NHQ

100

Hungary and Peace in Europe — *János Kádár*

Helsinki—Antecedents and Consequences — *Péter Várkonyi*

The Dimensions of Social Change — *György Aczél*

The Conservative Tide and Western Intellectuals — *Béla Köpeczi*

Hungary's Economic Prospects — *József Bognár*

Contributions — *Dezső Keresztury, Pál Romány, Brunó F. Straub, Tamás Szecskő, Anna Zádor*

Literature — *György Lukács, Ágnes Nemes Nagy, György Spiró, István Vas*

VOL. XXVI. ■ No. 100. ■ WINTER 1985 ■ $4

The New Hungarian Quarterly

EDITORIAL BOARD

JÓZSEF BOGNÁR, TIBOR HUSZÁR, DEZSŐ KERESZTURY, BÉLA KÖPECZI,
GYÖRGY KROÓ, TIBOR PETHŐ, BRUNÓ F. STRAUB, EGON SZABADY,
TAMÁS SZECSKŐ, ISTVÁN VAS, GÁBOR VÁLYI, ANNA ZÁDOR

EDITOR
IVÁN BOLDIZSÁR

EDITORIAL STAFF
ZOLTÁN HALÁSZ, DEPUTY EDITOR
MIKLÓS VAJDA, LITERARY EDITOR
ZSÓFIA ZACHÁR, MUSIC EDITOR
ÁGNES SZÉCHY, ARTS EDITOR
ÉVA SZITA, ECONOMICS EDITOR
IRÉN KISS, STAFF WRITER
RUDOLF FISCHER, LANGUAGE EDITOR
BORI LISZKA, EDITORIAL SECRETARY

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

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

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

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

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

Printed in Hungary by Kossuth Printing House, Budapest
© *The New Hungarian Quarterly, 1985*

HU ISSN 0028-5390 Index: 26843

The New Hungarian Quarterly

VOL. XXVI. * No. 100

WINTER 1985

One Hundred .... *Iván Boldizsár* 3
Hungary and Peace in Europe .... *János Kádár* 9
Helsinki—Antecedents and Consequences .... *Péter Várkonyi* 18
The Dimensions of Social Change .... *György Aczél* 24
The Conservative Tide and Western Intellectuals .... *Béla Köpeczi* 34
Hungary's Economic Prospects .... *József Bognár* 46
Agriculture in the Eighties .... *Pál Romány* 52
Science Policy: Results and Problems .... *Brunó F. Straub* 62
János Arany and English Literature .... *Dezső Keresztury* 67
War and Love, 1938 (Part from an autobiography) .... *István Vas* 78
The Young Lukács as Book Reviewer .... *Miklós Mesterházi* 94
Book Reviews from 1922–23 .... *György Lukács* 98
Utopia (Short story) .... *György Spiró* 106
Two Poems, translated by Hugh Maxton .... *Ágnes Nemes Nagy* 110
A Hungarian Landscape Garden around 1800 ...... *Anna Zádor* 116
Eastern Roots, Western Culture .... *Mátyás Domokos* 123
Mass Communication and Reform .... *Tamás Szecskő* 135

FROM THE PRESS

Hungarians in the World .... *Irén Kiss* 143

IN FOCUS 148

SURVEYS

The Hungarian Question in British Politics ...... *Géza Jeszenszky* 162
The Reform of Public Administration .... *Zoltán Zimonyi* 170
Deviant Behaviour: Crime and Delinquency .... *András Sajó* 180

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

Robert Graves and his Hungarian Prize .... *Miklós Vajda* 188
Lands of the Bizarre (Tibor Cseres, Ádám Bodor, László Krasznahorkai) .... *Miklós Györffy* 191
The Voice is the Poet (Győző Csorba, Sándor Csoóri) *Balázs Lengyel* 197
A Monetary System with a Difference (Imre Vincze) . . . *Bálint Balkay* 201

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Architectural Heritage and European Culture ..... *Miklós Horler* 205
Village Churches .... *Ernő Marosi* 210
New Hungarian Churches .... *László Csaba* 216
The Architecture of Imre Makovecz .... *János Gerle* 220
In Search of a Hungarian Architectural Identity .... *Imre Makovecz* 225
The Aurél Bernáth Exhibition .... *János Frank* 227
101 Objects—in the Óbuda Gallery ..... *Péter György–Gábor Pataki* 230

THEATRE AND FILM

Changes in the Hungarian Theatre .... *Tamás Koltai* 234
The Micro-organisms of Everyday Life (Péter Gothár) *Ervin Gyertyán* 240

MUSICAL LIFE

The Organ Music of Liszt .... *Zoltán Gárdonyi* 243
Liszt and Vienna (Dezső Legány) .... *Alan Walker* 253
New Hungarian Scores .... *Andrew Clements* 260

LETTER TO THE EDITOR 263

OUR CONTRIBUTORS 264

This issue went to press on August 1st, 1985
Last proofs read on September 27th, 1985

ONE HUNDRED

by

IVÁN BOLDIZSÁR

(First person singular.) A hundred issues means twenty-five years, a third of a man's life, about half his active life. When I wrote the introduction to the first issue of *The New Hungarian Quarterly* on this very same Remington Portable—which is now itself fifty-five years old—at the same desk which, according to the family legend, my father had bought at auction when the furniture of the old Buda Castle chancellery had come under the hammer, I looked out on to the same fir-trees. At the time the tips just reached the level of the windowsills of my upstairs study, now I look at their bole. At the time, in November 1959, I had just completed my forty-seventh year, this hundredth issue is due to appear around my seventy-third birthday. I was a young man then, at the height of my powers, living in a country which, also at full strength, following one of the greatest tragedies of its history, had started once again on that course which the world now observes with interest, many with sympathy, others with suspicion.

As I write this introduction to the hundredth number, this has already become a chapter in the history of Hungary and an experiment and success of the European present which cannot be expunged. I dare speak of success though I had pointed to two lodestars at the time of the first issue: *virtus* and understatement. The course continues, so does *The New Hungarian Quarterly,* and I, looking at the firs, wonder how tall these trees might grow. How long will I be able to continue with our small but tested team at *The New Hungarian Quarterly* to practise *virtus*—congenial to Hungarians—and understatement as well, which is not really our traditional way. The first issue is in front of me, and so is the fiftieth, and the seventy-fifth. At the time of the first, I mentioned this on the occasion of the other two anniversaries as well, I reckoned with three or for issues if things worked out well, perhaps ten if "the heavenly powers and those of Niniveh" came to our aid. The powers of Niniveh are of course taken from Mihály Babits's *Book of*

Jonah, that modern epic which contains so many twentieth-century visions and catharses. In this I am true to the spirit of these hundred issues which always contained not only articles and reports on, and discussions of, timely issues, but together with them, and inseparable from them, Hungarian poets and writers as well, the leaven, driving motor, and guardians of the *conditio Hungarica*.

Perhaps I ought to explain once again what *virtus* is since—and here I offend against understatement—the not too large camp of our subscribers has grown somewhat over the past twenty-five years, so there must be a fair few who have not seen the fiftieth and seventy-fifth, let alone the first, issue.

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

Could a more attractive task be conceived of than to afford English-speaking readers, one of the world's largest language groups, an insight into the life and thinking of a small but much-talked-about, and so often misrepresented, nation? Moreover, what aim could be more significant than that of promoting mutual knowledge and deeper understanding among the nations?"

Those were the very first sentences of the introduction to the first issue, twenty-five years and 22,400 pages ago. (22,624 pages ago, to be more precise, since there were two first issues, the real first in November 1960, and the Winter 1961 issue which was again numbered one. Four issues were published that year. The following year, however, we did not start with another One, Five followed, we continued with Six and so on.) Did *The New Hungarian Quarterly* achieve its aims? It is not my business to say so and yet it would be false modesty if I were to dodge the issue. When a man approaching the end of his life looks back over his past he cannot deny himself a certain feeling of satisfaction. "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith." Having called on the New Testament I raise my voice higher still. I have not lived in vain: in the thirties I was an organizer and author of the Village Research Movement and the "Discovery of Hungary" series, I published my diaries of the apocalypse of Hungarian fighting men on the Don, the siege and liberation of Budapest, and the

Paris Peace Conference; I wrote the bitter-sweet stories that evoke the years of arbitrary rule. And I have edited a hundred issues of *The New Hungarian Quarterly.*

(The road travelled.) Could *The New Hungarian Quarterly* be the chief justification of my life? It is up to my successor to decide that at the time of the hundred and fiftieth issue; all I know is that without the experience of village research, the war, the Paris peace negotiations and of Stalinism, and in the absence of writing them up, I would not have had the personal experience at home and abroad which ensured that undertaking this act of *virtus* did not exceed my strength. I was confirmed in the feeling that I did not live in vain, and that the work done by me and the other members of the staff was not superfluous, not only by the loyalty of readers and subscribers but also by tributes such as C. P. Snow's written for the fiftieth issue under the heading "*N.H.Q.*"

"This morning, before I began to write the *N.H.Q.* a thank-you note, I opened the current *Times Literary Supplement.* In it there was a short, elegant poem in honour of Petőfi. Well, that might have happened anyhow, whether the *N.H.Q.* existed or not. But there isn't a shadow of doubt that the *N.H.Q.* has presented to educated English-speaking readers a view of Hungary in general and of Hungarian literature in particular much sharper and more interesting than we have been given of any other country. Which is simply to say that the *N.H.Q.* is the best journal of its kind and purpose in the world, so far as any of us know."

János Kádár's writings in the fiftieth, the seventy-fifth, and this present hundredth issue are also to the credit of this *virtus.* "Because of the burden inherited from the remote and recent past, not even the peoples of Europe know each other well enough; indeed, they are frequently badly informed about each other's life. That is another reason why we favour honest information and mutual acquaintance with each other's culture. This important task has for twenty-five years now been discharged by *The New Hungarian Quarterly* which offers its readers a picture of our aspirations, of Hungarian intellectual life, and of the results of our people's constructive work."

Perhaps our most important achievement, in the opinion of the editorial staff, is that *The New Hungarian Quarterly* is present on the scene. I received unexpected confirmation of this recently, in July 1985, in Vienna, in the Palais Schwarzenberg, at the final meeting of "The Dialogue of Opposites," which had been convened to discuss European cultural identity. François Bondy, my fellow-chairman, used the following words when calling on me to speak in the discussion of the translation and publication abroad of the literatures of languages of lesser currency, Hungarian in the first

place: "Since Chancellor Sinowatz* mentioned the translation of Hungarian literary works, I should like to include Iván Boldizsár in the conversation, who edits a periodical of the highest standard indeed in English, with Hungarian culture as its subject. We know it all over Europe since, after all, many more understand English than Hungarian. Iván Boldizsár, as the first Hungarian translator of Franz Kafka, who had been considered controversial and taboo for a time, clearly has something to say on the question of translation."

Indeed I did, and what I said is really also valid for the road travelled by *The New Hungarian Quarterly.*

"When Hungarian literature is the subject, every Hungarian in the West feels disappointed. We mention Bartók and say that our literature boasts more than one Bartók. At times like that we feel a patronizing hand on our shoulder. Yes, yes, we know the literature of Patagonia is very beautiful too. And we, all of us, only wish that, to quote Endre Ady, a poet unknown to you, 'we should be seen,' that people should know who we are. This is truly very difficult, not because Hungarian is difficult, since every language is that, the chief difficulty is that literary traditions differ in the West. In Hungary our greatest poets always translated the greatest. For a long time Hungarian works were translated by professors and linguists, lately, however, we have started to perforate this paper curtain as well, and the iron curtain also now has more holes than iron."

The New Hungarian Quarterly has also done its bit in the perforation of this paper curtain. Two hundred and seventy-eight Hungarian poems and eighty-three short stories have appeared in these hundred issues. The poems were translated not by worthy professors and linguists, but by English and American poets of the first rank. But we can look back not only to perforating the paper curtain these twenty-five years, but also to the drilling of holes in the iron curtain, the result of the Hungarian progress of almost thirty years and the fruit of an open society policy. This journal has published its observations and comments on this progress, explaining it in many articles on economics, reflecting it in its literary, arts, theatre and music sections. On occasions it summed up a stage in the progress of socialism, and in this way, as well as thanks to objective and critical analyses, furthered the country's reputation in the world. The resulting feed-back at home supported those forces which are at work on the reform of the economy and other specific Hungarian features, systematizing and implementing them.

* Other participants were Béla Köpeczi, the Hungarian, and Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, the GDR Minister for Culture, and Dr Peter Glotz, a Federal Spokesman of the West German S.P.D.

(Number One Hundred.) This is what we have done and this is what we endeavour to do in this hundredth, extended, issue which contains forty-four more pages than the previous ninety-nine did. Coincidentally it is due to appear at the time of the European Cultural Forum in Budapest. For a short time we were tempted to produce a sort of special issue on Hungary's role in European culture, but this temptation was soon resisted. If we really wanted to be effective so that the official representatives of the other thirty-four countries as well as various cultural personalities who will put in an appearance should take note of us, then we must present them with an issue like all the others.

For that reason the European Cultural Forum is mentioned only in these lines, and in the article by János Kádár. I think the latter is a proper and worthy indication of the importance which Hungarian opinion accords to this meeting, and of the significance it accords to the fact that the governments of Europe, and of Canada and the United States, chose Budapest to be the location of this novel continuation of the Helsinki process.

Though not specially considering the European Cultural Forum, we did bear in mind the special importance of the hundredth issue. We endeavoured to make it memorable in the first place by asking János Kádár for a contribution. György Aczél, a frequent contributor in recent years, also kindly gave us an article. The article by Péter Várkonyi, the Foreign Minister, is at the same time of documentary value since it is the text of the address he gave to the Meeting of Foreign Ministers on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act. As readers will no doubt notice, many of the remaining articles are by members of the Editorial Board: József Bognár, Dezső Keresztury, Béla Köpeczi, Brunó F. Straub, Tamás Szecskő, István Vas, and Anna Zádor. You will forgive me, I hope, if this time, departing from my usual wont, I will not add comments. I should, however, like to draw special attention to an article which comprehensively deals with a period in time that more or less coincides with that of the publication of these hundred issues, Pál Romány's "Hungarian agriculture in the eighties." Once again we publish hitherto practically unknown pieces by György Lukács, this time occasional literary journalism from the 1920s, and of course all our usual sections on the arts, with special attention to contemporary Hungarian architecture.

Every three months, writing an introduction to the current issue, I always feel a desire to present all the articles, anxious that readers might skip an article which we specially wish to stress, or that is so interesting that I would be sorry if it were missed. I am aware of course that the general character of the journal means that it is impossible for every article to appeal to

all readers, but it has ever been our endeavour that most of *The New Hungarian Quarterly* should be of universal appeal.

At the time of the fiftieth issue I had no doubt that there would be seventy-five, when the seventy-fifth was in preparation I felt guilty of *hubris* for I also thought of the hundredth issue. Now, writing this introduction for number One Hundred, I just gaze at the fir trees and do not think of the one hundred and twenty-fifth.

FROM OUR NEXT ISSUES

HUNGARY IN THE MIDDLE EIGHTIES

János Berecz

SOCIAL POLICY OPTIONS

Judit Csehák

THE PAST FORTY YEARS OF HISTORY

Iván T. Berend

THE HUNGARIAN LIBRARY NOW

Gábor Vályi

A NEW APPROACH TO THE SOCIOLOGY OF PROFESSIONS

Tibor Huszár

HUNGARY AND PEACE IN EUROPE

by

JÁNOS KÁDÁR

We cannot be indifferent to what other peoples think about Hungarians or how world public opinion judges the Hungarian People's Republic. Because of the burden inherited from the remote and recent past, not even the peoples of Europe know each other well enough; indeed, they are frequently badly informed about each other's life. That is another reason why we favour honest information and mutual acquaintance with each other's culture. This important task has for twenty-five years now been discharged by *The New Hungarian Quarterly*, which offers its readers a picture of our aspirations, of Hungarian intellectual life, and of the results of our people's constructive work.

Hungary is a small country and, what is more, no other people understands our language. And yet, familiarity with the culture of a small nation is, in my view, useful also to the great, not only for its own sake, but because it makes one sensible to diversity and that is of benefit to all. Let me, in this cause, call on Gyula Illyés, our great poet who died a short time ago: "The sons of great nations most often know only their own literature, that too is so great that it can answer all their questions. It is great but it is still not the world. The world is known to him whom something impels to be on the move. A tower can be measured not by one who is sitting in it, but by him who is on a pilgrimage from one to another after he has descended to earth from his tower."

Since our own fate is also at issue, we Hungarians strive to make our presence felt in international life, in the world of European intellect and literature, and to make our voice heard in the common affairs of us of all.

It is often said of today's world that it has shrunk. It only takes a couple of hours from one country to another by jet-propelled plane, not to mention

the time missiles take to cover the same distance. The shared fate and interdependence of the peoples of Europe has occupied the minds of the best thinkers of earlier, slower moving times as well. The realization earlier gained ground then that although every nation had its own special heritage—and this heritage is precious to every nation—it is only possible to prosper in unity. This was realized by such outstanding Europeans as France's Voltaire, England's Byron, Germany's Goethe, Russia's Pushkin, and Hungary's Petőfi. Here, in the heart of Europe, on Hungarian soil, at the height of the nineteenth century our great men, inspired by the example of the French Revolution and the ideal of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, made the interdependence of nations their starting point. After 1900, in a fast changing world the common fate of the nations of Europe was stressed by the poet Endre Ady, by the Marxist philosopher Ervin Szabó, and by Mihály Károlyi, the President of the first Hungarian Republic. Every one of them understood that the fate of the nations was decided not only within their own borders. They and those who listened to their word realized that our tomorrows were linked, still more than our yesterdays, to the fate of other nations living in these parts of Europe.

In 1985 the European question and European solidarity engage everybody to an unprecedented degree in a different, more profound, meaning than yesterday. Even the recognition that this continent's countries are washed by the same rivers and seas, and that all of us breathe the same air has been achieved. Technological progress, the rational use of energy, raw materials and resources along with the protection of the natural environment have become our common concern.

What, however, has chiefly determined what the European question means today are the lessons of two world wars. Both world wars started in Europe to run their destructive course. I belong to the generation which grew to maturity between these two world wars. It was in the thirties, in the ranks of the movement of young ironworkers, that I grew familiar with the ideas of socialism and became a communist, and antifascist. Those who fought social injustice, poverty, oppression, and the state of being deprived of rights in the Hungary of that time, necessarily had to look farther afield, even beyond our frontiers. We had to become aware how the threat of war became ever more oppressive in Europe. It was in vain we struggled against this danger: it was the crime of the bosses of the time, that Hungary was not able to stay out of a war whose fuse the Nazis had lit. Shedding its blood on the wrong side, the country lost eight per cent of its adult population; it eventually became a theatre of war and found itself in ruins.

Four decades ago the fate of the Hungarian people took a new, favourable

turn as a consequence of the fact that the antifascist coalition won a historic victory, and the Soviet Army had expelled the fascist forces of occupation from our country. The majority of the inhabitants of this country today have grown up with no memories of the war. Our country, having regained its independence and sovereignty, progresses firmly and with determination on a road of its own choosing, and is now building a socialist society.

History is the schoolmaster of life and we have learnt the inevitable lessons from our own. Anyone can understand the historical experience of a people who, because of their country's geographical location—the Danube–Tisza region has ever been at the crossroads of armies—has suffered from war more often than most areas of the continent. Therefore, for the Hungarian People's Republic today, the peace and security, friendship and co-operation of the nations of Europe are not just mere words, but a taking note of historical experience, a long-term policy based on firm principles, on our vital interests. In Hungary, the hostility to war of the people, their desire for peace, has since been one of the most powerful political factors. The Hungarian Communists, who have written on their banner the slogan of socialism and peace, do everything in their power in the defence of peace. A consequence of this is also that it has been possible in Hungary to create a national unity which embraces workers, peasants, intellectuals, Communists and non-party people, those without religion and religious believers alike. This is without precedent in our history.

After the terrible suffering and trials of the Second World War, the longing for peace erupted with unprecedented force all over Europe. The conclusion of that war coincided with the first use of the immensely powerful nuclear weapons and it became even more obvious that the prevention of a new world war and the preservation of peace was a matter of life or death in the strictest sense of the term. This realization led to new political activity when—practically on the morrow of the Potsdam agreement—the chilling winds of the Cold War, fomented by anticommunism, began to blow over Europe. Our continent, which had hardly come to know what peace really was, split into two. Humanity now had the sword of Damocles of nucealr war hanging over it. In this situation large numbers of people of differing ideologies and political allegiances confronted the danger with powerful determination. Frédéric and Irène Joliot-Curie, Pablo Picasso, Bertrand Russell, Ilya Ehrenburg, György Lukács, Martin Andersen Nexö, Vercors, and many others never tired of repeating that yes, the world moves, history is made by people, war is not inevitable, it can be prevented by men.

The success of this action was an outcome of the world situation. Socialism had become a world-wide system, and the classical system of colonialism

established by capitalism began to disintegrate. The voice of reasonable, responsible politicians among the capitalist statesmen of Europe was increasingly heard, of those who had learned the lessons of history and who realistically analysed the situation.

This process was neither direct nor rapid. After the World War it took twenty more years for it to become generally realized that the Cold War would lead the world to a blind alley, to the edge of the abyss, and that it always brings with it the threat of collision and war. The socialist countries of Europe endeavoured to promote this recognition. In 1969 the Warsaw Treaty member states addressed an appeal to the countries of our continent. The document that became known as the Budapest Appeal, stressed: "The development of an all-European cooperation has been and remains the only realistic alternative, in contradistinction to the dangerous military confrontation, the arms race and discord, which the aggressive forces meaning to destroy the results of the Second World War and to redraw the map of Europe, continue to try to impose on Europe."

The Helsinki Conference of thirty-five countries in August 1975 reflected that recognitions based on realities had carried the day. It was a true milestone in history. The conference whose tenth anniversary was recently commemorated, was of great significance, whatever the angle from which we examine it. This is underlined by the fact that since the end of the Second World War the states of Europe have belonged to two different social systems, the socialist and the capitalist. In the period following the war, representatives of this Europe as well as those of the highest rank from the United States of America and Canada, met for the first time in 1975. It can justifiably be said that the thirty-five states taking part in those consultations in fact represent the whole of the northern hemisphere.

Of course, the point at issue was not only the meeting itself, but the signing of a jointly drafted document, which has been called, not without reason, the Ten Commandments of European security. That the statesmen of thirty-five countries, professing different ideologies and views of the world, could ultimately arrive at a stage where they signed the Helsinki Final Act, demonstrated that even the greatest differences in point of view can be bridged if rationality cuts a path for itself and if the political will for cooperation is present. It was proved that, when it comes to the cause of security in Europe, in spite of ideological and political differences, agreement was possible when the parties concerned recognized their joint responsibility. This in itself shows that there were no victors and no vanquished in Helsinki. One could

say that reason triumphed in the capital of Finland and every participating country gained by being represented there and signing the Final Act.

It was of great significance for us, representatives of the Hungarian people, to be there among the participants, the signatories. I had earlier taken part in a great many international meetings. Nevertheless, I thought of it as something special that I was in a position to take the floor at a conference of such importance. I called the attention of the conference to the vicissitudes of the Hungarian people's past to make it even clearer that, if the people of Hungary cast their vote for peace and security, this was an expression of their most genuine and deepest-lying aspirations.

Immediately after the Helsinki Conference Hungarian Television asked me for a statement on its work. I said at the time that we must not give way to illusions; the signatures will not cause the forces and factors opposed to the consolidation of peace and détente to disappear from international life, those will continue to be present in world politics. Subsequent events have —unfortunately—proved that I had been right. True, some progress was made in the first few years following Helsinki—the Soviet–US SALT-2 agreement was signed in Vienna in 1979—but in the past five or six years unfavourable trends have flourished. We are all agreed that the most basic of the reasons for the growth in international tension is that Washington has started new arms build-up programmes that threaten to upset the historically established balance of military forces, that it demands one-sided concessions from the Soviet Union, and urges its NATO allies to limit East–West contacts.

The new military programmes have opened an incomparably dangerous stage in the arms race. The Soviet Union and its allies can under no circumstances allow the balance of military forces to be upset. Such a change would expose to serious danger not only our peoples but the whole of mankind. Military and political tension was increased by a start being made to the deployment in Western Europe of the new American medium-range nuclear missiles. US plans for the construction of space weapons which would extend the arms race to outer space are indicative of a particular danger. Measures increasing armed confrontation certainly have their own logical consequences. It is at such times that mutual confidence is shaken, that confidence which is necessary for maintaining normal relations between states with different social systems. In this period, international tension has been increased by a number of local crises, local conflicts becoming more acute, and also by the fact that some NATO powers employ force or the threat of force and resort

to pressure, interfering in the affairs of other countries and lending direct assistance to the opponents of national independence and social progress.

However disappointing the negative developments are, it is still right to emphasize that, in spite of it all, no immediate danger of war has emerged as yet, and no irreparable break has occurred in East-West relations. The principal guarantee of peace in the world, the global equilibrium of military forces between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, has survived. The treaties, bilateral and multilateral agreements, between socialist and capitalist states continue in force. The Helsinki agreement has not suffered the fate of many other international conventions. This document—regardless of the heated arguments about the interpretation of some of its points—continues to be an active and positive factor in international and mainly European relations, promoting dialogue and bilateral and multilateral talks between states.

Many of those in the West with whom we worked together for the success of Helsinki, with the common interests of the peoples of Europe as our starting point, still hold the view that the dialogue should go on, even when others want to cut its thread. They know full well that mankind has no alternative except that of maintaining relations, negotiations and agreements on questions of common interest. They have realized that Europe can be neither the battlefield of a limited nuclear war nor the experimental terrain of space wars. We think very highly of the positive role of such statesmen. The memory of nations is not short and they do not forget those who, even when times are difficult, serve the cause of détente, security and peace.

As far as we are concerned, in compliance with our commitment to socialism and peace, we have right from the start done all we could to fulfil the letter and the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. Shortly after the conference the highest party and state authorities declared themselves in support of the recommendations of the Final Act and set about their fair implementation. This enabled us to take the initiatives on a number of international issues. Our country and capitalist signatories have concluded important agreements reflecting the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act and its recommendations.

Even amidst the more difficult conditions of recent years, the Hungarian political leadership has supported the continuation of dialogue and the maintenance and development of relations. Its position was that these are perhaps even more important in the present difficult and overcast days than earlier, when the sun was shining. We have always borne in mind that small and medium-sized countries can also do much to maintain the dialogue and

strengthen trust. We favour negotiations, the development of relations and the reaching of agreement on all disputed and outstanding international questions.

We endeavour to register progress in discussions concerning every proposal that guarantees the equal security of states at the lowest possible level of armaments. We stress on every platform that we consider the continuation of the Helsinki process to be important for the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems and for the safeguarding of the achievements of détente.

That is an additional reason for looking forward with such expectations to the European Cultural Forum in Budapest in October and November. This is an organic part of the series of political consultations known as the Helsinki process. The Concluding Document of the Madrid Meeting following Helsinki made arrangements for Hungary to organize the European Cultural Forum to discuss questions of producing and disseminating culture as well as cooperation on cultural matters. We consider it an honour that Hungary was entrusted with the organization of this Forum. In the current involved international situation the peoples of Europe and the world are rightly paying close attention to every effort to help deepen the dialogue. Cultural cooperation, the exchange of intellectual values, contacts in the arts play a part in this which cannot be replaced. It is common knowledge that our continent was, in almost every century, the source of great intellectual currents—to mention only the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, and scientific socialism—which have produced epochal changes.

In times of war the muses are silent, says a Latin proverb. It is to be hoped that at this European Forum the representatives of European culture will declare themselves in favour of a world where not the muses but the weapons of war shall be silent, and in which the inexhaustible resources of the human mind will not prepare a nuclear catastrophe but will serve the intellectual and material enrichment of all of mankind.

There was much talk of human rights in connection with the anniversary of Helsinki. It is quite evident that man's most fundamental right is the right to life. This most essential human right is violated by war. The arms race at this stage of the development of military technology carries with it an incalculable—or rather a too well calculable—danger of war. The most important of human rights can therefore be guaranteed only by peace.

On the fortieth anniversary of the victory over fascism we remembered that, during the Second World War, leading statesmen representing different social systems were able to reach agreement. Mankind sunk their differences, the nations successfully cooperated in the fight against fascism. All respon-

sible leaders of all countries—regardless of social systems—should join forces today, taking the antifascist coalition as an example. For all the peoples to join forces against the danger of war that threatens the world would be the right and proper road to follow for the whole of mankind.

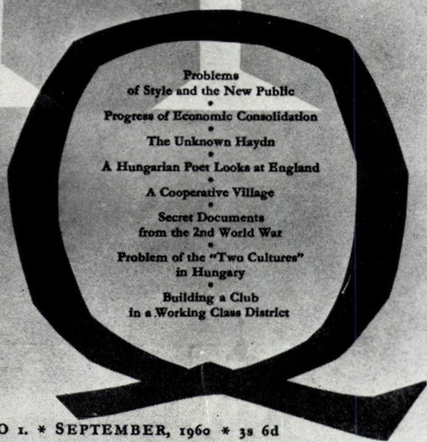
This road ought to be embarked on resolutely. This is not easy, but it is possible if all those responsible for the fate of the peoples of Europe and the world can reckon soberly with realities, taking note of the lessons of the common experience in the most recent history of our continent, taking political decisions in this spirit. Peace and security can hardly be based on anything except the realization that to upset the equilibrium of forces is a futile and dangerous attempt which is a threat also to those who try to tip the scale in their favour. The nuclear weapons deployed on land, sea and air are already far too numerous. The peoples of Europe and the world do not want the arms race to be extended now to outer space as well. It is therefore necessary to seek the possibility of reaching an agreement which would provide equal security for both parties while moderating armed confrontation. It was in this expectation that we welcomed the opening of talks between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on the limitation of nuclear armaments. The commitment on the part of the Soviet Union not to be the first to put weapons in outer space, and not to be the first to use nuclear arms, is aimed at preventing the militarization of outer space and at promoting the success of negotiations. We sincerely regret that neither this Soviet commitment nor the postponement until November of the counter-measures to be taken in response to the deployment of US missiles have so far found a positive response on the part of the United States administration.

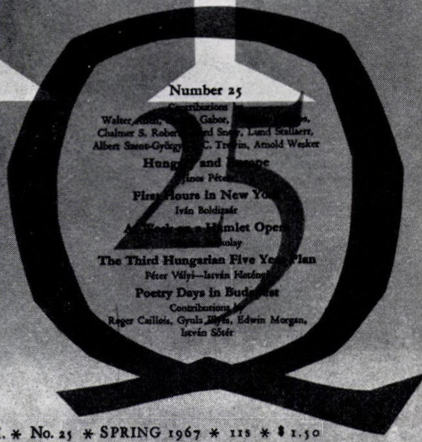
We know from experience that the talks of leading politicians—summit meetings—may play a great role in stabilizing and normalizing the situation. For obvious reasons, the meetings of leading statesmen of the Soviet Union and the United States are of particular importance. That is why we have received with pleasure the news that Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, will meet at Geneva before the end of this year. Some time has already passed since then, and one can note that even the fact of the announcement has produced some favourable effects on the world political climate. We hope that the meeting, by giving a serious impulse to Soviet–US relations and the arms limitation talks, will favourably influence the whole international situation.

In our days humanity has reached a fateful period of its history, a true historic crossroads. On the one side we can see the possibility of the peaceful coexistence between states of differing social systems, and on the other side,

MTI Lajos Só

János Kádár looking at his contributions to earlier anniversary issues after giving the editor his article for *NHQ* 100.





NHQ
The New
Hungarian
Quarterly

50

- Whither Europe? — *János Kádár*
- Foreign Policy "Variations" on the Changing International Situation — *János Péter*
- The Presence of Petőfi — *Gyula Illyés, György Aczél, Sándor Lukácsy*
- Poems by Petőfi — *translated by Edwin Morgan*
- NHQ — *C. P. Snow*

VOL. XIV ■ No. 50 ■ SUMMER 1973 ■ 80p ■ $2.00

NHQ
The New
Hungarian
Quarterly

75

- Peace — Common Interest of all Peoples — *János Kádár*
- Intellectuals in Socialist Society — *György Aczél*
- Letters and articles — *C. P. Snow, Hortense Calisher, J. C. Trewin, Maurice Goldsmith*
- East-West Economic Relations — *József Bognár*
- Theory and Existing Socialism — *János Berecz*
- Lukács in 1919 — *Béla Köpeczi*
- Poems and Fiction — *István Vas, Lajos Mesterházi, István Csurka*

as an alternative unworthy of sensible people, there is the threat of a nuclear war which obviously would first destroy Europe.

The fate of the Hungarian people cannot be separated from that of the peoples of Europe and the whole world. The Hungarian people, engaged in the building of socialist society, have great and wonderful plans for their country. To carry out these plans we need the calm of creation and peace. At the same time, socialist Hungary, in proportion to its abilities and possibilities and in accordance with its size, relying on the national unity established among its population of ten million and on achievements and a stability maintained even in a difficult world economic situation, is equally contributing to the security of Europe. We wish to do so in the future too: we want the peoples of the socialist countries, progressive forces, the supporters of peace, and bourgeois politicians pursuing realistic aims to look on socialist Hungary as a country working for peace and wishing to live in friendship with all the nations. We are fighting for a world which is governed by the laws of human reason, and in which the human intellect and the fruits of labour serve the interests of life and of peace. We are optimistic, we believe that we can achieve this aim and that finally, we will be able to take a step forward in bringing the process started at Helsinki to completion in the direction of creating a strong and lasting peace.

HELSINKI — ANTECEDENTS AND CONSEQUENCES

by

PÉTER VÁRKONYI

More than fifteen years have passed since the Member States of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, including Hungary, launched the Budapest Appeal in 1969, making a concrete proposal for the convening of an all-European conference. It was ten years ago that the highest-ranking representatives of thirty-three European States, as well as the United States and Canada, ceremonially signed the Final Act proclaiming the principles of all-European cooperation.

The goals pursued and the practical steps taken by the Hungarian Government in its international relations are in keeping with the Final Act of Helsinki. I speak on behalf of a nation that knows only too well the ravages of war when I call for cooperation among peoples and countries doing so, however, on behalf of a nation which, I feel, has been able to learn from its own past and which, having stepped beyond the paralysing barriers of nationalism, embarked four decades ago on the path of sincere friendship and understanding among peoples.

Loyalty to these principles and European peace and cooperation rank high among the Hungarian Government's foreign policy aims. We have consistently complied with the ten principles guiding relations between states, and acting on this basis, we have urged cooperation and rejected confrontation making use of every real possibility, we have sought for the full implementation of all recommendations of the Final Act in bilateral and multilateral relations. Hungary's activity in the spirit of Helsinki over the past ten years and the considerable progress of our relations with all the states of Europe as well as with the United States and Canada, are proof that even small countries like Hungary can contribute successfully to efforts aimed at the defence of peace in Europe and the strengthening of security and confidence.

The somewhat abridged text of the address given by the Hungarian Foreign Minister in Helsinki on August 1, 1985.

The Hungarian People's Republic has actively participated in putting forward initiatives for curbing the arms race and lowering the level of military confrontation in Europe. We have attached paramount importance to such efforts because we are convinced that the process of European détente will become finally irreversible only if it is extended to the military field as well. The Warsaw Treaty Member States had this in mind when they proposed, in May 1984, in their appeal addressed to the NATO countries, to conclude a treaty on the mutual renunciation of the use of force and the maintenance of peaceful relations. The Warsaw Treaty Member States proposed that multilateral consultations on such a treaty be started on the basis of related bilateral talks. They proposed that the European States that are not party to any military or political alliances should also participate in multilateral consultations on an equal footing. They likewise confirmed their willingness to exchange views on their proposal within the framework of the Stockholm Conference.

The conditions were present

The Hungarian People's Republic, in its interstate relations, has taken a number of unilateral measures to implement the recommendations of the Helsinki Final Act. The fact that the conditions for the fulfilment of the Helsinki commitments were present in Hungary already at the time the Final Act was signed, has greatly facilitated and encouraged that endeavour. As a result of our internal development, Hungarian practice is not only in line with the recommendations of the Final Act, but also goes beyond them in several fields.

For us Helsinki means an aspiration to reach agreement. It can provide greater political security and widen the process of cooperation. The most important experience of the Helsinki process is that the Final Act signed ten years ago has become a significant factor in the relations of the thirty-five states who are signatories to it. No system of relations is conceivable among them which does not rely on the principles of Helsinki.

In our view the implementation of the Final Act is best judged by the results achieved in the development of bilateral relations. Since 1975 the discussion of questions relating to the process of European security and cooperation and to the implementation of the Final Act has become a standing agenda item of high-level bilateral political meetings and talks. The Final Act embodying this process has proved indispensable especially under the tense international political and economic conditions of recent years; it has provided, even in the period of sharpening East–West confrontation,

a basis for keeping alive the major issues of cooperation between East and West and preserving political dialogue among the countries of Europe.

The Hungarian Government, guided as it is by the spirit of peaceful coexistence, is in favour of improving relations with countries of different social systems and developing them in the long term. It is seeking to ensure that the dialogue is maintained and cooperation is practised on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, with regard to mutual interests, with a view to preserving and developing the results of détente, making use of the possibilities inherent in economic, scientific and technical, cultural and other relations.

Multilateral meetings

In the second half of 1976 and again in 1979, the Hungarian Government took a series of steps presenting the Governments of seventeen West European States as well as the United States and Canada with proposals, through diplomatic channels, for promoting the bilateral implementation of the Final Act in all fields. During the intervening period several of those proposals—in degrees varying by country—have been implemented and have become an integral part of bilateral relations.

The integration of the Final Act into bilateral relations and the results of implementation are added proof that the spirit of Helsinki and the desire for mutually advantageous cooperation have become deep-rooted in Europe. The resulting ties grow in number, encompassing our countries and bringing our peoples closer together.

The multilateral meetings held within the framework of the Helsinki process have been events of great importance in the improvement of all-European cooperation and the implementation of the Final Act. The Belgrade and Madrid meetings of the representatives of the participating states are of particular relevance. The decision of the Madrid meeting to convene the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building and Disarmament in Europe has opened up the possibility of a new dimension to the process of European security and cooperation, namely, that of measures meant to further military détente. That decision was an expression of the increasing awareness on behalf of the states participating in the Helsinki process of the urgent need for détente in Europe to be extended to the military field. The Hungarian People's Republic has always emphasized the primary importance of the military aspect of security and it has strictly abided by the confidence-building measures provided for in the Final Act of Helsinki. We believe that in the current complex international situation it is still more necessary

for the Stockholm Conference to reach substantive agreement before the convening of the Vienna meeting. It is our conviction that comprehensive political agreements, first of all the mutual renunciation of the use of armed force as well as the adoption of confidence-building measures meeting the requirements of equal security, would contribute to the improvement of the European situation and the international atmosphere in general.

I am stressing the significance of the Stockholm Conference not because the Hungarian Government attributes less importance to the other areas of cooperation in the Final Act. Quite the contrary, we are fully aware that ten years ago the highest-ranking representatives of our countries did not pledge themselves to comply with the provisions of this or that chapter of the Final Act, but committed themselves to work for progress in all areas of cooperation.

It is an important duty to ensure the implementation of the principles embodied in the Final Act for various kinds of relations. This can only promote the development of mutually advantageous cooperation. Although, for instance, the interpretation of human rights differs in countries with diverging social systems, there is a possibility for dialogue and cooperation on such questions as well, on the basis of mutual respect and non-intervention in internal affairs.

It is likewise essential to ensure fair progress in the various areas of cooperation. It is easy to say, for instance, that in recent years the strained political relations have put an excessive burden on economic and commercial cooperation. As a result, less attention has been paid, within the framework of the Helsinki process, to the factors seriously hindering this cooperation.

It is obvious that the level and status of economic and commercial relations between the participating States has an impact on cooperation opportunities in other fields. They can promote or prevent the political stabilizing effect inherent in economic relations. The artificial obstacles to economic cooperation serve to weaken confidence among states and to slow down the economic progress made by countries. They not only damage the system of commercial and economic relations between East and West, but also inevitably impede the consolidation of funds necessary to meet obligations in cultural contacts and human rights.

Hungarian attention is now particularly focused on cultural cooperation. This is only natural, since the Cultural Forum is scheduled to take place in Budapest in October 1985. Experience teaches that culture is one of the most important connecting links between nations and states. As hosts, we rely on the results of the preparatory meeting and are making careful preparations for the Cultural Forum. We are doing our utmost to ensure that the Forum should conclude its work with substantial results and make an appropriate contribution to the improvement of the political atmosphere in Europe and to the strengthening of the Helsinki process as a whole. In this undertaking we count on the common interest and continued readiness for cooperation on the part of the participating states. This is of decisive importance in the joint development of European culture and in the mutually enriching exchange of elements of one another's culture. We feel that we are all bound to do so by our attachment to the cultural heritage of Europe, and by our responsibility to preserve and cultivate this legacy through our joint efforts.

The advance of the process of European security and cooperation is seriously influenced by the development of the world situation in general. European cooperation is also adversely affected by the anti-détente efforts of the extremist circles, the stepping up of the arms race and the danger of escalation of local armed conflicts. The Soviet-American relationship is of decisive importance to the future of Europe as well. The Hungarian People's Republic welcomes the summit meeting between the two countries which is due to take place next November, and it believes that the normalization of Soviet–American relations would have a beneficial effect on the situation in Europe and the world at large.

Success of the Soviet–American talks at Geneva in preventing the militarization of outer space and agreement on a radical reduction in armaments would have a positive influence on the process of European security and cooperation. We consider the Soviet announcement on a unilateral moratorium of all their nuclear tests starting on August 6, the anniversary of the Hiroshima tragedy, as an initiative of great significance and an example to be followed.

The most important result of the past decade for us is that the process of European security and cooperation has, despite reversals and conflicts, prevailed over tensions in the European and international situation, and that it has survived. I am convinced that it will be an indispensable and useful channel of East–West dialogue and cooperation in the years to come.

This nuclear era has lent a new kind of responsibility to the members of the community of nations. They are bound together by a supreme responsibility that overrides their ideological and political differences and particular interests. The Hungarian People's Republic will persist in its efforts, commensurate with the possibilities open to it, of meeting this responsibility, advancing the process of European security and cooperation, and promoting the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act. It wishes to be a reliable partner of all those who work sincerely to further this process and to widen the possibilities for dialogue and cooperation in Europe, strengthening confidence among the participating states and preserving peace in Europe and in the world.

FROM OUR NEXT ISSUES

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN PROGRESS AND REACTION IN CONTEMPORARY CULTURE

György Lukács

A CAPTIVE OF HIS TIME

György Fazekas

LORD ROTHERMERE AND THE HUNGARIAN THRONE

Magda Ádám

JOSEPH BLACKWELL'S FIRST HUNGARIAN MISSION

Thomas Kabdebo

THE DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Forty Years after Liberation

by

GYÖRGY ACZÉL

All progress has to be paid for. In one generation hundreds of thousands, even millions, in Hungary were part of processes of change in the course of which many simultaneously had to learn table manners and how to organize armed forces or, later, to calculate using international exchange rates and to drive a car. Large numbers have, many of them several times, moved home and changed jobs and the mode of life that went with the place or the type of work. A great many traditional communities have been transformed or have disintegrated; and many earlier conventions, norms of behaviour, customs that were once part of established manners, have necessarily changed. It was impossible for all this to take place without conflicts, without people being put to the test, often failing with tragic results. Not even the soundest of changes, the social and cultural ascent of man, can occur without anguish and pain, without a passing sense of uncertainty over a shorter or longer period of time. In Hungarian society as well, numerous undesirable side-effects show how sound changes often occurred pressed for time, taking place in an unbelievably short period of time.

In 1956 the Party underwent a political renewal amidst a profound crisis which seriously threatened all that socialism had achieved. There is no doubt that without the change in the policies of the past close to thirty years it would now be impossible to speak about maintaining and improving the fruits of forty years. It is no exaggeration to say that in tragic times it proved necessary to rethink practically everything right from the start.

The starting-point was that, socialism being the programme of the historical progress towards a fuller and richer life, Marxism must help the kind of action where no single theoretical proposition should be dogmatically forced on reality. It was and has remained a basic principle that socialism is created for the benefit, and with the participation of, the whole people. The Hun-

garian political leadership has therefore striven, in the interests of the country, to unite the efforts of party members and those who did not join, the various working classes and social groups, people of a variety of religions or none at all, of citizens whose native language is Hungarian and those who are members of language minorities.

History never repeats itself but sometimes poses similar questions again. In 1981 a prominent Pole said that perhaps too many Poles were disappointed in socialism. I then asked him what it was that they believed in. Social justice, the fight against discrimination by birth and unlawful privileges, democracy based on effective and responsible participation as well as on social control, extensive cultural enrichment, the free acquisition of any value, the freedom of creative work and its appreciation, that man should enjoy the fruits of his labour, the justified demand that consumption should grow, better human relations, and so on and so forth. He enumerated objects of belief, to which I could only add that these were precisely the values of socialism.

The policy of the HSWP has been that socialism must be achieved without unnecessary blood, tears, or sweat, that it should be the work of the whole people and not merely of party members. To this end the life of the Party had to be transformed; i.e. the Party was reorganized so as to function according to the Leninist norms. The principle, still valid today, was established that those who are not party members can do any job except carrying out party functions; that the leading role of the Party should mean not domination but service, and that party membership in itself must not imply any advantage. When necessary, peremptory decisions should also be taken to stop certain persons from misusing their authority.

Of course, in the case of a leading party one always has to reckon with the danger of the party being joined by unsuitable persons, such as careerists. The afore-mentioned principles and requirements also serve to repress such manifestations. A permanent duty is to control, by means of clarifying debates, that the ideas are sound, and to coopt those who are not party members for this work.

Creative Marxism

The HSWP is striving for the hegemony of Marxism–Leninism in its policy, and professes that it is necessary to work unceasingly to this end. Contrary to the earlier view, that Marxism must be in an exclusive monopoly position, what the new approach has signified is not a step back but one step forward. Indeed it helped and more was done by taking note of reality for the wide dissemination and firm establishment of Marxist ideology and its

values. Creative Marxism as a living theory and method can progress only if those who apply it, continually re-reading, interpreting, and studying the classic heritage, proceed with an examination of new facts. He who means to implement Marxism only by mechanically re-iterating quotations he has learnt by heart does not trust in its truth and its conceptual force which is still alive today.

The HSWP tries, as far as possible, to take the realities into consideration. It keeps clear of dogmatism even in reforms; if reality so requires, if it seems necessary to attain the set aims under changing circumstances, the Party corrects—as it has done more than once—its own steps as well.

It is evident that under the conditions of the one-party system in Hungary care must be taken that the Party, in the words of János Kádár, is also able to be its own opposition. To this end, it is indispensable that the Party should always endeavour to place its activities under the control of the masses and of different social groups. It has to operate, and constantly develop, political mechanisms which can ensure that conflicting interests which necessarily exist in Hungary, and a rich variety of values will be manifest and obtain responsible representation, and that eventually, by dint of the Party's integrating role, the common interest will predominate. Socialism does not involve a world without contradictions and conflicts, but it is a society of resolvable, reasonably reconcilable contradictions.

At the same time, the HSWP pays considerable attention to the shared or specific experience of socialist countries. It wants to learn all it can from all sources. It takes over, that is assimilates, all that can be utilized in the construction of socialism at home.

The concept of democracy

This applies also to democracy which is, fortunately, a much-discussed subject in Hungary today. On the one hand, because the state of socialist democracy is necessarily in constant motion, on the other because it is also at the focus of international ideological debates. Bourgeois propagandists like to abuse the idea of democracy in the case of Poland, Hungary, and other socialist countries. They make arbitrary comparisons, and the main method is to disregard the concrete historical context, albeit democracy cannot be discussed independently of space and time.

As Marx put it, no nation can be free that oppresses another, but there is more to it than that. The imperialism of our age offers sufficient tragic evidence to show the real face of bourgeois democracy on a global scale, in the

relationship between the most developed capitalist countries, the transnational corporations, and the nations of the developing world. Whoever has read the touching and also morally elevating speech made by Tomás Borge, the Sandinist leader, before the American chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, and has witnessed the "democratic" campaign conducted against the Nicaraguans after the first really democratic elections in their long history, cannot have many illusions about the loud phrases of bourgeois democracy. But not even in the most developed, economically and politically most powerful capitalist countries can it be regarded as the height of democracy if free rein is given to fascists, warmongers and racists. There is too little talk also about how democracy can be reconciled with the high level of unemployment, or about the inevitable question of human rights, where the right to exploitation is guaranteed. Rational bourgeois politicians and thinkers also accept it as incontestable that the welfare state and numerous important types of bourgeois democratic institutions are responses to the challenge of existing and developing socialism and, naturally, a result of the fight by the working class of the countries concerned.

Nevertheless, Hungarian Communists have always thought highly and continue to think highly of those forms and results of bourgeois democracy which have been attained at the cost of prolonged struggles—especially against the antidemocratic, dictatorial political manifestations of capitalism. However, every kind of comparison is unhistorical. In most cases it is forgotten that the political systems of today's most developed capitalist countries, the more or less finely polished mechanisms by means of which the bourgeoisie—with a few exceptions—is able to exercise power, have evolved as part of a very long and cruel process.

I am firmly convinced that the adequate form of socialism is socialist democracy, whatever the tragic detours on the way. Without it there is not, and there cannot be, either economic efficiency, or social participation, or cultural progress. I have thought deeply on why people like sitting in the front seat, beside the driver, although the danger is greatest there. Obviously because there they not only feel that the driver turns the steering-wheel to the right or left, or that he steps on the brake, but they can also see why he does so: what obstructions in the road he has to avoid, what other vehicles he has to adjust to, or where he has to slow down approaching cross-roads, and so forth. As many people as possible ought to sit in positions from where they can clearly see and understand how the driving is done and why it is done precisely as it is. The admission or initiation of people to common action is our best source of energy. However, nobody's life becomes more comfortable as a result. It becomes more meaningful and richer. Democracy prevails only where

there are high standards, where better quality is given preference, where arguments decide and not a screaming voice. Genuine socialist democracy is rational communal discipline that does not tolerate irresponsibility. In brief, it is a tough school.

In the immediate past alone much has been done in this area in Hungary. The sub-divisions of counties, districts, have been abolished, thereby eliminating a centuries-old element from the system of Hungarian public administration and establishing closer contacts between executive authority and the people. A new Constitutional Council has been set up, the powers and rights of central popular control have been extended. I could mention many new professional or occupational associations, and the ever wider scope of existing ones. Today more than 600 registered associations, societies, and clubs give an outlet to spontaneous activity in defence of shared interests. Trade-union democracy and the rights of trade unions have also been extended. The electoral system has been amended. The new electoral law has made it obligatory to nominate two or more candidates in every parliamentary constituency. At the elections held in June 1985 about 10 per cent of future members were included on a central ticket, nominated by the Patriotic People's Front. This included prominent public figures, representatives of the Churches, national minorities, etc., as well as scientists and artists of nationwide fame. The choice of the other members was up to the constituencies. The elections induced considerable public activity, which will, it is hoped, continue also in the work of Parliament. Finally, perhaps one of the most important measures also from the point of view of socialist democracy has been the introduction of new forms of enterprise management. A considerable proportion of firms are functioning under managers directly elected by the work-force, and those which employ greater numbers, and have a more complex organization, are under the direction of enterprise councils appointed by workers' representatives. Strategic decisions are taken by these collective bodies to which the management is answerable. Of course, the enterprise board or council will not decide by a majority vote whether the technological discipline should or should not be observed, and during the period between two balance-sheets everybody has to carry out the orders of the manager or managers, who thus become increasingly independent in doing business and initiating the best measures leading to the attainment of jointly set objectives. At the same time, their work is more strictly controlled by the workers' collective. That is, as the saying goes in Budapest, they cry and laugh together. The formulation of the rules of the game, of the essential conditions, and legal supervisory powers (use of the veto in certain matters) naturally continue to be within the competence of the socialist state. The managers of

certain productive enterprises of key importance as well as of service establishments, however, will continue to be appointed by state authorities, but their work will be under the attentive observation of representatives of the work-force. These innovations, which cannot all be described in detail here, are expected to result not only in greater efficiency but may constitute steps of great significance in the development of democracy on the job as well. This latter is a specific and important feature of socialist democracy, a feature inconceivable under capitalist conditions. All these changes have been set in motion amidst worsening world economic and political conditions, at a time of a slow-down in Hungary's economic growth and, in particular, of untiring efforts to restore the country's external economic equilibrium. Taken individually, none of them can be said to be a great breakthrough, or the last word in socialist democracy. Collectively, however, they certainly indicate our position and the direction in which the country is moving.

Part of the picture is also that, when the workers elect their managers, there is no danger that HSWP members will be forced out of leading positions. First, because there are many party members fit to be managers. In Hungary, a new professional stratum has grown up where one in three university graduates is a member of the HSWP. The problem is rather that an unduly great number of persons without appropriate qualifications still hold professional executive jobs. Second, because it is a long-established principle that the Party's leading role need not be asserted everywhere in an organizational form, i.e. by filling all leading posts with party members. The more non-party allies understand and represent this policy, the better. Finally, it should be mentioned here that with the introduction of new forms of business management the role of party organizations, as well as that of the trade unions, will also grow and not diminish. True, it will not be possible everywhere to do political work in the old way. But the party organizations have a great task to fulfil in helping the implementation of the Party's economic and general policies under the given changed circumstances. It goes without saying that much remains to be thought out and tested.

The conditions of change

It is evident that the working class can attain its historical objectives only if it succeeds in improving the welfare of all who work. Of course, this involves tensions. The point is that the real options should always be grasped. Choice is possible only between real opportunities. Nobody is made happy, for example, by a choice between an adequate provision with goods, with a

balance of supply and demand, in the context of rising prices, and a shortage of goods while prices are steady or going down and wages are rising. We resolutely insist that it should be possible to spend money earned by honest work while satisfying real needs honestly and also that the balance between the stock of commodities and effective demand should be maintained.

Nobody is pleased, of course, if prices rise fast. It was made clear recently that an inflation-reducing programme will also be formulated as part of Hungarian economic policy. But it would be wrong to defend the interests of working people by fixing prices regardless of the economic situation and by thinking of commodities without considering prices. Normal, appropriate goods supply, in our view, is important not only from the economic point of view and is not only an indispensable part of the standard of living policy but it protects socialist morality as well. Where goods and services are in short supply, corruption, bribery, and black-marketeering soon appear.

The private sector in Hungary covers about 4 per cent of the economy, it is therefore out of the question that the domination of public ownership should ever be given up. At the same time, there is need for the private sector. I do not venture to predict how long or when, and to what percentage, it will remain desirable, but I think it will be needed for a very long time to come, roughly on the present scale or maybe somewhat smaller or larger. In several socialist countries, by the way, its ratio is greater than in Hungary.

Again the most essential question is whether the provision of supplies for working people or the furtherance of production in some places requires services of this kind provided by handicraftsmen, retail dealers, and small-scale producers. That is, this must be thought over not only from the aspect of incomes but also of production and supply. In Hungary there are still, as there were earlier, very serious shortcomings in the area of services, and they could not be overcome otherwise. Wherever business and management are honestly conducted within the scope regulated by the socialist state, where real needs are satisfied, we shall also in the future require and secure the functioning of this sector. Care must be taken that in the exercise of the definitely necessary proper control of incomes, in the taxation system which still needs adjusting, the baby should not be thrown out with the bath water.

The 13th Congress of the HSWP was in general agreement with the suggestion framed by János Kádár in his closing address: "...earnings should be in accordance with performance, social allowances with the needs, taxation with the size of incomes." It is naturally difficult to put this into practice, but it must be done. And to the mostly rightful demands he added one more: "...let us agree that to increase the incomes and earnings of large sections of the working people, for the allowances and favours to be granted them, the

economic basis and the necessary funds must be created first of all, or else we shall be building castles in the air, and those will bring much harm even to those I mentioned."

Income differentation is, in Hungary, generally too restricted. People get irritated, and rightly so, if overgreat incomes are produced not by better work but by trickery, by speculation and without work. And also if unfairly low standards of living only can be maintained by present or earlier honest work. Something must be done about this as well.

Equilibrium and living standards

The state of the Hungarian economy makes it necessary to give priority to maintaining and even improving external equilibrium and, at the same time, to preserving those living standards which have already been achieved. In ten years, changes unfavourable to Hungary in the international terms of trade caused the economy a loss which was by and large as great as one year's national income. Unfortunately, Hungary reacted more slowly than feasible to this challenge. The new situation pointed to the inherent weaknesses of the economy. Hungary had no choice but to concentrate on restoring the fast worsening external economic equilibrium. An added difficulty was the capitalist monetary crisis and the consequent decline in confidence, by the entirely unwarranted embargoes and other discriminatory measures, so that the export-import price relations became still more unfavourable to this country. Hungarian economic policy-makers then had to carry out measures which, given the world economic depression, not even the most developed capitalist countries had undertaken to fulfil. A Western journalist once asked here whether improving the country's external economic equilibrium, continuing the structural transformation and the reform of economic management, keeping price increases under control, ensuring full employment and maintaining a sufficient supply of goods—was the equivalent of attempting to square the circle. Hungary did try to do what seemed impossible. The latest Congress of the HSWP was able to establish that the principal tasks had in essence been carried out. The country's financial standing has not only been maintained but improved, and the amount of outstanding loans has also begun to diminish. The equilibrium of the national economy has improved, although this has been attained for the most part, regrettably, by reducing domestic use—mainly investments—and not by increasing profitable exports. And all this was done by a country which is poor in raw materials and sources of energy and produces about half of its national income on external markets.

In the past five years, for the first time after more than twenty years, the standard of living of many people has not risen but has been stagnating and has even declined. This has been talked about frankly and openly. And so has been the fact that, with real wages declining, the real income and the level of consumption of the masses could be maintained only by doing considerably more work. This was done either at their place of employment, as miners did, or in household plot farming, or within the framework of the new forms of small undertakings. It would be desirable, of course, to achieve the necessary surplus product by raising Hungarian productivity to a higher level. Yet it is highly significant how working people have reacted to the difficulties by doing extra work, realizing, under difficult circumstances, what the situation of the country requires and what it makes possible.

The new professionals

To what degree these measures satisfy Hungarian professional people, and first of all young graduates, is a different matter. The old professional class is today something of the past. New professional people have come to maturity, there are six times as many of them as in pre-Liberation times, their qualifications are more up-to-date, and they have already found their place within the alliance of the working classes and strata. Of course, these professional people are, fortunately, not in the least uncritical. Many good, and some misguided, debates take place. But I think the most important thing is that in the vast majority of cases the main reason for the discontent of professional people, young men and women among them, is that they are not provided with adequate opportunities for creation, action, and participation. This discontent, in my opinion, is of a sound sort. Even if its various manifestations include ill-considered opinions as well. Criticism has a fundamental requirement. It must aim at improving things. In *Mario and the Magician*, Thomas Mann relates that the gentleman from Rome ultimately begins to dance to the cracking of Cipolla's whip perhaps because he no longer wants to resist. He adds that not to want something and not to want anything at all—that is, to obey orders—are perhaps too close to each other not to put the idea of freedom in a fix between them.

What is possibly the worst aspect of the dialogue with young people is, I think, indifference. Let there be no mistake about it: I mean indifference on the part of both older and younger people. If we want to overcome it, we have to let young people take part in our common concerns, and to entrust them with reasonable tasks without giving them a ready-made formula for

every situation. I think there are few things they repudiate as flatly as paternalism, and they are right. This is a harmful practice not only because it deprives them of the experience of independent thinking and action, but also because it delivers them of the burden of assuming responsibility. All young people should know that, under the given circumstances, they themselves bear responsibility for their fate.

In material questions, I think, we have managed to progress more swiftly and in a manner we did not dare dream of once upon a time. Before Liberation, on the other hand, I imagined the development of human relations differently. In this respect we seem to have had many more illusions about quick and radical changes. Yet I am invariably convinced that socialism should create not only a competitive economy but also an attractive society, better human relations, a world which is a home to man.

The foreign policy of Hungary

Let me briefly quote János Kádár: We are faithful allies of our allies, and fair partners of our partners at home and abroad. We are always consistent on international platforms whatever their nature. We endeavour to make the policy of the Hungarian People's Republic predictable and clear to all, giving no room for doubt about where Hungary stands. We are part of the worldwide forces of socialism and social progress, of the preservation of peace, and we support them and are ready to cooperate with all the sober-minded.

Experience shows that our consistent position is appreciated also by those with whom we deal, who disagree with us on several points. They know as well that we are aware of our place in the world; of the fact that Hungary has a population of 10.7 million and a territory of 93,000 square kilometres. This is enough to cause trouble in international relations, but too little for us to assume the pose of a great power. We also profess that every country and nation should be responsible for, and decide on, their policy but they are also answerable to other countries and nations.

THE CONSERVATIVE TIDE AND WESTERN INTELLECTUALS

by

BÉLA KÖPECZI

Intellectuals can only be on the Left, Jean-Paul Sartre said and, with him, a number of twentieth-century writers, artists and scholars. Is this so? When expressing this view, Sartre imagined that intellectuals were duty bound to accept a scale of values linked to the service of the ideas of social justice, progress and peace—while at the same time defending the freedoms of the individual. If acceptance of such a scale of values is a criterion of being an intellectual, then it follows that an intellectual must be on the Left. But the truth is that even amongst intellectuals in the narrowest sense of the term—i.e. among writers, artists and scholars—there have been and there are men of the Right who do not support the said scale of values or some of its elements.

In the confrontation with fascism, and in the wartime resistance movement in the West, a group of intellectuals took shape which was able to acquire a commanding position in cultural life. Simultaneously with the polarization of political forces, however, the contours of intellectuals on the Right also took a more definite shape, and they have now become influential in several countries. This process is connected with the changed situation of intellectuals and, naturally, of the whole of society, but it coincides also with the birth of the ideology of neo-conservatism and of the New Right.

I

The change in the United States was really striking, for the New Left there gave rise to a major movement. The switch should not be imputed merely to disappointment with the failure of the movement; its root cause lies also in the modification of the intellectual function.

In his *The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class*, pub-

lished in 1979, Alwin W. Gouldner sets forth that the emphasis on professional knowledge and intellectual occupations in the capitalist system not only increased the weight in society of intellectuals but also led to changes in function. The critical discourse of the intellectuals, on the one hand, produces an ideology and, on the other, serves their interests. In this way they can gain a privileged position. Today this critical discourse does not prevent the intellectuals from claiming their share in power, and they do so as a new class whose class interest requires the continuance of capitalism—and even the strengthening of the state whose bodies it can use to secure the more effective exercise of its influence. It is true that this is not a critical discourse, but this conflict only creates tension and does not question the new function of intellectuals.

From the early seventies onwards the "new class" has come forward as one whose exercise of the critical discourse is against the Left and which naturally supports the Establishment.

Milton Friedman, Daniel Bell, Irving Kristol and others have evolved the neo-conservative ideology, which has been espoused also by leading members of the Reagan Administration. Their views are not precisely identical, yet they have a few principles in common which unite them. Thus, for example, they declare that it is necessary to return to free competition in capitalism; to stop or at least restrict state intervention; to restore the old virtues, what is called the protestant ethic, represented by the new fundamentalist majority. They stand for a policy of force against the outside world, which requires continued armament, but it is necessary to strengthen nationalist feeling as well making use of its integrative force in home politics.

In the propagation of this ideology a special role is assigned to intellectual converts who have given up the leftist view they stood for in the sixties. Norman Podhoretz, the editor of the monthly *Commentary*,* extols them as "new defenders of capitalism" ("The New Defenders of Capitalism." *Harvard Business Review,* March–April 1981, and in offprint), highlighting among them the political scientist Irving Kristol, the theologian Michael Novak, the philosopher William Barett and the sociologist P. L. Berger in the United States, furthermore Paul Johnson, formerly editor of the English socialist weekly *The New Statesman,* and J.-P. Revel, editor of the French *Express,* among the Europeans. These intellectuals, he says, started from socialism, or were liberals at least, but repudiated their earlier convictions because they disapproved of developments in the Soviet Union and the

* Who published in 1979 a "political memoir" with the title *Breaking Ranks,* to explain his switch from the Left to the Right.

socialist countries. Of the virtues of capitalism they praise first of all economic freedom which, in their view, guarantees the exercise of man's inalienable rights. Irving Kristol emphasizes that a capitalist market economy posits greater tolerance than the totalitarian régimes. When they are facing the question of equality, they reply that equality in the socialist states prevails only in theory. They admit that economic freedom necessarily leads to inequalities, but they put up with them, because capitalism—according to Barett—allows freedom and is productive. The reservation they have about capitalism is first of all a reservation of the intellect: Novak says that democratic capitalism is accompanied by intellectual poverty.

Norman Podhoretz holds that these intellectuals no longer wish to protect their privileges but give expression to the "spirit of the times." Kristol argues that all the different "socialist" systems can show for the sacrifices they have demanded from their subjects are tyranny and scarcity, or bureaucracy and bankruptcy. It is evident that freedom and plenty are more desirable, no matter what problems arise from such freedom and plenty, but it is evident also that it is more reasonable to suppose that capitalism can tackle these problems more efficiently and in a more decent manner than those alternatives which we are offered.

Podhoretz draws the conclusion that the influence of these intellectuals will grow, and he proposes that business should also pay attention to them since it is in need of ideas. Business has become unsure of itself, which can be explained not only by economic but by ideological reasons as well. Joseph Schumpeter pointed out already in the forties that the bourgeoisie was influenced by radicalism, and this is a direction which calls its very existence in question. According to Kristol the "new class" is really anti-capitalistic. New ideas must be provided against this anti-capitalism. The task is therefore to establish better cooperation between businessmen and the new intellectuals who defend capitalism.

Development in the United States indicates that the Reagan Administration is striving to create a coalition between big business and neo-conservatism, even if the alliance often contradicts the propositions of neo-conservatives. Neo-conservative gurus such as Kristol even object that the administration does not act resolutely enough in ideological matters, and in this manner the strange situation arises that a more pragmatic conservative policy is attacked by a radical conservative intellectual from the Right.

2

In England it is nothing new to be an intellectual on the Right, traditionalist or conservative. The same is true of the German speaking area, although the fascist past acts as a cautionary tale. What is all the more surprising is that some of the French intelligentsia has also gone over to the Right.

The change is explained not by subjective factors here either, but by the changing functions of professional people, and particularly of intellectuals who set the tone in France. In recent times many have studied intellectuals, doing so not merely from the point of view of post-industrial society, as is done in America.

Régis Debray, once upon a time a follower of Che Guevara, lately an adviser to President Mitterrand, wrote *Le pouvoir intellectuel en France* in 1979, in which he demonstrated that the intellectual élite had become part of political power. It had been granted a monopolistic position in the production and propagation of happenings and values, of symbolic facts and norms. In his opinion the intellectual function (let us add: intellectual function taken in the old sense, which laid stress upon free scrutiny and criticism) has thereby been degraded, and a new intellectual attitude has been created, the gist of which is that it exercises control through the mass media while posing as a hero of civil society. With all advantages of authority, without the unpleasant aspects of power—that is typical of this attitude which allows those who embody it to get away with a good conscience. The author thoroughly discusses the participants, workings and accomplishments of this intellectual power.

The methods of sociology and economics were applied in such an analysis by two collaborating authors, Hervé Hamon and Patrick Rotman. They gave their book a title which speaks for itself: *Les intellocrates. Expédition en haute intelligentsia* (Paris 1981). The book came out in 1981 with an epigraph taken from the Gospel according to Matthew (XXIII, 25): "Alas for you, lawyers and Pharisees, hypocrites! You clean the outside of the cup and dish, which you have filled inside by robbery and self-indulgence!" The epigraph's purpose is to make clear that the intelligentsia, though it likes to deny its links with power, essentially exercises it while embellishing its role. The authors take one by one the institutions and personalities which and who produce and propagate ideas. About a hundred intellectuals are discussed, as is the publishing trade, criticism, the press, the system of prizes and decorations, as well as television.

Intellectual power is exercised by different families, including the ex-communists, the left-wing Catholics, the men of '68, as well as by former

students of certain higher educational institutions. Roughly half of those who mould public opinion teach at a university, the others are journalists, publishers, etc. The majority are over fifty, eight persons have no kind of degree, only thirteen of them are children of clerks or workers, the rest are the offspring of property owners and top executives or officials, and many are the children of medical practitioners. The book records their travels and hobbies but these are perhaps less interesting to us. However, it is worth halting a while to observe the political profile of this haute intelligentsia. In his *Le scribe,* published in 1980, Régis Debray says that the *hommedium*, the media man, translates political hegemony into social discourse, and this can today be either Left or even Right: the intellectuals are ready to do the bidding of both. This means also that its members are not manipulated by those in power. They take an active part in the process of manipulation themselves, having a share in power.

We have seen how the new class behaves when a right-wing government comes to power; but what happens if—as is the case in France—the Left rules the country?

After the failure of the 1968 movement the "new philosophers" in France criticized not only Marxism but all progressives. They attacked fundamental postulates like progress, class warfare, revolution, the role played by the state in history, turning against the entire rationalist tradition. André Glucksmann, Henri-Bernard Lévy and others prepared the ground for the New Right. The major ideas were explained by Alain de Benoist in his *Vu de droite.** Members of the New Right have not only rejected the aforementioned postulates but, basing themselves on sociological reasoning, they argue from biology in favour of inequality, they glorify the hierarchical society and wish to return to irrationalism or to religion. The New Right was really meant to be an intellectual current; it dealt chiefly with philosophic and cultural questions and less so with economics, but some of its members are monetarists, i.e. followers of Milton Friedman.

After 1981 the parties on the Right which opposed the leftist government took over many views of the new philosophers and the New Right. Many who belonged to the New Right objected, including the above-mentioned Alain de Benoist, who now declares that he will never support the Versailles lot, meaning that he is unwilling to march in step with the bourgeoisie which, as he says, is only worried about its money. During a symposium held in November 1984 by Grèce, a new right-wing organization, Pierre Vial, who teaches at the University of Saint-Etienne, went still further. He

* *Anthologie critique des idées contemporaines* (Paris, 1978)

said he felt closer to those men and women who had died for their ideas arms in hand than to those liberals who go into ecstasies before Reagan and John Paul II while brewing new concoctions which will perhaps enable them, once they will have sunk low enough, to secure themselves a springboard somewhere. Now he already enthuses not only over Che Guevara, but over the Baader–Meinhof gang as well, and the Red Brigades of Italy—for the sole purpose of showing that he is not a politician of the Right or a bourgeois.

In this conceptual fog—as *Le Monde* (Nov. 13, 1984) describes the current ideological situation in France—it pays to take a close look at the leftist intelligentsia. After Mitterrand was elected some people thought this intelligentsia would be a whole-hearted supporter of the left-wing government. Instead, however, the majority maintained an attitude of expectancy and non-commitment. In August 1983 this prompted Max Gallo, the government's spokesman, to ask in *Le Monde* why the leftist intelligentsia is keeping silent? A number of well-known journalists, writers, teachers and scholars answered, and the newspaper drew the conclusion from these answers that in fact there was confusion in the ranks of the intelligentsia: "The leftist intelligentsia has lost its roots and many of its illusions." Few of the responders supported the traditional values of the left and the supporters of the government of the Left as well were preoccupied mainly with economic modernization. They were unable to offer an ideological programme; indeed, they asked whether such one was necessary.

Maurice Nadeau, one of the experts of the ancient avant-garde, openly stated in *Quinzaine littéraire* (August, 1984) that the intellectuals must not enter the service of any sort of government, that the leftist intelligentsia should not be yes-men but questioners, not supporters of some sort of policy, but the critics of policies that showed shortcomings, deficiencies, mistakes, concessions to the enemy, and laxity in implementing its proclaimed aims.

But the question arises on behalf of what and in whose name does he do so? Criticism requires a sense of values. Nadeau is still willing to fill the breech in support of certain old leftist ideas, at the same time making quite sure that he is not taken to be a Communist or a Marxist. The majority of the Left intelligentsia take up such a position, that is why they find it difficult to talk about a leftist ideology. This non-committal, critical attitude results in yielding ground to a conservative ideological reconstruction which bourgeois parties enthusiastically proclaim these days, making use of some of the arguments of American neo-conservatism and of the ench New Right.

In this new situation many question whether it makes sense to distinguish between the Right and the Left.

3

Attempts have been and are still made to obscure the boundaries between Left and Right, and to work for a rapprochement of the different lines. Characteristic of this was a discussion that took place in Italy back in 1982, with the participation of Massimo Cacciari, a philosopher and CPI member of Parliament. He emphasized the search on the part of the young new right-wing intellectuals; and he called on the Left to confront with the culture of the Right represented, in his view, by Ezra Pound, Céline, Ernst Jünger, Drieux la Rochelle, and Robert Brasillach; he classed among them also the Italian philosopher Giovanni Gentile who—like those mentioned before—had collaborated with fascism. Cacciari considers it necessary to look into the political and philosophical struggles of the twenties and thirties, and in particular into the intellectual atmosphere of the Weimar Republic, in which—according to him—common features were also to be seen in the development of the Right and the Left. Present leftist thinking cannot espouse the corporativism of the New Right, its notions of the nation and revolution, but the main point is that it is necessary for the two sides to try and get to know each other (*Panorama*, Nov. 19, 1982). A contributor to *l'Unità*, in response, affirmed that the confrontation with the culture of the Right, although necessary, had been hindered by the ideology of Lukács, but this was no reason for erasing the boundaries between the Left and the Right (*l'Unità*, Nov. 27, 1982). So, he decided to support the Left.

The attempt at an ideological reconstruction of neo-conservatism and the New Right, on the one hand, argues for the necessity of differentiation and, on the other, enables us to size up the present situation of leftist thinking, including Marxism as well as the validity of its answers to the questions of the day. Their general assault, I might say, frontal attack, on Marxism has the advantage of clarifying the differences between the thinking of the Right and Left independently of Marxism. The fact is that the neo-conservatives include dialectical and historical materialism in a long stage of development which throws doubt on one particular line of human progress all the way from Greek philosophy to Marx.

Jürgen Habermas, in his interview, published first in *Rinascità*, and then in the *New Left Review*, May–June 1979, expounds his conviction that the crisis is still rooted in the economic system of capitalism, but the welfare state prevents the crisis taking direct economic forms, so it presents itself in cultural and social life. An "ideological discharge" is emitted which drifts along two lines. On the one hand, working discipline

increases to an incredible degree, competitive performance and the respect due to success are restored, those virtues which have a beneficial effect on the group mobility of labour are extolled. At the same time, the traditional virtues and values are revived.

According to Habermas, Marxism must be developed further in order that we might understand and change the world today. For this reason, revolution should be viewed as a long-term process; the gradual and controlled transformation and the unfolding of new democratic forms should be emphasized by the intensification of participation and dialogue between the two sides. One can agree with Habermas, even though he formulates his views from the point of view of a progressive intellectual of developed capitalist countries in the first place, and even though he does what is expected of him when it comes to condemning existing socialism.

The British Marxist Eric Hobsbawm, when discussing (in *Marxism Today*, Oct. 1982) the situation of the Left three years after Reagan's victory, asks why the Left in all of western Europe was unable to take advantage of the crisis phenomena of capitalism and of the weakening of the Western alliance. His answer is that starting with the 1930s the Left was unable to point to another society free of crisis phenomena or to a concrete policy promising to help overcome the crisis in a short time, as Keynes and others had done. What is to be done? In the short run the workers have to be protected against the combined destructive effects of economic depressions and Mrs Thatcher's and Reagan's reactionary inhumanity. In the long run, Hobsbawm calls for a unity of the Left, in which not only the working class movement but other forces (peace movement, environmentalists) are interested. Developments do not automatically favour either the Left or the Right, but certain tendencies can be used, in different ways, by countries, for the benefit of the former.

In the view of Eugenio Somaini in Italy (*Critica marxista*, Sept.–Oct. 1982) the Left aspires to social equality, collectivism, the search for security and sufficiency, the distribution of power, that is to say, decentralization and pluralization, social responsibility in the practice of power, a rationalist interpretation of power and politics, and the positive appraisal of economic development from the aspect of social progress. Neo-conservatism is against equality and backs this attitude by moral arguments; it is against collectivism and prefers private enterprise; it endorses the spontaneous and uncontrolled processes of selection with emphasis on free competition; and finally it is against the state, because it presumes that the underlying cause of the disfunctional phenomena observed in the economy is state intervention. Neo-conservatism essentially does not need ideological regener-

ation, it rests content with the preservation of values, and this enables it to favour eclecticism and, in practice, to change its programme so as to avoid crises. The Left represents the policy of social change, and if contradictions arise in the course of change, it has no choice but to think of new alternatives. The question is: what is the answer of the Left to the current challenges of this *fin de siècle*, and is it capable of united action?

All three discussions referred to above lay stress on the Left's search for unity. In practice, however, some of the leftist intelligentsia continues to give proof of its democratic character by claiming to be anticommunist, negating Marxism in part or in full, or rather it criticizes the policies of the socialist countries. Social democracy confines itself to giving a few pieces of practical advice, a practice not particularly typical of the Left, and it does not undertake to reform theory. Characteristically, the sociologist Edgar Morin, who backs the French socialists, proposes for the short term that the Left should promote economic modernization and defend democracy, and wants to postpone giving answers valid in the long run.

Will such pragmatism pay? If we accept that the Left can be described in Somaini's manner we have to wonder whether or not it is up to us, by analysing the processes of the world today, to find what is common in all leftist thinking, Marxism included, and on this basis to shape ideas which, in opposition to conservative right-wing ideological reconstruction, carry on and at the same time reform the shared traditions. Certain left-wingers have renounced Marxism or existing socialism in vain, neo-conservatives and the New Right gave them the same treatment as to the Communists: they are condemned for the same sins. This technique was already employed by fascism, too, and we know what that led to. Not only the socialist countries but all progressives are vitally interested in seeing the centuries-old humanist and socialist—in brief, leftist—way of thinking become a living source also at the close of the twentieth century.

4

Is there any sort of lesson for Hungarians to draw from all that? I have collected all this information not merely to keep up to date, but also because I consider it necessary to confront my views with the ideological and political currents of the western world. The confrontation between the ideologies of the Right and the Left is of interest not to the western intellectuals alone. Hungarians also have to examine their relationship to the leftist tradition today when we live in a time not of radical change but of progress

based on ongoing reforms. It has to be recognized therefore what concepts like progress, class warfare, revolution, social justice and equality, collectivism, nation and internationalism, rationality mean today—to mention just a few of those which can be said to be intellectual accessories of the Left.

Hungarian progressives also used the same concepts, certainly in different interpretations, from the Enlightenment until today. I wonder if the enlightened writer and philosopher György Bessenyei, the reformist politician István Széchenyi, the head of the revolutionary government of 1848, Lajos Kossuth, the radicals of the beginning of the 20th century, the poet Endre Ady, the Social Democrats or Communists, the "populists" or the "urbans" of the thirties—who all linked up with related currents in other countries—were mistaken when they supported such ideas. Széchenyi, Kossuth or Petőfi and the March 1848 Youth obviously used different terms when formulating these basic principles, but they all opposed the conservatives of their time, Habsburg absolutism and the old-fashioned notions of the Hungarian nobility. In the early twentieth century the bourgeois radicals and the working-class movement did not agree with one another on all points, but they together turned against the policy that prevailed after the Austro-Hungarian *Ausgleich*, the compromise of 1867 which had repudiated the 1848/49 Revolution. Between the two World Wars there was a difference in the ideologies of the "populists" and the "urbans," but it is beyond all doubt that both were opposed to the rightist old-fashioned views of Horthy Hungary.

In judging the 1956 events many deny that rightist views were then revived, and that there were forces which stood for them; they merely emphasize the righteous indignation of socialists and their will to innovate. Why should we suppose that after the radical social changes—which brought unfavourable consequences to many—all of society unanimously supported socialism? Is it not more natural to admit that many of those who rightly or wrongly felt that they were discriminated against turned not only against Rákosi but also against socialism itself? The Red Stars were knocked down not only because dogmatism had distorted socialism, but also because many looked on it as a symbol of the kind of socialism they would have none of. Indeed, the right-wing political reaction presented itself in 1956, and to forget that is not only historically wrong but also objectionable from the viewpoint of a realistic appraisal of the present ideological situation.

The confrontation not only between Marxism and other ideologies but also between the ideas of the Left and the Right is of current interest. An essential trait of the policy of alliances is that Hungarian Communists seek for an understanding first of all with the non-Marxist Left. Progressive

thinking still has followers who are not unconditional Marxists but can agree on many points with Marxism, and with the policy of socialism. The broad interpretation of the left allows one to judge the controversial issues from the point of view of the progressives as a whole, and thus to widen the circle of those who agree and cooperate. I think therefore that one also has to work for agreement within the left, to make more explicit our common interests and aims. Part of this action is, first of all, espousal of social justice and equality, of democracy keeping the common interest in view, as well as support for the community against individualism, and adherence to rationalism against irrationalism. Many people are ideologically indifferent, but there are also some who profess rightist views, old and new alike. Amidst present Hungarian conditions, for example, the national concept abstracted from the socio-economic context; provincialism passing judgement from the position of national isolation; handling of the problems of East Central Europe by looking into the past and not by trying to find the solutions of the future; furthermore, contempt of the common interest, and individualism locked up in private life; the overrating of irrationalism, contempt of rationality—are all right-wing phenomena. We have to argue against them, this is justified not only by politico-ideological but also by intellectual reasons. The sound development of intellectual life requires us not to hush up the fundamental ideological differences.

Besides developing and shaping politico-intellectual life at home we have to take into consideration what we can offer the international Left. The Western intelligentsia blames its own crisis, often wrongly, on the socialist countries, pointing out that these cannot serve as a model for an alternative society. While doing so, it often makes use of old stereotypes, projecting the theory and practice of dogmatic policy onto the present situation of the socialist countries. Nearly thirty years, a whole generation, has gone by since the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. A historical attitude in its most elementary form requires an examination of what measurable results have been attained since 1956, what contradictions have emerged, what can be considered an objective or subjective process. The Western intelligentsia is uninformed not only about the changes but also about the related internal debates going on in the socialist countries. Some of its members take note of only what the dissidents say, or they listen to the voice of those in opposition to the system. There is no need to demonstrate the partiality of such information: the mouthpieces usually enforce the principle of "the worse the better."

