

BELVEDERE

MERIDIONALE

TÖRTÉNELEM ÉS TÁRSADALOMTUDOMÁNYOK XXXIII. ÉVFOLYAM 4. SZÁM

VITA MEMORIAE



Baliga Violetta Lilla cikke lapunk 93. oldalán olvasható.

nka

– MMXXI TÉL –

BELVEDERE

TÖRTÉNELEM ÉS TÁRSADALOMTUDOMÁNYOK

Főszerkesztő KISS GÁBOR FERENC

Szerkesztőbizottság SZEGFŰ LÁSZLÓ (elnök), JANCSÁK CSABA, KISS GÁBOR FERENC,
MARJANUCZ LÁSZLÓ, NAGY TAMÁS, NÓTÁRI TAMÁS, PÁSZKA IMRE, RÁCZ LAJOS

Tanácsadó testület ANDAHÁZI SZEGHY VIKTOR, BANGÓ JENŐ, CSABA LÁSZLÓ,
GARDA DEZSŐ, GEBEI SÁNDOR, JOHN GOODWIN, PAPP SÁNDOR,
SZAKÁLY SÁNDOR, SZELÉNYI IVÁN, UTASI ÁGNES, VERES VALÉR

Szerkesztők HALMÁGYI MIKLÓS, KOVÁCS ATTILA, MIKLÓS PÉTER,
NAGY GÁBOR DÁNIEL, PLUGOR RÉKA, SZŐTS ZOLTÁN OSZKÁR

Munkatársak DÁVID BENJÁMIN, FLOUTIER JEREMY, GATTI BEÁTA,
GAUSZ ILDIKÓ, KÓSA MAJA, LENGYEL ÁDÁM, SÁNTA TAMÁS



Számunk az EIKKA Alapítvány, Emberi Erőforrások Minisztériuma, a Dél-magyarországi Pedagógiai Alapítvány, a Magyar Történelmi Társulat Csongrád Megyei és Szegedi Csoportja, a Nemzeti Kulturális Alap, Petőfi Kulturális Ügynökség, a Szegedi Tudományegyetem Polgáraiért Alapítvány, az SZTE Bölcsészettudományi Kar, az SZTE Juhász Gyula Pedagógusképző Kar, az SZTE Alkalmazott Társadalomismereti és Kisebbségpolitikai Intézet, az SZTE Történettudományi Intézet, az SZTE JGYPK HÖK és a SZEPA Alapítvány támogatásával készült.

A Belvedere Meridionale online elérhető itt:
www.belvedere.meridionale.hu

Alap tanulmányokat, interjúkat, ismertetéseket és kritikákat közöl a történelem és a társadalomtudományok köréből. Aközösre benyújtott cikk még nem publikált és más folyóiratnál elbírálás alatt nem lévő, eredeti írásmű lehet. Abenyzított és a lap jellegének megfelelő írásokat két, a szerző számára ismeretlen szakmai lektor bírálja el. Akét lektor véleményének figyelembevételével a szerkesztőség döntést hoz a megjelentetésről, melyet a szerzővel közöl.

A folyóirat megjelenik évente négy alkalommal: tavasszal, nyáron, összel és télen.

A szerkesztőség címe: 6725 Szeged, Hattyas sor 10. Tel.: +36/62-546-252

E-mail: foszerkeszto@belvedere.hu

Kiadja a Belvedere Meridionale Kft.

Technikai szerkesztő: Szabó Erik, s-Paw Bt.

ISSN 1419-0222 (print) ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

Tartalom

TANULMÁNYOK

DOMINEK, DALMA LILLA PHD

Creativity in higher education through the flow channel

DOI 10.14232/belv.2021.4.1.....5

MOLNÁR, FERENC

Political communication of Hungarian parties in social networking platforms

DOI 10.14232/belv.2021.4.2.....13

BALATONI, MONIKA

The impact of the Parliament on country branding and national identity

DOI 10.14232/belv.2021.4.330

TÓTH DOMINIK

How the war wagon looked like in the 15th century?

Additions to the research connected to the development of a military vehicle

DOI 10.14232/belv.2021.2.4.....53

JANCSÁK CSABA PHD, HABIL.

Whose Association Is It?

Three MEFESZ in History of Hungary

DOI 10.14232/belv.2021.4.564

KÖZLEMÉNY

BALIGA VIOLETTA LILLA

Híres kávéházi asztaltársaságok a 19. századi Pesten

Famous Café Table Companies in Pest in the 19th Century

DOI 10.14232/belv.2021.4.6.....93

TÉKA

DÁVID BENJÁMIN

Magyar historiográfia a Nagy Háborúról. Könyvismertető

Hungarian historiography about the Great War. Review.

DOI 10.14232/belv.2021.4.7.....107

VAS BERNADETT

Színlelt izmusok. Könyvismertető.

Pretended isms. Review.

DOI 10.14232/belv.2021.4.8.....115

KÁDÁR, ZOLTÁN PhD

History of sociology that focuses more on the background than usual

DOI 10.14232/belv.2021.4.9.....119

HALMÁGYI MIKLÓS PhD

A lovagkirály emlékezete. Könyvismertető.

DOI 10.14232/belv.2021.4.10.....123

CÍMLAPKÉP: A Hercules gőzhajó a Dunán, háttérben a Parlament. 1911. Fortepan / Zádori Ferenc 211960

DOMINEK, DALMA LILLA PhD

dominek.dalma.lilla@uni-nke.hu

senior lecturer (Department of Social Communication, University of Public Service)

Creativity in higher education through the flow channel



ABSTRACT

In our study, we present the importance of creativity and its possible rebuilding into education. We also consider it important to examine Group Flow, because in education, group synchronicity and its combined use in enhancing creativity is important for students entering the labour market to be aware of raising and maintaining their performance at a higher level. To work in a group means to achieve goals and work together, and that can only be achieved through creativity. It can be shown that if someone is creative in the group, it spreads to the other members. However, a whole new creative teaching methodology is needed that can be implemented in a new digital technology age. Introducing or rebuilding creativity into education is an exciting area for the above.

KEYWORDS

positive psychology, teaching methodology, student, digital-traditional – hybrid education

DOI 10.14232/belv.2021.4.1

<https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2021.4.1>

Cikkre való hivatkozás / How to cite this article:

Dominek Dalma Lilla (2021): Creativity in higher education through the flow channel. Belvedere Meridionale vol. 33. no. 4. 5–12. pp

ISSN 1419-0222 (print)

ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

(Creative Commons) Nevezd meg! – Így add tovább! 4.0 (CC BY-SA 4.0)
(Creative Commons) Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-SA 4.0)

www.belvedere-meridionale.hu

INTRODUCTION

Compared to other European countries, it should be emphasized that Hungarians can be said to be extremely creative people, but this creativity is not common in terms of population. Education focuses on raising general intellectuality, but it kills creativity. In the lessons, it is important that students do not ask questions, return the material given by the teacher, either verbatim or on a content level. However, they cannot add new ones, supplement them or think about them. You just have to learn because the instructor says. However, in order for the student to have knowledge transfer and deepen, flow must be used, the focal point and the ability to concentrate must be seen at a high level. We often hear that a break after 1.5 hours is enough, but not a break of 5 minutes every 25 minutes is needed to keep the attention sustainable. Our research shows that attention cannot be sustained in long run.

The usefulness of a creative approach, the use of various problem-solving methods, and the creation and implementation of workable ideas is one of the essential areas in creativity. If we do not recognize our own autonomy and opportunities for self-expression, our creativity is lost. If education can awaken “childish curiosity” then it can channel its inner driving force, implement its ideas, live and use the ability to think differently, its creativity in a self-motivated, bold, free-interpretation way, combining several forms of self-expression. The most important thing is for students to dare to embark on new ways of thinking, to take on innovative ideas, to draw from others and to inspire others. Being able to adapt flexibly to uncertain situations, having tools to see through complex problems and being prepared for the challenges of the 21st century are important, too.

Research has shown that students in higher education today do not have creative solutions. They do not seek independent paths and are stuck in problems. For this reason, one of the challenges of the future is to develop a creative flow-type educational methodology based on creative methodology, problem-solving techniques, domestic and international good practices, which develops its own creative mode of operation.

The main aim of the study is to suggest, based on the research experience, where education should develop, what elements are needed for students to leave the classroom with experiences, and thus increase their creativity.

In our opinion, creativity can be built on experience, that is, it is part of experiential pedagogy, but by experiential pedagogy, we mean that the means of our education is the personally experienced experience itself. Positive psychology emphasises the pleasure experienced in learning and development, self-esteem, the perception of success as a reward, the importance of making an effort to improve and the importance of curiosity (PLÉH 2004, 2012; SELIGMAN 2008; 2011).

Building on this hypothesis, in our research, which took place at a university in Hungary, we asked students if they met with creative instructors, what students mean by creativity. If we assume that creativity can be enhanced or rebuilt through the methodology of experiential pedagogy and hybrid education, then we can assume that the presence of experiential flow education also suggests students 'creativity. Your own experience is always better captured! Children need to see for themselves the significance of one thing at a time, Dewey thinks.

The research purpose of the questionnaires with students is to

- examine students' opinions about creativity and assess how creative students consider teachers to be.
- show which way of education they can imagine the higher education of the future and whether this requires creativity.

The empirical study was carried out in Hungary during a questionnaire survey at the University of Public Service.

THEORETICAL ASPECTS

Our research was based on flow measurement. The flow measurement was developed by Professor Mihály Csíkszentmihályi of Hungarian origin, and so far only a few people in Hungary have used this measurement in connection with the measurement of the degree of experience. In our accelerated world, changed learning and teaching habits must be applied. Based on these, interactive, creative and experience-based education should be pursued (CSAJKA – CSIMÁNÉ 2019; BARNUCZ – FÓNAI 2020) in order for students to experience the FLOW experience in a lesson, but for this in the XXI. on the ground of the skills of the 20th century, it is already set as a basic condition to teach using the flow channel (Csíkszentmihályi 2010). However, based on the above, students are expected to have a constant focus during classes, an appropriate focus, and a high level of creativity. They must all be present in the class at the same time, in a complex way, so that time is not taken into account. A XXI. century already expects top performance from students. In our opinion, the experiential flow state is the most adaptive way to create a higher level of life, which is why it is important to implement an experiential-based teaching methodology in education that focuses on students 'creativity. According to Csíkszentmihályi, the experiencer of the "stream" is so immersed in his activities, he excludes disturbing factors, he forgets the passage of time. So, in the present case the participation in education becomes easy and spontaneous, thus providing the joy of a "perfect experience". That is why he calls this experience "flow". It is a joyful state of deep participation and absorption that individuals report when faces a challenging activity and perceived with the right skills to cope with those challenges. Flow is described as an optimal experience in which people are deeply motivated by the persistence of their activities. Research shows that flow experiences can have far-reaching consequences in supporting individuals 'growth, contributing to both personal well-being and full functioning in everyday life. Based on his research, Csíkszentmihályi states that when the level of abilities and possibilities is balanced, and thus the level of boredom and anxiety decreases to a value around the minimum, the personality develops the most as the consciousness becomes more complex. The measurability of this experience was made possible by the application of the "flow test,"

which also provided for the determination of the level of boredom and anxiety factors on a scale ranging from 1.00 to 5.00. In the present research, we used a version of this, the elements of which were placed in the questionnaire.

In our opinion, the task of the instructor is to prepare the student to deal with the problems and conflicts to be solved. Students develop the necessary communication skills for this. They show the toolbox of creativity, strive to develop a creative mindset in students. So that the student finds joy in the challenges, in the implementation of new solutions, and provides factual and applicable knowledge and techniques. It encourages innovative action, recognition and avoidance of unnecessary workload activities.

