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This issue went to press on November 14, 1978

FRANKLY SPEAKING

Several diverse major topics stand out, as usual, from the inevitable mixed bag in this issue, but they all seem to be somehow related in at least one aspect of their treatment. Since, as an editorial policy, NHQ always prints a number of articles and studies that were not specially written for it but first appeared in various Hungarian papers and periodicals and are thereby documentary indications themselves of the sort of approach to important issues in this country, we could not influence the authors in any sense. Reviewing the material at press time, however, we were therefore ourselves pleasantly surprised to find the thread of a certain kind of common sense, of responsible and realistic thinking, of a kind of unostentatious frankness, if you will, to be a part of the fabric of most major contributions we had chosen. This is, we think, true first of all of the pieces that centre on some current burning questions, like, say, the round table discussion, reprinted from the national Party daily, of the situation of 350,000 Gypsies, that is to say, 3.5 per cent of the entire population. An unprecedented step forward in foreign policy —mutual removal of obligatory visas for Austrian and Hungarian citizens visiting the neighbouring country—is treated with both satisfaction and caution, putting an equal emphasis on past achievement in Austro-Hungarian relations and on the things still to be done, as well as on the formidable problems the country's already outgrown infrastructure will have to face in accommodating an expected huge increase in Austrian visitors starting this year. And we could continue.

István Huszár, a Vice Premier in charge of economic planning, speaks of the very difficulties that the country is at present facing. The main headache is a serious deficit in the international balance of payments, no trivial matter in view of the fact that about 45 per cent of the Hungarian National Income is being realized through foreign trade. The main reason

for the deficit is, of course, a much more substantial rise in import costs than we can compensate for through exports. Various sorts of discrimination and protectionism in western export markets add to the dificulties exporters already have in an altogether none too active international market where Hungarian goods often prove to be less than competitive. With an openness that has characterized Hungarian economic decision-making for many years now, he concludes by stating that the basic guiding principles of the economy are sound and need not be changed; what will have to be done, however, is putting them into practice in a much more consistent way, aiming at the restoration of a healthy international balance of payments, even at the cost of temporarily subordinating the proclaimed living standards policies to the task of becoming more competitive and flexible in the international market. In past years, whenever major price corrections became necessary in the consumer field, they were announced and explained in the press beforehand, the reasons for them clearly given and thus—though some predictable hoarding usually occured—the population understood and accepted them as inevitable. István Huszár's article, based on an interview in *Népszabadság*, the national Party daily, was, we are sure, meant to be a reminder of some unpleasant things to come and to be explained in detail later, and it makes no secret of it.

János Fekete, a Vice President of the Hungarian National Bank and an expert on international monetary matters, explains the economic reasons behind the hundreds of millions of dollars that the socialist countries, including Hungary, have taken and are taking as loans from the capitalist money market. With excellent credit ratings and a dynamically performing, though structurally not quite adequate, economy, Hungary can, whenever the need arises, get favourable terms, and her indebtedness remains firmly under control, at a level where it does not put an unbearable burden on the economy. Together with the other socialist countries which are in the same boat, the aim is, of course, a restructuring of industry and the production of higher quality goods that are competitive on world markets. A topic which receives a lot of—sometimes sensational—treatment in the western press, the whole process is a normal part of international economic relations and it is no wonder that the socialist countries, still making up for various degrees of past or present underdevelopment, are on the receiving end. Apart from the interest they pay, the ultimate result, i.e., growing exports to the west, will also profit the lenders as the socialist countries, achieving a sounder balance of payments, become a growing market for western exports in return.

An unusually large part of this issue is devoted to the past. A triumphant return to public consciousness of Mihály Károlyi, a great lonely figure of Hungarian history, has occurred in recent years. His life is a fascinating saga of extremes, leading from incredible wealth and power to poverty, from international prominence to oblivion, disillusionment, loneliness, and death in exile; only one thing remained constant throughout his entire life: his conscience. Reviewing a recent crop of literature on him, his autobiography, belatedly published at last in Hungary, and some newly published material, the historian Éva Haraszti describes the man and his lonely fight in a captivating article which also contains some highly interesting, hitherto unknown facts, made available to the author by A. J. P. Taylor, Károlyi's one-time friend, the British historian to whom she is now married. Dr. Taylor's communications throw interesting light on the role A.C. Macartney, the British historian, played, as adviser on Hungary to the Foreign Office, during, and immediately after, the Second World War. He urged Ernest Bevin not to receive Károlyi; as the years went by, however, he arrived at a more realistic attitude to post-war Hungary—as pointed out in an obituary by György Ránki in NHQ 72. Károlyi's political life and career stretches from the Austro-Hungarian Empire to the beginning of the post-Stalin era; he died in 1955. He played a prominent part in the historic process which tore post-Great-War Hungary away from the crumbling Empire and became its first President in 1918. We chose to commemorate the event of sixty years ago and also the subsequent, short-lived Hungarian Republic of Councils, by publishing short extracts from contemporary reports by H. N. Brailsford, a British writer and journalist, whose clear vision, common sense and sound judgement made him an excellent and not unsympathetic eyewitness to what was happening in the Budapest of days of turmoil and radical transformation in early 1919. A good historical background to the eyewitness' account is provided by a survey of three peace treaties affecting Hungary after the Great War by János Péter, the retired Minister of Foreign Affairs. It is not too often that one finds Trotsky's role treated in such a dispassionate way.

Hungarian historiography seems to have, at long last, reached a point when it can approach the extremely complex problems of our long common past with Austria and the Habsburgs with success. Short-sightedness, revenge, prejudice, misinformation, nationalism, envy, and selfishness have given place to a careful, scholarly and objective approach in both research and judgement. The interest in the subject, both scholarly and popular, is tremendous. To satisfy it, what can be called ongoing production

by historians reaches the bookshops and even serious scholarly works printed in tens of thousands of copies sell out in a matter of weeks. István Bart reviews some of the more important new publications in the field, ranging from a huge, massive comprehensive work on the 1890–1918 period, written by a team, to a new book on the Habsburg dynasty, treated as "a European phenomenon." The above mentioned article on the recent abolishment of visa restictions between Austria and Hungary and its consequences reflects on the present relations between the two former arch-rival nations, which are, in one word, just excellent.

The section we here again devote to discussion of the work of the poet Endre Ady is also related to the Austro-Hungarian past. As the two papers we print, as well as an account of a recent round table held in London about Ady indicate, his work counts among the most important literary manifestations of the period that culminated in the catastrophe of the Great War.

*

Deputy Prime Minister György Aczél, a frequent contributor, chose to write this time about the role of Marxist theory in political decision-making and everyday thinking. Marxism has been, and still is, misused, abused, refuted, revised, exploited, distorted, and neglected so many times the world over, despite the growing worldwide influence it is exercising, that a summary of experiences in the practical uses of it as a method of thinking and as a guiding principle in decision making, by a political leader, is of considerable interest. "Marxism cannot be understood by one who is unable to see in the mobility of theory, in its principled flexibility, the durability which springs precisely from the fact that its dialectics is not only a method but also a theoretical mirror of the objective nature of development. This is why not every kind of flexibility suits dialectics." Mobility of theory and principled flexibility do not mean, however, that Marxism is a panacea, or an encyclopaedia full of prefabricated answers to all questions. György Aczél emphasizes that Socialists cannot give prefabricated theoretical answers to any problems, and there is no practical mechanism in store which would automatically solve the new problems of the new situation. But this is not, he points out, a weakness of the theory, it follows from the nature of social development. A confrontation of ideas serves the achievement of the right decision best. "The age we live in teaches us that the right course can always be explored and charted only through the conflict of positions in free, open debates, on the basis of

mutual patience and understainding. And true judgement can come about only by analysing and testing practical experience."

A number of interesting items—all taken from the Hungarian media—are printed in this issue. Cardinal Archbishop Lékai, the Primate of Hungary, speaks about improving Church-State relations, the importance, from a Church point of view, of the return of St. Stephen's crown to Hungary, and some new institutions the Church is currently building. We supplement his statement with illustrated articles on three new churches recently built to replace others damaged beyond repair. Miklós Jancsó, the film director of international fame, speaks—in his characteristically unorthodox way—about his style, his aims, his method, the myths surrounding him and his work, and audience as well as professional reaction to his films in Hungary and abroad. József Újfalussy, a leading musicologist, answers questions as puzzling as what, if anything, music "is about," and what its role and function is or ought to be in society.

Discussion of the work of György Lukács, as many times before, once again was given considerable space. In a highly informative article drawing on unpublished material, Anna Wessely writes about Lukács's friendship with Frigyes Antal, one of the outstanding Marxist art critics of the age. Some of their surviving correspondence, also printed, provides fascinating reading.

Among the many pieces to be found in the art, theatre, film, and music sections, let us draw attention to just a single one. Ede Tarbay, in a lucidly written, informative article, tells about the history and the present of puppetry in Hungary, with a focus on the State Puppet Theatre performing in Budapest for children and adults. We think, frankly, it is not just what the article says it is, a brilliant, highly original theatre company with a recognisable style entirely its own. It is, simply, by far the best theatre in the country, and has been that for a number of years—that must be stated in the name of the frankness we said permeated most of this issue.

THE EDITORS

HISTORICAL CONTEMPORARIES OF THE PRESENT

by

GYÖRGY ACZÉL

The age we live in confronts us daily with ever new events and phenomena, with at times unexpected turns and changes in Hungary, or in distant lands. The eye, which can only look on, would be unable to take in all that happens in the world if it did not see through the surface, the appearances, and if it did not explore and reveal the deeper connections. Courage of principle and intellectual strength are needed, in the words of Marx, to make one a historical contemporary of the present.

The faculty of social vision supposes comprehension of the internal nature of historical processes. I underline only two of the many characteristics of these changes. One is that they usually do not advance as straight as the crow flies but rather in spiral or wavelike lines. Also, it often happens that progress wends its way in the midst of the fierce struggle of forward movement and reaction. With Hungary's thirty-year development in mind no one with a sense of social responsibility denies that Hungarian society has progressed a great deal, that the material and spiritual basis of the people's living conditions have radically changed for the better. But no one can responsibly claim that progress has been uniform in all areas of life. Hungarians have to realize and make everybody realize as well that these three decades included years when social progress was hindered by trying problems; let us think only of the tragic injustices of the personality cult or the losses caused by of the counter-revolution.

A more accurate analysis will show that among the causes of regressions or partial shortcomings are distortions due to subjective errors—that is, not objective necessities—or, that, in spite of favourable subjective factors, progress was slowed down by objective circumstances.

Another characteristic trait of the nature of social transformation is that tasks fulfilled, results attained, and needs satisfied generate new tasks,

Extract from "Transmission of Historical Experiences," an essay under preparation.

problems, and aspirations. Along the road of history there is no terminus where one reaches some kind of an age without problems. Such a terminal concept of history is not only naïve but also dangerous. Let me add at once that the agitational propaganda that prevailed in the fifties emphasized the miraculous fulfilment of immediate tasks to such an extent, and kept so silent about the laws of the accumulation of problems and the proliferation of tasks incidental to development, that speeches about the sky being the limit were in vain, working people began to entertain doubts and delusions regarding the real nature of development.

Change results in a new situation, and in this new situation a whole range of new problems arises. This applies, of course, not only to Hungary, nor even to the socialist countries alone. To make this clear, I have to digress a little. As long as the countries which have become independent since the Second World War had lived under colonial oppression, their concerted or at least connected effort concentrated upon the struggle for independence. After they had acceded to independence problems concerning the development of these sovereign countries arose one after the other: in this respect the Third World presents a far more complicated picture today than in did in the era of colonialism. The situation of victorious Angola or Laos, for example, shows what unsuspected difficulties must be grappled with in struggling against the formidable obstacles of the colonial past and the remnants of tribal conditions in advancing towards socialism. But even if aware of this new complexity no one with a sound sense of history would propose the absurd idea of going back to the tragic simplicity of colonial conditions... A different kind of example: in the period of the Cold War many hundreds of millions experienced the fundamental conflict of capitalism and socialism as a simple threatening and being threatened. With the change of conditions, with the evolution of peaceful coexistence, Hungarians have to hold their own in a much more complex environment of debate and dialogue, of material and intellectual communication, face many new problems, and satisfy new types of significant requirements. Only people who can no longer find their bearings in a more complicated situation, or who have been shaken in their socialist conviction, can say or wish that one should continue the struggle under simpler conditions by returning to the past.

Furthermore, knowledge of the real nature of development is indispensable in order that one might react to its characteristics in the interest of progress and the socialist world view. In this age, which is witness to an intricate power balance in the world, it may happen that the revolutionary working-class movement is restrained and progress is hindered—in spite

of its most earnest intentions—by those who, at the sight of the new tasks, speak about the twilight of revolution and nostalgically recall the beauty of revolutionary challenge as the only salvation. Even involuntarily they find allies among those opportunists who, on the pretext of the new means of communication required by the situation, are amenable to compromises even when these are not warranted by the situation, thus sacrificing a modern revolutionary attitude for opportunism, for the abandonment of principles.

The shaping of society, the characteristics of development are reflected in Marxism at the level of objective truths. Lenin called dialectics the soul of Marxism. It was in this spirit that he interpreted the live, dynamic interaction of practice and theory, the exposure and solution of the unity and struggle of conflicts. It is an elementary duty of revolutionary thinkers to realize this.

Theory does not, because it cannot, satisfy the desire of everyday thinking to provide final truths which solve everything—a key to all locks of history. It cannot fulfil the unuttered wish of many to absolve anybody from independent thinking. It is necessary to condemn most resolutely and to fight any solution which—along the line of least resistance, thus serving mental laziness—wants to use Marxist–Leninist teaching as a closed system of vulgarized doctrines. In this way it sooner or later deprives it of its attraction and, what is still more dangerous, of its practical effectiveness. But it would be also unthinkable to lower theoretical requirements to the level of improvisation, rejecting scientific preparation. By adopting one or the other, one reduces its ideal attraction and practical effectiveness, and one would but widen the scope of movement of the opponents of Marxism. Especially at the present stage of development the *way* in which truths become public property must be considered a key issue. Socialism is past the period when dogmatism, as Brecht wrote, did not explain the system of ideas to people but forced it upon them like stale beer.

But I wonder whether it is sufficient to know that the years of vulgarization are essentially behind us, and whether one ought not ask if the present work of ideological education is worthy of the conceptual importance of Marxism–Leninism, and if it has risen to the new targets which the socialist order of society has set.

It is not easy to teach the system of socialist ideas in the customary sense. The classic authors of Marxism did not create textbooks valid for all times, they wrote no catechism. They formulated their teachings while confronting the problems of their age, scanning the opportunities of revolutionary

practice, organizing the international working-class movement, striving after ever new achievements. This is why all their writings are animated by philosophical freshness, by the excitement of mental sparring with the unforeseen phenomena of history.

Marxism cannot be understood by one who is unable to see in the mobility of theory, in its principled flexibility, the durability which springs precisely from the fact that its dialectics is not only a method but also a theoretical mirror of the objective nature of development. This is why not any kind of flexibility suits dialectics. Lenin warned against confusing Marxian dialectics with the simplifying method which justifies "the zigzags of politicians who swing over from the revolutionary to the opportunist wing of the party, with the vulgar habit of lumping together particular statements, and particular developmental factors, belonging to different stages of a single process."* Marx's and Lenin's dialectics can not justify individual errors and can not grant exemption from the most detailed and most specific study of development. Dialectics are a product and indispensable element of the revolutionary process which transforms potential into real social progress, and a stimulus to constant self-correction.

Transmitting truths—or helping more and more people accept them, for they cannot in fact be transmitted—means also to educate our contemporaries to become persistent questioners, passionate seekers: to become people who inquire into the reality of our age. Young people's frequent incomprehension of the difficulties of the recent past, of the causes of the regressions mentioned above, indicates that social experience is not automatically inherited; it can be transmitted only if socialists do not cease to inquire into the reality of the age. For this, however, one should know that the theoretical truths of Marxism, which can and should be learnt, do not exempt one from a thorough and complex analysis of practice. Actually, the final proof of revolutionary theory is to be found in the practice of life. Gramsci had good reason to claim that only social effectiveness can really prove a theory not to be a figment of the imagination. In this sense one should take seriously Marx's question: Who is going to educate the educators?—and this applies to all without exception. I may add that educability is precisely a characteristic of the good educator, who heeds the yet unheard words of reality, too. He listens to those who, in possession of direct experience, can interpret these words for him. This heeding, this listening to the main teacher, reality, is a decisive condition to ensure that Marxist conviction is capable of constant renewal.

* "One step forward, two steps back." *Lenin's Collected Works*, Vol. VII. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1974, p. 409.

"Together with the thoroughness of the historical action the size of the mass whose purpose it is will therefore increase," * wrote Lenin. These words remind one that transformation of consciousness and creative activity depend on one another, they cannot be realized separately. The immediate task of the promotion of Marxist–Leninist ideas in Hungary today is to help more and more workers, peasants, and intellectuals to find their way in the reality of the age, in its lively and complex movements, in the maze of contradictions regenerating in the course of development.

It is no accident that Lenin notices—right after the victory of the October Revolution—that there is unfortunately a slight inaccuracy in the Internationale when it claims that "this struggle will be final."

Understandably the ruling classes of the exploiting societies considered their power to be final and declared it to be so. Nothing can be farther from Communists than to believe that the contradictions have vanished from reality, that "history has come to an end." This is no less a mistake than to forget that the dictatorship of the proletariat in this country is an imperative historical category, a transition to a classless society, but by no means an automatic transition which leads without the working people, without their action and struggle, to a higher level, to developed socialism, and further.

The rate of development, the detours, the outcome and elimination of shortcomings, on the other hand, depend on whether socialists have the theoretical power and practical courage to realize the unexpected consequences of their action, whether they have the energy to name and solve the contradictions arising out of their own activities.

I repeat, socialists cannot give ready theoretical answers to all problems, and there is no practical mechanism in store which would automatically solve the new problems of the new situation. But this is not a weakness of the theory, it follows from the nature of social development.

The continuous confrontation of theoretical theses with pulsating life makes Marxism capable of constant renewal. This is the soul of Marxism, and this soul is really immortal, efforts to declare it dead are in vain. This confrontation and development can, of course, only be the result of collective work. Because even if there are some who know more and who know the theory better than others do: the problems of reality concern everybody, they are the business of everybody, and everybody can and must contribute to their understanding. It is only through this process that the principles can really be adopted. The more developed the working-class

* "A Publicist's Diary." *Lenin's Collected Works*, Vol. XXXVI. Moscow, Progress, 1971, p. 462.

movement of a country, and the more developed the economic and political conditions under which this movement is formed, the more people take part in the elaboration of the theory, and the richer the opportunities that open up for individual performance, for the development of the personality.

The error of those who regard Marxism as dead is due at best to their inability to distinguish between the lasting substance, manifested even in change, of the philosophical axioms of Marxism, and some of its theses valid only in space and time. This is why they confuse obsolescence with continuous renewal. It is no concern of ours how the ideologues of the bourgeoisie settle the contradiction in logic between their propaganda and reality. It is up to them to explain that they are time and again compelled to contend with Marxism which has so often been declared dead but which already prevails as a practical truth in vast areas of the world.

It is up to socialists, however, to protect themselves and their theory against another kind of confusion. Socialists have to learn to make a sharp distinction between the renewal of Marxism and its revision—and the ability to differentiate must also constantly be brought up to date, because the outward forms of revision are constantly changing. This differentiation is vitally important because without it they might be exposed to a double danger. On the one hand: fear of falling into the sin of revisionism might hamper the flexible application of theory. On the other: the superficial changes of pulsating life, which are more prolific than any theory, might obscure the deeper and constant connections. They might cast the haze of relativity over the law the realization of which follows the principles able to stand the test of time. Life stutters, only law is plain talk, wrote Attila József. In the haze of relativity there appears indecision which can paralyse the will to influence social development. Undue emphasis upon relativity or its absolutization leads to paralysing scepticism, to the self-reassuring comfort of intertia, even to socially unwholesome and pernicious cynicism, to nihilism. These dangers are not to be underestimated.

Dialectics cannot be a pretext or a frame of reference for anyone to relativize truths. Already Lenin warned of it when he wrote that "the distinction between subjectivism (scepticism, sophistry, etc.) and dialectics, incidentally, is that in (objective) dialectics the difference between the relative, and the absolute is itself relative. . ." * We see the gist of the definitely valid truth even in the relative, while for subjectivism and sophistry the relative precludes the enduring, the stable.

* "On the Question of Dialectics," "Philosophical Notebooks." *Lenin's Collected Works*, Vol. XXXVIII. Moscow, Progress, 1972, p. 360.

The Marxist–Leninist ideology has therefore nothing to do with the bourgeois or revisionist position which, by claiming that everything is relative, denies the validity of the guiding principles of any practical and theoretical work. This position is coupled with inevitable scepticism, and leads to a quagmire of doubt and disorientation. Reality obeys certain laws, even if the relation between the law and reality, always richer than the law, is very complicated. Attila József expresses this relation succinctly: The fabric of law—always becomes frayed somewhere. Well, the frays are not uniform either. Experience shows that the law becomes frayed if it is not respected, and if we would force our wishes upon reality, still there are—and there will always be—cases when precisely realization creates unexpected, or not fully predictable, gaps, complicated new problems.

It is not easy to understand frays in the law, and this lack of understanding might be the cause of dogmatic or revisionist reaction. Panic characterizes both. But while the dogmatist is unwilling or lacks the courage to notice the fray, because he does not venture an independent interpretation, the revisionist forthwith qualifies the whole fabric as nothing but frays and is inclined to discard it altogether.

Dogmatic reaction implies indirect surrender, revisionist reaction means direct surrender in the ideological struggle waged against bourgeois views—but both are an expression of the abandonment, of the renunciation of Marxist dialectics.

The right position to be taken with regard to both erroneous reactions is to realize and recognize the fact of fraying and the need for reweaving —and in practical action at that. This ensures at the same time the safeguard and constant renewal of firm principles. Only in this way is it possible to implement the thought, the perennial directive, of the *Communist Manifesto* that: "The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement." (Marx/Engels, Collected Works, Vol. VI., p. 518. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976.)

The age we live in teaches us that the right course can always be explored and charted only through the conflict of positions in free, open debates, on the basis of mutual patience and understanding. And true judgement can come about only by analysing and testing the practical experiences. It is also impossible to separate from this method the process of realizing the fundamental laws of society. As early as 1902 Lenin already applied this realization to the dimensions of the revolutionary working-class move-

ment spreading over the world: "...the Social-Democratic movement is in its very essence an international movement. This means not only that we must combat national chauvinism, but that an incipient movement in a young country can be successful only if it makes use of the experiences of other countries. In order to make use of these experiences it is not enough merely to be acquainted with them, or simply to copy out the latest resolutions. What is required is the ability to treat these experiences critically and to test them independently. He who realises how enormously the modern working class movement has grown and branched out will understand what a reserve of theoretical forces and political (as well as revolutionary) experience is required to carry out this task."*

If, therefore, one aims to represent consistently the creative development of Marxism, one has to guard against two dangers at the same time. One must not be suspicious of the newly posed questions or hypotheses, but must take care not to sanction forthwith as up-to-date the untimely theoretical generalizations pronounced without sufficient experience. Such apparently new theories must be subjected to strict control and criticism especially when they are set forth not as hypotheses but as the only valid truth of some sort.

The necessity of rejecting the theories that are not founded in practice does not justify the scholastic interpretation of Marxism, but underscores the significance of its scientific force. This is why, in order to preserve truth, one has to cope at the same time with bureaucratic, soulless dogmatism and destructive negativism, with the new waves of devastating relativism. In this struggle it is not enough to reject the mistakes and distortions, but one has to carry out a scientifically authentic interpretation of the new phenomena of reality, for which courage and mental heroism are required; one should take into account both what is favourable and what is unfavourable. Hundreds of thousands, even millions of workers, peasants, and intellectuals must measure up to their own historical mission intellectually and in social consciousness. To think about world processes —not in terms of any utopistically beautiful but rather a still more complex future full of unforeseeable difficulties—requires the steadfastness and intellectual effort of spiritually emancipated people.

* "What is to be done," *Collected Works*, Vol. V., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1961. p. 370.

THE ECONOMIC EQUILIBRIUM AND THE FOREIGN TRADE BALANCE

by

ISTVÁN HUSZÁR

The Hungarian foreign trade balance has been in deficit to a significant degree for some years now. Though five years have passed since the 1973–74 changes in the world economy, and the large scale restructuring of world market prices, the present position of the Hungarian economy can only be understood if those are taken as a starting point. As a result of this shift the price of imports that Hungary has to pay for in capitalist currencies has grown 20 per cent faster than that of exports sold for payment in a similar manner. Bearing in mind that the prices used in trade between the socialist countries are also based on world market prices, though the shifts take place with some delay, and the swing is not as large, the terms of trade have deteriorated in this respect as well. All this follows in the first place from the Hungarian structure of production, and secondly from that of foreign trade, from the country's fuel and raw materials needs, and the much smaller price rises of the kind of goods produced and exported. The relatively tight fuel and raw materials resources of the country are partially responsible, and so are the present standards of technological development and productivity and insufficient elasticity in the economy. The result is that foreign trade which, given 1972 prices, would be in equilibrium, shows a deficit given the actual price levels. Exports only cover about 80 per cent of imports.

The fifth Five Year Plan (1976–1980) reckoned with this position. The change in international prices was reckoned to be permanent in essence, though it was hoped there would be some improvement, from the Hungarian point of view, in the course of five years and that marketing opportunities would be more favourable as well. None of this happened. The capitalist world market crisis continued, making competition more lively and potentiating discrimination and protectionism. But domestic reasons must be mentioned as well, faults and *lacunae* in planning, economic decisions and regulation and their implementation, and a lack of proper coordination amongst them.

Subsidies for firms

Another contributing factor were excess subsidies granted to firms operating on a low level of efficiency. There is still considerable pressure on planning and economic regulation to ensure that largely equal opportunities for growth be given to every industry and every firm. In theory the need to discriminate is accepted but state bodies, and even certain Party organizations and trades unions endeavour to establish special conditions which equalize the chances of growth, regardless of work performance. Specific subsidies, and an insufficiently tight incomes policy mean that firms are not compelled to improve their efficiency. Efforts in recent years to strengthen—and rightly so—the central direction of economic processes frequently became concretized in highly undesirable attitudes, giving firms that performed poorly a lift, helping them out of the difficult spot they found themselves in, unjustifiably creating a stable situation for them. At the same time enterprising firms that performed well did not receive the help that was their due, since excess support for firms which performed poorly or were even in the red, took up the available financial resources.

The growth in domestic utilization

The fifth Five Year Plan, bearing in mind the need to restore economic equilibrium, prescribed a smaller rate of growth for domestic utilization than for national income. This, unfortunately, was not what happened in the first three years of the plan's operation. Looking at the 1976–1978 period it can be established that the rate of growth in production and national income came close to what was presumed by the plan, but not the way national income was distributed either in 1977 or in 1978. For 1978 the plan prescribed a 5 per cent growth in national income and a 2 per cent growth in domestic utilization, in such a way that accumulation should largely stay on the 1977 level—while the volume of investments somewhat declined—and consumption went up to some degree. As regards expected performance, consumption, that is the standard of living, is not significantly in excess of what was planned, but accumulation is much larger. Instead of the planned reduction the volume of investments went up by 3 per cent, and the growth in stocks is also larger than anticipated and prescribed. This means that domestic utilization is growing as fast as national income.

This deviation from the plan is in itself a reason for the current de-

terioration in the foreign trade balance. The unplanned growth in investments and stocks was to a large degree fed by imports from capitalist countries. In the first six months of 1978 hard currency imports went up by 12.6 per cent. Bearing in mind that import prices somewhat declined in this period, the volume of imports was larger still (14 per cent), imports of raw materials and components grew by 14 per cent in value, and 20 per cent in volume. Bearing in mind the 6 per cent growth in production, the scale of growth suggests not only laxity in management, but also a growth in the import needs of the structure of production. There is nothing wrong with this in itself if there were a concurrent growth in exports to capitalist countries. Nothing like that has happened so far and only a 2–3 per cent growth in exports to capitalist countries is expected for 1978 as a whole.

Reversing the unfavourable trend

Neither economic policy nor the principles according to which the economy is managed need to be altered in order to produce the absolutely essential changes. On the contrary, a more consistent application is required in both cases. Nor will there be any amendment of the objectives defined by the Five Year Plan, though the stresses and priorities will have to be shifted somewhat. In the years to come the highest priority must be accorded, both by planning and management, to the restoration of the foreign trade equilibrium and to a reduction of the country's hard currency loans. Growth, investment, and the objectives of living standards policy must, for a time, be subordinated to this task. All this means that, until an improvement in the structure of production, and in efficiency, permit a significant growth in profitable exports to capitalist countries, the rate of growth as such must be kept relatively low.

A brake on the growth rate is not an objective but a consequence. It demands concurrent changes in the structure of production—relying basically on existing capacity. The slower rate thus does not reduce, but increases the requirements that have to be met by the units of production. Quantitative growth is relatively easy but not adequately efficient for the economy. Instead, what will have to be done is to take the road pointed out by the Five Year Plan, which was not followed successfully enough, a road which only permits quantitative growth if, as the result of structural changes, the economic equilibrium is improved as well.

Because of the more moderate growth in production one must naturally reckon with the fact that, in the engineering and light industries in par-

ticular, a brake on growth in domestic utilization, and the restriction of non-hard currency exports to the limits defined by interstate agreements, may mean stagnation, or even a reduction in production for some firms. It is to be expected that such firms will apply for the support of those in charge, and for specific concessions. Such applications must be rejected on principle. Not a single firm can be exempted from the implementation of necessary structural changes. It is very important that state agencies should not support efforts of that sort but should instead offer help to firms that will permit them to solve their problems by putting an end to unprofitable exports, significantly increasing profitable hard currency exports, as well as by substituting for exports in an economic way.

Work on the 1979 national economic plan has started. The government has discussed preliminary ideas. Going on from what has been said already a 3–4 per cent growth in national income, more moderate than this year's, and a 1 per cent growth in domestic utilization are reckoned with, to be achieved in the first place by moderating accumulation. Between 1976 and 1978 more was devoted to accumulation than provided for by the Five Year Plan, and consumption was a little lower than planned. The figures in the medium term plan will be approached if accumulation expenses are somewhat reduced compared with this year's level, thus making it possible for consumption to go on growing next year as well, though only moderately.

Economic regulators

A number of measures were taken in 1977 and 1978 which reduced the purchasing power of firms and, as a result, limited domestic utilization. The National Planning Office and the ministries are now working on further amendments. On January 1st 1979 for instance the rate of profits tax will be raised, and cumpulsory reserves will have to grow as well. The aim of these measures is not only to keep domestic utilization within the limits prescribed by the plan but also to compel firms, by tightening up the economic environment, to improve performance and the structure of production. The essence of this economic compulsion is to make sales at home more difficult by moderating domestic purchasing power. This, as well as the planned regulation of non-hard currency exports will prompt firms to increase exports to capitalist countries. At same the time there is a desire to increase the interest of producers in a growth in incomes. Efforts are being made to include measures in wage-regulation which link rising wages to productivity. The aim is to make sure that the only firms able

to increase production and incomes will be those which improve this performance.

To put it simply: by strengthening the normative character of the system of regulation an attempt will be made to put an end to a position where regulation was adjusted to the specific requirements of firms. An exaggerated differentiation of regulators, that is regulation tailor-made to fit particular firms, levels the incomes of firms and as a result the opportunities for development, at state expense. The result was that in Hungary every firm had an equal chance to develop, even if its growth increased the country's balance of payments deficit rather than national income.

Naturally the aim is not that firms which perform poorly should go bankrupt but that they should give some thought themselves to ways of securing their own future, rather than leaving it to the central authorities to worry their heads about ways of getting them out of the mess they are in. What is also needed is that, when firms are accessed, neither the ministry in charge, nor the party authorities, should think in terms of growth rates as a primary criterion, but that they should give preference to profitability, giving preference to a management which does not increase, and perhaps even reduces production but benefits the country more by improving economic performance.

Everyone is aware that the implementation of increased requirements is not easy, but since the attendant anxieties and tensions must be put up with economically and socially, and the country can bear them too, nobody can be exempted from them. Those who can make a more effective contribution in helping the country to overcome its problems will have better than average chances of growth but wherever requirements cannot be satisfied economic difficulties will arise, and they will have to review their earlier ideas concerning development. There will be fields as well where they will have to come to terms with continuing retrenchment.

The prospects of long-term growth

Following the October 1977 resolution of the Central Committee the 1975 notions concerning economic development were reviewed. The starting point was that though a long term economic development strategy had relatively easily definable stable factors there were uncertain ones as well. Closer cohesion among the countries of the CMEA economic integration is one of the stable factors.

In 1978, following many years of preparatory work, the CMEA worked out a number of long-term specific programmes concerning energy, the production of fuel and raw materials, agriculture and the food processing industry as well as those aspects of the engineering industry which served these territories. Bi- and multilateral cooperation, particularily in production, and specialization as well were being extended by the allied socialist countries. These specific programmes and long-term production cooperation contracts manifestly potentiate the security of long-term planning. Domestic factors that can be safely estimated include the labour supply as well as the scope of an extension of raw materials exploitation within the country.

A factor of uncertainty is the future state of the capitalist economy. This uncertainty is greater than it used to be. One certainly cannot reckon with the foreseeable future offering conditions on such markets that are really easier than the present ones. It follows that the country must, on the one hand, exploit the opportunities offered by the stable elements to the greatest possible degree, and on the other that the elasticity of the economy be maintained and potentiated.

Bearing all this in mind one must reckon with the consolidation of equilibrium as the primary requirement of the sixth Five Year Plan, at least in its early years. For that reason domestic utilization will be able to grow at a slower rate than national income only during these years.

The objectives determined by the party policy declaration continue to be the foundation of living standards policy. This document defines production targets for 15–20 years, as well as the direction and degree of growth in public welfare. For some years the necessary brake on the growth of production naturally means that standards of living objectives will have to be modest. One must be aware however that no long term plan can be realized year by year at an even rate. There will have to be acceleration on some occasions, as other times deceleration will be justified. Though there will be less scope for a general growth in welfare, greater strides forward than provided by the plan will be taken in certain specific fields such as housing construction.

The conditions under which incomes are obtained will be tightened in the years to come. This applies to firms in the first place, but to personal incomes as well. Concurrently endeavours will be made to improve the conditions of consumption, that is, the way incomes are spent. A greater range of commodities will be available and the standards of services will be improved. Housing construction will remain a central target, bearing in mind however that the housing situation is expected to improve significantly during the

operation of the long term plan, a relatively smaller proportion of national income will have to be devoted to this purpose, while it is desirable to increase the share of health services.

More will be done for the older age group between 1981 and 1990, both money-wise and in kind. It is also important to increase allowances related to the bringing up of children, improving material and institutional conditions, so that growing generations will have a more equal start in life.

This far from complete list shows as well that a growth in public welfare remains the principal objective of economic policy and activity. The rate of progress will, however, be decided in the sphere of production. Following more efficient economic management and the restoration of economic equilibrium, the growth of production may be speeded up as well.

WESTERN CREDITS FOR SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

by

JÁNOS FEKETE

The subject of the economic discussion this year is "limits of indebtedness," which deserves special attention from a Hungarian aspect for two reasons:

(a) When decisions are made on Hungarian export credits the standing of various importing enterprises and of the guarantor banks and countries must be examined. As creditors we understand those who wish to grant credits only for the shortest possible term, at the highest interest rates, and with the best banking securities.

(b) Due to the 1973–74 raw materials price explosion, Hungary has a foreign trade deficit. We do not wish to restore the balance of trade through import restrictions but by increasing exports in such a way that by buying advanced technology, equipment, know-how, and licences we transform the industrial structure in accordance with the requirements of the international market. In the transitional period the increased demand for investment goods is financed by raising medium- and long-term credits. Consequently, in recent years we have often appeared in the international capital market as borrowers, and in this capacity we fully unterstand all those borrowers wo wish to take up credits for the longest possible period on the most favourable terms.

As a result of this dual capacity, we Hungarians show an above average objectivity on this question. We are less critical of the debtors and show more understanding towards the creditors as well.

However the concrete subject of my address is not the problem of indebtedness on a world-wide scale. This is the subject of the Alpbach discussion as a whole. Mine are those of a narrower area, of the socialist countries, as seen through Hungarian eyes.

Is it in the interest of the industrialized Western countries to broaden

Text of an address delivered to the "Europäisches Forum," Alpbach, 1978.

economic relations with the socialist countries even through the extension of credits? My answer is an unequivocal yes. In my view this is a mutual interest and there are important economic and political arguments speaking in its favour. I hope to convince the present audience within the short time which is at my disposal.

I
ECONOMIC REASONS

1. *General situation*

The trade of the socialist countries with the Western countries has been continuously growing since the Second World War. The growth rate, especially that of the exports of the industrialized Western countries, was especially high at the time of the 1974–75 Western economic recession. At that time—although at the expense of a considerable deficit—the socialist countries increased their Western purchases at a time when demand by other countries noticeably diminished. Until the beginning of the seventies East-West economic relations had been balanced. Since 1974 certain new phenomena appeared in East-West relations manifesting themselves in a rise in the debts of the socialist countries. The situation is not a long-standing one. It is only the past couple of years that debts rose from a minimum to a level which arosed attention. Some not overinfluential Western politico-economic commentators began to write articles about the indebtedness of the socialist countries, claiming that the socialist countries were nearing an upper limit of indebtedness.

Is it possible I wonder to determine the upper limit of the indebtedness of a state, and if yes, in what way can this be done? There is no universally accepted method of computation, allow me nevertheless to list a few important and noteworthy factors:

(a) When taking credit policy decisions the political stability of the given country is an important consideration. Political uncertainty, possible changes of regime, the possibility that nationalizations may take place exercise a negative influence on the creditworthiness of many countries.

The inner political stability of the socialist countries excludes these disturbing factors.

(b) The appraisal of indebtedness is considerably influenced by the way in which a country serviced its debts in the past, and how ready it was to settle open financial questions, where such existed.

In this respect the socialist countries have had an excellent record extending over many decades.

(c) One must differentiate between the various debtors concerning

the extent to which debts incurred by firms can be considered obligations which are guaranteed centrally, by the state.

In the socialist countries—though the position differs from country to country—such debts are considered at least as a moral, but often even as a legal obligation by the central bank and the state.

(d) In recent years it has again become necessary to examine the standing of the various banks. Some larger bankruptcies suffered by banks warned the financial world that the creditworthiness of banks also had to be examined.

In the socialist countries, where the banking system is state-owned, the standing of the banks does not represent a special problem.

(e) A lot depends on whether credits drawn are used for consumption or are invested in export-increasing self-financing projects, and whether the export income can be expected by the time that the credits are due for repayment.

In this respect let me quote two Western economists (H. Cleveland and B. Brittain in the *International Herald Tribune* of August 1, 1977) who argue that "In the last five years the debts of less developed countries have doubled—reaching the monumental total of 180,000 million dollars." But "The real concern is not how high the debt of the less developed countries has mounted, but how much of it has been used to build productive capacity that can generate income."

I am sure there can be no boubt that the socialist countries use the credits for investment purposes. I might quote the figure of 40,000 million dollars, the value of investment goods purchased by the CMEA countries from the industrialized Western countries between 1970 and 1976. The imports of capital goods exceeded the entire stock of debts which, according to Western sources, they accumulated during that period.

(f) In addition, some economic calculations and characteristic ratios can also be applied in the analysis of the stock of debts of a country. The first thing to be considered from this aspect is the ratio of the Gross National Product (GNP) to the stock of debts. If, for instance, we accepted US figures for the GNP of the CMEA countries, this amounted in 1976 to 1,249,000 million dollars, contrasted to—also according to official US data—a stock of debts amounting to 43,100 million dollars. This ratio should mean that the stock of debts of the socialist countries amounts to 3.5 per cent of their GNP.

Let me mention without any tendentiousness, just to indicate the proportions, that—also according to official US computations—the total GNP of Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina is estimated at 256,000 million dollars

according to 1976 figures. The stock of debts of the same countries amounted to 58,300 million dollars at the end of 1976, that is the stock of debts of the three Latin American countries amounted to approximately 23 per cent of their GNP.

(g) The ratio of exports to the stock of debts is another important index. It is quite arbitrary in this respect to consider only exports for sale in convertible currencies by the socialist countries, since these obtain the decisive part of their fuel, raw material, and food requirements through clearing settlements. It is obvious that the economic capacity of a country—as reflected in exports—cannot be limited to "convertible" sales. If one considers the total commodity exports of the socialist countries, which amounted, in 1977, to approximately 100,000 million dollars, then the debt-servicing rate, considering the repayment and the annual interest, is below 10 per cent. The stock of debts thus corresponds to the exports of 4–5 months, which cannot be called excessive either.

(h) The net income of the socialist countries from tourism, services, and the sale of precious metals that do not figure in trade statistics, considerably reduce the deficit of the trade balance.

(i) The Western sources generally disregard the considerable credits granted by the socialist countries primarily to the developing countries. It is obvious that for the economic appraisal of a country not only debts but outstanding credits must also be taken into consideration. In 1976–77 the surplus of the CMEA countries in trade with developing countries amounted to approximately 6,000 million dollars.

After these general remarks permit me to discuss these points as they concern Hungary in particular.

2. *The Hungarian situation*

(a) We are in a position to raise credits on the market on terms which are granted to "good debtors." This is motivated by the confidence in the political and economic system of the Hungarian economy, which is also supported by credit practices. The Hungarian Government endeavoured to fully settle the pre-war and inter-war obligations and indemnities for nationalization. This was done in such a way that Hungary today has no unsettled foreign debts. The last such agreement was reached with the US, as a result of which the Government of the US exempted Hungary from the provisions of the Johnson Act.

In Hungary the taking up of credits has been centralized on the National Bank of Hungary and to a lesser degree on the Foreign Trade Bank. Hungarian firms or authorities do not raise credits abroad.

(b) We use Western credits to finance export capacity-expanding investments. For this purpose, the Government approved a special credit to the amount of 45,000 million forints in the 1976–80 Five Year Plan, which was raised by a further 8–10,000 million forints by a 1978 summer resolution of the Council of Ministers.

This credit is distributed on the basis of tenders among those Hungarian firms and cooperatives which—together with the foreign trade enterprise concerned—accept to repay the credit within 3–5 years out of foreign exchange income derived from additional exports. It is a precondition of the credit that the enterprise should dispose of at least 30 per cent of the capital necessary for the investment project. The enterprise obtains the credit in forints, but for these forints it may buy, from the National Bank of Hungary, any currency needed for the purchase of foreign machinery, equipment, know-how, and licences necessary for the investment project. The National Bank of Hungary covers the increased demand for convertible currency by raising medium- and long-term consortial credits and by issuing bonds.

(c) We finance by short-term deposits the productive consumption (importing of raw materials needed for export goods) and the seasonal deficit in the balance of trade, due to the agricultural exports only being realizable after the crop is in, in the second half of the year.

(d) Nevertheless, we do not strive for an equilibrium in the balance of trade. We consider a trade deficit to be acceptable in the years of the structural transformation as long as it does not exceed the value of imported investment goods. It thus accords with our equilibrium policy.

II.
POLITICAL REASONS

On the basis of what has been said it is clear that in the period of moderately rising but, in the case of many countries, stagnating or receding world economic activity, the importance of the socialist customers—who have an excellent credit standing—has risen. Especially in order to sell engineering industry products and other capital goods the industrialized Western countries are ready to put at the disposal of their socialist trading partners those credits which are needed to increase turnover. This is no one-sided love, but in the mutual economic interest.

The question has arisen that, in spite of the economic interests involved, political interests may argue against the industrialized countries granting

credits to the socialist countries. An address recently delivered in Mexico City at the World Monetary Conference by a former high US foreign policy official who has no official position right now claimed that credits granted to the socialist countries increase their military potential and are therefore politically unsound. These are well-known Cold War slogans which have not been confirmed by the practice of recent decades. Taking the experience of earlier years into consideration, what effect would it have on the strategic-military position of the socialist countries if the capitalist countries denied credits necessary for increasing trade and drew up a long list of those goods the delivery of which, in the opinion of military experts, may increase their military potential (Cocom list) thus returning to the policy of economic isolation? The outcome would not be different from what we already witnessed at the time of the Cold War, when all these conditions existed, and nevertheless the socialist world, first of all the Soviet Union, achieved outstanding successes and overtook its Western competitors precisely on those areas in which the Western powers would have liked to slow down the progress of the socialist countries by various discriminations and prohibitions. Let me remind you of the first sputnik or of the first man in space.

It is obvious from this earlier experience that the socialist countries always had, and I believe, will always have, sufficient strength to ensure the military-strategic balance, irrespective of whether the economic contacts between East and West are growing or not.

Consequence of the policy of isolation would be that the trade of the socialist countries among each other would grow even faster in respect of those goods where this does not ensure the optimal comparative advantages. This would force an autarchic evolution on the socialist countries, the losses of which would have to be carried by both parties.

Finally, the third political reason speaking for the broadening of economic contacts is that given the choice between détente and nuclear war the only acceptable alternative for the whole of mankind is peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and their peaceful economic competition. The policy of détente is clearly in the common interest. Broadening and strengthening economic relations intensify and increase the possibilities of a policy of détente, they support it, and if these economic relations progress successfully, this becomes a guarantee for the irreversibility of this policy.

THE WARD

Short story

by

GYÖRGY SPIRÓ

We were playing cards when the ambulance men brought in the old man. The mark was there on his forehead. They lifted him with the ease of a feather onto the bed next to mine. The old man was conscious; he even introduced himself to everyone in a clear, precise way. I shuddered as I shook his hand.

The lady doctor on duty came in and asked the old man what the trouble was.

"My leg's swollen," he whispered.

The doctor lifted the blanket and felt his thin purplish-white shin. Then she took his blood pressure and left the room.

The old man asked for some water. I was next to him, I had to hold the glass for him. He vomited.

The doctor and a nurse set up an infusion. The nurse undressed the old man, and gently ran a damp sponge all over his body. He was skin and bone, a frank and defenceless skeleton, the end product, already the monument to himself. I found the old man handsome: the substance wasn't concealed by his flesh.

At night his breathing was hoarse. In the light of the lamp above the door I watched tensely to see when the liquid in the inverted plastic flask strapped to the stand would run out.

Whenever there was only a little left, I rang for the nurse. She fixed on the new flask, thanked me for calling her and went out.

By morning I had rung three times.

During the day I spent as much time as possible in the corridor.

In the evening the old man, wearing a berry on his tiny bald head, started to retch. We put the bowl in front of him. Green liquid came out of his mouth.

"They've brought me in twice already this year," whispered the old man, "both times I thought I'd never go home again."

We went on playing cards.

Sometime after eight the old man started to make a rasping noise. I rang for the nurse. She came in, went out and came back again with the doctor on duty. The tall, strong young man took the old man's hand.

"What's the problem, could you tell me?" he asked pleasantly.

"I'm suffocating," whispered the old man.

The doctor and the nurse carried in a huge oxygen flask. They adjusted something on it, then tied a mask in front of the old man's mouth. The nurse injected some sort of liquid into a syringe. From time to time the old man said: "I'm suffocating."

"You can give it to him now," said the doctor.

The nurse pierced the old man's arm.

The old man gasped for air. "I'm suffocating," he said, and suffocated.

I rushed out into the corridor. My roommates followed suit.

"How awful," I said in a strange, high-pitched voice.

The nurse took the white screen from the washing room into our room. Women loitering around in the corridor in dressing-gowns hurried over to take a peep.

"They won't bring the trolley before midnight," said one of them knowingly. "It's a rule. In case he comes round. They won't take him to the mortuary till then."

I hung about near them. The old man's body lay on the bed, it was purplish-white. They were just taking away the oxygen flask.

I decided that as long as the corpse was in there, I wouldn't go back. We smoked, and wandered up and down the corridor. At half-past nine an older nurse came on duty.

"Why don't you try and get some sleep?" she asked.

"It doesn't work," we answered.

The nurse shrugged and left us.

My roommates gradually slipped back into the room and went to sleep. Two of us remained in the corridor, the two youngest.

From half past eleven on it was the hardest. We walked up and down. Marton said that he was afraid of the enema he would get in the morning, enemas gave him a dreadful pain in the stomach recently, otherwise there was nothing wrong with him, he was perfectly healthy, he'd lost a bit of weight, that was all. Not much, about ten kilos, apart from that he was as right as rain.

At midnight we heard resounding footsteps coming from the staircase.

"They're bringing it."

The trolley was being pushed by the whiteoveralled and white-capped orderly who carried the patients around. Up till then I'd never imagined that he would be the carrier of the dead too. The trolley was a strange contraption: a half cylinder of metal painted white.

It seemed to be very long and incredibly narrow. We went through a swing door and stayed there until we heard the trolley being wheeled back again. Then it stopped in front of the swing door. The corpse bearer pushed the door open against us.

"Clear off back to your own ward," he said. "This is maternity."

"In a minute," I said.

Marton looked scared and kept quiet.

"Get going," said the guy and grabbed my arm. I jerked myself free. He must have seen the look in my eyes because he gave a mocking grin.

"I'll report you two to the head doctor," he said, and went through the swing door.

The trolley rolled on; we heard its wheels squeaking for a long time. We waited a few more minutes and then went back to the general ward. The moon was shining into our room. Even the mattress had been removed from the old man's bed. The bare wire springs looked like the bed's skeleton.

We got into bed; I lay with my back to the stripped bed. Later I got up and went out into the corridor. I asked the nurse for some sort of sedative. She gave me a few drops which I drank. She was a very young, plump creature, and she laughed in an awkward, apologetic way. In between laughing she said, ashamed:

"My first death."

She went out of the nurses' room. Medical records were strewn all over the table. I was tempted to search around for my own among them, but I suddenly got scared: if I didn't take a strong hold on myself now, my illness was bound to turn into something fatal. So I went out into the corridor. Women in nighties were sitting on the benches discussing someone in their room who had been dying for the past four days and they couldn't bear to watch her. At the end of the corridor a dishevelled man staggered about pulling at his trousers and fiddling with his fly. The nurse emerged from one of the rooms and ordered the man back to bed. He mumbled something and didn't go back, he went on messing around with his fly, then he said quite clearly:

"I'm going home. Murderers."

After that he continued to mumble incoherently.

The nurse shrugged, and coming up to me, still laughing, she said: "He does this every night."

I smoked in the corridor till three. From one of the women's wards three women came out supporting another woman who had swollen legs, but otherwise was very thin; she was dying. They sat her down on the other bench. The woman stared dizzily out of the window, maybe she could see the moon. Two men appeared in the recess reserved for smoking, they were holding each other up. Most probably they wanted to go to the lavatory, but had forgotten about it on the way. A wreck of a guy, younger than me, kept insisting that this was Africa, it was getting hotter and hotter. An elderly man was playing chess with himself out loud in his head. The nurse rushed back and forth, but she didn't have time to do anything about the spectres roaming around like nightmares; she was carrying bedpans and needles, every minute the bell would call her into another room. I envied her. The young duty doctor emerged from his room a couple of times. He too staggered about sleepily, but he hadn't a clue what to do with the patients wandering about in the corridor. On one occasion, from the far end of the corridor I thought he was one of the dying himself for a few seconds.

The doors of the rooms were open, and in the light of the moon and the permanently lit lamps above the doors I noticed for the first time that the larger rooms were full of boarded up beds, in which unconscious bodies received infusions or transfusions. I'd been in the hospital for two weeks by then—in the smallest room, thanks to string pulling—and so far I hadn't noticed a thing.

In the light of day everything seemed peaceful, even so I paced the hospital corridors with a jeton in my pocket. At half past one I joined the queue outside the only public telephone. Opposite me on the bench outside the doorman's office the corpse bearer sat in his white overall and white cap and looked at me. I kept watching the big electric clock: from two o'clock it was the rest period when phoning was forbidden. At five to two the woman in front of me was on the phone. I stood around on one leg trying to will the clock. At two minutes to two the woman came out. I went into the box, banging the door behind me.

I had one and a half minutes.

I tried to weigh up coolly who on earth I could call.

Translated by Elizabeth Szász

BACK TO BASE

Excerpt from a novel

by

PÉTER LENGYEL

János Bárán didn't know his father. He didn't know his own life either. His face wasn't his own. His handwriting was unformed. He wasn't on speaking terms with his mother. At the age of 28 the fact that he existed at all was by no means a settled question. Formulated and unformulated feelings of a sense of loss were piling up. He felt as if he hadn't sorted himself out yet.

He started to check back on his life. He went to Óbuda, the Uszály Street. He went to the school in Áldás Street where he had attended primary school. He found the building of the former J. V. Stalin reform school in Buda. Then he tried to find out all he could from his mother and his father's sister about his childhood, his great-grandparents, his grandparents, and his father. In the year 1945 it was as if a wall erected itself in his memory. He wouldn't leave it at that. He had a stubborn nature. He didn't leave things unfinished. If he made a cog-wheeled monster out of cotton reels in his primary school days, it took him hours, but after that it could climb a gradient of 45. He needed nine years now for his search—and throughout, he was aware of each of those nine years as part of a single entity. He searched beyond the wall for the very first moment he could remember of his life, the sand-pit in the Városmajor Park in Buda when he was four. He learnt that for years he had played with his father's dog-tag. His father was taken prisoner in 1943 at the Don. He searched for traces of him. He linked up the known points on the map and drew in the missing routes: Budapest East–Diósd–Párkánynána–Érsekújvár, Pionki (Poland)–Rasiysk (Soviet Union). He put notices in German and Hungarian newspapers in order to find people who might know something about him.

Chapter one from the novel which is reviewed (with a summary of the plot) by Zoltán Iszlai on p. 135 of this issue — The Editor

He spoke to an engineer who used to work with his father. He looked for people who were in prison camp with hin. He found an old tailor in the sixth district who had dragged his body out of the trench onto the road where the bodies were piled on sledges and taken away to a limepit holding 600 people.

As a matter of fact his wasn't a special case, or rather, special cases like this were the usual thing here: the whole country's history was made up of lives like this.

He spent a lot of time alone in those weeks when new things were starting to happen to him. It was nearly Christmas. The winter was mild, there hadn't been a decent fall of snow for years. He went all over the place by tram. He wendered about on the boulevards and in the suburbs. He hung around tram stops in the rush hour and then didn't get on. Drunkards were roaming about in thin raincoats. One could walk for hours on the black asphalt. He ate in stand-up snack bars lined with poor quality plastic. He was alone morning and evening. He had lived on boiled sausage for three days when he was drawn again and again to the bumpers of the Southern Station. He started after girls, they glanced back at him, he followed them for an hour, and when the time came for him to speak up he turned off in the opposite direction. Not only because he was frightened of being rejected (he could be very frightened of any sort of rejection), but because his mind wasn't on the thing, he wasn't interested. He was thinking of something else: his insecurity.

He wasn't even living under his own name. Since he was thirteen, when his stepfather adopted him officially, he had been called Nagy. If he was round at his old friend's, and the friend said on the phone to someone: "János Nagy's here," he immediately tried out the sentence again in his head: "János Bárán's here." If he was scribbling in a dreamy way he would practise his signature as Bárán starting with a Greek beta. He often wondered why this trivial formality should be so important.

He didn't know his father. He didn't know what had happened to him, how he had died, whether he had spent the last days of his life wandering around in a foreign forest with a temperature of 41 °C delirious from typhoid. Even now, twenty odd years after the war, he still couldn't really believe that Imre Bárán, mechanical engineer from Budapest, had really died as a prisoner of war.

He expected him to turn up one fine day. He'd never seen the colour of his father's eyes, no one had ever spoken about them in front of him, and he only had a black and white photo of him—even so he knew that he had warm brown eyes. He dreamt about him when he was eight and when he

was eleven. Somebody rang the doorbell, he rushed to open it, and it was his father. There he stood on the maroon tiled landing of the house in Dereglye Street. He'd climbed the stairs, his face was tanned, and he was unshaven. His uniform was tatty and over his shoulder he had a bread sack like the ones beggars and cripples used to carry in town at that time: a sort of haversack, greenish, khaki-coloured.

At other times in his dream he telephoned his mother who invited him for Sunday lunch. Then the line remained open and he heard his mother's voice again as she spoke to somebody else: "My first husband's arriving this evening. It'll be a bit awkward, but János'll come over later on and he'll clear the air." Like that: my first husband.

He waited a long time for him. He heard about people who by some near-miracle came home from prison camp years after the war when everyone thought they were long dead. Those bread sacks were there in the stories, and the unshaven faces. And as the years went by, in the face of every sensible argument to the contrary, he was still waiting for him as a grown-up.

One of his friends, the scholarly Squirrel, of no fixed address, was to be found that winter on the number two tram route. During one of his tram rides, Bárán thought for a moment and got off. He rang the boy's bell and handed his father's picture to him: the negative was missing, first he'd had to take a photo of the nine by twelve photograph, and then enlarge it. Squirrel held it up and looked at it for a long time.

"It's good," he said. He looked at him then back at the photo. He'd enlarged it to 24 by 36, without a frame. "Where did you get hold of the photographer?" he asked. "Who took it?"

He was convinced he had a picture of János in his hand. Bárán for his part was glad about the mistake, he was downright pround of it.

"He took it of himself," he said, pointing at the picture with his chin. "My father. It's of him." He told Squirrel that that was just it. It wasn't only his friend who confused the two of them. Auntie Ari, father's older sister who lived in the same flat with him for 30 years, even she once mistook János for his father when János went to see her in Elemér Street. "Oh how wonderful, here's Imre!", she had said. "People keep mixing us up," Bárán now said. He got into the swing of it and started to talk.

"I didn't know him. I never met him. I don't remember him at all, not even the vague outline of his face as he bent over me in the mornings. I was three when he was called up. No one spoke about him. All I knew about him was what I had to call out at the Áldás Street School in second grade.

'Father's name?'

'Imre Bárán.'

'Occupation?'

" 'Reported missing in the war.' I didn't know anything about him. I had to build up a father from the few things of his which were left behind: mechanical catalogues, account books full of calculations in neat figures, a chequered notebook, a teach yourself book by someone called McCallum, from which he had learnt English, and two photograph albums. He was an engineer; he drew up the engineering plans for the Madách houses in Madách Square, that was his first independent commission. He took photographs: Man with a Cart in Lövölde Square, the Embankment at Újpest, the Entrance to the Tunnel, Winter in the Park, the New Császár Baths, Rain on Margit Boulevard in 1928. All his pictures were clear and peaceful. When I was eleven and when I was 18, I looked at his albums for hour's every day, lying propped up on my elbows on my divan, until at last it got dark and I had to put on the light. I *read* the pictures just as I had the few letters which I stole from the cupboard. I haven't got them any more. Or the albums. We moved house several times, then I left home and in vain did I ask for them—maybe they're lost for ever. But by then I had been taught to see by those photographs taken before the war. We had never met, nevertheless he taught me. He had already been gone for six years when he started. He left his albums here. This is what became of me: for years I seriously thought I could jump down eleven steps, fly above the flights of steps at 1/c Dereglye Street where we lived after 1947. I was sure I could climb up to the fifth floor on the outside wall of the house in Elemér Street, between the plaster ornaments, fake balconies and electricity wires. I could say it was thanks to him that I got my trade. But it wouldn't enter my head to thank him. After all, he is my father. What else would he have done with what he had: he gave it to me. Now that I know this much about him there is nothing more for me to do in this life than to set out in his cold thirty-year-old tracks.

"And you're hoping he's alive somewhere after all this time and you'll find him?" asked Squirrel (who didn't know about Bárán's nickname for him: it had come to Bárán in a dream).

"No," he said. "Not really. After all there were witnesses, they saw him being buried. But I have to know everything about him."

"I see, I see, It's an emotional question for you."

"No," he answered, shaking his head vigourously. "A practical question."

"You mean, emotional," nodded Squirrel sympathetically.

"No," replied Bárán, "it's a practical question. I want to follow it up. I want to go back to 1943, to the eastern front. To be with him, then."

"Sorry, but how can that possibly be a practical question. You want to know what happened to your father. That's quite natural. Emotional ties bind you to the story."

"Listen," he interrupted, "things don't get lost, they've all got their place. Everything that's really our own. One has to search for it, that's all it takes. The will to do it, that's all. I know now."

He went on to tell Squirrel about Zebulon. He had a friend called Zebulon. Her parents gave her the name even before she was born because they thought this sort of teddy-bear name would do for a boy or girl. She wasn't quite two years old, you could sit her on the palm of a man's hand. Bárán would go round to see her every Thursday afternoon and give her a bath that day. She was a quiet, plump little bear, kind to everyone, always obedient. The only thing was, she wouldn't call things by any other name than the one she wanted to according to the special logic of her own language. For "no" she would say "er," for "bread" she said "on," for "I" she had two words, either "ah" or "um," for "hand" she would say "bogo" and she said "bogo" for "tea" too. She didn't say "yes" at all. And she wouldn't accept them any other way: she couldn't get thirsty enough to hear the word "tea." Round about her a world was speaking in the language of grown-ups. She could too: she said quite difficult sentences out of the blue sometimes. But she stuck to her own variations with inexplicable insistence; she spoke with soft aspirants from way down below with her one-and-a-half millimetre thick lips. She was quite unshakeable. She wouldn't acknowledge the accepted consensus. Not just the mother-tongue of the people around her, not just words: she wouldn't acknowledge the logic, the *mathematics* she learnt from us either, whereby bogo equals bogo and nothing but bogo. The natural laws; in other words, what is known as the world. She wouldn't accept the facts. She was the tougher. The so-called facts on the other hand realised that they were up against something stronger and they yielded. After a while the grown-ups around Zebulon began saying bogo instead of tea and bogo instead of hand, too.

They were friends. Zebulon taught him how to cope with the world.

"I'm going to do the following," he said to Squirrel, "I'm going to take possession of the year 1943 and every moment and every centimetre of that place on the eastern front. That's when the Second World War ends for me. I'll get back my father's life. I'll go with him till the end of his journey, and with my search I'll change the so-called facts. That'll mean I'll have a father. You can't get much more practical than that."

There's no such thing as somebody not loving their mother, he thought as he got off the number two tram. Probably even Napoleon loved his mother.

What happened was that quite by chance he saw his mother standing sadly in front of the window of a grocer's shop in the city centre and his heart sank for her. For himself too: he was overcome with a naked, selfish and violent fear that this could happen: to come out of an espresso like that, and stop in front of a greengrocer's eyeing the glub. And, he thought now with a guilty conscience, what if one day I were to come out of somewhere and my son, catching sight of me from behind an advertisement pillar weren't to come over to me.

A new girlfriend telephoned some time after that. "I'm with you all the time," she said. "I keep thinking back to yesterday afternoon's movements. Not just the sexual part. Your mother's photograph too, the way we looked at it. The one in the headscarf." He always showed people his father's photos sooner or later. People he liked never escaped that. He brought them out like a young poet brings out his poems: they just happen to be on him. In the picture taken in front of the curtains in their home in Kanizsai Street, his mother looked up with her soft, 19-year-old-face, and he always felt on her his father's eyes, hands, his love as he took the picture. Whereas that brown-haired girl, in whom perhaps he'd discovered the real colour of his mother's hair, years after he and Squirrel were looking at his father's picture, said of the photo in the scarf: "You look like your mother too. Though one can't see where. Or at least, I don't know."

By that time his relationship with his mother had changed. She had told him about his birth on September 4th 1939. Up till then Bárán had always missed out on those times when fathers and mothers relate the family legends which everybody knows inside out but which are interesting even on the hundredth hearing. The continuity had been missing: as if he hadn't met even his mother when she should have done. Though he guessed that in peace times the most effective support for the memory was the kind of micro-history that is made up of childhood remarks, family anecdotes, tiny legends, moments of fatherly blunders and incredible luck. They had just as much substance as the rooms of childhood, if they hadn't been bombed to pieces; the objects which we see when we first open our eyes, through which we learn about the tangible world: the grandfather clock, the reading lamp and the book-ends.

For years Bárán's mother always kept silent when he asked about something which referred to the time before her marriage to Gáspár Nagy. ("What do you want from her?" asked Jusszuf, his old friend, "She was 22 when your father left. She wants to forget the whole thing, as if it had never happened, and lead a peaceful, normal life with her new family, her husband. That's the natural way. And here you are, a permanent reminder.

You were a nuisance, a burden, probably quarrelsome and jealous too." But his wise friend was mistaken: Bárán liked Gáspár Nagy.)

His mother's letter/diary written in 1945 to Bárán's father also began with: "I am not very willing to talk about the time about which I'm now going to write. . ." and when he had read it right through he immediately thought: Of course. Who would talk about it willingly? But one must.

And later, now that he was grown-up, all at once his mother started to talk to him about his childhood, about the war years and the years after the war. At first she still didn't talk about his father. Then one day, quite out of the blue, she looked at her son with her green eyes, in the irises of which golden trapezes were expanding, and said: "I'm not betraying Gáspár if I talk to you about my happy first marriage. I don't have to deny the beauty in it. My first love." It was then that Bárán realized that for some reason his mother felt she was betraying Gáspár by talking to her son about the time of her happy first marriage. That up till then she had felt that she had to deny the beauty in it, her first love. Mother, mother, he thought. I've inherited all my narrow-mindedness from her. And he was certain that his mother too had needed the talks they had on those free Saturdays; talking restored the old relationship between her and her son.

Bárán walked from room to room, he hung around in the kitchen while his mother cooked him breakfast. He ate his scrambled egg, then they drank a cup of tea and finally mother would stretch herself out comfortably on the divan in her checked cotton housecoat, arranging the ashtray and two packets of cigarettes beside her. An indefinable colour was growing out of the roots of her hair: a mixture of red, brown and grey strands. She hadn't even begun to speak before the atmosphere between them had changed. From that moment on he felt their relationship was all right again. Just as it had been at the beginning: mother who is very young, is dressing him on the bed. She stops half way through, and, bending over the coffee table, she is searching for something. Her short fur coat is thrown over the arm of the red armchair. She has lost her ring. The half-dressed child finds it, it was hiding in the folds of the duvet, and mother showers him with kisses in her joy. "You'll wear it when you're a big boy," she says. The ring was brought from South America by mother's great-grandfather, the adventurer; it has a wide gold band, and its stone is a large-nosed, pigtailed Indian head, the colour of which changes from gold to dark brown as it is turned towards the light. There in the room the Orion radio sings in a throaty, quiet voice, "Wait for me after work." There's just the two of them, nothing else.

On that first free Saturday his mother didn't by any means show the face she had shown on that picture of her as a 19-year-old. Or in 1945 while

looking for the ring, when she was 25. Now she was old. Or rather very young, she was still only 50. In the meantime she had become a third-rate bit-part actress with dyed hair, and her male colleagues came up to her flat and then one after the other they lived with them there. At 27, mother, with her abilities as a third-rate actress, was appointed the director of a national enterprise. And nowadays she is once again working as a salesgirl in a book shop. That was when her son could see what colour her hair really was. Her grey-streaked hair was again undyed as it had been when she was 25, and Bárán remembered what he had thought then with the ring in his hand: that he had the prettiest and the youngest mother of all.

His friend Albin said one day: "...To put it very simply there are women who are mother types and women who are lover types." My mother was a lover type, was Bárán's first thought. If such a type really exists. But it doesn't, he realized immediately. Albin was talking nonsense. As if mothers and lovers weren't the same. He tried out the words "peroxide blonde" and "chorus girl," he came back to them several times, but in no way could he feel they were real in connection with his mother. What was much more real was his constant desire to know what a naked woman looked like. To see one. Once when he was an eight-year-old street boy, he peeped through the keyhole in Dereglye Street when mother was having a bath. He saw the edge of the bath and a dark triangle of hair. It was strange, nice, but not comprehensible; all he knew for certain was that it was the first female sexual organ he'd seen. For a very long time it remained the only one.

Then he thought of Illés Korom. "You have to know that your mother fucks too!" In his first memory of his shaggy-haired friend a big youth shouted that out to him. Yes, Bárán often thought, we find it hard to believe this sort of thing about our own mothers.

In the course of their free Saturday mornings, now, much later, their whole relationship changed. It was as if all of a sudden he had become the older one. The grown-up who has the strength to forgive and understand. It was only now that he recalled that mother used to sing to him long ago "It's time to get going and to get married" with masses of verses, which is why he liked it as a boy; and she recited poems too, the Bear Dance, and at great length from the Székely Folk Ballads. He still knew it: "Whoever saw /brass spurs on pots/ Whoever saw such a thing?" Mother had a warm contr'alto voice. Once he dreamt that his mother had died, and it was a bad dream, at last. Bárán could admit to himself now: he no longer had to wrestle with the pain of not loving his mother.

Translated by Elizabeth Szász

ÁGNES NEMES NAGY

AKHENATON

"You ascend and you decline,
living sun.
Dark you pass away, bright you
return.
You beat in my heart."

(From Akhenaton's Hymn
to the Sun.)

From The Notes of Akhenaton

What is the one thing left undone?—
It is to take care of pain.
To this end I will make a God,
all-seeing from his heavenly abode.

Longings are no good; I must build
a durable heaven, something solid.
So lean on my shoulder, Great One,
ascend, hobble towards your throne.
There among cherubim and seraphim
I now bedeck your feeble frame
with suffering leke a necklace of blood
and my plant-love for cloak and hood.
While in your heart I settle this:—
Of all things jewelled I seek justice.

No more: enough. I have done,
now you must fulfill your mighty function.
Stare, yawn,—I don't care what you do,
for I can no longer postpone you.

The Night of Akhenaton

Down in the square slack canvas booths
leaned drugged by lantern-light and candles
drooping in drips from dusty bottles.

Was it a luminous summer night?
The light was an All-Hallows-Day light.
The shelves were cluttered with crinkled crepe:
paper-doll face, paper-doll shape.

He passed between green heaps of patterned
melons, on every rind a heart
tattooed by the knitting needle's art.
Above leered neon signs like slatterns.
Hot wind, straw smell,
night dark as a deep well.

He went intent, confined
by the disguise of himself.
Unmoving in his mind
he moved through the gulf
beneath an overhead railway.

Wash your face. This way.
Bend to your cupped hands, the bay,
the calm bayful of water within.
That striated muscle the will
may drink still,
make it drink like a bird,
make it drink like an animal,
yes, wash your face, and in the hand—
the small hand at each sun beam's end—
your face. . .

The tent of night,
looped light, blue light, no light, twinkling light.
Counters gleaming like silk, or candy,
caterpillars, confirmation-sunday,
candles choking, blind.
A gust of wind.

The old garden.
In the old garden numberless pleasures
under a wafer-translucent sky.
Here is the face to be swallowed,

and the green flower, the elder-branch
on which Judas swung,
and one star's glimmering green.
In the garden was the immeasurable.
I wish you were small, my love,
at the God in the wafer.

Then the tanks came.
The street fled
moving metal mountains,
soft bodies caught between stone and metal
balloons bobbing above,
canvas-tear of fallen booths,
splash of bridge-railings,
distant ash and glass-drizzle,
and beyond the din, up, up, another sound,
anouther sound
at an unearthly height.
. . . . . .

Frantic for cover, he flung himself
across the balustrade.
There were many rolling,
falling. In jerky lumps
they tumbled down. Like an avalanche.
The velleys crashed above them.
. . . . . .

He woke to mist or smoke
among reeds and gurgles. A river.
Someone lay beside him in mud,
stretched cool and flat and white
like a solitary snowfield.
He rose without effort,
he rose like mist or smoke
above his companion or himself
or both, he could not say.
He was transparent where he lay.

He began his journey,
carrying the body within,
or like a second skin.
Through mist's horizontals,
through smoke's sprawling scrawls
he blundered onward.
In his right
hand his left gripped tight.

When

When I carved a God
I chose hard stone;
harder than my body,
that I may believe it when he comforts me.

The Only-Good

Is the Only-Good neither fish, flesh nor fowl?
I am not a Manichean:
I would never tire
of eternal bliss.

Akhenaton in Heaven

Everything is the same there. The mine,
the mountain riven to the core, the tools.
He strokes the lime-stone wall,
and dawn creeps uncertainly
from the bubble-skins of stones
and from ores
transparent with final failure.

Through the forest
walk fragments of fog—
fingers from lost hands
reaching upwards

or trawling the floor
searching for their purpose.
Tentatively they brush the earth
they flourish, they fall,
these long cloud-trunks.
Another forest stalks the forest,
foliage rustling and tossing.

A tunnel beneath trees—
shadowed grass, pebbles,
a narrow-guage railway line.
Dawn. The sun comes steaming
sideways through mist
with a dumb rumbling,
nearer and nearer.
The overgrown metals shine;
morning shines,
but suddenly up rears a wall of leaves,
and there the line ends.
A few more sleepers lurch on
to the clearing. There ends the sun.

The Object

Standing in noon light the slabs tower above.
In my heart all objects are happy.

Above The Object

Because there is light over every object
trees, like polar circles, glare and reflect.
And now, limmering infinity, dazzling sight,
come the 92 elements in their caps of light.
On each one's forehead its perfect copy—
In believe in the resurrection of the body.

Translated by Tony Connor

ZOLTÁN SUMONYI

POEMS

TO THE TROJANS

To the Trojans
—who during the assault
(ten years is ample time)
had seen a thing or two—
the burning of the city, the imbecile destruction
and slaughter were not shocking,

since, if they were not prepared for these exactly,
at least they'd thought of them in the final days of siege
after the fall of Hector, after the death of Priam
—which, naturally, had hurt them all,
being offences to their pride, for it was
their warriors and
their battle-insignia which had fallen to the dust,
and then that primitive subterfuge
(which fooled them, after all that time) with the horse!—
but then, the war had been the warriors' problem,
and the defeat
and the consequences
could be understood
at least to their own satisfaction;

however,
Greek signs appeared on the streets the very next day,
on the shop-fronts and on the temples,
and even on their nameplates all words had to be Greek,
so that they were utterly confused and in a chaos of misunderstanding
(in fact they didn't understand a word of Greek)
and *lost their way* in their own city—

and that
was an absurd
and inconceivable thing, to the Trojans.

OTHERWISE

Nothing, it's only a turn of the head,
and teeth noticed before
(which are suddenly
changing, almost from day to day,
no longer quite as they used to be).
A complexion,
a certain manner of parting the hair...
(for, after all, we remember the fears of youth,
remember obsessions of adolescence,
the way they can hold us, even to an object).
Otherwise nothing, I am relaxed,
what's more, self-confident,
I know my way around the ordinary things of the world I see
as I did before.
(I know why I'm fond of
and why I'll be fond of
whoever I'm fond of.)
It's only a turn of the head
(for, after all, we remember obsessions of adolescence)
and teeth noticed before...
Need I go on?

TIME

Here, where women are starting at my slender waist,
my broad shoulders,
that is to say, my lithe and boyish figure
(and the best women too, by my abstracted survey of the field!)
here, in K..., at the station,
though it doesn't really matter, it could be any station,
all the old railway stations (termini, halts)
being the image of one another, one or other drab and dreary
throughout the Austro-Hungarian monarchy's

former possessions,
here, where I have come with my grandmother,
the old woman with the headscarf, to the train,
here (how many is it?) ten, eleven or more years ago...
but that doesn't matter really as
it was so long ago (or is it still to happen, after a long time?)
that I felt so extraordinarily weary and numbed
and irritated and powerless in my
POWERLESSNESS
when I was changing the gravel (or shall be?)
between these very sleepers...
Now wait a minute!

No, no...
After all *that* must have happened first,
as I remember sharply
the greasy flying flints,
the pick scattering sparks,
my younger brother's dirty brow.

Translated by Alan Dixon

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1918—1919
IN RETROSPECT

THREE PEACE CONFERENCES

by

JÁNOS PÉTER

Partly unknown, partly forgotten Hungarian aspects of the peace negotiations after the First World War at Brest-Litovsk, Racaciuni (Rumania) and Trianon are here recalled. These peace conferences were meant to deal with the solution of the problems of the new situation which had arisen as the Great War came to an end and following the October Revolution. What can be learnt from them may be of help when tackling the problems of the present situation.

1 *Brest-Litovsk and Hungary*

The Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk between the Central Powers and the new Soviet state concluded on 3 March 1918 is very often referred to as a forgotten peace treaty. The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, however, devotes many pages to the Brest-Litovsk negotiations, to their antecedents and consequences. Their gist boils down to this: The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was of immense international significance. Workers of the world had before them, as an example, the Russian Republic which, in spite of tremendous difficulties, found a way out of the imperialist war. The Peace Treaty of Brest consolidated Soviet power. It made it possible to win a breathing space, to gain time to put the economy of the country into order, organize the Red Army and strengthen the alliance of the proletariat and the peasant masses. A new stage of development began in the life of the Soviet state.

If one carefully considers all points of view and all that characterized the historical situation of the time, one can understand why today as well the Communist Party of the Soviet Union attaches such importance to the forgotten peace.

Lenin took the most hazardous decisions in his life at the time of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. There were moments when he stood virtually alone representing justice and necessity. The effective pursuit of Leninist policy in the decisions and events related to the Peace Treaty of Brest is inseparable from the successful conclusion of the October Revolution. For this very reason the historic role of the Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk is entirely different from those of Versailles, Saint-Germain, Trianon, and Sèvres. The Paris treaties helped pave the way for the Second World War; on the other hand, the Peace of Brest-Litovsk with its consequences helped to victory the antifascist forces of the Second World War.

All this is reflected in the history of Hungary as well. The events related to the Peace of Brest-Litovsk were instrumental in the proclamation of the Hungarian Republic of Councils; the Peace Treaty of Trianon, on the other hand, led to the pro-German line in Hungarian foreign policy.

The Hungarian Parliament also con-

cerned itself with the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations. This was not by favour of the official Hungarian government, a question being asked by a member. The date of the question and the atmosphere of the debate were typical, as was the M.P. himself.