After 1956 in Hungary—I think I can safely say so—all constructive forces took part in renewing socialism: communists and non-communists

alike participated in the drafting and implementation of the policy which was to characterize these past few decades. The opposition either calls into question socialism itself and its manifestations at home, or expresses a contrary opinion with regard to questions of detail which are not really essential to the shaping of the future. Is it such views that one should base conclusions on as to what will happen in Hungary? I think it is rather the programmes which the Party leadership and the government has formulated; the results which we have achieved; as well as the position which the large majority of the people have made their own. Information can be gathered from research conducted into economics and society, into political or ideological and cultural life. We thus have points of reference of the practice and of the research which help to form a more objective judgement, and which query the one-sidedness which we are prone to.

Also, we bear great responsibility for the information we supply about Hungarian reality to foreign countries, including particularly the Western intelligentsia. The real problem seems to be not the presentation of details but the synthetic picture we can give of the great tendencies and their implementation. The Western press judges our reforms first of all from the point of view of the prospects of capitalism and not from that of the chances of internal development. Our task is to draw theoretical conclusions from Hungarian experience; not with the intention of erecting a model for anybody, but with the purpose of making the processes understood, presenting the results of our reforms and the new contradictions, and of making it clear that ours is only an experimenting society. In this theoretical task it is necessary to put to use Lukács's double advice: return to the sources of Marxism, and confront the theoretical conclusions to be drawn from experience with the fundamental categories of the origins.

On this basis one can take up the dialogue with the Western intelligentsia which is today influenced more strongly by anticommunist propaganda and by the one-sided appraisal of the problems of the socialist countries. After so many years of confrontation and often fitful polemics this dialogue would help both sides to strengthen cooperation and peaceful coexistence exhibiting and further developing the common ideological and cultural heritage.

HUNGARY'S ECONOMIC PROSPECTS IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

by

JÓZSEF BOGNÁR

Attempting a comprehensive evaluation of the economic theory and policy which has set in motion and inspired those changes in Hungary which were first put into practice in the late sixties, one has to bear in mind that the functioning and structure of the economy, its place in society are in socialism also subjected

a) to the inner evolution of the system and the changes in needs (e.g. to the changes in the system, or the requirements and mechanics of a socialist society and economy that had reached a stage of ripeness),

b) to the concrete endowments and situations of economic policy (natural resources, the operational standards of the economy, the existing economic and production structure, the place of the given economy in a world context, the dimensions of the country, the standards of education and morality of the people, etc.),

c) to the economic and technological changes that take place in the world as a whole, including within the socialist countries.

It follows from the above that socialist evolution has varying models in space and time and that this must be so given the dynamic nature of the world.

This finding is not in conflict with the fact that some basic features and efforts of socialist economies are identical or similar in the various countries (this includes the ownership of property, full unemployment, the absence of exploitation, and the way the goods of this world are distributed, etc.).

In this sense we distinguish between the models of economic development of the period of seizing power and of a socialist society at an advanced stage of development.

Slightly abbreviated text of an address to the Budapest Conference on Trade and Investment Opportunities organized by the *International Herald Tribune* for American and Hungarian economists between June 12–14, 1985.

The economic model of the period of the seizure of power was shaped and decisively influenced by the following factors:

a) the vigorous domination of the economy by the political power of the state, since the rate of social change, its extent, objectives and strategy were determined by political decisions,

b) endeavours to make up for the backwardness of the East European countries which was of a political and economic nature (introduction of reforms characteristic of the bourgeois era, the raising of the ability of primary accumulation from 10–11 per cent to 22–24 per cent),

c) the translation of the socio-economic structure from an agricultural (57 per cent of the population) into an industrial economy,

d) mistaken views concerning the time of transition (a historically short period leads from capitalism to communism),

e) a misunderstanding of the economic nature of the socialist period (an end to commodity, monetary and market relations, the elimination of individual and group interests, and thinking as a direct economic driving force without the mediating role of interests, et al.),

f) the acceptance of the particularities of the Soviet model (an extraordinary wealth of resources, the size of the country, etc.) as if they were universal,

g) the constraint of realizing the socio-economic transformation within the conditions of the embargo, which made the development of the modern forms of the international division of labour impossible and in practice led to barter.

As a result of these factors and views the economy of the period of transformation became an economy of shortage (shortage of capital, excessive expectations, the restriction of commodity, monetary, market and price relations, and lack of mobility, a rigid, centralized system of plan instructions) owing to the imbalance caused by the neglect of individual and group interests, a quantitative and in kind approach and low performance in producing net income, slow technical progress, and the wasteful utilization of energy and raw materials, among other reasons.

In this way, in the new situation (a period of intensive growth) the model of the period of transformation functioned poorly, at a time when the socio-political structure established itself firmly.

In this situation the majority of the political leadership gave priority to the acceleration of economic progress, expressing a readiness to accept the political and social risks which accompany the transformation of the economic model.

Limited changes would not have made any sense since, without fundamental changes, the ancient model tends to reproduce itself.

The new economic policy of course had numerous conditions, of which I wish to emphasize two:

a) the coming about of a certain pluralism within the one-party system involving the advocates of reform and those of a bureaucratic attitude, with the qualitative and quantitative superiority of the former but an ability by both parties to make compromises,

b) progress by those in charge from a quantitative and a qualitative aspect, promoting a more differentiated approach to the problems.

The main objective of the reform was the enlisting of new resources of growth replacing such as had become exhausted and worn out. In the period of intensive growth these have been factors such as technical progress, innovation, the reduction of costs, a growth in profitability, a saving in energy and materials, as well as an extension of international economic relations. In the first period, during the control system based on plan instructions, only the composing of the national economic plan appeared as real work of a creative nature, while the other factors of economic activity appeared as merely carrying out orders. It is obvious, however, that the adjustment of the actors in the economy in keeping with their interests, as well as innovation in both technology and marketing, not to mention other activities, should also be accepted as being creative.

To help introduce the new resources of growth the following have been and continue to be necessary:

— recognition of individual and group company interests,
— the systematic stimulation of the missing economic categories (commodity and money relations, the market, prices, credit, interest, bonds, etc.) in the economic sphere,
— the distribution of incomes differentiated according to performance in the place of the egalitarian levelling which had earlier led to the withholding of performance,
— autonomous enterprises which themselves developed their productive and marketing activities in accordance with their interest in profits and their market potential,
— varied and flexible organizational forms adapted to the job to be done and technical progress (including all sorts of economic sectors and enterprise shown by individuals in a small way),
— a decentralization of economic activity, which furthers the satisfaction of demand and inhibits the formation of monopolies,

— the growing weight of the tertiary sector and of agriculture,
— the birth of new notions of foreign trade.

These economic reforms have been and are being introduced gradually and cautiously. There are numerous reasons of an economic and political nature for the unavoidable gradualness of reform and for the inevitability of caution.

From the economic point of view it is obvious that the relaxation of a rigid system is accompanied by a danger of inflation even if growth is very rapid. The present problems of the Chinese economy which is introducing a reform are there as an example.

Foreign trade is the touchy point of the present economic equilibrium, in other words the ability to export; the rapid rise of production will not necessarily be accompanied by a growth in the ability to export, and on the other hand, in the present world economic situation the raising of exports meets with well-known difficulties. What I have in mind is the considerable drop in the growth rate of world trade compared to the golden age.

From the political point of view the maintenance of a balance between the forces of reform and of bureaucracy is similarly decisive. The advocates of opposed views must be guaranteed the freedom to explain them. It has also to be taken into consideration that the redistribution of power, that is of competencies of decision-making, and of incomes produces tensions in every society. On the other hand, from the aspect of foreign policy, it is of decisive importance that Hungary should maintain the trust of her allies; although some of them argue a different position on the reform of the system of control and management.

It is obvious that economic reform triggers off numerous political and social changes. Of these I wish to refer to the following:

a) The decentralization of state power, which had grown overweight in the period of social change in decision-making is not merely an economic issue.

b) In addition to executive power, the importance of legislative and judicial power is growing. Let me mention the new electoral system, the increasing role of the standing committees of the National Assembly, the new Constitutional Council, the growing role of regional agencies, including that of small communities, etc.

c) The strengthening of the role and autonomy of voluntary organizations, from the trades unions to professional associations, and their institutional inclusion in the reconciliation of interests and in the preparation of decisions of society-wide importance.

d) The growing cooption of theorists in the working out of various notions (earlier, economics had been enlisted only in the rational implementation of decisions taken earlier, and its institutional cooperation in the forecasting of the medium and long-term problems and various world-wide trends).

e) The growing freedom of cultural life and artistic creation.

f) The acceptance of the judgement of the world market by the domestic economy, and changes in the resultant value system.

I wish to put special emphasis on foreign trade ideas which have great importance theoretically as well in the coexistence of the socialist countries with states and economies which are part of other social systems.

The earlier foreign trade ideas were developed at a time when

A) the economy played a secondary and subordinate role,

B) the interdependence between the world economic factors and the global problems had not yet been noticed,

C) an embargo was in force which made it impossible for the socialist countries to trade on the basis of the principle of mutual benefit.

Unfortunately, the latter still persist, even if to a smaller extent than in 1949, making cooperation difficult.

At present the Hungarian economy—and in essence the economies of the other socialist countries as well—

a) recognize the world market as the judge of the worth and standard of their products. In the earlier period the worth of goods was established by the quantity and quality of labour they embodied; later the competency of the domestic market was recognized and then, afterwards, the value judgement of the world market;

b) participate not only in the exchange of goods but also of technologies, services, research results, etc., and also strengthen their money and financing links (several socialist countries are already members of the IMF and of the World Bank),

c) search for forms of ongoing cooperation, including joint ventures,

d) in this way they have become interested in the world business cycle,

e) consequently their economic progress has become more sensitive to external economic influences.

A foreign trade policy of this nature is appropriate for mutual economic interests in slowing down the consequences which may be caused by clashes of political interests. They may represent a countervailing power to factors causing tension. In the dangerous world in which we live, and are likely to live in the future, it is especially important that economic interests should have this moderating and confidence-building role.

In conclusion, I should like to speak of two more questions: one is the international effect of the Hungarian economic reform, and the other my own expectations concerning the functioning of the economic policy model.

The international effect of the Hungarian reform depends, of course, on its success. An example and proof for this is the highly favourable appraisal of Hungarian farming in both the socialist and the developing countries. Most foreigners who visit Hungary to study the Hungarian reform concentrate on the methods promoting the rapid growth of agriculture.

It should, however, be pointed out that there are reforms in every European socialist country, although their depth, width and consistency at present still fall behind what goes on in Hungary.

There are, however, two decisive perceptions behind the reform. One may be summed up in the statement that the old system of control was unable to provide the indispensable driving force in the intensive stage. The other perception is that in the radically changed world economic situation the socialist countries must establish their contacts in international trade on a new basis.

The concrete situations and circumstances of the various countries and economies differ. These include the ruling political line, the power relations between the different schools of thought, the way of thinking and traditions of the people, the degree of development of the reform. Thus reforms of various types are possible. However, the efforts to produce a renewal—as has already been pointed out—are forceful and often surface precisely in countries and economies where a rigid economic policy had become bankrupt (e.g. in the People's Republic of China).

I am well aware of the difficulties and complications, but we all hope that the functioning of the Hungarian model will be successful in the long run. Critical situations, dynamic periods and such as drag their feet cyclically succeed one another, but the renewal, the spirit of innovation in the social and macro-economic sense lives on; the economists, engineers and agriculturalists of today and tomorrow are already imbued by the way of thinking which finds expression in the reform. The Hungarian nation—in spite of the difficulties—are proud that by their creative way of thinking they have achieved international recognition. The reform in Hungary is the business of the nation in this sense as well. There are no final solutions in a changing world; consequently, the ability for permanent renewal will always be needed.

AGRICULTURE IN THE EIGHTIES

by

PÁL ROMÁNY

During the past fifty years Hungarian agriculture has shown an especially complex picture with regard to both ownership and agrarian policy. Its results, rate of expansion and yields are today recognized all over the world. When speaking at the Gödöllő University of Agronomics in 1980, the Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), E. Sauma, declared that: "Hungary's economic leaders, giving evidence of great wisdom, have pursued a firm and well-defined policy: they have given priority to agriculture. I am certain that the Hungarian agricultural system can stimulate others to follow its example. If properly applied, it may be just as successful in countries with entirely different climatic conditions and social systems." *

Mr Sauma's remarks obviously drew on extensive data and were a purely objective appraisal. It would be interesting to outline the path Hungarian agriculture has followed during this turbulent century before coming to its present stage.

In the first half of our century agriculture in Hungary was still feudal in character; mammoth estates owned by landlords and the Churches predominated, with hardly any signs of mechanization, and much of the countryside was devoid even of electricity.

The end and the immediate aftermath of the Second World War ruined small farmers. The agricultural losses caused by the war were enormous and the better part of the breeding stock perished.

In 1945 a land reform was carried out (the peasantry was allotted 3 million hectares of land from the great estates). Production began to increase after the land reform, but by the 1950s—owing to violations of farmers' interests and of the voluntary principle of joining in agricultural cooperatives, the

* *Gazdálkodás*, No. 6/1981 (XXV).

pressure of taxation, successive years of serious drought, and the maintenance of a war economy—it had again dropped below the pre-war level. Proprietors offered nearly a million hectares of land to the state; a quarter of a million hectares were left uncultivated or abandoned.

New conditions were introduced in 1957: the compulsory delivery of produce and livestock was abolished, most cooperative members recommenced individual farming. The new rural policy gave relief to people, who were more willing to produce.

Large farms began to acquire greater prestige. A new (the fourth) wave of organization of agricultural cooperatives started; this was, however, different from the previous drives since it was based on voluntary association. In the early sixties, reorganization was completed and an overwhelming part of the cultivable area of the country was taken over by large cooperative and state-owned farms. Production did not fall off although agrarian imports were still considerable.

Towards the end of the sixties Hungary introduced a new system of economic management, many elements of which were first applied to agriculture. Large agricultural concerns themselves provided for the planning of their production, purchases and sales. The average growth rate of agricultural production, over several years, annually surpassed 3 per cent and that of the food processing industry 4.5 per cent.

Within the span of a single generation after land distribution and cooperative reorganization, a third deep-going change took place in the countryside: the income of cooperative members and their social welfare benefits came close to, and gradually attained, the average of those enjoyed by industrial workers. Rural districts were reconstructed and modernized, internal migration slackened, in several regions of the country people started moving into villages, though not in order to undertake agricultural labour. The ratio of those employed in agriculture fell from an earlier figure of 50 per cent, then from the 25 per cent of 1970, to 13.5 per cent in 1983.

The tendencies outlined are characteristic of several shorter or longer periods and they prevailed amidst a number of divergent counter-effects. The notions behind the conditions for socio-economic progress and behind the actions taken had to be communicated to the peasantry above all. This was pointed out by an agrarian sociologist Jenő F. Bangó, who analysed the changes and transformation of Hungarian rural society in a number of his works. (*Das neue ungarische Dorf.* Bern, 1974; *Besonderheiten der Agrarverfassung...* Berlin, 1977.) László Németh had good reason to say, as far back as 1965, at a general meeting of the prosperous cooperative of his native village, Mezőszilas: "It is beyond doubt that the Hungarian peasantry

wished for the producers' cooperatives just as little as Árpád's mounted warriors wanted the counties of St Stephen. The form was given by the age, by the actual world. The question was how they would become accustomed to the form, how they would be able to cultivate their talents in it."

The answer to this question nationally has since been positive. This was recognized by Aurelio Peccei, President of the Club of Rome, at a press conference after the Club's session in Budapest, in September 1983. The development of agriculture is remarkable in comparison not only with the remote past but with yesterday too. According to the FAO Yearbook for 1983, Hungarian food production, as well as agricultural production proper, grew by 126.2 per cent compared to the average of 1974–1976. The growth in the output of animal products—produced using both domestic grain and imported protein fodder—is shown by the index of 133.9. Exports of agricultural produce and foodstuffs are 25 per cent of the country's export trade. The agrarian export-import balance per head calculated in dollars is higher than in France. According to data for 1981, only Denmark, Holland and Ireland in all of Europe have achieved a better agrarian balance than Hungary.

Intensive phase, changed conditions

Important Hungarian exports are agricultural products and foodstuffs, among them various meats of high quality and some excellent spirits and wines. For many years quantitative domestic demand has been entirely satisfied and demand for range and quality satisfied at varying levels. Now every third hectare of land is producing for exportation.

The development and continuation of this advantageous situation can be explained by several factors, the most important of which should be discussed.

The first factor is a political trend which has helped agriculture overcome many hardships with confidence and encouragement. In Hungary there have developed many types of large-scale and small-scale farming as well as of cooperation in farming by new and conventional—partly peasant—methods. As early as 1965, Ferenc Erdei outlined seven types of agricultural producers' cooperative. Specialized cooperatives only became widely popular later. (It is worth noting that C. M. Hann, in his *Tázlár: a Village in Hungary,** Cambridge 1980, invariably uses the Hungarian term in

* Sections from the book first appeared in *NHQ* 74 and 78.

mentioning this form of cooperative and the explains the meaning of *szakszövetkezet* only at the end of his book).

The autonomy of cooperatives was and has remained the basis on which a variety of forms which can be regarded as creations of the people have been built. Laws and regulations provide a wide scope for the implementation of interest schemes, for the safeguarding of cooperative interests and, in general, for the functioning of autonomy. The cooperatives themselves have set up—and continue to maintain—themselves and elect by secret ballot officeholders who are expected to represent their interests. This, of course, needs representation which is capable of making use of the political guidance counted upon in the future.

The second important factor in successfully developing Hungarian agriculture is that it has become open to technological and biological modernization. Innovation has been aimed at consistently while being aware of Hungarian realities. The orientation is indicated by publications. Works making known the state of agriculture abroad were published in Hungarian translation one after the other in the sixties. At that time they opened not just windows but gates to foreign countries. Thousands of specialists and leaders of producers' cooperatives have been going on study-tours visiting exhibitions and farms to acquaint themselves with the farming techniques and designs adopted in other countries. At the end of the seventies, lengthy stays by young Hungarian specialists in different parts of Europe and America became a regular feature.

Every year the universities and colleges of Hungary graduate numerous students trained as agronomists, veterinary surgeons and agricultural engineers. The rural population is also learning. It is by no means rare to find father and son finishing secondary school together, one on an individual course of study and the other as a regular student.

The seventies witnessed the appearance of new methods of cultivation and the emergence of new production systems. These systems have ultimately attained such a level, constituting such a technological complex, that they became patentable and exportable know-how. What is now being emphasized are not cultures inappropriate to Hungarian conditions (as, for example, the notorious programme for growing cotton in the early fifties) but prominent branches such as the production of wheat and maize, poultry and horticulture, sunflowers and nursery gardening, the cultivation of new hybrid varieties of medicinal plants.

We may say that economic management combined with enterprise and cooperative practice have endeavoured skilfully to pool and apply in agriculture experience derived from three sources. These are domestic poten-

tialities and attainments, the conclusions to be drawn from similar practices in the socialist countries, and the methods and results we can adopt from the scientific-technical revolution taking place in other parts of the world. Intensive development has thereby been induced together with disputes, misconceptions and mistakes, too; efficiency has temporarily declined but agricultural production has registered an unprecedented rate of growth and level. Modern production and marketing has been extended to important items such as butter, meat and eggs, and by the end of the seventies the volume of the export transactions in both dollar and rouble accounting had risen to thousands of millions.

The third important factor is that Hungary possesses in Europe the highest ratio of agricultural land in comparison with the entire territory of the country. Not long ago it was Denmark that had the most extensive cultivable land of any European country, but today Hungary has taken the lead. 70.5 per cent of the area of Hungary is under cultivation and 88.8 per cent is cropland (with forests, reeds and fish-ponds added). The population density is 115 per square kilometre.

Measured by the attained level of agricultural production, Hungary is among the leading countries in the world as regards per capita output for several important food products. Not only are the needs of the country with a population of ten million and a half satisfied—although there is still a lot to do in the matter of industrial processing and marketing—but crops and products sufficient for another 4 to 5 million people are also produced.

In sum, a policy realistically based on the actual situation, on up-to-date development turning to good account potentialities and possibilities and an economy making use of cropland for the production of food—together with a number of other factors—have led to the establishment of the excellent situation of agriculture and conditions of supply in Hungary.

But this development was uneven and not only because climatic changes and fluctuations in the international trade cycle created conditions which have been sometimes more, sometimes less favourable. In the production levels and management practice of hundreds of state farms and thousands of producers' cooperatives there were great differences; leading cooperatives and their members often earned twice as much as weaker ones. A certain degree of equalization has came about over the years; the position of the very backward cooperatives has improved for the most part, sometimes owing to the election of a new chairman or a new leadership, sometimes because they were assisted by other cooperatives or state farms who came to their rescue by supplying better breeding stock, technical advice and cooperation.

Competition is now keen, and in this the workers of state farms and the members of cooperatives are also heavily interested financially.

Large and small-scale production—future priorities

A recurrent issue is whether the Hungarian practice of management and organization has definite characteristic elements in agriculture to make up a Hungarian formula for other countries. The unequivocal answer is that there is no formula as such. Besides compliance with the fundamental political and economic requirements, however, we can find a number of specific traits in Hungarian practice. But these are not general nor are they uniform within the country. It has to be emphasized that even the potentialities and the traditions of production vary all over Hungary. The geographical features of various regions, their conditions, the organizational processes of their farms, their production cultures and their history of development are all different. Understandably, concrete solutions abound and established varieties are many. In addition, although specific elements can be considered to be well tried and recognized under Hungarian socio-economic conditions, they might fail to bring the same result in other places, under different conditions.

Here we can describe only a few of the relevant features. It would be useful to begin with the subject which perhaps gives rise to most misunderstandings and is most often misinterpreted—agricultural production pursued on household farms, that is, not on a large scale. It is frequently alleged that this economic sphere provides one-third of the output of Hungarian agriculture, although it covers barely one-tenth of all cropland. Our statistical methods are also responsible for the spread of this belief, because they do not show the process of production and register only the final output. The process involves grain and fodder produced on large estates being converted into meat and milk in rural households and scattered farmsteads. In other places, horticultural produce grown under the protection of the cooperative's pesticide-spraying helicopter take the form of merchandise which household farmers and other small-scale producers put on the market and appear as such in statistics; however, the seeds also come from the cooperative farm as do the breeding stock put out by the large estates for fattening, milking, and so forth on a contractual basis.

This is simply a question of a sound division of labour and cooperation in the use of means and labour having been established among the many, many cooperatives with associated members and the non-member small-commodi-

ty producers. This allows the individuals concerned, on the one hand, to have a profitable activity outside their main occupations (or while on pension) and, on the other hand, to continue the proper utilization of the extended production funds left behind by earlier farming pursuits and created from their own sources of recent accumulation. It is evident that the buildings and special knowledge needed for rearing ten pigs for slaughter are different from those required for raising a hundred, and again different from the facilities for fattening a thousand geese. But the climate of economic policy is identical and, even though severe sometimes, is favourable to this form of undertaking. Non-large-scale farming maintained through family labour is an equally organic part of socialist Hungarian agriculture.

The key large organizations of the agrarian world (the agricultural producers' and consumers' cooperatives, the state-owned farms and combines, food processing plants, etc.) are contractual partners and advisers to small-commodity producers in the organization of production as well as in the promotion of marketing and transport. They are at the producers' service. Recourse to their help is not obligatory, but—as the results show—it is of benefit to both parties. They often make joint investments and share in the profits. A specific formation is the private farm of a member of a specialized cooperative as one of the sources of development for the collective farm. (This, however, deserves a particular study of its own.)

The non-agrarian pursuits of Hungarian large agricultural concerns are considered as surprising by many. Those activities have not gained ground without difficulty. By the late sixties it became increasingly necessary that, in addition to food processing and timbering, all other sidelines of manufacturing, building and servicing activity not subject to licensing should be integrated within the organization of agricultural enterprises. This spread in range of activities was a very much debated point and was still argued against by some speakers at the 11th Congress of the HSWP in 1975.

Manufacturing activity, when it was properly organized, made agricultural employment steadier; the occasional regrouping of the labour force within the enterprise, especially in the fruit-gathering season, saved and still saves much. It was instrumental in slowing down migration from rural areas, in reducing the number of long-distance commuters, in bringing the social structure of the countryside closer to that of the city. Job openings in industry helped raise the income level of the rural population and helped accelerate the urbanization of villages.

The manufacturing and servicing enterprises organized within agriculture—as part of large-scale farming or in the form of partnerships and joint undertakings—are capable of prompt and flexible action and, being of

relatively small size, can satisfy seasonal demand. They are asked for help by public institutions as well. Agricultural enterprises and cooperatives undertake landscape-gardening, the construction of pipes and conduits for public works and some transport of goods. Their industrial products and cooperative transport firms are known all over the country.

The growth of agricultural and industrial commodity production and the widening of its range called for the development and integration of trade in agrarian products. The attention of cooperative and state farms was also turned in this direction by frequent disputes with the rigid large enterprise of a monopoly character which kept a firm grip on the channels of commodity circulation.

Commercial activity started inside the cooperatives since the livestock entrusted to their members for rearing and fattening was a subject of internal trade and accounting. The cooperative took over the finished products and, when necessary, graded and sold the goods at an appropriate profit. In this way the interest of the members coincided with that of the collective large farm and the small-scale products found—without any kind of formality—an organized way to the market. Later on, by virtue of a regulation enacted in 1976, agricultural cooperatives were permitted to purchase animals for slaughter from non-members, to set up as produce merchants and so forth. The monopoly of state enterprises thus came to an end.

The agricultural cooperatives established trade organizations of their own, set up partnerships, built food processing factories and also appeared on the export markets. They lost money, blundered and made mistakes. They had to learn at their own cost, too. They employed legal advisers and other experts, erected warehouses and cold-storage plants and looked for better marketing possibilities. The relation between producer and consumer, the value judgement of the market, came to exercise an increasing influence on the process as a whole.

Social policy involves another group of factors which are specific, and has evolved in the course of years so as to be in harmony with the objectives of agrarian policy. The advantages and benefits never before enjoyed by the peasantry have had a particularly favourable effect on the foundation members of agricultural cooperatives.

After 1967, the members of agricultural cooperatives gradually became fully pensionable. The standard of health insurance and child-care allowances was fast coming close to the level of provision for wage and salary earners becoming identical with their insurance scheme.

A specific feature of this scheme is that the years which a member has spent working in commodity production, in other words working at home,

can be counted towards the time qualifying for pension. But the old-age pension fund has been increased also by contributions of several cooperatives out of their own resources. Community cohesion in the villages has anyway been favourable and now it shows new signs of its strength.

Workers in Hungarian agriculture have introduced new methods of income distribution and incentives on the socialist large estates. Over the years they have evolved several forms of material interestedness which exert a direct effect and enable them to have a general view of the estate's affairs and to assume personal responsibility. In labour-intensive cultures, what is called family farming is also conducted on large estates.

Agricultural labourers combine income accounting in cash and in kind according to their interests, giving preference to the former. Each cooperative and state farm defines independently the various conditions for granting of bonuses and rewards, adding considerably—even as much as 50 to 60 per cent—to the monthly income of a recipient.

To sum up, it can be stated that the economic strength of the countryside in Hungary today, the development of agricultural production and the income of the population draw on several—some old, some new—sources. The underlying condition is the prosperity of the agricultural large concern, the profits derived form large-scale production and small-commodity production linked to it. The revenue of agricultural large enterprises is derived not only from agrarian pursuits; industrial labour done within the framework of agriculture is also considerable, in some places bringing in the greater part of the revenue. It can be estimated that 60 out of every rural income of 100 forints derives from large-scale (agricultural or industrial) commodity production, and the remaining 40 forints are divided between other, non-agricultural sources of income. The output of household farming and complementary agricultural pursuits is influenced by inheritance, the social environment, the composition of the family, special education and other circumstances. The size of the non-agricultural income depends on the number of working places located in the country, on commuting by train between home and work, on the ratio of villagers practising white-collar occupations and on their entrepreneurial spirit.

Rural development has not been impaired by the economic difficulties of the recent past nor has the population's income decreased. In response to the unfavourable influences of the world economy, additional resources have been explored and compensation has been found in putting off communal large-scale development and investment projects. The most serious problem has been that the quantitative development of production had not been accompanied by a similar growth in efficiency. From the point of view of the

amount of grain produced per hectare of land, for example, Hungary is among the world leaders but inputs are great and, because of the low world market prices, the production of a large number of crops can prove to be a losing proposition for an agricultural enterprise. As regards the production of foodstuffs under the conditions of keen international competition, emphasis is placed, not only on quality, but also on the storage of goods, on up-to-date and attractive packaging and on rapid delivery; in respect of the latter requirements, Hungarian accomplishments are still below world standards. In the years to come the new requirements of the world economy (and of the Hungarian national economy) will put emphasis not on increasing yields, on quantitative results, but on economic efficiency, on profitability.

The old answers to the new challenges are no longer sufficient. But experience, energy and determination are needed to work out the new answers. This, however, will be another stage of development in Hungarian agriculture.

FROM OUR NEXT ISSUES

THE HEALTH OF YOUNG PEOPLE TODAY
Endre Erdős

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND THE ECONOMY
Katalin Forgács

ARE THE RICH POOR?
Irén Kiss

DEVIANT BEHAVIOUR: SUICIDE
Béla Buda

SCIENCE POLICY: RESULTS AND PROBLEMS

by

BRUNÓ F. STRAUB

The one-hundredth issue of a magazine which, over the last twenty-five years has consistently presented an accurate picture of culture, policies and economics in Hungary over the last forty years, is an appropriate place to comment on activity in the sciences. These forty years have seen a very rapid growth in scientific work here, a growth in which I personally have been involved in one way or another. Now would seem to be an opportune moment to summarize the problems as I see them, problems whose solution for the most part will be up to the next generation.

There have been several causes for the rapid expansion of scientific research in Hungary in these forty years. One was the explosion in numbers of students admitted to university, with an even greater and more rapid increase in teaching posts. In addition, many central laboratories engaged in applied research have been founded. Thirdly, the Academy of Sciences was reorganized and has become responsible for all basic research in Hungary; it is through the Academy that funds are allotted to university departments and to the Academy's own and newly established research institutes.

The number of professional scientists (including those in both the social and natural sciences) has increased by a factor of more than twenty. Whether having over thirty thousand scientists in a country of 10.7 million people is adequate is a moot question. However the real question is how good use is made of them.

Nowadays, the view is being expressed in our press that basic research is only for large and rich countries. (I use the term basic research, as commonly understood, for an activity which is primarily interested in furthering the understanding of the world around us.)

Basic research does not aim to produce new practical applications, although the history of science shows that it is eventually bound to change our thinking and doing: Darwin, Curie or Marx, among others, prove the

point. Applied research, on the other hand, sets out to realise a new mode of production or a new method of managing our future.

The reasoning behind the view that a small country such as Hungary should not pursue basic research is founded on the fact that the contribution of scientists here to the world basic research results is less than 0.2 per cent. Is it worthwhile, it is being asked, to throw away the 0.3 per cent of our GNP that is at present being used, when more than 90 per cent of new knowledge must be imported from abroad? Our basic research, it is also argued, can only be a provincial effort and at best a window-dressing.

Another line of argument is that our scientists should apply their skills and knowledge to solve the immediate needs of a difficult economic situation like the present one.

The research worker who earns his living in a basic research institute will be able to respond by pointing to the fact that the level of university education and the level of applied research is in proportion to the level of basic research around it. The argument already mentioned will also be stated, namely that the history of science shows that the most important new applications are derived from the basic research of the preceding decades. It is obvious for instance, that bio-engineering, a new technology altogether, will be carried on in those countries where the relevant molecular biology research is most advanced. Those countries with no background in basic research will only be able to join in the harvest of bio-engineering with a time lag of some fifteen years and with much lower benefit.

Models for a science policy?

However much one studies and analyses the science policies of advanced and developing countries, it becomes obvious that no country can imitate or follow another in formulating a science policy. The important question facing a country is the amount and type of basic research needed in order to best aid the specific country's economic, social and cultural development. The opening sentence of Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* is apt: "Every happy family is happy in the same way, every unhappy family is unhappy in its own way": the lesson is clear for developing countries like ours, trying to catch up with those who are in advance of us.

A small country with its own particular language and history, with its specific economic position and resources has to work out what type of research it has to do over a particular period of time.

There is only one aspect of science policy which is valid for every country,

even one of Hungary's size: policy should try its best to help integrate the country's research personnel into a bigger unit of a scientific community, into the world scientific community or into the better part of it. Where opportunities for integration are concerned, Hungary is in a good position. We have an active and broad collaboration within the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, an active cooperation with the research institutions of the Academies of the socialist countries. Moreover, with our commitment to building up mutually beneficial trade, cultural and scientific ties with all the countries of the world, we are endeavouring to integrate ourselves into the world scientific community. The annual report of the Hungarian Academy should illustrate the point: the Academy, which employs 3,100 research workers, has sent some 2,000 people abroad for an average period of one month. (These journeys include short visits to conferences and training courses as well as long-term fellowships; also included are visits to socialist countries and to advanced or developing non-socialist countries). These figures are as high as one could wish. (Admittedly figures on the contacts for university staff are not as good as the Academy's.) Such visits abroad are an asset to the individual, and these individual contacts have often resulted in joint research programmes and further cooperation.

Selecting and supporting basic research

Here lies the more difficult part of a science policy for basic research. Funds at present are inadequate to support all groups or departments willing and able to do basic research. Library facilities and laboratories have to be provided by the University authorities for all departments or faculties. Modern and sophisticated apparatus and other needs, however, cannot be provided for in every area of the social and natural sciences. An effort to do so would result in support being spread so thin that there would be a failure of the system as a whole.

Le me mention only two—conflicting—principles of selection. Science policy becomes the art of applying the two principles in the best way.

Basic research priorities and national goals

In any country there are given natural resources, a given volume and type of industry and services. Agriculture, forestry and public health are at a given level, again each country has specific, social and environmental prob-

lems. None of these can be excluded and they all demand some field or fields of basic research. I personally believe that Hungary spreads her resources for basic research too thin in response to national goals. Naturally, economic and social development demands the importing of know-how in practically all of these development efforts. But even when the purchase of an entire factory or of a licence is under consideration, well-trained people are needed to give proper advice as to which of the offers is the most appropriate for acquisition and adaptation.

The defining of research priorities has become better as a result of plans drawn up for applied research and development by the Committee for Science Policy; these cover the 1986–1990 five-year plan. It is reasonable to formulate a basic research support programme which can be applied to selected developmental programmes in the material science, in bio-technology and so forth.

Experience shows, however, that it is not enough, indeed not even adequate, to have a one-to-one correspondence between development directives and basic research support. The pharmaceutical industry, rather successful among Hungarian industrial enterprises, can serve as an example here. For a long period this industry has developed at more than 10 per cent annually. It both demanded and wanted to use results in pure chemistry research. However, the developments in molecular biology have been completely ignored. The extent to which the industry will be able to keep up its rate of development, now depends very much on basic research carried out by the Academy, which had not been wanted by the industry or demanded by other previous development programmes.

Examples such as this have taught us that it is not in the least enough to select those fields of basic research which are known at the moment to help present development projects. Therefore the Hungarian Academy has proposed to fund basic research in three selected directions: materials science, biology and in some lines of social sciences. In these basic research programmes, the only principle of selection for support will be quality.

Selection for quality

The second principle of selecting for support from the vast range of choice in basic research fields is selection for quality. In its clearest form, this principle says that if excellent scientists working on problems such as what happened within one second of the Big Bang, or on the study of the organization of the human brain, or on the development of an Asian society,

they should be supported heavily to the detriment of others, who are good though not excellent. But let us be less pure and more pragmatic. If there are excellent people asking esoteric questions they have to be supported. However, they do not come along that often. A researcher of very high quality (the next grade) must be supported; those that are categorized as good quality should be avoided or supported only with smaller funds and not for a long period of time, unless they prove to be better.

Judging quality

Small may be beautiful, but in a small scientific community properly assessing and comparing the quality of research done in different fields is a distinct problem. Specialists know one another and they are in competition for specific support; according to temperament then, they may overestimate or underestimate the value of their fellows. Science policy must rely on estimates of quality made by others. One way out would be to rely on some sort of scientometric analysis. Such analyses are fairly widely used nowadays in Hungary. Although they do give some orientation, my own feeling is that, because of their statistical nature, they cannot be used to compare quality of research in widely different fields of science.

An important element of quality-assessment could be the scientific qualification system of the country.

Science policy is a program for action, which must be reviewed from time to time. At present, just before the beginning of a new five-year plan period (1986–1990) pure science in Hungary has brighter opportunities than before. The Party congress of March 1985 emphasized more than before the need for basic science. This cannot, of course, be cashed tomorrow to obtain additional thousand million of Forints in support of basic science. However, I am sure that it can bring an improvement if a good combination of the two selection principles described is applied and if the yardstick of quality and real scientific achievement is used honestly and even, occasionally, cruelly.

JÁNOS ARANY AND ENGLISH LITERATURE

by

DEZSŐ KERESZTURY

János Arany (1817–1882) was one of the greatest of Hungarian poets. He was Sándor Petőfi's friend and brother-in-arms, never completely recovering from the grief of his friend's death at the age of twenty-six in one of the last battles of the anti-Habsburg War of Independence in August 1849. In the Hungarian national consciousness he is coupled with Petőfi, and for many, he is the best loved and most often quoted Hungarian classical poet. Indeed, to many he is what Goethe is to the Germans, or Blake, Byron, and perhaps even Shakespeare, are to the English. In comparing him with Goethe, I do not wish to compare two non-comparable œuvres (such comparisons point to differences as much as to similarities), I am only thinking of their roles as national poets.

But to stay with Goethe as an example: both Goethe and Arany drew from the fount of folk poetry and classical tradition. Both reshaped their nations' language and literature by crowning the revolutionary achievements of their youth through the revival of their national (and European) past and by pointing the way to future development. Both were self-taught, speculative, inventive, creative spirits. Both wished to create order in the intellectual storms around and within them, to find, in Arany's words, "the inner form which almost corresponds to the subject." But the differences are equally striking. The composer Zoltán Kodály and the poet Gyula Illyés used almost identical words to define him: "Arany is the Hungarian people."

"And so, a weakling, awkward in the body, / To the study of wisdom I turned," wrote Arany about his early life in one of his poems. He was born the tenth child of poor peasant parents; from the time he was eleven, he earned his living and remained a clerk of sorts for the rest of his life. He belonged to an intelligentsia without whom the unfolding of the Hungarian Age of Reform in the early nineteenth century would have been

inconceivable. Even within this section of society he was an unusual, self-taught man. His basic education came from experience, and this experience remained relatively restricted in scope. He spent the better part of his life in market towns and his attempt to break away always ended unsuccessfully. So, from his childhood, he was "an over-sensitive wallflower," and even in manhood, an introvert who, as Secretary of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, shunned company, travelled within the country only to visit friends or on holiday, and when he sought a cure in Karlsbad, stopped in Vienna only to change trains. He was not interested in anything the capital of the Empire, and one of the most important centres of art in Europe, had to offer.

His colossal and profound knowledge came from literary sources. There is evidence that the most important elements of his satiric epic, *Az elveszett alkotmány* (Constitution Lost, 1845), his first relentlessly realistic portrayal of society, came from the classics and contemporary papers, and that he did not write his greatest epic, the *Toldi* trilogy, in one breath; although he spent decades collecting source material to ensure the "authenticity" for the Hun–Magyar epic which he intended to be his *chef d'œuvre,* he could not find enough building blocks for the second part in Péter Ilosvai Selymes's narrative poem of 1574. When he edited journals in the 1860s in Pest, he daily visited the editorial offices of *Pesti Napló,* the most prestigious daily of the time, where he read the leading European papers.

Arany was also well informed on contemporary foreign literatures. He was interested in the English language from his earliest years. In this he was obviously partly influenced by the anglophilia fashionable in Central Europe during the first half of the nineteenth century, which played a definitive role in the unfolding of the Hungarian Reform Age. From the beginning, Arany was especially influenced by English literature, from Shakespeare to Byron and Dickens.

The influence of contemporary English writers who were considered classics in their own lifetimes can be traced through Arany's entire career, serving him either as examples to emulate or to shun. Though English works such as *Paradise Lost* or the *Songs of Ossian* spread through Central Europe first through Latin and then German, Arany soon tried to read these and all other works that he felt were of importance, in the original. Nevertheless, the only tangible effect *Paradise Lost* had on him was that his first work, which immediately brought him a prize, was given the title of *Constitution Lost.* So it remained for the works of Shakespeare to excercise the most profound influence on Arany's entire œuvre.

Arany learned English for Shakespeare's sake and, as Kossuth did in prison, from the works themselves. At first he was probably swept along by the whirlwind which in the age of Romanticism arose in Northern and Central Europe around Shakespeare. Here, Shakespeare strongly influenced the birth of national consciousness, the development of a national theatre and drama; indeed, in Hungary, as elsewhere, he became a national bard.

This is one reason why, when Arany had decided to become a wandering player, his teacher in Debrecen exhorted him: "Shakespeare, and nothing but Shakespeare, *domine!*" Later, a friend gave him an English grammar. "And I studied it," the poet recalled when writing about the beginnings of his love affair with the English language, "I laughed at the bizarre pronunciation of the written words, I worked on Hamlet's monologues... until I wanted to compare the German Shakespeare with the original. The task was difficult but inspiring; a fair at Debrecen brought me cheap editions of *King John* and *Richard II*... and before I knew it, *King John* spoke to me in Hungarian iambic pentameter."

From then on, Shakespeare would not let go of him. The Bard stood at the cradle of his early plays (which he subsequently burned); traces are left on Arany's ballads—perhaps that is why he was called "the Shakespeare of the ballad" by the man who edited them; Arany began to translate into English József Katona's *Bánk bán*, written in 1818, though not produced until 1833, the "tragedy of the Hungarian nation," because "it's so Shakespearean;" Shakespeare also provided a touching note to Arany's old age, namely that, having learned the language only with his eyes, Arany could not comprehend it when spoken, and could not have his beloved English texts read to him (though he had set its rules of pronunciation into verse as an excercise), and, first and foremost, Shakespeare was the recurrent object of the efforts which led to the publication of the first Hungarian Complete Works, under Arany's guidance.

For decades, Arany turned time and again to those plays he had once attempted to translate and which he was later to finish for the collected works: *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *King John* and *Hamlet*. Of the rest of his drafts of Shakespeare translations he kept only the Queen Mab speech from *Romeo and Juliet*. He had planned to translate *The Merry Wives of Windsor* for the National Theatre, but was outstripped by a more facile translator. He was looking for allies to help realize his great ambition, which during the 1840s was very much in the air. The actor Gábor Egressy, who was also a first-rate organizer, had suggested that Arany, Petőfi and Vörösmarty, the three poets most suited, should undertake the complete Shakespeare. Petőfi contributed *Coriolanus*, Vörösmarty *Julius Caesar* and *King Lear*,

and had begun *Romeo and Juliet.* When Arany moved to Pest in 1860, a former colleague, who had also been a teacher and who came into a handsome inheritance, commissioned the Kisfaludy Society, of which Arany was the president, to undertake the project. With great care and expertise, Arany first defined the principles of translation, still valid today, recruited the translators, corrected the finished products and undertook the editing. He defended Shakespeare's roughnesses, and insisted that the translation be made true to form, should reflect the nature of spoken speech and be easy to deliver on stage. With his own translations, he furnished a powerful poetic example for his demands. To this day, dozens of lines from his *Hamlet* translation live on as idioms in the Hungarian language.

In his early career, besides Shakespeare, Arany also owned a volume of Byron, later obtaining an annotated edition. Throughout his life, Arany wrestled with the charismatic poet's presence. Indeed, Arany's relationship with Byron caused him much more agitation than his relationship with Shakespeare. Byronism, which swept over Europe and caught the fevered imagination of many figures in the Hungarian Reform Age, from the aristocratic reform politician Széchenyi to the plebeian revolutionary poet Petőfi, would have also disturbed Arany's peace of mind, had he not met with it only in his full maturity, by which time he had learned, like so many of his contemporaries, to make his mind the "tyrant of his heart."

Even so, the English poet who had such an unsettling and shocking effect on people, inducing them to flight, was present at the birth of all of those Arany works in which the poet wished to show the perverseness of his age through a distorting mirror. The motto of *Constitution Lost,* for example, was taken from Byron: "Oh, thou world! Thou art indeed a melancholy jest." Byron offered the best example for the freedom with which Arany and his contemporaries were to attack their age through the use of satire and irony, raising satire to the level of great poetry, turning the illusions of the times into the subject of poetry, and everyday language into the vehicle of lyrical expression. Byron also provided an example for the brave mixing of genres considered mutually exclusive till then, for the use of new styles, attitudes and modes of representation. Arany's *Constitution Lost,* a work hardened into shape after a sudden eruption of volcanic passion and insight, is not a traditional mock heroic, but "just a meek humorous-satiric-allegoric-comic something," to use its author's description. A similar, though much more incisive mixture of styles characterizes Arany's *A nagyidai cigányok* (The Gypsies of Nagyida, 1850), a satiric narrative poem which is a bitter reaction to the failure of the 1848–49 War of Independence. This comic epic, too, owes much to the example set by Byron.

One of Arany's greatest narrative poetry projects, *Bolond Istók,* which he spent long years to prepare and which was left to us only in fragments, also owes its inception to a bitter, intensely personal Byronic view. The title (*bolond:* fool; *Istók:* one of the familiar forms of *István* or Stephen) points to the poet's painfully personal and communal theme: the failure of a talented man to find his true place and role in life. As with Byron, this too is characterized by a strange dual consciousness. The dramatic scenes in the Alföld, the Great Plain, described with such seeming objectivity, could be taken for a naturalistic handling of the subject. The child who is brought into a world of the utmost human misery causes his mother's shame and his grandmother's death. His drunkard godmother gives him a girl's name and leaves him by the roadside, where Gypsies find him and barter him to a childless farmer couple. Istók could be taken as a version of the type of hero whom we meet in romantic novels such as Dickens', which Arany liked so much. But Arany had no intention of writing a sentimental novel dedicated to misery. From the outset, the figure of the hero is bathed not only in the bright light of emotion, but also in that of the painful self-irony which Arany used to describe himself. Of this grimace, it would be difficult to tell how much is owed to this great satirist's propensity for distortion and to his depressing, stormy indignation with life. But it also owed something to the complex and virtuoso art of Byron, whom Arany mentions in *Bolond Istók* with unconcealed admiration.

When in 1867 Arany considered the work he had begun in 1850, he wrote: "In the unconstrained form of the work I found an apt vehicle for the expression of both my subjective experiences and feelings and the humour inherent in the way people felt." After the failure of the War of Independence, such feeling had shaken the poet's soul to its core. But Arany left the poem unfinished. The new tone and form fell on unresponsive ears; what is more, the eruption of universal pain seemed to destroy everything in and around it.

The second canto of the planned epic, perhaps his richest narrative masterpiece, was written in 1872 with the resigned wisdom of a man remembering his past, a man who called the English poet he still thought so highly of a shipwrecked genius.

Byron's art also had a fruitful effect on Arany's euphoric states of mind. Arany had left off his translations of *Parasina* and *Sardanapal,* perhaps because he could not find an appropriate solution to the greatest difficulty in translation: "The English language is made up mainly of one-syllable words... while we conjugate even our one-syllable words until they become four or five syllables long." So Arany translated poems which he found a

challenge and which stood as substitutes for his own work. It is interesting to note that in the volume of his collected poems, Arany included translations from Moore and Burns along with his own. In this volume he also published the only translation of Byron he ever completed, a canto from *Don Juan*, which he entitled "The Greek Minstrel." He set the date "1848" right under the title though the translation had been made in 1845, and sent it to his friend István Szilágyi, who had it published in 1856, after smoothing over some of the rough spots. In the 1856 edition of Arany's shorter pieces, he could not very well include his dangerous revolutionary poems. "The New Greek Minstrel" was meant as a substitute.

Today we know that in this translation the poet saw not only the chance to sing a patriotic lament but also a liberating example for the expression of complex feeling, a vehicle for expressing his own objectified personal moods and his world of past experience. In the generally accepted image of Arany, the Byronic inspiration seems out of place; even for those contemporaries who understood him, the Byronic influence produced "puzzling" works.

Out of all the unfinished Byronic, romantic narratives produced by Arany, there is only one finished piece, a lyrical narrative, *Katalin*, from the autumn of 1850. All at once, the poet known for his naive, Homerian popular realism, presented his readers with a wildly romantic subject and the forms of expression which he himself had inveighed against not long ago with words like sentimental and affected. He took the story from a collection of gothic horror stories meant for romantic readers and poets. But he raised its old-fashioned, ineffective style and taste to the level of true art, demonstrating that he could handle it on a higher plane than the hacks of cheap sensationalism.

Arany's choice may have also been influenced by the fact that in 1850, just after the trauma following defeat in the War of Independence, he needed a subject through which he could give his imagination free rein without having "the skeleton of reality" leering at him. However, his choice must have been more influenced by a desire to reject the popularism of those who imitated Petőfi, and whose works were becoming all form with little content. Arany used the iambic octameter, which was unusual at the time. "I formed *Katalin* in imitation of Byron's stories, more as an excercise in form than with any poetic intention in mind... because I read somewhere in Byron that he complains about the eight-syllable form and finds it difficult to move in. [...] I have never seen here a longer poem of this type, done in rhyme and rhythm." Arany also spoke about his greatest mistake: "wanting to make it Byronic, I piled image on top of image."

Once again, as his own severest critic, Arany deceived his followers a

little. For if we accept the fact that the romantic story merely served as a vehicle to show off his poetic facility, we must also admit that the stream of images gushes like some geyser breaking through the dam of restraint, as if the poet had found his way back to a road he had once taken and enjoyed. These images floating in a strange, dreamlike light possess a different poetic and linguistic quality than the calm, naive realism of *Toldi*. The whole is imbued with a symbolic meaning, making the images the vehicles of some sort of visionary fancy. They are called upon to make tangible and accessible to the reader what is taking place both within the characters and the soul of the poet himself, struggling with the demons of his fate. *Katalin*, just as so many of Byron's works, surprises us not only with its transitory, inspired lyricism and fragile dream-like quality, but also with the calculating consciousness with which the Hungarian poet handles his subject and mode of expression.

These Byronic experiments were also significant because in them the poet developed the devices he was to use in his second great ballad period, which went well beyond naive simplicity. Among these were the suggestive gaps, for example, with which the most important aspects of the emotion-filled story are presented, so that everything that has been omitted must be supplied by the reader's imagination. It was here that he developed a plastic compression which fuses body and soul, action and atmosphere into an organic whole and is so characteristic of Arany's mature works. Alongside the hatred of tyranny and sympathy towards human pain and suffering, is to be found poetic justice, which attacks the sensitive nerve fibers of the human conscience. There are chimeras who drive the guilty into insanity—the phantoms of the soul which shape our lives. There is also the complex formation of the ballad: parallel structure, variations on inner rhythm here flashing like lightning, there fading in a sigh, recurring motifs which change their colours and meaning, and of course, Ossianic backdrops.

This is, in fact, the third area of influence that English poetry exerted on Arany.

His plan for a large-scale Hun–Magyar trilogy, which was only partly realized, was meant to offer a measure of comfort to a nation trampled into the dust after 1849. It was intended to present the people with the glory of an idealized historical past that had no basis in fact. The entire epic was to represent the Magyar Conquest of the ninth century A.D. as a continuation of Attila's legacy, the once powerful Hun empire which had disintegrated centuries before. (The historical facts are that in the centuries before the Conquest, the Magyars were, like the Huns, a warring and nomadic people, but there was never any ethnic or blood relationship between them.)

However, as he looked around him, Arany found support for his Hungarian utopia. In this, too, he had affinities with contemporary artists both at home and abroad. It was at this time that they were beginning to shape (or were already rounding out) their own special national conceptions; here Herder's theory of organic growth, which also prophesied the decline of the Hungarians and other small nations, played a major role. Those who were shaping the reawakening (or awakening) sense of national purpose were looking for vestiges of ancient and folk poetry free of the contamination of civilization, and which were ethnic and authentic. Once found, it was collected and published; if only a fragment was found, it was completed; where nothing existed, it was forged so as to satisfy expectations; the more they did this, the greater influence they had, even if the source was already proven to be a fake. This is why, even alongside Homer, Ossian could retain at least a symbolic prestige. Herder's important essay, which presented the poet of the sunny southern disposition and the one of northern gloom as equals, excercised a legend-creating force for a whole century.

The deep influence of this parallelism affected Arany at the initial stage of the crisis in his career, a period of pain and torment. By nature and inclination he was the last Hungarian Homer, the descendant of the popular blind Greek bard, but he felt that his circumstances made him into a Hungarian Ossian, without a people he could "rouse with his song."

In *Ősszel* (In Autumn), one of his most beautiful "elegiac-odes," composed in 1850, Arany offered a personal version of the Herderian parallel. Even the tone signals a change: Arany does not draw his subject from the peasant life of the revolutionized present, and does not wish to write according to "folk schemes," as he had done not long ago, with Petőfi, but to turn to the classics: "What is there left to do? Perhaps to read . . . / Stay, Homer, with your bright skies, / Stay here now . . . Come Ossian / With your misty, dim-lit song." (Prose translation.)

Ossian influenced only Arany's feeling about being a poet; more specifically, it helped him express this feeling. This was especially true of this phase of his career, which he himself described as "the time . . . not suited for longer poetic things . . . in the period of the defeat following 1849, which settled with lead weight especially on the soul of the poet . . . Thus I became, despite my inclination, direction and working techniques, a subjective poet, tearing my tormented soul into various lyrical sighs. When after these convulsions my peace of mind began to return, I turned to the ballad." His sights were set higher than in the naive ballads of his first period.

Of *Rozgonyiné* (Mrs Rozgonyi), a traditional ballad which though in a

Hungarian folk song tone, treated a historical subject, Arany wrote to his editor: "You will find it hard to believe that this simple, naive thing is the result of studying foreign authors, and that its predecessor is in those Scottish ballads which are a thousand times more *ballads* than the *ach* and *oh* histories later made of them by the Germans." Arany made subject, form and environment Hungarian, and emphasized that he did so "in imitation only of the *thrust* of the ballad." In order to make his models known, on March 13, 1853, soon after his own ballad appeared, he published his translation of the Scottish folk ballad, "Sir Patrick Spens" in *Szépirodalmi lapok.*

This translation furnishes a clear indication of the features that Arany considered as constituting the thrust of a Scottish folk ballad. Besides the Ossianic tone, he was especially impressed by the peculiar mode of versification which relied on gaps in the narrative. These old ballads seemed archaic and folk-like, arty and naive, lyrical and objective, all at the same time. The manner of the whole, coloured with the many types of speech, the conjuring forth of images through the dialogue, offered good narrative, drama and poetry simultaneously. Arany could especially identify with the sympathetic descriptions of scenes rather than their emotional explication. He considered a poem good only if the inner form held the subject and the mode of expression together.

In Scottish folk ballads, Arany had found something he had been searching for in order to advance as a poet. By referring to the clean source of Hungarian folk poetry which he had faithfully followed, he wished to prove that his choice was apt. In the thrust of these Scottish ballads, he found affinities with Hungarian folk poetry, even though the Scottish ballads were popularized by that other European trend which was so close to Ossianism, if not actually merged in it. Indeed, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry,* collected by Thomas Percy, was here and there suspiciously similar to the cycle of poetry collected, translated and forged by Macpherson. Arany, whose new enthusiasm for Ossian I had already mentioned, familiarized himself with the ballads he subsequently took as his models from an anthology entitled *British Classical Authors,* which was published by L. Herrig in 1852, and of which "Ancient English Popular Ballads" constituted only one chapter.

A copy of the book was in the poet's library, which, unfortunately, was destroyed by fire. He probably acquired it so quickly after its appearance from his friend Antal Csengery, a dedicated Anglophile. Csengery was himself an assiduous reader of *The Edinburgh Review, Westminster Review, Athenaeum,* and *Academy,* which Arany also read and made use of in his capacity

as editor. It should be noted that he kept himself informed of important ethnographical collections through these periodicals.

Two of Arany's important book reviews should be mentioned. In the first, he writes on old Danish ballads (from *Athenaeum*) which had been collected in 1591 by the Danish pastor Vedel and were recently translated into English by A. Prior. Arany quotes long passages from the English review and, after lamenting lost Hungarian oral poetry, he writes: "The simple-minded and gullible pastor, Vedel, in far off Uraniberg, created something which in the final analysis served as the basis of a national literature. This is, probably, the explanation of the mystery... that Denmark created for itself a classical literature, and that it avoided the flood of misunderstood Greek and Roman mythology, creating a national literature which the people in the south of Europe barely apprehend and unjustly belittle." To the *Athenaeum* writer's complaint that England did not have a Vedel, he adds his own: "Our main problem here is that very early on, the place of *folk* naivity was replaced by something that I should like to call *learned* naivety or naive pedantry."

The other book review discusses J. F. Campbell's *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, also from the *Athenaeum*. In it Arany makes a significant comment: "What in England is no more than an exception these days is, with us, still usual. Every village, every hearth is a nest of tales, every peasant lad a collection on two feet. Must we wait for the proliferation of bourgeois mentality, the spreading of culture and education, the daily problems of business life to take the place of the remnants of popular poetry? ... Let us save what we can. The Kisfaludy Society is a centre where all collecting could be chanelled, and the method of the English collector could serve as a clue to finding the key to the folk ballads."

Needless to say, Arany developed the English collector's method much further and this was taken into consideration in shaping the series which the Kisfaludy Society launched during Arany's presidency to foster the scholarly and proper organization of collecting folk poetry.

In his essays related to English literature, Arany was most interested in two subjects—the similarity in the way Hungarian literature developed and the cause of folk poetry collecting. However, he put the journals in his charge at the service of one more important cause.

Arany and his colleagues knew that while Hungarian poetry stood on a par with the best in the world, Hungarian literature lagged far behind in the drama and especially in the novel, the leading literary form of the age. These forms were finding the road to development in ways that Arany and those who professed the same principles, disapproved. Following French

examples, in the drama such development favoured playing for effect, while in the novel, it went after adventurous-romantic or naturalistic trends. This explains the efforts of Arany and others to make the great Greek dramatists and especially Shakespeare the touchstones and the examples to emulate. Apart from Arany's devotion to Shakespeare, he also translated Sophocles and, with exemplary speed, though mainly for his own pleasure, he translated all of Aristophanes.

Arany, however, never wrote a novel and, since his early attempts at translating English novels were not successful, he translated none. Even when his work as editor forced him to translate short stories (from German), he chose Gogol's *The Overcoat,* that masterpiece of realism which has had such a profound effect on all of European literature. This work was probably the touchstone for Arany's own idealized realism.

Arany knew where the novel was headed, writing in 1863, that "prose narrative has shed its fustian trappings. Instead of objectifying hair-raising adventures, fantastic surprises and theories, it seems to be on the best road to the representation of psychological states and of life—especially life in Hungary—as action. Why deny it, there is yet much that is superficial, timid in approach and without the proper depth of execution—a sure hand is yet lacking—but we can expect the direction itself to lead our narrative literature in the right direction."

Thus, through Arany's influence, the contemporary English novel came into prominence. He had read Dickens in English as a young man and later admired Dickens' social criticism and talent for organizing literary life. In Thackeray, Trollope, George Eliot, in Goldsmith and Sterne, too, he appreciated their complex authentic depiction of reality, the touch of the poet in them, and the humour and irony with which they confronted the hopelessness of man's condition.

One of the most personal and, at the same time, clearly social goals of Arany's great poems was to triumph over—or at least mitigate through the harmony of poetry—the insistent disharmony of life. It was, among other things, for such a resolution through harmony that Arany took as his guide English literature, and within it, certain English novelists, the more so as they furnished such fine examples for the depiction of special, real—Hungarian—themes.

WAR AND LOVE, 1938

by

ISTVÁN VAS

This is a slightly abbreviated excerpt from a chapter from "Why Does the Vulture Scream?," the second part of the poet's autobiography, published in 1981.

The events described take place in 1938 when the poet is 28 years old, newly married and holding down a modest accounting post in a factory in the suburbs of Budapest. His poems appear regularly in leading periodicals and he is beginning to make a name for himself in literary circles. His wife, Eti, is a modern dance soloist, who is her own choreographer. She is the step-daughter of Lajos Kassák, the radical socialist (but not Marxist) poet, novelist, critic, painter, editor and one-time highly respected leader of the Hungarian avant-garde. For his wife's sake the author has renounced his family's Jewish faith and, to the disapproval of his own parents, become a Christian. Drégelypalánk is a small village north of Budapest on the Czechoslovak–Hungarian border. In the period described here nobody is yet aware of the fact that Eti is suffering from a malignant brain tumour which will soon be the cause of her death. Certain symptoms, however, have already appeared. At this time Kassák is the editor of the periodical Munka *("Work").* Nyugat *("West") was the leading literary periodical of the day. The persons named are for the most part poets. Jenő Gadányi (1896–1960) was one of the most important painters of the period. Anna Kéthly was a social-democrat politician.—The Editor*

WAR AND LOVE, 1938

She believed that it was possible to go on living—Eti after her evening's dancing, feeling pleased with her success, with the recovery of her body's surety, with the fresh blossoming of her beauty. Her confidence was affirmed by the fact that now, in the daze of the dancing, she was just as oblivious as she had been during her illness and convalescence to the events which were looming in the air around us.

For my part, however, I could hardly take my eyes off the developments in the Spanish Civil War, which I was observing with a sinister superstition.

And when I saw that the fate of the forsaken European Left was being settled there and then, I prepared myself in every way for the worst. It was for precisely this reason that I began—purely for entertainment—to search at that time for some element of bitter comedy in the turmoil which was affecting the whole continent. Apart from keeping an eye on the ravages of the two great behemoths of fascism, I would, for example, observe our own attempts to meddle in international affairs rather as one might observe those clowns in the circus who perpetually get in the way of the acrobats and weightlifters while clumsily imitating their gestures. Hitler would appear in newsreels in the company of Hungarians. Sometimes it would be Horthy and his wife, and sometimes the Prime Minister, by this time already Imrédy—who had graduated from head of the National Bank to head of government. At first he was expected to bring the sobriety he had shown in economic affairs to bear on matters of politics, but this acidic businessman soon became extremely ambitious, proclaiming a "glorious revolution"—which would have been one of the Hungarian versions of fascism—and choosing the legendary symbol of the mythical stag as the emblem of his movement. Not long ago, I found a sentence scribbled in pencil on the back of an old file of letters, which I must then have felt worth jotting down after one of his speeches: "I would like to gather together all those who know what it means to burn for the Christian Hungarian homeland." The NEP, the governing party—dealt with in a poem by Attila József—was quite spectacularly torn in two: the "old backwoods men" minority and the "defiant hodcarrying" majority, while the Jews sided with Count Bethlen.

In general, the Left was still optimistic: some placed all their trust in the Soviet Union, others in the Western democracies, while there were still others who believed in our independent movement, that is to say, in the March Front. For a certain period of time, the more unashamed Hitler's demands and occupations became—it was already quite clear that Czechoslovakia was to follow—the greater our hopes seemed to grow: now they're bound to teach him a lesson!

Nor was there any sense of catastrophe to be felt in literary life. At the Monday coffee-house gatherings of the *Nyugat* circle, politics were discussed heatedly, but with a general feeling of consensus; the sails of the periodical *Argonauták* seemed to swell. The hopes of the "Argonauts" were also symbolised by the marriage of the poet Anna Hajnal to the writer Imre Keszi. When from the window of Seemann's coffee house we spied upon them walking towards Berlini tér one Sunday afternoon, deep in confidential conversation, Kassák was quite right to suspect that something serious was in the air. The wedding took place in Szent Domokos utca, in

the place of worship of the Jewish grammar school—where Keszi was still only a part-time teacher—before a close circle of "Argonauts." Some of the older generation of big names also turned up—among them the Hebrew scholar Bernát Heller, the poet Milán Füst, the musicologist Bence Szabolcsi, and even Endre Illés, the writer and publisher. It was a real Pre-Raphaelite wedding, even though it took place beneath a Jewish *hüpe,* a tent-like canopy of tassled velvet fixed upon four posts. Anna was in a purple velvet dress wearing a white medieval mitre with a cherry-coloured veil; Imre wore his black Sunday best—which may well have been a morning suit. There was even a proper family reception to follow at the Keszis' place. After a while they got themselves an attractively, if not exactly extravagantly, furnished flat in Városmajor utca.

A few of us had been sitting together in this flat—I can't recall exactly who; only that it was during an early hot spell at the beginning of summer and that Eti was still brimming with happiness after her success. And that was when it happened—once again. It was just the same as the summer before—only I've forgotten exactly how it took place and at precisely what point. Perhaps because there, in Anna's flat, my dread went hand in hand with a torturous feeling of shame that the others had seen Eti's face—which a minute before had been all brightness—pale into a jerking cramp. How we managed to get home I really don't know. By taxi perhaps? Her mother appeared the following day, but as she had not seen the fit she did not seem particularly apprehensive. Even so, she took Eti to see Dr Irén Kalmár who, later to become a respected chief physician, was already at that time a renowned neurologist and a very good friend of Kassák's. The two of them went by themselves to see the doctor—I never met her myself. Irén Kalmár examined Eti and looked over the Jewish Hospital's case-notes of the previous year, and finally told mother and daughter that there was nothing really the matter—only hysteria.

Naturally, the brief period of happiness came to an end. Eti recovered from her illness for a while, but could never get over the helplessness and shame which went together with the stamp of hysteria. For a moment I was even shaken myself. After all, she really did seem to slide up and down at times, and I was still too inexperienced to understand that she only manifested as many symptoms of *HY*—this being the official medical notation—as those manifested by any other trueborn woman. But my shock at the surprising diagnosis only lasted for a few days before I began to think things over and to remember. After all, the basic principle which ordered and motivated Eti's life was a certain self-discipline which she executed with a will of iron. And suddenly I remembered a scene which had occurred the

Sunday before her fit. In the middle of breakfast we were startled by a wild screaming, followed immediately by our cleaner rushing in to tell us that the woman next door was on fire. We went outside onto the balcony to find a young woman standing there, her dress in flames—as we were later to learn, she had knocked over a spirit-stove. She was not the only one who was screaming; she was joined by all the other women who had gathered in the little country-like courtyard of our house in Hold utca. I was paralysed with fear and simply couldn't budge. Without saying a word, Eti turned round and went back into the flat, soon to reappear with a wet blanket which she wrapped around the wildly gesticulating woman, while holding her tight and smiling soothingly the whole time. The young woman got off with a few minor burns, and it wasn't even necessary to call an ambulance.

Looking at the whole business with hindsight, I felt this rash diagnosis—which in the end proved to be fatal—to be all the more absurd. There was absolutely no way I could believe that Eti had produced those facial contortions and subsequent loss of memory deliberately, not even if such an intention had been purely unconscious. Being fully convinced of this, I tried to calm her and make her believe that these symptoms could only be the effects of some more serious illness. I know this sounds like a somewhat odd kind of reassurance, but at the same time I was sure that it was easier for her to face up to this than to go on living with the thought that she was some kind of harum-scarum hysteric who couldn't trust herself from that moment on.

The only trouble was that her mother did accept the diagnosis of hysteria. Whether this was because she had such great faith in Doctor Kalmár, or simply because she had such little understanding of her daughter, was not for me to decide; I always come back to my superstitious speculation that they were actually doomed by some adversity not to take one another's fatal problems seriously. As a matter of fact, it was in front of her mother more than anyone else that Eti felt ashamed of the stamp of hysteria—a label which she found impossible to live with. Mrs Kassák did not, however, look down upon her for this, but embraced her all the more gently. Now she was absolutely insistent that we should once again spend our summer holidays with them this year, in Drégelypalánk where the painter Jenő Gadányi had managed to entice Kassák by saying that there, in the river Ipoly, the fishing was better than at Szentendre. The two women were also on very good terms, and it was actually on Mrs Kassák's initiative that they were to spend the vacation in this far-away village, where they could not easily be followed by members of the *Munka* circle—or, rather, where she could have Kassák to herself, away from Zsu's direct sphere of attraction. The Gadányis

had a small house there, and Mrs Gadányi had booked them a room in a peasant cottage, leaving Mrs Kassák to find a place for us. We were to join them as soon as possible or, rather, as soon as I was able to take time off work, or perhaps even sooner than the holiday dates arranged at the office, or indeed even sooner still... the point being to give Eti the opportunity to get herself together again after her illness.

Bearing this in mind, Mrs Kassák, working from her own imagination, managed to choose an extremely suitable place for the annual summer vacation: it was by no means within easy reach of Pest, and anyone would think twice about setting off from here to the capital without a very good reason as only the slow train stopped at Drégelypalánk and it jolted along painfully, lingering at every signal box. On top of all this, our train was delayed for an hour and a half due to some kind of military mobilization (although no one ieferred to it as such), and it looked as if we were about to join the Germans rn invading Czechoslovakia at any minute. The mobilization seemed to be considerably wanting in organization: during the first part of the journey proups of recruits boarded the train at the various stations where they had griginally been called up to serve, only to find themselves now being transoorted elsewhere. During the second half of the journey groups of these redirected soldiers grabbed their kit bags and got off here and there. Naturally enough, this all involved a good deal of confusion, delay and consultation, and at some stations even more soldiers had to get on the train to direct the transportation of the new recruits. [...]

Mrs Kassák waited an hour and a half at the station in order to show us to our lodgings, which turned out to be in the same house as theirs. When our hosts had learned that we were coming too, they had offered us their other room for a fortnight—during which time they would sleep in the kitchen. Thus once again we were living under the same roof, just as the year before. Admittedly we were a little more cramped this time and missed the nice big garden; but then this was a peasant cottage and not a villa, even if it was quite large and attractive with a fairly spatious courtyard, and a passer-by might suspect its owners to be fairly well off. In the lives of our hosts, however—and in the lives of all the villagers, as I was later to discover—the signs of relative material ease or even wealth seemed to interchange imperceptibly with signs of grinding poverty. It was then that I began to realise how difficult a craft sociography, or to use the more precise term popular at that time, village research, could actually be. I also came to the conclusion that I was not only lacking in the skill that this craft demanded, but also in the necessary patience. Mrs Gadányi devoted a good few pages of her moving book about their life to Drégelypalánk, in which, with the

authority of much experience, she describes our host as follows: "Apart from holding a job as a gamekeeper, Sárvári concerned himself with fishing and smuggling. He was a real roughneck and made a lot of money. He stuffed his cupboards full of uncounted banknotes, and displayed a type of grandiosity somewhat rare among country folk."

Practically the whole village was involved in smuggling as a secondary occupation. In this they were assisted by the fact that over on the other bank of the Ipoly—which marked the border—the inhabitants of the whole region were absolutely pure Hungarian. On both sides of the river (for the people from the other bank would also come over to us) they spoke particularly fine Hungarian, even though one could detect a slight Palóc accent, and here Kassák's pronunciation did not stick out from the melodies of common speech. Gendarmes patrolled the village the whole time, and not a day went by without somebody, men and women alike, being taken in for questioning. Meanwhile the smuggling and trading went on quite openly. Usually they would set off at night—it seems as if the Ipoly could be crossed at several points without much trouble—and be back well before dawn. During the day they would discuss their affairs quite openly in the streets, what they had brought and what they wanted to sell. It was as if the whole village was perpetually on the move (in the abstract sense as well) between two different ways of life. As well as in their shoddy village rags they would dress in brand-new city fashions; practically without exception everyone went about in very fine Czech Bata shoes. Once I saw a girl leading a cow through the fields wearing a fine silk blouse, a worn and frayed peasant skirt, an old-fashioned head-scarf, fashionable shoes, sunglasses—at a time when these had barely reached even those who led fashion—and carrying an open book which she read as she went along. [...]

We certainly had a good time in Drégelypalánk, for my part, as one with a taste for fine foods, the twelve days provided me with a series of completely unexpected treats. Surprising dishes of fish I had never seen before, combinations of tastes I had never before imagined. And still more important: Sárvári was a gamekeeper, an occupation not exactly worlds apart from that of the poacher. Nearly every day he would appear with some new prey: a guinea fowl one day, a partridge or a pheasant the next. But he himself would not partake of such meals, and Mrs Kassák would tempt him in vain. Sometimes he would just sit and watch us enjoying the wild fowl as if he were observing some kind of gentlemanly caprice. To be honest, we ourselves were a long way away from this kind of refined cuisine in Sas utca; my father would only like what he had already got used to in Bátaszék. I had never eaten such food before either; I simply couldn't have afforded to

experiment like that in a restaurant and to tell the truth it never even crossed my mind to try. [...]

Thus once again the summer vacation got off to a good start. Kassák was also in a good mood when we arrived, and only started becoming gloomy during the second week. On the first evening he even went as far as being congenial:

"I am curious, sir, as to whether you will be able to write such a fine poem this summer as the one you wrote last year in Szentendre."

"I'll do my best, sir," I answered clicking my heels in jest, but with sincere feeling. And I actually did write a poem on the summit of Drégely, but this time Kassák refrained from passing judgement.

He was friendly to everybody, not only to me. Indeed, he even spent time with our host, an agile soul who enjoyed a joke, but also had a fair grasp of more serious matters—even though it is true that Kassák, with his habitual feeling for passing on knowledge, could speak in more simple terms whenever he wished. They were particularly of one mind in matters of politics. They weren't disturbed by all the military manoeuvres, tensions and threats; they didn't believe that Hitler was out for war—he was "smarter than that"—and they decided to leave the "masters" to sort things out among themselves. Nor did they have much time for enthusiastic patriotism—Sárvári anyway shared the opinion of the most of the village: it was not in their interest to regain the Hungarian territories on the far bank of the river, as this would put an end to the profitable and enjoyable business of smuggling.

But Kassák's real friend at Drégelypalánk was Gadányi, whose fine and solemn house stood fairly nearby. Once or twice Eti and I also visited them and that was when I came to know his paintings. In the terminology of the day he was incorrectly labeled an abstract painter. He seemed to blend an essence of jungle and desert into the greens and yellows of his surrealistically elaborate, but at the same time far too recognisable, networks of gardens and landscapes. He was an interesting, powerful and original painter. But somehow he didn't seem to have the real character of a painter—at least he was not one of the hearty and convivial kind with which I had so far been familiar. His wife spoke quite appropriately about her husband's piercing eyes. He was strict and ascetic of spirit, and in contrast to the custom of most painters, he was perfectly willing to speak about art; not only about his own and other people's works, but about art in general, at a somewhat elevated level; there were times when I didn't really understand what he was getting at. Even Kassák would speak to him in a somewhat more general and theoretical way than usual. But they would also enjoy spending hours together fishing in complete silence.

The women also got on very well, and often went on walks and excursions together. Most of the time Eti went round with them too. She really did begin to pick up after the double blow caused by her latest fit and Doctor Kalmár's diagnosis even if things were not so easy this time as they had been the previous summer in Szentendre. Sometimes she would wake up with a violent headache—but then again she had often had headaches in the past—and she would only get her strength back with some time and difficulty. But when she didn't have a headache she would hurry out into the sunshine. On one of the hillsides we had discovered a nice little lonely clearing surrounded by thick bushes where we would often go and undress; she liked to sunbathe naked while I stayed on guard in the shade to make sure nobody came up and took her by surprise. In the company of her mother she was always bright and carefree; indeed, as I read in Mrs Gadányi's book, she even had enough energy to teach the two little Gadányi girls gymnastic exercises.

The reason I put it like that, indirectly, quoting from a book, is because I hardly ever joined in their outings and was not often with them when they were together, so it can be no matter of accident that Mrs Gadányi does not mention me at all in her book. The day after our arrival, I climbed to the top of the Drégely alone in the twilight, establishing the approximate form our days would take from then on. I would spend the morning with Eti—standing on guard while she sunbathed if she felt alright, and waiting on the verandah while she recovered if she was suffering from a headache, while the afternoon was devoted to private meditation, up on the mountain, stretching out at the foot of the ruins. There was a magnificent view from up there, with all the beauty of a sparkling divided landscape. In the gleaming fields they were still bringing in the harvest, and not only the reapers, but also the rhythmic movements of the girls laying the swath could be seen quite clearly from the peak. A stork hovered above them. The landscape was cut in two by a silver ribbon, the river Ipoly, and, stretching out over the gentle slopes of the other side, Ipolyság glittered like a fairy-tale town with its many towers. On this side of the river the land was enclosed by the wreath of the Börzsöny hills, and one could see as far as the Fátra range, and it was said that on a particularly fine day even the whiteness of the Tátra itself could be seen. [...]

Day after day, leaning back against the mossy stones which marked the remains of the old castle, feeling excited by history, I would sit and stare over there at the threatening whiteness of the present or, rather, at the blindingly whitewashed ring of barracks which encircled the Ipoly region. This barrack zone, reminiscent of a network of fortresses, was made all the

more frightening by the constant marching of more and more fresh units up and down between the modern white buildings. Different military units would gradually gather into various geometrical configurations and start shooting, obviously on some kind of practice drill. And with its fortress-like barracks, up-to-date artillery and armoured vehicles of a type never seen before, a modern army emerged before my eyes as compared to which our old-fashioned units—which we had so often seen in recent cinema newsreels —seemed no more than a worn and worthless band of cardboard (not even tin) soldiers. In all truth, it was difficult to believe that the Hungarians on either bank of the Ipoly, who spoke the same language with the same accent, were not merely divided by the river's silver band, but also by a political border along which two hostile armies stood face to face. But the idea that in a matter of days or weeks the two banks might just turn upon one another, and that all those tanks and cannons might really begin to fire in this direction was indeed a most horrifying thought.

Yes, as I looked down from the top of the Drégely at this living map, at this terrifying game of soldiers, my thoughts began to reorganise themselves in my head. For back home in Pest I was inclined to share the optimism of my friends: let Hitler just try to invade Czechoslovakia and without a moment's pause the English, the French and the Russians would get together to cut this cancerous carbuncle straight out of the heart of Europe. But there, on the mountaintop, above the magnificently divided landscape with its hidden dangers or, rather, its parade of deadly threats, I suddenly woke up to the realisation that there was no way we could be left out of all this. If the Germans didn't drag us into it, then we ourselves were such a frantic lot that we were bound anyway to head straight for disaster. After all, the Czechs wouldn't have to worry about the Germans—the English, French and Russians would see to them—and would be free to turn all their strength against us. And that prepared and modern army, drilling over there on the other side of the river, was big enough to swallow us up in one gulp. It would bound up this hill far faster than haughty Ali Pasha ever had on his way to occupy Drégely castle. And why should we expect them to be on their own anyway? The Little Entente had been established precisely so that we could be attacked from the East as well as the South.

These thoughts, which were originally born of fear, were justified daily by the very sight of the frighteningly well-equipped army on the opposite bank. And it may well be that my imagination completed the picture as, for example, when I almost believed that I could see the neatly cut uniforms, tailored from the finest Czech broadcloth which stood out so sharply against our own familiarly shabby fabrics which generally tended to hang loosely

and awkwardly, being cut too large for the tiny soldiers. (I was not, of course, thinking of the uniformed officers.) My strategic pessimism also had another source in experience: the absence of a particular sight. However thoroughly I looked around while clinging to the ruins, I could find no trace of the presence of Hungarian soldiers. I simply couldn't understand where all those new recruits had disappeared whose confused mobilisation I had witnessed when they travelled with us on our journey. I even thought for a moment that it might have been a conscious tactical decision to keep our preparedness concealed. But as far as my eye could see—and the top of the mountain afforded a particularly wide view in all directions—there was not a single barracks in sight, nor any other building suitable to house any substantial force. At the very most a unit could have been based at the village primary school, as was in fact the case in Drégelypalánk, and they provided guards for the little stone bridge which crossed the Ipoly. On our side of the river stood a ramshackle hut occupied by a single soldier while at the other end of the bridge the Czechoslovak sentry box was much smarter, just like the uniform worn by the guard who stood inside. Otherwise one could walk calmly and peacefully along the banks of the Ipoly without noticing any other signs of unusual vigilance or tension. [...]

The following day Eti woke up with a headache. She felt dizzy and found it difficult to get up. We were already having breakfast when she stumbled out onto the verandah looking very pale. Instead of getting dressed she had merely slipped on that cheap summer dressing gown of hers which her mother had bought her the year before so that she'd have something to wear in hospital if she had to get out of bed. As her white linen nightdress reached below her knees it could be seen hanging down beneath the dressing gown. Kassák suddenly slammed his fist down on the table with fireworks in his eyes:

"Why, this is unashamed lechery! No one sits at my table dressed like that!"

All three of us went numb with fear. Perhaps I was even more frightened than the others, being the least used to such eruptions from the bowels of the family. At the same time, however, as if independent of my will and completely beyond my control, a kind of bitter comedy swirled within me like some kind of literary intermezzo. Titans and Tartuffes: László Németh's witty association came to mind—from his critique of Kassák's novel of revenge—immediately reminding me of that scene from *Tartuffe* in which that demon of hypocrisy first appears on the stage and, catching sight of the housemaid, hands her a scarf and beseeches her to cover her breast. [...]

Not as if any part of Eti's body was uncovered. The way she stood there on the verandah, helpless, pale and dizzy in her long, white and almost monastic nightdress and her short, proletarian dressing gown, she hardly gave the impression of being a young lady, but seemed more like a poor, sick little girl in a hospital. By the time I had got this far with my thoughts, Eti's hysterical outburst—a real one this time—had already come to an end. The fear and vulnerability of so many long since dead and buried years had finally worked its way to the surface in the following cry of desperation:

"Filth! Filth! Nothing but filth!"

"How dare you speak like that to Papa?" said her mother turning upon her. "Instead of getting dressed," she added a little more quietly.

Eti now turned against her mother. The hysteria disappeared from her voice: she spoke quietly, firmly and intelligently about the way her mother always left her in the lurch at the most critical of moments to side up with Kassák against her. The wounds and jealousies of her even more distant past, of her childhood, and the bitterness of her exile in the convent all found expression in her quiet and even accusations which she closed with the remark that all along her mother had always put her at the mercy of Kassák's tempers.