We start from Rhodes' theory when we say that the creation of flow can be deduced from the theory of creativity. According to Rhodes, after his many researches, the definitions of creativity point to four areas, which are the following: Personality, Process, Press, Product, so creativity requires the creative person, the process of creation, external environmental impacts and the result. According to Csíkszentmihályi, the essence of the theory of flow is that creativity can be developed, that in his book FLOW the author writes that when people experience a high degree of joy, their concentration is focused on the challenging task and then they experience the perfect experience. Csíkszentmihályi's research also reveals that the average person experiences the flow most of the time during work, because work can become a real creative activity that provides an experience for individuals. Experiential pedagogy occurs when we are able to go beyond the expected and have an experience that we did not expect before (DOMINEK 2018; BARNUCZ – FÓNAI 2020; DOMINEK 2021a). However, the work is, in our view, consistent with the work done by students during their university years. Experiences are experiencing emotions, desires, trying. During the student years, this means diversity, discovering novelty, making a decision, immersing oneself in a topic. Closely related to experiential pedagogy is the concept of creativity, which, according to the authors of Digital Pedagogy 2.0, is a set of innate and acquired qualities and abilities that give us the opportunity and urge to invent original and preferably purposeful things. In her pedagogical approach to experiential pedagogy, Petra Földes defined experience- or activity-centred learning organization as the rediscovery of natural forms of human learning and their adaptation to organized school frameworks. Finally, it is important to mention the concept of edutainment, which in the Anglo-American pedagogical literature is most generally entertainment for learning purposes, which primarily seeks to translate the knowledge to be acquired into a familiar form of entertainment (television, computer and video games, movies, music, websites, multimedia applications, software, etc.).

Jean Heutte (HEUTTE 2016) and co-authors seek to identify factors that can be associated with an optimal learning environment, so in their view, an optimal learning environment is an environment that promotes the creation of a flow experience in learners. If we, as students, look for challenges and present goals to ourselves, we can experience the moment of experience, that is, the flow, as achieving such a goal breeds new desires. There is a wide variety of ways to achieve consciousness control, experience-based research reports, but they have one thing in common to allow for the joy of discovery. Thus, your performance increases and you can experience a more complex state of consciousness, a more advanced stage of your Self, which lies in development, the key to the flow experience. The emergence of educational flow can be interpreted primarily in connection with the so-called "social flow" phenomenon. In his research

series, Tímea Magyaródi (MAGYARÓDI 2016) stated that the quality of the flow experience is more intense in a social situation than during individual task performance: for example, the synchronization of the flow experience of two people in action can be observed during a joint task solution. According to Magyaródi, the flow experience experienced at that time is supported by the so-called flow synchronization components, which are based on the peculiarities of the interaction in parallel with the experience of the flow experience. According to the research, experiencing and practicing the flow in social, cooperative activities can contribute to the satisfaction of basic human needs in addition to performing intrinsic motivated action. Based on this, it can be stated that with the help of social or otherwise called group flow, the presence of flow can be achieved in education as well, and with the help of this, creativity can also be increased. Thus, group flow experience can play a documented role in increasing a team's efficiency, productivity, performance, and capacity, as well as increasing their creativity.

RESEARCH SAMPLE AND METHOD

Questionnaires were received by a total of students studying at the university, so we sent them out to a total of N=5,760 students, of whom n=702 answered our questions of the academic year 2021/2022. From the questionnaire in this study, we present the results that addressed issues of creativity. Accordingly, the first question was about how creative you consider educators. Respondents rated their answers on a three-point scale as saying yes, maybe, or no. Of the respondents, 40.5% marked yes, while perhaps 45.3% voted. If we compare these two values with the gender ratio of 14.2%, it can be said that a higher proportion of students encounter a teacher who can be considered creative in the classroom than a teacher working with a frontal, traditional methodology (Table 1).

Table 1: Do you find the trainers creative?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	yes	284	40,5
	no	100	14,2
	maybe	318	45,3
	Total	702	100,0

Source: own data collection, n=702

This may also indicate that educators are trying to use an interactive type of methodology other than traditional teaching. Unlike in previous years, frontal education has undergone a transformation, and it is thanks to this transformation that education in today's higher education is more interactive.

The other question, which is closely related to the previous one, is what they mean by creativity. We asked you to write your opinion briefly on this. We also quote the opinions of a few students in our study:

“Maintaining interest, recognizing new approaches and connections”

"For me, having a teacher can make a lesson more interesting and colourful by keeping students' attention."

"You can make the curriculum illustrative, interesting - either with real-life examples, video materials or case studies that are not a common tool in frontal education"

It can also be concluded from the above quotations that students consider holding new, non-traditional, interesting lessons during their creativity to be the creativity of the teacher. This also presupposes the establishment of a kind of innovative, new methodology.

Based on previous assumptions about the difference between the right and left hemispheres, we also asked the question of which thumb is above when you clasp your hands. Respondents could choose from the left and right answers. 397 people, or 56.6%, voted for the left election, while 305 students, or 43.4%, voted for the right. Based on previous articles referring to creativity, including the left and right hemispheres of the brain, according to the game, nearly 60% of students at the University of Public Service can be considered creative (Table 2).

Table 2: If you clasp your two hands together, which thumb is on top?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	left	397
	right	305
	Total	702

Source: own data collection, n=702

This is why educators are expected to be creative in class and like lessons other than this type of traditional teaching.

To the question of what type of education they would like in the future, we received the following answer: hybrid. Among the response options, we raised the possibility of digital - online, hybrid - presence and online and traditional education - presence triple scale. 217 people, i.e. 30.9%, in addition to digital, i.e. online, 192 people, i.e. 27.4%, in addition to traditional, i.e. attendance education, and 293 people, i.e. 41.7% in addition to hybrid (Table 3).

Table 3: Which education do you prefer in terms of lessons?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	digital – online	217
	traditional education – presence	192
	hybrid – presence and online	293
	Total	702

Source: own data collection, n=702

This also means that if we are thinking about hybrid education, we need to develop a new curriculum of which lessons can be held online and which should be implemented in attendance education. It is certain that solving this will require a high degree of creativity, which can be developed by knowing and mastering the flow.

CONCLUSION

The usefulness of a creative approach, the use of various problem-solving methods, and the creation and implementation of workable ideas is one of the essential areas in creativity. If we do not recognize our own autonomy and opportunities for self-expression, our creativity is lost. If education is able to awaken “childish curiosity” then the student can channel his / her inner driving force, implement his / her ideas, live and use the ability to think differently, his / her creativity, self-motivated, boldly, freely interpreting, combining several forms of self-expression. The key is for the student to dare to embark on new ways of thinking, to take on innovative ideas, to draw from others and to inspire others. Be able to adapt flexibly to uncertain situations and have the tools to see through complex problems. Get ready for the XXI. challenges of the 21st century.

We consider it important to emphasize here that the introduction of an experiential, flow-type teaching methodology would be urgently needed in higher education. Achieving cognitive flexibility among students is an innovative way to increase creativity. Teaching habits need to be changed and a creative, flow-based education should be pursued (DOMINEK 2017). By inserting the teaching methodology previously described by the author, it would be possible to try and test this. The use and incorporation of the so-called flow phenomenon into the lecturer's style of training, as well as into the framework of training, can be the key to enhancing the teaching experience, thus achieving the development of soft skills. The methodology described by the author will be tested in the course of further research. In the light of the partial results presented above during the questionnaire research, it can be stated that the method of experiential pedagogy has a place in Hungarian higher education.

We consider it important to highlight the need to build a creative, hybrid higher education structure in higher education. However, an essential precondition for this is the use and incorporation of educators' creativity into education, and the development of teaching methodologies can be the key to developing a hybrid education system.

REFERENCES

- BARNUCZ NÓRA – FÓNAI MIHÁLY (2020): Az IKT-eszközök használata az idegennyelv oktatásban hátrányos helyzetű tanulók iskoláiban. *Információs Társadalom* 1. sz. 7–28. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22503/inftars.XX.2020.1.1> Benedek András (szerk.): „Élménypedagógia” és tudásközvetítés” (Digitális pedagógia 2.0) 2013
- CSAJKA EDINA – CSIMÁNÉ POZSEGOVICS BEÁTA (2019): A szociális kompetenciák fejlesztési lehetőségei az élménypedagógia módszerével hátrányos helyzetű gyermekek körében = Development Possibilities of Social Competences with the Help of the Experiential Learning Method among Disadvantaged Children.) *Képzés és Gyakorlat: Training and Practice* vol. 17. no. 2. 67–78. DOI: 10.17165/TP.2019.2.5
- Csíkszentmihályi Mihály (2001): *Flow – az áramlat – a tökéletes élmény pszichológiája*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.

Csíkszentmihályi Mihály (1997): FLOW. Az áramlat. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.

Csíkszentmihályi Mihály (2010): *Tehetséges gyerekek. Flow az iskolában*. Budapest, Nyitott Könyvműhely.

Dominek Dalma Lilla (2017): Élményalapú tárlatvezetés. In Kurta Mihály; Veres Gábor; Verők Attila (szerk.): *Múzeumandragógia és közösségszolgálat*. Eger.

Dominek Dalma Lilla (2021a): Andragógia-pszichológia – FLOW típusú módszer a felsőoktatásban. In Fodorné Tóth Krisztina (szerk.): *TANULÁS – TUDÁS – INNOVÁCIÓ A FELSŐOKTATÁSBAN – REFLEKTORFÉNYBEN AZ INNOVÁCIÓ KIHÍVÁSAI*. Pécs, MELLearN Felsőoktatási Hálózat az életen át tartó tanulásért Egyesület. 209–217. p.

Dominek Dalma Lilla (2021b): Élményalapú környezeti nevelés a természettudományi múzeumokban. Szeged, Szegedi Egyetemi Kiadó – Belvedere Meridionale.

Dominek Dalma Lilla (2018): *Az élménycentrikus-, és az információ-centrikus tárlatvezetés megítélése és lehetősége két hazai múzeumban*. Doktori (PhD) értekezés, Pécs.

Heutte, Jean et al. (2016): The EduFlow Model: A Contribution Toward the Study of Optimal Learning Environments. In Harmat, L (szerk.): *Flow experience*. 127–145.

Józsa Krisztián – Székely Györgyi (2004): Kísérlet a kooperatív tanulás alkalmazására a matematika tanítása során. In Magyar Pedagógia 104. évf. 3. sz. 339–362. Budapest.

Magyaródi Tímea (2016): Az áramlat-élmény vizsgálata társas helyzetben. Doktori értekezés, ELTE PPK.

Mező Katalin (2015): *Kreativitás és élménypedagógia*. Kocka kör. 12.

Németh András – Ehrekhard Skiera (1999): *Reformpedagógia és az iskola reformja*. Budapest, Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó.

Pléh Csaba (2004): A pozitív pszichológiai hagyományok Európában. *Iskolakultúra* 14. évf. 5. sz. 57–61.

Pléh Csaba (2012): A pozitív pszichológiai szemlélet előfutáiról. Magyar pszichológiai szemle, 67 (1), 13–18.

Seligman, M. E. P. (2008): Autentikus életöröm - A teljes élet titka. Laurus Kiadó.

Seligman, M. E. P. (2011): Fluorish – élj boldogan! A boldogság és a jól-lét radikálisan új értelmezése. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.

MOLNÁR, FERENC

molnar.ferenc@molnarkft.hu

doctorand (University of Pécs, Department of Political Science and International Studies)

Political communication of Hungarian parties in social networking platforms



ABSTRACT

In recent years, social media platforms are said to have a major impact on communication and communication technologies. More specifically, popular social networking platforms are increasingly employed in political context. Thus, this study examines the online performance of activities and approaches for political communication between Hungarian political parties and civilians in social networking platforms, video hosting services, as well as microblogging services. In order to examine these connections, the author conducted a web-based quantitative analysis and a semantic sentiment analysis to calculate the efficiency and sentiment of social media posts created by political parties. According to the research results, Hungarian political parties underutilize the inherent communication potential of social networking platforms, especially on YouTube and Twitter.