The date was 17 January, 1918. The negotiations of Brest-Litovsk between Leon Trotsky, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs in the Soviet government, and R. Kühlmann, the German, and Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, had reached a critical point. There were "doves" and "hawks" in the delegations of the Central Powers, to use today's language; at the time they were called "lambs" and "wolves". In Budapest, Lajos Holló, a member of the opposition, addressed a question to the Prime Minister, Sándor Wekerle, and demanded that the Hungarian members of the peace delegation at Brest-Litvosk should dissociate themselves from German expansionism and try to conclude a separate peace as quickly as possible. He was the member for Kiskunfélegyháza. To quote the History of the Hungarian Working-Class Movement: "Hunger marches were held in different parts of the country. At Kiskunfélegyháza, in the closing days of February, four to five thousand people took part in spontaneous demonstrations, and the hungry looted foodshops." At Brest-Litovsk Czernin, as can be gathered from his memoirs, was unable to ignore such events.

Both the person of Lajos Holló and the questions he raised gave weight to his question. Holló had been a Member of Parliament, practising advocate, and newspaper editor since 1887. In 1893, together with Miklós Bartha, he founded the daily *Magyarország* and helped organize the democratic opposition.

Only two months had passed since 7 November, 1917, the outbreak of the October Revolution and the Soviet Decree on Peace, but its lessons and its peace policy made their effects felt in the question asked by the member of Kiskunfélegyháza. The question centred on two points: (1) was a peace without annexations and war indemnities still government policy, and (2) was the Ministry of Foreign Affairs contributing to settling differences at the Brest-Litovsk talks, helping to pave the way to a general peace.

At Brest-Litovsk, Holló argued, an incident, that is a difference of opinion, led to a tense situation. The sharp words of the German General Hoffmann provoked the conflict. Hoffmann had said: "The High Command has to reject all interference as regards the occupied territories. The inhabitants of the occupied territories have already expressed their wishes plainly and clearly to us: they want to secede from Russia. Today all these territories are under German occupation and administration." Holló did not like Hoffmann's tone. The first critical turn and break in the Brest-Litovsk negotiations was in fact due to Hoffmann's words.

The member for Kiskunfélegyháza expressed the critical problem of the Brest talks, but what he said of the origin and consequences of the negotiations was more important. The whole world, Holló said, followed the Brest-Litovsk negotiations with interest wondering, first of all, whether they will bring the blessings of a separate peace and, secondly, whether they would serve as a basis for a general peace. There was no doubt, he went on, that the changes that had taken place in Russia had already considerably contributed to a general peace. If one imagined the peace of the future as implying a peaceful association of nations, it could not be imagined without the collapse of a power like Czarist Russia... But this was not all that happened. The ideas that cropped up at Brest-Litovsk also opened hopeful prospects for a future peace. These talks have reverberated amongst the nations and the ideas have implanted themselves in their souls.

He went on to argue that Hungary

should not fight for alien interests. The country and the whole world wanted peace, neither a victorious nor a war-like peace. Count Tisza interjected and Holló first appealed to the chair for protection and then continued in spite of the noise. Peace based on agreement was needed, peace that did not leave hate in the souls of nations, that did not prompt rearmament, and new alliances that would once again drown the nations in a sea of blood. In the future economic alliances should not continue to oppose each other, there should be shared economic activity, the opportunity of peaceful work, with the world markets open to all, that is free trade. There would be no economic commitment to Germany once a peace treaty in the country's interests was concluded. Earlier commitments that stood in the way of peace would be repudiated even if this meant disloyalty to allies. The will of the people would ensure this, Holló argued. He went on to point out that the Hungary of the time could not survive. The country looked forward to a future where there would be no class conflicts fed by the taking over of large estates by the financial oligarchy while hundreds of thousands and even millions, unable to establish themselves in their own country, were forced to emigrate to make a living. The Hungarian nation, Holló said, would refuse to recognize a peace which failed to put an end to such a situation. A social order in which there were inherited privileges could not survive, one where one could be a member of the Upper House by birth, etc. The way must be opened to equal rights and the people had to be prepared for equal opportunities. Careers will be open to the talents. Such would be the case in the Hungary of the future.

When the Lower House met on 17 January, 1918, many members supported Holló. Géza Polónyi, who took Holló's side, protested against his being repeatedly called to order by the chair. At the time of the Brest-Litovsk talks the Hungarian Parliament alone among the countries involved discussed the conduct of the negotiations.

Four stages have to be distinguished in the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. The first stage lasted from the day of the October Revolution and the Decree on Peace until 29 December, 1917, when the delegations returned home for new instructions. The second stage from 8 January, 1918, when President Wilson issued his Fourteen Points, until January 18th, the journey to Petrograd by the Soviet delegation. The third stage from January 31 to February 8, 1918—from the new mandate of the Soviet delegation until the breaking off of negotiations. The fourth stage from 18 February to 3 March 1918—from the new Soviet decision to the signing of the Treaty.

There is good reason to date the start of the negotiations as that of the Revolution and the Decree on Peace. This is not only because from the moment of its birth Soviet power searched for a way out of the war, but mainly because the political principles which had come to prevail with the revolution made the Brest-Litovsk negotiations what they were.

After the first winter of the war, starting with the spring of 1915, peace feelers, of an official or unofficial sort, could be discerned in all the belligerent countries, often without informing allies. The idea of a separate peace was not a Soviet invention: the Czarist Russian government and all the other belligerents had entertained similar ideas. But the Soviet move was the first really frank and honest proposal, honest with the allies of Czarist Russia and honest with the enemy, too. Established international custom did not oblige the new power in Russia to be loyal to or frank with either the Entente or the Central Powers. In the Decree on Peace before the peace negotiations, and through confidential channels, as well as again and again on public platforms, the Soviet government addressed itself first to the allies of Czarist Russia, then to all belligerents, suggesting that steps should be taken

to obtain peace without annexations and war indemnities. To quote *Izvestia* of 25 November, 1917: "You say peace is to the detriment of Russia. But there can be no peace that would be worse for Russia than the war. You oppose a separate peace and a separate armistice. We do also." The ex-allies of Czarist Russia and the Central Powers came closer and closer together against the new Soviet state.

(The first stage: up to 29 December, 1917) The delegations pursued different aims at Brest-Litovsk. As General Hoffmann of the German delegation writes in his memoirs, General Ludendorff, when perusing the Soviet offer, asked Hoffmann on the phone: "Is it possible to negotiate with those people?" Hoffmann replied: "Yes, it is. Your Excellency needs new armies in the west. In this way you will get the new forces." The Germans wished to step up the offensive in the west. The Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister must have reckoned with the defeat of the Central Powers and was ready to conclude peace even at the cost of territorial concessions. But his "German brothers" kept him under control. Czernin writes in his memoirs that day after day he received news of growing famine from Vienna and Budapest, news of army units close to mutiny, and whole regions ready to rise.

The main issue in the first stage was which side meant what by a peace without annexations and war indemnities. The conflicting aspirations were hidden behind those terms came to light at Christmas Eve. The five (Soviet, German, Austro-Hungarian, Bulgarian, and Turkish) delegations took their meals in common every day. It was at the common dinner of Christmas Eve that Hoffmann uttered the words which prompted Lajos Holló to ask his parliamentary question with such indignation and concern on 17 January, 1917.

When it had become clear that what the Germans meant by a peace without annexations was the annexation of all territories they had occupied in the course of hostilities, negotiations were suspended and delegates returned home for new instructions.

On 31 December, 1917, the Council of People's Commissars in Petrograd, following the report of the Soviet delegation at Brest-Litovsk, adopted the following resolution: "1. Intensified agitation against the annexationist policy of the Germans. 2. Allocation of additional funds for this agitation. 3. Transfer of peace negotiations to Stockholm. 4. Continuation of peace negotiations and resistance to their speedup by the Germans. 5. Greater effects to reorganise the army, reducing its strength and enhancing its defence potential. 6. Urgent measures for defence in the event of a break-through to Petrograd. 7. Propaganda and agitation on the necessity for a revolutionary war." (Draft Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars. Lenin: Collected Works, vol. 26. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1972. p. 397)

(The second stage: to 18 January, 1918) Those were the instructions which the Soviet delegation took with them when they returned to Brest on 8 January, 1918. In the meantime the international situation had changed in many ways as had the composition of the Soviet delegation which was headed by Trotsky and no longer by Joffe. (A. A. Joffe had been a member of the Social-Democratic Party already in the nineteenth century. In October 1917 he was a member of the Petrograd Soviet of Soldiers' Deputies. He was a delegate to the second stage of the Brest negotiations and an adviser in the fourth stage. Later on he worked in the diplomatic service; between 1925 and 1927 he joined the Trotskyite opposition. He headed the first Soviet delegation sent to Western Europe. And in what a situation at that!)

The second stage of the negotiations centred on the concrete issue of the territories the Central Powers claimed. Trotsky and Kühlmann argued their position on matters of principle for hours, days and even

weeks. (Trotsky put a stop to the meals in common, and the delegations met only at the official talks.) The Austro-Hungarian, Bulgarian, and Turkish delegations were only silent spectators of the verbal sparring between the German Foreign Secretary and the Soviet People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs. General Hoffmann's remarks show his ill-concealed anger: "I told Kühlmann and Count Czernin that in this way we would never attain our aims, we must get back to practical questions." Following the next lengthy challenging statement in which Trotsky outlined the perspectives of the world revolution, Kühlmann—according to his memoirs—asked Hoffmann: "Would you care and reply to this?" The General answered growling: "No! I've had more than enough of this!"

On January 18th Trotsky summed up the gist of the talks: "It is obvious that in their expansionist aspirations the Central Powers want to carve at least 170,000 square kilometres out of the area of the present territory of the Russian empire, subjecting the inhabitants to German rule. This must be said plainly. I propose that negotiations be adjourned (and not broken off) to allow the Soviet delegation to consult the intentions of the Russian Republic concerning the peace terms which were communicated to us."

(The third stage: up to 8 February, 1918) Trotsky returned to Brest-Litovsk from Petrograd on January 26th and the third stage of the negotiations started.

In the meantime, however, important events had taken place both in Petrograd and in the affairs of the Central Powers. What Czernin had to say in his memoirs is characteristic of the negotiating position of the Central Powers. Kühlmann superciliously says that the Russians can only choose the sauce we shall gobble them up in; thereupon Czernin remarked that the Central Powers as well can only choose the sauce in which they are to be gobbled up.

At the same time news of a great demonstration in Budapest where the mob broke in the windows of the German Embassy was received at Brest-Litovsk. On 24 January, during a break in the negotiations, Czernin addressed the foreign affairs committee of the Reichsrat in Vienna: "We do not claim a single square centimetre and not a single penny from the Russians." Hunger demonstrations took place everyday throughout Austro-Hungary, and a number of army units were mutinous. The German Kaiser instructed Kühlmann to press for territory, while the disintegrating Habsburg Monarchy uttered vague threats against the German government by alluding to the possibility of a separate peace.

At the end of the second stage of the Brest negotiations Trotsky took the view —and informed Lenin by phone accordingly—that the peace terms should be rejected. The negotiations should be broken off and the Soviet government should withdraw its forces from the fighting line. Trotsky felt that a declaration to that effect would unmask the imperialists and revolution would break out in Germany. If the Germans nevertheless managed to move into newer territories, then the peace treaty would be one dictated by cold steel and this as well would prompt the proletarians of the world to step up their revolutionary activities.

Lenin first told Trotsky on the phone that the question had to be discussed by the Central Committee. He expressly mentioned that he must also consult Stalin, who was People's Commissar for National Minorities at the time and thus responsible for the partly occupied territories. After Stalin had arrived at Petrograd, and following the pertinent discussions, Lenin replied to Trotsky: "Call for pause in the talks and return to Petrograd at once."

In the afore-said theses Lenin expressed himself clearly and unequivocally:

"The peace negotiations in Brest-Litovsk have by now—January 7, 1918—made it perfectly clear that the war party has undoubtedly gained the upper hand in the

German Government (which has the other government of the Quadruple Alliance at its beck and call) and has virtually already presented Russia with an ultimatum (and it is to be expected, most certainly to be expected, that any day now it will be presented formally). The ultimatum is as follows: either the continuation of the war, or a peace with annexations, i.e. peace on condition that we surrender all the territory we have occupied, while the Germans retain *all* the territory they have occupied and impose upon us an indemnity (outwardly disguised as payment for the maintenance of prisoners)—an indemnity of about three thousand million *rubles*, payable over a number of years.

The socialist government of Russia is faced with the question—a question whose solution brooks no delay—of whether to accept this peace with annexations now, or to immediately wage a revolutionary war. In fact, no middle course is possible. No further postponement can now be achieved, for we have *already* done everything possible and impossible to deliberately protract the negotiations." (Ibidem, p. 444.)

The decision was a hard one. Lenin's firmness and perspicacity was needed—amidst a lot of dissensions and crises—for the Soviet state precisely to define its position, to continue to keep delaying the decision during the negotiations but to sign immediately if the Germans issue an effective ultimatum.

This was the instruction that Trotsky carried back with him to Brest-Litovsk. On his way he saw abandoned foxholes and empty trenches in areas under Soviet control. In Brest-Litovsk the crucial verbal sparring between Trotsky and Kühlmann continued. In the third stage, Trotsky's arguments and attitude troubled the Central Powers. Now Kühlmann and Czernin asked for a delay in order to reformulate their positions, return home, and ask for further instructions.

On 4–5 February, 1918, the Foreign Ministers of Germany and Austria-Hungary went to Berlin and Vienna. In Berlin it was agreed that they would first conclude peace not with Soviet Russia but with the counter-revolutionary Ukrainian government; and that, within a space of twenty-four hours, Kühlmann should break off negotiations with Trotsky. The atmosphere of the negotiations is described in Ludendorff's memoirs: "What can leaders of the Entente Powers think of us, of our desire for peace, if we submit ourselves to the treatment we receive from Trotsky and members of the Soviet government... How badly Germany must be in need of peace if she chases Trotsky and the Bolsheviks in this way, permitting propaganda against her and her army. What will the world think of us if it sees that demobilized Russian anarchists can treat us in this manner? The resumption of negotiations was wholly in accordance with the ideas of the Bolsheviks." Then he went on: "It seems that our diplomatists as well are now aware the discussions with Trotsky will lead nowhere. I met Kühlmann and Count Czernin at Berlin on 4 February and 5th. Kühlmann promised to break with Trotsky within twenty-four hours from the signing of a peace with the Ukraine."

This promise was made by the German Foreign Secretary. The Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister was in a different position. General Hoffmann: "The nerves of Count Czernin were completely shattered by then. As the internal conditions in Austria-Hungary worsened, so did the nerves of Czernin. The largest towns of Austria-Hungary were threatened by famine. They asked Berlin for help. True, they only got carrots, but that was something. This also was sufficient for Czernin to stop threatening to conclude a separate peace. The greatest help to Germany and Austria-Hungary may come out of the Ukrainian bread-basket. If the Central Powers want to tap this source, a separate peace must be concluded with the Ukraine."

After 5 February the delegates of the

Central Powers at Brest–Litovsk had this tactical consideration in mind. On 8 February the representatives of the Central Powers and of the Ukrainian Rada (the ousted Ukrainian counter-revolutionary government) signed a treaty of peace. In accordance with the Petrograd resolution Trotsky also ought to have signed the peace treaty prepared earlier. Instead, however, he reverted to his original idea, and on 10 February, 1918, in defiance of the Petrograd instruction, he said:

"We do not wish to take part in this imperialist fight, Germany and the Central Powers as well as their adversaries are engaged in an expansionist, imperialist war. We cannot put our signature to the peace offer of the Central Powers, since it would signify oppression, poverty, and dejection to millions. We shall get out of the war. We shall withdraw our people and our forces from the war. We abandon the war and refuse to sign the treaty of peace."

Hoffmann writes of this scene: "After Trotsky spoke all the members of the peace conference remained speechless." The first to recover his senses was Kühlmann, who said: "I consequently draw the conclusion: from this moment on the Central Powers are again at war with Russia."

On 16 February—five days after the breaking off of the Brest negotiations when Trotsky had been back in Petrograd for some days—a telegram reached Petrograd sent by the Soviet General Samoilov, who had remained behind in Brest as a liaison officer: "Today at 7.30 pm. I received an official communication from General Hoffmann who informed me that as from noon on February 18th the armistice with the Russian Republic will lapse and hostilities would be renewed."

(The fourth stage: up to 3 March, 1918) Lenin immediately demanded that the treaty of peace should be signed without delay accepting the earlier conditions. As he wrote later:

"...the severe crisis which our Party is now experiencing, owing to the formation of a "Left" opposition within it, is one of the gravest crises the Russian revolution has experienced.

This crisis will be overcome. Under no circumstances will it break the neck of our Party, or of our revolution, although at the present moment it has come very near to doing so, there was a possibility of it. The guarantee that we shall not break our neck in this question is this: instead of applying the old method of settling factional differences, the old method of issuing an enormous quantity of literature, of having many discussions and plenty of splits, instead of this old method, events have provided our people with a new method of learning things. This method is to put everything to the test of facts, events, the lessons of world history." (Op.cit., vol. 27. 1974, p. 97–98.)

What did Lenin refer to?

The march of history was determined by the meetings, conferences, and deliberations held on different levels by the Petrograd Party organizations, the Central Committee, and various Soviets. The unending process of negotiations flowing round the clock was breath-taking. This is what really gave meaning and importance to the happenings at the front and the resumed negotiations.

As against the hazy expectations of the pseudo-Leftists (as Lenin had predicted), after Trotsky's announcement the German-Austro-Hungarian command prepared for a wholesale frontal attack, which started on 18 February in Russian and Ukrainian territory alike. The enemy was expected to reach Petrograd within hours, and Trotsky still organized opposition to the signing of the peace treaty.

Negotiations with representatives of the Central Powers were resumed. The discussion of the new situation was still going on in Petrograd when, on the night from 18 February to 19th, a telegram with the signatures of Lenin and Trotsky was sent to the government of the German Empire

protesting on behalf of the Soviet of People's Commissars against the violation of the armistice agreement and stating: "In the new situation the Soviet of People's Commissars is forced to declare that it will formally sign the peace under the conditions stipulated by the German government at Brest-Litovsk." General Hoffmann gave a cynical reply: Since the original signatures of Lenin and Trotsky were missing from the telegram, he could not accept it. He would continue the advance until delivery of a Soviet offer in writing, with authentic signatures, stating acceptance of the peace treaty. This also was done.

Meanwhile in Petrograd the quarrel continued about whether or not to yield, then about the composition of the delegation to be sent to Brest-Litovsk to sign. At 3.30 a.m. on 24 February the Soviet People's Commissars adopted a resolution that the peace treaty should be signed. The discussion on the composition of the delegation went on in and outside the Central Committee. Nobody wanted to undertake the journey and to sign; those chosen preferred to give up membership on the Central Committee. Lenin submitted to this confusion with unexampled patience. What is more: he even assured his opponents that after signing they might freely agitate against the ratification of the treaty. Eventually the delegation, headed by G. Y. Sokolnikov, departed without Trotsky. Its members included Joffe and also G. V. Chicherin, who was then Deputy People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs. In the meantime the Germans had made the peace terms more severe. The treaty was signed after further disputes at Brest on March 3rd. Sokolnikov condemned the treaty in no uncertain terms: "Not for a moment do we doubt that this victory of imperialism and militarism over the international proletariat is only temporary and transient."

2 *The Racaciuni negotiations—the Peace Treaty of Bucharest*

Before trying to outline the effect of the Peace of Brest upon the Soviet state, Hungary, and world history, it seems necessary, mainly from the point of view of Hungarian history, to take a look at the peace concluded by the Central Powers with Rumania.

In Brest the German Empire represented the Central Powers in the first place; in the case of Rumania this role was assumed by the delegates of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Czernin did not attend the closing negotiation and the signing of the peace treaty in Brest since he had taken over the conduct of negotiations with Rumania. Czernin, who was one of the trusted supporters of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his designated Foreign Minister in the event of his succeeding to the throne, had been Austro-Hungarian minister in Bucharest since early 1913. He was recalled in 1916, shortly before the death of Francis Joseph, to become Foreign Minister. Czernin's relationship with Rumanian leaders, especially with the Rumanian Royal Family, was of a close and confidential nature. Every Rumanian leader knew that, in the interest of an alliance of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy with the Kingdom of Rumania, Czernin would have liked to unite Transylvania with Rumania. On 14–16 June, 1914, shortly before the outbreak of the Great War, Czar Nicholas II visited Rumania, accompanied by his Foreign Minister Sasonov. Czernin, behind the back of the Hungarian government, made it possible for Premier Brătianu of Rumania and Sasonov to make a journey to Transylvania, to Brassó and environs. Czernin was aware that Europe was on the eve of war. He also saw clearly that, if the Monarchy should find itself in a position in which—as an ally of a Germany at war with France and England—it would have to wage war against Russia, Rumania and Serbia, this would be the end of the Austro-Hungarian

Monarchy. The Rumanians were aware of Czernin's thinking.

Late in February 1918 Czernin departed for the Rumanian negotiations with very serious claims in his baggage. At that time almost the whole territory of Rumania was occupied by the Central Powers. The government had its seat at Jassy, in the north-eastern province of Moldavia. At a time when Rumania was threatened with destruction the Central Powers made new territorial claims. The Austro-Hungarian government demanded, for security reasons, the transfer of Rumanian and Serbian territory near the Iron Gate and the river Olt. They requested that the entire Dobrudja on the Black Sea coast, up to the Danube estuary, should be ceded to Bulgaria. The representatives of the Rumanian government were unwilling to yield. Czernin sought an audience of the King of Rumania, Ferdinand I of Hohenzollern. This meeting took place at Racaciuni, in German-occupied territory, on the bank of the river Sereth. The two government trains stood on parallel tracks at the small railway station.

When telling the story of the negotiations, Czernin, in his memoirs, admits that he blamed the Hungarians for these enormous demands. When King Ferdinand complained Czernin referred to speeches in the Hungarian Parliament (of course, not to Lajos Holló's question) and asked the king to understand his delicate position. On the other hand, he gave an assurance that, if Rumania accepted these terms, the country could normalize relations with the Central Powers after the war, leaving the king in no doubt that the Central Powers would not win. That would be the time for Rumania to submit her demands. But if Rumania now refused to accept the peace terms, the Central Powers would obviously occupy what had been left of the country's territory and Rumania would become a non-existent state. Czernin, himself an old acquaintance of Ferdinand's, told the recalcitrant monarch: now it was the Hungarians who submitted their demands and Rumania found them too severe, but let him try and imagine the demands of the Rumanians if Bucharest were not occupied by the Central Powers but Budapest were in Rumanian hands. Finally the king had only one argument left: no possible Rumanian Prime Minister would sign a peace on such terms. Knowing Rumanian leaders Czernin had a name ready: he proposed A. Marghiloman who was appointed Prime Minister the next day. On 5 March, 1918, two days after Brest–Litovsk, the preliminary peace with Rumania was signed at Buftea. The "definitive" treaty was signed at Bucharest on May 7th.

3 *A few conclusions*

Flushed with success, the ruling circles in Berlin, Vienna, and Budapest prepared for triumphant celebrations of the Ukrainian and Russian peace treaties of Brest–Litovsk and the Rumanian peace of Buftea. Thanksgiving services were held in Budapest. Kaiser Wilhelm sent congratulatory telegrams to his allies, his supreme commander, and his Prime Minister. These telegrams carried phrases such as: "The German sword wielded by great generals has brought us peace with Russia. My heart is filled with profound thanks to God who stood by us and proud joy fills my heart seeing the feats of my armies and in the unflagging perseverance of my people."

In March the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy appointed Count Kajetán Mérey de Kaposmére who had signed the Peace of Brest in lieu of Czernin as ambassador to Soviet Russia. The German government appointed Count Mirbach. The ruling circles in Berlin, Vienna, and Budapest did not know—and could not know—that, with the signing of the treaties consummating their victories, they had signed the death-warrant of their own social order and in fact contributed to the consolidation of the first victorious socialist revolution.

Lenin assessed these changes "en route" as follows:

"The week from February 18 to 24, 1918, has been one that will be remembered as a great turning-point in the history of the Russian—and the international—revolution". "The past week has raised the Russian revolution to an immeasurably higher level of historical development. In the course of it history has progressed, has ascended several steps at once.

Until now we have been faced with miserable, despicable (from the standpoint of world imperialism) enemies, an idiot called Romanov, Kerensky the boaster, gangs of officer cadets and bourgeois. Now there has arisen against us the giant of world imperialism, a splendidly organised and technically well-equipped, civilised giant. That giant must be fought. And one must *know how* to fight him." (Ibidem, pp. 62 and 64–65.)

In pressing for the signing of the ignominious peace, Lenin acted with full knowledge of the relation of forces, in awareness of the great dangers, and preparing for new clashes. A day and a half after the signing of the Brest–Litovsk treaty he wrote:

"Our pseudo-lefts (...) the dodgers are trying their hardest (...) to represent the 'breathing-space theory' as an unfounded and unsound 'theory'.

Alas, their efforts are powerless to refute the facts. Facts are stubborn things, as the English proverb rightly says. It is a fact that from March 3, when at 1 p.m. the Germans ceased hostilities, to March 5, at 7 p.m. when I am writing these lines, we have had a breathing-space, and we have *already* made use of these two days for the *businesslike* (as expressed in deeds, not phrase-making) defence of the socialist fatherland. This is a fact which will become more evident to the masses every day." (Ibidem, p. 79.)

The magnitude of the danger was shown also by the Germans getting close to Paris, shelling the city with long-range guns and bombing it from airplanes. Clemenceau emphasized during strategic discussions that Paris might well fall. Lenin had good reason to propose in the closing stage of the Brest business, at the time when Pskov fell, that the government should move to Moscow. This was done.

Lenin held the leftist swaggerers responsible for the increasingly stringent peace terms. One of his articles in *Pravda* at the time of the Petrograd discussions is amongst the most bitter by his pen. In "The Itch", he recommended those using meaningless and foggy phrases to take a steam bath in order to get rid of their itchiness, since arguments and facts had no effect on them.

The Brest–Litovsk policy of the Soviet government not only averted the concrete dangers of the concrete situation but also prepared the conditions for future victories. Not only internationally but also on the domestic front.

At the peak of the wars of intervention against the Soviets, Lloyd George, the prominent British Liberal and promoter of the international anti-Soviet coalition, declared that the Russian masses—precisely because of the Treaty of Brest—regarded the Soviet government as a guarantor of peace and the White Guards together with the interventionists as warmongers. In this way Lloyd George argued that there was no sense in continuing the war of intervention. This is how he became one of the organizers of the Genoa conference of 1922.

It was due to events related to the Brest negotiations that the ideas of the October Revolution found their way, more forcefully than before, into international political thinking. Anti-war demonstrations took place in Hungary as well. In July 1917, for example, hundreds of thousands demonstrated in favour of peace. Their demand became final on the basis of the Soviet government's peace offer in October 1917. On 25 November those who attended a mass meeting held in the Budapest Hall of Industry already hailed the peace proposal of the Soviet government.

The impact of the Soviet government's

peace policy and of the history-shaping consequence of the Brest–Litovsk negotiations, showed themselves in the changes of the thinking of many a politician as well as in the acceleration of social processes. This was particularly conspicuous in Hungary.

The Brest policy of the Soviet government was an important factor in the preparation of the establishment of the Hungarian Republic of Councils. Its effect can be traced in the political experiences gained by Béla Kun and his associates while in Soviet Russia at a time of the Brest negotiations as well. Soldiers in the multinational K. und K. Army, who returned home from Russia or were redeployed in the west, played a huge and invaluable role in the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and in the foundation of proletarian power in Hungary. What is more: the German army corps redeployed from the eastern front to the west also hastened the end of the war at the western front. The victory of the Soviets, consolidation, and international repercussions are inseparable from the Leninist Party's resolute and minutely elaborated home and foreign policy which resulted in the painful and instructive Peace of Brest–Litovsk. This imperialist *Diktat* was changed by Leninist policy into the starting-point of subsequent victories. The better we understand what Lenin did at the time of the Brest–Litovsk negotiations, the clearer is the import of what happened in Hungarian–Soviet relations under the Republic of Councils, and later in negotiations for an exchange of prisoners, further in the establishment in 1934 of diplomatic relations—before during, and after the Second World War. At a critical point of the disputes at Brest those who believed that the interests of the international revolution forbade any peace with the imperialists were told by Lenin that "A socialist republic surrounded by imperialist powers could not, from this point of view, conclude any economic treaties, and could not exist at all, without flying to the moon." (Ibidem, p. 71.)

All this has to be taken into consideration in order to explain the foreign policy decisions of the Soviet Union on the eve of the Second World War, including the Soviet–German non-aggression pact of 23 August, 1939.

4 *The Hungarian Republic of Councils and the Peace Treaty of Trianon*

In a book devoted to her husband Mrs. Béla Kun describes a family scene at the time of one of the most critical moments in the history of Hungary.

An Allied ultimatum signed by Clemenceau was received on 13 June, 1919. Mrs. Kun writes: "I remember, it was a hot day in June. Towards six o'clock Béla Kun came home unexpectedly, tired to death. 'I'll take a nap. At nine in the evening I shall have to attend a meeting' he said. He slept about an hour and a half, then he got up and began talking, to himself rather than to me. Then it was that I first heard him talk of the Brest peace, saying that at the outset he also had been against signing the humiliating peace with the Germans. Lenin had told him: 'Go out to the battlefields, see for yourself how things stand there, and when you come back, I'll show you a thing or two.' 'I did,' Béla Kun recalled, 'and returned. I familiarized myself with the situation, I persuaded myself that Lenin was right: a breathing space had to be gained, or else Soviet Russia would be lost... Now we need time... If we gain time, we shall put the Party in order... this is what matters most... if we gain time—we shall again tackle the peasant question... We shall get rid also of the counter-revolutionary officers in the Red Army, at least some of them.'"

The struggles of the revolution in Russia taught the leaders of the Republic of Councils that international responsibility was integral and vital to their fight. There is no doubt that the Hungarian Republic of Councils, considering its national and in-

ternational significance, and its historic influence, rises far above other revolutionary attempts at state-making in Europe outside Soviet Russia after the Great War. The enormous significance of the Republic of Councils finds its explanation precisely in the fact that its leaders were seeking to cope with the national problems with an international sense of responsibility. This is why after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, up till the end of the Second World War, the Republic of Councils stood for the only policy which reckoned with the problems of the peoples living in Cnetral Europe and made an attempt at their solution, taking real possibilities into consideration. Béla Kun thought of international cooperation not only as the revolutionary union of neighbouring nations and national minorities. He made proposals for cooperation to the governments of the newly formed countries, the so-called succession states, essentially on the basis of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

This principal political lesson drawn from the history of the Hungarian Republic of Councils becomes most visible by pointing out one particular aspect, the main line of diplomatic and military struggles for the survival of the Republic of Councils. This is made clear by the attached map, which was published in London on the basis of data supplied by the Paris High Council preparing the Peace of Trianon concurrently with fighting in Hungary. It is here published in its original form together with all the errors it contained. In February 1919 Franchet d'Esperey, the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied armed forces in the Balkans, proposed to the High Council that Rumanian and French troops should advance to a line behind which Arad, Nagyvárad, Szatmárnémeti, and environs should come under Rumanian occupation. The Allied High Council accepted the proposal and Rumanian troops advanced to the designated demarcation line. This decision left out of consideration the military convention signed at Belgrade on 13 November, 1918, by General Henrys, deputy of the same Franchet d'Esperey, on behalf of the Allied Powers and by Béla Linder on behalf of the Károlyi government of Hungary. This convention drew the line of demarcation from Baja and further along the river Maros up to the Beszterce brook. The Allied High Council's decision on the basis of the proposal of Franchet d'Esperey was not communicated to the Hungarian government.

This February decision is one of two points which have to be stressed among the events of the weeks immediately prior to March 21st., when the Republic of Councils was proclaimed. The other is the consequence of the Vix note. On March 19th, Colonel Vix, head of the Allied military mission in Budapest—who was stationed there as part of the agreement signed by the representative of Franchet d'Esperey—handed the Károlyi government a note demanding that Hungarian forces should retreat to the line which the Allied Powers, in a secret agreement in 1916, had promised to give to Rumania in the event that Rumania went to war against Austria-Hungary and Germany. This line was to run from Debrecen to Szeged. The area between the new line and the one drawn in February ought to have been occupied by Allied forces. Official communiqués of the Allied High Council indicate that Vix made it clear that this was no new line of demarcation, nor a new frontier, but only a provisional arrangement pending the peace negotiations. According to Allied documents Károlyi misunderstood the text when he interpreted that note as the notification of a new frontier. It is worth referring to *The History of the Paris Peace Conference*, published by the British Institute of International Affairs in 1920, on the aftermath.

After March 21st, the day when the Republic of Councils was proclaimed, the attitude of the Allied High Council changed. The contempt and disdain felt for the help-

less, defeated enemy began to subside. Instead of the relatively junior Colonel Vix the Council sent out one of the most distinguished Allied statesman, General Smuts, to negotiate with Béla Kun in Budapest. To enhance the effectiveness of Smuts's mission, the High Council ordered a complete blockade of the Hungarian Republic of Councils and put its forces in the Balkans on a war footing. Smuts talked in Budapest on April 4th. He demanded that the Governing Council of Hungary should withdraw the Hungarian armed forces behind the lines designated earlier by the High Council.

The Hungarian government gave a twofold reply: (1) It was ready to withdraw to the armistice lines if the Rumanian and French forces also retreated to the lines drawn up in the armistice agreement signed on 13 November, 1918, and if the Allied Powers used their own troops to occupy the zone between the Hungarian and the Rumanian lines until the conclusion of the peace negotiations. (2) It proposed that the representatives of the states formed after the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy should meet at Vienna or Prague to settle their common affairs.

Smuts rejected the Hungarian reply; moreover, he made a new threat for the event that the Hungarian Republic of Councils intended to transplant its communist system to neighbouring countries. The fears of the Paris High Council were only increased by the fact that a Republic of Councils was proclaimed in Bavaria at about the time of the Smuts visit; moreover, the situation in Slovakia also came to a head. The press published the first reports on the possibility of a Slovak Republic of Councils side by side with the news of Smuts's visit to Hungary. Immediately after this visit, on April 6th, Chicherin asked Béla Kun by telegram to inform him about the Slovak Republic of Councils mentioned among the news of the visit by Smuts. The Slovak Republic of Councils was proclaimed as late as June 16th—following the advance of the Hungarian Red Army—but rumours of a plan for a Slovak Council government did not seem unfounded early in April either. On April 7th Chicherin already asked Béla Kun for information about the Bavarian Republic of Councils.

The anxiety and fear of the Paris High Council thus did not seem groundless. Most of the problems it faced were caused, in addition to the existence of Soviet Russia, by the Hungarian Republic of Councils, oddly enough also because the blockade of the country made it more difficult for the Allies to come to the aid of Rumania.

After the visit by Smuts the attack against the Republic of Councils intensified. Since, particularly at the time of fiascos in Russia, it would have been difficult for the Allied Powers to send units of their own forces to Hungary, they organized attacks against the Republic of Councils from Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, arguing that, in practice, the Hungarian Republic of Councils fought for the country's thousand year old frontiers, "frontiers of a thousand years," for a *restitutio in integrum*. They interpreted the successes of the Hungarian Red Army as an attempt to restore the old realm of Hungary.

This is why an encircling assault on the Hungarian Republic of Councils started towards the middle of April. The southern (Hungarian–Serbian) demarcation line of the period is hardly ever mentioned in the pertinent literature. I happen to have personal experiences of the time and the region. When I was nine I lived at Alsónyék near the Baja-Bátaszék railway line, along the Hungarian–Serbian line of demarcation, on its northern side, in Hungarian territory. Red Army units were stationed in our village and along the demarcation line. Their commander—I remember him well, since I often read his name in the orders on the placards posted up on the walls—was László Cséby, who died a martyr's death after the suppres-

sion of the Republic of Councils. I worked with his brother, Lajos Cséby, in the Foreign Ministry in the 1960s. In the times following the visit by Smuts, when the general attack was mounted, Serbian units also advanced—that was when our village was occupied. This, however, was an event of no importance in the broader context. The Czechoslovak and the Rumanian attack were what counted. By May Ist the Czechoslovaks had occupied Miskolc, Salgótarján, and the corresponding line up to the frontier, while the Rumanians had reached the full length of the Tisza line, from the north down to the river Maros. Czechoslovak and Rumanian units joined forces around Csap—also in an attempt to cut the Hungarian Red Army from a chance of possible Soviet military help.

Béla Kun, in a speech delivered at the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs on 18 April (this speech is known to us from a note taken by a staff member of the Commissariat), made it known that the Rumanians had attacked Hungary and Nagyvárad had had to be evacuated. Already at the time Béla Kun spoke of the shabby condition of Hungarian armed units and of the need to organize a new army in defence of the Republic of Councils. At the same time the Governing Council of Hungary reiterated its proposals to the Paris High Council and the governments of neighbouring countries.

Once the Red Army was organized, the Hungarian counter-attack started. First in the north. After the known results scored in the second half of May and in the first half of June—advances as far as Salgótarján, Miskolc, Eperjes, and Kassa—it became possible to proclaim the Slovak Republic of Councils and the way was open for a joining of Hungarian and Soviet forces. However, the High Council in Paris ordered coordinated military plans to be drawn up under the supervision of Marshal Foch himself. This allowed for the complete encircling of Hungary by French, Italian, Czechoslovak, Rumanian, and Serbian forces.

A telegram from Clemenceau on behalf of the High Council called upon the government of Béla Kun to withdraw Hungarian forces to the lines fixed in the Belgrade military convention. Béla Kun accepted on the understanding that the Rumanians also would accept the obligations concerning them. The Rumanians answered that they would accept if the Hungarian armed forces were reduced to the eight divisions stipulated in the Belgrade convention. At that moment the Rumanians stood before the Tisza, so this demand could not be accepted, all the less so since the Rumanian government itself also failed to observe the provisions of the convention.

On 17 July Franchet d'Esperey, in the name of the High Council in Paris, called upon the Governing Council of Hungary to resign, and demanded the formation of a "freely elected government." At that time the Rumanian troops still stood on the line of the Tisza, and the country was surrounded by forces ready to spring an attack, with the strategic plans approved of by Marshal Foch, in the north, east, and south.

The Republic of Councils had one choice only: to drive the Rumanian forces of the Allies back to the line agreed on. This is how the crossing of the Tisza began on July 20th. The advance continued with considerable successes until July 24th. That was when the political and military machinery set up by the High Council in Paris got going at full speed, starting with a Rumanian counter-offensive and a political counter-attack from Vienna and French-occupied Szeged where the counter-revolutionary Hungarian elements were rallying.

The Rumanian forces under *Entente* command reached the suburbs of Budapest on August 1st. The occupation of Budapest, however, was not part of the plans approved by Marshal Foch. In spite of this the Royal Rumanian army took possession of Budapest on 4 August and then occupied part of Northern Transdanubia. The French military

command found itself in an awkward position even vis-à-vis its allies. On 5 August, the High Council in Paris sent a four-member military mission to Budapest (Gordon of Britain, Bandholtz of the U.S.A., Mombelly of France and Graziani of Italy).

At that time already István Friedrich's Christian-National government was "active" in Budapest. On August 13th the Friedrich government arrested József Haubrich, former People's Commissar for War and War Minister in Gyula Peidl's trade-union government formed on August 1st. A representative of the High Council in Paris called on József Haubrich in prison and asked him for information on how the Rumanians had marched into Budapest. Haubrich told him that the Rumanians had been called in by Friedrich and company in order to oust the Peidl government. Then the Paris High Council forced the Friedrich government to resign.

It is proper to underline three points of interest for international affairs as regards the fate of the Hungarian Republic of Councils.

First: The Paris High Council had discussed the peace conference several times with the government of the Republic of Councils—in particular at the time of its military successes. It wished to have the draft of the peace treaty accepted and signed. But the Governing Council of Hungary first wanted to establish friendly relations of cooperation in harmony with the new relationships between the peoples of Central Europe, and only thereafter did it intend to prepare a draft of the peace treaty. This could have established conditions in Central Europe under which it would have been impossible, or at least more difficult, to create political circumstances leading up to another world war. This effort of the Governing Council was shown also by its naming the state the Socialist Federative Republic of Councils of Hungary. Similarly it endeavoured to organize international cooperation into a political movement under the name of the International Socialist (Communist) Federation of Hungary. This would have included Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, South-Slavs, Germans, Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, Jews, Italians, Bulgarians, and Turks.

Second: It appears from the facts that the Republic of Councils was overthrown first of all by an international conspiracy which had been engineered by the Paris High Council of the Allies. The state of internal social forces of the Republic of Councils explains why the legislative, executive, and administrative bodies of the Republic of Councils were able to function even at the time of the bloodiest fighting, and why they were able, in a very short time, to put radical legislation on the statute book, and to secure the fundamental interests of the people. The Congress of the Party of Socialist–Communist Workers of Hungary was in session at the time of Clemenceau's ultimatum, on 12–13 June, 1919. From June 14th to 23rd the National Congress of Councils discussed and adopted the constitution of the Federative Republic of Councils.

The third point of interest are relations between Budapest and Moscow. The Budapest government was not dependent on the Moscow government. Its entire history is proof of it; but this appears also from controversies concerning the person of Béla Kun. In a period when in the land of the October Revolution the preparations for the socialist future were still going on in a life-and-death struggle, under hazardous circumstances, Béla Kun and his closest associates, standing on the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, recognized as a historical necessity—in the light of Soviet Russian experiences—that in Central Europe as well, in the Danube valley, in the Carpathian Basin, an attempt ought to be made to build up a new society and friendship among the peoples on Marxist, one might as well say Marxist-Leninist, principles. This new government and the Soviet government of

Russia considered themselves to be allies.

I do not deal here, intentionally and on good grounds, with the official statements and mutual greetings: these are mostly known to the reader. Instead I am going to quote from the exchanges of messages between the two Soviet states regarding their daily problems and the chances of their historic (for this can be said also of the Hungarian Republic of Councils) bloody wars, civil wars, and international wars.

The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of Soviet Russia established telegraphic communication with the Károlyi government on 12 January, 1919. Action had been taken in Hungary not only against members of the Communist Party but also against the Soviet Russian representatives negotiating in the country for an exchange of prisoners of war. On 12 January, 1919, Chicherin sent the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs the following telegram: "The committee of the Russian Red Cross is reported to have been arrested in Hungary and turned over to the French military authorities." That same day Chicherin requested in another telegram that the government of the "Hungarian Republic of Councils" should normalize the status of Russian prisoners of war. A third telegram from Chicherin on February 8th said he regretted that he had been given no information about the fate of the members of the Russian Red Cross mission. On March 23rd, two days after the proclamation of the Hungarian Republic of Councils, Chicherin turned to Béla Kun concerning the Russian Red Cross people. Béla Kun replied on March 25th that he had dealt with the matter: the Russian Red Cross members had been taken over from the French at Szeged, brought back to Budapest, and they were on their way home. He stated at the same time that the conditions were auspicious and radio communication with Moscow functioned well.

Previously, on the day of the proclamation of the Republic of Councils, 21 March, Béla Kun let Chicherin know that, through Elek Bolgár, Hungary's representative in Vienna, he had interceded for the release of Radek, and he had therefore promised to aid the Austrian government with food supplies.

When towards the end of March, before the departure of General Smuts, a complete blockade of Hungary was ordered and military mobilization began, Chicherin, in a telegram of March 30th, told Béla Kun that there were news from Paris that troop concentrations were in progress against the Hungarian Republic of Councils.

Moscow showed interest also in the national minorities policy of the Hungarian Republic of Councils. On April 6th Chicherin asked Béla Kun: Have you any idea how to solve the national problem, for it had always been a delicate issue in Hungary? Do you negotiate with representatives of the other nations?

Information about the affairs of Soviet Russia was also supplied regularly: on April 18th Chicherin informed Béla Kun of the execution of Czar Nicholas II and his family.

The exchange of messages in mid-June, at the time of the Allied ultimatum and the Congresses of the Hungarian Party and of the Councils is of particular interest. On June 8th Chicherin let Béla Kun know that the High Council in Paris on the 7th resolved to invite the representatives of the Hungarian government. It intended to inform the Hungarians of decisions concerning the Hungarian frontiers. It wanted to propose that Hungary should put a stop to attacks on the Czechoslovaks, or else the Allied Powers would resort to the utmost measures. Hungary would be compelled to stop military operations. It was probable that a 48-hour ultimatum would follow. Thereafter, on June 11th, Budapest received two telegrams from the Russian Communist Party and the Soviet government. One was addressed to the Party Congress, the other to the Congress of Councils. The two together said: You have given the world a good ex-

ample of how the parliamentarian Party goes over to the banner of communism. The programme you have given is more perfect than ours.

Béla Kun received a message from Lenin in the last hours of the overthrow of the Republic of Councils:

"Dear Comrade Bela Kun,

Please do not worry too much and do not give way to despair. (. . .) We are aware of Hungary's grave and dangerous situation and are doing all we can. But speedy assistance is sometimes physically impossible. Try to hold out as long as you can. (. . .) Hold on with all your might, victory will be ours.

Yours,

Lenin"

(Op. cit., vol 44, 1970. p. 271.)

ÉVA H. HARASZTI

BOOKS BY AND ON KÁROLYI

Tibor Hajdu: *Károlyi Mihály*, Kossuth, Budapest, 1978.
Mihály Károlyi: *Levelezése* (Correspondence), Vol. I (1905-1920). Ed. György Litván. Akadémiai, Budapest, 1977.
Mihály Károlyi: *Hit illuziók nélkül* (Faith without Illusions). Gondolat, Budapest, 1977.
János Jemnitz–György Litván: *Szerette az igazságot* (He Loved Truth). Gondolat, Budapest, 1977.

More than twenty years elapsed between the publication in English *(Faith without Illusions)* and in Hungarian *(Hit illúziók nélkül)*, in London and Budapest respectively, of Mihály Károlyi's memoirs. The publication in Hungary marked an important stage of a longer process. This process was connected not only with the complete human and political rehabilitation of Mihály Károlyi but with the growing professional and political standards of Hungarian historical scholarship. The growing community of young and not so young historians wished to draw the portrait of Mihály Károlyi, a unique political figure and phenomenon in twentieth-century Hungary, and Europe, by taking into account all the contradictions which this Hungarian magnate of leftish inclinations came up against in Hungary and in exile from the first decade of the century till the middle of the fifties.

Mihály Károlyi was born in March 1875. He was a member of one of Hungary's most distinguished and wealthiest aristocratic families, his is really what Hungarians call a "historical name." As the first-born son, he was, irrespective of personal aptitudes and inclinations, destined for a public role from birth. To quote his biographer, Tibor Hajdu: ". . . the implantation of an aristocratic vocation was as much part of the atmosphere of the nursery as toys or books." Two years after finishing his memoirs, preserving his alertness and curiosity to the end, expressing a hope of seeing the cold war ended, isolated but not forgotten, in the loving care of his wife, dissociating himself from the majority of Hungarian emigrés in the West, acquiescing in a fate that decreed that he die far from his native soil, he passed away at Vence in Provence, in March 1955. He was buried in England, next to his son who had been killed in a plane crash in 1939. Owing to the political conditions of the time—Má-

tyás Rákosi's temporary return to power in Hungary after the June 1953 edipse—the Hungarian press carried the news of Károlyi's death in a single sentence.

Mihály Károlyi himself said his role in public life started at the age of thirty-four, although he had also played a public role earlier: he had been a member of the Upper House since he came of age and had been a member of the House of Representatives, for a short while in 1905.* In the summer of 1916, as a prominent member of the anti-war and anti-monarchy Left wing in opposition, he founded a political party (called the Party of Independence and the Party of 1848 or simple the Károlyi Party). This parliamentary group numbering barely twenty members, which maintained close connections with the radical intelligentsia and some leaders of the Social Democratic Party, demanded, among other things, democratic reforms, greater national independence within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (that Hungarians could not serve in national armed forces, an independent customs area, a separate Central Bank), social policy measures (including land reforms) and an end to the war. When, in October 1918, the Hungarian National Assembly met in session to discuss matters of foreign and domestic policy (the urgent convocation of Parliament being proposed by Károlyi himself), Mihály Károlyi stressed that "We have lost the war. What is important now is that we should not lose the peace."

After the closing days of the last session of the National Assembly (October 22–23) events raced rapidly but not of their own accord. Within a few days Károlyi was to become President of the Republic. On October 22 he again asked for the floor, he urged the immediate conclusion of peace, if necessary, a separate peace. "We have to act," he said. "If the government does not act, I will."

* In Hungary hereditary members of the Upper House could also be elected to represent a constituency.

I do not wish to follow here to the end Mihály Károlyi's political career in all its ramifications, a career widely known also beyond the frontiers of Hungary: his role in the October 1918 revolution, what he did as Chairman of the National Council, as Prime Minister, and then as President after the proclamation of the Republic (People's Act I of 1918), the suppression of the House of Representatives and the Upper House, the complexities of the armistice, Károlyi's foreign policy ideas, further Károlyi as the distributor of his estates, the Károlyi who, in spite of his reservations after the fall of the bourgeois democratic People's Republic and the proclamation of a dictatorship of the proletariat, was loyal to the new revolution, and further the story full of vicissitudes of his two-stage exile. I do not wish to review the course of his life, but I wish to grasp what was so unique and exceptional in it, and what is described very graphically and in ample detail by works on Mihály Károlyi published in Hungary in recent years.

"I will act," said Károlyi in 1918, and his greatness consisted in the fact that he loved truth and did so consistently. To the end of his life, he measured his acts by the truths he recognised, regardless of his own interests or of the interests of his class. With him principle and action were the same thing. He gave away his enormous estates and abandoned his privileged milieu with complete ease in order that he might live in accordance with his democratic socialist principles, and he unambiguously endorsed his socialist principles when, at the time of Stalin's injustices, so many turned against the Soviet Union. As an old man he went into exile for a second time when it was Rákosi who, with the Rajk trial, committed treason against socialism in Hungary. And the seriously ill, lonely Károlyi had the strength to sum up his life as follows: "My faith in Socialism compensated me for much that I had lost, for in spite of my inveterate pessimism I never doubted that one day it would materialize,

and that our struggle was indispensable to progress."

During Mihály Károlyi's second exile (from 1949 to 1955) and immediately after his death, he was not exactly praised, but he was not, like many Communists and Socialists, besmirched and slandered. In the sixties first his old admirers and then certain historians attempted a proper evaluation, but his name and activity were generally accorded their proper place only after the return of his ashes and the return home of his widow (1962) for his image to rise out of oblivion, a few years later, as that of one of the most honoured figures of the Hungarian past. Essays on him appeared from 1956 onward as well as a review of his memoirs published by Cape in London in February 1956, for which a friend, A. J. P. Taylor, wrote an introduction, and which was soon republished in the United States and also in Italian. Selected writings were published in several volumes a few years after, followed by the autobiography of his widow Katinka a member of the Andrássy family which dealt with the decades they had spent together. For some time scholars relied mainly on their memoirs. It took years for the voluminous family papers to find their way back to Hungary, and then those of Károlyi's colleagues and collaborators, and related documents from archives in Vienna, Prague, London, and Washington also became accessible.

The study of his life and work could thus begin. The first products of the vast documentary material were a number of lectures delivered at a session of historians held in Budapest on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Károlyi's birth, lectures that were published in a volume *In Memory of Mihály Károlyi* by Akadémiai Kiadó in 1976. Akadémiai Kiadó also undertook to bring out Mihály Károlyi's extensive correspondence which has fortunately largely survived. The series planned to consist of four volumes is being edited by the Historical Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Sándor Györffy, Tibor Hajdu, Éva H. Haraszti, János Jemnitz, György Litván). In 1977 Magvető Könyvkiadó of Budapest first published in Hungarian (with certain omissions explained in the introduction) the *Memoirs of Michael Károlyi: Faith without Illusions*, which were such a success that they were soon sold out in Budapest. Katinka Károlyi had to sign the book for thousands who queued up for the purpose and she deservedly shared in the success, since she had been largely responsible for originally preparing the manuscript for press, as well as for the English translation. The enormous echo of the autobiography of Mihály Károlyi was due not only to the fact that there had been no other politician in the first half of the twentieth century who uninterruptedly, though partially from exile, played a central role in Hungarian political life, but to his authoritative way of telling his story. The style reflected a view he had often expressed in relation to Tisza and Horthy, that people at the top must be aware that politics is not an end in itself, not merely trickery which hid reality, but that it was up to them to serve the material, moral and intellectual welfare of the people. Readers could feel that Károlyi's complaints and criticisms did not come from an outsider, an "impartial" observer, but from a critic who wanted to partake in bearing and allaying anxieties at home, and who, by dint of his position and experience, might possibly see these problems in the context of their broader interrelations and implications. Hungarian readers in the seventies understood the reason for his second exile: "It would have been impossible for me to live in my country without protesting against the violation of those moral principles which I believe to be the basis of Socialism. For Socialism is not an economic, but an ethical issue. The liquidation of capitalist society will be of little use unless a higher, more equitable and freer order takes its place."

The autobiography created a natural curi-

osity in scholarly works of this kind. The first volume of Mihály Károlyi's correspondence (editor: György Litván), encompassing the first decade and a half of Károlyi's political career, the years from 1905 to 1920 appeared in 1977.

The 800-page volume contains more than 600 pieces of documentary correspondence, open letters, diplomatic notes; about one-third of them are from Károlyi himself, two-thirds are addressed to him. The names and appearance of more than two hundred Hungarian and foreign correspondents show the long way Károlyi had travelled during those fifteen years.

In the initial years he kept in touch and corresponded mostly with aristocrats and leading politicians of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Sándor Károlyi, Albert Apponyi, István Tisza, Ignác Darányi, Karl Auersperg, Louis Trauttmansdorff, etc.). In the 1910's leaders of the Hungarian Independence Party in opposition (Ferenc Kossuth, Gyula Justh, Márton Lovászy, Tivadar Batthyány, and others) came to the fore and were followed during the war, in addition to Foreign Minister Ottokar Czernin and a few other official personages, primarily by Hungarian and other Central European pacifists and democrats (Róza Bédy-Schwimmer, Heinrich Lammasch, Wilhelm Galen, Alfred H. Fried), in the period of the 1918/19 revolution by bourgeois radicals and Social Democrats (Oszkár Jászi, Pál Szende, Zsigmond Kunfi, Vilmos Böhm, József Diner-Dénes), and finally, at the time of Károlyi's exile, by Communists and near-Communists (B. Smeral, Henri Barbusse). Not only in its composition but in content as well, Károlyi's correspondence reflects the great historical sweep, the turns of his political career, and the struggle he waged throughout for his country and for peace, for the transformation of Hungary into an independent and modern democracy.

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In 1977 Gondolat published a Károlyi biography *Szerette az igazságot* (He Loved Truth) by János Jemnitz and György Litván. The authors, who love and respect truth just as much as their hero, convincingly explain the reason for publishing their work so soon after the appearance of Károlyi's memoirs. "There is no need to mention that, to those who wish to get to know Károlyi's personality more closely, our book cannot be a substitute for the reading of those brilliantly formed, passionate and suggestive memoirs. On the other hand, these memoirs, which were written in exile, for the most part without drawing on the Hungarian press and other source materials, with a definite political purpose, do not touch on a number of important political facts and even contain many errors of fact, mainly as regards dates. The figure and role of Károlyi can come fully to light only from the totality of the works written on him, this is how he can provide a moral example." The authors see in Károlyi's life certain parallels with the lives of his great predecessors, Rákóczi, Széchenyi and Kossuth—although it is not certain that he would have approved of the comparisons; true, has could also be called an unsuccessful, having spent a considerable part of his life in exile where he died, perhaps an even more lonely figure than they. But unlike them, in a great period of his life, he was given satisfaction by the country for which he had lived, fought and suffered, although long years had still to pass until his ashes could at last rest in the national pantheon and his statue, the work of Imre Varga, found a worthy place, next to the Hungarian Parliament, in Budapest.

If seen from outside and from inside, this path, as is convincingly shown by the authors, proves something which Károlyi formulated in exile: "I am poor, in exile, without distinctions, but I am on my feet. According to a Székely saying the thing is not to dish it out but to take it and stay on your feet. I can take it because a sense of the justice of my cause gives me strength.

I often think over my whole life in politics, every speech and every act and if I had found a single word in my past, a single gesture, directed against my country, I would have been my severest critic, pronouncing the severest judgement on myself." The authors were compassionate and objective in performing the job of confronting the scrutinised material with Károlyi's judgement and view of himself. They did not embellish or disguise the fact that not even Károlyi was always farsighted enough, or consistent in his deeds, during the particularly difficult and troublesome twenties and thirties. Jemnitz and Litván show much more sharply, clearly and consistently Károlyi's opposition to the Habsburgs and to Tisza. Károlyi was modest not only in describing the griefs and sorrows of family life, but also in showing how he had been able, unsparing of his own position, to deal with his political opponents, if necessary, even crudely and harshly.

The authors paint a much more detailed and complex picture of Károlyi's initial, pre-Great War political steps and of his connections with the labour movement between the two world wars than anyone had done before them. Having searched through the papers in Western European archives, they could describe Károlyi's political activity together with its international repercussions in the West. Károlyi himself would read with astonishment what diplomats of his time reported on his person and his activity, with what feeling, emotions or approval his friends, his comrades or his opponents followed his activity in exile. This is on the whole a political biography. The authors give little idea of the daily routine of the Károlyis' lives, or of those struggles with themselves which fashion, colour or warp the life of every man, and which are especially difficult in exile.

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This shortcoming is adjusted in large measure by Tibor Hajdu's work published by Kossuth Könyvkiadó in 1978, which is equally a political biography of Károlyi, as is indicated by the subtitle, but the author shows considerable empathy in addition to sound political sense. Tibor Hajdu's book can with good reason be regarded as the most exhaustive, most authentic and most diversified product of research on Károlyi so far. He writes down everything he has gathered and discovered things communicated to him personally or that he found in confidential papers. As a late-comer, he has the advantage of being able to include everything that historians have thus far explored and published. But his contribution is no less than that of others: the profusion of material on which he has built up his story is more and wider—a commendable feature. His is an alert, engaging and colourful style; I hope his work will be translated into several European languages to make Károlyi known in other parts of the world; the Károlyi whom a Hungarian writer, Gyula Krúdy, described as "a milestone in the story of Hungarian politics running throughout centuries since the Rákóczis." In the chapters on Károlyi's years in exile there are things that Károlyi could not discuss, e.g., his relations with the underground Communist Party, Left-wing Hungarian emigrés and the Yugoslav and Czechoslovak governments in the early twenties. A special point of interest is the analysis of his foreign policy ideas, his view of the position of Hungary.

Here I wish to add something to Hajdu's work. The author writes in detail about how Károlyi prepared for his homecoming from England in the summer and autumn of 1945, and with how much difficulty he managed to get himself received by Foreign Secretary Bevin after the electoral victory of the British Labour Party. On November 30, 1945, Bevin received Károlyi, who then was already an elected member of the new National Assembly. The 25-minute friendly interview made Károlyi understand that the British government was not interested in his

endeavour to build a bridge between his country and England, between East and West. Tibor Hajdu used for this Károlyi's memorandum on his talk with Bevin. But he could not know about the antecedents of that conversation.

Bevin was unwilling to receive Károlyi. The Foreign Office had asked for the opinion of the Research Department, that is of Aylmer Macartney, the historian and expert on Hungarian affairs, who advised Bevin as follows: "I see no reason why the Secretary of State should grant him an interview." That Bevin nevertheless received Károlyi without the knowledge of the Foreign Office was due to Alan Taylor who had asked a Labour M.P., Ellen Wilkinson, to tell Bevin what great friends Károlyi and Taylor were. This is how the interview took place, but Károlyi was dissatisfied both with its manner and substance. (Personal communication from Alan Taylor.)

I here publish for the first time a memorandum dated September 3, 1945, by A. C. Macartney of the Foreign Office Research Department:

"Count Michael Károlyi, now aged 70, is a scion of one of Hungary's richest and most famous landowning families. As a young man he entered politics and was distinguished for his extreme haughtiness. But in 1912 he had a duel (over a woman) with Count Tisza and went into the political wilderness, joining the Party of Independence which was in opposition to the then Government Party, which stood by the connection with Austria. In the war of 1914–18 he visited the USA to establish Western connections, and in 1918, when the collapse of Austro-Hungary was imminent, preached the need to separate entirely from Austria. An independent Hungary, he argued, had no quarrel with the West and could get favourable peace terms. Meanwhile he allied himself with all other elements which were in opposition to the ruling regime; the regime being thoroughly reactionary, the opposition to it was composed of the Left, and Károlyi thus came to adopt the radical social ideas which he has since professed. He came into power in the revolution of November 1918 at the head of a Liberal-Radical-Socialist coalition. On 31st October the King had appointed him Minister President, but on 16th November he proclaimed a Republic, of which he was soon after elected President. He held office for a few weeks, during which he tried both to forward social reforms and to reconcile the non-Magyar nationalities to Hungary, giving the lead in the former respect by having one of his own estates symbolically partitioned among the landless tenants. He certainly wished sincerely to bring about much-needed social reforms, but his party had made no advance plans in this respect; his overtures to the nationalities were rejected by the latter, who broke away entirely from Hungary, and the Western Powers showed him no sympathy. On 2nd March 1919 he tried to form a purely Social Democrat Government in protest against French support of Rumanian encroachments but the Socialists, unknown to him, had already made an agreement with the Communists. Károlyi then resigned the power to this coalition, which soon after proclaimed a Soviet Republic: this time to seek Hungary's salvation from Russia. Károlyi left Hungary and has since lived in Prague, Belgrade, Paris, and (recently) in London. In his exile he has not ceased to attack with extreme bitterness all Hungarian Governments from that of the Counter-Revolution of 1919 onward. They in their turn have vilified him most bitterly and unfairly, making him responsible for all the misfortune which fell on Hungary in 1919. The accusations of treachery are entirely unjust, for Károlyi was certainly a patriot, as he also certainly wished to effect democratic reforms which were long overdue in Hungary. But it is equally certain that his extreme vanity and dilettantism, which led him to push himself into a position for which he was totally unfitted and in which he committed blunder after blunder, did in

fact greatly aggravate Hungary's position. To this he is, of course, entirely blind and his only version of his unpopularity in Hungary is that he is hated because he was a democrat; and all those who do not accept him as their heaven-sent leader are fascists and reactionaries. This propaganda has had considerable effect among the more simple British, as well as among Hungarian emigrés, who hope to make a career out of following him. His wife, also an aristocrat, is even more ambitious and vainer than he. She is, however, now seriously ill." (FO. 371, 48465.R.14204/26/21.)

This was Professor Macartney's opinion of Károlyi during and following the Second World War, a view endorsed by the Foreign Office. Fortunately, a fairly considerable part of the more simple British, who were in a position to get to know Károlyi and to respect him, formed a different opinion of his person and his acts. What they thought will, it is hoped, become known in the course of further research.

THE HUNGARIAN REPUBLIC OF COUNCILS — A BRITISH EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT

The First World War led to an upsurge of revolutionary movements throughout Europe. Their extent and effect varied greatly, but even then it was universally accepted that they formed part of a whole and that, in the final analysis, they had consequences for the whole of Europe. It was, however, equally clear that the revolutionary ferment was generally, though not always, greater in those countries which suffered defeat during the war. In some countries there were two revolutions, a bourgeois-democratic revolution, followed by a socialist or socialist-type revolution. Hungary was one of these. The Hungarian Revolution of 1918, the collapse of an obsolete political structure and the related socio-political background, has been extensively covered both by Hungarian and foreign historians, as has the second Hungarian Revolution, the history of the 1919 Hungarian Republik of Councils. Even a sketchy thematic introduction to this topic is an impossibility in a short article. Thus we deemed it more appropriate to go back to the reports of one of the outstanding representatives of British journalism, Henry Noel Brailsford. Brailsford, who reported for progressive left-liberal or labour newspapers, travelled extensively in Eastern Europe during these turbulent years, and a significant number of the reports he later had collected and published were devoted to Hungary.*

There is really no need to add anything to Brailsford's eye-witness account. His observations are generally intelligent, well-considered and indicate a sound sense of the realities; his choice of informants was also happy (he talked to Mihály Károlyi, Béla Kun and György Lukács). As far as his selection of sources goes, perhaps one could comment that it was rather untypical by the standards of those times. Brailsford did not greatly respect established protocol and he also interviewed leaders of the second rank (some remaining anonymous, others not), as well as people from the other side, and so, good journalist that he was, he aspired to the whole truth. He was interested in ideals and aims just as much as in the newly-emerging reality and tried to contrast the two. He had an eye for social problems—this is what led him to the British workers' movement before the outbreak of war—but he also recognized the important role played in Eastern Europe by national fervour. He accords this the significance due to it in the downfall of Károlyi and the bourgeois democracy of 1918, and he goes so far as to demonstrate the harmful part played by the

*Henry Noel Brailsford: Across the Blockade. A Record of Travels In Enemy Europe. New York. Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1919. 256 pp.

allied governments and the shortsightedness of their military leaders. (Of course, at that time Brailsford could not know of the facts proving that Colonel Vix and higher-ranking French generals did not have a free hand in policy-making in the Danube valley). It was only later that historians were to publish documentary material proving this).

It would perhaps be possible to make just one correction of substance to Brailsford's observations. He too reflects upon the unrest amongst the peasantry and on the seizure and distribution of the land, on the collective idea—in short, on today's producers' cooperatives. Yet he was misled partly by appearances, partly by the economic, urban projection of the land question, and finally by his opinion that the distribution of land ran the risk of increasing the size and influence of the middle strata, which might in turn jeopardize socialist development. It is known the experience of Eastern Europe at that time contradicts this approach. Despite this faulty conclusion, however, Brailsford's is a truly colourful account which must be reckoned amongst the best summaries of the situation to have been written. His above-mentioned book contained a whole chapter on Hungary, based on these reports. The book itself appeared before the fall of the Hungarian Republic of Councils. We publish here a part of the book dealing with the Hungarian events in the Spring of 1919. (From pp. 15–20., and pp. 28–31.)

JÁNOS JEMNITZ

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To see the Communist Revolution in its historical perspective, we must understand the experience through which Hungary had passed between October and March 1918. The autumn Revolution had broken with the feudal past. Universal suffrage, after a generation of struggle, had come at last, and the long oppression of the subject races was ended for all time. Even in the hour of disaster, however, the Magyars had found it hard to believe that the Entente would really dismember their country. The integrity of the lands that belonged to St. Stephen's Crown was a sacrosanct superstition. For the utmost concessions in the shape of Home Rule for Slovaks, Rumanians, and Serbs the Magyars were prepared, but not for the final alienation of the territories inhabited by these races, which happen to include some of the richest cornlands, together with the few coal-mines of Hungary. The ruling caste was prepared to acquiesce in the choice of Count Michael Károlyi as President of the Republic, largely because it imagined that his reputation would conciliate the Entente. It certainly ought to have done so. Though himself an aristocrat, linked by birth and marriage to the ruling oligarchy, he had always battled manfully and honestly for an honest, democratic franchise. Throughout the war, with astonishing courage, he had made openly pacifist speeches in the Diet, and had opposed the Prussian-Magyar alliance. The Entente, however, was in no way placated by the choice of Károlyi. I met him in Budapest and heard his story from his own lips. Evidently a man of independence and force of character, he is also a good talker and has a perfect command of English. Early in his brief period of power he had met the French General Franchet d'Esperey, who commanded in the East, only to encounter that insolence which we used to consider a peculiarly Prussian characteristic. Throughout the winter the blockade was maintained in full rigor, though the whole Hungarian army had been disbanded. The material sufferings of this armistice period were infinitely worse than those of the war, for now the little central area of purely Magyar Hungary was isolated, and cut off from all its normal sources of supply. Fuel was almost unobtainable, and, as Károlyi put it, the task of finding just enough coal to provide Budapest with a minimum of light and power was "a daily anguish."

The cold months went by, in ever-growing want and despair. The Rumanians had occupied Transylvania, and as its

Magyar and German inhabitants (not much, if at all, less than half the population of the occupied area) fled from the harsh rule of the invaders, Budapest was overcrowded with hundreds of thousands of refugees, who had all to be housed and fed. The more moderate Socialists had joined the Radicals in forming a Coalition Cabinet but the Left Wing and the Communists were working outside it for a social revolution. Two considerations, as he told me, influenced Károlyi to make his startling gesture of despair in the last week of March, when he resigned his office as President of the Republic and handed over power to a Dictatorship of the Proletariat. One of them was a certainty, that the Revolution must presently come, with his assent or without it: he preferred that it should come bloodlessly. The other was the perception that the Entente was determined to impose a Peace of Strangulation, under which it would be impossible for Hungary to live.

Two events precipitated his decision. One of them was the arrival of a Note, couched in dictatorial language (it opened with the words *J'ordonne*), in which the British naval commander of the Danube ordered the Hungarians to hand over their whole river mercantile fleet of tugs and barges to the Czechs. The Czechs had forced their way down through alien country to the Danube, had annexed the purely German riverside port of Pressburg on the borders of Austria and Hungary, and now proposed to set up in business as river carriers by appropriating the vessels on which Budapest depended for all its heavy transport.

Hard on this Note came another from the French Colonel Vix, which ordered the Hungarians to give up large reaches of territory, Magyar by population and vital to their economic existence, which had been left to them under the Armistice. What was to be done? To submit to these two Notes meant ruin. To resist in isolation was equally ruin. One Power, however, still existed in Europe which had not bent to the victors. If Hungary could come to no understanding with the Entente, her obvious course was to turn to Russia, but Russia would be her ally only if she would herself enter the Moscow International and make an end of capitalism within her borders. Thus the fear of a bloody rising from below, the intolerable pressure of our blockade, and the dread of a harsh peace conceived by the French "policy of alliances" in the interests of the Rumanians and the Czechs, all conspired to make the Hungarian Revolution. It had, however, a more potent psychological cause. In the depths of despair the human instinct for self-preservation cried out for a new hope. Patriotism was a spring broken by the intolerable strain of the war. Religion was an official convention linked with the old feudalism and the capitalist era. In the prudent schemes of opportunist politicians, who mixed a little reformist Socialism with middleclass Liberalism and the peasant view of landownership, there was no stimulus for mind or will. From the ruined past and the intolerable present, Hungary turned to Communism because its will could recover health only in gigantic effort of creation. There was nothing left that seemed worth conserving. Traditions, reverences, catchwords—they were all meaningless. Even of property there was little left to defend, for every man's wealth had shrunk by the fall of the exchange to a fifth of its old value. One party had an energetic belief. There survived no force which could oppose it.

From the first the Revolution had on its side the organized manual workers of the towns, especially the powerful trade union of metal workers, whose leader, Garbai,* became the President of the Communist State. The poorer brain-workers, especially clerks of all grades, were scarcely less well-disposed, for they had become relatively more impoverished, during the war and

*Sándor Garbai (1879-1947) a bricklayer, became president of the building workers' union.

the blockade, than the hand-workers, who alone had contrived to bring their wages into some distant relation to the mounting prices. At a big and enthusiastic Communist meeting for the German-speaking inhabitants of Budapest (they form about a quarter of the population) what chiefly impressed me was the intense respectability of the audience. Judging by appearances they seemed to be chiefly clerks, engineers, or skilled artisans, and the well-reasoned speeches made a special point of the edicts of the Soviet Government, which for the first time in history assured full liberty and encouragement to the German schools, and promised them a theater of their own in the capital. It was by no means solely or even chiefly to the "ragged proletariat" that the new régime appealed. It was, indeed, welcomed, or at least tolerated, by the intensely chauvinistic Magyar patriots, largely because its resistance to the exactions of the Entente flattered their nationalism. There is little doubt that it profited in some degree from this half-conscious emotion of patriotism, but I must, in fariness, add that Béla Kun lost no opportunity of disavowing any sentiment so oldfashioned. Again and again he declared officially that his Government attached no importance whatever to the historical integrity of Hungarian territory. If they should find themselves in conflict with Rumanians or Czechs, it would not be over racial or territorial issues, but because these capitalistic or feudal States were naturally at enmity with a proletarian Republic. Though I must not quote him as saying so, what I think was in Béla Kun's mind was that if Slovakia and Roumania were also to become friendly and perhaps federated Soviet Republics, the military and above all the economic difficulties of Soviet Hungary would automatially disappear. There would no longer be a menace on their frontiers, and the blockade would be replaced by an active exchange of goods. How far it was part of his policy to promote revolution actively among his neighbours I cannot say, but he was naturally too cautious to avow it. When I put the question to him point-blank, he answered that "Hungary had enough to do to save herself, without concerning herself with others". That answer would not have satisfied the semi-Socialist Government in Vienna, which was seriously alarmed by the activity of Hungarian Communist propaganda.

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The spirit of order and authority which marked the Communist régime in Hungary reflected the remarkable personality of Béla Kun. Unflinching in theory and bold in action, he had no liking for needless violence, and he detested disorder. At the first glance one was impressed by the vitality and self-possession of the man. He worked incessantly, and yet he kept a freshness of mind which never failed him when he gave his shrewd and logical yet always courteous answers to critics. He is still a young man in his thirties, and was before the war a Socialist journalist as yet unknown to fame. As a junior officer of the reserve, he was taken prisoner (like Austrian Foreign Secretary Dr. Bauer) by the Russians, worked energetically as a Bolshevik in Petrograd, and came into close touch with Lenin. He was a faithful pupil of his master, and knew his mind intimately enough to avoid his earlier mistakes. It was, indeed, his ambition to apply at once the experience gained during the first eighteen months of Communist rule in Russia. His courage was already legendary, and, like Lenin, he is an optimist who never despairs. He was in Moscow during the rising of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries against the Bolsheviks. An armored motorcar, bristling with machine guns, came rushing down the street in which the Soviet headquarters stood. Kun was unarmed, but he sallied out alone, walked straight to meet the car, jumped on the foot-board, and by sheer insistence, audacity, and magnetism overawed its crew. One by

one they slunk away, and Béla Kun triumphantly drove the captured car to his own quarters. He was in prison in Budapest when Károlyi made way for the Revolution, and with his body still sore from a beating administered by his jailers he went straight from his dungeon to the Royal Palace on the hill. He improvised an understanding on behalf of the Communists with the much more numerous Social Democrats, and formed a mixed Socialist-Communist Government in which half the offices fell to his own group. His political difficulties were chiefly with the Communist Left Wing, which probably would have made a bloody terror but for his instinct of order and moderation. His Ministry, by the average of years, must have been one of the youngest that ever held power in Europe, but it had a presentable academic record. No less than six of the thirty Commissioners were University Professors or lecturers.

The daring of the new administration was shown in its instant attack upon the problems of daily life. It had to cope with abnormal difficulties. Budapest was thronged with refugees and demobilized soldiers; some say that it had double its normal population. The Government instantly laid down the principle that every adult is entitled to one living room, and no family to more than three rooms, apart from the kitchen and rooms set aside for work. The homeless were promptly housed, and in many a palace the inmates retired to the three rooms allowed to them by law. The British Labour Party announced as its motto at the last election, "No cake for any till all have bread." The billeting plans of the Hungarian Government were a drastic application of that principle. In practice it was carried out with reasonable consideration. Friends and relatives were encouraged to live together. On the amusing plea that the bourgeois would corrupt honest workers, families of the same habits of life were grouped together. A certain professor of the University, with a family of three, had five large rooms—two too many. One was allowed him as a study, and the official who dealt with his case suggested to him that he should bring his secretary to inhabit the fifth room. That illustration exhibits the policy of the administration. It was friendly to men and women of the middle class who contributed anything to society by their work. If it was inclined to be harsh, it was only to the idle and unproductive rich. Clothing was no less scarce than house-room, and no new stocks could be imported. In each block of flats the tenants were required to elect trustees who must countersign their applications for new clothes or furniture and grant them only in case of actual need. These are only a few instances of the drastic measures which the People's Commissaries adopted to deal with an abnormal condition of scarcity. They make on the whole for the good of the greatest number. In nothing perhaps did the Commissioners act so firmly as in the instant and total prohibition of all alcoholic drink. There is no evasion of that command. Hungary is obediently "dry," and to this even more than to the firmly disciplined Red Guards it owes order. This prohibition of drink involved a drastic meddling with social habits. In some other respects, however, the Government showed a prudent moderation. Though it forbade priests and pastors to preach on political questions, it was prompt in stopping any attacks of its own too anti-clerical supporters upon the religious liberty of the Church. It also postponed (after publishing a draft edict) legislation for the reform of marriage and divorce. Readers who may have heard the far from amusing joke that Bolsheviks "nationalize women" will be interested to learn that they closed the brothels of Budapest. Prostitution, as Béla Kun put it, is a typical institution of capitalism. Their most unpopular measure was probably the requisitioning of all jewels and plate, over a certain minimum value. That was done primarily to provide an article of export, or a basis for credit, so soon as the blockade should be lifted and trade resumed.

"Liquid" private property, in the shape of bank balances, was not confiscated when the banks were nationalized, but a limit of 2,000 kronen (25 at the exchange then ruling) per month was placed on the amount which might be drawn from any one account. That was a tactical measure, designed to hinder the free use of wealth for counter-revolutionary designs.

The test question for any form of Socialism in Hungary lies beyond the boundaries of the towns. They were ripe for the change. The rural population, however, was still conservative and clerical. The younger peasants may have been shaken somewhat out of the conservatism of their class by the war, but their elders, half of them illiterate, cling tenaciously to the idea of private ownership. The former Government proposed to break up the vast latifundia into small farms, and on Count Károlyi's own estate the partition had actually begun. Socialism could have no future outside the towns if that policy were carried out, and the peasants would necessarily form a preponderant conservative propertied class. Everywhere in Eastern Europe the day of the big feudal landlord is over, but whether he shall be succeeded by the small peasant owner is not yet settled. In Prussia, the half-Socialist Government has shirked the question, and has given the owners of big estates two years in which to break them up voluntarily without legislative interference. In Poland the Socialists do not venture to oppose the individualist peasant program. In Russia, though a law of nationalization has been enacted, it has been found impossible to cope with the peasant instinct of ownership, and in practice nationalization differs little from a system of small holdings. In Hungary the Socialists were more alive to the danger of multiplying owners, and they had contrived during the winter to delay the execution of the Károlyi program of compulsory subdivision. They held that the big estates in Hungary, often leased to limited companies, would lend themselves readily to a system of communal ownership and co-operative working...