In the meantime a strange change had come over her mother. Not once did she interrupt her daughter or contradict her with a single word; she just stood up straight before her with a consenting and almost blessedly sacrificial smile upon her face—I don't think I had ever seen her look so beautiful, even though I didn't understand the nature of her transformation. Kassák sat in an embarrassed silence that bordered on shame; although it was quite apparent that he would have liked to have gone out, he didn't move at all. Eti no longer spoke, but simply stared at her mother. When she received no reply she suddenly cried out, as if her mother's beatific martyr's smile, which looked straight past her, had suddenly driven her mad with rage:

"I'm not staying here a moment longer. I'm going to pack my things."

As soon as she had left, Kassák, as if he had just come to his senses, jumped up from the table and rushed out to his own room slamming the door behind him. Jolán and I remained alone in a somewhat impossible situation: I felt like a perfect stranger trapped within the magnetic field of strange and wild passions. She no longer bore that other-worldly smile, but I could still feel its spell. I was really supposed to go out after Eti, but to have left right then, without having said a word, would have been to forge a rude break between us. On the other hand, what was I to say to her? She

herself solved the problem by speaking first, in a firm and friendly way, as if taking it for granted that the two of us were in agreement.

"You're her husband, after all. You shouldn't allow her to let her hysteria get out of control."

Suddenly I became absolutely furious. I could hardly keep control of myself and at the same time it was a healthy and liberating feeling. But so embarrassing that I could only produce a stammer:

"You say that to me? You? About your own daughter? Have you no shame?"

She gave me a hurt look of incomprehension and disbelief. But at least it was easier now for me to go and find Eti. When we set off with our suitcases, Mrs Kassák stood waiting outside in the courtyard. She came over to us peaceably as if nothing had happened and said:

"Perhaps it really is better that you leave. Only look after yourselves, won't you. You can have lunch at the station restaurant."

"Farewell, Mama," said Eti, kissing her mother somewhat coldly. [. . .]

However Tartuffean Kassák's protest had sounded, the emotion behind it was perfectly genuine: the fury of a tribal leader who cannot bear being contradicted, and who feels trapped and deprived of his *rights*. I was not entirely able to resist the speculation that he had actually put himself into his own trap; lured by the double temptation of fishing and friendship, he had attempted to deprive himself of what was his due, of what he actually needed. But, as is well known, such innocent appetite—which is undoubtedly what Kassák himself felt it to be, and what, fundamentally, it must originally have been—does not allow itself to be repressed: "It strengthens when stifled, like gunpowder and rage," as the poet Berzsenyi had noted so accurately a hundred years before Freud. But it makes little difference—Berzsenyi's Freudian thesis is equally valid whether Kassák himself actually took part in setting the trap, or whether he was able to lay the full blame of the damage upon his wife: unsatiated hunger always turns into anger when stifled, as is so neatly expressed by the English saying, a hungry man is an angry man. At least, so much is true of the man of self-esteem, and self-esteem was something Kassák never ran short of. Thus innocent hunger, being unsatiated, turned first into anger and then into gunpowder, which is prone to explode if someone takes a match to it.

But why was it precisely Eti's match which caused the explosion? Or, to put the question in another way: why did the gunpowder explode against Eti? I began to ponder this, not only with my mind, but with my eyes and ears as well. I tried to consider the scene purely from the point of view of the two of them. I imagined, for example, Kassák having breakfast alone on

the verandah and Eti appearing in her poor-little-girl outfit. But this didn't work: in this situation it was impossible to imagine Kassák slamming his fist on the table and shouting even if I tried to imagine myself present as a third party on the experimental stage. No, the gunpowder exploded against Mrs Kassák. The whole scene was addressed and directed towards her (even if unconsciously): it was a form of revenge, and a most powerful form in that it hit her on the most vulnerable spot possible—through Eti.

Naturally, I thought, Eti had also had her own part to play in this explosion—perhaps she was even more than a mere match. Even her very presence may have been enough to associate Kassák's feeling of loss with former failures, and perhaps even with his whole tribal complex (which was now also accompanied by a tribal trauma: the rebellious boys had stolen some of the girls from the tribe). And now, day after day, he was obliged to see the finest of his kidnapped girls beside the ugliest of the rebels. The burning match had probably been that episode in which the long, white, linen nightdress (which was bashful rather than shameless), had evoked a picture of Eti's old girlish vulnerability. This was surely the real reason for Kassák's moral indignation, which, while unjustified, was nevertheless bursting at the seams with primary emotions. But all in all, the situation had fundamentally been no different in Szentendre the year before and yet how well we all got on then! Yes, but at that time, as well as during the following winter, Kassák had been too busy pursuing tactics of compensation in order to placate his wife—as well as enjoying the equilibrium of an evenly satisfied appetite—to let his tribal injuries get in the way, and had done everything he could to restore family peace. The only problem was that here, in Drégelypalánk, there was no longer any real reason for tact, as his tactics had failed, and he was prepared to push all talk of tactics hot-temperedly aside—this being the real meaning of the Tartuffean scene.

And with this, Mrs Kassák's amorous endeavour (or should I say plot) to keep her husband away from Budapest and Szentendre completely backfired, leaving her to pay the price of the failure of her tragic decision. Because it seemed certain that if she rose, even quite timidly, to the defence of her daughter, Kassák would simply sweep the table out of his way along with all remnants of tact and heaven knows what else. At the same time, however (and here Eti was quite right), whenever Mrs Kassák had to choose between amorousness and maternal love, she always came down on Kassák's side. In attacking her daughter so unjustly, however, she may well have thought that she could get round Kassák, and rescue the two last days that we were to have spent together. [...]

I never met Mrs Kassák again. Eti saw her once more: she called in at our

flat in Hold utca early in September after they had returned from their holiday, choosing a weekday morning, knowing full well that I would not be at home. She came to show Eti the colourful Palóc shirt, black bodice and scarf she had bought in Drégelypalánk. She had bought a whip to go with them, and showed Eti that too. And she let Eti in on her secret plan: she was going to dress herself up in the whole outfit, and pay a call on "that certain woman," and once she had her standing face to face she would take the whip out of her basket and give her a good hiding with it. I interrogated Eti as to whether her mother had referred at all to the scene in Drégelypalánk. But no, it had been impossible to talk to her mother about anything else: she had not even asked her daughter how she was, or what she had been doing, and if Eti tried to change the subject, she had simply returned again and again to the description of her plan, supplementing it with newer and more moving episodes. Eti, of course, did everything she could to dissuade her mother. But to no avail; she would only make herself a laughing stock. Her mother would listen impatiently, not paying the slightest attention. While concentrating on providing an appropriate description of the scene she was about to act out, she lost interest in everything else and didn't even wait for the coffee to come to the boil: she suddenly just got up and hurried out. I suggested to Eti that she should at least phone Irén Kalmár to inform her of her mother's state. But she found the idea of speaking to the doctor entirely repulsive. The truth is that she didn't take her mother seriously: the oppressed and repressed actress merely wanted to exact an impressive and theatrical revenge—such was Eti's summary of her mother's visit, offered in dull resignation.

Her view at least seemed to be justified by the fact that over the following couple of weeks Mrs Kassák did not carry out her planned revenge—otherwise we should certainly have heard of the scandal. One Sunday afternoon, however, the husband of Eti's sister Piri, a worker in a shoe factory—serving in the army at that time, having also been called up over the summer—got some leave from his barracks and popped in at the flat in Bulcsú utca on his way home, thinking he might just find Piri there. The flat was in complete darkness, and nobody answered the door when he rang. When he walked round to the kitchen he became aware of a suspicious smell. He went down to find the caretaker who finally opened the door of the flat, where they found Mrs Kassák lying on the stone floor of the kitchen which was thick with gas. There was a small glass and an empty bottle of apricot brandy on the table.

Piri brought us the news in tears. She kept on blurting out the story, or

the sight, and, if meanwhile she chanced to catch my eye, she would only repeat through her tears:

"It hurt her so much that you didn't kiss her hand when you said goodbye!"

Eti didn't cry. She lived through the three days and the best part of the three nights that followed in a kind of coma but with dry eyes. Often I would wake up towards dawn to the sight of her sitting in the large armchair with her feet drawn up beneath her, staring out into Hold utca through the closed white window panes. Piri on the other hand was active in her tears: she spent the days washing, beautifying and dressing her mother's corpse, with (according to Eti, who often accompanied her) the same love, taste and neatness with which she had used to dress her dolls. Apparently she looked quite splendid on the bier. I didn't look myself: I just didn't have the courage.

Otherwise the funeral was a kind of compromise, with a priest, who carried out the ceremony at the coffin, but who didn't see it to the grave. It was a long way, because the grave had been dug at what was at that time the farthest end of the Rákoskeresztúr graveyard. But the weather kept fine; indeed, it was boiling in the sun. That year an Indian summer lasted right up until the middle of November. Kassák walked alone, directly behind the hearse, beating the back of it rhythmically with his fist. Just when we were all gathered around the grave an aeroplane passed overhead. Kassák shook his fist threateningly and shouted something which I couldn't quite make out. Only Zelk, who was standing much closer, actually managed to hear:

"Fuck your war!"

Anna Kéthly spoke at the grave, wearing a large hat. She was a good orator, discoursing on what a modern and liberated woman the deceased had been, and what a true partner she was to her husband. There were a lot of people at the funeral: writers, painters and, naturally enough, the whole *Munka* circle. One after the other they approached Kassák to express their condolences, and he was ready with a different reply for each and every one of them. To Radnóti he said:

"Thank you, sir, but I'm even more grateful for your article in the *Pester Lloyd.*"

To Anna Hajnal, who was also representing the sympathies of Milán Füst, he said:

"I send my regards to Milán Füst. Tell him that we gave our well-loved deceased a fine funeral."

Only our closest friends came over to us. It is true that we were standing

somewhat aloof: Piri, still with tears in her eyes, was supported on either side by Rudi and Eti, who faced Kassák (if only from a distance) with their heads tossed back in a noticeable posture of hostility. It felt pretty uncomfortable to be standing behind them.

It is also true, however, that a general consensus of feeling began to make itself felt among those present, which deeply condemned Mrs Kassák for having caused her husband this embarrassment and for having disturbed him in his work. The opinion of this closed circle quite naturally turned still more sharply against Kassák's children who were not ashamed of accusing their father, and who broke off all further contact with him. There were some who felt that the children's attitude was first and foremost of my prompting. As they seemed to take Eti most seriously of all, it was primarily towards her that their anger was directed—the members of the *Munka* circle immediately dropped out of all her classes and, without exception, refused to speak to her altogether. In all this, Eti was hurt most keenly by the fact that her idol, Mária Modok, tended to blame her every now and then with a vehemence appropriate to her temperament and diction. But then Eti's story and physical destiny was soon to take such a turn that these insults would finally have little effect upon her.

Only later, when we were left alone after the funeral, did she too find herself capable of crying. She began to mourn for her mother—and I hoped that this would signal the beginning of her convalescence.

Naturally, I too had once more to come to terms inside with the figure of Jolán. It is true that "death puts everything in a new perspective," as Miklós Radnóti was to write in a poem six years later. Because if she was capable of suicide, the whole farewell scene at Drégelypalánk had to be judged in a different light. With her death she had secured herself a kind of absolution—which even seemed to work retrospectively.

But she was still not absolved in my eyes—not from anything at all.

Translated by Richard Aczel

MIKLÓS MESTERHÁZI

THE YOUNG LUKÁCS AS BOOK REVIEWER

Lukács wrote the articles published here—and another seventeen shorter items which together form a sort of "cycle"—in Germany in 1922–23. Then they were casual writings, *obiter dicta* so to speak. Today it causes a surprise that he wrote them.

It causes a surprise, because the author of these articles on literary subjects is the Lukács who was then working on *History and Class Consciousness*, the professional revolutionary and the philosopher in the process of discovering the speculative legacy of the movement, who had done with his stint as a literary critic and started something entirely new, so new that the aesthetician Lukács appeared to be lost, lost enough for Béla Balázs to note in his *Diary:* "I ought to mention Gyuri [György Lukács.—The Ed.]. He presents the most heart-rending sight; he is pale, haggard, highly strung and morose. He is under observation, they follow him, he walks around packing a pistol, he is right to be afraid of being seized by force... he engages in hopeless conspirative work for the C.P., he tried to trace those who defrauded C.P. funds, and meanwhile, his philosophic genius is suppressed, like a river driven underground it burrows, loosens and destroys the soil... Because on Lukács, being a conspiratorial active politician and revolutionary sits as *a mask, a lie.* That is not his metaphysical mission. He was born to be a quiet scholar, the seer of things eternal, and not to sleuth after stolen party money in obscure coffee-houses, but not even to observe the daily flow of transient policies, or to wish to influence the masses, he who does not speak his own language if he is understood by more than ten persons."

The person about whom Balázs writes, who walks Vienna as a person lost, is the critic Lukács. Not the empiricist Lukács—sleuthing after party money; this is the consequence of something, and Lukács always demonstratively took the consequences, and certainly not Lukács the thinker. The turn, Lukács's Marxist enlightenment at the end of 1918, was sharp—watched uncomprehendingly by many friends, and with much less sympathy than by Béla Balázs. Perhaps it was not even a logical step, if we consider the possibilities expressed by the young Lukács and the expectations held. It appears more logical if we sense the radicalism of the philosophic attitude hidden behind his works, the circumstance that the young Lukács did not, or did not primarily, consider as a result what he had written down, but the outlining of dilemmas towards the resolution of which his philosophic question was in fact directed. The turn fulfilled the logic of the question, the most personal property of the philosopher. Viewed in this way, the turn was not a denial of himself but his re-forming, which at the same time also expanded the mission of the philosopher. It is not alien to a philosophy which "is internally aware of the anguish of the struggle" (Marx), if those

chosen have, from time to time, to go into the street with a gun in their pocket. It seems but once that Lukács was inclined to abandon being a professional revolutionary when, in 1923, probably owing to Karl Korsch, he was invited to the University of Jena. But then the forced leave still lasted, about which he wrote in the foreword to *History and Class Consciousness*, when, at least formally, he was not among the leaders of the Hungarian C.P.

I mention all this to make clear that these articles were not written by a longing for times past of the erstwhile critic; nevertheless, the young Lukács makes a comeback in them. First of all I am thinking of the article on Dostoevsky, signed "Georg" by its author, but which could be identified—and was identified by Michael Löwy and Ferenc Fehér—on the basis of *The Theory of the Novel*. What then does the comeback of the critic mean, if it is more than a longing for times past?

The writings of which this bunch is made up are not merely occasional owing to their circumstances, although they seem so formally—being mostly reviews which appeared in *Die Rote Fahne* of Berlin, the daily of the German Communist Party. At the time Lukács's authority as a party leader was no longer unquestioned just as that of the Hungarian exiles in general was not. Earlier, in 1920 and at the beginning of 1921, they had been the representatives of a revolution which, although it had failed, had nevertheless been in power, the most authentic sources of Communist theory and policy excepting the Bolsheviks. After the summer of 1921, when the Comintern had criticized the failed German March action, in which the Hungarian Communists had been involved, and put an end to *Kommunismus*, the most important place where Hungarian exiles, including Lukács, could publish, which had appeared in Vienna, this authority had somewhat worn thin. It is nevertheless not mere chance that Lukács published his articles in *Die Rote Fahne*, and that it was these that he published there. The German revolution continued to be the symbol of world revolution in the eyes of every Communist, and there were many in the German C.P. who happily welcomed Lukács's ideas, Karl Korsch in the first place, whom he had met in 1922 on the occasion of the Erste Marxistische Arbeitswoche organized by Felix Weil. Korsch, in 1923, in the postscript to his major work, stressed their agreement (and in 1924, in *Die Internationale*, repeatedly defended Lukács). Another friend was the Hungarian philosopher Béla Fogarasi, who did ideological work for the German C.P., and who had already belonged to Lukács's narrower circle at the time of their Sunday meetings in Budapest. It was suggested that Lukács himself too should go to Berlin. "It is a matter of decisive importance," Béla Balázs wrote in March 1922, "at least we all feel it to be decisive, an opening of a new path in our lives that Fogarasi will move to Berlin the day after tomorrow to become the foreign affairs editor of *Die Rote Fahne*, and that the paper, and with it the entire German movement, call us, him, Gyuri, and me. The situation has become ripe for us, and they have very few people. The winning over of the German intelligentsia, influencing their way of thinking, turning them in our direction are a great and glorious goal which is excitingly close. Fogarasi returned from Germany with the news that many there had gone off their rocker, especially among the left-wing intelligentsia. Professors of logic, grown grey in the service of scholarship, travel the country with dancing girls and the dance ideology, others start Buddhist schools of wisdom and expect redemption from concentration on the Germanic epics, and gazing into Siegfried's belly button, then there are the Christ-disciples and the theosophists." Even though nothing came of the move to Berlin—Lukács only went to Berlin eight years later but the C.P. nevertheless gave him the job of shepherding the left intelligentsia "into our direction"—Lukács remained a contributor to *Die Rote Fahne* until it published, on May 27, 1923, a rejecting and uncomprehending critique of *History and Class Consciousness*, written by Her-

mann Duncker—an early precursor of critiques which appeared in force after the summer of 1924.

"The situation has become ripe for our reception," and it indeed became apparent from numerous and important philosophic writings of the cycle that Lukács popularized the ideas of *History and Class Consciousness* on which he was working or which he had just formulated, or directed them at some timely question which could be discussed in a newspaper article.

However, *History and Class Consciousness* appears to be rather terse on questions of art. There was purpose in this since the fundamental notion of aesthetics, the principle of the high-mindedness of a work, appeared Janus-faced in the eyes of the Lukács of 1922, and represented a line that the modern rationalistic systems ("bourgeois thinking") could not cross. The philosophic revolution of the Modern Age proclaimed the principle of human creativity, and at the same time also limited it, inasmuch as it defined it as the mere ability to include the necessary formal inner relations. This concept of rationality which reflects a historic formula in which merely the purely philosophic is evident, is inevitably being destroyed, and with increasing acuteness—so Lukács—by the remaining and insoluble dialogue between the subject and the object, the form of movement in which the object ceases to be an alien fact without an explanation to the subject. The principle of art, "concrete totality," thus achieves an ideological importance, "that art was unable to lay claim to in earlier ages." The totality created by art here abolishes the alienness of the form, because here the form takes its cue from "the concrete content of its material substratum," which is tangible evidence that the ability is nevertheless given in the human consciousness to create harmony between "the world," which is theoretically understood to be inevitable, and can only be understood as such, and man's demand directed at the validity of his actions. In other words, aesthetics is an exemplary principle which indicates "the principle whereby man, having been socially destroyed, fragmented, and divided between different partial systems is to be made whole again in thought." In the subjective aesthetic attitude, in play, man is again his essence, that is: man. However—so Lukács—the view that man is himself in play only is also the recognition "that social life has destroyed man as man." Through the principle of play or, from its objective aspect, through the principle of the high-mindedness of the work of art, the contents of life, "may be salvaged from the deadening effects of the mechanism of reification. But only *in so far* as these contents become aesthetic." In this way the principle of aesthetics "provided yet another domain for the fragmented subject," when it offered the indispensable experience of art, but could offer it only as an exception. Its examplariness is the reverse of man himself and his thinking being damned to contemplation, his freedom being merely that of understanding, his attitude being narrowed to the "systematization" of the chaos of alienation.

However, Lukács approached this delicate situation of art, the Janus-face of exemplariness and being a problem, not only on the methodological plane. This is the same solitude of art about which *Old Culture and New Culture* too speaks, this piece produced by Lukács in 1919, and reissued in German in 1920. Before the principle of the high-mindedness of art came about, art had been "part of an organic culture;" "the culture of the ages preceding capitalism was made possible by individual cultural products being in a relationship of continuity with each other," wrote Lukács; "the reason for the excellence... of the old cultures can be found in that the products of culture could organically grow out of the soil of social life. However much the greatest works were of a higher order than the emotional experience of the average man of the age, there nevertheless always existed some connection between them..." When "organic unity" ceases (on account of alienation, because the

"forms and contents of cultural manifestations" came to oppose each other), "the harmonic pleasure-offering of culture which characterized the old cultures—to express it from the viewpoint of people taking an attitude to culture—ceases." The period of art "as religion" is also that of the alienation of art, and not as if art surrendered its mission, but precisely because it fulfils it. "The culture of capitalism, insofar as it was honest, could be only the merciless critique of the age of capitalism. This critique frequently achieved a high standard (Zola, Ibsen), but the more honest it was, the more it had to do without the simple, self-evident harmony and beauty of the old cultures, of culture in the true, literal sense of the term." The aesthetic *Selbstherrlichkeit* is problematic from the aspect of art itself, and the liberation of the aesthetic experience (the experience of a world fit to man) from the sphere of this *Selbstherrlichkeit* means redemption for art itself.

The train of thought of *Old Culture and New Culture* evokes the concluding argument of the *Theory of the Novel*. But, bearing the above in mind, it is not merely by way of reminiscence that the Lukács of 1922 writes about Dostoevsky, it is not merely an imitation of his earlier self when the author of *History and Class Consciousness* goes in for aesthetic excursions. However radical Lukács's methodological and intellectual break may have been with his earlier self, the new Lukács did not merely suspend the question which most deeply interested the student of aesthetic. Indeed, he sought an answer to it, however terse on questions of art the Lukács of the twenties may have been (and however provisional some of the details may have been which these shorter writings were able to offer). What truly interested the young Lukács were the chances of culture, of anthropoentelism. *The Theory of the Novel* states as its conclusion that the philosophy of art is for him a kind of decoding of the philosophy of history, or at least it is that in its extension; the sounding out of *ob wir wirklich im Begriffe sind, den Stand der vollendeten Sündhaftigkeit zu verlassen*. Here, in the writings of 1922–23, it seems as if Lukács twisted once more the image which we form about his aesthetic writings and the loss of his youthful self. Looking at it from the angle of 1920–22, it seems that the merely momentary, punctiform, luciferic redemption of art had not been the last word that could be said for Lukács, the student of aesthetics either. And this unaccustomed, twisted approach to art by Lukács is perhaps not without its message, even though the period of the messianistic mood appears remote to us, when—even if *müssig*—the "hermeneutic" problem could nevertheless be formulated, *ob für die Menschen einer klassenlosen Gesellschaft die Kluft zur 'Vorgeschichte der Menschheit' nicht zu gross sein wird, um ihre Dichtung noch miterleben zu können*."

GYÖRGY LUKÁCS

BERNARD SHAW'S END

(*Die Rote Fahne* [Berlin], No. 231, May 21, 1922)

The new play by Bernard Shaw *(Back to Methuselah)* would not deserve notice either artistically or philosophically if it had not been written by Shaw, and with the claim of giving of his deepest. As such it is not uninteresting, being characteristic of the state of mind of contemporary intellectuals. For Shaw is in some respects a representative manifestation, not only in the English but also in the European sense. For a long time he stood close to socialism; he was a member of the Fabian Society; he participated actively in the labour movement; he was an intimate friend of the Webbs, the English historians and theoreticians of the trades union movement; he was also engaged in the study of Marx—the latter of course could be said only by English standards. However, it is more important than all this that his ideology, his view of the world, his presentation of the tragic and the comical sides of life, were strongly coloured in a Marxist way. It can be claimed that he was the only well-known writer of his generation on whose creative work, on whose manner of criticizing bourgeois society Marxism had a decisive influence.

Of course, the—conscious—value of this influence must not be overestimated. Every genuine comedy which unmasks and castigates the mendacity of a society must by necessity come close to such views. Inasmuch as it describes the distance which gapes between words and deeds, between the convictions and actions of people it cannot avoid throwing a critical light on the true motives of their actions and the economic class basis of their existence. Here Shaw acted incomparably more consciously and got further than his contemporaries. One only has to compare his early comedies with, say, Gerhart Hauptmann's *Biberpelz* to see this clearly. Here Shaw does not unmask universal human or even universal social hypocrisies, but the specific hypocrisies of capitalist society. His descriptions do not maintain their timeliness only thanks to the naturalistic authenticity of the setting (as e.g. in *Biberpelz*), but primarily through the clear formulation of the capitalist class-like determination of the revealed true motives which move its men and women.

However, Shaw's "Marxism" sufficed only for a satirical critique of society. As soon as he announced his positive goals and intentions, his real lack of understanding of evolution became evident. In keeping with bourgeois ideology, he was completely unable to grasp the essence of history,

i.e. that, on the one hand—as Engels says—people themselves make history, but, on the other, this historic evolution itself is ruled by laws, that these two theses do not contradict each other, indeed they complement each other to become the truth. Thus he was unable to identify the labour movement as the lever of evolution, and inasmuch as he saw more and more clearly the damage done in contemporary society, inasmuch as he became more and more conscious of the hopelessness of this situation, he increasingly fell victim to romantic utopian illusions.

Being unable to recognize in the working class the consciousness of social evolution struggling ahead, he had to rely on puzzling out a theory which would save the role of reason in the increasingly hopeless chaos of the present and would lead man out of this dead end. In his new play which he himself in his preface calls—next to *Man and Superman*—the true formulation of his deepest convictions, as his poetic creed, he seeks and discovers the cause for the failure of reason in history in the immaturity of man. His life is too short to develop maturity for the rational management of society. The vital power which blows as a metaphysical mover behind all deeds and thoughts of man must lead him out of this situation, or he must make room for another being, superman. The new, utopian confession play by Shaw shows this way. Man acquires the capability to live three hundred years. This changes his attitude to life. He runs through our problems before his birth or in the first years of his life, just as the human embryo runs physiologically through the evolution of animal species to man. Shaw sketches the phases of this evolution from Adam and Eve's Eden to the year 31920, "as far as thought reaches." And the result? The same questions which engage Shaw's bourgeois contemporaries are ridiculed here more or less wittily as the questions of mankind's infancy. But the adults confront—past these vanities—a condition in which the mere existence of their body becomes the great obstacle to the perception of truth, of their self ("one can only create oneself," Shaw makes an "adult" declare), which they now wish to overcome. The play ends with this prospect, at which, approximately, the Neo-Platonists had already arrived.

This lesson is important, as has been stressed, symptomatically only. As the end of Bernard Shaw's evolution, who started with active socialism, with a Marxist critique of society, and ends with such an obscure brew from Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Wagner, and Bergson (creative evolution). And it is, on the one hand, highly characteristic to what absurd phantasies an otherwise intelligent, honest, and courageous intellectual must fall victim if he cannot or does not want go grasp the historic process which occurs before his very eyes. On the other hand, it is even more characteristic that

this senseless ideological romanticism by Shaw is generally being taken seriously (already when *Man and Superman* was published), while, at the time of his bitter-serious satires against capitalist society, he always used to be called a paradoxical wag. We have to turn this relationship round. Shaw's jokes should have been taken seriously, they were genuine (even if not important) art; his serious confession can call forth but a sympathetic smile.

STAVROGIN'S CONFESSION

(*Die Rote Fahne* [Berlin], No. 319, July 16, 1922). Review of *Stawrogin's Beichte* by F. M. Dostoevsky. Munich. Musarion-Verlag, 1922.

The much maligned "barbarism" of the Soviet government has finally made Dostoevsky's legacy accessible. Crates full of manuscripts have been found and we shall soon have the chance to read the complete literary work of the greatest Russian writer, who is beginning to exert a steadily growing influence on the intellectual life of Europe. As a first gift, "The Confession of Stavrogin" has appeared, a so far unpublished chapter from the novel *The Possessed*, which Dostoevsky wrote, in an almost pamphleteering way, against the first revolutionary movements in Russia.

The novel itself—considered as a whole—does not belong among Dostoevsky's highest performances. It is distorted by its tendentiousness. This is not because Dostoevsky argues against the revolution, but because owing to this position and even more owing to its formation the work itself becomes discordant and contradictory. The fact is that the politician and pamphleteer Dostoevsky was a long way from being in such full harmony with the novelist as Dostoevsky himself was inclined to believe. The honesty and fearlessness of his vision, living all problems to the full which moved his characters, forced on the novelist some aspects which strongly contradicted the intentions of the pamphleteer. The great writer created characters who made the background of the Russian revolution, its social and intellectual environment (and thereby its justification) capable of empathies on the part of the reader more clearly than was convenient to the pamphleteer. What had to be done was to bridge over by pamphleteering instruments the split which thus occurred, and thereby make—artistically—the split even deeper and more obvious. Dostoevsky slanders, as Gorky once tellingly noted, his own characters.

Nevertheless, or precisely for this reason, *The Possessed* is one of Dostoevsky's most interesting works. The inner discord of his personality,

which the perfectly formed individual fates of his other works do not allow to surface, here becomes clear through the contradiction between political tendentiousness and poetic vision, and is brought out clearly. Dostoevsky's greatness as a writer, his specific ability to reduce every figure and to concentrate on its purely psychological kernel, and every conflict, stripping off effortlessly the objectivated cover in which each of them is given today, depicting them in a visionary-spontaneous way, thus showing a world in which all the inhuman, mechanistic, soulless, and objectivated aspects of capitalist society are simply no longer present and which nevertheless includes the deepest inner conflicts of our time, is at the same time the source of his utopian conviction. The conviction that the redeeming principle for every distress can be found in the purely human relationship of men to each other, in the recognition and love of the human kernel in every man, in love and in goodness. This purely individual and individualistic solution shifts, however—in a way which is not noticed by the writer either—and appears as Christ's message of love, even as that of the Russian Orthodox Church. But this gives rise to many confusions and contradictions. In the first place, Dostoevsky is compelled to identify his own faith which started with a sectarian Primitive Christianity and passed through Feuerbach, with Christianity—and thereby to falsify both. Second, he cannot avoid presenting all the torments and problems of his characters, the social roots of which he always clearly recognizes nevertheless as symptoms of the sickness of individuals. In addition, he has to propose to them an again more than individual solution, that is Christianity. This is how an atmosphere of inner contradictions arises around the wonderfully clearly and intensely seen and formed characters of his novels, which although it does not hide its contours where the fatal relations can fully be deduced from pure personal human relations between individuals, as soon as this reduction cannot be carried out fully, or where, as in *The Possessed*, it is not even wanted, it must seriously disturb the works in their totality.

The just published fragment from *The Possessed* demonstrates this greatness of the writer more powerfully than his inner contradictions, at least less openly than in the novel itself. The two poles of Dostoevsky's world, the man of contemporary society corrupted, corroded by inner doubts and the proclaimer of Christ's message of love, confront each other here in a solitary, nightly dialogue—and recognize each other as brothers. They do so not only in the sense that to a good man every man must be a brother, but also in the more particular, more inner sense: that their inner kinship surfaces and they both become conscious of it. Here the often repeated argument of Dostoevsky's genuine (not dogmatically accepted) religiosity finds

clear expression that "the perfect atheist stands on the highest but one step," that is that no one comes closer to the true faith than the true atheist. At the same time it also becomes clear that in the practical-working love of Dostoevsky's "Christian"—Christianity plays hardly any relevant role. Love and goodness take effect in an intuitive grasp of the kernel of personality in the other man. The help which they offer consists in clearly setting his own course in the soul of the otherwise errant person (Sonya in *Crime and Punishment*, Prince Mishkin in *The Idiot*). The deep inner contradiction in Dostoevsky's view of the world is however demonstrated most distinctly here, in the most essential actions of the type of man in whom his world culminates. This goodness turned clairvoyant may illuminate the dark existential cause for despair, it may lift the darkness out of the inner centre of man, and suffering, sin, and error into the light of the conscious —but it is unable to change this knowledge into a redeeming act. Sonya leads Raskolnikoff out of the labyrinth of his abstract sin which locked him out of every human community and made life among humans impossible for him, but the positive, the new life which should now open up, remains a mere prospect. In his later works in which Dostoevsky wanted to describe precisely this return, his poetic honesty has to formulate the failure of his highest type of man again and again precisely at the moment when he faces a genuine decision (end of *The Idiot*).

This lack of faith of the writer Dostoevsky in the dogmas and requirements of his own theology shows the chasm which separates him from Christianity which he never admitted, even from the sectarian renewals of early Christianity. Because this Christianity is based on the unlimited power of love. Soul turns to love, loving perception reveals the suffering and shows the right way, even if social causes are responsible for losing one's way, redemption occurs independent of all commitments which are not those of the soul. But here Dostoevsky is—without being aware of it—unbelieving. His clairvoyant goodness illuminates suffering—and appears as a kind of cynicism which unsparingly expresses the weakness, the dirt, the confusion which recognizes and assumes the worst of man. Love sees through the suffering and erring, but is unable to help, because both are rooted too deeply in the existence of suffering man to be removed by the power of perception, by the loving relationship between men. Erring is rooted in men's social condition, and they are unable to tear themselves out of it.

Dostoevsky has to fail in this desperate struggle to change the social element of human existence into something that belongs purely to the soul. But his failure is transformed into an overwhelming poetic victory precisely because the social roots of the tragedy of certain kinds of men have never

been engraved so deeply into the most purely psychological manifestations, discovered there and brought to light than by Dostoevsky.

This lends this fragment also its great poetic value. Stavrogin, the hero of *The Possessed*, who made there a somewhat Lermontov-like, exaggeratedly romantic impression, presents himself here, in the Christian and oral confession of his most depraved actions, completely as he really was, as the greatest representative of the Russian transitional type who as the superfluous man had also been formed in different shapes by Turgenev, Goncharov, and Tolstoy, a member of the Russian intelligentsia who disposes of strength and abilities (which in the case of Stavrogin are increased to demonism and genius), but who can do nothing with this strength and abilities in the context of Russian reality. Consequently, these qualities must lead, if they are not to fizzle out into nothing as with Turgenev's and Goncharov's characters, to pointless, senseless, unworthy, and even ridiculous crimes. The whole abyss of despair, of the purposelessness of life, opens up here, which turned the honest amongst the Russian intelligentsia into revolutionaries at such an early stage. We see, deeply moved, how these people, if they honestly sought a purpose in life, had no way out except for suicide, depravity, or revolution. (Stavrogin chooses the first.) However passionately Dostoevsky as a pamphleteer fights against it, with however great conviction he proclaims a religious solution for this suffering—it is precisely he who convinces us most clearly of this necessity. His—political—damning of the revolution is transformed unintentionally into the poetic glorification of its absolute psychological necessity.

DOSTOEVSKY: SHORT STORIES

Die Rote Fahne [Berlin], March 4, 1923.

The three stories in the volume are well chosen. They offer a picture of the essence of Dostoevsky's art, a form peculiar to him, a sort of confession, in the "Dream of a ridiculous man," dressed in the form of a fantastic dream, in "Christmas Eve with Christ," also in the form of a dream of a proletarian child freezing to death on Christmas Eve. Socially the third, by far the largest, piece in the volume, "A wicked story," is the most valuable;

With an introduction by Anatoli Lunacharsky and a postscript by Karl August Wittfogel. Biva, 1923.

a bilious and bitter but also humorous caricature of the liberal general, a society figure reproduced a thousandfold in Dostoevsky's Russia and elsewhere and today. The gentleman, member of the oppressing class, who for the sake of his popularity and in order to appear noble to himself poses as liberal towards his subordinates, to finally demonstrate the essence of his true self on the first available occasion. All this takes place in the skull of a general befuddled by drink, in monologues and reports to himself within the setting of a funny Russian wedding. — The two essays by Comrades Lunacharsky and Wittfogel complement each other. Lunacharsky is concerned with an artistic-aesthetic appreciation of Dostoevsky, Wittfogel, however, in a short sketch discusses the social importance of the author. Dostoevsky is beyond doubt one of the greatest figures of world literature. Lunacharsky is justified in emphasizing his drive for inner truth, his understanding of the most secret depths of man, his unbridled demonism, the particular revelling in suffering and in humiliation. The essence of the question is why Dostoevsky, like so many of the great Russians, was a preacher of suffering? Why does he see no other way out of the injustices of capitalistic-feudal society, except for a reformed Christianity, a new church of the oppressed and those who suffer? And why did he, in spite of his initial sympathies for an anti-tsarist movement of the oppressed, which had earned for him exile, suffering, and poverty, in the last resort come to think socially in a reactionary way?

Dostoevsky remained an individualist in the last resort in spite of clearly seeing some injustices, and his great love for those who suffered and were tormented. He was unable to step out of the narrow confines of the solitary self. He deepened, took to pieces and clarified this as nobody else did—but always got caught in the individual, without examining the social roots of his existence and thinking. True, his characters also have an at least indicated class position but the latter serves at the most as an addition or as a point of departure, not as motivation and foundation. This is precisely why Dostoevsky cannot be dismissed as reactionary despite his ideas about necessary suffering and subservience. In spite of the given social existence, his characters do not think and feel in keeping with it but a dreamt and wished-for future society, that is just society. In the life of their soul they strip off everything social (inasmuch as this is possible), in order to be able to live through and become absorbed the more thoroughly and deeply in their individual problems. These problems too are necessarily rooted in—capitalist—society, but are set in such an abstract-human way that in their deepest content they approach the eternal verities.

Wittfogel attempts to outline the social foundation of Dostoevsky's art. Like Lunacharsky, he too attempts to prove that despite his Christian faith,

or rather due to it, Dostoevsky would recognize in the Bolsheviks the actually legitimate Christ. Be that as it may, it is not in the last resort the most important question. It is not necessary that proletarians who read Dostoevsky should discover in him a true prophet of the workers' cause, a forerunner of the revolution. That he was not. But they must inevitably learn to understand him as a giant wrestling for inner truth, who was personally limited and did often not pay attention to the social roots, but who always gave of his innermost, with unmatched sincerity and devotion. Consequently, as a forerunner of man living an inner life, liberated socially and economically, he tried to describe the soul of this future man. Dostoevsky's individual problems are human problems, which however—as psychological leftovers of class society—can be resolved only in a future society in that depth and purity which he attempted.

(Georg.)

FROM OUR BACK NUMBERS

GYÖRGY LUKÁCS 1885–1985

"Gelebtes Denken"—
An autobiographical sketch .... *György Lukács* *NHQ* 89
Lukács on Democracy .... *Miklós Almási* *NHQ* 97
The Present and Future
of Democratization .... *György Lukács* *NHQ* 97
The History of Lukács's Text .... *László Sziklai* *NHQ* 97
Lukács and the Rencontres
Internationales of Geneva .... *Dénes Zoltai* *NHQ* 98
Lukács—the Moral Philosopher ...... *Miklós Almási* *NHQ* 99

Back numbers, $ 4 per copy, are available from

KULTURA FOREIGN
TRADE COMPANY

H–1389 Budapest,
P.O.B. 149
Hungary

UTOPIA

(Short story)

by

GYÖRGY SPIRÓ

It was a midsummer night, a strange summer night: the latest world war had not long since ended; the survivors were joyfully occupied with reconstruction or revenge, and the dead were indifferently lying in heaps of scattered bones, without the slightest intention of rising again. This was the sort of war that inadvertently left some buildings standing in the devastated cities. Plans for rebuilding them lay beside the paraffin lamp equipped with a metallic mirror on the sturdy, pre-war kitchen table, made to last many generations, together with the report of the investigating committee, containing the records of who had been found guilty of war crimes and who had not; who, in what manner, and attested to by what number of witnesses had held out, offered resistance, not taken part, or given refuge to those singled out as victims. And there lay the list of raw materials to be purchased for the factories preparing to commence production once again, materials which, in the months following the break-out of peace, as at the beginning of every peace-time, could not be got except on the black market, with much cunning, by supplication or by threats. What else could there have been on that table? Hard-boiled eggs, two at the most, a slice of bread perhaps, all that remained of the forty decagrammes due per head per day by night-time; molasses, and salt too, most likely. It being the beginning of the month, the whole forty decagrammes of salt that was the monthly ration may have been lying there on the kitchen table on that strange summer night, probably wrapped in newspaper, for newspapers, it being peace-time, appeared daily, as they had in times of war.

A survivor was sitting at the kitchen table, and since he had been among the persecuted in times past, he was now computing precise accounts concerning the future, which always seems calculable at the beginning of every peace-time. On that extraordinary, peaceful, early-August summer night he had the following circumstances to reckon with: flour was 30 pengős

a kilo, sugar 450, oil 240, starch sugar 600, eggs 9 pengős apiece, and a litre of curds and whey 28 pengős at the Garay market, the cheapest market of the given, not wholly destroyed, capital city. Another given circumstance was that the salary of the speculative survivor was 480 pengős a month. The survivor sat in the kitchen beneath the window overlooking the airshaft, pasted over with newspapers, wearing pre-war style, wire-rimmed, round glasses—the newspapers on the window were the product of the new peace-time—and tracing numbers on the papers that lay before him, tracing and retracing them until they were thickened beyond recognition: 480 pengős. The amount they would have to subsist upon. Divisible by two. But also divisible by three.

At the beginning of every peace-time the bakers bake for the black market, the milk destined centrally for the children of the city is stolen before it reaches them; gangs of hoodlums roam the streets at night, stripping helpless victims, and regional squads take their toll of the consignments on their way to the capital. Queueing up before the shops there are still some who whistle forbidden marches, and a number of the transported murderers are granted leave of absence for the week-ends; the bravest and the best of them shall soon become arms of the law, enforcers of the peace themselves, for in times such as these, there is always a shortage of good men in every honest trade. And, as usually happens in times such as these, the collection begun on behalf of the survivors shipped home in the self-same box-cars from the expediently equipped death-camps naturally falls through, and they, embarrassing reminders of others less unfortunate, are laid up until further reconstruction in mental homes empty now until the long years of peace fill them to capacity.

But, as at the beginning of every peace-time, there are plenty of entries in the other column, the assets of hope. To his true joy the survivor discovered how easily one could get by without furniture or tableware, implements which they had, in times of trouble, and gambling on survival, entrusted to the care of honest people, who were spared persecution, for safe-keeping in these dangerous times, a charge which those self-same honest people now vehemently denied. And soon, as the papers had foretold, a consignment of starch sugar, costing only 300 pengős a kilo, would be arriving from the country of the army performing the duties of liberators into this given, eternal province. Furthermore, the government had passed a decree stating that peasants should henceforth deliver 540 litres of milk per cow yearly, as well as a kilo of ewe-cheese per month. The fact that decrees could be passed in times of peace as in times of war, was encouraging in itself. And even if only one-third of the quota could be collected, the

ominous spectre of famine, rearing its foul head after every war, after every liberation, would be vanquished. And even if there would not be an abundance of food, as there had been during the years of war, peace itself would compensate for privation. Peace, at the break-out of which young, unsullied faces, innocent eyes would appear from beneath the ruins, from nowhere, innocent, hopeful people would be found, full of eagerness and a new ideology free from historical burdens; and even if it would be a little cold this coming winter—for who thinks of winter in peace-time on a fine summer night, when it seems so certain that, with socialization, with the realization of one of the principal aims of this peace, even the cost of coal would go down, and that there would never be inflation ever again.

A miracle is happening. You can see it happening day after day in the ruined city. People are working and are happy, are hungry, and are happy, because they do not want to know about what has been, do not want to remember, want only to start life anew, with a clean slate—a life that has never been lived before, a life that no previous generation has known before, a sort of life that has never been seen before at the outset of any previous peace. History shall never again permit mankind to fall as low as it has fallen this last few months, during the last months of this, the latest war, the speculative survivor mused, sitting at his sturdy kitchen table, and look! even those horrors could be borne by those who fortuitously survived.

There is only one key to this miracle, only one: one must never think evil of man, ever again. Whatever happened, the slate must now be wiped clean with a single, forgiving, humane gesture. And it is time that he too performed this gesture: in a few days he will be 37 years old, too old to submit himself blindly to his fate.

That the survivor, musing in the kitchen, weary of rebuilding, came to a decision that evening, is certain. That he was aware of the import of that decision, is doubtful. The decision he had to make had never had to be made before, at the beginning of any previous peace, and concerned an affair which had never—should never—fall within the competence of man. He was planning the future, the future of mankind, as others in the first flush of victory had done before him, but he was also planning human existence. A future existence was left to his discretion; the burden of creation weighed heavy upon his shoulders, whether he knew it or not. The burden of divine creation. If this thought had indeed occurred to him, he may have felt vague stirrings of conscience. He may not have. Perhaps he simply felt very much alone in this peace that had descended so suddenly upon him and, out of an understandable selfishness, he may have felt that he would be unable to bear living so very much alone.

The precise details of any historical event can never be known for sure. He may have taken a nail, or some other sharp instrument perhaps. He probably turned down the lamp; paraffin is not an easy thing to come by in the first months of peace. If he did, he probably waited a little until his eyes grew accustomed to the dark. Then, with his ears strained for the slightest sound, he must have felt his way out into the hall, quietly and carefully opened the door and tiptoed across the room where his wife, barely 42 kilos as she lay, was deeply sleeping. The bathroom opened out of the bedroom in this flat which they called detached, made cramped during the previous peace by partitioning off sections of the vast, airy, drowsy former flat, built during an even earlier peace-time with eternal peace in mind. He opened the bathroom door stealthily. Inside, he fumbled for the little package which, according to the rules of peace-time, could be bought dearly and only on the black market.

He opened the package, removed its contents and there, in the dark, set about his task determinedly and deliberately as always, piercing each of the appliances resembling the fingers of a rubber glove with the sharp object, one by one.

This much is certain, my mother told it to me, and she blushed and did not reply when I, malcontent with the age fallen to my lot, malcontent with the whole of creation, called her to account.

Translated by Eszter Molnár

TWO POEMS

by

ÁGNES NEMES NAGY

Translated by Hugh Maxton

TERRACED LANDSCAPE

When that century fell into step beside me, I could not tell which century it was. There were many centuries, but who was to tell which one this was, displaying itself in the human form.

I went with it where it led. There was a square. Or a hall. I say square or hall, to be honest a convexity of timespace no more closely definable than that. And figures in the centre. Seated figures.

As we stepped before them, my unknown visitor and myself, they stood. Thirty-four centuries stood up as with a swish of dark fabric, lumbering, thirty-four or thereabouts, some with hoods gathered and tied—though they all wore hoods of one kind or another.

How strange you are I thought, or not so strange I thought, natural rather I thought, waterbirds mustering on a lake which is mere earth. Now you'll fly off I thought, but no. On the contrary, they filed together with me, pilgrims, passing oilwells with their donkey-pumps on an infinitely dilated horizon, and it was in this manner we reached the first plane.

The first plane.

Or the thirty-fourth if you like, in any case the furthest off. Otherwise a desert of sand. And far, far off, something, a . . . object, as if the size of a speck, as if. Between the four vacant points of the compass the sand is unmarked on its ribbed surface—those neat geological pleats. Now zoom in for a quick close-up: an armchair in the sand, its back upright inlaid with gems. Hung on the side a headdress with the *ureus* on it, signifying a pharaoh.

It signifies the pharaoh of El-Amarna, of course, whom I admired. I had sunk my thoughts in his thin face, personality, a personality sharp and unmistakable as now the shadow of his headdress. Shadow of headdress lampblack Chinese-ink blackness of a character written for the first time.

But he removes himself. We remove ourselves. We proceed in single file up an incline. One of those in hoods is falling behind, his hood itself dwarflike and already lagging. My eyes barely reach the edge of the second plane. If all this were raised on stilts I'd see it from below as a street-scape is seen from a cellar window.

The second plane.

Empty.

The third, the fourth.

Empty.

The fifth plane.

Bronze helmets. Higher up an ancient Mediterranean castle as if in miniature. Here seashore with bronze helmets. A few examples of the steel helmet I know. When I poke in them the rotting remains of leather lining is still here. Their colour is different—not camouflage patterns —but their shape has been ripened, fully sufficient in volume. A tiny bronze bird on the tip of one. How it sings! In no forest and welded to its rusting bush (a thrush at even on a television aerial) its beak, feathers and spine singing. Has no other voice to speak.

The ninth plane.

A swelling forest of sequoia pines, scarcely bigger than ordinary pines. The darkness of pines makes me float; I might say lifts me. Their air is waterlimpid, waterdense; in their trunks the slow explosion of two thousand annual rings to come, a slow explosion which in circular waves grows round the dumb stake, the inextinguishable core.

A feather-headdress under the trees.

Behind us desert again, if that is what it is, I don't know. Because, let it not be forgotten, this is a sand-platform, a terrace-formation—what else?—on it we pass our gradually diminishing circuit. And epiphenomena, Epiphany, epiphenomena on the terraces. They, however, are tangible. Their state is beyond question: properties of solid self-contention.

Zero plane.

From negative infinity we have arrived at the *origo*. Now time

lies not behind but ahead. Arbitrarily so, though necessarily so. The point of intersection: a torment. Wind springs up, breath of existence, of wrinkled skin, of the weeping navel, of this third, concealed eye which, like a sunken wound, stares out at our beginning and our end. In the sky, glances, dishevelled hair, opalescent eddies.

Thorny branch on the ground, a jagged rainbow stifled by sand.

The tenth plane.

Here the number of things has indeed swollen. Conical hats with veils. Leather things pierced by arrows, the headgear of nomads; a bishop's mitre; quantities of vellum. A tiny leather hood for the head of a falcon, regal crowns open and closed. An oriental silk shawl, a Viking oxhorn, piles of mortar-boards.

Further on: masks of bark, of wood, and clay. Large flat flowers for placing in the hair, behind the ear, hazy little planet-lights of a southern sky.

The . . . teenth.

Turbans, any number of turbans. Velvet barret, bearskin hat, shepherd's cap half-buried. A coolie-hat, an Inca diadem. And, of course, a powdery wig, linen kerchief, and moth-eaten sombrero—which is just on the move.

The cloth skulls move, lifted by an eddy; feet wade through this autumn-leafage of hats, among lifting, muttering headgear. Turbulent and passive frenzy tending to reopen its wound, a swarm up, an almost-airborne ragged spiral.

The . . . teenth.

Silk hat. Sailor's cap. Little bunches of forget-me-nots. Shakoes of the thirteen generals bumped off. Pith-helmets, fruittree blossom. A porter's cap with its tin badge. Straw hats for Sicilian mules with holes cut for the two long ears. A fireman's buffed helmet, the brassy glare soloing on the trumpet. Family mourning-veils in the sunshine, black gossamer.

The twentieth plane.

Or perhaps the first, the nearest certainly. It seems to involve a return, it seems to be the place of departure. A few examples of the steel helmet I know. These seem familiar, I'll nod towards them. Or is this a hairdresser's drying hood? A gas mask? A space helmet? Suddenly, a

beret shrunken by rain; I'd snatch at it because . . . never mind. Wallowing toques of rabbit. Improvised hoods of ripped sacking for coal-heavers, a stocking-mask, shreds of fur, bristle, pen, badge, ribbon, clasp, comb, string.

I'd still like to rummage, but then there is the shuffling. For the hooded ones have in no manner diminished, oh no. As many now around me here as at the beginning of my promenade. The initial noise of shuffling. Now they're going. Far away from me, now, higher up, and so scaled down. Their march is like a winding road itself. Like a sky-climbing aerial photo on an upward horizon, now just a road, a geological stratum.

The twenty-second plane, the thirty-fourth.

Up there, far above. Empty.

No, hats. I think, hats. I think hair and glances. Tiny force-fields of sufficient volume. Ribbons, flowers behind the ear, masks, helmets, bubbles. Now nothing is visible. Yet something continues to sound, in a fragmentary fashion, breaking down, swelling. Do you hear it? Up there somewhere, towering little domes, like the roofing of a city, unknown bells inside.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF A RAILWAY STATION

It is unlikely

there is earth underneath, though here the cobblestones of the road surface were like ancient inclusions. Yet it seems that under the stones, the cables, the delicate lymph of the apparatus there is still earth down there, in spite of all, earth.

Here a crater. Or a majestic operation. On a rare and large beast at the zoo, with local anaesthetic, huge instruments. Because this body is jointed, tissue by tissue. Crudely exact movements between massacre and therapy.

The neighbourhood of the wound is sensitive. The tormented houses, plaster coming off like a second-degree symptom, tramcars lazily tumbling into the clipped veins, patched-up joints, the subsiding lack of stone, those swollen sutures, the tracks. And the plants, utterly defenceless things, whose stems thrown in the dustbin are broken like Jesus's legs coming off the cross, the plants in their dusty horror.

And at the centre the operation itself. Excavators with fixed platforms. The operator up there like a dangling pilot. In lemon-yellow rubber suits astronauts climbing down the holes. Among the unbearable barricades of noise the quiet of disasters, indifference which has panicked. Lunch-packs nesting on a knot of wires. (Food parcels of the world. Paper, plastic, slivers of linen. Textures, knots and fasteners. Yes, my brethren, even here and there.) And what strange caps! Perhaps the headgear of sharkhunters or skimpy ritual masks. And the huge gloves—hand-imitating, abstracted hands.

This will be the central administration. This will be the hall. Aspidistras and information. This will be... do you see? Up there, where entire cubic meters of air are still vacant, up there is non-existence. Transparent still, open to question. Too much wind blows through it. But nothing that a good lens couldn't fix. With an adequate intensity of light, of course. Because such a thin layer excludes it, such a thin layer preventing existence. The edges are almost visible up there in the space between certainty and doubt so that it almost becomes describable while this inverted diminution (a large dim body of a ship) floats into the picture with its pre-natal and impenetrable storeys.

You still remember, don't you, the railway turntable? At that time the station ended in a rubble ellipsis, and at the head of the ellipsis was the steel drum. The engine stood on it and turned with it like a dancing elephant. The old yellow station is still there with its outdated and operative nostalgias. The lamps behind the curling steam, dawn in the rain. And the rails and the sleepers at night (consider them from overhead, from the bridge) hovering, celestial ladders in a horizontal infinity.

But turn back. Look once again at the building site. (I mean, between the slabs of action try to find what may be called presence.) Then look at the Blood Garden. And at the palace above it. The quiet of the wounded. Watch them (even in their retroactive relations), then—more precisely—inspect that mound where the geological basin begins at the foot of the hill. Right. Now the picture's in focus, sharp.

Do you remember when it was completed? Were you present when it all came to a stop? Were you there at the opening? It became expansive. Combative. Though the escalator joints are not quite... but never mind. Traffic control. Complex of buildings. Junction.

Do you remember the lemon-yellow rubber suits? The food parcels of the world? The space between certainty and doubt? Do you remember the Blood Garden? The geological basin under the hill? Retroactive relations? Transformation? Complex of buildings? Airport? Do you remember that city?

Were you there at the opening?

TRANSLATION

A journal published by The Translation Center
Columbia University
307A Mathematics Building
New York N.Y. 10027. U.S.A.

HUNGARIAN ISSUE — FALL 1985

Stories and poems by Gyula Krúdy, Attila József, Gyula Illyés, István Vas, István Örkény, László Kálnoky, Géza Ottlik, Sándor Weöres, Zoltán Jékely, Iván Mándy, Győző Határ, Miklós Mészöly, Sándor Rákos, Ágnes Nemes Nagy, György Somlyó, György Konrád, Zsuzsa Takács, György Spiró, and others

Translations by Edwin Morgan, William Jay Smith, Donald Davie, Alan Dixon, Barbara Howes, Elizabeth Szász, Eric Mottram, Hugh Maxton, George Szirtes, Kenneth McRobbie, Eszter Molnár, Clara Gyorgyey, Jascha Kessler, and others

Individual volume $8.00

One-year subscription (two volumes) $15.00
Two-year subscription (four volumes) $25.00
Add $2.00 for each foreign subscription to cover additional postage (except Canada)

A HUNGARIAN LANDSCAPE GARDEN AROUND 1800

by

ANNA ZÁDOR

Landscape gardens, called English garden in Hungarian, reached Hungary fairly quickly. Reports on gardens designed or relaid in this style are available from as early as around 1780. Even in England this style had become general only around 1750, and so it is not surprising that the first such gardens in Hungary were designed in a style known as the Anglo-Chinois or picturesque garden. This trend is marked by many small garden-houses *(fabriques)* scattered through the garden, imitating what were considered exotic buildings such as a Turkish tent or a Chinese or Japanese tea-house. Such and similar names feature in contemporary descriptions and engravings. These gardens still preserve certain typical elements of the French garden, such as fountains or a stage surrounded by trees or statues. (For illustrations see between pp. 124 and 125.)

The present article is on a Hungarian example of this mixed style—the garden of the chateau of the Csáky family at Hotkóc. Luckily for us, while scarcely any depictions or descriptions have survived of gardens in Hungary, this garden has been preserved both in writing and in a painting. The description is in the possession of the family, who have placed it at my disposal for examination. The painting, dating from 1803, is a panel picture in two parts, consisting of 24 small pictures, the work of János Rombauer (1782–1849), who later became a famous portraitist. This might have been his first work, which was presumably commissioned by the Count Emanuel Csáky. Both the painting and the description point to the importance the count laid on his house and garden, which he considered worthy of preserving for posterity rather than having himself or members of his family painted. Taken together, the painting and the description offer a fairly detailed picture of the building and the garden as an ensemble, only parts of which have survived. The Hotkóc garden was greatly admired by contemporaries, as a detailed description by Ferenc Kazinczy (1759–1831) bears out. Kazinczy

was a leading Hungarian literary figure with a receptive mind, who called it an Anglistic garden and dwelt lengthily on its beauty and sumptuousness.

The description in the possession of the Csáky family is in the form of a letter in French written in 1802 by Count Emanuel Csáky (1763–1825), the owner and builder, to a friend of his. Count Csáky was a highly cultivated aristocrat and an outstanding orator. His thorough education was based on ancient history and law. In 1807, that is after his chateau had been completed, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant and remained an active public figure throughout his life. He wrote several works in Latin, mainly dealing with law and constitutional law; his last work appeared in German, and it is virtually a summary of his philosophical views and view of life. This philosophical bent of his is also borne out by the description in question. As a patriot he opposed the Habsburg court and so he must have spoken Hungarian too; in other words, he spoke and read at least four languages, which was far from being general at the time. His wife, a Comptesse Szirmay, is mentioned repeatedly and fondly in the letter, as she was just recovering from a grave illness. The couple had three daughters and four sons, but only the four boys survived their parents.

The count and his wife presumably had a considerable role in designing the buildings and the garden; in any case they must have had access to the pattern books which were used for the construction. Neither the description nor the painting include any reference to the architect. Cultivated aristocrats of the time often took an active part in the execution of their ideas. This also seems to be backed by the simplicity of the building and the fact that the garden too employs the usual landscape elements of the period, making use of the opportunities offered by the rolling country. So instead of looking for the name of an architect, one may presume that the count employed local craftsmen to construct the house and the garden which he had envisaged and chosen from the pattern-books of the day.

First a few words about the house, which in fact is so simple that it scarcely deserves a more grandiose name. A central section turning on seven axes, emphasized by a second level and crowned with a gable, is flanked by two wings, themselves turning on a quintuple axis. An entrance with three passages opens on the garden (23). It seems certain from the description that the building was in a deliberately simple style, partly because it had been built in a barren and hilly region and there was no wish to vie with the towering mountain and partly because in this way the count could give free vent to his desire to "flout all the pomps and vanities of this small world, the bothers of the court, the thirst for richness, the excesses of ambition, and the desire for immortality." The description speaks of a noble, but

simple and modest house, with the middle section of the façade, facing the garden, with a projecting second floor. This projection housed the state-room, the house's centre for social life. The windows of the state-room open on the central part of the garden, which was designed in the French style, staggered on three terraces. The drive-way led to the other side which faced north and through a courtyard surrounded by a wall. This courtyard also served as a riding school.

In the interior of the house, the main set of rooms, ten of them, was situated along the eastern wall—a spacious billiard room equipped with several tables, a butler's pantry and a splendid dining room, a cabinet expanded by an alcove, with a fire-place in the shape of an Etruscan temple, the living-room, the bedroom, an adjoining dressing-room, where the walls were covered with mirrors. This was followed by a chambermaid's room and two store-rooms.

This arrangement, as described by the count, clearly points to French models, being a suite stringed along an axis and having nothing to do with the English custom of having the rooms used for the social life of the household and the bedrooms on different floors. This type of arrangement was typical of country houses in Hungary in general and survived well into the second half of the nineteenth century. A similar arrangement of rooms occurred in the typical town house of the aristocracy. Anyway, this principal set of rooms is mentioned only in passing in Count Csáky's description, which adds that the library is situated on the opposite side, with direct access to the garden. So the count never tires of stressing the organic link between the interior and the garden, while he devotes practically no attention to details of the furnishing, something which is also typical of the people of the period. Surprisingly, no mention is made of a nursery either, though the seven children obviously must have had separate rooms, even if one does not assume that, as the long-standing habit had been in England, each child would have had a separate bed-recess. The presumably smaller rooms assigned to the children might have been situated on the lower, second floor, above the corner projection, as this was customarily the place for rooms separated from the site of social life, such as studies, secretary's rooms and the like.

By far the longest portion of description is devoted to the garden, and to the relationship created between garden and house. It must have been of the utmost importance for the count to live with nature, which is why he always makes a special point of describing the view from the various rooms and the part of the garden they give access to. Even if Hotkóc did include

details reflecting the French garden style, the count was certainly an ardent devotee of the English concept of landscape gardening and the nature-orientated approach which slowly turned away from the more rigid and impersonal relationship still general in the mid-eighteenth century typical of the French garden. At the same time, Count Csáky's letter also proves that, as many gardens in Hungary bear witness, the style of the French garden was also employed as a general means to express status, even in places where the natural surroundings did not favour it, as was the case in Hotkóc. Here there were no open plains to enable the development of wide perspectives as it was situated on a hilly, wooded, rocky site. Despite the unfavourable geographical conditions, the Hotkóc garden displayed a number of typical elements of the French garden, whose significance for the owner is also reflected in the painting which had been commissioned by him and which displays principally these sections.

All in all, it can be supposed that the house itself was built, perhaps making use of an earlier, already existing building, around 1800, when the count, possibly after a spell at the Vienna court, sought a place to retire to and enjoy; recognizing the significance of nature, he had certain parts of the garden rebuilt in a way which already reflects the concept of the English landscape garden. The location too favoured a sentimental and romantic atmosphere, and, as constantly suggested in the description, the count made deliberate use of this. The slow pace he sets in leading the reader through his garden, in itself corresponds to the contemplative character of perambulating over an English landscape garden.

Returning to the central state-room which looks on the three terraces of the French garden, one also saw an alley of plane-trees and hornbeams, and here the garden was closed by a row of pines running parallel with the length of the house. In the background rises the rocky mountain, whose height and irregular form, as emphasized in the description, form an effective contrast with the regular forms of the French garden. The side-exit on the northern side opens onto a forked flight of steps, which lead to an amphitheatre formed out of lopped plants, again typical of a French garden. The whole is "overshadowed, one might say guarded" by the foliage of a huge tree in the middle of the amphitheatre. The passages in the arcade of this little garden stage also overlook the mountains.

The description underlines the contrasts throughout. Alongside the contrast between the French garden stage and the rocky hills emerging behind it, the small Greek temple nearby also holds in store a contrast. It is built on a hill of irregular shape, at the foot of which a fast brook, encircled by weeping willows, runs towards the lower planes. In Rombauer's picture

this little Greek temple appears to be playfully clumsy, but the description, emphasizing the brook and the willows, clearly indicates that it was intended to be a typical element of the English landscape garden, with the sentimental mood it generates. This is also underlined by the inscription which runs round the frieze of the temple: VIRTUTI HOMINI CIVIS CONJUGIS (7).

Returning to the living-room on the eastern side, one encounters broad steps leading to a skittle-alley, which is ornamented by a specious cave with a well. From here the path leads on to a turret, which commands a view of the valley dotted with villages and also of the outbildings—a huge barn, a fine granary, a large brewhouse, and a joinery. Hotkóc must have been unsuitable for growing corn, and this added to the importance of hop-growing and brewing. All these buildings, the count writes, are in a pleasing style and they constitute important elements of the overall picture. Yet he did not have them included in the picture; instead he created a garden ornament out of countless little floral elements.

The library opens onto the orangery, whose scent once filled the whole surroundings. From here meandering paths lead to the thickly overgrown ground, broken here and there by openings which allow a view of the neighbouring fields. In the nearby pine-grove a waterfall rumbles among a picturesque group of rocks. Then follows a hermitage standing on a steep rock, housing pictures of the Old German school. Count Csáky gives no details about these paintings, although it would be interesting to know what type of late medieval German pictures—which is what is obviously meant—Hungarian aristocrats and Count Csáky himself favoured. They must have been copies, as even around 1800 it is highly unprobable that genuine paintings should have been kept in buildings exposed to the weather and to other dangers. Anyway, all these details are familiar elements of the English landscape garden, with the only difference that at Hotkóc, due to the geographical conditions, everything was somewhat gloomier and more severe, even the pines being higher and darker.

In this environment marked out for contemplation, the stroller is now faced by a Gothic fortress with towers and crenelles (20), which houses a room furnished in medieval style. This emphatic reference to the Gothic (both in the exterior and interior of the building) is also one of the features of the English landscape garden, or more exactly it signifies the appearance of the romantic Gothic; this is particularly interesting in such a laconic text which makes no mention whatever of the inner furnishing, even though this too was in the Gothic style.

Near this fortress there are the ruins of a Roman rotunda (22), complete

with torsos. Stepping out of the ruins one encounters some graves of the forbears of the Counts Csáky, as Hotkóc had long been a family property. The mention of the ruins and the torsos is typical of the time of the description, when ruins were not merely considered as relics of the historical past but also as mementos of the constantly present notion of mortality.

Continuing the walk, one arrives at the Gothic chapel (14), whose high tower can be seen from everywhere on the estate; the double obelisk in the shadow near by had been erected in memory of Csáky's parents and three of the children (5).

The single-towered church, which is clearly visible in Rombauer's painting, is a fairly simple little building; the painter devoted little attention to it, but he did put great care into painting the dual obelisk on a staggered plinth, whose strikingly sharp and firm outlines differ markedly from the loose, sketch-like depiction in the other sections. The two obelisks are in fact a sepulchre, and it is perhaps this fact or perhaps the carefully executed architectural work that prompted the painter to employ this strikingly different style. Together with the ruins and the Greek temple, they speak of Csáky's strong attraction for antiquity, and also indicated his agreement with the tastes and ideas of the Age of Enlightenment.

"The whole spectacle urges the solitary stroller," Csáky continues his letter, "to contemplate on the wings of noble ideas, the contrast between human grandeur and mortality." This formulation, which always keeps in mind the idea of evanescence, corresponds with the mood of the period, but it might have also something to do with all the dangers that threatened the letter-writer and his wife, primarily those ailments which he calls, using the terminology of the time, the grippe. This illness, for which they knew no proper cure, caused much trouble and it brought the notion of death within proximity and giving rise to such sentimental meditation. The landscape garden at Hotkóc, chequered with buildings, ruins, and clusters of trees, must have been particularly suited for such meditation. At the same time the place also offered plenty of opportunity for sport and leisure—the opportunities provided for riding, hunting, skittles, and walking all seem to indicate that the inhabitants indulged in physical activities not merely as a way of passing time but were aware of the usefulness of healthy exercise.

Strikingly, the letter makes no mention at all of any form of amusement or merry-making. The way in which the count describes the garden as a place ideal for meditation and retirement, and as he speaks of his forebears and emphasizes the solemnity of the Old German style, all point to a sentimental disposition, which turns to nature for solace and which was generally characteristic of the people under the influence of the English, and later the

German, trends of the age. It has not yet been discovered whether this reached Hungary directly from Britain or through Germany.

Rombauer's painting, done in 1803 and consisting of twenty-four small pictures, was presumably commissioned by Count Csáky and met with the satisfaction of the commissioner. One is bound to marvel at the speciality of this singular work. In his later years the painter became a skilled portraitist, who painted some excellent likenesses, but he never acquired a real skill in painting inanimate objects, particularly buildings. This explains the uncertain lines in the Hotkóc painting, and at some points its clumsy pictorial approach; furthermore the painter, at the age of twenty-one, must have been an inexperienced beginner. Nevertheless, the specific, unique character of the picture eclipses these deficiencies in quality. It presents the portrait of a garden in enormous detail, an achievement which is unique in Hungarian and perhaps even in European painting. Even if it was at the commissioner's request, it is to the painter's credit that he offers such a sumptuous picture of the varied details of the garden. It is also interesting to compare the painting with Count Csáky's description and to see what the painter considered worth depicting and what he omitted. He mainly recorded the ornamental statues, the mythological figures and the small structures shaped out of plants and the graceful bowers, which he obviously considered to be the determining features of the garden. But his picture exhibits no extracts that would provide a broad survey, the existence of which, however, can be deducted from the count's descriptions. The gloomy darkness and melancholic shadows can be felt in the painting but it lacks the lofty philosophic meditation which permeates the count's description. This may be due to the great difference in the education of the two individuals.

In Hotkóc one encounters a work of a typically transitional period. The garden has still preserved details of the pure French garden, it includes details which point to the picturesque Anglo-Chinois concept, but at the same time it already makes use of the characteristics of the landscape to bring forth a sentimental, meditative mood, and to serve as the background for elements referring to antiquity and to ancestors, all features typical of the English landscape garden. The building itself is in the simple, Neo-classical style of the Age of Enlightenment, but the interior preserves an arrangement of rooms deriving from the French custom which has survived in the construction of country houses in Hungary to the present century.

EASTERN ROOTS, WESTERN CULTURE

by

MÁTYÁS DOMOKOS

One of the depressing ontological questions, the problem of identity, that has nagged at people, and not just as individuals, in this century, is: "Who are we?" Going on almost without a gap to: "What do others think about us? What do they hold us to be? What do they consider us to be like?" And this problem of historical identity plays a special role in every geopolitical region with ethnically mixed populations, thus also in East Central Europe, where—throughout centuries practically until these days—state boundaries have not tallied with the boundaries of national communities; therefore, the ethnical basis of a nation, the category of the cultured nation growing out of the natural community of people speaking the same native tongue, and the state boundaries continually shifting in consequence of the convulsions of history are practically never congruous; this is why the concept and the existence of a nation could never be indentified with the actually existing state. A branch of the European nation-theory did this with the nation-state concept established by philosophers of the French Revolution when it formulated its own concept of the political nation more befitting the way of historical evolution in Western Europe. This is obviously why the European nation-theory developed, east of the Rhine, another branch which placed emphasis upon the category of the cultured nation, the ethnico-linguo-cultural criterion. Such questions occupy also the historical collective mind of ethnic groups and nations when they try to answer and take pains to discover, in this answer, the national and historical identity of their own people, the part they had and may have in the commonwealth of nations on the historical stage. Such questions gain importance mainly when the historical situation of the moment almost peremptorily urges upon society the necessity and pressure of regeneration. These times are, as a rule, called periods of reform, during which—as was

elegantly expressed by Count István Széchenyi, one of the leading figures of the first Hungarian reform movement in the era of romanticism—educated minds, active politics, economics, and primarily culture, usually frame the answer of their time concerning their nation's historical identity.

In the seventies and eighties, not for the first time in its history, Hungary experienced the necessity of regeneration, of reform, and this certainly also contributed to the fact that scientific and literary interest as well as the curiosity of readers and society more and more clearly turned towards the attempts, described in books as well, at clarifying the role played by the historic and cultural past. Recently, for example, two such summing up volumes have been published in Budapest: one of them is a work by the ethnographer specialising in folk ballads, Lajos Vargyas,* "Eastern Tradition—Western Culture," which, summing up the experience of several decades, examines how an awareness of this role is reflected in folk art and how the character of Hungarian culture, its historical function and contemporary organism, find expression in the relationship between folk culture and high culture. The other important book on the subject is a work by Dezső Keresztury,** a poet, essayist, literary historian, and former minister of culture who, in essays written over several decades, conveys, according to the foreword to his book "Our Place in the World," "as a subject and participant, a responsible leader, observer, student, citizen, and fugitive," the answer of European high culture to the question implied by his title, which could even be construed as asking whether Hungarians have a place at all in European culture, or whether we meet along the line of this question only phantom images of ourselves conjured up for mean political reasons.

A *conditio sine qua non* of any knowledge of one's position is severe objectivity, and Dezső Keresztury's book is, in this respect, severe with the nation's false consciousness. Flattery is not his aim. He wants to make it possible for Hungarians to rid themselves of false illusions by confronting them and also to do something against those fallacious images. These essays confront the reader with a historical inventory of foreign platitudes about the nation, the very first among which, the "monster Magyar" (originating with Bishop Otto of Freising), dates back to the raids for booty the early pagan Hungarians engaged in, with a wide collection of epithets ranging from the "barbarous savage Hungarians" through the "barbarians fond of luxurious living at the gates of the Orient," Biedermeier-style "picturesque

* Lajos Vargyas: *Keleti hagyomány—nyugati kultúra* (Eastern Tradition—Western Culture). Szépirodalmi, 1984, 462 pp. In Hungarian

** Dezső Keresztury: *Helyünk a világban* (Our Place in the World). Szépirodalmi, 1984, 432 pp. In Hungarian

János Rombauer: The park of the Csáky chateau in Hotkócz. 1803. Oil, canvas

Courtesy Hungarian National Museum

Márton and György Kolozsvári: Saint George. 14th Century.
Prague, Hradzin. (see p. 131.)

Hungary" of the *puszta*, the outlaw, the horseherd, the Gypsy, the *fata morgana* and "the people of freedom-loving heroes," up to the "vassal people" image, originating in the policies of the post-Great-War years, and used as a contemptuous brand by Rákosi and the Stalinists.

While reading this inventory, one is continually aware and obsessed by Széchenyi's epigraph to his satire *Blick*, *"Rien ne fait tant de mal dans le monde qu'un mensonge qui ressemble à la vérité."*

When meeting these painful platitudes, the sensitive national self-respect of Hungarians, which has weighty and real historical reasons for being oversensitive, entrenches itself behind platitudes such as "eternal Hungarian fate," and "sense of aloneness," although—as Keresztury emphasizes—it ought to look at itself, with a stern objectivity devoid of illusions, in this distorting mirror. Understandably, this hurts Hungarians and not the world at large, it makes Hungarian national consciousness and morale anxious, so it is primarily us, Hungarians, who need a diagnostic-analytical and therapeutic examination. We need a strategy in a situation, or in a problem area, where establishing the truth is certainly not identical with giving it effect, because the walls of Jericho do not collapse faced with the mere exposure (evident in us, and only in us) of the lie or distortion.

According to Keresztury, the method of unprejudiced examination really intended to clarify the situation, suggesting the modalities of meaningful action, can only be a sober realism which, it ought to be said, national character diviners usually mention as a trait of Hungarian nature, that leaves Hungarian skulls in the lurch for the most part just when this question is under discussion, as if in keeping with a law. This is not a theoretical question for Hungarians—it cuts them to the quick, because their fate hinges on it. The place and position of a small nation is a constantly changing, fragile balance, upset from time to time, of missed and realized opportunities; a virtually undefinable manifestation, since it behaves precisely as if it were only an elementary particle in the subatomic world of a larger historical field of force.

In the eponymous essay of his book Dezső Keresztury expresses this idea with exemplary clarity and sober courage: "In times of crisis of a nation the question arises where its place in the world is, what role it plays, whether its existence has any deeper meaning than mere biological existence. This applies especially to small nations who stand at the points where the powerful forces that shape the world clash, and for whom their place in the world is often enough a matter of life or death.—In the course of their history Hungarians have many times been forced to face these questions; but never before have they wrestled with them by waging such struggles, in such

agony, and by making such desperate efforts, as during the past century and a half." The explanation is obviously that after the decisive defeat by the Turks at Mohács in 1526 and the ensuing permanent historical crisis lasting for centuries, the writers and thinkers of the Hungarian reform period of the early nineteenth century, following a remark by Johann Gottfried Herder predicting the disappearance without a trace of the Hungarians, created a sort of permanent sense of crisis which, as a typical Hungarian awareness of life, had its greatest and most bewildering culmination in Endre Ady's verse. Knowledge of these two parallel processes (the historical process and the literary one reacting to history) can explain why it seems so difficult and practically hopeless for a Hungarian to search unemotionally for our real or supposed place in the world, which it would be desirable for him to examine, even in his own interests (I could also say: in the interests of his historical salvation), only under the microscope of cool objectivity. What arouse emotions, dimming our clear sight are, for the most part, precisely those factors which have *de facto* determined "our place in the world."

Keresztury's piece, "What is Hungarian in the wide world?," (a lecture given at the 4th Native Language Conference of the World Federation of Hungarians held at Pécs in 1981), names point-blank one of these—painful—historical factors: "... about one-third of Hungarians live beyond the frontiers of our state, either as national minorities in their ancestral places of settlement or as groups dispersed all over the world, where their national feeling and culture are in danger. The World Federation of Hungarians has undertaken to keep alive our spiritual solidarity and to create the possibilities of meetings and dialogue with them. One of the main objects of its solicitude is to cultivate our native language. The hallowed slogan formulated by the great minds of our reform period, 'The nation lives in its language,' has necessarily been modified in our age as follows: 'Hungarians live in their language', thus it is not the nation—for this concept implies an integral state—but the multitude of Hungarians, those who live at home as well as those who have strayed from their country."

It is thanks to this condition, which is neither of this date nor of twentieth-century origin, that students of the subject have plenty of pertinent synonyms to choose from, expressive of the state of the "multitude of dispersed Hungarians." We nevertheless ought to see in such expressions also something of Herder's prediction coming true—even though it does not happen the way it was imagined by the philosopher of *Sturm und Drang* and publisher of *Volkslieder*. Keresztury, whose presently collected essays contain a good many entries of decisive importance for an imaginary encyclopaedia of Hungarian studies and Hungarian self-knowledge, after defining the

forms of existence of the "Hungarian diaspora," and of national-minority Hungarians, gives an accurate historical description of the most recent type, that of the insular Hungarians, which he also expounded in 1981: "After the Mohács disaster the Hungarians lived in such insular settlements. The antecedents are well known. Transylvania and Transdanubia, Upper Hungary and the Turkish-occupied territory were all different... To unite the 'insular Hungarians' has been for centuries, and has remained until this day, a difficult political task."

Keresztury's train of thought, however, does not end here, as those synonyms sealed by blood and suffering are not merely unrelated, isolated linguistic facts. "Of necessity coexisting with this notion of insular Hungarians is another great historical tradition," Keresztury continues, in many respects akin to the late Gyula Illyés, a contemporary, "the tradition of Hungarians in danger, that sense of mortality of Hungarians in danger, that sense of mortality of Hungarians endangered by outside and inside forces..."—It is possible to infer precisely from Keresztury's essays of what is clouding the consciousness of Hungarian historical identity: on the one hand the historically established geopolitical situation, on the other the subsequently haunting sense of extinction and dissension, as well as the illusions and self-deceptions proliferating as a result, are an obstacle in the way of their knowledge of position seeking—and, if possible, correcting—their own place in the frame of reference which coincides with the coordinates of the historical reality independent of their desires and hopes.

These essays demonstrate lucidly that the point of origin of the actual system of coordinates reflects a characteristic and fateful dichotomy of thinking and splits the so much desired consciousness of identity. This is, in the separation from "horse and sword" the world of "books and learning," one of the primary sources of our eternal ambitions and eternal resentment: the dilemma of belonging to Europe. Do we belong to the West by reason of "the European order of the basic patterns of our culture," as Keresztury says, or have we remained, along the Roman borders of old, the *limes*, a people of the East? Precisely in possession of the large amount of ambivalent historical experience, one cannot decide positively whether it is sword or pen in hand that the Hungarians have scored—and can still score—genuine, permanent triumphs in the minds of the other nations of Europe. The belief, Keresztury stresses, that we belong to Europe has surely been "persistent and unchanged in all prominent Hungarians of old," ever since the founder of the state, Saint Stephen the King; but we nevertheless can experience all the time that those ideas of Hungarians which concern intellectual Hungary are "most uneven and broken up" in the world, and that

"public opinion in the West emphasizes the political features and the military virtues in the first place... and also its sympathies are, first of all, with the political values and warlike feats of the Hungarians." That is why Hungary also became the "bulwark of Christianity," first during the Tartar invasion in the thirteenth century, then thanks to the humanist Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini who, later, as Pope Sylvester II, evidently found it easier to express his sympathies—instead of sending arms, galleys, and gold—in support of the Hungarians' hopeless struggle against the Turks. On the other hand, an essay by Keresztury written when 1945 turned into 1946, we change back into "barbarous savage Magyars" the moment "the country at any time finds itself in a position where it is compelled to join the spiritual and political opposition to Western Europe... and the legend of the extra-European, uncivilized people of soldiers is immediately brought to life again."

Enough Hungarian books to fill a library on this love-hate complex about our belonging to Europe are suffused with the problems of "What is a Hungarian?," and "Our place in the world." Keresztury's volume of essays is unmistakably a vote for membership in the whole of Europe, which—he writes—"has always been an indisputable truth for progressive social and political thinkers at home." However, the author further modulates this statement with extremely important additions which cannot be definitively judged neither by Western European nor by Hungarian opinion, because it is impossible to eliminate from it a dichotomy that has no solution, that is that Hungarians belong, according to their hearts and ambitions, to Europe and, in the eyes of Western Europe, to the East. "This view of the East-West problem, taken from experience or perhaps based on Hungarian fatalism, is found in the work, example, and teaching of those great Hungarians who wrestled with the dilemma of our existence in experience and in thought," Keresztury writes. Then he goes on: "The East appears in the world of our great geniuses to be one of the driving forces of a typically European dialectic."

The answer given to the same dilemma by the position of folklore in the centuries-old structure of Hungarian culture is extremely interesting and thought-provoking. Lajos Vargyas summarizes in his book the results and findings of his research covering the world of folklore as a whole. Vargyas claims that Hungarian national high culture—in the words of Ferenc Kölcsey, a great poet of the Reform Age, the author of the Hungarian national anthem—had its cradle under "Western skies," in Europe, but in its

deepest consciousness it "grew into a tree-trunk in the East:" in their folklore, often forgotten and excluded from high culture for centuries, Hungarians have kept alive the taste of mother's milk, the memories of their Eastern traditions and origin. What only seems to be exclusively a Hungarian dichotomy is, however, something that makes itself felt (even though differently by nature but in accordance with the general law of things) in the culture of all those nations who—in Iván T. Berend's terms—either remained outside the range of the two revolutions that shaped the bourgeois nation-states of Western Europe: the English industrial revolution and the French socio-political revolution, or live on the fringe, from East and South Europe to the Iberian Peninsula.