KEYWORDS

Political communication, social media, social networking, political parties, online political context

DOI 10.14232/belv.2021.4.2

<https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2021.4.2>

Cikkre való hivatkozás / How to cite this article:

Molnár, Ferenc (2021): Political communication of Hungarian parties in social networking platforms. Belvedere Meridionale vol. 33. no. 4. 13–29. pp

ISSN 1419-0222 (print)

ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

(Creative Commons) Nevezd meg! – Így add tovább! 4.0 (CC BY-SA 4.0)
(Creative Commons) Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-SA 4.0)
www.belvedere-meridionale.hu

INTRODUCTION

In the 21st century, the role of internet-based telecommunication services as a channel of political communication between political parties and citizens is increasingly advancing and developing. As a result of ever-growing internet technology exposure, the communication capabilities of political actors are considerably enhanced in terms of strengthening the information confrontation between political parties during election periods, political processes, and campaigns. In the process of online political communication, social media platforms play an essential role as channels for communication and exchanging content between online users (KAPLAN – HAENLEIN 2010). However, social media platforms include a wide variety of networking sites, such as social networking sites (e.g., Facebook), instant messaging applications (e.g., Viber) and microblogging services (e.g. Twitter), online forums (e.g., Quora), social news aggregation and discussion websites (e.g., Reddit) and other information-disseminating platforms (e.g. YouTube and Instagram) that serve to disseminate information and messages to the public through various technological methods and means (EFFING et al. 2011; KAUN – STIERNSTEDT 2014; VOORVELD 2019).

Social media provides an opportunity for any individual to become the author or creator of political content and enhances the abilities of online users by allowing citizens to play an interactive role in political communication with political parties through mutual reciprocity and dialogue. The use of social media networks in political communication can “restore” civic democracy and engagement (KIM et al. 2013), and can “challenge” the state media monopoly by creating new forms of political interaction and communication processes (SASSER et al. 2014; KALSNES 2016) between political parties and online users. The analysis of the latest results of empirical studies on the use of social networking sites and online communication channels by Hungarian citizens clearly shows that a large percentage of the population actively uses social media platforms. This phenomenon is confirmed by the results of social and political studies: according to the data of the Reuters Institute (NEWMAN et al. 2020), trust in social media news has grown by more than 12 percentage over the last decade, which currently is around 25 percentage of the population.

The transformation of communication technologies has also largely influenced the transformation of traditional mechanisms for the distribution of power in modern states, changing the changing the modes of power relations in the so-called “state-society” system (DREZNER 2009). In such system, this transformation has not only altered the parameters of strategic interaction of various political actors and organizations, but also created “new” non-institutional subjects of political relations. In relation to this thesis, MCQUAIL (1987) highlighted that significant changes

in communication technologies (media and appropriate news production) that are dominant within society determine the operation modes for (state) political systems. Due to their mass audience accessibility – both in a financial and technological sense (SCHMIDT 2018) –, social networks have long become a promising platform for political mobilization, which, in a broad sense, involves an attitude towards action in the form of support, opposition or indifference. In the context of this development an important question arises: How do political parties communicate with the electorate on social media platforms?

OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE PROBLEM

The emergence of social networks as online platforms that ensure the rapid dissemination of information and user interaction on the Internet has been an ongoing process since 1995 (CASTILLA 2003). However, social media platform has really started to gain academic attention in the early 2000's when MySpace experienced exponential growth and Facebook was first launched as a communication tool between college students. Since then, social networks have become an integral part of the lives of millions of people around the globe (AL-DEEN – HENDRICKS 2011; MCCAY-PEET – QUAN-HAASE 2017), have been competing successfully with traditional mass media communication meanings the field of disseminating information and shaping public opinion. This transformation has not escaped the attention of researches around the world, who promptly responded to the emergence of new media, and thus, laid the foundation for studying this phenomenon (VAN DIJCK – POELL 2013; PERRIN 2015; FUCHS 2017; SCHMIDT 2018).

Considering social media as a key factor in the modernization of the media, LIN (2002) highlighted that the Internet as a communication platform and a space where media products exist has successfully provided a potential substitute for traditional media, performing a number of significant functions, such as information dissemination, participatory communication, social and group integration, as well as other recreational activities. This rapid and intensive development of technologies, processes, mechanisms and means of mass communication in the internet space has caused significant changes in the traditional system of socio-political relations, forcing researchers and specialists to re-evaluate classical theories, approaches, methods and models for the implementation of political communication in the increasingly digital information society and media environment.

It should be noted that since that time social media studies have advanced the current understanding of cyberspace and the Internet. In particular, Hungarian researchers (for example, GAÁL et al. 2015; FEHÉR 2016; KLAUSZ 2016; BÁNYAI et al. 2017) began to actively study have begun to actively study how social networks are embedded not only in the lives of individual citizens, but also in the sphere of public policy. Moreover, more and more studies are being are being published that attempt to reveal the mobilization capabilities of social networks (ENJOL-RAS et al. 2012; AUTER – FINE 2018; CLARKE – KOCAK 2018) and their role in the process of active participation of citizens in certain political or social movements (LOPES 2014; KIDD – MCINTOSH 2016). In addition, this research field also includes studies that analyze the use of network resources during specific election campaigns (ENLI – MOE 2013; ENLI 2017). At the same time, it is often emphasized that modern political parties – and political power structures – have

not yet fully evaluated the prospects for using network resources and ignore the interests of the network community, even though there are wide opportunities for recruiting new supporters.

This, in order to attract a high percentage of active supporters (potential voters), it is necessary for a political party to carry out additional work, not limited exclusively to creating text-based posts in one or two social networks. As FUCHS (2017) and SCHMIDT (2018) emphasize, the Internet does not have any special properties beyond widespread accessibility that ensure the win of a political party during an election. The Internet is not a magical means of achieving electoral victory, but a successful tool if it is subordinated to the changing nature of party competition (KREISS et al. 2018). Nevertheless, social networks as a tool for mobilizing the electorate have a number of indisputable advantages over traditional means of party communication and campaigning:

1. The efficiency of communication — the ability to instantaneously exchange or share content (messages, opinions, news, etc.) make social networks the most popular sources of political, public, economic and entertainment information (FEHÉR 2016; FUCHS 2017).
2. The availability of social networks for all political actors and individual citizens equalizes the competition of opposing political forces and provides an effective quality management system (QMS) at their disposal, which is an important factor considering the growing control of traditional media by established parties (STIEGLITZ – DANG-XUAN 2012; ELLAHI – BOKHARI 2013).
3. As a result of its openness and flexibility, social networks have a flexible configuration and can expand indefinitely (KAHNE – BOWYER 2018), for example, a political party with its own online platform has the ability to recruit a potentially unlimited number of supporters.
4. Through the phenomenon of “network power” (CASTELLS 2009), which means that any link can act not only as a transmitter, but also as a transformer of information flows, each network actor has opportunities for both social control and public opinion formation.
5. In contrast to traditional media, which does not allow audience interference and user interactivity, as noted by SENNET (2017), social networks create an opportunity for complex, multi-faceted interaction, allowing political parties represented in the network to communicate with potential voters and receive quick feedback.

This list is not exhaustive, but it is sufficient to clearly demonstrate the instrumental importance of social networks in arsenal of modern election campaigning. With the utilization of social media platforms, political parties can appeal to the sentiment and emotions of individual voters, thus, influencing and shaping public opinion of the masses, views, events, and politics as a whole. In other words, social networks have become important part of democracy, providing a convenient platform for modern political parties in the process of contemporary political communication.

To address this problem, we need a deep and comprehensive analysis of the ongoing technological changes in the information and communication sphere in terms of their impact on traditional socio-political processes, we also need to identify new challenges, risks and issues associated with this technological development and the digitalization of political communication

and mass communication. As for the present study, by using indicators such as the number of posts, followers and likes, it is characterized by an attempt to measure the effectiveness of political communication in social media platforms and the importance of using social network resources for mobilizing potential voters by both established and relatively new Hungarian political parties.

METHODS

Technical indicators, such as the number of subscribers, likes, reposts and comments, allow political parties to establish a network media logic in political communication and mobilization (STIEGLITZ – DANG-XUAN 2012). Political mobilization in social networks involves public support for content (messages, videos, image files, posts, etc.) posted by a specific political party (or political actor) on a social media platform. This is explained by the fact that both likes and shares are visible not only to other followers of a social network community, but also to friends and active followers of the individual user, or to followers to other social network communities (FUCHS 2017). As for commenting on news stories or posts in social network platforms, comments have a more pronounced emotional impact — they can express both approval and support or opposition and open resistance to ideas of a political party.

In order to assess the effectiveness of political communication of political parties with voters, the author conducted a web-based (cyber-metric) analysis – from January 2018 to December 2019 – based on the use of the automated online, real-time media monitoring and analytical system, Socialbakers, and the public application programming interfaces (APIs) of social media companies. The empirical object of the study included 2.3 million social networking and social media accounts:

- social networking sites (Facebook),
- microblogging services (Twitter),
- instant messaging applications (Viber),
- online video-sharing platform (YouTube),
- other online media platforms (Reddit, Instagram).

The study was carried out taking into account such factors as the use of a complete database, an automated text sentiment analysis, social media tagging, filtering out “informational noise”, the speed of obtaining information and identifying the key performance indicators – KPIs (an aggregated set of qualitative indicators, in this study, “likes”, shares, comments and mentions, for the evaluation of the effectiveness of information messages in order to determine the coverage of information in terms of the activities of political parties and the effectiveness of online party activity (the ratio between posts and user-generated comments), as well as its weight in social networks) on social media (GRÄVE 2019).

EMPIRICAL RESULTS

Following the above mentioned procedure, according to the results of the web-based analysis, the following table shows such factors as the number and sentiment of social media posts about the activities of political parties created by the general public, as well as the aggregated key performance indicators of political parties (*Table 1*). It should be noted that the dataset used consists of data of only eight Hungarian political parties, namely Hungarian Civic Alliance (*Magyar Polgári Szövetség*, Fidesz), Movement for a Better Hungary (*Jobbik Magyarországról Mozgalom*, Jobbik), Our Homeland Movement (*Mi Hazánk Mozgalom*, Mozgalom), Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP), Democratic Coalition (*Demokratikus Koalíció*, DK), Dialogue for Hungary (*Párbeszéd Magyarországról*, PM), Momentum Movement (*Momentum Mozgalom*, Momentum) and Hungary's Green Party (*Magyarország Zöld Pártja*, LMP), as these political parties have had the opportunity to run candidates in various national elections or the 2019 European parliamentary election, and remained influential forces and politically relevant after the 2018 Hungarian parliamentary election.