H. N. BRAILSFORD

FROM THE PRESS

CARDINAL LÉKAI ON CHURCH AND STATE

Magyar Hírek (Hungarian News), the fortnigthly of the World Federation of Hungarians, in its issue of August 20, 1978, carried an interview with Cardinal László Lékai, Archbishop of Esztergom and Primate of Hungary. At the start the Cardinal expressed his pleasure and satisfaction that St Stephen's Crown was back in Hungary, because, as he said, "it is our most cherished national treasure." In reply to the question put by the interviewing journalist, András Apostol, about his thoughts on the improvement of relations between Church and State and about the prospects for their further development, the Cardinal recalled the principal events in the development of relations between Church and State, first of all the visit by János Kádár to Pope Paul VI. "This dialogue which lasted for more than an hour," he said, "aroused great international interest and gave occasion for intensive discussion. It was practically the peak of relations between Church and State but at the same time it marked the beginning of further development."

The Cardinal went on to say that the problems that had arisen in connection with the religious instruction of children on church premisess had been settled in principle. He pointed out that a three-year correspondence post-graduate course in theology would begin for lay graduates of the Budapest Academy of Theology. Furthermore it is planned to build a retreat home for Catholic women in Budapest and a retreat centre for priests at Leányfalu.

Cardinal Lékai said that in July he had received in Esztergom the General of the Society of Jesus, P. Arrupe, who had also called on Deputy Prime Minister György Aczél.

It is a fact of great importance, the Cardinal went on, that, at his request, Pope Paul had marked out a place for a chapel in honour of the Madonna of Hungary in the crypt of St. Peter's basilica. "The most eminent Hungarian artists have been fascinated by the well-nigh unprecedented opportunity to have their work displayed in the first church of Christianity."

"The relationship between Church and State," the Cardinal went on," has thus far progressed at a slow but steady pace. I am convinced that, for Church and State to find each other, we have to proceed at a similarly well-considered pace along the common road of happiness on earth which we believe will lead us, through the solution of secular tasks, to the fullness of life: eternal life."

To the question: What does facing the vital problems of our age mean to man? the Cardinal replied that the Hungarian Bench of Bishops will issue a pastoral letter and is looking with concern at certain threats to life from three aspects: the extinction of life in the womb, terrorist acts throughout the world, and acts detrimental to health, like

drinking and smoking, careless driving, and excessive use of medicines.

"Finally," he declared, "attention should be paid to the fact that the production of weapons of mass destruction has reached a level that jeopardizes the survival of mankind. At present the manufacture of a new formidable weapon of devastation, the neutron bomb, is being considered all over the world. These plans, and the mere possibility of their being carried out, imperil humanity more than anything has done before. The danger of the total annihilation of human life has already dawned upon many scientists, people all over the world are horrified and various governments are campaigning against it with all the arguments open to common sense. The churches of many countries have realized the necessity to protect life against this threat to humanity and have spoken up against it." The Hungarian clergy joins them in this attitude.

Cardinal Lékai went on to explain what living in socialism means to the faithful:

"Firstly: more conscious absorption in their faith than at any time before. The socialist system wants to gain ground consciously, on a scientific basis: to convince people with different views of the world that it is in the right. This prompts a religious person today to think more deeply about his faith, about the relationship between faith and science in general, and between faith and natural science in particular. And having duly considered the scientific justification for his beliefs, he will become absorbed in the richness of the Christian revelation, which fully satisfies the deepest, most basic human needs. Thus he will profess his Christian faith with a joyful consciousness and he will expect everybody to respect his faith, just as the Constitution of the State does. In like manner he respects his fellow citizens' right to hold a different opinion.

"Secondly: a religious person, precisely because of his faith, participates in the day-to-day life of the community. And he works for the good of the community together with his fellow workers: he wishes to build not a separate Christian motorway but a Hungarian motorway; he doesn't want to bake separate Christian bread but Hungarian bread for all Hungarians. Thus, in everyday life he works in full harmony with his non-Christian brothers for the further development of Hungary today."

In the concluding part of the interview the Cardinal talked of his experience meeting different groups of Hungarians living in the United States.

A. A.

THE ROLE OF SOCIOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY

Passage from an article by Imre Pozsgay, Minister for Culture. Népszabadság, May 21, 1978.

There is a close connection between sociology and cultural development. One of sociology's most important roles is to provide theoretical knowledge for this development, for cultural planning, and to help with the conclusions drawn from empirical surveys; to apply the results of concrete research in planning. Such a schematic and abstract requirement is, of course, a mere banality if we do not demonstrate the part sociology plays in cultural planning by looking at concrete problems.

One of the problems of Hungarian cultural affairs is that the distinction between quality and mass demand has proved to be more lasting than expected. A stock of socialist cultural values has been built up. Supplies from these still growing reserves may be considered adequate. What is then the reason for the separate paths of supply and demand? Why is it that we still lack that minimum of unity between human thought and action which would allow us to call our economically and politically united socialist society a socialist cultural community? It is a truly sociological task to examine social movement and human relations from the point of view of the connection between the level of cultural demand actually achieved and that which, though real, lies dormant.

We are inclined to see this problem merely in the context of social and educational policy, and to interpret it as a simple consequence of the underprivileged situation of the masses, which can be overcome through schooling, education, and pedagogic endeavour. Yet, it would be necessary to investigate the cultural media (these are not only cultural institutions) and the way they articulate interests. The questions should be examined as to whether the diverging attitudes and practices of economy and culture have not preserved relationships which act against cultural activity. It is clear enough that there is a direct, close, but of course not mechanical connection between the masses, cultural activities and their cultural demands. When educational policy put forward the combining of quality and quantity as the fundamental requirement, it also formulated the principle of activity in order that this requirement be fulfilled. According to this, the division of society into a minority of active culture "producers" and a majority of passive recipients has to be overcome.

The exploration of the obstacles hindering cultural activity, the search for the economic, social, and attitudinal causes are, in the main, sociology's responsibility. It is also its task to discover the reason why some people are compelled to make up for the lack of genuine activity through apparent activity, and furthermore to discover when and where this happens. Sociologists must also examine the role of the cultural institutional system in the integration of society. Political and everyday experience indicate that institutions offering good cultural content on a high level play a positive role in the integration of society, and it is through them that people identify themselves with society. But the question is why the number of such institutions falls short of what is necessary. I know full well that the classical heritage of sociology is still able to supply us with the abstract conceptual instruments on the level of general theory which are necessary for cultural development, but if we do not apply these concepts "for the concrete analysis of the concrete situation," then they will at most fulfil—although this is not negligible either—an ideological role, the cognitive and critical functions will be relegated to the background. (. . .)

In material production, and in cultural, intellectual production too, the task is the satisfaction of human needs. Consequently, it is the satisfaction of these needs and the path leading there that must be planned. In

cultural planning both immediate and more remote cultural needs must be taken into consideration, whereby we must remember that there is a great difference between the visible, everyday cultural demand of the masses and their genuine, but often rather dormant cultural needs. It is precisely due to this difficulty that the cognitive and critical functions of Marxist sociology, the practical application of sociological knowledge is becoming more and more indispensable.

The daily Magyar Nemzet for May 21, 1978 published an interview with Sándor Szalai, President of the recently founded Hungarian Sociological Society and member of the Editorial Board of NHQ. Passages from the interview:

The foundation of the Hungarian Sociological Society is considered the recognition of Hungarian sociological research of recent years.

— Indeed, Hungarian Marxist sociology has proved to be useful in the construction of our society in the past 10–12 years; it has achieved good results, and some of its research receives recognition abroad too. But Hungarian sociology is not as young as some people believe; it has long progressive traditions, and even expressedly Marxist traditions. They began after the turn of the century with the establishment of the Society of Social Sciences and of the periodical *Huszadik Század* (Twentieth Century). In its first years the Society was the scene of numerous clashes between conservative and the progressive bourgeois schools. But from 1910, when Ervin Szabó became its spiritual leader, the Society and *Huszadik Század* became the centres of progressive social scientific thought. (. . .) The Horthy regime tried to squash Hungarian sociology; in the 25 years of the counter-revolutionary regime it received no university chair, was not permitted to organize a research base, or to establish a scientific society. They tried to crush it, but were unable to do so. Hungarian sociologists worked both in exile and at home. (. . .)

The sociographies of the populist writers, which began to be published towards the mid-thirties, deserve recognition over and above their literary merit. The work of Ferenc Erdei was outstanding. He was not only a writer, sociographer, but also a very gifted and skilled researcher, a scholar who created theory. By exploring the structure and stratification of the Hungarian society of the day he elaborated pioneering methods and bequeathed them to us. (. . .)

We may claim that the liberation also meant the liberation of Hungarian sociology. But one must learn to live with freedom and in this period of rapid change we sociologists too made mistakes. We had not yet been able to learn from these mistakes, when the pressure of dogmatism and of the personality cult bore down on sociology. So it was only at the beginning of the sixties—not without stumbling occasionally—that we were able to continue along our path. (. . .)

What is the role of sociology in our society?

— Sociology is in a certain sense a science of navigation. What is the task of the navigator? He is neither the commander nor the helmsman. It does not depend on him from where and when the ship sets out, and he does not decide its destination. His task is to endeavour always to give a reliable answer as to the location of the ship, where it is going, and along what route it can most easily and safely reach its destination. (. . .)

What is the future of sociology in Hungary?

— We are still far from being able to meet the demand for sociological research. This research is increasingly being requested on all levels of social, political, and economic leadership. From the government and the county, district, and local councils to the enterprises and cooperatives. Today, the various research establishments probably receive larger amounts from contractual commissions than from the state budget. But we have not yet got sufficient skilled researchers to carry out this quantity of work in such a way that it satisfies all the qualitative requirements of the science. (. . .)

It follows from this quantitative growth that new branches of sociology arise in accordance with social needs, such as health sociology, the research of deviations—destructive attitudes that deviate from social norms—and gerontosociology which deals with the conditions of senior citizens. The examination of the bureaucracy and of economic management is also a new branch of our science. The social effects of the scientific and technical revolution have still not been fathomed. Research of the environment—which is not only natural but also man-made and human—is a very complex task. We have a long way to go before Hungarian sociology can give an answer to the question as to what a city corresponding to the socialist way of living should look like. And I may go on and on.

In the publication entitled Nyelvünk és kultúránk *(Our Language and Culture) György Győri interviewed Ferenc Mózsi, a leader of the Hungarians of Slovakia, on the cultural situation and opportunities of the minority.*

. . .It is known that being a member of a national minority is often more difficult than becoming assimilated. What do you consider to be the reason that there is nevertheless a renaissance of ethnic minorities?

— Due to scientific-technical evolution we can witness and participate in a world-wide-process of integration. That in these merging and assimilating processes—in which the advantage of the large nations and world languages is enormous—the nationalities and nations wish to survive, I see as a requirement of the maintenance of the human personality and as an expression of "individual-national" consciousness. I want to know what I am worth in this world as a Scotsman or a Basque, a Hungarian or a Slovak? What can I contribute—what can my people contribute—to the culture of mankind? Incidentally, the right to one's own mother tongue, culture, and national existence is a fundamental human right.

I have heard from people here that in the soul of a person who belongs to a national minority there are two contradictory forces at work. One suggests to him that he should become assimilated to the larger community, because it is more comfortable, it opens all sorts of careers to him; the other voice is that of retention, of loyalty. How is it possible to live with these two clashing forces?

— The nationality school fulfils its historical and social vocation if, for instance, here in Slovakia we give the Hungarian child, in addition to what he learns in his mother tongue, a knowledge of the Slovak language, so that he can use the knowledge acquired in his mother tongue (which is of equal value to that acquired in other schools) in the whole of Czechoslovakia. Those who are unable to approach these problems in a sophisticated way, may easily do what the scientist did in the joke: seeing that the crocodile lays an egg in the sand, he noted down in his notebook: bird. Then he noticed that the crocodile slipped into the water, so he crossed out the first note and wrote down: fish. But suddenly the crocodile came out of the water, swallowed the unsuspecting naturalist, who with his strength failing fast noted down: predatory land animal. Yet the crocodile is neither a fish, nor a bird, nor a predatory land animal, but a crocodile, which has its own peculiar attributes. Well, the nationality school too has its own peculiar attributes, and those who want it to be something that it is not intended to be wont get anywhere, and will be devoured by time.

In order that the national minority should be equal members of society, it is also necessary that they should have equal educational opportunities. The Hungarian nationality amounts to 12.2 per cent of the population, yet at the universities and colleges in Slovakia there are only 4.8 per cent of Hungarian students. This runs counter to the intentions of the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic, since strict rules prescribe that in institutions of tertiary education Hungarian students should be assured a share of 12.2 per cent. But there aren't sufficient applicants for these places. I have heard two opinions about this.

According to some people, although higher education makes the national minority equal, it disperses the members of the minority intelligentsia—mainly in industry—which may end in assimilation. Let the children therefore attend less school, some say, but remain Hungarians. Others again see the guarantee of the survival and progress of the Hungarian nationality in the multitude of educated people. Whom shall we believe?

— Well, my example of the crocodile already applies, because to approach the problem in this was is to see things in a distorted and one-sided way. The problem can only be examined in a broader context. It is a fact that in the Slovak Socialist Republic the Party and Government do everything to ensure education to the children of the national minorities in their mother tongue, and in certain cases even accord them privileges. The places reserved according to percentages may, for instance, mean an advantage in the entrance examination. Why aren't then these good principles and possibilities fully realized? This may have complex reasons.

The bulk of the Hungarian nationality live in Southern Slovakia, in the agricultural areas, and today it can already be said that they live well off farming. They have cars, houses, even holiday cottages, household appliances, etc. They have thus achieved the material standard which makes it possible for the children to go further. But it seems probable that like all farmers in the world, the Hungarian farming family in Slovakia does not particularly want to send their children away for long studies. We have no reliable statistics about the percentage of children of the Hungarian farmers in Slovakia that go in for higher education. If we had such a sociological survey, we should be able to tell whether the 4.8 per cent in the universities and 8 per cent in the secondary schools are a lot or a little, or how to appraise this percentage. Does it tally with the percentage of children who come from Czech or Slovak farmer families and continue their studies? Because in this case—I again refer to the good legislation—whether a child continues to study is not determined by whether he is Hungarian or Slovak, but by his family environment, by the value judgement of the family on higher education. (. . .)

Returning to the other part of the question: I do not, for many reasons, agree with those who reject the opportunity of more knowledge with the slogan of retention and survival. They are wrong both in the short and long perspective. They really wish to draw a Chinese wall around themselves, become isolated, the consequence of which would be to be left behind. Humanity lives at an accelerated speed of development, and those who are left behind do not fulfil man's greatest vocation, to create and to contribute to progress. And those who do not contribute to progress, have no right to demand and enjoy the fruits of progress. A nationality is really in the advantageous position of being able to draw from two languages, from two cultures, of living—as Zoltán Kodály said—and creating "in the life-giving fluid of two cultures." It would be a sin to surrender this positional advantage! (. . .)

Is it really possible to be bilingual to the same extent in both languages? Is it possible to think and to dream in two languages? In the thirties the poet Kosztolányi maintained that "I" was able to be "I" only in one's mother tongue. Although he knew, he wrote, that the word "Messer" meant a knife, he could really never believe it. Is it possible to be so bilingual that one really believes in the depth of one's soul that "Messer" is a knife, and that knife is a "Messer"?

— It is possible. The national minorities are generally bilingual. The Slovak–Hungarian bilinguality of one of my friends is, for instance, so strong that if he reads a Czech text he automatically translates either into Slovak or into Hungarian, and if he has to speak about the text, he interprets it in Slovak or in Hungarian as if he had read it in those languages. It would be desirable for as many people as possible to reach the highest level of bi- or multilinguality in as many countries as possible.

It has various stages. The Hungarians in Czechoslovakia, for instance, generally do not reach the stage where they speak Slovak on the level or approaching the level of their mother tongue. We can witness an interesting phenomenon: so-called stratified bilinguality. This means that people speak in Slovak about some things, and in Hungarian about others. In the factory, at their place of work, among their colleagues most Hungarians too speak Slovak, but when they leave it and are surrounded by their friends and the members of their family, they naturally converse in Hungarian. (. . .)

There are nationalities which stand alone in the world, and there are others which are bound to the culture of a "motherland." The Hungarians of Slovakia—like those of Rumania, Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, and Austria—belong to the latter. Does the education of Hungarians in Slovakia receive such assistance from Hungary as to permit it to fully maintain the culture of their mother tongue?

— We Hungarians have become a relatively autonomous unit here, and more and more have our own cultural and social life. Our internal, indigenous evolution has begun, and thus our culture is not simply an adjunct of Hungarian culture, but it is not a Hungarian language variety of Slovak culture either. Our culture is Slovak and Hungarian. At the same time, in the framework of the cultural agreements between our countries, the assistance received from the Hungarian educational authorities —together with the almost unlimited access to radio, television, the press and books published in Hungary—also creates good possibilities for a link to Hungarian culture and mother tongue. (. . .)

L. H.

SURVEYS

JÁNOS NEMES

THE AUSTRO–HUNGARIAN EMPIRISM

As of January 1, 1979, the need for entry visas in travel between Hungary and Austria will have come to an end. In 1977 Hungary received 470 thousand Austrian visitors, of whom 256 thousand spent at least two nights in this country; the rest of them were either travellers in transit or contented themselves with an excursion to Sopron, Lake Balaton or Budapest. At the time of writing (October 1978) there are as yet no statistics for this year, but the figures for the first eight months indicate a thirty to forty per cent increase, and this seems rather a moderate estimate. Experts in international tourism predict that in 1979, with the introduction of visa exemption, a million tourists can be expected from Austria. This is no little headache for all those whose responsibility it is to make sure than foreign visitors here are given a good reception and are satisfactorily provided for. And as far as travel in the opposite direction is concerned: Hungarian nationals visiting non-socialist countries in 1977 numbered 323 thousand, and this figure will have gone up by twenty to twenty-five per cent in 1978. A considerable number of the Hungarian travellers were passing through and stayed a couple of hours in Austria, mainly in Vienna. A further increase in traffic is expected in 1979, and the number of Hungarians travelling to non-socialist countries—again overwhelmingly through Austria—will probably reach 400,000 or even more.

These facts, figures and prospects are all to be welcomed, but the abolition of the obligatory visa system and the growth in foreign tourist traffic still do not mean a dramatic change in Hungarian–Austrian relations. What they mean is rather that a welcome measure resulting from patient preparatory work has been taken in a generally unclouded atmosphere and under balanced circumstances in the conduct of good neighbourly relations. If the shaping of this relationship is looked at from the perspective of the past fifteen to twenty years, it can be seen that the prevailing tendency, actively promoted on the Hungarian side and usually reciprocated appreciatively by the Austrian partner, was at all times to avoid taking spectacular demonstrative steps but to take care not to miss any single measure ripe for adoption.

State-to-state relationships

Leaders of both countries also stressed this during their mutual visits. At a press conference on his visit to Austria in May 1976 Prime Minister György Lázár said: "We consider it a great success that there are no unsolved political problems between us, there are no major unsettled questions which trouble either of the two states. So we need not exert our energy in settling unsolved questions of this kind, but can

concentrate entirely upon enriching the inner content of relations between the two states and the two peoples." Likewise at a press conference, a stand in the same spirit was taken by Chancellor Bruno Kreisky at the time of his official visit to Budapest in 1973: „Our problems are just side-issues on the world scale are of great importance to the parties concerned. If we open a border crossing point here or there, if visa facilities are put into force, this surely causes no commotion in the world, but all this is very important from our point of view. Between good neighbours there is no drama, and neither are any spectacular results to be expected."

The relationship between the two states is characterised by politicians on both sides and by outsiders alike as a good example of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, as a good-neighbour relationship. They like pointing out that even prior to Helsinki this relationship exemplified the Helsinki spirit.

And this is no small appreciation, especially if one takes into consideration the historical past that led up to the present-day conditions; it was by no means untroubled, indeed it can be described as having sometimes been decidedly stormy. Austria was the heart of the Habsburg Monarchy, which for centuries Hungarian national consciousness identified in a way with the Vienna Court itself. Neither could good relations develop sixty years ago, after the disintegration of the Monarchy, because of old and new sources of friction and eventually because the first Republic of Austria had all in all only twenty years of independent life to live until annexation by pan-German nazism.

The changes of 1945 in Europe brought a chance for normalisation, but the Cold War barred the way. Ten years later, in 1955, the signing of the Austrian treaty of state and the acceptance of permanent neutrality again seemed to be a promising basis for normalising Hungarian–Austrian relations. But the there came 1956, the counter-revolution in Hungary, which again poisoned the atmosphere for long years to come. As regards confidence and mutual understanding, a good many years later the building of relations again had to start from scratch.

Cooperation in matters of water conservation

All this of course does not mean that in those times, so miserable from the point of view of Austro-Hungarian relations isolation was total and that there was no contact whatever. Simply because of geographical and partly economic interdependence such a situation would have been unimaginable.

I mention but a single example to show that mutual interests and interdependence have always been determining factors: the thaw had hardly started in 1959, yet the administration of water resources in the boundary region, a sort of coordination-cooperation in this field, dates from that year. Since then, thanks to the conferences and inspections held every year and to coordinated and even jointly executed works, this cooperation in the field of water conservation has expanded and developed to a large extent. The optimal waterlevel of Lake Fertő (Neusiedler See) is checked and regulated in common, Hungarian and Austrian hydrologists and meteorologists cooperate in elaborating the modalities of flood control and the regulation of the frontier river Lajta (Leitha). And one of the largest joint projects of the near future will be the development of the Danube into part of the big European waterway joining with The Rhine–Main canal to be built in the 1980's.

Economic relations

Trade is firm foundation for Hungarian–Austrian relations. The two states are, as their respective territories were at the time

of the Dual Monarchy, each other's traditional commercial partners and natural markets. In our modern age, with the growth of the importance of the economic factor and with the rapid change in the structures of the national economies, the outward forms of these relations, of course, change continuously, and this situation demands no little flexibility and activity on the part of the two governments, as well as the various industries, enterprises and institutions. During the past few decades the framework and the systems of connections have taken shape in accordance with the requirements. They have also been realized practically, in the shape of bilateral treaties and the working of mixed commissions, in personal acquaintances and contacts; but development always makes new demands. Thus the contradictory situation arises where the better the connections develop and the more cooperation is deepening, the greater is the demand—with the related objections and criticisms on both sides—for surmounting the obstacles which exist and those which are sometimes created through the economic movement. That is to say, economic cooperation, as a consequence of the dynamic processes of growth, almost always carries in itself the germs of disputes, the partners' objections following now and then from conflict of interests, and their demands for removing the obstacles considered to be unnatural. According to the principle that the two countries are not vexed by political conflicts of fundamental importance, the most important subject of the frequent high-level and even summit-levelc onsultations is the expansion of economic relations, more harmonious cooperation, more organised participation in international cooperation.

In respect of business turnover Austria is, after the Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary's second greatest trading partner among capitalist countries. But even in terms of absolute figures Austria is preceeded in Hungary's foreign trade only by the Soviet Union, the Federal Republic of Germany, the G.D.R., Czechoslovakia and Poland. In 1977 Austria provided 4.7 per cent of total Hungarian imports and had a share of 3.6 per cent in Hungarian exports. In Austria's foreign trade balance with the CMEA countries Hungary is second after the Soviet Union. Hungary has a share of 3 per cent in the total exports and 1.5 per cent in the total imports of Austria.

In 1977 Hungarian–Austrian trade grew by 11 per cent as compared to the preceding year and attained the level of 1974, the record year prior to the world economic crisis. Hungarian exports to Austria totalled 3,500 million schillings, import from Austria made up 5,100 million. The negative trade balance, which in 1977 even showed an increasing tendency against the preceding year, causes the biggest headache to the Hungarian side. Hungary however, continues to try to alter this adverse condition not by reducing imports, not by blocking Austrian deliveries, but by increasing Hungarian trade activity in Austria. To this end the Hungarian side endeavours first of all to alter the commodity composition, because the fact that the delivery of primary materials and semi-finished products dominates their trade does not reflect their respective level of development and the intensity of their economic cooperation.

If therefore we look at the issues in dispute: Hungarian imports are not hampered by direct discrimination, because since 1975 Hungary enjoys preferential GATT treatment on the Austrian market. In respect of certain groups of commodities, however, difficulties are at times created by the imposition of quotas occasioned not by discrimination but rather by acts of trade policy; on the Hungarian side, however, the obstacle to the desired and possible dynamism of trade can mainly be seen in another factor. Compared to many competitors Hungarian exporters feel themselves handicapped by disadvantageous customs clearance. In July 1977, pursuant to an agreement between EFTA and the Common

Market, manufactured goods became custom-free in relations between states belonging to the two economic communities—including Austria as a member of EFTA. The activity of the exporters of third parties, Hungary among them, on the rather difficult Austrian market is made exceptionally difficult by such—one might say—protectionist tariffs.

The Austrian side objects, not without foundation, to Hungarian marketing techniques, demands more flexible trading partices, and criticises the export composition as one which with its offer does not always meet the market requirements. It is also claimed that Hungarian exporters concentrate overmuch upon Vienna and fail to take due account of what else could be farther developed in the Austrian provinces, which otherwise, in the economic respect, display rather great independence and initiative.

Cooperation projects and common investments

From the point of view of the formation of an appropriate export composition, but also for breaking down the customs barriers and in general for the promotion of dynamic development, great prospects are held out by the projects of cooperation in production established with Austrian enterprises. Eighty-six such Hungarian-Austrian cooperation agreements have been concluded, and this modern form of economic cooperation, which is an effective stimulus to common action on third markets, commands ever growing interest on the part of both Hungarian enterprises and Austrian firms. As regards cooperation in production, Austria holds second place after Federal Germany among non-socialist countries on the Hungarian market. A modern trend is the fact that half of the cooperation projects are carried out by the engineering and electrical engineering, industries and a quarter of them by the chemical and pharmacological industries.

The tourist industry

An outwardly economic and more strictly a cooperational issue, but in fact a primarily political question, is the large-scale Hungarian–Austrian project of cooperation in the field of foreign tourism. As is well known, a great part of the gross national product of Austria is produced by the "tourist industry"; consequently Austrian experience and active cooperation can effectively help Hungarian tourism whose development is sluggish and is thus really in need of such help.

Hungarian leaders have for years been stressing, as did János Kádár at the press conference in Vienna during his visit in 1976, that there is in principle no political obstacle to abolishing the obligatory visa system, only the economic-objective-infrastructural conditions have to be created in order to absorb the tourist traffic expected to grow suddenly as a consequence of such a measure.

It was out of such considerations that the negotiations of a quasi-consular character on the repeal of the visa system at issue were linked up with the preparatory talks and work concerning Hungarian–Austrian cooperation in matters of tourism. Before long an agreement was arrived at in virtue of which an Austrian banking consortium would open a credit of 300 million dollars (4,500 million schillings) to contribute to tourist business investments in Hungary. Also competent Austrian firms will take part in the execution of the investment constructions and installations.

Hungary would use part of the investment credit for the enlargement of accommodation in hotels and spa resorts in Transdanubia (Balf, Bükfürdő, Zalakaros, Hévíz) and the building of infrastructural projects, including the road network. Considerable financial means are needed for the development of the capacity of border crossing points and frontier towns and villages. Finally, Budapest would also come in for a

share of the credit planned to be used for the construction of two great hotels on the Danube embankment. The idea is that planning would be done by Hungarian specialists, while the building operations would be put in the hands of Austrian experts.

As yet there are only broad outlines of the definitive plans, but reservations stemming from the difference of approaches and interests have already come up, demonstrating that cooperation, like other pursuits of economic activity, is never all plain sailing. Austrian tourist business was not too enthusiastic over the idea that credit would be provided for increasing the capacity of Hungary's foreign tourist facilities. Interested tourist business firms in neighbouring Burgenland and others supposedly menaced by Hungarian competition launched a counter-campaign in the TV and the press, saying: the credit of 4,500 million schillings assigned to the Hungarians should instead be spent on the development of their territory. The answer to this was given in Vienna Radio by Chancellor Kreisky himself, who said that the development of foreign tourism in Hungary could also be profitable to Austria's tourist business.

Provincial or professional interests may always present themselves, and things like this should not at all be taken too seriously, should not be regarded as unfriendly, and still less as anti-Hungarian manifestations. No, we can really be satisfied that our relations can endure such disputes even if conducted sometimes in a violent manner. Such patient reaction on the Hungarian side is in place here, especially because this cooperation is supported not only by official government bodies but also by more far-sighted Austrian economic and banking interests. These explain with patience and propagate that such credit agreements are quite normal everywhere in the business world and well serve the general (and not partial!) Austrian economic and business interests very much in need of encouragement under today's conditions of recession. Besides, such deals are effective instruments of the further improvement of good-neighbourly relations.

Cultural cooperation

When talking about cultural cooperation, one has only too much to choose from. There is no scientific, cultural, educational or entertainment sector in which communities, companies and individuals of the two countries do not go to call on each other, to present their skills, their artistic performances and experiences to each other and to the general public. It is a sign of the times and of the undoing of old tensions that so-called delicate issues are also taken up one after another at common public functions and meetings: investigation of the common past has become a subject that increasingly engages the attention of specialists, in Austria and Hungary alike, in the most diverse branches of knowledge, especially in what may be called research on the Monarchy.

Just because of the enormous extent of cultural cooperation I am going to touch upon only two of its aspects, which are perhaps not the most important but are very typical.

Collegium Hungaricum, the Hungarian cultural institute in Vienna, was established in 1924 and functioned, until the German occupation of Austria, in the Trautson Palace in the Museumstrasse, the one-time quarters of the Empress Maria Theresa's Hungarian bodyguards. In 1963, after the development of Hungarian–Austrian relations had speeded up, the institute moved into a new building on Hollandstrasse. It makes a home first of all for Hungarian studies with its abundantly furnished library, and is a favourite meeting place for its regular Viennese visitors who take an interest in Hungarian cultural functions, lectures, motion pictures and social events.

Still there are no special premises in Budapest for an Austrian cultural institute, for lack of the necessary funds; for reasons of economy, its building has not yet been erected on the plot in central Budapest made available for the purpose, but the institution, with its various programmes, especially high-standard musical evenings, in the residence of the Austrian Embassy, has already attracted a very discerning and enthusiastic regular public.

The other example is the German-language Austrian review *Pannonia*. This periodical has for more than half a decade been published by Roetzer Press in Eisenstadt. Its editor-in-chief is György Sebestyén, an Austrian writer born in Hungary. The review which is mainly culturally, educationally and artistically motivated, is a splendid publication and bears the programmatic subtitle "Magazine for Cooperation in Europe". Its sphere of interest extends beyond the Austrian frontiers to the whole of one-time Pannonia, including half the territory of Hungary, but also beyond that to the whole of Central and Southeast Europe. Accordingly, its contributors have been recruited from those areas.

From the middle of 1976 onward *Pannonia* has essentially been an Austro-Hungarian coproduction. It also has an editorial office in Budapest (headed by the present writer), Hungarian authors provide a considerable number of its articles and illustrations, and the review is distributed also in Hungary by the Newspaper Publishing Enterprise in cooperation with Roetzer Press.

This is a really unique undertaking. As far as I know, it is an unprecedented case of two countries with different social systems coming out with a joint production on the intellectual-cultural front, this sensitive area so much influenced by ideological affiliations. Different views are of course given expression in the columns of the periodical and are even confronted in a certain sense, yet they get on well together, because patience and readiness to listen to and understand (even if not to accept) differing opinions is a golden rule for all those who undertake and promote not only Hungarian–Austrian good neighbourliness but also the cause of European cooperation.

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In conclusion, let me give a list which demonstrates better than any commentary the regularity and intensity of Hungarian–Austrian contacts and the circumstance that the two governments are concerned with common affairs of the two countries not just "in general and in principle," but they give careful attention to all fields of everyday life, to details of the daily business of their nationals.

In March 1978 the two Ministers of Agriculture concluded in Budapest a bilateral agreement on cooperation in matters of plant protection;

in May 1978 departmental ministers, also with a treaty signed in Budapest, prolonged for another five years and practically extended the well functioning agreement on the interchange of energy;

in July 1978 the two Ministers of Health signed, again in Budapest, a health agreement for five years;

also in July 1978 Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja paid a call on his Austrian colleague, and they then signed the agreement on the abolition of the obligatory visa system;

in September 1978 the two Ministers of Transport and Communication signed a new treaty to replace the railway agreement concluded in 1930 and very much in need of modernization.

And it was in September 1978 that Chancellor Bruno Kreisky of Austria was on a non-official visit in Hungary for an informal talk, according to traditions not only with his colleague György Lázár but also with János Kádár, to look over issues of common interest.

Many in the two countries raise the question: What function and mission can small states and small peoples fulfil in our complicated world? This question understandably also preoccupies leading politicians of the countries concerned; and very characteristically Bruno Kreisky chose this topic as a subject of his lecture delivered at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences during his official visit to Budapest in 1973. The title of his lecture was "The smaller states and their role in world politics."

The same question was put to János Kádár by a *Pravda* correspondent at a press conference in Vienna in December 1976. In reply, János Kádár said, among other things,:

"Both Austria and Hungary were losers of the Second World War. Both peoples lost lots of blood and suffered great economic damage, regrettably not in the service of a good cause. If there is a people which desires peace, the Hungarian people is certainly one. I think the same can be said of the Austrian people, too."

This is the basis of relationships between the two countries.

MIKLÓS VAJDA

ADY IN KNIGHTSBRIDGE

The four Hungarians who travelled to London as guests of the Great Britain/East Europe Centre in May 1978—with this writer among them—did not, to be frank, nurture great expectations concerning the two days of literary discussion that were to open their week-long programme in England. Arriving in London, and then diving headlong into the incomparable atmosphere of that great city, going to theatres and museums, looking up friends are, to be sure, among the great pleasures life can offer, an experience that does not lose but gains by repetition. It became mine for the eighth time that May afternoon, and I was happy and thankful to the Centre, an organization of which I had up to then known very little. But, to discuss the work of Ady and other Hungarian writers in London, of all places, and with British scholars? Two of the best known Hungarian Ady-specialists were among us, Professor István Király of the University of Budapest, author of a huge, two-volume, definitive Marxist monograph on Ady, and Erzsébet Vezér, who had written two biographies of the poet, edited collections of his work and helped prepare the critical edition now in progress. What, I wondered, could be said to *them* about Ady? They were in possession of the entire enormous material, everything that can be possible known and said. Géza Képes, a fine poet and translator, and myself, felt slightly out of place with them, being no scholars, having no academic oeuvre; what were we doing at this scholarly gathering? Moreover, we were coming from Hungary, where the previous year had been the centenary of Ady's birth. We were saturated—not with Ady, of course, but—with celebrations. For a whole year, books, studies, articles, works of art, exhibitions, films, TV and radio-programmes, recitals and, of course, meetings and speeches bombarded us. A conspicuously large number of poets saw the occasion fit for publishing their poems on Ady—as if they could not have done so before, any time, whenever they desired. Endre Ady's universal greatness and timeliness, emphasized with so much effort through all the media, being beyond any doubt anyway, the whole

campaign seemed to be knocking on a door wide open. It is easy to imagine how the poet himself would have reacted to all the fuss; he hated authority and unreserved admiration and is known to have occasionally treated even his close friends with princely whim and arrogance.

Just a few hours in London, and I realized that, even for the eighth time, I seemed to have come to England with certain prejudices. At a sherry party given in our honour by the British Academy at Burlington House that evening, chatting to scholars with our hosts from the Centre among them, I suddenly became aware that we were to spend a highly interesting and fruitful week there. The way these people talked to us about Hungary and its culture was so refreshingly frank and free of the platitudes of national or ideological stereotypes, so unlike the meaningless formalities that are common fare on such occasions, that we found ourselves looking forward to the discussions with pleaurse.

Next morning, in the Centre's library in Knightsbridge, we faced each other across the long conference table like two diplomatic delegations. In his opening remarks, S ir William Harpham, the Centre's Director' spoke of their aims, their wish to serve better mutual understanding through various kinds of contacts. His sincerity and informality immediately took all tension out of the atmosphere which remained relaxed and pleasant throughout our visit. Professor Király answered in a similar vein, stressing how important it was that Hungarian literature, of which so little is known in Britain, should be discussed at depth with British scholars. Having read through the British papers beforehand, we all agreed. Then the conference got down to business.

Papers were not read; each contributor made a brief summary statement of his or her position and discussion immediately followed. Erzsébet Vezér's paper on Ady appears in full in this issue. Peter Sherwood, a linguist and translator, who teaches Hungarian at the London School of Slavonic and East European Studies, applied the analytical methods of modern linguistics to gain insight into Ady's supremely original use of the language. Much has been written in Hungary about Ady's language but relatively little has been done so far in the way of modern analytical investigation. We were made aware right at the start that this was far from being a purely linguistic and technical exercise. "...let anyone try to understand Ady's key programmatic poem *Góg és Magóg fia vagyok én* ("I Am the Son of Góg and Magóg") without some glossing of Góg, Magóg and Vazul, of the Carpathians, Dévény and Pusztaszer; it cannot be done. Yet I believe there are even deeper assumptions involved: we need to make explicit what might be called the metapoetics of Hungarian literature, the series of interlocking contexts within which Hungarian literature must be viewed if it is to be fully—or even partly—appreciated. Among such contexts would be the kinds of function fulfilled by language in Hungarian society, the historic role of the writer in Hungary, the nature of the literary dominance of the Hungarian lyric poem, and not least the ways in which the very act of the writing and indeed the reading of poetry in Hungary differ from ostensibly similar roles and actions elsewhere."

"Thus, in considering Ady's work the name Sándor Petőfi must be glossed because without it (say) Ady's important *Petőfi nem alkuszik* ("Petőfi Shall Not Bargain") would make little sense, but he is important to a deeper understanding of Ady chiefly because he is the paradigm case: the greatest lyric poet of Hungary, who triggered off the 1848 revolution and died fighting for it on the battlefield at the age of 26, leaving an indelible mark on Hungarian readers' and writers' perception of the Hungarian dictionary equivalents of such terms as "poet,"

"poem," "love," "homeland," and many more. No Hungarian writer can write outside this series of contexts: no Hungarian reader reads without this framework; it is therefore imperative to articulate these contexts as fully as possible, whether our aim be the most accurate location of Hungary on the literary map of Europe or the identification of its unique contributions thereto. In the longer term, of course, these aims are not mutually exclusive."

Peter Sherwood then took the Hungarian verb *fáj* ('hurts,' 'causes pain') and confronted its definitions in the Hungarian *Értelmező Szótár* dictionary with about a dozen occurences of the verb in Ady's poems. It was a well-chosen example to demonstrate what a genius can do to the language and get away with it. It also proved the usefulness of linguistic analysis in gaining insight into the creative process. The paper also undertook an investigation of some of Ady's characteristic nominal complexes and their typological background—another terrain where Ady broke the laws of usage with the utmost ease producing incomparable effects, always capable, in the mean time, to make the unusual, the irregular acceptable. "Compound nouns, concretizing through grammar something that is unconcretizable;" "the treatment of other word-classes as nouns, often associated with direct promotion to animate, or human, or, even, arguably, superhuman status;" and "adjectives used as heads of noun phrases" to achieve, it seems, a deliberately indeterminate meaning, were pointed out and admirably demonstrated as some of Ady's characteristic methods of producing special effects. The paper was not just another linguistic treatment of Ady's poetic achievement; it was a treatment done in English, with the particular Ady-devices defined and analyzed in a language completely alien in its very grammatic structure to Hungarian, thereby dramatically stressing the awesome difficulties anyone attempting to translate Ady must face.

Professor Király's essay, "From Security to Insecurity," undertook, drawing on huge amount of material, to describe the background to, and the process of, Ady's transformation, under the threat of the impending catastrophe of the Great War, from a fin de siècle poet and believer in mankind's limitless progress into a poet of the apocalypse.

"The apocalypse has always been the favourite image of those writers who have sought to convey the intellectual change of the 20th century, the crisis of the enlightened rationalist, humanist world image. It may be considered symbolic that the poem by Hoddis entitled "The End of the World" should be placed at the head of the *Menschheitsdämmerung* anthology by Pinthus, and it was Georg Heym, the early harbinger of the apocalypse experience, who was given the greatest prominence in the anthology. This metaphor was apter than any other to convey the Being in jeopardy. We might cite the most varied types of creative artists, the most diverse styles as examples: Karl Kraus, Franz Kafka, Ernst Barlach, Georg Kaiser, Lajos Kassák, Attila József have all resorted to this image as much as, later on, W. H. Auden, Samuel Beckett, Ferenc Juhász, László Nagy, or János Pilinszky. And one might find this image in Ady's poetry, right from the beginning of the war. Among his favourite books of the Bible was the Apocalypse of John. And he quoted the *summa dies*, the *dies irae* in his own poetry. One of his greatest wartime poems, the "Remembrance of a Summer-Night," is based entirely on this motif. In this poem the images of a home upset, topsy-turvy, deranged, signify that the era of security has come to an end. The man of the twentieth century had to confront a new existential situation, the era of insecurity. This era was announced by the experience of catastrophe."

The paper then went on to examine how this experience manifested itself in the poetry of Ady's last period, and how his philosophy of history changed. "The late

poetry was the artistic messenger of this challenge, of these new alternatives, and of the concomitant increased responsibility. His poetic language developed accordingly. Increased responsibility spoke the language of increased abstraction. The poetic art which until now had resorted primarily to musical imagery, to symbolist devices, was increasingly replaced by creations which emphasized and mobilized grammatical and logical verse elements, and which made use of polyphonic, reflective creativity."

In "The Oriental Attitude—To the Dilemma of Self and Society in Modern Hungarian Poetry," Lóránt Czigány, a literary historian of Hungarian birth who lives in London, the author of a forthcoming history of Hungarian literature in English, examined the impact of various Oriental philosophies on the poetry of Lőrinc Szabó. He defined his aim thus: ..."after the second period of modernisation of Hungarian literature in the 1910s, there appeared a distinct possibility of assuming a poetic attitude largely independent of the direct impact made by the social background and its political implications, yet capable of the expression of a poetic world as complete and as perfect as that of any of the traditionally accepted peaks of modern Hungarian poetry. To be sure the lack of response to social problems may be regarded as various degrees of escapism, yet it is perhaps unwise to relegate poets to a second line of significance purely because in the dilemma of society versus self, they chose unequivocally the letter. Moreover, their significance is continuously growing, since man living in highly-organized societies is gradually alienated from society and his priorities, hence his loyalties are transformed in the process."

Following a brief survey of various oriental subjects and minor influences which appeared in Hungarian literature from the seventeenth century onwards, Lóránt Czigány focused his attention on Szabó (1900–1957), "the first major poet whose life-work cannot be fully understood without constant references to his Oriental interest."

It was in the interwar period that Szabó familiarised himself with Far Eastern thought. "From his poems with Oriental themes, we can establish his sources. These can be conveniently grouped into three. First, he knew of the teachings of Buddha and other, earlier religious theories, secondly, he drew on the great epics of the Indian subcontinent. And thirdly, he studied the teachings of Chuang Chou, generally considered the most brillinat Taoist of all."

Quoting from numerous poems by Szabó, Lóránt Czigány went on to establish exactly what had attracted the Hungarian poet to Oriental thought. As a restless young intellectual and poet, Szabó "felt a diabolic joy over man's inclination to make a fool of himself, he assumed a generally belligerent attitude against an ageing and corrupt civilization. He turned against the traditions of his Christian upbringing with the same rage. In addition, he was attracted to the hopelessly complex conflict between instinct and intellect, individual versus society and between rural tranquility and bustling city life, or the simple joys of life versus technological civilization. The abundance and intensity of such attitudes and themes, however, could bring no inner peace and harmony for which Szabó longed."

Suffering and decay, his own sensual nature, the inevitability of death, his longing for perfection and, last but not least, the constant pressure of Central European life on a man with the sensibilities of a poet to take sides, commit himself, led him to seek solutions in Oriental philosophies. Though the Oriental influence reached its peak in his work in the early forties, it is in his third, and last, period, in the great cycles of *Tücsökzene* (Cricket-Music, 1947), and *A huszonhatodik év* (The Twenty-Sixth Year, 1957), his most mature work, that Szabó's Oriental interest really paid off

in terms of poetic achievement, not as thematic influence any more, but as a way of looking at the world and himself, a capacity of quiet reflection and the discovery of the beauty, the richness, and the fullness of life.

Géza Képes, poet, translator from a dozen languages from English through Finnish to Persian, chose a personal approach to Ady. From a fascinating story replete with humorous anecdote, we learned how the young village lad had first come across Ady's poems in secondary school in the twenties—a time when many schools outright forbade their pupils to read such a decadent, blasphemous, revolutionary poet. The encounter was an enormous liberating experience, the discovery of, as it were, a whole new world, and a wonderful guide to the art and craft of poetry for an aspiring young poet. Although not textually evident in his work, Ady has remained with him ever since, as a source of inspiration and courage, and also an unsurpassable model for a poet's identification with his nation and culture. Ady's work has helped and influenced him in many ways, fascinated and obsessed him, as it has, in some way or other, the work of most, or perhaps all, Hungarian poets who came after him. Géza Képes provided quotations and examples to prove his point about Ady's genius as an innovator, making frequent references to Gáspár Károlyi's beautiful Bible translation of 1590, which, like Ady himself, he constantly uses for inspiration. He even topped his paper with an impromptu translation of an Ady poem done the previous night, in an attempt, perhaps, to demonstrate the feasibility of such a venture. (The question of translating Ady into English frequently cropped up in the discussions. Several speakers, Professor Király and Dr. Vezér among them, though of course aware of the complexity of the problems which face the translator, thought that perhaps a prose rendering would also suffice. I objected by stating that by depriving the poem of its form and music most of the emotional impact would also be lost, a compromise not at all worth making. My own experience of working on some faithful translations of Ady-poems a few years ago, with Edwin Morgan and Michael Hamburger, two of the most skilled poet-translators in England, showed, however, that the closest even a professional translation can get to Ady's original is, in my view, simply not close enough.)

Professor G. F. Cushing of the London School of Slavonic and East European Studies, an expert on, and a brilliant translator of, Hungarian literature, chose to juxtapose Ady's life and work with that of the novelist Gyula Krúdy (1878–1933). This interesting approach brought the work of another great writer, almost completely unknown in Britain, into the limelight, and also put Ady's poetry into a different context. Beyond the surface similarities of background, upbringing, apprenticeship and even, to some degree, lifestyle and character, lay, we were made aware, more important relationships of outlook, vision, style, and language, well worth some consideration.

Both men were restless and dissatisfied. "The reasons for this restlessness are numerous. Certainly it was in their nature, but it was enhanced by their dissatisfaction, as writers with a vocation, with the society in which they lived. Both expressed their views on this without equivocation (and it must be noted that pre-First World War Hungary allowed considerable freedom of expression to writers and journalists). Ady, with his fierce patriotism, impatience and poetic vigour, openly castigates the social and political order in Hungary in both verse and prose, foreseeing a dire fate for the Hungarians unless there is a radical change. Krúdy is more subtle; in his lyrical prose he charms the reader into a story which then paints as grim and uncompromising a picture of Hungarian society as does Ady in verse or Móricz in prose. The effect is not immediate, but all the more startling

when the reader suddenly realizes the truth." Where similarity stops, Dr. Cushing used contrast instead to define the two writers against each other. "As a lyric poet, and moreover a writer of very short poems, Ady had to gain his effect immediately. This was not the case with Krúdy, who had no need to depend upon abbreviation. Krúdy is the master of the extended and unusual simile and metaphor. While Ady juxtaposes unlikely words, Krúdy leads the unsuspecting reader to a sudden and unexpected comparison, often all the more surprising since the subject of the comparison may be abstract and the metaphor itself concrete."

An admirably selected array of examples (beautifully translated into English in the footnotes) served to demonstrate their use of the language, sometimes strikingly similar and resorting to the same devices, sometimes far apart. "Both achieved in the end a rare refinement of style and a modernity that was apparent in no other Hungarian writer."

Thematic comparison, though not a few common subjects and preoccupations can be cited, does not lead very far; the way each writer approached journalism, handled the short story—very dissimilar—, or saw the other's work, suggests a great deal, and the paper did not fail to spell out these suggestions. Concluding his paper, Dr. Cushing once again arrived at a fact of life so difficult to live with: the language barrier. "Perhaps, as a footnote it is worth recording that both Ady and Krúdy are the despair of translators, mainly because of their treatment of the language. English is notably inflexible compared with Hungarian, and the lack of good translations of Ady, so often deplored by Hungarians, is largely due to the sheer linguistic barrier created by his style. Krúdy might appear to be more easily translatable, but Paul Tábori described as very considerable the difficulties he encountered in his successful English version of *The Crimson Coach*. This too is a problem of future generations. It would be sad indeed if the two greatest innovators in modern Hungarian literature remained locked in their linguistic isolation."

My own contribution was my Introduction to *Modern Hungarian Poetry*, a volume of translations from the work of forty-one contemporary poets by twenty English, American and Canadian poet-translators, jointly published by Columbia University Press in New York and Corvina Press in Budapest in 1977. (The text of the Introduction appeared in NHQ 62.) The discussion centered on the quality of the translations, the unfortunate but inevitable mixture of English and American idiom in the book, and some useful critical remarks were made concerning my selection of poems as well as my somewhat cursory treatment of the antecedents of modern poetry in Hungary.

Professor Robert Auty of Oxford, the well-known Slavonic scholar and Vice Chairman of the Centre, whose sudden death last August shocked everyone who knew him, was the last speaker. His paper took us into yet another new field: some of the contemporary impact of Ady's poetry abroad, notably in Croatia and Slovakia. The paper appears in full in this issue.

The conference over, we paid short, all-too-short, visits to Oxford, Cambridge and the University of East Anglia in Norwich, meeting interesting people, taking in whatever we could of the sights. Drinking and eating our way through parties and receptions, we met interest, openness and friendliness everywhere. England was, it seemed, extending a hand to Hungarian culture in our person, and we were glad to shake it. We were glad we had come, and we profited a great deal. We encountered fresh angles, novel ideas, and exemplary scholarship. The Hungarian and the English approach, whenever confronted in the course of discussion, complemented each other beautifully. The Great Britain/East Europe Centre could, as far as we were concerned, enter this occasion in its annals as a model for perfect success.

ROBERT AUTY

THE DANUBIAN ADY

It may seem presumptuous for one who is not a specialist in Hungarian literature to offer a contribution to the present Seminar.* My contribution will be marginal: it arises out of my long-standing interest in the cultural history of East-Central Europe and out of the compelling fascination that the poetry of Endre Ady has exercised on me since I first became acquainted with it. It was Karl Polányi from whose lips I first heard the name of Ady, in his house in Kent on a cold winter morning of early 1940. He then read to me in Hungarian (a language I did not know) *A Duna vallomása* ("A Confession of the Danube") and *Góg és Magóg fia vagyok én* ("I Am the Son of Góg and Magóg"), and explained them to me with sympathetic and infectious enthusiasm. No doubt it is partly due to the nature of that first introduction that I have always been particularly interested in the Danubian aspect of Ady's poetry, even after I came to know and appreciate the many other brilliant facets of his genius. I originally approached Hungarian culture from the angle of a Slavist who knew something of the languages and literature of the Slovaks, Croats, and Serbs, and partly no doubt under the influence of some simplistic political ideas of the 1930s. Longer and deeper study has taught me how complex and subtle is the intertwining of common and divergent heritages and destinies among the nations of the Danube region.

The study of the way in which the poetry of Ady was received among the Slovaks illustrates these complexities in a particularly vivid way. As far as can be ascertained, the only public reaction among the Slovaks to Ady's work before 1914 was in the well-known poem of Hviezdoslav, published in his *Dozvuky* in 1910. Here the leading Slovak poet reacted to Ady's *Magyar jakobinus dala* which had appeared two years earlier (in *Az Illés szekerén*, 1908). Taking as his epigraph the lines from Ady's poem that speak of the single equal sorrow of Magyar, Rumanian, and Slav, Hviezdoslav apostrophized his younger Hungarian contemporary as a "herold of bright times," of a future when brotherly love should triumph over oppression. It is noteworthy that several lines take up and paraphrase Ady's words about the common grief and the necessity for a common will. The poem ends with the lines:

"a rodné reči kol st'a spevní vtáci
sprevádzat' budú tvorč' vlasti máj. . ."

(And all around native tongues like singing-birds will be the accompaniment to the Maytime of our homeland.) There is, I believe, no doubt that the "homeland" here referred to is the common homeland of Slovaks and Magyars alike.

The poem is moving in its simple rhetoric; but while its content echoes and reinforces Ady's ideas, it shows no resemblance to Ady's style and manner. The tragic question and conditional clauses of the Hungarian poem (i.e., will there be an awakening of this "Babel of servant peoples" at last?; when will "a thousand torpid desires" unite into one strong will?; why do we not meet roaring at "the barricades of ideas?"; everything may be ours tomorrow if we only willed and dared, etc.) are not echoed: Hviezdoslav substitute sconfident prophecy for desperate hopes.

We find no further link between the two poets. Indeed, we know that in later years Hviezdoslav stated that he found Ady's poetry incomprehensible and paradoxical. Although the Slovak poet translated much from Hungarian he confined himself to the poets of the nineteenth century who cer-

* A seminar on modern Hungarian literature held in London. See Miklós Vajda's article on p. 91 in this issue.

tainly engaged his literary sympathies more than the strange modernity of Ady.

It was not until 1916 that the first Slovak translations of poems by Ady appeared: they were the work of Štefan Krčméry, a young Slovak poet (born in 1892) who had learned to know and appreciate Ady's work at school in Pozsony (Bratislava). We cannot doubt that others of his generation read Ady's poems; and István Csukás must be right when he detects allusions to Ady in the early work of Martin Rázus (born 1888). In a poem entitled *Mad'arskym básnikom* ("To the Hungarian Poets"), of 1911, Rázus addressed "you who penetrate deeply with the gaze of a Messiah"—a clear reference to Ady's *A magyar messiások* of 1907; and a poem, published by Rázus in 1915, was entitled *Krv a zlato* ("Blood and Gold"), echoing Ady's well-known collection with that same title—*Vér és arany* (1907).

Yet there is no evidence here of any profound Slovak concern with Ady. Slovak literature before 1918 was so preoccupied with the national question that it remained very inward-looking, despite the will to bring Slovak writing on to the international scene, a will expressed notably in Hviezdoslav's translations from Western literatures.

After 1918 the situation was totally different. Almost miraculously, so it seemed, national liberation had been achieved. Literature therefore, and especially poetry, was free to concentrate on its aesthetic function and no longer on the national struggle. From this time onwards Ady becomes a persistent theme in Slovak literary criticism and a willingly accepted inspiration for Slovak poets. Štefan Krčméry's experience of Paris was coloured by that of Ady; indeed, when he speaks of looking into Europe from behind the fence of the Carpathians we cannot fail to link this with the "new songs" with which Ady wished to break through at Dévény (Devin). Krčméry is perhaps a special case. A Slovak patriot, he remained attached to, while trying to break away from, the Hungarian cultural traditions of his schooldays. He had abandoned the Hungarian language, he wrote on one occasion, because of a "venomous aversion" to it. "Yet," he continued, "thus abandoning it, I love it." ("De így elhagyva is szeretem.") Krčméry divided his translations of foreign poetry into three sections: Slavonic poets, foreign poets, and Hungarian poets, and in this third section, not Slav and yet not foreign, the poems of Ady occupy an important place. His ambivalent attitude to Ady's poetry was expressed in the phrase "I am fond of it and fear it." ("Rád ju mám a boj'm sa jej.")

In the 1920s and 1930s the name of Ady was constantly in the centre of discussion in Slovak literary periodicals and critical writings. His poetry helped the Slovaks to understand the poetical world of the West; but, more than that, it represented a model of what the young Slovak poets themselves wished to achieve in a new phase of their literary development. The Slovak poets found in Ady, so Rudolf Uhlár wrote in 1935 "what they subconsciously felt, what they were seeking." In 1931 Uhlár himself had inaugurated a polemical discussion of the influence of Ady on the young Slovak poets. While not denying Ady's greatness he stressed his decadence and suggested that his contemporaries should break loose from their infatuation with Ady. His view of the Hungarian poet was strongly challenged by E. B. Lukáč, one of the leaders of the new generation of Slovak poets, who denied Ady's decadence: he was not, Lukáč wrote, the poet of death but of bright, glowing, burning life. This was also the theme of Lukáč's doctoral dissertation on "Ady and Decadence," published in 1933.

In the same period (1930–1938) the poet Ján Smrek was editing the journal *Elán*, in which he aimed, in the words of László Sziklay, "with seven-league strides to do away with the backwardness of Slovak culture." ("...mérföldes lépésekkel akarta behozni a szlovák kultúra késéseit.") In this endeavour the figure of Ady loomed large. Indeed, the journal *Nyugat* and the writers

associated with it formed in some sense a model for Smrek's journal. The poetry of Ady (and, incidentally, also that of Attila József) supplied inspiration and encouragement for the Slovak poets to modernize and "Europeanize" the literature of their nation.

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It is not the aim of this paper to trace literary influences, but to seek deeper affinities and common destinies which arise from common historical roots. It is to causes such as these that we must ascribe the striking echoes of Ady's poetry that can be found in the early poems of E. B. Lukáč. The very title of his second collection *Dunaj a Seina* ("The Danube and the Seine," 1925) suggests a spiritual kinship with the Ady of *Új versek;* and several of the poems in that volume contain distant, and not so distant, echoes of the Hungarian poet, while not sacrificing their individual, Slovak flavour, The poem *Dunaj* ("The Danube") inevitably recalls Ady's *Confession of the Danube.* The foam of the great river, streaming indifferently through the cold centuries, is the same *vén Duna habja* which had murmured its half-drunken secrets to the Hungarian poet. For Lukáč the Danube is more serious, less frivolous, less cynical, and more aloof than Ady's river. It does not confess, it muses, half-asleep. Lukáč's Bratislava, the city which he calls Moloch, also recalls the barbarous nocturnal Budapest conjured up by Ady in *Budapest éjszakája szól.* Similar echoes link the Parisian verses of the two poets. These echoes are particularly strong in Lukáč's poems of the 1920s, but they can still be detected in poems written in the very different circumstances of 1938. No other Slovak poet shows quite the same kind of *Wahlverwandtschaft* with Ady as does Lukáč.

In the Slovak critical and polemical writings about Ady in the 1920s and 1930s the name of the Hungarian poet is often linked with the concept of national reconciliation. At a time when political relations between Slovaks and Hungarians were cool or hostile, Lukáč, Smrek, and other contemporaries were prepared courageously to accept, through the work and influence of Ady, the common historical roots and destinies which linked Slovaks and Hungarians even in the new, and fully accepted, political framework. A very remarkable instance of the role of poetry as an instrument of national reconciliation occurred in the Second World War. In 1943 there appeared in Bratislava a volume entitled *Na brehu čiernych vôd* ("On the Bank of the Black Waters"), subtitled "A selection from modern Hungarian lyric poetry." It was compiled by a Hungarian from Slovakia, Rezső Szalatnai, and the introduction was the work of E. B. Lukáč. The reference in the title to Ady's *Sötét vizek partján* was made explicit by the book's epigraph, which consisted of two lines from that poem:

"Sedím, a chladné vetry stonú
pri čiernych vodách Babylonu."
("Ülök, csapdos ár és hideg szél / Babyloni sötét vizeknél.")

The book contains translations of poems by seventeen Hungarian poets. Each is introduced by a biographical sketch and some bibliographical information. Pride of place goes to Ady, with eighteen translated poems. Six different translators are represented in the Ady selection; nine of the versions are by Lukáč himself. The publication of such a book in the atmosphere of 1943 was a courageous act. Relations between Hungary and Slovakia were not good, despite their common presence in the German alliance. Nor must we forget that Lukáč himself had written a poem in 1938 expressing grief and bitterness at the Vienna award that returned southern Slovakia to Hungary (*Belvedere**, in *Moloch*, 1938). Lukáč was promptly attacked in the official press, and a bitter polemic ensued. In addition to Lukáč, Ján Smrek also was attacked, as the book had

*Belvedere Palace in Vienna, where the Foreign Ministers met.

been published by the Elán publishing house which he directed. The details of the controversy do not interest us here; but the incident vividly illustrates the place of Ady's poetry in the intellectual history of the Slovaks.

In the period before 1945 Ján Smrek, though an admirer of Ady and a propagator of his poetry, had not translated any specimens of it. In 1948 however he began to do so, and in 1950 he published a volume containing translations of 103 of Ady's poems. E. B. Lukáč, the finest renderings of Ady in Slovak or, indeed, so far as is known to me, in any language. Moreover, it should be noted that in the period after 1945 Smrek published little or no poetry of his own. His poetic genius seemed exhausted. It was in Ady that he found the strength and inspiration to add to his poetic achievement.

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In the Hungary of the period before 1918 we cannot doubt that the Serbs of Vojvodina and the Croats of the Croatian Kingdom must in some measure have become aware of Ady's poetry. As with the Slovaks, however, it was only after 1918 that the impact of that poetry made itself noticeably felt. The Serbian expressionist poet Miloš Crnjanski wrote that he had been attacked for introducing the poetry of Ady into Serbian literature. Influences of Ady have been detected in Crnjanski's own work and in that of other Serbian writers from Vojvodina, such as Dušan Vasiljev, so that Imre Bori has felt able to describe Ady as "the ancestor of the expressionist wing of the Serbian *avant-garde*." Yet it does not seem to me that the impact of Ady on the Serbs shared anything of the vital intensity that we have seen in the Slovak reaction to his work.

Among Croatian writers none has shown such an intense preoccupation with Croatia's historical links with Hungary as Miroslav Krleža (born 1893). On several occasions he has written about Ady, in particular in an essay published in *Hrvatska revija* in 1930, "Madžarski lirik Andrija Ady." ("The Hungarian lyric poet Endre Ady.") This is as much a work of poetry as of criticism. It could only have been written by one who had himself known pre-1918 Hungary and therefore had to see Ady not merely as a great poet but as a product of a particular, dramatic, and indeed tragic, period of history. Krleža stresses two main aspects of Ady's work: decadence and national despair. "Endre Ady," he writes, "brought the Parisian decadent lyric into the provincial literature of Hungary, and what could he become with that poisonous orchid in his heart than sorrowful, isolated, and barren even to himself?" This them is constantly repeated, the contrast between Parisian sophisticated decadence and Hungarian petty-bourgeois society is emphasized again and again, often in strident tones. To Krleža Ady is above all "death's kinsman." Side by side with this he constantly reverts to the idea of Hunnia, the Hungarian national heritage with its "Turco-Tatar," Avar and Mongol strains and its doom-laden destiny. With baroque intensity he writes: "To feel the Tatar-Avar nature under its Budapest jacket, to sense, in the medieval backwardness of the comitats, the primeval nihilism of the wild Asiatic tribes which swept from the Irtysh and the Volga to the Danube and the Tisza, to feel his decadent, urban, glittering lyricism as a phosphorescent plant above the abysses of instinct, destiny and blood—that is to feel Ady's Hunnia." Ady is depicted as a prophet who cannot escape from the tragic doom which he foresees. In a very ingenious juxtaposition he characterizes three critics of the Austro–Hungarian monarchy, Rainer Maria Rilke, Karl Kraus, and Endre Ady. All react against the Monarchy in different ways: Rilke withdraws into a Slavophile romanticism, Kraus is the keen, rational critic and judge, while "with Ady there is helpless despair: impotence and hysterical tears."

Clearly this is an inadequate characteriza-

tion of Ady's poetry and even of its national, Hungarian, aspects. Yet Krleža's harsh and garish vision finds its place in the historical picture of Danubian Europe at the beginning of this century. It is not so much an evocation of Ady and his work as the personal vision of another poet, inspired by Ady.

Completeness would demand some mention of the impact of Ady on the Rumanians; but time and the limits of my own competence prevent this.

It is striking that the Slovaks on the one hand and Krleža on the other take up and internalize quite different aspects of Ady's genius—to the Slovaks he is the poet of the revivifying "new songs" brought from the West, the poet of life, hope and humanity, while to Krleža he is the kinsman of death, the decadent, the prophet and victim of despair and national doom. That each of these pictures is, at least in some measure, justified and that neither adequately reflects the world and message of Ady—this is the very proof of his poetic genius.

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ERZSÉBET VEZÉR

ADY—POET AND SOCIAL CRITIC

Hungarian verse at the end of the nineteenth century witnessed a vacuum of talent. Canonization of the art of Petőfi and Arany lamed new talents and released a wave of epigons. The last stage of feudalism with an ideology which faded into a gentry kind of regressive liberalism far surpassed by Petőfi's plebeian-democratic world outlook, was fighting a last-ditch battle against bourgeois liberalism as if the Hungarian trail-blazers of democracy had never lived. In fact, in Austria, the other half of the Dual Monarchy, the hinges of bourgeois liberalism had already loosened. In Hungary a state-manipulated optimistic public mood at the Millennium (the 1000th anniversary of the conquest of Hungary in 1896) further prolonged for another few years the dominance of the gentry ideology and the rule of lyrical epigonism.

At the same time, a new generation had grown up by the turn of the century, the first bourgeois change of generation, whose cream was no longer thrilled by the money-making opportunities of a belated and accelerated pace of industrialization as their fathers had been. Members of the new generation were keen to learn the new results of sciences and arts. Their ideals were the long-forgotten vanguards of Hungarian democracy and independence, and they turned to the West. In 1900 sociologists first published the journal *Huszadik Század* (Twentieth Century) which for 20 years

acted as the cradle of modern Hungarian social science. In 1901, the Society of Social Sciences held its first discussions. The labour movement began to be more active in the first years of the twentieth century, and the need for a literary renewal manifested itself in a few brand-new periodicals, and the theatrical entreprise of the Thália Society. In that effervescent atmosphere the poet Endre Ady spent his first years as a journalist in the Hungarian provinces.

In Hungary the Heine type of combination of journalist and poet was not rare, especially at the turn of the century. One of the reasons was that only papers enjoying some financial backing could afford to ensure the living of their contributors. The papers carried poetry in their *feuilletons*, and the poet often did other work, be it reportage or editorial. Another reason was that in Eastern Europe it was up to poets to do much which elsewhere was the job of politicians, writers on public issues or social scientists.

Poetry and writing on public issues were closely linked in Ady's case, so much so that for him the poet's calling, even at the zenith of his career, was committed to national and social causes with a sense of self-awareness rarely experienced in Hungarian literature. At the same time, the reality discovered during his journalistic years freed him from the patriotic cant and commonplaces that had tied the popular-national second-rate poetry to the yoke of false clichés. Ady was first and foremost a poet which was not only proven by elements of poetry in his journalism, his metaphoric style and personal tone, but by the artist's attitude, the way he looked on the world: always of this time and that place, but with universal implications.

His ideal as a publicist was Heine, as a stylist Henri Rochefort, and his impact can only be compared to that of Karl Kraus. Ady demanded of journalists a clear position and personal integrity. Using the words of Heine he also liked to call journalists the knights of the Holy Ghost. In Rochefort, the one-time communard, he valued his angry articles as the voice of public presence: "True men are angry and militant," he wrote in connection with Rochefort.

Ady knew and respected Karl Kraus. Some of Ady's better articles or a new poem stirred up the same scandal in Budapest, as the *Fackel* produced in Vienna. Ady and Karl Kraus both of them castigated the superficial and hypocritic public morality and rotten institutions of the Monarchy. Both carried on fierce polemics with their opponents. Ady fought with greater consistence of principle, and Kraus with more brilliant wit. Just as Karl Kraus influenced the intellectuals of Vienna including Wittgenstein, Mahler, Adolf Loos, and Kokoschka with his irony, style, and severe morality, so the impact of Ady's art and personality on the opposition culture of the Hungary of the turn of the century, its various trends, progressive literature, arts, and social sciences was unique. Ady's contribution lent radical hues to the new periodical, *Nyugat* (West) *(nomen est omen)*, in 1908 that lined up the new Hungarian literature in the spirit of bourgeois liberalism. György Lukács and his circle, influenced by German philosophy, Kierkegaard and Dostoevsky, received the most effective push in the direction of radical morality and politics from Ady. The then new Hungarian music, Bartók and Kodály in the first place, was encouraged by Ady in its study of the folklore of neighbouring peoples. The society of sociologists turned radical, and modern artists first rallied after the publication of Ady's first mature collection of poems.

The roots

Endre Ady hailed from the Partium, the marches of Transylvania, from a small village, where Hungarian peasants coexisted in their misery with Rumanian ones. The situation implanted a powerful social con-

sciousness in him in early childhood. His family was an impoverished Calvinist one belonging to the petty nobility that had produced ministers and dominies for generations. His deep-rooted Calvinism became one of the decisive factors of his verse. His Calvinist faith in predestination suffuses his poetry. These poems revive with special force the language and the spirit of the Bible, and the transcendence of predestination always coincides in them with the secularism of the regularity of social progress.

Even if the haughtiness of his gentry origin played a role, it was, first of all, his early awakened faith in a mission with a peculiarly Calvinist colour. The first sign was a break with family tradition that pushed him to journalism in spite of his parents' opposition to his dropping out of a law course. This faith in his mission developed in him into a real charismatic consciousness later in the course of his ever more serious fights and polemics. ("God's stricken gift," he wrote about his poetic vocation in one of his late poems.) This is what increases his poetic ego almost to superhuman size. The notion of the prophet in Rimbaud, or the poet and priest of Wagner, is entirely alien to him. He is not the priest of the art religion, but a seventeenth-century Calvinist preacher who is grieving and swearing because his nation heads for disaster. On the other hand he is also a nineteenth-century rationalist who firmly believes in the development of mankind, and an artist of the twentieth dealing with all problems of the artist's existence: the artist's relation to his own subject (instincts, passions) and the outside world (money, God, solitude, social troubles): the whole man alienated from God and himself.

Because his revolutionary spirit is inseparable from his belief in his mission, his revolutionary spirit revolting against everything is, first of all, of Calvinist origin. That is why traditional religion is united with revolt in his case, bringing about the peculiar combination of tradition and revolution, expressed by him this way: "In the same branch I am emancipation and curb, protesting faith and missionary veto." He dialectically combines tradition and revolution, and it is the Calvinist origin of this which made him feel André Gide to be closely related.

External impetus

Ady's beginnings as a journalist were, of course, under the influence of Vienna; the *Neue Freie Presse*, the leading paper there, was read as a matter of course by every Hungarian newspaperman; however, he preferred to direct his gaze to Paris. And if his mentality had not been left untouched by the atmosphere strongly influenced by Nietzsche at the turn of the century, and if the decadent attitude to life of the Monarchy was expressed in his early poems foreboding of death, too, his poetic maturity gathered speed much more by the encouragement of French literature after his first stay in Paris.

The crisis of artistic expression which tempted Hofmannsthal and the artists in Vienna with perfect silence (the figure of Kaspar Hauser became a fashionable symbol at the time) and favoured very much the aphoristic way of expression, did not even arise with Ady. His desire to communicate came from his awareness of charisma. He always took sides with life in the conflict between life and art.

It is true that Hungary was different from Austria where a democratic structure with universal suffrage and a relatively powerful workers' party seemed to be working, clashing with the Monarchy's almost absurdly anachronistic traditions that appeared as something that could not be overthrown. The transcendence of illusory existence was really wrapped in mystery here, and the artist drowned in his

own soul, while the man of intellect could grasp perspectives that appeared real in a semi-feudal, multinational Hungary. The realization of these perspectives, it was believed, could have broken open the framework of the Monarchy. Equality of national rights, land reform, and universal suffrage still fell short of possibilities. Consequently it can be understood that the Hungarian artists of the beginning of the century, especially if he possessed social sensibilities like Ady, tried to find an example beyond the Monarchy.

French orientation in Hungarian culture has been an established convention anyway. Self-defence against the Germanizing efforts of the kings of the Habsburg dynasty turned away the Hungarians from Vienna. As it was put by Ady: "...we have to run from the Germans and go further West for our ideas." France had given shelter to the overthrown leaders of the Hungarian wars of independence and revolutions from Rákóczi to Mihály Károlyi, and it had been Paris that attracted Hungarian artists for a longer or shorter time as early as the last century from Ferenc Liszt to the painter Mihály Munkácsy.

As a journalist in the country Ady had already paid attention to the cultural and political events of France. He wrote about the Dreyfus case and approved with enthusiasm the anti-clerical radicalism then flourishing in France so much more as the estates of the Church and the property of the Catholic clergy played a leading role in the impossible development of the distribution of land in Hungary.

Ady went to France altogether seven times. On the first two occasions he spent nearly a year there. He arrived in Paris in 1904, when Paris was in the fever of Church and State separation and the news of Russo–Japanese conflict. It is clear that he was absorbed by the rhythms of life rather than by the French literature of those times that lacked in need of really great individuals. The openness of French society and the full publicity of political life exerted an irresistible influence on him. In Rodin's sculptures, too, he saw the artistic objectivations of eventful life, and especially the *Thinker* had a great effect on him with its monumentality and vividness.

He was not affected by the crisis of symbolism felt in French literature at that time. In contradiction with sterile and flat Hungarian poetic rationalism, Baudelaire meant "new thrills" for him. However, he did not learn the poetic craft from him either, but attented more closely to a modern awareness of life that appeared in his poems, and to those inner sensations which take place in the liberated man's soul who is not confined to any kind of convention or taboo. Protest against patterns and the escape from bourgeois civilization attracted him to Gauguin, too. Baudelaire's poems and *Paradis Artificiels* had been a collection of examples of psychological discoveries for him, but of such discoveries he had been aware for a long time. He, too, was "a passenger of ecstasy galleys"; even though he was not aware of the ecstasy of hashish he knew that of wine very well, and reading Baudelaire encouraged him that "with the climbing rope of ecstasy he can take the risk of going deeper into the abyss of the soul" than he had done up to that time, to a place where the mysterious correspondences come to light and the sensations mix up.

A particular symbolism

The roots of Ady's symbolism were given outright in his mythopoeic imagination and an ability of expanding practically without limits the expressive possibilities and powers of the Hungarian language. György Lukács first pointed out that Ady's symbols appear complete, natural and as a sort of experience, and the most sensually concrete images express impersonally abstract ideas in a powerfully suggestive way. But as the process of the ideas turning into images is concealed

from the reader, the symbols have the effect of myths.

That mythopoeic way of visualizing things was believed by contemporaries to be instinctive. Even the Catholic priest poet and professor Sándor Sik—at the time one of the best interpreters of Ady—demanded in a down-to-earth rationalistic form whether Ady really believed his own visions, and came to the conclusion that he did in the hours of the inspiration, but only on an instinctive, intuitive basis, and not through reason.

Ady was not instinctive at all, but a conscious creative mind. His poetic outlook was completely understandable, his most daring images and symbols are explicable on the level of concepts, if not always on the level of definite objectivity, i.e. not unanimously, with the concepts of a philosophical thesis. What looked to the contemporaries as something incomprehensible, is easy for a secondary-school pupil of today.

It is a moot point whether Ady's symbols form a system or whether they are occasional. Although the cyclical grouping of the poems and the recurrence of the cycles in his successive collections warn the reader that he consciously strove to expand the cycle of themes, this does not necessarily mean a system. Only a systematic typological classification could decide the debate one way or the other. One thing is certain: the chain of symbols undergoes a change, a development in the poet's creative periods. His images simplify from the most daring to something translucent and pure, and his symbols turn more abstract, but also richer and fuller in thought. The same process of concentration goes on in his language in Ady's late period. His war poems are just about unsurpassable masterpieces of terseness.

The personality of the poet

As Ady's social and individual sphere are inseparable, even his most personal poems are closely linked to the social reality of his age. The torment of his love poetry was not only linked to his syphilis, but with a certain nervousness arising from the domestic political atmosphere that drove the poet to Paris, then back to Hungary. Ady's poems on God not only relied on the doctrines of Calvinism and the intellectual crisis of his age, but also reflected the state of mind of the pursued revolutionary, his relative loneliness, and a sensitivity bordering on paranoia owing to recurrent persecutions. The linguistic elements of his revolutionary poems could make up a dictionary of religious terms. To workers he sends an Ark of the Covenant as a token of solidarity, he welcomes revolutionary youth with hosannahs and in the coming revolution of the proletariat "every fighter is a Christ."

The reason for this apparent inconsequence is the poet's ever present endeavour and ability to re-live the world in its complexity and totality. That is why contrasts and contradictions play such a great role right from the linguistic elements of expression to the construction of cycles to the arrangement of cycles in a way that his contradictions can justly be regarded as one of the defining principles of his poetry as far as form is concerned. This accounts for the constant tension in his poetry. And this is also the reason for the very fact that readers encompassing all layers of society felt him to be their own, and his poems created a kind of consensus among readers. The suggestion of new, unknown, myterious forces connected with symbols taken from myth, the dynamic and thrilling opening lines, and the language blending the unusual, the old and the new, and the individual, together account for the effect that made contemporaries either back him or oppose him. There had never been a Hungarian poet like Ady who could provoke such a clash of passions.

Feeding those passions was a consistent attitude to commit himself to revolt and the fight against anything that he considered

wrong, harmful and an obstacle to progress.

His volumes include cycles of poems on Hungary that shed a more penetrating light on the nature of Hungarian backwardness than many studies in sociology. In his castigation of the errors of his people Ady compares best with Heine. The pathos of these poems, apart from the alternation of confident and dejected moods, is fed by the same revolutionary belief that had arisen in him following the desolate state of affairs described in his first poems on Hungary.

Following an extensive explanatory campaign by the forces of progress, the stimulation of the Russian revolution of 1905 and the militancy of the Ady poems, extortion of democratic freedoms from successive weak governments was possible until 1913. At that date, however, the opposition suffered a crucial defeat owing to their own hesitancy, a fact marked by the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. Despite the dejected public mood Ady did not give up the fight. For him fighting and absence of compromise were moral commands from which he would not and could not escape even in a state of hopelessness and suffering. His self-mythologizing metaphors (the forced-to-be-Hercules and the tree of compulsion) apply to that militant role acted with a consciousness of moral obligation.