Vargyas's essays presenting Hungarian ethnology confirm the mostly intuitive notions of folk culture contiguous with European culture, ideas basically formed by writers of the first great generation of the Hungarian Reform Age and of modern Hungarian literature regenerating at the beginning of this century, first Kölcsey and Vörösmarty, then Endre Ady in particular. They confirm the notion that the culture of the "horseman who turned up in Europe by mistake" (Endre Ady's metaphor) is of Eastern origin in its archaic layer and is still undeniably related to the folklore of Asiatic peoples. The deeper we dig in this layer, the more apparent are, irrespective of location, and manifest in the archetypes of the human soul everywhere, among both the Mongols of Siberia and the Amerindians, the latent elementary identities, motives, symbols, and beliefs which proclaim, with almost mythical force, the ancient brotherhood of the human race. At the same time this culture, Eastern in its veins, is an open culture which historical evolution, beginning with the early Middle Ages, has coated also with the enamel of Western civilization, owing to influences coming from the West, from Europe, while it nevertheless possesses typically Hungarian features.

The location, coexistence, and close superimposition of these three layers are exemplified most convincingly by an essay in which Lajos Vargyas discusses two Hungarian descents to hell: the story of a fifteenth-century visit to Saint Patrick's Cave in Ireland by Lőrinc Tar, a knight of King Louis the Great. In these miniature Dantesque journeys through hell, according to Vargyas's interpretation, "we again come face to face with something I have already observed in other domains of tradition, lately the ballad, and that is that the Hungarians adjust traditions grown out of their powerful Eastern roots to the dominant European cultural-literary fashions of the age. This is made possible also by a certain connection between the European fashion and the Eastern tradition. In this way Hungarians parti-

cipate more easily and with distinct individual hues, in new intellectual currents. A lucky mixture is created of old Eastern pagan traditions and the European ideals of the age. This amalgamation appears, as in the case of ballads, also in the age of the Angevin kings of Hungary (14th–15th centuries). This seems to have been the time when the conflict between Christian and pagan, European and Eastern civilization was definitively resolved, while elements of pre-Conquest Hungarian culture still survived in a form close to the original and were able to appear in the nation's consciousness, in Christian culture and literature as well. Is it possible that the rise of the peasantry to higher modes of life again brought to the surface traditions that were concealed in peasant culture?"

Another essay looks at the final result of this collective cultural interchange in music. According to Vargyas: "... all the music which the Hungarians took with them to the new homeland was of very high standard. It was in no way inferior to early tenth-century European art—and folk music... What surprises most is that two apparently conflicting tendencies of equal force manifest themselves in it, often side by side in the same phenomenon: an adherence to old traditions and an openness to new influences. This is rarely found elsewhere in such an equilibrium. That is how the world of old Ugric melodies lives side by side with pentatonic Mongol-Turkic melodies that flow in extraordinary abundance. Recently I began to notice the survival of this tradition of Ugrian times over an increasingly wide range. But even after the inflow of many European melodies, Ugric and Turkic styles alike have survived beside the Gregorian chant, the French ballade airs, lyric verse forms, religious folk-songs, then the music in major-minor scales of the Baroque period, and the huge quantity of art songs of modern times. The new which we have readily adopted has never completely ousted the old, it has only associated with it and enriched the tradition."

The adoption and transmission of Western novelties, of "fashion," were most conspicuous in that area where Lajos Vargyas is reckoned a major pioneer in research, the folk ballad. "... among Hungarian ballads," he writes, "there are some which have preserved parts or details of pre-Conquest epics transformed in the spirit of the new genre;" on the other hand, medieval Franco-Walloon settlers contributed to "the inflow of considerable Western European influences through Hungary into Eastern Europe... In the case of the folk ballad it is clear enough that we are faced with a new genre developed by the medieval peasantry, expressive of peasant prosperity in the closing Middle Ages. What fascinated the nations was the new social substance, the new phenomenon of development: the new fashion. This makes one understand the powerful radiation... Of course, this social

novelty derives from the French peasants, and we could transmit it over such a vast area because, owing to the settlers, it here appeared and became adaptable earlier than elsewhere; and, of course, also because the Hungarian reformulation was up-to-date, i.e., fashionable."

Vargyas's train of thought, his diagnosis of the role of folklore in cultural history, allows all those who know Hungarian poetry to associate the fate and role of Hungarian folk culture with Endre Ady's 'The ferry-land' metaphor, a finest symbol of which could be the late medieval statue—Saint George by the Hungarian brothers Kolozsvári in Prague—showing a Western, Christian knight mounting a horse saddled in the Eastern style.—But how firmly, since the first Reform Age of the last century, the consciousness and need to belong to the West had been implanted in Hungarian high culture, too, was pointed out just fifty years ago by Lajos Fülep*, the philosopher of art (founder and editor, together with György Lukács, of the first Hungarian philosophical magazine, *A Szellem*) in one of his memorable essays published in *Válasz*, the literary periodical of the second Hungarian reform generation active between the two world wars. In this essay Fülep emphasizes that the programme of the first reform period was "to make the Hungarians as Western and thus as conscious and national as possible, to achieve their deserved and specific place, their spiritual role among the Western nations. The national idea itself is also taken from the West, and with it the entire method of building up national consciousness, because this is found practicable... Whether we consider the West as a geographical notion," Lajos Fülep's train of thought continues, "or as a spiritual concept—Hungary is part of the West in any event, farther back in time, a bit towards the margin, but within the marches."

This is not contradicted by a thought formulated by Dezső Keresztury, rather, our self-knowledge and thus our consciousness of identity are modulated and brought closer to historico-cultural and geopolitical reality. He writes: "... the Danube valley is a meeting-place not only of East and West but also of North and South. The fields of the Great Hungarian Plain really seem to be a blend of Dutch gardens and Sarmatian steppes, it seems that Transdanubia, rich in Roman relics, Baroque chateaux, and classicist peasant houses, is bathed in Italianate sunshine. In the spaces of villages and towns wedged between the snow-capped mountains of Transylvania, churches marking the eastern boundary of the Gothic are confronted by the churches of the Byzantine rite of the East. But this multicoloured scenery is integrated by the arc of the Carpathians, and the unity of nature

* *NHQ* 99.

with the people has created the peculiar atmosphere which imbues even the most contrasting colours with an identical mood."

Lajos Vargyas's book, through the historical role of folk culture, displays the manner in which Hungarians belong to the West, and Dezső Keresztury's work illustrates, through the world of high culture, their consciousness of this fact which—as clearly appears also from the foregoing—is not really a balanced way of feeling and thinking. Keresztury points out that the extrasystoles of this complex of emotions are sensed also by sharp-eyed foreigners, as he refers to an anonymous Hamburg literary historian who "writes about the unusual, doubly reactive inferiority complex of the Eastern European nations, and advances many arguments and facts in support of his views. These nations, he argues, have wanted to show either that they are superior to the West or that they feel no interest at all in the West. Therefore, they either overcompensate or they withdraw into themselves."

It is worth following and thinking over this track. A symptom of isolation is that even this ambivalent emotion is one-sided. What Europe, that is the West, considers the Hungarians to be like, and what errors of judgement have been made, and continue to be made, regarding Hungarians, has been and is still widely discussed; but what image of the Hungarians has been established in the East, i.e. what Russians, Ukrainians, and Poles think about them as well as peoples of the Balkans, not to mention the limitrophe nations, Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, Slovenes, Serbs, and Rumanians, has scarcely ever been mentioned and is seldom discussed today. An authentic and realistic national identity cannot, however, be developed without a productive dialogue clarifying the meaning of the Danubian mission, which would naturally require also a better knowledge of the reality of what, say, the Slovak Vladimir Minác, the Rumanian Emil Cioran, or the Croat Miroslav Krleža wrote and thought about the Hungarians. Even if, in certain respects, traumatic convulsions might be produced by a look into the mirror they hold to the Hungarians. The need was established by László Németh* between the two world wars, but Hungarian thinking was not in a hurry to satisfy this urgent requirement of Hungarian self-knowledge.

Let me again refer to Herder who remarked in 1744 that every nation carries in itself the centre of its happiness as a ball does its centre of gravity. Also that of unhappiness, one might add, and if one asks where and in what to look for the centre of our unhappiness, then one of the possible and historically justified answers is given by Keresztury: "... the Hungarians

* *NHQ* I, 2, 5, 13, 44, 59.

have been able to convey to the world hardly anything of the crucial problems concerning their existence and consciousness and of the great creations of their spirit. Their literature and science, the most important expressions of their national genius, have remained unknown for the most part. The West seeks the characteristic traits of Hungarian culture not in these but in customs, in temperaments: on the plane not of the intellect but of the ethnic."

In this respect Lajos Vargyas is right when, in connection with introducing Hungarian culture to Europe, getting its sovereign values and colours accepted, he argues that "we are faced with the problems of Vörösmarty and Kölcsey, problems maturing for a hundred years now wait to be solved after the experience of a hundred years." But it can hardly be denied that the awareness of being too late has been haunting our national culture and national feelings ever since the fall of Buda (1541), and for good historical reasons; a schizophrenia of the reality of "the poor Hungarian fugitive" and the memory of "the glorious Hungarian nation" has since become more and more tormenting in historical consciousness, the ambivalence of the place, character, and function of our culture, and the fear that the "ferry" can only with increasing difficulty, and with an ever longer delay, land on the "opposite," the European, shore. In an interview he gave to *The Etude* in 1941, Béla Bartók also pointed to this circumstance as the ultimate reason why Hungary had until recent times possessed no truly national art music. This could hardly have been otherwise; Hungary had been dominated by foreign powers—first by the Turks and then by the Austrians—for more than three centuries. Political uncertainty and cultural upheaval do not provide the best basis for any art, he said.

Is it possible to redraw the series of firmly established phantom images of the Hungarians, the heap of specious lies, which Keresztury subjects to rational analysis? Besides the culture of industrial production trying to rise ever higher, much work in the field, and a policy having an eye to the realities—means whose effectiveness has been demonstrated by the recent past—the most efficient instrument could be, Keresztury is firmly convinced, our art above all. In twentieth-century Hungarian culture it is chiefly Béla Bartók's and Zoltán Kodály's music and József Egry's* painting which represent all that "we consider to be typically Hungarian and of real artistic and human value to the whole world. With and through them we have managed to come out again from behind the screens of the cheap platitudes concerning the Hungarians and their place in the world," Keresztury argues with firm

* *NHQ* 24.

conviction. "With their personal weight and prestige they have contributed to carving a much deeper, better, and more up-to-date image of Hungarians than the commonplace notions of old, just as the radically changed social, economic, state-organizational, and political forces have done." Works of art "influence national characteristics at least as much as they are—mostly unintentional—manifestations of the latter." In high culture just as in folk culture, it could not have been possible otherwise for the synthesis of the two to achieve the modern universality of Bartók's music, the probably greatest achievement of twentieth-century Hungarian culture. It is obvious therefore that, just as before, Hungarians should try to shape their firm identity-awareness in culture in the first place. The still valid and timely cultural ideal and faith of the Hungarian Enlightenment shine through Keresztury's final summing-up: "Our fate is in the hands of powers greater than us, but our character in our own."

FROM OUR NEXT ISSUES

FIVE BITTER-SWEET STORIES

Iván Boldizsár

THE UNIT (short story)

Ádám Bodor

POEMS, translated by Edwin Morgan

László Kálnoky

THE POETRY OF LÁSZLÓ KÁLNOKY

Balázs Lengyel

POEMS, translated by George Szirtes

István Baka

TAMÁS SZECSKŐ

MASS COMMUNICATION AND REFORM

Hungary has been experiencing a period of reform since the end of the 'sixties. Just as with wider historical processes, it has not been free of contradictions: it has had its phases of narrowing and of widening. In addition to internal factors, it is also influenced by external events occurring in international politics and in the international economy. The purpose of the present investigation is to discuss the changes encountered in the everyday life of Hungarian society, those which have determined the character of the past fifteen years or so.

The reform began seventeen years ago with a partial remodeling of the system of economic management. The older form of economic management was based on central directives on planning and administration and it was replaced by a more flexible economic order which takes into account the interests of the units of production and market mechanisms to an increasing extent; consequently it is capable of adjusting better to changes in prosperity. Thus commercial and industrial organizations received a much greater autonomy than before, and a significant proportion of those decisions affecting economic processes have become decentralized.

However, it is the paradox of the economic reform that it may not be simply economic; in order to reveal its opportunities, its principles must exert an influence on the whole institutional system of society. It has also become clear to everyone that while the key concept of the reform in the economic sphere was "efficiency," in non-economic spheres it could only be "democracy."

Thus in the course of the past one and a half decades the reform has had an impact on a whole range of social institutions, from the educational system, the bureaucracy, to local council and parliamentary elections. The mass media must also adapt themselves to the changes in the social environment. In the following, certain aspects of this process of adaptation will be investigated. A characteristic of this process is that, for different historical and ideological reasons[1], of which the most important may be that the value of information has been treated by political thinking in a contradictory manner, the process follows the movement of reform and adaptation in other spheres of social activities at a certain delay only. On the other hand, the process is less organized, with more spontaneous features than in the other spheres. The encounters of interests, the conflicts of interests and the bargaining between the interests of the audience, the communicator and the politician, appear in a whole set of dilemmas faced by the media.

In the following, six groups of such dilemmas will be examined: as pieces of the same mirror, they reflect Hungarian mass media in the present and in the probable future.

1 The dilemmas of function

The most important among them, in all probability, is that the narrower, instrumental concept of mass communication is gradually replaced by a philosophy of communication in which mass communication functions not merely as a means of power but as a forum of exchange of ideas at a social level as well.[2] In this way the political function

[1] Cp. T. Szecskő: Jegyzetek az információ értékéről (Notes on the value of information), Valóság, 1982. No. 12. pp. 78–82.

[2] A shift in emphasis in this direction may be observed in other socialist countries too. Cp. T. Szecskő: Preface, in: L. Kulcsár (ed.) Közvélemény, politika, kommunikáció (Public opinion, politics, communication). Budapest, 1981. p. 6.

of the mass media is enriched to a significant extent and it exerts an influence on their cultural, educational and entertainment functions as well.

The "instrumental function" lays emphasis on vertical communication, exercising an effect largely in one direction, and it basically promotes the manifestation of the central political will. The "forum function" emphasizes horizontal communication and promotes not only the multi-directional character of information processes but the versatility of harmonizing interests as well. A survey taken in 1981 which examined a representative sample of active Hungarian journalists[3] found that 41 per cent of journalists believed that there was a need to strengthen the function of mass communication connected to "the mediation of the most important viewpoints encountered in public opinion."

The theoretical and practical enrichment of the political function of mass communication throws a new light on the three normative basic elements of journalism, objectivity, commitment and social criticism. A debate among professionals of considerable interest, initiated by the party committee of the Hungarian Radio, was carried on for a year in one of the professional journals; journalists, information politicians, media managers and researchers all joined in.[4] The conclusion arrived at was that objectivity and commitment are concepts which presuppose one another and without them it would be difficult to speak of the responsibility of criticism.

This is the complex manner—containing the elements of objectivity, commitment and responsibility—in which Hungarian mass media have become more critical in the past few years. Although it is difficult to display a critical attitude by using comparative statistical data for different periods of time, the process is well demonstrated by some data derived from a systematic analysis of the contents of articles, programmes and announcements of economic character.[5] The proportion in which economic results and problems were mentioned (i.e. the result/problem quotient) was the following:

1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
3.2	3.0	3.0	2.6	2.9	2.9	2.1	2.1

Naturally, the basic function of the media—and primarily the mass media—continues to be stabilization. The interpretation of that function has also been greatly extended and made more dynamic in recent years. One of the theoretical documents accepted by the State Radio and Television Committee in the autumn of 1982 puts it thus: "... the voluntary desire to camouflage problems, which lacks sincerity and does not trust the sober judgement of the audience and its positive activities, may only result in a normative and rigid stability in social consciousness that may collapse under tensions even of a mild intensity. That is not what we need but a certain kind of adaptive stability; we need to acquire above all the

[3] R. Angelusz et al.: A magyar újságíró-társadalom helyzete 1981-ben (The situation of Hungarian journalists in 1981), Mass Communication Research Institute, Bp. 1982–83.

[4] Objektivitás, elkötelezettség, kritika (Objectivity, commitment, criticism), Jel–Kép 1981. No. 3–4., 1982. No. 1–2.

[5] The Mass Communication Research Institute has been analyzing regularly representative samples of such media-output since 1976. The most recent publication is: A gazdasági közhangulat alakulása és a tömegkommunikációs eszközök propagandája 1983-ban (The formation of economic public feeling and the economic propaganda of mass communication media in 1983), Mass Communication Research Institute, Budapest, 1984. pp. 26. (mimeo)

ability to adapt to rapidly changing situations, to spread flexible behaviour patterns respecting the basic values of socialist society (indeed, to strengthen them), to foster sensitivity to the new (some call this "innovation ability") and also to widen the limits of individual and social tolerance."[6]

2 The dilemma of values

Another direction in which mass communication and autoreflection have changed in the past few years is that communicators, politicians and researchers have taken increasingly greater interest in the following question: which are the values, norms, behaviour patterns conveyed by radio, television and the press to the audience. This increase in sensitivity to values may be traced to three factors. One of them is the fact—exceeding the communication system—that the changes of eras in the past thirty-five years (change in the political and economic institutional system, rapid industrialization and urbanization, the high level of social mobility and so forth) resulted in the collision of basic values and in value vacuums. It is true that all this had come into being continuously since the end of the 'forties but it was only in recent years that they became a dilemma confronting the mass media.[8] Furthermore, the propaganda carried out in the first half of the 'fifties inculcated in public consciousness some basic social values that are acknowledged today in such a simplified manner that they have now become useless; their black-and-white form needs to be discarded and they should be conceived in a more differentiated way. For instance, "equality value" is an abstraction which is an obstacle to the acceptance of that differentiation on the grounds of accomplishment which is indispensable for improving social efficiency; the slogan "work is a matter of honesty and glory," also invented in the 'fifties, in this form is not conducive to making people understand that society needs sensible and high quality work.[9] Finally there is another contributory factor to this increased sensitivity to values: Hungarian society now has widening connections with the world (in the form of foreign trade, tourism, working abroad, mass communication) and these make possible the "import" of values which are not compatible with the socialist value system.

So it is not within one dilemma but within a whole set of them that mass communication is to define its sphere of value cultivation, and in a way that the individual examples—programmes, articles—can convey values in conflict with one another since it is essential to reveal the rich diversity of everyday values and to demonstrate the areas of tension among them. Then the active work of fostering values to be carried out by programming and editorial policy must emphasize, select and spread those announcements, products of that diversity which can best contribute to strengthening the basic values of society. This may be done through the structure or make-up of the programme, through systematized repetition and through programme propaganda. From the point of view of society's value system, the real danger

[6] T. Szecskő: A jövőről — középtávon (About the future — a medium-term prognosis). Jel–Kép, 1983. No. 1. p. 11.

[7] Cp. Á. Levendel and T. Terestyéni: Some aspects of the Relationship between Political-Social Changes and Culture: the Case of Hungary. A paper presented at the Vienna Symposium on Cultural Indicators for the Comparative Study of Culture, February, 1982.

[8] Klapp is probably right: societies generally elaborate value problems in their "closing" phases. (O. E. Klapp: Opening and Closing: Categories of Information Adaptation in Society, Cambridge, 1978.) In Hungary the period of quiet development from the end of the '60s to the end of the '70s was of this type.

[9] For greater detail see my article Értékek a társadalom napirendjén (Values on the agenda of society), Társadalmi Szemle, 1979, No. 9. pp. 48–57.

in mass communication is not a conscious clash between values but the opposite, the merging of values into one another.

3 The dilemmas of identity

The medium-term plan adopted by Unesco states: "In all regions, cultural identity now appears as one of the chief driving forces of history, representing neither a fossilized heritage nor a mere collection of traditions, but an internal dynamic, a process whereby a society continually creates itself, nourished by internal diversities consciously and voluntarily accepted, and welcoming, assimilating and if necessary transforming contributions received from elsewhere. Far from coinciding with withdrawal into an immutable, self-enclosed past, it promotes a lively, original and constantly renewed synthesis. Identity thus appears to be the sine-qua-non of progress for individuals, groups and nations, for it is the force that animates and underpins the collective will, that gathers to itself the internal resources for action, and that turns necessary change into creative adaptation."[10]

Where lie the dilemmas created by this process, in which society "continually creates itself," for Hungarian mass communication? Some of the problems have already been touched upon in the discussion of values. The danger of losing cultural identity which threatens many countries through the impact of multinational monopolies mainly in the film industry and in the import of TV programmes, cannot for the moment be considered as serious in Hungary. In terms of its population and GNP, the country's film industry is strong and respected abroad—as shown by the awards won in international festivals—and home-based television production is also more intensive than that of most countries whose social and economic indices are similar. For some time now imported programmes have made up 25–30 per cent of the broadcasting time in Hungarian Television and in prime time they make up 35–50 per cent.[11] I have demonstrated elsewhere in a study written for the MacBride Committee,[12] that the range of origin of films and TV programmes imported to Hungary has kept on increasing in the course of years; in other words, the efforts of cultural policy and media policy to resist monocultural temptations have been successful.

However, the audience must appreciate and understand not only world culture and world history but its own national past as well: one of the most important elements in cultural identity is historical identity. From that point of view, Hungarian mass communication is in a specific situation. The revolutionary changes within society have resulted in the caesura in values already mentioned. The situation is further complicated and made more complex psychologically by two factors. One of them is the country's disgraceful role in the Second World War; the other is the official version of history at the beginning of the 'fifties which reduced Hungarian history to the isolated episodes of a few wars of independence and peasant risings. All that, of course, palpably disturbed the consciousness of national identity, especially in the thinking of the younger generations which did not "make" history but merely studied it.[13]

Taking all this into account, communicators, politicians and historians drew up from the end of the 'sixties a strategy which has since been successfully transplanted into

[10] UNESCO: Draft Medium Term Plan (1984–89), Paris, 1982. p. 41.

[11] International Flow of Television Programmes and News (Research Materials from the Eastern European Region) — A Report for Unesco, Budapest, 1983, Manuscript, pp. 51.

[12] T. Szecskő: Flow of Culture and Information: Hungary, Document of the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, No. 56.

[13] Cp. T. Szecskő: Mass Communication and Historical Identity, Cultures Unesco, 1983 (at press)

practice by radio, television and the press. There has been a significant increase in the proportion of writing of a historical nature (documents, historical essays) within the overall balance of the press; a new popular periodical, História, has been started which sells out almost immediately at the news stands; the radio successfully organizes historical programmes accompanied by book publication; the historical documentaries on television have become so popular that, for instance, individual parts in the series "Our Century," on Hungary from the turn of the century, have been watched by more than half of the adult population.

That is, of course, just the point where professional dilemmas begin. The electronic mass media is actually the *Minnesänger* of the modern age: it sings about the past, mostly to a tune composed by itself; it does not write but represents history—by making its audience cry or laugh, if necessary. By its very nature, it has a closer affinity to mythical interpretation of history than to cool realism. Discovering, elaborating and strengthening historical identity cannot be reduced to the mere conveying of information and knowledge; there is a need for inspiration, emotions and empathy as well. The mass media may help a great deal if they promote that empathy through their programming.

4 The generation dilemma

In Hungary television broadcasting started comparatively late, in 1957. Consequently, those who may be considered to be the first TV generation are now coming to the age of social activity: they were born in the age of television and even as babies went to sleep with the signature-tune of the TV news in the background; for them, mass communication media are no longer magic boxes but demythicized objects for use, the natural components of everyday life. But their careers differ significantly from those of the generations preceding them not only in the technological dimension but also in their being much poorer in historical experience. They did not even have to go through the social trauma of 1956 since they had not been born then; they were alive through the optimistic upswing of the reforms at the end of the 'sixties but they had not yet participated in public life: therefore not even that was a source of experience for them.

This commonplace on the younger generation becomes interesting to communication policies when it gives rise to another dilemma of mass communication. This is whether to treat the audience as a continuum of age-groups where only qualitative differences need be taken into account between adjacent age-groups or, the other way round, to treat the generations with marked profiles separately, in accordance with their own value systems, sub-cultures, social experience. If the first strategy is adopted by television and the daily press, it is usually for the purpose of maximising the audience but it alienates the "TV generation." The second strategy (adopted by certain editors of the radio and of a few dailies and periodicals) finds the way to this generation more easily but it also loses out among the medium layers of the audience, and indeed, evokes mirth at times as well.

The generation dilemma is further complicated by the fact that the same age-groups are also represented among communicators too. Moreover, the survey of journalists quoted above showed that there is hardly any intellectual occupation in Hungary where the proportion of career starters is as high as among journalists. This high proportion appeared in the past decade. In 1968 a break-down by age among journalists showed that the majority were in the middle-aged generation (the proportion of journalists between 36–50 accounted for 53 per cent). However, at the beginning of the 'eighties more than half of the journalists active at the time had embarked on their careers after 1968 and, consequently, the proportion of the medium generation had dropped to 38

per cent by 1981 and the relative proportions of the three generations had essentially evened out. If we take into account that three out of every four journalists had started their careers after 1957, it becomes clear that among communicators there is also an increase in that group whose social maturity and political socialization had taken place under completely different circumstances to those of the older generation.

These young journalists of the reform era had a shorter way to go to reach their desks in the editorial offices, the studios or the telex machines of the news agencies than their older colleagues had. Among the younger age-groups, an increase in the proportion of those who entered journalism directly or after a brief detour is observable. If the figures are broken down by social strata, the results are even more surprising. On the average, journalists coming from white-collar professional families had 1.1 jobs, those of middle-class origin 1.3 jobs, and those born into working-class families had 1.7 jobs before becoming journalists. Thus children whose parents were in professional occupations find it much easier to enter journalism, which demonstrates the increasing "closed" nature of the profession in the sociological sense. (This is shown also by the fact that 13 per cent of the journalists above fifty and 53 per cent of those below thirty come from this background.) Hence, another dilemma arises, namely how to maintain a healthy, democratic openness, without discarding real advantages of family background—"dynastic" career socialization in the good sense—for a highly creative intellectual profession?

5 Structural dilemmas

Projecting communication supply of the population onto the social structure leads planners and politicians to two problematic areas. One of them is the area of social "peripheries"—that of social groups whose socio-economic characteristics are less favourable—for these supply of media is weeker (outdated appliances, a sporadic use of the press, complete isolation from new communication technologies), and in any case they have accumulated social handicaps. Although it is a fairly narrow layer, consisting mostly of lonely, elderly people and those living in small scattered villages, it does represent a specific problem for social and media policy makers. For society undertakes to render them social policy support (pensions, medical care, etc.); indeed, it apparently treats them favourably in media policy in that state subsidies mean that the price of newspapers and periodicals is comparatively low in spite of several raises in the recent past. Yet, that is precisely that layer which would most fully make use of the electronic media. Here the price of receivers, repair and maintenance costs are completely subject to market forces and are not affected by considerations of social policy.

The problem at the other extreme has its roots in the price structure of electronic goods. The prices of colour television sets, teletext adapters and video-recorders are unjustifiably high. (In 1984 hardly more than 18 per cent of the population lived in households with colour television sets, the number of video-recorders are estimated to be no higher than 50 or 60 thousand.) On the other hand, there is a social interest in developing new, modern communication technologies which may tie up large sums in the central resources of society. By so doing, however, society "subsidizes"—at least in the short run—those social groups whose members are favoured because of their high income, from the point of view of communication.

Another feature of the Hungarian mass media is that in the past decades there has been an incomparably faster development of regional and local media. The signs of that development are the increase in the number of local (or rather, not central) press organs (and in their circulations), the establishment and strengthening of regional and local radio and television stations; the essence is the

gradual decentralization of the extremely centralized communication system of the 'fifties which followed in the wake of the evolution of social and political institutions. Cable systems are also spreading: these have come into being—in the form of large-community antenna systems—in the new residential quarters of several rural towns exclusively from local resources and are developing dynamically.

It is a paradox but the real structural problems of Hungarian mass communication are infrastructural. According to a limited international survey[14], Hungary is average among the countries of Europe from the point of view of supply and use of mass media (with the exception of new media). The situation is different for media production (broadcasting stations, studios, publishers, transmitters); here the Hungarian figures are to be found mostly in the lower tercial. The situation as regards telephones (which is one of the keys to the development of communication-information systems!) is, mainly as a consequence of neglecting development in the 'fifties, anachronistic in a society of Hungary's level of economic development: only about 15 per cent of households are in the telephone network.

6 *Dilemmas facing development*

At the beginning of the 'eighties the amount of domestic electronic consumption per capita (including everything from TV broadcasting stations to pocket computers) was 50 dollars as opposed to the world average of 90 dollars.[15] Although that is a very complex index, it points to the basic dilemma of development: the arrears of several decades in the development of infrastructure must be made up in an era when the Hungarian economy must solve basic structural problems in order to preserve its competitiveness in the world market. Taking into account all this, however, the recognition is beginning to spread that should a much greater proportion of the resources not be transferred to the communication infrastructure, there will be an increase in the backwardness, absolute as compared to the needs of the country and relative as compared to the states of a similar level of development, and it will reach a level where mass communication will be unable to fulfil even its basic functions.

The development of global communication enhances the challenges for development of the media in Hungary. The preliminary plans for West-European satellite television (DBS) will mean that their programmes will be received here in the following form in the next few years: two FRG programmes (with a 90 cm antenna in Western Hungary and a 2 m antenna elsewhere), three French programmes (with a 2 m antenna all over the country), the LSAT "Europe programme" (with a 3–4 m antenna all over the country). In the second half of the decade, Austrian and Swiss programmes will also be available and, naturally, the programmes of neighbouring socialist countries will also be easy to receive. (All this refers to individual reception only: the spread of the large-community antennas mentioned above make Hungary even more open to programmes from abroad.)

Naturally, as a consequence of its geographical situation, Hungary has been open to TV programmes from abroad to a significant extent even before the era of DBS direct broadcasting system. In 1982, 43 per cent of all households were able to receive some TV programmes from abroad and this was being done regularly by 6 per cent of viewers[16]. However, access to the satellites will open up a new era in the development of mass communication; to this Hungarian media policy

[14] P. Diem: Towards a European Standard in Audience Research — Basic audience data from 15 nations. A paper presented at the 1983 GEAR-meeting, Venice, 1983, 28 pp.

[15] T. Szecskő: op. cit. p. 14.

[16] P. Diem: op. cit. pp. 16–17.

wishes to react not by a rejection of it but by an improvement of the quality of domestic programmes and their attraction, while devoting greater attention, of course, to the problems mentioned, to the values and identity.

A further development of the legal regulation of communication is indispensable for development. At present the situation is chaotic because of partial regulation for different institutions (radio, television, post office, press); all the new communication technologies are outside the scope of regulations; for that matter, the press law contains even 19th-century elements. After several rounds of debate, a new information (communication) law is under way. While drawing up and finalizing it, the law-makers are also faced with the dilemma of how to regulate, as much as possible, the system of communication in a way that it should at the same time be compatible with the regulation of other forms of the flow of social information (social statistics, data transfer, informatics) as well.

*

Social-economic development continuously raises new requirements which the mass media have to meet. The present article hoped to clarify them by presenting a few dilemmas which have to be faced. It must be admitted that these dilemmas are of a practical character and have not yet been included in unitary development models either on an ideological or on a theoretical level. However, it may have proved that most of these dilemmas are not an internal affair of the mass media but they constitute one of the crucial questions for the development of the political and information structure of Hungarian society.

The New Hungarian Quarterly

1985

FROM THE CONTENTS

Gyula Szekfű and the Encyclopaedia Britannica ... *Miklós Lackó* *NHQ* 97
Statistics Fit for the Nineties ... *Vera Nyitrai* *NHQ* 98
Kossuth as an English Journalist ... *Éva Haraszti* *NHQ* 98
Young Hungarian Hackers ... *Miklós Breitner* *NHQ* 99
The Pécs Experiment in Cable TV ... *András Szekfű* *NHQ* 99

Back numbers, $ 4 per copy, available from

KULTURA FOREIGN TRADE COMPANY
H-1389 Budapest
P.O.B. 149
Hungary

FROM THE PRESS

HUNGARIANS IN THE WORLD

How many Hungarians are there all over the world? That was the question put to the late János Gosztonyi, General Secretary of the World Federation of Hungarians, by the periodical *Ifjúsági Szemle* (Youth Review), last year. János Gosztonyi must have found it difficult to answer for he emphasized in the interview that even today we only have rough estimates as to the number of Hungarians and these differ by millions.

There are few nations every third member of which lives outside the borders of the country. Hungarians attach even more significance to that since the population of our country is low and our kindred nationalities are also few in number. According to estimates, there are more than 3 million Hungarians in the countries bordering on Hungary, the largest Hungarian ethnic group—around 2 million—in Rumania, close to 1 million in Czechoslovakia, and the remainder in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, and Austria. Those now beyond our immediate borders cannot be described as exiles or emigrants in the strict sense since they never left their homeland; it is not their fault that history has altered the borders of these countries.

For this reason the World Federation of Hungarians is primarily concerned with Hungarians in the Western diaspora. Protecting those living in neighbouring countries is the obligation of the states in which they live. Cooperation here is a task for the state itself.

The number of Hungarians living in the West is estimated to be around one and a half million, most of them in the United States of America. Between 1919 and 1945, approximately 354,000 people left Hungary permanently as political exiles or as emigrants for economic reasons. That number does not include Hungarians who emigrated from what are called the successor states. Between 1945 and 1956, we may talk of an emigration for political reasons; it was in that period, for example, that the leaders and a great many members of the coalition parties left Hungary. The peak of this wave was in 1956, a year in which 200,000 people left the country; later, one in four returned to their homeland. There has been sporadic emigration in low numbers since 1956 too. As opposed to the practice of the fifties when emigrants were considered virtually as criminals and traitors, now it is possible to leave the country legally, move abroad and remain in contact with those living in the mother country.

As regards those living abroad, the World Federation of Hungarians considers everyone Hungarian who proclaims himself to be Hungarian. The Federation considers cultural community to be the most decisive factor, one of whose most important, though not exclusive, elements is language. This takes into account the existence of double, triple, even multiple identity and pursues a policy more flexible and tolerant than ever before. Thus the Federation collaborates with everyone of

goodwill, regardless of political or ideological view. In this collaboration it makes an effort to extend the relations to the widest possible layers of Hungarians living outside the borders of the country, respecting, of course, the laws and customs prevailing in the host country in question. The objective is that those who have left the country to make a new life abroad should preserve their native language and national, folk culture in their new homes and bequeath all this to their children as well. The condition for this is not a lack of interest in politics but mutual political tolerance as well as a concentration on universal Hungarian affairs, especially on the survival of the Hungarians.

With the exception of South Africa, the World Federation of Hungarians has contacts with the Hungarian diaspora of each Western country. Only a very small percentage of young people of Hungarian origin —the second and third generations of the emigrants—speak Hungarian, even when both parents are Hungarian. The primary aim of the parents has been to fit in and acquire the language of the new environment as fully as possible. As a consequence of this accelerated assimilation, fewer and fewer of them speak Hungarian. Assimilation is an unstoppable and irreversible process. In preserving a Hungarian consciousness the most significant role is played by those parents, church people, schoolteachers, scout leaders who fight for the survival of the Hungarian language in the West. After all, all cultures strive to foster relationships with their members who have gone to live in other countries, fulfilling the function of a bridge. Here the main channels of assistance which Hungary can offer are connected to the native language through a language review, camping opportunities to Hungarian children living in the West, and organizing summer language courses in Debrecen for teachers of the Hungarian language in the West. Under the auspices of the Native Language Conference, it organizes courses for Hungarian folk-dance groups from abroad every year. In the autumn of 1983, in Kőszeg, the teaching of young Hungarians living abroad began at secondary level and an increasing number of these young people are gaining admittance to Hungarian universities as well. However, the most important area of the World Federation of Hungarians' activity lies in organizing meetings for Hungarian intellectuals living abroad. The plans include organizing meetings for Hungarian translators and historians, including those researching emigration from the Carpathian Basin.

At the end of the interview, János Gosztonyi emphasized that it is a basic obligation of every people with self-respect to keep track of their members, wherever in the world they may be living. But beyond moral considerations, the question has a pragmatic aspect as well: Hungary is a small country and it makes a difference to us what the world thinks of us. Hungarians living abroad may also contribute to forming that opinion.

In addition to the interview just summarized, the same issue of the periodical contains twelve articles and two excerpts from documentaries, thereby covering the subject from several angles. *Magyar Ifjúság* (Hungarian Youth) published an account of a visit to relatives in the United States, emphasizing that even the most intimate contact with relatives can be subject to misunderstanding if we have no insight into each other's lives. He mentions as a typical mistaken belief the fact that quite a few American Hungarians do not dare to have their children attend university in the mother country because they believe everything is overly subject to political considerations—even education.

Miklós Szántó, at the time editor of *Magyar Hírek*, discusses the younger generations in the Hungarian diaspora in his study. He deals with three great waves of emigration, that after the Great War, that of 1944/45 and that of 1956/57. He points out that since the members of the first two waves have now decreased in number signifi-

cantly, the emigrants of fifty-six have practically become the "first generation" and are followed by two newer generations. He lists four factors which—and they have a dialectic connection with one another too—exert a decisive influence on the relations between the various Hungarian communities abroad and the mother country. He refers to the international situation, the relations between the host country and the Hungarian People's Republic, the economic, social, and cultural situation of the host country along with the number of Hungarians in the host country, and finally the international success and failures of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The channels of technological progress, the multi-cultural concept of a flourishing economy and the host country may foster meetings. Today it is mainly two groups of emigrants who can play a significant role in improving relations; the first is made up of those active in associations, and the second, scientists and artists. With full public approval Hungary's emigration policy is developing its methods, opportunities and increasing in efficiency.

The late Kázmér Nagy looks at the young in Hungary in his article. He concludes that it is more useful to consider the new generation to be of Hungarian origin as they are already well on the path to a secure place and assimilation to their host culture both in consciousness and language. Thus they have no real incentive to be Hungarian first and foremost. Emigrants who turn the education of their children into a kind of "Hungarian cause," usually disturb their children's sense of identity. The situation pertaining to the teaching of the Hungarian language has deteriorated throughout the West in the past ten years. Could the reason have been, to a major degree, the argument over whether these schools should use books issued by the Federation of Scouts or by the Native Language Conference, namely from Western or Hungarian sources?

The article concludes that Hungary may rely in the main on the young in the West who are dealing with East European questions academically, at university or higher level. Secondly, those working in the educational institutions, mass media, in the different arts and in economic life may also be relied on since they are happy to enter into contact with the land of their forefathers. They thus act as an invisible bridge between Hungary and the world.

László M. Szabó, press chief of the World Federation of Hungarians, devotes an article to examining the Hungarian scout movement abroad. He states that while in the Rákosi era scout troops in Hungary were disbanded, the association of scouts strengthened abroad in the fifties. The process of consolidation is indicated by the fact that the association has deleted the "in exile" from their original title of Hungarian Scout Association in Exile. That decision, however, was not in keeping with a normalization of their relationship with the mother country. In spite of refusing institutional cultural relations with Hungary and generally living in the past, the scout association has achieved significant results in fostering the Hungarian language and culture. These results spring from a background of a highly developed organizational life.

There are 84 Hungarian scout troops active in fourteen countries over three continents—Europe, America, Australia. The main attractions of the scout movement are camping and various educational and practical activities. The other main arena for education is within week-end schools. Apart from this, the scout movement lays great emphasis on fostering Hungarian folk music and dancing. As the movement is making efforts to preserve a consciousness of origin among members of the Hungarian diaspora, the fact should be faced that language may become less and less the exclusive method for fostering a Hungarian consciousness.

A teacher writes on Hungarians living in Árpádhon at the mouth of the Mississippi (Albany, Louisiana), in whose school he taught Hungarian to children of both Hun-

garian and non-Hungarian origin. He points out that the political, economic, and social integration tendencies which strengthened during the Second World War pushed the small community of Hungarians establishing themselves in a new homeland towards an abandonment of their original language. The homogenifying effect of the mass media also resulted in the disruption of closed ethnic communities. In the seventies, however, a national consciousness among the Hungarians in Árpádhon grew anew and went through a qualitative change.

Ifjúsági Szemle interviewed István Deák, Professor of History at Columbia University, New York. The professor believes that the Habsburg Empire was the only, even though semi-conscious, historical attempt to unite the peoples in the Carpathian Basin and in its vicinity. He emphasizes that there is at present in the United States a new interest in Europe, including Central Europe. István Deák considers himself Hungarian spiritually and culturally and through his education; at the same time, however, his loyalty and feelings connect him to the United States. He says that the erosion of Hungarian colonies is a natural process: the more successful the emigration, the faster this occurs. Ethnic community life has a special significance for the working class and for the lower middle class; the educated and the upper middle class sometimes merely identify as a matter of principle with the others. However, the most important differentiating factor among emigrant Hungarians is their date of arrival in the United States. A significant role in preserving Hungarian culture is played by the Püski bookshop, all the more so as Hungarians living in America (more than 1 million) possess no cultural periodical of a high standard published in Hungarian.

The professor believes that the best bridge is provided by those emigrant Hungarians who do their work well; it is not even necessary that their work should be connected to Hungary. The requirement is for them to achieve a reputation as engineers, scientists, artists, musicians. Even if they do not speak a word in Hungarian, they will be referred to as an excellent Hungarian mathematician or cellist. They will thus enhance the respect for their country.

A woman of dual nationality living in London touches upon the drawbacks of belonging to two countries. In the first place she mentions the unavoidable linguistic deterioration and the problems raised by having a child educated in Hungarian. The writer of the article is aware of the danger that dual citizenship, diglottism, dual identity may make her child's life more difficult. She also sees correctly that the individual having more intensive connections with one country is naturally separated from the other and that there is a constant feeling of frustration in that the person belonging to two countries will fall between two stools. If the mother country is visited, the visitor feels lonely there, yet may also feel a stranger in the host country too: she has two homelands and none at the same time. It is not easy to be a Hungarian in a foreign country and it is even more difficult to choose between the two types of identity.

A Hungarian writer living in the West writes on Hungarians living in Brazil. He states that the diaspora there is one of the most important in size and traditions, yet it is the least known. He believes that the emigrant must get to know the people, history, culture, society, customs of the host homeland without giving up his native language or culture; the emigrant may lose everything except his accent. He states that Hungarian life was richer, more colourful between the two world wars than after the second. Yet this is true only if we look at the figures. Today a small number of Hungarians, fostering a literature and culture of a much higher standard, are consciously guarding their language, culture, Hungarian identity —as Brazilians too—in South America.

Zoltán Szabó, President of the Hungarian

Forum in Budapest (a counselling body for Hungarians living abroad), made a survey among those taking part in a course offering information on Hungary. He tried to find out how well the young people of the second and third generations speak Hungarian, what they know about Hungary and which are the factors which contribute to knowledge or its lack. He considers the most striking conclusion that can be drawn from the survey is that those who speak Hungarian know more not only about Hungary but about their host country too as compared to those who do not speak Hungarian. That proves that a command of the Hungarian language and a comparatively full knowledge about Hungary does not make it more difficult to know one's own country too. Indeed, these people gain the possession of a kind of double culture. In addition, Zoltán Szabó says that it is worth pondering on the fact that only one-third of the respondents consider themselves of Hungarian nationality and only one-fourth of them consider Hungarian their first language. This indicates that a native command of the language and the existence of cultural knowledge does not necessarily mean that the person considers and proclaims himself a member of a particular ethnic group. However, in their absence interest in the Hungarian people may not arise.

The director of the programmes broadcast by Hungarian Radio for Hungarians living in the West provides interesting data in an article on the history of such broadcasting, beginning from the first broadcast in 1925 to the short-wave programmes of 1937 intended for Hungarians living overseas. He describes the history of those short-wave broadcasts, now almost half a century old, emphasizing the increased significance of editorial policy following 1956, whereby news and information have been given increasing prominence.

IRÉN KISS

FROM OUR NEXT ISSUES

ÖRKÉNY IN ENGLISH
George Szirtes

THE SIEGE AND THE ST BERNARD
Geoffrey Tier

ÖDÖN LECHNER AND HUNGARIAN ART NOUVEAU ARCHITECTURE
János Gerle

HUNGARIAN REALISTS
Judit Szabadi

THE MUSEUMS OF BUDAPEST
János Végh

IN FOCUS

HISTORIC ORIGIN AND NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

At a time when the search for a national identity enjoys a world-wide fashion the outstanding medievalist Jenő Szűcs creates—in a relatively short essay—an organic and lively contact between the oldest and the newest strata of Hungarian history in such a manner that it may well dispel possible doubts about the social function of historiography.

The article discusses the fate of ideas concerning the origin of the Hungarian people and of the Hungarian state and what their function is within national consciousness, as well as links with the historic consciousness of neighbouring nations. There is also a deeper layer which shows, through concrete examples, how many kinds of—mainly compensatory—roles history and the historic consciousness may have in the thinking of ordinary people, in political propaganda, and in official ideologies. This ideological and surrogate role of history cannot, of course, be observed clearly in the western nation states which developed relatively rapidly. Until the late Middle Ages, these nations too had believed in various myths of origin and in the legitimacy of their given state territory being derived from some ancient conquest, but from approximately the eighteenth century the functions of history and of politics were separated. The political needs of the nation and of the state were formulated and their assertion attempted on the political plane, and the study of history developing its own methodology clarified the real processes of ethnogenesis and of the formation of the state.

In contrast, the small nations of East Central Europe which developed more slowly and which live in a region of mixed populations and exposed to the pressure of great powers, have to this day not been able to escape the Middle Ages in this respect. History has remained mostly a system of ideological arguments interwoven by fictions and legends, which they use to legitimize their existence and claims.

The Hungarians, according to comparative linguistics, archaeology and other disciplines, can trace their origins back to Finno-Ugrian speaking tribes who probably lived in the foothills of the Urals, migrated across the South Russian steppes and living in symbiosis with Turkic nomads, while also fighting tribal confederations of similar origin, reached the Danube Basin at the end of the ninth century with the last wave of the Great Migrations. This area was then populated by Slavs whom they subjected. The adoption of western Christianity, the foundation of the Hungarian state by the coronation of the future Saint Stephen as the first king of Hungary, and its integration

into Christian Europe occurred a century later, around the year 1000. This Hungarian Kingdom was a multinational state, including Slavs who had lived here earlier, and Slavs, Rumanians, and Germans who migrated later, as well as areas conquered in the south (Croatia-Slavonia). After the Great War, which the Austro-Hungarian Empire lost, two-thirds of Hungary's population and nearly three-quarters of the country's territory became part of Greater Rumania which grew out of the earlier Danube Principalities, Yugoslavia which grew out of Serbia, and Czechoslovakia based on the former Habsburg crown lands of Bohemia and Moravia.

Szűcs does not, of course, discuss these well-known facts but the Hungarian—and tangentially the Rumanian and Slovak—historic consciousness linked to these facts which were distorted by them in several directions.

A certain current of Hungarian nationalists, for instance, had for some time opposed the theory of the Finno-Ugrian origin of the Hungarians. Earlier, roughly until the Second World War, these preferred to be descended from Turkic fighters. In the sixties, a small group began to propagate fantasies of Sumerian origin. These people mainly lived in America and in Transylvania, now part of the Rumanian state. "We can almost be certain," Szűcs quotes Géza Komoróczy, "that the popularity in Transylvania of Sumerian-Hungarian linguistic kinship is directly connected with the stubborn official status given to Daco-Rumanian continuity."

Two more recent theories appeared as a response to this challenge to prove the earliest possible time of the ancient conquest and the oldest and noblest possible kinship. One in that of the double conquest, which identifies the Avars who reached the Danube in the seventh century as the framework for the first wave of Hungarian migration. The bases are some archeological finds. The second is the more widespread theory of Hunnish-Hungarian kinship or identity. This is based on medieval chronicles and legends, which look to Attila's fifth-century empire as the starting-point of continuity.

A more important and complicated problem is that of Hungarian statehood, the correspondence or non-correspondence of the present Hungarian state with Saint Stephen's. Unfortunately, the external challenges are not absent on this point either. Rumanian and Czechoslovak continuity theories and official or semi-official historic cartography project back current borders to the Middle Ages in order to legitimize the *status quo* and simply call in doubt the existence of a Hungarian kingdom, which may have been ethnically chequered but which until the nineteenth century managed to include many nations in peaceful coexistence. Szűcs opposes this just as he does the use by Hungarians of "the idea of Saint Stephen's state" to justify the oppression of other nations, Hungarian supremacy and conservative social policy.

But he justly and rightly argues at the other extreme against the "awakening of a feeling of national guilt" by the Rákosi leadership, which expressly impeded that self-examination and self-knowledge which were so timely and necessary in 1945, and interrupted by violence—e.g. by the abolition of the traditional national insignia, including the national coat of arms—the legitimate consciousness of identity and continuity. Finally he asks: "What is the existing Hungarian nation which postulates its own identity?" Owing to the historic facts referred to it cannot, of course, be a state-forming nation, but it may constitute a cultural nation together with the Hungarians living in the other states within the Carpathians. Szűcs regrets that this is seldom asserted publicly and openly.

His article proves and shows by its own example that it is necessary to oppose chauvinistic prejudices and aberrations, at the same time engaging in the defence of justified national interests.

Szűcs, Jenő: "Történeti 'eredet'-kérdések és nemzeti tudat" (Questions of historic "origin" and national consciousness). *Valóság*, No. 3, 1985, pp. 31–49.

G. L.

TWO 1898 JUBILEES

In its December 2, 1898 issue *The Times* of London under the heading "The Emperor of Austria's Jubilee," included a sympathetic article on festivities in Vienna arranged on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the accession of Francis Joseph I. It was reported that for 24 hours the nations of the Habsburg Empire gave evidence of their being united in at least one thing, in their love for their ruler. Such love, or rather loyalty, indeed existed among the middle classes and the populace. This was, of course, fed to no small extent by the traditional respect for the person of the ruler, and also by the prosperity and security of the long period of peace linked to his name, much in the way Queen Victoria enjoyed similar feeling towards her person in her dominions.

But this unity was in fact very fragile, superficial, and relative. A good ear could detect behind the enthusiastic *hoch!* to the Emperor the *heil* of the German nationalists, and was able to detect in the Slavonic *slava* overtones competing against, and opposing, the Hungarian *éljen*. The illusion that the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 buried centuries-old conflicts, and especially those connected with 1848–49, were dispelled precisely by the struggles and passions surrounding the jubilee festivities of the year 1898.

It so happened that this was also the 50th anniversary of an event in discord with the jubilee of the emperor, that of the Hungarian revolution of 1848. Its memory blended with the idea of independence. When Ferenc Kossuth, the son of Lajos Kossuth, moved in 1897 that the House of Representatives should declare March 15 a national holiday, Count Dezső Bánffy, the loyalist Prime Minister, tried to reconcile the irreconcilable by wanting to declare not the day of the bourgeois and national revolution but April 11 as a national holiday. This was the day on which the laws passed in the spring of 1848 (liberation of the serfs, freedom of the press, popular representation, etc.) received the Royal Assent. By this he thoroughly irritated public opinion, which had not forgotten that this assent had later been withdrawn. In the autumn of 1848 the court had sent troops to destroy the national government and national independence which had earlier been recognized by it too, and Francis Joseph, the young emperor, ascended the throne in December precisely with the idea of restoring imperial unity, with no special status for Hungary within his dominions.

Thus youth and the nation celebrated on March 15—in the absence of the government and other officials—and on April 11 an official celebration in the House of Representatives rendered homage to His Majesty, who was present, but accompanied by the chilly indifference of the nation. It turned out, as the newspaper *Magyarország* reported, that in respect of the past and the present two opposed views existed, one held by the nation and the other by the court, and the two could not be reconciled. And the other branch of the "parallel action" of 1898, the already mentioned imperial "golden jubilee" of December—which was totally rejected by Hungarian public opinion, since Francis Joseph had himself crowned King of Hungary only in 1867—displayed even more sharply the gap between the two opposed traditions, Hungarian national consciousness creating a new society and statehood, and Austrian dynastic patriotism. Two mutually exclusive scales of values faced each other, and thus the parallel jubilee of 1898 proved in the last resort rather the absence of the community creating consciousness of the Monarchy than its cohesive force.

Hanák, Péter: "1898. A nemzeti és az állampatrióta értékrend frontális ütközése a Monarchiában" (1898. The frontal clash between the national and the state patriotic scales of values in the Monarchy). *Medvetánc*, Nos. 2–3, 1984, pp. 55–72.

G. L.

MEDIEVAL HUNGARIANS IN BULGARIAN HEROIC EPICS

A predominant theme of Bulgarian heroic epics is the fight against the Turks. These songs record also the fifteenth to sixteenth-century stage of the fights when Hungarian kings and warlords fought against the Turks on the battlefields of the Balkans. The Bulgarian songs mention János Hunyadi, and Hunyadi's nephew, János Székely, who fell in the second battle of the Kosovo Plain, the Italian captain Filippo Scolari, the Serbian despot George Brankovich, who moved to Hungary after having lost his country, and even the spouse of King János Zápolya, Isabella of Poland, "White Isabella" or "Isabella of Buda" of the heroic poems.

How did these Hungarians, who lived several centuries ago, find their way into Bulgarian songs? It has been known already since the beginning of the nineteenth century that Hungarians figure also in the Serbian heroic poems. The tacit assumption was that the Hungarian subjects had somehow got to Bulgaria by South Slav mediation. But this is contradicted by the fact that in the Bulgarian heroic poems details and persons also occur which cannot be found in the Serbian material.

In her article, Lenke Csíkhelyi, who teaches Bulgarian literature at the University of Budapest, points at a new link. Bulgarian refugees fleeing from the Turks arrived in Hungary as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century. There are data about at least one group of them from 1306. Further large groups arrived in 1369. King Louis the Great conquered the north-western part of Bulgaria in 1366, and started to catholicize the country. When he returned this area to Tsar Stratsimir in 1369, large numbers of Bulgarians who had turned Catholic fled to Hungary. Further Bulgarians, noblemen in addition to commoners, including two sons of the Tsar Ivan Sisman, moved to Hungary in 1396, when the Bulgarian state collapsed. The Bulgarian settlements were around Lippa and Temesvár, in areas now part of Rumania. It is peculiar that in their heroic poems it is precisely the names of the localities of this region and its surroundings that figure most frequently, and the recorded Hungarian heroes too were landowners and fortress commanders in this area. Some Hungarian historic sources mention the existence of villages in this region where singing schools functioned and the population made a living as itinerant singers. It can be assumed that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Bulgarian singers then living in Hungary created the heroic poems on Hungarian subjects, and they got to Bulgaria from there.

Csíkhelyi, Lenke: "A bolgár hősi énekek magyar vonatkozásai" (Hungarian references in the Bulgarian heroic epics). *Ethnographia*, No. XCV, 1984, pp. 10–15.

T. H.

HISTORIC LEGENDS OF GROUPS OF FREE PEASANTS

Hungarian ethnography has much concerned itself with the regional articulation of peasant culture. Public consciousness distinguishes groups which live in certain regions with particular endowments and hence their way of living also shows peculiar features dependent on the environment. Other groups are distinguished on the basis of their dialect, costume or other elements of their culture. Earlier most villagers living in such a group or regional unit considered the group name referring to them as derogatory and liked to claim that "that region begins only at the next village." This is also connected to the fact that the Hungarian word *paraszt*, "peas-

ant," was also usually considered derogatory by the villagers, who preferred to call themselves smallholders, farmers and so forth; the group names expressly referred to peasant groups.

The regional consciousness clearly differs from this pattern among those groups who had been free peasants before the abolition of serfdom (1848). Incidentally, the proportion of free peasants was far from being negligible, being some 30 per cent of the Hungarian peasantry at the end of the seventeenth century. A considerable number of the free peasants lived in administrative districts where the population—land-owning and long resident—possessed a collective nobility tied to the area. In their domicile the privileges of nobility were theirs although their majority tilled the soil and farmed like peasants.

These privileged groups carefully tended their traditions, which related mainly to the military valour of their ancestors or to their special role in history. Local political leaders, craftsmen, professional people also rose out of these free peasant groups. From the eighteenth century on, these have put their historic traditions in writing, and sometimes they even forged historic documents to ensure their rights. Frequently the free peasant groups had to defend themselves against the feudal society around them and against the state administration which would have liked to turn them into serfs. Indeed during the wave of feudalization in the first half of the eighteenth century several groups did in fact become subjects of the landlords. Historic traditions also played a role in maintaining the privileges of these land-owning families of long-standing against the paupers who moved in later, and who tried to share in the privileges sometimes by creating movements of an almost revolutionary nature.

In these free peasant districts, which include Jász, Kun, Hajdú and the Székely regions, the latter in the Eastern Carpathians, with a similar standing to that enjoyed by the Transylvanian Saxons, by the Rumanian border-guard and militia districts, there exists to this day a very strong consciousness of belonging together, which extends to the whole of local society, farmers, intellectuals and so on. Local schools have also contributed to the guarding and maintenance of some cultural traditions.

Kósa, László: "A feudális eredetű szabadalmas közösségek azonosságtudata és a néprajzi csoportok kutatása" (The identity consciousness of patented communities of feudal origin and research into ethnographic groups). *Ethnographia*, Nos. 2–3, XCVI (1985).

T. H.

ON THE MISSION OF NATIONAL ART

At a commemorative meeting on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lajos Fülep,* Ernő Marosi discussed the central question in his œuvre, the term national art and how it relates to universal art. This is a subject which exercised the mind of Fülep—as a sort of undercurrent to his other work—from 1904, when he first started to publish art criticism, to his inaugural address at the Academy in 1951. Numerous papers on the subject include a series published as a book, *Magyar művészet* [Hungarian Art], 1923.

In 1968, Fülep was himself able to note that the distinction which he had made between Hungarian art and the art of Hungary had become generally accepted. A detailed history of art in Hungary—which Fülep had always demanded, and which has now become realizable—raises this question anew. What Fülep wrote in 1951 holds true today. "Right now we do not even know what is ours." No substantial attempt to clarify the question has been attempted since Fülep. Presuming that the different translations of the Bible are an organic part of Hungarian literature, translations of the *Kalevala*, of the *Divine Comedy*, and of Shakespeare are also

* *NHQ* 98.

simultaneously national and universal with the same justification. The concepts of influences and reception are complex in literature too, although language as a criterion offers a fixed starting-point of sorts. In the visual arts such a criterion does not exist in any way, and thus we must not recoil from the reinterpretation of foreign influences which are even more obvious in art.

To what extent can the ornamental art taken by the Hungarians of the Conquest from the East European steppes which reflects the influence of other cultures, be considered Hungarian art? The attribute *of Hungary* does not offer a solution either, since this art had been developed well before the Conquest, and it must in fact be located in another, wider, cultural region. These terms are not of much help in medieval art either. Then the notion of country did not represent a geographic or state tie. In feudal society, even if the peasant considered himself Hungarian, it was often more important that he was one of the men of X or Y, his liege lord. Hungarian consciousness developed first in the nobility, and consequently it was amongst them that some signs of the national art first appeared. The first artistic embodiments of this consciousness and ideal were the figure and images of Saint Ladislas, the king who was called Hungary's adorned protector. Perhaps the image of the Patrona Hungariae which replaces the image of Saint Ladislas on the coins of the second half of the fifteenth century, can be considered in the same way. It rallied all the inhabitants of the country against the Turks, including the peasantry and those of non-Hungarian ethnic origin. A number of examples can be added to from later centuries. Within the framework of the nation of the nobility the distinction between Hungarian and *of Hungary* makes no sense, because what is *of Hungary* is also Hungarian. The national ideals which then developed had a powerful influence also on the popular nineteenth-century concept of the nation.

The early history of national art also raises new problems and calls for new methods of investigation with which Fülep did not deal. A thematic-iconographic approach is indispensable, and this had been avoided by Fülep, who concentrated on the form.

It is a similarly substantial question whether the different arts have a common idiom, that is a common denominator between the literature and the visual arts of a nation. In his 1953 article on the sculptor Miklós Izsó, in an exemplary analysis, Fülep gave an affirmative answer to this question. He derived the concept of a national disposition tied to time, place, and ethnic origin, from the comparative analysis of the popular classicism of Izsó, Arany, and Petőfi. In this way he did not only argue for the historic value-maintaining role of peasant culture, but also set an aim, i.e. the examination of the artistic historicity of the nation.

The awareness of the historicity of national art was constantly present in Fülep's work. He added the antinomy of individuality and community. "Without a community, the particular does not exist, nor the community without the particular. Universal and national are correlative concepts." The quality of the community determines the direction and meaning of the individual's action and his hopes for universal validity. In Fülep's interpretation the national features of art are carried by form, and consequently the solution of the problem of form is the task which a people takes on, because it is its historic mission. The identity of national and universal art was realized most perfectly in ancient Greek art, this was the particular vocation of the Greeks. This intertwining of the aesthetic and the ethical values is one of the most original elements of Fülep's philosophy of art. Its methodological insistence always to link the historic approach to art to its roots in aesthetics is exemplary both for the theory and the history of art.

Marosi Ernő: "Fülep Lajos és a nemzeti művészet" (Lajos Fülep and national art). *Jelenkor*, No. 3, 1985 pp. 257–261.

I. N.

THE DETERIORATING ENVIRONMENT

Hungary's geographic situation is very unfavourable from the aspect of environmental protection. The majority of rivers are polluted when they reach the borders of the country, and atmospheric currents polluted by acid rain do not bypass the Danubian Basin. Consequently, not only international economic relations are indispensable for Hungary, which is a basin in East Central Europe. Diplomatic activity dealing with environmental protection is indispensable for the country's future. In 1979, in Geneva, Hungary signed the agreement on long-range transborder air pollution, and she is a member of the club of the 30 per cent, accepting a programme designed to limit the damage done by acid rain. (The emission of sulphur dioxide is 16,130 kg/km^2 in Hungary, i.e. 140.2 kg per head, the corresponding figure for Great Britain is 20,140 kg/km^2, i.e. 89.5 kg per head. Source: UN ECE European Monitoring and Evaluation Programme.)

However, foreign policy is active in vain in environmental protection if the economic reform is not imbued by an ecological spirit.

At the 3rd Hungarian Conference on Futurology, Gyula Bora, a Deputy Rector of the Karl Marx University of Economics, listed among investment projects which had not been given sufficient consideration from the aspect of the damage they might do to the environment the development of the Lake Balaton region, the Bős–Nagymaros hydroelectric scheme, the mining of bauxite in the vicinity of the Hévíz hot-water lake, and the reconstruction of Ferihegy airport.

Scientists the world over have been able to quantify environmental damage. Hungarian scientists have also done their bit, and now they recommend a high priority to the protection of water quality. In recent years, nitric water has appeared also outside inhabited areas. In more than half of the villages not supplied with piped water, i.e. in nine hundred and forty villages, there is not a single drilled or dug well which provides drinking water. One reason is the rather wide public utility gap, viz. the construction of the water and sewage works does not keep up with developments. Only 34 per cent of sewage is purified by biological methods. (National average.) Hungary also gets her share of the acid rain threatening Europe, though the limy soils somewhat mitigate its effect. Today 10 per cent of the forests are affected by acid rain, of which 7.5 per cent are sessile oak, the rest fir and beech. The treatment of hazardous waste is mentioned among the priorities. The first hazardous waste incineration plant is now being planned at Dorog.

Hungarian agriculture has produced impressive quantitative results in recent decades but the small degree to which it has employed material- and energy-saving methods is already apparent in the economic indices. In future less artificial fertilizer must be used, and four-dimensional farming must be realized in which there is no disposable waste.

The consequence to health of noise and protection against it are a neglected area although many people are affected.

Environmental protection places a heavy burden on the national economy, and in addition it is today already often necessary to solve delayed and newly occurring problems at the same time. There is, of course, insufficient available money. This is further complicated by the fact that the regulation of the environment is not an organic part of the economic mechanism, and governmental guidance is also piecemeal. The National Authority for the Environmental Protection and Nature Conservation exists in vain if just about every element of the biosphere comes under a different ministry or authority.

Tibor, Ágnes: "Keressük az ellenmérget. Környezetvédelmi körkép" (Seeking the antidote. A panorama of protection of the environment). *Heti Világgazdaság*, April 13, 1985, pp. 55–61. A. V.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF FAÇADES

The periodical *Magyar Építőművészet* conducted a poll asking a number of architects whether there are any independent trends in contemporary Hungarian architecture, or whether there are only various types of buildings which—given their nature—give rise to formal similarities.

Among the respondents, Ákos Moravánszky made an attempt to distinguish the main trends of contemporary Hungarian architecture. This classification is not judgemental, seeking the intentions that may be deduced from what was built in the past twenty years. It is characteristic that not the life-work of particular architects but only individual works can be attributed to some trend. Careers do not run even, the same architect may design high-rise flats based on prefab elements and thatched holiday cottages. The reason is the institutional system of designing-investment-implementation, i.e. that entirely different opportunities exist for an employed architect and for the same person working to a private commission.

Moravánszky identifies two main trends in the architecture of the past twenty years, the antecedents of which he tries to trace back to the *fin de siècle.* He calls the endeavour to adjust to the spirit of the times and to adapt the then fashionable principles, the modern international school. Opposed to this is the trend which seeks contact with Hungarian architectural traditions, with the given material and spiritual environment. He calls this contextualism.

The first appearance of the modern international school was the asceticism (Béla Málnai, Dávid and Zsigmond Jónás, etc.) which appeared in the 1910s and which owed much to English architecture. This continued in the functionalism of the 30s and 40s, and resulted in an elegant, moderate modernity. It was never as radical as e.g. Bohemian avant-garde architecture, but fitted well into the mostly historicizing Hungarian townscape. Its unbroken evolution was interrupted by the ideologically determined socialist realist architecture of the 50s, which—although it lasted a short time—nevertheless produced substantial change. After it modernity was no longer a natural approach but the longed-for return to a style.

In the meantime, the conditions of modern architecture had changed. Local building materials industry and technology variants became decisive factors, and to such an extent that the same architectural principle could be realized completely differently in different countries. The light, weightlessly floating, almost immaterial curtain wall architecture which spread worldwide in the wake of Mies van der Rohe, cannot be built in Hungary. The ledges are always emphatic and screen façades dominate which have become the symbols of monotony. This is how international modern architecture was turned in Hungary into productivism determined by technical-productive factors. More creative architects seek a way out towards expressivity. On their works some façade elements (balconies, projecting porches, etc.) receive an almost sculptural emphasis. György Szrogh's Hotel Budapest may be included among them. The ribbon windows run around along a cylinder-jacket. Others dissolve the monotony and hide the shortcomings of the domestic building industry by brick façades. The facebrick offers also the possibility of moving the wall-face, and sometimes prefab buildings also are given such a cover. A special example of expressive architecture—which gave rise to the biggest controversy—is the housing estate of Paks (György Csete and associates), which tried to develop organic forms within prefab construction. Since the second half of the 60s it has become more and more frequent that some annex of an expressive effect (ramps, staircase) is added to the productivistic block, which may be stressed to the point of aggressivity or even grotesqueness, while the spatial effect of the building remains unchanged.

* See László Csaba's article on p. 216.

The other path of expressivity characterizes mainly industrial architecture. The designers counteract the constraint of productivism by new structural possibilities (the spanning of large gaps, etc.). The influence of Japanese rationalism can be discussed.

Contextualism assumes some adaptation, and in Hungarian architecture it is accompanied by a search for identity. Its simplest form is when the new buildings are adapted to a historic city centre or monuments (Sopron, Kőszeg, the Castle District of Buda). The two main schools are regionalism and folksiness. The first stresses local traditions of culture, local building and associated craft practices *vis-à-vis* industrial factors. Its antecedents may be found, e.g., in the work of Károly Kós and his circle at the beginning of the century. This school still relies a great deal on English and Scandinavian brick architecture, showing that the search for a national identity does not exclude foreign influences. Observatories (György Szrogh, Csaba Csontos), churches (László Csaba, Ferenc Török), and houses of culture (Károly Jurcsik, Miklós Hofer) have been built in this spirit.

The point of orientation for folksiness is popular village architecture, and the peasant house is its archetype. Its philosophic antecedents can be traced back to the eighteenth century all over Europe, to the back to nature movement. Since the era of romanticism this has been accompanied by the ideology of national art, which became especially strong around 1900. From then on the peasant house has been an important prototype in architecture; holiday cottages, villas, but also city houses have been built in Hungary in this spirit.

The simpler form of folksiness is the direct adoption of some, mainly picturesque, elements (patio, thatched roof). Holiday homes, inns, and other establishments serving tourists have been built in this way—mainly around Lake Balaton. Much more important is the indirect way of application, which is typical of the young architects of the Pécs Architectural Design Team and the work of Imre Makovecz. They have set out from an objective and spiritual popular culture in the broadest sense, which the Pécs architects use to create a universal, large-scale form of expression, and from which Makovecz has derived an individual style. In this Makovecz comes close to such prominent modern architects as Bruce Goff or Herb Green.

Moravánszky points out that the above classification is a mere outline, since there may be buildings which can be attributed to several groups (e.g. the Nyíregyháza House of Culture by Ferenc Bán, which blends rational and organic architecture). On the other hand, it is characteristic that the classification is based on the façades of buildings and not on spatial formulation. The truth is that there are hardly any architectural spaces worth mentioning.

Moravánszky, Ákos: "Tendenciák újabb építészetünkben" (Trends in recent Hungarian architecture). *Magyar Építőművészet*, No. 1, 1984, pp. 22–23.

I. N.

FOUNDATION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW COUNCIL

A legislator may err. Legislation may be impractical, or it may be procedurally wrong or clash with the existing law without validly superseding it. The latter occurs if a legal source of a lower standing conflicts with one of a higher standing. Law defines the hierarchy of legislation or of the legislating state bodies.

Just as in medicine, it is also necessary in law that competent persons should make a diagnosis and recommend treatment when eliminating unlawful legislation. Various legal systems have developed different solutions for this purpose. In some Common Law countries, where a written constitution exists, the court sets aside unconstitutional legislation, or neglects a precedent considered

unconstitutional. There a concrete case is necessary to test the issue—and the decision does not always go beyond the given case. In German-speaking countries and in Italy, on the other hand, great authority is enjoyed by a constitutional court which is entitled to act on its own initiative and which grants concentration and thus uniformity in the interpretation of the constitution.

In the socialist countries the view dominated for a long time that if such body were created a court would interfere with legislation. The issuing or its superior body is entitled and obliged to revise improper legislation. But according to László Gáspárdy, no such organization called upon to redress wrongs functioned in Hungary, because nobody was personally interested in revision.

In 1983, the Hungarian Parliament decreed the establishment of a Constitutional Law Council and in 1984 appointed the Council made up of its members and lawyers. The Constitutional Law Council can deal with any legislation—except Acts of Parliament and the law-decrees of the Presidential Council which have equal standing. It may act on its own initiative or at the request of bodies laid down in the law (but not of private citizens!). If it does not reject the request, it addresses the body which issued the decree—indicating the deadline—in order to put an end to the incompatibility with the Constitution. If the body does not act, the Council may address the superior of the latter, and finally turn to Parliament. In Gáspárdy's interpretation, the suspension is the equal of invalidation in practice.

The process of suspension may start also from a concrete lawsuit, in spite of the fact that a private party cannot directly turn to the Council. The court (or even an administrative agency), if it notices incompatibility with the Constitution, suspends the proceedings and turns to the Council. A corresponding request to the body acting on this business can be made by the aggrieved party. László Gáspárdy shows confidence in the initiative of the lawyers involved in the case.

Although the affected parties—contrary, e.g., to the position in the Federal Republic of Germany—cannot address the Council, Gáspárdy does not consider their applications addressed there to be hopeless. The President of the Council has the right to recognize that the request is obviously not baseless, and if he so finds, he sends it to one of the state bodies which are entitled to submit a request. This possibility offers the party whose case was dismissed in the course of the official procedure the alternative of intervention on an issue of constitutional law.

Gáspárdy, László: "Az Alkotmányjogi Tanács működése elé" (Anticipating the functioning of the Constitutional Law Council). *Magyar Tudomány*, No. 4, 1985, pp. 297–303.

A. S.

AN ANTI-MONOPOLISTIC ECONOMIC POLICY

In the socialist economies, ideology claims the superiority of large-scale production with the large organizations and the subordination of the economic organizations to the organs of state administration. Therefore—apart from short intermezzos—the dominant view has been that monopolies are organic attributes of the economic system.

It soon became apparent that the elimination of the socio-economic automatisms gave rise to negative consequences, such as a wasteful "micro-anarchy" within the enterprises. It, however, took a longer time for the general consequences of an economy based on monopoly to become clear.

In Hungary, the reform of 1968 was a first step in the dismantling of the economic system legitimizing exclusivity (privilege and defencelessness). It was reckoned that the competition unfolding in the wake of the reform would break monopolies and would give sufficient impulse to the gradual dismantling of the large enterprise structure of industry.

In the conventional equilibrium economies monopoly expresses a market form. On

the monopolized market the distribution of the factors of production occurs in accordance with the interests of the exclusive (principal) producer or distributor, without his having to take into account the essential facts (prices, standards, etc.) indicating the condition of the market. This market form means the ousting of actual and potential competitors. Both the market-economic forms and the extra-economic administrative instruments play a role in the ousting of actual competitors. Potential competitors can be ousted by restricting the freedom of entry to the market. The monopolization of the market is not only an economic, but also a social phenomenon. The recognition of this fact is reflected by American anti-trust legislation and policy.

The characteristics of the monopolization of the socialist economies are:

a. Artificially established big enterprises which are placed in a dominant position and which mostly function as administrative and not business units.

b. Redistribution of the factors of production to the benefit of artificially established organizations. Its results are withdrawal of funds of the competitors and of the economic units serving as suppliers, destruction of the possibility of costing, and forced consumption.

c. The prevalence of redistribution in a legitimate or hidden form, at the expense of the principle of norms equally applying to everybody. Its consequences are the destruction of partnership relations based on the openness of the market and the hierarchization of relations between the enterprises.

It is evident that the socialist monopoly is based on the legitimate exclusivity guaranteed by the government, and thus the conventional instruments of the opposition to monopolies can probably only be effective if the institutional control system which establishes and reproduces monopolies is also changed.

The socialist market has become peculiarly doubled. The administrative market has come about in the course of bargaining with control organs, and the commodity markets function parallel to it. The stake on the administrative market is the maintaining or acquiring of privilege.

Action against monopolies must rely simultaneously on action by state instruments and on the spontaneous organizations and institutions. Since 1980, the government has already recognized the harmful features of the monopolized large enterprise structure; it has begun the dismantling of the large enterprises and has already achieved modest successes.

The refined, mostly legal, instruments of the capitalist countries serving the maintenance of competition can also be used in action against monopolies.

The second—larger—group of instruments are the measures and institutions needed for changing control. The most important is that there should be no hierarchic classification in the link of the enterprises of a different type to the control organs, the control and enterprise forms should have equal rank.

The danger of the survival or reproduction of the monopolies is great. The following instruments and measures are necessary for competition to unfold: the breaking away of some units from the enterprise must be guaranteed institutionally; the new enterprise forms must be interchangeable and based on equal rank; Party control must be decentralized, the enterprise Party organs must be strengthened; institutions safeguarding the interests of workers of large-scale industry must be established independent of large enterprise management, the open and hidden forms of responsibility for supply, which strengthen the monopolistic situations, must be abolished; the adjustment of the representation of enterprise interests, the variety of organization (e.g. chambers, organization according to sectors or market orientation respectively, etc.) must be ensured; the reform of the price system is necessary in the direction of agreed prices; where possible,

the enterprises which are in a monopolistic position must be transformed into a joint company of the interested enterprises (e.g. in foreign and wholesale trade); all interested organizations must be made to work out sectoral annual, medium- and long-term programmes on marketing and technical development, not for the government, but for the economic committee of the National Assembly.

These instruments and measures constitute an interrelated system, only their combined introduction can help the unfolding of competition and the consistent carrying out of the reform aimed at the creation of social control.

Csillag, István and Szalai, Erzsébet: "A monopolellenes politika alapelemei" (The basic elements of an anti-monopolistic policy). *Valóság*, No. 2, 1985, pp. 38–45.

K. F.

GRADUATE ECONOMISTS

In the past decade the number of people employed in posts which in Hungary require a degree in economics has increased to 44,000 and nearly half of them are young, that is under thirty-five. The authors investigated where young economists found employment, how they were selected for their jobs, what career patterns occurred in work areas of different types, what their living conditions were, and how they were satisfied with their situation.

Jobs belong to three major categories: 1. with economic control agencies (ministries, planning office, etc.) and banks, 2. with firms, 3. self-employed.

An ever increasing number of young economists find employment in the economic control agencies, and prefer such employment to working for a firm. The advantages of such work of which they show themselves aware include access to information, knowing what is going on, and a right to participate in decision taking. Those with parents in top positions or of outstanding prestige and the children of economists have the best chance to get such jobs. Informal contacts between their parents and university teachers play an essential role in securing such employment.

In Hungary, one can differentiate between the type of work done in, e.g., the planning office, that at e.g. sectoral ministries, and foreign exchange management or foreign trade. Those working for central control agencies or in banking generally feel they can make better use of knowledge acquired at university than those who work for firms, although they think that econometrics is not particularly useful and on the other hand consider university tuition of economic and social policies inadequate.

A relatively large number of those working in economic control obtain promotion relatively early but this does not always satisfy their ambitions, since becoming an executive often involves giving up ambitions to come to grips with economic theory, and more harassed working conditions. Their living conditions are usually better than those of economists working for firms, although financial assistance obtained from parents plays an important role there.

Those young economists get jobs with firms who, for various reasons, consider economic control or research to be beyond their reach. Such people often have fathers who are foremen or skilled workers, and many of their mothers are office workers. When taking a job the pay and the chance to obtain housing are important considerations, since they cannot count on parental help to the same degree, especially if their first jobs are a long way from the parental home. The great majority of those who grew up in small villages or homesteads find themselves in this situation.

Dissatisfaction is widespread among those working for firms, they generally feel that they can make little use of knowledge acquired at the university. What counts

here is that company strategy is decided on a high level without calling on the advice of young economists. Their desired career pattern is to become managers. They complain that the tertiary educational institutions do not put sufficient emphasis on the teaching of managerial skills.

The number of arts graduates (mathematicians) and that of economists and engineers who, for a shorter or longer time, make their living as self-employed first rose in the 1970s. There are two reasons: 1. the number of empirical research projects has increased, and this involves a demand for professional work of an intensive but temporary nature; 2. friction unemployment has risen among young graduates owing to the fact that young economists do not immediately find a job corresponding to their requirements. In the scale of values of such people independence takes precedence over security and sufficiency, and a longing for work of a creative nature matters more than making it. Free-lance does not liberate from routine work (for instance the coding of data surveys) but at least there are no fixed working hours.

Others, more recently, make a living as entrepreneurs or they join in economic working teams. These young people are primarily motivated by money. They wish to maximize their income, in the first place in order to get a home of their own if they cannot count on parental help.

The authors point out that free-lance professional or entrepreneurial work must be accepted as a natural and justified alternative for a career in the public service or working for a business.

Summing up, the authors point at the necessity to reform the tertiary education of economists, to introduce two-step tuition, since this would reduce the dissatisfaction caused by the contrasts between the knowledge acquired and the work done. They further stress that the decentralization of economic decisions would also substantially help to sell the idea to young economists that they play an important role in the economy which corresponds to their college or university qualifications.

Balázs, János and Lengyel, György: "Fiatal közgazdászok a gazdasági szervezetben" (Young economists in the economic organization). *Szociológia*, No. 4, 1983, pp. 375–388.

R. A.

BRAIN TRANSPLANTS AGAINST EXPERIMENTAL PARKINSONISM

Although the main use and purpose of basic research is to broaden our general knowledge about the rules and laws operating in nature and in the universe, much basic research—particularly in the last forty to fifty years—is utilized also directly in the applied sciences. To mention only one example; the discovery of the double-helical structure of the genetic substance, dezoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) in the early fifties, was utilized, twenty to twenty-five years later, in the introduction of new gen technologies and genetic engineering. Similarly, the discovery of the main biochemical mechanisms underlaying brain functions (including the discovery of the chemical substances which transmit "messages" from one nerve cell to the other) resulted in hundreds of important drugs used against particular diseases of the brain. A most significant step in the treatment of Parkinsonism has been, for instance, the introduction of L-dopa, the precursor of the important chemical transmitter dopamine (DA) in the basal ganglia. The nerve fibres which contain and release the inhibitory DA originate from cells in the midbrain (substantia nigra) and terminate in the basal ganglia of the forebrain. Since basal ganglia which include several nuclei, as caudate nuclei and putamen, are concerned with the generation and regulation of motor command, the selective loss of DA cells in the substantia nigra of the midbrain will liberate these motor nuclei of the general inhibitory

effect of DA, and result in the development of Parkinsonism, which involves rigidity, akinesia (relatively few slow movements) and tremors. Although the administration of L-Dopa has been shown in many cases to improve the condition of the Parkinsonian patient, there were also troublesome factors such as drug resistance, and other side effects, so much so, that the need for a new therapeutic approach has became obvious. One such new approach—which was developed by international cooperation between Swedish, English and Hungarian (Tamás Freund, Anatomy Department, Budapest) neurologists was the use of foetal transplants of substantia nigra to the cavity overlaying the basal ganglia in experimentally Parkinsonian rats, in which the DA-fibers have been previously completely destroyed. It has been shown that these transplants are capable of reversing the behavioural impairments induced by previous DA denervation. Histological examination by Tamás Freund in Budapest has demonstrated that numerous DA-fibers, originating from the foetal transplant, enter the basal ganglia, and establish functional contacts with their nerve cells. In addition, when Freund compared the neural circuitry between control (intact), and reinnervated basal ganglia, he observed a strange "economization" of the newly formed circuitry. In other words, whereas in the control basal ganglia DA fibers only indirectly inhibited the excitatory effect of acetylcholin (produced by large nerve cells of basal ganglia) through contact with a third nerve cell type, after reinnervation, the DA fibers directly contacted (and inhibited) the acetylcholine-producing large nerve cells. From a purely basic research or neurobiological point of view the interesting part of this story is that two principally differing neuronal organizations can produce the same, normal motor behaviour. It is, of course, also of possible clinical importance, demonstrating the potential of foetal nigral transplants in the long-term treatment and possible cure of Parkinson disease.