TABLE 1. *The number and sentiment of social media posts by individual users and the aggregated key performance indicators (KPIs) of political parties between January 2018 and December 2019.*

Political party	Social media posts (in thousands)			KPI Index
	Total	Positive	Negative	
Fidesz	247.14	4.51	56.11	0.51
Jobbik	383.95	3.18	70.88	0.68
Mi Hazánk	18.78	0.41	6.79	0.02
MSZP	178.91	3.45	47.71	0.14
DK	243.95	4.90	38.19	0.16
PM	88.44	1.61	20.08	0.05
Momentum	56.58	0.47	10.44	0.03
LMP	21.06	0.38	4.48	0.02
Total	1238.81	18.91	254.69	—

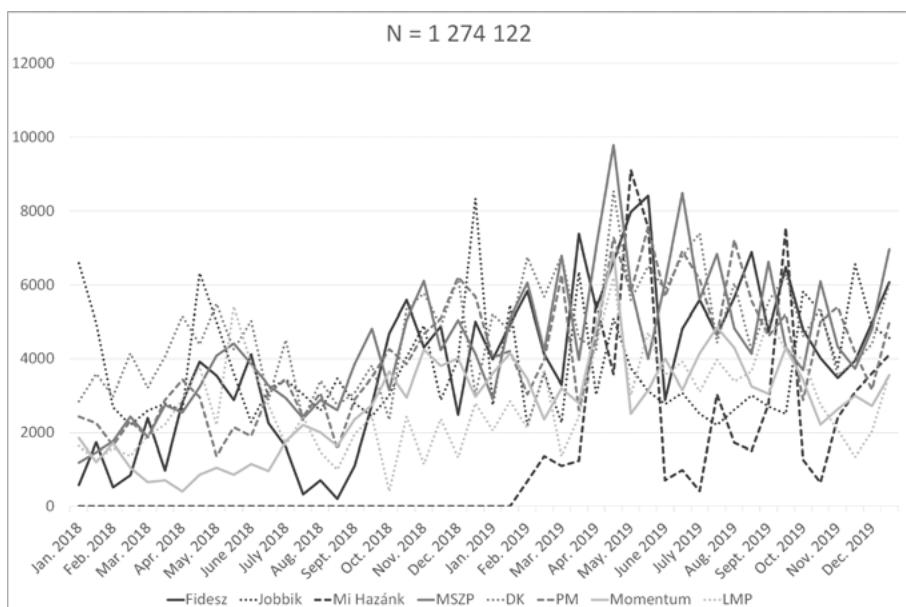
Own editing, data source: SOCIALBAKERS 2021 and public APIs¹

According to *Table 1*, in particular, it is noticeable that during the investigation period (from January 2018 to December 2019), user-generated social media platforms were primarily dominated by the political activities of Jobbik (383.95 thousand posts), presumably in part due to their unusually high level of party activity on Facebook, and Fidesz (247.14 thousand posts), for the most part having a negative sentiment (in this respect, Fidesz leads with 70.88 thousand posts and Jobbik with 56.11 thousand posts). All factors considered, the radical right-wing party Jobbik took the lead in this period, with the result of 0.68, according to the aggregated key performance indicators.

¹ The author conducted a semantic sentiment analysis by computing the sentiment of social media posts using a set of datasets, including SOCIALBAKERS (2021), and social media data extracted from various application programming interfaces (APIs) provided by FACEBOOK FOR DEVELOPERS (2021a, 2021b) for INSTAGRAM AND FACEBOOK, GOOGLE DEVELOPERS (2021) for YOUTUBE, and TWITTER DEVELOPER (2021) for Twitter.

In order to compare the changes in the number of messages about party activities, the author identified the dynamics of information flow concerning the activities of political parties in social media platforms. The use of technological and social networking resources helps us to visualize changes in the dynamics of information flow from political communication to online presence. Therefore, it should be noted that *Figure 1* shows that the tendency of intensification of online political communication does increase not only during election campaigns, for example, we can detect a peak of activities in April 2018 – during the month of the 2018 Hungarian parliamentary election –, and in May 2019 – during the month of the 2019 European Parliament election –, as these are the periods for which political parties and actors are the most active, but we also see a peak of activities in other periods as well, for example, in December 2019, when the protests against the so-called “slave law” began. After the above-mentioned elections and social phenomena, the intensity level of information flow had constantly decreased. The reason for this is that their heightened social interest had decreased, and political parties had spent less resources for targeted advertising and political campaigns. Specifically, the data for the far-right party Mi Hazánk must be interpreted differently from others. The dynamics of information flow concerning their political activities show a high level of intensity as the party has not officially existed before June 2018.

FIGURE 1. *Dynamics of information flow concerning party activities in social media platforms between January 2018 and December 2019.*



Own editing, data source: SOCIALBAKERS 2021 and public APIs²

² The author computed the information flow in social networks using a set of datasets, including SOCIALBAKERS (2021), and the social media data extracted from various application programming interfaces (APIs) provided by FACEBOOK FOR DEVELOPERS (2021a, 2021b) for Instagram and FACEBOOK, GOOGLE DEVELOPERS (2021) for YOUTUBE, TWITTER DEVELOPER for TWITTER, RAKUTEN VIBER DEVELOPERS (2021) for Viber, and other social media platforms (REDDIT 2021).

If we turn to the analysis of microblogging services, we can see that a microblog as a channel for online political communication allows creating a mutual dialogue between party representatives and citizens without “intermediaries” (WATERS et al. 2010; SHULTZ 2013). While then an American undergraduate student, Jack Dorsey, one of the earliest pioneers and founders of microblogging, has founded Twitter in 2006, which was one of the first microblogging site based on internet information, blogging approaches and social networking resources (LIU et al. 2012). The definition of “microblog” – like most computer terms – is borrowed from the English language, and is an abbreviation of “micro” and “weblog”, which means “a blog in the form of a short message for anyone to read, sent especially from a mobile phone” (CAMBRIDGE DICTIONARY 2021). In short, a microblog is a separate online page or site with open or limited access. This type of internet resources is characterized by a public nature and involves the engagement of a third-party entity (an online user or reader) who has the ability to create posts and communicate with the author (a microblogger or in this case, a political actor). In general, conversation occurs through comments (“tweets”) or responses (“retweets”, shares, etc.) to microblog entries and articles published by the author, providing feedback.

TABLE 2. *Analysis of the number and sentiment of user-generated posts (tweets or shares) pertaining to the activities of political parties in Twitter microblogging service between January 2018 and December 2019 (in thousands).*

Political party	Joined	Followers	Tweets and shares by users		
			Total	Positive	Negative
Fidesz ³	September 2014	4.10	8.83	0.16	2.00
Jobbik	Augustus 2009	7.91	13.92	0.12	2.57
Mi Hazánk	June 2019	1.19	0.66	0.03	0.35
MSZP	September 2010	11.89	6.91	0.13	2.23
DK ⁴	—	—	6.09	0.01	0.46
PM ⁴	—	—	2.58	0.11	1.38
Momentum	February 2017	3.57	1.46	0.02	0.48
LMP	April 2009	10.10	0.55	0.01	0.18
Total	—	38.76	40.99	0.59	9.74

Own editing, data source: SOCIALBAKERS 2021 and TWITTER DEVELOPER 2021⁵.

According to the results of the web-based analysis (*Table 2*), the number and sentiment of user-generated tweets and/or shares pertaining to the activities of political actors can be

³ The official Twitter account of Fidesz was created as a channel for the Fidesz-KDNP delegation to the European Parliament.

⁴ DK and PM do not have an official Twitter account.

⁵ The author conducted a semantic sentiment analysis by computing the sentiment of “tweets” (together with “retweets” and shares), using a set of datasets, including SOCIALBAKERS (2021), and the social media data social media data extracted from the application programming interface (API) provided by TWITTER DEVELOPER (2021) for Twitter.

determined as follows: MSZP was the most popular Hungarian parliamentary party on Twitter with the followers of approximately of 11.9 thousand users. On the other hand, individual users have posted the highest number of tweets and shares with negative sentiment about the right-wing populist party Jobbik and the governing party Fidesz, meaning respectively 2.57 thousand and 2 thousand of the examined user-generated tweets, retweets and shares have had a negative sentiment in the analysis period.

TABLE 3. *Analysis of the activities of political parties in YouTube video hosting service.*

Political party	Channel name	Date created	Videos (in thousands)	Subscribers (in thousands)	Total views (in millions)
Fidesz	Fidesz	December 2015	3.15	8.46	2.66
Jobbik	Jobbik Magyarországi Mozgalom (Movement for a Better Hungary)	March 2009	5.50	22.10	23.21
Mi Hazánk	Mi Hazánk Mozgalom (Our Homeland Movement)	July 2018	0.54	18.10	4.34
MSZP	Magyar Szocialista Párt (Hungarian Socialist Party)	September 2010	7.48	3.85	5.90
DK	Demokratikus Koalíció (Democratic Coalition)	October 2011	3.30	4.40	3.29
PM	Párbeszéd Magyarországért (Dialogue for Hungary)	February 2013	0.33	1.42	1.15
Momentum	MomenTube	December 2016	0.24	12.70	8.54
LMP	LMP - Magyarországi Zöld Pártja (LMP – Hungary's Green Party)	October 2008	4.56	9.50	8.83
Total	—	—	24.32	49.73	45.04

Source: own editing, data source: YOUTUBE 2021

More specifically, *Table 2* demonstrates that on the moderately marginal sites of microblogging services (in this analysis, on Twitter), there is a relatively small number of tweets and shares by individual users, and they appeared more predominantly with a negative sentiment (9.74 thousand tweets and shares). In this regard, it can be assumed that Hungarian users and representatives of political parties do not fully use this channel of political communication, giving preference to social networking sites, such as Facebook. Hence, online video-sharing platforms and services should be taken into consideration while analyzing social media as a channel

of political communication. One cannot fail to recognize the popularity of the video hosting service, YouTube, which has more than 2 billion monthly users. Currently, all parliamentary parties have YouTube channels, as shown in the *Table 3*.

As can be seen from *Table 3*, it may be noted that overall, Jobbik was by far the most popular Hungarian political party on the video hosting service, YouTube. More precisely, 22.1 thousand people have subscribed to their official channel, and to date, their total number of views exceed 23.21 million. Taking the number of subscribers into account, in second place was the far-right political party Mi Hazánk with 18.10 thousand subscribers. Their channel has gained an unusually high number of subscribers in over 2 years on YouTube, considering that their total number of views is only 4.34 million. On the other hand, MSZP was the most active political party on YouTube, they have released approximately 7.48 thousand public videos in slightly over a decade. However, the data in *Table 3* shows that despite the popularity of YouTube, Hungarian political parties have not made full use of the inherent potential of this internet service, which is confirmed by the relatively small number of subscribers and views of party channels in comparison with the overall coverage of European or Canadian political parties (for example, VESNIC-ALUJEVIC – VAN BAUWEL 2014; RABY et al. 2017).

Turning to the analysis of social networks (in the form of mentions), it should be noted that their functional purpose is primarily to inform and mobilize online users in order to unite them into communities and groups based on shared social interests, including the opportunity for supporting or opposing a particular political party (KLAUSZ 2016; PERRIN 2015). The advantages of this approach of political communication include wide audience coverage, rapid information dissemination, direct interaction with political actors and candidates through mutual dialogue through dialogue, the ability to discuss socio-political issues, as the dissemination of information about upcoming and past party events. Therefore, the Internet has created online network communities united by common social interests and horizontal communication links that allow users to overcome the barriers of political hierarchy and subordination (STIEGLITZ – DANG-XUAN 2012; ENLI – SKOGERBØ 2013).

According to a study by NRC (KLENOVSKÍ 2019), as of 2018, 73 percent of Hungarians (between the age of 15 and 69) were using at least one social media platform daily, and 84 percent of the same demographic group were using at least one social media platform once a month. Statista (MEDVE 2020) data show that, over the last years, Facebook (5.4 million users), YouTube (5.1. million users), Viber (2.9. million users), Instagram (2.1 million users) have been the most popular social media platforms in Hungary. At the same time, Instagram, YouTube and Pinterest are currently the fastest-growing social media platforms in Hungary. Based on the above statistics, Facebook accounts for about 55.3 percentage of Hungary's population, YouTube accounts for nearly 52.2 percentage of Hungary's population, and Instagram accounts for approximately 21.5 percentage of Hungary's population.

Based on the results of the web-based analysis, the author of this paper reveals the aggregated number of references (online posts, messages, articles, reports etc.) by individual users with regard to political party activities and electioneering exercises in social media platforms between January 2018 and December 2019 (*Table 4*). This data clearly shows that there are significantly more users on Facebook than other social media platforms, and thus, Hungarian political parties and actors concentrate considerably more effort into Facebook communication

strategies. Additionally, as the opposition parties could only make limited use of traditional campaign channels, they deliberately rely on social media platforms.