The catastrophe of the Great War exposed him to his hardest trial. Not for one moment did he doubt the senselessness and dehumanizing nature of the war. He was well aware, and he recorded this, that there can be but losers in the war: "All will lose out in the field." When the greatest minds of the age, Thomas Mann, Anatole France, Dehmel, or Verhaeren faltered, Ady paid tribute to the memory of the martyr Jaurès in one of his poems. He thought that all the values accumulated by the human race and his own people in cultural and material goods thanks to democratic progress would come to nought in the war. The possibility of a revolution looked uncertain and in the distant future. But in that hopeless situation Ady retained his ego. He refused to identify with the warmongers or with those carried away by war hysteria. His worry centred on the fate of the humanity instead of joining the masses in their chauvinistic hatred: "I keep suffering as a man and as a Hungarian." It was at that time that he put into words a moral command which could not became obsolete, that would in the hardest of times help a man retain his integrity: "Be a man in inhumanity."

Through the inferno of the war Ady managed to save in his poems the values worth saving: the ravished idea, beauties of life wherever found, the enthusiastic beliefs of progress of yesterday, and the hope of renewing humanity tightened under terror, now sleeping under the snow. Thus he kept the autonomy of his poet's personality despite the fact that he had been worn out by the war, both in body and mind.

Verse technique

Like a man who makes his own laws, Ady created something radically new in verse technique. For centuries the line had been that of West European metrical poetry that had to be forced to the accentuated prosody of the Hungarian language. Since the end of the nineteenth century a polished iambic verse well adapted to melodious clichés prevailed. Yet Petőfi and Arany, two of Hungary's greatest poets, had fought and won allowing the strong beat in folk poetry to live on. Ady restored the harmony between metrical and strong beat poetry by evoking in the reader a long-forgotten old Hungarian rhythm despite the unusual character of the new melody, reproducing contemporary conversation at the same time. Thus, in the second half of his career, from 1910 on, he took clear steps from liberated Hungarian verse towards a loosely rhythmic free verse. Despite the fact that the rhymed-

rhythmical Ady type of poem prevailed, free verse harmonized well with his modern poetic outlook. Free verse could even make translation easier if his translators were to keep that in mind.

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Ady in the last years of his life reached the summits of the literature of his time but the world took little notice. A possible exception were neighbouring nations. Their poets started translating Ady in his lifetime and his poetry left a deep impression on them. But it must be admitted that his poetry is still unknown beyond these limits. Reasons should be sought in the difficulties of the language: apart from the fact that Ady's language is that of a relatively isolated community, it is loaded with very old tropes deeply rooted in the Hungarian historical conscience that do not raise the same connotations in foreign readers, making translation extremely difficult. But other obstacles hindering dissemination of Ady's poetry include the viewpoints of selection which may have been the guiding principles at the time, and still gain ground from time to time. The earlier selections placed the accent on Ady's first period, the poems of which are often overornamented, rich in mythological symbols and Art Nouveau decorativeness, ignoring those poems that are modern in thought, and linguistic terseness which represent the unsurpassable Hungarian poet of the early twentieth century in the best possible way. Translating a poem of Ady into a foreign language thus requires special effort.

All this is important merely from the viewpoint of a universal impact. Ady does not depend on the quality of translations or the degree of his popularity abroad. A poet who has realized the need of human totality in his outlook in a very complex and contradictory age, is a universal phenomenon whether the world knows it or not.

GYULA CSÁK

VILLAGE ATTITUDES TODAY

It is not that my home village of Ladány has a unique and exclusive consciousness —Püspökladány, to give it its full name, is an organic part of Hungary, so it was never in a position to detach itself from the mentality and consciousness characteristic of the whole of Hungarian society. There may, however, be certain features peculiar to it alone, for the fate of the settlement is in some respects different from that of other places in Hungary and, consequently, the mentality of the people living here may display divergences from the norm.

The mentality of the ex-peasant strata should be mentioned first of all. This mentality was shaped by oppression and deprivation, but as can be seen from the history of Ladány, it did not develop along revolutionary lines but resulted rather in a cautiousness or at best a cautiously rebellious attitude.

In my childhood I was taught two adages which truly characterize the philosophy of the Ladány peasants who, during their history, were practically always benumbed with reticence, subservience or indifference. The first: "úri politika karonfogva jár" meant that there was no use meddling in the affairs of the gentry who ruled the roost, for there was nothing that could be done against the serried ranks of the leisured classes.

The second adage was "az úr a pokolban is úr" (lit: "a gentleman is a gentleman in hell, too"). That is: even if we meddled in the affairs of the gentry and attained some temporary success, we should not rejoice over much, because the permanence of this

success would be highly doubtful. There was no way—even in hell!—of creating a social situation where the gentleman ceased to be a gentleman. . . .It was therefore better to give up trying, to humble ourselves, to refrain from making a fuss, to know our place and keep to it.

A second characteristic of Ladány peasant mentality, a kindred trait since it organically follows from the first, is that which may be best described as distrust. The course of it was repeated disappointment, the experience that, when they did after all make up their minds to engage in a risky undertaking, it almost always went wrong. If determination hardened and they demanded something from life or from the gentry and struck some bargain, they almost always got their fingers burnt. The best thing was not to enter into a bargain, but "stick to your own world".

However, I often heard a third adage, too, different in tone and content from the others; it was: "Ha a paraszt nem szarik, az úr nem eszik" (lit: "If the peasant doesn't shit, the gentleman won't eat!") This was a rejoinder, a kind of self-consolation meaning that, why, we are also somebodies; moreover: we are the most important, and even if others refuse to respect this, we accept our fate with concealed defiance and pride. This sentence they always uttered with swollen necks so that the sunburnt skin below their napes would wrinkle. Suppressed anger lurked in their unfocussed eyes.

It is true that the thinking of man is shaped by his material and social condition, but it is also true that consciousness changes more slowly than physical conditions.

So it is to little avail that the feudal social conditions of the Ladány peasant have been abolished, his personal material circumstances improved a thousand per cent—he still looks around him with ingrained wariness and receives even the most straightforward communications with distrust, because he wants to protect himself from being cheated.

After lengthy and repeated persuasion he sometimes accepts something new, but daring initiative, the bold step towards taking fuller possession of life, is still pretty alien to him. He prefers to be dragged forward rather than go under his own steam.

Traditionalism and common sense

Not only historically and socially but also economically, there is hardly any trace of enterprise on the part of the Ladány peasantry. Initiatives of this sort were in times past strongly restricted by lack of means, or rather by lack of information, by ignorance. And the question is not only that they did not take initiatives, but that they also received the initiatives of others with suspicion, sometimes with hostility.

This is also the reason why no special agricultural traditions have emerged in Ladány, and why wheat and maize were never fully accepted as indigenous crops. Some parts of the Ladány soil are remarkably suitable for the growing of melons, potatoes, grapes, fruit and onions. Peasants kept on growing them, and they still do, sometimes with excellent results, but only for their own consumption, because they always shrink from large-scale undertakings.

I remember a short struggle I fought as a child against my adult environment at home. Based on what I had learnt from textbooks in higher elementary school, I proposed the construction of a pigsty into which swill could be poured from the outside. All that was needed was a plank to be fixed to the sty as a movable part, so that the bucket could be pressed into it, and the swillings be poured into the pig-trough standing against the sty-wall. In this way the feeding could have been effected by someone attired in full evening-dress, whereas the customary method meant you had to enter the sty through the door and engage in close combat with the ever hungry pigs who either rushed out through the door

—which, to make matters worse, opened outward—or they knocked the bucket out of your hand, or even trampled over you. In any event you got yourself in a thorough mess by the end of the feeding.

In short, my "innovation" would have been very simple, clear and inexpensive but nobody wanted it either at home or in the neighbourhood.

And although the co-operatives use far more up-to-date methods than mine for pig keeping, and the people of Ladány appreciate and apply them in the co-operative—at home they feed the pigs the way my grandfather did fifty years ago and obviously their grandfathers did in olden times.

The main source of this disposition is always lack of information, ignorance, which makes people unduly cautious, uncertain, and even hostile to any innovation and change—but on the other hand the strict preservation of tradition also had its good reasons.

It was self-defence, the self-preserving discipline of a social structure, for want of which the whole thing could have fallen apart, the peasants could have been afflicted by hardships and humiliations more intolerable even than those they suffered. But in consequence of the fact that the peasant world jealously guarded its own order, that it punished and "maligned", sometimes even expelled those who violated this discipline—in consequence of this the peasantry not only could avert dissolution but could preserve, beyond its mere existence, some of its rights and values.

We should not therefore simply dismiss traditionalism because what engenders it is not only stupidity but also common sense, wisdom and reason. The peasantry preserves in its attitudes and working methods, not merely obsolete and unusable garbage but also eternal values and traditions which, with wise selection, one can or could put to the service of progress.

There was a (1944—1956) time when the hunt for quantity was reigning supreme in the productive activities of the country. The peasant stood about and smugly counted his wage packet, which had grown precisely as a result of his having done his work dishonestly. Of course, he did not give the money back, but drew his own conclusions about a world which paid better for work badly done.

In this way peasant tradition was destroyed, but we did not gain much by it; on the contrary, we lost a great deal.

As mentioned earlier, the Ladány peasant not only used to do his job in times past, but he used to do it well, without being paid any more for it. He added aesthetic quality to his work, although at the time there were no banners bearing the slogan that "work brings honour and glory" as in the early fifties.

By now, however, he has forgotten this good tradition, and the whole nation is the poorer for it.

Many other aspects of the former codes of peasant honour are decaying, and nowadays we can see that neither have the values of traditional peasant mentality survived intact nor have the elements of the new mentality of a supposedly higher order struck root.

As a consequence, the less than satisfactory state of Ladány's affairs distresses both those who would like to preserve the peasant traditions completely and those who would like to destroy them completely. The one finds fault with the salvaging of peasant tradition, the other sees the source of all evil in the surviving vestiges of the peasant mentality. At the beginning of the transformation of Ladány peasant consciousness it was necessary to act with greater circumspection, with a more thorough knowledge of the locality and its people, and today some manifestations of confused consciousness would not be so apparent.

What happened, of course, cannot be altered. All we can do is take better care hereafter.

There are a number of examples of this greater care and circumspection in Ladány. The present leaders of the community un-

derstand that, while the withering away of peasant society is taking place as a natural and necessary process and even the vestigial legacy is being transformed, they have to take care to save and respect everything that was good and valuable, and born of Ladány labour.

Proper scope and help is given to intellectuals imbued with local patriotism, and in the wake of their work there clearly emerges the heart-warming fact that during the centuries of misery the people maintained a capacity for cleverness, beauty, wisdom and honesty. This may not be more than what the more fortunate generations living in other parts of the country achieved, it may be rather less, but it is still valuable, it is still a product of Ladány and deserves respect and reverence.

It is first of all by collecting the ethnographic data of the neighbourhood, by organizing occasional exhibitions, that they spread knowledge of and affection for this human settlement and thereby enrich the self-awareness and consciousness of the man of Ladány. Old peasants and youngsters have come together to start a zither orchestra. This not only provides local entertainment but has the additional effect of making the existence of Püspökladány and its 16,000 inhabitants known to the world outside.

The Village Council met the expenses of the publication of a local history and published another work edited locally which, even measured by international standards, deserves attention. It contains the Gypsy tales collected in Ladány by Sándor Csenki who died young in 1940. Then, with the help of Csenki's surviving brother, Imre, an eminent figure in Hungarian choral art, there appeared original, so far unpublished Gypsy folk-songs collected mainly in Ladány.

Another of the Village Council's publications, the periodical *Ladányi Híradó*, besides publishing articles of topical interest, regularly includes material of a historical nature and in this way builds a bridge between yesterday and today, in order thereby to help people find their bearings, judge their own situation, and shape their consciousness.

Speaking of the past of Ladány, I have talked in detail about the unusual social heterogeneity of the place. And if someone's material condition and personal disposition were different from those of his neighbour he usually had a different "world view" as well. And these many kinds of consciousness and false consciousness emerged transformed from the ordeals of historical change. But however overlaid by new strata of consciousness, each layer has preserved something of its essence, and today there are many in Ladány who still judge their personal condition by the old standards, particularly when it is a question of old privileges being carried over into the present.

Actually these are puny matters if we compare them to the historical upheavals of humanity, of the entire Hungarian nation. But to local people, to those who live in one and the same street or are just neighbours, or to workmates, they are nevertheless fairly important consciousness-shaping factors.

In fact, it is to no avail that Püspökladány has long since been a municipality, and to no avail that the non-peasant strata have been increasing for decades; the whole atmosphere of the settlement is still rural. Everyone knows everyone and they all know precisely where their own places are in the local hierarchy; or rather, they all think they know, though often they are wrong, first of all because they judge the circumstances of others and their own circumstances on the basis of old attitudes, habits and criteria.

Past and present attitudes

The way things are today is that those who once saw "better days" feel they are still superior to all those who were worse off formerly, even if the latter are better off today.

On the other hand, those who are better

off today, no matter how much they deserve it, find it more difficult to gain appreciation and public esteem than those who formerly enjoyed undeserved privileges, but since they had a hereditary right to them, people got accustomed to them and judge them today accordingly. And if I were to refine the observation further, I would complement it with my own strange experience that in most cases those who were better off in olden times, that is under the old social system are also better off today. I hasten to add, of course, that this is by no means a crude survival or repetition of the old order, for all those who were really well off in olden times, those who lived virtually above society, in the category of oppressors and exploiters, no longer live in Ladány (neither do their descendants)—and those who were so badly off that they were starving have also disappeared, or at least are no longer starving. And there are today no extreme economic differences in Püspökladány, but the ingrained attitudes inflate even those small differences that do exist and are inclined to act as if these small differences were qualitative boundaries, too.

The attitude is: a better life than that of others is advantageous not only because it is more comfortable and more pleasant, but also because it enables the acquisition of further advantages.

He who was better off in the past and was better educated, more informed, more resourceful, often proves to be more resourceful under socialist circumstances as well.

For example, some complaints are made in Ladány that former rich peasants who were called Kulaks in the early fifties entered industry, by dint of circumstances, earlier than all other peasants—because after a time the forced development of industry made it impossible to scrutinize personal files and all those who reported for work were employed—and, starting as unqualified workers, became esteemed members of society. Today every one of these men enjoys life as a retired skilled worker, with a much higher pension than those co-operative pensioners whom he used to exploit.

This is right. And this is wrong, i.e. unjust. And yet it is just.

For a certain time it was natural, and necessary, to grant benefits of the new social order to those who had been disadvantaged in the old society. Of course, this newly granted privilege was not only historical justice, it certainly was not a kind of charitable gift, but mainly it was a social imperative for those living on the sunny side of the old system were unable—and naturally initially unwilling—to enter the service of the new order. After a lapse of twenty to thirty years, however, it is very comprehensible and proper for the vast majority of former waverers and vacillators, guided not only by necessity but also by inner conviction, to report for service in the new order. And again it is no more than reasonable and historically necessary that they all be given proper places and rights, and this in proportion to their knowledge, talents and hard work, and not from the point of view of their shilly-shallyings or possible opposition of former times. It is an elementary prerequisite for the economic, cultural and political advancement of the country to widen the circle from which people fit for various fields can be recruited. And, thank God, we have come so far that this circle today encompasses the whole country; whatever their origins, the door is open for them to succeed in accordance with their talents and performance.

There are some, however, who do not approve of the principle and even do their utmost to prevent its being but into practice.

And this conservative, or "leftist," conception makes its effect felt even in Ladány; therefore someone who leaves Ladány can, in full possession of the rights received from the democratic system, sometimes succeed more easily than someone who stays there. And then the good people of Ladány are surprised if a person whom they had quali-

fied as "unreliable" because he had not come from the people, and whom they consequently had even "censured" on moving to another place, receives titles and earns big money, and even looks down at them.

If nowadays we are looking for an engineer, a teacher, a foreman, a factory manager, a foreign trade expert or somebody fit for public life, we cannot judge such a person by his past "attitude" to the land reform or the secularization of schools. Still less can we judge him by the "attitude" of his father or grandfather. Production and cultural and polical life would not only be deprived of a large percentage of the ablest people, but it would be utterly unjust, for it would be to deny that people are capable of changing and that socialist society is able to transform the consciousness and behaviour of people.

I have been saying all this because the spectrum of Ladány consciousness includes precisely this kind of political conservatism. And it draws strength not only from the fact that a number of the leading personalities in Ladány are disciples of an earlier and in many respects wrong-headed school of politics and public life and still subscribe to it today, but probably also from the fact that the already discussed peasant conservatism and clumsiness somehow infiltrate the consciousness of some of the leaders. Or rather they have never left it, for a section of the leadership is drawn from the local peasantry, or at least from amongst the disciples of one-time generally prevailing peasant and rustic attitudes.

In consequence of all this, the broad-mindedness and up-to-date attitudes so essential nowadays are to a disturbing extent absent in Ladány.

Access to education

But there is another side to this coin.

I have discussed with intellectuals who live in or come from Ladány and with members of other, once "well-to-do" families, who urge the liberty of selection in the opposite direction. They say: Today one should not be bothering at all about social points of view, but should be selecting people for positions in the adult world, and for university and college places according to aptitude alone. It is unwise and also unnecessary to urge the education of "the people" and advancement of "the people", for lo and behold! The example of Ladány is ample proof that the people are unfit for education, because they lack innate ability. Let us now examine the question of whether these Ladány people—who have been educated at so tremendous a cost for thirty years now—have been educated at all, whether they have changed. They have access to all schools, unlimited facilities for learning languages; cultural life is open to them through a million channels: lectures, courses, newspapers, books, radio, television; exhibitions, theatres and concerts await them, and instead they only eat, drink and sleep. They prefer to put their money in the savings bank rather than, say, collect private libraries, buy records, paintings, etc. They keep building new houses but cram them full of trash.

I have been told by those with whom I've discussed the question to look, on the other hand, at the Ladány people whom I know so well, from whom everything was taken away after 1945, who had to maintain themselves and their families on a few pennies; look how, even in the most difficult times, they spent money on culture and art, because this was natural for them, because they could not have lived without it, and they have implanted it in their children, too, and however hard the road they have trodden, they have still obtained diplomas and perform valuable work today.

This argumentation is a deceptive mixture of wisdom and stupidity, of justice and lies.

First of all, and unfortunately, the doors have not been opened sufficiently and properly for the genuine education of the people of Ladány.

But if they had been... Those for whom these doors were open earlier would be in a more advantageous position today as well. And if we failed to take into consideration that, as a consequence of historical injustices, the vast majority of the Hungarian people are in this respect disadvantaged over and against a minority, we could never change this proportion, or disproportion. Then this sphere of consciousness of the Ladány social structure could never be modified, could never move, or never could have moved from its state of inertia, but it did, thank God.

Those who claim that, unlike the "masses" of Ladány, they are really attracted to culture, to human progress and development, tend to forget that this present "natural" attraction to culture is based on previous social privileges. It may be that a good number of those still living today perceive little of these privileges, but their parents and grandparents did. It may be, it is even certain, that those living today, especially the thirty-to-forty-year-olds, who have come from an intellectual environment, or from other "better-off" homes, had in their childhood and youth (in the period of the so called personality coult) lived a life in many respects more miserable than a good part of the Ladány peasant children. However, while the peasant parents gave their children goose fat to eat and "let them have everything" in general, they could not instil in them a liking for culture, because they did not have it themselves. In many cases they still do not today. On the other hand, parents from an intellectual background, in consequence of society's one-time distrust of them, might have temporarily become impoverished and often could not buy the clothes their children needed. But they could always give them one thing: a liking for culture, or at least the family atmosphere which could provide a significant entrée into the world of education, an orientation in life, a fitness for life.

For the question is mainly about the latter. Except for a few persons Ladány never had a real intelligentsia, but there were many families better off than the very poor, families who were not genuinely cultured but possessed a kind of cultural smartness. They had an operetta culture, also in the strict sense of the word, that all their culture consisted in being familiar with operettas, but they possessed sufficient material means to send a member of the family who wished to live an intellectual life to university.

Then, there were in the locality many strata and people of non-peasant occupation who had more time and opportunity than the peasant had for "getting about", for travelling, which enabled them to learn something from the local gentry, film actors, romantic heroes, and to keep imitating these examples, amalgamating the "culture" and behaviour thus acquired into their half-gentlemanly and half-peasant existence, and even strove to flaunt it.

And these little men of Ladány—clerks, wealthier merchants, artisans, better paid railwaymen—enthusiastically acted the part of victims, eagerly pledged solidarity with all those "better people" who felt hurt by social progress, and they still pull faces affectedly today when they "smell" a peasant in Ladány.

All these layers of consciousness pervade and will continue to pervade Ladány in a complex manner.

The people of Ladány have too long been miserably poor, so it is understandable if they endeavour to leave that miserable condition as far as possible gehind them. And we have far to go before we will interpret their eagerness to acquire material goods as a detrimental phenomenon harmful on a social scale. What is the aim of this eager striving? Good food, good clothing, a good and comfortable home, possibly travel and a variety of entertainments.

They have a right to all this, and may God give the Ladány people strength to attain this goal as soon as possible.

ANNA WESSELY

ANTAL AND LUKÁCS—THE MARXIST APPROACH TO THE HISTORY OF ART

It is generally known among art historians that Frigyes (Frederick) Antal has been one of their most important Marxist colleagues. His writings elicited lively debates of overtly ideological character within a discipline which, established as it was on meticulous historical research and refined connoisseurship, seemed to have severed almost all ties with the present and with social theory. The discipline, conservative though it may be, could not simply pass over in silence the results of Antal's research (or of his contemporary Klingender), or attempt to shake them off with crushing reviews as it was able to do at the beginning of our century with Plekhanov, or with Fuchs and Hausenstein, both highly popular outside the field. Two reasons may account for this change in attitude. Firstly, from the 1940s on, it became fairly general practice in publications on art history to round out the traditional approach with some social history. Secondly, in Antal's work the attempt to apply Marxist theory was united with all the virtues of an almost positivist philological precision and of the connoisseur's sensitive eye. His books—*Florentine Painting and Its Social Background* (1948), *Fuseli Studies* (1956), *Hogarth and His Place in European Art* (1962), *Classicism and Romanticism with other studies in art history* (1966)[1] could not be ignored because they revealed new facts and lines of development.

Thus the reviewers were compelled to perform a tactical about face: they accurately cut Antal's works in two, i.e. "art history" and "ideology," in order to pay tribute to the author's erudition and, at the same time, poke fun at his "ideological strait-jacket," and eye, again and again, the irrelevancy of any kind of Marxist interpretation of art. Alas, the same method of approach prevailed in Marxist criticism—only with a positive bias. The weightiest objection to such a procedure is not the artificial division of the conceptual unity of this work or the other, but that it utterly ignores the central idea of Antal's writings. This concerns the awareness that Marxist art history can only grasp its subject correctly if, on the one hand, it reveals the *mediations* between the material and intellectual production of a specific culture, which mediations actually contain these types of production as two aspects of one social whole; and if, on the other hand, as a prerequisite for the reproduction in thought of said mediations, it can successfully mediate between historico-philosophical, aesthetic generalization and the analysis of the works of art. This endeavour which permeates Antal's works results in a radical break with the methods presuming a merely external and occasional connection between art and society, as well as with the methods deducing artistic particularities from certain abstract laws of dialectical materialism.

In this theorical aspect, the mature works of Frigyes Antal and of György Lukács came so close to each other as their authors themselves had perhaps never been during their former friendship. Since they started on their careers from different scientific traditions, it was necessary for such friendship to develop, to bridge the gap between systematic aesthetic theory and the historical research into the development of art, a gap that had become ever wider since the rejection of their speculatively achieved union in Hegel's *Aesthetics*.

[1] London. Routledge & Kegan Paul. With the exception of *Florentine Painting*, all works appeared posthumously in the care of Mrs. Evelyn Antal.

The aim of the present paper is to point out the theoretical relationship of Antal's and Lukács's attempts to explain developments in the arts. (The available documents of their personal relationship are printed in the Appendix.)

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Lukács was well aware of the key role of mediations both in reality and in its reproduction in thought; this is clearly shown by his critical remark on Antal's *Florentine Painting:* he censures the author for "having arrived at some interrelations and conclusions too directly."[2] Hardly a reader of Antal would doubt the pertinence of this criticism. Few readers are aware, however, of the methodological importance of the circumstance that Antal recognized style, the traditional central notion of art history, as the domain of mediations between society and its art. By this very fact, the organizatory principle of his investigations became a category the application of which Marxist aesthetics generally restricts to the description of particular, individual features in the works of art, although they are at the same time forced to give their tacit consent to its inevitable use in art historical syntheses.

From the logical point of view, the concept of style represents a level of abstraction above the individual work of art and below aesthetic generalizations, situated in the field of particularity, the central category of the aesthetic element in Lukács's theory. The concept of style embraces both vital aspects of artistic production: its dependence on a given social context, and the creative process in which an artist gives meaning and form to the material of his art.[3]

Apart from some attempts that went unnoticed and some consistently misunderstood experiments, such a concept of style first appears in György Lukács's early writings, first and foremost in his *History of the Development of Modern Drama.* This book, published in 1911, correctly regards the question of style—considered "above all sociological"—as the key to the process of artistic creation and, consequently, to a systematic history of literature as well. Style is defined here as the socially determined *a priori* of the artist's vision. Lukács also outlines a model of the sociological determination of art, a model which is undoubtedly related to the structure and logic of Antal's *Florentine Painting:* "economic and cultural conditions—outlook on life—form (as the *a priori* of creation for artists)—life as material—creation: life as shaped—public here again as a causal chain of outlook on life—economic and cultural conditions) —effect—reaction of possible effects on creation—and so on, and so forth, *ad infinitum.*"[4]

We have no information about when the friendship between Antal and Lukács actually began. In any case, Antal's dissertation submitted in 1914 in Vienna displayed, in its treatment of art history, ideas and such synthesizing abilities that he must have been open to Lukács's influence at the time. His *Klassizismus, Romantik and Realismus in der französischen Malerei von der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zum Auftreten Géricaults* presented the French painting of a century by tracing the development of different artistic trends and their continuously changing interrelations, and by revealing the relationship of these trends and currents with the tastes and requirements of the social groups commissioning the pictures and with the dominating aesthetic views of the era. The possibility of the impact of Lukács's *History of the Development of Modern Drama* on

[2] In his lecture entitled "Marxism and Art History" (*Marxism Today*, June 1977), J. Tagg — while qualifying Antal's ideas about the history of styles as "revisionist" (p. 188)—stresses the historical specificity of mediations, and arrives at an interpretation very similar to Antal's (p. 191).

[3] György Lukács: *Az esztétikum sajátossága* (The Characteristics of the Aesthetic Quality). Budapest, 1969, Vol. II, p. 650.

[4] György Lukács: *A modern dráma fejlődéstörténete* (History of the Development of Modern Drama). Budapest, 1911. Vol. I, p. XI.

Antal's dissertation cannot be excluded; demonstrated by the fact that Antal's lecture, delivered in 1918, a chronological sequence to his dissertation treating as it did French painting from Géricault to Cézanne[5] was, in its method, closely related to the work of Lukács just mentioned. The lecture was delivered at the Free School for the Humanities in Budapest. Its text has not been found; we do have, however, Karl Mannheim's speech inaugurating the semester, in which he commented Antal's lecture as follows: the lecture, entitled *The Evolution of Composition and Content in Modern Painting* deals with the dissociation and the interrelation of these two elements. "Antal, however, will trace this development by taking an additional aspect into account, that is by taking the sociological background into consideration; for the question might be raised whether cultural objectification as artistic form, it is not somehow related to the social groups or classes in the framework of which it comes about. Considering the influence of social forms on art, such an approach might prove very fruitful, as shown in Lukács's history of the drama; Antal tests the same approach in the fine arts."[6]

The encounter with Marxism on the part of Lukács, Antal—and the entire society of friends responsible for the Free School and designating itself as the Sunday Circle—didn't come about at the writing desk, as a result of mere theorical discoveries. The alternatives presented by the war and the revolutions compelled the members of the Circle to take a stand. Before the Hungarian Republic of Councils (which came about in March 1919) the issues and consensus objectives of the Circle were the upshot of differing, but generally liberal political views and an exclusive interest in idealistic metaphysics. Half a century later, Lukács characterized the ideological heterogeneity of the group as follows: "It is typical of the diversity of views within the Sunday [Circle] that I was the only one beginning to profess a Hegelian-Marxian view—perhaps only Frigyes Antal showed some inclination to Marxism."[7]

During the short-lived proletarian dictatorship in 1919, the utopias of cultural renewal and the pessimistic criticism of capitalism expounded at the Sunday Circle turned into boundless optimism on the part of those who espoused the aims of the Communist Party of Hungary. They actively shaped the cultural policy of the new régime, and (in addition to the grandiose plans) their efforts actually produced important results. Numerous documents of Antal's wide-ranging activities have been preserved: he directed the nationalization of private art collections and the preparation of an exhibition from this material (an exhibition opened later by György Lukács, People's Commissar for Public Instruction) and, as the head of the Directorate of Arts and Museums, he had to deal with and decide innumerable problems, from the purchase of art objects to the protection of monuments, from the training of artists to the art education of the workers. This fervent activity, left no time to confront the earlier philosophical and ethical concepts with the new political practice. Such reflections could only occur in the years of emigration, a road Antal was forced to take, along with so many of his companions, after the suppression of the Republic of Councils.

Since he had studied art history in Berlin and Vienna, attending the lectures of Wölfflin and Dvořák, it was not difficult for him to readjust into the organizatory and intellectual framework of German art historiography. At first he failed to bring into harmony his political engagement with his scientific ideals; this could only occur when the inherent contradictions of his research

5 Charles de Tolnay's communication.

6 Karl Mannheim: *Lélek és kultúra* (Soul and Culture). 1918. pp. 23–24.

7 in: Irodalmi Múzeum: *Emlékezések* (Recollections). Budapest, 1967, p. 33.

work induced him to recognize the inevitability of a revaluation.

From 1926 to 1931 Antal worked as one of the editors of *Kritische Berichte*, the art review of the most exacting standards of the period. In these years his studies show the imprint of Dvořák's last essays. This is manifest in his adherence to the methods of enquiry typical of the history of ideas *(Geistesgeschichte)*, a current of which Max Dvořák was the most important exponent in art history. In the choice of subjects this meant the examination of the so-called "idealist" art currents (Gothic, Mannerism, Romanticism) and their struggle with the less significant "materialist" trends (Renaissance, Classicism). Antal's writings from that period show nothing of the sociological interest evident in his dissertation; not a trace is left of Lukács's impact or of the expressive and vivid style of the author's first articles. In these writings art is considered an independent cultural sphere whose autonomous development has parallels in other intellectual spheres but nevertheless precludes social explanations. As for the key to the understanding of individual works of art, Antal believes to have found it in the spirit of the individual works of art, or in the artist's personality. He consistently adheres to the Dvořákian definition of the method of *Geistesgeschichte* according to which its aim is not "to correlate art phenomena with the new economic, social, and religious conditions, a procedure that has for long proved fruitless."[8] Instead, Antal tries to grasp the intellectual and spiritual contents of an era through the study of its world of thought, its human relations, and their objectifications from its ideology, its *Weltanschauung* in the last resort. In agreement with these points of view, together with the merely formal description of paintings resulted in unstable and vague categories of style in Antal's work, all the more so as no real mediation can take place between a *Weltanschauung* extract so produced, the expressive-emotional contents grasped intuitively, and the abstract formal features.

Yet already in these writings dealing with Late Gothic, the Renaissance, and Mannerism, a radically new momentum emerges: the disjunction of historical periodization and of stylistical definition—a procedure breaking with the historical fetish of homogeneous period styles. Here the categories of style designate certain types of pictorial representation, not restricted to a single period, and their ideological foundations. Thus Antal was able to establish the structural similarity between Late Gothic and Mannerism, and placed the disclosure of their genetic relationship at the focus of his research. The elaboration of this idea —already indicated by Dvořák—became the *leitmotiv* in Antal's work. His first attempt at presenting this subject, *Die Entwicklung von der Quattrocento-Gotik zum Manierismus in der florentinischen Malerei*, which he finished by the end of the 1920s, proved to be a failure, the author having restricted himself to the registration of variations and evolutions in pictorial form, due to a complicated network of artistic influences all integrated into a very loose ideological framework. This bulky manuscript obliged the author to work out new methodological principles.

After his journey to the Soviet Union in 1932, Antal ultimately settled down in England in 1934. His "methodological turn" that came about at this time was not limited to the erroneous practice, still current nowadays, of completing the analyses of forms derived from an idealist concept of history with the social "background." No; Antal strove for the Marxist reproduction, in thought, of developments in art. He wrote his really important works in his last period—from 1933 to 1954—and it is the reevaluation of the concept of style that can be considered the decisive theoretical novelty of these books.

Antal integrated his earlier concepts on

[8] Max Dvořák: *Idealismus and Naturalismus in der gotischen Skulptur und Malerei*. München, 1918, pp. 8–9.

the formation and interdependence of styles into a materialist historico-philosophical approach. He realized that art, the medium of human self-expression, reflects in its complicated structure of interrelated stylistic trends human history, the history of class struggles.

The following is an attempt to outline this historico-philosophical approach, the source which lies at the basis of Antal's views on history and which yields his criteria for value judgements.

According to Antal, the source of the dynamics of modern history lies in the struggle of the bourgeoisie for economic and political hegemony. The importance of the art created or sponsored by the bourgeoisie is proportionate to this historical role: this art forces the art production of the class and social strata hostile to the progressive bourgeoisie to compromise or turn against it.

At times following upon, at times preceding its economic gains, the bourgeoisie becomes increasingly conscious of its political aims and social ideals: the humanists of the Renaissance regarded the democracy of Antiquity, the state rationally governed by the ideal ruler as their model. In this period of increasing awareness the bourgeoisie formulates its requirements in the domain of the arts; after a transitory phase manifesting itself in a modified adoption of the art of the ruling class, these requirements become embodied in rationalist Classicism.

Historical development does not follow any "divine teleology"; it was only after many a victory and many a setback that the bourgeoisie succeeded, in the nineteenth century, in ultimately consolidating its rule in every sphere of life. The possibility of creating a genuine Classicist style always depended on the fluctuating power of the class and on its objectively revolutionary programme.

The bourgeoisie is not a homogeneous mass; the attitude of its entirety or of its parts is dependent on its economic and social weight and on its political power. The victorious bourgeoisie turns against the proletarian masses, the upper middle-class, that has seized power, against the middle and the petty bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie that has come into power or its uppermost stratum, strives, in keeping with its economic interests, for consolidation, and is ready for any sacrifice or compromise in order to achieve this. Art reacts most sensitively to the diminution of social dynamism and of history-shaping, militant ideology. The loss of progressive content puts an end to the flowering of consistent Classicism, and the political compromises leave their mark on the stylistic composition of artistic output.

There were only rare moments in modern history when progressive middle-class ideals and aspirations determined the outlook of an era and shaped its way of thinking; it is at these moments that revolutionary Classicism, the dominating art, became the style of the period. Short-lived triumphs of radical Classicism, followed by the assimilation or even the complete distortion of its achievements into deviating or opposite—aristocratic, folk, ecclesiastical, or bourgeois-reactionary—trends alternate in the art of the modern era. (We can surmise from indirect evidence that the interrelation of revolutionary spirit and Classicism played an important part in Antal's concepts on the art of future socialist societies as well.)

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Historical development is characterized by the dialectics of continuity and discontinuity: the radically new social requirements as well as the "modern" artistic creations are determined by their relationship to tradition. The texture of the art of each period is constituted by several parallel tendencies, radical aspirations are based on the traditions regarded as the most valuable and the worthiest to be continued as much as are the subjectivist, anti-realist trends. But few artists are able to respond immediately to

the most progressive requirements in art and the uneven development of the different geographical regions, different expectations of the various social strata entail the crystallization of innumerable nuances within the dominating style of the period. In flourishing periods of art, the interactions of contemporaneous currents result in a wide range of stylistic variations. Not only is there differentiation within one and the same style; at times styles alien or even opposed to each other exist simultaneously —especially when the opposing social classes and strata are highly developed from the ideological point of view, and clearly separate themselves from one another.

As long as Classicism is sufficiently in harmony with a revolutionary ideology and with everyday practice its drastically rational style is continually enriched by naturalist details derived from the observation of nature and society. If severed from its life-giving basis, Classicism becomes formal and empty, and turns into its opposite. The naturalist achievements, however, do not go lost; they live on in art, though their function and meaning are changed. Rationalism is opposed by subjectivism and by emotionalism, Classicism by the search for transcendental, irrealistic effects—clearly evident in Mannerism and Romanticism. But there are no rigid antitheses in this context: rationalism can switch over to cool-headed calculation and may create an artificial, alienated lifeless-style. And as far as emotionalism is concerned, it can have various meanings and can posses different values, for "a certain vagueness, a certain lack of definition is of the very essence of emotionalism, and its content in any given case is in the end determined by the object to which it refers."[9]

Neither a catalogue of formal features nor an iconographic description of themes are sufficient for the definition and interpretation of a given style. Style is realized in the unity of form and content, and does not exist in a vacuum. Therefore, its meaning can only be grasped in its totality, i.e. at the point of intersection of the coordinates of artistic tradition, of the given social structure, and of the ideology of the class or stratum commissioning or inspiring the works of art. Hence, the decisive question of stylistic analysis refers to the social condition under which the style came into being; nevertheless, the result so attained is by no means sufficient. The style that has taken shape opens the way to countless varieties of form and content; what more, in a modified social situation the same style can be the reflection of another, antagonistic ideology or may express the aspirations of a new class.

Antal did not always realize in his actual analyses the heuristic potentialities inherent in his above-described concept of history. Although his most important work is *Florentine Painting*, it is in the series of articles entitled "Reflections on Classicism and Romanticism" and in the monograph about Hogarth that he really succeeded in reconstructing the dialectics of historical continuity and discontinuity, the dialectic process through which an artist develops his individual style out of artistic tradition. It is precisely the integration into the concept of style of the relationship between tradition and innovation that ensures the dynamism of Antal's ideas and explains why it is not sociology of art with its short-cut between the historical processes of material and intellectual production, but rather a dialectical interpretation of history of the Antal type that can become the basis of Marxist art history.[10]

Below the reader will find, summarized or printed in entirety, six letters by Frigyes Antal addressed to Lukács, now preserved in the Lukács Archives and Library, Budapest. Only one of Lukács's replieshas been preserved; they are printed here with permission of Mrs. Evelyn Antal,

9 Frederick Antal: *Classicism and Romanticism*... London, 1966, p. 15.

10 For Antal's complete bibliography, see *Kritische Berichte* 4/1976, Nos. 2–3, pp. 35–37.

London. The letters, written during the First World War, are undated; I have attempted to date them on the basis of the biographical or historical references they contain.

Letter No. 1, approximately the summer of 1916.

Antal writes of his difficulties in obtaining exemption from military service; to obtain it, he (an unpaid member of the staff of the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts) would need, first of all, some sort of a state job. He asks for the help of Lukács's sister for this purpose.

József Nemes Lampérth, a painter living under difficult circumstances, was, from 1911 on, supported by the staff of the Museum of Fine Arts and, through the intermediary of Frigyes Antal and János Wilde, members of the Sunday Circle—György Lukács, Karl Mannheim, Arnold Hauser, Béla Fogarasi, Béla Balázs—also purchased pictures from him. His portrait of Frigyes Antal was included in his exhibition of June 1917; the present location of the portrait is unknown. In the letter, Antal writes about a Lampérth still-life he acquired for Lukács's father.

Letter No. 2, approximately September 1916.

How do you fare with your work now? Please write about this.

Monday

Dear Friend, Please forgive me for not having written so far and not having expressed my thanks for anything. In any case, I suppose you know that I am not feeling well, this being the reason for my silence. . . .*[The affair of Antal's job]*. . .

No further factual news about myself.

I have succeeded in getting much worse even compared to my state of health at the time of your visit to Budapest. Periods of apathy and of nervous spasm alternate from week to week. The former state is much better, but the latter attacks me more often.

I'm playing for time, both outwardly and inwardly. It's damn interesting that I'm still able to do this. A few months ago I was convinced I couldn't do it any longer. I'm going to the movies, to the theatre, to exhibitions. But I don't see any people yet—not even the Herbert's[1]—for even as little as that would irritate me. I try to fill out every moment with some harmless activity.

Thursday

The Lampérth pictures have been despatched by now. It took so much time because the servant who prepared the crates had to leave, on account of the Rumanian invasion, for Marosvásárhely to settle his own affairs and stayed there for two weeks. . . [The financial and administrative details of transportation.]

I put two Lampérth drawings—just received from him—into the Greco portfolio.[2]

By the way, Lampérth's making a living has become highly problematic now: he was granted six months' furlough from the army, on account of his nerves. I was able to sell a few things and I'll manage a few more minor sales, but these are only stop-gap devices. One should ask some rich people to contribute substantial sums, this would be the only possible solution. But at this stage I'm unable to pay visits to people and ask them. Nevertheless, just about my only serious occupation at present is to sell paintings by Lampérth and get some money for him.

Your failure to get appointed as *Privatdozent*[3] *really* doesn't matter. In fact, it would have been but an obstacle in the way of your university career. It is all the more important that Max Weber should talk to Rickert and that they should find the means to promote your Ph.D. in philosophy. I *emphatically* ask you to press this matter with Max Weber and bully him with the threat of your leaving Heidelberg. Do insist by all means, for it can take a very long time before you publish a book complete and

voluminous enough to satisfy Rickert without any outside persuasion. It is possible that this would take such a long time as to make you lose interest in any sort of university career. So you mustn't wait, it simply makes no sense. In one or two years you will meet with the same difficulties as now. So please do speak seriously to Max Weber and his wife. Believe me that the whole thing is very important and very urgent.

Saturday

I'm giving away my wisdom in fragment because I have no energy to write more than a few lines at a time. At any rate, I indicate the volumes of the articles wanted. The "Holländisches Gruppenportrait"[4] was published in the Vienna almanach, Vol. 23 (1907), (the introduction is especially important, the perspectives opened up by the analysis of the Geertgen picture; by the way, this essay is really the last word in art history so far); the Vaphio article[5] appeared in the *Jabreshefte des oest. arch. Instituts*, Vol. 9 (1906). Dvořák published his articles on methodology[6] in the periodical entitled *Geisteswissenschaften* which ran to a single volume only; I was unable to find out the number of the issue, because only Fogarasi[7] has it, and he suffered from a serious case of pleurisy (he's recovering at Balatonfüred now), and—lying in bed—he was unable to find the periodical.

Please forgive my writing about all this so late, and please don't draw any conclusions as to my usefulness and reliability. My nervous state is really the only reason why I can't manage even the slightest concrete thing. If I survive the war, I'll be a completely changed man.

Sometimes, in my moments of lucidity, I think of how I could further enlarge my book if I worked and—parallelly—talked with you. Recently, due to fortuitous circumstances, I devoted a little time to the dissertation, and such important theoretical problems came immediately to my mind as to make me realize how replete I am with ideas for work, and to what extent I could develop further if conditions are favourable.[8]

I can, of course, write down things like that, but as for believing in them to the point of strength—well, no. The only moments when I can have faith even slighty in my future are the ones I pass writing to you.

It is possible that from now on I'll write to you with greater ease and more often. It would do me a lot of good if you wrote to me now and then, for instance when something just occurs to you.

Friendly greetings to you and your wife,

Frigyes Antal

. . .[A postscript about Antal's job]. . .

NOTES

1 i.e. to the home of Béla Balázs (Herbert Bauer) where the Sunday Circle met.

2 El Greco reproductions requested by Lukács.

3 In his letter of August 14, 1916, Max Weber dissuaded Lukács from doing his Doctor habilit. with Alfred Weber in sociology. Antal—like others among Lukács's friends at the time—tries to persuade him to turn to Rickert, professor of philosophy at Heidelberg, using the already complete Aesthetics as a dissertation.

4 An essay by the Viennese art historian Alois Riegl.

5 Riegl's essay *Zu kunsthistorischen Stellung der Becher von Vaphio.*

6 Dvořák Max: *Über die dringendsten methodischen Erfordernisse der Erziehung zur kunstgeschichtlichen Forschung* (1914).

7 Béla Fogarasi (1891–1959), philosopher, one of the participants to the Sunday Circle, a lecturer at the Free School.

8 It was only in his *Reflections on Classicism and Romanticism* (1935–41) that Antal carried out the further development of his dissertation contemplated at the time of writing this letter.

Letter No. 3, written probably in 1917
July 14

Dear Friend, Many thanks for having sent me your treatise.[1] I always wanted to write to you about my trip to Germany, and now finally this treatise you have sent gives me the strength to do it.

I have received, from the War Ministry, the permit to leave the country: 2 weeks and the days of travel, so I hope I'll be absent for 3 weeks.

I still have to indicate, at the Militärkommando, the towns I want to go to. So please write to me by return mail which meeting place would be more agreeable to you... [enumeration of various towns in Germany as possible places for meeting]... Or should I perhaps spend a day at Heidelberg? I say this in case you shouldn't feel like travelling, and perhaps your wife would like to show me her paintings.[2]

....

I have been spending 5 days in Vienna. Besides, I have written an article on Hungarian painting in the nineteenth century.[3] I don't know for sure yet where it will be published. No other events in my life. My exemption seems to be completely hopeless. I would need immense emotional strength and endurance to achieve it; I would need it even for the first step, i.e. to secure an appointment at the museum.

....

With friendly greetings,

Frigyes Antal

NOTES

1 Probably Lukács's so-called Heidelberg Aesthetics. Emma Ritoók's letter to Lukács in March of the same year seems to point in this direction; according to this letter, the ms. was with Antal at the time. The same conclusion can be drawn from Lukács's letter to Antal's widow, see below.

2 Lukács's first wife was Elena Grabenko, a Russian painter.

3 "Die neuerworbenen ungarischen Bilder im Museum für Bildende Kunst in Budapest" appeared in the 1918/10–11 issue of *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*.

Letter No. 4, approx. September 1917

Tuesday

Dear Friend, I talked to many people in Munich about whether your wife could live somewhere near Munich. All professed a negative opinion. Food supply is not good, the soil there not being fertile. And the peasants make one's stay difficult, everywhere and in every way. People say that any of the suburbs of Munich would do much better: not that food supply is ampler there, but still, people are somewhat more civilized, and a piano can also be found, which would be out of the question in a village. In any case, they must bring a medical certificate, otherwise they might be expelled in short order.[1] If they have a medical certificate, everything is all right.—Passau has been recommended as a comparatively ideal site from the point of view of supplies, but this is probably out of the question in your case.

Are you decided to come to Budapest? We all are pleased even about as much as the possibility.

Fogarasi had to join his regiment—so that the matter of the school[2] hangs in the air as it were, but it will be all right. We shall begin late, probably in November, and then we'll go on at one stretch, for 5 months probably—there won't be two semesters. The Knábas[3] will pass their doctors' examinations in November and December, so they can't begin with their lectures sooner.

In addition to your lectures on aesthetics, you would hold a seminar about the theory of literary history, as we agreed; isn't it so? How many occasions would that mean for the former, and how many for the latter?

Kner too had to join his regiment, so that neither the lectures nor Herbert's book can be published.[4]

The summary on ethics is ready,[5] Nini[6] is copying it. Edith,[7] I think, will return it to you.

As for my article for the *Zeitschrift*, I must reduce it by half because they haven't got enough space.

For the rest, I'm tolerably well. If nothing comes between (but something will of course), then I'll be working.

Farewell, hope to see you soon.

Frigyes Antal

NOTES

1 "They" refers to Elena Grabenko and the pianist Bruno Steinbach.

2 The Free School of the Humanities—a series of lectures launched in March 1917 by the Sunday Circle with the purpose of presenting an objective analysis of cultural history, and of propagating idealist philosophy.

3 I.e. Knaben, the German for boys,—used to designate the younger members of the Sunday Circle.

4 Imre Kner (1890–1944), printer and publisher.

5 Extract based on the notes of György Lukács's lecture on ethics delivered at the Free School, and prepared for the Free School's projected anthology that was to include the text of all the lectures.

6 Nini (Vera) Hajós, Antal's second wife.

7 Nini's sister, Edith Hajós, the first wife of Béla Balázs.

Letter No. 5[1]

25. 11. 1946

Dear Lukács,

As a cousin of mine, András Révai, is about to leave for Budapest, I seize the opportunity of sending home a few letters.

One is so bewildered after the isolation in the war years that one can hardly imagine letters being sent by mail, and it seems more obvious to send them by a traveller—just like in the Middle Ages.

Although my settling down in London is final, I'm still deeply interested in everything that is happening in Hungary. I was certainly very pleased to hear of your activities in the course of the past year. I've just received your book on Russian realism and read your re-appraisal of Dostoevsky. It did me a lot of good and I felt it closer to me than all the English and American books I have read in the past few years. Would you be good enough to tell my cousin where he could get me the various articles you wrote in the course of the last few years pertaining to the history of literature in the West?

With regard to myself it will perhaps interest you that I've written two books here. The first, about Florentine painting and its social background (fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries) will come out this spring. The other book, about Hogarth and the bourgeois art of the eighteenth century, is almost finished. My work about Florentine painting is planned to consist of four volumes; the other three—partly written already—will deal with middle-class art in the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, i.e. with the period of decline of the Florentine bourgeoisie.[2] If my books have significance, it lies in my having used a much wider range of specialized literature in every branch than had been customary so far, in order to construe the developments in art on a Marxist basis. My cousin will transmit to you the table of contents and the introduction to the first book. I am very much looking forward to learning your opinion, although you can gain but a first impression from these few pages. What do you think of Mannheim's books?

You've probably heard about the bearer of the present letter, András Révai; during the war, he wrote pro-Russian commentaries in London for the free Hungarian broadcasting station. The [Horthy] government deprived him of his Hungarian citizenship at the time. He has had the opportunity, for quite a number of years, to observe the methods of diplomacy and journalism in the West, and has gained an usually extensive knowledge in this sphere. I think you may find his experiences to be of some use.

I learn from Edith[3] that you'll soon make a trip to Switzerland and France. If you happen to come to London, please don't forget about me. I should really be very pleased if we could meet and talk again. Despite the fact that I am able to write more or less as I please in this country, I feel intellectually isolated;[4] this cannot be cured otherwise than by reading and by occasional contacts.

With hearty greetings,

Frigyes Antal

NOTES

1 On top of the letter in Mrs. Lukács's handwriting in red pencil: Antal (I haven't answered yet).

2 The manuscripts are in Evelyn Antal's possession who is planning their publication; the volume dealing with the sixteenth century is a revised version of the monograph written at the end of the 1920s.

3 Edith Hajós, who was also Lukács's first English translator.

4 Antal's contacts with the "Thirties Movement" in England (see A. Blunt: "From Bloomsbury to Marxism." In: *Studio International* 1973 [p. 167]) ceased for the most part by the time of this letter.

Letter No. 6[1] *March 27th, 48*

Dear Lukács,

Please forgive my writing you in English but I cannot dictate in Hungarian and the script in my own hand is almost unreadable.

My book of which my cousin brought you the introduction a year or so ago has just come out. I am sending you one of my own copies as the number of review copies going abroad is very limited but I thought if anyone in the world would be interested in the book and should have it, it is you. It is not for commercial and only very little for personal-sentimental reasons but because I am sure the book could serve a very useful pedagogic purpose, that I should be very glad if, in spite of all prevailing technical difficulties, one could sell in Hungary as many copies as possible—at least to all the larger libraries. Please will you help me in this? The buying of the book in Hungary is technically possible but only during the near future as I am told by the British Council that a certain sum in sterling is available in the National Bank of Hungary expressly to buy English books and that the allowance for this year will last until about July. I very much hope you will like the book and find it sufficiently important to review in an Hungarian magazine, despite your other preoccupations. If you could make it known as quickly as possible this would appear, as seen from here, to be the best way of ensuring that the university libraries and scientific institutes in Hungary should acquire the book, while the sterling is still available.

Do please send me a few lines, Yours ever,

Frigyes Antal

P.S. I can let you have more of these prospectuses, if you want them.

NOTE

1 On top of the letter, in Mrs. Lukács's handwriting, in pencil: Answered May 8. A letter was sent to Tolnay the same day.

Lukács's reply[1]

Budapest, 8 May 1948
IV. Belgrád-rkp. 2. V. em. 5

Dear Antal,

Thank you for sending me your book. I am still living in the midst of such a flood of lectures and conferences that I could only look at the plates so far. After having read the book I will write you in detail.

Meanwhile I have written, as you wished, to the head of the scientific department of the Ministry of Education asking him to order the book for the libraries here. I hope, with success.

With my best wishes, your old friend,

Georg Lukács

NOTE

1 The original German text of the letter: *Lieber Antal, vielen Dank für die Zusendung Ihres Buches. Jetzt lebe ich noch mitten in der Saison in einer solchen Flut von Vorträgen und Konferenzen, dass ich nur die Illustrationen ansehen konnte. Wenn ich das Buch gelesen habe, schreibe ich Ihnen ausführlich.*

Inzwischen habe ich Ihrem Wunsch gemäss an den Leiter der wissenschaftlichen Abteilung im Unterrichtsministerium geschrieben mit der Bitte, das Buch für die hiesigen Bibliotheken zu bestellen. Hoffentlich mit Erfolg.

Mit besten Grüssen in alter Freundschaft
Ihr
Georg Lukács

To wind up, we publish György Lukács's reply, written in German,[1] to Evelyn Antal's letter of June 27, 1956, in which Mrs. Antal had informed Lukács of the publication of the *Fuseli Studies* and about the preparations for publishing the Hogarth monograph.

June 29, 1960

Dear Mrs. Antal,

It is a long story why I'm answering your kind letter only after a number of years. First came that stormy year in the course of which I received your letter, then my involuntary stay in Rumania, and then the final phase of the first part of my Aesthetics that preempted all my energies. (I often talked to Antal about this work, that is about its first version.) Only now, after having finished this work, did I find time enough to look through my mail systematically, and I was very much ashamed when I found your kind letter. I hope that you will forgive me and that, despite this belated answer, you will send me Antal's works which interest me extraordinarily. Both books interest me very much, especially the one about Hogarth, because I studied the eighteenth century intensively—even if I published little about it.

I was very pleased to hear that you liked my essays. Should anything by me of a similar nature again get published in English, I'll send it on to you.

With warm greetings,

Yours respectfully,
Georg Lukács

NOTE

1 The German text of the letter:

den 29. Juni 60

Liebe Frau Antal!

Dass ich Ihren liebenswürdigen Brief erst nach Jahren beantworte, hat eine lange Geschichte. Erst kam das stürmische Jahr, in welchem ich den Brief erhielt, dann mein unfreiwilliger Aufenthalt in Rumänien und darauf die Vollendung des ersten Teiles meiner Aesthetik, die alle meine Kräfte in Anspruch nahm. (Über dieses Werk habe ich noch bei seiner ersten Fassung mit Antal mich oft unterhalten.) Erst jetzt, nach Vollendung dieses Werkes kam ich dazu, meine Post ordentlich durchzusehen und sah mit grosser Beschämung Ihren liebenswürdigen Brief. Ich hoffe, Sie werden mich entschuldigen und trotz der langen Verspätung in der Antwort, mir doch die Werke Antals, die mich ausserordentlich interessieren, zukommen lassen. Mich interessieren beide Bücher sehr, insbesondere das Hogarth, denn ich habe mich immer sehr viel mit dem 18. Jahrhundert beschäftigt, wenn ich auch wenig darüber veröffentlicht habe.

Es war mir eine grosse Freude, dass meine Studien Ihnen gefallen haben. Falls wieder etwas derartiges von mir in englischer Sprache erscheint, werde ich es Ihnen zukommen lassen.

Mit herzlichen Grüssen Ihr ergebener

Georg Lukács

ROUND TABLE

GYPSIES AND PUBLIC OPINION

How many are they? Under what circumstances do they work, study, and live? At what rate and in what manner is their economic and cultural assimilation proceeding?

This journal published an article by Ferenc Herczeg on Hungary's policy towards the national minorities. (No. 70.) The author touched only briefly on the situation of the Gypsy population numbering about 350,000. This issue will discuss this matter more extensively in connection with the round-table conference held at the editorial offices of the daily paper Népszabadság, *with the participation of Secretary of State Lajos Papp, chairman of the Council Office of the Council of Ministers, János Gosztonyi, Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Education, István Szigeti, Deputy Minister of Labour, Ferenc Herczeg, deputy head of the Department for Scientific and Cultural Affairs of the Central Committee, Jakab Orsós, a member of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front (who is a Gypsy by birth), Elemér Várnagy, professor at the Teachers' College in Pécs, and the ethnographer József Vekerdy. Lajos Papp is also chairman of the responsible commission.*

Népszabadság *was represented by László Rózsa, a senior editor.*

NÉPSZABADSÁG: *A survey of the facts and figures pertaining to the situation of Gypsies in Hungary gives the impression that there has been a great deal of improvement in their social, cultural, working and educational circumstances and in their housing conditions. The paradox of the situation is that the matter also contains emotional elements which indicate a certain tension. If this supposition holds true, why is that so?*

L. PAPP: We are worried about this as well, though development is unquestionable. The change started about 1961, when a party resolution defined the relevant tasks of political organizations, governmental and social bodies, and even laid down the principles of solution. Today we have to mention three main factors of the change. The first is employment. About 1961 one-third of the Gypsy men were is employment. Today more than 80 per cent of the men of working age—in some counties 100 per cent—are employed, and the ratio of Gypsy women who take on a job is close to 40 per cent. Second, the advanced liquidation of shanty towns and the construction of decent housing. In the past ten years we allocated 3,000 flats by Gypsy families. As a sequel, during the period of the fifth five-year plan, the government will facilitate the construction or purchase of an additional 11,000 flats at preferential rates. Ten years ago 126,000 people lived in shanty towns, now the figure has dropped to 28,000. And the third main factor is that attention has been directed at the Gypsy youths who have and will have a powerful influence on the shaping of the new way of life and living conditions.

In spite of this rapid development, however, some tension remains. One explanation

of these facts is that the measures taken have not proved effective enough. What is more, some contradictions may even have increased.

NÉPSZABADSÁG: *Has the gap between the standard of living of the Gypsy and the non-Gypsy population widened while the living conditions of both are developing?*

F. HERCZEG: I would put the question in this way: What has changed? I am convinced that both the state apparatus and public opinion would encourage the advancement the Gypsies. The Gypsies themselves want to break out of this environment. This is true even among those living in shanty towns.

There are tensions accompanying the solution. There are extremes, from the most impatient sort of 'radicalism' to the seemingly democratic views which profess that it is up to them to decide whether or not they make use of the opportunities. We know, however, that the solution should be long-term, worked out with patience, consistently and gradually. The question cannot be solved by the tempting suggestion that 'we should further increase the favours granted them,' for we have to do away with a serious historical lag. The goal can be reached only by favours and aid which are not wasted but which effectively promote development. No less dangerous is the lethargic acquiescence, on one side or on the other, that 'the cause of the Gypsies can never be settled.' The way I see it is quite the opposite: the outlines of the solution are discernible in our country, and this will be the socialist solution. The Gypsies urge to action finds expression in productive work, the earning of a regular income, and increasing participation in public affairs. Today they are already present on different platforms, they rise to speak and express their opinions. I think the situation of the Gypsies is that now we can make faster progress than earlier.

I. SZIGETI: I should like to stress that we can speak of Gypsies as an ethnic group which, however, is socially strongly stratified. For there are today Gypsies who are among the best of their professions, and at the other and there are those who lead a living nomadic life. Therefore we hold that some of them definitely have a claim to social recognition and every opportunity for integration, while another part does the opposite: they exclude those who rise out of their ranks. These movements show, on the other hand, positive change in the non-Gypsy mind and public mentality, that the gap between the Gypsy and the non-Gypsy population is objectively narrowing.

NÉPSZABADSÁG: *We can admit that the problem is sharpened by a basically positive development process. But this may be just why we must face the fact that we have to go a long way to erase prejudices.*

J. ORSÓS: Really there is no doubt that the past three decades brought about radical changes for the first time in the history of the Gypsies. Socialist Hungary, as befits her economic development, political strength and humanism, treats the Gypsies as she does other citizens whose ancestors came here centuries ago. I should like to mention, however, that it is not all the same to Gypsies how they are being approached. They are an ethnic group whose attitudes differ from those of the others. This way of thinking is related to the fact that they had been outcasts for centuries and their culture reflects this condition. What I have in mind is that the habits and mores of those coming from different tribes are different; for example, the cultural level of the *be'ash* or trough-carver's tribe—to which I happen to belong—is different from that of the *lovaro*. It would be particularly important for council officials and teachers to be aware of these differences...

The other thing I must talk about is that I have had dismal experiences regarding the growing number of handicapped children. If I happen to be the child of an English mother and appear before the committee with little knowledge of Hungarian, who would dare

make me out a mentally retarded person? At Zalaegerszeg I saw that if a child is allowed to speak his mother tongue before the committee, he talks just as sensibly as any other. This matter ought to be looked into. A child who is admitted to nursery school, say, at the age of four will surely learn to speak Hungarian well. A Zalaegerszeg teacher complained that the children were unable to draw the hook of the letter "o". When I told them in the Gypsy language, they understood at once and learned to do it well. Most of the children are not mentally retarded, they simply do not know Hungarian well.

NÉPSZABADSÁG: *We should like to listen to the views of the educational psychologist since such intelligence tests have been administered at Pécs.*

E. VÁRNAGY: Research is in progress also at our teachers' college. In many cases it bears out that we are dealing with children of normal intellect and not with mentally handicapped ones.

NÉPSZABADSÁG: *Hence there are differences of intelligence?*

E. VÁRNAGY: They have difficulties in solving tasks verbally. If they have to perform tasks by action, there is no such difference. That is, they cannot express themselves properly, especially if they live in an environment poor in stimuli. The

J. GOSZTONYI: In any case we cannot leave out of consideration that the situation has been complicated by statistics, and this accumulates the problems. Statistics indicate a Gypsy population of 350,000 in the nation. (Statistics for 1970 mention 320,000 Gypsies.) In the current school-year the number of Gypsy pupils in general school amount to 6.2 per cent of the total. In 1970–71 their ratio was 5.3 per cent. The increase reflects the growth of demographic proportions, but also shows that more Gypsy children of school-age go to school and a greater proportion of them reach as far as the eighth grade. The number of Gypsy pupils now attending the eighth grade is 71 per cent greater than in 1970–1971. Getting stuck at the lower grades is becoming less frequent. On the other hand, there is serious deterioration to the effect that the ratio of Gypsy pupils in need of care in institutions for handicapped children is 28.5 per cent, that of mentally defective Gypsy children is 31 per cent. I can add also that half of the children accommodated in welfare centres are Gypsyes.

L. SZIGETI: I think that the increase in the ratio of Gypsy children exposed to dangerous surroundings and cared for in special educational institutions is not necessarily an indication of the sharpening of tensions. Earlier these problems were not even raised. Where in the past was there special education for handicapped Gypsy children? Society simply did not care, or it did not consider the fact that 10 per cent of all their children were physically or mentally retarded. Or if it did, they could not find admission to such institutions. How many of them were regarded, by reason of family conditions, as being children at risk! It was only an insignificant fraction. State ccre was non-existent for them. So the rate and the extent of their social advance are obvious, but at the same time we can see also that the situation is still fraught with problems.

F. HERCZEG: My views regarding prejudice differ. Here I should contradict. Hungarian society is enlighted enough that it does not consider the colour of skin to be a fundamental issue. Let us not evade the real problem: children in school do not draw away from their tidy and well-groomed Gypsy mates. We know there are villages which many inhabitants leave when Gypsy people move to live there. But there are others where they stay because it is proved that the new settlers are honest and tidy, hold jobs and ere hard-working people. True, prejudice still exists, and it is destructive. This is why Gypsies try to break with their old way of life not in their villages but elsewhere, and so the positive examples are not sufficiently known to the village. Albeit

there are lots of examples of this kind, and one can today point out a great deal of child's performance reflects the parents' degree of assimilation. Indeed, where the parents take up regular jobs, the children perform better. The elements of culture are composed of a system of experiences, a system of activities, and a system of norms. If these are negative, they have to be modified. If the child lives in a system of negative norms, it is not necessary to cut down those elements of culture and to preserve only what is progressive and helps assimilation.

J. GOSZTONYI: In general one cannot accuse the teachers of discrimination. Otherwise I agree that teaching practice must be improved to prevent anything that might seem to be discrimination. And still more, everything must be done to ensure that before school the children are admitted to nursery school where they can improve their speech and acquire sufficient grounding to attend school. Their number is growing. Today, 7,200 of these children go to kindergarten, but I have to add that a few counties indicate that—in spite of all efforts, good, intentions, and free board—the more backward strata do not make use of the opportunity to send their children to nursery school.

L. PAPP: I cannot agree that the gap is becoming narrower everywhere. The differences do not diminish everywhere, because there are phase lags in development of the Gypsy and non-Gypsy population. And as far as the atmosphere is concerned, the vast majority of Gypsies live in the provinces. One-third of them were employed in agriculture, but today the number is only 13 per cent. Five per cent work on cooperative farms. To be sure, often they are forced to take up jobs far away from their homes, precisely because of lack of acceptanc As regards intelligence and capability, the best practical example is Fót. In the children's town of Fót there is no difference in study progress between Gypsy and non-Gypsy pupils, nor is there any difference in their intellectual or physical performance. This is the result of the environment. All this leads to the conclusion that in the family, in school, at work, in the housing conditions, in their relationships to society the children must receive the stimuli which would result in the reduction and eventually the elimination of differences.

NÉPSZABADSÁG: *Will you as an ethnolinguist please illuminate the linguistic problems whose appraisal might suggest different conceptions of the solution? For example, with regard to the propagation in Hungary of the Gypsy language related to Sanscrit?*

J. VEKERDY: Really, two views are encountered all over the world and in our country too: together or separately? That is, should Gypsies be integrated into society in every way, or should we create higher living standards for them? There is a Western, a romantic view, that Gypsies should maintain the traditional wandering way of life, even if only in camps and caravans. Our standpoint, the socialist view, is opposed to that. The solution is integration, existence as citizens with full rights, culture, work, education, and housing. As far as language is concerned, 72 per cent of the Gypsies in Hungary do not know a single word in any language other than Hungarian. The Gypsy language is spoken by 21.5 per cent, and a variant of Rumanian is spoken by 7 per cent of the Gypsies in Hungary. The *lovaro*, *kolompar* or wandering Gypsies are the only ones to speak the Gypsy language. The tests show the children go to school with a very deficient knowledge of Hungarian whether they are *lovaro* Gypsies, the children of the Rumanian-speaking *be'ash* Gypsies, but also those children who know Hungarian only. It is a tragic thing that even this knowledge of 1,200 Hungarian words is enough to get along in the world of shanties. A very thoroughgoing language reform would be needed for the Gypsy language to become the vehicle of a higher-standard culture. This does not mean that anybody would want to deprive the Gypsies of their native tongue.

J. GOSZTONYI: As to the question of "together or separately," our position regarding the children is that the case should always be decided by the local circumstances. If in nursery school or in school we take them separately, we do and can do so only in order to speed up their assimilation and to stop such problems from arising at the secondary school level. We have very good experiences in this regard in the college at Csapi in Zala County.

I. SZIGETI: In spite of our efforts few young Gypsies take part in vocational training: all in all about 2 per cent of the apprentices are Gypsies, although we provide technical schools for them, and we pay particular attention to the continuation of their studies and to their choice of profession. Their vocational training is promoted by a decree which makes possible on-the-job factory training in about fifty trades for 6 to 12 months without the completion of the eighth grade of general school. The fact is, however, that compared to the national average they are poorly qualified. Managers, the trade unions, the Communist Youth League have to render them considerable assistance in vocational training, without this we cannot make any real progress.

J. ORSÓS: I wish to touch upon one more thing. Gypsies who have obtained higher qualifications should join in the efforts to help their advancement. Since for centuries now Magyars have not trusted the Gypsy, Gypsies also do not trust the Magyar. The fate and the cause of Gypsies should be decided in conjunction with them, and jointly we should work for their advancement.

NÉPSZABADSÁG: From what has been said here it appears that the situation is favourable from at least one point of view: the desire to improve conditions is strong in public opinion. This enables all those concerned to approach the matter in an open, realistic way without underestimating or exaggerating the difficulties of the problem.

László Rózsa

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

RENAISSANCE NORTH OF THE ALPS

Rózsa Feuer-Tóth: *Renaissance Architecture in Hungary* (in English)
Magyar Helikon/Corvina Press, 1977, 244 pp., 209 photographs,
21 ground plans and engravings

The renaissance style has a particular significance in the history of Hungarian art. While styles which had evolved in more western countries generally reached Hungary and other countries in Central and Eastern Europe after a certain lapse of time, and the important works were most frequently the creations of later periods, the Renaissance was already flourishing during the reign of the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490). Early adoption was followed by a particularly rich late phase: in the seventeenth century another stylistic variant emerged in the distant mountains of Transylvania. A great number of ornamental patterns in Hungarian folk art to this day are rooted in Renaissance ornamentation.

Hungarian art historians have always paid due attention to this period; however, foreigners who cannot read Hungarian publications are unlikely to have heard of their work. Professionals in the field have perhaps read foreign-language articles written by their Hungarian colleagues which have appeared in special journals, but up to now not many comprehensive works allowing of speedy access have been published in any of the world languages. A few years ago, a comprehensive work primarily concerning the first phase of the Renaissance period written by one of the foremost scholars of the Hungarian Renaissance appeared in German: Jolán Balogh: *Die Anfänge der Renaissance in Ungarn. König Matthias und die Kunst.* (Graz 1975.) László Gerevich has also reported in English on the remarkable excavations he carried out in the former Royal residence at Esztergom. Csaba Csapodi wrote about a more specialized subject, the library established by King Matthias, considered to be one of the most important of the age: *The Corvinian Library. History and Stock.* (Budapest, 1973.) However, these only deal with a single aspect of art or a shorter period. In contrast, the work reviewed here traces the development from beginning to end. As the title promises, it is concerned primarily with architecture, for at that time architecture played the leading role in Hungary. In including an examination of the sculpture connected with the buildings the book also covers the best of plastic art. In comparison, far fewer paintings have survived. Rózsa Feuer-Tóth's work will be published in English, French, and German by Corvina Press.

A particular merit of the book is that it carries on the traditional interest of Hungarian research in the remarkably early appearance of the Renaissance. This is probably the most self-contained part of the entire work, the one that presents the most surprising results, even for specialists. It is true, much new light had already been shed on proto-Renaissance antecedents of the new style, the commercial and other connections between Hungary and Italy, King Matthias's preference for things Italian and his reasons

for this in view of his establishment of one of the most centralized governments of the late Middle Ages in a country which had up to then been in a disorderly state. But now a new and trenchant perspective, which for simplicity's sake can be called that of the "organization of building-work," is presented to us. The author points out the great difference between the first products of the Renaissance to appear in Hungary, Poland, and France and explains the cause for this phenomenon.

Naturally she begins with Italy and explains how architectural stone-cutting and masonry-work in the age-old traditions of marble-carvers became divorced from the carving of ornamentation pure and simple. The former work could be carried out by less skilled workers thus leaving the more skilful carvers, who were virtually sculptors, free to fashion ornamentation which concentrated more and more on door and window-frames, capitals of columns, and buttresses. It is important to note that doors and windows became self-supporting parts which merely had to be built into the walls, of course, only after they had made sure that the load of the section of wall above the projected opening was spread to the right and left. This greatly increased the possibility of extending the new style. The builder only had to bring in the architect and the specialists who carved the ornamentation from outside. The great majority of workers needed for the building itself could be hired locally.

Such was the case with King Matthias. When the Hungarian ruler became engaged to Beatrice, daughter of the King of Naples, in 1474 and married her in 1476, he joined a confederation which included Florence, Urbino, and Ferrara. These were the cities which were in the vanguard of Renaissance development. Since architects at that time also served as military engineers, his Italian confederates willingly lent their architects to Matthias.

This is clearly why the most intensive construction of Renaissance buildings in the city of Buda began precisely after the confederation was formed in the middle of the 1470s. The job could be done with a relatively small number of Italian participants. Of the more famous of these mention can be made of Chimenti Camicia of Florence. However, according to the division of labour described above, these men fashion ed only the more ornamental frames. The work of stone-carving and masonry requiring less specialized skill but a larger workforce could be carried out by Hungarians. The more talented gradually became apprentices to the Italians. The fact that not a single Italian name crops up among the stonemasons attests to the accuracy of this view.

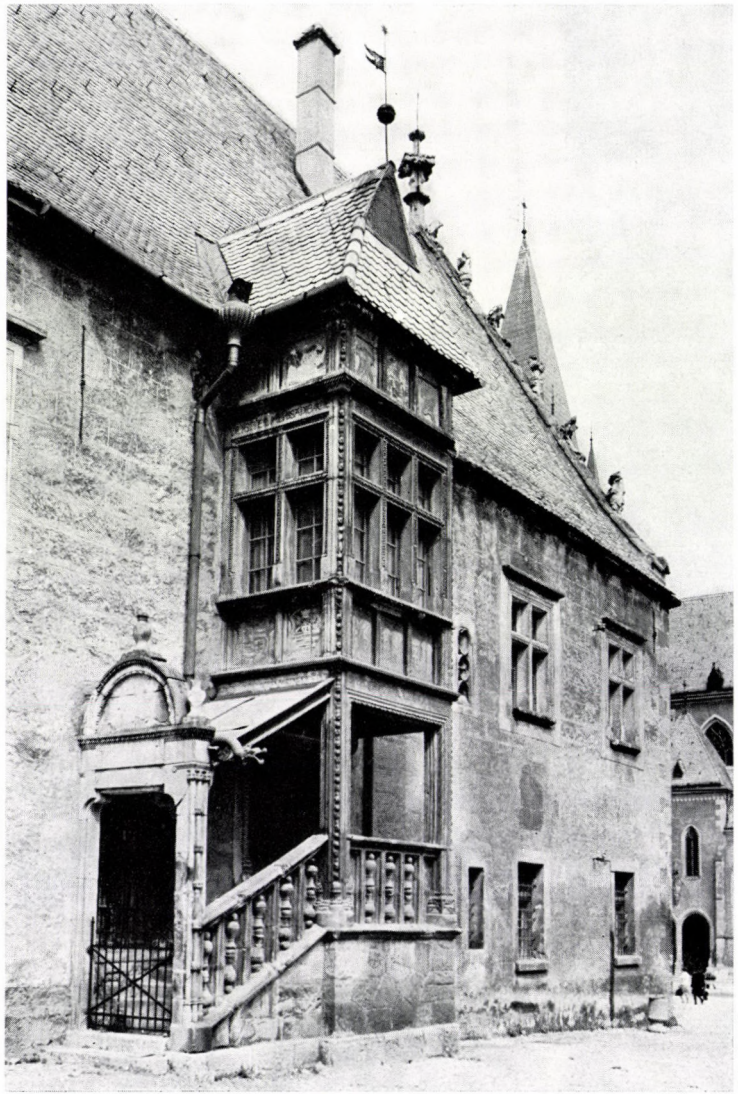
This direct imitation of the Italian example is a characteristic of the Eastern part of Central Europe–Hungary and Poland. In the West, for example France, the situation was entirely different. There the Italian influence met the opposition of the still powerful guild-like organizations of Gothic architects. Ornamentation and the wall constituted a far more integral unit in Gothic architecture; thus there was far less to distinguish between carvers and ordinary masons. It was more difficult to change the style of a large number of buildings by hiring a small group of Italian carvers. Indeed, as the chateaux of the Loire demonstrate, in spite of the Italian ground-plan and Italianized details, a certain magical medieval quality characterizes the buildings as a whole.