Freund, T. F., Powell, J. F. and Smith, A. D. (1984): Tyrosine hydroxylase-immunoreactive synaptic boutons in contact with identified striatonigral neurons, with particular reference to dendritic spines. *Neuroscience, 13:* 1189–1217 (Pergamon Press, Oxford–New York–Frankfurt).

T. F. Freund, J. P. Bolam, A. Björklund, S. B. Dunnett and A. D. Smith (1985): Synaptic connections of grafted dopaminergic neurons that reinnervate the neostriatum: a tyrosine hydroxylase immunohistochemical study. Neutral Grafting in the Mammalian CNS. A. Björklund and U. Stenevi editors, Elsevier Science Publishers, B. V.

J. H.

RUDOLF ANDORKA is Professor of Sociology at the Karl Marx University of Budapest... KATALIN FARKAS is on the staff of the Economic Information Unit of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences... JÓZSEF HÁMORI is Professor of Neurobiology at the Semmelweis Medical University... TAMÁS HOFER is section head at the Ethnographical Institute... GYÖRGY LITVÁN's recent work is on the opposition movements in Hungary around 1900... ILDIKÓ NAGY is an art historian who publishes on 20th-century Hungarian art... ANDRÁS SAJÓ is Professor of Law at the Karl Marx University of Economics of Budapest... ANNA VÁRKONYI is a chemist on the staff of *Búvár*, a science monthly

Valóság—a monthly of the social sciences

Medvetánc—an occasional publication of the Youth Movement Committee of Budapest University

Ethnographia—published yearly by the Hungarian Ethnographical Association

Jelenkor—a literary monthly, published in Pécs

Magyar Építőművészet—journal of the Association of Hungarian Architects, published six times a year

Heti Világgazdaság—an economic weekly

Magyar Tudomány—a monthly of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Szociológia—monthly of the Sociological Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

SURVEYS

GÉZA JESZENSZKY

THE HUNGARIAN QUESTION IN BRITISH POLITICS, 1848–1914

For some twenty years in the middle of the last century, the future of Hungary was an open question for which there were several realistic alternatives. The ultimate answer depended to only a small degree on the resolution, intentions, and differences of opinion within Hungarian (or even Austrian) leading circles; these were only able to exert an influence on the evolution of internal developments. From 1848 onwards the fate of Hungary depended basically on the circumstances and conditions of international politics, on developments in European politics, and the attitude of the Great Powers. In this, especially for the first third of the period under discussion, the decisive part was that of Great Britain, who was then—for reasons of economic strength and technical development—the world's leading power. This short survey will endeavour to show that over some seventy years "the Hungarian question," the position and role of Hungary in the system of European states, actually held the attention of British political leaders and public opinion and, furthermore, that the positions they adopted had to be taken into consideration by Hungarian politicians.

As is true for foreign policy relations in general, the relationship of Great Britain to Hungary, the positions and decisions taken, in short, British policy, were determined primarily by interests. The demonstrable consistency of British foreign policy between 1815 and 1914 is due to the relative permanence of interests. For the greatest capitalist power of the era of classical capitalism, economic interests and aspects undoubtedly played an important, though not an exclusive, role. In foreign policy, strategic power considerations were definitely placed before commercial and economic interests, a fact that was the subject of continuous complaint by British merchants, bankers, and consuls. In the area of power relations, in the nineteenth century, only the five Great Powers (or if Italy and Turkey are included, seven) counted; their relations determined European politics and even the direction and extent of colonial expansion. This explains why the fundamental terrain of British foreign policy remained Europe even during these decades of colonial expansion.

Contemporaries and even posterity used to emphasize that in the second half of the nineteenth century Britain conducted in Europe a peaceful, defensive policy, aiming at the maintenance of the *status quo*, and the settlement of differences of opinion in a peaceful way through reconciliation among the Great Powers. This is understandable since Britain was a satisfied country, the workshop of the world and the ruler of the seas. The long period of peace could almost be considered as a Pax Britannica. The existing British positions may only have been threatened by European rivals and the best and simplest way of avoiding any threat was through maintaining the balance of power.

A. J. P. Taylor has pointed out that this rather old-fashioned principle in the British interpretation of the nineteenth century became similar to the *laissez-faire* principle in the economy: if every state (without hindering or being hindered by others) follows its own interest, the result will be universal peace and security. The leading European role of Great Britain after 1848 accorded well with this principle and was to lead to the desired result, since there was no temptation for the island country—her strength based on naval power—to attempt to exert a European hegemony. Instead she tried to direct and harmonize as an invisible conductor the concert of Great Powers of an equal order of magnitude. Here the Habsburg Empire was considered as important by every member of the orchestra and as indispensable by the conductor, Great Britain. This logical consideration was more important than the traditional friendship, the memory of common wars, or the actual key position filled by Austria–Hungary at the meeting-point of Russian, German, and Turkish policies.

However, against the turbulence caused by the various national movements the logical necessity of the existence of Austria (also formulated by Palacký) or the need for a political counterweight, which seemed necessary for Britain in different periods against various Great Powers, did not count for much. First the events of 1848/49, and then of 1859/61, and finally of 1866 proved that the existence of the Habsburg Empire was dependent entirely on the attitude and support of the external powers, while Great Britain could not be satisfied by merely keeping the sick man alive. In order to play the role of counterweight, British policy needed a strong, stable power which was capable of acting. This made the Hungarian half of the Habsburg Empire important to Britain. Accordingly, she was not satisfied for Hungary to belong to the Empire in any form but wanted the most contented and stable Hungary possible within it, especially as British policy was opposed to Russia and thus did not trust the Slavs within the Habsburg Empire.

Hungary's internal economic, social, political, and nationality relations, her liberalism, her appreciation of everything English or her splendid past had little influence on British policy towards her, even if from time to time this created a lively interest in certain British diplomats, journalists and occasionally even politicians. All this, of course, had an effect on the general appraisal of the country, but in important decisions public opinion either had no great voice, or a voice only when it happened to coincide with changes in interests. In necessity England cooperated readily not only with republican France, with the linguistically, politically, and culturally kindred United States, but also with the ferociously oppressive Ottoman Empire, and, later, with the despotic Russian Empire.

The history of the treatment and echo of the Hungarian question in England demonstrates all this clearly.

*

In Hungarian thinking two rather contradictory pictures are current on the British reception of Hungary's struggle for freedom in 1848/49. The first invokes the broad understanding of and helpfulness towards the movement of the Hungarian nation which was in harmony with the liberal and national spirit of the period and with British economic interests; the second lamenting over the non-comprehending and hypocritical British policy which accepted and even welcomed Austrian and even Russian intervention. Both these reactions existed in reality, the first was dominant in British public opinion and the second was the attitude of the government.

In the spring of 1848 a British government headed by Lord John Russell, and particularly its Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, gave a cold reception to a proposal by the Batthyány government for recogni-

tion and the establishment of diplomatic relations; at the time almost nothing was known about Hungary by the British public in spite of enthusiastic reports from travellers who had visited her during what is called in Hungary the Age of Reforms. Consequently, to use Sproxton's analogy, the idea of an independent Hungary aroused approximately the same enthusiasm in England "as that of an independent Wales in Pest or in Debrecen." Nor would there have been an outcry if the insulting reply given to László Szalay when he attempted to lay favourable commercial offers before Palmerston in December 1848 had been made public. (He was told that he should present his proposals "through the representative of the Emperor of Austria accredited to the Court of St James, Baron Koller.") Some months later, however, after the arrival in England of Ferenc Pulszky, the public mood changed completely. Thanks to Pulszky's skill and the efforts of the various public figures won over by him, a huge enthusiasm developed for the cause of the Hungarians. A coalition which included Whig aristocrats, respectable businessmen, well-known scientists, and Chartist workers represented considerable weight and it demanded the intervention of the British government on the side of Hungary. Their arguments referred to the more than six-hundred-year-old Hungarian Constitution, similar to Magna Charta, to the legality of Hungarian claims, to the international consequences of the Russian intervention which also hurt Britain, and to the great Central European opportunities for English trade. However, all this carried small weight against the orthodox views held by the government on the balance of power. Although in the Hungarian debate of the British House of Commons on July 21, 1849, Palmerston himself spoke with appreciation of the past of Hungary and the current efforts of the Hungarians, he clearly pointed out the principle of Great Britain's Central European policy. "Austria is a most important element in the balance of European power. ... The political independence and liberties of Europe are bound up, in my opinion, with the maintenance and integrity of Austria as a great European Power, and therefore anything which tends by direct, or even remote, contingency to weaken and to cripple Austria, but still more to reduce her from the position of a first-rate Power to that of a secondary State, must be a great calamity to Europe, and one which every Englishman ought to depreciate, and to try to prevent." Palmerston approved the ceding by Austria of her Italian possessions for reasons which included their being a superfluous drag which distracted Austria's attention from her fundamental mission. On the other hand, the secession of Hungary would mean the end of Austria and would cause a dangerous increase in the influence of the rival Great Power of Russia. Consequently, and as a last resort, Palmerston welcomed the Russian intervention which was to save Austria.

Queen Victoria (who otherwise disliked Palmerston) as well as the conservative element among the English aristocracy supported the Habsburgs and Palmerston's policy for considerations different to those of the Foreign Secretary. Theirs was a conservative, monarchist solidarity through which they sympathized with Austria (and together with her with the non-Hungarian nationalities who were "loyal to the Emperor"). Even at the peak of Hungary's popularity, Metternich, who had fled to England from the revolutions, had great success in these circles.

On the other hand, both the conservative and the radical opposition, together with the majority of British opinion, agreed with Palmerston that Austria could live up to her mission and achieve the status of a serious factor in European politics only if she was internally stable; for this the satisfaction of Hungary, "the right hand of Austria," and the solution of the "Hungarian question" was indispensable. It should not therefore be considered typical English hypocrisy that after accepting Russian intervention, Pal-

merston and, in effect, all of Great Britain, viewed with consternation and condemnation the retributions exacted in 1849 and the ensuing neo-absolutist course.

The same basic stand characterized British foreign policy at the time of the critical years between 1859 and 1861. The anti-Austrian mood brought about partly by Kossuth assisted the return to power of the Liberals, again led by Palmerston and Russell. They rejected intervention against the French but did everything to save Austria and stop Napoleon III. After the Treaty of Zurich they successfully curtailed the activities of the Hungarian exiles in the Danubian Principalities and used a British ship to send back the arms Prince Cuza of the united Rumanian Principalities had received from Cavour and Kossuth for a new Hungarian uprising; English ships guarded the Adriatic coast against a feared landing by Kossuth's followers, and the British government permitted the seizure of the banknotes that Kossuth had printed in England. In the Commons on May 10, 1861, Russell encouraged compromise: "All we can do is to show our sympathy both for the sovereign of Austria [...] and for the people of Austria and the people of Hungary, and to express our heartfelt wish that they may be able to overcome these difficulties, and to give fresh stability to that ancient Empire of Austria and that ancient Kingdom of Hungary." One of the influences on Hungarian politicians at home, as György Szabad has pointed out, under which they turned increasingly towards a search for a compromise with Austria, was this British policy; ultimately the Hungarians came to see a reconciliation with Austria as the lesser evil or the best achievable result.

After the Austro-Prussian War the conservative, pro-Habsburg section of the English aristocracy was also able to accept the fact of the Compromise, although the Tories considered the dual system to be too favourable to Hungary and consequently unstable. Thus, in accepting the 1867 Austro-Hungarian settlement, the pro-Austrian, rather conservative tradition met the more liberal trend, earlier led by Palmerston, which sympathized with the Hungarians but was unable to support her independence for international political considerations.

Official, generally bipartisan, British foreign policy has had, at least since the French Revolution, a radical, leftist, altruistic opposition. From time to time this latter opinion was able to muster considerable popular strength, its critique was sometimes confirmed and sometimes proved completely absurd, but in its own time it always remained a rejected alternative. This trend sympathized with all European national movements and fights for freedom, condemned the autocracies, was a consistent friend of the liberal ideals, and some of its representatives sometimes—for instance in the Boer war too—went as far as to take an open stand (but only in principle) in favour of Britain's enemies. The Greek, the Polish and then the Hungarian cause were supported not only by those of radical opinion but by a broad coalition. Their numbers increased even further when the leading motif became a more easily shared sympathy for the defeated and a consternation over the retribution. The pro-Hungarian mood lasted for some years, and its peak, the reception of Kossuth in England in 1851, permanently impressed the name of the Hungarian leader into the memory of the British people. It is likely that English public opinion mobilized by Kossuth had a role in that the British government chose war in 1853 and peace and non-intervention in 1859, but the necessity of the independence of Hungary was accepted only by few even in 1849. After 1861 the hard core of the friends of the Hungarian cause began to disintegrate, their non-radical members, who saw in the fight for freedom primarily a lawful struggle for the Constitution, approved the policy of those who strove for a compromise, and their hero became Deák rather than Kossuth. The settlement of 1867 was not far from their ideal of 1848: it satisfied the majority of the

elected representatives in Hungary through means such that the link with the Austrian Empire survived; it was thus equally acceptable to Europe and to Austria. As we have seen, the more conservative and the more liberal trends in official foreign policy met in the acceptance of the Compromise; this time they were joined as a third party also by the majority of their opposition of 1849.

The modification to the European power system, which came to an end in 1871, did not upset the balance of power (the belligerents of 1914 were the participants of the Congress of Vienna), but made it more sensitive and unstable, and this only increased the importance of Austria–Hungary. Conservative governments cooperated rather closely with Vienna, or with the Triple Alliance, primarily in keeping Russia away from the Dardanelles and in preventing her from winning a decisive influence in the Balkans. This was demonstrated at the Congress of Berlin in 1878 and later in the Mediterranean Entente of 1887; they did not, however, go as far as to accept the alliance offered first by Andrássy and then by Haymerle. The policies of the liberal governments, Gladstone's radical and pro-Slav romantic enthusiasm and opposition to Austria, did not cause any serious disturbance to the oft proclaimed "traditional friendship" of the two powers. That it survived was due to a partial coincidence of interests, to the lack of any conflict of interests, to the cordial relationship between the two rulers, to the mutual liking among the two aristocratic diplomatic staffs, and to Andrássy's liberal and Kálnoky's conservative anglophile attitude.

The Compromise stabilized the Monarchy for decades, and the politicians and diplomats of a conservative bias gradually accepted dualism, although they considered it the maximum concession that could be made to the Hungarians. "The great Monarchy is the central arch of the structure of Europe," Hungary forming part of it is an important member of the European power system, dualism happily regulating the relationship between Austria and Hungary provides internal independence and a Great Power status for Hungary; "the Hungarians enjoying an exceptionally favourable position" but strongly contaminated by the nationalist spirit of the period are nevertheless dissatisfied, dualism has few friends outside the government and the landowning class; these comments figured in reports by Rumbold, Nicolson, Milbanke, and Monson, Ambassadors in Vienna or Consuls-General in Budapest, at the beginning of the 1890s. After 1867 British foreign policy made no separate decisions concerning Hungary, since it did not wish any changes of an uncertain outcome in the existing structure. As a consequence of this the majority of the official and non-official English observers condemned the efforts by Hungarian governments to extend parity, the equality of Hungary with Austria, and saw in these efforts a resurrection of the 1848 plans aimed at shifting the point of gravity of the Monarchy to Hungary. They were even more strongly opposed to the Hungarian Independence Party, which they viewed as a threat to the Monarchy's stability. They also saw domestic harmony being disturbed both by the policies of Hungarian governments which turned the non-Hungarian nationalities against the state, and by the non-Hungarian national movements harbouring the danger of separatism. As may be seen from the above, after 1867 there was not one political trend in Hungary which enjoyed the unequivocal understanding and support of the British political leadership.

The bulk of Hungary's British liberal friends differed from the view of the conservatives inasmuch as that they did not see in the Compromise a generous concession made by the ruler or by "Austria," but the victory of rights, the safest warranty for constitutionality to be introduced in the whole Monarchy. *The Times*, which in 1849 was in glaring contrast to the Hungarophile concert

of the press, greeted Hungary on the occasion of the millennium of their settlement in the Carpathian Basin. Hungary represents "the success of the liberal ideas which... [the Austrians] abhor, and she adds to her offence by proving that by their aid she can march to increased population and prosperity." (May 8, 1896.) The liberalism of the Hungarians was a recurring topic in the British press: Hungary is "the bulwark of religious toleration in the Monarchy and the mainstay of the existing constitutional system" (*The Times*, November 9, 1895), and "led by a group of exceptionally able statesmen, all of them of the moderate liberal type, she has developed into a model constitutional State" (*The Times*, December 2, 1897). "The liberalism of the Magyars is not quite all that they would have Western Europe believe, but they possess the invaluable heritages of a true political tradition and political good sense. All but the fanatics of nationalism must wish for their success." (*Edinburgh Review*, July 1898, p. 7.) The view of another liberal periodical, the respectable *Spectator*, was typical: "The strong feeling in this country in favour of the Magyar kingdom springs from a just appreciation of the facts. Apart altogether from the deep sympathy created among Englishmen by the events of 1848, they recognize in the Hungarians solid qualities which make the action of their kingdom, as a rule, beneficial to the cause of freedom. [...] for at least a generation past she has been a Liberal State. She has adhered to her Constitution with passionate pertinacity, yet without any visible desire to transcend its limits. She has been singularly free of territorial ambition, insisting only on Croatian obedience, because without Croatia she has no access to general European waters, and discouraging rather than favouring any expansion towards the East. She has been steadily Anti-Clerical without betraying any symptom of that tendency to paganism which on the Continent is so apt to show itself as a result of independence of the priesthood. And lastly, she has always shown herself a civil State, trying hard to enable her Government to rule her Army, and educating herself for battle without uncivilised concessions to the spirit of militarism. Englishmen, therefore, are not only friendly to Hungary, but hopeful of her future..." (November 7, 1903.)

This English view was not against Hungary becoming the centre of the state or being transformed into a Danubian empire, the mediator through which civilization and liberalism was to be passed to the Balkans. But the only statesman in the British political élite who demonstrably shared this view was the Liberal Lord Fitzmaurice (Under-Secretary in the Foreign Office in 1906, and an old friend of the Andrássys, Apponyi, and Béni Kállay).

The radical group of supporters of the Hungary of 1849–51, or their spiritual heirs, had no difficulty in finding new causes to support after 1867; for instance, between 1875 and 1877 there was a forceful action for the Balkan Slavs, mainly the Bulgarians, criticizing the indifference and inactivity of those who directed British foreign policy. The great Gladstone himself sided with them in condemning Austria, but this still did not bring about any turn in British policy towards Austria–Hungary. In this view the Slavs were gradually becoming the "unspoiled stepchildren" and the Hungarians were described as the oppressors of the Slavs and the Rumanians; those who held this view were thus in agreement with those who were friendly to pre-1867 Austria, who were in contact with the conservative Austro-Bohemian aristocracy and who praised even in 1849 those nationalities who were duped to fight for the dynasty. After the Compromise they repeatedly raised an alarm against the hegemony of the Hungarians who were unreliable in their loyalty towards the ruler and later, after the turn of the century, they pinned their hopes in the sinister figure of the heir to the throne, Franz Ferdinand, simultaneously a die-hard and a reformist conservative.

Although the name of Lajos Kossuth remained known in England after 1867 as one of the symbols of the idea of national liberty, and on his death long articles invoked the past, no noteworthy pronouncement supported his ideal of independence, his plans for a confederation were not even mentioned and at the most his perseverance with his principles was recognized. Not independent Hungary, but only the programme of the Independence Party, in favour of a personal union and loyal to the dynasty, received publicity in England, but its mediators were mostly not Englishmen, but businessmen or journalists who had emigrated from Hungary (Lajos Felbermann, Emil Reich, and later Ilona Győry), some of whose writings can be clearly described as chauvinistic. They were not able to find a more important supporter than the self-educated palaeontologist and choir-master Shrubsole. Any young person of romantic inclination who was inclined to support the Hungarian Independence Party line because of the name of Kossuth and the resonance of 1848, quickly became disillusioned on closer acquaintance with the representatives and policies of that party, as happened to Scotus Viator (R. W. Seton-Watson).

British and Habsburg foreign policies drew apart after 1897, and came to a thorough disagreement in 1908 over Bosnia, yet this had no effect on the British view on the necessity of Austria-Hungary. The conviction survived until 1914 that "the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy would be an event of graver import to the European State-system as a whole than anything which has happened since the downfall of Napoleon" (*The Times*, December 15, 1898), since it "fills so indispensable a place in Europe, it holds so many jarring elements in solution by the mere fact of its existence, that any course which threatens its unity, or even seems likely to weaken its influence, can only be viewed with the greatest apprehension" (*ibid.*, September 28, 1905). After the internal turbulence in Austria at the end of the century, for a short time even official British policy was inclined to accept the proposal of the liberal journalists and to see in the Hungarians within the dual system the stabilizing force which would act by retaining and extending the liberal principles. Later developments, however, and especially recurring crises in Hungarian domestic politics, put an end to this illusion by 1905. The warning addressed on April 17, 1905, to the Hungarian independence camp, which unexpectedly became a serious political force, may be considered the last manifestation of British goodwill: "It is time for the statesmen of all parties, who have the abiding welfare of Hungary as a free and progressive kingdom and her reputation as a model of constitutional government at heart, to prove by their acts that, without sacrifice of their principles they can subordinate the immediate pursuit of their ideals to the practical ends within their grasp." The advice of *The Times* recalled the words of Palmerston and Russell and assessed the future of an independent Hungary likewise. "Separated from Austria, Hungary would at once sink into the rank of a second-rate or third-rate Power, which might, indeed, enjoy such internal institutions as it pleased, but whose national independence and position in the world lie at the mercy of powerful and aggressive neighbours, who have keen appetite for territory and for trade, and but little liking for constitutional liberties, whether at home or beyond their borders." This hinted not only to Russia but to Germany as well.

In the decade prior to the outbreak of the Great War, Hungary's modest prestige in Britain declined under the effect of the international political situation, the internal Hungarian conditions and the very effective British critics (Steed and Seton-Watson). For the time being this did not have any consequences for British foreign policy. During this period there were two initiatives affecting Hungary which occurred in the Foreign Office and their outcome indicates that the Hungarian government did not face

then any foreign policy alternative. One group within the Hungarian coalition government (probably Apponyi and his friends) made, in autumn 1906, through their London representative Emil Reich, a proposal to Sir Edward Grey, the Liberal Foreign Secretary, that Great Britain, which would sooner or later inevitably be embroiled in a war with Germany, should in future base her Central European policy on Hungary and on the Balkan states uniting around her; as a first step she should support a programme for the economic independence of Hungary. After relatively thorough consideration—on the recommendation of the passionately anti-German head of department Eyre Crowe—the proposal was rejected, since the alternative offered by the Hungarian Independence Party—an alliance of the Hungarian nationalists and the small Balkan states in permanent conflict with each other—could not compete with the plan of the Russian entente then already being formulated, which offered much greater assurances against the German danger.

The August 1908 proposal of the British minister in Bavaria, Sir Fairfax Cartwright, was more realistic. He suggested that by supporting Hungarian and Slavonic influence within the Monarchy and promoting the path of her Balkan policies, Austria should gradually be separated from her German ally. The officials in the Foreign office were aghast: this "would entirely upset the European balance of power," Germany would panic and unleash a war. Sir Edward did not think otherwise. "At present there is a fair equilibrium and we should not try to make a breach between Germany and Austria." And some months later: "The balance of power in Europe is best assured by the present grouping, and I do not want to disturb it even in thought."

If Sir Edward Grey did not want to disturb the balance of power, history itself, the inevitable change in the power relations, did and shortly overthrew it. It is interesting that while British domestic politics were characterized by taking notice of undesirable but inevitable changes, in foreign policy this adjustment was much more limited. There was no reluctance to exchange allies, going over from the "Teutonic" powers to Britain's traditional opponents, the Franco-Russian entente. When isolation ceased to be splendid and turned into mere isolation, British policy abandoned this classic principle of attitude and entered into obligations which had earlier been declared unacceptable for constitutional reasons. But official British policy was not willing to accept that the old framework of the Empire had become obsolete in Central and South-East Europe in the mid-nineteenth century, and that the desirable economic cooperation and community, the maintenance of a larger political unit could be through the voluntary association of free peoples. A far-sighted British policy which endeavoured to ensure lasting peace would have had to be at work on such a solution in 1859, let alone in 1918. But until the Great War, Great Britain insisted on the balance of the powers of the Congress of Vienna: with an end to the world hegemony of Europe this had already become not only impossible but senseless.

As may be seen, the obsolete principle of the balance of power, or to be more precise, the role attributed to Austria by the leading politicians of Great Britain, excluded between 1849 and 1914 any recognition for an independent Hungary by the British whenever this was raised. In 1918 British policy nevertheless broke with the old policy of the balance of power and consequently rejected the long-held dogma of the necessity of the Habsburg Empire. At this point the change was no longer to be of any advantage to the Hungarians. Even if several decades later than expected, Kossuth's prophecy was fulfilled; Hungary became the stake on which the Austrian eagle was burnt.

NOTES

The following works are those which I have mainly relied on:

Frank, Tibor: *The British Image of Hungary 1865/1870*. Budapest, 1976.

Haraszti, Éva: *Az angol külpolitika a magyar szabadságharc ellen* (British foreign policy against the Hungarian struggle for independence). Budapest, 1951.

Hinsley, F. H.: *Power and the Pursuit of Peace. Theory and Practice in the History of Relations between States*. Cambridge, 1963.

Jeszenszky, Géza: *"Magyarország megítélése Nagy-Britanniában 1894–1914. Egy nemzetkép történeti változásai"* (The appraisal of Hungary in Great Britain, 1894–1914. Historic changes in the image of a nation). Dissertation, Budapest, 1979. Unpublished.

Kovács, Endre: *Ausztria útja az 1867-es kiegyezéshez* (Austria's path to the Compromise of 1867). Budapest, 1968.

Seton-Watson, R. W.: *Britain in Europe, 1789–1914*. Cambridge, 1937.

Sproxton, Charles: *Palmerston and the Hungarian Revolution*. Cambridge, 1919.

Szabad, György: *Kossuth and the British "Balance of Power" Policy* (1859–1961). Budapest, 1960.

Taylor, A. J. P.: *The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1848–1918*. Oxford, 1954.

Taylor, A. J. P.: *The Trouble Makers, Dissent over Foreign Policy, 1792–1939*. London, 1957.

Further: Public Record Office, London, Foreign Office Papers.

THE REFORM OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Notes, opinions, documents

Changes that followed economic reform have focused attention on the need to create institutional guarantes appropriate to them. One of the important stations of the process is the reform of public administration, which as a first move discontinued, as from January 1, 1984, an intermediate stage in the administrative hierarchy, that of the járás, *that fitted between local district councils and the counties. In their medieval origins the* járás *perhaps corresponded to the English* hundreds. *An intermediary role between local autonomy and administration at county level is assigned to towns. The greater authority of city, town, urban district, and rural district councils substantially simplifies administration, approaching as it does the two-level administrative system. Local interests could assert themselves earlier only in a distorted way, due to the absence of proper procedures, or to the overcomplicated bureaucracy requiring a number of transmissions. Political, economic, and social progress, particularly the progress of large-scale farming, the change of agricultural management which followed (and became a model for enterprise management) and generally the changes in the system of economic management have made the abolishing of the* járás *timely.*

In its spring 1985 session, Parliament, before its dissolution, passed a resolution on long-term regional development, and several laws were mended in connection with the modernization of the local council system (including 1972/1 on local councils). Following the June 1985 parliamentary and local government elections, the system of elöljáróság *(sub-council) was introduced, also as part of the reform of public administration.*

The reform affects the county area. The county, or the provinces, has been one of the touchy points of modern Hungarian society. Population flow to the cities, the depopulation of rural areas, the rapid, often excessive, growth of the population of industrial centres first occurred in Hungary at the time of the Austro-Hungarian dualist system. Such conditions gave rise to Budapest, the second-ranking city of a great empire, within it the capital of Hungary, a city of European rank and standard, a counterpoint, and mirror image of Vienna. The authorities furthered the industries and the infrastructure in border areas mainly as a way of countering problems due to the presence of national minorities, consequently the most important industrial, economic, and intellectual regional centres developed in the frontier zones, while the interior, for in-

stance the Great Plain, was neglected. Under the provisions of the Trianon Peace Treaty, that followed the Great War, these regional centres were handed over to the successor states, thus the capital city, in step with other European capitals in respect of size and standard, formed a very odd settlement structure, troubled with functional disorders, as against the neglected provinces that were left far behind. Correcting the proportions has been one of the burning problems of Hungary to this day; as early as 1925, the government raised a loan to the tune of U.S.$ 10 million from a New York bank earmarked for investment in major country towns, and British banks assisted the development of public utilities, roads in the country in 1926. The relevant credit came to be known as the "county loan."

The villages, which enjoy various rights under the present administration as rural district councils of three ranks, depending on size and facilities, present only part of the problem. The question of how the future of the village will shape given the vast changes has, however, become more and more controversial in recent years.

No great vistas seemed to open to them before. The effect of agriculture on the settlement structure was neglected in the fifties and sixties, at the time of one-sided industrialization. Indeed, flight from the land and rural depopulation favoured the labour demands of industry. The reorganization of agriculture, rallying individual farmers in cooperatives, the development of the large-scale production system of agriculture, and the differing standard of development and development efforts have differently influenced the settlement pattern in the various districts, and also caused disproportions and inequalities in the changes.

The sixties notions of settlement development accepted these disparities in part, and added to the changes that resulted from industrialization by way of infrastructural development. The idea of the dying settlement emerged. Discussion turned to those measures that were wasting the future of the village. Settlement policy, as if wanting to make a virtue out of necessity, allotted the limited development funds available for infrastructural purposes to prosperous, preferred districts and settlements, withdrawing them from declining areas, that appeared to be condemned to death, in order to stimulate the evolution of a more up-to-date settlement structure. District disparities, naturally, increased even further, some villages, roads reached a dead end, with poor shopping and educational facilities and communal services. Experience soon showed that this policy could not stand the test of time. While the small villages kept on vegetating, under increasingly unfair conditions, to the growing shame of society, people began to move from the areas condemned to die, but not to the nearby areas for development but towards the overpopulated Budapest conurbation, or some other congested city agglomeration, adding to the problems. A few other adverse, indeed, alarming phenomena, such as the decline in the population of country areas, and labour demand, also focused attention on the villages, including the declining small ones.*

The decisive factor was the increasing respect enjoyed by agriculture within the economic structure of the country since the early seventies, so much so that holding on to inhabitants appeared as a desirable policy goal for many rural areas.

The policies of the sixties became the subject of debate in the media and other forms of public opinion. The cause of the small villages and depopulated districts has been kept alive by, for instance, the literary and cultural monthly, Napjaink, *published since 1962 in Miskolc, the northern industrial centre of the country, and seat of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County, with a relatively low circulation of 3,000 copies.*

Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County is largely an industrial region yet mainly in the hilly areas there are places where the soil is poor and not really suited for farming, and there is not much industry either. There is evidence of the siphoning off effect of outside industry, of infrastructural neglect and depopulation.

Sympathy for the inhabitants of these areas and responsible thinking moved the editors of Napjaink *to discuss the problem also at a meeting held in 1982, with the Hungarian village of the future as its subject, as a preliminary to the summer camp of writers at Tokaj.*

* *NHQ* 87, 90, In Focus

The excerpts which follow embrace a time-span of three years. It is to be hoped that the institutional reform now well on its way will eventually secure sufficient autonomy for even the smallest of villages.

[...] if we take our intentions to better the condition of villages seriously, then let us also look for those ways in which we may progress almost independently of available finances.

I consider communal self-government, the democratization of the council system, to be that. The sphere of action of the councils is dual. It integrates the public administration function (mediating from the top downwards) and the interests-asserting one (mediating from the grass-roots upwards). But the former dominates excessively. I believe, and I have already expressed this several times, that no village should be left without a council of its own. But if all the things that are administrative in the sphere of action of the councils unconditionally demand centralization—please note that the limits are not unambiguous—there is still an opportunity for the further decentralization of the representation of local interests. Whichever way the future of the council, as an office, will shape, elected bodies should be maintained, or established in each village. Would they be "mad mistresses" of "empty larders" for the lack of funds and authority? No. There is no unit of settlement without much business of its own to be decided best and most fairly on, and by those who are affected by the decision. While the elected bodies of the councils would improve the atmosphere of public life, by becoming the new, or newly rediscovered, schools of democracy in the course of their growing, livening work thus also increasing the prestige of the settlements, they could also prepare themselves for the time, when—if the quantity of the funds as well as the proportion of distribution improve—they would have the opportunity to make decisions on more and more matters. [...]

(Lázár, István: *Falu és racionalitás* [Village and rationality], *Napjaink*, 1982, No. 8, pp. 3–5.)

*

[...] fundamentally, there is no other reason for the wasting, and deterioration of villages in the corn belt, for the ageing of their populations, than the loss of faith in the future, the awareness of not being needed which, as we all know, can only be borne for a very short time. This is the reason why life has been oppressively stagnant for years in the villages of the Bácska, and why—according to considered estimates—Békés County will contain not even thirty towns and villages by the year 2000. This wasting of the mind has so far avoided villages that farm sandy soil. The spirit and attitude of smallholding is not new in these areas, the conditions had developed there already in the sixties. These hard-working peasants cultivating their vineyards, orchards, and market gardens found the channels of their success in time, and kept on widening them. The people living there are certainly not averse to modern machines or chemicals, yet one does not feel that depressing superiority of machinery as one does in the grain-growing villages. The essence, however, can be summed up in a single point: in this region, on the sands of the Danube-Tisza interfluve, life was able to grow from below. If there is something the black-earth people can learn from those who farm on sandy soil, then it can be summed up in this recognition.

The state of the deteriorating villages should not have been used as a pretext for measures that lead to their waning. On the contrary, these villages should have been strengthened in their independence; care should have been taken to arouse their initiative and not to induce lethargy. The sense of being superfluous, current in the wake of the mechanization of agriculture, could have been counterbalanced in time. And then an opportunity would have opened up for a long-term industrial policy that allowed the

talents to flourish. What happened instead were improvisations exploiting temporary opportunities, and quickly established workshops in the villages, showing the technocratic cloven hoof under the cloak of charity. Fluorescent lights hanging from the ceiling do not beautify things, they only stress the dreariness of rows of 60-year-old, clattering, banging sewing-machines resited in rural areas, which are suited only to hem dishcloths picked from rags, for wages that will barely buy cold water. Relocating industry in this manner will not give effervescence to the languishing life of villages. [. . .]

(Hatvani, Dániel: *Hány embert tart el a falu?* [How many people can the village support?]. *Napjaink,* 1982, No. 8, pp. 5–8.)
(Székelyhidi, Ágoston: *Falugörbe* [Village sweeps]. *Napjaink,* 1982, No. 9, p. 18.)
(S. Hegedüs, László: *Bevezető előadás a XI. Tokaji Írótábor tanácskozásán* [Introductory address to the 11th Tokaj Writers' Camp]. *Napjaink,* 1982, No. 12, pp. 4–6.)

*

Manipulation of the Hungarian society in the fifties [. . .] in the interest of extremely fast economic growth had produced a peculiar [. . .] economic and social control pyramid.

[...] The rigid centralization, which this peculiar power, social, and economic control pyramid meant, had the result that the efforts of groups to assert these interests continually slipped back on this very steep pyramid. In other words, the chances for a real assertion of interests declined to a minimum. [. . .] The triple requirement of individual, group, and social interest was in fact introduced with the reform in the sixties, and eventually —more or less—gained acceptance but it did not in the least penetrate the real system of social and economic control. It could not do so, either, since the grand idea, that the differing, occasionally expressly contrary interests could contend with one another, did not help much; the steep-walled power pyramid with its institutional system did not make that at all possible. [. . .] The practice that interests do not contend in the open, but through the most varied, invisible, informal channels, is a peculiar distortion of the mechanisms. [. . .]

How the distortions experienced in interest relations connect with questions related to settlement development and the development of the settlement network? I think it is easy to accept that when we are talking about settlement development, then we are really talking about the allocation of resources. More precisely, one should not simplify the problem to that degree, and it is not really that simple. That certain power pyramid, which completely penetrates also the economy, when it carries out redistribution, that is it amasses the decisive majority of the socially produced incomes centrally and redistributes it, it thus does not simply, and perhaps not even principally, distribute monetary resources, but also distributes the positions of power and prestige. There are ideological aspects as well, which make it easy for the beneficiaries of money, position, and prestige to legalize the fact that they got into a favourable, or unfavourable position. [. . .]

(Bogár, László: *Korreferátum a XI. Tokaji Írótáborban* [One of the keynote addresses at the 11th Tokaj Writers' Camp.]. *Napjaink,* 1982, No. 12, pp. 12–15.)

*

[. . .] The place and role of the political system in a society does, in essence, also determine the place and role of administration. The recognition that the political system became dominant historically in the whole of Eastern Central Europe—naturally, also in Hungary—is extraordinarily important. [. . .] One of the characteristics of a dominating political system [. . .] is that the centre acquires excess weight, that administration concentrates in the first place on servicing the centre. Since administration as an organiza-

tion in itself shapes policy doing so at every level, the servicing of the centre is also shaped by the interests of the organization, and local and regional conditions under which it operates. Even the most centralized organization is not able to completely exclude the influence of the local or regional conditions. But this—owing precisely to the lack of an established mechanism—is *ad hoc* and based on personal connections, thus even in the best case groups able to assert their interests through the public administration organization (in particular cases expressly pressure groups), are able to shape the policies formulated at the centre.

The difficult problem of administration, since it is based on functions, and since it is part of the political system, is to relate not only to the centre of the political system, but also to the whole of the system, thus to the local and regional constituents as well, and to undertake also the functional tasks which derive from them, which the centre may reshape in this case by way of regulation, on which it may rely in this respect. [...]

Thus, if the principle of self-government which makes the expression of interests possible is considered important also from the point of the centre, and our socialist development clearly indicates that it is, then the issue is the optimum size of such self-governing areas. [...] All signs indicate [...] that the unit that can coordinate interests organically should be sought at the local level, at that of towns or villages. Therefore the expression and due weight of local interests must in any event be guaranteed by the political system. This must be done by strengthening local self-government. Where there is none, the possibility of its establishment has to be given further consideration. This does not necessarily mean that the executive-administrative aspect of administration must be decentralized at all costs and in every respect. Under present conditions, the rational organization and operational characteristics of the public administration machinery has to be examined in the first place. It is also beyond doubt that the directing influence of local council agencies far in excess of the present number on a district organization of public administration may greatly increase the number of problems to be solved. Finally, it can also be expected that redirecting financial resources, or most of them, to where they were produced (making available a considerable part of the taxes paid by enterprises, co-operatives, etc. to the local councils, etc.) would result in strongly differentiated opportunities for the various settlements, even if the system of central subsidies were radically changed. And yet the basic principle seems timely in any event. This is the only way to prevent a further deformation of the network of settlements, and the only way that guarantees a more just distribution of resources, and the further progress of the political system.

(Kulcsár, Kálmán: *A közigazgatás fejlesztésének társadalmi-politikai összefüggései* [Social and political aspects of the development of administration]. *Állam és Igazgatás*, 1983, No. 11, pp. 961–975.)

*

[...] Coping better with social and economic policy duties, faster and more competent handling of the business of citizens makes necessary the development of the work of local party, state, and voluntary bodies, further increasing their independence and responsibility, as well as broader development of the representative, self-government, and administrative functions of town and village councils. The decisive and controlling role of elected bodies must be strengthened, the standard of administrative work must be improved. There is every justification to broaden the participation of citizens in handling public affairs, increasing the public social control of state actions, in order to bring local management and public administration even closer to the man in the street.

In the interest of the realization of these aims, the Central Committee agrees that:
—the *járás* (subdivisions of counties), as units of public administration will cease on the 1st of January 1984;
—cooperation in administration between the towns and certain larger villages, and the village councils should become general;
—the economic independence of local councils should increase.

> (Resolution of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, dated October 12, 1983, on the termination of the *járás* and the further development of local party, state, and social administration]. *Társadalmi Szemle*, 1983, No. 11, pp. 54–55.)

[...] KATALIN MOGYORÓ: *We are a provincial country is an expression used in many senses with many accents. Although some of the ideas it covers may be disputable, our network of settlements is established in a way that is difficult to shake off or change. Of course we do have some conventions we should try to preserve.*

GYÖRGY ENYEDI: True, our network of settlements is a basic feature of the country just as much as our natural resources, population or present economic situation. This network provides a frame for the functioning of society and does not change rapidly so that the nature or state of this network has an influence on the country's economy and on its way of life.

Some particular features of the Hungarian settlement-structure derive from historical development. One of them is delayed urbanisation which prevented the establishing of a network of modern cities in Hungary until the Second World War. Except for the capital there were only a few small towns in Transdanubia which had attained the level of Central European urbanisation. At the same time, over half of the Hungarian towns were market-towns, so that not only their outward appearance had rural aspects but their social structure was also pre-capitalist from many viewpoints.

One explanation is that after 1918 a number of our important towns, with their urban population, were assigned to neighbouring countries... What was the reason for the development of so many large towns in Upper Northern Hungary?

This development is of medieval origin when the axes along which Hungarian towns were built were the Danube, the mountains around Northern Hungary and Transylvania. It was related to the circumstance that industry and mining was started by foreign settlers in these regions, and these settlers—for instance, the Saxons in the Szepesség—were granted various privileges. They came only if they could enjoy the same rights as craftsmen in West European towns. The market-towns, on the other hand, were places for buying and selling agricultural products and were just as much under the authority of landlords as the villages. This prevented urban progress in the market towns. The frontier changes in 1920 detached the sites of early industrialization from the country. But one must add in fairness that Budapest had had an outstanding, a unique role within the older boundaries of the country; it had a population of one million in 1910 while towns such as Pozsony, Kolozsvár, Temesvár—although important regional centres—never did become really big urban centres.

If we compare this to other small countries, can we say that the establishing of such an oversized capital was inevitable?

Wherever the capital assumed such dimensions, political and economic power concentrated there; this situation can come about only if there is centralized power and that has been a constant feature throughout the history of Hungary. Administrative state power became particularly strong in the second half of the nineteenth century, in the period following the Compromise of 1867. Other factors also contributed to this development: early railway construction centered around Buda-

pest, or state interference in the growth of Hungarian capitalism ... this explains that economic power settled near this political power. The capitals of Austria, Portugal, Denmark, Greece have a similar importance. If, for some reason, a small country had a large capital, it was not able to develop a second large city. In Switzerland, Belgium and the Netherlands, regional power was stronger than the central authority and so these countries have important cities.

In Hungary, development after 1945 has further strengthened this trend, and Budapest has become even bigger and more important.

This is not quite so. Although with the new city borders the territory and population of the capital has grown on paper, I regard the town and its agglomeration as a single settlement. This means, in my view, that the zone which in effect used to belong to Budapest is now under its administration. True, in the fifties and sixties there was a considerable migration to Budapest but the populations of provincial towns also increased significantly. In 1941 the population of the capital was 1.75 million, and only Debrecen and Szeged had over 100,000 inhabitants and that only if we included the farmsteads around them. Compared to this, Budapest with a 2 million population and Miskolc and Debrecen with over 200,000 represent a better balance. And what counts also is that in the seventies small towns also started to develop. Now we have twice as many towns as in 1949, and some medium-sized towns such as Nyíregyháza and Székesfehérvár have a population of over 100,000. So to my mind, the Hungarian urban-network has become more balanced from the top downwards. The extension of the small-town network is quite normal and natural. I feel that the major problem today is that living in a smaller or larger settlement is linked with a certain social status, advantages and disadvantages in Hungary [...]

I think it is the infrastructure which is at the root of the difference between very small Hungarian villages and similar places in more developed countries.

I would maintain that in Hungary we use a modern model in supplying our very small villages. In more advanced countries small villages exist within a similar framework of organization: administration is centralized, children are taken to school in buses, and so on. But the inhabitants of those villages have telephones, cars and good roads. If this infrastructural condition is absent, as in Hungary, this model does not work. Where there are no school buses, there should be no amalgamated district schools, and where people cannot phone the doctor or reach him quickly in their own car the regional sectors covering basic medical services should not be enlarged; these things have also contributed to the depopulation of the smallest Hungarian villages. On the other hand, I should like to say that this has been a long-standing process in the country; the first signs appeared back in the 1920s, when Lajos Fülep wrote articles in the *Pesti Napló* on the decline of the villages in Baranya county. In the thirties several sociographers concerned themselves with the problem and János Kodolányi summarized his direct experience in literary works. They knew by then that the natural regenerative ability of the population had ceased in these villages. Bad decisions adopted in Hungarian urban policy in the latter decades only accelerated this long-standing process dramatically.

Maybe another important factor has also contributed to this decline, the absence of a democratic administrative model offering much more authority to the inhabitants of these small settlements in shaping their own lives. Infrastructural deficiencies can be felt much more strongly on the spot than when viewed from a centre.

Very true. Local self-government has no traditions in Hungary but this cannot remain an excuse for ever; it can be changed. For centuries modernization has progressed from the top downwards in Hungary as a consequence of our permanent delay in development. Town planning also fell to the

central authority because the towns themselves were unable to develop economic forces which would have been adequate to shape the destiny of the settlement. In view of the absence of sufficient resources in the towns, their citizens made no effort to do anything and simply accepted central initiative and, at the same time, shifted every responsibility upon the same central authority. Strong administrative centralization no longer suits our present state of economic maturity. The Hungarian economy is decentralized today, industry has spread to thousands of communities where the number of industrial workers locally equals the number of workers in the entire industry of Budapest. The strength of agriculture is also one argument for greater decentralization in administration [...]

Because people believe that they have no say in the affairs of the community, they do not care for things outside their own fences; so, for example, they leave weeds to grow. As long as the local councils function not as communal bodies of self-government but as the executive apparatus of state power, one cannot expect any change. Although the legal regulations prescribe it otherwise, it is my experience in practice that everything still functions according to the old system. If local government agencies could make decisions about the utilization of local financial resources and work as real local government, probably more and more useful things could be made of the available funds.

In view of our limitations and basic features, how could we develop our smallest villages? What would be your priorities?

If the infrastructure remains as neglected as it is now, I have no ideas to offer because in this case we can count only on more shortages. If, however, the infrastructure were to be considered more important, this would imply the creation of a central fund and the support of either groups of settlements in crisis or certain branches of the infrastructure. By the way, the requirements of these small villages are very modest, and another reason for giving them central assistance is that moving the population into towns is much more expensive. I would like to point out the two major weaknesses of the infrastructure: one is the accessibility of a settlement in view of present catastrophic conditions of the telephone-network and the rather bad communication network; what is even worse is that drinking-water is bad in 700 small villages. Owing to the absence of piping ground-water and even sub-waters are badly polluted. Of course, other places have also their problems [...]

This interview is ending on a rather pessimistic note. It seems to me that despite every effort made by yourself and your collaborators these processes are practically unchangeable.

The new concept of urban policy presented for general discussion which will come up in Parliament for adoption in the beginning of 1985 contains many elements which can act towards the solution of existing problems. If these concepts will be acted on, then we, researchers may feel that we have contributed to a more realistic development of the Hungarian settlement-network.

(Are we a provincial country? Interview with György Enyedi. *Mozgó Világ*, 1984, No. 10, pp. 110–115.)

*

The recent changes in local and regional administration—*járás* (districts) ceased to exist from January 1st, 1984, and the concept of *városkörnyékiség* (town and environment) was introduced, indeed, twelve former large villages achieved town-status—did not really change the existing ratios. Almost half of the population still lives in rural communities. As a result of this process of integration the majority of villagers live in communities which have no independent local council of their own but several such communities have a joint council. Over 2,5 million persons live in such associate communities [...]

The creation of joint communal councils was institutionalized in the 3rd Council Act of 1971. The main point of this construction is the equal legal status of the associate communities which keep their own name, one of them is the seat of the joint communal council whose personal composition is the "mathematical" sum of the council members of the associate communities. The decision of the joint council is binding in all communities under its jurisdiction; at the same time, the council members in the associate communities form a council member-group though without decision-making powers. The associate communities do not elect their own communal council-presidents and there are no special agencies of local administration in these villages [...]

What has been the practical reason for establishing these joint communal councils? On the one hand, they were called upon to carry out the common tasks of development and renovation in the closely related settlements, and on the other hand, they were to evolve special agencies in the council seats which—after considerable decentralization—could be made suitable for taking on spheres of authority and action which, earlier, had been the province of district agencies.

The joint communal councils have been often attacked, especially in recent years. Some said that their organization was artificial and that this administrative form has lessened the ability of communities to preserve and maintain the members of their inhabitants, that council seats developed at the expense of the other villages and that the associate communities were left to fend for themselves because the state had withdrawn from them. As a consequence of the concentration of large farms and the ensuing amalgamation of schools, the educated were moving out of the associate communities and this too was one of the reasons for their decline.

It is also true that even the legal equality of most associate communities has been fictitious right from the start because the role of council seat fell naturally to the village with the most advanced infrastructure. Besides the integration of large farms, cooperatives and other economic, commercial and service enterprizes naturally brought about the considerable economic and intellectual development of some of the council seats. [...]

Under the Finance Act, it is up to county councils to decide which settlements they wish to develop particularly. In the earlier five-year plan periods this has always meant a preferential treatment of towns, especially county seats—but the resources which counties can make use of for developing communities still do not exceed 20 percent on the average. In addition, there are no favourable terms for building loans for villages, public utilities there are more expensive and so forth. This means that the majority of the joint communal councils have only minimal resources and they utilize them primarily for developing the central villages themselves. Available resources for the smaller and dwarf villages do not exceed 10,000 forints per year. The situation of those who live there is made even more difficult by some limitations and constraints of a, in a certain sense, discriminatory nature mentioned earlier.

Listing a number of other difficulties (the roads, communications, telephones) would help to convey the idea that the less populated associate communities are disadvantaged.

Relevant studies and practice itself have proved that a further development of the representational system of associate communities should be given priority; one must bear in mind also that public transport has become more expensive and this affects most strongly pensioners living in those small villages. One must therefore ensure that they are able to avail themselves of basic administrative services in every associate community. Extremes and contradictions should be eliminated, in the first place with the help of the council-member groups, which must

be given more scope in authority and activity. New regulations should ensure the improvement of public life and relations in these villages.

The best proof of the reality and urgency of the problems of associate communities is that the Central Committee of the HSWP concerned itself with it in autumn 1983 and in its resolution on the further development of local and regional administration gave unambiguous directives for strengthening their representation, for establishing sub-councils *(elöljáróság)* after the general elections of 1985. In the spirit of this resolution, the National Assembly decreed the creation of that new legal institution in the new electoral law, and the Presidential Council in Decree 26 of 1983 on the modification of the Act regulating local councils and some of their spheres of authority.

Under this decree the elected council members in the associate communities where there is no communal council constitute a sub-council which, accordingly, in its personal composition is identical to the former council-member group of the associate village; hence it must be stressed that the matter is not just a new label which would be purely formal and not only senseless but outright damaging.

In consideration of the stipulations of the new electoral law, the decree regulates the main tasks and sphere of authority of the sub-councils, leaving a broad framework for later prescription by executive legal regulation. These major tasks are the following:

a) representation of the interests of the population of associate communities,

b) the organization of community life in the settlement,

c) decision-making on the utilization of available financial resources,

d) decision-making in other matters within their legal authorities as prescribed by the rules [...]

In our opinion, in the implementation of the rules one must give the utmost consideration to the particularities of associate communities. Obviously the legal regulations must reflect unambigously the existing considerable differences in size. Uniformity must be avoided and it is needless to explain that beyond the basic, nationally unified legal regulations, matters must be regulated differently in the smallest villages and in the associate communities of the Great Plain with several thousand inhabitants. In agreement with central agencies the Council Bureau of the Council of Ministers and the individual county councils must give suitable directives, work out recommendations and methods, but within this framework practical regulations must be the responsibility of the joint communal councils and the sub-councils. [...]

There are now 1610 associate communities without their own communal council in Hungary. Accordingly, more sub-councils will function than the total number of local councils. If we add to this that the council members elected in the 686 joint councils also work as sub-councils, it appears unnecessary to dwell upon the major socio-political significance of the new institution.

It would be unrealistic to believe that the creation of sub-councils in itself could solve the basic problems of associate communities; these settlements will not be able to make major investments in the near future—certainly not without outside support. Every agency, whether belonging or not to the council, must do its best to improve basic services and satisfy the needs of the inhabitants.

(Pál Kara: From council-member-group to sub-council. *Társadalomkutatás*, 1984, No. 3–4, pp. 98–112.)

*

In future, the development of communities will be a more important concern and this will appear also in the distribution of available state and county resources. Some people began to wonder whether this would not relegate the satisfaction of the legitimate

needs of city-dwellers into the background. This danger can, however, be avoided, especially if the starting point is the mutual interdependence of town and village. We must admit that the improvement of the living conditions of villagers in town-neighbourhoods is also advantageous for the city population because it may lessen the pressure of migration into the town and help to eliminate bottlenecks in town supplies.

On the other hand, the development of cities has a favourable impact on the living conditions of the neighbouring communities because it creates employment possibilities nearby and means that higher-standard services are more accessible. This means that both towns and villages must be developed not to the detriment of each other but on the basis of their mutual interests, and not exclusively within their administrative borders but within their fields of attraction in natural interdependence and mutuality of interests.

It is a realistic assumption that the process of urbanization will continue in the coming decades, and that more large boroughs will become towns. This is a historical trend in parallel with social development. However, we are interested in slowing-down the migration process to the towns and in a more planned rhythm of urbanization. Progress should correspond to the tempo of the advance of local conditions. Hence in rational urbanization we must also help the smaller settlements to preserve their population and improve transport and communication between them.

So—discarding the earlier rigid categories — the conditions in communities and the economic system must be gradually evolved in a way as to enable every community to pursue its own independent development, whether the community be a cluster of farmsteads, a small village, a holiday resort, a medium or large borough, a small or large town or a conglomeration of several settlements. [...]

(Exposé of Lajos Faluvégi, Vice-Premier and President of the National Planning Bureau, in the 1985 spring session of the National Assembly about the long-term tasks of regional—and community—development. *Magyar Hírlap*, April 19, 1985, pp. 5–7.)

Compiled by ZOLTÁN ZIMONYI

ANDRÁS SAJÓ

CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

This is the second in a series of three articles on "Deviant Behaviour in Hungary." It was introduced by Rudolf Andorka, who also wrote on "Alcoholism" (*NHQ* 99). Béla Buda's article, "Suicide," will appear in *NHQ* 101.

Those who advocate radical social change have always promised to eliminate the faults of the system they wish to replace. Thus it is hardly surprising that when the socialist systems were being established, promises were made to do away with crime, one of the most repellent and most condemned features of the social relationships under capitalism. This continual decrease in crime was a doctrine supported by a misinterpretation of a statement of Marx's. Speaking of crime in his own age, Marx had emphasized the relationship between poverty, pauperism and crime. At the beginning of socialist transformation this analysis was interpreted through a programme directed against crime: socialist order was to eliminate poverty and the relationships bringing about social conflicts and differences; consequently, crime would cease to exist. However, that supposition has failed to demonstrate itself; indeed,

experts and the general public today realize with a certain amount of consternation and even frustration that crime in Hungary is actually on the increase.

As compared to the previous year, in the record-breaking 1983 the number of reported criminal offences increased by eight per cent and the trend continues. The past few years cannot be regarded as a temporary, arbitrary fluctuation.

Some data and historical background

In surveying trends in crime in Hungary after 1945 and the present problems attached to crime, one should be aware of what is treated as a criminal offence and—apart from being so defined in the Criminal Code—to what extent it is actually prosecuted by the authorities. Otherwise statistical data can gravely mislead. The zeal of the legislature and of the authorities responsible for crime may significantly increase the statistical occurrence (just as in certain cases it may also veil mass phenomena causing social disturbances and which are taken note of by the public). Today—fortunately—it is now only a "classic" example that at the beginning of the 'fifties, especially in 1951, there was a sudden increase in the number of people brought to court for criminal offences and sentenced. The reason was not that behaviour had deteriorated overnight but that an overnight effort had been made to apply criminal law as one of the means of realizing the political objectives of the age; this involved having certain norms of behaviour accepted, norms which were frequently impossible to meet or which required unrealistically large sacrifices or which involved simply intimidating the population. Thus, in addition to referring political affairs and politicians to court, some types of behaviour whose avoidance was difficult in those days were pronounced criminal and forms of behaviour widespread or at least tolerated earlier were pursued with the full rigour of law; e.g. the impossibility of coping with the obligations imposed by the system of compulsory delivery on the peasantry resulted in mass law-breaking and prison terms of several years meted out for the illegal slaughter of livestock as well.

The crime rate registered prior to the Second World War, which had not been low (335,544 prosecutions in 1938), was exceeded by 20 per cent through the enactment of criminal laws which were used as a political instrument in 1952. The tendency becomes even clearer if it is noted that in that year 145,000 people were sentenced, a number which exceeded the relevant figure prior to the war by 56 per cent. The abnormality of the figure is shown by the fact that since the 1960s the number of people sentenced each year has been around 55,000, of which the number of prison terms has been roughly 15,000 (27 per cent). This figure is only 20 per cent in France, a country known for the severity of criminal law; in 1981, when the prisons were packed, approximately thirty-thousand people were detained (including those remanded in custody, and this with a much higher level of crime).

The high-capacity machinery for punishment—and indeed the tolerance of the economy—set limits to the excessive criminalization of behaviour of the fifties. Violating working discipline—including even changing jobs—was defined by law as a criminal act in theory; however, a quarter of a million people changed jobs and "merely" seven thousand people were sentenced for this "planned criminal act."

As a consequence of changes in the law and, to a lesser extent, in the apparatus of handling crime and its procedures, crime recorded officially may be modified without an actual change in the frequency of regulated behaviour (or exempt from it). Therefore, smaller changes than the dramatic increase in the fifties, which appear in statistics, may only be interpreted with due reser-

vation. Thus, for example, a change may be observed in the fixed limit of value below which the court does not deal with theft, i.e. such thefts are not contained in the statistics of criminal acts.

In every country the data collected on crime differs; this makes comparison difficult as do the legal differences of those punished. (For the USA, for example, the FBI crime index is generally used and this crime index covers only seven offences.) Records are kept of the criminal offences reported by the authorities (the police), the cases investigated, the cases tried by the courts, the accused tried in court, the people sentenced by the courts. Another notable issue is how many people are sentenced to imprisonment each year. The above indices express different connections (e.g. the efficiency of the police, the number of cases investigated, the "clear-up" rate for "serious" crimes, charges the severity of a society and the extent to which the courts are the repository of that severity, the number of people sentenced to imprisonment). There is a dark figure, the difference between officially reported and actual crime, as to that we are forced to make estimates. As regards this, particular importance is attached to victimization studies which have recently started to appear in Hungary. On the basis of representative sampling of the population, victimization studies try to clarify whether the respondents (or their properties) have been victims of criminal offences. However, even on that basis, the volume of crime will still be underestimated for not every criminal act has a direct victim. Surveys claim that people fail to report about one third of the attacks carried out against them or their properties. Internationally that is not a very high proportion: a survey made in the USA, in 1973 found that hardly one in four thefts was reported.

For the lack of anything better, and with due reservation, analysis must resort to the statistics for criminal offences subject to public prosecution. Even if this fails to give a fully authentic picture of the volume of crime, it does show, whether crime is growing with the passing of time. There is no ambiguity about this increase in the long run and in the past few years the rate has shown an upward trend. Between 1965 and 1985 the growth, with certain periodical falls, amounted to 29 per cent altogether. In 1984, the increase slowed down (however, the data for one year are not necessarily significant). Even so the number of criminal acts is not high by international comparison: there are approximately 1,500 convicted persons for one hundred thousand head of population. For comparison: this index was already 5,521 in the USA in 1979, 4,126 in France, 5,762 in Holland (1981), 6,963 in West-Germany (1982) for all criminal acts. It is true, however, that statistics show that there is a lower crime rate in other socialist countries; the figures published in the GDR are half the Hungarian ones.

Unfortunately, there is an increase in the number of cases that were not cleared up. This does not show a deterioration in the quality of the work of the police. On the contrary, with a minimal increase in staffing, the investigating organs cleared up about 5 per cent more cases in 1983 as compared to the previous year.

Given the above facts, it would be easy to produce a spurious diagnosis and remedy: social resources allotted to the pursuit of crime should be increased in order that they can keep pace with the rise in crime and thus, in time, the deterrence of discovery will manifest itself and the growth will stop. The idea of deterrence has been raised repeatedly in the countries fighting against increasing crime, and although the role of effective investigation in preventing crime cannot be doubted, it has never come up to the expectations it aroused. Not only because the costs involved are very high but —and primarily—because they do not take into consideration all the causes leading to crime. Social conflict situations repeatedly push new offenders towards criminal be-

haviour. One of the Hungarian experiences of recent years, though not in itself decisive, is at least worth pondering on. In a certain county, women were terrorized for years; enormous police manpower was concentrated into the county and the police conducted extensive checks in the area. Eventually, they managed to catch a man guilty of several rapes and, in the meantime, during various raids those responsible for several other crimes were arrested too as its by-product. The number of criminal acts discovered and investigated in that year significantly exceeded the average for the previous years but about two years later—once the previous level of police activity had been restored—the level of crime and of its growth dropped back to the previous level. Thus increased efficiency in investigation was unable to influence the dynamics of crime.

In the light of the above and other facts, a significant amount of professional literature is inclined to indicate the cause of crime and its increase not merely in the world of criminal law and enforcement but, in a more general sense, in the social-economic conditions and relations and in the changes they undergo. However, in order to give a real meaning to a theoretical thesis, we must take a look at the structure of crime and at those to whom the role of criminal offers itself by the opportunities social relations set.

It is criminal law that decides what type of behaviour is to be proceeded against; this is essentially a social choice which may have a bearing on the trend of crime as well. For acts which are uniformly condemned by the social value system, say homicide, show a constant, stagnant level of occurrence. Traditionally, the number of homicides has stagnated at a comparatively high level, about 200 cases annually, constituting 1.8–2.3 cases per 100,000 inhabitants; that index was 0.59–1.66 in France between 1931–1977. The social reaction expressed by criminal law is, naturally, not arbitrary; it may not disregard the phenomena taking place in society over the long run; as an official, indeed a political evaluation, it must consider the social evaluations of the type of behaviour regulated and also to what extent regulated (that is prohibited) behaviour has become general, in other words, to what extent it has become normalized.

Increase in offences against property

Most offences reported (60 per cent) are directed against property. There is a sharp increase in the number of burglaries and the general population has not taken measures to protect itself against burglary; the police were unable to investigate 8,000 reported cases of that nature in 1984. Criminal traffic offences also occur frequently. That tendency exerted an influence up to the middle of the seventies. About one third of the people sentenced in court in 1982 were punished for offences against property, almost one fourth for traffic offences (the majority of a total of thirteen thousand for drunken driving were punished independently of the accidents involved). It is easy to admit that the number of traffic offences increased during a period when the use of cars was increasing. The number of offences against the state is constant at below one hundred, and more than 90 per cent of these came under the category of subversive activities.

A more complex question which presents a mere detailed view of the connection with social processes—is that of offences committed against *property*. In respect to the protection of property by criminal law it should be pointed out that the protection of what is called *social* (state and cooperative) *property* is an especially important object of socialist law. Personal interest in one's own property is a powerful incentive for property protection. On account of having less personal interest in social property ownership, socialist criminal law protected social property with the strictest provisions (much more severe punishment was meted out for the theft of social than

of private property). This was the situation prevailing in Hungary too from the end of the forties. Under the effect of poverty, the disruption of social relations and connections, the unbelievable mobility and the new value system and value vacuum, there was a decline in respect for property: as late as 1955, when criminal law was already being considered less important as a means of class struggle, theft per capita was 30 per cent higher than prior to the Second World War, while there was a significant decrease—as a consequence of intensive state supervision—in the number of offences against the person (assault, etc.). In the first half of the fifties, special significance was attached to the protection of social property: 20 per cent of all those convicted had committed criminal offences against social property, while today the proportion of similar offenders (among almost half as many again sentenced in toto is only 14 per cent. In the period of the application of an over-severe criminal law, the majority of the offenders were employees of the factories concerned; since then, however, at least half of those committing offences against social property have been outsiders. Finally, the extent to which the choice of criminal policy—and not merely the consequence of patterns of behaviour spreading and multiplying in society—may shape and did influence the structure of crime, is shown by the fact that more than two and a half times as many people were sentenced for stealing social property than for thefts involving private property.

As there was a general consolidation of social relations, the law and its application had to turn increasingly against those forms of behaviour which were actually condemned socially and which thus meant an increasing danger to social order. Thus, in 1955 one third of all impeachments were in connection with offences against social property; in 1981, however, only every fifth crime known was against social property. At the same time there was a shift in the form of offences involving citizens' property, with thefts and burglaries reaching a figure of above 80 per cent. The damage to private property approached the damage to social property in terms of financial value. The excessive criminalization designed to protect social property came to an end; with the changes in economic relations, it did not really pay off to cause harm to social property, whereas with the rising of living standards offences on citizens' property became worth committing. In 1978 the distinction in law for protecting the two types of properties was eliminated. In harmony with social considerations, the law no longer gave less protection to the lawful property of citizens. That was in accordance with the spirit of the economic reform of 1968, the principle of greater personal financial interests. However and in spite of this, the earlier discrimination continues to live on in practice. According to the view of the Supreme Court, the character of social property may be an aggravating circumstance when considering punishment. What is more important: criminal charges continue to carry a higher rate of convictions for acts against social property: in 1955, 38 per cent of the charges ended with sentences, today the proportion is 47 per cent, while in the case of offences against the property of individuals it remains at a stable 22 per cent. (In Poland, for example, the difference is much smaller.) That is to say, in the case of crimes against personal property—where there is a strong growth for economic reasons—the proportion of reporting is lower.

Who commits crimes?

As we have seen, changes in social relations transform crime in a complicated manner, with shifts in time, through the mediation of criminal law and the responsible authorities. As for the criminal, the offender may be a completely average member of society, leading a normal life, who is only manifesting behaviour socially usual or

reasonable. Here we may list, for example, the smaller bribes that go hand in hand with a shortage economy; these are fairly widespread and to a certain extent are no longer criminalized and to a certain extent no longer proceeded against. But where—as the data mentioned show—criminal law rightly recognizes that a given type of behaviour is dangerous for society and, in the social sense of the word, does not mean for most people an almost inevitable choice, then, just as in the case of the increase in offences against personal property, one may ask which are the social paths that force considerable numbers towards anti-social behaviour?

It may be stated as an obvious fact that an increase in crime is not the direct and unavoidable consequence of economic growth: on the other hand, an increase in crime became unequivocal in the period of economic stagnation. There is no doubt either that the rise in living standards which went hand in hand with the development of the socialist economy has basically eliminated the roots of crime in poverty.

There is a widely held theory that crime is characteristic of those layers and groups which are struggling with the problems of fitting into society. It may be added that some of these people so jeopardized will remain caught within the system of state care and then the system of punishment, in that they are unable to break with a process through life, partly, no doubt, imposed on them from the outside. Furthermore the way of life of their environment along with their living conditions offer them patterns of behaviour considered as deviant which are partly criminalized (for reasons not always understood by them) or at least needing repression from the administrational point of view. That it is actually a question of remaining in the profession of crime, is shown by the slightly rising proportion of those among (known) offenders already convicted for some offence and by a special increase in the numbers and proportion of recidivists, some 15 per cent of all offenders. The number of habitual offenders has increased twofold in the past five years. (A habitual offender is a person since whose last custodial sentence less than three years have passed.) After three custodial sentences, each of at least one year for more serious crimes, habitual offenders are taken into rigorous custody after serving their sentences of no less than two and no more than five years; parole can be given in between the two. This punishment by which the law hopes that people of criminal habits are removed from society, is attacked in professional literature on the grounds of legitimacy and efficiency. In any case, the prison system has been unable—as the above data show—to prevent the slowly widening reproduction of crime, the entry into a criminal career. That almost *one third* of known criminal offenders have already been sentenced before, is readily attributed by many to the lenient verdicts of judges or the faults of the prison system, whereas it is the "free life" which is frequently unable to offer opportunities to break out. (In Holland, where there are 20 imprisoned for 100,000 inhabitants, i.e. imprisonment is hardly used, 43 per cent of all those convicted have previously appeared in court.)

Certain problems the individual may have in fitting into society can lead to criminal acts at a very early age. (It is observable all over the world that after the age of 22–24, the crime rate for all age-groups radically decreases and after that age the number of people sentenced for the first time is relatively low. 9–10 per cent of first offenders in Hungary are juveniles (between the years of 14–18). In Holland the proportion was similar in 1970, but today the proportion of juvenile offenders is only 5.5 per cent. The Hungarian authorities are worried about a fifty per cent increase in numbers in the past four years. What causes even graver concern is the high and increasing occurrence within that age-group. On the average, one in sixty juveniles in the 14–18-year-old group commits a criminal offence. (In West Germany the figure is one in forty.) This is remark-

able even if we bear in mind that juveniles are under increased social supervision; at the same time some criminologists claim that those offenders are easier to catch because of their lack of experience.

The number of children under fourteen, those who cannot be held responsible for their actions in the eyes of the law, is also increasing and currently exceeds three thousand. Children and juveniles in general are engaging in burglary especially frequently; they commit approximately one third of them. In this respect one can note that in France 4.9 per cent of 18–20-year-olds are sentenced by the courts!

The majority of juvenile offenders in Hungary—but by no means without exception—come from disadvantaged families whose financial and cultural disadvantages are coupled with a disadvantaged lifestyle (alcoholic parents or no parents). Almost half of those given custodial sentences for violent acts had a parent with previous convictions. A significant percentage of offenders not disadvantaged in the sociological sense also turn out to be living in an environment jeopardized in the psychological sense (hidden alcoholism, divorced parents).

With an awareness of the connection between disadvantaged or multiply disadvantaged social situation* crime, one should not be surprised that the proportion of Gypsies is high among offenders, especially among those who commit violent offences. The Gypsy population has more than twice as many offenders than the non-Gypsy population has. That should be expected since the Gypsy population has many more people living in a multiply disadvantaged situation; equally, their housing conditions, circumstances of work, and so forth are much worse than those for the majority in society. However, investigations show that the criminality of Gypsies not living in a disadvantaged situation is also somewhat higher and, furthermore, among Gypsies the multiply disadvantaged situation is coupled more frequently with crime than it is among others who live in a multiply disadvantaged situation; this points to a cultural handicap of another kind for some Gypsies.

Social situation, social handicap in itself is not enough to supply a complete answer to the question of delinquency. In actual fact, only a minority of all offenders are disadvantaged; the social situation, of different social strata that "incline" offenders to indulge in different criminal offences, the degree of reporting of which also differs, is also in a minority. It is even less useful to *merely* take a disadvantaged situation as a starting point when trying to clarify the *increase* of crime: generally speaking, there is a decrease in social differences in the distance between the different strata in Hungarian society. Where in recent times living circumstances have deteriorated in the absolute or relative sense, there—and these groups are primarily composed of pensioners and families with many young children—there is little opportunity to take to crime to solve problems. (On the other hand, there may be an increase in the victimization of elderly people, and the financial difficulties appearing in families with many children may implant the inclination to deviance, in families with three or more children the number of juvenile delinquents has always been disproportionately high, though it is not verified that is related to the inferior financial situation of the families concerned.)

It is another question whether *perceived* social unequality has not been reinforced by a fuller supply of consumer goods, whether it does not increase the feeling of being disadvantaged, which might lead to taking the criminal option. In Merton's classic view, the antagonistic conflict between accepted property values and those constituting a challenge, between status and acquisition, might spur people to choose deviant means in order to acquire the accepted values. That idea seems to be applicable when explaining the efforts of juveniles and young adults to

* *NHQ* 86, In Focus

acquire money in order to satisfy their desires for occasional entertainment, and to the same extent for the abuses spreading in the economy—in spite of the pressure of strong social and official supervision (e.g. through cheating and bribery). This hypothesis is made probable by criminal choice—its forced acceptance under the influence of different stigma—taking place mostly in a cultural vacuum. According to Hungarian surveys and their analysis (Hankiss, Kulcsár, Losonczi), the family is the only generally accepted social value and community, but the family, because it is under extreme pressure, is frequently disfunctional or is collapsing. Thus the starting point is the value vacuum created by the lack of family or its disruption which is aggravated by the authorities in taking children into institutional care. (This might be alleviated by a system of family care which is at present being drawn up.)

Hungarian criminology and sociology have come to realize that the social differences reproduced in a socialist society, i.e. inequalities provide the social basis for the reproduction of crime. Although there is an increase in the fear of crime among the population, rumours of the deterioration of public security (and there has been some concern in the proclamations of the authorities since the eight per cent jump in crime in 1983), we cannot really speak about new or extraordinary developments, at least as to the volume of crime. With the data of crime against property between 1965 and 1981 a simple linear regression could forecast the exact figure for 1984. Even if we do not have to tolerate criminal, anti-social behaviour which harms others, society must learn to live with it. It depends on the ability of society to know itself, whether the attempt is successful in placing the phenomenon of crime into a context of social institutions and cultural patterns which will really lead to a decrease in the occurrence of the known forms of criminality. It is to be hoped that it is this comprehension and not an increase in crime that will lead to enhanced realism.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

ROBERT GRAVES AND HIS HUNGARIAN PRIZE

The origins of the Robert Graves Prize for Best Hungarian Poem of the Year go back at least twenty years, to some small print in a publisher's contract which stipulated that royalties from future editions of Robert Graves' works be paid in Hungarian—that is, non-convertible—currency. Robert Graves, father of eight, and far from indifferent to the more mundane aspects of literature, nevertheless signed his name apparently without reading it, perhaps in a moment of inspiration, with the nonchalance of a high priest of the White Goddess who can slip into the fourth and fifth dimensions whenever he desires.

Even before the war of course he was well known here and in most European countries, as the author of historical novels, such as the Claudius books, *Count Belisarius* and others, which were reprinted in new editions in the improving climate of the sixties. The popular mythologies were also published, and some poems, translated by notable Hungarian poets, made their way into anthologies and literary magazines. By the time Robert and Beryl Graves paid their first visit to Hungary in 1968, the accumulated non-convertible royalties must have been quite considerable. Subsequent visits, Graves' appearances on Hungarian television, interviews he gave to the press, and his declared sympathy for the country as one of only three in the world (with Ireland and Wales) where poets are still held in high esteem, raised his popularity to amazing proportions. He attended an international meeting of poets in 1970, returned in 1971, and again in 1974 for National Book Week, to sign copies of a volume of his selected poems in Hungarian, published under the title *Symptoms of Love*, a volume which I edited and to which I wrote the introduction. The selection was at the time (and perhaps still is) the only foreign language volume of Graves' poems. People queued up in their hundreds to have their copies signed and his extraordinary face, framed by a huge black hat and a violet scarf, became so well known that he literally had to flee autograph-hunters on more than one occasion. By then Robert Graves, one of the finest lyric poets of the English language, may have been, for all I knew, a Hungarian millionaire.

It was toward the end of their first visit in 1968, on a two-day tour of the countryside, on a lovely hilltop terrace overlooking Lake Balaton that Beryl Graves suddenly interrupted her husband's animated soliloquy on the obvious relationship between excessive milk consumption and homosexuality in America, and remarked that they had a huge sum of Hungarian money to spend before leaving for Mallorca the next day. The poet seemed perplexed for a moment but, when told about his banal oversight years ago in not bothering to read some small print, his face lit up, and he tore a leaf off the walnut tree that was shad-

ing us from the spring sunshine, and rubbing the fragrant leaf between his fingers, he began pacing up and down on the terrace. A number of fantastic charitable suggestions followed—it is a pity I did not jot them down immediately afterwards. Among them there was the giving of all the money to the relatives of their Hungarian-born neighbour in Mallorca; but not knowing her maiden name, finding the relatives would have been impossible. They knew that I was at the time an elected high official of the financially deprived Hungarian SPCA, a fledgling organisation recently re-established by Countess Catherine Károlyi. It was suggested that the money be donated to the cause of suffering Hungarian animals. I could see in that crumpled but energetic, asymmetrical face that, however bizarre the idea was, it was still not quite the kind of thing that he would have liked to see his money invested in. The purchase of works of art or antiques was rejected as being too time-consuming. Then, in the silence that followed, I summoned all the insolence with which during their visit I had been trying to interest him in Hungarian poetry to a point where he would himself undertake some translations, took a deep breath and suggested that part of the money could be used for a yearly award to be given to some young Hungarian poet. Graves almost leapt with enthusiasm. In the next few minutes the Robert Graves Prize for Best Hungarian Poem of the Year was born.

The details were worked out on the way back to the capital. The poets Ágnes Nemes Nagy and Gábor Devecseri, whom he befriended during his stay, as well as myself, were appointed to serve as jurors. The value of the prize was fixed (it had to be doubled a few years ago, with the founder's consent, to balance inflation), and Robert Graves' birthday was appointed as the yearly date when it was to be presented. Robert then asked Beryl for a piece of paper, and right there beside me, in the front seat of the speeding car, without a moment's hesitation, he scribbled on his knee

— Requirements for a Poem —

Terse, Magyar, proud, all on its own,
Competing with itself alone,
Guiltless of greed,
And winged by its own need.
Robert Graves
Budapest May 8—1968 —

That is the charter of the Robert Graves Prize, written on his personal stationery. In the first line, *proud* had originally been *true* but was corrected on the spot; *Terse* came in the next day, with a different pen, to replace the original *Tense*. The manuscript was presented to me as a souvenir at his departure.

There were some legal and bureaucratic difficulties to overcome. It turned out that we had the first ever prize to be given regularly in Hungary by a foreign national. Gábor Devecseri, the poet and classical scholar, Hungarian translator of the complete Homer (who was able to quote Homer at any length, at any time, in the original as well as his own Hungarian, plus a number of English, French, and German translations), undertook the task of ironing out these obstacles. There was an immediate rapport between the two men; eventually, common interest in classical scholarship, as well as Devecseri's charm (and not my insolence), made Graves, a convinced non-believer in the translatability of lyrical poetry, suspend his non-belief and produce some brilliant translations of Hungarian poetry—a couple of poems by Devecseri. In 1971 Robert and Beryl Graves returned to Hungary with the sole purpose of visiting Devecseri, who was dying of cancer.

The first Robert Graves Prize of the Poets' Section of the Hungarian Writers' Association—that title being the eventual outcome of Devecseri's negotiations—was awarded on 26 July 1970. It had been decided that the elected chairman or secretary of the Poets' Section—usually a major poet— would be a non-voting member of the committee. During a visit to Budapest in 1984, Tomás

CANELLUÑ
DEYA
MALLORCA
SPAIN

— Requirements for a Poem —

2/ Terse, Magyar, ~~[illegible]~~ proud, all on its own,
Competing with itself alone,
Guiltless of greed
And winged by its own need.

Robert Graves

Budapest
May 8
— 1968 —

Graves, the son of the poet—and an aspiring printer who produces small amateur editions of poetry books at the New Seizin Press in Deya, Mallorca, hoping eventually to buy back the beautiful old press which Robert Graves and Laura Riding had once operated as The Seizin Press—and Tibor Szántó, the Hungarian typographer and printer, agreed to simultaneously publish in Deya and Budapest and in a limited edition of 300–300 copies, the collection of Graves Prize-winning poems in English and Hungarian, respectively. Both books will be designed by their respective printers, only the format is going to be identical. The present writer was asked to edit the books which are meant as tributes to Robert Graves' ninetieth birthday. In addition to the prize poems, one poem by each of the jurors who have served on the committee over the years,

as well as one by the present chairman of the Poets' Section, Sándor Csoóri, will be included. The translations are by British, American and Canadian poets who—with the sole exception of George Szirtes—do not know Hungarian and worked from rough literal versions. Each year the prize-winning poem has been published in the pages of this journal. Twice (in the cases of Zoltán Sumonyi and Tibor Zalán) other works by the poets had to be translated, because the ones chosen by the committee would have seemed obscure to those unacquainted with references to Hungarian history. The committee decided to award no prize in 1983 and made up for it next year by giving two.

The collection of prize-winning poems is, as it stands, a rather mixed bag. There are both long and short poems in it, and there is even a whole cycle. But more important than length is the obvious and inevitable unevenness in their quality. The committee's avowed purpose, to choose poets in need of encouragement and reputation, as well as the modest sum of money coming with this prize, those possibly whom official recognition has so far bypassed or not yet reached, is sometimes hard to achieve. Graves' charter stipulates that the prize be given to a poem, not a poet—but the best poems tend to be written by the best poets, and these are the ones who have already been generously rewarded with money, fame and official recognition. Some choices are the results of this or that kind of compromise, but others do stand up to Graves' "Requirements for a Poem."

The prize, though small and semi-official, has nevertheless assumed a certain importance in Hungarian literary life. Carrying with it some of Robert Graves' great prestige, as though it were really he who had chosen the winners, for many it is now a coveted sign of recognition. In spite of the obvious difference between the two poetic traditions, the one represented by Graves himself, and that of Hungarian poetry, born under tremendous historical pressure, Graves and the committee would quite certainly have agreed that the best poets in both traditions are the ones who have the courage to be their own truest selves.

Miklós Vajda

LANDS OF THE BIZARRE

Tibor Cseres: *Foksányi szoros* (Focșani Pass). Magvető, 1985. 319 pp.; Ádám Bodor: *Az Eufrátesz Babilonnál* (The Euphrates at Babylon). Szépirodalmi, 1985, 248 pp.; László Krasznahorkai: *Sátántangó* (Satan's Tango). Magvető, 1985, 330 pp.