TABLE 4. *Analysis of the number of mentions by individual users with regard to party activities in social networks between Jan 2018 and December 2019 (in thousands).*

Political party	Facebook	Twitter	YouTube	Other	Overall
Fidesz	254.80	10.32	2.05	21.59	288.76
Jobbik	392.88	16.19	3.84	33.54	446.45
Mi Hazánk	24.40	0.93	0.23	1.01	26.57
MSZP	162.13	6.91	1.66	8.27	178.97
DK	263.45	7.12	1.97	12.49	285.03
PM	93.35	3.00	0.81	5.68	102.84
Momentum	73.45	2.07	0.65	3.87	80.04
LMP	18.90	0.55	0.14	1.48	21.07
Total	1283.36	47.08	11.36	87.93	1429.71

Own editing, data source: SOCIALBAKERS 2021 and public APIs⁶

Overall, Table 4 also shows that the largest number of mentions of political parties has been observed in the social networks, Facebook (with the total number of mentions of 1.28 million) and Twitter (with the total number of mentions of 47.08 thousand). Interestingly and unexpectedly, despite the fact YouTube was the second most popular social networking platform among Hungarian population aged 18 years and older, the users of Twitter, which was relatively unpopular among the demographic groups within the total population of Hungary, have generated considerably more content about political activities in the form of mentions. In social networks, the most frequently mentioned political parties were Jobbik (with the total number of mentions of 446.45 thousand) and Fidesz (with the total number of mentions of 288.76 thousand). These parties have been the most popular in the social media platform, Facebook (Jobbik with 392.88 thousand mentions and Fidesz with 254.8 thousand mentions). The social-liberal DK was the third most popular party with the total number of mentions of 285.03 thousand (most frequently in Facebook with 263.45 thousand mentions). And finally, MSZP was the fourth most often mentioned party with the total number of mentions of 178.97 thousand (most frequently in Facebook with 162.13 thousand mentions).

⁶ The author computed the number mentions in social networks using a set of datasets, including SOCIALBAKERS (2021), and the social media data extracted from various application programming interfaces (APIs) provided by FACEBOOK FOR DEVELOPERS (2021a, 2021b) for Instagram and FACEBOOK, GOOGLE DEVELOPERS (2021) for YOUTUBE, TWITTER DEVELOPER (2021) for TWITTER, RAKUTEN VIBER DEVELOPERS for Viber, and other online media platforms (REDDIT 2021).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Summing up the above discussion, it is worth noting that social networks have high potential as a framework of political communication, and the use of social networks for political purposes is mainly implemented in positive directions: it provides a quick connection of political actors and citizens through the use of social networking platforms and blogs; makes it possible for individual users to express new ideas and post “non-standard” content (BALDWIN – LI 2015); acts as a means of mobilization; confers the ability to immediately reach the electorate, as well as the ability to analyze and monitor audience engagement and activities; increases the possibility of popularizing any topic, including political content, through “opinion leaders” (TURCOTTE et al. 2017); establishes new methods for obtaining information and initiating a neutral discussion platform; acts as an indicator for the sentiment of political actors and citizens; displays the emotions of citizens; eliminates geographical, physical, institutional and organizational barriers in the political life of society; ensures the prevention and suppression of criminal activities; serves as a rapid channel for the population to receive up-to-date information. However, among many other challenges and difficulties, there are also negative trends associated with the use of social networks for political purposes: the formal presence of politicians on social networks; the threat to public and state security; the unregulated spread of misinformation and “fake” news (SHU et al. 2017); the involvement of users in extremist or terrorist organizations; the possible restrictions on freedom of speech.

This study has shown that social networks are now an important channel for communication between citizens and between civil society and political parties. They have a high degree of interaction with parallel political processes. It is worth noting that today social networks are also a kind of indicator of political and public sentiment, through which it is easy to understand which topics are of the greatest concern to political actors or citizens, and which solutions will translate from online discussions to offline actions. Therefore, the use of social media demonstrates that a new mode of communication between political actors and citizens has been established in the last decade, which has a universal characteristic as a potential function of receiving “feedback” (GUREVITCH et al. 2009, WAN et al. 2015). The web-based analysis of social networking sites allowed the author to identify a tendency for the predominance of negative sentiment in messages with regard to party activities, as well as an increase in social media activity during election periods.

The development of political communication in social networks has contributed to the transfer of the institution of representation – of political and citizen interests – to the virtual space. This leads to greater participation in a variety of online political actors, ranging from voting and electoral mobilization to protest demonstrations. This is an activity that promotes the interests of civic groups – and ultimately, civic representation – through social media in several ways. First, social networks add a new element to information search and influences the collection and processing of information, for example, about the state of the political environment. Secondly, there is a strong information pressure, exerted indirectly through the organization of information campaigns (for example, by maximizing the spread of information about a social or political issue through views, commenting, sharing, or reposting). Finally, social networks serve as direct pressure through personal communication with a political actor, candidate, or party.

Therefore, the transfer of socio-political relations to social networks has created a new constituent element of political communication. Social networks not only provide the interactivity and connectivity, but also enables actors (political parties, individual users, personal pages, government officials, news feeds, discussion groups, online communities) to create and share any political information or news. We can say that the development of political communication in social networks occurs in two directions. First, this is a duplication of the functions of traditional forms of political communication, for instance, social networks became a major platform for the current agenda-setting process. On the other hand, social networks create parallel, new, modern forms and tools of political communication in cyberspace, which have a wide range of functionalities (STIER et al. 2018). In regard to the functionalities of political communication in social networking platforms, it can be noted that they are “universal” in nature — most often, social networks act as a tool for disseminating or storing information, as well a PR platform or a discussion platform. From this point of view, the (online) communication function seems to be the most important, since social networks in the system of political communication serve as an important means of establishing contact with voters (ENLI – MOE 2013). There are also distinctive cognitive (social networks as an environment for understanding cognition about reality), cultural (social networks as an environment for forming political culture) and informative (social networks as a medium for accumulating and storing political information and political knowledge) functions (PASSY 2001; KHANG et al. 2014; ALLCOTT – GENTZKOW 2017).

As a conclusion, based on the results of the web-based analysis, the author provides the following recommendations to political parties and actors in order to improve the effectiveness of political communication with civilians: (1) political actors should generate open, universally accessible, transparent and high-quality content in various formats (video stream, image files, interactive events, surveys, instant messaging and chat, text-based posts, etc.); (2) political actors should post more detailed reports on party activities on the news feed of pages, communities and groups in social networking sites (3) political actors might use various social media marketing (SMM), internet marketing and IT tools in order to promote posts and messages about party activities in social media platforms; and (4) political actors might analyze and monitor the changes in the levels of activity of target audience and the influence of political posts on this type of activity in social platforms (for example, by analyzing the number and sentiment of messages and posts of online users).

REFERENCES

- AL-DEEN, H. S. N. – HENDRICKS, J. A. (2011): *Social Media: Usage and Impact*. Lanham, Lexington Books.
- ALLCOTT, H. – GENTZKOW, M. (2017): Social Media and Fake News in the 2016 Election. *Journal of Economic Perspectives* vol. 31. no. 2. 211–236.
- AUTER, Z. J. – FINE, J. A. (2017): Social Media Campaigning: Mobilization and Fundraising on Facebook. *Social Science Quarterly* vol. 99. no. 1. 185–200.

- BALDWIN, T. – LI, Y. (2015): An In-Depth Analysis of the Effect of Text Normalization in Social Media. In Mihalcea, R. – Chai, J. – Sarkar, A. (eds.): *Proceedings of the 2015 Conference of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics: Human Language Technologies, Association for Computational Linguistics*. Denver, Association for Computational Linguistics. 420–429.
- BÁNYAI, F. – ZSILA, Á. – KIRÁLY, O. – MARAZ, A. – ELEKES, Z. – GRIFFITHS, M. D. – ANDREASSEN, C. S. – DEMETROVICS, Z. (2017): Problematic Social Media Use: Results from a Large-Scale Nationally Representative Adolescent Sample. *Plos One* vol. 12. no. 1. 1–13.
- CAMBRIDGE DICTIONARY (2021): Microblog. Download: 2021.01.11.
- CASTELLS, M. (2009): *Communication Power*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- CASTILLA, E. J. (2003): Networks of Venture Capital Firms in Silicon Valley. *International Journal of Technology Management* vol. 25. no. 1–2. 113–135.
- CLARKE, K. – KOCAK, K. (2018). Launching Revolution: Social Media and the Egyptian Uprising's First Movers. *British Journal of Political Science* vol. 50. no. 3. 1025–1045.
- DREZNER, D. W. (2010): Weighing the Scales: The Internet's Effect on State-Society Relations. *Brown Journal of International Relations* vol. 16. no. 2. 31–44.
- EFFING, R. – VAN HILLEGERSBERG, J.– HUIBERS, T. (2011): Social Media and Political Participation: Are Facebook, Twitter and YouTube Democratizing Our Political Systems? In TambouriS, E. – MacIntosh, A. – de Bruijn, H. (eds.): *International Conference on Electronic Participation*. Berlin – Heidelberg, Springer. 25–35.
- ELLAHI, A. – BOKHARI, R. H. (2013): Key Quality Factors Affecting Users' Perception of Social Networking Websites. *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services* vol. 20. no. 1. 120–129.
- ENJOLRAS, B. – STEEN-JOHNSEN, K. – WOLLEBAEK, D. (2012): Social Media and Mobilization to Offline Demonstrations: Transcending Participatory Divides? *New Media & Society* vol. 15. no. 6. 890–908.
- ENLI, G. – MOE, H. (2013): Introduction to Special Issue: Social Media and Election Campaigns—Key Tendencies and Ways Forward. *Information, Communication & Society* vol. 16. no. 5. 637–645.
- ENLI, G. – SKOGERBØ, E. (2013): Personalized Campaigns in Party-Centred Politics. *Information, Communication & Society* vol. 16. no. 5. 757–774.
- ENLI, G. (2017): Twitter as Arena for the Authentic Outsider: Exploring the Social Media Campaigns of Trump and Clinton in the 2016 US Presidential Election. *European Journal of Communication* vol. 32. no. 1. 50–61.
- FACEBOOK FOR DEVELOPERS (2021a): Instagram Basic Display API. Download: 2021.01.05.
- FACEBOOK FOR DEVELOPERS (2021b): Pages API. Download: 2021.01.05.
- FEHÉR, K. (2016): *Digitalizáció és új média*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.
- FUCHS, C. (2017): *Social Media: A Critical Introduction*. London, Sage.