Apart from its general significance the above is typical of Rózsa Feuer-Tóth's approach. She sees buildings as the sum total of their parts and throughout the book attaches great importance to how the work was organized. She devotes the most attention, of course, to the castle of Buda, this truly outstanding ensemble. The 150 years of Turkish occupation, the sieges which ended it, and the building activities of the Baroque period which were begun after the restoration of peace wrought terrible havoc

VISEGRÁD. Royal palace. Ceremonial court with fountain.
Before 1484

Kálmán Könya

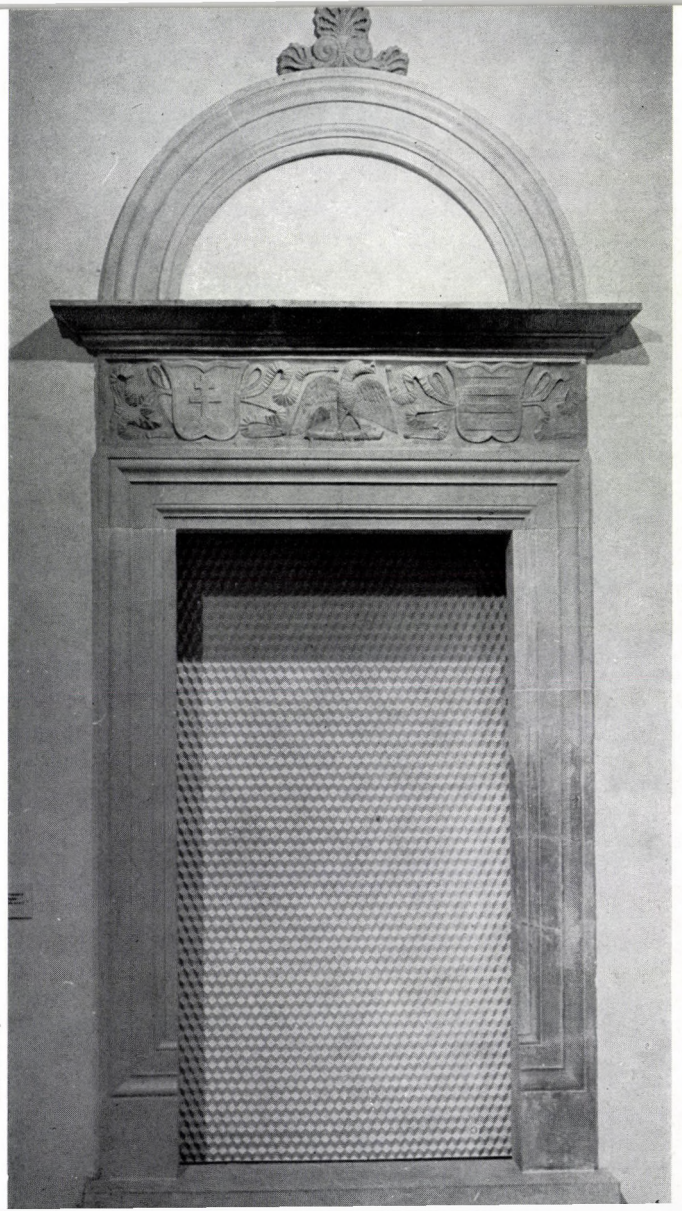
Detail from the above fountain:
One of King Matthias Corvinus' coats of arms



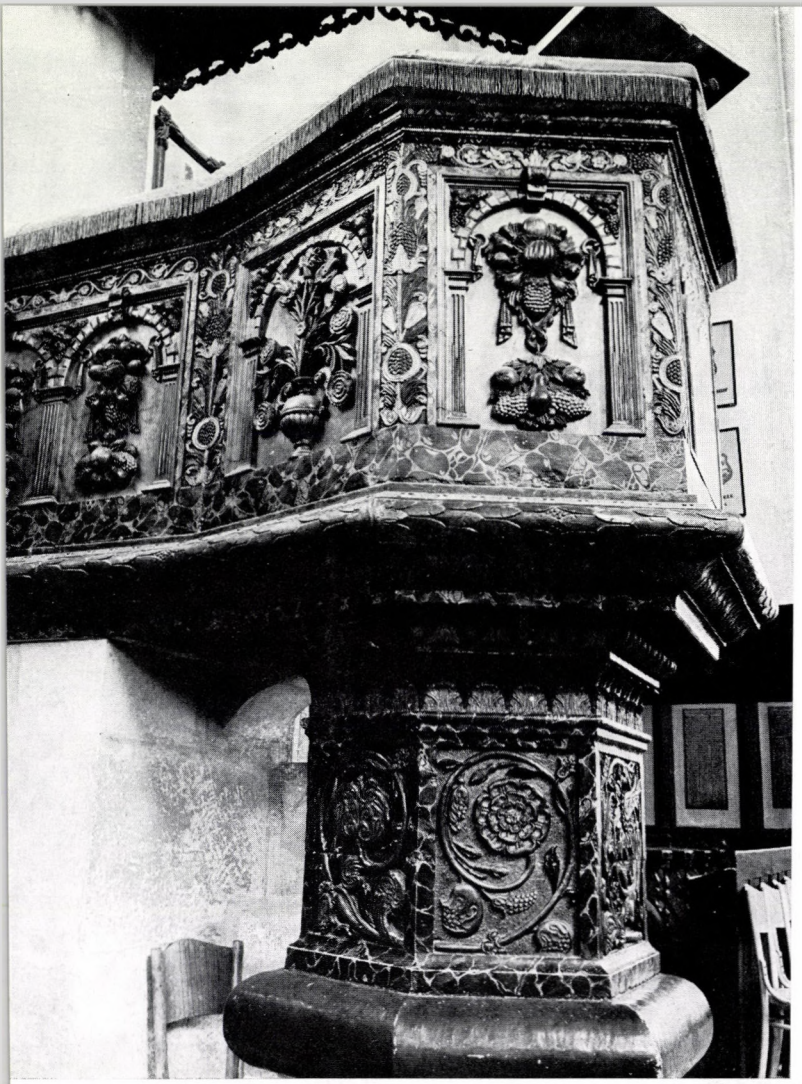
Kálmán Könyv

BÁRTFA. The eastern front of the Town Hall, 1505–1509

BUDA CASTLE. Limestone doorframe with the coat of arms of King Matthias Corvinus. Approx. 1479–1490. Budapest, Castle Museum



Kálmán Könyv

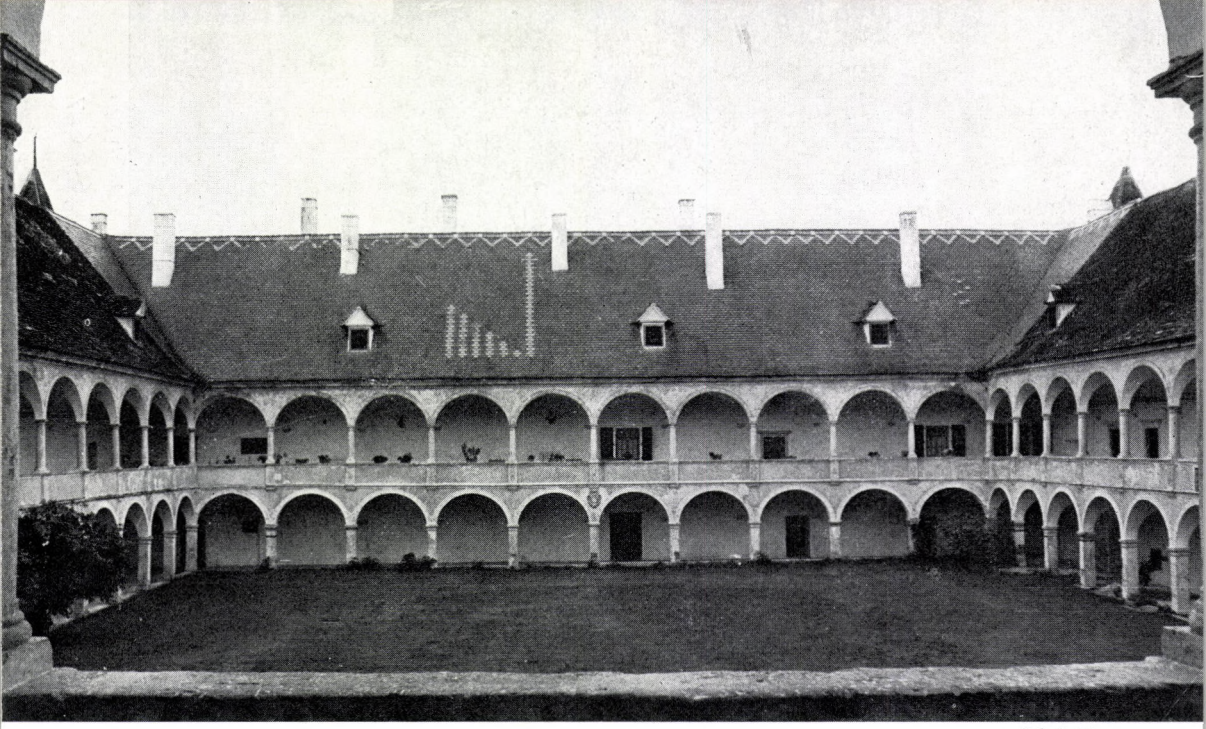


Kálmán Kónya

KOLOZSVÁR. Part of the pulpit of the Farkas-utca Calvinist Church, 1646

Kálmán Kónya

SÁROSPATAK CASTLE. Renaissance loggia 1646–1647



Kálmán Kónya

SOPRONKERESZTÚR. Nádasdy château, 1625

EPERJES. Houses in the main street, after 1600

in the castle of Buda. Recent large-scale excavations uncovered only the foundation-walls of the palace which, through Cracow and Prague, had served as a model for a large part of Central Eastern Europe. However, altogether 3,000 ornamental fragments were found and these clearly show the stylistic trend, the clear imitation of the Florentine Quattrocento. Moreover, this trend took such deep root in Hungary that even after Matthias's death in 1490, right up to the beginning of the sixteenth century, Florentine-style ornamentation prevailed. In this, Hungary was alone in Europe. Both France and Germany followed the less striking North Italian form of the Renaissance.

The influence of Buda was soon felt throughout the country. Notable are the royal palaces of Nyék and Visegrád. Later the new style appeared in the most diverse places, though at first it appeared primarily in the churches and castles of ecclesiastical and lay leaders who were in direct contact with the royal court.

The author carefully follows the process of how the Renaissance became Hungarianized. She repeatedly draws our attention to how often Italian-like ornamental elements were used in an almost completely Gothic architectural frame. She explains the frequent use of stone balustrades: this very typical feature of the new style easily fitted into an essentially Gothic structure.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, as royal power gradually weakened, royal construction became less and less important in Hungary. The sepulchral chapel of Tamás Bakócz, archbishop of Esztergom, can be called a representative edifice of the period. The author justifiably calls it one of the oldest monuments outside Italy to exemplify the Quattrocento theme, the central ground-plan and chapel with a cupola. The style spread toward Bohemia and Poland during this period. This was greatly facilitated by dynastic relations—Bohemia and Hungary at that time were ruled by the same king who was also the brother of the Polish monarch. As we know from written sources, most of the artists in Poland were summoned from Hungary, and more of their work survived there than on war-ravaged Hungarian soil. It is to the author's credit that by comparing historical data and tiny stylistic details she dispels something of the obscurity which has up to now surrounded their activities and the development of their styles in Hungary. She draws significant conclusions particularly about the master-builder of the famous Sigismund Chapel of Cracow Cathedral, Bartholomeo Berrecci.

We know of important ventures in Hungary which were carried through as early as 1510, not by a king or the aristocracy but by local burghers. We know from papers connected with the new town hall of Bártfa that "Italian windows" *(fenestrae Italicales)* were put in the new building. The awkward use of Latin during this humanist period gives us a good idea of the natural charm resulting from the mixture of Renaissance and Gothic elements in this building which was intended to be very modern. A largish chapel was built in the cathedral of Gyulafehérvár at the expense of canon János Lázói. The model unquestionably must have been the Bakócz Chapel of Esztergom[1] but the vaulting in the interior is Gothic. The architects that could be found locally could not have covered the space in any other way. Yet they carved ornamental motifs of Lombardian origin—a rarity in Hungary around 1512—on the façade. However, in the 1520s more than one example can be seen of buildings, erected by master-builders who were definitely Hungarian, which were built with self-sustaining structures in keeping with the Italian tectonic approach.

As can be seen, the style was well on the way to spreading throughout the entire country when the catastrophic defeat at Mohács[2] suffered at the hands of the advancing Turks, later the division of the country into three parts and the Turk-

[1] See NHQ 10.
[2] See NHQ 65.

ish occupation of the middle part, diverted the course of Hungarian history into an entirely different direction. Commissions dried up, and the continuity of the Florentine colony of architects in the country was broken. The new arrivals brought with them the Lombardian or mannerist style which became common. Even Buda, the capital, fell into Turkish hands; thus the former border areas, and Kolozsvár, Lőcse, as well as, for a short time, two aristocratic castles, Sárospatak and Sárvár, became important. Suddenly, the importance of castle-building grew. Many large fortresses taking in entire cities were constructed (Győr, Nagyvárad); even more smaller castles with four corner turrets around the arcaded central manor-house were built by the aristocracy. Arcades and loggias became extremely popular and could be found everywhere from town halls to village buildings. A very popular ornamental form was the sgraffito, first with geometric, later figurative or floral patterns. A frequent decorative element of the façade, the extremely ornamental parapet above the cornice, had already spread from Poland. In the give-and-take artistic relationship between Hungary and Poland the weakened Hungary of the late sixteenth century was not in any position to give.

In Hungary, especially its most eastern part, Transylvania, which, though not under Turkish occupation, was condemned to isolation both for geographical and political reasons, the Renaissance prevailed for a long time, up to the middle of the seventeenth century. This is surprising when we look at the dates of Western European stylistic development, and our amazement will grow when we consider the fact that even a new variation, the "flowery Renaissance," emerged during the last quarter of the century. In spite of the extraordinary richness of decoration, this style is moderate, disciplined, and preserves some of the best achievements of the Renaissance. Its most beautiful creations, in all probability, are the "coffered pictures" which conjure up a colourful dream-world on the wooden ceilings of churches. The wooden coffered ceiling, the flower patterns, and Old Testament symbols are rooted in the Italian Renaissance and are beautiful examples of how deeply and thoroughly Hungarian folk art adopted the style born in Italy yet at the same time retaining its individuality.

However, the author has mentioned these things only in passing since the main focus of the book is on early royal architecture. This is reflected in the illustrations which are for the most part presented in chronological order. Of 209 illustrations, 49 depict fifteenth-century monuments; 55 illustrate those of the first quarter of the sixteenth century and altogether 104 are of all further development, that is, they cover one and a half centuries. There are one or two examples of eighteenth century folk architecture.

The proportion of pictures to text reflects the growing visual demands of our age. The designers of the book deserve recognition. An intelligent text and pretty pictures are not usually published together since they are generally considered to be aimed at different readerships. The photographs by Kálmán Kónya, who put a lot of effort and hundreds of kilometres into taking them, set off the buildings beautifully. The photographer's approach is not of the I see this church as no one else variety, but simply that this is what the church the text is describing looks like, a rare thing nowadays, especially in the case of albums shot by one man. His quiet compositions, which despite their tranquillity are not dry, are well suited to the Renaissance style.

The photographs are accompanied by the ground-plans of the twenty most important buildings and a longitudinal section of the Bakócz Chapel, rightly considered the most important. The illustrations are followed by brief descriptions. These contain dates, details of architectural history, and sometimes dimensions which could not be included in the introduction tracing the main

line of development. The book refers to het opinions of some experts concerning matters of detail. At times the author carries on a polemic with them. The book is concluded by a short bibliography where the important works of the scholars mentioned are carefully listed. For the moment, this book is the best, most comprehensive, and most up-to-date bibliography of Hungarian Renaissance architecture and, as I emphasized above, it is not limited to architecture.

JÁNOS VÉGH

FAMILY STORIES AND OTHER NEW FICTION

Péter Lengyel: *Cseréptörés* (Back to Base), Szépirodalmi, 1978, 430 pp. Tibor Szobotka: *Az összeesküvők* (The Conspirators), Szépirodalmi, 1978, 382 pp. Géza Beremény i: *Legendárium* (Legendary), Magvető, 1978, 238 pp. István Örkény: *Rózsakiállítás* (Rose Exhibition), Szépirodalmi, 1977, 118 pp.

Péter Lengyel, who is now forty, has unfolded the talent he showed at an early age relatively late in his life. His first volume of short stories appeared in 1967, introducing a prepossessingly modest writer's alter ego, with an observant mind, who consciously stores away his childhood memories. In another part of the volume the same protagonist appears as a university student. One of the short stories of the cycle was awarded a prize in the 1966 short story competition run by the International Writer's Fund and PEN. Two years later Lengyel tried his hand at science fiction. *The Second Planet of the Ogg* showed him as an accomplished story-teller. The novel has also been published in Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Back to Base, a novel he worked on for nine years, is one of the best achievements of the generation of writers who embarked on their careers in the late 'sixties. The protagonist is the narrator. His experiences feed on the milieu and atmosphere of the earlier short stories. The plot is very gripping with the hero seeking his father in a kind of intellectual guest. Neither the plot itself nor the final outcome of the search can be foretold.

The structure follows the subjective chronology of the search, yet it is not incoherent or arbitrary. Despite the chronological flash-backs the even pace of the narrative gives the impression of a continuous chronological order.

The whole work is inspired by a barely voiced motive: the obligation to retrieve his lost father and the childhood he has been robbed of by the loss of his father, and by the obsession which prompts him to action —by a potential that can never be turned into reality, but which can be created, with faith and obsession, in art.

The novel is a really good read. It loses none of its intensity, and retains its suspense throughout, is never self-conscious or self-indulgent. And what is most important: its intellectualism is not off-putting either. It is modern but not ostentatious. Its intellectual level is within the average reader's scope, and it can also be read as high quality entertainment.

The twenty-eight-year-old protagonist, wandering through the twenty-one chapters,

is called János Bárán. His father, a young engineer, fell into Soviet captivity in the middle of the Second World War. As it turns out, a few months later he died of a serious illness in the prisoner-of-war camp. His family was not informed of the details of his death, even the boy's mother, a supernumerary, knows nothing definite about it. After some time she marries again, and—under the pressure of financial circumstances—she has to board out her son for a while.

Little János Bárán has a rare aptitude for learning languages. But in the end he fails to complete his university studies. He earns his living by literary odd jobs, translations and giving lessons in foreign languages. He spends his days alone, unostentatiously.

His main concern is to find as much free times as possible. To all appearances he uses his independence for roaming about aimlessly in Pest and the old Óbuda, the haunts of his childhood. At first he only wants to get to know his own self, his promptings and aspirations through his fragmentary memories. Later he realizes that his search for his old haunts, his friendly conservations, his slowly reviving memories all serve as peculiar preparations for the work he is cut out for—writing. For some time he still does not want to admit, and put into words, the concrete subject and aim of his work.

Then he accepts his artistic mission as it reveals itself more and more clearly through the series of accidents and his inner need. He understands his responsibility which relegates all other events to secondary importance, excludes the treatment of any other subject, and towers into a lasting duty. He realizes that one cannot live in the world without a father. But he himself has to assemble, build up and bring this father to life. István Szabó's film, *The Father*, which was a considerable international success, moves in a similar world.

At the same time the shouldering of this responsibility is not a private matter for him. Because János Bárán is the representative of the fatherless generation, of the young people who grew to manhood in the 'sixties. The reconstruction of the figure of the dead engineer, therefore, is at the same time a tacit assignment on behalf of his generation. The protagonist of *Tile Breaking*, who earlier groped about in uncertainty, gradually accepts this sense of mission.

"Now I only have to remain obstinate," he tells himself in the fifteenth chapter of the book. After pushing aside superfluous incidents, his obstinate will and battering conviction fulfil his mission. In the living reality of the novel the imaginary father walks together with the son he lost three decades ago, in the city centre of Budapest —a scene depicted with lyrical force.

The novel with its multiple layers and mosaic structure, forms an organic whole. The protagonist's movement in space and time provides the binding material between the mosaic pieces. But the central figure is thrown into full highlight only in the last chapters. His character develops in proportion to his acceptance of his missionary role.

Naturally, such an artistic unity can be brought about only from superbly elaborated motifs. Lengyel not only grasps the objects, facts and minutiae of reality, but also attributes meaning to them. He raises their significance to the level of symbols simply by mentioning them. The beautiful passages in the book, its harmonious proportions, the at times (in the childhood and fantasy sequences) almost musical treatment of the motifs, and its well-concealed artistry, however, would be worth relatively little without the artistic seriousness and ethical bearing which radiate from the protagonist.

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Sixty-five-year old Tibor Szobotka embarked on his career in 1936, with studies on the works of Shelley and Keats. He also published short stories in the press. Studies

and volumes of essays appeared from 1956 on (*Thomas Mann:* 1956; *Shelley*: 1960; *The Double World of Kafka:* 1963; *Public and Literature*: 1964; *Reality and Vision*: 1967). His first novel, *Megbízható úriember* (A Reliable Gentleman) was published in 1959, and has since run into three editions. The protagonist, a twenty-eight-year-old former acrobat and gigolo, wants to walk through life without doing any work. To his surprise he discovers that he is a "gentleman". Accordingly, he sponges on his permanent or occasional mistresses. He appears in the 'thirties in London, and then in Paris. In 1938–39 he returns to Hungary and becomes a member of the board of directors in a textile factory. He readily undertakes —following instructions—to remove the Jewish employees from the factory. The book shows a knowledge of the period—and a certain amount of verbosity.

Szobotka's next novel, *Züzü vendégei* (Züzü's Guests), published in 1973, is of lesser dimensions and leads to a more intensive world in the Hungary of the early 'fifties. A small company regularly assembles in the salon of Züzü, the aged singer. They are old-timers, who before 1945 were considered somebodies. Now, having drifted to the side-lines of society, they have no enthusiasm for the world surrounding them. Their lives are determined by a sense of loneliness and uncertainty.

Volumes of short stories by Szobotka were published in 1971 and 1975, under the titles *Hecuba* and *The Sea and the Dog*. They range from an "action gratuite" murder story of Existentialist inspiration, an absurd ghost story and romantic short story, to the story of an English Baroque actor with a cultural historical atmosphere and an ironical sketch and character portrayal. Most of the stories in *The Sea and the Dog* are of a parodizing tone. In these writings the always well-knit plot only serves as a pretext.

Szobotka's insight into human nature, his familiarity with the spirit of different historic ages, and interest in politics have brought forth his third novel, *The Conspirators*. His stylistic sense, elegance of composition, literary acumen and power of empathy, have helped him not only to invent a non-existing European country with malcontents hatching a plot against its tyrannous king, but also to draw up the model of secret conspiracy, depicting its realistic environment, conveying its mood and filling the imaginary characters with ideas, desires and individual aspirations.

The plot, abounding in adventurous elements, opens with the description of a death sentence. The sentence is executed in the market square of the royal capital, at the same place where the conspirators are also going to meet the consummation of their fate—in the second public execution in the novel.

The conspiracy to assasinate the tyrannous king and to bring the crown prince, living in exile, to power is started from three sides. The threat of intervention from abroad and the secret moves of the aristocracy in exile are only of secondary interest to the author. He has undertaken to present the members of the domestic group preparing the attack. What interests him are the external organizational and inner psychological details of the process that leads from the selection of the assailants, the decision to assasinate the tyrant, to the exposure of the plot.

The episodes when the assignments are issued and the conspirators' roles are allocated are splendid. As we get to know the would-be assailants, who are recruited from different social strata, they soon reveal the subjective motivations which have driven them to this clandestine and dangerous conspiracy.

There are twelve conspirators, just like the Apostles. One of them—naturally—betrays their plans. The traitor, however, is by no means a Judas who betrays Christ. He cannot be compared with the Apostle who denounced his master, partly because he does not have to pay the penalty for his betrayal,

and partly because there is no one there whose personality even remotely resembles the possessedness and moral demands of a chosen ideologue—a Christ.

The group, of course, does have a leader, who has stolen in from abroad, and is directed from within the country. Knight La Lutte embodies the gambler, the strong-minded, manful adventurer, who, for the rough pleasures that agree with him, and for a good life to be achieved overnight, is willing to run calculated risks, and if need be, to face death.

La Lutte is a mercenary captain who recruits a rough and ready group of accomplices rather than a purposeful leader of conspirators. He is far from being the leader of a revolutionary team operating with an ideology and employing clearly thought-out tactics. The only thing that shows him to be suitable for a political conspiracy is that he does not let himself be caught in the final debacle. He makes good his escape with the luck of the foolhardy, with skilled intuition, as it were. His ten comrades cannot avoid death.

The counterpole to La Lutte, who goes in for politics and murderous attacks for money, is one Sebastiano, the poet, who to a certain extent rises above the other plotters. He is led by revolutionary ideals. He has become intellectually ripe for anti-tyrannical action before he joins the plot. He is busy writing an epic called The Revolt.

However, even Sebastiano's general thirst for freedom fails to provide sufficient justification for the others' involvement. The poet is far from being on the level of the great poets of revolutionary struggles. He is perfectly satisfied with carrying out his idea aesthetically.

The other conspirators, the clever bourgeois, the hurt aristocrat, the wounded officer, the bored old scientist, the holier-than-thou religious maniac, and the others fall between these two counterpoles: all have their faults. Love not only lends colour to the story, but sometimes also triggers off some of its decisive turns, from the ponderous beginning, through the exciting preparations and temporary setbacks, to the nearly total, allegorical failure.

In sketching the background to the conspiracy, Szobotka has carefully avoided any kind of concrete chronological or topographical reference, but has still made his imaginary capital suggestive. He moves his characters in an environment and conditions which are easy to visualise. Thus without even surmising where and when the doomed conspiracy could have taken place, we are kept informed about the king's throne and his apparel, the scent of the rooms and the women, when is it evening or when is it cold, which have favourable or unfavourable effects on the characters' frame of mind.

There is only one thing in which Tibor Szobotka does not behave like a true realistic writer. All his characters use the same easy-flowing, intellectual (though never over-complicated) language in their conversations and monologues, although, they are socially, culturally and psychologically different types.

This linguistic uniformity can be convincingly explained. The author, who develops mild stylistic parody to a masterly degree, has written a book identical in manner to a fictitious Victor Hugo or Dumas novel translated into Hungarian in the 'twenties or 'thirties. This stylistic irony, which is never overdone, lends a lofty opera-flavour to the whole novel. This flavour is pleasant, too. And it is made even more interesting by the fact that here Szobotka has slipped out of his own self, because he has his imaginary conspiracy written by a phantom writer. And what is most interesting: this imaginary writer is not a bit less gifted than he himself.

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Géza Bereményi is thirty-three years old. So far he has published one volume of short stories, in 1970. He has written a number of

screen-plays and television plays and also lyrics and radio plays.

The volume, "The Swedish King," was a selection of humorous, playful short stories. The protagonists were ephemeral, the situations variegated, with a mixing of past and present tense. These writings followed the fashion of the grotesque which flourished in the late 'sixties, yet they demonstrated the author's sensitive talent, his independent view of history, and individual way of looking at things. The eight short stories in the pleasant volume reflect the mentality of young people who are still outside of society. They notice and mock its minor absurdities, but they can only criticize and have no idea how the anacronistic community relations, which give cause to ridicule, could be remedied.

In "Legendary," published in 1978, Bereményi is no longer isolated from social conditions and historical events. On the contrary, he mingles with them. He tries to situate the history of his own family in them, and to understand—through the depiction of the lives of a few generations—the endeavours or his own generation. This interesting and witty novel has a complicated structure. Bereményi upsets the chronological order of traditional family chronicles. As in his earlier short stories, here, too, imagination and reality, present and past, often overlap. It is not difficult to recognize in all this the influence of García Márquez, however, with the major difference that with Géza Bereményi the familiar past is not mythologized. But it can be turned into a legend. The encounter of the family foibles with the writer's eccentric manner of depiction, inclined to parody, provides the pith and marrow of the novel, and creates its specific mood and dramatic force.

If we arrange the chapters with their deliberately random chronological order, we realize that the plot embraces a period ranging from the 'thirties of the past century up to approximately 1980. The first legendary hero, the great-great-grandfather on the writer's mother's side, is called Lajos Alexy, and he is a gun-smith from Kassa. Bereményi presents his history in the bombastic-romantic idiom used before the revolution of 1848. In addition, he intersperses it with amusingly pseudo-serious moral comments.

Despite the lofty language, the wife of the revelling gun-smith resorts to less elevated practices. She saws in two the bridge under her husband's drunken cronies. Alexy has a narrow escape. "His rakishness turns into a lust for fame", and so he invents the quick-firing rifle, and offers it to Lajos Kossuth, who sparked off the 1849 War of Independence. The revolutionary leader cannot use the weapon because he has no capacity for its mass production. This is how—according to legend—the breech-loader of Kassa got into the hands of Bismarck, who won the battle of Königgrätz (Sadowa) in 1866 with the weapon.

The next character, by age, is presented in the fourth chapter of the novel. He is the father of the writer's father, who died in 1974. First he attends the funeral of his younger sister, and then we can witness his conversations before his death. The old man is a rather morose, quarrelsome character. Though—according to his recollections—he sowed his wild oats in his youth. One thing, however, he has always taken seriously: the family, which proved to be lasting "in all the vicissitudes of his life".

For the drunkard father of the writer-protagonist the family does not mean much any more. He accepts its disintegration with unruffled indifference, without any remorse. It is interesting how, in the first chapter, Bereményi blends the father's evanescent, hovering figure with the conversations of the architects of the modern cityscape of Budapest. While the frivolous father, in the course of his floating beyond time, finds his haunt in the Shell tavern, the historical founders of the city come from their construction plans to plan the demolition of the city.

The next stage in the disintegration of the family is presented in a letter by the neurotic sister of the writer in the novel. This constitutes the fifth chapter of the book. Comical events follow each other in the letter with its confused logic. They centre around a pitiable, irritatingly indecisive woman who makes a mess of her life. Yet, while searching for her lost personality, she explains everything. The embarrasingly funny descriptions lead nowhere and have no lesson.

From the fifth chapter onwards, the chronology of the novel, so far confused according to the laws of reminiscence, is restored. The entangled adventure of the writer's refractory, deserter brother takes place in 1976. Meanwhile we also learn that the elder brother, who earlier was also seeking his place in society, and took cover with his mistresses in other people's homes, has now settled down to such an extent that he can be turned to for help in desperate situations, although, with the younger brother's moral background, this help is of course rather temporary and provisional.

Strictly speaking, the family story ends in 1976.

However, to suggest the atmosphere of the 'seventies, with their plethora of debates, plans and theories, the author adds another chapter, an entity in itself, and only loosely linked to the family chronicle. It centres on a wonderful girl, unfathomable in her naturalness—Anna, the "eternal spring welling forth from the people".

The sequences with their feverish atmosphere and mood of finality, explaining destinies and seeking the meaning of the future, are centred on Anna's birth place, an ancient building transformed from a manor-house into the centre of a state farm, and the question as to whether it should be pulled down or merely converted. Each of the three possibilities, namely conservation, conversion and total demolition have their advocate. All three are in love with Anna, and all three defend their points-of-view with the intention of being asked to stay on there.

The passionate debates and conversations interspersed with eroticism, in the end reveal that both the castle and Anna are merely symbols: symbols of continuity. The bearer of the promise of continuity naturally is the new fiancé who only appears at the end of the chapter, smiling.

The reader has no idea whether to take the banal lesson of this excellent novel seriously or not. With Beréményi everything is uncertain. Only one thing is sure. There are not many prose writers in Hungary who would be able to write a similarly complex and stylistically first class novel.

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A splendid grotesque—with even greater bravuro—was written before Beréményi, by István Örkény, who in 1970 uttered a basic truth about the genre in one of his studies ("Confession on the Grotesque"). "The grotesque does not interpret the world, but creates a new world. An imaginary world of dreams, which, although it is reminiscent of reality and although indeed some elements are even identical with it, exists in another system of co-ordinates".

Since the late 'fifties, Örkény, now sixty six years of age, has been engaged in working out that other system of co-ordinates. His *One Minute Short Stories* (published in 1968, 1969, 1974, 1977) are born of this aim, and so are his numerous plays, which have also been staged abroad, including *The Tót Family*, *Catsplay*, *Blood Relations* and *Where's the Key*. His major collections of short stories include *The Princess of Jerusalem* (1968), *How Long Does a Tree Live?* (1976) and *The Last Train* (1977). *In Chronological Order* is a selection works of his whole work. Of his novels (*Hajnali pisztolylövés*—Pistol Shot at Dawn, 1947; *Házastársak*—Married Couple, 1951, and *Nehéz napok*—Hard Days, 1956) the latest one, published in 1977, is the best. Even the title

is completely misleading: "Rose Exhibition"—in quotation marks.

The title is explained on the third page of the short novel. The author makes it clear in an factual foot-note, as follows: "Department head Ularik got his own way in the debate. The film was released under the title 'Rose Exhibition' instead of 'We All Die', which sounded much too gloomy." There are other foot-notes in the novel. for example: "This flowery field has proved an excellent contrast to Mrs. Mikó's death agony". Or: "this dialogue—in an abbreviated form—was used in a later section of the film, as a sound-coulisse during J. Nagy's funeral."

The subject of the work can be surmised from the foot-notes. But it becomes even clearer from the review, written in advance and intended to perplex the critics, with its first part running like this:

"Television screened a gloomy, oppressing and thoroughly thought-provoking film. The creators set themselves the aim of offering the viewer an insight into the realm from which, as the saying goes, no traveller has yet returned. The three protagonists, whom we accompained on their last journey from their sick beds to the coffin, gave outstanding performances. Áron Korom also gave a good account of himself, even though the novelty of the assignment at places surpassed the faculties of the director, whose first film this was."

The mocking pseudo-review written in drab journalese, actually only needs to be rounded off by explaining who Áron Korom is.

He has been working for Hungarian Television for three years, but has been given so few assignments as a director, that in his despair he writes a letter to the Minister of Culture, asking him to intercede on his behalf so that he may make a documentary about a few incurable patients, following their fate up to their death. According to his bosses, death is a taboo topic as everybody is afraid of it. Korom is convinced that we are afraid of death because we never speak of it and thus do not know it.

Korom is given the permission. The seemingly simple, deeply humane and heart-warmingly grotesque novel is about the making of his film.

Three incurable patients come into contact with the film-maker, who works with a self-evident obsession and zeal. The first, Gábor Darvas, is a scholar specializing in Finno-Ugrian studies. He cannot wait for the permission to shoot the film to arrive, and dies. The story of his death is told by his wife instead. The situation is modified by the fact that the woman's television interview is actually about two people finding each other.

Until he learnt that he had only a few weeks to live, the morose and taciturn scholar kept away from his sociable, talkative wife, burying himself in his research project. When he realised that he could only complete his work for posterity with the help of his wife, he discovered his companion in the woman, and died peacefully and contented.

The other patient, Mrs. Mikó, is a flower-arranger. She lives through her death agony before the cameras with the dignity of the small-timers who bravely face life and attain wisdom at an early age. The only thing that troubles her is what would happen to her half blind, bully of a mother when she will not be around to look after her. Finally everything is straightened out, just like in a fairy-tale. Kind-hearted friends turn up to look after the mother. Mrs. Mikó lives long enough to be able to see her former fellow-workers appear on the television, at an international exhibition of her favourite roses.

The deaths of Gábor Darvas and Mariska, Mrs. Mikó, exemplify the general, the everyday in István Örkény's novel. The writer takes care that even the finest of details are realistic to prevent exaggeration of any kind from falsifying the situations.

In creating naturalness, the author employs imperceptible tricks of the trade. He

does not forget to give a graphic description of the surroundings either. The novel is an excellent humorous satire of the professional world of television, but is at the same time much more than that. It draws the minor pencharacters with sharp contours creating portraits of a consultant surgeon with camera jitters, a dreadful yet jolly good old woman, a gipsy family humbly seeking a chance to earn their living, and a tight-lipped, bright cameraman. The characters emerge from the brief introductions with unforgettable plasticity. Here the famous indiosyncratic, aphoristic Örkény style, which is able to display objects and events in a peculiar diffusion of light, modestly falls into the background; it is "switched off".

The marvellous "double-bottomed" talk begins when it has a function; when the shooting takes place in the television centre itself, and the cameras approach the third terminal case, with the appearance of a cardiopathic alcoholic television personality and screen-play writer.

J. Nagy, who has married five times—in his own words, "an ageing exhibitionist"—is not ill at all when the young director persuades him to take part in the film. He takes no notice of the heart attack he suffered six years ago. He goes on eating, drinking and consuming women. But his colleague's idea rather appeals to him, and he's attracted by the notion that if he had appeared so often on the screen, why not also die on the screen.

For the time being—healthy and with no prospect of immanent death—he does not know what the dramatic structure of the death to be filmed will be like. He only knows that it is he—the once gifted script editor—who, somehow or other, must guide the dramatic process, leading it to the final dénouement.

An imaginery, blasé television author would of course be incapable of such a professionally demanding operation. But here is his inventor who does this favour for his character.

With his splendid sense of empathy, Örkény presents with little hints, gestures and witticisms a man who—although there's nothing really wrong with him—simply has no other alternative to the one he chooses. Because just at the culmination point of the novel, J. Nagy has come to the end of everything. He has run short of all that which makes life worth living for a half-artist, half-Bohemian.

Örkény devotes to his television protagonist, who at first sight is not particularly attractive, not one word more that he deserves. Yet with his easy text with its omissions, supressions and evasions, he manages to make us feel throughout the enormous final energy and concentration with which a man who has practically squandered away his talent, prepares for the greatest work of his life—death.

This is why the scene towards the end of the novel is not needlessly over explicit, when J. Nagy's last love, the lady cardiologist with her beautiful breasts, gives her diagnosis as "exit has become his object in life".

It would be difficult to compel a normal person to live through, and understand these words in their full meaning. Yet, when coming from Örkény, we do believe them.

ZOLTÁN ISZLAI

NEW BOOKS ON AUSTRIA–HUNGARY

Péter Hanák: *Magyarország a Monarchiában* (Hungary within the Monarchy). Budapest. Gondolat, 1975, 467 pp.; Béla Sarlós: *Közigazgatás és hatalompolitika a dualizmus rendszerében* (Public Administration and Power Policy in the System of Dualism). Budapest. Akadémiai Kiadó, 1976, 277 pp.; Imre Gonda–Emil Niederhauser: *A Habsburgok* (The Habsburgs). Budapest. Gondolat, 1977, 362 pp.; Iván T. Berend–György Ránki: *East Central Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries*. Budapest. Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977, 163 pp.; Péter Hanák, ed.: *Magyarország története (7) 1890–1918* (The History of Hungary [7] 1890–1918). Budapest. Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978, 1422 pp.

It is a truism, at least in Europe, that what makes you, when crossing the frontier, notice that you have come to another country is usually not the landscape but the buildings. Every country has its own established style spanning whole periods, an architectural style adjusted to what is its idea of a barracks, town hall, or railway station, a style which, apart from the natural changes, is carried over more or less unchanged in the consecutive architectural periods, practically reflecting constancy, the stability of the state in particular, since of course these embody the idea of a state power that erects buildings according to its own needs. Only historical cataclysms can break this established style, since the new state, the new power, just as necessarily develops a new style for itself.

So much the greater is the surprise for the traveller—if I may borrow this favourite last-century fictional figure—who happens to get to East Central Europe. If he wishes to travel, properly in the old fashion, by train, say, from Fiume to Cracow or from Kolozsvár to Prague, and if on the way he dozes off and is not roused at any of the half a dozen odd frontier stations he passes through, he will surely feel he has never left when he reaches his destination. Even if he cannot understand the language of the signs he will with the greatest ease discover the location of the left luggage room or the public conveniences. On the surface this is about all that has survived of the one-time "unity," of the scuttled Danubian empire; unmistakably *k. und k.*, imperial and royal, cliffs of barracks, railway stations, and railway hotels stand out in the new world born in the place of Austria–Hungary which fell apart some sixty years.

During those sixty years the Monarchy, as it was always called in Hungarian, has travelled a long way, at least in the pages of history books. (In the West it tended to be called the Dual Monarchy, or Austria–Hungary, or even simply Austria—something that in itself gives an idea of the ambivalence that surrounded it.) Depending on one's point of view, it looked like the gaol of nations or a sort of supranational model state, a gaol to nationalist bourgeois historians. Marxist historians, in their initial zeal of deliberate isolation from the past, modulated this picture further by arguing from the class viewpoint and stressing the antidemocratic oppressive character. It was described as a model state by monarchists who liked to speak of historic missions and civilizing effects. Hungarians protesting against the injustices of Trianon willy-nilly sunk into making excuses for and even glorifying the Monarchy and the Hungary that was part of it. This way of thinking was given an unexpected boost and new arguments by the

various kinds of fascism which, given new horrors, rehabilitated, as it were, the Austrian empire in retrospect since gaol and oppression were given new meanings overnight. New illusions arose: a powerful Danubian empire, it was said, had it survived, could have blocked the expansion of Nazi Germany. In the early sixties, when the political disputes at the back of the historians' judgement had died down, new points of view emerged. Historians of culture, science, and art argued that the Monarchy had been a seed-bed of culture where even fringe areas turned into cradles of modern literature, science, and art. A list of really great names can be given in support of this picture. "I would be inclined to accept the seed-bed idea," Péter Hanák writes, "if there were not behind it, that is behind the façade of an elite culture, the back-yard of twenty million illiterates, ...if I were not aware of the hit-tunes and operettas of Vienna and Budapest, the trashy mass product of popular culture,... If I did not know that the precursors of national socialism also walked the streets of Vienna, that Christian Socialists hostile to liberalism, professing a vulgar antisemitism, grew strong there, and that right-wing radical defenders of the Hungarian race spread their wings in Budapest."

This has to be said to lead up to a discussion of the publication by the Historical Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, of, Volume 7 (over 1,400 pages) of a *History of Hungary* planned to consist of ten volumes. This volume, edited by Péter Hanák, deals with events from 1890 to 1918, i.e. from the consolidation and crisis of the system established by the Austro-Hungarian *Ausgleich* of 1867 until the collapse. The series will not be published in chronological order, but as Hungarian historians feel ready to undertake a large-scale synthesis. The other works under review here all, in some form or other, lead up to this major publication, as the sort of monographs that must precede a synthesis.

In the person of Péter Hanák the volume has an editor whose strong features really left an imprint. His share of processing the sources and also of the final synthesis has been so considerable that nearly one-third of it is his individual contribution. Of course, conceptional unity is not guaranteed by his person alone, but first of all by the fact that particular basic problems of the era have been methodically dealt with (not merely by Hungarian historians but also in conjunction with Austrians) until ultimately a common basis has taken shape. The ten authors belong to a generation that tried its wings after the war and is now in its prime. It is a kind of summary, surveying, from the angle of a consolidated era, predecessors who had been powerfully influenced by the needs of daily politics, and by ancient illusions, regarding the origins of our problems. It is certainly no mere chance that Volume 7 was the second to appear (the first covered the period from 1918 to 1945). The age of Dualism is a historic period which places its antecedents and consequences in a new light. The new generation of Hungarian historians has had to describe the time of their grandfathers.

In fact, they did it from a practically ideal perspective for the writing of history. "Sixty Years Since" was the subtitle of Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley*—and these sixty years are roughly the outer limits of collective, family memory. The problems have already lost some of their heat but have not yet changed irrevocably into the distant past. The edifices are not yet historic monuments, one can still identify the faces in the family album, as children we heard men who had been in the thick of it talk about the Dunajec breakthrough.

The Monarchy is thus of interest to Hungarians not as a scientific model, as it is to Western and American historians (among whom it has become favourite subject in the past quarter of a century), for Hungarians this sunken empire and the long shadows it casts, are only too real, something con-

crete. And let me add that Hungarian history has no more permanent pattern—from the Conquest up to 1944—than the German (Austrian) inroads and the wars of independence waged against them. The imprint was so strong that Kurutz-rebellious oppositionism (with varying class contents) did not abate (though it degenerated into romantic historizing) when, in the Dualist Age with a shared state, Hungarians became—to use a hazy terminology of the period—one of the state-supporting nations; although the *Ausgleich* of 1867, as the present consensus achieved after many disputes has it, was based in the last resort on a realistic compromise, i.e. it was the best possible solution amidst the given foreign and domestic political, economic, and military conditions. (The *Ausgleich* and the road leading to it, and the new state it worked out, present such a complicated problem that this is hardly the place to review the pertinent literature.) But it is also evident that the Hungarian opposition organizing at the time of the Second World War also found its place in the Kurutz-rebellious pattern of independence, and when Marxist historians began to survey the Hungarian past from a new angle, though retouching the picture somewhat (by connecting class struggles with struggles for national independence), they also laid stress on this tradition. These militant historians did not show much forbearance towards the Monarchy either. They definitely saw the *Ausgleich* as a betrayal of Hungarian national interests and, yielding to old innervations and the vulgarizing tendencies of the period, viewed Hungary as a "semi-colony" of Austria.

This has to be mentioned better to see the newer results. What then was the situation of Hungary in the Monarchy? I shall try to sum up in what the position adopted in Volume 7 of *The History of Hungary* differs from previous approaches. I already mentioned the first conclusion which is also the most important, since it serves as a basis for one's judgement of the whole age, that the *Ausgleich* of 1867 was a realistic compromise on the part of the Hungarian bourgeoisie and liberal nobility which were both interested in capitalist growth, opening the way to further progress. It was not a Hungarian bid for power, at the expense of the other nations in the Empire, as foreign historians have argued in whose eyes it marked the end of the supranational authority of the Austrian state, leading straight to the revival of national aspirations and to the decomposition of the Empire, but it was a step necessary to both sides serving the maintenance of the Empire. Growth thus became the key word and not semi-colonial status, and growth would have been inconceivable without Austrian capital and the Austrian market. Recent research likewise showed that the economic basis of the *Ausgleich* was the interdependence of Austrian finance capital and Hungarian large estates.

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Social and economic progress is an undeniable fact. Research and computations brought to light new facts and corroborated what was known already. Iván T. Berend and György Ránki are responsible for much of this work. Their basic *Hungary, a Century of Economic Development*, is now available in English. Their *East Central Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, a short beginner's guide to economic, social, and political history, containing the most important facts, has now appeared in a second English edition. Péter Hanák has sized up the transformation of society in a number of papers, the most important of which have appeared in a single volume *(Hungary in the Monarchy)*, which will be referred to several times below. Here are a few examples. The differences between Austria and Hungary in their economic development diminished. While the yearly growth rate in Hungary was 2.9 per cent, that in Austria was 2.8 per cent. (N. B. Every such figures involves incredibly

complicated and methodologically most delicate research, added to which are the difficulties of making comparisons.) The contribution of Hungarian agriculture grew from 40 to 52 per cent, that of industry from 16 to 24 per cent; that is to say, the ratio of the net value of industrial production between Austria and Hungary was 84 : 16 in 1850 and changed to 76 : 24 by 1913. The 70 : 30 ratio of the national income of Austria to that of Hungary around the middle of the last century went down to 63.6:36.4 in the pre-Great War War years. The rate and extent of Hungary's closing the gap is more accurately mirrored by the trend of per capita national income. In 1850 it was 108 gold crowns in Austria and 62 gold crowns in Hungary, while in 1911–1913 it was 426 and 319 gold crowns respectively. While in 1850 per capita income in Hungary was only three-fifths of that in Austria, in 1913 it was already three-quarters. For a substantial part of this growth Hungary had to thank the fact that as an agricultural exporter she benefited from the terms of trade prevailing at the time. Development was due to the necessity to establish the infrastructure of the modern bourgeois state and of industry. Agriculture also helped to back the expanding food-processing industry.

Such facts and trends appear to confirm the Austrian view that the Monarchy was really working to the detriment of Austria and to the general advantage of Hungary. A proper perspective can only be established by sound analysis. To quote Péter Hanák: "In the exchange of commodities profitable from the point of view of Hungary's economic development there was the general contradiction that the expansion of the branches best suited to the natural-economic endowments objectively hindered the development of other branches important to the national economy. Favourable openings for sale and the price conditions highly profited agriculture throughout the period as a whole. All this strengthened the system of latifundia, the 'Prussian-type' agrarian development (while, let us add, it met the costs of building of the infrastructure by accumulating capital). The domination of the conservative landed class checked the transformation of the social structure, slowing down the bourgeois restratification of society."

Let's take a look at industry. Historians estimate that growth between 1850 and 1913 was about twelvefold. Precise data are available from 1889 onward. In Hungary between 1898 and 1913 the number of industrial plants increased by 84 per cent, the average number of workers employed in industry by 76 per cent, horse-power capacity by 188 per cent, and the value of industrial production by 126 per cent. The yearly rate of growth was 5.4 per cent, which surpassed the 4.6 per cent yearly average of the countries of Western Europe and the corresponding rate in the Balkans as well.

One of the biggest troubles with Hungarian history writing was that it was Hungarian-centred—even when it dealt with the issue of Dualism; mostly this was the reason why all these tendencies were blurred in the national consciousness, and Hungarians were shocked to hear and see that historians in neighbouring countries afterwards accused Hungary of striving for hegemony which to Hungarians seemed no more than rightful claims to national independence. There was something of that too, of course —but from a one-sided Hungarian point of view it is impossible to understand either the logic of the evolution or the origin of the dynamism and the cause of these aspirations, which, as is now clear, are far too complicated to be described simply in a vulgar fashion as the opportunism of the Hungarian ruling class. Economic history and the broader angle have brought out much that was new in this respect, too, among others with regard to the crises accompanying Dualism to the very end, crises which had as a final consequence that the forces which had called the state into existence found the system increasingly

inadequate to secure their power, and various more and more reactionary plans came up for the transformation of the Empire. The gist of federalist ideas was the never abandoned principle of an absolutistic *Gesamtstaat*, and not any sort of democratic extension of power, as Austrian and other historians claim throwing the blame for the fiasco on the Hungarians who had always obstructed such a development which would, of course, have jeopardized their privileged position.

Economic growth thus ruffled the foundations of the system. In the decades following the *Ausgleich* Hungary's relative weight in the Monarchy grew, the law of uneven development prevailed to a certain extent for the good of Hungary. Large-scale capital imports proved to be advantageous, and rapid internal accumulation already in the initial stage amply financed the transformation of agriculture, the development of transport, and credit policies. And then, with the second stage beginning in the 1890s, the industrial revolution revved up. The public finances of Hungary were put in order, her financial dependence lessened, her economic weight increased. The Hungarian ruling classes were aware of this shift of forces. Relying on national public opinion, a section—mainly the parties of the opposition—were striving to achieve complete parity, and some aimed at establishing Hungarian hegemony. They did not really want to disrupt the system, yet their activity undermined its foundations.

The extent to which Volume 7 of *The History of Hungary* has broken with the Hungarian-centred approach is made apparent by the chapter devoted to the economic and social condition of the non-Hungarians in the country, particularly the position prevailing in Croatia. Nor is there the traditional excessive emphasis on politics and parliamentary affairs. Not only economic affairs, but ways of living as well are discussed. The three decades covered produced considerable changes in Hungarian society. This was the period of the establishment of capitalism, which transformed Hungary past recognition, and which left deep marks in ways of living that are still visible today. It is evident that these have to be taken into account, but the question is how. Péter Hanák, the author of the relevant chapters, has found a method—a bravura becoming to an essayist—in which the sociological analysis is interwoven with the survey of the way of living, and this again with the role of the sections of society concerned, i.e. with the examination of their role in the general trend towards embourgeoisement: the inquiry into their state of consciousness with an appraisal of the role they played in the shaping of national consciousness. This analysis begins with demography, the progress of urbanization, emigration, the relations between national groups, Magyarization as the biggest source of the numerical growth of the Hungarian middle class and, of course, the whole educational and cultural policy of the period; that is to say, at the same time it prepares the chapters on cultural progress, literature and art in the period which, without this introduction to the sociology of art, would be a little too sterile. They are superbly wedged between the chapters on ideological history (by Miklós Szabó) which show, in the political mind, the tendencies which are discussed by Hanák in their popular, everyday projections. Miklós Szabó digs unusually deep, analytically unravelling from contemporary newspapers the political myths of the period ("Hungarian realm," "national character," "Turanian horsemen"), their conscious-unconscious and actual political application. Speaking of art, the touches on the popular arts and points to the political aspects of the great change of taste during that period.

I already mentioned that this volume is a production of a more or less homogeneous generation of historians; it follows that the views and arguments will hardly meet with the same understanding by every reader as by the reviewer who has tried to pick out of

the historiographic novelties. The authors must reckon also with objections, and this not only by Hungarian or foreign historians but also by the reading public, such syntheses being never for the profession alone, as is demonstrated by the second edition of the preceding Volume 8 and by the fact that the stocks of Volume 7 are already running low. In the past ten to fifteen years an unprecedented interest has been shown in the history of the Monarchy and in the turn of the century in general, which is still today mixed with many illusions and misconceptions and many romantic notions as well. But—"Sixty Years Since"—it is time now to look at things without bias.

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Imre Gonda and Emil Niederhauser's *The Habsburgs* sold 14,000 copies in a week during the Christmas book rush. Evidently it has filled a large gap, since the dynasty has more or less been left out of Volume 7 of *The History of Hungary*. While bookstores in Vienna are full of books on the Habsburgs—bestsellers and scholarly works—Hungarian historiography in the past forty years has not wasted much paper on this family which had for almost 500 years been the embodiment of the ill fate of Hungary.

Of course, this is not even a regular family history. It begins the yarn with a more or less legendary ancestor, the Alsatian knight Gundtram in the tenth century, to continue with the Habichtsburg which now lies in ruins in Aargau, Switzerland. It narrates how, as the result of a compromise election of a Holy Roman Emperor, the centre of gravity of the family possessions shifted to the eastern confines disputed at the time by Hungarians and Bohemians. There, just with reference to this menace, the Habsburgs established a principality vested with special rights, the independence of which was to become ultimately the firm rock on which the family based its aspirations for the Hungarian Crown. By making use of the power vacuum that came about towards the end of the Middle Ages, they could expand into Turk-harassed Hungary which, however, according to feudal customs, also preserved a measure of independence, to win later, by right of constitutional law, the status of an associated state as against the hereditary provinces.

Of course, I do not wish to make it appear as if Gonda and Niederhauser wrote solely from the Hungarian point of view and concentrating on the Austrian line. On the contrary: the authors endeavour to look beyond the family stories. This is also where the biggest flaw of the book lies: it is a little more crowded than bearable: "A European Phenomenon" is the subtitle, and the authors try to encompass the thousand years of Europe which served as a scene and background to the doings of the Habsburgs. They shower the reader with an avalanche of historical events and names making it hard to establish what is essential, and the quality of their writing does not really offer an escape.

What is essential is, of course, the historical role which was assigned to the Habsburgs by the constellation of forces and to which the Habsburgs gave shape in the Danubian empire. What, one might ask, were the varying forces which were embodied by the dynasty, how did it play its part, and chiefly, how long did this last, i.e. when did it become definitively anachronistic? When does the juncture set in when the question is not what held the Danubian empire together, but why it did not fall apart?

For centuries it was the accumulating power of the Empire, the logic of history, one might as well say necessity, that animated the family which, with their unparalleled resilience and cleverness, facilitated the job of historical forces. Then, in about the first third, or rather towards the end, of the last century things changed, and the dynasty itself became one of the most important cohesive forces of the Empire, i.e.

the embodiment of a power structure and social system, the common denominator of the forces interested in its preservation and also a captive of the same forces. This is the juncture at which the assimilative capacities of the dynasty became exhausted. The family had to go under with the Empire. The attempted putsches of the Emperor/King Charles were spiritistic séances.

Volume 7 of *The History of Hungary* deals only implicitly with the question of what part the dynasty played during the last stages of this state which was in every respect heteroclitic and in many respects obsolete, of which the very dynasty was one of the most extraordinary phenomena. Without it the whole state would have been inconceivable, yet in consequence of its existence there survived obsolete power structures which objectively undermined the Empire, but without which the Empire would at once have fallen to pieces. If we now ask why the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy did not fall apart, we find that the reason was, at least in part, that it was ruled by the Habsburgs. The existence of the dynasty was thus also a cohesive force: and what I have in mind here in the first place is neither the dynastic tradition rooted in fairly broad —mainly Austrian petty-bourgeois and peasant—masses, nor the aristocracy loyal to the dynasty, the Catholic clergy, and the bureaucratic apparatus of state power, although the social influence and consciousness-shaping role of these factors cannot be underestimated. What has to be underlined first of all is the special power position of the dynasty, the extensive power of the monarchs though the country was a constitutional monarchy. In addition to commanding the armed forces and heading the civil service the possibility of balancing the two halves—and the national conflicts in general—guaranteed the monarch a considerable independent position. Moreover, constitution and tradition enabled the monarch to meddle effectively in the affairs of government, to dissolve and adjourn parliament, to censor legislation (this was called the "right of presanction") and to veto it, to form governments without parliamentary representation, etc. This extensive power not only protected the position of the dynasty but also helped the Austrian and Hungarian ruling classes maintain a government having the semblance of constitutionalism. Relying exclusively on power, that is on the armed forces, the Monarchy would have been unmaintainable, so the domination of the ruling classes had to be entrenched by constitutional means. That is why the Habsburgs could hold the stage until the curtain dropped.

With respect to Hungary a detailed analysis of the power system of Dualism from the point of view of legal history is contained in Béla Sarlós's *Public Administration and Power Policy in the System of Dualism*, which is unmatched in the thoroughness with which it treats the subject. It deserves credit for its study of the administrative measures in conjunction with the changes in the power structure. It is not a history of the bureaucracy, but it is that, too: it describes the structure of local authorities, the construction of the bodies of municipal and communal administration, but in reality it examines the relations between state power and administration with special regard to the role played by the monarch.

Imre Gonda and Emil Niederhauser are at their best in the chapters discussing post-1848 events. That is to say, even if the book fails to realize the aim of presenting a European phenomenon, it still has enriched us with a discussion of the history of the Habsburg empire without needless pedantry, essentially renouncing the earlier Hungaro-centric approach, putting the emphasis, with aim of popularization, on the flow of events.

ISTVÁN BART

SOUTHWARD, HO!

Travels in Southern California by John Xantus, translated and edited by Theodore and Helen Benedek Schoenmann. Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1976. 243 pp., 18 illustrations.

János Xantus (1825–1894), a small-town lawyer, joined the Hungarian army as a gunnery officer in the 1848 Revolution. In February 1849 the Austrians captured him in a reconnaissance action. After the suppression of the revolution he was forcibly enlisted, for eight years, into the imperial army as a common soldier. First his mother managed to intercede for him and he was exempted. However, because of secret trips and suspicious affairs he was called up again, this time for an unlimited period and without any chance of promotion. He escaped to London via Hamburg and from there he travelled to New York at the expense of the English government. Secret reports in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv allow one to keep track of his movements in America.

István Sándor, frequently refers in his book (1970, Budapest, Magvető) to the "oral family tradition" according to which "he [Xantus] had been newsboy, sailor, shop assistant, bookseller, pharmacist, card designer, piano-techer, draughtsman at a railway office, engineer and, when given the opportunity, he taught German, Latin, and Spanish." New York–St. Louis–New Orleans–St. Louis–New Buda (today: Davis City, Iowa)—these were the stations of his itinerary between 1852 and 1855. In New Buda he applied for 320 acres of land from which a compatriot ousted him with the help of a complicated but successful method.

When on November 24, 1855 in St. Louis he joined the US Army under an alias, he did this, as he wrote in a later letter, only "in a moment of utmost despair." Still, it was the army which, within a very short time, gave him self-confidence and the so-much-desired success. With the encouragement of his superior, army surgeon Dr. Hammond, Xantus took part in the zoological and botanical collecting work. Within a couple of years he achieved amazing results. From Fort Riley in Kansas State alone he sent thousands of mounted and dissected animal and plant specimens to the Smithsonian Institute and the Hungarian National Museum. When, on his way to Fort Tejon, his new station in California, he passed through Washington, President Buchanan recieved him and asked about his zoological and botanical work and his links with Lajos Kossuth.

The present volume starts where his previous book ends. (*Letters from North America* was reviewed by László Országh in *NHQ* 65.) This second volume is a real travel diary. The three parts, "From Los Angeles to Tejon," "Tejon and the Tejon (Navajo) Indians," and "The Californian Peninsula," contain much one would not expect to find in this type of travel book. Is it true that all American wild animals are cowardly? What effect have crinoline skirts on bears and wolves on the frontier? Is there anything which even Tejon Indians don't eat? How many Hungarians live in San Diego? What do Hindoo traders tiger hunting do to stop themselves fainting and falling off the backs of elephants when they hear the tiger's first howl? Or: how can you obtain Strasbourg pâté or sardines from Genoa in the Tejon woods?

We are told about the programme of the Los Angeles *circo*, about everyday life at Fort Tejon, a typical military outpost, we are taken to the several-storeyed village houses of the Californian peninsula (these fort-like dwellings which accommodated an

entire village), and to Mojave baths. There is a short introduction on the history of California (with special emphasis on the Jesuits), and the gold- and silver-mining methods of the age and meteorological observation are described. Even dyed-in-the-wool city-dwellers will be enchanted by the three ethological essays on the peccary, the grey bear, and the jaguar, with which the travel diary is larded.

And yet, Xantus had not seen any of these animals at the time. He took his facts from the well-known travel books by W. H. Emory and J. W. Abert, and from issues of *Hutchings' Illustrated California Magazine*. There was no such thing as a South Californian expedition, certainly not commanded by Xántus. The entire third chapter is a clever compilation. Xantus had acquired the habit of doctoring facts in the comforting letters he wrote to his mother. H. M. Madden, in 1949, proved in detail that much of what Xantus said was fantasy.

Xantus, especially when writing about himself, should always be taken with a grain of salt.

Travels in Southern California was written in the somewhat officious manner of the unbiased observer, the disinterested, distinguished stranger. Sometimes his recordings of the repetitive everyday routine of the journey appear exhaustingly thorough. It is easy to understand that Xantus could not relax in the description of a journey that never took place.

Fortunately those for whom the book was published in English—the collectors of Americana and those interested in nature—will not be disturbed by these details. Especially the latter will recognize the expertise and enthusiasm for nature which raises Xantus's work above the average. This gives the book a special warmth and counterweighs the made-up adventures found here and there. *Travels in Southern California* is a fortunate mixture of the very different experiences of scholars and adventurers. Xantus's social observations are relatively factual, and his descriptions of nature spectacularly vivid.

The American version is in highly readable English. Those readers who understand Hungarian might feel slightly disappointed missing Xantus's charmingly old-fashioned, now and then tortuously obsolete style. Nothing survives of Xantus's long-winded sentences which, to our amazement, unfailingly reach their goal.

The editor provided a most useful postscript which discusses Xantus's attitude to the Civil War. Surprisingly János Xantus, in opposition to most of his veteran companions in America, did not take part and almost never mentioned the war in his writings. The postscript contains excerpts from two, hitherto unknown, documents which show that Xantus as a scholar did not meddle in politics but he unambiguously supported the Union.

Since the pioneering days of Xantus, many have toured the country of *Baja California*. Two of them are known to the general reader as well: John Steinbeck and Ed Ricketts. To quote a book they wrote together:

"How different it had been when John Xantus was stationed in this very place, Cape San Lucas, in the sixties... The first fine collections of Gulf forms came from Xantus. And we do not feel that we are injuring his reputation, but rather broadening it, by repeating a story about him. Speaking to the manager of the cannery at the Cape, we remarked on what a great man Xantus had been... The manager said, 'Oh, he was even better than that.' Pointing to three little Indian children he said, 'thsese are Xantus's great-grandchildren', and he continued, 'In the town there is a large family of Xantuses, and a few miles back in the hills you'll find a whole tribe of them.' There were giants on Earth in those days... We honor this man for all his activities. He at least was one who did proliferate in all directions."

ANDRÁS TÖRÖK

THE LANGUAGE OF MUSIC

Terminorum musicae index septem linguis redactus. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest; Bärenreiter Verlag, Kassel–Basel–Tours–London 1978. 798 pp.

This is a book on music of pioneering significance, the first of its kind anywhere in the world. As the Foreword by Wolfgang Rehm tells the idea for a polyglot dictionary originated in 1958. During a session of the management committee of the International Musicological Society in 1959 a decision was taken to produce a five-language dictionary (German, English, French, Italian and Spanish). The international mixed commission responsible for the publication of the specialized dictionary consists, in addition to the members of the Society, of representatives of the International Association of Music Librarians, with Vladimir Fedorov as chairman. After it became known, in 1956, that the Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences was also intending to bring out a multilingual specialist dictionary of music, an agreement was reached that the work, now expanded to a seven-language dictionary by the addition of two more languages (Hungarian and Russian) should be edited jointly by Dr. Horst Leuchtmann and the dictionary editors of Akadémiai Kiadó of Budapest, and that the responsibilities for publication should be shared by Akadémiai Kiadó and Bärenreiter-Verlag. In English where there are divergencies, both the British and the American terms are given, so it is really an eight-language work.

Like all publications of a lexicographic or dictionary character, this volume cannot be either complete or faultless, moreover —precisely on account of the prolonged preparatory work—a whole series of recent musical terms are missing. The final editorial session took place in early 1976, for this reason many shortcomings were unavoidable. This is the reason why one cannot hold the editors to account for the missing of numerous expressions of modern, contemporary music. Compilation of the vocabulary had to end at an earlier date, and one should show understanding even in instances when the results of most recent research concerned with the performance practice of ancient music have been omitted, as well as names of instruments and expressions connected with performance practice. For example, *Hammerklavier* is given with the abbreviations obs (= obsolete), although ever since experiments have been made in the direction of authenticity in the performance of keyboard music this instrument has won acceptance in fact and name. One misses *Fortepiano*, though not as a seven-language word entry, it ought to be listed at least. (To quote the *Handbuch der Musikinstrumentenkunde* by Curt Sachs: *Der italienische, international gebrauchte Name des Hammerklaviers ist Pianoforte, in der Umkehrung Fortepiano, im französischen abgekürzt Piano.*)

Such economizing with the various types of the piano is all the less comprehensible as *Ditanaklasis* figures as a seven-language entry. (Sachs: *Das erste Piano soll um 1880 JOHANN SCHMIDT in Salzburg gebaut haben. MATH. MÜLLERs Didanklasis (Wien 1800) ist das früheste, das ich nachweisen kann.*)

In the dictionary only the Russian explains without adopting the name, although in Hungarian it does not even appear in the technical text. For this reason it would have been more proper to quote the "corresponding term" in Hungarian. (See "Arrangement of the dictionary and guide for the user" point 3.2: "Foreign words which are admissible in the technical language are distinguished by quotation marks.")

The severe treatment of the keyboard instruments is even less justified. Almost the entire array of accordions is listed *Quetsche*

f. Quetschekommode, Akkordeon, Handharmonika, Ziehharmonika, although there are no separate corresponding terms for these German words in the other languages (in English: squeeze-box, accordeon, accordion).

The trouble is that the dictionary wishes to be "a collection of technical words without definitions, if possible"—despite the many kinds of German names we are still unable to learn what the difference between the various kinds of accordions is. In this question we must again turn to Sachs.

Otherwise it would be useful to consider whether it is worthwhile in a dictionary as a first approach to include technical terms existing to various degrees in the individual languages as basic words which are identical in the seven languages. Even synonyms have justification only in two instances; 1) in the event of completely identical meanings, 2) in the event of related meanings, at a time when we *receive* information on the nature of the minute differences.

The editorial basic language of the musical terminology of this seven-language dictionary is—admittedly—German. Unfortunately, as a consequence, words of lesser importance, or of no importance whatever, were included, such as *Fagottgeige* (= bassoon fiddle < small bass viol with sympathetic strings>), or *Königin der Instrumente* (= "King of instruments").

Both the Foreword and the Arrangement of the Dictionary and Guide for the User tell that the editors devoted great care to the thorough treatment of the specific musical vocabulary of the individual languages. This aim, however, could only be realized in part amidst such distorted relations of strength.

In the evaluation of the small selection of "national" entries anyone could only choose his own mother tongue, only of these can he determine whether the chosen words are characteristic, or important. András Székely, responsible for Hungarian selected words with great conscientiousness and circumspection which relate to a large extent to the sphere of folk music, and, paraphrased he offers useful information to musicians of other countries. It is a good thing that among the specifically Hungarian word entries we find *verse chronicle* (= históriás ének), which is important in music history, and with the aid of the literal translation and interpretative explanation (the latter is missing only in the English meaning) offers new information about a characteristic historic form.

A failure of consistency is the invention of a nonsense interval, which has been an accepted term for nearly a century. Figure 04 (page 744) endeavours to illustrate all the possible intervals and in the meantime it brings into existence an imaginary one. It presumes the existence of a *diminished unison*, an interval smaller than a *unison-prime*; are there, can there be found notes closer to each other than identical sounds, i.e. is it possible to produce anything smaller than nothing?

The musical sign denotes a descending augmented unison—to express the French *(demiton chromatique descendent)*, Spanish *(semitono cromático descendente)* and Hungarian (*ereszkedő bővített prím*, i.e. descending augmented unison).

Using this they write down the musical example precisely, but they draw attention to a newer obstacle: do intervals have a direction? To go further with a question that does not even arise in the case of the other, larger intervals: how can it be decided to which note a simultaneously sounded augmented (or diminished) unison, is to be related? In writing down the musical example this problem could not arise, as in an artificial environment the intervals were written to the note "c" (hence the fundamental note was given a priori, and also for the reason that in the instance of a staff a unison and its altered form can only be written in succession).

The forms of a basic word given in other languages answer one of the following two questions: 1) what is its customary usage (in general), 2) what ought to be its usage? This duality with an indication of all the meanings of the words reveals the confusion

in terminology in particular languages. This is particularly annoying in the instance of a language (for example Hungarian) where one may speak of an evolved, established musical technical language only with considerable reservations. It is regrettable that in such cases the dictionary does not take a stand, and thereby it fails to take steps in the interests of a more consistent, more unequivocal use of the words.

The basic word of a seven-language entry may possibly have several corresponding terms in another language. At the same time it is not certain that for an identical entry the forms written in different languages will correspond to each other—in such cases it has to be looked up several times. For example the French basic word "*arrangement*" has five corresponding German expressions (which are largely synonyms), and in Hungarian four divergent meanings. The first two: "*feldolgozás*", "*átírás*" indicate an activity (NB. the most accurate correspondence is the German "*Behandlung*" (= treatment), which, however, does not correspond (in German to "arrangement"), the third: The *result* of the activity: "*átirat*" (in German: *Transkription*). The meaning of the fourth "*hangszerelés*", belongs here only according to its sense (the precisely corresponding word in German is: *Instrumentierung*, in English: instrumentation); its justification under this entry is given by the fact that in the course of elaboration-transcription the performing apparatus is altered for the most part.

A few remarks as to the Hungarian meanings: the meaning, the sense of *Ziffer* (= figure) "számozás" is beyond debate but it would have been useful to spread the term "próbajel" which has already come into established usage among musicologists.

The *Schwirrholz* (= thunder stick, bull roarer, whizzer) also has a fine corresponding name in Hungarian: "*zúgófa*", which ought to be entered in the dictionary. Unfortunately, as the consequence of the German-centric selection in many instances the creation of non-existent words, i.e. their translation as terms occurred.

For some mysterious reason the "*Alberti bass*" was put into the plural, whereas in Hungarian it is always used in the singular. (In this instance the Italian entry uses the plural form: *bassi Albertini*—in the Ricordi *Encyclopedia* it is still to be found in the singular *basso albertino*.)

Minute inaccuracies appear in rather large numbers. For example, "Pianoforte *n* D" refers to the "pianoforte" seven language entry. Even more interesting is the reference in case of the English term: "pianoforte E pianoforte." The correct reference in both instances would have been "pianoforte m."

The *General information* for the use of the dictionary perhaps takes into consideration the reader's fatigue, when in 1.11 after "tilde" it also includes the sign (~), although the word already appears earlier (1–4).

KATALIN FITTLER

THE HISPANIC HERITAGE

Pál Kelemen: *Vanishing Art of the Americas*. New York; Walker and Co., 1977.—Mihály Ferdinándy: *Philip the Second*. Guido Pressler Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1977

Not much has been written by Hungarians on the Pre-Columbian world before the middle of last century. Pál Kelemen's book *The Battlefield of Gods*, the Hungarian translation of which appeared in the thirties was, to my knowledge, the first Hungarian popularizing work on the subject. The author's later study, *Medieval American Art* (1948), a large two-volume work, revealed Kelemen as a deeply erudite scholar with an analytic

mind; in my opinion this work is unique inasmuch as it offers a synthesis of the different Indian civilizations and its excellent picture material allows for comparisons.

The Hungarian-born author who has been living in the United States for almost half a century demonstrated his all-embracing interest in subsequent works as well. In *El Greco Revisited* (1961) he followed the artists' evolution in all its phases and revealed much new material. His most recent work is the second survey of the little known art first described by the author in *Baroque and Rococo in Latin-America* (1951). With the help of its excellent picture material this work informs the reader of the gradual deterioration of the Spanish colonial-style monuments, and at the same time presents the surviving treasures of this complex art. The author works with the painstaking accuracy of the empirical archeologist and the analytic appraisal of the art historian.

The author and his wife, an art historian and photographer, have set out to rediscover the monuments of seemingly unapproachable regions, and to bear witness to the for the most part distressing changes of the last few decades; at the same time they discovered and described many hitherto hidden elements in the development of Latin-American colonial art.

The artistic pattern of modern times in Latin-America is extremely complicated, owing, among other things, to the interplay of continents. The conquistadors found two, perhaps three, highly developed Indian cultures which—mostly because of political factors—already carried in themselves the seeds of decay.

Pál Kelemen tried to follow the course of development of the new colonial art and found the fusion of Spanish art with original Indian skill in representation—the transformation of the localized folk world during the almost immobilized three centuries of the colonial period.

Apart from the Spanish–Indian interaction another, seldom noticed element might have contributed to the development of the local forms of painting. In the 16th century the Spaniards conquered the Philippines and collected, looted, and levied treasures from this land rich in material and artistic culture; these were brought to Spain by vessels of the Pacific Ocean fleet which approached the isthmus that roughly correspondes to the region of the Panama Canal. Several ports, especially Portobello, were the site of "country fairs" organized every year, filled with goods from the Philippines, Japan and China; the ships from Peru and Chile also put in here and unloaded their cargoes which were transported by mules to the Atlantic coast. Then from here, under the protection of Spanish galleys, they rached the "Madre Patria" together with the treasures from Mexico, the Vice-Royalty of New Spain. The different cultures mixed in these open markets, and emerged later in Latin-American colonial art with their own specific features.

In *Vanishing Art of the Americas* some chapters reappraise the results of former research and bring the complex material of this unique art within our reach. Other chapters deal with the ruins of churches at the foot of the Andes on the fringe of the jungle. The author presents the catafalque-art heavily influenced by Indian patterns, as well as the abode, wood, and stone elements of colonial buildings. The fresco figures of the "musketeer guardian angels" from the 18th century were unknown until now, and the origin of some motifs on Indian textiles dates back to the pre-Columbian world explored by the author some three or four decades ago.

In the first third of our century, in the shadow of the Mexican civil war, these monuments of art probably stood intact in unknown villages or on the market-places of Indian towns. The ravages of time and the barbary of ruthless collectors have heavily damaged these churches and colonial mansions that can be reconstructed only from contemporary photos. Reading this book is

like a strange walk through the vast three century empire of the Latin-American Pax Hispanica with an expert guide, one of the best scholars on the colonial civilization.

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When a few years ago Mihály Ferdinándy was a guest in Budapest and in the hall of the former Eötvös College he delivered a paper on the Portuguese sources of Hungarian history and literature, the Hungarian born professor at the University of Puerto Rico fascinated his listeners not only with the revelation of unknown historical material; he charmed those present with the fine nuances of his complex style and his perfect Hungarian after almost forty years abroad.

In *Philip the Second* Mihály Ferdinándy sets his characters in an unusually broad historical frame. His research into sources including hitherto uncovered regions enables him to start from his previous book on *Charlemagne*, and follow up on the changes of medieval European civilization. He elaborates the character of *Otto III*, the "holy emperor" and presents his thoughts on the philosophy of history in the "Cuadernos", these occasional brochures. He gradually approaches the age of the Spanish "pharaohs" and revives *Charles the Fifth* to free him from the ties of Burgundian–Spanish ritual. His research extends to the empire Suleiman the Magnificent and to some hitherto unknown aspects of the *Osmanisches Hofzeremoniell*—court ceremony in the Ottoman empire.

In *Philip the Second* he writes in detail about *Antonio Perez*, "foreign minister" in the middle period of Philip's reign. His spirit and elastic policy symbolizes something novel in the decades of Spanish expansion growing into a world power. Perez was a highly talented but corrupt politician and, as the lover of Princess Eboli, he moved in the thick of court intrigues. One day he unexpectedly fell into disfavour with Philip and was even imprisoned for some time. He managed to escape to Aragon and after having instigated a civil war with Castile (with which that kingdom had loose ties), after many adventures he reached France, and then England, where he became one of Bacon's spiritual and political inspirers. He established the "black legend" about Philip that still accompanies the figure of that powerful ruler. This legend had much symbolic force. Especially in the age of romanticism when the Don Carlos myth developed. The Philip of the legend was cruel to himself, his son and his entire people, his severity was untempered, he was *El Señor de Todo*, the Lord of All, as the court jester put it. The ruler was obviously hurt in his feelings towards his family, a lonely man wounded in his masculine vanity, and only the glow of the burning stakes could give him some warmth. Such is very probably the image of Philip in the minds of those who did not bother to study this man, one of the most complex characters in modern history.

At the beginning Ferdinándy enumerates everything that, in the eighth decade of the *Cinquecento*, after the conquest of Portugal, formed a part of one might say the personal empire of Philip II. The almost endless series of countries, provinces, seas, harbours, bases on four continents is astounding—and their sole lord was that ageing man who preserved his awe-inspiring capacity for work and will-power until his 80th year.

Ferdinándy's Philip II experiences, undergoes or actually shapes the phases of European history during the half-century when he left the mark of his personality and policy not only on Europe but on the whole world. According to the description of the graphomaniac Don Felipe bent over his files of documents and scribbling along in the sparse light of a single candle he arrived after many decades of wandering—across the merrier Aranjuez—to the monastery named after St. Lawrence. The memory of four dead wives, of his perished children, and one small son begot in his old age will follow

his sarcophagus to the crypt-vault of *El Escorial*.

Ferdinándy's most important source were the confidential dispatches of the ambassadors of the Republic of St. Mark to Madrid. Their authors were cultured *hommes de lettres*, hardened, unemotional diplomats who, during their long years of experience had learned many internal and external secrets of state life.

Ferdinándy's Philip is placed also in the dialectics of generations. The story starts in mid-16th century when the fading light of Charles V signals the change of scene on the Spanish stage. The change of throne takes place at the time of the second generation of the Reformation: its purpose is Spanish and world hegemony. The ritual of royal bearing justifies the analysis of the Habsburgs which has gained such significance in the vital questions of Europe. A separate chapter of the book is devoted to Philip as a "ruler of peace"; the documented events complete the description of his character as a ruler inclined to make compromise agreements, progressing slowly, waiting and preparing the revenge of his grievances, unwilling to further expand his empire. The chapter on "the art of dying" presents the slowly withering Lord of All in a human light. Behind the bureaucrat withdrawn from the world, dictating to his daughter until the hours of dawn, appears the man who, in his protracted agony, preserves all the characteristics of his greatness.

