensible to Outsiders?" *NHQ* 66, "The Fear of Invasion in American Culture," 80, poems in 82 and "Intersections of the Animate and the Inanimate," 83.

NÁDAS, Péter (b. 1942). Novelist, playwright, essayist. In addition to four collections of short stories (1967–79) a trilogy of plays and a volume of criticism on the theatre, he is the author of the novel *Egy családregény vége* (The end of a family story, 1977).

NYÍRI, Tamás (b. 1920). Graduated in theology from the University of Vienna. From 1952 to 1964 was professor at the Theological Academy in Esztergom. Since 1964 he has been a priest in the II. district of Budapest. *Vigilia*, a Catholic periodical, frequently publishes articles by him. His main field of research is the area where the social and natural sciences and theology overlap. His publications include the book, *A keresztény ember a mai világban* (Christians in Today's World), which appeared in 1969. See his "Matter and Life" in *NHQ* 29.

PÁLFY, József (b. 1922). Journalist, editor of *Magyarország*, a Budapest weekly, president of the Hungarian Journalists' Association. 1956–61 on the staff of MTI, the Hungarian News Agency, in Budapest and in Paris. See his "Hungarian Foreign Policy in the Eighties," in 82.

PASSUTH, Krisztina (b. 1938). Art historian. Her main field is twentieth century Hungarian painting. See her "Endre Bálint's Exhibition" in *NHQ* 29 and "Modern Hungarian Artists Living Abroad," 41.

PETRIE, Graham (b. 1939). British film critic and novelist who lives in Canada; he teaches English and film at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ont. Published *The Cinema of Francois Truffaut*. His book on the Hungarian film, *History Must Answer to Man* (Corvina Press) appeared in 1979. See "History Must Answer to Man" (The Contemporary Hungarian Cinema) *NHQ* 53. "The History of the Hungarian Cinema," 61, "Recent Hungarian Cinema," 62, "Why the Hungarian Cinema Matters," 68, "Two Years of Hungarian Cinema," 72, "Hungarian Rhapsodies," 75, "An Avarage Year," 83 and "The 1983 Hungarian Film Week" 91.

SALGÓ, István (b. 1952). Economist, on the staff of the Foreign Trade Department of the Karl Marx University in Budapest. His main fields of interest are the structural aspects of Hungarian foreign trade and the French economy on which he has published numerous articles.

SZABADI, Judit (b. 1940). Art historian, on the staff of Corvina Press, author of several books on Hungarian art. See "The Iconography of Hungarian Art Nouveau,"

NHQ 49, "Secession in Graphic Art," 45, "Current Trends of Western European Painting and Young Hungarian Art," 61 and "Anna Lesznai's Painting," 62.

SZABÓ, Júlia (b. 1939). Art historian, on the staff of the Institute of Art History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Her field of interest is 19th and 20th century Hungarian art. Besides studies on Douanier Rousseau and Kandinsky, she is the author of *A magyar aktivizmus művészete* (The art of the Hungarian activists), 1981.

SZAMUELY, László (b. 1936). Economist. A graduate of the Faculty of Economics of Moscow State University. Between 1961–1973 he was senior editor of *Közgazdasági Szemle*, at present senior researcher at the Institute for the World Economy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. His field is economic history and theory, and the study of socialist economic systems. His many publications include *First models of socialist economic systems*, Akadémia Publishers, 1974. (also in Italian, published by Lignori Editore, 1979).

TÓTH, Endre (b. 1944). Archeologist and museologist, a graduate of the University of Budapest. On the staff of the Archeological Department of the National Museum. He published widely on the conquest and Roman organisation of Pannonia, especially on its 4th century history. A regular contributor to the FOCUS section.

WALSH, Stephen (b. 1942). Musicologist. Our regular reviewer of new records. Read music at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Since 1966 has been music critic for the Observer and since 1976 a senior lecturer in music at University College, Cardiff. Publications include a book on the songs of Schumann and a book on Béla Bartók's chamber music for the BBC Music Guides (reviewed in NHQ 91). See his reviews on new records in NHQ 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 92, 93 and 94.

Articles in this journal are indexed in HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS; AMERICA, HISTORY AND LIFE; ARTS & HUMANITIES CITATIONS INDEX

THE NEW HUNGARIAN QUARTERLY

may be obtained from the following distributors:

AUSTRALIA: Cosmos Book and Record Shop, 145 Ackland St., St. Kilda, Vic. 3182
Globe Book and Record Shop, 694 — 696 George St. Sydney NSW 2000

AUSTRIA: LIBRO-DISCO Ungarische Bücher und Schallplatten aus Wien, Domgasse 8. A-1010 Wien

BELGIUM: Du Monde Entier S. A. Rue du Midi 162, B-1000 Bruxelles
Süle András 83, rue des Arbres, B-1180 Bruxelles

BRASIL: Livraria D. Landy Ltda. Rua 7 de Abril, 01000 São Paulo

CANADA: Délibáb Film and Record Studio, 19 Prince Arthur Street, West Montreal P. Q. H2X 154
Pannonia Books, P.O. Box 1017 Postal Station "B", Toronto, Ont. M5T 2T8
Hungarian Ikka and Travel Service, 1234 Granville Street, Vancouver 2, B.C. V6Z 1M

DENMARK: Munksgaard's Boghandel, Norregade 6. DK-1165 Kobenhavn K.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY: Ujváry—Griff, Titurelstr. 2. 8000 München 81.
Kubon und Sagner, Postfach 68. 8000 München 34.
Musica Hungarica, Rümannstr. 4. 8 München 40.

FINLAND: Akateeminen Kirjakauppa, Keskuskatu 2. SF 00100 Helsinki 10.

FRANCE: Société Balaton, 12, rue de la Grange-Batelière, 75009 Paris
Association France–Hongrie, 8, rue Montyon, 75009 Paris

GREAT BRITAIN: The Danubia Book Company, 58, Chatsworth Road London NW2 4DD

HOLLAND: Club Qualiton, Prinsenstraat 26, Amsterdam

NORWAY: A/S Narvesens Litteratur Tjeneste, P.O. Box 6140, Etterstad Oslo 6

SWEDEN: Almqvist and Wiksell Förlag, P.O. Box 62, S-101, 20 Stockholm
Presam, Pressens Samdistribution AB, D Fack, S 104 25 Stockholm

SWITZERLAND: Magda Szerday, Teichweg 16, CH-4142 Münchenstein

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: Center of Hungarian Literature, 4418 16th Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11204
Sándor Püski, C/O Corvin 1590 2nd Ave. New York, N.Y. 10028
Fam Book Service, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10003

VENEZUELA: Louis Tarcsay, Calle Iglesia Ed Villoria Apt. 21 105. C. 24. Caracas

YUGOSLAVIA: Forum, Vojvode Misica broj 1. 21000 Novi Sad

or

Kultura Hungarian Trading Company for Books and Newspapers,

H-1389 Budapest P.O.B. 149