- GAÁL, Z. – SZABÓ, L. – OBERMAYER-KOVÁCS, N. – CSEPREGI, A. (2015): Exploring the Role of Social Media in Knowledge Sharing. *Electronic Journal of Knowledge Management* vol. 13. no. 3. 186–197.
- GOOGLE DEVELOPERS (2021): YouTube Data API. Download: 2021.01.05.
- GRÄVE, J.-F. (2019): What KPIs Are Key? Evaluating Performance Metrics for Social Media Influencers. *Social Media + Society* vol. 5. no. 3. 1–9.
- GUREVITCH, M. – COLEMAN, S. – BLUMLER, J. G. (2009): Political Communication—Old and New Media Relationships. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* vol. 625. no. 1. 164–181.
- KAHNE, J. – BOWYER, B. (2018): The Political Significance of Social Media Activity and Social Networks. *Political Communication* vol. 35. no. 3. 470–493.
- KALSNES, B. (2016): The Social Media Paradox Explained: Comparing Political Parties' Facebook Strategy Versus Practice. *Social Media + Society* vol. 2. no. 2. 1–11.
- KAPLAN, A. M. – HAENLEIN, M. (2010): Users of the World, Unite! The Challenges and Opportunities of Social Media. *Business Horizons* vol. 53. no. 1. 59–68.
- KAUN, A. – STIERNSTEDT, F. (2014): Facebook Time: Technological and Institutional Affordances for Media Memories. *New Media & Society* vol. 16. no. 7. 1154–1168.
- KHANG, H. – HAN, E.-K. – KI, E.-J. (2014): Exploring Influential Social Cognitive Determinants of Social Media Use. *Computers in Human Behavior* vol. 36. no. 1. 48–55.
- KIDD, D. – MCINTOSH, K. (2016): Social Media and Social Movements. *Sociology Compass* vol. 10. no. 9. 785–794.
- KIM, Y. – HSU, S.-H. – DE ZÚÑIGA, H. G. (2013): Influence of Social Media Use on Discussion Network Heterogeneity and Civic Engagement: The Moderating Role of Personality Traits. *Journal of Communication* vol. 63. no. 3. 498–516.
- KLAUSZ, M. (2016): *A közösségi média nagykönyve*. Budapest, Athenaeum Kiadó.
- KLENOVSZKI, J. (2019): Internetpenetráció alakulása. *NRC*. Download: 2021.01.14.
- KREISS, D. – LAWRENCE, R. G. – MCGREGOR, S. C. (2018): In Their Own Words: Political Practitioner Accounts of Candidates, Audiences, Affordances, Genres, and Timing in Strategic Social Media Use. *Political Communication* vol. 35. no. 1. 8–31.
- LIN, C. A. (2002): Perceived Gratifications of Online Media Service Use among Potential Users. *Telematics and Informatics* vol. 19. no. 1. 3–19.
- LIU, Z. – LIU, L. – LI, H. (2012): Determinants of Information Retweeting in Microblogging. *Internet Research* vol. 22. no. 4. 443–466.
- LOPES, A. R. (2014): The Impact of Social Media on Social Movements: The New Opportunity and Mobilizing Structure. *Journal of Political Science Research* vol. 4. no. 1. 1–23.
- MCCAY-PEET, L. – QUAN-HAASE, A. (2017): What Is Social Media and What Questions Can Social Media Research Help Us Answer? In Sloan, L. – Quan-Haas, A. (eds.): *The Sage Handbook of Social Media Research Methods*. London, Sage. 13–26.

- MCQUAIL, D. (1987): *Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction*. London, Sage.
- MEDVE, F. (2020): Number of Social Media Users in Hungary in 2020, by platform (in millions). *Statista*. Download: 2021.01.15.
- NEWMAN, N. – FLETCHER, R. – SCHULZ, A. – ANDI, S. – NIELSEN, R. K. (2020): *Digital News Report 2020*. Oxford, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.
- PASSY, F. (2001): Socialization, Connection, and The Structure/Agency Gap: A Specification of The Impact of Networks on Participation in Social Movements. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* vol. 6. no. 2. 173–192.
- PERRIN, A. (2015): Social Media Usage: 2005–2015. *Pew Research Center*. Download: 01.15.2021.
- RABY, R. – CARON, C. – THÉWISSEN-LEBLANC, S. – PRIOLETTA, J. – MITCHELL, C. (2017): Vlogging on YouTube: The Online, Political Engagement of Young Canadians Advocating for Social Change. *Journal of Youth Studies* vol. 21. no. 4. 495–512.
- RAKUTEN VIBER DEVELOPERS (2021): Viber API Community. Download: 2021.01.05.
- REDDIT (2021): Reddit API. Download: 2021.01.05.
- SASSER, S. – KILGOUR, M. – HOLLEBEEK, L. D. (2014): Marketing in an Interactive World: The Evolving Nature of Communication Processes Using Social Media. In Ayanso, A. – Lertwachara, K. (eds.): *Harnessing the Power of Social Media and Web Analytics*. Pennsylvania, IGI Global. 29–52.
- SCHMIDT, J-H. (2018): *Social Media*. Wiesbaden, Springer VS.
- SENNETT, R. (2017): *The Fall of Public Man*. New York, W. W. Norton & Company.
- SHU, K. – SLIVA, A. – WANG, S. – TANG, J. – LIU, H. (2017): Fake News Detection on Social Media. *ACM SIGKDD Explorations Newsletter* vol. 19. no. 1. 22–36.
- SHULTZ, B. (2013): The Work Behind the Scenes: The New Intermediaries of the Indie Crafts Business. *Regional Studies* vol. 49. no. 3. 451–460.
- SOCIALBAKERS (2021): Free Social Media Statistics. Download: 2021.01.05.
- STIEGLITZ, S. – DANG-XUAN, L. (2012): Social Media and Political Communication: A Social Media Analytics Framework. *Social Network Analysis and Mining* vol. 3. no. 4. 1277–1291.
- STIER, S. – BLEIER, A. – LIETZ, H. – STROHMAIER, M. (2018): Election Campaigning on Social Media: Politicians, Audiences, and the Mediation of Political Communication on Facebook and Twitter. *Political Communication* vol. 35. no. 1. 50–74.
- TURCOTTE, J. – YORK, C. – IRVING, J. – SCHOLL, R. M. – PINGREE, R. J. (2015): News Recommendations from Social Media Opinion Leaders: Effects on Media Trust and Information Seeking. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* vol. 20. no. 5. 520–535.
- TWITTER DEVELOPER (2021): Twitter API. Download: 2021.01.05.
- VAN DIJCK, J. – POELL, T. (2013): Understanding Social Media Logic. *Media and Communication* vol. 1. no. 1. 2–14.

VESNIC-ALUJEVIC, L. – VAN BAUWEL, S. (2014): YouTube: A Political Advertising Tool? A Case Study of the Use of YouTube in the Campaign for the European Parliament Elections 2009. *Journal of Political Marketing* vol. 13. no. 3. 195–212.

VOORVELD, H. A. M. (2019): Brand Communication in Social Media: A Research Agenda. *Journal of Advertising* vol. 48. no. 1. 14–26.

WAN, S. – PARIS, C. (2015): Improving Government Services Using Social Media Feedback. In Nepal, S. – Paris, C. – Georgakopoulos, D. (eds.): *Social Media for Government Services*. Cham, Springer. 221–246.

WATERS, R. D. – TINDALL, N. T. J. – MORTON, T. S. (2010): Media Catching and the Journalist–Public Relations Practitioner Relationship: How Social Media Are Changing the Practice of Media Relations. *Journal of Public Relations Research* vol. 22. no. 3. 241–264.

YOUTUBE. Various official pages of Hungarian political parties. Download: 2021.01.10.

BALATONI, MONIKA

balatoni.monika@uni-nke.hu

PhD student in Public Administration Sciences – University of Public Service
ORCID: 0000-0001-8482-7838

The impact of the Parliament on country branding and national identity



ABSTRACT

The 21st century is an era of globalization, of changes and transformations of cultures and national identity patterns representing different values and value systems. As a result of these transformations, new concepts, national symbols, and even ceremonies and ceremonial orders may be born, and the process of enculturation requires an increasingly emphatic and well-thought-out strategy from the leaders of nation-states. The national theme has become a determining force in Hungary in recent decades. The Hungarian Parliament has always played a significant role in the historical and cultural past and memory of Hungarian society. The Parliament is one of the most famous buildings for both tourists and Hungarians. In October 2011, the Parliament passed a law declaring Kossuth Square a national memorial. On the occasion of the ten-year anniversary, it is possible to examine what it has achieved in the Hungarian national enculturation as well as in the judgment of the Hungarians, in the self-representation of the country.

KEYWORDS

national identity, the House of Parliament, country branding, enculture

DOI 10.14232/belv.2021.4.3

<https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2021.4.3>

Cikkre való hivatkozás / How to cite this article:

Balatoni, Monika (2021): The impact of the Parliament on country branding and national identity. Belvedere Meridionale vol. 33. no. 4. 30–52. pp

ISSN 1419-0222 (print)

ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

(Creative Commons) Nevezd meg! – Így add tovább! 4.0 (CC BY-SA 4.0)

INTRODUCTION

The most relevant symbol of tourism taking place in Hungary including its capital is the House of Parliament. The Building of the National Assembly in Hungary plays a direct and indirect role in the forming of a picture of the country; as a tourist attraction it is seen by a lot of visitors frequently, as well as it functions as an emblem representing Hungary and Budapest. In the course of conducting my research the fact revealed itself that experts have paid very few attention to the role the House of Parliament plays in the shaping of nation image. The goal of this present writing is to compensate for this shortcoming.

What role does the Building of the National Assembly and its immediate environment play in the process of nation branding in our homeland? What ways and methods would be of help to bring the Parliament Building examined in its micro-environment closer to nation image as a whole?

My hypothesis is based on the premise that the House of Parliament in Hungary plays an outstanding role in shaping Hungarians' national identity and the picture foreigners form about the country.

Firstly, it is important to lay down conceptual framework, after which I'll take the historical context in which the nation image was being shaped under scrutiny. For analysing nation image I'll take nation branding goals emanating from marketing expert Árpád Ferenc Papp-Váry as a basis, then I'll show the inner identity forming force of the House of Parliament and that how much it shapes the country's tourism, closing the line of my thoughts with a summary. It is important to emphasise that I'll examine the House of Parliament as a cultural venue.

How? To provide an answer to this question, it is necessary to ask some more and clarify the answers given to them.

Members of society are carriers of culture. In this fact the House of Parliament as the most well-known building in Hungary and a multifunctional institution, not only the history but also the cultural background of which is considerable, can play a role.

Acquiring national culture provides a basis for the forming of national identity even today. In international literature this process is called 'national enculturation'. In today's information society national culture finds its way to members of society through several mediums other than school, such as, community elements, experiences, effects, festivals, as well as national memorial places that gain from a wider social discourse.

In domestic literature Ferenc Pataki was the first to formulate the following: "It seems reasonable to make a conceptual differentiation between self and identity; self is a complex,

multifunctional system that includes the knowledge of a person about himself. In this multifunctional system societal identities (with national identity among them) create a separate system referring to the knowledge of a person relating to himself, emanating from society. Everyone has this.” (PATAKI 2001.)

CONCEPTUAL OVERVIEW OF NATION IMAGE AS AN ELEMENT OF SELF-REPRESENTATION

Marketing experts have long made a conceptual differentiation between ‘image’ and ‘branding’. Image is the picture formed in the recipient not by traditional marketing tools but by mouth advertisement, training occasions, scholarships or media tools; a sort of a mixture made up of inner opinion, consciousness and impressions. In her lecture note written about tourism marketing Boglárka Kozma circumscribes the definition of ‘image’ as follows: “The general, almost not recognised source of information that falls out of the direct effect of tourism designers.” (KOZMA 2004. 302.)

By contrast, brand is a result of a reality constructed from outside, the message of which is made up by marketing experts. It includes everything that “others” think about the given item, thus used as a tool for differentiation.

The definition emanating from marketing experts Philip Kotler and Kevin Lane Keller explains the concept of brand as follows: “a brand can be a name, an expression, a token, a symbol, a design or a combination of these that serves the function of identification of a product or a service offered by a seller or a group of sellers or their differentiation from those offered by competitors” (KOTLER – KELLER 2006. 954.). Considering this, anything can be a brand; a person, a service or even a country. A lecture note used at Budapest Business School uses a clear-out definition for branding that given its simplicity formulates an eternal truth concerning every area: “brand is a thought planted in consumers’ mind” (KOZMA 2004. 303.).

A main difference between ‘nation image’ and ‘nation branding’ lies exactly in that while image is based on an inner “we-consciousness”, i.e. identity, branding is a result of a process directed from outside. A brand created through nation branding is what shapes feelings and thoughts relating to a given state. On the other hand, nation image is a mixture compounded with perceptions and stereotypes and is considerably more difficult to influence (HUSZTI 2003). The central message of nation brand can be devoid of stereotypes, a part of a nation image, or a complementation of it, it is not necessarily a concept defined in contrast to it (tradeforum.org, 2018). By applying a proper nation branding technique nation image can be formed and channelled in a desirable way.