LÁSZLÓ PASSUTH

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

FERENC MARTYN —DESCENDANT OF CRUSADERS

One-man show in the Budapest Historical Museum

In the past ten years a vigorous historical appraisal of avant-garde art has begun. A whole series of books and volumes of documents have appeared, large public exhibitions have shown the most important works of significant artists of the century, and shows have been organized to acquaint the public with the various movements, groups and periods. An exhibition at the National Gallery in West Berlin last year, for example, offered a comprehensive and representative picture of the avant-garde endeavours of the 'twenties. And in the summer of 1978 and exhibition was arranged in Paris, at the *Musée de l'Art Moderne*, intended to appraise for the first time the work of one of the most important avant-garde groups of the 'thirties the *Abstraction-Création* group. These exhibitions showing the various movements, groups, and periods, naturally enough, did not on the whole provide a true and dispassionate survey taking in all points of view. At times they were not free from bias and haphazard selection. Large numbers of avant-garde artists from Central- and Eastern Europe in particular were notable for their absence artists who had returned to their countries after living in Western Europe for longer or shorter periods. For example works of four Hungarian artists were included in the exhibition of the *Abstraction-Création* group: that of the Cubist, then non-figurative artist Alfréd Réth, that of Lajos Tihanyi,[1] whose works ranged from Cubist-Expressionism to non-figuration that of László Moholy-Nagy[2], who belonged among the pioneering personalities of new spatial organization and model design, and the works of the sculptor István Beöthy, who was vice-chairman of the group.

Unfortunately, among those Hungarians who were unrepresented was Ferenc Martyn, an active and important member of the group from 1932 until it ceased to be. It was pure chance that an exhibition of 300 of the collected works of Ferenc Martyn, consisting of paintings, graphics, sculpture and ceramics opened at the Budapest Historical Museum at the same time as the *Abstraction-Création* group exhibition.

The name of Ferenc Martyn is known to only a few people abroad today, although he lived in Paris for fifteen years. It must be said that the artist's modest, retiring nature has largely contributed to this fact. Prior to this exhibition—not counting the smaller presentations of his graphics—Martyn had also had an exhibition in Budapest, but this was a good three decades ago, in 1946. His collected works were however exhibited three times between these two dates, in 1947 and in 1969, in Pécs, the town where he lives and where a museum now exists for

[1] NHQ 41, 54
[2] NHQ 46, 57, 62

him and his contemporary Vasarely, a native of the town, and also in Tihany, on the shore of Lake Balaton, in 1970. Yet these exhibitions offered only an outline of Martyn's work. The 1978 Budapest exhibition, consisting of 123 paintings, 141 graphics and 15 statues, did actually give a representative assessment of Martyn's activities, although to speak more exactly, not even this picture is complete, because the works originating in the *Abstraction-Création* period are for the most part, in collections abroad, and only five large-scale graphical works in red crayon represented this period at the exhibition.

Martyn was born in 1899 in a town in Western Hungary, the son of a Hungarian–Irish family. His great-grandfather had come from Ireland to Hungary in the early 1800's. His paternal forebears were adventure-loving Irishmen. One of his ancestors, for example, fought in the Second Crusade and died in captivity on his way home from Jerusalem. These adventurous, seafaring traditions were kept alive in the family, and as a child, Martyn's imagination was also captured by the tales of travel and far-away places and later, in his paintings, these motifs recurred time and again. At the age of twenty-seven he himself set out into the world. As a child, he was at first brought up in the home of József Rippl Rónai[1], where he mastered the basics of painting. His teacher initiated him not only into the secrets of the craft, but also fundamentally influenced the development of his ideas. In his youth, Rippl Rónai had lived in France, from 1887 to 1902, and as a member of the *Nabis* group he counted among his friends Maillol, Vuillard and Bonnard. After his return to Hungary, his house became a meeting-place of writers and artists. With such antecedents it is understandable that the young Martyn, arriving in Paris in 1926, should have joined the most modern movements, first the surrealists, and then the non-figuratives.

[1] NHQ 45

The artists belonging to the *Abstraction-Création* group set out to create a pure, abstract order of form and colour, a new grammar of the plastic arts. There were some members of the group, however, who, although departing from representational art, felt the geometrical order imposed by form to be inadequate for the expression of their personal realm of experience and their imagination, and they created abstract forms which were not unrelated to the organic world. Martyn belongs among the latter.

The first mature period of Martyn's art covered the years 1933 to 1939, and comprised for the most part his creative activities as a member of the *Abstraction-Création* group. The reproductions of pictures dating from this period and the graphics to be seen in the exhibition of collected works suggest an integrated period of consolidation which is of fundamental significance in respect of the whole œuvre. The majority of these pictures are not *par excellence* non-representational works—at least not in the purist sense of the term. Even the forms that do not evoke concrete, representational associations are expressive in character, and relate to existence of an organic nature, or the whole composition evokes associations of ideas relating to environmental experience. (*Composition* 1933). In these works, and in the pictures of the following period, the partial renewed objectivisation of abstracted forms may be observed. Some detail, or some element of form, contains a representational reference, and under its influence the picture is amplified developing further in the imaginative of eye the beholder; the image referring to man, to the world of nature makes its appearance, but before the form can become a figural motif completely it again reverts to the abstract. This ambiguous form, therefore, evokes an imaginary impulse from the non-representational towards the representational, and returning from the figurative to the non-figurative, swinging back and forth, gives rise to many kinds of association in the ob-

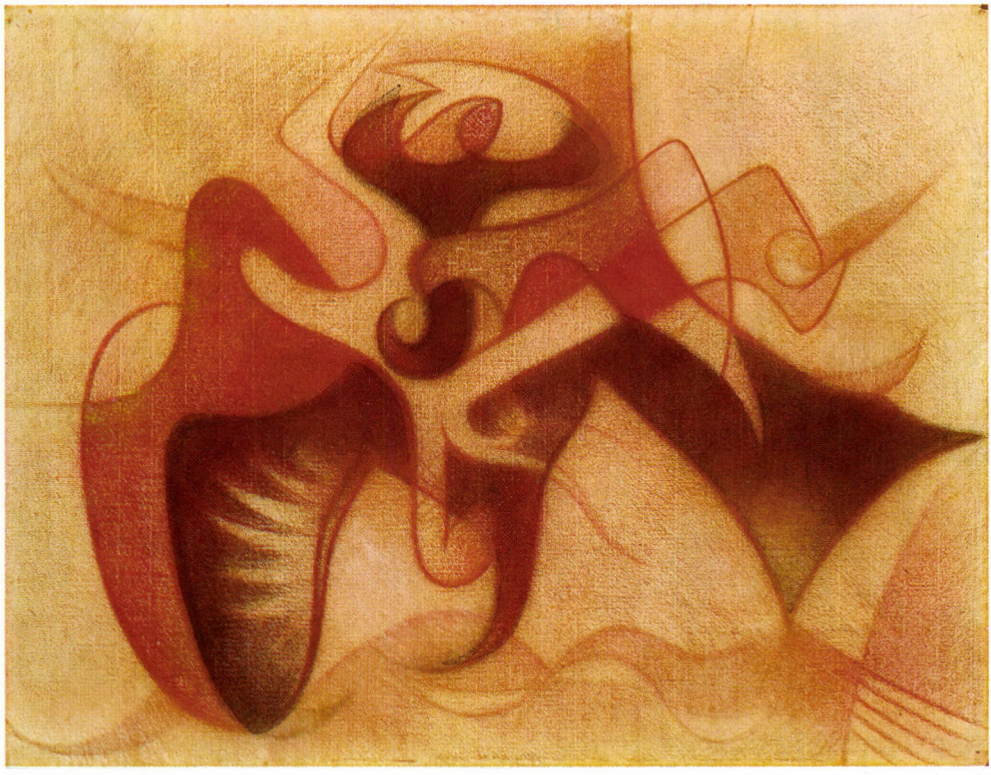
server, thus offering the artist an opportunity for a high degree of condensation.

The following period in Martyn's art now back in Hungary from 1940 to 1943, marked a further enrichment, one might say a consummation. In the period between the two World Wars, the progressive, modernist artists returning to Hungary after a prolonged absence abroad—with very few exceptions—renounced their creative principles one after another, in the oppressive atmosphere of the Horthy era, and chose various roads of compromise, of semi-conservatism. Martyn rejected all kinds of compromise and continued to work with an estimable consistency.

After the *Abstraction-Création* period which was relatively homogenous from the point of view of creative method, his art grew more complex, and variegated. Among the paintings which date from this period, we find some which, in the manner of the first generation of the avant-garde, give a cubistic transcription of the vision of some figure or spectacle. In the most powerful and innovative works, however, we may observe the renewed objectivisation of form, the application of ambiguous form. A qualitative change takes place in the relationship of abstracted forms, and forms suggesting a figurative association, to each other and to space. The overlapping, criss-crossing and translucent forms the effect of the suggestion of spatial division by the colours brings about stratified space. Instead of external motion, of activity, the aim is increasingly the simultaneous grasping of external and internal change, instead of instantaneity (momentary image) the aim is expression of the dynamism of existence. It is in this period that the basic modes of his artistic thinking and creativity evolve. The exhibition not only brought out the decorative harmony of the pictures, but the arranger also succeeded in revealing the internal interrelationships, the logic of development of the œuvre.

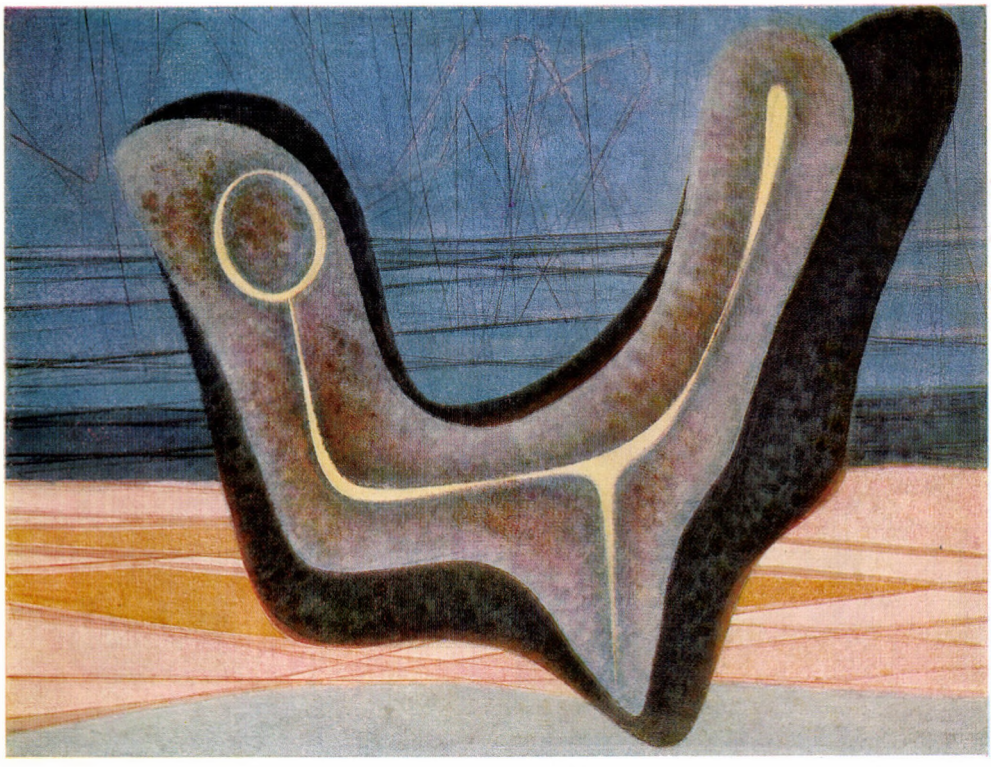
To the first type belong the cubist pictures, and those which further develop the constructivist mode in an individual manner and couple it with a vigorous expressionism. In the series of three pictures entitled *Souvenir d'Espagne* (1943), a natural breathing together with the earth, the water the sky and the vegetation, a Mediterranean *joie de vivre*, is expressed. The first piece of the series, by imitating the spectacular landscapes recreates experiences connected with the sea, ships, seamen and adventurers images of memory and fantasy. The other two pieces of the series belong to the major accomplishments of this period. One evokes a seaside, marine world, with the magic of a fabulous, surrealistic atmosphere: the serpentine forms bending arch-like in the course of their development undergo a kind of transformation, from ambiguous forms associated with vegetation they become figures suggesting animals or humans. In places the painter interrupts the long circular forms and inserts new motifs, offering an insight into another segment of the marine world, and then continues the previous forms. The vertical figures bending in an arching manner end the composition a horizontal direction with their soft, undulating movements. The third piece in the series is even more condensed, it expresses the inner vision of the Mediterranean landscape with greater number of abstract forms. The forms of stricter geometrical division, relate to architecture, and a few partially overlapping arches, coloured in green with red contours, are sufficient to evoke the concept of hills. There are even more forms suggestive of the real world in the picture, for example the figures of men swimming in the air.

The other trend running through the entire œuvre is the expressive-surrealist mode of creation. These works are not linked with positive surrealism, their individualistic surrealistic character merely colours and enriches them.



Alfred Schiller

FERENC MARTYN: COMPOSITION (RED CHALK, 60×80 CM, 1933)



Alfred Schiller *Courtesy Corvina Press and Képzőművészeti Alap Publishing House*

FERENC MARTYN: MEMORY-BLUE BOG (OIL ON CANVAS, 60×78 CM, 1957)

Ferenc Martyn: Composition II.
(Aluminium, 39.5 cm, 1941/1973)

Ferenc Martyn:
Gabriel Fauré memorial
(Aluminium, 48 cm, 1943)

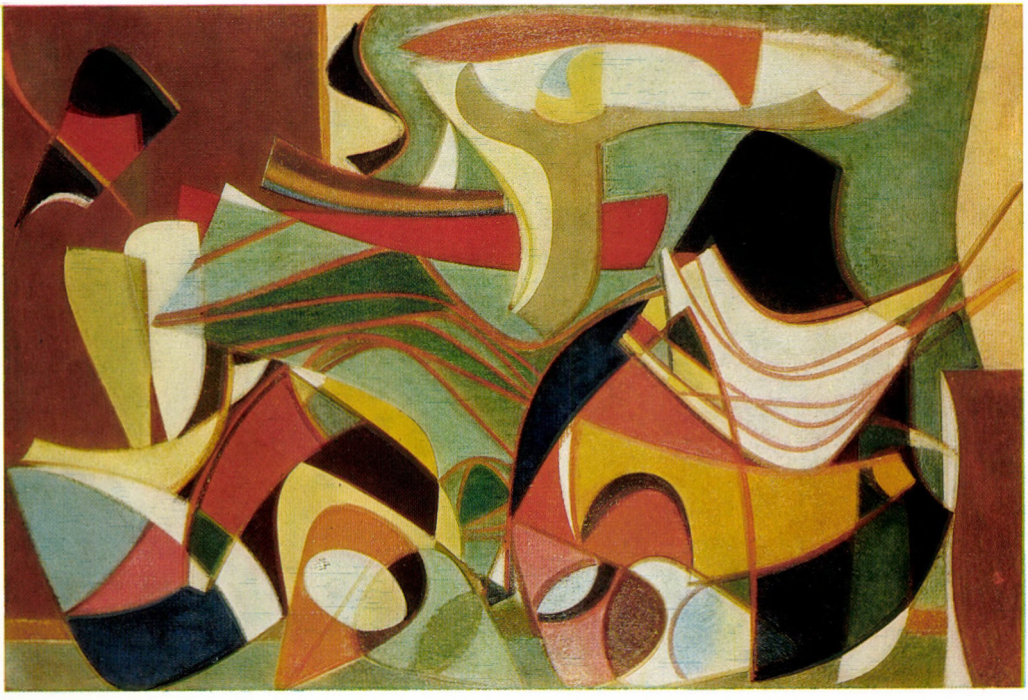
Katalin Nádor

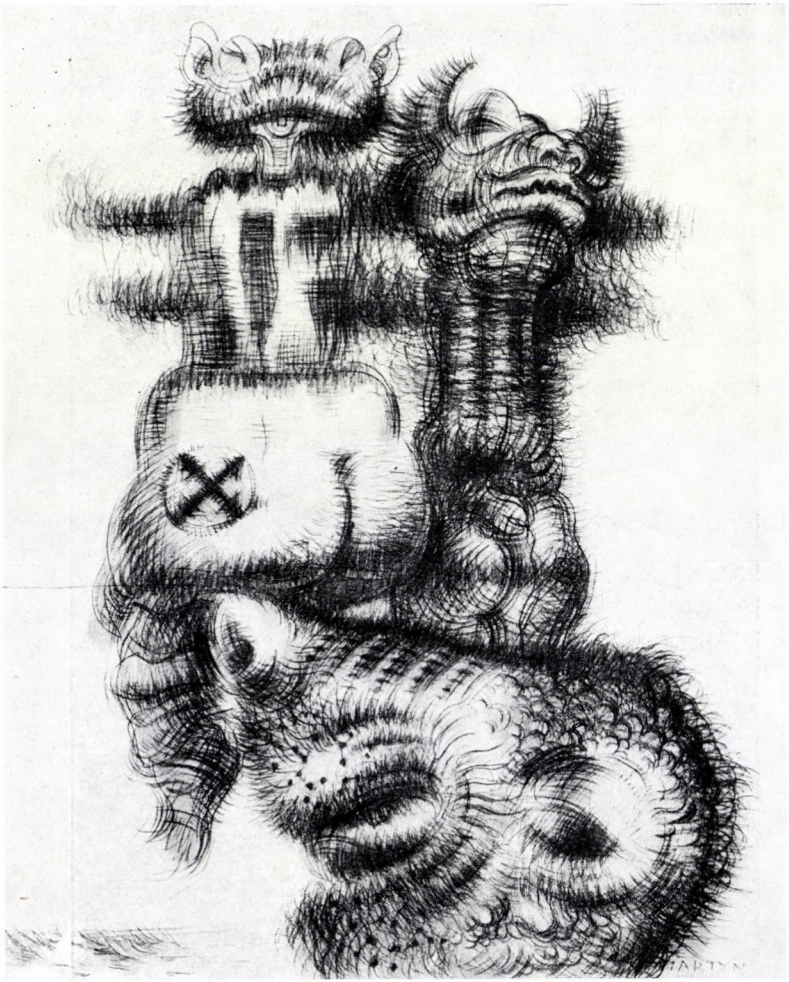
Ferenc Martyn:
Memory of the Great Plain
(Aluminium, 46 cm, 1943/1974)

Ferenc Martyn:
Celtic memorial
(Bronze, 80 cm, 1943/1975)

FERENC MARTYN: SOUVENIR D'ESPAGNE I. AND III.
(OIL ON CANVAS, 130×198 CM, 1943)

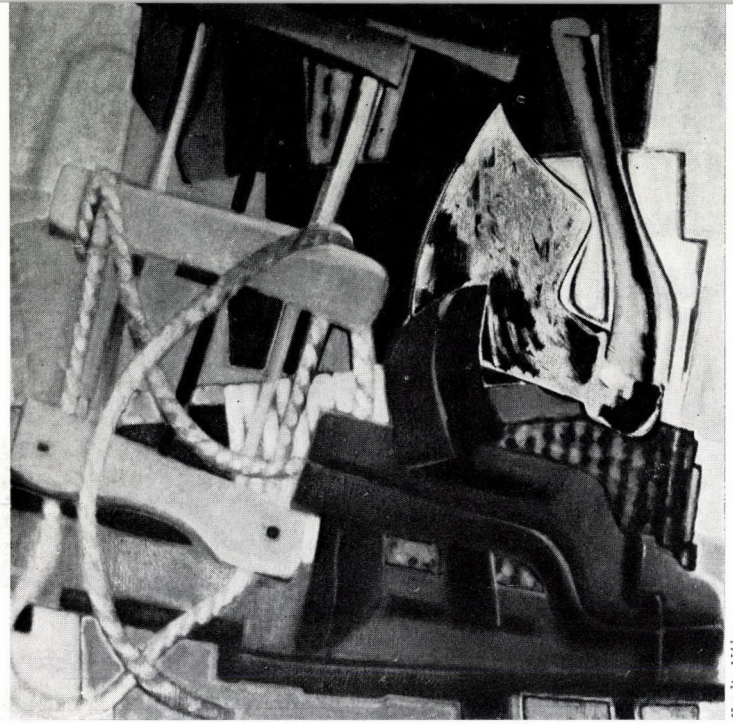
Alfred Schiller





Katalin Nádor and István Somjai

FERENC MARTYN: FROM THE SERIES "THE MONSTERS OF FASCISM"
(PAPER/PEN AND INK, 35×25 CM EACH, 1944)



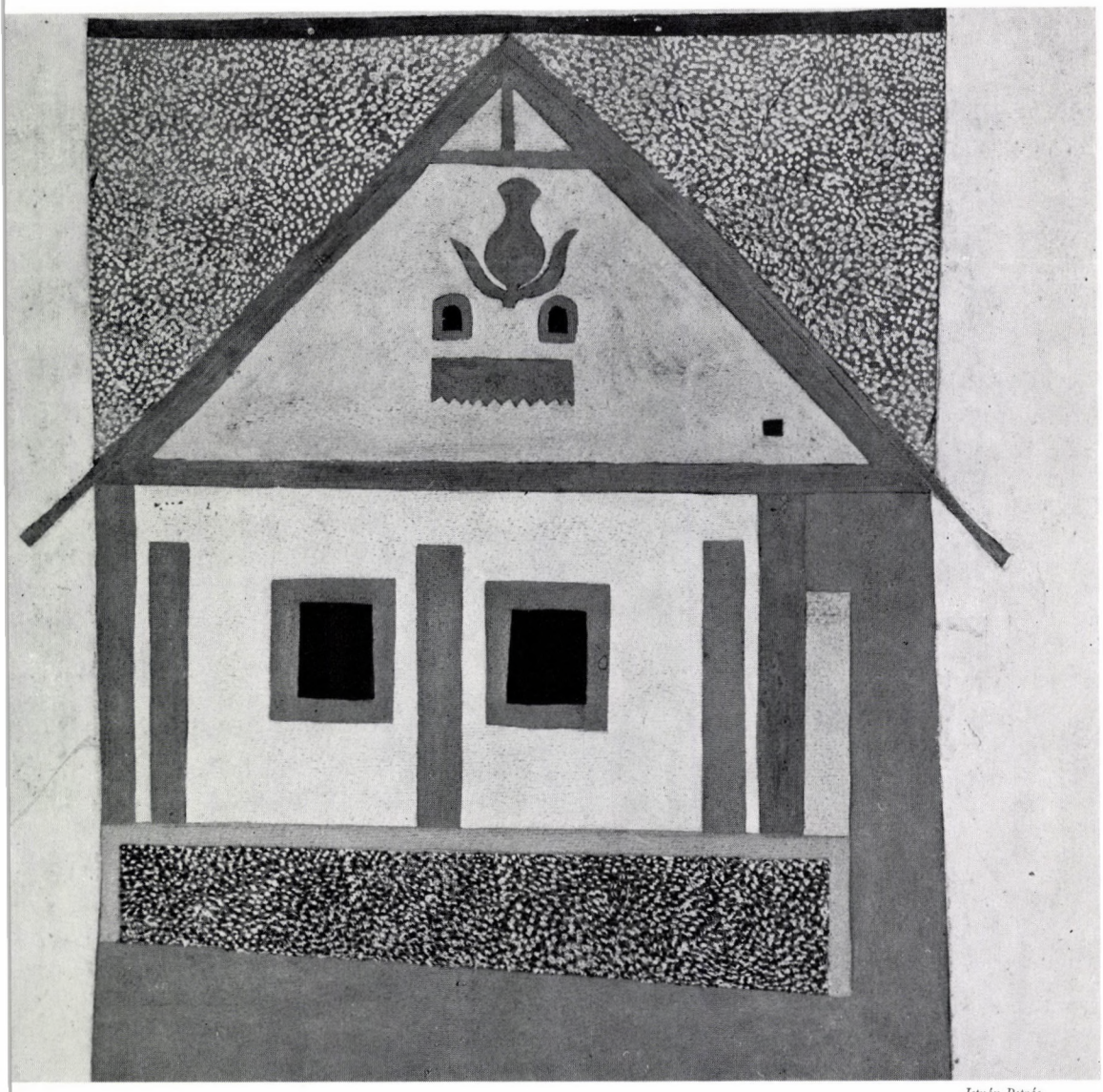
Katalin Nádor

FERENC MARTYN: COOPER'S TOOLS
(OIL ON CANVAS, 60×60 CM, 1960)

FERENC MARTYN: OLD TOOLS (OIL ON CANVAS,
62×47 CM, 1947)

Katalin N

FERENC MARTYN: IRISH KING (OIL ON CANVAS, 60 × 50 CM, 1943)

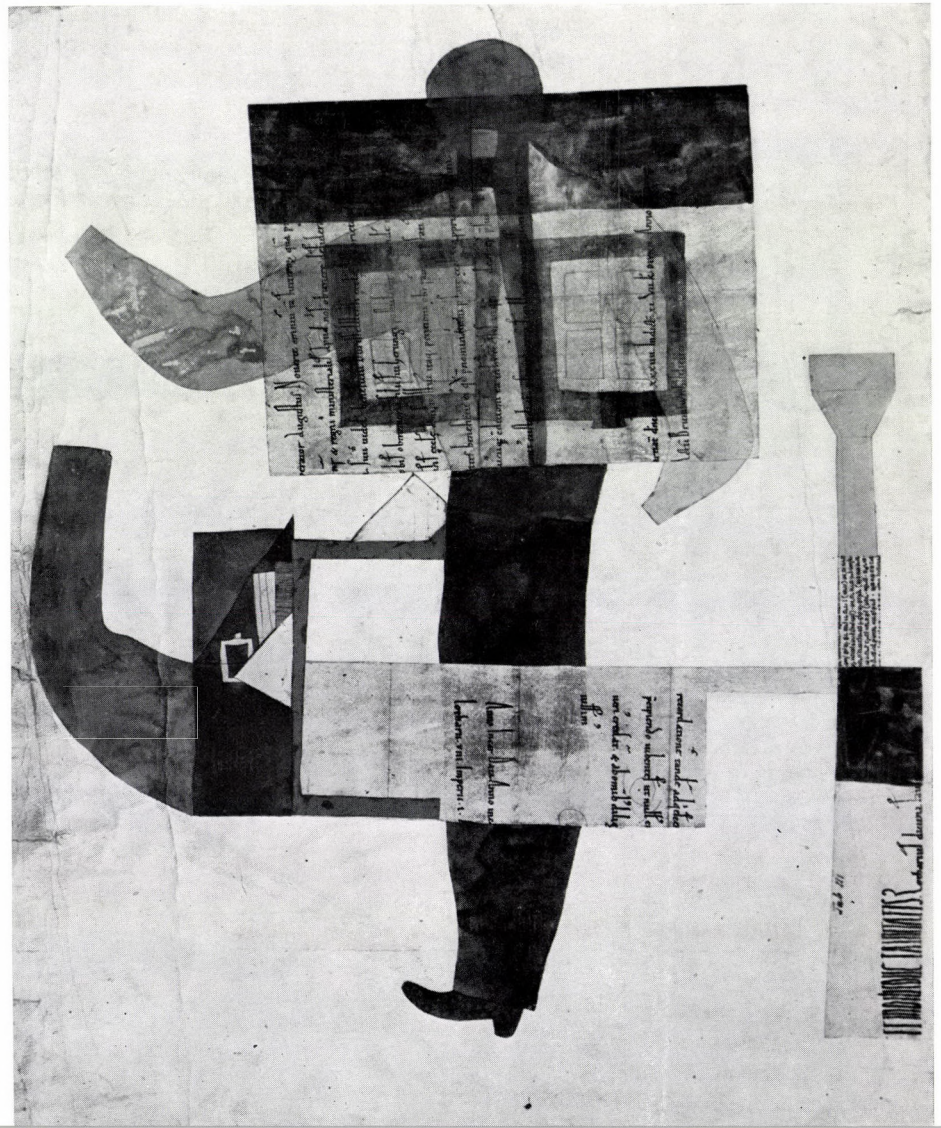


István Petrás

LAJOS VAJDA: HOUSE IN SZIGETMONOSTOR (TEMPERA, 32×45 CM, 1935)

István Pétrás

Lajos Vajda: Houses in Szentendre and Crucifix
(Water colour, montage, 72×42 cm, 1936)



Lajos Vajda: Collage with a selfportrait
(Collage, 64.5×52.2 cm, 1936)

FERENC MARTYN: ILLUSTRATION FOR JOYCE'S ULYSSES
(PEN AND INK, 315×252 MM, 1968)

In the first half of the 'forties the experience of war appears as an ever more oppressive and tormenting vision, (*In the Sound of the Night*, 1943, *The War*, 1943) and in 1944, he prepares a nine page series of graphics with the title *The Monsters of Fascism*. Hairy-bodied figures, half human—half animal, growing into each other, snarling and smirking freaks appear on the pages. He builds the visually bizarre figures out of a dense web of tiny lines, evoking with this in the viewer an image of morbid proliferation. Martyn's series is one fo the most daring and most passionate pieces of anti-fascist art of those times. In the period after 1945 his surrealism becomes intimate an playful. But in some of his later pictures the memory of the war occasionally returns.

The pictures of his expressive-surrealistic period may be further separated into two rather distinct branches from the point-of-view of formal development and mode of composition. One of them is an expressive-dynamic type of hovering, loosely joined forms of geometrical and freely traced lines (*Feast of Tabernacles*, 1950, *Old Tools* 1947). The other, in line with the requirements of free expression, is a composition built of freely shaped, concise, closed, organic forms (*Memory-blue Marsh* 1957).

Yet a third trend comprises works making use of relics of traditional folk culture as motifs. In the 'forties old tools, folk art ceramic and musical instruments appear in his art. The artist anthropomorphizes these objects, i.e., at one and the same time they preserve their objective being, and also relate to living figures. (*Bagpipe Still Life*, 1956).

These are the three modes of thinking and creativity that make up the main trends of Martyn's art, and which are linked together by an internal kinship. Numerous works may sometimes unite the characteristics of two types within themselves.

During the past decade and a half his art has been characterized first of all by rich graphic work. inblrding book illustrations. Those he did for Mallarmé's poems and Joyce's *Ulysses* are particularly noteworthy.

*

We must speak separately about his sculpture, in which he amalgamates the heritage of primitive art and folk art with the spirit and mode of expression of avant-garde art. Most of the sculpture originated in 1943. *Sculptural Design with Two Figures* (1943) still bears some kinship with Arp's development of form, but the differences—the combination of rounded forms and the sharp, hard forms typical of Martyn—are unmistakable. Vigorous forms, the united compositional impact of positive and negative forms, the pure harmony emerging from the equilibrium of forces counteracting each-other characterize *Memory of Gabriel Fauré* (1943) *The Monument to Ants* (1943) recalls shapes produced on a lathe, and *Relics of the Great Plain* brings to our mind the contours of wells, and artisans' tools. *Sculptural Design with Yoke* (1943) is composed of formal details of peasant working implements. The two supporting columns of the construction remind us of the yoke pins, the horizontally secured, arched forms suggest a feeling of vigorous movement and evoke representational associations. The representational element is multi-directional, i.e., at one and the same time the statue gives rise to the conception of abstract forms, peasant working implements and the figures of animals. Martyn's statues must be counted among the outstanding accomplishments of exploratory Hungarian sculpture of the inter-war period.

The 1978 exhibition of Martyn's collected works in Budapest gave the public a chance to acquaint itself with his life's work, and at the same time demonstrated convincingly that Martyn's art belongs to the history of the European avantgarde.

ISTVÁN KERÉKGYÁRTÓ

LAJOS VAJDA'S PSYCHO-REALISM

Commemorative Exhibition at the National Gallery

"Friends of Lajos Vajda still remember clearly that he used to call himself the painter of Szentendre with special emphasis. However simple this may sound, it could go a long way to explaining the artistic significance not only of Szentendre and Vajda's art but also the significance of the whole of modern Hungarian painting." This thirty year-old claim by Béla Hamvas and Katalin Kemény[1] has been proved by time because "Vajda is not the follower of any particular style or trend"—as the painter Endre Bálint[2] said in his introduction to the exhibition catalogue—"but the creator of a style we could call Vajda-style..." This is no tautology: the person and work of Lajos Vajda were, in fact, a turning point in Hungarian art. His companion and friend Dezső Korniss[3] also recognized his impact, Endre Bálint[4] considered him his "spiritual master". Among living painters Vajda's impact is felt most directly in the works of Margit Anna[5] and Piroska Szántó[6], at least in some periods. And I realized at Vajda's retrospective show that his school has left a mark even on the oeuvre of Jenő Barcsay[7]; or should I call it an unconscious homage? Yet the brilliantly gifted Barcsay is one decade older than the long-dead Lajos Vajda, and was a respected and distinguished master when Vajda was only starting his career. Vajda's influence also extends to the younger generation including Pál Deim, its most important representative who, although still a child when Vajda died, happened to live in Szentendre.

Vajda acted as a catalyst. It is rare to find such suggestivity in the works of an artist who died young and had no more than six creative years. And yet, Vajda was not one of those people who seem destined to become leaders. The poet István Vas even wrote in his autobiography that the talent of the young painter had been misappreciated: "... he was one of us, or more precisely one of the painters, although their attitude towards him was mixed with condescension: it was not enough that they considered him to be without any special talent, they also found his skills and abilities as a painter to be wanting."

The painter Lajos Vajda was born in 1908 in Zalaegerszeg, a town in South-West Hungary; his parents had moved to Serbia in 1915, and resettled in Hungary in 1923. The family went to live in Szentendre, a small town with strong Serbian traditions on the bank of the Danube near Budapest. He studied at the Academy of Fine Arts from 1928 to 1930, and at that time joined Lajos Kassák's[8] MUNKA-movement. From 1930 to 1934 he lived in Paris, got to know the works of Chagall, Kandinsky, Picasso, and Klee. In 1935–36, together with Dezső Korniss he carried out ethnographic study tours in Szentendre and Szigetmonostor, a nearby village on a Danube island. Vajda's most active and creative years were between 1934 and 1940, and he worked most of the time in Szentendre. In 1940 he was called up for forced labour service; they discharged him six weeks later with lung trouble, and he died after another 8 months, in 1941, in a T.B. sanatorium.

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In this short curriculum vitae the town of Szentendre has been mentioned several times. It was not only Vajda's dwelling

[1] *Forradalom a művészetben* ("Revolution in Art") Budapest, 1947
[2] NHQ 18, 29, 43, 59, 64
[3] NHQ 22, 39, 55, 59, 66, 70
[4] NHQ 18, 29, 59, 64
[5] NHQ 32, 55, 59, 72
[6] NHQ 12, 35, 59, 67
[7] NHQ 15, 57
[8] NHQ 54

place but—as I quoted before—he was "*the* painter of Szentendre". Serbia had probably been his fundamental childhood experience which then continued at Szentendre, this Serbian diaspora in the North. He discovered the town with his painter's eyes and its atmosphere captivated the sensitive artist. Vajda lived there in a state of permanent euphoria. I myself know Szentendre from personal experience: twenty-five years ago I worked in the museum there and never once regretted it. Hence I can easily understand Vajda's Szentendre-complex.

Szentendre is a small town near the capital, in the Danube-bend. It was founded by the Serbs who had fled from the Turks towards the end of the 17th century—they did not come empty-handed and soon developed the place into a rich merchant town. The small town is built on hills, terraced like Mediterranean towns; its seven church-spires are its most conspicuous feature. Everything catches the eye here: the town's lay-out, its winding roads, streets and alleys, its buildings in provincial Baroque style. Szentendre had already been a painter's town in the 19th century, and in 1928 an artists' colony was established there with the participation of plein-air and post-impressionist landscape painters. They were attracted by the beautiful landscape, by the town's romanticism, the silhouette of its buildings: their vision of Szentendre was radically different from Lajos Vajda's.

He was not interested primarily in the views themselves but in what lay beyond them; as Ernő Kállai wrote about him, "his art merits the name of psycho-realism."[9] Beyond the houses and clusters of buildings he revealed ultimate principles of their construction, down to the finest detail—primitive ornaments and even utensils stood as his models. He conducted a survey of monuments in Szentendre and also collected folkloric objects. Some particularly fine views which have since become the commonplace themes of Sunday photographers were first discovered by him. Vajda was also lyrical in his drawings although he had a sure hand: these drawings have nothing of an engineer's geometric coolness and yet, their orderliness is fascinating. Ernő Kállai wrote about this: "None of us knew so much about the inner life of lines . . ." Vajda concerned himself with architecture and ethnography systematically: "The tearing down and ruining of old houses should be prevented"—he wrote in a letter.[10] In those days it was only a matter of luck if this was prevented but now we have the Ancient Monuments' Act. At any rate Szentendre is still full of monuments, destruction and stupidity for some reason failed here. Today the town is a conservation area, it has become fashionable, it is a museum town, a tourist attraction.

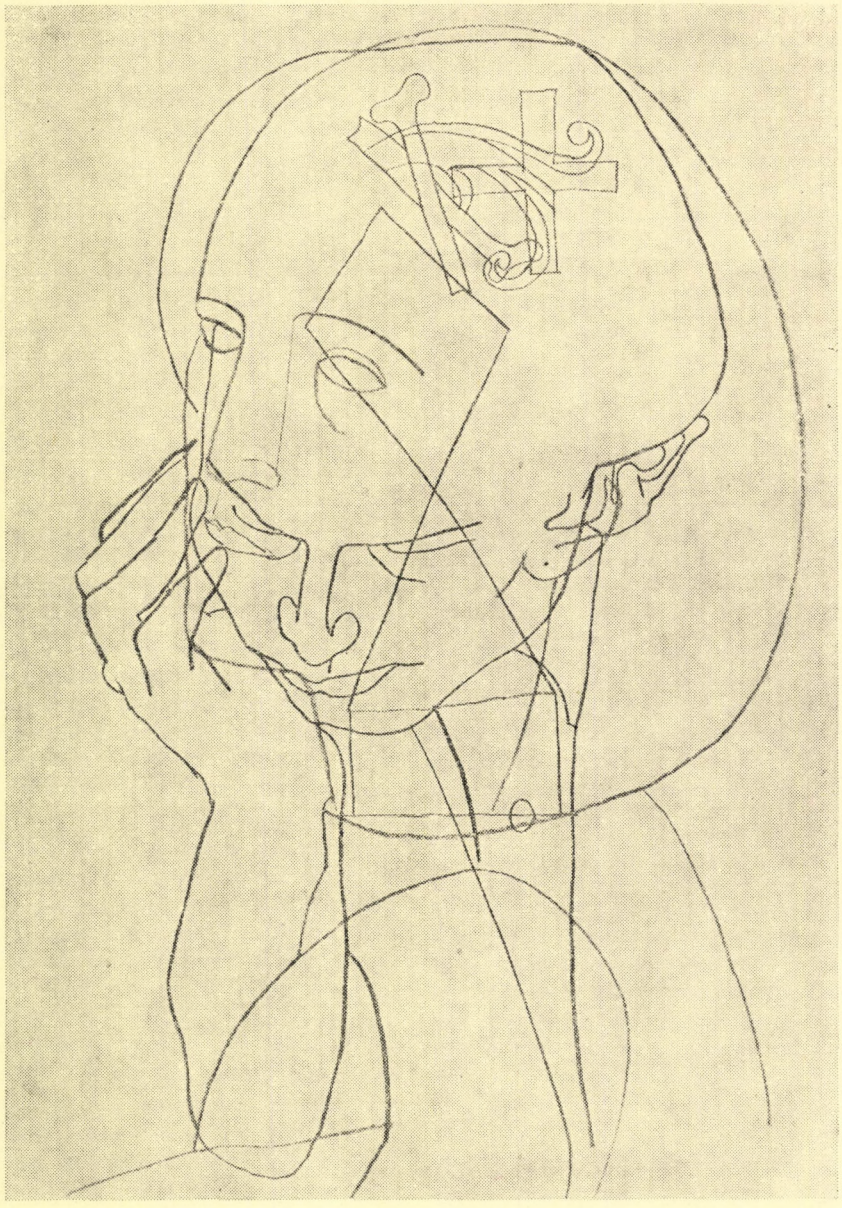
The exhibition also shows Vajda's earliest works and photo-montages. In the thirties this was something new, and in fact it still is today. Vajda discovered the film and its creative possibilities—especially the Russian films of Eisenstein and Pudovkin. He cut, mounted and arranged these pictures in Paris: (*War*, 1930–33, *Panther and Lily* 1930–33, *Tolstoy and Gandhi* 1930–33). I have mentioned his early studies; I only wish to add that these drawings are in one sense studies and in another not studies. Despite their pettines they are complete compositions. One of them is a blue tempera painting of the facade of a Hungarian peasant house. It is the *House in Szigetmonostor* (1935).

"I am now experimenting," wrote the artist[11]—"with taking different objects out of different environments, putting them together in one picture plane and seeing the effect—constructive surrealistic schematicism" It is rare to read such an accurately worded text written by a painter. It is a concise formulation of Lajos Vajda's programme. His *Still life with Spire*, a painted drawing

9 Introduction to the 1943 commemorative exhibition of Vajda's work.

10 Mándy, Stefánia: Vajda Lajos. Budapest, 1964.

11 Mándy, Stefánia: op. cit.



LAJOS VAJDA: FRIENDS (CHARCOAL, 62×46 CM, 1937)

of 1936 contains the following: the full moon of a plate painted flat with a tomato and a long coiled green paprika cut into two hemispheres by a knife placed almost on the central axis. On the plate he painted two windows of a peasant room with window posts. The Baroque broken-contoured church steeple grows out organically from the upper tangent of the plate's disc and from the knife's handle.

I would call the gouache *Houses of Szentendre* (around 1936) a self-collage. Instead of photos, an ochre-brown-orange piece of architecture painted by himself, in a cubistic—constructive style, has been superimposed onto the picture seemingly but in reality according to strict compositional rules. Some painted bits of paper have been cut out with scissors and then glued on again: the tinted aquarelle with these pieces of mosaic conveys a pure, hard edge effect. The figure in *Collage with Self-Portrait* (1936) has been reinforced and balanced with majuscules and minuscules and cuttings from Hebrew texts. The *Rumanian Peasant-Woman* (1936) with its round forms today seems to be a conventional half-lenght portrait painting with sombre colours as if it were the prelude to one of Vajda's major works, the *Self-Portrait with Icon* (1936). In this monumental painting the half-length figure, surrounded with a halo and wearing a violet robe in front of a gold-ochre background, evokes the hieratically rigid bearing of Greek-Ravenna-Szentendre icons. This archaizing style was also an innovation at the time and the visitors at the exhibition can see the resemblance between the painter's photo and the very much transposed portrait.

In his later works Vajda increasingly sought complexity, a simultaneity of his own, as in the charcoal—and red chalk composition with the blackfaced Christ in *Drawing Montage* (1937) or on the famous large drawing entitled *Friends* (1937). In the latter, two heads are turned around an imaginary horizontal axis—his own and that of his friend—Endre Bálint. On one of the heads he has put elements which are alien to the portrait, the Greek Orthodox symbols of the Szentendre tombstones, the cross and crossed shin-bones. The purity of the drawing is remarkable; its wealth and plasticity go hand with economy of draftmanship and its dynamism matches its sculptural character.

I belong to those who regard the *Monster* Series as Vajda's best work. These mature works bring together all the artists' previous achievements but they are also a turning point in his career, they represent a new vision and a new style. Those who see in these drawings the symbols of anguish in progress, the painter expected to be called-up any day, he was beset by poverty and his health was failing. The tint drawing *Dynamic Balance* (1939) could be the title of the whole series—no art critic could characterize these works better. The *Monster in Blue Space* (1939), the only coloured drawing in the series, is its near relative but most *Monsters* are charcoal drawings on large wrapping paper (90×126 cm). (The painter could never afford fine canvas and good-quality paints). These drawings are splendid because they are not only good but also sensual. They represent amorphous forms but they could not be called wholly non-representational because their models were twigs, puffballs and tinder fungus collected in the woods; this is the attitude of almost orthodox biological surrealism. These drawings are luxurious, massive, Baroque, they are the works of a very strong artist with their suggestiveness and—let me repeat it again—their dynamic balance. *(Vegetation* (1940) *Grain with Roots* (1940) *Fluttering Wings* (1940). On the drawing entitled *Last Work* (1940) this balance seems to have been lost. The central point of the composition is outside the rectangle of the paper as if a projectionist had directed his projector downwards from the right side of the screen. The contents and the brushwork are the same as on other drawings but the role of

the empty part of the paper is equal to that of the drawing's fabric.

*

Lajos Vajda died in 1941 and we had to wait until 1978 for this one-man show—longer than the artist's own life. Some smaller exhibitions of his works were held in Budapest after his death, and during the war, in 1943, in other Hungarian towns too, even in Paris and Zurich, but this show in the National Gallery presents the painter of Szentendre. Vajda is more and more frequently discussed amongst Hungarian art historians, many refer to him, and three books on him have already appeared but until now it seemed as if his followers were better known to us than he himself. The almost 300 works on show demonstrate that Vajda was far greater than his legend.

JÁNOS FRANK

ISTVÁN FARKAS, PAINTER OF DESTINY

The history of modern art is the history of isms. The Impressionists, the Expressionist groups *Die Brücke* and *Der Sturm*, the Dadaist groups of Zurich, New York, and Cologne, the camp of Surrealist artists, the *De Stijl* movement of the Constructivists: all these "collectives" bear witness to this. Lonely individuals are very rare in modern art; if no group exists, the writers and artists are organized around a paper or periodical.

This is true also of Hungarian art in spite of the circumstance that the conservative intellectual circles of the country between the two world wars did not patronize the arts, and were, naturally enough, not favourably disposed towards revolutionary spirits who wanted to innovate both in society and in art. But even here, far from the mainstream of modern art, Van Gogh's saying that artists must work in groups proved its truth.

However, as elsewhere, there were also exceptions in Hungary. One of these was István Farkas, among the most important Hungarian painters in the period between the two wars. There was a recent exhibition of his work in the Hungarian National Gallery.

He was born in Budapest, on October 20, 1887. Many things in his life—not least his exceptional loneliness—can be explained by his family environment. His mother died when he was three; hence he was greatly influenced by his father, József Wolfner, the part-owner of a big publishing firm, a stern, almost despotic man whose severity was felt increasingly by the much more sensitive István Farkas.

Compared to most members of the intelligentsia he was well-to-do and this enabled him to be independent and reach artistic maturity in an unusual way. He took private lessons and studied for a short time at the Academy of Fine Arts. He lived for some time in Munich and Paris like almost all his Hungarian contemporaries, but for him his journeys abroad did not entail privation. From these irregularities there arose other conflicts which made him even more of an exception. Despite his unusual career his maturing process as a painter followed the normal pattern. Detailed studio drawings were followed by experimental attempts and these, in turn, by complete works.

Although he followed his path alone, it was shared by others: art historians called it expressionism. There are many kinds of expressionism: we must distinguish between Nolde and Kirchner who worked at the beginning of the century, the representatives of the abstract school which came to full flower with Kandinsky, and Otto Dix,

George Grosz, and Georges Rouault, whose works showed sensitivity towards social problems so that in their case the word expressionism simply denotes a style.

The painting of István Farkas is closer to the first type of Expressionism. His kinship with the type of art which often depicted the everyday worries and traumas of life in visionary fantasies is obvious—this style was the characteristic product of the first and second decade of the century, of the despair caused by the terrible poverty of the working people and the tragedies of the First World War.

Farkas was alone with his belated expressionism in the 30s and 40s. He was also fated to be personally and socially isolated. Although the son of a well-to-do family he was neither willing nor able to identify with his class. His father died in 1932 and Farkas took over the management of the firm. Now he was a capitalist but in spirit he sympathized with those on the other side of the social divide, with the poor, the suffering, the under-dogs.

Obviously his artistic sensitivity played an important part in his humanist attitude. This aware and highly cultured man was not indifferent to the appalling conditions —this attribute is no exaggeration—which prevailed at the time in Hungary. Farkas never painted the country of the "three million beggars" (he was unable to fully free himself of his social ties and his education) but his art left no doubt that he lived in an age of looming shadows. And finally mention should be made of his master: László Mednyánszky.*

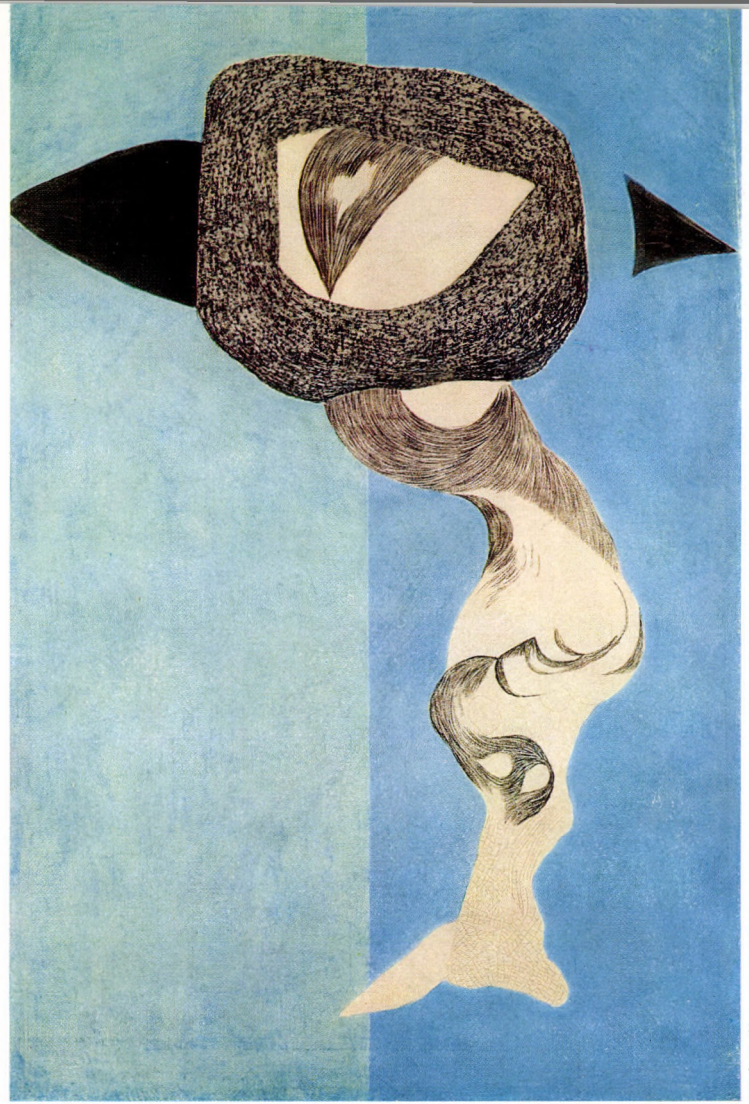
Back in the years from 1910 the young Farkas had started by painting tramps and the poor. This was followed by a period when his gloominess was held in check. In 1925 he went to France and lived there until 1932. Although in these years Germany, the democratic Republic of Weimar, was the centre of art, Farkas learned a lot in France. He spoke French well, and so was able to make direct, personal contacts. Hence, chiefly under the impact of the fairy-tale oriental effects in the pictures of the French Expressionists, he felt that perhaps it was possible to break the will of destiny, that, in spite of the agonizing events in the heart of Europe there still existed an idyll somewhere far away. It was in this mood that he painted the pictures which appeared, accompanied by the poems of André Salmon, under the title *Correspondances*. (Editions des Quatre Chemins.)

When his father died it became clear that he had to return and take up the fight against the horrors at home. At that time, in the mid-thirties, the sky was definitely darkening over Farkas's world. The vivid reds, enticing yellows, and seductive greens were absorbed in the greyish-blacks which pervaded his works. His dominant colours became browns, blues, and violets. Resignation took the place of cheerfulness, the resignation of a soul who lived among contradictions which it could not resolve.

What could he do? He tried to ease not his own conscience, but rather that of his class. If he could not change society, he could at least make use of the chances offered by fate. He published the works of Steinbeck and Kassák who were considered much too left-wing in Hungary at the time. And, because he was first and foremost an artist, he painted his pictures.

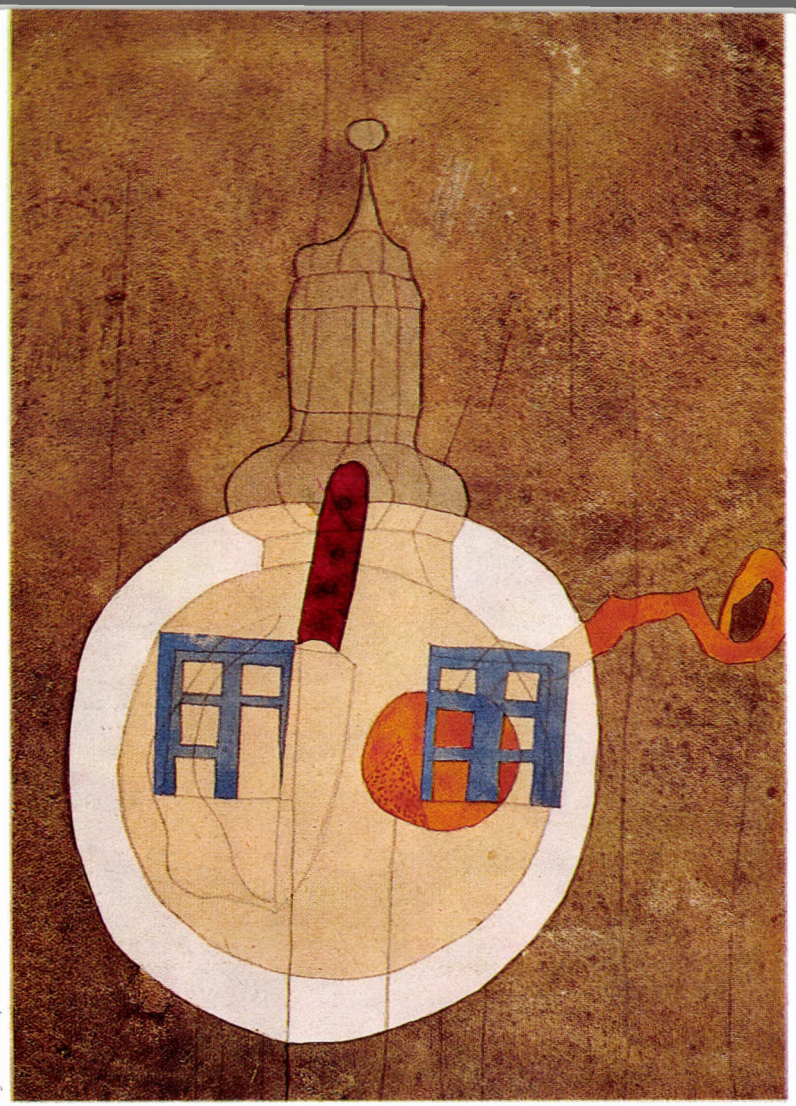
The figures in his paintings are mostly old people, sad and downcast. He did not paint the outcasts of society, neither the poverty-stricken proletariat nor the peasantry. Farkas took his models from his own background, the upper middle class. His canvases depicted ladies and gentlemen of social standing, figures actually devoid of personality. Their eyes are hidden under deep shadows, their mouths are hardly visible. They represent types: on one picture we see a worn-out old woman, on another a *demi-mondaine*, on the third a gaunt gentleman. Their environment is nearly always reduced to the minimum, to an almost token

* László Mednyánszky (1852–1919)



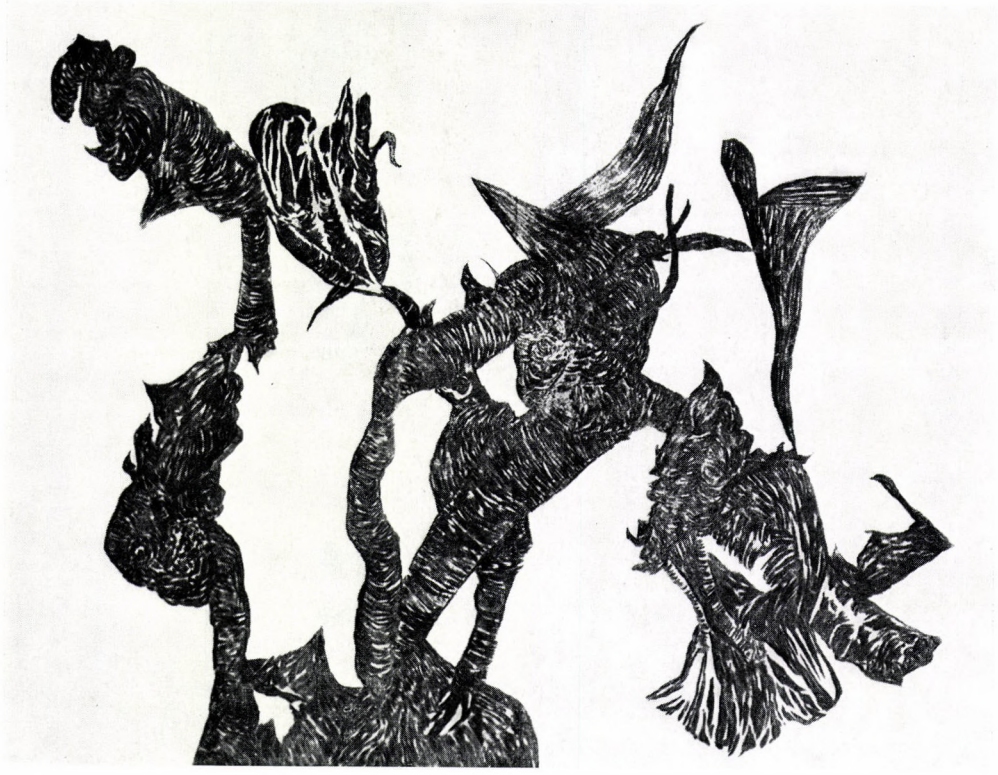
Károly Szélényi, Corvina Press

LAJOS VAJDA: MONSTER IN BLUE SPACE
(PASTEL, 95×63 CM, 1939)



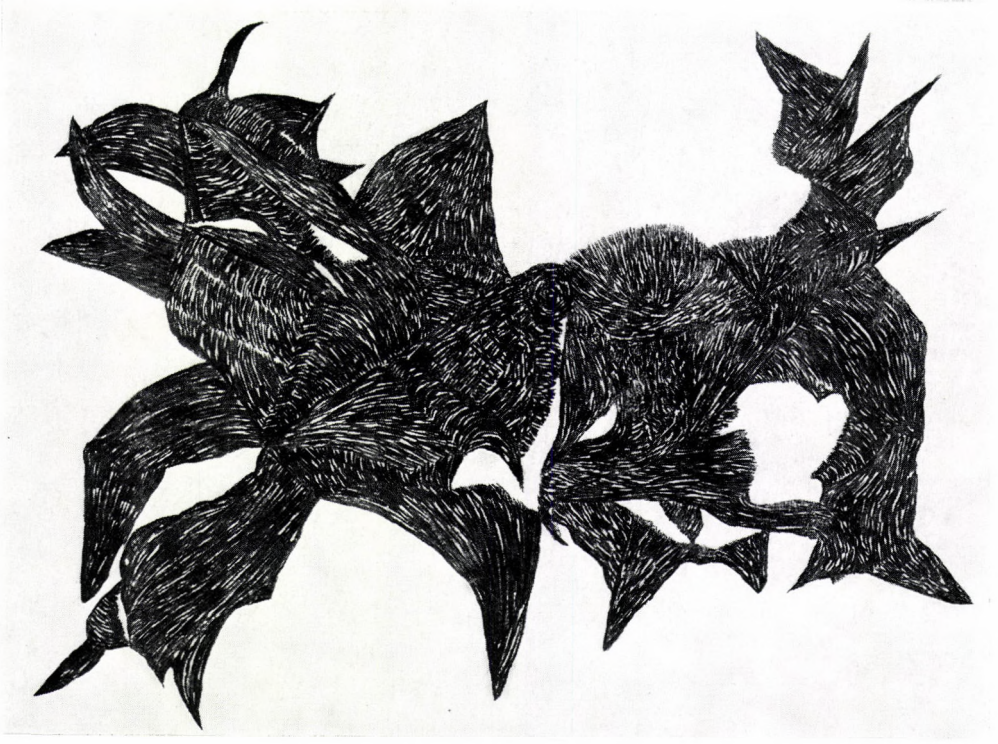
Alfred Schiller, Corvina Press

LAJOS VAJDA: STILL-LIFE WITH A TOWER
(TEMPERA, 33.9×15.5 CM, 1936)



Lajos Vajda: Vegetation (Charcoal, 90 × 126 cm each, 1940)

István Petrás



István Farkas: Nemesis (Tempera on wood, 80 × 100 cm, 1934) *Alfred Schiller, Corvina Press*

István Farkas: The fool of Syracuse (Tempera on wood, 80 × 99 cm, 1930)

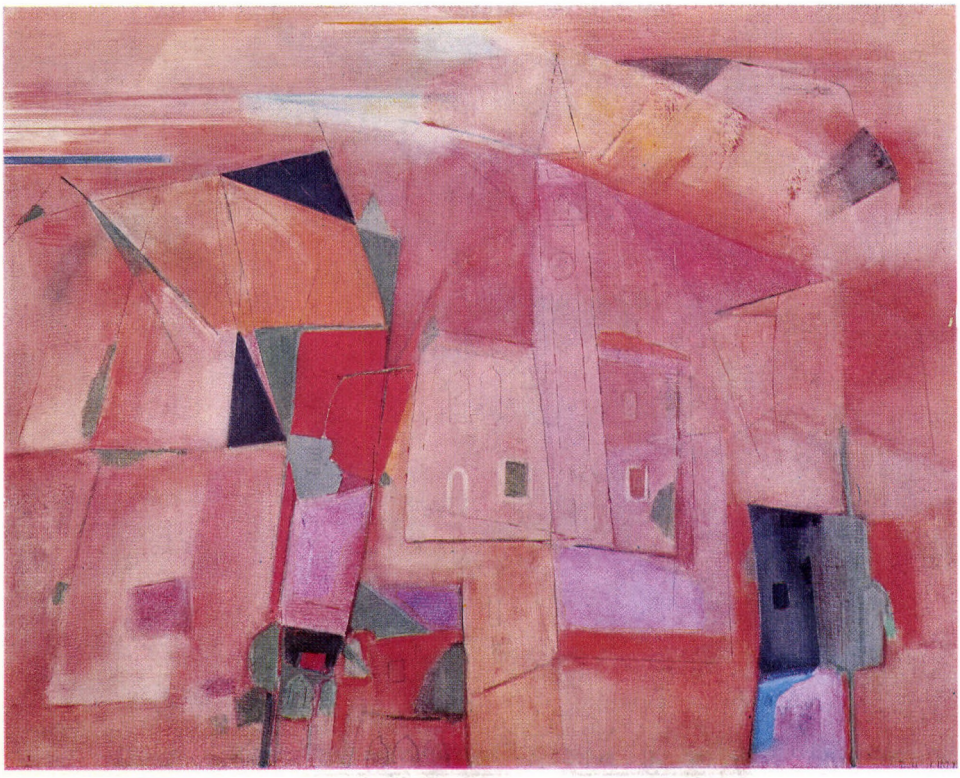
István Petrás

István Farkas: View with a lonely tree (Tempera on wood, 80 × 100 cm, 1930)

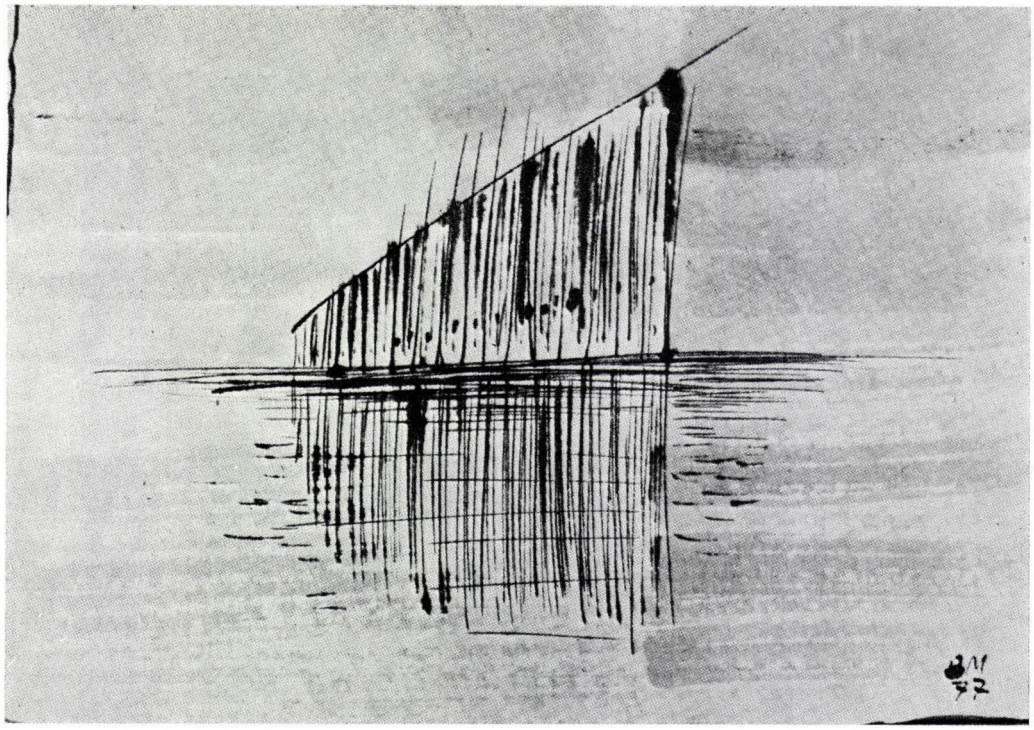
Alfred Schiller, Corvina Press

István Farkas: Still life (Oil on wood, 80×100 cm, 1941)

László Bartha: Istria I. (Oil on canvas, 50×60 cm, 1977)



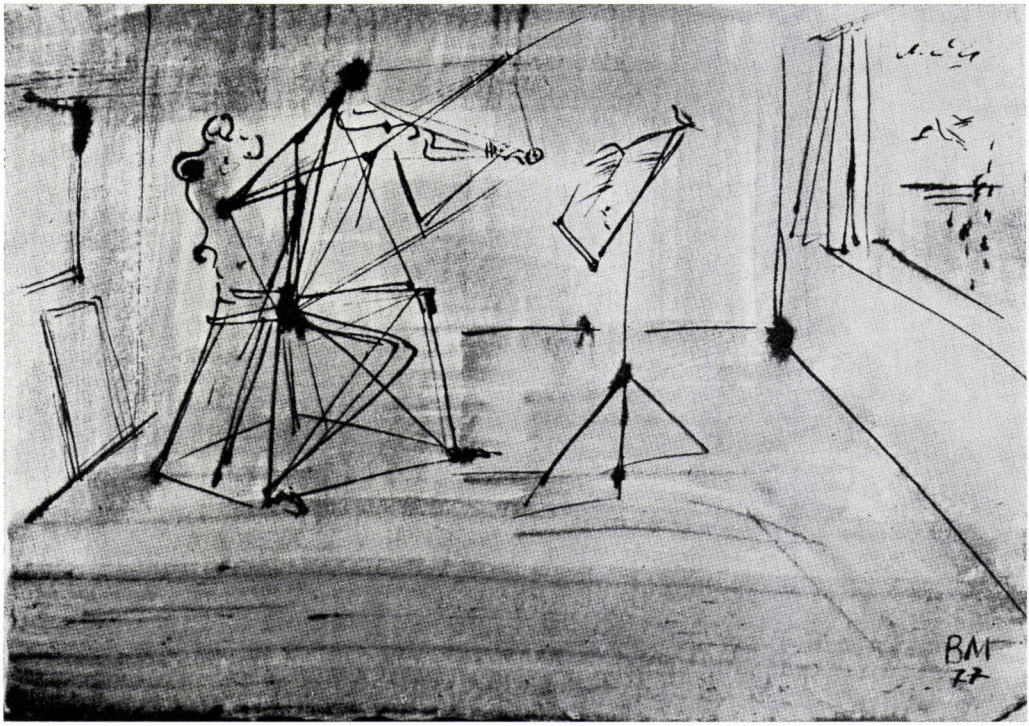
János Szerencsés, Corvina Press

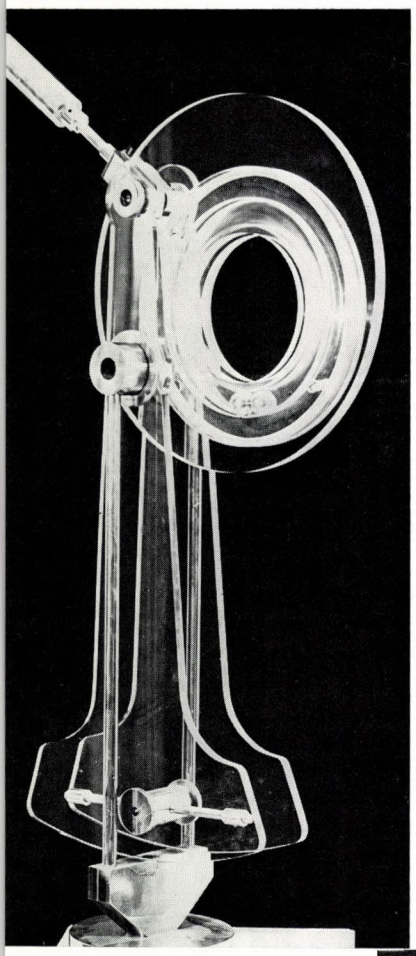


Sándor Szertel

MIKLÓS BORSOS: REFLECTIONS (PEN AND INK, 67 × 52 CM, 1977)

MIKLÓS BORSOS: SOLO SONATA (PEN AND INK, 67 × 52 CM, 1977)

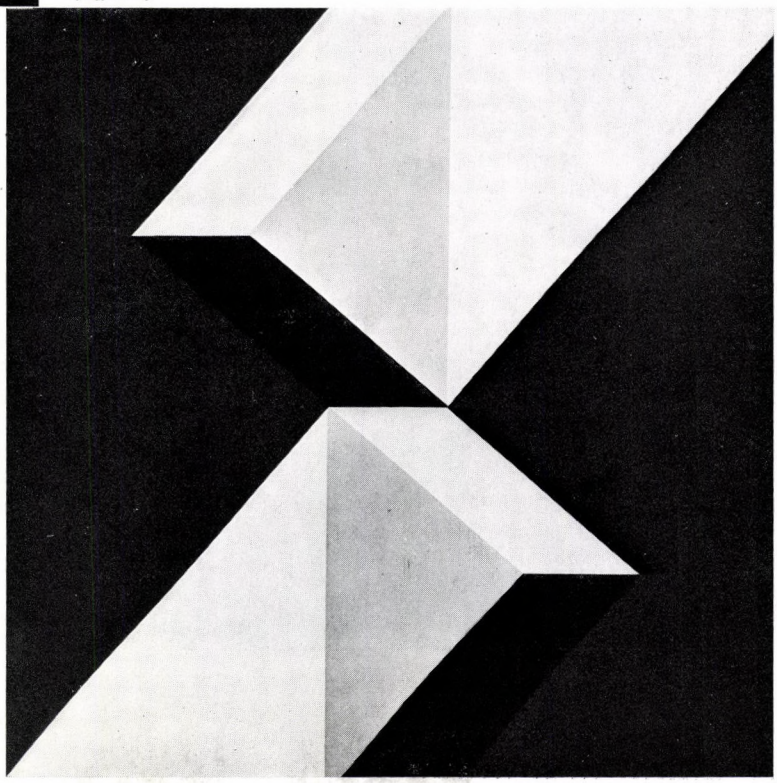


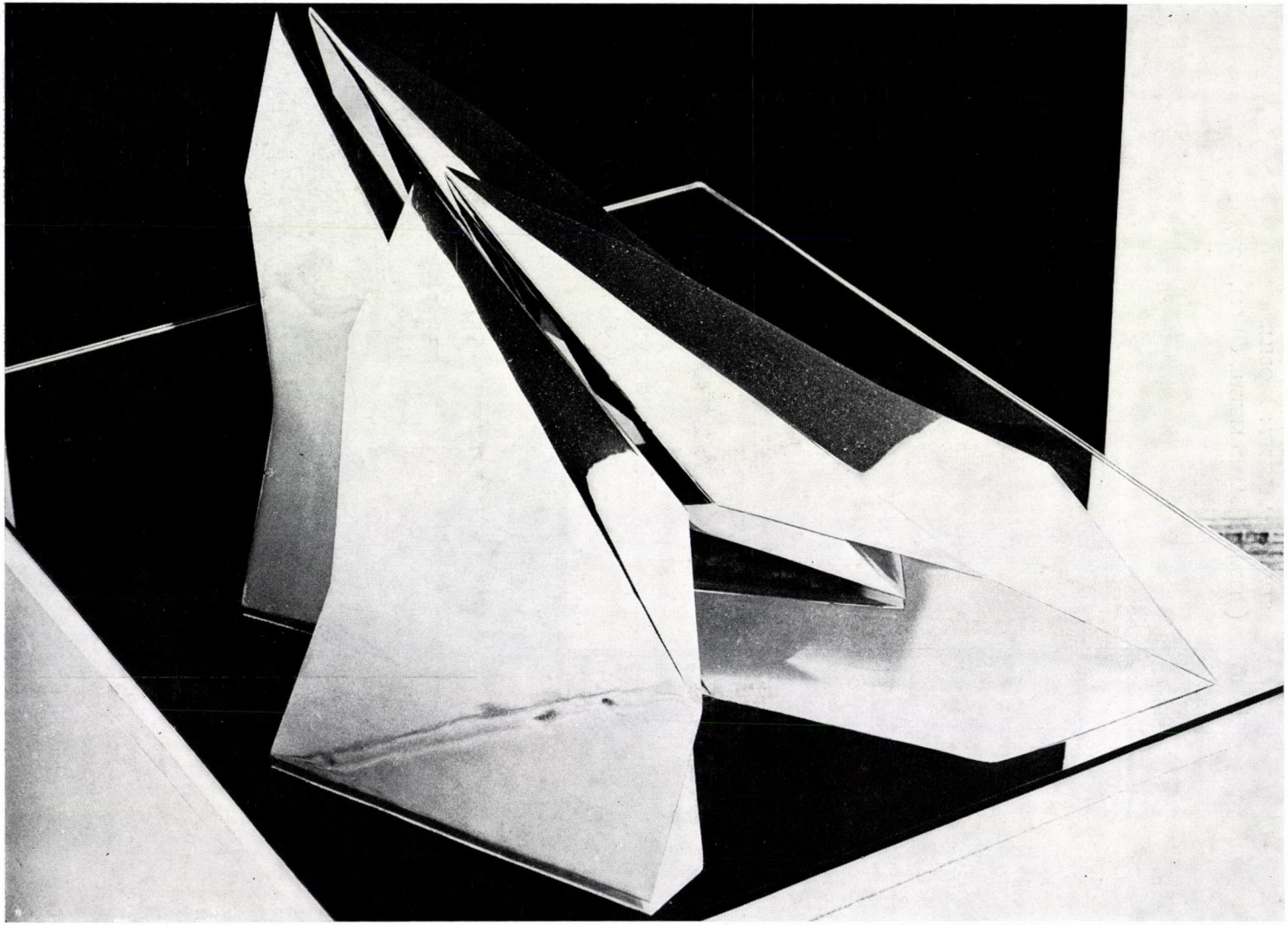


István Haraszty: Mobile
(Plexiglass and metal, 80 cm, 1977)

László Lonovics: Serigraphy
(70×70 cm, 1977)

György Makky





István Nádler: Construction (Metal, 50×75 cm, 1977) *György Makky*

environment which can be a street, an esplanade, a park, a coffee-house. Although Farkas depicts for us the conventional dress and habitual haunts of the upper middle classes, the painter's message is conveyed by the veil which wraps these scenes in obscurity. Even in daytime the lighting is only a kind of moonlight. This gloom has also a symbolic meaning. Farkas painted the seashore, the street, the park, the coffee-house as if they were the last refuge of his characters, as if they had been transformed into mere shadows of themselves. You look at the figures on the canvases and feel that they are victims who have to flee from the world.

One of his best-known works is *Destiny*. It is unambiguous evidence that the artist doomed to solitude paints destiny in his art. Here fate appears as a red-bearded old gentlemen with walking-stick and bowler-hat. In the Hungary of the thirties—the period when his art matured—Farkas sensed that the country was progressing towards its destiny, namely war, fascism, and inhumanity. Hence all his works are imbued with a mournful premonition of the approaching horrors.

Alas, his vision became reality. It is interesting to look closely at his *Composition* painted in 1941. The picture is a still-life in which each single item is a thing of beauty. There is a well-laid table with a copious bunch of grapes and an enormous pear, in the background, a beautiful female form with limbs extended, and a tranquil landscape. And yet, the picture does not convey either beauty or peace. It seems as if the fruit were tainted and the woman threatening. Under the impact of the sinister play of light and shade one feels that it would be dangerous to touch them.

István Farkas—according to the evidence of his pictures—had foreseen the end, or at least his own. He went to meet his destiny, he rejedted salvation. Deported in 1944, he never returned.

JÓZSEF VADAS

THE FASCINATION OF THE GARDEN

Miklós Borsos's and László Bartha's exhibition at Tihany

It is a Sunday morning in August, and the fifteen-minute distance between Balatonfüred and Tihany is increased eight-fold on account of the traffic. Only the hard-core enthusiasts make their way on foot up the road winding to the abbey, which was built on the summit of the Tihany peninsula hill, as the exhaust fumes shed a thin, grey veil over the shingle-roofed cottages of the renovated village. This is what Pompeii must have been like when the rain of ashes commenced. The church, the confectionery and the abbey housing the museum are situated above the car park, and are all that is left of Tihany.

To be more precise, they are all that is left of the Tihany which helped to bring the art of sculptor Miklós Borsos and painter László Bartha to maturity, without which the Hungarians' notion of Tihany would be much poorer. Perhaps we can be blamed a little for being accomplices in the crime of making the place somewhat more in vogue than is to be desired implanting within us the idea that there are worthwhile sights to be seen here. Both of them have been attached to Tihany for several decades; Borsos still resides here from early spring to the beginning of winter, while Bartha lived for many years near the Tihany Benedictine Abbey. Borsos carved the mythology of the area: rounded mermaids, plump young maidens and masculine

phenomena, greatly resembling the local rocks; Bartha painted the general atmosphere, and the lake—mostly in winter, although it was still recognizable as the Balaton.

Most of their works depict nature, the chief source of their inspiration. Thus it is only natural that in their latest works Borsos and Bartha have taken an even more determined stand against the hustle and bustle of the world than they had done previously, when the environment was still unthreatened.