Tibor Cseres celebrated his seventieth birthday not long ago with a new novel. As with other significant works of his, this too is a historical novel speaking to the present as well. It was more than twenty years ago that he wrote his *Hideg napok* (Cold Days) which, especially because of the film version by András Kovács, caused such a stir; it was one of the first important works to open up the theme of investigating the national consciousness, a theme that has still not been exhausted. "Cold Days" examined the responsibility of the Hungarian nation for the Second World War in relation to a massacre committed by Hungarian officers of the Horthy regime in a region with a mixed population re-annexed by Hungary following the German occupation of Yugoslavia.

Parázna szobrok (Lecherous Statues), published in 1979, also touched upon the problem of the role played by Hungary in the war, this time approaching the topic from the tragic destruction of the Second Hungarian Army fighting alongside the Germans against the Soviet Union. That catastrophe on the River Don, on which the full truth could not be told for various political reasons for a long time, was, in the early '80s, the topic of an autobiographical volume (by Iván Boldizsár), an historical documentary play (István Nemeskürty), and a TV documentary series (Sándor Sára), running parallel to Cseres's presentation.

During his historical investigation, Cseres was faced with facts and situations which forced him to go back to the events preceding. For what happened cannot be understood without investigating how the given conditions had come about. That recognition impelled him towards a heroic but almost impossible undertaking: by writing the unwritten memoirs of Lajos Kossuth, he tried to survey in a novel the process in which the shadow of the tragic events of the twentieth century were projected forth.

In Cseres's interpretation the root of the problems is the nationality question in East Central Europe. He makes an attempt to describe this tangle of problems, looking at it from the vantage point of today in this new novel of his, *Foksányi szoros* (Focşani Pass).

The time is 1877–78 and the scene is the Balkans. The long-awaited Russo-Turkish War has broken out. On one side is "the sick man of Europe," a Turkish empire finding it increasingly difficult to retain its position in the Balkans, on the other are the still occupied Balkan states and principalities or those whose autonomy is threatened: Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, Rumania, Greece are striving to gain or to strengthen their national sovereignty, and alongside them stands their mentor and ally, the citadel of Pan-Slavism, Russia.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire has a lopsided standpoint in this conflict: it is both obliged to Russia and yet it fears an excessive increase in its strength and influence on the Balkans. The Habsburgs tried to moderate Russia's desire to conquer through negotiations; at the same time, they did not stand up openly for Turkey either. Somewhat differing from the official Austrian–Hungarian viewpoint are the Hungarians who sympathize with the Turks. That feeling is secretly kindled by the Empire's foreign minister, Count Gyula Andrássy, a Hungarian. Cseres's novel describes the clandestine manœuvring that, with the approval of members of the highest circles sympathizing with Hungary, tries to promote the case of the Turks.

This episode, isolated and insignificant from a historical perspective, is referred to by the yet incomplete ten-volume "History of Hungary" in a single paragraph: "When, in the autumn of 1877, the attack of the Russian armies was stopped by the Turks at Plevna, opposition propaganda stirred a new anti-Russian wave in Hungary. Under the leadership of Gábor Ugron, a flexible character full of ideas, a few opposition leaders in Transylvania embarked on a direct, adventurous military undertaking. They tried to recruit in secret a mercenary company, consisting of a few hundred people in the land of the Székely, in order that—probably with arms bought with British money—they should break into Moldavia and cut off the only line of retreat of the Russian forces by blowing up one of the bridges across the Siret and initiate an armed revolt in Russian–Poland too. Kálmán Tisza [the Hungarian prime minister] had the recruiters arrested by gendarmes and their arms confiscated, thus putting an end to the last romantic plot in Hungarian history. Half a year later the 'patriots facing criminal prosecution' were granted a pardon without the completion of the proceedings."

Naturally, there is much more than that to those events and Tibor Cseres studied the sources carefully to be able to give as authen-

tic a rendering of the story as possible. However, this time he has not written a documentary novel as he had in *Én, Kossuth Lajos* (I, Lajos Kossuth), although his method here does recall his other work. Here, too, he narrates "the last romantic plot in Hungarian history" in the first person, as the fictitious account of one of the participants. The participant is a ficticious character too, created by Cseres in order to take the reader with his help to as many of the scenes of the events as possible; this character also unites threads which offer as complete a survey as possible by way of romantic complications, for which purpose none of the participants who may be traced in the documents available would have been suitable.

Cseres's interpretation of the events may also be considered to be novelistic, indeed almost romantic to some extent. The plotters, brave, bearded men, abandon their adventurous plot before it is discovered. The arms and the explosives have already been collected from the hiding places and all they have to do is to decide when they will blow up the key Siret Bridge in the Focșani Pass. However, they voluntarily abandon the action since during their reconnaissance in Moldavia they have come upon the situation and the lot of the Csángó Hungarians living there. Rumanian rule is jeopardizing the survival of this Hungarian group, cut off from the mother country long ago (or perhaps never really belonging to it). The men have already been recruited into the Rumanian army allied to the Russians; should a mercenary force from Transylvania break into Moldavia now, the lot of the Csángós would change for the worse. Their defencelessness is revealed to the leaders of the plot by a priest, a certain Ince János Petrás, who actually existed and was the outstanding contemporary collector of Csángó folk art. That his anxiety was justified is proved by the fact that even his cautious behaviour was not enough to prevent him being beaten to death soon after by unknown assailants in the name of Dacian nationalism. The Catholic bishop of Băcau ordered that it was forbidden even to pray in Hungarian in the churches. There is no real proof whether the leaders of the plot, two of whom, by the way, Miklós Bartha, a journalist, and Balázs Orbán, an ethnographer, are figures in Hungarian cultural history surrounded by legends whose roles have not been appreciated properly up to the present day, and the soon to be martyred Csángó priest really did meet and exercise an influence on the action planned. Even if that explanation is the fruit of the imagination of Cseres the novelist, it in no way reduces the artistic value of the solution. On the contrary, by mixing what is supported by historical sources with what might have been but cannot be proven beyond doubt, Cseres has written a story which is more than and different to what an authentic reconstruction of an equally romantic but still only peripheral episode would be. In actual fact, Cseres's story must reveal itself in the consciousness of the reader of today; the discriminating and thorough historical cast should satisfy the requirements of the reader of our day. "Speaking from behind" the contemporary viewpoint and language of the imagined story-teller pretended so excellently, the story teaches us how the interests of people in an exposed and dangerous situation must be taken into account in the maelstrom of warfare and nationalism before they are blindly sacrificed to the strategy of some doubtful political chess game. Besides the tendency of idealization, however, a disillusioning experience is also voiced: the Csángós' fate is to be discarded and those patriots paying heed to their interests are in actual fact unable to escape the influence of high politics.

Ádám Bodor was, up to recently, an important writer of the large Hungarian national minority in Rumania, a community which—like the Csángós of Ince János Petrás in Cseres's novel—are trying to preserve their nationality or ethnic consciousness in a foreign country. Born in 1936, the

writer settled in Hungary not long ago at the age of forty-six and a volume of short stories, *Az Eufrátesz Babilonnál* (The Euphrates at Babylon), has been published in Budapest. These short stories are still noticeably the fruits of the experience of a national minority and this experience will probably remain the decisive one for Ádám Bodor for as long as he lives.

On the surface these writings are difficult to localize. They may take place anywhere and even when their location may be roughly defined from certain hints, Ádám Bodor carefully avoids supplying more precise geographical coordinates. Even if the scene is East Central Europe, it is at the same time an unusual, unidentifiable phantom to some extent at least. Occasionally the location is not in Central Europe, on the basis of the external features, but may be supposed to be in Asia, Persia, or in the Caucasus; yet even then, the exotic scene is not a real geographical place. The locations for the short stories of Bodor are, together with all their realistic paraphernalia, abstract scenes, the vehicles of artistic expression. "The Euphrates at Babylon" may be seen on a colour print and it pushes into a timeless perspective the event which is otherwise very much bound to time and place: the father of the storyteller, an adolescent boy, is taken away in a black rear-engined Tatra car made in Czechoslovakia. The mountain in *A Zangezur hegység* (The Zangezur Mountains), the author writes, "is in Bodor, just like the panthers that have died out. It seems that Ádám Bodor has created several mountains, plains, towns—but in a shy manner has given them the names of those existing already. He is a realist of that type."

In these locations, floating somewhere between fantasy and reality, characters with strange names appear to whom strange things happen; the strangeness lies in the fact that it seems that nothing happened to them. In *A barátkozás lehetőségei* (The Chances of Making Friends) the strangely-named Mr Emerik, the owner of a small house in a small town, calls upon his tenant with the equally strange name of Amiras, to go swimming with him. Mr Amiras succumbs to Mr Emerik's incomprehensible desire to come closer to him but is unable to return it. "You are unable to make friends, Amiras, said Mr Emerick. Tell me, what is bothering you?" — "I don't know, Mr Emerik. I don't know what's the matter with me."

In *Régi vendég* (An old guest) a man is sitting with a woman in the kitchen of a strange flat at night. The bell rings. Someone arrives stating that he frequently sleeps in the flat of Harkály. They usually spend the two-day holidays together. Actually he only asks for a key to the gate and then leaves immediately. The man and the woman remain alone in the flat again which perhaps belongs to someone who is in prison. "What do you think that man is doing with our key?"—asks the woman. — "He either opens the gate with it or I don't know. But we have a spare key anyway."

Such bizarre Bodorisms make the reader sense a distance between them and their subjects. The facts of being imprisoned, deported, cast aside, observed, of being part or victim of a plot are what loom behind the seemingly meaningless or mysterious sketches of situations; all this dissembling, shiftiness, grotesque absurdity threateningly refer to something that is missing, some kind of mystery which we are better off not knowing about. *Részleg* (Unit),* for example, is about the transfer of one Gizella Weisz. She is praised for her managerial skills and then sent off to a new post. Gizella Weisz is passed on from increasingly cruder heads of units to managers of more and more remote and dirtier units which bear more and more similarities to concentration camps. Finally she ends up in a crater of the Carpathian Mountains where her only companion—or is he a lover or subordinate?—is someone who cringes in fear, living like a hunted animal.

*This story will appear in *NHQ* 101. — *The Editor.*

What her crime or commission is and why she has been ordered to that distant unit remains a mystery; we seem to be confronted with the complete absurdity of her mission along with her and, like her, be resigned to the fact that from now on she must live here and, if possible, preserve herself better than this unknown man who has sunk to the level of the weasels living in the place. All the few hints that are dropped tell us is that this is some time after the death of Stalin. The only book the otherwise polite heads of units do not confiscate from Gizella Weisz is *Questions of Leninism.*

A testőrparancsnok magánya (The loneliness of the bodyguard commander) takes place somewhere in America where Indians live in the jungle and dictators have their "lonely" henchmen set up television footage on how they are loved by the people so that whenever they descend among the people they are presented with tapir cubs in token of gratitude. Ádám Bodor's Kafkaesque parables (compare Kafka's *The Penal Colony*) make the occasional switch to an eerie morbidity.

Beside the political nightmares taking place in a suffocating atmosphere, there are also more lyrical, though no less bizarre, vision-like scenes. *A Zangezur hegység* (The Zangezur Mountains), which is set somewhere in Armenia, is about an older and a younger man who are fighting for a woman. For the time being, Metaksza belongs to the older man; while living there at the foot of a barren mountain which they are trying to make fertile by laying out irrigation pipes, he is pretending that panthers are still lurking around the house at night although he believes that they had already died out. The reader, together with his assistant, the younger man, can conjecture that dreaming the panthers back is an attempt at reviving his virility. The stake itself is referred to only in such an indirect manner in the story which in fact is about nothing but the scenery and daily routine of work.

The finest story in the collection is *Gyergyó éghajlata* (Gyergyó's climate). This time, exceptionally, the story has a specific locale, in the Gyergyó Mountains where the River Maros rises; it takes place in winter, in extremely cold weather. At sunset an elderly knife-thrower and his woman assistant are on their way somewhere, perhaps to their next performance. Their progress through the snow and the nonsense they talk, which at the beginning seems merely bizarre, at one point is transmuted into a hallucination —without the reader noticing it; we seem to have become the participants of a fantasy preceding death by freezing. Every now and then the woman squats down to pee. The man tries to find refuge from the dark and the cold in a rabbit hutch. The next morning the woman is found frozen, in a squatting position, by peasant children. "They lifted her into the air by holding her under the arms, her two hands were in her pockets, her bag was on her arm. Her legs remained curved as if she was still squatting. When she was put down on the ground in the yard she did not tip over." Later she is tipped over by geese that "just kept knocking at her." This time, the story has an anecdotal core but Bodor compares that to his own world too: here the aim is not the lifelikeness of a punchline but the insinuation of the absurd, which has become everyday, the absurdly trivial relationships. At first sight these stories take place in a no man's land but they obviously stem from the world of experiences, where the decisive factor is fate bound to place and time. This too is Kafka: the transmutation of concrete personal life-situations into ghostly visions.

A hypnotic vision is the first novel written by the young László Krasznahorkai, *Sátántangó* (Satan's tango). It takes place in a miserable, makeshift, temporary farm-like place where some time ago agricultural hired workers used to live as well as the rootless who left the village not long ago, and have not yet found their way to a town. We are not told where it is, though it becomes obvious from a few hints that it is somewhere in Hun-

gary. One of the virtues of "Satan's tango" is that its extremely careful and detailed representation creates an atmosphere which is unmistakably Hungarian and at the same time East Central European; there are hardly any features that limit its validity sociologically. The settlement could be anywhere else in the world but it would still be in Hungary.

An effective device of the writer is the continuous rain in the course of the few days of the story; the rain washes away the outlines that define form in the strict sense of the word. In one of the most memorable chapters, the characters are fumbling about in fog, in that fog they see a vision that would fit well in a romantic melodrama; in this way a ruined Hungarian chateau on the Hungarian Plain and the surrealist happening are in a magic harmony with each other.

No matter how important the location is, what binds the characters in "Satan's tango" is, in an almost classical manner, the characters themselves, the human figures. Their relationship to their environment is somewhat similar to that of the figures in Faulkner's novels, indeed, the Faulkner parallel occurs in other ways too. Here the figures are to some extent creatures of their circumstances, they appear before us in close interaction with them, yet they are still fully individualized, sovereign beings even though their sovereignty may consist only of so many versions of helplessness, fetteredness, damnation.

"Satan's tango" is a satanical redemption novel, an East Central European *Waiting for Godot*. The dwellers of that devastated, weather-beaten place in the middle of nowhere, of whom there is a dozen at most, receive word that the great Irimias and his companion, Petrina, are on their way to them. They respected Irimias almost as a superior being and their shock is all the greater since they had believed him to have died. Now in an almost doomsday mood they wait for him to arrive.

Irimias, a seemingly great but actually small-time swindler, who himself is in the hands of police clerks of no greater power, does arrive and preaches his utopia with great eloquence. Here too Krasznahorkai skilfully strikes a balance between empty words saying nothing and attractive, almost convincing promises, concrete, practical objectives and mirage-like phrases. Naturally, the people believe him and follow him, each chasing his own fantasy, although deep in their souls they have already been broken irrevocably and they believe in themselves much less than in Irimias and his skilfully drawn future. Finally Irimias, on the pretext of a primitive lie, scatters the dwellers of the settlement into different distant villages, bidding them to wait and be patient, essentially to wait for further miracles. We do not learn from the novel what his actual intentions are and who he actually is, although his certain charismatic effect cannot be denied; neither do we learn a great many other, seemingly important things, which is all the more surprising since the description of the situation is otherwise extremely detailed and precise. Nor does it come to light what was the resolution or fate that condemned the settlement to death for years; it is not revealed what their connection with Irimias was beforehand, where Irimias is coming from (prison?), what hold his petty commissioners have over him. Krasznahorkai, as it were, exists in the momentary present of the settlement, makes its horizon and mythology his own and thus describes the events of this Satan's tango, a kind of *perpetuum mobile*, danced by itself for time everlasting.

Krasznahorkai's originality extends to his structure, reflected in the table of contents. Rather than a table of contents proper, there is the word *táncrend* (dance-card), which has twelve "steps" from I to VI (Part One), and then backwards from VI to I (Part Two). The individual chapters relate the partially parallel actions of the various characters. One of these is the doctor, an eccentric who remains outside the events until the very end. For years he has been sitting in his room

with the requisites of his mole-like existence; behind the ramparts of his notes and drinks, petrified in a self-destructive, contemplative immobility, he registers the stirs of the life of the settlement. In the last chapter ("The circle is closed") it is revealed that what we have read is actually the work of the doctor; the story is that which is embarked on by the doctor at the end of the novel, boarding up his door and thus condemning himself to death. We know and, as the gesture of burying himself alive indicates, he knows too that writing the novel will not change the situation, everything will remain as it was: the figures will be unable to break free of their fate, they will only keep dancing the prescribed steps of Satan's tango, in spite of the sacrifice of someone for them. Christ appears in the novel not only through the blasphemous figure of Irimias. A half-witted girl goes through a real Passion, when she finally loses hope of having herself recognized as a human being by her environment. At first she tastes the experience of superiority through strangling and poisoning a cat, finally she kills herself with the same rat poison. "On the third day" she rises from the dead; Irimias and his helpers—he has by now recruited the girl's brother—witness her ascension in an eerie scene.

"Satan's Tango" looks like being a milestone in Hungarian fiction. With it a novel has been born which, constructed from the elements of Hungarian rural life, down to the minute details of its material, is lifted to the height of a human parable of universal validity.

MIKLÓS GYÖRFFY

THE VOICE IS THE POET

Győző Csorba: *Görbül az idő* (Time is Bending). Magvető, 1985, 152 pp.; Sándor Csoóri: *Kezemben zöld ág* (A Green Bough in my Hand). Magvető, 1985, 108 pp.

Hungarian poetry is going through a process of change. Anyone knowledgeable on contemporary foreign literatures would say that nothing could be more natural since poetry has been in a permanent process of change all during this century. The rejection of form, the rejection of accepted modes of expression has been a feature of the twentieth century. However, Hungarian poetry has not been parallel or identical with very similar developments in the important literary languages (French, English, German) or even with Spanish and Portuguese. The avantgarde appeared in Hungary in the early 1910s and produced one poet of real talent, Lajos Kassák, who established a trend, but his liberating influence did not eliminate or eclipse traditional poetical forms, as happened elsewhere; he simply made them more fertile. Indeed, in the 1920s and especially in the 1930s Kassák's influence produced a reaction against avantgardism even among poets and a loyalty to traditions which tied them even closer to poetic realism. This reaction, this rejection of the avantgarde and conservatism became even stronger in the 40s and 50s, as a result of Stalinist arts policy; hence a second wave of the avantgarde, which was a feature of both French and German poetry after the Second World War, hardly affected Hungarian lyrical poetry, and when it did, what it produced was not published. It did emerge, however, veiled and transposed, as unorganized, spontaneous verse structure, expressionism, period romantism, a new Art Nouveau or in the use of folk art forms combined with surrealism. However, if one compares the more or less similar form-language of Western lyrical poetry to twentieth-century Hungarian poetry, the

latter will seem more traditional and formal than the others. This is a Hungarian and, from a more general aspect, an Eastern European feature. Another particularity is that the Hungarian language lends itself well to any kind of rhythm and is very rich in rhymes; poets like to avail themselves of these potentials.

Yet, the reasons for the present change should not be sought for in the now freely-conducted struggle with formal tradition (even in the loosest sense) or the avantgarde or neo-avantgarde. These reasons can be found much more in the changed relationship between poet and poetry, in the disillusionment caused by semantics which, realizing the separation of *sign* and *meaning*, may consider all poetry of the past as falsification, trick and deception, and think that if the poetic work is nothing more than a "text" (namely, an entity existing in itself without any relation to human reality), then every text or image consisting of letters, every poster or riddle produced in verse is a poem. (Tristan Tzara said roughly the same well over seventy years ago).

In the depth of the *Sturm und Drang* which has now emerged among young poets this is the dominant attitude. But there is also another attitude which is very much alive, is opposed to this, and has added significantly to contemporary Hungarian poetry. Those who write in this manner also know the difference between sign and meaning, they feel the semantic torture of being able to communicate only what language permits them to express (and even this with some falsification), yet these poets, followers of a great tradition, are struggling to make the poem as authentic as possible. The poet should make every possible effort to say what he wants to say, convey his message in the tersest manner. Even if we recognize the problem of poetic language as described by linguistics, we should not abandon our struggle but continue to do our best just as our forerunners, the great poets, did.

This duality in attitude widens the range of contemporary Hungarian poetry and—as it opposes young and older poets—it allows the one of two conclusions to be drawn, that the poetic mode of expression is changing or that it renews itself under the influence of a radical ambition to change.

The two poets to be discussed belong to the conservative camp of moderns: both are mature masters; their new books show that their work has increased in value.

It frequently happens that youth and old age are the most fertile periods for the writing of poetry: the splendid time of discovering the world and its rediscovery before leaving it. Mature adulthood is often accompanied by poetic desiccation. Many a poetic career is an eloquent example of this but it would not be helpful to cite names since, there being as many poetic careers as poets, it is a statement easily refuted.

Győző Csorba's* new volume, *Time is Bending*, offers an eloquent demonstration of my hypothesis; indeed, after a certain restraint in his youth, old age has brought in him a feverish outburst of lyricism. To be sure, Győző Csorba was always among the few poets whose work could be counted among the significant, even as a young man. As the years went by, his books showed that he was resisting the lure of popularity; he remained simple and laconic and preferred his own hard way to the wish to please. Following the examples of Babits and Milán Füst, Csorba produced a more objective and hermetic poetry than was the general fashion in the 1930s and 40s. He was much less productive than his more spontaneous contemporaries but, after he reached the age of fifty, his whole attitude changed. *Anabasis* (1972) contained a lyrical realization which suddenly changed both his style and productivity. In the fourteen years since then, Csorba has produced significantly more works than during all the years before. What is more, he has managed to avoid the deterioration which is the sad lot of many poets

* See poems by Csorba in *NHQ* 40.

intoxicated by their own voice and facility; his poems increased not only in number but in quality. The precise workmanship, simplicity and straightforwardness much praised by critics, which have always characterized his style, became suddenly more passionate and exciting. The change lay in a small nuance—the voice, the restrained manner of speech remained the same: his matter-of-factness is still there, he prefers to say less rather than more, but his tone is a shade deeper; perhaps as a consequence of his disciplined terseness, his voice is huskier than it was. If that change were not in poetry, one would not notice it, but in poetry the secret meaning of a quickened pulse does not remain hidden. It vibrates in the lines, breaks through them and forces itself on the reader and puts fire to the noble but slightly cool material of Csorba's poems. It becomes burningly important also for us, readers.

Perhaps a short excerpt, even in prose translation, can convey an idea of the essence of this poetry: "Birdcatching, blossoming fruit-trees the scent of humid grass spring / it is April now / it is you I ought / to write a poem about, a spring poem / but for several days / I am going always back to the same mouldly trunk / which yet for all that grows a crown / and although its being all but the land of decay / it raises life high / as the arm of an old woman a basket of flowers." (April Variations). This is a kind of self-description but the poet has also more direct formulations of his experience: "In the state of being doomed to death / and later when all will be lost / things rise in their splendour... / And the present vision of memory radiates brilliant beauty..." (Memory of the Present). The same powerful attitude to life which occurs earlier and is at the root of his new upswing, is summarized in his book *Time is Bending* in these words: "While space and time loosen / the wonderful / everyday brilliance / perceived by my senses and supersenses / gathers strength and condenses / they have never been sharper / I have an accurate watch / and keep glancing at it / how to further enrich / the tiny pockets / of the already overswollen moment / and cleverly trick death / if with nothing else then / with the flame and colour / of my passion..."

The state of being foredoomed, the condition of every living being which we ignore, was experienced by Csorba deeply as a child. I believe that this is the reason for a basic philosophical attitude which reverts again and again to the vital questions. A brightening of the world and a radiance projected on memories is a more recent experience of his. The elevating and catharctic effect of his poetry resides in this ability of his to reveal with a restrained radiance this world, doomed to destruction, and its real laws of existence. *Time is Bending* is evidence for the growing suggestiveness of this effect with the shortening of time and of its realization in definite formulations.

Sándor Csoóri's *A Green Bough in My Hand* disproves my thesis how poetry dries up in adulthood; mature manhood may, in fact, bring a splendid, fertile period. Csoóri belongs to the generation who were children living through the dénouement of the Second World War. He became a poet in the early fifties, a period full of rules prescribing how and what to write and what a proper poetic attitude was. This is not the best start but, after a short exploratory period, Csoóri cast off the fetters of rules and released his naturally poetic vision which creates the impression that there is some anti-matter in him which is in contradiction with our material world. It is not so much a different human quality as a different configuration of atoms which makes him produce a spark at every touch. This is the source of his unusual, sometimes bizarre verse-forms, bold associations and perturbing, surrealistic imagery. His delicate malaise and his alienation from himself also derive from this same source. In a postscript to an earlier volume, *Párbeszéd sötétben* (Dialogue in the Dark) he himself defined it as: "I don't understand it.

I understand nothing ... Emptiness, everywhere emptiness. Discernible homelessness in words, looks and thoughts. Homelessness in writing, in love, in the house I can call mine." This is a bitter confession but subjective emptiness is anything but objective emptiness, on the contrary. Homelessness is in reality a feverish search for a home.

During the thirteen years since *Dialogue in the Dark*, Csoóri's world has changed perceptibly. He has found his home in words, and probably also in his house. His alienness has disappeared, he has become one of us, a poet on an earthly scale. As *Elmaradt lázálom* (Cancelled Nightmare) and a few poems of *A Green Bough in My Hand* recount, he experienced a tragedy which would deprive most of us of the power of speaking about it. He accompanied a loved one through a terminal illness. This is something for which not everyone could find words. Yet Csoóri did find a way of talking about it; his matter-of-fact method and elegiacal coolness helped him to handle the experience. He found the suitable natural, everyday words which were also capable of suggesting the depth of his feeling. "Whom can I tell that you have been dead for two hours already? / I can tell only myself: the first alien." Or in *The Sunday Before Christmas:* ... "What shall I buy you? / The sky is open, the shops are open. / A little more life, if that were possible, / Pine-needle-scented, for Christmas is coming ..." (Translated by William Jay Smith. See these and some other new poems by Csoóri in *NHQ* 92.)

The lesson from the above can be generalized, as *A Green Bough in My Hand* shows. His experience makes Csoóri speak in a deeply poetic but apparently natural language. This is not a mode of expression that can be called to be easy or self-evident. Poets, even the most modern, seldom employ the language of common speech. They aim higher, they condense and crystallize their feelings in images, and with deliberate structuring filter out every superfluous element which may inevitably float into their monologue. A poem is a prepared speech even if its form is that of "small talk."

That poetic speech with a natural effect which is Csoóri's forte, is the sign of rare ability and maturity. Poets do not begin their career with this kind of writing, they only reach that stage. Dezső Kosztolányi (1885–1936) called it a tight-rope walker's stunt, a brilliant sleight-of-hand. This is true *par excellence* of Csoóri. His poem starts generally from a simple perception of a situation, a momentary observation or experience perceived by a receptive, "soft, lyrical temperament"; it rises to the higher levels of thought and consciousness, without losing this receptivity and reaches subjects which permeate our emotional world today: the questions of one's existence, affiliation, tasks and place. There is something pleasantly intimate in the way in which a human being—a special human being of course—reveals himself to us in this pleasingly simple manner of speech, albeit there is a perceptible trait of surrealism in it. His hidden but splendidly and exceptionally strong poetic talent is such that we are not conscious of being spoken to in poetry.

Regardless of further changes, these new books from Csoóri and Csorba will remain important examples of Hungarian poetry.

BALÁZS LENGYEL

A MONETARY SYSTEM WITH A DIFFERENCE: A DIAGNOSIS

Imre Vincze: *The International Payments and Monetary System in the Integration of the Socialist Countries.* Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, and Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, The Hague, 1984, 185 pp.

The crisis of the world monetary system, as originally constituted at Bretton Woods after the war by Keynes et al., is something of a commonplace. Sensing the first winds of the Cold War, the Soviet Union and the countries which joined it in the CMEA* had steered clear of the Bretton Woods institutions, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. The Bretton Woods system has collapsed; yet some CMEA member countries have recently joined the IMF and the World Bank (Rumania, Hungary), or have applications pending (Poland). Given this, the Western reader may well wonder whether the CMEA group has managed to create a monetary system of its own, and, if so, how it has fared.

Imre Vincze, until recently a Deputy Finance Minister, combines the knowledge of a theoretician with the insights of one who has had a great deal of first-hand experience of how the CMEA monetary system operates in actual practice. His book is on the CMEA as a whole; remarks on Hungary are neither more nor less frequent than on any other member country.

Let us first turn to Part II, a concise description of the CMEA member countries' economic achievements and their economic mechanisms (how the authorities control and manage the economy, including its foreign relations), and of the distinctive features of intra-CMEA cooperation. The key features are: (1) The bulk of the means of production being in social ownership, the state administration has the effective right of disposal over the products and enjoys a foreign trade monopoly. Goods earmarked for export pass through a state foreign trade organization, in which a slice of the state monopoly is vested. (The practice, increasingly widespread in Hungary, of assigning foreign trading rights to some of the goods-producing enterprises is a difference in degree, not in kind.) (2) Each economy is centrally planned; with the exception of Hungary, many plan targets are fixed in physical volume rather than in value (money) terms. (3) The single most important mechanism of economic cooperation within the CMEA is the coordination of the member countries' five-year plans; this produces, among other things, a set of bilateral five-year foreign trade plans, one between each pair of member countries. These are broken down into yearly protocols, which specify the bulk of trade, again in volume terms for most goods (and for all the crucial ones such as fuels and raw materials). It is a principle that year-end trade balances between any two countries should be zero; the largely unintentional year-end deficits or surpluses settled by financial transfers are minor. The yearly trade protocols therefore operate as a rather rigid and comprehensive quota system. (4) As a result, intra-CMEA trade is almost entirely bilateral (that is, the goods supplied by country A to country B are paid for in goods delivered by B to A, rather than by

* The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) was founded in 1949 by Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the Soviet Union. The GDR joined the CMEA in 1950, Mongolia in 1962, Cuba in 1972 and Vietnam in 1978. Albania, still a full *de jure* member, has not participated in any activities since 1962.

financial transfers detached from the concrete goods movements). (5) Even more importantly, the member countries typically do not produce surpluses of goods which they would be ready to sell intra-CMEA and which another CMEA country would want to purchase.

Let us now return to Part I, which deals with the nuts and bolts of the intra-CMEA monetary system. The CMEA group's common currency is the transferable rouble issued by the International Bank for Economic Cooperation, one of the two CMEA banks. One such rouble is worth 0.987412 gramme of fine gold. Transferable roubles do not exist as banknotes or coins, any more than ECUs or SDRs do; nor can they actually be converted to gold. Its statutes permit the Bank to operate much as any major international bank, yet the bulk of its business involves the bilateral clearing of the member countries' trade. Clearing is mainly bilateral since, under the rigid yearly trade protocols; so is trade between any two countries. If, in a given year, country A earns a surplus in its trade with country B, this obliges B to step up its deliveries to A sufficiently to restore the balance in the following year. None of the other member countries is motivated in the least to supply goods against A's outstanding transferable rouble claim, the less so since, in the normal run of things, there are no desirable goods available against transferable roubles, over and above the volumes fixed in the yearly protocols. The result is quasi-total bilateralism in settlements as well as in trade.

The other CMEA bank, the International Investment Bank, grants medium- and long-term credits for projects furthering the intra-CMEA division of labour, in fuels and raw materials production above all. Of its capital, 70 per cent was paid in in transferable roubles, the rest in gold or convertible currency. Credits granted by this Bank rose from 83 million transferable roubles in 1971–1973 to 2.7 billion transferable roubles at the end-of 1981. Almost 80 per cent of total lending went to just two fuel and energy projects.

In spite of this rapid expansion, the operation of this Bank is not without problems. The member country which supplies goods to another member country against an International Investment Bank credit acquires a claim which it cannot, in actual practice, for the reasons of bilaterality set forth above, use to buy the goods that it wants in its turn. Thus it is the supplier country rather than the Bank which becomes the *de facto* creditor, even if it had no earthly wish of assuming that position.

What is the role of exchange rates in the CMEA? Most of intra-CMEA trade is denominated in transferable roubles, and a small percentage in a convertible currency. Foreign trade prices are not transmitted to the domestic economy direct, via a single self-consistent set of exchange rates, but through foreign trade multipliers which typically differ from one goods group to another and from one partner country to another, in what is in effect a many-tier exchange rate system. The foreign trade multipliers may be backed up or replaced by financial bridges (subsidies/withholdings), which also differ typically between groups of goods an partner countries. These devices isolate domestic economies from the international, and even from the intra-CMEA, trade medium. Even in trade and transfers generated by two or more member countries' joint investments or joint economic organizations, effective rates of conversion are fixed by special agreements, often case by case.

All this places stringent limitations on what the transferable rouble can do. In Vincze's view, "it is neither correct nor necessary to assert that the transferable rouble is money in the same sense as the convertible currencies of the market-economy world are." Not only is the transferable rouble not convertible; it is not even *de facto* transferable, as long as claims denominated in transferable roubles cannot be used to ac-

quire desirable goods or services. The conversion of national currencies into transferable roubles and back is practically confined to non-commercial transactions, the bulk of which are connected with intra-CMEA tourism, but even such transactions are bilaterally cleared and often subject to quotas.

The overall picture, authoritatively painted, then, is of a group of countries whose preoccupation with the planned, material processes of the economy has kept their commodity-and-money relations rather rudimentary (as compared, say, with the EEC). Yet the CMEA group does have an international monetary system *sui generis*. The ways in which economic relations within and between the member countries are planned and managed constitute a self-consistent system, from which the monetary system cannot and should not be isolated. Any significant alteration of the monetary system presupposes changing the entire interconnected set of instruments and methods of intra-CMEA economic relations.

The CMEA group's preoccupation with planning is adequately motivated by the Marxist thesis that social distribution, anarchic under capitalism, has to be highly organized under socialism. Organized social distribution has brought sizeable benefits to the CMEA member countries (rapid economic growth; low inflation, if any; full employment). Yet—Vincze makes the point tellingly—at the stage of development actually attained by the CMEA group, the lack of monetary sophistication is becoming more and more of a drag on economic cooperation. The same point was officially made in the Comprehensive Programme of Cooperation and Integration, a key CMEA document adopted in 1971. Yet, owing to the enormous inertia of the material economy, to vested interests and to the deterioration of world economic conditions, little enough progress has been made in modernizing the intra-CMEA monetary system. Even the Hungarian economy, which in its internal mechanisms relies on monetary/financial instruments more than any other CMEA economy, adapts in its intra-CMEA cooperation relations to the overwhelmingly natural (volumewise) and bilateral determination of economic transactions within the group.

The future is examined in Part III of the book. The goal is stated by the Comprehensive Programme: "financial, monetary and credit relations should have a more active role in accomplishing... the further development... of planned economic cooperation and of the socialist economic integration." Intra-CMEA, any such development must be the result of planned and coordinated efforts.

A key development envisioned is the multilateralization of settlements, backed up by appropriate goods movements. This can be achieved either by the planned ex-ante multilateral (rather than bilateral) balancing of goods movements or by giving money a greater role. Vincze feels that the first alternative would be so complicated as to be self-defeating; he prefers the second, which would also do away with the necessity of regimenting intra-CMEA trade, with the possible exception of a few crucial and eminently plannable goods or goods groups.

One way of making claims in transferable roubles endorsable (that is, exchangeable against a reasonably broad range of goods) would be if the holders of such claims could call on 10 to 30 per cent of those (Vincze would prefer 25 per cent) in a convertible currency or in gold.

As to making the transferable rouble convertible, Vincze points out that, as long as that currency is principally a means of recording trade transactions and of accounting, and no general equivalent or general means of purchase of a wide enough range of goods, it cannot be made really convertible. Making it so would presuppose that the member countries opt for unique, self-consistent exchange rates and for fulfilling the conditions thereof, including internationally self-consistent patterns of producer prices, productivity and income levels, etc.

The resulting harmony of international and domestic prices would greatly increase the flexibility of foreign trade, with foreign goods competing in the domestic markets and markets competing for domestic goods.

In a more general way, activating the role of money presupposes that (a) mandatory directives concerning production, marketing and consumption should be limited, as a condition for money taking the role of the chit as a device of allocation, (b) firms should be comparatively free to purchase and sell goods abroad, and (c) "the member countries should be prepared to conduct their international trade basically without administrative limitations." Conditions include "relatively high labour productivity, relatively abundant supplies of products and currency reserves." In other words, the key difference between the highly monetarized economies of the West and the planned economies of the CMEA group is the difference between consumerism and inequitable overabundance on the one side and a much more equitable distribution of scantier goods on the other.

Documents like Vincze's book show that, in the CMEA group, too, first-rate brains are at work bending monetary mechanisms to the use of the socialist societies. They justify the hope that the higher level of sophistication inherent in higher-level monetarization will be attained in the fullness of time; yet, realistic as they are, they also make it clear that getting there will be a long, hard slog.

BÁLINT BALKAY

The New Hungarian Quarterly

1985 BACK NUMBERS

Articles on the economy

The Economic Conditions of East-West Relations and Hungarian Economic Growth .... *Béla Kádár* *NHQ* 97
Hungary and the Transnational Corporations .... *Zoltán Krasznai* *NHQ* 97
Economic Growth and Equilibrium .... *Ferenc Havasi* *NHQ* 98
Planning and Economic Policy .... *Ákos Balassa* *NHQ* 99
Hungarian Investment Policy .... *Imre Bartha* *NHQ* 99
Cooperatives in the Hungarian Economy .... *István Szlameniczky* *NHQ* 99

Back numbers, $ 4 per copy, available from

KULTURA FOREIGN TRADE COMPANY

H–1389 Budapest,
P.O.B. 149
Hungary

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE AND EUROPEAN CULTURE

New Dimensions in the Preservation of Monuments in Hungary

At a time when delegates from the countries of Europe are convening in Hungary in order to search for the ways of peaceful coexistence and a secure future on this continent, starting out from what connects them all, that is a common European culture, it seems timely to discuss one of the most important elements of Hungarian culture: our architectural heritage, its function and its future.

It has taken centuries for the nations of Europe to recognize what the architectural elements that have come down to us from earlier times mean in terms of history, aesthetics, feelings and ethics—having finally realized that they are carriers of the sense of identity. As a consequence, the idea of the protection of historical monuments has taken on new dimensions. A process of re-evaluation is going on in Europe with regard to the historical architectural environment in its totality.

There is a growing recognition of the fact that towns and villages that have gradually come into being in the course of centuries offer, in many respects, more favourable conditions for communal life than newly built ones can. Unesco, meeting in Nairobi in 1976, argued that traditional towns and villages posses inherent values that are the best safeguards against a growing uniformity of life, against depersonalisation, and that they provide the most important basis for a diversity of life-styles, the survival of various cultures, and a sense of national identity.

In a historically developed settlement, it is not only some individual buildings scheduled as historical monuments, or groups of such buildings, that constitute valuable assets, but the whole of such an environment. Such an environment is a society-shaping force; it strengthens a sense of belonging and makes it possible to develop and pass on to coming generations the ways of home-making, life-styles, and traditions. At the same time, the vast mass of edifices that it contains is not to be neglected from the economical and financial aspects either. It becomes ever clearer that there is no realistic and reasonable alternative to the rehabilitation of such architectural surroundings.

Because of the process of re-evaluation of the architectural heritage in Hungary, during the last twenty years the institutions responsible for the preservation of historical monuments have had to face repeated challenges.

In the first twenty-five years after the war, the authorities for the institutionalized protection of monuments were effectively reorganized. Attention was focussed on basic tasks, such as organization, legislation, the principles and methods to be adopted, a scholarly survey and registering of historical monuments, and the renovation of the most important ones. The results

achieved include a complex institutional framework that in more than one respect is unique in Europe: modern and effective legislation concerning the protection of historical monuments, the ten-volume topographical survey of historical monuments in Hungary, and the renovation of a great many buildings, carried out remarkably well both from a scholarly and a methodological point of view, and parallel with this, the training of qualified craftsmen.

From the sixties onwards, news of Hungarian achievements have reached beyond the borders, and Hungarian experts in the field have taken an increasingly active role in the work of ICOMOS, the international organization of monument protection founded in 1964. By way of a closing event of this period, and also in appreciation of its achievements, the third general meeting of the international organization was held in Budapest in 1972.

One subject on the agenda of the general meeting indicated the expanding scope of monument protection as early as that: the connection of past and present in the historical environment. Some of the ideas from an address I gave there might still be of relevance today:

"The origins of the problem we are dealing with are therefore to be found at a far deeper level. They are to be sought for in the present crisis affecting the whole of human existence, and the key to their solution must lie in those hopes which enable us to go on living. We must therefore fight with every means in our power to achieve a balance between the economic and technical expansion of our age and the moral, spiritual and cultural development of man. Of decisive importance among these means are the preservation of mans's cultural heritage—of which monuments are an important part—and its incorporation into life. The protection of monuments must be viewed not as something which concerns the past but as something which belongs to the future, and the ancient centres which fulfil a fundamental human need must be made an integral part of man's environment."

"The apparent resurrection of vanished treasures must certainly not lead anyone to suppose that war and violence are incapable of inflicting on human culture a damage so great that the next generation cannot repair it, since with the constant progress of technology monuments may now rise up again as though by magic. We do not believe that the value of copies as symbols is really sufficient justification for them. Humanity is still under the shadow of the nuclear catastrophe, and the symbols it needs are those which will enable it to see the barbarous destruction of man and of human values as an irremediable crime. In place of those treasures which have been swept away, architects and protectors of monuments must offer nothing else than the art and architecture of their own age."

These thoughts may not have lost their actuality, and the principles on which they are based are those that monument protection in Hungary has adopted and professes to this day.

The roughly fifteen years that have passed since saw much less spectacular work. After the outstanding and novel achievements of the previous period of twenty-five years, there began a time when those achievements have been put to use in everyday work, and new tasks have been marked out as a result of the expanding dimensions of monument protection, to which I have already referred.

It has been of decisive importance in all respects that, during the past ten years, a new generation has started work on both the high and the middle-level in the National Inspectorate for Historical Monuments, the Hungarian organization responsible for the protection of monuments.

The organization itself has also undergone some minor changes, yet its basic principles and composition have remained the same. However, of the sections attending

to actual renovation work and the supervision of historical monuments, the emphasis has gradually shifted to the latter, and policies concerning the preservation of architectural monuments have become more and more detailed.

Political and social bodies have become increasingly concerned with monument protection. Consultations with county councils and leaders of various churches—whose property the majority of architectural monuments are—have become regular. This has increased the efficiency of cooperation between the National Inspectorate for Historical Monuments and local self-governing bodies, and has mobilised local initiatives. Earlier public opinion held that everything was to be expected from the National Inspectorate for Historical Monuments, during the last ten years various state and social bodies have joined to share in the work of renovation and preservation.

The National Inspectorate for Historical Monuments, which is under the authority of the Ministry of Building and Urban Development, has lately been carrying out a controlling and coordinating role; all the more so because the budget allotted to it has not been increased, thus, for financial reasons, it could not initiate as much work as it used to earlier.

As a result of the extensive policy of monument protection, during the fifth five-year plan (1976–80), altogether 2,500 million forints from various sources were spent on renovation work that involved historical monuments. State support amounted only to about ten per cent of the above sum. The rate of growth is characterised by the increase in spending from a total of 233 million forints in 1970 to 695 million in 1980.

Several complex problems have come to the surface during the last ten years, the lessons of which may have general validity.

An HSWP resolution in 1978 concerning increased protection of our surviving architectural assets has given momentum to renovation, modernisation and proper maintenance of dwelling-houses, which constitute some 28 per cent of the body of architectural monuments. As a result, renovation affecting whole sections or districts, till then carried out only in the historical town centres of Buda and Sopron, has been started in a number of other towns of historic importance, such as Eger, Győr, Pécs, Kőszeg, Mosonmagyaróvár, and Székesfehérvár. At the same time, the number of historical town centres scheduled as protected has increased from thirteen to twenty-one in ten years.

From the mid-seventies onwards, further development in the methods of urban planning has yielded important results in the protection of historical architectural complexes. Till then, the scheduled historical town centre was left out of comprehensive town planning on the grounds that it was a task for the experts in monument protection. As a consequence, however, the historical cores of towns were practically torn out of their context and became an alien body within it. The change in professional attitudes and the new, comprehensive appreciation of a town or village as a complex and conterminous historical structure, have led to the emergence of a new and modern approach in urban planning, which has had a favourable effect on the development and rehabilitation of historical towns.

By now the age of buildings considered as worthy of protection has practically been extended to the present including new kinds of edifices as well.

A survey of the architectural assets of the last one-hundred years has been conducted and their preservation organized first in the capital and then in Győr. In the course of this work, new theoretical and methodological problems have surfaced. A comprehensive study has been prepared for their examination. As a first step, several valuable buildings in the Art Nouveau and Early Modern styles have been scheduled as protected, and in some places, for instance in Kecskemét, the renovation and integration in the devel-

oping town centre of such complexes have brought good results.

Interest in monuments of industrial architecture and civil engineering has also increased. Here the aims of monument preservation are frequently in conflict with the demands imposed by modern technologies, and indeed at times the two have proved to be incompatible. The greatest achievement in this area has probably been the saving of the Nyugati Railway Station in Budapest which was designed and built by the Eiffel firm of Paris. This early iron-structured hall could be saved from demolition and kept in use as a railway station after a long argument and at the price of certain compromises. Unfortunately, no similar success can be reported in the case of the Opera House in Budapest, in which the unique, 19th-century hydraulic stage machinery, despite the efforts of some, was replaced by a new electric apparatus.

Speaking about the Nyugati Railway Station I mentioned how important it is to keep a historical monument alive, that is to continue to use it in its original function. This is vital in the case of architectural monuments, as is exemplified by two opposite types of buildings. One comprises old village homes, and ensembles of these which exemplify the old rural way of life and are of great value from the point of view of ethnography and folk art. The other includes the mansions and country homes, the chateaux of the aristocracy and nobility, which used to house another, equally extinct, way of life. The enormous social changes following the Second World War swept away both. Parallel to the rapid development in the course of which what some used to call the centuries-old backwardness of the Hungarian countryside was eliminated, village architecture underwent a considerable change. Most of the traditional cottages and village buildings, which had housed traditional folk culture, have disappeared.

Two kinds of institutions are concerned with the preservation of this important element of Hungarian folk culture those of museology and monument protection. The former aims at demonstrating the historical development of certain types of buildings in various regions of the country by setting up open-air ethnographical museums, where either buildings that were demolished are rebuilt on a new site, or exact replicas are erected. Monument preservation, however, aims at preserving the buildings or complexes *in situ*, where their original function as dwelling can be maintained or, if necessary, a new function can be assigned to them. This solution involves many difficulties, both social and financial.

Recognizing the significance inherent in the preservation of folk culture and traditions, and the maintenance of a sense of identity, from 1971 onwards the government has allotted special funds for the restoration and maintenance of rural architectural monuments that are privately owned. Also, from 1974 onwards, further credits have been made available for the nationalization of such buildings and, if they can no longer be maintained as dwellings for their conversion to some communal use. In the first five years, these funds amounted to a total of 8.5 million forints. Between 1975–80, however, they already rose to 26 million. In the wake of this, public opinion has gradually changed and the destruction of rural architectural monuments could be contained.

Mansions and country homes (chateaux) of the nobility have also lost their original function. After the war at the end of which many suffered considerable pillaging they were nationalised and either they remained empty or they were used in a way that usually went together with the destruction of their interiors, accompanying art objects, and surroundings. For a time they were officially looked on as symbols of the feudal system and thus neither their cultural nor financial worth was remembered, which posed great difficulties for preservation work.

During the last ten years official views in this respect have also changed considerably.

Nagycenk. The Széchenyi chateau and park

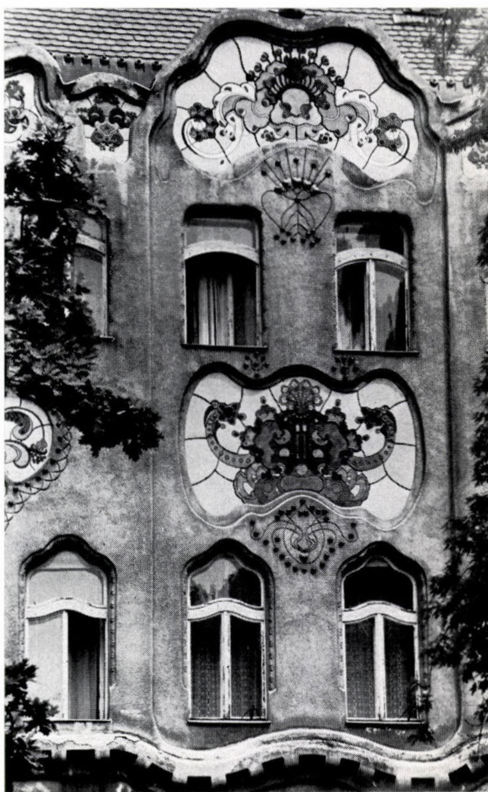
Ráckeve. The Savoy chateau

Győr. Town centre

Kőszeg. Restored town centre

The Budapest Hilton. Main entrance and façade

Old houses in Hollókő



Kecskemét. Detail of the façade of an art nouveau building

Nagyharsány. Restored interior of the Calvinist Church

Budapest. Façade of the Western Railway Station

Boldva. Restored interior of the Calvinist Church, originally a Benedictine abbey

Feldebrő. Interior of the Catholic Church

Feldebrő. Part of the northern façade of the parish church from the early Árpád era (12 th century)

Boldva. Calvinist Church, formerly a Benedictine abbey

1

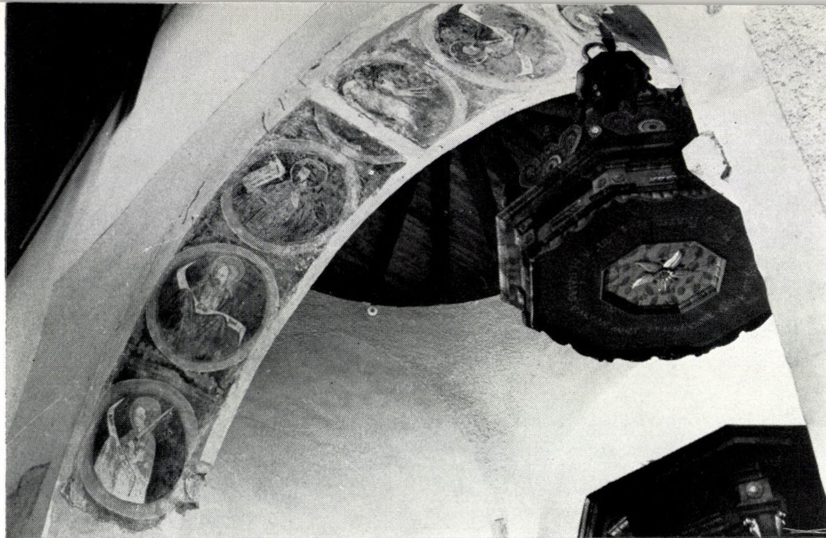
2

1. Csempeszkopács. Roman Catholic parish church. 13th century
After restoration. Southern aspect

2. Velemér. Roman Catholic church. Early 14th century
South-eastern aspect

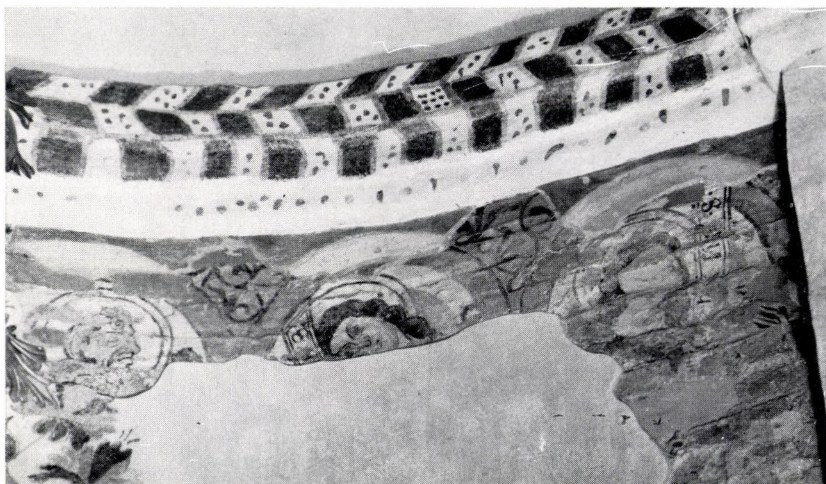
3. Velemér. Roman Catholic church. Detail of the wall painting by Johannes Aquila in 1378 or 1477 showing Saint Michael the Archangel

3



Szalonna. Frescoes dating from 1426 on the arch

Csempeszkopács. Roman Catholic parish church. Detail of the southern wall after restoration. Fragments of a series on the Apostles dating from the 13th century. Above, remnants of a decorative pattern from 1648



Szalonna. Restored interior of the Calvinist church, 12th–13th century. Frescoes from the 13th century. Pulpit dated 1801 with an inscription by master András Szepesi

Magyarszecsőd. Roman Catholic parish church with 13th century sanctuary. Wall painting from 1696, altar from second half of 18th century

Nemeskér. Lutheran Church built in 1732 with original fittings. 17th century pulpit

Őriszentpéter. Southern view of Roman Catholic Church, 13th century, rebuilt in the 18th century

Csaroda. Calvinist Church, originally Romanesque

All photographs by Tamás Mihalik

Experts of the National Inspectorate for Historical Monuments have prepared a comprehensive report on the state of aristocratic and noble homes in the country, which they submitted to the government authorities. As a consequence, the government has made credits in the amount of 50 million forints available for the containment of the destruction of chateaux and for their gradual rehabilitation. The results of this programme are just beginning to show; in recent years a number of valuable buildings have been renovated and taken into new use. The Zichy chateau in Óbuda (today the third district of Budapest) is now a cultural centre; the Széchenyi chateau at Nagycenk houses the Széchenyi Memorial Museum, with a riding-school and stud farm in its former stables; the Szepessy-Almássy chateau at Noszvaj has become an educational centre; the Forgách chateau at Szécsény has been converted into a county museum; Prince Eugene of Savoy's palace at Ráckeve is now in use as a recreation home for architects; the Festetich Palace at Keszthely is now a large cultural centre.

Closely connected with the preservation of country homes and chateaux is that of their immediate surroundings. The parks and gardens that surround them were laid out mainly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and they shared in the fate of the edifices themselves: during and after the war they started to decay rapidly. For a time their preservation was not included in the work of monument protection, even though originally they formed an organic part of the architecture. From the seventies, the preservation of historical gardens and parks has been instituted among the tasks of monument protection. Although time affects the natural environment more, some achievements in this field can also be reported, primarily in the case of the chateaux listed above, where the original surroundings have also been reconstructed.

Relatively speaking, ecclesiastical monuments still present the smallest problems, in that they are generally used, properly maintained and regularly restored by the religious communities which own them. State support given for the renovation of churches amounts to some ten per cent of the funds allotted for the purpose by the churches themselves. Between 1976 and 1980, of the almost 294 million spent by the churches on monument protection nearly 29 million forints were given by the state. However, those churches no longer in use present greater problems, for neither their maintenance nor their security are assured. The burden of the protection and upkeep of such buildings, mainly Greek Orthodox churches and Jewish synagogues, devolves entirely on the state.

It must be noted that in some cases state support is needed for the restoration and maintenance of exceptionally large and valuable ecclesiastical monuments too, when the costs involved exceed the financial resources of the church. For instance, of the costs of the restoration of the main façade of Esztergom Cathedral, special state support amounted to 67 million, and in the case of the Benedictine Abbey of Pannonhalma to 40 million.

The restoration of the most precious churches demands an especially high standard of craftsmanship. Such work is carried out by the staff of the National Inspectorate for Historical Monuments. Some recent examples are the parish church at Feldebrő, the earliest architectural relic from the age of the House of Árpád (11th to 13th cent.); the 13th-century former abbey at Boldva, now a Calvinist church; the removal of later additions from the Árpád age round church and its murals at Kiszombor; the Romanesque church at Csaroda, with its multiple layers of murals; and the two late Gothic churches at Nagyharsány, which have both been Calvinist since the Reformation.

In some cases, great efforts are needed to make sure that valuable ruins or sections of buildings that come to light in the course of construction work are properly incorporated

in the new edifice, thus deepening the dimension of time and a sense of the continuity of life in their surroundings. Such a great undertaking was the inclusion in the modern architectural complex of the Budapest Hilton Hotel of the remains of a medieval Dominican cloister and church and of the façade of a late Baroque, 19th-century Jesuit house. Another case in point are the ruins of the Roman military baths, the *Thermae maiores*[1]. They came to light when the traffic centre at Flórián tér in Budapest was being built, and have been preserved and displayed under the motor road overpass, in connection with a pedestrian subway.

For reasons of space it is not possible to speak here of several other aspects and fields of the preservation of monuments. By way of an ending it may be added that lately there has been an increased interest in theoretical and methodological questions—another consequence of the expanding dimensions of monument protection in Hungary. Points of contact between traditional work and the new approach to the architectural environment, and between new architectural trends and the past are being studied. Special methods of restoration and maintenance for the preservation of architectural monuments of the present century are being worked out.

The possibility of a meaningful future on the continent lies in the moral, intellectual and cultural revival of its inhabitants. A peaceful future is essential for the formation of a man-centred, harmonious environment, in which preservation work will give way to a gradual integration of man-created values into human life and the environment.

MIKLÓS HORLER

[1] *NHQ* 99

VILLAGE CHURCHES

The parish church of the village of Combray in Proust's *A la recherche du temps perdu* is a powerfully stressed theme that stirs the boy's imagination and, given the concurrent effects of various sensuous impressions, makes a lasting imprint on him. The shabby antiquity, ruffled irregularity and worn bulkiness, the semi-darkness filtering through the stained glass windows speckled with patches of light, the tombs and tapestries, are the embodiment of the past itself, a background against which the living in the village move and to which they are inseparably tied. An experience of this kind, fixed in the deepest layer of their consciousness, was not so very long ago still shared by the majority of people in Europe. Today only a minority encounters this fundamental communal experience regulated by living traditions which can neither be obliterated nor replaced by radically different pressures of a brand new architectural environment or by the different norms and scale of urban life. The kind of experience Proust described was common in literature and the arts from Ireland to Russia and from Norway to Sicily.

This common experience appears in as many concrete forms as there are types and variants of village churches in Europe. If someone were being flown over Europe blindfolded and were only allowed the use of his sight occasionally, the surest signs he could go by to establish his bearings would be the differences in character of the village churches—something hardly describable, and unlearnable, yet very much perceptible. For those born in the country who now live in a town the sight of a village church conjures up forgotten words and outgrown accents, long

tasted flavours and fragments of half-forgotten memories. Most peculiarly, however, these flavours and tastes are unequivocally and recognizably there for the stranger as well; he can perceive them, just as one can perceive signs of the life of the former occupants in an empty dwelling, for they linger on though one may not be able to tell how and where.

Facts of this kind are intangible and resist description; their roots reach down deep, and they are related to the concept of identity in all its meanings—individual, communal or national. The values village churches represent can also be interpreted in such terms and cannot simply be described in terms of aesthetic quality. They contain something that could best be described, for want of a better word, as nostalgia, and this calls for discretion, tolerance and respect on the part of the outsider.

The village church as an expression of a native architectural idiom does not belong to art history alone. Indeed, art historians tend to neglect it for they cannot really cope with a large body of features judged to be local. They are interested in qualities of universal validity, be they manifest in some conscious individual solution or an exceptional technique in execution. Great cathedrals and monasteries, and pilgrimage churches, which by necessity lack an intimate connection with their environment and are therefore isolated, do have an art history of their own. Yet paradoxically, the village churches, products not of a single historical moment but of long periods of time, do not and probably will never have their own art history. It is easy to recognize a common aesthetic denominator in great works of art and see in them an abstract concept of art become incarnate. In village churches, however, only some sort of familiar intimate quality can be sensed. One does not seek to discover in them one stage in efforts towards perfection; instead, their mode of existence invites one to share in the lasting presence of some peculiar mentality. Being simple and elementary artistic achievements they clearly suffer a disadvantage over monumental architecture. Their humble size and undemanding execution, the spontaneity of their realization, are all features that place them at the fringe of art history. They are given the lowest rank in the hierarchy by art historians who like to interpret works of art in terms of technical achievement, sovereign artistic creation, and the hypothesis of a personal message.

Hungarian art historians cannot afford to neglect this group of architectural relics at least up to the 18th century. As a result of the innovative zeal during and, even more so, after the Turkish occupation in the 16th and 17th century, art relics in the important centres of earlier centuries were systematically wiped out. Any attempt to reconstruct them must rely, apart from fragments and secondary sources, on the architectural monuments that have survived in greater numbers in the villages. I have referred above to the fundamentally different set of values attached to higher art and village objects. In the light of this it may strike one as paradoxical that, at the same time, village churches are considered to represent premises from which value judgments concerning higher spheres of art can be inferred. This was for long the only approach of art history towards rural architecture, for it was widely held that in it could be observed certain features that had sunken, as it were, from higher layers of culture *(Gesunkenes Kulturgut)*. It seemed logical then that, by hypothetically reversing the process of sinking, certain historical elements could be reconstituted. Thus the emotional value attached to village churches in Hungary—and indeed in Europe in general, especially in the traditional, less urbanized societies in Central and Eastern Europe, where it has recently increased—has been complemented with a documentary value accorded by the trade. The appreciation of village churches has thus grown and come to imply qualities of authenticity, of veracity. Their preserva-

tion is imperative not only for reasons of piety and because of respect for traditions but it is also in the best interest of scholarship. They call for both the spontaneous approach and a highly systematic critical analysis. The weight of these approaches is such that even more robust art structures would often give way under it.

This dilemma must be faced by both experts in art history and in the preservation of architectural monuments. In the majority of cases village churches were built, rebuilt and added to in the course of the centuries. Their interior was gradually altered and in fortunate cases comprises a medley of objects from various periods. It is precisely this simultaneous and complex experience of continuity that creates the impression of antiquity and tradition. Yet, given the advance of industrialism and the appearance of industrial products in the village, most traditions have long ceased. Since the late 19th century, spontaneity has only been manifested at best in an accumulation of modern products or the use of architectural technologies other than traditional. In other words, the history of the village church in Hungary has more or less come to an end. The most important aims in the preservation of monuments are to save village buildings from incompetent restoration and to rid them of traces of earlier such work, thus closing off, as it were, the history of the building. In this process, the village church becomes a museum item, a preparation, a scientific demonstration object. Although it bears traces of its earlier history it only does so to the extent its history has been judged valuable. No further changes are desirable, therefore these are contained and results of earlier changes are removed. In recent years the preservation of monuments authorities in Hungary have made great efforts to research and protect the body of art works found in villages—churches mainly—so the points raised above can be illustrated by a number of examples.

The Roman Catholic church of Csempeszkopács in Western Transdanubia is a brick building with a few sections in carved stone. It was built in the 13th century and has survived in excellent, almost intact, condition. The carved stone details of the southern portal and the columns that divide the twin windows were obviously not made by bricklayers; they must have come from a nearby stonemason's workshop which also supplied other villages in the vicinity. In the course of restoration it was found that the small rectangular nave and the apse were built first, and the simple western tower is a later addition. This chronological difference has been made visual by reconstructing the plasterwork on the tower and leaving the brick walls of the earlier nave unplastered. By leaving the originally plastered brick walls in a condition characteristic of semi-finished constructions, a distinction has been made between the two phases in the building of the church. It must be said, however, that whether a tower had originally been part of the church or whether its construction had been delayed till the nave was completed cannot be established with any certainty.

The small interior has preserved its medieval proportions. Traces of wall paintings from various periods have been found under coats of plaster. The oldest is coeval with the construction of the church in the 13th century; its fragments—representations of apostles—are under the arcades. At the time of the Reformation, in 1648, the white-washed walls of the church were decorated with floral and geometrical ornamentations and inscriptions. When the Catholics repossessed the building, this layer was painted over in the semi-dome of the apse with allegories of the Virtues. In the 18th century a late Baroque altarpiece in a richly ornamented Rococo frame was installed. Today these details, never before seen together, appear side by side and document the various periods of the history of the church. They are like a set of historical

preparations—telling signs that the true, organic historical existence of the church has come to an end.

Even more peculiar is the case of the Calvinist church of Szalonna in Northern Hungary. Its oldest section is a round church with an apse and coloured brick divisions, which has been uncovered in the course of restoration work. To this was added, in the 13th century, a spacious rectangular nave, and still later in the Middle Ages, it was covered with a new vaulting alien to its original character. This was in turn replaced by Baroque vaulting. The remains of an early, primitive, probably 13th-century wall painting cycle have been found, as well as more elegant ornamentation dated 1426 showing characteristics of the International Gothic. These now appear side by side with the fine 18th-century peasant Baroque furnishings. The careful restoration work that has recently been carried out aimed to reconstruct the original proportions and distinguish between sections of uncertain age and function that are the result of rebuilding and expanding over the centuries. The floor of the trellised round church has been lowered to its original level. As a result, an interior space has been created the two sections of which have never coexisted in such a form after the medieval nave had been built, since at that time the floor of the choir was higher than that of the nave. At the same time a Baroque organ loft which had been suspended on beams in the old apse was removed in order to reveal the ornamental wall painting there, and to reconstruct, as far as possible, the original proportions of the medieval choir. This organ-loft, together with another above the western entrance—its usual place in the Middle Ages—satisfied the needs of church-goers after the Reformation. In a Calvinist service the centre is the Lord's table placed in the middle and the pulpit. Thus, in its present state the church preserves vestiges of its double historical character, the fragments from various periods assume a life of their own and have no other *raison d'être* than mere visibility. Liturgical use has irrevocably been replaced by use as a museum or a tourist attraction.

Both examples show the results of careful research and considerate, careful and loving restoration work. The problems that arise by no means stem from a lack of clarification; they simply go to show that this much and no more is what we are able to do, for by now the village church has indeed become a museal object. This follows from the changes in the social role of the village itself. Originally the village meant a quality different from the town; it was a basic community as opposed to a regulated urban society. Today the relationship between the village and the town is of quantitative nature. There are no fundamental differences between the lifestyle of villages, and small or larger towns. The differences that may exist are in size and scale and are looked upon by village dwellers as something to be abolished, as disadvantages to be made up for.

The village in olden times was not a mere geographical unit. From the Middle Ages onwards it meant primarily a community. The village church was the most important communal building. It is first mentioned in a decree by Saint Stephen the King, founder of the Hungarian state (1000–1038), which ordered that a church be built and fitted out by the inhabitants of every ten villages. It is very difficult to determine what the church meant for the medieval villagers. The only sources in this respect are letters or petitions by the inhabitants of a village requesting permission to build their own church, the usual argument being that without a church of their own it was difficult for them to celebrate the religious feasts, christen the newborn, and bury the dead. Only a village with a church of its own was regarded as a genuine village whose inhabitants were not

dependent on others in satisfying their spiritual needs. Thus the church came to be regarded as a symbol of the community. The distinctive adjective *egyházas* (lit. "possessing a church") is found in several village names. It was, of course, a widespread custom in Europe to name a village after the patron saint of its church.

As the village community was the basic unit of medieval society, so its church was the lowest ranking among ecclesiastical buildings. An assessment of churches in the Middle Ages is recorded in István Werbőczi's law book *Decretum tripartitum*, published in 1514. According to this, the most valuable of churches in private possession was the monastery or cloister where the patron lord held the right of burial; this was taken to be worth a hundred silver marks. The value of a two-steepled church "built in the fashion of a monastery" was put at only 50 marks, and of the still fashionable village parish church even less. "Parish churches with a tower and the right of burial" were worth 15 marks, without burial rights 10 marks; wooden churches with burial rights 5 marks, without them only 3 marks. No estimate was given for non-independent churches and chapels.

As the assessment reveals, the most important privilege attached to the medieval village church was the burial right reserved for its patron lord. Several legal documents testify to the fact that villagers were seated in the church in a strict hierarchy determined by rank, age, and sex. Other sources speak of the church as a place where in times of war the population took shelter and stored their produce and valuables. Not a mere symbol, then, the church was the most important communal building of the village.

Rural churches kept this role after the Reformation as well. In the 16th century, when villagers converted to Calvinism or Lutheranism, the churches went over, usually peacefully, into Protestant use. They retained their earlier character, only the furnishings were replaced. It was in this period that the arrangements characteristic of the various denominations developed. This organic development was, however, first broken by the Counter-Reformation. In the second half of the 17th century the Protestants were increasingly squeezed out of the old churches they had used, and the freedom of choice for village communities was severely restricted. In 1681 the practice of religion for Protestants was limited by law to certain appointed places. Protestant church building was hindered both by law and violent means. The Counter-Reformation, however, started large-scale construction projects, especially later, in the 18th century, all this resulting in severe disproportions in ecclesiastical architecture. On the one hand, there were the many Catholic churches, renovated and freshly outfitted in the then modern Baroque, and on the other, the Protestant Churches were deliberately divested of all possibilities of monumental architecture. The Lutheran church of Nemeskér in County Sopron is a good example. The church the Lutherans were permitted to build in 1732 to replace the stone building posessed by the Catholics is a wooden building with no tower, which looks like a shed. Yet the church of Nemeskér turned out to be an exception where virtue was made of necessity for the functional characteristics of the building lent it a special aesthetic quality. More frequently, however, it happened that Protestant church-building zeal, finding various ways and means, but more easily after Joseph II's Edict of Tolerance led to a rejection of the traditional in architecture, which appeared as something forced upon them and no longer taken on voluntarily, and went on building Baroque and neo-Classical churches.

In the 18th and 19th centuries the first signs of a change appeared that led to the adoption by Hungarian village churches of alien ideals and models. For various reasons the imitation of higher art became general. Starting with the mid-19th century there was no independent church architecture in

the villages. The churches that were built in and after this period are at best buildings which happened to be built in villages and were adapted to their environment only as regards their size and cost. At the same time a flood of mass-manufactured objects of use and devotion poured in to churches in villages and towns alike—a sure sign of a levelling up between them.

In view of what has been said, it is clear that we must not consider the preservation of certain forms of art and elements of style as the most important aspect of village churches. Various elements found their way into village architecture without any obstacles over the centuries. Village churches are not necessarily and unconditionally archaic. On the contrary, the 13th-century examples testify to the rapid spread and blossoming of the late Romanesque. A number of Gothic churches are evidence of the widespread use of the then latest building techniques and the commissioning of itinerant painters and urban retable manufacturers who worked in the spirit of the latest trends. A similarly rapid advance of Renaissance decorative arts occurred in the late 15th and early 16th century, and village architecture also readily assimilated and preserved late Renaissance methods. The Baroque played a role and not only in speeding up the disintegration of traditions. The interest in, and a readiness to, adopt, this style testifies to an openness of the village communities. Disintegration starts whenever a community loses its sense of scale and moderation, thereby also losing its ability to adopt, assimilate and adapt to its specific needs the various art styles. The cause of the appearance of alien elements in rural architecture was an inner alienation of the village community, where an original mode of communal life was replaced by a society organized along totally different lines. The historical example of the village church exemplifies this change in outlook.

Today the Hungarian village church symbolizes a variety of human values and ways of thinking. Some see in it a symbol of communal existence and ethos, a spontaneity and purity of popular creative force. Others recognize in it the cohesive force of sober religiousness. The kind of national consciousness which emerged in Hungary in the mid-19th century from the populist-national movements and looked on the peasantry as the keepers of national identity, regarded the village church as a symbol of national values. This explains why motifs and elements of rural ecclesiastical architecture and ornamentation were set up as models for developing the national arts. It is not only the relics of rural architecture found within the present borders that are in the centre of the national arts; the churches in the villages of the Transylvanian Székely, the Hungarians of the Mezőség region and the former Upper Hungary which is now Slovakia, where they are preserved in undisturbed unity and richness, were the first ideals and models. The concept of the village church geographically extends beyond the country's borders, it is known to all ethnic Hungarians living in Central Europe, and for all it is one embodiment of that national identity which has developed in the course of history. To study and preserve Hungarian village churches today accords with a historical sense of unity the homogeneous value system of which is not always present in more distinguished art monuments. Church buildings in the villages, however, remind us of it everywhere.

Ernő Marosi

NEW HUNGARIAN CHURCHES — WITH THE EYES OF THE ARCHITECT

There have been two distinct trends in church architecture in Hungary over the past forty years. One has been the restoration and conservation of churches which are listed as historic buildings. The other is one of which it ought to be said that it constitutes the architecture of *today*.

This latter includes churches built on the initiative, the financial efforts, and work of the faithful, some to replace those destroyed in the war and some for other reasons, as alternatives or replacements for earlier churches.

Some of these had been damaged badly and had been pulled down or they stood on a site which was undermined, their maintenance was impossible, or they had to be reconstructed, or new churches had to be built to replace school chapels. According to the exhibition opened in the new hall of the Christian Museum of Esztergom, 160 new churches and chapels have been built in Hungary in the past forty years.

At the end of the forties, in the tense atmosphere of the new social order, it was out of the question for new churches to be built. Towards the middle of the fifties, however, an ease in tension manifested itself in relations between the state and the Church. This was indicated by the reinstatement of some teaching orders, and a settlement of relations between the state and the Church. Nevertheless until the middle of the decade, intentions to build churches were hindered by a great many obstacles and what could be done was limited to satisfying the most elementary needs.

It was in this period—toward the end of the 'fifties—that the first church calling attention to itself came into being.

In 1958 the parish of Cserépváralja was ordered to cease using the school and to build a one-classroom house of worship in the village, making use of a modest amount of compensation granted for this purpose.

The commission came into my hands after an adventurous journey. A master builder living in Mezőkövesd close to the village had been given it; although he would have liked to design an appropriate building, he was unable to cope with his task. So he asked for the help of an architect he happened to know, adding that the application for building permission would be sent in his (the master builder's) name. However, once he saw the design he was somewhat taken aback and said that he would be unable to draw it let alone build it. That left nothing but for me to tackle all the problems involved in preparing the church.*

The church completed by the autumn of 1960 is really a rectangular space of 6×10 metres, as large as a classroom, without a spire.

The material used was the red sandstone of the vicinity, the sand came from the rivulet which flows through and occasionally floods the village, the wooden beams were purchased from the forestry people, the natural slate also came from the neighbourhood, as did the red-and-white filler stones available cheaply for covering the ground.

The church stands in a side-street at the end of the strung-out village; as a consequence of the rising surface, it almost seems to be floating above the houses of the main street.

This floating effect is due to the covering of the roof, and the geometry of the unusually-shaped roof sitting on a rectangle.

The crossbeam placed diagonally and rising towards the altar results in a unique

* The churches in the following villages were designed by the author: Hollóháza, Nyirdezs, Hodász.

Hollóháza. Interior with Crucifix by József Somogyi

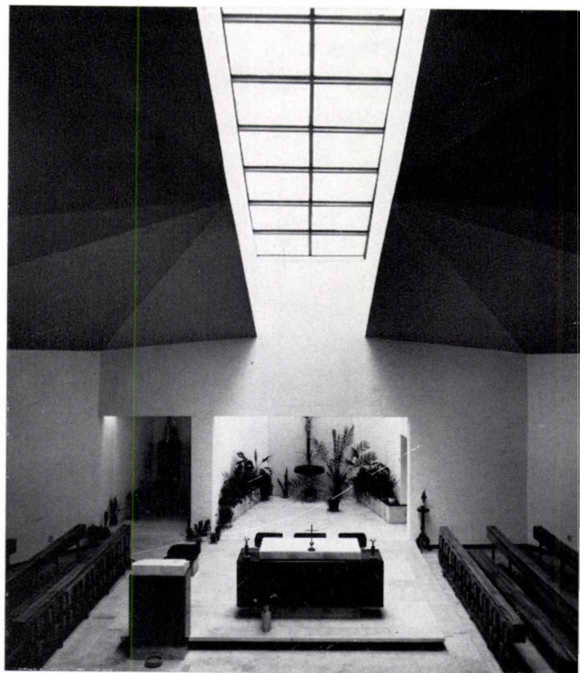
Hollóháza. Roman Catholic Church, 1967.
Architect: László Csete

Cserépváralja. Roman Catholic Church, 1958.
Architect: László Csete

Edelény. Greek Catholic parish church and presbytery, 1983. Architect: Ferenc Török

Gyál. Interior of the Roman Catholic Church.
Architect: Dénes Perczel

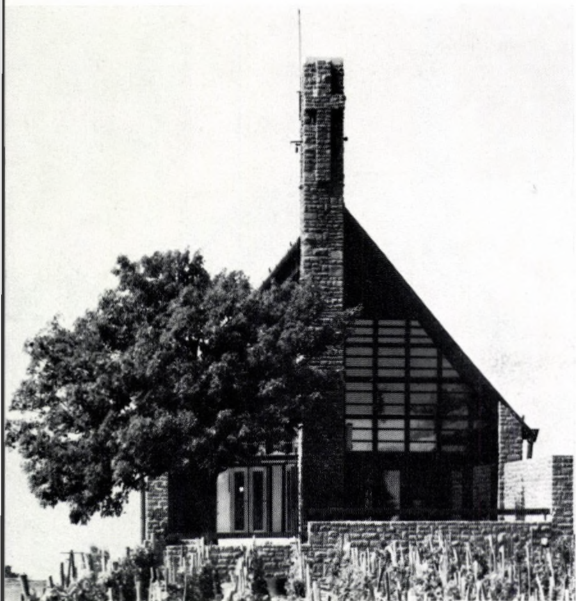
Gyál. Interior of the Church



Budapest. Interior of the Farkasrét Catholic Church. Architect: István Szabó

Attila Mudrák

Hodász. Interior of the Roman Catholic Church, late 1970s, with fresco by Astrik Kákonyi



Révfülöp. Roman Catholic Church, 1980. Architect: Ferenc Török

Halásztelek. Roman Catholic Church, 1978, Architect: György Csete

Halásztelek. Interior of the church

Miklós Lan

Szamoskér. Calvinist Church, 1970.
Architects: Gyula Kistelegdi, Zoltán Bachmann, Gyula Csabai

roof configuration in its external and internal space, and this essentially determines the character of the building. The walls rising from the entrance towards the altar—erected by the village people themselves, who had to relearn the method of raising a natural stone wall—were left plain both inside and out; the enclosure of space is created by wooden beams against the cross-beam which are externally visible and thus the internal and external lines are in harmony with each other. The diagonal crossbeam leans against a wooden pillar widening at the side of the entrance, whitewashed inside and out, rising into a belfry, whose the external body cuts into the plane of the roof, ascending to the highest point of the roof and forming with it an ante-roof above the entrance.

That ante-roof greatly contributes to this sense of floating and of making the heavy walls lighter. However, it also evokes an invitation.

The internal space is extremely simple. The benches follow the diagonal line of the crossbeam and divide the small space into two; the altar stands sideways to the large window-door which is the source of light (when open, the interior space is connected with the church yard). Above the altar, the solemnity and atmosphere of the space is enhanced by József Somogyi's Corpus and Béla Kondor's tabernacle door.

Although during the building it seemed that the village—which participated in the whole process with great enthusiasm and energy—had made the unusual church its own, what happened was just the opposite. Shortly after the church was completed, the parish priest was transferred and his replacement or rather replacements were unable to identify with it or to encourage the village people to became used to it.

First the Corpus was removed from above the altar, then the door of the tabernacle was repainted into a gaudy picture, a clichéd picture was hung above it and the church was filled with curtains and chandeliers; trees fast growing to giant size were planted around the church so that today hardly anything can be seen of the building.

It was too early for the village to build the church. In the absence of guidance, it had not been mature enough for the building.

The second significant church was built in Hollóháza in the middle of the sixties. This was the time when the Church realized that its former status obliges it to continue to create buildings of high value today.

This church was built with investment by a state design office with the participation of a state construction company; when complete, it was solemnly handed over to the Church.

In the middle of 1963 it was deemed necessary to reconstruct the China Factory at Hollóháza; it became obvious that the old outdated buildings in the yard of the factory had to be pulled down since in this narrow valley the factory could only make use of its own site. The village church had been situated in a part of one of the buildings in the factory. For that reason the Ministry of Buildings and Urban Development made a decision to build a new church out of state funds as this was the only way, in their view, to reconstruct the factory according to schedule. Credit was advanced for the building of the new church so that it could be completed while the factory was under construction and there were no obstacles to pulling down the old one.

The enterprise Iparterv received two commissions in December 1963; one was to design the reconstructed factory and the other—urgently—to design the church.

The church, completed in 1967, was built on a small hill rising between the factory and the village in a small valley which has good lines of view from every direction; it stands like a connecting link between the factory and the village.[1]

[1] *NHQ* 24.

The roof planes rising from the ground in the shape of a triangle bring to mind the houses sunk into the ground, enhancing, however, this sight with the rhythms and antithetical movement of triangles.

There are two triangles at the front: the nave is low and the belfry is tall, at the rear the order of triangles is reversed: the helmet of the sanctuary above the nave is tall and the sanctuary joining it is low.

The crest of the nave is slanted towards the sanctuary and it hides beneath the helmet of the sanctuary. Thus lighting the sanctuary is provided by a path formed above the nave without those sitting in the nave seeing the source of light. As one proceeds inside the nave, the degree of lighting decreases while the sanctuary stands in an enhanced flood of light, emphasizing the most important element of the internal space, the altar. In that light József Somogyi's bronze Corpus has its own life.

In a changed historical and social situation the Church is also beginning to stir. How to build a church today, how it can impart its message to people living today and tomorrow are becoming current subjects of debate.

One result is All Hallows beside the Farkasrét cemetery in Budapest which was built at the beginning of the 'seventies to replace the old chapel destroyed in the war; it was designed by István Szabó.

It is also different from traditional churches through its well-proportioned mass and the formation of its internal space; it is fully in the idiom of today's architecture.

The roof elements used as walls give it an unique structure, emphasizing the atmosphere of both the external and the internal space.

The only element which perhaps refers back to the atmosphere of the old churches, though in a way which is quite different and up-to-date, is the extremely rich use of stained glass, through which the space really becomes that of All Hallows. Finally, it should be said that the refinement of details contributes to the sense of "a masterpiece."

In the middle of the 'seventies another significant church was built at Szeged, in Tarjánváros, designed by István Tarnai.