The concept of nation image was defined in the late twentieth century, although it had been applied much more earlier. International realignment following World War II altered power relations, putting nearly two hundred states in the place of previously existing quasi-fifty. Today, owing to the effects of globalisation and development in information communication technologies, it is easy to gain information about current happenings in Bhutan or even Argentina. The picture formed of a country and the messages attached to it arrive to the online space through

a direct way, exerting a continuous effect to each other, this way doubling the effect of every message (PAPP-VÁRY 2009. 8–9.). It is particularly true nowadays when questions concerning nation state have come into the limelight.

That is why so-called “soft” power—that in contrast to economic and hard, military factors means the benefit coming from the area of sport, culture and science—can have a considerable role. A professor at Harvard University, Joseph Nye considers that soft power gained an outstanding importance in the twenty-first century given that owing to the effects of globalisation promoting standardisation a nation state is not any more able to differentiate itself from its competitors, the other ones (SZÖRÉNYI 2009). This is what makes a complex content being able to differentiate from competition, to mark products and services in a way through the process of branding necessary to create and communicate. Nation image including nation branding have to hold its own in this resulting situation.

When designing nation image strategies decision makers and experts often use a classic technique applied in corporational environment, although country as a brand carries several special traits. The most important attribute and at the same time difference is that while classic brand comes with ownership relations, state has no real owner, each and every citizen and society as a whole can be attached to ownership, thus being able to exert an influence on the brand. The situation is convoluted by that in the case of republic as a state form decision makers of the country are representatives chosen through elections who design nation image strategy instead of the whole of the citizens (PAPP-VÁRY 2003. 7.). What means another difficulty in this “system” is that strategy making requires a longer-term perspective than most of the soft powers, efforts invested will pay off only decades later. However, given that democratic systems change every four years, it is difficult to create a strategy that is sustainable for decades, pointing to the same direction. A general tendency is that every new leadership thinks through directions, this way decreasing the efficiency of nation branding.

Therefore, the other considerable difference to traditional brand building is that a firm’s brand is directed from up to down, following a so-called “top-down” method. Management on top of the hierarchy defines the direction of branding and executes it or gets it executed by its co-workers and subordinates. In this case, brand consists of some components and finds its way to consumers through a chosen communication channel, in the most efficient way possible. In the mechanism of nation branding these channels of communication aren’t operated by a sterile or central coordination to bring the message to recipients, but they are immanent in every citizen’s every move (PAPP-VÁRY 2009/b).

When arriving Liszt Ferenc International Airport, options to both border check and getting to the city—Kőbánya-Kispest railway station, compartments in metro, the manners presented by the cab driver—all form the first, and most important, impression in visitors coming to Hungary. Already then, a positive or negative picture of the country is beginning to shape, everyday contacts provide unlimited opportunity to image creation.

A classic brand can be built through a well-structured system, can exactly be attached to space and time. An interesting example to changing of a brand name is provided by the case of Burger King. The company’s leadership offers the same products and services in Australia as in Europe, with the sole difference that in the former it does that under the brand name “Hungry Jack” (TERRY – FOREST 2008). Nation brand, however, is unchanging; its name cannot be altered

just as it is the case with geographical location, its development takes place on a much more determined path (PAPP-VÁRY 2009/b). All this testifies that states' leaderships should create their strategies concerning long-term nation image considering and at the same time applying the rules of classic branding.

MEASURING NATION IMAGE

In 2005, a marketing expert Simon Anholt, the coiner of the term 'nation branding' devised a surprising theory for the qualitative analyse of nation image. Anholt examines states by comparing them to each other, this way making the ranking between them possible. His theory is based on a comprehensive opinion-poll drawing conclusions concerning a country's reputation by using representative samples. The questionnaire including fifty questions examines countries using six segments that are the following: nations' culture, politics, business affairs, human resources, investment opportunities and touristic attractions. All these factors together constitute an index published on an annual basis (now by a research company designated for this task), evaluating amongst others Hungary. But before taking a look at Hungary's National Branding Index (NBI), I will now show these six segments which are to be taken into account when measuring a nation's reputation (ANHOLT 2005).

The first dimension is the political environment regarding which the following questions are to be answered: what form of government of the given country has, including the degree of government's competence in leadership, what tools they use and how fair they are, how much room to maneuver they have on the international platform, what kind of an approach they take to human rights issues (NAGY 2008). The second aspect of NBI is centred around economy, particularly export activity, concretely which products of the given country we know, whether we identify a service with the country that offers it. The next NBI factor is tourism which is such a basic element of nation image that its *raison d'être* has never been questioned by any one of state leaders. Tourism marketing is identified with nation branding in many cases. Mostly, leaderships' fault is rooted in that under the "guise" of nation's reputation building they create advertisements facilitating tourism, however, it takes up only a sixth of nation image. The index here mainly shows what tourist attractions of a given country respondents are aware of, whether they would choose the examined country as a travel destination. Volume of investments and immigration are the fourth dimension in Anholt's Model. This segment means the examination of the attractiveness of a country, not the force emanated from tourism, but that which brings foreigners to work or learn there. This kind of long-term trust is what provides a basis for capital investments. The next aspect focuses on culture and heritage taking intellectual heritage of both current times and long ago under scrutiny, from national value through sport achievements to globally known eternal principles. The last segment, which is the sixth one, refers to a country's people, population: how much they are open, kind and tolerant to their minorities. Basically, the index values reveal how "others", namely foreigners, see us Hungarians, in other words what inner identity, mentality of the given nation has. With regard to NBI Hexagon it is important to highlight that each of the dimensions has the same relevance during research, so the order above in this section doesn't reflect priority.



Nation Brand Hexagon by Anholt 2005

<https://www.branding-institute.com/rated-rankings/anholtgfk-roper-nation-brands-index>
www.goodcountry.org/simon-anholt/

Hungary was amongst the initially examined 35 countries, having achieved the 23th place after the first round of research, which is a higher ranking than the ones gained by two other countries from the Central East European region, namely Czechia and Poland. Although this counts as an outstanding result comparing to the rest of Central East European countries, it shows that respondents have quite little knowledge about us. The country that had the most positive opinion about us was that of the rising sun, Japan, regarding us as welcoming, diligent and reliable people. However, more than 80 percent of respondents had never been to Hungary, and only half of the rest 20 percent had come to visit our homeland as a tourist. The fact that approximately 12 percent of respondents knew someone from Hungary personally and more than 20 percent of them had bought a Hungarian product is in line with this (Turizmus Bulletin 2006). This proportion is very low for forming an in-depth, relevant opinion of our country.

Hungary's accession to the EU and the fact of democratic transition taken place were important elements in the area of political environment. Countries that have a longer history of democracy as a basic value and practice in their governance all achieved a place nearer to the top of the list than us. Regarding export products and services products churned out by food industry and heavy industry were better known by respondents. We didn't gain a high ranking as a tourist destination, either, having been put to the 26th place in this category. The highest number of people who planned to visit Hungary came from France, Italy and Spain, which viewing the period between 2006–2018 doesn't reflect reality, considering that in the past years Budapest enjoyed quite dynamic tourism with an increase in the proportion of exactly German and Russian visitors. With regard to built heritage Hungary got a better evaluation, respondents found our country wonderful, exciting and predictable. Respondents from Great-Britain, Canada and the US would welcome the opportunity to come to our homeland to work or study. In the subject matter of cultural dimension results showed museums, circuses and sculpture as those representing the most interesting cultural value.

Since the time examined, i.e. 2006, more than one of these six factors have been showing continuous change. Nation image of Hungary analysed by NBI annually was quite constant in the period between 2008–2011, followed by a decrease in reputation in 2011-2012 in the eye of some nations, for example Mexicans or Italians. In the area of export, governance and culture this situation had been improved, followed by a decline some years later again. We can say that Hungary as a state doesn't have a solid nation image, the picture formed of the country is in a constant move, despite the fact that the process of reshaping a country's reputation takes quite a long time and is influenced by many factors. Simon Anholt saw this phenomenon as unusual, advising that Hungary should pay more attention to its nation image given that it exerts a considerable influence on its business life and international political relations to which continuous fluctuation has a detrimental impact (HAHN 2013).

NATION IMAGE PRACTICE IN HUNGARY

Following the change of regime, although political leadership in Hungary paid a marginal attention to the question of country image in several policies, their approach restricted to tourism. During the time of first free elections, the launching of privatisation and democratic transition decision makers had little capacity to the shaping of the picture formed about the country. Truly though, there was no need for it. Tourism as a sector was an engine of economy, goulash communism having prevailed in previous decades and nostalgic remembrance of it attracted many visitors to our homeland. That time Hungary was the fifth most popular destination in the world. Although tourists' interest to this East European communist exotism and nostalgia turned out to be short-lived, it exerted quite a considerable impact. Very soon, it resulted in the need for creating a complex nation image for the sake of a sustainable tourism.

The turn of the millennium brought the need for putting theory into practice, namely devising the concept for creating a coordinated, comprehensive nation marketing. To accomplish this task, Country Image Centre was called into being. The institution wasn't long-lived, its operation was terminated in 2002 in the crossfire of political debates. The institution fell under the direction of the Political Minister of State for Communication from the Prime Minister's Office, led by István Zoltán Tóth. Its aim was to put a single symbol representing Hungary (such as maple leaf of Canada, windmill of the Netherlands, e-services of Estonia) in the place of interpretations like "horse herd-goulash-plain" and "the most cheerful barrack" (TÓTH 2000. 156.). Without executing an in-depth analysis of problems occurred in the background, I'd only like to highlight that the institution's mission was to shape Hungarians' national identity and foreigners' opinion formed about the country by taking an interdisciplinary approach and harmonising policies (PAPP-VÁRY 2009/a). With the abolishment of Country Image Centre the issue of nation image was redirected to different policies with Government Communications Headquarters set up in Prime Minister's Office having been assigned to deal with it, requiring much less financial and human resources (BALATONI 2018).

During this period two important conferences were delivered; the first one, organised by the state in the context of Hungary's accession to the EU, took place in 2004, the other was organised by a foundation known as DEMOS Hungary, with the title "Country Branding – International

Identity and Image". These initiatives directed participants' attention to the relevance of nation image, though they didn't succeed in conveying their message to decision makers and making them view Hungary as a brand.

This situation was changed by the establishment of Country Brand Council in 2008, according to a government decision [2176/2008. (XII. 18.)]. In 2009 Department of Foreign Affairs, cultural institutions, offices of Hungarian Investment and Trade Development Agency, Agricultural Marketing Centre and Hungarian Tourism cPlc. were those that performed the task of shaping nation image of Hungary. These state institutions determined their marketing communication goals independently from each other, lacking a harmonised strategy. Country Brand Council, that commenced its operation with 12 independent professional experts, tried to remedy this situation with the coordination of and providing professional advices to these organisations (PAPP-VÁRY 2009/a. 14.).

In 2010, this Council was renewed and underwent a transformation in the framework of a government decision [121/2010. (X. 8.)]. According to this, Country Brand Council became a platform for reflection, advice and vocational preparation showing paths that lead to the creation of a single nation image and the shaping of a picture of the country. It initiated researches, devised strategies, monitored domestic and foreign press for analyses and professional writings, by which made summaries and studies (Nemzeti Jogszabálytár, 2010).

Apart from the president, Council performed its duties with the cooperation of 25 members designated by the Minister of Administration and Justice. Secretary of the Council was appointed by Minister of State for Social Relations. The mandate spanned a two-years term, with no compensation for the work performed (Nemzeti Jogszabálytár, 2010). Co-presidents of the Council were Deputy Minister of State for Government Communication from then Department of Administration and Justice, Borbála Papp-Váry and Deputy Minister of State for Cultural Diplomacy from then Department of Foreign Affairs, Gergely Pröhle. Members of the Council were among others historian Balázs Ablonczy, psychologist Mária Kopp, film director Csaba Káel or architect Sándor Finta. The team was enlarged by a museologist, a fashion designer, a communication expert as well as an actor, with the Council's work supported by a team competent in the area of advertisement. This institution having presented an integrated approach, that in the end numbered 20 members with almost every area represented, could have been the first governing organisation channelling nation image of Hungarians to one direction, joining different policies together (PAPP-VÁRY 2009/a).