For this reason they have diverted us from the motor-way, from the smoke and from the petrol fumes, and invited us into a garden. Borsos has done so literally (it being the title of his museum exhibition), while Bartha less literally, although his invitation is also to pleasant surroundings.

Some years ago an impressive work by a Polish writer was published in Hungary under the title *Barbarian in the Garden*. It explained that the garden, the *hortus*, signified the immortality of latinized culture and that the barbarian was none other than the northerner beyond the *limes*, who was nevertheless under the spell of the garden and greatly desired a splendid culture. In Zbigniew Herbert's sense of the word, Borsos and Bartha are "semi-barbarians" because, although the sphere of their activity is within Trajan's boundary, the intensity of their attraction arouses the suspicion that they have both been deprived of something of the kind that must have been natural to the contented people of a happier era. To what extent gentle light of the "Pannonian (ie. Transdanubian) region", which is more reminiscent of Lombardy than Tuscany, is reflected in their connections with France and Italy, how much is erudition and how much conscious nostalgia, is revealed in their works, which are aesthetically concentrated in a variety of ways.

All that is certain—even if we do not take into account their summer exhibitions—is that this sort of "garden cult" has an interesting pre-history. It was one of the main factors contributing to the liberation of the paralyzed state of Hungarian sculpture and painting, crying out for innovation, at the beginning of the sixties. Borsos' *Lygheias*, inspired by Lampedusa's novel, and Bartha's *Winter Hunt* led to heated protests which today we find absurd and difficult to understand. Their execution of form, considered avant-garde, was relatively tame, revealing a willingness to compromise and according due respect to the past, together with a desire to achieve a high artistic level, so that the only explanation or justification for the general opposition towards them lies solely in the unusualness of their expression. It required a particular set of circumstances, together with a particular cultural policy for Borsos and Bartha to qualify as *enfants terribles*. Their exhibitions organized during the sixties established them as forerunners of "modernism". There were notorius debates as to whether Borsos' *Godot*, not unlike a basalt organ, was child of alienation or a product of the Balaton rocks, or whether Bartha's paintings of drifting ice slabs are abstracts *à la* Meisonnier or merely attempts at representing nature in reduced terms. In fact, they are old-style followers of the spirit which even today regards European culture as extending north and south of the Alps, and not east and west of the river Elbe. It is a different matter whether this "south" was able to fulfil the role of the "west" in certain respects, just as it is a different question that the "garden cults" of Borsos and Bartha have grown apart over the past decade.

Because while Borsos' "antiquarianism" has become more decidedly opposed to the present, and his drawings have become increasingly charged with the bitter pathos of paradise lost and regained, Bartha has discovered pleasant gardens wherever he cared to look: from *Gyimes* to *Istria*, and from *Meteors* to *Islam*, or at least it so appears. The one whishes to enjoy himself despite his vision of the world, while the other

manages to enjoy himself in spite of the real world. These diverse attitudes bear a striking resemblance to the polarities termed sentimental and naive by classical aesthetics two hundred years ago. But in outward form only! Borsos, to all appearences wallowing in the mood of a final leave-taking, is the one who dared to confront Leonardo with naive certainty on the shores of Arno at his exhibition of two years ago—or so his drawing bears witness; while this year he dared to promote his simple garden rendezvous to a sacred *Visitation;* Bartha, who is able to unselfconsciously enjoy glittering spectacles, is the one who forms the available subject matter into paintings, gouaches, revealing complex colour harmonies and cunningly concealed structures that are by no means "naive". A brush dipped in watered-down Indian ink creates a cypress out of a poplar in the hand of Borsos, while the historical atmosphere of the Venetian Istria is transcribed into playful quasi-cities with Bartha. As the piquant classicism of the former becomes more severe so the latter is becoming more inclined to some kind of sweetened post-post-impressionism.

They are too slight and too great to make us "suspicious" by means of abstract formations; they are too slight in that the intention to break away from actual experiences in order to solve purely abstract laws is absent in both of them, and too great in that they are incapable of illustrating insubstantial theses. They substantiate an idea, a theory, with flora, construction and atmosphere. The renaissance notion of temperance, rediscovered time and time again, seems to restrain these Pannonian descendants from downfall, but at the same time it prevents them from making revelations. This is true of the arcadia of Borsos' imagined garden and is even applicable to the piece of work in the series which is nothing more than a group of horizontal rays joining the heavens with the earth. It is also true of Bartha's transcriptions of nature constructed with a cool, cheerful equilibrium, even concerning the "most abstract" work *The Hijacking of a Paper Aeroplane,* which combines scarlet hues with actual writing. The only question that remains is whether Borsos, who has withdrawn into his garden from where "there is no reason to depart nor a place to go to" (as he stated in the foreword to his catalogue), and Bartha, for whom the garden has become the whole world, are able to forget the jostling and the petrol fumes that they both heartily detest. A symmetrically structured report would be inclined to reply to the question in a similar, neatly rounded-off way, but this is impossible because the dissimilar aesthetic result would of necessity complicate the answer.

The only Borsos able to complete with the masterpieces selected from Bartha's entire life work is the one who was not present at the recent Tihany exhibition: the stone-cutter, the relief artist, the medal-maker; in a word, the one who actually created a garden and does not merely depict it. Bartha has stated something more important: the "barbarian" is able to take possession of the temperence and cheer that is able to turn the frozen Balaton into the sunny Mediterranean. This is why it is natural that in the world depicted by his paintings the exhaust fumes, that are to be avoided at all costs, merge with the ozone and with sweet fragrances.

JULIANNA P. SZÜCS

ART AND INDUSTRY

Exhibition at the Józsefváros Gallery

The symposium-movement, after antecedents in Poland and Austria, started in Hungary in the late sixties. Since then it has captured the Hungarian world of art to such a degree that the fingers of one hand prove insufficient to count up recent functions. Some have attracted attention beyond the narrow circles of insiders, such were the pottery symposium in Siklós, the stone sculpture symposium in Villány, the timber carving symposium in Villány, the timber carving symposium in Nagyatád and the textile symposium in Velem. If one wants to elucidate more or less the reasons for this one finds that the novelty rests in specialization, and in the cooperative team work of the groups of artists recruited from different fields.

The development of the symposia which had emerged on the remnants of the artist colonies of old, or on virgin soil, inevitably entailed their institutionalization. The ingenuity of the initiating artists and the willingness of local councils to patronize art have been directed into circumscribed channels and there appeared also an advisory and coordinating supervisory body, the symposium committee of the Federation of Artists which aims to keep control of all this activity. Individual enterprise and spontaneity have more or less given way to established ways and guaranteed finances; closed ranks followed the pioneers and this has led not only to the broadening but also to the dilution of the symposium movement. In these conditions it is no mere chance that the group presented at the Józsefváros Gallery speaks of its own symposium movement, and the possessive pronoun indicates its own particular image, its difference from other symposia.

I used the term group somewhat arbitrarily, hence I owe an explanation. The exhibiting artists in the Józsefváros Gallery have not decided to form a group, they have not agreed verbally or in writing, on the basic principles of their cooperation. Their programme has evolved in the course of the years and has been defined on occasion in one or the other progress-report or preface to a catalogue. The nucleus consists of a few: Imre Bak, János Fajó, Tamás Hencze and István Nadler. Others rally around them from time to time in varying numbers and composition.

The impressive exhibition brochure documents the genealogy of their work in the manner of an aristocratic family tree. The "protosymposium" had been organized by Ferenc Lantos in 1967, at Bonyhád, with the participation of Tihamér Gyarmathy, Oszkár Papp and Gyula Pauer. The Bonyhád Works of the Enamel Enterprizes served as a base for artists on another two occasions, in 1970 and 1972, but by then the names of those participating had changed completely. Young artists of Pécs had rallied around Ferenc Lantos, and Imre Bak and János Fajó also took part.

In 1970 a new scene, the Csepel Non-Ferrous Metal Factory of Budapest offered opportunities for getting acquainted with another aspect of the material and technical possibilities of industry. János Fajó wrote about the beginnings in Csepel: "In the spring of 1970 Imre Bak, Tamás Hencze and I spent three months in the Csepel Non-Ferrous Metal Works which became our studio: We worked from 9 a.m. to 5 or 7 p.m. We made approximately 50 experimental plastic pieces... our studio experiments faced up, in the factory, to the possibilities offered by machine work-processes, their maquette-style and small scale had to cope with realistic dimensions... We realized that indutry has increasingly taken over the work done by us in the studio. It is impossible to do new creative

thinking without knowledge of the highest technical and technological standards of our age."

This text by János Fajó allows an insight into the way of thinking of the artist members of the symposium, and explains the reasons for their association. The dominant motive is their discontent with the usual ways of the art world, with craftsman and tradesman ways of thinking, and slapping on bits of paint in studios. According to Fajó's constructivist thinking, and that of his companions, the source of new art is modern technology, industrial production, which transforms not only the range of materials used and the manner of their application, but also the very idea of a work of art, and its social function. The aim is mass production and the popularization and democratization of artistic values. These cannot be conceived within a narrow individual context of artistic production. The symposium offers a chance to step out of this vicious circle, and evolve a new relationship between art and the public, art and society, it involves not only the cooperation of artists but also of the community including workers, factories, workshops.

The promising initial impetus of the first symposia was followed by a break of three years. From 1973 to 1975 the brochure mentions only the International Painting Weeks at Graz which, with its different professional problems and limited Hungarian participation, cannot be regarded as the real continuation of the Hungarian symposia although it certainly contributed to better international orientation.

Ups and downs followed each other in the history of the group. Organisational conditions contributed to this state of affairs. All the symposia are organized on the basis of personal relations and thus they do not offer guarantees for systematic, continuous work. Everything depends on the open-mindedness and understanding of industrial management and on their ability to patronize artistic activity which does not increase their profits. And yet the "Józsefváros" group insists on this risky form of symposium organising based on individual initiative, this being the only way of preserving the essence of their work, that is, its team character and especially the characteristics of their own team.

Since 1976 some spectacular advances have been registered, six symposia were held within two years on new scenes with new possibilities. The Rába Engineering Works at Győt, the Kner Printing Office and the Mezőgép agricultural machinery enterprise, both at Békéscsaba, seem to have become stable bases. The experiments in Csepel back in 1970 had already offered artists the opportunity of familiarizing themselves with industrial metal processing. They got to know the products of the enterprise which produced basic materials such as Sheffild plate, nickel, aluminium, cooper and brass and copper, and sheets, bands and tubes made of them; they learnt to handle equipment used in production: lathes, vibrating scissors, the bending-machine, presses, and hand tools. At Győr and Békéscsaba the artists had the opportunity to use modern industrial processes of metal working, and as a counterpoint to metal, they were offered the procedures of printing and paper processing. The apprentice printing shop, the photo laboratory and the offset machine were free for use during the school holidays.

Local councils and enterprises do not lure the artists with lavish scholarships but they ensure basic living conditions, accommodation and board, and above all adequate working conditions, the use of materials and machinery. The artists, in the tradition of artist colonies, reciprocate with works they donate. Not only the artists benefit, the enterprises also benefit from the artists' presence. The workers familiarize themselves with artistic processes and learn to accept the arts open-mindedly, without prejudice.

This exhibition at the Józsefváros Gallery takes stock of ten years' work in different

places, in different conditions. However, the activities of the symposium, owing to its nature, can only illustrate the most challenging formal problems in metal-sculpture, the most interesting field, but cannot really show its development from small maquettes to large open air metal work. A few photos try to convey an idea of the actual works which are not in the Gallery but everything else is left to the spectators' imagination. If you are in the right mood you can try to visualize how András Mengyán's *Wind Column* swings and floats with metal plates set on the flexible, swaying skeleton.

The sheet metal series is built on a simple formula. János Fajó created a playful rhythm by the treble repetition of the same motifs, István Nádler built several layers of metal sheets looking like folded paper airplanes onto one amother. Open forms are used by Ádám Misch and Nádler, while others arrange planes and delimit space, culminating in the moulding of masses as in the "pyramids" of Tibor Csiky. These and many other works, not enumerated here, are far from being of the same type. There are among them true small sculptures which fit into their real environment in their real dimensions. In other cases these miniaturized forms suggest rather than certify their makers ability to organize space. Instead of a plastic experience of full value the spectator is offered ideas about the composition of works, and he sees segmentary divisions, and subtly joined and separated forms. In an enclosed space, however, the material asserts itself fully also on a small scale. The polished, smoothed metal mostly appears bare, without paint. It is understandable that the beauty of the material fascinated István Haraszty who has replaced his earlier, clumsily jointed mobiled with metal and plexiglass constructions.

Two artists exhibit enamels. Ferenc Lantos' composition with striped motifs represents the simplicity of minimal art, the concept of János Blaski is less severe and less consistent, his enamel columns and wall-decorating panels are covered with bright-coloured ornaments composed of circles and arched forms. It seems that the hopes set on the enamel symposium have not come true. The artists saw enamel as a material for architectural surface covering, replacing the monotony of prefabrication by brightly coloured houses but the idea has not yet been put into practice.

Symposium activity was most easily documented in reproductive graphics. The group has its own polygraph workshop and their geometric abstract works have been presented outside Hungary as well. The printing facilities of Kner in Békéscsaba extend technical possibilities permitting an excursion into applied graphics and packaging technology. It would be premature to speak of the results of this years' symposium but one thing can be said at this stage already, and that is that the artists from Budapest managed to rally around themselves some talented young artists of Békéscsaba: local amateurs who also set up their small workshop and produced a calendar in 1500 copies.

István Nádler is represented by a granulous-textured picture carrying his characteristic motif at the exhibition. The double space-form divided with split triangles rendered in a white-grey colour scale producing a monumental effect. Imre Bak's three-membered variation picture series is a clear, mature work: its brushwork gives it a graphic effect. Apart from these, young artists exhibit some novelties, especially Mihály Gubis and László Lonovics. Among the serigraphs of Gubis those on which he cut a prismatic form from the picture-plane by a parallel system of lines merit special attention. The geometric variations of Lonovics are certainly related to Nádler's works but they also show the possibility of further progress.

ZOLTÁN NAGY

THREE NEW CHURCHES

All-Saints, Farkasrét, Budapest, Architect: István Szabó

The new church is on the site of a still existing building. This from the start, implied certain restraints. First of all the dimensions of the original building had to be kept to. Another and more difficult condition was that, during the construction, the undisturbed functioning of the church had to be maintained. The new building had to be added practically onto the existing one, so that the old and no longer needed chapel was pulled down, or rather "extracted", from the body of the new one.

Liturgical considerations had to be obeyed as well though churches these days are not bound any more by severe rules dictating a kind of pattern.

The freedom of modern architecture comes across also in liturgical building affording possibilities for the creative imagination of architects. The great masters of our age, while using the most severe geometric style in the name of functionalism, show their form-creating talents in their churches.

Of course this is not an absolute freedom. Liturgy makes concrete and definite claims. A very important requirement is that the priest face the congregation during mass making contact as close as possible.

Accordingly homogenous and if possible central spatial arrangements are the most suitable. This is emphasized by a single altar. There are no rigid limitations but fundamentally the church lacks a transcendent or mystic character, and is rational and man-centred.

Shaping of masses

The shaping of the church, however unique and how—ever far from the traditional, preserves in its body the pattern developed in the course of centuries: there is a cupola and a steeple. All these of course appear in the terms of modern forms of expression. The lower horizontal body and the losely connected vertical prism provide unambiguous representation even without the symbolic meaning of the cross referring directly to the function. All these, however are architectural inventions: the rising body on the left is actually the entrance of the church, while the bell is suspended in the open space in front of the connecting section between the steeple and the lower part.

Except for the traditional element the arrangement of the church is original and modern. The bulk consists of open, non-massive, geometrically limited blocks. The glass-screen above the entrance is not really vertical but inclines inwards, whereby the two side walls reach towards the sky as parallels. The central part of the frontage (the bell-cage) is also open. This openness gives the otherwise homogenous greay mass a relaxed character.

Shaping the space

The church is situated in an already existing urban environment. Its environment is advantageous, it lies almost opposite the entrance of a cemetery in a low density area. The axis is parallel with Hegyalja út and the West front faces the cemetery. The building doesn't reach as far as Németvölgyi út, thus there is enough space to survey the facade. Unfortunately it can't be fully effective, because of the flower-stalls in front of the church.

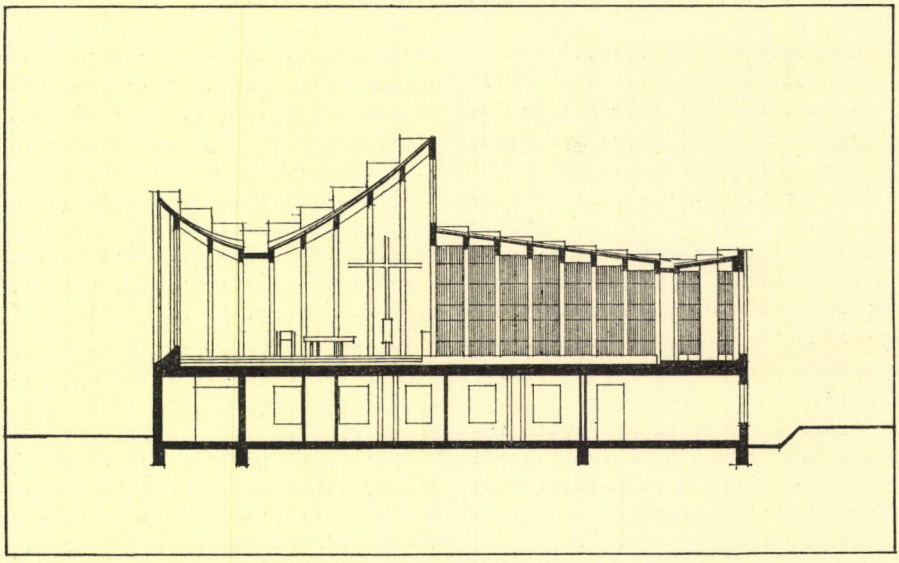
The broken surface gives variety to the

The description of the three churches first appeared in *Magyar Építőművészet* (Hungarian Architecture) 1978/3. The account of All Saints is by Gábor Hajnóczy, the other two are by the architects.

uniformly grey exterior which is enlivened by stained glass-windows. The glass surfaces are given special importance, especially the composition above the entrance, after dark, when the inside lights illuminate them and the whole building seems to be a shining painting.

The entrance mildly rises in tiers that are given a characteristic atmosphere by the coloured light pouring in through the front window above the entrance. This makes one turn back and take delight in the stained glass window showing the resurrection of Christ.

cance of the altar by various means. The ceiling ascending gradually above the seats is suddenly succeeded by a vertical part, and coloured light floods the altar. This hightened space is terminated by a glass-screen, upon which, through a cross-shaped opening of the semicircular external wall, a cross is projected by the incident western light. The coloured light is an important element of the interior and the greatest spatial experience is the coloured beam of light forming a cross. The flat roof can also be reached through the porch. Though it can be found in the external space, it is an



Elevation of All Saints, Farkasrét, Budapest

The porch offers a good visual preparation for the nave: through nine glass doors the whole interior unfolds from the altar and the pulpit as far as the pews. The entrance is almost opposite to the altar, at a slant to the axis, since the altar is not, as usual, in the axis of the nave. The altar is almost surrounded by seats.

The architect has emphasized the significance of the altar by various means. The ceiling ascending gradually above the seats is suddenly succeeded by a vertical part, and coloured light floods the altar. This hightened space is terminated by a glass-screen, upon which, through a cross-shaped opening of the semicircular external wall, a cross is projected by the incident western light. The coloured light is an important element of the interior and the greatest spatial experience is the coloured beam of light forming a cross. The flat roof can also be reached through the porch. Though it can be found in the external space, it is an indirect part of the interior. It's partly roofed, and is connected through a line of windows with the nave where the services taken place. All this shows that the building is prepared to take a large congregation.

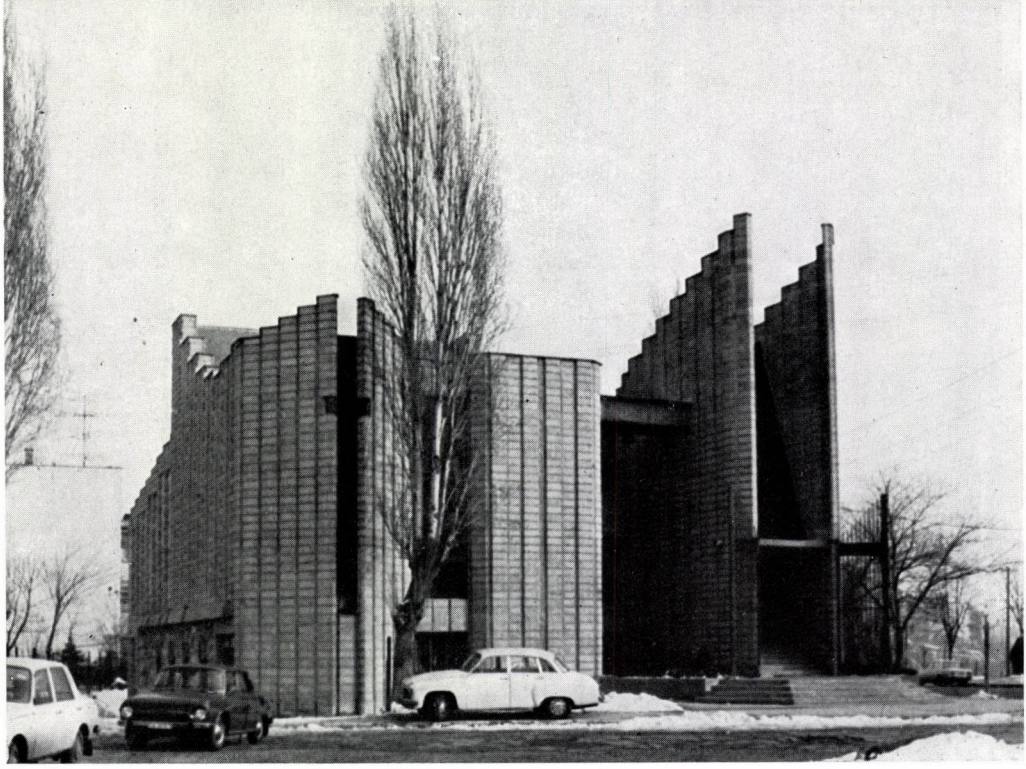
Spaces of differing significance are successfully tuned to each other. The porch leads to the sacristy which consists of two rooms and a corridor leading to them.

Ernő Kálmán

Csaba László

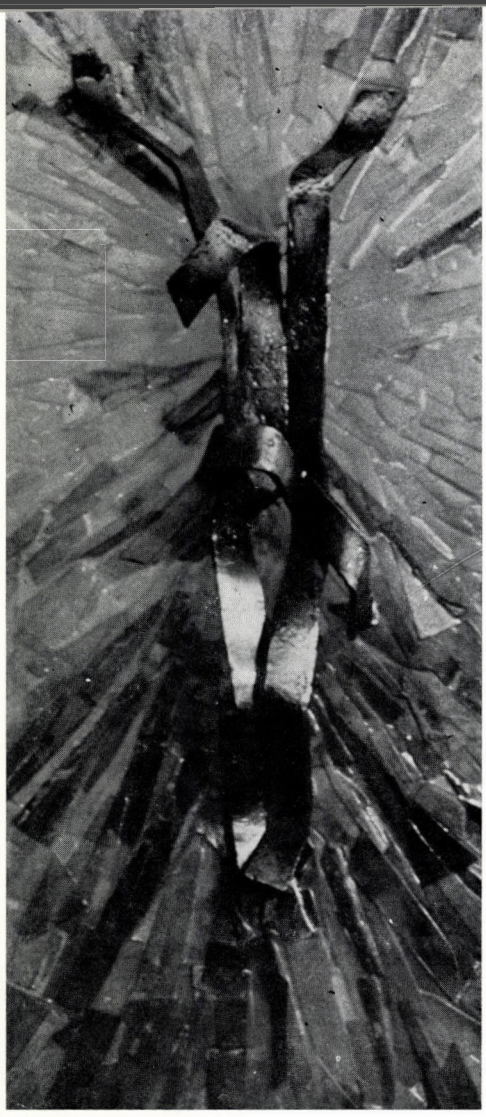
ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH
IN HODÁSZ VILLAGE. REAR VIEW

◁ THE LESSER CALVINIST CHURCH IN DEBRECEN.
MAIN ENTRANCE



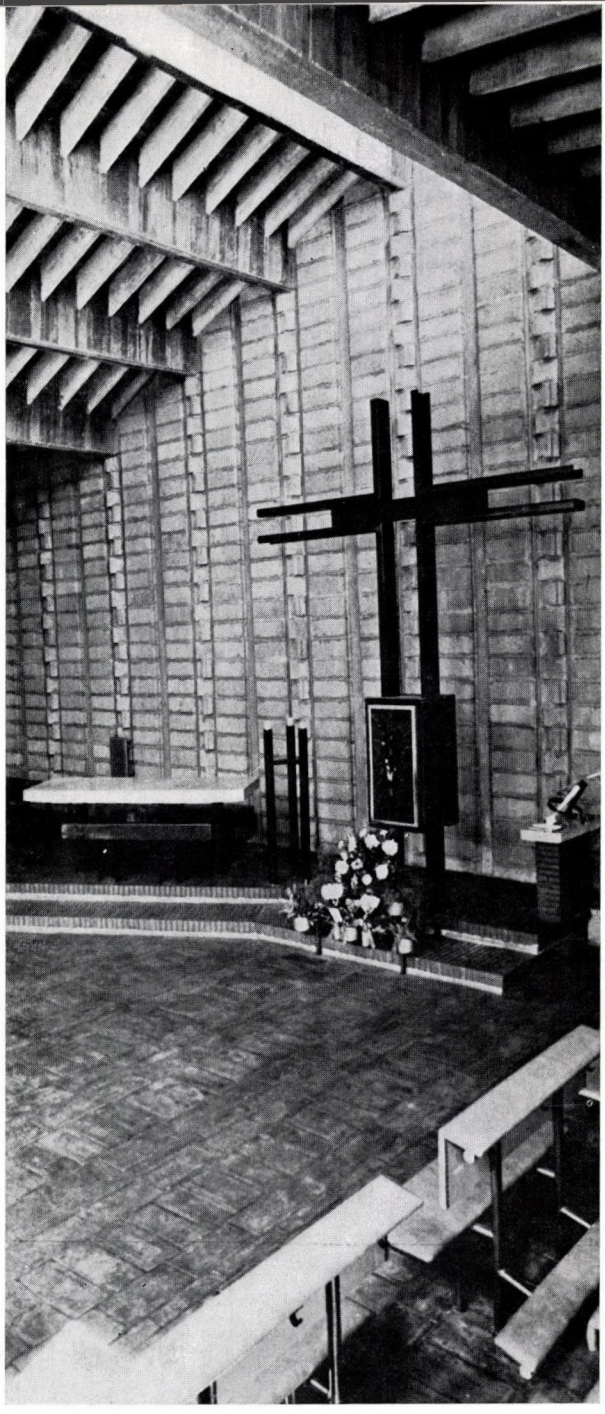
All Saints Farkasrét, Budapest. Façade and
Interior with coloured mosaic windows by István Szabó

József Moldvay

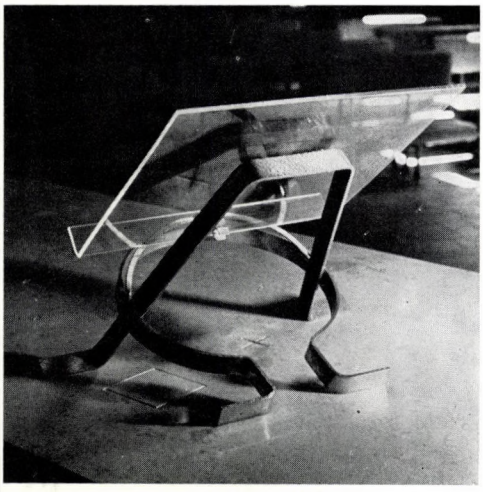


Part of the tabernacle
with a Crucifix

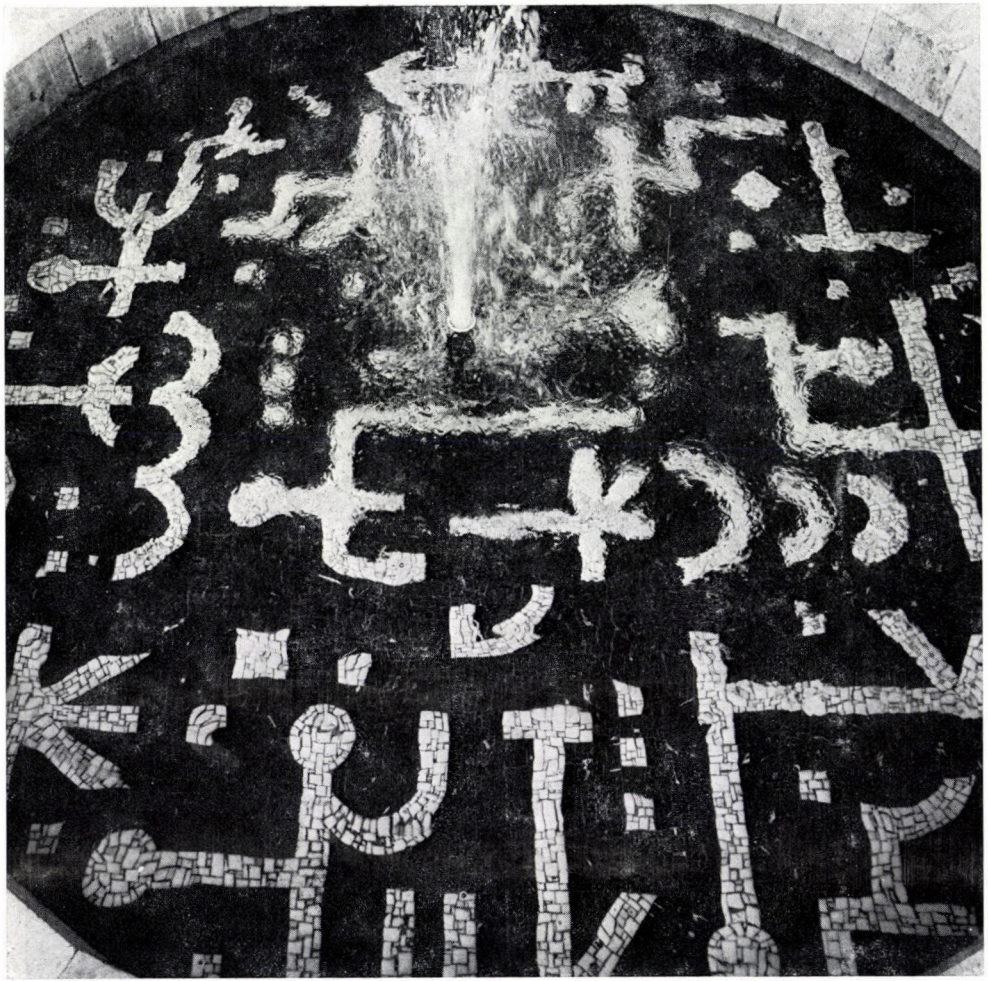
József Moldvay



All Saints Farkasrét, Budapest,
Altar

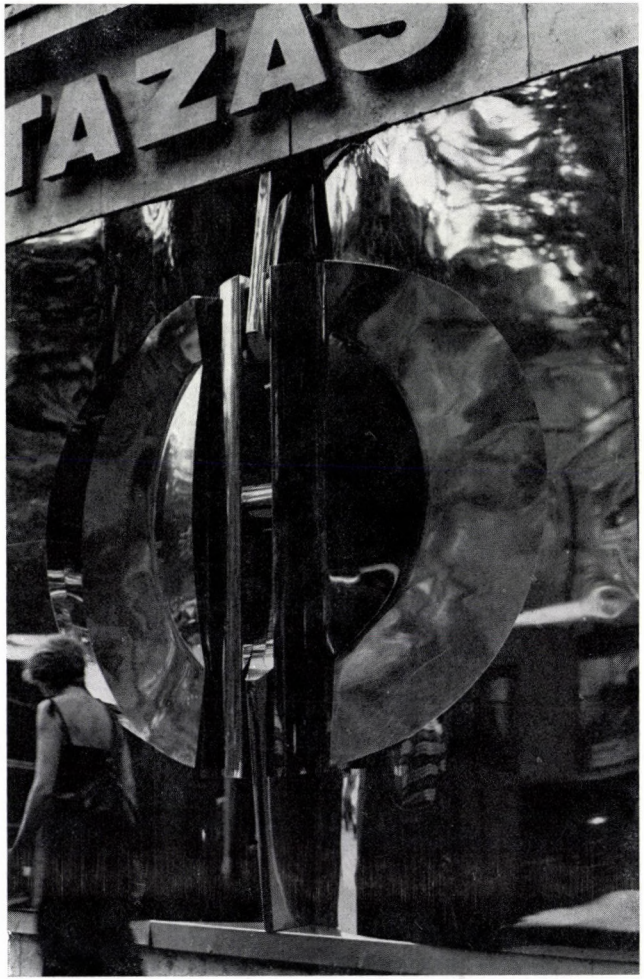


◁ Lectern



László Lelkes

Budapest, Döbrentei tér, Fountain. Mosaic by Dezső Korniss



Budapest, Népköztársaság útja,
Hungarian railways booking office
Entrance by Tibor Csiky and Zoltán Bohus

Construction

The church was built of sixteen thousand concrete lining-blocks BH 60, the reinforcing drawn into the cavities gives the wall an appropriate solidity. The ceiling of the nave is of partition wall bricks, and the entrance stairs and the floor are of ashlar bricks from Mezőtúr. Besides these, glass takes a prominent part.

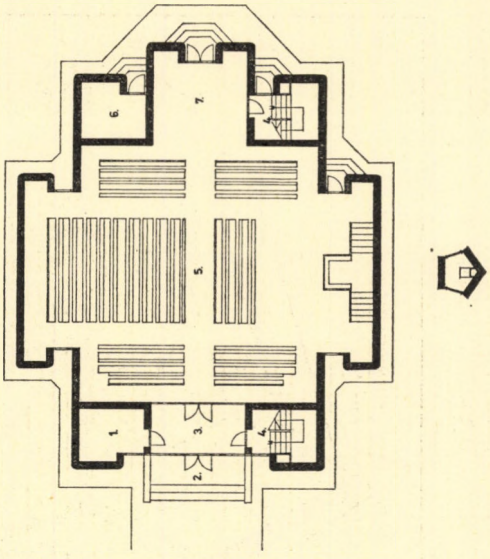
The coloured glass-mosaic, the surface of which is about 130 square metres, is the work of István Szabó the architect. In designing the church-interior, the striving for stylistic unity appears in the different furnishings and in the construction supervised by the architect. The most significant piece is the altar decorated by the cruxifix and lectern.

The seats are metal frame-construction benches and are covered with artificial leather.

The acoustics are particularly good. The ceiling, rising slowly towards the altar, then surging suddenly upwards and "propagating" in waves, effectively cancels undesirable echoes.

The Calvinist Lesser Church, Debrecen
Architect: Ernő Kálmán

Of the two best known Calvinist Churches in Debrecen, the Great and the Lesser, the latter, near the University, suffered irreparable damage during the Second World War. State and church authorities agreed that reconstruction would be too expensive. At present small houses surround the site, later to be replaced by new 3–4-storied prefabricated houses. The tight available space has determined the arrangement of the church and the buildings belonging to it. The church consists of a central building and a belltower next to it. The organ-loft is opposite the main entrance, above which there is a gallery. The interior walls (the acoustics of which are very pleasant) are stuccoed and of a whitish granular surface. The reinforced concrete insert ceiling is painted white. The eight glass windows installed perpendicularly ensure a scattered light. The gable-window helps to ensure uniform natural light. The seats fixed on the dark-blue plastic floor-covering were made of light, stained oak as was the pulpit and the parapet of the gallery. The heating system, using gas, also ensures ventilation. The building is of traditional brickwork and monolithic concrete.



Ground plan of the Calvinist Lesser Church in Debrecen

The bell tower occupies an emphatic place in the surroundings.

Roman Catholic Church, Hodász
Architect: László Csaba

Two broken-lined brick-walls facing each other narrowing as they rise carry a slate roof which rises abruptly at the back and, breaking at the chancel window, descends

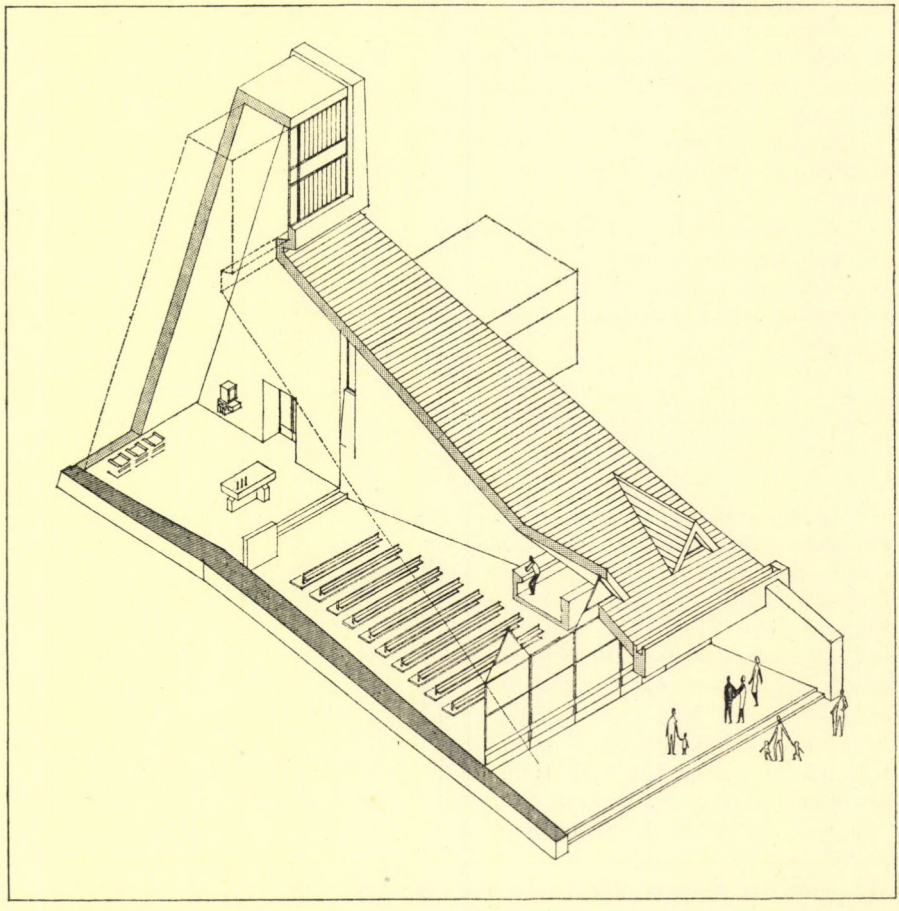
towards the drain pipe above the entrance porch. At the entrance the space is limited by a wall-to-wall glass-screen. The tension is due to the counter-action deriving from the ground-plan and sectional solution, and from the resulting emphasis of the way the space is lit.

While the space narrows towards the inside, it powerfully rises and unfolds upwards, at the same time the lighting gradually becomes dimmer but the chancel itself is flooded with light.

The church replaces an old, naked mud brick building which was on the point of collapse.

The few simple architectural elements determine not only the internal space but also the external mass of the building and its architectural appearance. The exterior of the church is almost completely closed, the low-key openness of the entrance, and the window appearing high above the roof promise self-revelation by a use of simple architectural means.

Simplicity was a basic requirement: only the simplest method of construction was



Axonometric model of the Roman Catholic Church in Hodász village

available. Essentially the parishioners themselves did the work, though some of them were skilful craftsmen. They did their best to understand and carry out the idea behind the plans. The walls are of small bricks, the structure ensures its own rigidity. The ceiling is of varnished timber boards with recessed lights.

An undressed reinforced concrete structure above the entrance carries the drainpipe, and the gallery is also of undressed concrete. There is a timber set of steps leading to the gallery in keeping with the practice common in Country Szabolcs.

The pews, like the steps, are of simply jointed oak. The floor is a pavement of hard Piszke red limestone; the pulpit, the altar and the altarsteps are of Vraca marble.

The doors and windows are steel-segments partly openable and partly unopenable and fitted with glass.

The front of the building has been sprayed with white sandstone powder and this leads over into the internal space onto every wall.

A modest sacristy which can be reached through the porch completes the church.

A large painting by Asztrik Kákonyi is on the slanting surface behind the altar. Its composition accomodates to the nature of the internal space. Advancing downwards the tonality of the painting gets darker adding to the lighting effects. The tabernacle in copper relief, is the work of Miklós Borsos; the stations of the cross are relief work by Aurélia Németh.

All those who took part in the building did their best to realize the plan as fully as possible.

It was impossible for the architect supervising construction to visit the village frequently as it is 300 km away from Budapest. He was only able to do so on roughly twenty occasions.

Some minor mistakes were made, but as a whole local tradesmen did their best proving that a village could produce fine architecture.

In the course of the many long years of building the village identified itself with the plan, and early incomprehension was replaced by pride in what they produced.

THE ART OF STREETS AND SQUARES

UNESCO's International Association of Fine Arts (AIAP: Association Internationale des Arts Plastiques) decided at its conference in Baghdad to organise a World Week of Art every year in order that a closer relationship might develop between the public and the arts. Everywhere national committees determine the local contents of the Week, whose theme for 1978 was "The art of streets and squares". This provided an opportunity to stage simultaneous exhibitions of documentary photos in almost all of Hungary's county towns. These exhibitions which showed the latest architectural and urban developments were subsequently taken to smaller towns and communities as well. The Federation of Hungarian Artists and Industrial Artists had arranged the exhibitions.

Given the fact that architects, landscape planners, artists and industrial designers all contribute to the appearance of streets and squares the exhibited photos include buildings, parks, statues on public squares, mural works, and all kinds of mass-produced or one-off objects which influence the streetscape. So the photos document attempts not only to create a new environment but also to reshape what is already there.

Budapest is particularly affected by the problem of the oppressive monotony of tenement houses built in large quantities

around the turn of the century. Recently they have been replastered in bright colours, and the window- and door-frames of houses on the main roads have also been repainted. Unfortunately the colours are already turning grey because of the smog, and this shows that the embellishment of these old buildings can only be a short-term solution.

The pedestrian precincts in many city centres serve to relax the tension which accompanies heavy traffic. Here much attention has been paid to the design of pavements, lamps, plants and street furniture which distinguish these streets from the run-of-the-mill, and create a harmonious atmosphere. The spatial and colour effects of the streetscape are enlivened, for example, by the brightly—coloured canvas—topped coffeehouse terraces.

One of the problems of the nationwide large-scale housing programmes in the monotony of new housing estates and prefabricated houses. Some attempts have been made at achieving structural and formal variety but they were either half-hearted or not very successful. The artists of the Pécs Workshop and the Enamel Works of Bonyhád have tried to evolve a stock of form elements which could be assembled in diverse ways and used as architectural panelling. This work has been taken up today by the Enamel Artists Colony in Kecskemét but their works are just used inside the buildings or applied as antefixes or even set up as independent compositions—probably because of the absence of any real support for architecture. The application of coloured prefab factory panels in the community buildings (nurseries, kindergartens, schools) of housing estates has been more sucessful because with their great versatility and strong colours they bring life into the monotony. Károly Jurcsik achieves this with the small white panelling of community buildings in the Óbuda housing estate. On the housing estate of the Paks Atomic Works large ornamental elements have been put onto the panels of large tenement houses which thus form interesting and diversified rows. The undulating ornaments loosen the rigid prismatic forms, the entrances of some of the buildings are shaped like the undulating ornaments. On other houses the effect of lightness is achieved by arched balconies protruding at the corners. The designers (Youth Bureau of the Pécs Design Enterprise) even want to achieve the modification of the ground-plans within the given prefab system. However, true structural variety can be realized only in smaller housing estates such as in Emőd and Perbál where, as opposed to big towns, they have managed to harmonize architecture and nature, and take into consideration the contours of the terrain.

New sculptures would also relieve the monotony of housing estates but most of our statues on public squares still represent the spirit and eclecticism of 19th century memorial sculpture. There are some artist colonies in Hungary where sculptures are being produced using both conventional and new materials but the town planning bureaus and architects do not avail themselves of these works.

In the old parts of towns the problem is to integrate the new creations into the given cityscape. The rhythm of the facade of the building of the Budapest Telephone Exchange (built by Lajos Jeney and Ferenc Bán in 1976) adapts itself well to the Rózsavölgyi House built in the early years of the century, its chrome steel relief breaks the uniformity because, although the material is adapted to the metal-structured building, its upwards bending space divisions protrude from its walls. Another example of the close interrelation of old and new architecture and plastic arts is the large, tranquil portal of the Budapest ticket office of the Hungarian State Railways which, on the ground-floor of a strongly articulated tenement house, exerts its effect by its very unity. The glitter of the metal plastic enhances the light of the glass surfaces, its form helps to condense and radiate the

characteristic features of its immediate environment.

Hungarian parks are designed with a view to introduce artistic experience into the natural environment, right in the middle of the recreational and entertainment facilities. An example of this is the fountain mosaic of Dezső Korniss in Budapest, in the Tabán park; its tiny figures seem to move in the rippling water. (Photo 6.) The Big Damselfly, a sculpted toy by Géza Samu, is in a playground in Zalaegerszeg. Its gay effect it not only due to its cheeful colouring; it is a real toy for playing with: pulled by a rope, the damselfly flaps its wooden wings like the simple wooden toys seen everywhere.

The Budapest Landscape Gardening Enterprise has created a large unit comprising open spaces and playgrounds equipped with toys made of different materials, and so provided possibilities for many types of leisure activity in the Town Park.

Vehicles also effect the appearance of streets and squares just like other temporary elements: window displays, posters, the paraphernalia of occasional events. The colourful tents and emblems of the annual Book Fair with their imaginative compositional arrangement give the familiar streets a new spatial effect.

The revival of advertisements, billboards and shop signs is progressing slowly put brightly-coloured sign-boards with three-dimensional letters are beginning to appear on new business houses. The laconic inscription on the large concrete surface of the Domus Furniture Store at Székesfehérvár is eyecatching. (Photo 10.) The entire building makes a good impression with its concrete walls adapted to the proportions of the old buildings but differing in material, and with its surroundings converted into a park with an arched approach road lading to the store. The building itself has no ornaments, relief or any plastic adornments; and, as this does not create a feeling that something is missing, it seems that modern architecture can shape the environment autonomously, and that architecture carries the main responsibility for the aesthetic appearance of streets and squares.

KATALIN KESERŰ

THEATRE AND FILM

THE PROCONSUL'S DILEMMA

János Székely: The Proconsul of Caligula

Gyula is a small picturesque watering-place in South-East Hungary near the Rumanian border. It owes its theatrical fame to a medieval brick castle which played a distinguished role in the 1500s in the war against the Turks; these past fifteen years it has become the scene of open air summer performances. Fifteen years ago a young director, István Miszlay, organised the first production patterned on what was done on the parapet of the ramparts of Dubrovnik; this was followed by two, later by several productions every year. The closed interior court of the castle, with effects of intimacy, creates extraordinarily good conditions for theatre. The bare walls offer themselves as historic sets; accordingly the bulk of the repertory consists of historical plays. Five years ago Ferenc Sik, chief director of the National Theatre of Pécs was put in charge of the Gyula Castle Productions. He increased the number of places suitable for performances. By now the parks, the baths, the meadows near the Castle, different interior halls, even the lake are turned into stages every July.

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According to Decius, a Roman knight and envoy of the Emperor Caligula to Syria, Publius Petronius was the inventor of inactive power. In *The Proconsul of Caligula*, a play by János Székely, a Transylvanian playwright, and member of the Hungarian minority in Rumania, Petronius, the emperor's proconsul in Syria and Judea deserved this appreciation by his childhood friend because he did *not* place a statue of Caligula in the temple of the Jews in Jerusalem. That is to say that by not carrying out the order he raised nonaction to the status of positive action, he countered the pressure to execute the order with passivity.

This first level of the play explores the possibility of defying authority. However, Petronius, as imperial proconsul, is himself part of this power. Nevertheless, he is compelled to realize that his own power is relative, it is, in fact, only a function of Caligula's power, which, in turn, however paradoxically, is a function of his loyalty, like that of the other proconsuls. When the play starts Petronius' loyalty is unconditional, that is until he finds himself in a position where he has to execute an order that goes against his conscience. On this point occurs the clash between his conscience and his loyalty: this moral drama is the second level of Székely's play.

The subject is not without precedent in the theatre. The following words of Petronius remind of Örkény's *The Tót Family*, they could actually be its motto: "Power is natural / Its final limit is the point / to which the subject's patience stretches." But Székely's hero adds: "Actually this is not so / The patience of the subjects / Is prolonged to the infinite / By the

danger of civil war." So we are still within the problem complex of *The Tót Family* because the spectre of civil war as a factor extending the patience of subjects can be replaced by many other types of defencelessness. This sequence of thought appears in a different light in Székely's play. Here it stems from Petronius himself who after all represents authority; though not the highest. This makes him different from the Petronius Maximus in Teleki's, that is Illyés's, play who has wormed his way into power as a minion and although his initial purpose had been to topple it from within, he gradually assimilated to it morally. The proconsul of Caligula is morally much firmer in his "relative" position of power. His sequence of thought about the patience of the subjects is, for one, free of cynicism; it is a proof of the moral soundness of Publius Petronius that even in conditions of growing pressure he is able to think through, reasonably and logically, his own situation and that of the province in his charge.

The final logical conclusion can be only that if the order is immoral it is impossible to remain loyal both to his pledge and to his conscience; honesty can be preserved only by listening to the voice of the latter. There is no doubt of the moralising character of this question and the answer, and although history has taught us that in the case of a power estranged from the community moralising does not get us far, Székely found the means of presenting this political theme as a purely moral parable, without taking it out of its socio-historical context.

The nature of Caligula's power is hinted at with the help of a formal moment—the placing of the emperor's statue—and although this is a historical fact just as the appointment of the steed as consul—its formalistic, or if you wish, symbolic nature makes it better suited for the purposes of a parable. It is now mere chance that the case of the stallion or the emperor's philosophy are only mentioned briefly, (the latter: attempting the impossible, exploring the limits of power is merely a gesture towards Camus) and that the basis of the dramatic conflict is a seemingly insignificant trifle.

Can the fate of a nation depend on its willingness to place a bust in its temple? Is the risk worth it? Is it worth sacrificing everything in the literal sense, including life itself, because of a marble or bronze bust? Is it permissible to challenge a symbol? Is it not much more clever, and tactically better, to formally carry out this order extorting recognition, by a formal gesture, especially in the marches of the empire, far from the centre, where a mere show of obedience may be enough to avert an order much more serious than the placing of a statue?

The answer given by the play is convincing from this very position—and this is its exceptional virtue: namely that it is not more clever, and not better tactically, in fact it is outright impossible. There exists a point where the impossible of the subjects has to defy the must of power; beyond this point the spiritual integrity of a nation is at stake. The placing of the statue would be a formal gesture indeed but it would mean the recognition of the supremacy of a foreign power in a field where only the inner law of the community is valid; it would mean the recognition of the right of authority to intrude into something which, in its very essence, is free and independent: the autonomy of a nation determined by its destiny, history, language, and culture. Because of this no compromise is possible, the people cannot avail themselves of the humane rule of proconsul Petronius at this price; they must insist on their "no" to the very end even it means certain death. Petronius realizes this finally when, between carrying out the order and resigning, he chooses a third way, non-action.

It follows from the play's logic that this non-action is in fact identical with determination. It is characteristic of Székely's intellectual force that he is able to render

inactive heroism in all its tragic relativity. His virtuosity as a writer manifests itself in his leading Petronius from the consciousness of haughty superiority to the simple honesty of a man who has learned to accept the truth of others. This transformation has also its grotesque moments. The theological controvery between Petronius and the High Priest of the Jews which runs through the play is not only a parade of rational arguments but also of some cunning on the side of the High Priest. He has to make sure that the proconsul, after discovering that he could not obey the emperor's order but would not defy it, does not resign and make room for a successor who would certainly not treat the Hight Priest as a discussion partner. From time to time the High Priest's arguments drive Petronius into a corner and one could smile at the fix in which he finds himself if one did not know that the shanks of the pincers squeezed in Rome are much more dangerous than the weakness of his arguments. There is another thing: the man who got into this grotesque fix has engaged in discussion although he had the means, and in the name of the morality of authority, also the right, to introduce weapons which are much more effective arguments than debate. This "ridiculous" man has grasped the inhumanity of the morality of authority and his decision was made only in the name of human fairness.

At this point there is another twist in the plot: it emerges that the inactive power of Petronius, or more exactly, his heroic effort to remain fair, has cost the lives of two innocent men. He himself has caused his aides to be executed, following accusations of betrayal and denunciation. This means that Petronius has sullied himself, he became a Caligula in the fight against despotic power. This illustrates on the one hand that it is difficult to keep one's nose clean in a dirty age even with the best of intentions, and on the other it offers an opportunity to Petronius, whom we have morally absolved, not to absolve himself and proclaim that the need for justification arises only when there can be no justification. In the context the news of the emperor's death —based on historical fact—is probably not intended to lessen the pathos of the proconsul's action by making his passive resistance seem superfluous—on the contrary: in an indirect way it transmits the message that it is worth remaining just if only for the sake of our consiences, regardless of objective ncesstity. This moral imperative could be the major lesson of the play. Although Székely ended his story there, it is not difficult to continue it in thought given one's awareness of history. One must reckon with the possibility that somebody may call Petronius to account for his inactivity; neither can we exclude the possibility that the new emperor will also send his statue to Syria.

Yet it is probably not chance that *The Proconsul of Caligula* does not end like that, summing up the bitter experience of centuries. This time it was clearly more important to stress the moral example, that it was possible to remain European even in the provinces, and that everybody could fight his own inactive war. In this sense the play becomes a universal parable because, naturally,—although the original historical model acted in the same way—in a real Roman empire this Publius Petronius with this moralising concept of authority could never have been the proconsul of Syria, or even a Roman centurion.

The play's metaphor applies also to the performance. The direction by György Harag, the Senior Director of the Hungarian language State Theatre in Marosvásárhely in Transylvania can be compared only to the best contemporary productions. I cannot remember a similarly outstanding performance in the fifteen years of the Gyula Castle Productions, and, what is more, very few productions, in Hungary or elsewhere, show the formal discipline, logic, emotional and intellectual force, and well-

proportioned composition, down to the last detail of Harag's work which produces a perfect whole, and is a model of economic directing. There is no superfluous word, no unnecessary movement or gesture, every moment is meaningful and in integral part of the whole. The play itself is spare and concise; if a single word were left out, the sequence of ideas which progress with the accuracy of meshing gears would suffer, all the more so since the sentences are not beatiful or poetic as in most Hungarian historical plays. They are argumentative, dynamic, actable sentences whose profane poesy and the pulsation of the lines sometimes reminds one of Milán Füst's *King Henry the Fourth.*

Harag managed to turn this dialogue drama stripped to ideas into an extraordinarily ascetic theatrical experience. His theatrical means are few in number but all the more effective. His best trouvaille is without any doubt the tiny bust of the emperor, placed on a gigantic wooden framework, something like a sedan chair, which needs a host of soldiers to be moved about. A detachment moving steadily at the double fetches and carries the Caligula-statuette which, in this way, expresses both the ridiculousness and the menace of this power symbol. The bust, put on the seat of the proconsul, seems a wee bauble, once they even throw it on the floor, and Petronius, celebrating his victory, dribbles with it as if he were playing football on stage. Put back on its symbolic throne it again becomes the emblem of power and one feels the despot and his soldiers backing it.

At another point the Roman soldiers suddenly appear on the parapet as if they encircled the auditorium, and thus they convey a feeling or real danger. As a contrast the massive block of the Jews stands mostly in the centre of the stage, they hold on to each other as a vivid and historic symbol of a nation's lot.

Movement conveys ideas on the stage. In the dispute between Petronius and the Hight Priest the former, true to his position as ruler, accompanies his arguments with broad movements, frantic pacing, and passionate gestures. The latter is a modestly withdrawn, motionless figure. The ample folds of the Roman garment follow the dynamic movements of the wearer in broad waves, whereas the tight clothes of the Jews are supposed to be static—thus designed by Judit Schäffer.

The castle seems to adapt itself consciously to Harag's ideas. Zsolt Kölönte's sets make the bare walls emphasize or eclipse certain details with the help of lighting, and this principle of natural spatial arrangement offers scope for a demonstration of the position of the characters by their movements upwards and downwards or by the regression of the adversary driven onto the stairs in the heat of the argument. Another characteristic moment is the stumbling of the Jews between the bars of the structure which carries the emperor's bust. With the help of these images Harag shapes the world behind the text into pictures. These evocative images are used only when they are intellectually necessary. E.g., there is no mention in the play that the bodies of the two innocently executed aides should be shown but Harag found it important to emphasize the idea that there was no excuse for killing innocents, and he knew that the sight of the dead bodies was a more effective *memento mori* than any frenzied self-accusation by Petronius. Hence the two crucified soldiers emerge at the end of the performance with Petronius standing between them and speaking his words of warning.

I have intentionally left the acting to the end—as the most important and least describable "means" of Harag's theatre. One rarely witnesses such a perfect integration of actor and role. It is even rarer on the Hungarian stage to speak of the faceless and impersonal mass of the soldiers as players because they are not faceless and impersonal as extras but as Roman soldiers.

If one is looking for a still valid moral

attitude the parallel is obvious. In this case one cannot neglect that Petronius, Caligula's proconsul had the time not to execute the order, search his heart and weigh his actions and their consequences, because many things could happen until they found out what had happened in Syria, until new orders reached the distant province and news of their execution or non-execution travelled back to Rome. True, today the distance between "Rome" and "Syria" is not so great. But János Székely's play is actually set in a man's conscience, and in a situation of such moral duress as described in *The Proconsul of Caligula*, decisions can be made in one single night.

TAMÁS KOLTAI

PLUTOS AMONGST THE RUINS

According to the Itinerarium Antonini, there was a station named *Gordio sive Hercule* on the road leading from Sopianae (today Pécs) to Brigetio (today Ószőny), 77 Roman miles from the former and 23 miles from the latter, at the crossing of the road leading from Sopianae to Acquincum, the largest Roman town in Pannonia, 85 miles from the former and 50 miles from the latter, at one of the most important and most busy cross-roads of the Province of Pannonia. Its heyday was in the first and second century, the centuries destroyed it, some carved, embossed or inscribed Roman stones, found in old buildings of some Hungarian towns or villages were all that told of the existence of the municipium of Gorsio sive Hercule.

The excavations at Gorsium started late last century. Though there was close to a century of intermittent work the systematic excavation and reconstruction of the Roman town only began in 1958. Today, at Tác in County Fehér, the outlines of a forgotten town are taking shape, with a Forum, a Capitol, a row of shops, well-ordered streets, a sanctuary suggesting the cult of the Emperor Trajan, accommodation for emperors and governors, villas, ancient Christian places of worship and a smithy. Intact floor-mosaics, wall-paintings, carvings, countless objects, houses with central heating, and baths offer proof of wealth. Not far from the civilian town archaeologists have also discovered a military post and one of the most interesting parts of the excavation is the cemetery, the tombs of which resemble small houses with tiled roofs sunk into the ground.

Among the far from rare Roman remains of Hungary the excavation in Gorsium deserves a special place, not least since there was no continuity of settlement on the site of the ancient municipium, this removing many of the usual obstacles to excavation. The ruins of the town lie on a small hill in the middle of a plain and the ruins adjust well to the work in the fields around them, to the row of poplars, the trees planted when the marshes were drained, ploughed lands, meadows, and pastures.

Since 1970 theatre performances have taken place in Gorsium relatively regularly, modelled on the Ludi Romani, a Roman holiday (first half of September). The plays were usually, ancient classics taken from the repertoire of Hungarian theatres and adapted for open-air performance. They included *Elektra* by Euripides, Plautus' *Aulularia* and Sophokles' *Oedipus Rex*, but also a politically timely modernization entitled *Electra, my love* by László Gyurkó. As these productions were not originally intended for open-air performance, though the scenery and environment were ideal, the results were not outstanding.

After initial attempts, the theatre of Gorsium was finally established in 1977 by Márton Karinthy. The main intention of the summer theatre inspired by the ruins is: "to roam over the dramatic, poetic world of ancient times. We want our authors to argue with one another, to compare each of our performances with the preceding or the following one. Ideas and views should meet on the scene of our plays. And all this should not be a musty respect but a living play representing our lives; that is, real theatre."

In the first year two tragedies by Euripides were performed: Helena and Alcestis. One presents the senselessness of war with an almost 20th century sense of absurdity. According to Euripides only Helena's double was sent to Troy by the gods, consequently the terrible war was fought for a phantom. The second, through Alcestis dying for king Admetos, her husband, deals with the senelessness and yet exalting character of self-sacrifice, and with the moral annihilation of those accepting the sacrifice. The two tragedies have many realistic elements that supplement each other but also contradict each other. The director and the actors were not really up to presenting the complexity of the tragedies and the stormy dramas of the human soul. It was striking that Márton Karinthy assigned a major role to the setting and the ruins.

The second season saw the performance of Aristophanes' Plutos. This last work of Aristophanes' was first performed in the fourth year of the 97th Olympiad (in 389 B.C.)—and has come down to us in fragments only. It was translated into Hungarian by János Arany, one of the great 19th century poets. His work is not a mere translation, but almost a new work. Imre Katona constructed a well-rounded comedy using this translation, and completing the fragments with details taken from other works by Aristophanes, not shrinking back even from inserting topical observations.

The sweeping performance that uses all the potentialities of the open-air stage and which—behind the obscene histrionics—finds the means to a bitter interpretation of reality, allows one to forget that the plot falters here and there and that the preparation of the conclusion not really worked out.

The Forum is the stage on either side of which, on a mound created by excavated soil, the audience is seated. Opposite, at the end of the Forum's flights of stairs, among the ruins, there is a skene hewn out of trunks, on the top of which sit the toga-clad musicians. A swing is lowered from time to time for the use of the gods. Chutes reminiscent of children's play-grounds look somewhat anachronistic among the ruins, but in the heat of the action they, too, fit in with the performance and the environment.

After an Dionysian game using the shaft of a carriage as a phallus the actors call for the author, and Aristophanes, the dirty-mouthed playwright appears among the audience. While scolding Euripides, last year's author, he announces that they are going to perform a play about poverty and wealth, and that he himself will play the lead, the role of Kremilos, a poor Athenian citizen. The starving Athenians, oppressed by the wealthy, seek the advice of the oracle and are told that a blind wanderer would bring them luck. Shortly afterwards somewhere in the distance, on the edge of the ruins a stately figure appears dressed in rags, carrying a white stick, Plutos, the god of wealth, blinded by Zeus so that he cannot know on whom he bestows riches. Kremilos realizes that none but this blind old man with bladder trouble can be the wanderer mentioned in the prophecy. A highly amusing competition begins for Plutos' favour: Kremilos and his wife, his friends and Karion, his slave, while treading on each other, assert their unselfish affection. They decide to restore the god's sight in return for his making them rich. On a remote part of the ruins a magic ceremony

with a merely sketched choreography takes place, while down stage we witness the metamorphosis of citizens, Kremilos in the first place, who are about to become rich. But Penia, the goddess of poverty appears too and warns the Athenians that if wealth and money were to become the rule there would be nobody left to work, standards of behaviour would be upset, and the norms people live by would be shaken. Nobody listened to her, but her words came true: the poor who had become rich were just as bad as the rich of old; personal and sexual relations are all mixed up, the gods are not respected, Hermes is handed a broom and the others are laughed at. Plutos, having regained his sight—together with Hermes—escapes from the carousing company, the god of wealth turns blind again of his own will.

This end—in the spirit of Aristophanes but going far beyond the letter, is almost tragic. The vision, provided by the performance, of getting rich quick, and the lack of ability to live with wealth will dispel many illusions. However poverty is not recommended as a salvation from the evils of wealth, for the first presentation is so powerful that its contrapuntal effect can be felt to the end. The conclusion—though it undoubtedly shows antipathy for the newly rich and sympathy for the poor—suggests that there is no escape from the dilemma of wealth and poverty.

The parts of Plutos and Penia were both performed by András Kern who is outstanding as both. He uses strong but never tasteless methods and never concentrates on farce, not even in the coarsest scenes; it could be felt to the very end of his double role that more took place than a mere comedy. The same holds of Róbert Koltai in the double role of Kremilos—Aristophanes and Judit Pogány in the double role of the wife and the old woman who kept a lover and becomes a wall flower when wealth comes her way. What shows the artistic power and standard of the performance is that not only the main parts but all the actors equally contribute to the success.

The director and the actors assembled for the occasion from various companies did not pay homage to the memory of the classics with a dusty performance but gave news of the present and ourselves with the help of Aristophanes. The audience can only enjoy it all without being able to tell how much is due to Aristophanes, how much to the translators and adaptors, and how much to the director and the actors.

Nature helped too. The hot summer afternoon gradually cools till the sun, turned red, finally sets midst the distant hills and trees.

István Nánay

GETTING RID OF TABOOS

Talking to Miklós Jancsó

The team directed by Miklós Jancsó works under a large awning beside an almond grove on the outskirts of Kővágóőrs, on a wide-open *meadon* a few kilometres from the village. Cameraman is János Kende. They are in the process of shooting the scene entitled "Recruiting" in *Vitam and Sanguinem*,[1] Hernádi's and Jancsó's "film novel" published by Magvető, where this particular chapter is no more than one and a half pages long. It consists of one long uninterrupted sequence in which György Cserhalmi, Lajos Balázsovits and Gábor Koncz—three of the film's leading characters—have important roles, but before moving the camera on an approximately 50-metre-long track the simultaneous activities of several hundred extras, soldiers on foot and on horse, musicians as well, must be coordinated and organized, timed down to the last second. Jancsó directs the background activities of the soldiers and recruits with a megaphone in his hand; then he walks round the location several times and tries out a few versions of the possible movement of the leading actors until, in the late afternoon, he decides to start shooting the scene. The safety rockets are fired, soldiers stop the traffic on the by-road for a few minutes to prevent the appearance of a present-day car in the scene, which takes place during the First World War; by sunset the material of the second shot is packed away: about 120–150 "useful" metres from the three-part *Vitam et Sanguinem*.

— That's to say, we have started to shoot the first two parts, says the director. In the book these are the chapters "Hungarian Rhapsody" and "Allegro Barbaro." Don't be surprised if the scene you saw today is not identical in every detail with the corresponding parts in the novel. In the course of time we've arrived at a much modified technical scenario and on location this is often further modified; this is established practice in every one of my films. The set, the actors, the technical conditions, and so on are in practice never identical with what the writer envisages and commits to paper in his study.

Will the film version of the story be more like the stage version of the drama on Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky[2] *or will it be nearer to the story of the real historical figure?*

— It has nothing to do with either. Even the stage version only used certain elements of the life of the historical hero, and in the film, at most two episodes will be suggestive of him: it is no accident that we have changed both his family and Christian names. Those who find it absolutely necessary to detect a historical analogy might equally well call the film the story of Mihály Károlyi as the story of Bajcsy-Zsilinszky— that is, it is neither one nor the other. It is simply the story of an originally right-wing Hungarian nobleman who understood the logic of history and, in his own particular way, oriented himself towards the political left, and finally died a heroic death.

And in what do you see the exemplary quality of this career?

— I don't know, I never think of such things. This is a human story which interests me and I would like to tell it in such a way that it interests others as well.

"Tell" it? Your reviewers have attempted to place your films in many categories; as far as I know "story-telling" was one of the rarest.

[1] A reference to the Hungarian Diet's offering the Nation's 'life and blood' in defence of the throne of the young Maria Theresa in the War of Austrian Succession. (1741)

[2] Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky (1886–1944) a leader of the anti-Nazi resistance movement during the Second World War following a controversial political career. He was executed by the Hungarian fascists on 28 December 1944.

— And yet, these are stories. *Electra* is a folk-tale put on the screen. An ideological tale. *Red Psalm* is a tale about revolution. A tale is a poeticized message. The Italian *Private Sins* is a fantasy about the message presented in the form of a narrative.

Your critics, the erudite analysts of your films, distinguish several periods in your career. According to them your first "great period" was the trilogy The Round-up, The Red and the White, and Silence and Cry, *and many maintain that these are still your finest works; others, again, enthuse about the works of your more surrealistic period, such as* Confrontation, Red Psalm, Electra. *What do you think of this "periodization"?*

— I hold no opinion. I never start a film with the intention of trying out a new film idiom or creating my life-work. Things can only be analysed afterwards, and this is not my business but the aesthetes'. True, we also analyse our films with Hernádi—afterwards—however, we do this from the point of view of deciding to what extent we have managed to convey our message on the screen and what were the reasons for our successes and failures. There was a period when our main ambition was to break away from the traditional, almost hackneyed, logic of the narrative. But these were also linear stories, at most with some omissions; we left it to the imagination of the public to fill in the "gaps." In the case of *Vitam et Sanguinem*, the book was more like a novel, and the film will be more like a novella. It will be neither fantasy nor myth—although it will have some baroque-ish scenes. It may not employ the devices of conventional realism but it is still a narrative. The public's thirst for stories has no limits: they like the UFO films as well if they can only understand and follow the story-line. It was instructive for us that the people who went to see *The Round-Up* or *Confrontation* "lost touch" with us to a certain extent when we did the "sham ballet" in *Electra* with its unaccustomed structure. In this new film we have gone back a little to the "followable" linear story: the film narrates the life of a man.

After your first trilogy, which had world-wide success, your reviewers compared you to such innovators of film idiom as Bergman and Antonioni; and what is more, if I may exaggerate a little, the word "Hungarian" evoked in certain Western European intellectual circles three names: Bartók, Lukács, Jancsó. Wasn't this a crushing burden of responsibility for you?

— If I were you I would not ask this question and certainly not in this extreme form. Put like this, it is impossible to answer. But if you are asking whether I consider myself some sort of international representative of the Hungarian people this is simply stupid: nobody has elected or mandated me to represent anybody. I am a director, I make films. Sometimes they are good, sometimes less good. But only a distressingly parochial view could blow any of them up into a national or any other cause.

Since I've already asked you one pointed and delicate question, let me ask you another. They often say behind your back, that because you've made four films in Italy in the last three years and none in Hungary you're more an Italian director than a Hungarian one. Which do you consider yourself to be?

— I am a film director, I make my films where I can, where I get the money to put an idea into practice. This question is specifically Hungarian: abroad it is quite natural for a director to shoot his films sometimes here, sometimes there.

Still, let me remind you that well-known Italian critics, people who had praised the earlier films you made in Hungary, wrote of your La Pacifista that "Jancsó's best works are tied up with the history of his country; he moves uncertainly in the for him foreign medium of Italian reality" . . .

— Perhaps because they did not pay sufficient attention to their own reality. I made *La Pacifista* in 1970 (it dealt with the various extremist terrorist groups—it was not shown in Hungary) and now, eight years later when the affairs of the Red

Brigades and similar groups make headlines, the Italian critics have probably also realized what the film was about. At the time they said that I couldn't find my way in the complex of Italian reality... Don't misunderstand me: I am not talking about the film's style, its good or bad artistic qualities, but only about the problem with which it was concerned and of which the Italians said that it did not exist; in the meantime this problem has come to maturity. Perhaps this is simply the result of my Marxist education; Marxist thinking is nothing other than the most suitable method of analysing the world.

While we are on the question of your foreign critics: you probably know of the discussion in Hungary concerning the relationship between film-makers and critics. What is your opinion of the accusation so often made by our film-makers, that "Hungarian critics do not support Hungarian films"; "uncomprehending critics discourage the public from seeing Hungarian films," etc. etc.

— It is infantile to attribute more importance to criticism than it deserves. Every review is the opinion of one person. There are clever and stupid critics—just as there are good and bad directors. This has always been the case and it always will be. Neither administrative nor other means can eliminate bad critics or bad directors. Everybody must decide for himself whose opinion he pays heed to and whose he disregards. In Italy four or five hundred reviews appear of a single film. According to the practice I have evolved throughout the years, I pay heed to the opinions of four or five Italian critics, even if I happen to disagree with them. (The proportion is the same in Hungary.) Probably the directors who say that they never read the reviews are only putting on airs. It may happen that one or the other review reminds one of János Arany's "damned if I thought that" and in general one does not allow oneself to be influenced by the opinion of others. But every review should be respected as somebody or other's opinion. By the way, the producer and the distributor collect the reviews as a cross-section of opinion and a kind of feed-back, partly of economic interest, partly of the public's infinite variety of taste, or with a view to quoting from them phrases calculated to pull in the public in next week's advertisements. It is a truism that "criticism" as such does not exist. What exists are the different types of critics. Besides; "criticism" in general cannot make some films by supporting them or break others by discouraging the public.

And yet about ten years ago international film reviews played a big part in bringing about the recognition of the so-called Hungarian new wave outside Hungary; and in this new wave your films were highly appreciated and considered to play a leading role.

— From time to time international film critics need something sensational, a discovery, something new with which they can fill the available columns. Putting it more crudely, they are in constant need of something fresh, to make it the sensation of the year. For this reason and true to form, after the Poles and the Czechs it was the turn of Hungarians, and luckily this coincided with the period when we had made several interesting new films. Today these discoverers have a more difficult job than at the time when, in the wake of the French *nouvelle vague*, national film industries had their comeback, one after the other. Since then they have tried in a similar way to launch film productions in the Third World and elsewhere but without much success, because it seems that just now there are no such radically new things which could be widely publicized with any success. And, to be accurate, I should add that these "great international successes" were only successes of the "serious cinema" and therefore only affected narrow sectors of the population, students and the intelligentsia; the entire West European commercial cinema network is controlled by American capital where the film imperialism

of Hollywood (or new-style Hollywood, if you prefer) continues to dictate.

We haven't been able to see it in Hungary but we have read a lot about the scandals surrounding your Italian film Private Sins, Public Morals; *we read about the legal proceedings which started with a charge of pornography and ended with an acquittal. Couldn't it be that this film was brought about by your ambition, after so many successes at "serious" film-making, to break into the commercial scene?*

— No. I am not interested in breaking into anything and I was not moved by financial considerations either. In its essence *Private Sins* is no different from my other works; I play with a pseudo-historical event, I play at exploring the mechanism with which the intrigues of power can influence and decide certain things and human fates. And I don't consider it pornographic. I would like to say that I happen to respect tic erofilms and consider them important, because they try to extend the limits of the bourgeois-rooted, Christian-based sexual mores of white men. But *Private Sins* is not a pornographic film, it is a political analysis like my other works. To understand the censorship proceedings in Italy, one also has to understand the enormous intricacies of the Italian censorship law which dates back to the Fascist period. A web of political and personal intrigue lies behind almost all such Italian censorship scandals; it is pointless to waste more words on them.

So you think this film could also be shown in Hungary?

— Let us first get a fundamental question clear. In my opinion everything that is not politically hostile could and should be presented. In the present state of affairs there is a queer discrimination in the film scene in Hungary, as a result of which mediocre, sixth-rate, even twentieth-rate imitations dominate the market. I can tell you an illuminating experience of mine: when I was doing the cutting of *Private Sins* they were working on a semi-erotic Italian comedy next door. Both films were produced by the same man and he told me he didn't want to show me this other film of his because it was such tripe he was ashamed of it but I had to understand that he had to make his money somehow. A few months later this Italian film was being advertised in Budapest in several big cinemas... It seems difficult to get rid of these particular bourgeois taboos. In the past the sight of a nude female body provoked a so-called scandal. In my film the trouble is obviously caused by the appearance of a hermaphrodite. But the Greek sculptors—especially in one of the golden ages of their art—sculpted many hermaphrodites in spite of being true realists; should these works be thrown out of the museums? We respect too many obsolete taboos instead of being ideologically and morally stronger, and films of the West which are often made with professional expertise but are covertly reactionary, with which we cannot compete efficiently partly because of the limits we impose on ourselves. Such films are being shown in their dozens in Hungarian cinemas. But all this is, of course, my strictly personal opinion: film distribution is not my business.

Let's return to your films. According to your reviewers, in the works of your first period, from The Round-Up *to* Agnus Dei, *you analysed the various mechanisms of oppression, while your later films were dominated by the investigation of the interior problems of positive, spontaneous popular movements. Do you agree with this classification?*

— By and large. The fundamental position in the films of the first period is negation: the negation of an oppression, presented in a somewhat utopian manner. In the other group *Confrontation, Red Psalm* and *Electra* these are films of the type of *The Flames of Paris*, i.e. pseudo-ballets. Now, with respect to the films which analyse spontaneous popular movements, the Italian *Rome Recalls Caesar* offers the deepest analysis, but it is difficult to follow the film because it is essentially an ideolog-

ical dispute, the discussion of certain problems of modern movements transplanted into an imaginary past, into a pseudo-historical environment.

And why do you feel the need always to expound your ideas in such pseudo-historical ways?

I don't know. It's probably inherent in our constitution, in mine and Hernádi's, my script writer. *The Round-Up* was a pseudo-historical film, and the same applies to *That Was My Path*. They reproached me with the fact that in reality things did not happen exactly like this. But I expound my views in my films (or, to be exact, the views elaborated jointly with Hernádi), and I don't make history text-books or school-book illustrations. And, of course, even text-books often change and all of them, including those which try to be completely objective, contain their author's subjective views.

It seems that you view the historical periods represented in your films from a certain detached perspective—as if you were looking at a swarming ant-hill...

— This may be, but my works are never exact analyses of concrete periods. They are not even historical reflections. They are not concrete analyses of anything—but rather sequences of sight, or sermons, or... well, I don't know what genre they belong to and it's not for me to define them.

In connection with your first films your critics have spoken of a "special Jancsó-style," the renewal of film idiom... They mentioned, among other things, the dramaturgic invention the key to which they thought they found in the amalgation of structuralist composition and Marxist outlook...