It stands modestly on a small square between prefabricated buildings and older town houses; but it is this modesty which makes it the dominant element of the square.

This church also replaced an older house of worship, and an extremely simple structure is used both inside and out. It creates a crystal-clear architectural order, free of any kind of exaggeration and magnificent in its simplicity.

On entering, solemnity is induced by a fine, two-wing bronze gate, the work of the sculptor Sándor Tóth, whose surface is decorated by reliefs, representing famous personalities from Szeged: Gyula Juhász, Miklós Radnóti, Sándor Sík, András Dugonics, Ferenc Móra, Albert Szent-Györgyi, Mária Mezei, Bishop Saint Gellért (whose name is given to the church) and Chief Rabbi Immánuel Lőw.

In the rectangular building, the internal space is created diagonally with a stepped ceiling, the hidden lighting which emphasizes the altar, the row of windows embracing the space, unequivocally make this small building a church. It is not large but its design makes it large and makes it architecture.

The elegant belfry, standing in front of the church, lends an even greater emphasis to the ensemble.

Saint Paul's in Hodász was completed in the second half of the 'seventies. Roads coming from four directions meet here and the outstanding and unusual mass of the church calls attention to itself.

The architectural solution adopted is extremely simple too. A wide entrance, which forces people to lower their heads, leads to a narrowing space bravely rising, above which the space of the sanctuary protrudes even higher, providing mystical and hidden lighting.

The spatial effect is enhanced by an *al secco* painting by the Franciscan painter Asztrik Kákonyi which fully covers the 15 m by 5 m wall, on which the sanctuary closes.

The colour composition of the painting is well adjusted to the lighting of the space, being light at the top, turning from burning yellow to bluish red close to the ground, thus a floating effect is obtained.

The building of this church was jointly undertaken by everyone, regardless of denomination, including the local agricultural cooperative.

The copper relief of a wonderful tabernacle was made by Miklós Borsos.

These churches are characterized primarily by simplicity. Each of them is connected to the environment in which it stands, is adjusted to it and reacts to its environment. Herein is their primary architectural value. Architecture today is not stylistic features. It is not like Roman, Gothic or Baroque architecture where the variation of the infinite richness of stylistic features unmistakably connects the artistic creation to the style of the given age.

Although today every artistic creation is formed differently, they do have a common feature: structure, form, content, internal and external space are all in close harmony with each other. Another common feature of churches is that, in spite of their modesty, they cannot be mistaken for other, secular, buildings, their internal space —as a necessarily limited element of infinite space—establishes contact with this infinite space, despite being limited.

In the past twenty years a great number of churches have been built, several of them being quite outstanding. Their strong points are their modesty and clear architectural solution. Fantasy has been soaring more freely in the creations of the past decade, and the financial means available has allowed more opportunities to form churches more richly.

The Church has not only found its place in a new society but has also found architects who, offering their knowledge, are participating in the creation of valuable works of art and who consider it a great honour to design churches.

One might argue about the merits of this or that work; what matters is that one has works to argue about. It is possible that the viewer is unable to accept the architectural solution of the jurta-like church built in Halásztelek (designed by György Csete) but it still reflects a high architectural standard. One may find the exaggerated sombreness of the Greek-Catholic church in Edelény (designed by Ferenc Török) alien; or dislike the playfulness of the church in Gyál (designed by Dénes Percsel) constructed from a diversity of structures, or the buildings constructed from metal rods (Táltos utca, Ildikó tér, designed by István Szabó). However it is to the future that the duty of judgement will fall.

László Csaba

THE ARCHITECTURE OF IMRE MAKOVECZ

The organizers of the Congress of the International Union of Architects held in Cairo in January 1985 voted Imre Makovecz's cultural center in Sárospatak as one of the ten best buildings of recent years. In Hungary the building has also been the centre of interest and its treatment by the press is an example and a sign of the fact that today people are more than ever conscious of the contextual aspects of architecture. The growing number of exhibitions and the radical reorientation of the only Hungarian architectural magazine *Magyar Építőművészet* in the direction of theory, after years of seeing architecture treated mainly from a political-economic aspect, are all evidence for the fact that today artistic and financial considerations have come to predominate. Simultaneously there has been more interest shown by architects and laymen alike in the past and present of Hungarian architecture and especially architecture from the 1890s to the Great War, which was on a par with the best in Europe; this has yet to be discovered abroad; nor have some modern trends looking back to the intellectual traditions of those years gained recognition by non-Hungarians.

Never before has a Hungarian architect received such wide coverage in the foreign press; his influence on domestic thinking on architecture, too, goes beyond the confines of the profession.

Imre Makovecz was born in 1935 and graduated from the Budapest College of Engineering in 1959. The restaurant at Berhida, the first building to reflect his ideas was built in 1963. The primary inspiration for Makovecz is the work of Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925), or anthroposophy, whose theoretical aspect he worked with from 1959 onwards. The direct effect of anthroposophy first became clear in his architecture after 1962. This influence began first as something formal but became increasingly indirect with time; it started with the formal analogy of the second Goetheanum* and returned today, on a different qualitative plane, to a deep relationship with the first Goetheanum.

In short, the prototype of his 1963–64 buildings (the Cápa Restaurant at Velence and the Ivó Csárda at Szekszárd) was the second Goetheanum with its expressive forms and sharp surface divisions. The structure is characterized by a system of walls rising out of the ground and a high roof with contrasting structure and material covering it. The large surface of the inner central space opens towards the embracing gesture of the main façade. With the restaurant of the hotel at Szepezd (1966), the notion of the walls growing out of the ground becomes even more pronounced, the aesthetic and defining role of the roof is enhanced and movement is given a more striking expression. From 1966, the direct relationship to Steinerian forms ceased and, both in detail and in general, this unique body of architectural work gradually began to take shape.

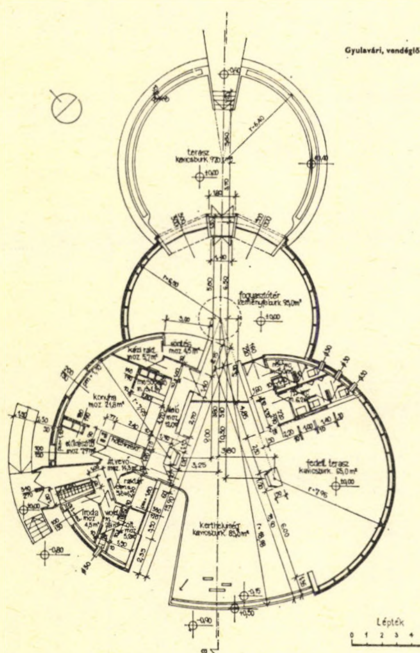
The central pillar which assumes the supporting function of the walls appears first in the *csárda* of the Budapest Agricultural Exhibition (1966). The two huge, umbrella-like structures support a gigantic "coat without a man," the thatched roof. The *csárda* at Tatabánya (1968) signalled the end of this period, which, besides the motifs of opening and embracing, enlarged his anthropomorphic vernacular with the analogy of the human face and skull. Here, too, the supporting structure was the central pillar with radiating supports, and the thatched roof reached to the ground all around, only the "face" was left uncovered. This building, which firmly established Makovecz's reputation, burned down a few years ago. The buildings of this

* The Goetheanum is the free school of the humanities. Steiner designed its first building, which burned down, in 1910, and the second in 1924.

period (1968–70), along with many unrealized designs for restaurants, were closer to the spirit of the first Goetheanum although without any formal references. In 1969–70, Makovecz made an effort to develop further the concrete concept of the second Goetheanum, to employ the easy plasticity of concrete and its suitability for blending wall and roof structures as a device for expression (department stores in Sárospatak and Győr). However, construction difficulties at Győr prompted him to turn away from concrete architecture, which for him seemed to open up wider horizons, and work with wooden structures instead. From then on, glued and arched supports, planked coverings and living wood gave him the architectural devices his art demanded.

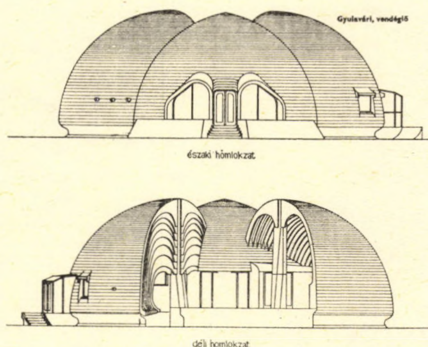
These years also saw experiments with motion, whose intention was to transfer anthropomorphic movement into architectural form. Makovecz photographed human motion in various predefined psychological situations (on a plane, in an abyss, and so on), and attempted to define precisely the surfaces marked by the movements and to imitate, through form, their characteristics.

Organic architecture has prototypes which are closely connected to particular individuals. Besides Steiner, Frank Lloyd Wright and his pupils (Bruce Goff, Herb Green) have also had a very important influence on Makovecz; from them he primarily learned the need to handle new forms bravely and the necessity for autonomous thinking. Thus, Makovecz had to look for his own sources to satisfy his own architecture. The experiments with motion did not bring the hoped-for results; under crude experimental conditions, he was unable to apply systematically the architectural analogy of motion. However, after 1970, because of these experiments, important new elements appeared in his work. The ribbed spaces of the restaurant at Gyula (1969) owed something to the practice of an approach based on breaking human motion up into its



Gyulavári. Design for a restaurant. 1969. Ground plan

North and South

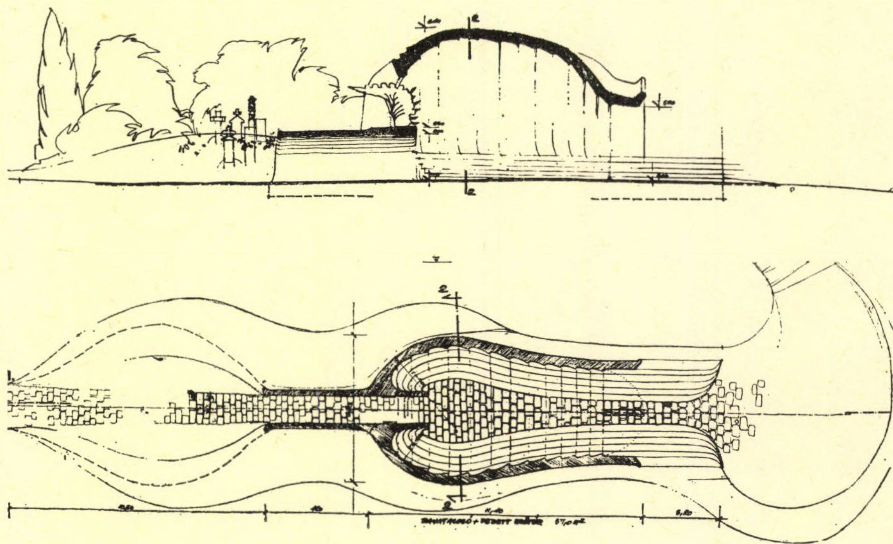


constituent phases. The shell which embraces the entirety of the spatial division became a major vehicle for architectural expression.

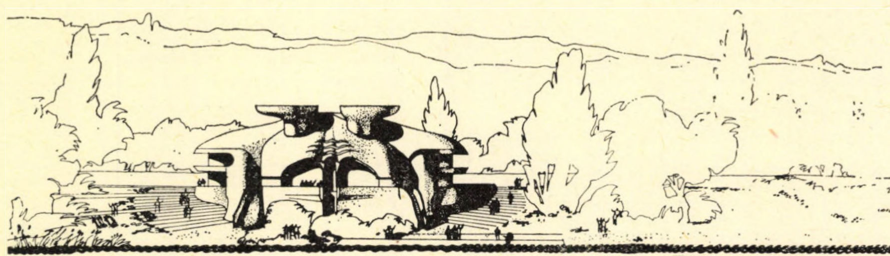
In 1972, Makovecz conducted a competition in which the participants—architects, artists, writers—were asked to define the smallest-size environment they considered sufficient and tolerable. Almost one hundred responses were submitted whose common feature was more a wish for self-discovery than any architectural consideration; nevertheless, the entries as a whole pointed the way to a new architectural approach. For his own entry, Makovecz worked out the first open, architecturally-central definition of a Goethe-inspired world-view. In the blueprint, he gave an objective reality to the principle of a double shell. Makovecz also defined the architectural course he was to follow in the years to come, when he gave form to a phenomenon which could be grasped through a sensitive mind, to the shifting spatial, personal and social relationship between existence (life) and the possible forms of existence. The mortuary at Dunaalmás (1971) was its definition in architectural terms within the crux of transition from life to death. It is the germ of the plans for Velence (1973) and of the Mortuary at the Farkasrét cemetery (completed in 1975), both of which epitomized the use of ribbed structures in the creation of shells.

Makovecz's next creative effort was to discover new sources for architectural forms which began in 1973: this involved a mainly theoretical study of signs and symbols in folk art. He was searching for the origins and oldest strata in the most typical motifs of Hungarian folk ornamentation; he managed to identify forgotten areas where ethnic character dissappears and the common nature of the great cultures of antiquity (mainly Celtic and East Asian) appear. This led to the possibility of creating a natural link to an older organic way of thinking and a universally understood vernacular of form.

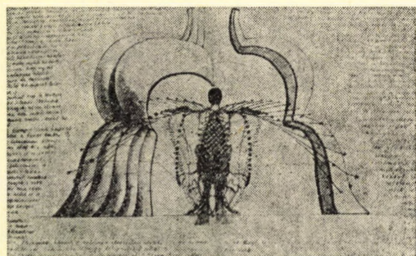
This ancient, pre-Christian influence appeared gradually in Makovecz's wooden



Dunaalmás. Designs for the mortuary. 1971



Sopron. Design for waterside centre. 1970

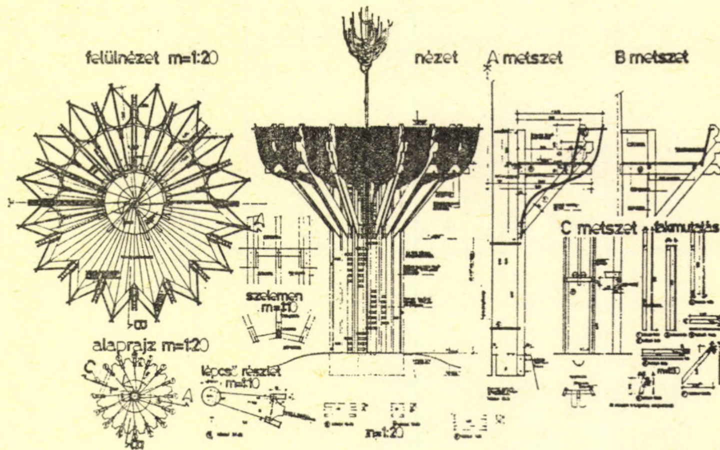


Design for a minimalist environment. 1972

structures between 1976 and 1978. In 1974, he began to work with hexagonal designs, but the Wright analogy was merely superficial. The structure itself was completely different from those of the great American architect and his followers; bent and glued wood supports radiate from the intersections of the cells towards the centre. His elemental shell is represented by a week-end house in Budapest (1974), while the reception building of the Visegrád camp-site along with its accommodation units are made through the joining of several centrally situated cupola-like wooden stressed-skin structures (1978). Side by side with the small houses formed from the central cells, this project also includes heart-shaped washrooms inspired by folk art.

Along with these stressed-skin structures, Makovecz was preparing several designs in which earth-bound elements dominate (the mortuary at Kispest, the Puszta Centre at Hortobágy, 1975). The earthworks surrounding the buildings, the cupola form and the orientation of the buildings towards the interior are reminiscent of buildings during the period of the Great Migrations. The cultural centre at Sárospatak (designed 1974–77, construction completed 1983) is an ensemble of a shell with wooden structures resting on pillars, carrying plant analogies, and a network of stairs and mounds rising out of the ground. This duality comes from Makovecz's earliest designs, but the building also shows its ten years of development. The façade shows a clear, poetic articulation of the human face and the theatre's galleries are the result of the plastic handling of concrete structures.

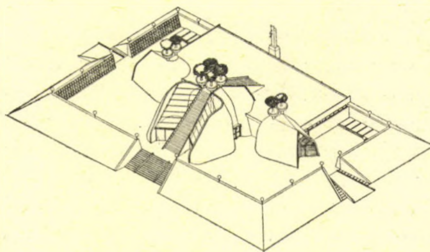
In further developing such structures, Makovecz advanced in the direction of a religious approach to architecture. The community centre at Tokaj (1978) is an example of his ingenious use of ancient, symbolic spatial forms in communal life. This is where Makovecz first replaced horizontal board covering with multi-directional layered covering. This latter manner became truly lively in his Dobogókő ski-lodge (1980).



Original design of a bird-watching tower

Because of the relative proportions within the interior of symmetry and asymmetry, this structure, even at the blueprint stage, comes closest to Makovecz's conception of a building as a living organism. Here, the gesture of moving away from the centre is repeated, but at a higher level; in this building, motion itself becomes architectural form. The intent behind his experiments with motion has therefore been best realized here.

Along with an increase in the size of the central spatial elements, the structural role of the central pillars was also enhanced. The thought of substituting a real, living tree for the centrally located king's tree first occurred during the construction of the bird hide at Lakitelek (1975), but a totem-pole-like structure appeared earlier, in his *csárda* for the Budapest Agricultural Fair. Here, according to the original plans, a fire was to burn in the center of the U-shaped building, but this flame was eventually replaced by a wooden contrivance. On top of the pole rising out of the community house at Tokaj, Makovecz placed a huge wooden bird with extended wings, an enlarged version of the folk toy which at one time was to be found throughout the entire Carpathian Basin. (The bird was originally dexterously carved out of a single block of wood, split into thin sheets, and the sheets were bent and blended.)



Vác. Mortuary. Design. 1981

From 1980 onwards, the living tree (a trunk with its main branches intact) has played an important role in Makovecz's buildings of various sizes and functions. Placed in the centre, it recalls the animism of ancient cultures, the holy tree which was revered even inside buildings. (According to an ancient Japanese custom, a bent, uncarved tree is included among the uniform, carved pillars of the building.) Through its use as a structural element, the living tree brings with it not only a feeling of security which is the result of careful design, but also, through its irregular and simple nature, the need to adopt ourselves to our natural environment.

These living trees characterize Makovecz's 1980–84 plans for family houses which

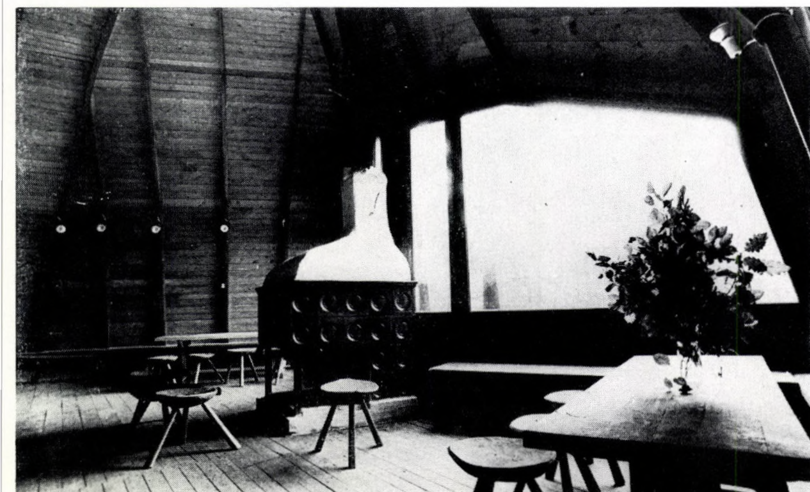
Sárospatak. Cultural centre. Architect: Imre Makovecz. 1974–77

Sárospatak. The auditorium of the Centre

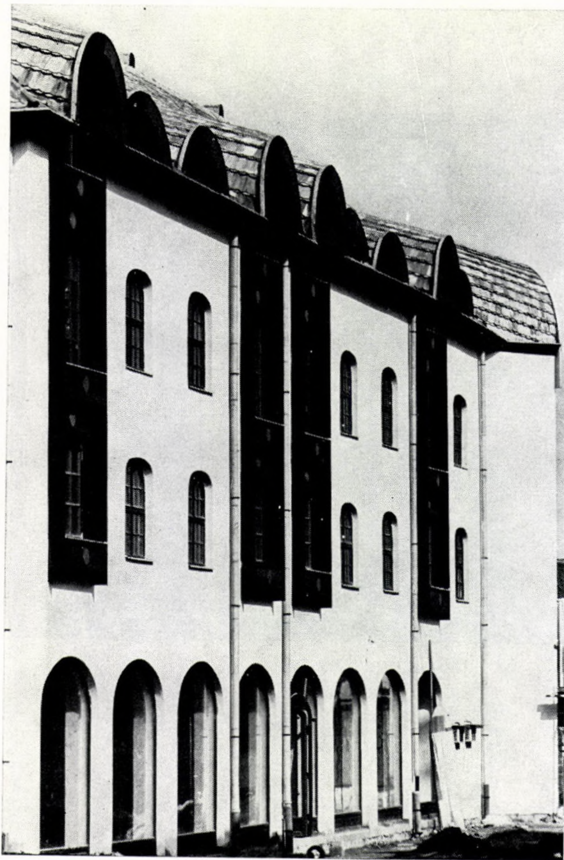
Budapest. Mortuary of the Farkasrét Cemetery. Architect: Imre Makovecz, 1975–77

Dobogókő Ski Lodge, designed by Imre Makovecz in 1980

Dobogókő. Side of the ski lodge



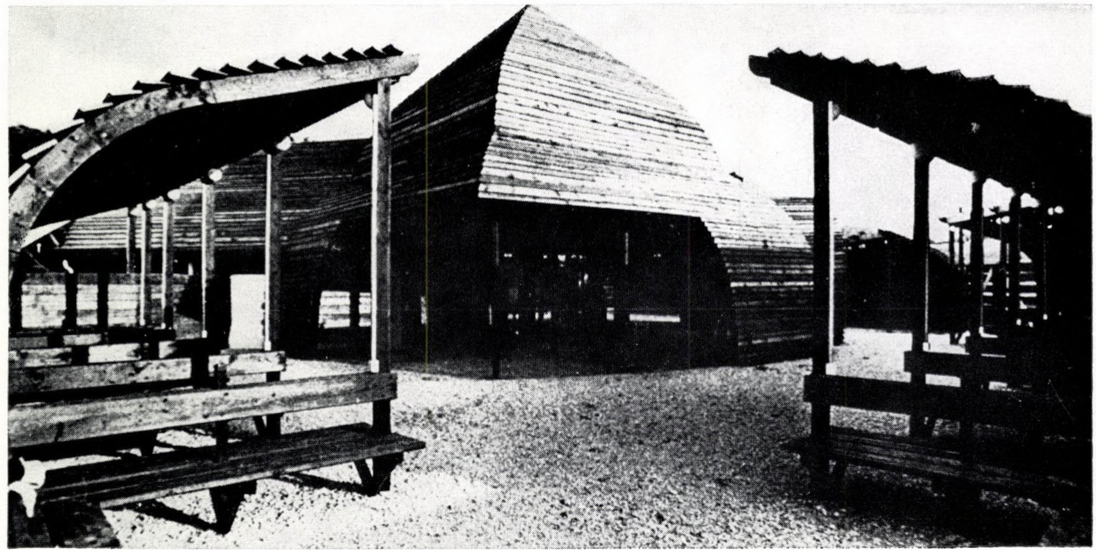
Dobogókő. Interior of the ski lodge



Sárospatak. Residential house.
Designed by Imre Makovecz in 1981

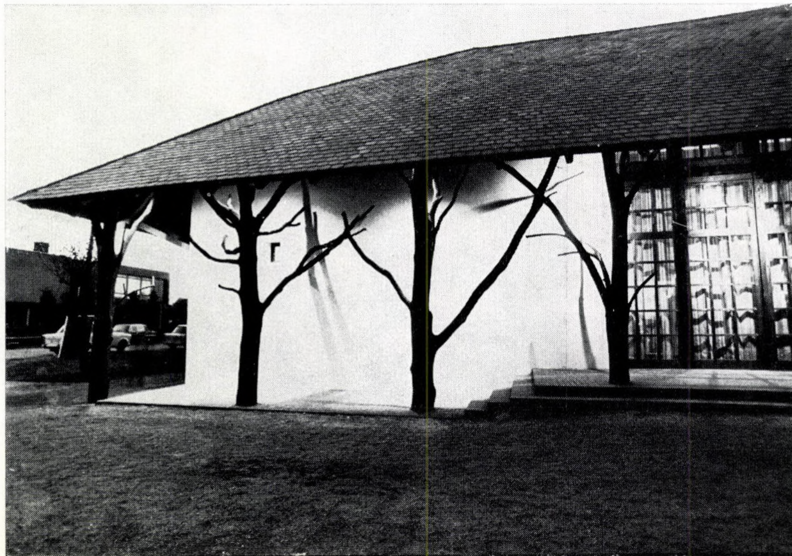
Sárospatak. Detail of the residential house

Visegrád. Farm centre and coffee-bar at a leisure centre, designed by Imre Makovecz in 1980

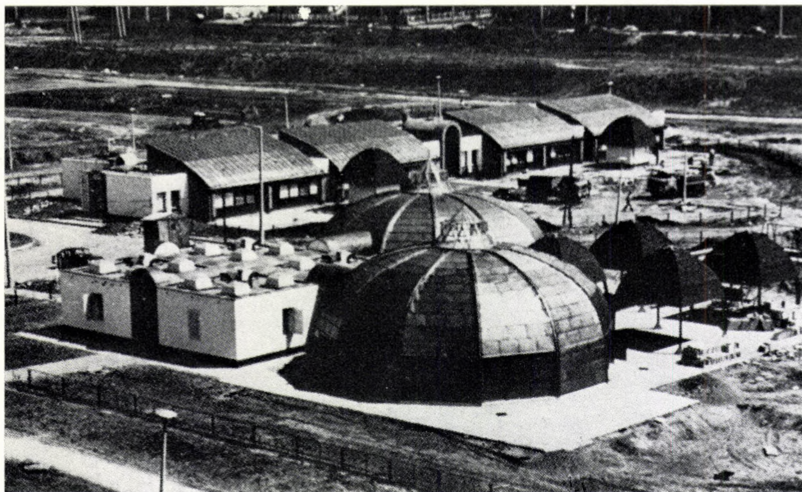


All photographs by László Sáros

Visegrád. Restaurant at Mogyoróhegy. Designed by Imre Makovecz, 1982



Zalaszentlászló. Cultural Centre of the village designed by Imre Makovecz in 1985 Side wall with trees



Kaposvár. Kindergarten, designed by Attila Kovács, 1975–78

László Sáros

Mecsek Hills. Cave research centre. Architects: György Csete and Jenő Dulánszky, 1971

Andras Erdei

Velem. Interior of the Woodcarvers' House, designed by András Erdei 1978–80

Velem. Wood shed designed by András Erdei, 1981–82

are composed of the linking of small central spaces. The living spaces are enmeshed by a network of the branches of living trees. The cupolas supported by the trunks of living trees, concomitant to the enlargement of the central spaces (St Gellért Parish Church, Budapest, Forest Cultural Centre, Visegrád), indicate that Makovecz has come back to the Goetheanum ideal with an abundance of his own unique architectural vernacular. The concert hall of Szigetvár (1985) is a homage to the architects who furnished the initial inspiration, and above all to Steiner.

The architecture of Imre Makovecz is extremely personal in several respects. He is an original thinker who can make new use of old analogies. His work exemplifies the efforts of the best architects towards reifying in form that which exists first in the spirit.

János Gerle

IN SEARCH OF A HUNGARIAN ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITY

The architectural practice which, after Frank Lloyd Wright, is now called organic architecture, was not unknown in Hungary, but was the continuation, after an interlude of many years, of an already long-standing tradition. The great intellectual explosion of the turn of the century lasted in Central Europe until the 1940s and was linked in Hungarian architecture with the names of Ödön Lechner,[1] István Medgyasszay, Károly Kós, Dezső Zrumeczky and Ede Toroczkai-Wigand, its last representatives being Károly Kós and István Medgyasszay.

The last twenty-five years have seen a revival of the concept of giving prominence to what is valid regionally, to the embodiment of the folk spirit in architecture as well. About fifty buildings have been so conceived and thus by now organic architecture in Hungary can point to an adequate number of works to allow for a lasting revival. Those exponents of the trend amount to some thirty-five architects.

The trend cannot be described through its stylistic marks alone. A description has to include its methods, its social position and relations just as much as, for example, its use of materials. The Hungarian exponents of organic architecture are not linked by working in the same design office or enterprise, nor by any geographical or residential attachments. Of the members of the former Pécs Group, György Csete now lives in Budapest, Tibor Jankovits in Keszthely, Gyöngyvér Blazsek and László Deák in Szolnok and Attila Kovács, who to a certain extent has moved away from the concept, now works in the film world in Budapest. Yet they are held together by a common goal and continue to display and publish their work under the name of the Pécs Group.

Another community, calling themselves the Visegrád Group, have been propagating their programme during the architects' summer schools they organize annually. Most of their members are young architects just embarking on their careers—indeed some are still university students. Yet another group has been formed by the architects working at a designing office in Kaposvár—Miklós Kampos, Ferenc Lőrinc, Tünde Szabó and Jenő Papcsik, who became interested in organic architecture some ten years ago. One of the latest subscribers to the concept is András Erdei, who lives and works in Buda-

[1] *NHQ* 73.

pest and who joined the trend at the height of the folk-art movements of the 1970s.

These architects of different ages, living and working far from each other, are linked by a common frame of mind and view of the world. They seek for metaphors between society's metanature and the world. Metaphors to link these two forms of nature have of course been sought before; Gaudi and Morris, for instance, looked for floral metaphors, Green for animal metaphors and the philosopher Rudolf Steiner for human metaphors. In their innermost nature and in the process of history they seek for that firm point on which to base their activity. They are characterized by a susceptibility to barbarian cultures, in Europe by an attraction to the world of the Celts, the Scythians and even people of more ancient times. (One has only to think of Wright's Irish-American romanticism, Lechner's interest in Indian symbols, Steiner's cosmology, and so on.) They look for, and find, a metamorphic connection in the relationship between the individual and everything else. They strive for organic links following from one another, between the individual, the family, the nation, the historical continent and the consciousness of humanity, both in their personal and professional lives.

A fine example has been the life and work of Károly Kós[2] with whom it is not architecture, literature, applied arts, literary organization or political activity individually that should be emphasized at the expense of the others, but his whole life as such, in which consciousness of the individuality and of humanity were always in an organic relationship.

One of the main characteristics of organic thinking is spiritual objectification, the magic of preparing objects and shaping the environment, the way in which creation, merely by its realization, changes the world. One only has to think of Gaudi's church, the Sagrada Familia in Barcelona, which is being built permanently and continuously, and which, in the spirit of his testament, is the Catalan people itself.

If one identifies oneself with the theory and practice of organic architecture, one naturally has to be thoroughly acquainted with, and follow, the architectural tendencies of the day. One has to see intellectual movements in architecture in relationship with movements in other fields of life, because only a symptomatic approach will help to understand the content of the phenomena, whether it is a question of movements in society or of nature's phenomena.

Organic architecture always appears in an individual form, something which naturally follows from its position and the style in which it forms connections. All kinds of addition and montage are alien to its methods of design and construction, the essence of its approach being always to listen to the other party and to incorporate his opinion into its process of design and execution. The buildings are of a regional or national type, whether employing geological or historical metaphors. It strives for direct contacts both in a human and a natural sense, as it tolerates no indirectness. It has to reveal the historical sources of national culture, the traditions of a new, community culture, in the way as Bartók and Kodály did in music, or Balázs Orbán, Malonyai and Péterfy in ethnography. Just as ancient Hungarian musical idiom has become incorporated in the intellectual life of mankind, so the ancient idiom of peasant art has to be developed into a new meta-idiom in architecture.

IMRE MAKOVECZ

[2] *NHQ* 61.

THE AURÉL BERNÁTH EXHIBITION

Commemorating a life in art

Aurél Bernáth* only received a professorship at the Budapest Art Academy at the age of fifty, in 1945. It is perhaps a fact not known—to which I am a witness—that he had taught before that. That *propadeutika* was the Art School in Alkotmány utca in Budapest—a free school—with a department of painting. I signed up for a course there in 1944, at a time when I did not know what I wanted to be; I have not become a painter, fortunately. In the penultimate year of the Second World War, I found the free and progressive atmosphere in the school really attractive. Of Aurél Bernáth we knew that he had placed the wreath on behalf of the Hungarian intelligentsia on the statue of Petőfi in an anti-Nazi gesture in 1942. As I saw him entering the door in his fur-lined coat, with a light-grey felt hat on his head and a folded umbrella on his arm, I knew immediately that he was a prince. I remember vividly his erect deportment, severe, brief—never denigrating—criticism, his whispering, almost whimpering voice. This description of Bernáth can be added to by Lajos Kassák's description of the artist's studio written around the same time: "It is a real room of work into whose style fits its master, wearing a canvas smock, with the ascetically drab colour of his skin, with the inspired calm of his face, at times with his sour, nervous ticks."

Hungary was occupied by the Germans on March 19, 1944; for a while we continued to attend the school, there was a tinge of snobbery in concentration on aesthetics in the midst of danger. *Ars longa, vita brevis?* We did not know how right we were. Naturally, the school was to be split up in April.

*

* *NHQ* 50, 69.

Aurél Bernáth was born in 1895. A teacher *par excellence,* he was actually self-taught. In 1916 he studied in the free school of the Artists' Colony of Nagybánya, free in the proper sense of the word. In the Great War, he joined the Austro-Hungarian army. In 1921 he lived in Vienna, in 1923 he moved to Berlin and organized an exhibition in the Sturm Gallery, which he also did in 1924. From 1927 he lived and worked in Pöstyénfürdő, then returned to Budapest. It is worth mentioning that he became the leading figure from the art world among the habitués of the Gresham Coffee-house here. After 1945 he became officially recognized as a notable master; he painted several frescoes—quite alien to his personality. In his old age he wrote increasingly often, penning memoirs of literary significance; nine books of his have been published. He had a great number of exhibitions in Budapest and various towns both in Hungary and abroad, his favourite site being the Ernst Museum in Budapest, a large gallery built in the Art Nouveau style in 1917. He exhibited his works there in 1928, 1930, 1931, 1939, and the largest retrospective exhibition in his own life-time was held there in 1956. A posthumous exhibition was held in the same place in 1985.

*

I worked in the preparation of the Ernst Museum exhibition of 1956—it opened on October 21—as a tyro exhibition director for a long half year. Actually, it was from Bernáth and his wife Dr Alice Pártos, a rheumatologist, that I learnt how to organize exhibitions. Beginning with her husband's pictures painted at the age of 19, she created an inventory; for his work from 1914 onwards she supplied them with inventory numbers and she set up an inventory of the photo repro-

ductions too, indicating which were the duplicates (they could be given to the press). The order in that archive was similar to the one in Alice's consulting surgery. Bernáth considered it a mission to help create a circle of art collectors—who may almost be considered as artists—for himself and his fellow painters; it fell to me to find out who among these owners had survived the war, whether they still had his pictures and which ones. They did in fact have most of them. Another task of mine was to track down one of his masterpieces, *The Port of Genoa*, which had gone astray during the war. It had been bought by the Rimamurány–Salgótarján Steel Mill, and the company had since been nationalized. By accident I caught sight of the enormous composition on the wall of an office; it had only received a minor splinter injury during the siege of Budapest. They were glad to part with it and since then it has belonged to a museum. Mrs Bernáth's work routine was hard, sometimes we were collating lists till midnight; naturally, I frequently had lunch or dinner in their house —the cooking was excellent—and this was at a time when war-time privation was still not far away. Alice invited me to the painters' table at the Gresham Coffee-house which re-opened at that time, too.

*

I was entrusted with organizing the exhibition in the Ernst Museum on the occasion of the ninetieth birthday of the master in 1985. My aim was not to introduce the great man, the classical master, the teaching material, the compulsory reading, the owner of innumerable medals, but to prove that there is a place for searching for talents among the great as well. I was aware that, in the words of Lajos Németh, professor of art history, who wrote the introductory study in the catalogue, "the proper judgement of Bernáth's art was hindered by passions dwelling outside the realm of art." That is very true. That is why I did not want to cover the walls with an œuvre catalogue, that is why I made a very strict selection—with the help of Brigitta E. Cifka—leaving out his watercolours and drawings completely. Into the rooms were only admitted his most characteristic genre painting; I reduced the enormous œuvre to eighty pieces altogether in order to present Aurél Bernáth the painter to posterity.

At the beginning of his career, Bernáth—living in Vienna and Berlin after the Great War—was excited by Cubism, Expressionism, Symbolism; he called himself, as others called him, abstract but it was not the abstract of our present-day category. After the twenties he made a deliberate break with Expressionism which the pictures clearly show. To my mind, however, Expressionism remained more or less characteristic of him even in the fullness of his career. In Hungary, Bernáth is generally considered to be a painter in the German manner; Julius Meier-Graefe (1867–1935), however, considered him like the French, comparing him to Bonnard. Having looked at the œuvre from the inside at the memorial exhibition, I believe that both reactions are valid; in art everything is possible. It was in the twenties that the painter began to establish consciously—fortunately, not always consciously—the real Bernáthian painting. He painted the excellent series of pictures leading to the mature pieces and the *chefs-d'œuvre* themselves.

He considered spectacle, "sensuous spectacle," as absolute, but, as Lajos Németh adds, "he elevated all that to a depth of existential philosophy." Bernáth's themes are unassuming, or rather puritanical, in accordance with his age. It is the compression of the subjective himself, an exact, matter-of-fact, somewhat impassive autobiography, or a diary of a journey lasting all through his life. He did not paint in the plane, he made use of perspective although he was happier to express it through colour distance; construction in his pictures did not push forward but it was always where it had to be and not further. His contemporary and

Mihály Pantl

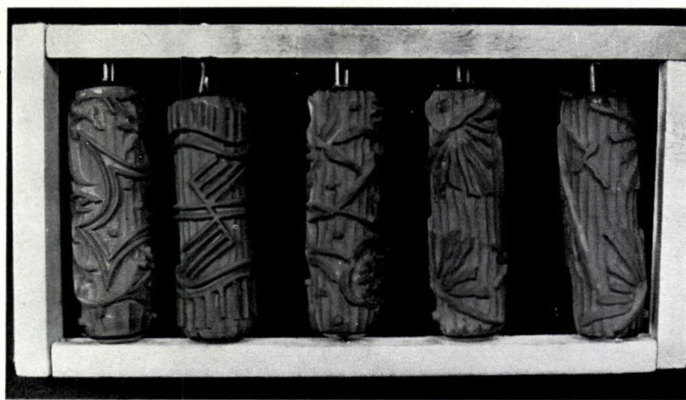
Private collection

Aurél Bernáth: Lake Starnberg No. 1 1924. Coal, pastel, 59×74 cm

Mihály Pantl

Private collection

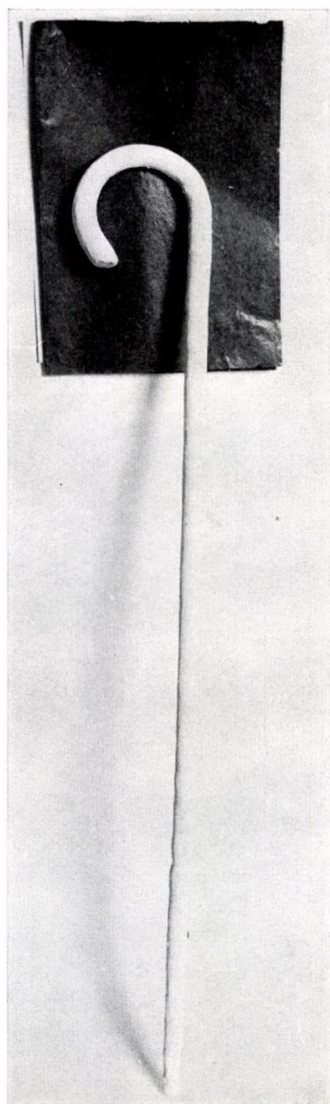
Aurél Bernáth: The Charles Bridge in Prague. 1925. Pastel. 54×72 cm

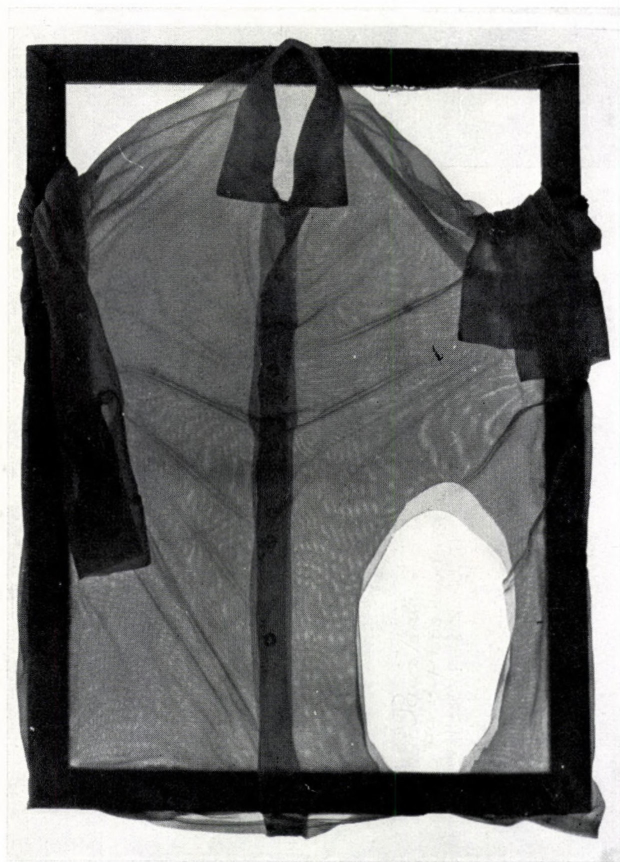


Árpád Farkas

László Révész: Prayer mill, 1985. House painter rollers, wood, 21×41 cm

Miklós Erdély: Fidelity, 1979. White stick, carbon paper, paper, 81 cm





László Paizs: The postimpressionist painter's nylon shirt. 1970. Canvas, strechers, plastic. 72×61×6.5 cm

Tamás Szentjóby: Cooling water, 1965.
Medicine bottle, water. 16 cm

György Jovánovics: Ceiling Compress. 1971.
Steel spring, wood, table. Changeable size

Sándor Pinczehelyi: Streetstone is the weapon of the proletariat.
1973. Stone, inscription. 10×10×11 cm

Árpád Farkas

László fe Lugossy: Live water. 30 cm.
Home water, 21 cm. 1985. Bottle, graphic work

Endre Bálint: Merde la Chaise, 1974.
Painted flap-seat, photo,
artifical flower. 40×40 cm

friend, the art historian István Genthon, called his pictures deep-lit, meaning there is no source of light, and that gives his pictures representing reality colours, lights, effects which are not of this world. Bernáth was a master of painting as such, whether he was glazing, working with crayon or just painting. As he taught at the Academy, he worked on the whole surface of the picture at the same time, even if the work took years; in Bernáth's pictures, as painters' slang has it, everything is together; a real Bernáth work is, and that is the greatest praise, complete.

The introductory series of pictures in the first room are from the twenties; the Cubist, constructive past, with no little Expressionism, can still be felt quite strongly. Drab browns, ochres, and the blue of the waters—the eternal topic of the artist—are everywhere (*The Lake of Starnberg*, 1924; *The Charles Bridge of Prague*, 1925; *A Bridge in Pöstyén*, 1927; *Riverbank Ramparts*, 1926; *Walchensee I*, 1927). I would consider the portrait, *A Woman with a Shell* (1927), a clearly Expressionist piece. Although the pastel, *Still Life with the Statue of Nike* (1928), is close to the brown ochre range of colours, it brings to mind the "real" Bernáth with its significant lack of instruments. There is a similar, almost unpalpable greatness in the oil picture *Violin II* (1929): a violin next to an open case, with a part of a building seen through the window. A memory from a journey is *Morning II* (1931); it is perhaps a hotel window through which we see a man and a woman getting dressed, with a simultaneity different from that of the futurists. One of the most famous, almost emblematic, Bernáth pictures (it was also the opening picture of a feature film) is *Winter* (1929), two crows flying against a snowy scenery. It has a foreground and a background but no middle ground; the pastel is colourful even in the poverty of its colours. *Reverie* (1930), a very dynamic figure of a woman, leaning to the side, made up of S-lines, gestures, all in blue, is a rare Symbolist piece among Bernáth's painting.

The ground-plan of the Ernst Museum brings the visitor, after the line of cabinets, to a large hall with a glass roof; here I began the chronology again, this time with monumental pieces. The ever recurring water is the topic of the picture *Morning I* (1927). In the window opening onto the lake there is a still life—a lamp, red flowers in a vase—and the main object is a glass case with gold fish in it. So we can see water—through water. A wonderful piece of painter's virtuosity! Then came the other masterpieces. *The Port of Genoa* (1926), with warehouses in the foreground, a bay, ships, and hills in the background: a perfect model of composition. Of the same dimensions is his masterpiece *Riviera* (1927), a part of the beach, a promenade with a few figures. It is here one can realize that, in this painting of spectacles, the conceptual, indirect elements are dominant. The artist wrote, by the way, that he had seen the cliff at a lake-side in Bavaria. It is a spectacle, nonetheless.

The Painter (Self-portrait in a Rose-coloured Room) (1930) or the nude *Venus* (1932) are both *trouvailles* making use of thin layers of paint. A nature-principled painter emerged in 1935 with his *Pöstyén*, which shows fashionable ladies in printed dresses with large hats walking in the park. Now that we live at a time of nostalgia this work will probably be rediscovered. In his new era, characterized by the principle of nature, the artist reinstated the source of light, the sun, in its rank and put an end to the deep light. During the war everything became darker, the layers of paints became thicker; even the mistakes of such a talented man must be respected. With our eyes today, we prefer the pictures painted prior to 1938. Later on he painted excellent pictures in several different styles which would need a monograph rather than this present short article to describe. In his old age he again returned to water, rivers, lakes in Hungary and abroad. The water is no longer as blue as it used to be—I really do not intend to concoct simple

allegories—waters became grey, angry rivers as in *London* (1962–63).

"A great painter who could paint masterpieces," wrote Lajos Németh above the introduction to the catalogue, not concealing his reverence nor his reservations either. At the Bernáth memorial exhibition the young visitors understood the inherited preconceptions and looked at the pictures with specific interest, moreover enthusiasm, which today, at the time of new sensibility, *retournons à la peinture,* is more than edifying.

János Frank

---

101 OBJECTS

Exhibition in the Óbuda Gallery

The greatest achievement of that exhibition organized by Gábor Andrási and Tamás Török is that, with their unbelievably persistent efforts, they managed to prove what we have only suspected so far: that the Hungarian avant-garde has humour. Sharp, existential, tragicomical grotesque, daft jokes, student hoax, gentle irony, pungent sarcasm or shrill gags—all are present in this exhibition. The so far only supposed sector of the Hungarian avant-garde presents itself with this show as an irreversible entity, a structured trend. The works are the products of many decades: the oldest stems from 1955, the newest from 1985, and the exhibition includes the works of masters counting as classics today, and the products of the new generation in their thirties now.

The organizers have found also clever and smart solutions to the obstrusive question of definition: what should be considered an object. Their simple answer was the factual *object,* whether "only" found or manipulated. Instead of theoretical clarifications they devoted their efforts to the practical side of the exhibition, primarily to collecting the material because the purpose of that show crowding the material of long decades into single hall was chiefly to explore and document the material itself and, last but not least, to entertain and confuse visitors, make them laugh and disconcert them, arouse tension and irony.

The small hall where they had to exhibit 101 objects presented difficulties. They solved them by serving a kind of artistic mixed pickles to their guests. Accordingly, the overwhelming part of the works were placed on a long table laid with white linen which took up most of the hall: this idea solved the problem of arranging the heaps of tiny objects in the available narrow space.

The exhibition gives their due place to the works of Endre Bálint and Tihamér Gyarmathy, the classics of the Hungarian avant-garde.

Endre Bálint's objects are deservedly famous: three of them are shown here. The best-known is perhaps *Merde la Chaise* made in 1974. A female face smiles from the photo fitted into a toilet seat: she beams at the world without suspecting anything. This work is an excellent example of the utilisation of the montage principle in an object; it offers a glimpse of one of the most grotesque possibilities of matching ill-fitting elements. The little drama of "*Pray God Give Us Rain At Last!*" made in 1973 also merits to be mentioned. The components appear one after another on the tiny stage, the kneeling nun, the empty coffee cup, etc. The ancient wish for rain has been expressed also in a contemporary Hungarian hit, and this reference also enriches the work's semantic field. This work of Bálint alludes to one of the dominant types of objects in the exhibition:

works built on a pun, or on a title-giving gag pointing to the connections and contradictions of sight and name. The series of points built on puns are inspired by the spirit of Frigyes Karinthy, the classic of Budapest wit and humour who said that humour was no joke.

Two objects of Tibor Gyarmathy, one made in 1955, the other in 1965, suggest a different experience. True to his own experimental, non-figurative painting, he made his "dumb" objects speak: the stone and the bone deliver their message. From the infinite flow of time and space he took out the elements of our life and death which are imperceptibly present and put them into brackets as grotesque mementoes and warning signs.

Another remarkable group in the wealth and variety of different styles consists of the representative works of absurd humour and nonsense, showing the analytic mood of concept art and the unassailable criticism of Dadaism. One of its spectacular examples is György Jovánovics's plaster cast of 1970, *Snow Mark* which records the unrecordable past even if its subject is not worthy of recording. For the sake of permanence and survival, and for becoming a sculpture the work can only be the *copy* of the transitory original. Taking a plaster mould of the thawing snow is certainly one of the biggest possible nonsenses.

The semantic range of *Ceiling Press* produced in 1971 is richer and more challenging. This springy, clothes-clip-like device made of wood is in fact suitable for pressing two chairs to the ceiling as the live illustration of the poetry of Dezső Tandori, a contemporary Hungarian poet inspired by Dadaism. The basic problem of his book of verse *The Floor and the Ceiling* is the same: if the ceiling behaves like the floor but the objects do not fall down, then it is not inconceivable that we do indeed float with our heads downwards. This is a case of relativistic sarcasm, of rational and entirely unsentimental skepticism, of the anarchy of epistemology evoked in the field of art. It is by no means certain that it is more irrational to produce a *Ceiling Press* than a clothespeg or a chair, it is by no means sure that a nonsensical object is also irrational; maybe it is only uninterpretable...

Miklós Erdély's *Fidelity* (1979) inspired by conceptual art is also built on nonsense. The artist has leaned a white cane against a sheet of paper covered by a carbon nailed onto the wall. The unusual arrangement, the perplexing title can raise countless questions and hypotheses. Does the white cane leave any mark on the white paper, and if it does, is there anybody to see it? The realization of this possibility is as obscure to us as the world, and as the greater part of art including this particular work to the blind. And is it not true that the result of our work remains as obscure to us as to those who carry a white cane? Erdély's means and informations are minimal, like signs.

While Erdély concerns himself with the possibilities of art, László Paizs tries to come to grips with a similar problem in connection with the person of the artist. His work bearing the title *The Nylon-Shirt of the Post-Impressionist Painter* made in 1970 represents that ominous object—cast in plexiglass. That by now outmoded article in plexiglass his every chance of survival, it can be preserved in a museum indefinitely but—quasi in exchange—it can never be used again. The synthetic shirt petrified in a synthetic container has a lasting existence contrary to the ephemeral, impression-like life of the nameless, emphatically anonymous post-impressionist artist. This ingenious work of Paizs is, like Erdély's, a warning to be cautious.

Cooling Water, an object "made" by Tamás Szentjóby in 1965, owes its being a work of art to its title. At the time he had poured water to three quarters of polished-necked medicine bottle, and considered his work done. This crudely simple, impertinent gag may arouse a number of questions in visitors. Is it still *that* particular water since 1965? Is it the same water? Because if it had

been exchanged accidentally, it is now another object; or has the water been cooling since 1965? Maybe they warmed it up before the exhibition to make it exactly correspond to its title? These tense relations help Szentjóby to create a dialogue, i.e. by challenging the very existence of the work of art he achieves his purpose, to make the spectator ask questions beyond the work itself, about the existence of art. And if the question "is this art?" leads to the general question "what is art?", his challenge has been successful.

László Lugossy's *Live Water* and *Home Water* made in 1985 are developments of the idea of water shut in a bottle. He designed labels for the two closed bottles but the allusions of the drawings cannot be understood by the uninitiated. Lugossy's work originates in concept art and points towards individual mythologies.

The young László Révész also wishes to provoke a dialogue with his *Prayer-Wheel*. Here too, the title creates the work: without its name it would be a meaningless product. It consists of a wooden frame holding five patterned rubber rollers used by house-painters; if used, they would put different patterns onto the wall. With the monotony this house-decorator's implement Révész suggests of his own trade, painting, which can be carried on indefinitely and remain the invariably same, as monotonous as a prayer wheel. This critical self-confession and report about the crisis of painting is an important message in a moment when the new painting has just stopped and exiled the critical attitude at the cheap feast of pleasure-painting. With *Prayer Wheel* Révész wanted to remind us of the intellectual responsibility of painting.

Tamás Szentjóby's other exhibit, *Unit of Measurement* made in 1965, has a wider range of meanings. The length of the metal bar placed on a wooden board is 60 centimetres, so this object is not a metre- but a 60 centimetre-stick. New units of measure are generally introduced at the beginning of a new historical era, and this involves the question whether this work does not imply that we are in a new era? Maybe the 60 centimetre-stick is the promise of a new age.

Gyula Gulyás reacts to the world in a similar way with his idea of using a flagstone for his work *1919* made in 1973. This is a kind of pocket-monument of the Soviet Republic; strapped, it can be carried as a package. This object challenges the clumsiness and conservatism of Hungarian public monuments. Sándor Pinczehelyi put simply the inscription "Weapon of the Proletariat" on the same object. (The Flagstone, 1973). The spectator must only read the title aloud and thus meditate on the matter together with the artist. Namely the word Flagstone appears only in the title, and not on the object itself. The same kind of tension characterizes Miklós Erdély's work made in 1972: *Brushwood, the Proletarian of Combustibles*, an arrangement of loose faggot-stick placed on a glass plate. Here too, the title is of key importance, the idea is as important as the material part of the work. Linguistic plays together with visuality provide the critical sharpness and effect of the objects.

In a general way all objects express social criticism because behind their irony and gags they convey the image of an age although blown up and distorted. *Museum*, made by Károly Halász in 1975, is an excellent example of that critical attitude.

Injection phials are placed in a box each bearing the name of a well-known artist (Kaprow, Klein, etc.). The syringe placed beside them is marked Museum. Here the idea is not merely play, in this case concept art—at least in its objects—becomes deadly serious. The question is whether all this is really true, whether art has the effect of an injection, whether it is as potent as a medicine or as a poison? The allegory is certainly seductive and forces one to examine the social role of art.

In this regard perhaps the most important object in the exhibition is *Conceptional Art*, a work made by Albert Kováts in 1977. In this

case the *objet trouvé* was a brochure of 1950: Information about the exhibition entitled "The Constitution of the Working People" organized by the Union of Hungarian Artists and Craftsmen scheduled to open on August 20, 1950. After a long text which we do not quote here follows a proposal for themes consisting of 70 items, a list of subject and situations for which the political power of the era had a marked predilection: inaugurations; a picture of the trial of Rajk; Comrade Rákosi in Parliament. This era is over and that list as an object at an exhibition is the best proof of it being over *definitely*. György Szegő's *Fragment of Triumphal Coach from the Fifties* "found" in 1985 is memorable in the same context: the object itself is an obsolete tricycle. The sculpture refers to the difference of reality and self-evaluation in that era. Political attention and criticism does, however, not stop at the fifties. László Méhes' *Lajos/Mazsola* made of textile and paste in 1968 criticises the present. The exhibition shows the photo of that primitive, mask-like face made of paste: its mockery is directed at the well-known character of contemporary children's programs on tv: Mazsola is a stupid, grunting little pig, and Lajos (Louis) is one of the most common Hungarian name. Schematic Lajos—daft little pig.

Other works evoking individual mythologies are based on different reflections and use different solutions.

Uninterpretable systems, irrational connections are revealed, surmises, emotions, moods come to the foreground. An example of this trend is El Kazovsky's *Sacral Cupboard* (1980); his own well-known symbolical figures appear in and around it: dogs tied round with ribbons. We may guess from the title that the object is a tabernacle but the world of beliefs behind it remains hidden, the restless objects and shrill colours evoke only its atmosphere. Péter Ujházi's *Room* and *Box of Dobos* (1975, resp. 1983) belong to this category of works. If the use of remains, of shabby, valueless sunk characterizes El Kazovsky's works, this trend is even stronger with Ujházi. Since Schwitters valueless, rotting material has its own mythology in art, and the whole exhibition shows that now every sort of junk can be used for the purposes of art. *Room* is composed of the remains and wastes of everyday life: the composition dominates, as if we looked at a stage.

The title of András Wahorn's work: *Lonely Ship/Because her Pair is Lost* (1983–84) characterizes the spirit of the entire exhibition. After all, art is lonely but it cannot do anything else than obstinately seek its one-time evidence, directness, and naturalness. But all this is no reason for sadness. *The Water continues to cool.*

PÉTER GYÖRGY — GÁBOR PATAKI

THEATRE AND FILM

CHANGES IN THE HUNGARIAN THEATRE

When one speaks in general about the theatre of a country one can hardly avoid starting out from its national character. One is, however, immediately confronted with a paradox. At the beginning of the century it was customary to make a sharp distinction among features characteristic of various nations—and following from this, of their theatrical arts; in recent decades we have witnessed some kind of international integration taking place in the theatre. In 1908 Willi Handl still wrote that "no mask whatsoever can hide the character of the blood," consequently, Hedda Gabler, as performed by Eleonora Duse, was not an Ibsenian heroine but "the creation of an Italian poet." Today, however, in Peter Brook's stage version of the Hindu epic *Mahabharata,* to mention the latest example, Italian, French, Japanese, Polish, Greek, and American black actors play together on the stage, not in the least to emphasize the supra-national character of the performance, its interpretation as a metaphor for the world.

It is more to the purpose, then, to take a historical approach towards the theatre in any given country, rather than that of a national typology, even though admitting that some degree of justification for such typologies exist. We have to add, however, that historical development was decisive in their emergence as well.

The historical development of the Hungarian theatre is characterized by a phase lag. In the age of Shakespeare, a refined lyrical poetry blossomed in Hungary, but the greater, middle part of the country was occupied by the Turks and remained so for some one hundred and fifty years. Among the poets there were some with an interest in the drama; but they could not expect their plays to be performed for no professional theatre existed in the country. The bigger towns were almost all in the hands of the Turks and the few that were not lived in a state of semi-warfare. The first professional theatre company did not come into being before another two hundred years had passed, in Buda, at the end of the eighteenth century, and it lasted only for a couple of years. Theatre in the Hungarian vernacular only became current in the early nineteenth century, mainly through its rivalry with the German theatres functioning in the capital. The most spectacular outcome of this struggle was the foundation in 1837 of the National Theatre.

History and tradition

These social circumstances bear down on the present state of Hungarian theatre in two ways. Firstly, plays are written at the desk, not under inspiration from the stage, and are therefore of literary motivation, verbally centred, leaning towards the anecdotal. Secondly, since the theatre in the nineteenth

century was a means in the struggle for the supremacy of the Hungarian vernacular—and, thus in the last analysis, for a national independence and identity—it was primarily a political, and only secondarily an aesthetic means; this was a circumstance detrimental to the development of its autonomy, of the language of metacommunication, the choice of forms, the means of expression in acting and in stage representation in general.

The Hungarian theatre has from the beginnings been conservative; during its history it has never once joined the currents of the European avant-garde or, rather, such efforts as there have been in this regard have remained isolated and ineffectual. This is all the more striking when one compares the Hungarian theatre to that of neighbouring Czechoslovakia or Poland, for instance. In the 1910s and 20s, when the various *isms* prevailed in European art, the Hungarian stage was still dominated by the traditional, well written and produced plays. The most famous exponent of this genre was Ferenc Molnár whose conversational, naturalist plays did indeed, at the outset, pose a challenge to the antiquated pathos of the National Theatre. Molnár's drawing-room comedies reaped success also abroad although it is true, that his most valuable work, *Liliom*, is set in a Budapest amusement park. Often he did the directing himself at the Vígszínház. At a time when directing was undergoing a spectacular development all over Europe, Hungarian directors were (at best) educated literati, who transposed the way of life, customs and culture of the audience to the stage, (at best) with some ironic overtones.

The situation did not really improve between the two world wars. The audience put the actor—or, more precisely, the star—on a pedestal, he was not really suited to ensemble work—indeed no such thing existed; he strove for success by asserting his own personality arbitrarily and, at times, independently of the spirit of the play.

After the Second World War, ingrained theatrical traditions lived on, while the social structure that provided the framework to these traditions changed. Nationalisation increased centralisation of the theatres. From the late forties onwards, excessive centralisation was in any case characteristic of the economic, political and cultural life of the country. This is well reflected in the fact that today every fifth Hungarian, two million in number, live in the capital city. Accordingly, it was generally believed for a long time that there was no real cultural life, consequently no real theatre, outside Budapest, a view that certain obvious facts have not to this day altered. Yet the country's best theatre company is now in the provinces, in the town of Kaposvár, two hundred kilometres from Budapest. Incidentally, of the thirteen provincial theatres in the country, the farthest is no more than two hundred and fifty kilometres from the capital. In the eye of the average theatre-goer, however, only the Budapest actors have real rank. Considering the position, both moral and financial, of actors, this view is indeed not unfounded.

Structures

To have a better understanding of the workings of the Hungarian theatre, a brief survey of the structure of the theatre companies and other institutions employing actors must be made. To become an actor in Hungary, one must study at the one and only drama school of the country, the Academy of Theatre and Film, in Budapest. (Nevertheless, provincial repertory companies often have to train their own non-diplomaed actors.) The number of those working in the profession reaches one thousand. The Hungarian actor is, however, not only a stage actor; he is also a film actor, a radio actor, a television actor, and a dubbing actor in one person. There is no real distinction made as to the value of the various commissions—foreign films, or their leading roles at least, are dubbed by the most famous actors. Yet

the actor is tied by his contract to one place: the theatre. (No significant change has been brought about in this by the fact that a few years ago an actors' company was set up within the film studio as well; it is a company only in name and performs plays very rarely; the members receive their salary from the film studio, in return for which they have to do a minimal amount of acting in films; otherwise they are free to sign on for specific roles in any theatre.)

In Hungary, then, the actor belongs to the theatre. The film industry, the radio, television, the dubbing studios may all hire him—provided that the theatre is willing to release him. All this presupposes that theatres have permanent companies. This is in fact the case or, rather, it was the case from the nationalization of the theatres in 1949 right up to the end of the sixties. During this period, theatrical companies grew swollen within a composition that basically remained the same. In actual fact, theatres functioned very much like production units within the economy. The provincial theatres established drama and music divisions (in some, an opera company was also set up), while the three biggest Budapest theatres created chamber or studio theatres. Rehearsals lasted about four to six weeks everywhere. The production automatically fitted in the reasonably wide repertoire of the Budapest theatres, and with some clever manoeuvring, could be retained for years. In the provinces, the plays were generally performed *en suite*.

Towards the sixties it became clear that the greatest handicap in the development of the theatre was its very structure. Artistically, the companies had reached a stalemate and they were very much in need of a blood transfusion: a healthy and free labour market. The antagonism between the Budapest and the provincial companies became sharper. More than ever, a way of life centred in the capital worked to the disadvantage of actors living in the provinces, for they were practically deprived of any opportunity of doing extra work in national radio, television, a dubbing studio—all of which are located in Budapest. The theatrical map of the country became distorted. Leading actors flocked to the handful of the biggest Budapest theatres, while provincial theatres became drab and grey. The best film and television roles were snapped up by the named actors of the Budapest theatres. The extra money they made and the prestige they enjoyed were indeed at times disproportionate to their artistic abilities and was a result of exploiting their working capacity. The workday of a fashionable actor generally began by going to rehearsals in his theatre from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m., which was followed by filming in the afternoon; then there was the theatre performance at night, after which he ran to the radio. The provincial actor, on the other hand, had hardly any chance to express his talent; his profession was not considered prestigious, and he felt he was to remain unnoticed forever at the back of beyond.

Recognition of the unsatisfactory nature of this situation resulted in the introduction in the early seventies of what is called the contracts system, by which life membership of a repertory company ended and was replaced by the contract, extending to one, two or three years, mutually agreed on by actor and theatre. This, although liberating the labour market, still did not basically change the fact that actors belonged to the parent theatre, and had to obtain its permission before taking on other commissions. A specific consequence of the new situation has been a lesser interest on the part of the actor in playing in his own theatre. There he is on a fixed, not at all high, salary, while outside the theatre he receives extra money for each role or appearance. Recent economic reforms introduced in the theatre already make it possible to reward outstanding achievement in both quality or quantity on a wider scale than before.

*

Changing attitudes

Concurrently with the structural changes taking place in the theatre, at the end of the sixties a change in the aesthetic views on the theatre could be noticed, of all places, in a provincial company already mentioned, that of Kaposvár. It all started in the fact that within a couple of years a group of freshly graduated, young and ambitious directors went to work there. What they achieved was much like Karl Immerman had done some one hundred and thirty years earlier in Germany, when he created a model theatre in Düsseldorf, then considered a small town. It was probably no accident that the latest Hungarian theatrical revolution started in this large, ornate and unfriendly shed of a building which, with its 1,300 seats for a population of 24,000, was disproportionately large. Here it became clear for the first time that against the competition of television, the auditorium can no longer be filled from night to night even when kitsch operettas were performed; it was therefore worth while trying to change both the profile of the theatre and the tastes of the audience.

The Kaposvár theatre was supported in its efforts by the fact that in the sixties social development gathered momentum and started a lively intellectual motion in many fields, including literature and cinema. As a consequence, the public view of the theatre also changed, and the voice of a section of the audiences, who preferred something new, more mobile, passionate and political instead of the customary entertaintment served up in the theatre, became more audible. Since, in the early seventies, they found all this in the provinces—for alongside Kaposvár, some other provincial companies were also beginning to draw attention to themselves—they travelled from Budapest to see the productions in these theatres. Young film-makers, university and secondary school students, writers and poets who had kept away from the theatre, all discovered the new voice. A group of young theatrical professionals met a community of young theatre enthusiasts and together they proved strong enough to create a theatre of a new kind.

The new convention can be measured first in a gradual change in theatre-going habits. The public had for long opposed any attempt at making theatre more democratic. Until recently, performances in Hungary were all given in impressive theatres seating 800 to 1000. They were mostly built around the turn of the century in the Eclectic and Art Nouveau style, a good number of them to the designs of the noted Austrian theatre architects Fellner and Helmer. In the provinces, there had been a rivalry to build an even bigger and more ornate theatre than that of the neighbouring town. Accordingly, the performance itself became a ceremonial, social event for which you had to dress up; going to the theatre in everyday clothes was not done. The Hungarian theatre-goer still likes to dress up, he wants not only to see but be seen, and sits in his seat with tense reservation, not easily responding to the actors' insistence on making contact with him.

Theatre tickets are relatively cheap, about one per cent of an average monthly salary. (It is true, however, that in the case of some productions they may cost three or four times as much. Currently the most expensive tickets—to a production of the highly successful musical, *Cats*—cost six times the average theatre ticket.) A ticket to an average performance is half the price of a dinner in the average restaurant. The amount of subsidy on the average ticket is three and a half times its nominal price. On the other hand, theatre seats are few in proportion to the number of the inhabitants in Budapest; in absolute number they are less than in the inter-war years. All these help explain the theatrical boom which lasted up to the end of the seventies, when economic problems set in.

There are certain steps taken to guarantee capacity audiences which are called audience organizing and the subscription system. The first means that only a minority of the tickets can be bought from the theatre itself,

the majority are sold at work-places. The subscription system—under which theatre tickets are sold in advance for all new productions of the season—is in fact a contract between the theatre and the spectator, warranting attendance for the former and performance for the latter. It is hard to be a flop in the subscription system, for about sixty to seventy per cent of tickets for many performances are sold out in advance. It may happen though that the spectator is not even present, people who have bought tickets at their work-place do not attend; indeed this type of ticket-holder has now got a name in Hungarian theatrical jargon: the phantom spectator.

Recently there has been a change in all this, also initiated by the new wave of the seventies, in the provinces and partly in Budapest. More and more people began to realize that two specific features of the theatre—its direct-ness and public-ness—calls for various forms of contact to be made with the audience; therefore, much more than entertainment has to be provided. The new kind of theatre addresses the audience, as it were, involves them in the play, and has no inhibitions about exposing them to an emotional shock. This type of theatre frequently abandons the stage and performs down in the auditorium. In order to compete against the naturalist film, it invents the supernaturalist stage. To compete with the television screen, it starts performing in bigger and bigger squares, arenas or circuses. On the other hand, it shows it can be intimate as well, and opens tiny studio theatres. It strives for popularity for the sake of the masses and offers exclusivity for the conoisseur. It frequents the market fair and the church alike, and resembles now a night club, now an ancient ritual.

The new idiom

Concurrently, the acting style—or, to use the professional jargon, the theatrical idiom—has changed as well. The most spectacular change has affected the prestige traditionally accorded to the playwright; the text has become just another element in the performance, on a par with the sets, the acting, the lighting, the moves. It is a refreshing paradox, though, that dramatic literature has not declined; on the contrary, sometimes it led the way for the awkward-moving acting style. This was only possible if the playwright had said good-bye to naturalism. The best example here is István Örkény (1912–1979), the first Hungarian playwright after Ferenc Molnár to achieve real success abroad. Örkény had prepared a "new dramaturgy" of his own well before the theatre evolved its own new stylistic tendencies. He became the prime mover in the new efforts, thereby refuting the current view that there are conflicting interests between the playwright's theatre and the director's theatre. His example again directed attention to the sad fact that the primarily naturalistic origins of Hungarian theatre prevented it from joining forces with the fellow arts—for it is in the theatre that dramatic literature can be united with music, through scenery with the fine arts, through movement with choreography, pantomime, and dance.

The most important achievement of the new theatre is a novel kind of visuality. Naturalist acting went hand in hand with the kind of stage design whose visual quality is that of a painting. This type of design, for a long time dominant, lost its monopoly in Hungary later than elsewhere in Europe, and in recent years other influences—those of sculpture and architecture—were felt. The visual effect of the painterly stage design is limited; it contents itself with providing a passive framework for the spectacle and makes no attempt to create a dramatic space for the action. Yet—another paradox again —it is exactly here that stage design, by discovering the independent laws of creativity in its domain and trying to act in concert with the dramatic work, could liberate itself from being a servant maid to the director's concept as applied fine art.

The general backwardness of visual culture for a long time made its negative effect felt on the stage. In contrast to West European and the neighbouring East European countries, the -isms in the fine arts had little or no effect on the professional theatre in Hungary. Nor were the technical conditions for the introduction of new scenic devices present; the stage machinery in theatres built around the turn of the century gradually became obsolete and no new theatre had been built before 1978. From the seventies onwards, under inspiration from directors who had broken with naturalism, the theatre could depart from its naturalist traditions by emphasizing its own character as theatre. The bare set appeared, and the stage representing a stage appeared. The files were cleared away and the wings dismounted; spotlights became visible, lighting up the cracked grey walls backstage, the hooks in them, the iron ladder, at times even the fire safety regulations. The stage bared itself indecently, ostentatiously displaying its hitherto hidden means, the derricks and pulleys, the wind machine, the trolleys and trucks which were at times pushed to and fro by totally visible stagehands during or between the scenes. Frequently the drop-scene used to hide changes of scenery disappeared as well.

Profiles

The appearance of new theatrical workshops which adopted new views went together with a gradual differentiation of theatrical profiles. One of the distinguishing marks of the theatre of the seventies and the eighties has been the emergence of an independent profile or the effort to develop one. It seems that a director or directors of marked character are instrumental in achieving this; in other words, a sovereign profile is not the function only of the repertoire, the *what*, but rather the style and approach, the *how*. Needless to say, the repertoire is not of secondary importance either, for parallel with the emergence of distinct theatrical profiles, it can everywhere be seen that the departmental store character of the theatres has decreased; still it cannot be the decisive factor. The expulsion of the operetta from provincial theatres has not automatically produced a higher standard. Indeed, it has turned out that in the hands of a talented director even the operetta can be fitted into a high-standard profile. A theatre with a repertoire with valuable dramatic material can still be profile-less, and another where operettas are performed may have an attractive profile.

The widening of the repertoire has also had its own significance. From the seventies and in the eighties, plays or, indeed, in some cases playwrights not previously on-stage in Hungary, have been performed. The examples are: Witkiewicz's *The Water-hen*, Gombrowicz's *Operetta* and *The Marriage*, Boris Vian's *Empire Builders*, and also some plays that are now classics, such as Jarry's *Ubu Roi* or Joyce's only play, *Exiles*. The Gombrowicz plays or *Ubu Roi* were earlier unimaginable on any Hungarian stage; there were simply no artistic means at the disposal of the actors to perform them. This style expects from the actor much more than a psychological approach, more than movements tied to physical actions in the Stanislavsky method; nor can it be satisfied with the Brechtian devices. According to the new convention, the actor in a sense has to become one of the effects in the totality of the performance, and this can only be achieved by a presence much more intense than earlier, and by a more clearly defined basic attitude and more disciplined ensemble work.

It should be noted that this theatrical map of Hungary shows only a segment of the theatre of recent years. The panorama has become more varied with the theatre of new style and new approach, but the workshops that have always built their profile through traditional methods have their own roles within it. In fact it is only worth while making traditional theatre when—mainly for want of avant-garde tendencies—a reforming

spirit exists, at least in intention. In Hungary, the traditional theatre is the theatrical tradition, and it appeals successfully to that section of the audience that seeks entertainment, escape from everyday troubles, and expects touching emotions and refreshing games from the theatre.

In spite of the lively development that has taken place in recent years, we have to admit that theatre in Hungary still cannot exert an influence as a community-building force. If theatres are to become centres of intellectual life, they should not content themselves with entering into contact with the audience only for the duration of the performance, from the moment the lights go out until the actors take their curtain call. The future of theatre depends also on its capacity to build a many-sided and lasting relationship with the audience, instead of the once-off, incidental one. Its intellectual attraction can only be strong if within its walls it can also function as a library, a discotheque, an exhibition and concert hall or even a club. The role of the cultural centres in the provinces is enormous in this respect. If they have a suitable auditorium they can genuinely become centres of cultural life. Other programmes organized around theatrical performances—poetry readings, chamber music or even pop concerts, exhibitions—can all be conducive to an integration of the theatre into the whole of cultural life. Theatre had once emerged from that strong communal experience and need—whether we call it ritual or magic or ceremony—which it now seeks again. To achieve this, however, it has to search for newer forms of contact with the audiences, in Hungary just as everywhere else in the world.

TAMÁS KOLTAI

THE MICRO-ORGANISMS OF EVERYDAY LIFE

Péter Gothár: *Idő van* (Time)

Péter Gothár has made three films to date, each having something to do with time, at least in their titles. His first film was *That Priceless Day;* the second, which brought the director an international reputation and won the Grand Prix at the Tokyo Film Festival in June 1985, took its title from an old popular song, *Time Stands Still. Idő van* (Time) is the title of his latest film. Not yet released, it was given a preview to the industry a couple of hours before these lines were written (at the end of June).

Trying to find an explanation for this peculiar concern with time, one might at best say that, for Gothár, time is history abstracted and, furthermore, history has become void, depersonalized, alienated. The function of history has narrowed to robbing man of time—which it manages to do in various ingenious ways. Gothár may have given the title to his film because in his previous film time had come to a standstill.

Gothár's work has apparently nothing to do with Jancsó's style or the artistic vision embodied in it (he is much closer to, say, Pál Sándor). Yet, thinking about this sequence of his three films, one recalls to mind a much-quoted statement of Jancsó's on the repetitive nature of history, in which certain basic formulas have been recurring since the time of Julius Caesar or even earlier (see the dictatorships, wars, oppressive apparatuses of our day). But while Jancsó aims at showing how it all works in the macro-organisms of history, in its power structure, Gothár opts for the micro-organisms of everyday life and wants to show through them how stubbornly history repeats itself. The title is ironical and

means that there is no time for Péter Gothár; at least, for him it does not exist as a continuity. *His* time—if any—is the never-passing, the perpetually-recurring. His abstraction of time reminds one of Anatole France's formula: men are born, suffer, and die. But Anatole France's dictum is in fact the ultimate condensation of diversity. Because of their narrative character, films have to offer some concrete variant of time, they have to show actual time, or an actual period. And if *Time* is inferior to the truly significant *Time Stands Still*—although Gothár uses in his new film the same style perhaps in an even more mature and original way—it is because in *Time Stands Still* abstraction is present only on the level of generalization, and the age, the *hic et nunc* of the film, unfolds before us in a markedly characteristic manner, and in spite of expressionistic and surrealistic elements—or even because of them, setting off the characters more clearly—we see typical characters in typical situations. In *Time*, however, abstraction is divorced from what and where it is abstracted from, and we are shown, again in an expressionistic and surrealistic stylization, a truly timeless model of life, occasionally with genuine wit, occasionally on the level of light cabaret humour.

In both films, the characters feel uneasy, and this feeling of malaise is formulated in both in a bizarre and original way. It's just that while in *Times Stands Still* it is quite clear why the characters feel uneasy and what kind of human tragedy is causing their mortifications; in *Time* it is the petty, though grotesquely blown-up, trivialities of everyday life that make man unhappy. Unhappiness is postulated here as the human condition. The concept, however, is not new; it occurs in literature from Kafka to Beckett and in a good number of films with a much more convincing and idiosyncratic expression than occurs in Gothár's film, which could be set anywhere in the world.

This latter fact may equally be a virtue or a shortcoming of a film; it is, in fact, both. The film undoubtedly benefits from the surrealism evident in its structure; it is based on fundamental mythologies of our age, which are ingrained in the characters' life, who, in their dreams and fantasizing, create their own images from the clichés of westerns and crime stories and from the prefabricated elements of commercials.

Gothár plays with this dual character of the film in a witty, inventive and impressive way. The plot of the film, which he co-wrote with the talented young writer, Péter Esterházy, defies description precisely because of its surrealist character. It is about a family which, in the words of the poet Dezső Kosztolányi, "have been registered in all kinds of books and are in all sorts of way accounted for," and which, in the words of another poet, Attila József, "never know when there is sufficient reason for digging out the files that infringe on their rights." Anyway, they have grown accustomed to this, and are not really aware or bothered by it.

The film is about such a family on holiday; they stay in a holiday home which may have been taken from a Tarkovsky film or even a Kafka novel. There is a caretaker in it who has time now, but in the fifties he used to stop time as one of Rákosi's thugs; there is a wife on whose face a hair grows, with amazing speed at that (this is the main conflict, the tragedy of the film), and through this the family becomes involved in the hopelessly confused bureaucracy of medical care; there is a strange mother (the grandmother) with her strange beau, and there are various strange children—strange in the sense of the opposite of common or average—yet strange in a down-to-earth, almost naturalistic way.

The film is about a life that is uncontrollable and chaotic. One is willing to go along and believe the director that it is indeed so and that we search in vain for a guiding principle in it—provided this idea is conveyed with due artistic power. Unfortunately, however, the script is too ordered, too controllable for this. After a beginning that has wit

and freshness, the message is gradually force-fed to us, and we lose heart.

Nevertheless, Péter Gothár is a very talented film-maker. Though this judgement is not based primarily on this film, it cannot be refuted by it either. He has a remarkably good eye for casting his film—especially in the case of the head of the family (Márk Zala) and the wife (Kati Lázár); the film as a whole has a distinct atmosphere of its own, it has strength and wry humour in it. Those with an eye to delicate detail will find pleasure in Gothár's film. Others, however, who appreciate the totality of a film and are not satisfied with stylistic niceties as opposed to a true message, will have a sense of the *déjà vu:* the film is a variation on an internationally fashionable theme and, though it has quality and originality, it is not an outstanding work. It has not surpassed French or Spanish films in surrealism, Czech films in the grotesque nor American films in the burlesque. However, it is also true that the films which could support this statement were all made in the sixties. It may well be that in the film output of the world today, Gothár's work shall evoke the past glory and be highly ranked.

ERVIN GYERTYÁN

FROM OUR NEXT ISSUES

CONVERSATION WITH ZSOLT KÉZDY-KOVÁCS

Karen Jaehne

NEW DOCUMENTS ON DANIEL LISZT

Alan Walker

MUSIC HISTORY AND THE HISTORY OF NATIONAL MUSIC

Benjamin Rajeczky

NEW RECORDS

Andrew Clements

TIBOR VARGA—THE MAN SCHOENBERG ADMIRED

Bálint András Varga

MUSICAL LIFE

ZOLTÁN GÁRDONYI

THE ORGAN MUSIC OF LISZT

According to Raabe's catalogue, the number of works by Liszt approaches 700 and according to Searle this round figure is actually some seventy more than this; his forty works for the organ make up a negligible proportion of his oeuvre. Indeed, of these forty works there are scarcely ten which were originally intended for the organ. Another twenty are organ transcriptions of works Liszt initially intended for some other medium (orchestra, or voice, or something else), and about a dozen are transcriptions of works by other composers, originally written for some other medium.

Nevertheless, a comparison with the number of organ works by contemporary composers of his stature will reveal that perhaps only Mendelssohn wrote a similar number of pieces for the instrument, while Schumann has left scarcely any mark on the history of organ music; Berlioz, Chopin and Wagner have left no mark at all. Before them, the Viennese classics composed no works for solo organ either.[1] This seems to fully justify asking why, after Bach the instrument has been dominated by a few transitional or minor composers, whose names by now have been more or less forgotten.[2]

Classical music had reflected universal human ideals irrespective of religious differences, the organ with its liturgical restrictions, and as an instrument put almost exclusively to church use, became outdated. Furthermore, from the second half of the 18th century onwards, the ideal of sound changed in music: the rigid, impersonal sound of the organ proved unsuitable for flexible, dynamic transitions called for by *empfindsam* music playing. Neither the craft of organ building nor the art of organ playing stayed abreast of musical developments; other instruments and the voice saw the arrival of an age of virtuosity, the majority of church organists only reached a stage of mediocrity and indeed most of them remained below that.[3]

[1] Unless one considers Mozart's pieces intended for the player organ as such works, and at the same time leaves out of consideration Haydn's and Mozart's compositions intended as inserts in religious services in which the organ plays concertante with the strings or the orchestra, and Mozart's *Mass in C major* with a solo organ section, dating from 1776 (K. 259).