— We were not out to invent any brand-new film idiom; the nature of things was responsible for making our films the way they are. We wanted to make our films different from those of the past with which we were bored to death. This style they call "special" consists, in fact, of mere negatives. E.g.: I have always hated flash-back, the empty passages and tricks of cutting, besides I am no good at this sort of thing and could never do them. And the so-called "dry" acting style, "without psychology"? This is also the result of a negative ambition: I didn't want the actors to grimace and throw their arms about before the camera, I was bored with their well-known mannerisms. And what they called "the dramaturgy of extreme situations"? Tense, condensed situations where matters of life and death are decided are obviously more interesting than everyday events; celebrations, or rites as the forums of ideas, actions and attitudes can also be interesting.

In your different films you mixed and blended the elements of diverse dramaturgic trends, including effects which revoke the theatre...

— Maybe. There are scenes which recall stage performances, but always mixed with reality. The fundamental task is to tell a story as well as possible and to tell it so that people understand and enjoy it. Sometimes in my films not every twist in the plot was clear enough and it was not always easy to follow them. This time in *Vitam et Sanguinem* everything is clear. The dramaturgy is, of course, not identical with the customary style of interpretation in which the hero, if he went out by a door, entered the next sequence with a passage in between, and so on, and so forth... Sequences which in other films are empty passages linking key scenes are here—I hope—visually interesting; and what are informative flashbacks in other films are here perhaps background spectacles... But it's not for me to analyse these things, and besides, I don't put my dramaturgic opinions on the screen but rather tell a story about a man whose political course has ranged between the most extremist positions... By the way, I am far from being the only one who has a "different" film style; others also differ from the conventional films but in a different way; in fact some are even supposed to imitate me. I couldn't care less.

One of your well-known characteristics is that there is—as they say—a lot of nakedness in your

films; there were even rumours in professional circles that actors refused their roles because of the nude scenes.

— One single young actress said that she didn't want to strip, so I dispensed with her services. The nude scenes have a different significance from film to film. Sometimes nakedness means defencelessness, sometimes it expresses freedom and lack of restraint; its function could be analysed separately in each film but by now nakedness has become less unusual as it was in the beginning, thank heavens it's a less provocative and less of a box-office factor nowadays.

Although you protest rightly against the role —or pose—of the film historian of the Hungarian people it is obvious that your entire way of thinking, and hence your films, are determined by your close attachment to the people who lived and live in this small Central European country and by your concern with their fate. In view of this how is it possible that you are considered the "most European," the internationally best-known Hungarian film director?

— I have no idea whether I am a "European" director or not. Here I was born, here I learned to think in a Marxist way, and it's for this reason that I am able to make these films this way. By the way, today such films probably arouse less attention abroad than ten years ago. Nowadays films are less ideological everywhere; and the presentation of the message in this way is necessarily more abstract. Today "small realism" is the fashion. However, I cannot help it and, in any way, fashions don't interest me.

What you have said of the worldwide fashion of "small realism," is it perhaps not the result of the fact that with the increasing complexity of the world's dominant trends, or rather as a reaction against this, both artists and the public think that the small truths, the so-called everyday matters, are easier to approach, and that, in the rendering of microphenomena, the danger of error is smaller?

— We should not forget that this fashion of "small realism" started in America, and that it is nothing but the apologia, often transposed in a sophisticated way, of the pseudo-freedom model intended to reassure the small man. These films do not even try to approach the problem of fundamental social mechanisms and models—in most cases they give a wide berth to all vital questions.

So with your new film you intend to go against the tide?

— I have told you that I wasn't concerned with fashions and trends. I am making a film about a human fate. Whether they say afterwards that I went "with" or "against" the tide or even, God forbid, that I "went under"—it's definitely not my business to judge it.

ISTVÁN ZSUGÁN

TRAGEDY ON THE STUD FARM

András Kovács: A ménesgazda (The Stud Farm)

True to his custom, András Kovács *(Cold Days, Walls, Blindfold)* has once again undertaken a somewhat daring job when chosing István Gáll's novel, "The Stud Farm," that had recently been a literary sensation, as the basis for his new film. In Hungary a mere four to five years of the thirty-three that have passed since 1945, are described euphemistally as those of "the distortions of the personality cult," and almost a quarter of a century has passed even since the historical watershed that followed 1956, yet the conflicts of those few years are still undigested, they still burden the collective consciousness, scholarship and art have done too little to digest them. The fact itself that all those, born in the 'fifties and after, are already in their twenties and thirties, makes the necessity and responsibility of authentic contemporary testimonies recalling this recent past unquestionable. As Kovács himself has put it "I often notice that younger people are barely familiar with the historical events and characters of this period, and if they have any views at all, they are for the most part a summary, a mere diagram; one-sided in one way or another. It is therefore the elemental human duty of the generation which lived through that period, taking an active part in it, to recount its own experiences, trying to interpret them; also to stop all that which in that period was mistaken and distorted from repeating itself..."

The film, like the novel, is set in 1950 in a stud farm near the country's western border. Jani Busó, the new manager arrives, a peasant boy with only rudiments of an elementary education and a party course for beginners behind him. He did not have a clue about the breeding of horses. His subordinates, all former officers and N.C.O.s who had served in studs, look at him with distrust and hardly concealed contempt. They more or less feel like prisoners here at the farm, some of their families had been deported; and they see a natural enemy in their new boss. Let us stop here for a moment. Gyula Kádár, the former head of Horthy's military intelligence and counter-intelligence (who was later also arrested by the Nazis), has written in his recently published memoirs: "However dark a picture I have drawn about the views of the officer corps, and the attitude of a number of its members, generalization would be mistaken. Besides the many lowdmouthed "heroes", and the zealous right wing pro-Germans, there was also a considerable number or honest, humane, upright and good soldiers. Even while doing their duty and absolutely loyal to their country they grew aware of reality, and alienated from Nazism. They recognized that the war was against the interests of the Hungarian nation..."

Today, when our view of history tries to see the tragic turns of the past in all their complexity, and without any summary generalizations, one can take notice of the fact that, as the war progressed, many of the Hungarian officers also recognized its madness and tried to save at least the helve of the lost hatchet—the very best of them the lives of the men under their command, or, as the stud officers in this film, the remnants or the Hungarian horse-stock which had been retired home to safeguard them from the Germans. The officers in the film are horseman in the first place, who could hardly have remained in their posts without real professional knowledge. This is recognized by Máthé, the district party secretary, who wishes for, and serves, revival, a humane arrangement of new life; and who also recognizes that their professional knowledge is needed by the new system as well. Thus he persuades Jani Busó to stay at the farm, though he, because of failures and humilia-

tions suffered there, wishes for some simpler assignment. But at a time when the common cause, their passion for the horses should slowly sow the seeds of mutual trust with Bazsi, the senior officer, successfully delivering a foal, letting Jani Busó into the carefully guarded secret of the stud-officers, who show him the hidden special breed pedigree foal. But in the atmosphere of the then general mistrust, and in keeping with the slogan of the constantly sharpening class struggle, a tragedy ensues; Busó must die.

By now we have already learned at the price of bitter experience, that the realization of the historically necessary task—the final deposition of the ruling class which drove the country into destruction—does not necessarily have to go hand in hand with the "liquidation" or humiliation of individuals belonging to it. The story clearly indicates an even graver tragedy of the period, when the most active participants in the implementation of the revolution, the most eminent members of the "advance guard" of revolutionary changes, themselves became the victims of manipulations that added pseudo-conflicts to the real ones.

The spare, concise sequences of *The Stud Farm*, with their ominous atmosphere, relate the film to the manner of performance of *Cold Days*. In contrast to some of András Kovács's recent films where dramatic action is for the most part made manifest in dialogue, in the expounding and clashing of opinions and attitudes, here it is hard characters, complete human fates which become confronted in strained situations. This is a genuine tragedy of destiny, each of the characters is partially right, realistic wills and interests encounter each other, the events lead with dramatic necessity to a tragical conclusion. The site, the stud farm, is spectacularly attractive—and beautifully photographed by Lajos Koltai. Kovács and Koltai have succeeded in presenting the rancour of two jealous fighting stallions, with the men standing around them merely uttering monosyllables should convey the essential tension of the human tragedy, and the shiveringly beautiful sequences of a foaling should help us without words to emphathize with budding support and interdependence.

András Kovács's sound choice of actors contributes greatly to the sparklingly hard, dramatic atmosphere of the film. József Madaras has long been known to be a screen actor of extraordinary force. The tragic authenticity of Jani Busó's figure is provided by his momentary balkings and anguished hesitations, interchanging with his fits of passion. For the other roles Kovács has selected Hungarian actors from Transylvania who for the most part are so far unknown in Hungary: Ferenc Fábián as the scared, confused cooperative farm chairman, feeling in his guts a menace he cannot account for; Ferenc Bács as the senior stud-officer, with his noble face, proper movements, cruelly indoctrinated, with an bearing which he firmly preserves under all circumstances. Levente Biró, András Csiky, Csongor Ferenczy, István Gyarmati, Sándor Kátó as the stud-officers are all evidence of bull's eyes in acting and directing. The depiction of the outer world surrounding the closed human inbreeding of the stud-farm is completed by authentic precise walking-on parts (Sándor Horváth, Károly Sinka, Nándor Tomanek and others); perhaps Irén Bordán alone is not fully equal to the character of the school-mistress, which however is somewhat perfunctorily sketched in the scenario as well.

Although re-phrasing the story with the "unfaithful" faithfulness required by the different genre, drawing together characters, retuning scenes, and changing situations, András Kovács's film is true to the spirit of the original literary work, throwing light on the complicated relationship of the direct historical antecedents of our own days and ably provoking timely ideas.

I. Zs.

PUPPETS AS HIGH ART

In thirty years a generation grows up but if one speaks of a theatre playing mostly for the youngest audiences such as the State Puppet Theatre in Budapest one may also refer to future generations: in the course of thirty years a theatre and a specific genre, the puppet show, has also grown up. Witness the rising star of puppetry in Hungary. All survey of the past and present of puppet shows in Hungary. The exhibition was organized during the 30th, jubilee season of the State Puppet Theatre, and it was especially interesting because it gave a notion of everything from the oldest Hungarian folk traditions through experiments and amateur puppet shows to puppet productions on film and television, and from old documents and posters to present theatre billings. Naturally, most of the material was connected with the State Puppet Theatre in Budapest, this internationally recognized institution.

The Roots

It is both strange and natural that the oldest vestiges of puppetry have survived in the live yet rapidly fading folk tradition. The straw dummy is part of this tradition: at the beginning of spring village girls used to dress it up, now in male now in female attire, and either burn it or throw it into the still icy river or brook along with all the evils of winter. The tradition is not specifically Hungarian: it can be found among the neighbouring nations of Eastern Europe and also in more distant parts as demonstrated by a sequence in Fellini's film *Amarcord* where the farewell to winter is celebrated with petards and dummy-burning. The dummy in question is either immobile or some parts of its body can move—in the case of a male dummy it will be its member—but in any case it is quite passive, no more than a symbolical instrument in the hands of the players. The characteristic feature of this winter-exorcizing game is that it is not yet a puppet play—only a play with a puppet.

The Hungarian peasant puppet dance goes one step further; the figure can be made to dance by means of hidden strings. It dances in the spinning room or at the light of an open fire but it is still a tool, the instrument of "magic" sorcery. Its handling necessitates skill and aptitude, a sense of rhythm and a good voice, and the magic stunt itself is often preceded by elaborate preparations—the complicated hiding of the strings. The first intermediary step between playing with puppets and a puppet play is the *busójárás* (parade of masks), a folk custom peculiar in Hungary to Mohács, a town in Southern Hungary inhabited by many nationalities. We have no exact knowledge of its origin but its content—the expulsion of the Turks who occupied much of Hungary from 1526 to 1686—is closely related

to the moreska-play performed in Yugoslavia, especially in Korčula off the Dalmatian coast. *Busójárás* is rich in forms: participants include masked figures and tiny dancing puppets jumping up and down in small boxes or walking round and round.

Whereas the players hiding behind the *busó*-masks found an outlet for their emotions in the past, i.e. they beat their enemies, the herdsmen in the Nativity plays limited themselves to teasing the villagers if they had the chance. Both in the Nativity and Twelfth-night plays the puppets played an active part although the real herdsmen were more important. These plays during the Christmas season presented the story of the birth of Christ and the journey of the Three Magi; the performance was either static —with little Jesus, Mary, Joseph—or a dance—with the angels—or even dramatic—with Herod and Death. The Nativity plays have a story, a dramatic plot, and puppets and live players act together in them.

From the Nativity plays there is but one --albeit big—step to the puppet shows at fairs. This genre has already had a history of several centuries in Europe when it first emerged in Hungary in the middle of last century. The showmen travelled from fair to fair, they spent their lives on the road. In most cases they played alone: they performed their grotesque plays, a combination of fiction and reality, on their portable folding screen. They made their own puppets and scenery and handed them down to their successors, so it often happened that the characters survived the players themselves. In the initial period—in Hungary as late as the second half of the 19th century—the puppet show was only a part of their acrobatics, a supplement, a short farce.

In the travelling log of the Hincz family where the local authorities signed and stamped their permit to hold a performance the puppet show was sometimes only a part of the entire show; but when the family settled in town, the fair-show necessarily became "theatre" and the scenery grew more elaborate. The Hincz family and the Kemény and Glasenapp dynasties who settled in the Budapest *Népliget* organized themselves into companies on a family basis, and their programmes included the most diverse puppet techniques from the enticement of picture showing—the ancestor of today's comics—to glove and string-puppets, and to monumental masked figures. They always knew which technique suited which item; thus Vitéz László, the Hungarian descendant of the English Punch, the Russian Petrushka, and of the French Guignol, was never made into a string puppet whereas most circus acts were moved with strings. They preserved the tradition of making the puppets and the scenery, and the perfect knowledge of the different techniques was handed down from one generation to the next; Henrik Kemény, who still plays at fairs, has preserved these traditions to this day.

These puppet-playing families had come to Hungary from Czech and German speaking lands in the second half of last century, and at first they performed only in the towns where their language was understood. After the unification of Pest and Buda and the Magyarization of Budapest, which coincided with the settling of showmen in the capital, their programmes became Hungarian: first they spoke haltingly, later fluently and finally only their accent revealed their foreign origin. Some puppet-play fragments from the early 19th century and an entire fairy-tale, the script of *Tündér Ilona* (Fairy Helen) were discovered only ten to fifteen years ago. The latter had probably been on the repertory of a Hungarian itinerant theatre company but in the memoirs of the author there is no evidence that these plays have also been performed on a puppet stage.

These fair farces can be considered the peak of folk puppet shows because the story is acted out by the puppets, and in form and content these plays belong to a special urban-suburban folk art inasmuch as they preserve, and at the same time shape and transform tradition. The first and for a long

time only phase of artistic puppetry was linked with the name of Haydn and Prince Miklós Esterházy. With the help of the jack-of-all-trades Pauersbach who was also a writer, they created their own puppet theatre at Eszterháza. They were the first in Hungary to consider the puppet show a theatre genre of equal rank, a partner in dramatic art. They played Haydn's puppet operas, *Philemon and Baucis*, *Dido*, and *Genoveva*, and under the influence of these productions the Empress Maria Theresa had a puppet theatre built at Schönbrunn. According to some notes Haydn himself had a small puppet theatre of his own. The death of Miklós Esterházy put an end to a season which had lasted almost thirty years, and further initiatives were taken only in the first decades of the 20th century in Budapest.

The Vitéz László Theatre of writer Loránd Orbók and photographer Dénes Rónai was an outstanding establishment; it was here that the writers around the periodical *Nyugat* such as Mihály Babits, Dezső Kosztolányi, or Béla Balázs—the latter known as writer on film and author of many film-scripts including that for *Somewhere in Europe*—first encountered the genre. Maybe this encounter had something to do with Béla Balázs' libretto for Bartók's ballet: *The Wooden Prince*. Orbók's theatre failed because of poor attendances, and he emigrated to France, then to Spain where he lived as a puppet player until his death in the second half of the twenties. Whereas Orbók had worked with puppets the other innovator Géza Blattner tried the wayang-technique with sticks in the late tens and early twenties. He gave his first presentation in February 1919 at the Belvárosi Theatre. Although he did his utmost to make the genre accepted and recognized—he even built a movable stage of greater flexibility—he also left for Paris in the second half of the twenties and founded a puppet theatre there, the *Arc-en-ciel*. A young painter became acquainted with puppetry in this theatre and upon his return to Hungary, he created two typically Guignolian boy-scouts: Üsd Ubul and Verj Elek. These modernized figures whose names are puns were very much alive and popular for nearly ten years. In this period a number of Hungarian teachers turned their attention to the puppet show: some approached it from the side of the more stylized shadow play, or contributed their thorough knowledge of string puppet technique. Others toured the schools with their fairy plays and wrote books or essays on the subject.

In spite of all difficulties puppetry spread in the thirties and the idea of creating a permanent professional puppet theatre was already ripe. Thus in 1941 István Rév opened his small puppet theatre, the National Puppet Show which seated 150 people. Rév, a graphic artist, created full figures moved from beneath with keys in the manner of wayang and marionette figures. His first production was *Toldi*—an adaptation of the epic poem by János Arany, a Hungarian poet of the 19th century. The play was performed 756 times. The theatre also played Haydn's *Apothecary* and Pergolesi's *The Servant Turned Gentleman* together with some contemporary hits such as Henri Verneuil's comedy the *Lawyer and Husband*. The repertory of Rév's theatre was built more on the "puppetization" of the live theatre than on puppetry as such.

The Recent Past

The puppet theatre Cave of Tales was founded after the Second World War, in 1947, under the sponsorship of the Hungarian Women's Democratic Union: its performances were child-centred and much attention was paid to the specific character of the puppet show. The theatre's repertory consisted mainly of short one-scene plays, Samuil Marshak's tales in verses, and the puppet illustration of nursery rhymes. On its small stage the most diverse puppet-playing techniques were used from the

shifting and dancing titiri used especially in folk and nativity plays to the wayang. The theatre's oval-shaped auditorium had a very special charm, and the company consisted almost exclusively of former actors in theatres who had come to the puppet theatre to play for children; this company was the nucleus of the later State Puppet Theatre in Budapest.

The first period of the theatre was characterized by continuous changes, a process of transition and evolution. The style of its performances always resembled another theatre: now the productions were like those of Obraztzov, now like those of Skupa. It was a bit like adolescence, when the emerging personality tries to imitate the customs, style, attitudes, opinions and philosophy of model images because it has neither the courage nor the ability to live in its own as yet. The theatre's greatest hit, *Star Parade*, was basically nothing more than a high-standard imitation of Obraztzov's theatre. Hence it was quite natural for the cast, having fully mastered their trade, to set out in search of their own individual style of expression as professional puppet players. The programmes for children offered the best opportunities for such a search because they had to follow the healthy dramatic instinct and specific sense of rhythm of young audiences—the latter being part of the national character—and at the same time, satisfy the children's literary archetypes and folk-tale traditions as well as give answers to the children's questions concerning moral problems.

In the mid-fifties professional puppet companies were formed in Kaposvár, Veszprém and Győr, and the above-mentioned individuality of style happened to develop most successfully at Győr. This theatre had a small company—just a few directors, designers and actors who produced a number of successful plays which are still on the repertory of the present State Puppet Theatre: *János Vitéz* (John the Hero) *Jancsi és Juliska* (Jack and Jill), *A bűvös tűzszerszám* (The Magic Tinder-Box). This was the first company which toured the villages and towns in the vicinity of Győr and gave professional performances. The theatre revived the old tradition of puppet showmen: the actors made their puppets themselves, and the designer and director were also players. The second period in the life of the Budapest State Puppet Theatre started with the merger of these two professional theatres in 1958. Since then the theatre has operated countrywide, its companies have toured the remotest places, and these years brought about the process of maturation which, by the mid-sixties, shaped the theatre's profile and made it different from puppet theatres in other countries. Its special features include a repertory which focuses on the under-ten age group, a style of acting, designing and directing, and the selection of types of plays appropriate for different age groups. Writers and composers have gathered around the theatre, and thus it has become an experimental workshop where new sound and form effects can be tried out.

The pictorial world of the different plays as worked out in this studio may be modern, inspired by folk art or built on childish fantasy, and the design and scenery are always pertinent to the content and spirit of the play. We mention here only the scenery of *János Vitéz* adapted from Petőfi's epic poem, with everyday articles used by the people where the allegorical playfulness of Hungarian peasant plates indicates the starry sky, the horizon, or the waves of the sea. Another example of how inseparable puppet play and metaphor are, and how exactly the metaphors are used is the scenery of the robbers' den which the designer has composed from the beautifully carved mallets used by peasants for laundering; these objects of everyday use are "burnable" in their original form just as the robbers' den burns down at the end of the scene.

The same accuracy pervades the production of Magda Szabó's fairy novel

Tündér Lala (Lala the Fairy) where the theatre in the black technique assists in the floating of the fairy world just as the tulle curtain stretched in front of the stage aperture dims everything behind it—puppets and scenery—while the pictures projected on it become translucent and so enhance the effect of the story. These examples picked at random represent only snatches from the more than 300 productions for children.

In the first ten years the theatre and the company learned a lot about their audiences and their own abilities and became acquainted with achievements in puppetry around the world. They satisfied the insistent requirement of evolving a special Hungarian style, i.e. the style of the State Puppet Theatre which responded best to the demands of audiences, and to Hungarian art folk and puppetry traditions. Now, glancing back on the second and third decade of the theatre one could characterize them by saying that it is in permanent motion and change, it renews itself again and again and is, therefore, very much alive. The purity and depth of its ideas, however, remain unchanged as do the comprehensive symbol system, a pictorial world best adapted to its various subjects, a dynamic dramatic construction, the search for and the staging of dramatic situations. This theatre is a real workshop which does not exclude any trend or technique—a workshop alive with the wish to come up with something new to its public within the frontiers of Hungary—as well as beyond. Acting, gesture, sound and tone are reborn with every performance and together they result in a lively and passionate theatre.

Puppetry for Adults

It is clear from what has been said that the performances for children are directed with much artistic care and discipline: naturally these features are even more conspicuously present in the performances for adults, along with the playfulness which is the essence of all puppet shows. In the initial period evening performances were no more than cabaret or show parodies, light entertainment, more or less successful productions. At that time the intellectual tension and possibilities which burst on the Hungarian stage with the production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* lay still dormant in the puppets. The change occurred in 1964—the Shakespeare-jubilee year: this offered the theatre the opportunity to combine its experience and skills, and at the same time start on a new course.

The puppet performance of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was not a novelty in itself because other puppet theatres had played it in Europe, but its success was decisive: it gave the Hungarian professional puppet theatre the impetus to break away from the traditional principle which had guided the theatre's earlier repertory policy: "only puppet plays on the puppet stage." In this case the adaptation was built on the abundance of action in the play, and the theatre expressed it with the help of the purest pictorial, scenic and stage managing concepts. The next production already presumed equal rank between intellectual and pictorial expression; both Bartók's *The Wooden Prince* and Stravinsky's *Petrushka* expressed the same idea: the conflict of puppet and man, a relation of forces which can be expressed with such force only on the puppet stage and which by transposition, can render the conflict of man and his environment. This philosophic point had been present to some extent already in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and in the further selection of its experimental plays the theatre concentrated on this idea.

In *The Wooden Prince* the prince is at first a helpless tool, a plaything in the hands of the fairy; but after his victory he becomes the lord of nature, the creator of earthly harmony. At the beginning of the play Petrushka is also only a string puppet whom the Puppet Player moves but later, after his almost mythical death, Petrushka grows

into a huge live shadow whereas the Puppet Player is but a puppet. The Gentlemen in Mrożek's *Strip tease* become helpless figures at the mercy of the two Hands and Samuel Beckett's clown in the pantomime *Acte sans paroles* is in the power of outside forces. On the puppet stage these pieces undergo a strange transformation; whereas the spectator identifies with the hero in the live theatre, here, in the puppet theatre audiences first identify with the hero, and in the final moment detach themselves and regard the last stages of his failure from the outside because the helplessness and suffering of the hero are the helplessness and suffering of a puppet and not of a real, active human being.

The idea is the same behind the puppet production of Dürrenmatt's *An Angel Came to Babylon:* the citizens turned into puppets in *Dragon*, Evgeny Shwartz's dramatic tale, express the same, and so do the prop-figures in *Aventures* to the concrete music of György Ligeti and the figures in Stravinsky's *A soldier's tale;* in the latter the figures are controlled from the top as string puppets, and their handling is not concealed from the audiences. Later when they behave as humans they are controlled from below-stage and the manipulation is hidden; after the dehumanization of the Soldier the devils who control them from beneath are unmasked at the last moment. The puppet adaptation of Bartók's *The Miraculous Mandarin* is an original production which illuminates hitherto unknown layers of the original work; Dezső Szilágyi the director of the theatre who wrote the script discarded the limits of the ballet stage and, in tune with the music's dramatic character, extended the framework of time and space; at the same time he converted reality into poesy, irreality and expressive effect for the sake of rendering more faithfully Bartók's humanism.

The State Puppet Theatre of Budapest is also an experimental workshop, but this applies more to the entire amateur puppet-playing movement in Hungary. During the more than thirty years since the Second World War fair puppet shows, artistic trends, folk plays and experiments have all had their place in amateur puppet shows. Several of the members of the *Aurora Ensemble* who worked in the fifties have become professionals, players or designers, and they managed to preserve their vitality and breadth of view. Békéscsaba holds international children's festivals every three years—its company is known for their excellent control of puppets as demonstrated in their most outstanding productions, Bartók's *Cantata profana* and Boccaccio's *Decameron.* Pécs is an international festival town for adult puppet programmes—its ensemble, the Bóbita, offers excellent musical productions such as Prokofiev's *Romeo and Juliet*, Bartók's *Bluebeard's Castle* and Mussorgsky–Emerson, Lake and Palmer, *Pictures at an Exhibition.* The Astra Puppet Ensemble's shadow plays are of a professional standard and the ensemble is noted for its humanistic approach as in *Animals' Carnival* and *Don Quixote.* The children of Tiszakécske—a village on the Hungarian Plain—perform in modern folk-art style: *Profane mystery, The Ravishment of the Sun and the Moon.* The Orfeo Ensemble accomplished a very special type of collective work: their first production was an experimental play, *Orfeo's Love*, followed by *Composition 1514*, based on a series of woodcuttings by Gyula Derkovits, a great Hungarian artist of the period between the two wars, which illustrate the Hungarian peasant revolt; then they played variations on the therms of Peter Weiss' *Stations of the Calvary of a Mackinpott-Puppet.* Their next production was *Uncle Cippola's Puppet Theatre* based on Thomas Mann's short story *Mario and the Magician*, then came *The Prodigal Country* by Ferenc, Juhász and quite recently the premiere of *After the Performance* built on the music of *Cabaret* and Beckett's pantomime, *Acte sans paroles.* Their last premiere was held in a professional theatre as part of the repertoire of the *Népszínház* which operates

in the building of the Castle Theatre of Budapest. All *Orfeo* productions are characterized by a kind of faithful infidelity which means nothing less than that they always start out from some work of literature or art, and although they discard the formal elements of the basic work they give emphasis to their content with the help of their consistent system of motion based on the pantomime, and their pictorical and musical expressions.

Another interesting area of Hungarian puppetry is its application as a method of psychological analysis: the puppet helps reveal the causes of mental disorders in children and may have a therapeutic effect. Puppets play an ever-increasing role in school and kindergarten not only because of their educational impact but also because of their complex aesthetic value. The production of puppet films is now over twenty years old; their mass impact is significant. Many films have won awards and first prizes—the latest was Otto Foky's *Bean Marie* which won a prize at the Oberhausen festival. The Hungarian Television broadcasts productions with glove puppets, and 40–60 minute fairy tale plays. Thus although difficulties had to be overcome because of the lack of experience (unlike the case of Czechoslovakia and Poland) the Hungarian puppet theatre has reached maturity in all aspects by now, and has become an art of equal rank, as it had been in the days of Haydn.

EDE TARBAY

MUSICAL LIFE

JÓZSEF UJFALUSSY ON THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF MUSIC

The Institute of Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences functions in a lovely well-maintained old building in Buda. Old Hungarian musical instruments are on display. To use a cliché, a small but enthusiastic staff works here, sharing their cramped quarters with the Bartók Archives. József Ujfalussy, the well known musicologist, is Director of the Institute.

Q.: There is much philosophical talk about the definition of music. Let us try and put this into generally intelligible terms. Can music be defined? Is it tangible?

A.: It is not easy to answer. The question has been put many times over many centuries. First of all by musicians, because it is they who live with and practice music. For them music is an everyday reality, for many a craft. But then philosophers are restless people, who never acquiesce in what is acceptable to ordinary folk. What is music? The answer of philosophers depends on their angle and the way they put the question. Some see music as the reflection of the laws of the universe. Their argument is based on numbers. According to others, man's emotions are manifest in music. Mechanical materialists seek the reality of nature in music, the way in which it surrounds us in the everyday objective world. For some this is not satisfactory, they say that music is no more than a succession of entertaining, pleasant or unpleasant sounds. There is some truth in each of these answers. It is easier to criticize than to find sounder, or better ones. Naturally if one is committed to the aesthetics of music, then one cannot give up the search. Present answers are also varied. Music as a social activity is studied by sociology. Music as a bearer of meaning, however, is part of semiology. Semiotics deals with it more intensively. But we aestheticians adhere to our own obsession that music is, after all, an art, and if we think about it in Marxist terms, then music, expressed simply and briefly, is certainly a reflection of reality. This is the very thing that gives so much cause for argument. Most people think of reality in objective terms only. Yet reality is not only an accumulation of objects, the reality of relations is at least as important. Two arts exist which strive to create a microcosm modelling or reproducing the whole macrocosm in some kind of new manner. One of them is architecture, which shapes the simultaneous relationships, and the other is music, which endeavours over and over again to shape the continuous relationships into an artistic whole, an artistic model through communication in sound.

Q.: May we get back to an earlier point? Would you say that it is a vulgar assumption, or a vulgar requirement, that music gives, or should give a closed image of the world?

A.: The various genres are either closed

or open, each in a different manner, since the sources of music reach into everday life, as all other forms of consciousness and art. Innumerable musical forms, formulae, and genres exist which are simply organic parts of everyday life, inseparable from it, and they are unable to stand on their own. The situation is exactly the same as with the various literary genres. There are simple reports that reflect everyday life all the way to closed works of art, dramatic writing and prose fiction. They realize differing levels of abstraction and generalization. In music, too—as I have mentioned—from everyday genres all the way to closed works of art of a symphonic character, most varied levels of closedness and independent images of the world can be realized.

Q.: What about music above, or outside reality, or within reality?

A.: Can anything be outside reality? As our humanistic philosophies hold, reality is one and indivisible, and homogeneous. Nothing can be outside this reality, if there were, reality would no longer be reality, or at least not of the kind that can be studied by scientific methods or imagined by philosophers. Music, therefore, is also a part of reality, a part blessed or cursed with a specific function of the kind I have just tried to give a pale and fragmentary picture of.

Q.: You concern yourself with genre theory, you have published numerous papers and books on the subject. Do you think that music changes together with society? And how are such changes, if any, manifest?

A.: Mankind does not start from scratch, making music over and over again, epoch after epoch, as social orders change. Certain means of expression are inherited which are always endowed with newer and newer meaning. In the service of new communicators of meaning the means themselves also constantly change. In the history of society different sections of society come to the fore and acquire a leading role. It is obvious that in the musical thinking of society the mode of expression of these appears as historically timely. I could refer to well-known examples. For instance, at the time of the social struggles connected with the peasant wars and the religious wars, the dominant role of the Protestant chorale became timely in certain parts of Europe. The great art of Bach and other composers grouped around him emerged. I could cite a local example. When in twentieth century Hungary the political and socio-economic problems of the agrarian proletariat were acute, then, and whether artists acted consciously and in political awareness, or not, I am unable to say, but at any rate the problems of the agrarian proletariat and the poor peasantry found there way into literature. Ady and Móricz are the obvious examples and in their wake there appeared in music a layer of Hungarian folk song, and an interpretation of it which is connected with Bartók and Kodály. The fact that a poor-peasant kind of the folk song made its appearance in Hungarian musical consciousness shows unequivocally that in the course of the social changes such a turn became timely.

Q.: That was the influence of social change on music. Let me reverse the question. What kind of influence does music have on society? Does music have a social impact?

A.: Historical experience shows that it has. Naturally it is much more difficult to observe this influence in the act than is the case with verbal communication or political influence, or some other means of social influence. For this very reason the social impact of music can be dangerous, its influence being as boundless as the air we breathe. There are, of course, occasions when the mobilizing force of music is quite self-evident. In everyday social practice music assumes countless functions, and this relates back somewhat to the earlier question. Sometimes it simply becomes the bearer of verbal communication (for example a song), to refer again to the Protestant chorale for instance. The "Ein' feste Burg" chorale was the Marseillaise of the religious wars, of

Protestantism and the peasant wars. Without a doubt it had a mobilizing impact. We are all familiar with the influence of the Hussite hymns on the Hussite movements. One could refer just as readily to the Marseillaise, or The Internationale, which at the right point of time were able to activate tremendous masses.

Q.: Does The Internationale in your opinion make its impact through its music, or the words?

A.: I would not dare separate the two. When the music of The Internationale is heard, possibly as played by an orchestra without being sung, it is inevitable that for someone who has heard it before and for whom it has a meaning the memory of the text is also evoked. That is, The Internationale as it stands, music and all, with the words determines a given social moment, a historical situation and a human attitude, and evokes them, either in a positive, or a negative sense.

Q.: In this case it is a literary work as well. The music could then be referred back in more than one instance, to something verbal, could it?

A.: Without a doubt it could. In such cases the music is meant to heighten the mnemonic force. In making it effective, the actual force of the music lies in its emotional impact.

Q.: There is considerable discussion about the character-shaping force of music. Perhaps this question is a commonplace, but it is not at all clear, at least to me, in what way music exerts this influence, that is what itsrole is in education?

A.: The way music reaches man's emotional world is indirect. Music does have therapeutic effects as we know. László Németh, the writer who was trained as a doctor, related on one occasion that music has a very direct contact with the viscera. The ear is closer to the tactile sphere than the eye is. It is more directly physical, and therefore more directly emotional. This is the origin of the therapeutic and nervous effect of music, which the arrangers of pop festivals are familiar with. The hall is sometimes smashed after a performance. It is true that music is suitable as a direct nervous stimulant serving as a narcotic. A great many people use music for this purpose. When a shaman drinks his various narcotic potions, at twilight if possible, singing to the accompaniment of a drum, circling about and dancing to produce the magic to drive himself into a state of hypnosis, what he does is not different from the behaviour of modern man who sits down in a bar and drinks in a dimly illuminated atmosphere amidst clouds of tobacco smoke, and listens to the rhythmic, monotonous pounding of dance music. After a time this brings on nervous exhaustion, the body accumulates the by-products of fatigue, which then have the same kind of narcotic effect as the consumption of other kinds of narcotic substances. This is the most direct impact of music, but naturally this "direct visceral" effect, to quote László Németh again, has the purpose as art, to convey meaning, and to turn this meaning into an experience, that is, to raise it from the level of the instincts to that of the emotions, to make us assimilate in this manner, turning into an attitude what we would otherwise experience either as the objectivity of intellectual communication, or of uncontrollable instincts. The emotions lie in this sphere.

Q.: The living of these experiences, and their conversion into an attitude, is, of course, the concrete manifestation of education in music.

A.: That's it exactly! And to continue that line of thought: obviously the kind of music one listens to regularly has an effect, that is, one exposes oneself continuously to a narcotic effect which enervates, and which if possible diverts from more exacting intellectual activity. I wonder if I have expressed myself in a sufficiently discriminating way.

Q.: I think I see your point. What you have in mind I'm sure is what is called music for the young. How do you react to the idea?

A.: I must admit that I am extremely irritated when I hear the catchword "for young people only" and what follows is

usually only dance music, and pop music of various sorts, something that is part of music-making all right, but is this whole a real whole, is every kind of music given the same emphasis, or is interest narrowed down to this level? Well, as far as young people are concerned, as I said, I do not think it right to identify youth with this sphere, this kind of music-making. There is an abundance of the opposite experience, there are a great many young people who are interested in other kinds of music, that is the classical tradition and also contemporary serious music.

Q.: Let me suggest, Professor, that the appeal of music is almost universal when it comes to mathematicians. There are certain identities between mathematics and music. Some say there are combinations in music, as in mathematics, and this is what appeals to mathematicians. Is there an attraction for mathematics among musicians, too?

A.: I don't know whether one can speak about a liking for mathematics among musicians in general. A close inner relationship certainly exists between music and mathematics. All who have approached music in a philosophical manner, starting with Plato and Pythagoras, have recognized the relationship between music and mathematics. Sometimes this recognition appears as a simple identification of the material of music, of the numbers of vibrations of the notes, that is the mathematical ratios, with the music itself. Well, there is more to it than this. Undeniably this relationship does exist. In one of his letters Leibnitz said that music is nothing but the unconscious human soul's ceaseless mathematical practice, and this means then that we must speak of mathematics in a way that differs from the commonly accepted one. Mathematics, as we know, is not simply a matter of quantities; what Hegel said about numerical relationships in music, and about measurements, is true of it as well; that in music quantities have qualitative values. Therefore the quantitative aspect of mathematics is none other than the quantitative elaboration and approach of the qualitative interrelationships of reality. The difference between music and mathematics is that mathematics determines and systematizes these relationships scientifically, that is, independently of man, with the elaboration of the objectivity of reality *an sich*, to use an untranslatable German philosophic term. But music *an sich* is an art, it causes the various relationships of reality to be lived through, turned into an experience, and presented, observed, and perceived as related to man. One of the most exciting and most interesting chapters of György Lukács's major work on aesthetics is a discourse on undetermined objectivity, the essence of which is that art needs to arrange the medium of communication in inverse proportion to the use it makes of objective reality in communication, I should say almost in the mathematical sense. Again it is customary, and not without good reason, to compare architecture with music in this respect.

Q.: Why?

A.: As I have mentioned, neither shapes its own closed world by a direct reproduction of natural objects, but both present this or that kind of model of human reality arranged on the plane of human relations. Architecture is the spatial form of human existence, and music the relationship in terms of sound and continuity. It is in this that I see the inner relationship between mathematics and music; that all this is also expressed in numerical interrelationships, seems self-evident after this. May I add one more illustration. Scientific measurements are good when the measuring units are exactly alike. I believe this is so obvious that it does not need elaboration. Artistic measurement, that is musical measurement, communicates information when it is human in character, when the units of measurement are not fully alike. I usually ask my students to try and find someone on a new housing estate before number plates are placed on the houses. It is extremely difficult because the houses are exactly alike, and so are the front doors

It is much easier to find one's way in an old type of town, because the dimensions and shapes appear in a variety as great as the numbers of houses. The situation is the same in music. The distances between the notes, measurements in the scales and tonal systems are not exactly alike, this is the reason it is easy to find one's bearings amongst them.

Q.: There is much talk about the social position of music. Be it literature, or music, in the judging of an artistic product one always asks whether these works are valuable culturally. In the case of music it is precisely in connection with light music that I could cite examples. Often the question comes up what exactly is part of musical culture? That is, what is called musical culture, in this distinguished sphere, and do musicologists and connoisseurs grant admittance to a particular piece?

A.: By taking possession of his world, transforming it into experiences, man in actual fact makes judgements. He transforms this whole realm into a scale of values for himself. Therefore music creates something, be it dance or pop music, the various forms of everyday music-making, or be it a symphonic work of high standard, each is of value. In some form and at some kind of level of social life and in some kind of relationship it functions as something valuable whether it is so positively, or negatively. I am certainly no purist in this respect, because indeed, everything that everyday music-making creates, at a certain level of the scale of values and in certain functions, I hold to be valuable, and we must indeed consider it as such. Naturally enduring values always remain such, as György Lukács, referring to Marx, remarked, they are attached to the important moments of the history of mankind, and they become enduring for the reason that they can be endowed again and again with different meaning, in the same way as, for example, one of Shakespeare's works. In each historical epoch they acquire a different meaning, but this relates only to the newer and newer variations of the common basic problems. The same holds true for great works of music, this is the reason they still have exactly the same kind of impact—let me refer again to Marx—as the epics of Homer. To this day they are unsurpassable examples of their kind. Now what belongs to music culture according to this? Allow me to separate music culture from the music culture of a particular society. I shall attempt to illuminate what has just been said with two historical examples. It was said at one time about English music that it was not of such a high order as German or Italian, not having produced composers who could be compared to Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and others for two hundred years, or works of music of that standard either. However, if someone is more closely familiar with musical life in Britain he knows that the great English tradition in choral singing, instrumental playing and in all else is very much part of everyday life. What kind of great artists or works are produced in a given period cannot be the only yardstick of a society's music culture. But let me turn to an example nearer to us. For a hundred years now, particularly in the twentieth century, Hungarian music produced and is still producing to this day works which are held in international esteem. We all know of Bartók and Kodály, but I could list contemporary young composers and they, too, can claim international successes. The question now is to what extent this international rank of Hungarian music has become a part of everyday life in Hungary a part of public life and public con- sciousness, to what extent has this consciousness and awareness become absorbed as an experience and attitude? Perhaps this question sounds a bit pessimistic, so I am happy to add that recently there have been gratify- ing signs that this process has grown more lively.

Q.: You have done a great deal of work on Bartók. When did you first begin to occupy yourself closely with Bartók's work?

A.: In 1948 an important international Bartók musical competition took place in

Budapest. That was when much happened to motivate my later work. When Editio Musica Budapest commissioned me in 1955 to compile a "Bartók Breviary," I had to review everything that had been unearthed about Bartók up to that time and collect and select a sort of anthology. This gave me the impulse to write a Bartók monograph commissioned by Gondolat Publishers. It seems that for want of anything better it is still running its course, only recently a third printing has been issued.

Q.: It is rare nowadays to find a periodical that does not contain an article or paper of some kind dealing with access to culture. culture. What do you consider most important in music as regards the cause of access to and participation in culture in Hungary?

A.: From the beginning of my student days I have been infected, so to speak,with cultural education, with all the problems of access to culture. I have not yet spoken of Sándor Karácsony, one of the great educators of the period between the wars, whom it was not advisable to mention in the early ficties. It was from him that we learned that the educational function of society, whether it takes place in school, or outside it, is of such extraordinary importance that neglect must damage society as such and other social functions. Particularly in the case of music there is great need of the interpretative explanations, with which musicology can be of service in reception, understanding, and assimilation. The commission of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences asked me to deal not only with music education, but with education in art as such. I shall naturally endeavour to do my bit, all that devolves on me since whe live in the country of Bartók and Kodály. This is my job, my purpose, and certainly my calling. Let us remember thaı we are here in the Institute of Musicology of the Academy of Sciences; the staff all inherited the very same spirit from their teachers, some of them directly from Zoltán Kodály, or Pál Járdányi, Bence Szabolcsi and Antal Molnár.

Q.: What do you think the central task in extending access to music?

A.: First of all the further development of the foundations of school music teaching, to make it even more effective then previously, and apart from this everything that is done for the sake of music in the mass media: through Television, the Radio, the newspapers, and every other possible means.

Q.: In the debate on the Act on Access to Culture several contributors, and even the minister, expressed the view that if society wished to achieve an aim—that is, the raising of cultural levels—then this must be formulated as a norm.

A.: It is not possible to turn an aim into a norm through legislation, or administration. The whole consciousness of a society can be formed so that a cultural aim truly becomes an accepted norm. This is not a norm such as those that are ensured by law for the protection of property, or other legal norms of this type, but a question of public consciousness. At any rate, for some time it has become impossible to be proud of not understanding music, and this is already a sign that a proper normative system is beginning to evolve. The emergence of such normative systems and scales of values is a long-term task. Here all the instrumentalities of society must work together in order that this might indeed happen.

Q.: Could you say something about what you are working on currently, and about your plans?

A.: I have passed research on Bartók onto younger colleagues. They have taken over this task from us older ones. Inasmuch as my own work is concerned I must say that I shall continue, just as in the past, to do everything to develop further the information-bearing role of music, the whole system of its existence and function in society, in short, the aesthetics of music. When some ten odd years ago my work "The Image of Reality in Music" was published this was not intended as the original title, but "An Outline of the Logic of Meaning in Music." At that time, just because of the title, and being misled by it

many regarded it as an aesthetics of music Well, it was only a logical outline. It is part of my future plans to continue this on the level of aesthetics, that is, analysing social functions, the problems of mimesis, of poesy, going more deeply into the theory of forms, and fitting it all into the framework of a larger whole; if access to culture work and public life allow me time, I hope to make it. Together with my colleagues we look on it as our mission to accomplish with our own means, or at least to help accomplish, the objectives set for us by Zoltán Kodály. We are happy to undertake them, and they are actually the task of society as a whole, since everyone has a share in work to make music common property.

ISTVÁN KARDOS

NEW RECORDS

COURT MUSIC FOR KING MATTHIAS. Camerata Hungarica—Leader: László Czidra. Hungaroton SLPX 11844 Stereo-Mono.

Records of the Camerata Hungarica are sought after in every part of the world. I have given regular accounts of the ensemble's earlier series of recordings, indicating that their interest was mainly directed towards the music of the 16th, and the first part of the 17th century. With this new record, comprising 19 works, Czidra and his ensemble now expand their repertoire by going more than half a century backwards in time and presenting the music of the second half of the 15th century, that is the music which was, or could have been, heard in the court of the Hungarian king, Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490).

The disc does not aim at incorporating the works of Pietro Bono, Jacques Barbireau, or indeed Johannes Tinctoris into the annals of Hungarian musical history. The composers in King Matthias' court were of Italian and Nederlandish origin. The king and his queen, Beatrice (Matthias' second wife, from 1478 on), selected with good taste the most eminent masters of the musical Renaissance in Europe (mainly from the Netherlands) to meet the musical demands of the court. To our knowledge Hungarians scarcely featured among them. Owing to its very nature, the scope of court musical life was very limited. Thus the character and function of the works featured in the new Camerata Hungarica records is court music in the strictest sense of the word. (This is worth stressing if only because small—mainly East European—countries nowadays show a propensity for incorporating the work of foreign musicians, who were active there for a shorter or longer period of time, into their own national musical history.)

László Czidra and his ensemble adhere thoughout to the spirit of contempory European performing practice. It is mainly for this reason that I venture to draw this record to the attention of English and American music lovers.

The choice of music is splendid in itself. Czidra is aware of the five hundred years that have passed since the works were composed: for music this is a much longer period than for any other art form. Therefore he has aimed at compiling the programme from relatively low-brow music of the age, of which the dance music is most accesible. To grasp and understand the chanson poetry requires great concentration on the part of today's listener, since we have forgotten the then popular chanson melodies, the pop tunes of the period, as it were. Several of the dance pieces (eg. *La Brosse*,

La Magdalena) are heard in two different orchestrations (as both consort and lute music), which enables listeners less conversant with the form to familiarize themselves quickly with these old pieces. Hearing it repeatedly, even a superficial listener will find the second variant to be familiar and will have the feeling of having been long acquainted with, and fond of, these simple, clearly arranged melodies.

Of course, listening to the other type of music (which is today only relatively the easier form) and trying to identify ourselves emotionally with the broad melodic spans of the chansons—that is, expending some labour on listening to them, is soon amply rewarded. Understanding will come and it will be all the more intense for being sudden. And then we will feel the earlier completely unfamiliar melody to have been living in our minds for a long time, without our listening to it and taking note of it. At such times it is the collective memory of mankind which is at work in us, and all we have to do is to let this force exercise its effect.

One of the conditions of this effect, of course, lies in a good performance. The performers not only commit themselves to the music of the second half of the 15th century, but they "speak" its idiom in the fullest meaning of the word. The instruments they use have since disappeared from active music making, and have become museum pieces (such as the Recorder, the Krummhorn, the Dulzian, the Pommer, etc.), but the ensemble approaches old music in such a natural manner, and feels so much at home in it that its performance has nothing to do with the atmosphere of museums but is lively and direct. The manner in which László Czidra plays the pieces, with improvized ornamentations and an unerring assurance on nine different instruments, the way in which Dániel Benkő "catches" this music on his quiet lute with its beautiful tone, and the manner in which the other performers identify themselves with them, even their accompaniment contributing to the joint music making to maximum effect—all this offers rare moments indeed. We cannot list all the performers, as the record was produced by 16 musicians in various instrumental ensembles, sometimes combined with vocalists. Still, I would like to call attention to Melinda Lugosi's flexible and sensitive voice, which by some exceptional quality, integrates the instrumental and vocal and achieves that indissoluble unity indispensable to the 15th century chanson, which does not know any rigid dividing line between vocal and instrumental music. And something else: this is the first time that a Hungarian record presents falsetto singing. The falsetto of the young Dániel Nyiri will perhaps be not such a great revelation for the British listener, as Britain abounds and indeed leads in this vocal form. In my view, however, Dániel Nyiri shows great promise. (He can be heard in a single piece, Hohannes Tinctoris's *Vostre regart.*) The performers can stand comparison with the best of old instrumental ensembles.

FERENC LISZT Late Piano Music; Ernő Szegedi (piano). Hungaroton SLPX 11976–77 Stereo-Mono.

The pianist in this double album recorded many of the works heard here long ago, at a time when these fantastic pieces were still known to only a very limited circle of professionals. This time we can form an even fuller and richer picture of the last stage of Liszt's life, the products of the 1880s.

The attribute "fantastic" is really appropriate. There is no apparent relationship whatever between the works of the concert repertoires and Liszt's late visions. "Indeed, this music is rarely *beautiful* if beautiful means the usual sensuous beauty of romantic music", writes a Hungarian musicologist. "It has become haggard and sharp-featured, harsh and mordant, sometimes even caustic, yet, more swirling and nightmarish, more demonic and threatening than any music before. It often strikes us as the flare-up of

a single idea: it is perhaps more like an idea than music, a scream or wheezing rather than a melody, and it is perhaps due to just these traits that this music appears as prophesy." (Bence Szabolcsi, The Twilight of Ferenc Liszt, Budapest, 1959. p. 40.)

Really, these pieces are frame-like. Liszt here exhausts the means of musical technique. They have something of the vivisection of the musical material, for the most part being border cases between direct poetic inspiration and scientific analysis. Every great composer who lacks a direct community, or—to put it more simply—an understanding audience, arrives at this point.

This is the poetry of solitude. And solitude is the antechamber to death, whereby the varying distances separating the two spheres don't make any essential difference. The only thing which is important is whether or not answers to the musical questions posed, are forthcoming from anyone, from anywhere. In the last five years of his life Liszt questioned the world which was becoming more and more empty around him, but there was nobody any more to provide him with an answer.

To be able to form a fully valid picture of Liszt's last years the reader would need to be familiar with contemporary Hungarian conditions, because only then would the duality involved become obvious to him. Essentially itself. The key to Liszt's advanced art is provided by the next piece, "Sleepless—question and answer" (*"Schlaflos, Frage und Antwort"*—1883). As indicated by the subtitle, this work consists of two sections, a passionate, almost desperate question, which is answered by the same melody, a quiet monologue "beyond good and evil". But is that a real answer? It cannot be an answer, as it is only a distant echo of its own "why". It is calm and resigned, but still only a "why", nothing much more. It expresses resignation, with the questioner's own words resounding from the walls that enclose him.

The above mentioned break-down, frame-character and analysis can be clearly observed, among others, in "Evil Star" ("Unstern. Sinistre. Disastro." Between 1880–1886) and in "Grey Clouds" (Nuages gris.—1881). Liszt here feels that if he questions the world in vain, it will be the musical notes themselves that will reply to the questions he poses. He traverses with a virtually relentless consistence every possibility inherent in some melodic fragments and chords. In understanding this it also becomes easy to understand that the analysis does not stem from some kind of speculative basic attitude, on the contrary, it is a consequence—the victory of the empty world over the artist who is unable it concerned the deep respect and reverence of official circles, who in fact did not, and did not even want to understand his artistic intentions. Of course, here it must be added right away that the lack of understanding by society was a form of selfdefense. The mirror Liszt help up to it was horrifying sinister and unbearable. We can say without exaggeration that even our ears, accustomed to the music of the twentieth century, are sometimes at a loss with these works, which often arrive at the most complete atonality.

This then is the poetry of solitude, but not any more in the early 19th century sense of the concept when the artist felt solitude to be a source of hitherto unexploited possibilities. It contains no ostentatious gestures; it is no longer a rolebut introspection which has been forced upon him and accepted by him.

Beauty, purity and harmony in the classicalronantic sense of the terms are possible only in the "Dream" *(En rêve. Nocturne—1885)*. Even this is a kind of ethereal, unwordly beauty, rather reminiscent of a one-time harmony when *Nocturne* still meant a stillness that could soothe and sedate—quietude to live without a social answer.

In addition to all this, there is a whole range of pieces with Hungarian associations, above all the "Hungarian Historical Portraits" ("Historische ungarische Bildnisse"

—1884–1886); "Csárdás obstiné" (1886), "Csárdás macabre" (1881–1882), as well as another "Csárdás" (in F sharp minor—1884). It is amazing what transfigurations this ebullient and joyful dance has undergone in Liszt's late art, how it has become transformed into a threatening, obstinate vision, a danse macabre.

Regrettably we cannot go through all the nearly 25 works featured in the two records. But to sum up, the works are clear evidence of the modernistic side to Ferenc Liszt's compositions.

One more word regarding the performance: Ernő Szegedi's first series of recordings, made several years ago, was awarded a grand prix for records in Paris. Incidentally, we do not want to create the impression that his performance in the present album is faultless. The pieces with an impressionistic character, mainly based on tonal colours, sound extraordinarily suggestive, but, for example, the Mephisto Waltzes Nos. 3. and 4 as well as some of the Csárdás pieces are jerky in places. This, however, is hardly, or not at all to the detriment of the overall impression. Ernő Szegedi's performance is evocative, and thus suitable for giving the listener an insight into the so far mostly unknown realm of Liszt's last years.

ANDRÁS PERNYE

ECONOMIC LIFE

COMPANY STRATEGY AND JOINT PROJECTS

The close interaction of industrial policy and foreign trade in Hungary is certainly noteworthy. An obvious instance of this is the share of foreign trade in the national income, which amounted to only 25 per cent in 1960, but reached 45 per cent by 1975, and will rise, according to plans, to 52 to 53 per cent by 1980, i.e. will have more than doubled in the course of two decades.

International division of labour plays a considerable role in the contemporary economic life of Hungary. It has become an important factor of progress for, when modelling the concept of development for all branches of the national economy in a country of 10.6 million inhabitants, the world market has to be taken as a starting-point, in order to integrate the non-economic elements as organic parts into the concept of industrial policy.

Hungary's various economic entities participate in altogether 86 multilateral and about 160 bilateral agreements, as well as in the preparation of further 160 projects of cooperation and specialization with CMEA member states.

As far as the non-socialist countries are concerned, Hungarian companies have concluded 550 agreements of cooperation with firms in the West whose average size is, however, substantially smaller than of the firms in the CMEA area.

*

One of the main goals in 1977 was to accelerate the pace of growth while further improving the equilibrium. The improvement of efficiency and of the equilibrium continue to be the principal aims of Hungary's economic policy in 1978.

The "selective industrial policy," which increasingly prevails, while based on the intensification of the interaction of domestic and foreign economic processes, concentrates on individual branches and individual products; this policy strives to render companies competitive in foreign trade through the concentration of exports and the widening of the range of imports.

As for the difficulties originating from the deterioration of the international terms of trade, Hungary intends to overcome them not so much by reducing imports than by increasing exports. The achievement of this goal is facilitated, to a great extent, by socialist economic integration with in the framework of the CMEA. For instance, between 1976 and 1980, Hungary will supply to CMEA countries, in keeping with the compulsory quotas contained in long-term inter-state agreements, 30,000 buses, 154,000 rear axles, and telecommunication equipment to the tune of 687 million roubles, as well as computers worth approximately 280 million roubles. Such deliveries obviously strengthen Hungary's competitive position to a considerable extent. On the other hand, Hungary buys

most raw materials and fuel from the CMEA countries at prices below those current on the world market.

As far as exports for hard currency is concerned, an increase of 65 to 70 per cent is foreseen by 1980.

The most important means for achieving this are the expansion of modern and remunerative production capacities through investment and the obtention of licences. The improvement of production structure for which the National Bank of Hungary grants considerable credit to plants in Hungary also plays a role.

Adjustments to the changed world market

In Hungary, the change-over to intensive economic growth coincided with a deterioration in the terms of trade and a buyer's market for export goods.

At this stage major labour resources are no longer available, and investment needs have grown significantly, owing to the requirements of technological progress, the infrastructure and ecology.

At the same time, the terms of trade deteriorated between 1973 and 1978 to an amount close to 8% of the country's national income.

All this implies a challenge to Hungary's economic policy. The constructive answer is efforts to get trends off the ground which ensure a wider participation than heretofore in the international division of labour.

Major investments have therefore taken place recently with the aim of increasing the production of goods suitable for export, in exchange for payment in convertible currency. It is worth noting that great interest has been shown by Hungarian enterprises and co-operatives in the export credits offered by the National Bank of Hungary. Thus, between 1976 and 1980, this credit scheme alone will lead to 68 thousand million Ft. worth of investments, which in their turn will bring in an estimated 1½ thousand million dollars' worth of foreign exchange—this represents one third of the growth of convertible currency exports, which the economic plan is aiming for by 1980.

However, it is clear that to correct the structure of production to the extent necessary for the full restoration of the balance of trade is an extraordinarily complex, expensive and longterm exercise and therefore, like a great many other states, Hungary has so far been incapable of coping with the changes in the world market which work to her disadvantage.

The task is not primarily to change the structure of the various branches of industry, but rather to modernize the structure of production within these industries. For a small state like Hungary, so dependent on foreign economies, the most important and realistic precondition for economic growth is, and will remain for the foreseeable future, the optimization of her participation in the international division of labour by confining the range of products.

The strategy of Hungarian economic policy is, therefore, an aggressive response to the challenge presented by changes in the world market. In industrial policy this means, first and foremost, the growing necessity for selective development, whereby it is essential to take greater account than hitherto of the possibilities offered by international co-operation.

In 1977 Hungary conducted 45% of her foreign trade with nonsocialist countries. In absolute terms, convertible currency exports amounted to 2.6 thousand million dollars, and imports 3.2 thousand million.

In trade with the industrialized non-socialist countries, strong market concentrations have developed. About 70% of trade is conducted with 5 countries, namely, the FRG, Austria, Italy, Switzerland and the UK. Because of marketing difficulties which are in some respects on the increase, because of protectionist tendencies and above all because of the urgently needed changes in the structure of production—because of all

this, the further extension of foreign trade could be accomplished by ending the traditional concentration and diversifying it geographically. Hungarian enterprises are already devoting a lot of attention to alternative, expansionist solutions—to North European markets, markets in certain industrialized South European countries, Japan, Canada, and last but not least the USA, where opportunities have increased significantly as a result of the recently concluded trade agreement.

In this connection it is as well to remember that in countries where technological change is sluggish owing to general developmental economic or political problems, the dynamics of the development of industrial division of labour are less than favourable. At a stage of development when industrial products have become Hungary's chief export, the relative composition of exports and the growth of relations with countries offering the most favourable conditions from the point of view of the industrial division of labour also plays an important role in the realisation of our foreign trade targets, and our policy of selective industrial development. For in recent years it has become obvious that the structural backwardness of West European countries struggling with intractable problems of growth and economic structure is being reflected in a growing protectionism.

In the coming period, Hungary will, as far as imports are concerned, have to aim at raising the proportion of modern technological equipment and know-how, whilst in her exports increasing the proportion of more valuable and more highly processed goods. Hungarian economic policy can count on a considerable number of favourable factors in solving these problems.

Above all, there is the advancing integration of the socialist countries within the framework of the CMEA. This integration can be expected to continue to accelerate, and thereby secure to an increasing degree the international background indispensable for balanced economic progress. Amongst other, this is reinforced by the CMEA Council's long-term target programmes adopted at its Bucharest meeting in 1978. It is clear that the stable, and at the same time dynamic markets of the other CMEA member states make it possible for Hungary to develop industries and products which are also competitive in non-socialist countries—this by taking advantage of the international division of labour. Therefore, participation in socialist economic integration is the precondition of selective industrial development and, furthermore, of continued improvements in efficiency and international competitiveness. On no account does it mean isolation.

Similarly, it is a great advantage that the proportion of skilled workers in the Hungarian labour force is relatively high and that the Hungarian national economy has a productive capacity whose further development and modernisation can lead to a substantial rise in international competitiveness. Apart from her skilled labour force, Hungary's scientific potential also provides a good basis for the acceleration of technological progress (this represents a considerable source of growth) and for the application of important foreign scientific discoveries and technologies. Thus 17 thousand million Ft., that is, more than 3% of the national income, is spent annually on research and development. It was thanks to this that in the first half of the seventies, for example, Hungarian science was in a position to support modern petrochemical and computer industries, and to score notable successes in the pharmaceutical and electronics industries and likewise in the areas of plant improvement and geological research.

In the fulfilment of economic aims, it is also possible to lean on the wealth of experience which has been gained to date in developing the economic structure.

The two branches of the economy which play the most important role in foreign trade are the engineering and food industries.

Whilst Hungary's industrial production increased eightfold between 1950 and 1977,

that of the engineering industry rose by a factor of 13 in the same period. Thus in 1977, for example, the engineering industry produced 48 diesel locomotives, 11,890 buses, 344 million electric bulbs, 455 thousand refrigerators and 423 thousand television sets. In accordance with the selective development plans, the manufacture of 46 engineering products has ceased, while in certain chosen areas it has proved possible to accelerate the growth rate. In 1980 the average "age" of engineering products will, it is estimated, be only six years, whilst the proportion of those three years "younger" will amount to 30 to 35% of the total.

In this connection, it is significant that the import of know-how from abroad has increased in recent years. In 1977 alone the Hungarian engineering industry introduced 187 licences in the rapid-growth areas, as a result of which convertible currency exports in related areas more than doubled compared with the previous year.

In 1978 50 to 54% of Hungary's engineering output was accounted for by selective development products, 32% by limited development products, and products due to be wound down contributed 14%.

It is also of extreme importance that during the fifth five-year plan (1976–1980) 8.9 thousand million Ft. are being spent on the development of the industrial infrastructure, that is to say, on the improved manufacture of anti-friction bearings, cables, pipes and electronic spare parts. A further 2.7 thousand million Ft. are being spent on the extension or modernisation of foundries and forges. In this way, the capacity and productivity of the engineering industry will be substantially improved, and furthermore it will, to a greater extent than hitherto, be in a position to exploit the trend in the world market which promises more favourable marketing opportunities to new exporters in the field of semi-finished products.

In 1980 the plans envisage engineering products as making up 32% of convertible currency exports. Over the next 15 years, these exports will grow four- to fivefold, which is the equivalent in value of approximately 3 thousand million dollars.

Hungary's agricultural and food processing industries have considerable advantages, which enable them to make their contribution to long-term foreign trade strategy. Hungary's share of world exports of foodstuffs at present stands at 1½%, which proportionately is roughly double the global average. The greatest difference between Hungary's price structure and that of other countries consists in the fact that, whilst raw materials and energy only constitute 6.1% of the value of Hungarian exports, as against a global average five times as great, the proportion of food exports per country, seen as a percentage of its total exports, is a good deal less than half that of Hungary.

The output of wheat in Hungary has risen to 81 cwt. per hectare, compared to the average yield per hectare of 28 cwt. between the years 1934 and 1938. In 1977 it exceeded the world average of 33.2 cwt. by 144%, whilst of those countries where wheat is grown on one million hectares or more, Hungary ranked fourth or fifth in terms of average yield.

In the export of poultry, Hungary's share of world trade amounts to 13%, and she alternates with Holland as Europe's biggest exporter. In fifteen years it is planned to increase meat production from the present average of 95 kilos per head of population to 130 kilos.

All this illustrates the background to the long-term policy of increasing food exports, which come second only to the engineering industry, by a factor of 3½ within fifteen years.

When working out their medium-term plans, Hungarian companies took into account the targets of the Fifth Five Year Plan and the results of their market research. The price increases in fuels and raw materials impelled them to extend the degree of processing when reorganizing their

plant structures. Thus, in appraising the medium-term plans of the companies, the Council of Ministers could state that the plans included much more concrete and well-founded programmes than was the case with the previous Five Year Plan.

The implementation of these company plans will enable projected structural changes to speed up, and will expand the stocks of products marketable for hard currency. The medium-term plans are eloquent indicators of the endeavour of the overwhelming majority of companies to improve efficiency; that is why there are now more plants willing to innovate, which will probably result, *inter alia*, in a substantial increase in the purchase of licences. It is plausible, for instance, that such purchases by Hungary's engineering industry will double by 1980.

The following examples unequivocally show the extent to which the credits allotted to the companies by the National Bank of Hungary are bound up with the purchase of licences and the further expansion of cooperation.

For instance, on the strength of credits granted by the National Bank, the Tungsram Works of Budapest will set up, in the town of Gyöngyös, in Northern Hungary, a plant for the production of integrated electric circuits. The US firm Fairchild will supply the know-how, and place the licences, equipment, and measuring instruments at the disposal of the Hungarian company. The United Incandescent Lamp and Electricity Company Tungsram is one of the world's ten greatest producers of sources of light, and the greatest producer of machines for sources of light in Europe. With a staff of 32,000, Tungsram is also the largest among Hungary's processing plants. Tungsram exports 75 per cent of its output, and has the largest income in hard currency of all Hungarian companies. On the strength of a credit of 5.6 thousand million forints granted by the National Bank of Hungary, Tungsram's hard currency income is expected to rise 2.5 fold in the course of the Fifth Five Year Plan.

As far as the construction of vehicles is concerned, Hungary's Ikarus buses—of which 13,000 are to be built annually from 1980 on—are already universally known; at present, about 1,000 buses are delivered each year to hard-currency countries. It is, however, less known that the Rába Works in the town of Győr is one of the greatest producers of rear axles for buses, lorries, and tractors; the output amounted to 60,000 pieces in 1976, and shall rise, by 1980, to 100,000 a year. The National Bank of Hungary grants a credit of 3.4 thousand million forints for this purpose. The Rába Works will supply the CMEA countries with approximately 250,000 rear axles by 1980. This production line makes the company a competitive partner on the markets of hard-currency countries, too. The largest lot so far has been ordered by Vauxhall, a subsidiary of General Motors, to the tune of 15 million dollars.

The Taurus Rubber Works of Hungary built, in 1975, a plant for the production of radial tyres for lorries. The Ganz Works for Measuring Instruments registered, in 1976, hard-currency exports of 5 million dollars—24 per cent of the company's total output.

The VDO licence recently purchased from a firm in the Federal Republic of Germany for the production of measuring instruments for vehicles improves the opportunities of export to the socialist countries in the first place. As a result, the production of these measuring instruments can double or treble in the coming years with an output value likely to attain almost a thousand million forints.

When promoting the international competitiveness of the Ganz Electric Works, the combination of local research and development with the purchase of licences abroad proved a good method. In addition, the Ganz Electric Works has international ties that have stood the test of years and

that extend to cooperation on third markets.

For instance, Ganz cooperates with two plants of FIAT, namely in the delivery of turbo units for gas turbines and of Diesel engines. Together with a turbine works in Poland, Ganz delivered generators to Finland; and with the Swiss BBC works, special equipments combined with transformers to Kuwait. Also together with FIAT, Ganz delivered jointly produced gas turbine units, with a delivery limit of 6 months, to Turkey.

The rate of exports to non-socialist countries amounting, in the case of Ganz Electric, to only 2 per cent in 1970 reached 26.7 per cent by 1975. The major part of these exports goes to oil-exporting countries such as Kuwait, Iraq, Algeria, and Dubai, but Turkey and Finland are also supplied with considerable quantities. As the demand for ready-to-operate outfits is on the increase as far as the products of Ganz Electric are concerned, the activities of the works are to be substantially intensified. As a result of the corresponding reorganization and of the utilization of export-promoting credits from the National Bank of Hungary, the Ganz Electric Works plans to increase its exports in the course of the Fifth Five Year Plan (1976–80) to a total of 100 million dollars.

The KGYV Metallurgical Works, the output of which reached the value of 1,000 million forints in 1975, to be raised to 1,800 million by 1980, have also increased their international participation. Two electric arc furnaces were put into operation in Venezuela; an order from Singapore is just being complied with; and two electric arc furnaces produced on an order from Australia are on the way to that continent. Contacts with the non-socialist countries of Europe are also developing. For instance, a contract has been concluded with a Dutch firm to the tune of one million dollars, and a 30-ton electric arc furnace has already been shipped to the Utrecht Steel Works.

When surveying the opportunities for further development of cooperation under present world economic conditions, one has to consider the fact that, with the sharpening of competition, the improvement of competitiveness and efficiency is of growing importance to both the Western firms and the Hungarian companies; this must be, therefore, the starting-point of the endeavours to develop plant-to-plant cooperation.

Furthermore, it is advisable to consider the impact the structural changes of the world economy is bound to have on cooperation. It must be taken into account, for instance, that the tendency for the dispersion of certain branches or work phases has speeded up recently in some countries, the Federal Republic of Germany or Switzerland among them, and this dispersion will open up further opportunities for cooperation.

Furthermore, attention must be paid to the increasing necessity of cooperation on third markets. As one of the recent tendencies of world economy consists in the differentiation between the developing countries, and the solvent states of the Third World require complex offers for complete outfits and plants (including know-how and the training of specialists), the cooperation of various companies and states is indispensable. This bears some resemblance to the fact that specialization in research can become efficient only if it is optimally bound with the inter-disciplinary cooperation of the various branches of science. The same goes for production; the analogy can be formulated thus: under the conditions of sharpening international competition much depends on optimally organized, complex cooperation. This represents an opportunity, hardly utilized so far, for the dynamic extension of East-West economic relations that would also help promote the efficiency of the enterprises, a problem that is presently in the forefront of world economics.

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Alumina—the intermediary product between bauxite and aluminium—is a traditional article of Hungary's industry and exports. The alumina output rose from 218,000 tons in 1960 to 750,000 tons in 1975, while bauxite production increased from 1,190,000 tons to 2,900,000 tons in the same period. The experiences gained in the sphere of alumina production have turned Hungary into an exporter of complete alumina plants for which there is growing demand on the world market.

Her experiences in the modernization of the technology of alumina production have enabled Hungary to act in this sphere as exporters of solutions to theoretical problems on the one hand, and as general entrepreneurs on the other, Hungarian engineering industry having specialized for some time in the construction of outfits for alumina plants. In India (Korba), Rumania (Tulea), and Yugoslavia (Obravac), for instance, alumina plants have been or are to be set up in conformity with Hungarian plans and partly with Hungarian equipment.

Opportunities of much greater scope, exist for the extension of the international division of labour in the aluminum industry. The Hungarian construction industry has concluded more than fifty cooperation agreements with firms in the West so far. Generally speaking, production cooperation based on obtaining know-how and licences prevail.

From the point of view of the international division of labour, special importance must be ascribed to Hungary as partner in cooperation because she disposes of an intellectual potential surpassing, in some spheres, the technological and economic one. This is why Hungarian planning offices are entrusted, on the basis of orders from abroad, with work to be accomplished in a number of countries.

The planning office UVATERV of Budapest, specialized in civil engineering, has worked out, in addition to the plans for the Budapest underground railway and the Elizabeth Bridge, plans for a 100 km. road from Mallam through Maduri to Unguri in Nigeria, as well as project studies for the cities of Baghdad, Ankara, and Dar es Salaam; and there are several bridges in Iraq, Pakistan, Egypt, and India planned by this office. KÖZTI, also of Budapest, a planning office specialized in public buildings, worked out, in addition to plans for the reconstruction of the Castle District in Buda destroyed during the war, and for the Budapest Hilton Hotel, projects for the Technical University of Oran in Algeria and the Olympic Stadium of Algiers.

Finally, let us mention in this connection that VÍZITERV, the Budapest planning office for water economy, has received a number of commissions from the FAO, for projects in Yemen, Sudan, and Algeria.

Hungary's food industry plays a considerable role in extending relations with the developing countries. Experience and analyses clearly show that the developing countries strive to lay the foundations of their own food industry, since dietary requirements grow fast and output is not always able to keep pace with demand.

Hungary disposes of the necessary experience and ability to undertake the shipment of complete plants, the preparatory and organizational work related to investments, the delivery of breeding animals and seed-corn, as well as equipment for the production of veterinary drugs and plant protection.

In addition, there are opportunities for the combined exportation of cold-storage plants, mills, slaughter-houses and other outfits, in which Hungary has long-standing experience and can present international references. Along these lines Hungary can also export technical know-how, the training of specialists, and complete models of production. There are manifold opportunities for cooperation with Western firms on third markets in this area as well.

GERD BIRÓ

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

ACZÉL, György (b. 1917). Deputy Prime Minister. Member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. See "The Socialist State and the Churches," NHQ 66, and "Workdays and Prospects," 71.

AUTY, Richard (1914–1968). Late Professor of Comparative Slavonic Philology. University of Oxford, Vice Chairman of the Great Britain/East Europe Centre. His wide range of interests also included Hungarian. Major publications. *Old Slavonic Texts and Glossary*, 1960; *Cambridge Companion to Russian Studies* (ed. and contrib.), 1976–77.

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FEKETE, János (b. 1918). Economist, Vice President of the Hungarian National Bank, in charge of international operations. Has published numerous papers on Hungarian and international monetary problems. See also "Inflation and the International Monetary System," NHQ 55, "East-West Economic Relations: A Reappraisal," 50, "Exchange Rate Policy," 63, and "Monetary Problems in East and West," 69.

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HUSZÁR, István (b. 1927). Deputy Prime Minister. Graduated in economics, headed the Central Office of Statistics 1969–1973. See "The Scientific and Technological Revolution," NHQ 55.

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KERÉKGYÁRTÓ, István (b. 1938). Critic and art historian. An editor on the staff of

Corvina Press, Budapest, since 1965. See his "Árpád Illés—an Expressive Surrealist," NHQ 44.

KESERŰ, Katalin (b. 1946). Art historian. Her main field of research is Hungarian art and applied art at the turn of the century and their connections abroad. Works at the Department of Art History of Budapest University. See her article on László Moholy-Nagy, NHQ 57, and "The Colony of Artists in Gödöllő," 70.

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NEMES, János (b. 1921). Journalist. Editor of *Budapester Rundschau*, a German language weekly published in Budapest, and contributing editor of *Pannonia Magazin für europäische Zusammenarbeit*, published in Vienna. Has served as foreign correspondent in Berlin and Moscow as well as writing, or contributing to, numerous books on current affairs.

NEMES NAGY, Ágnes (b. 1922). Poet, translator. Studied Hungarian, Latin and History at the University of Budapest. Worked for a while on the staff of an educational magazine and taught secondary school before devoting herself entirely to writing. Her selected poems appeared in 1969, a volume of essays on poetry in 1975. Translations include plays by Corneille, Racine, Molière and Brecht, and poems by Rilke, St. John Perse and many other English, French and German classical and modern poets. See her poems in NHQ 23, 35, 62, 68.

PASSUTH, László (b. 1900). Novelist. His historical novels have won him great popularity in Hungary and abroad. His works have been published in German, English, French, Dutch, Italian and Spanish. See "Mexico—the Fiction and the Reality," NHQ 48.

PERNYE, András (b. 1928). Professor of Musicology at the Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music, member of the editorial board of this review, as well as its regular music reviewer.

PÉTER, János (b. 1910). Vice Chairman of the National Assembly. Studied theology in Budapest, Paris and Glasgow, became a Calvinist minister, later bishop of Debrecen. Was President of the Institute of Cultural Relations 1956–1959, First Deputy Foreign Minister 1958–1961. Minister of Foreign Affairs 1961–1973.

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RÓZSA, László (b. 1923). Journalist, on the staff of *Népszabadság*,

SPIRÓ, György (b. 1946). Novelist, poet, playwright. Studied Hungarian, Russian and Serbo-Croat at the University of Budapest, worked in radio journalism and publishing before devoting himself to writing. Has

published a novel (*Kerengő*, "Cloister Courtyard," reviewed in NHQ 59), and *História*, 1977, a volume containing poems and a historical play in verse. At present working on a novel and on an academic thesis on East European history. See his story, "With my Father at the Game," NHQ 68.

SUMONYI, Zoltán (b. 1942). Poet. Worked for years as a journalist; now supervisor of announcers for Hungarian Radio. Has published his first volume of poems in 1967. *A portré kiegészül* (The Portrait Is Completed), from which the three poems in this issue were taken, was his third, published in 1977. A poem in this volume *(Magyar jakobinus költő 1845 elején*—Hungarian Jacobin Poet in Early 1845) won the 1978 Robert Graves Award for Best Hungarian Poem of the Year but, being full of references to Hungarian history and literature, is untranslatable. Hungarian titles of the poems in this issue: *A trójaiaknak; Különben; Idő.*

TARBAY, Ede (b. 1932). Author and critic. Graduated from the Academy of Theatre and Cinematography. Worked in several theatres and for television. Free lance since 1974. Works include volumes of tales for children and plays for the young.

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VAJDA, Miklós (b. 1931). Essayist, critic, translator, Literary Editor of NHQ.

VEZÉR, Erzsébet (b. 1915). Literary historian. Studied Hungarian and French at the University of Budapest. Occupied various editorial and research positions. Has published two books on the poet Endre Ady, and edited Ady's prose writings.

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ZSUGÁN, István (b. 1941). Film critic, on the staff of *Filmvilág*, ("Film World), a Budapest fortinghtly. Writes regularly on the film for *Új Tükör*, an illustrated weekly, has translated plays for the stage and radio.

ERRATA: The photographs of Tibor Déry aged 73 and aged 75, published in NHQ 71, were wrongly attributed. The first (bottom left) is by Demeter Balla, the second (bottom right) by János Reisman.

The names of the artist Mária Flóra Zoltán were inadvertently interchanged in the caption to her pictures found amongst the illustrations between pp. 192 and 193 in NHQ 71. Mária and Flóra are her Christian names, and Zoltán is her surname.

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