[2] Ph. Em. Bach, Christian Heinrich Rinck, Adolf Friedrich Hesse, Gustav Adolf Merkel, et al.

[3] J. Rheinberger, the composer of a great many organ works, who from 1867 onwards taught the organ at the Royal Music School of Munich, considered J. S. Bach's organ sonatas to be unperformable. (Friedrich Högner in *Music und Kirche*, 6/1974, p. 282.) In Chapter 3 of his *Studien zur Orgelmusik Franz Liszts* (Munich, 1973) Peter Schwarz outlines the intellectual background to the organ music of the 19th century, without,

Let us first take a look at the circumstances under which Liszt developed an active relationship with organ music. Apart from the instruments used in religious services, there were practically no organs in the countries which Liszt visited in the 1830s. It is true, however, that church organs were not restricted to strictly liturgical music. From the Age of Enlightenment at the latest, religious devotions with music called vespers or motets, were held in Catholic and Protestant churches alike, and the Roman Catholic liturgy even allowed organ pieces to be inserted in the mass.

*

We have no information whatever on Liszt having performed, or even having been familiar with any solo organ work before 1841. During his childhood in his native village of Doborján, he could have scarcely heard organ music, nor could he have played the organ.[4] In all probability the first time the Doborján church saw an organ was in 1840, when during a visit home Liszt made a donation of 100 ducats towards the purchase of one. This organ with one manual, no pedal and with five stops is today in the Doborján Liszt Museum.

In 1836 Liszt attended a religious service in the Calvinist Church in Geneva, where psalms were sung to an organ accompaniment, and he included this in his Swiss musical itinerary, the cycle of piano pieces entitled *Album d'un voyageur* (although he omitted it from the final version of the cycle, which appeared in 1853).

Also during his stay in Geneva, in December 1836 Liszt went on an outing in the neighbourhood. When he and his companions visited the Cathedral of St Nicholaus in Fribourg, Liszt's improvisation on the church organ left a deep impression on George Sand and the Swiss linguist Adolphe Pictet, both of whom committed their experience to paper. The instrument, which at the time included 64 stops, was built by a Fribourg craftsman, Jean Pierre Joseph Aloys Moser, between 1824 and 1834. Moser's father had learnt the craft from Johann Andreas Silbermann in Strasbourg. Liszt at the time could scarcely have had a more intimate relationship with the organ than that provided by the similar arrangement of the keyboards in the organ and the piano. He must have found his way among the pedal keyboards too, yet he could have hardly used them for anything more than producing sustained pedal basses. The registers were handled by the organ-maker himself, who happened to be present, presumably following Liszt's general requests. However, it must have been the protracted sound, differing so radically from that of the piano, and even more the tremendous mass of sound of the organ, which seemed almost superhuman compared with the volume of the contemporary piano, that inspired Liszt in an improvisation which prompted both of his literary companions to set down their experience[5]. According to George Sand, Liszt began playing *pianissimo*, and his modulations died away in the depth like a shadow; then he intoned Mozart's *Dies irae*, suddenly changing to *fortissimo* and giving rise in the imagination of the novelist to visions of the Apocalypse.

Adolphe Pictet described Liszt's improvisation mainly by using musical terms: "There commenced a gloomy, strict Adagio; flickering, dark modulations kept interweaving like misty fog along a line of dissonances; meanwhile more definitive formations were seeking to find shape and light as it were, and then disappeared as a sublime image of chaos. The prelude closed at the

however, devoting adequate attention to the organ works of Liszt's day and the full scope of the organ music by Liszt himself; apart from his three great compositions in the genre, Schwarz only tackles the *Missa pro organo* and the *Requiem für die Orgel*.

4 V. page 21 of the catalogue issued by the Doborján Liszt Museum in 1981.

5 Ramann, I, pp. 372–4

peak of tension to be followed by a firm, serious theme, in the majestically deep tones of the organ, slowly, after the manner of Bach's fugues, in higher and higher registers. The solemn theme was joined by another, fast and sparkling subject, and while the first followed the strict laws of harmony, the second developed freely, in unexpected combinations and with striking effects. There ensued a singular struggle between the two themes: they wound about each other in desperate efforts, almost in the manner of Laocoon wishing to escape from the grasp of the serpents. Finally the first theme emerged victorious, the broken harmony was re-established, and the themes united in an inexpressible fashion. The theme developed with the sweep of a genius, concluded the artist's improvisation in the manner of a hymn of majesty, employing all the means of the splendid instrument."

These descriptions, like Heine's description of Liszt's improvisation of the piano,[6] testify to the fascinating effect the young composer's improvisations unfailingly had on his listeners.

According to a brief report, on May 1, 1839 Liszt played a Bach fugue on the organ of the Church of San Luigi degli Francesi, at a religious service organized by the French embassy in Rome.[7] The work presumably was not an organ piece but either the Fugue No. 1 in C sharp minor from *Das wohltemperierte Klavier* or the fugue from the *Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue*.[8] An even more taciturn report, though of no little interest, is that on May 4, 1843 Liszt played the organ at a church concert in Moscow.[9]

*

Mária Eckhardt describes an episode which could easily fit into a novel.[10] She quotes from the recollections of the French poet Joseph Autran (1813–1877). Liszt set four of Autran's poems for male choir with piano accompaniment, and later, in the summer of 1845, he met the poet again in Marseilles, on his way back from a concert tour of Spain and Portugal. Mária Eckhardt writes: "After attending a banquet, Liszt and Autran hurried to the La Major Cathedral, on the seashore, where Autran was to be best man at the wedding of a friend of his at midnight, and Liszt had undertaken to play the organ. Due to an accident the young couple did not arrive, but Autran had, nevertheless, the wonderful fortune to have Liszt play the organ in the old church for him alone."

"He played, he improvised, a passionate and magnificent symphony upon Dante's *Divina Commedia*," wrote Autran, "of which we had been talking just previously. In succession he led me through the Inferno, Purgatory and Paradise, with a variety of expression and emotion the recollection of which will never fade from my memory. The sea, in the intervals, roared on the shore in a confused din of applause. Such a *chef-d'oeuvre* for a single listener, this really was more than munificence. This music, which ought to have demanded an admiring crowd, spread itself in the empty church with an overflow of sonority that at times became terrifying."

Mention should also be made of some more relevant information, according to which shortly after the Marseille episode, Liszt played the organ at one of his concerts in Mulhouse in Alsace.[11]

All this deserves attention both from the technical and an intellectual aspect. From a technical point of view the young Liszt's encounters with the organ indicate that the virtuoso pianist, accustomed to a seven-octave keyboard, was faced with the keyboards of the organ, encompassing four or at most four and a half octaves; he learned of

[6] 1837, Ramann, I, p. 429.
[7] Ramann, I, p. 518.
[8] Cf. Ramann, II–1, p. 157.
[9] Raabe, I, p. 282.
[10] 'Liszt Marseille városában" (Liszt in Marseilles), *Magyar Zene*, 1981. № 3, and "Liszt à Marseille," ***Studia Musicologica***, 24, 1982.

[11] Raabe, I, p. 284.

the dynamism of the organ that cannot be influenced by the cumbersome movement of the keys of the instrument and with the evenly prolonged, yet less impulsive, sound of the organ pipes as compared with the sound of the piano chords, which quickly dies away after they have been struck.

This latter difference of a prolonged sound is in the organ's favour as far as the part lines are concerned; this brings us to the intellectual comparison, as does the wide choice of timbre and volume offered by the variety of organ pipes, and last but not least, to the difference between the dynamic possibilities inherent in the pianos and organs of that time. It must have been precisely the dynamic extremes of the organ, the contrasts between the virtually superhuman mass of sound and the whispering *pianissimo* that carried Liszt to improvisations which gave rise to apocalyptic and to Dantean associations in his listeners. Liszt must have had little practice in the use of the pedal keyboards, but his skill in the use of the manual keyboards certainly surpassed that of many a professional organist.

It was presumably Mendelssohn's prompting that led Liszt to take a profound interest in J. S. Bach's organ music. In 1840 Mendelssohn gave a concert of Bach's organ works in St Thomas's Church at Leipzig. Schumann enthused in writing over this concert. In 1841 Liszt wrote literal piano transcriptions of Bach's organ prelude and fugue in A minor and of that in E minor; he included these pieces in his piano concerts in Berlin in the winter of 1841–1842. Later he transcribed more of Bach's great organ preludes and fugues to the piano with a literal exactitude that leaves no sign of the works having been originally scored for some other instrument.[12]

*

Liszt might also have been known some of Mendelssohn's organ works. The six organ sonatas Mendelssohn wrote between 1839 and 1845 transplant to the organ the classic Viennese sonata form of independent movements. This was also done later by Johann Gottlob Töpfer of Weimar[13] in his first organ sonata in D minor, of 1851, and by G. A. Merkel of Dresden in all of his many organ sonatas. From 1845 onwards Schumann composed a few works for the organ, or more exactly for the pedal-piano—a piano fitted with a pedal keyboard in addition to its ordinary manual keyboard and used by organists for practice at home. This may have prompted Liszt to have a *piano-orgue*, made by the French firm of Alexandre et fils, set up in the music room of his home in Weimar's Altenburg.

This instrument was used by Liszt in composing in 1850 his great four-part fantasia on themes from Meyerbeer's *The Prophet*. He intended the fourth part, the fantasia and fugue *Ad nos, ad salutarem undam* for four hands, with the second player also playing the pedals. A minor change was called for to have the piece performed by one player on the organ: those parts moving in the lowest and highest registers of the piano keyboard had to be reduced so as to fit to the narrower keyboards of the organ, the piano figurations had to be supported by sustained notes, and so on. The piece is only known today in this version, or more exactly in the form it features in A. Eckardt's version furnished for concert purposes, as Liszt first and lengthiest original organ composition. Liszt took as the theme of his work a four-line chorale-like melody of Meyerbeer's,[14] beginning with the words *Ad nos, ad salutarem undam* which is woven into the opera's libretto. The words relate to the

[12] Ramann, II–1, p. 157; Raabe, II, p. 66.

[13] See more in Milton Sutter: "Liszt and the Weimar Organist-Composers" (*Liszt Studien I: Kongressberichte Eisenstadt, 1975*, Graz, 1977) pp. 203–13.

[14] See Raabe, II, p. 224 (Footnote 23).

opera's plot, based on the Anabaptist movement of 1530; however, Liszt took no inspiration from the text, only the musical material of the theme and from this he brought forth a great, three-section movement, in which a great many variations coalesce.

In addition to the work's aesthetic quality, the technical precision in the use of the organ also deserves attention. The use of the pedal keyboard is not restricted to longer or shorter organ points and supporting of the basses of broad chords; there are also pedal trill passages resembling double-pedal and kettle-drum rolls and it is even assigned a role in the development of the theme through a marked rhythm in the fugue section. Typically, even the rhythmically augmented sounding of the theme is assigned to the pedal.

Liszt's fantasia and fugue *Ad nos*..., like his Piano Sonata in B minor stands peerless both as an organ work of its own kind, within the whole oeuvre of Liszt's and indeed among all the instrumental works of the day. In a way the organ sonata in C minor Julius Reubke, a Weimar student of Liszt, composed in 1856, two years before his premature death stands comparison with it. Following in Liszt's wake also was Carl Müller-Hartung (1843–1908), who in the 1860s wrote single-themed organ sonatas composed on chorale themes throughout.[15]

Liszt dedicated his fantasia and fugue *Ad nos*... to Meyerbeer, whom he held in high esteem; the work was first performed in 1855 in Merseburg, by Alexander Winterberger, one of Liszt's eminent pupils of the Weimar years. It was to him Liszt dedicated his second major organ work, the prelude and fugue on a theme using the notes B-A-C-H (in German nomenclature). This combination of four notes has been used by several composers, starting with J. S. Bach himself in the unfinished final fugue of *The Art of Fugue*, and including Schumann; it carries in itself an extension of the limits of tonality. From this motto-like kernel, Liszt's work unfolds rich harmonic possibilities in a condensed form, and here too, he creates from a single theme a whole range of figurative and rhythmic variations. Like *Ad nos*..., this work is a fantasia in both formal plan and structure; this also leaves its mark on a fugue-like second section which enters almost imperceptibly. The work had its première in 1856, again in Merseburg, and again performed by Winterberger. A piano version was not published until 1983, in Volume I/5 of the *Neue Liszt-Ausgabe*. The organ work was given its final form in 1870, of which a piano transcription was also written soon after, finally being given the title *Fantasia and Fugue*, which more closely matches both form and contents. According to two of Liszt's pupils from the composer's late years (A. Göllerich and A. Stradal), the Hungarian character of the section marked "marziale" in Bars 220–228 of the latter work bears out Liszt's conviction that one of the forebears of the Bach family had been of Hungarian extraction.

Liszt dedicated this final form of his "B-A-C-H" organ work to Alexander Wilhelm Gottschalg (1827–1908), who from 1847 was a teacher and organist in Tiefurt, near Weimar. Gottschalg had learnt the fundamentals of organ playing from J. G. Töpfer at the Weimar Seminar, and from 1855, after establishing contact with Liszt, gained an insight into how organ music could be interpreted.[16]

*

In a posthumous book *Franz Liszt in Weimar und seine letzten Lebensjahre*, which appeared in 1910, Gottschalg related a few episodes of his relationship with the composer: Liszt and Gottschalg enjoyed inspecting organs in the Weimar area to work out interpretations of various works, mostly by

[15] See M. Sutter, op. cit.

[16] See M. Sutter, op. cit.

J. S. Bach. Gottschalg amusingly recounts one such occasion that took place in Dehnstedt: "In order that I could hear how a Bach fugue should sound, he would reach over my shoulders to play on the manuals while I would play the pedals because he had no great fluency on them. Since he usually took very fast tempi it was often an effort for me to keep up with him."

Gottschalg relates one occasion when Liszt made some suggestions for playing Bach's Toccata and Fugue in D minor. Gottschalg had played the work pleno on one manual as customary. Liszt suggested otherwise: "In terms of technique, it is totally satisfying ... but where is the spirit? Without this, Bach is a Book of Seven Seals! Surely Bach did not play his works in such a manner; he, whose registrations were so admired by his contemporaries! When you are playing on a three manual instrument, why should the other two manuals be ignored?"

Even if Gottschalg cannot be strictly called a pupil of Liszt's, he had closer links with Liszt's Weimar circle than many of the composer's piano pupils. In 1870 Gottschalg became the court organist of the Weimar Grand Duke, but even then (and indeed after Liszt's death too), he remained all his life a loyal and diligent guardian of everything Liszt has composed or transcribed for the organ. One of Gottschalg's purposes was to provide his fellow organists with conceptually valuable yet technically not too exacting organ music. He had this goal in mind when from 1869 on he brought out his volumes *Repertorium für Orgel, Harmonium oder Pedalflügel*. The subtitle tells us that the series had been revised by Liszt, who from that time on had most of his organ works published in them. Gottschalg's relationship with Liszt also helped him achieve merit as a teacher and writer on music—his memoirs concerning Liszt have proved to be of lasting value.

Let me make here a brief reference to some of Liszt's works in which the organ is assigned merely an accessory role. The earliest of these is the first version of his Ave Maria for mixed choir from 1846, with ad lib (in the original edition, *willkührlich*) organ accompaniment. Here, as in the accompaniment of many other of his choral pieces, the organ is restricted to backing the intonation, or at places the dynamism of the vocal parts. There are several references to the use of the pedal keyboard, but only as the redoubling of the pedal bass an octave lower. An organ accompaniment of a similar structure again appears in his Mass for Male's choir (1848) and, from the 1860s, in a number of liturgical or, at least, church choral works.

First however there appears a new instrument in Liszt's works—the harmonium, which was invented in the early 19th century and improved on in the times to come. The harmonium was originally intended to be an instrument resembling the organ, yet as against the rigid sound of the organ, suitable for flexible dynamic transitions, in French *orgue expressif*. In Liszt's works the harmonium served partly to provide accompaniment to choral works and partly as an alternative instrument for some organ works without any pedal parts, and even for a few pieces intended for the piano. In this context I should mention a specific instrument, the *Orgel-Piano*, which unites the qualities of the harmonium and the pianino, and which was made in Paris to Liszt's commission. The instrument was in Liszt's possession at the latest from the time he moved to Pest, and it presumably helped him score works for the piano or the harmonium,[17] and also to draw up a number

[17] As for instance "Angelus!" (*Années de pélerinage* III, 1) and the first four pieces of *Weihnachtsbaum*. I myself am acquainted with this particular instrument of Liszt's—during my time as a teacher, it stood in Lecture Hall X. Of its two keyboards the upper one, encompassing seven octaves, sounded a pianino mechanism, and the lower one of five octaves belonged to a harmonium with three divided ranks of pipes. (See also Dezső Legány's article in *NHQ* 93. Editor's note.)

of original works or transcriptions intended for the organ or the piano, the harmonium or the piano, or indeed sometimes in way of a treble alternative, for the organ, the harmonium or the piano.

Neither in these pieces nor in his actual organ and harmonium works did Liszt give any sign of wishing to make use of the performing technique which by the middle of the century allowed a gradual increase or decrease of volume on both the harmonium and the organ.[18]

Returning to the accessory role of the organ, this instrument is indispensable in Liszt's *Gran Mass*, even though the sections to be played on the pedal keyboard are still restricted mostly to the sounding or backing of individual bass notes, while the manual play is quite animated at certain points. At the words "*et homo factus est*" there is a reference to the special organ stop, the *Vox humana*. In the case of the *Faust Symphony*, the organ part of the epilogue, with the men's chorus, is merely restricted to sustained chords, and according to the score, can be played on the harmonium instead of on the organ. By quoting the hymn *Crux fidelis*, woven into the work, the score of the symphonic poem *Hunnenschlacht* allows for a similar option. In the Magnificat that forms the last section of the *Dante Symphony*, the female choral parts are definitely supported by the harmonium, as is the case in the section intended for the female choir in *The Legend of St Elizabeth*—the chorus of the angels.

*

To return to the works for solo organ, the organ piece *Évocation*, which Liszt composed in 1862 in Rome, presents an admixture of improvisations resembling a fantasia and a more or less free paraphrase. The atmosphere of the piece drew inspiration from the dusk and mystical resonance of the Sistine Chapel indicated in the subtitle, while the musical material recalls the memory of Mozart, who at thirteen heard here Allegri's Miserere, which he later wrote down from memory. The contrast woven out of the gloomy penitential psalm and the evocation of Mozart's *Ave verum corpus* lifts Liszt's *Évocation* above his other organ works of an arrangement character.

In the following year, 1863, Liszt completed his cycle of variations, *Weinen, Klagen*, and indeed almost simultaneously in two versions, one for the piano and one for the organ. Both in theme and in the chorale that closes the work *(Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan)*, Liszt started out from the opening and closing choruses of Bach's Cantata No. 12. Both the opening chorus of the cantata and its later variant, which constitutes the Crucifixus movement of the *Mass in B minor*, consist of variations which are formed out of the harrowing, doleful material in the chromatically descending, four-bar bass progression, repeated in twelve phases. The striking and, at places, dramatically staggering unfolding of the chromatic and harmonic possibilities inherent in the organ, make Liszt's fifty-odd variations an outstanding work of its time.

The fact that, as he did with *Évocation*, Liszt dedicated this technically highly exacting organ piece to Gottschalg, must have been a symbolic gesture by which the composer wished to express his lasting gratitude to his "legendary cantor." His collaboration with Gottschalg sparked off a process by which Liszt diverged more and more in his later organ works from his earlier virtuoso piano or orchestral-oriented scoring and from the monumental length of his organ works.

Even during his Weimar years it might have been Liszt's relationship with Gottschalg that led him to enrich the repertoire of organists by transcriptions of both his own works, and works by other composers intended for other media. More than once

[18] This was introduced in French organ music (C. Franck) sooner than in German (Max Reger).

such transcriptions were made with the co-operation of Gottschalg, but their final shape always bears the hallmark of Liszt's spirit. Some of them had their origin in symphonic music, as for instance in certain sections of Liszt's *Dante Symphony* and his symphonic poem *Ce qu'on entend sur la montagne*, in his symphonic poem *Orpheus*, or Otto Nicolai's *Kirchliche Fest-Ouverture*. Other works originally intended for choral and orchestral ensembles include the majestic closing movement of Bach's Cantata No. 21 *(Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis)* and the Pilgrims' Chorus from Wagner's *Tannhäuser*. In keeping with their originals, these transcriptions are usually animated or even virtuoso organ movements. Works originally intended for vocal performance, however, seem to have lent themselves to technically less exacting organ transcriptions. This is the case with Liszt's own two Ave Maria choruses (1853 and 1875), his choral work *Ave maris stella* (1880), and also with Orlando di Lasso's motet *Regina coeli*, the Ave Maria attributed to Arcadelt, Bach's motetic cantata movement, *Aus tiefer Not*, Mozart's *Ave verum corpus* and the Agnus Dei of Verdi's Requiem.

The organ transcriptions of these works for church use are marked by lean scores which mainly move in broad note values and lack any ornamental elements. In this respect Liszt doubtlessly came near to the principles of the Cecilian movement, which had started out from Rome, but had also taken root in Bavaria. Even earlier his compositions included themes drawn from plainsong, and he also displayed model harmonic progressions that had been accomplished in 16th-century choral music. The aim of the Cecilian movement was to revive sacred music, and it wished to realize this in purely vocal choral music; Liszt, however, extended it to the field of organ music as well. This is best represented in his *Salve Regina* of 1877, intended for the organ or the harmonium. The basic melody of the work is a Gregorian Blessed Virgin antiphon with a Dorian melodic ine,[19] which Liszt shaped into an organ movement of stylized simplicity and technical straightforwardness. This movement adds entirely new features to Liszt's late creative period.

*

Of a similar structure is Liszt's *Rosario* of 1879, an organ work which again exhibits his characteristic technique of composition; the three short movements evoke their titles through typical transformations of the basic melody. Also from 1879 is Liszt's organ mass *(Missa pro organo)*. As in many of his other sacred works, the movements of the mass are linked by motif. As is frequently the case in the music of Liszt's late period, the melodies and the harmonic realm of the work are marked by essential turns which have been arrived at by tiny shifts. Similar features are apparent in the seven short movements (1883) that are contracted from the material of an earlier Requiem for male choir.

This basically ascetic stylization, partly recalling the Cecilian, forms only one aspect of the excessive contrasts in Liszt's personality. Even though his loyalty to the Pope (Pius IX) is borne out by two organ works of the same subject (*Der Papst-Hymnos*, 1863 and *Tu es Petrus*, 1867), the piano must still have retained its special attraction for him. This can be seen in the following two quotations from accounts Michelangelo Caetani, the Duke of Sermoneta sent to the Grand Duke of Weimar about Liszt, who was then living in Rome. The quotations are from Klára Hamburger's paper:[20]

[19] Liszt took this melody from a book of scores, which has survived and is today preserved at the Ferenc Liszt Academy of Music in Budapest (J. G. Mettenleitner: Manuale breve, 1861, Regensburg, pag. 65: Antiphona IV). The melody is not identical to the widely known melody in the major key, sung to the same words, which was written by Henry Dumont.

[20] *Magyar Zene*, 1979/2.

"Later, on the death of the present pope, Mr Liszt might again return to his piano and abandon the organ of St Peter's (May 21, 1865)." "The Abbé Liszt, who at the moment acts in Rome the role of David beside Saul, had his piano rolled into the interior of the Church" (January 9, 1866). Liszt at the same time also exhibited a keen interest in concertante organ music. The year 1866 brought meetings with two French organist-composers. One was Camille Saint-Saëns, whom Liszt met in Paris before the performance there of his *Gran Mass*, and for whom he wrote a few directions on registration in the first of his two *Legends*, originally intended for the piano, obviously for a future performance on the organ. These instructions were even included in the first edition of the work, published by the Paris firm of Heugel in 1866.[21] The other Frenchman was César Franck, whose improvisation Liszt listened to with utter delight on April 6, 1866 in St Clotilde's church in Paris.[22]

Of the two, Liszt established closer contact with Saint-Saëns. It was at Liszt's insistence (although no longer under his baton but that of the Court conductor Eduart Lassen) that Saint-Saëns's *Samson et Dalila* had its première in Weimar on December 2, 1877, thirteen years before the opera was first performed in Paris. In a letter of December 9, 1877, Liszt wrote to Olga von Meyendorff that Saint-Saëns as an organist was of the same calibre that Bach had been in the field of the counterpoint.[23] In the same letter Liszt used the term "the organ, the Pope of instruments," putting it in quotation marks. It would be well-nigh impossible today to establish whether this humorous simile came from Berlioz, from Saint-Saëns, or even from Liszt himself.

On March 6, 1879, Saint-Saëns gave an organ recital in Budapest's Dohány utca synagogue, which at the time boasted the best organ in the capital. This recital was also attended by Liszt.[24, 25]

Finally a few words on Liszt's connections with organ music in Hungary. On October 27, 1846, Liszt, as the guest of Bishop János Scitovszky of Pécs, played the organ at the city's cathedral.[26] Less widely known is the fact that, in September 1856, Liszt was invited by Count István Károlyi and he played the organ at the inauguration of the instrument in the Fót church, an event commemorated by the memorial plaque on the organ itself. In the autumn of 1872, or perhaps the beginning of 1874, Liszt, during visits to Horpács, may have played the organ of the parish-church at nearby Nagycenk and perhaps also the small organ in the Széchenyi mausoleum.[27]

The Offertory movement, for full orchestra, from Liszt's *Hungarian Coronation Mass* has been included in an organ transcription in Gottschalg's Repertory. This brief movement, clearly Hungarian and elevated to the hymnic, though only a transcription, forms an essential part of the history of Hungarian organ music.

As Dezső Legány's research has dis-

[21] In Liszt's organ works which have appeared in print, there are scarcely any registration indications which come from Liszt himself; some originate from Gottschalg and some from Bernhard Sulze, the organist of the Weimar Stadtkirche of the time (see M. Sutter, op. cit.). It was Liszt who, together with Sulze, initiated a kind of notation for the pedal part that wished to differentiate between notes to be played by the right foot by having the stems drawn upwards and those scored for the left foot with downwards-running note-stems.

[22] As described by Vincent d'Indy in his biography of César Franck published in 1906.

[23] *The Letters of Franz Liszt to Olga von Meyendorff 1871–1886*, Washington, 1979.

[24] Margit Prahács: *Franz Liszt, Briefe in ungarischen Sammlungen*, Budapest, 1966, pp. 395–6.

[25] In his book *Begegnung mit dem Genius* (Vienna, 1934), L. Karpath mentions that Liszt himself once also played on the same organ.

[26] Prahács, op. cit. p. 459.

[27] Sándor Margittay in the preface to his publication of *Liszt's Organ Works* (pp. V–VI).

covered,[28] Liszt was the chairman of the committee which judged organists competing to play at the world fair in London in 1871. The audition was in the Kálvin tér Calvinist Church in Budapest. On February 16, 1883, to inaugurate the organ of the Budapest Academy of Music, János Koessler, the first organ teacher of the Academy, played, in the presence of Liszt, a transcription of the composer's *Legend of St. Elizabeth.*[29]

In a Hungarian context mention should also be made of one of Liszt's distant relatives, Alajos Hennig, born in 1826. Hennig became music teacher and later Rector of the Jesuit college at Kalocsa. He played the organ fairly well. Liszt presented him with a copy of his organ mass, a work held in high esteem by Hennig.[30]

In 1883 Liszt transcribed to the organ or harmonium, his song to Petőfi's poem, "God of the Hungarians", for baritone choir with piano accompaniment. Even if the transcription is not as organ-orientated as is the Offertory mentioned, it still has its place in the history of Hungarian organ music.

In the 1880s Liszt composed a few works intended expressly for the grand organ, including a multi-section work resembling a fantasia, for the inauguration of the new organ at Riga Cathedral, which employs the melody of the chorale *Nun danket, alle Gott.* A much more typical and concentrated piece is Liszt's *Introit,* which appeared in print only after the composer's death, in Gottschalg's edition, as did *Trauerode* with its gloomy poetry. The latter is a transcription of an orchestral work of the same title, dating from 1860, which, owing to the self-evident alternation of tonal contrasts, can be almost considered as a genuine organ work. The keystone of Liszt's organ music is the prelude he intended as the opening of a choral psalm with brass accompaniment *In domum Domini ibimus (Zum Haus des Herrn ziehen wir).*

The works Liszt wrote for the organ from 1850 onwards broke through the bounds of the conservative organ music of the day. Developed out of a single central theme, they are large-scale fantasia-like pieces, requiring a monumental instrument. After the virtuoso organ pieces, which could even count as symphonic poems, and which have remained outstanding to the present day, Liszt's growing contacts with Thuringian organists in the 1860s seem to have marked a turning point diverting him from his earlier technical pretension. The atmosphere of the Rome years and his approach to the Cecilian movement set him in the direction of a more vocally-oriented way of scoring. Out of all this Liszt sifted those features which best suited his own personality. In his late period he wrote a few organ pieces which are a virtual microcosm of his music.

[28] *Liszt Ferenc Magyarországon 1869–1873* (Ferenc Liszt in Hungary 1869–1873), Budapest, 1976, pp. 75–6.

[29] Prahács, op. cit. pp. 433 and 435. The transcription was written by Carl Müller-Hartung, who in 1865, on Liszt's recommendation, was invited by the Grand Duke of Weimar to take the post of Kapellmeister, and in 1869 was appointed conductor of the Court Opera. See M. Sutter, op. cit.

[30] Prahács, op. cit. p. 421.

Articles appearing in this journal are indexed in
HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS; AMERICA, HISTORY AND LIFE; ARTS AND HUMANITIES CITATIONS INDEX

ALAN WALKER

LISZT AND VIENNA

Some reflections after reading Dezső Legány's *Franz Liszt: Unbekannte Presse und Briefe aus Wien, 1822–1886.* Corvina, Budapest, 1984.

For the last fifteen years of his life, Liszt moved in an endless circle—Budapest, Rome, Weimar—spending three or four months in each city in turn. Liszt himself called it "*une vie trifurquée*"—a life split in three. It is a telling description. His biographers are not wrong to attach importance to these three cities. Each one contains major collections of letters, manuscripts, and documents which Liszt left in his wake and which throw light on his remarkable career. Yet when we stand back and view his life as a whole, a fourth city comes into view which, unlike the others, had bound him to it since his early youth. It is a remarkable fact that Liszt's links with Vienna have received so little attention from scholars. For more than sixty years the old imperial city of the Habsburgs kept beckoning, and once or twice Liszt was even tempted to settle there. Had he done so, the story of his life, and possibly the history of music itself, would have unfolded along different lines.[1]

I

With the publication of his *Franz Liszt: Unbekannte Presse und Briefe aus Wien (1822–1886)* Dezső Legány has filled an important lacuna, and has once again placed himself at the forefront of modern Liszt scholarship. The book is a model of careful research, in which Liszt's connections with Vienna are brilliantly documented, and it is bound to become an indispensable tool for all students of the composer. Legány has a sharp eye for detail. Moreover, he is one of that small handful of musicologists who understands the true importance of Franz Liszt in the history of music. He has made it his ongoing task to show that Liszt is part of Hungary's national pride (a fact that many Hungarians still do not acknowledge). The documentary proof is all around us, and Legány himself has drawn attention to much of it. About three years ago there appeared an English translation of his Ferenc Liszt and His Country (1869–1873).[2] This important work won many new readers for Legány, both in England and America, and it was partly in recognition of the impact made by this volume in the English-speaking world that he was last year awarded the Medal of the American Liszt Society.[3]

I mentioned Legány's eye for detail; I might just as well have called it his ear. On one occasion we were sitting at a sidewalk café, not far from Kossuth tér, enjoying an evening drink, and the conversation turned (inevitably) to Liszt. At that time I was working on the first volume of my Liszt biography and was confronted with a mass of scholarly problems. I put the worst of them to Legány in the form of ten questions, some of which involved a search for "hard"

[1] In 1846 Liszt had shown an active interest in assuming Donizetti's post as Kapellmeister to the Imperial Court in Vienna. Donizetti died in April 1848, however, by which time Liszt had already taken the decision to live permanently in Weimar. ACLA, Vol. 2, pp. 355 and 367.

[2] *Liszt Ferenc Magyarországon, 1869–1873*, Budapest, 1976. A second volume is in progress which will cover the years 1874–1886.

[3] The public ceremony took place on November 3, 1984, in Baltimore, in the Great Hall of the Peabody Conservatory of Music. The medal was received on Dr Legány's behalf by the Hungarian ambassador to the United States, Dr Vencel Házi.

information of an extreme, esoteric kind. He listened politely, sipped slowly at his drink, but made no notes—a fact that disappointed me for I felt that he was taking my troubles too lightly. About three weeks later I received a long letter from him in which each of my questions was dealt with in turn, and in great depth. It was the sort of *tour de force* which perhaps only another scholar could appreciate. This episode was revived in my memory while reading Legány's latest volume which is packed with information, much of it newly discovered by him. Every significant figure mentioned in Liszt's Viennese press-notices, for example, receives a footnote entry, with birth- and death-dates, and his profession. The general public has little idea of what a back-breaking task it is to amass a stockpile of such facts, which usually involves "field-work" of a physically demanding nature, toiling in dusty archives among documents which (in this case) have not seen the light of day for more than a hundred and fifty years.

II

Liszt was first taken to Vienna in the summer of 1819[4] when he was only seven years old. Adam, his father and first piano teacher, wanted his prodigy son to study with Karl Czerny, who later left a long account of the interview in his Autobiography.

> "He was a pale, sickly-looking child who, while playing, swayed about on the stool as if drunk, so that I often thought he would fall to the floor. His playing was also quite irregular, untidy, confused, and he had so little idea of fingering that he threw his fingers quite arbitrarily all over the keyboard. But that notwithstanding, I was astonished at the talent which Nature had bestowed on him. He played something which I gave him to sight-read, to be sure, like a pure natural; but for that very reason, one saw that Nature herself had formed a pianist."[5]

A year or two later, the Liszt family took up residence at Krugerstrasse 1014 in the centre of Vienna, opposite Czerny's own house. Because Czerny was occupied during the day, he devoted every evening to the small boy. It is well-known that he taught Liszt free of charge, out of respect for his God-given talent.

In the spring of 1823 Liszt took his leave of Vienna in order to begin a series of European tours which were to make him world-famous. He gave his "farewell" concert on Sunday, April 13, in the small *Redoutensaal*, and among the works he played was Hummel's difficult Concerto in B minor. Dr Legány reprints the interesting press-notice from the *Wiener Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (No. 34, 1823), in which this concert is described in some detail, and in which the boy is called "the young wizard." This article sheds light on a thorny problem. For more than a century the story circulated that Beethoven attended this concert and, while the applause was still ringing across the hall, mounted the platform and publicly embraced the young pianist. We do not believe that this scene took place.[6] If it had, the writer of the newspaper article would surely have mentioned the presence of Vienna's most important musician in the *Redoutensaal*, to say nothing of the unusual public "benediction" he bestowed on the

4 Correct. CEL, p. 27.

5 CEL, pp. 27–28.

6 The story of the *Weihekuss* was first told by Lina Ramann (*Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch*, Leipzig 1880–91, vol. I, p. 47) and has become deeply embedded in the literature. It derives ultimately from Liszt himself, who, in later life, appears to have telescoped the memories of two quite separate events—the concert in the *Redoutensaal* and a private meeting with Beethoven in the latter's house a few days earlier. The web of evidence is too complex to disentangle here. See my *Franz Liszt: The Virtuoso Years*, New York 1983, vol. I, pp. 81–85.

boy. Even the "sealed theme" which Liszt had requested from Beethoven, and on which he hoped to improvise, was not forthcoming.

For the next fifteen years Liszt lived mainly in France and Italy. By now he occupied the world stage as "the greatest living pianist," and he appears to have forgotten Vienna and even his native Hungary. But in March 1838 there occurred a natural catastrophe which brought him rushing back to the city of his childhood. After an unusually severe winter the frozen Danube had thawed and overflowed its banks. The early spring inundation of the Danube swept away the greatest part of Pest, many people died and thousands became homeless. An appeal for help was launched. Liszt was in Venice when he heard about the disaster, and the news shook him to the core. He later wrote:

> "I was badly shaken by that disaster... I was suddenly transported back to the past, and in my heart I found the treasury of memories from my childhood intact."[7]

Between April 18 and May 25 Liszt gave eight[8] charity concerts in Vienna and raised the colossal sum of 24,000 gulden, the largest single donation the Hungarians received from a private source.

These Vienna concerts marked the beginning of what Liszt's biographers still call his "Years of Transcendental Execution" (c. 1838–47), when he unfolded a virtuoso career unmatched in the history of performance. It remains the model which is still followed by pianists today. Liszt visited Germany, France, England, Portugal, Spain, Poland, Russia, and Turkey. The modern piano recital was invented by him. He was the first to play entire programmes from memory; the first to play the whole keyboard repertory (as it then existed) from Bach to Chopin; the first to place the piano at right angles to the stage, its open lid reflecting the sound across the auditorium.[9] The very term "recital" was his: he introduced it in London, on June 9, 1840, for a concert in the Hanover Square Rooms.

No artist before Liszt had exercised such a mesmeric spell over his audiences. The "young wizard" had become an omnipotent magician who could do anything at the keyboard. Clara Wieck, who was in Vienna giving some concerts of her own when Liszt arrived there, in April 1838, wrote in her diary:

> "We have heard Liszt. He can be compared to no other player... he arouses fright and astonishment. His appearance at the piano is indescribable. He is an original... he is absorbed by the piano."[10]

Such was the impact of the 1838 concerts that Liszt was approached by a deputation of Hungarian noblemen and invited to visit his native land, a request that Liszt was unable to accept until the following year. The story of Liszt's triumphal return to the country of his birth is now a matter of history. After giving further concerts in Vienna (this time in aid of the Beethoven Memorial Fund) he stepped onto Hungarian soil for the first time in fifteen years, on December 18, 1839. The celebrations surrounding his homecoming culminated in the presentation of the "Sword of Honour"[11]

[7] RGS, vol. 2, pp. 223–24.
[8] Correct. WLCC.

[9] Tomášek, in his autobiography, claimed that Dussek had already positioned the piano in this way. Dussek did not do this consistently, however, and in any case his career had no lasting impact on the history of piano playing. Liszt was unaware of Dussek's tentative reforms when he came to the conclusion that one must not only play the piano but "play the building."

[10] LCS, vol. I, p. 199. There is also an important letter from Friedrich Wieck to his wife in which he describes Liszt's inaugural concert on April 18, 1838, in detail (WFWB, pp. 93–94).

[11] Today the sword is exhibited in the Hungarian National Museum, Budapest. The blade bears the inscription:

'To the great artist Ferenc Liszt
for his artistic merit and
for his patriotism, from his
admiring compatriots.'

in the old Hungarian National Theatre on January 4, 1840.

III

Liszt's next encounters with Vienna occurred in 1846 and 1848. They are often glossed over in the standard literature on Liszt. Dr Legány does his readers a service by documenting the 1846 visit so carefully. From the highly informative press notices of Heinrich Adami (published in the *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung*) we get an idea of Liszt's enormous repertoire. Among the works Liszt played in Vienna between March 1 and April 4 were:

Original Works

Bach	Prelude and Fugue ('48')
Beethoven	'Moonlight' Sonata, op. 27
	'Appassionata' Sonata, op. 57
	A flat major Sonata, op. 110(?)
	A major Sonata, op. 101
	'Hammerklavier' Sonata, op. 106
	Variations in C minor
Chopin	Studies
	Mazurkas
Mendelssohn	Scherzo in F sharp minor
Schubert	'Wanderer' Fantasy
Liszt	Sonetto del Petrarca
	Harmonies Poetique
Handel	Andante and Variations, in E flat major

Arrangements

(a) *Operatic Paraphrases*
'William Tell' (Rossini)
'Norma' (Bellini)
'La sonnambula' (Bellini)
'I puritani' (Bellini)
'Lucrezia Borgia' (Donizetti)
'Lucia di Lammermoor' (Donizetti)
'Dom Sebastien' (Donizetti–Kullak)
'Robert le diable' (Meyerbeer)
'Don Juan' (Mozart)

(b) *Song transcriptions*
Schubert–Liszt:
Ave Maria
Erlkönig
Taubenpost
Forelle
Ständchen
Beethoven–Liszt:
Adelaïde

(c) *Miscellaneous*
Liszt: Hexaméron variations (with Herz, Pixis, Czerny, Chopin and others)
Weber–Liszt: 'Invitation to the dance'
Rossini–Liszt: La serenata and L'orgia from *Soirées musicales*

To play so many works in so brief a period is a musical feat that would be difficult to emulate today. In Liszt's time it was unprecedented. It was at one of these Vienna concerts (March 19, 1846) that Liszt made an early appearance as an orchestral conductor. He directed Beethoven's Fifth Symphony "with so much fire and artistic inspiration that the orchestra obviously felt carried away."[12]

From Vienna, in 1846, Liszt embarked on his last and greatest tour as a keyboard virtuoso. Altogether it lasted for eighteen months, and took him through Hungary, Transylvania, the Danube Principalities, the Ukraine, and Turkey. The last recital he ever gave for personal gain was in Elisabetgrad, in September 1847. It marked his retirement from the public concert circuit. He was only thirty-five years old.

The 1848 visit, by contrast, was of a private nature. Liszt travelled to Vienna in

[12] Allgemeine Theaterzeitung (Heinrich Adami) March 31 1846.

the company of Princess Carolyne von Sayn-Wittgenstein, his second mistress, whom he had met in Kiev the previous year. She had given up everything to follow him to Weimar (where they now lived), including her vast estates in the Ukraine, which were eventually sequestered by the Tsar. This trip to Vienna (which also took in Prague and Eisenstadt) was something of a delayed "honeymoon tour" for them. They arrived in Vienna in May 1848 and stayed at the Hotel "Zur Stadt London." The clouds of war were gathering as the city braced itself for the forthcoming struggle with Hungary. Metternich had already fled to London; Count Latour, the Minister for War, was shortly to be hanged from a lamp-post by a street mob. Barricades had been flung up and the revolutionary workers were now in control of large parts of the city. Liszt was serenaded by a roving group of medical students outside his hotel. Afterwards he came out on the balcony and addressed them, drawing a musical analogy:

> "When the instruments have taken their places, it is still necessary to have a capable conductor to harmonize their diverse voices... The instruments are in place, but the capable conductor is missing. Hubbub and confusion produce few consequences. The right leader will have to fix bayonets."[13]

Later, Liszt inspected the street-barricades commanded by Karl Formes, the well-known baritone, and he distributed cigars and money among the revolutionaries. He aroused great enthusiasm as he walked down the lines, with the Hungarian national colours pinned to his button-hole.[14] Despite such activities, it has to be said that Liszt played no direct role in the Hungarian War of Independence, and from the start was dubious about its outcome. He preferred the path of Batthyány and Széchenyi who were even then attempting to win a measure of freedom from the Austrian yoke by legislative means.[15]

IV

For the next thirteen years (1848–61) Liszt lived in Weimar, yet he maintained his links with Vienna. In January 1856 he directed the Mozart Centenary Festival there, and conducted a concert of the master's works which included the Symphony in G minor and the Finale from Act One of *Don Giovanni*. Afterwards the City Council presented him with a silver baton for his services. Not everyone was pleased with Liszt's efforts on the podium, however. This concert marked a new low in his dealings with the music critic Eduard Hanslick, who stirred up hostility in the press by asking why Liszt had been invited to direct the Mozart Festival at all since there were others in Vienna better qualified to represent Mozart's music. This dispute with Hanslick developed into an epic conflict which lasted for many years. Hanslick, a conservative musician who admired Brahms, seemed to dislike everything about Liszt, and in particular Liszt's championship of modern music. Historians still refer to that struggle as "The War of the Romantics," with Brahms and Hanslick on one side, and Liszt and Wagner on the other. Hanslick's vitriolic attacks against Liszt's Symphonic Poems (the first six of which were published in this same year of 1856) are well-known. Later a young music critic named Hugo Wolf would enter the fray and take up the cudgels for Liszt. Wolf once wrote: "There is more intelligence and sensitivity in a single cymbal-crash of Liszt's than in all [the] symphonies of Brahms."[16] With such friends Liszt did not need enemies. For the rest, Vienna lay at the heart of the cultural struggle which raged around Liszt's music for half a

[13] RLKM, vol. 3, p. 4.
[14] DEM, pp. 20–21.
[15] LLB, vol. 3, p. 126.
[16] *Wiener Salonblatt*, April 27, 1884.

century—until Hanslick's death in 1904. Hanslick would have turned in his grave had he known of the arrival in Vienna of Arnold Schoenberg (who, topically enough, had just been awarded the prestigious "Liszt Prize" by Richard Strauss) and who, together with his pupils Berg and Webern, would shortly establish in the venerable capital the "Second Viennese School"—whose atonal and serial techniques would surely have delighted Liszt since he himself had already anticipated them. The lesson is clear: the new (if it is any good) can never be suppressed by the old. Hanslick never remembered it; Liszt never forgot it.

V

Even Hanslick could not succeed in poisoning Vienna for long, for Liszt's private life had meanwhile become closely connected with the city. For many years it had been the home of Liszt's lawyer-uncle,[17] Eduard, whose brilliant legal career took him to the highest ranks of his profession when he was appointed Imperial Public Prosecutor in Vienna. Liszt was a godfather to Eduard's first child (baptized Franz Liszt!) and he now felt closer to Eduard than to any of his other relatives. He sought his counsel on intimate family matters, and both he and Carolyne entrusted him with large sums of money for investment. It was partly on Eduard's advice that Liszt's own son, Daniel, went to Vienna in 1857 to study jurisprudence. In a hitherto unpublished letter from Daniel to his father, the eighteen-year-old youth wrote:

> "Eduard took care of me with attention and solicitude, for which I have already thanked him several times. Thanks to him the problem of my lodgings was soon solved, and I only had to spend two days at the hotel... Eduard also concerned himself with the question of my university admission"...[18]

It was a joyful day for Daniel (who had hitherto led a lonely life at boarding-school in Paris) when his father arrived in Vienna, in March 1858, to conduct performances of his Gran Mass.[19] Quite by chance Karl Tausig (Liszt's seventeen-year-old pupil) also happened to be in the city, and the two young men met Liszt at the railway station. Afterwards they all attended the huge banquet that Liszt gave the singers who had arrived from Pest. "It must have cost a fortune," remarked Daniel. Thereafter, Liszt's sojourns in Vienna were always characterised by this sort of "family touch"—quite unlike his visits to any other city. Eduard's home in the Schottenhof, where he lived with his second wife and their three children, became Liszt's "home from home." A tastefully furnished room was set aside for Liszt's permanent use, where he could relax, play the piano, compose, and receive his friends. It became known as the "Blue Salon" and was filled with precious Liszt memorabilia. In 1970 the contents of this room were transferred to the Burgenland Museum in Eisenstadt, where an exact replica of the "Blue Salon" has been put on permanent display.

VI

The year 1877 marked the fiftieth anniversary of Beethoven's death. No tribute was more fitting than the one mounted in Vienna, Beethoven's musical home for nearly forty years. Liszt was invited to participate in recognition of the half-century of ceaseless

[17] Eduard Liszt (1817–79) was the youngest stepbrother of Adam. Liszt was therefore his nephew, although he was six years older. In later life they removed this anomaly by addressing one another as cousins.

[18] Letter dated "June 30, 1857." Holograph in the Wagner Archive, Bayreuth.

[19] These performances took place on March 22 and 23, 1858.

service he had devoted to Beethoven's cause.[20] At the memorial concert, on March 16, Liszt played the "Emperor" Concerto and the "Choral Fantasy" for piano, orchestra, and chorus. The great *Musikvereinsaal* was specially illuminated for the occasion and the piano was festooned with flowers. Liszt was sixty-five years old and had long since retired from the concert platform. Yet, according to the *Neue Freie Presse* "his playing astonished and delighted everyone."[21] The critic spoke truer than he knew. Sitting in the audience that night was the ten-year-old Ferruccio Busoni, on whom the concert made an unforgettable impression. Busoni later became the modern champion of Liszt, who in turn had been the nineteenth-century champion of Beethoven. Thus are the links of history forged.

The final document in this book is a hitherto unpublished letter from Liszt to his Viennese friend Ludwig Bösendorfer, the piano manufacturer. Liszt had just arrived in Bayreuth, in July 1886, in order to attend the wedding of his granddaughter Daniela von Bülow to the art-historian Henry Thode. After telling Bösendorfer that he planned to spend a fortnight with the Hungarian painter Mihály Munkácsy at Schloss Colpach in Luxembourg before returning to Bayreuth for the Wagner festival, he added ominously: "Afterwards, in September, I still have to face an eye-operation from Gräfe in Halle." Liszt by now was nearly blind from cataracts. The operation which might have improved his sight did not take place, however, since his death from pneumonia intervened, in Bayreuth on July 13, 1886.

His mother's surviving relatives in Vienna, the Lagers, immediately launched a legal action against his estate, thinking him to be an immensely rich man. The action was doomed to fail, however, since Liszt had long since given away most of his fortune, and the Lagers were in any case not even mentioned in his will.

This, then, is the fascinating backdrop to Liszt's "Viennese connection," which Dezső Legány has illuminated so well. His book contains a wealth of scholarly tools —footnotes, indices, a table of contents— sufficient to satisfy the most fastidious reader. No one who is remotely interested in Liszt's life and work can afford to overlook this book—a worthy addition to the vast literature on Liszt.

[20] Such a phrase hardly does justice to what Liszt actually achieved on Beethoven's behalf. The statue of Beethoven which stands in Bonn today was erected in 1845 with the help of money raised largely by Liszt. During his Weimar years Liszt had regularly conducted the Beethoven symphonies, including such "impossible" works as the Ninth Symphony, at a time when they were neglected by other conductors and disliked by the great public. His piano transcriptions of the symphonies are marvels of re-creative thought, in which nothing of musical substance is sacrificed, yet everything is unfolded on a single keyboard by ten fingers. During Liszt's hey-day as a touring virtuoso, many thousands of people living in the backwaters of Eastern Europe heard their first notes of Beethoven from his fingers.

[21] Issue of March 17, 1877.

Sources

ACLA Agoult, Marie d': Correspondance de Liszt et de la Comtesse d'Agoult. Edited by Daniel Ollivier. 2 Vols. Paris, 1933, 1934.

CEL Czerny, Carl: *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*. Manuscript dated 1842. Edited and annotated by Walter Kolneder. Strassburg 1968.

DEM Dunkl, Johann Nepomuk: *Aus den Erinnerungen eines Musikers*, Vienna 1876.

LCS Litzmann, Berthold: *Clara Schumann: Ein Künstlerleben*, 3 vols. Leipzig 1902–08.

LLB La Mara (ed.): *Franz Liszts Briefe*, 8 vols. Leipzig 1893–1905.

RLKM Ramann, Lina: *Franz Liszt als Künstler und Mensch*, 3 vols. Leipzig 1880–94.

RGS Ramann, Lina (ed.): *Franz Liszts Gesammelte Schriften*, 6 vols. Leipzig 1880–83.

WFWB Walch-Schumann, Käthe (ed.): *Friedrich Wieck: Briefe aus den Jahren 1830–1838*, Cologne 1968.

WLCC Walter, Teréz: *Liszt Ferenc árvízi hangversenyei Bécsben, 1838–39*. Translated and annotated from the German diary of Theresa Walter, by Béla Csuka. Budapest 1941.

NEW HUNGARIAN SCORES

Music by László Kalmár, Zoltán Jeney, Miklós Csemiczky, and Attila Bozay

Confronted with any batch of scores of new music, the problems of absorption and comprehension are often as unexpected as they are banal. The musical substance of the work is the least of the challenges; increasingly the notation presents much more of a barrier, in sorting out and remembering an array of specifically devised and frequently ingenious symbols intended to elicit quite precise instrumental or vocal effects, and in conjuring those sounds in one's own aural imagination. Sometimes the difficulty is more basic—determining whether instruments have been notated in transposition or at sounding pitch (not always an easy matter), even on rare occasions establishing the vertical alignment of a page so that pitches sound together where the composer intended. More and more new music appears in the composer's autograph, and then the sheer tidiness of his or her musical handwriting is important; there seems no doubt that the future of music publishing lies in the photoreproduction of manuscript copies, and in Western Europe at least an engraved or typeset score of a work by a living composer has already become a costly rarity.

All four of the works from Editio Musica Budapest seem to have been published in what I take to be autographs, every one admirably clear and easy to follow, though momentary doubts about whether or not clarinet and cor anglais lines had been transposed did present themselves now and again. Musically, however, they left very different impressions, and László Kalmár's *Olvasmányok* (Readings 1982), for nine instruments seemed quite most fugitive and hardest to categorise. Its six short movements suggest some extramusical programme, as does the title, though there are thematic and textural correspondences between the movements which throw up the hint of varying perspectives on a single musical object. The cello solo with which the first piece is permeated recurs, fragmented and varied, in the third and in both movements draws to itself sinewy, closely knit lines from the rest of the ensemble; the flute solo which begins the second is flamboyantly expanded in the fourth while on each occasion the background is coloured by gently resonating piano chords that later crystallise into sequences of glittering 32nd notes. The fifth piece is a piano solo, restrained in tone and much concerned with carefully weighted suspensions, and while the final movement suggests an element of recapitulation its effect seems not to be conclusive. Certainly the whole work is cleanly and economically scored and lucidly argued on a small scale, but without a knowledge of its origins and intentions, its ultimate success is hard to evaluate.

With Zoltán Jeney's *Cantos para Todos* (1983) one is immediately on firmer ground, if only because the piece sets two poems by the Chilean Gonzalo Millan together with a third by an anonymous Chilean that are immediate and striking in their imagery. The predominant mood of Jeney's music is subdued, almost numbed; in the first song, "Correspondencia" the dynamic level never rises above *mezzo piano*, and the accompanying ensemble of seven instruments confines itself largely to isolated quarter and eight notes, with legato phrases reserved for expressive emphasis. The writing for the soprano soloist reduces the text to isolated syllables, underlining the feeling of post-Webernian spareness about the whole song; if one had to choose an analogy with composers a generation older than Jeney it would be with the work of some of the Italian composers now in their 50s and early 60s, particularly Donatoni and in his

most recent music Luigi Nono, where a desire to achieve the maximum directness has replaced more highly wrought formal structures with spare understatement.

Jeney's second setting of Millan, "El traslado," would be even more fascinating to hear in performance. It sets up a crisp, bright sound world as the seven instruments move in strict rhythmic unison throughout with vibraphone, harp and celesta providing the predominant colour. The demands on the performers look considerable, not only in sheer technical terms (the tempo is marked at ♪ = 116, and 32nd notes and triplet 16th notes abound), but in achieving immaculate ensemble, without which the effect of the accompaniment would be entirely lost. Set against this the vocal line is more sustained, enunciating the poem in relatively straightforward yet wide-ranging phrases. The whole would require most careful balancing in a concert hall. For the anonymous "No agonizo," Jeney returns to the austere world of the opening song, its mood if anything more intensified: the textures are sparer, with isolated chords made to serve important functions of articulation, even if the music is at last permitted to reach *forte*. Of the four scores considered here, *Cantos para todos* is the one I should most dearly like to come upon in a concert.

Laterna Magica, by Miklós Csemiczky, offers a more conservative idiom than either Kalmár or Jeney, and the lay-out of his substantial score, a single movement divided into well defined sections, suggests a chamber symphony, scored for the 13 instruments which in Britain we have come to associate with works commissioned by the London Sinfonietta. *Laterna Magica* was completed in 1982 and its title, "Magic Lantern" in English translation, immediately suggests a kind of musical construction in which sharply characterised musical images are swiftly juxtaposed and blended. Certainly there are some bold contrasts of primary instrumental colour in the opening section—intertwined woodwind lyricism answered by piano eighth notes over string harmonics and rudimentary brass canons—but the score soon reveals itself more concerned with thematic statement and development than subtle textural effects. The opening section contains a lengthy passage enclosed by repeat marks, which on paper at least threatens to dissipate the considerable motoric energy it generates at its climax, and eventually resolves itself into a passage of sustained chords in the piano. There follows a lazy Allegretto in the manner of a scherzo, interrupted and eventually curtailed by a cello recitative, then a frankly diatonic Sostenuto movement, and a propulsive closing section, with "finale" stamped rather self-consciously all over it.

By its proportions alone *Laterna Magica* lays claim to the status of a major work but reading through it does not suggest that its ideas are memorable or sophisticated enough to carry the weight of such a musical argument within that quasi-symphonic framework. The scoring remains functional rather than inventive and there is a good deal of earnest and unimaginative writing, especially for the strings. I have grave doubts as to how well the work would sustain its length in performance.

Attila Bozay's *Csongor and Tünde* arrives in three large-format volumes for the three acts of what is genuinely a grand opera in terms of its musical and scenic demands. The première took place in Budapest in February of this year, and was reported in Britain by Stephen Walsh in the *Observer*, to whose review I am indebted for my knowledge of the plot, for Bozay's score contains only his Hungarian text, though I understand a translation at least in German is in existence. Bozay has evidently hewn his libretto directly from the play by Mihály Vörösmarty to produce something with symbolist links with Maeterlinck's and Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande*, as well as in its subject at least with Dvořak's *Rusalka*. How well Bozay has distilled the drama I am unable to assess but certainly he follows a

distinguished line of opera composers stretching right back to Mozart in *Die Zauberflöte* in which supernatural elements, in this case the love of a mortal (Csongor) for a fairy (Tünde) with subplots that are essentially rustic and pantomimic. All human life, or certainly a good idealised portion of it, is to be found within the pages of this opera. It certainly provides of meat for an inventive producer to get his teeth into.

Of the Hungarian composers I am familiar with, I would not have selected Bozay as the most likely to tackle an opera on as extended a scale as this, nor one with such richly coloured subject matter. Those works of his which I have heard have displayed a careful and acute sensibility, but one of tightly constrained emotional range and musical scope. What I did not know previously was that Bozay, like many of his contemporaries in Western Europe, has radically altered his stance; in place of the Webern-derived serialism of his earlier music he has enthusiastically embraced an extended form of tonality. Much of *Csongor and Tünde* is quite unashamedly constructed around precisely defined pitch centres, and with them has come an ability to shape orchestral gestures and vocal lines in a way that matches the subject matter quite acceptably. Chromaticism is by no means entirely discarded, and I would guess that serial procedures still played an important part in organising the work. But there is no sense of jarring between the "old" and the "new" Bozay; his language seems nicely integrated and is dramatically highly flexible with vocal lines that seem capable of generating genuine theatrical tension.

Walsh's review described Bozay as "a less strong creative presence than Kurtág, and as yet a less thoroughly coherent writer than Durkó or Balassa." That may be true, but I cannot imagine any of the composers he names tackling an operatic subject on such a large and spectacular scale as *Csongor and Tünde*. Paradoxically, part of Bozay's success can be traced back to his earlier music: he has retained a most sensitive ear for orchestral sonority, for the precise equation between instruments and voices. Much of the scoring has a chamber-like limpidity; there is never the feeling that two instruments have been used when one would do a more effective job, and some of the score's most telling moments are the result of twinning a single instrumental colour with a vocal line. The freshness of combining cool textures with a language so frequently associated with a more lush dense palette is a constant surprise.

To organise his acts Bozay has resorted to the well worn scheme of separate "numbers"; so they appear in the score, but how discrete they would seem in performance is another matter, for the smooth continuity of the writing has already been remarked upon. A successful production would require careful casting of many of the roles, not least the *buffo* trio of clowns and the Papageno–Papagena-like couple of Balga and Ilma. The title parts are more straightforward, given good tenor and soprano voices; Bozay gives them such rewarding lines it would be hard not to respond. Of all musical forms opera is the most difficult to imagine off the page and on to the stage; there are so many undetermined parameters beyond the straightforward realisation of what is contained in the score.

Csongor and Tünde at least promises well; its plot is not quite too far-fetched for a modern audience, which anyway would congratulate itself for unravelling the heavy symbolism underpinning almost all the characters, and the music, if not overtly approachable, is consistent, dramatically acute and convincing. There are not so many contemporary operas which set out from such a healthy set of premises.

ANDREW CLEMENTS

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Sir,

May I reply briefly to Ernő Lendvai's "The limits of musical analysis" (*NHQ* XXVI. No. 97., Spring 1985, pp. 201–7)?

I am glad, first of all, to have stimulated some further writing from Mr Lendvai. I also have too much admiration for his musical instinct to wish to pursue a long debate about differences of approach or nomenclature—especially since my article, despite Lendvai's sharp reaction to it, largely supported his conclusions. However, I have to respond to Lendvai's repeated assertions that "Howat is mistaken..." or "Howat's accusation is unfounded" when, on rereading, I see that I am not mistaken, nor is the actual criticism I made unfounded. Any sufficiently interested reader can compare Lendvai's counter-criticisms with what I wrote in my article, rather than have me produce a catalogue of documentation here. As I pointed out in my article, the criticisms I listed were largely summaries of ones that had already been made by various commentators. Regarding analytical accuracy, my point was not that discrepancies from theoretical exactitude are musically faulty or unacceptable, but rather that they should be pointed out and not covered up; they often can tell us something more about the music.

Lendvai's new remarks nonetheless emphasize how many lines of logic the music can follow simultaneously—and confirm the inbuilt element of ambiguity which I pointed out in places like Fig. 6 on p. 82 of my article. An example is the disputed length of the Fugue subject in the *Music for strings, percussion and celesta,* certainly four bars long (as I originally pointed out) as regards its fugal function and the resultant periodic articulation in bars 1–16 (cf. Lendvai's "The limits...", p. 202.).

In two small respects I can reassure Lendvai. First, my calculations were made not with an electronic calculator but by easy methods that were available to Bartók—primarily logarithmic tables or reduction by Fibonacci aggregates. Second, my use of the figure 0.618034 was not a printer's error I copied from Lendvai's book (cf. Lendvai's note 3); it is a correct rendering to six decimal places of 0.61803398...

My one tenuous piece of analysis was to mark the divisions after bars 20 and 30 in my Fig. 5 (p. 80 of my article, Fugue of the *Music for strings;* also p. 73 line 9). Lendvai observes, with slight poetic licence, that "nothing at all happens" at the end of bar 30 ("The limits...", p. 206). This, however, is the point: the initial fugal entries were all imitated at a four-bar delay, and these are the first two places where the pattern is broken by default. How much this may be perceived by the listener is the debatable point (as with all proportional structures), though it does have semiological importance. At worst, Fig. 5 can survive adequately without these two divisions, and the periodic articulation described on p. 73 of my article can read, equally effectively, 4+4+4+4+ bars.

Equally debatable is Lendvai's implication ("The limits...", pp. 202–3) that the larger-scale golden section proportions have to be perceptible as such to the listener. Suffice, surely, that they give the music a feeling of architectural balance without drawing attention to themselves.

Roy Howat

University of Western Australia
Department of Music
Western Australia 6009

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

ACZÉL, György (b. 1917). Member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party and head of its Social Sciences Institute. See "The Socialist State and the Churches," *NHQ* 66, "Workdays and Prospects," 71, "Historical Contemporaries of the Present," 73, "Intellectuals in a Socialist Society," 75, "A New System of Values," 77, "The Social Responsibility of Hungarian Science," 78, "The Responsibility of the Mass Media," 84, "The Stages and Crises of Socialism—A Conversation," 87, "The Challenge of our Age, the Response of Socialism," 90, "National Minority Rights: The Law of Socialism," 95, and "Aspects of Cultural Policy," 97.

BALKAY, Bálint (b. 1931). A graduate in Geology of the University of Budapest, Senior Research Fellow of the Hungarian Academy's Institute of World Economy. Has travelled widely in the third world (including three years on a project in Guinea), is concerned with world-wide supply and demand for fuels and minerals and has frequently acted as a consultant to UN agencies. Author of some 120 papers in various specialized periodicals. See "Club of Rome Round Table in Budapest", *NHQ* 80, "Antagonistic Unity," 90.

BOGNÁR, József (b. 1917). Economist, MP, heads the Institute for the World Economy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Member of the Editorial Board, and frequent contributor to, *NHQ*. See also "Economic Growth in Coexistence with Nature," *NHQ* 74, "Political and Security Factors—East West Economic Policy for the Eighties," 75, "Global Economic Security and Growth," 79, "Aspects of Structural Change," 81, "The Driving Forces of Economic Development," 83, "Survival, Development, Economic Cooperation—A Draft for the Year 2000," 86, "Hungary's Progress in a World Economic Context," 87, "Economic Crisis in the Age of Mutual Dependences," 91 and "The World Food Crisis," 93.

CLEMENTS, Andrew (b. 1950). Music critic. Read natural sciences at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, worked for the Open University before becoming a full-time music critic in 1980. At present music critic of *The Financial Times* and a regular writer for *The New Statesman*. See "New Records," *NHQ* 97, and "Pianists and Quartets," 98.

CSABA, László (b. 1924). Architect. A graduate of the University of Technology of Budapest. From 1947 worked in various state town planning offices; his main field is planning. 1961–1973 general secretary of the Federation of Hungarian Architects, now engineering chief of TTI, the Building Pattern Designing Institute.

DOMOKOS, Mátyás (b. 1928). Essayist and critic. A graduate in Philosophy, German and Hungarian Literature of the University of Budapest and Eötvös College; reader at a Budapest publishing house since 1953. Has published a collection of poetry reviews, a volume of interviews, a volume of essays on Gyula Illyés, and a collection of Hungarian short stories published in German by Horst Erdmann Verlag in 1975. See "Gyula Illyés, a Living Classic," *NHQ* 88, and "The Poet Taking Sides, (The last TV interview)," 91.

FRANK, János (b. 1925). Art critic, one of our regular art reviewers.

GÁRDONYI, Zoltán (b. 1906). Composer, musicologist. A student of Kodály, Hindemith, Schering, and E.M. von Hornbostel in Budapest and Berlin, he

was Professor of Music Theory and Musicology between 1941—67 at the Liszt Ferenc Academy in Budapest. Since 1972 a resident of West Germany. His oeuvre as composer includes, besides orchestral and chamber music, numerous pieces for the organ. Editor of the First Series of the *Neue Liszt Ausgabe*, and the author of major contributions on Liszt in various international music publications.

GERLE, János (b. 1947). Architect. A graduate of the Budapest University of Technology. Has been working for different town planning offices in Budapest. His main field of research is the history of architecture of the fin de siècle. Has published articles in different reviews, including a recent one on Ödön Lechner.

GYERTYÁN, Ervin (b. 1925). Our regular film critic.

GYÖRFFY, Miklós (b. 1942). Our regular reviewer of prose fiction.

GYÖRGY, Péter (b. 1954). Critic. Read Hungarian, History and Aesthetics at the University of Budapest. Has been teaching at the Department of Aesthetics of the same University since 1979. His main field of interest is the European School.

HORLER, Miklós (b. 1923). Architect, a graduate of the Budapest University of Technology. Heads a department at the National Inspectorate of Historical Monuments. Member of the Hungarian National Committee of ICOMOS, and the Historical and Theoretical Committee of Architecture of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. A visiting professor at the Centre for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Buildings of the Catholic University of Leuven in Belgium. Published a topography of Budapest Monuments in two volumes, as well as a number of studies on this subject. See "Ancient Buildings and Modern Architecture," *NHQ* 46, and "The Reconstruction of the Castle of Simontornya," 63.

JESZENSZKY, Géza (b. 1941). Historian and librarian. Studied history and English at the University of Budapest; was a schoolteacher; on the staff of the Karl Marx University of Economics, Budapest. Wrote a dissertation on "The Colonial Question in the Great War and at the Paris Peace Conference, 1914–1919." In recent years has been working on "The Changing Image of Hungary in Britain, 1890–1914," with the support of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Author of several articles on modern history, published in scholarly journals. See "*The Times* and its image in Hungary," *NHQ* 87.

KERESZTURY, Dezső (b. 1904). Poet, literary historian, essayist, member of the Editorial Board of this review, a former Minister of Culture and Education. Has published books of poems, collections of essays, a life of János Arany, the 19th century Hungarian poet, as well as translations from German poets. See "Photo-Variations on Bluebeard's Castle," *NHQ* 63, "Tibor Déry in Marble," 65, an interwiev with him, "Two Decisions," 74, "The First Hungarian Poem," 93, and poems, 95.

KOLTAI, Tamás (b. 1942). Our regular theatre critic.

KÖPECZI, Béla (b. 1922). Minister of Culture and Education. Historian and literary historian, member of the Editorial Board of this review. Has published an extensive study on relations between Ferenc Rákóczi II and 18th century France (1966), as well as books on Rákóczi himself (1974–1982). See "Ferenc Rákóczi II, the Man and his Cause," *NHQ* 61, "The Famous Prince Ragotzi", 65, "Can We Learn from History?," 68, "Culture and the Socialist Way of Life," 70, "The French New

Philosophers," 72, "Lukács in 1919," 75, "The European Context to the Hungarian Wars of Independence," 86, "At the Graveside of Gyula Illyés," 91, and "Culture and National Identity," 94.

LENGYEL, Balázs (b. 1918). Essayist and critic, our regular poetry reviewer.

MAKOVECZ, Imre (b. 1935). Architect. Graduated from the Budapest University of Technology in 1959. Worked on the staff of various institutes for architectural design; now head of the MAKONA-bureau. Holds in-service training courses for architects. Has published on Hungarian organic architecture in various Hungarian, English, American, and Japanese periodicals. The *Union Internationale des Architects,* at the meeting of the critics' group in Cairo 1985, chose him among the best eight architects who for the past four years served the future of architecture of the world.

MAROSI, Ernő (b. 1940). Art historian. Senior lecturer at the Art History department of the University of Budapest and deputy director of the Art History Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Specializes in medieval architecture and architectural sculpture on which he has published numerous books and studies, chiefly on Romanesque art and art history writing since the Renaissance. See "Courtly Art During the Reign of King Louis I," *NHQ* 90.

MESTERHÁZI, Miklós (b. 1952). Literary historian, studied Hungarian and German at the University of Budapest. Worked as a librarian, now a researcher on the staff of the Lukács Archives of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Specialises in the history of Marxism, modern messianistic philosophy, Ernst Bloch, and the ideas of the 20s in general, on which he has published a number of papers and essays.

NEMES NAGY, Ágnes (b. 1922). Poet, translator. *Selected poems,* translated and introduced by Bruce Berlind, was published in English by Iowa University Press in 1980. See "Intersections of the Animate and the Inanimate" by Eric Mottram in *NHQ* 83. 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, 25, 62, 68, 73, 76.

PATAKI, Gábor (b. 1955). Art critic. Read Art History, Aesthetics and History at the University of Budapest. On the staff of the Art History Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. His main field of research is the Hungarian art of the thirties and of the forties, with special emphasis on the "European School."

ROMÁNY, Pál (b. 1923). Agricultural economist, First Secretary of the Bács-Kiskun County Committee of the HSWP. Minister of Agriculture between 1975–1980, earlier head of the regional economic development section of the Central Committee of the Party. See "New Questions Facing Hungarian Agriculture," *NHQ* 80.

SAJÓ, András (b. 1952). Legal theorist, Professor of Law at the Karl Marx University of Economics in Budapest, a graduate of the University of Budapest. His field is the sociology of law on which he has published widely, including *Jogkövetés és társadalmi magatartás* (Lawful Behaviour and Social Attitudes), 1980, and *Kritikai értekezés a jogtudományról* (A Criticism of Jurisprudence), 1982. See his "Economic Reform and the Role of Law," *NHQ* 94.

SPIRÓ, György (b. 1946). Novelist, playwright, lecturer in Comparative East European Literatures at the University of Budapest. Studied Hungarian, Russian and Serbo-Croat at the University of Budapest, worked in radio, journalism, and publishing

before devoting himself to writing. Wrote his academic thesis on East European drama. Has published two novels, a volume containing poems and a historical play in verse, a volume of plays, and an essay on Miroslav Krleža. See his stories "With my Father at the Game," *NHQ* 68, and "The Ward," 73.

STRAUB, F. Brunó (b. 1914). Biochemist, head of the Research Institute for Biology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Szeged. President of the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU). Was Vice-President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. A member of the Editorial Board of this review. Recently elected Chairman of the National Council for the Environment. See "International Research Institutions," *NHQ* 35, "Biological Research in Hungary," 39, and University, Science and Research," 72.

SZECSKŐ, Tamás (b. 1933). Sociologist, since 1969 heads the Mass Communications Research Centre in Budapest. A member of *NHQ*'s Editorial Board. He is editor-in-chief of two scholarly journals and an elected officer of the International Association of Mass Communication Research, the International Sociological Association, and the International Institute of Communications. His publications include four books and numerous articles. See "The Grammar of Global Communications," *NHQ* 86.

VAJDA, Miklós (b. 1931). Translator, essayist, Literary Editor of *NHQ*.

VÁRKONYI, Péter (b. 1931). Minister for Foreign Affairs. A member of the Central Committee of the HSWP since 1975. A graduate of the Academy of Foreign Affairs; 1958–61, headed the Press Section of the Foreign Ministry; 1961–65, on the staff of the Central Committee of the HSWP; 1969–80, President of the Office of Information of the Council of Ministers; 1980–82, Editor in Chief of *Népszabadság*, the central daily of the HSWP; 1982–83, Secretary to the Central Committee of the HSWP. See "Security and Cooperation," *NHQ* 92, and "Hungary's International Relations," 97.

VAS, István (b. 1910). Poet, essayist, critic, translator, member of the Editorial Board of this review. His publications include many volumes of verse, essays, criticism, translations from foreign poets, as well as translations of novels and plays, and a multivolume autobiography. See poems in *NHQ* 23, 29, 38, 46, 50, 56, 75, and 94, an autobiographical piece "The Unknown God," 40, and the essay, "The Truth of Imagination, " 65.

WALKER, Alan (b. 1930). Musicologist, Professor of Music at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ont., Canada, formerly on the staff of the Music Division of the BBC in London. A specialist in the music of the Romantic era, he has published books on Chopin, Schumann, and Liszt. He is currently engaged on a three-volume biography of Liszt, the first volume of which was published in 1983 and will appear in Hungarian translation in 1986, the centenary year of Liszt's death. A review by Klára Hamburger appeared in *NHQ* 95.

ZÁDOR, Anna. Art historian, Professor (ret.) of Art History at Budapest University. Toured the US as guest lecturer at several universities in 1976. She is a member of the Editorial Board of this review. See her "The English Garden in Hungary," *NHQ* 50, and "Working in Museums and Libraries in America," 66.

ZIMONYI, Zoltán (b. 1943). Journalist, critic. Read Literature and History at Kossuth Lajos University in Debrecen. On the staff of *Látóhatár*, a monthly digest of the cultural press.

The New Hungarian Quarterly

A review of political, cultural, social
and economic life in Hungary

For twenty-five years

The New Hungarian Quarterly

has explored the major issues of a
changing society and economy with special
emphasis on the ongoing economic reform,
has presented the best of contemporary
fiction and poetry, translated by leading
British and American poets,
has published criticism and in-depth
articles on music, art and the cinema
and has generally been an important
source on all aspects of Hungarian life

Some back numbers available on request

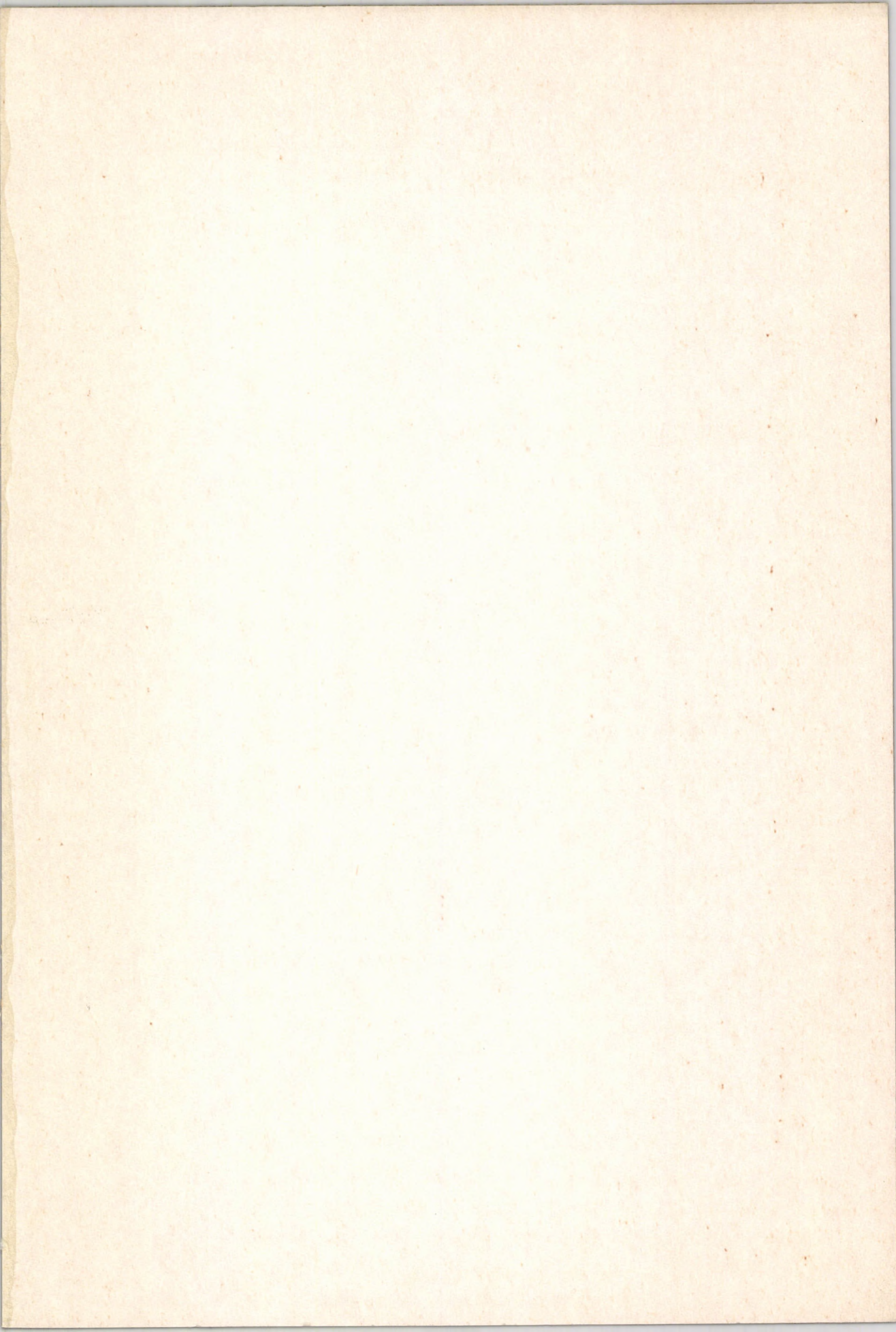
Annual subscription: $ 13.50 or equivalent post free to any address

Orders may be placed with:

KULTURA FOREIGN TRADE COMPANY
H-1389 Budapest,
P.O.B. 146
Hungary

or

THE NEW HUNGARIAN QUARTERLY
H-1906 Budapest,
P.O.B. 223
Hungary



THE NEW HUNGARIAN QUARTERLY

may be obtained from the following distributors:

AUSTRALIA: Cosmos Book and Record Shop, 145 Ackland St., St. Kilda, Vic. 3182
Globe Book and Record Shop, 702 George St. Sydney NSW 2000

AUSTRIA: LIBRO-DISCO Ungarische Bücher und Schallplatten aus Wien, Domgasse 8. A-1010 Wien

BELGIUM: Du Monde Entier S. A. Rue du Midi 162, B-1000 Bruxelles
András Süle 83, rue des Arbres, B-1180 Bruxelles

BRASIL: Livraria D. Landy Ltda. Rua 7 de Abril 252, 01000 São Paulo

CANADA: Délibáb Film and Record Studio, 19 Prince Arthur Street, West Montreal P. Q. H2X IS4
Pannonia Books, P.O. Box 1017 Postal Station "B", Toronto, Ont. M5T 2T8
Hungarian Ikka and Travel Service, 1234 Granville Street, Vancouver 2, B.C. V6Z IM4

DENMARK: Munksgaard's Boghandel, Norregade 6. DK-1165 Kobenhavn K.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY: Ujváry—Griff, Titurelstr. 2. 8000 München 81.
Kubon und Sagner, Postfach 68. 8000 München 34.
Musica Hungarica, Rümannstr. 4. 8000 München 40.

FINLAND: Akateeminen Kirjakauppa, Keskuskatu 2. SF 00100 Helsinki 10.

FRANCE: Société Balaton, 12, rue de la Grange-Batelière, 75009 Paris
Association France-Hongrie, 8, rue Montyon, 75009 Paris

GREAT BRITAIN: The Danubia Book Company, 58, Chatsworth Road London NW2 4DD

HOLLAND: Club Qualiton, Herengracht 82, 1015 BS Amsterdam

NORWAY: A/S Narvesens Litteratur Tjeneste, P.O. Box 6140, Etterstad Oslo 6

SWEDEN: Esselte Tidskriftcentralen, P.O. Box 62, S-101, 20 Stockholm

SWITZERLAND: Magda Szerday, Teichweg 16, CH-4142 Münchenstein

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: Center of Hungarian Literature, 4418 16th Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11204
Püski-Corvin 251 E82 Street, New York, N.Y. 10028
Imported Publications, Inc., 320 West Ohio Street, Chicago Ill. 60610

VENEZUELA: Louis Tarcsay, Calle Iglesia Ed Villoria Apt. 21 105. C. 24. Caracas

YUGOSLAVIA: Forum, Vojvode Misica broj 1. 21000 Novi Sad

Kultura Hungarian Trading Company for Books and Newspapers,

H-1389 Budapest P.O.B. 149