However, voluntary nature of the initiative prevented this body from achieving a major success, although they presented a proper approach from the point of view of nation branding. Nowadays Hungarian Touristic Agency is what executes this task of harmonising.

LEGAL BACKGROUND OF THE SHAPING OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AT THE TIME OF HUNGARY'S DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION AND THEREAFTER

The ruling government proposed their early ideas concerning national and statal emblems on the

8th March in 1989; relating to the Crest, the National Flag and the capital of the country. Other symbols expressing national identity were also named by them. As further ones "Himnusz", "Szózat", and as historical objects of outstanding importance the Sceptre, the Globus Cruciger, the Robe, and the Holy Right were included in their list.

The proposal didn't seem to be problematic in the case of the Flag and the capital city, however the altering of the Crest triggered numerous debates. In the end, legislation accepted provisions concerning their use. In time of national celebrations and commemorations the Flag of the Hungarian Republic have been to be hoisted in front of the House of Parliament since then.

The government ruled in 1999 wanted to enact a law to commemorate the millennium anniversary of the Founding of the State. And together with this, the Holy Crown. This was the time when the so-called "Crown Act" was codified. It emphasised that Hungarians unified with other people in Europe in Christianity. The Crown embodies the continuity, independence and unity of the Hungarian state. The Holy Crown as a historical emblem refers to that each and every citizen of the country is part of the power. It has to be put in a worthy place, taken under the protection of the National Assembly, relocated to the Parliament Building. In the wake of the National Assembly's acceptance of the act the Holy Crown as a national symbol was put into the Parliament Building's Dome Hall, according to its proper ceremonial order. Previously, Esztergom and the Hungarian National Museum gave home to it.

The armoured vehicle transporting national relics from the Hungarian National Museum was going on a protected route to Kossuth Square, the Building of the National Assembly, escorted by policemen on motorcycle. The car delivering the Holy Crown, the Globus Cruciger, the Sceptre and the Sword covered the distance between the two buildings in less than a quarter of an hour. In the end, the royal-blue coloured vehicle rolled to the main gate of the House of Parliament where a five-member body were waiting for the national relics; namely the President of the State Árpád Göncz, the Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, the Speaker János Áder, the President of the Constitutional Court János Németh and the President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences Ferenc Glatz. The ceremony continued by the hoisting of the Flag of the Republic, followed by the voices of the Hymn and the firing of 21 salutes.

The Holy Crown, the Globus Cruciger, the Sceptre and the Sword were put in a special storing place set up in the Parliament Building's Dome Hall. In the storing place, that was built from 28 million Hungarian Forints and installed with special security equipment of a value of 15 million, the Crown and Crown Jewels are protected from natural light, besides special lights prevent from shadow being thrown to them. The vitrine is earthquake-resistant, and for the protection of their state, relics are surrounded by nitrogen instead of oxygen.

THE HUNGARIAN HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT AS A CULTURAL VENUE

Hungarian Parliament Building is situated in the downtown of Budapest, on the banks of Danube River, in the heart of the city. The edifice found on Kossuth Square spreads in 265 metres in length, its highest point is 96 metres long. The House of Parliament, being the third biggest parliament building in the world with a basic area of 17 745, 45 square metres, counts as quite a large space for holding National Assemblies, in international comparison (DÚZSI – SZÉLL

2017. 3.) The fate of this iconic structure, which is a must-see attraction for all visitors coming from within Hungary and abroad, was determined by a design contest. The winner of this competition was the work of Neo-Gothic style of a teacher at Technical University, Imre Steindl, whose office employed many contemporary prominent architects, among others Ernő Foerk, was assigned to design the building. Neo-Gothic style and construction plans of the building were heavily criticised that time, finding them old-fashioned and too historicising. However, there also were arguments for Imre Steindl's plans, one of them was that tradition of rightly famous English parliamentarism, National Assembly in England of serious tradition provided an example to Hungarian society, and its gothic style (Westminster) was a manifestation of this thought. Besides, the Houses of Parliament in London set an example to follow in an aesthetic point of view as well, reflected by the similarity of the new castle building of the Hungarian Parliament to the House of Legislation in England, regarding not only its style but also its river bank location. At that time Count Gyula Andrássy, then Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, was the politician who was the strongest supporter of constructing the building by this plan (ANDRÁSSY 2016).¹

Construction works of the House of Parliament started when the hoe hit the ground in 1885 and were completed in the year of 1902. This was the time of the First National Assembly taking place in the new building. The biggest and most expensive investment of the era attracted the press's attention as well, its size and style having been heavily criticized. The fact, however, that the construction of it revived Hungarian industry is undeniable, as materials from within the borders of then Hungary were to use together with applying the workforce of preferably Hungarian craftsmen. Glass artist Miksa Róth, furniture makers Endre Thék and Alajos Michl as well as master of wrought iron Gyula Jungfer were working on the inner and outer spaces of the edifice.

Apart from its style the choice of location of the building was also a source of heated criticism.² Construction works were taking place in former Tömő Square that belonged to the outskirts of Budapest that time. Building material debris from 1838's flood piled up here, hence its name. Later, after the Hungarian Parliament Building had been built it was renamed to Országház ("House of Parliament") Square, than in 1927, after the inauguration of the group of statues of Kossuth made by János Horvay got its name Kossuth Square that is used still today (TÖRÖK – WACHSLER 2015).

Resulting from its parliamentary function Kossuth Square hosted several prominent events which were great moments in Hungarian history. Firstly, Hungarian society witnessed proclamation of the Third Republic, on this symbolic square. Furthermore, during the years following the handover of the edifice it provided place mainly for demonstrations, later, in Horthy-era mass events for Christians were organised here, such as Eucharistic World Congress in 1938. Under communist regime, Kossuth Square became a place for representation, among others pioneers' meetings were organised, or Bertalan Farkas was welcomed here after accomplishing his travel to space. Kossuth Square is also a place for commemoration, we can remember the

¹ It is interesting to note that at the evaluation of competition works Steindl's plan won in a draw with that of Alajos Hauszmann, but in the end – probably reasoned with the arguments mentioned above – Steindl's design was selected.

² Then Prime Minister István Tisza was also judged on the basis its family's gaining financial benefit from the buildings's location on Tömő Square.

victims of volley of fire in the 25th of October in 1956 when being near the House of Parliament. On that so-called “Bloody Thursday” perpetrators having remained unknown to this day opened a volley of fire to the assembling crowd, resulting in the loss of lives of dozens of people. Today, an exhibition space set up in a ventilation tunnel provides a venue for commemoration of this day and its victims. On Kossuth Square that had hosted historical moments many community events took place; concerts were held, a skating ring was established, or Santa Claus Factory was set up (TÖRÖK – WACHSLER 2015).

In 1972 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) adopted World Heritage Convention. The institution’s goal is to call attention to humankind’s places of outstanding value thus protecting their safety. States joining this convention are obliged to protect the places included in the list (vilagörökseg.hu, 2018.) On the 11th of December in 1987 Buda Castle Quarter as well as landscape of the area spread between Margaret Bridge and Liberty Bridge along the banks of Danube River, an important part of which is taken up by the House of Parliament, was taken on UNESCO’s World Heritage List (Moravetz, 2016). Not only its aesthetic beauty but also its important role filled in during the time of Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy was emphasised (UNESCO 2018).

As the House of Parliament had been damaged by weather and historical vicissitudes, in 2011 National Assembly decided to reconstruct Kossuth Square in the framework of Steindl Imre Program, at the expense of 27 billion Forints. It was necessary not only because of quality problems with the stone material covering the building. It was reasoned with that the House of Parliament provides not only home for legislative power but also place for the Holy Crown being kept safe and protected, that’s why it not only serves public law function but should satisfy touristic goals as well. Besides, it shares its role in tourism with the square spreading in front of it. Consequently, the main aim of reconstruction was creating a space structure more thought-through than the previous one, in order to reimplement original, that time already unrecognisable, design devised by Imre Steindl. Works ended in 2017, with the inauguration of the statue of Andrásy (nemzetfotere.hu 2018).

On the 7th of October in 2011 National Assembly accepted the Law No CXLIX/2011 about the Amendment of the Law No LXIV/2011 about the Protection of Cultural Heritage. It made Kossuth Lajos Square a national memorial place of outstanding importance from the 1st of January in 2012. This title is given to places that carried extraordinary relevance in national history, were decisive to their era, play important role in national or minority self-identification, strengthening Hungarians’ “we-consciousness”. Apart from this, they should enhance Hungary’s international recognition, with nation’s cultural life events taking place there elevating people’s erudition. According to this law, the owner of a national memorial place of outstanding importance is the state in every case, decisions regarding Kossuth Square are made by the all-time Speaker. That is how in the wake of reconstruction works Kossuth Square was reshaped, and became a national memorial place of outstanding importance, i.e. Nation’s Main Square (Nemzeti Jogszabálytár 2011). Mentality history of the Square would be worth being examined in the framework of a further research, as in my view this law provides a great example for brand building process from up to down (top-down). Although this law was created by decision makers, it didn’t become a part of common knowledge, neither of public identity at local level. This process, this transformation to inner

identity should be important to be examined and rethought with the tool of mental mapping and those of cultural anthropology.

The House of Parliament is the primary place for legislation, however, it offers a number of services to satisfy scientific and cultural interest. Cultural Heritage Days, Memorial Places' Day, Night of Museums all open the gates of the Parliament Building, with those working there welcoming visitors with a wide range of special programs. It is open to the public when conferences and book presentation events are delivered which are free to attend for all of the citizens. In addition, with the Parliament Museum having been called into being, and owing to the four exhibition spaces free to visit both domestic and foreign tourists can gain information about the House of Parliament and Kossuth Square. Guided tours for individuals or groups and related museum pedagogical sessions enrich visitors' knowledge about the history of legislation and that of construction of the Parliament. Student and youth programs are organised for high-school students with the aim of widening their knowledge in the area of pedagogy and civic education. Models and simulations provide fun ways for them to gain first-hand experience of the National Assembly, the Holy Crown, and the House of Parliament, and by founding fictitious parties they can get a taste of the joys and difficulties go with representative democracy. Apart from the Parliament Museum another public collection, namely the Library of the Parliament supports scientific work and cultural life. The Board for Public Collection and Public Education puts up the House of Parliament for sale as a cultural product integrating the fields of tourism, science and pedagogy. In the following chapters I will take the quality of these services under scrutiny, examining the results coming from the synergy of interconnected areas. My thesis is that in their micro-environment leaders of the House of Parliament recognised the need for integration that would be a prerequisite for image building and branding. The Board for Public Collection and Public Education as an organisational unit underpins this idea.

ANALYSIS OF THE HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT AS A CULTURAL PRODUCT

The method I used for examining the quality of services offered by the House of Parliament and Kossuth Square is SWOT analysis. It is divided into two main parts. Opportunities and threats are presumptions based on outer, environmental factors. It means that the rigidness of these factors makes it more difficult to change them. Inner strengths and weaknesses, on the other hand, are traits to be strengthened and remedied in the short term (KOTLER – KELLER 2006. 94.). The results of SWOT analysis I below show in table form, highlighting some important attributes that I'll deal with in a more detailed way.

INNER FACTORS	<p>WEAKNESSES</p> <p>There is no single communication and marketing strategy, neither a related image within the House of Parliament, as it is divided into different units.</p> <p>Extreme professionalism and the use of legal language prevails in the office.</p> <p>There is a lack in human resources (namely a qualified manpower in the field of communication).</p> <p>The function of the House makes the image and the “spirit” of the place too dominant.</p> <p>There is strong control exerted by the office: stiffness.</p> <p>It is primarily a place for holding National Assemblies, leaving little room for other functions.</p>	<p>STRENGTHS</p> <p>It is a unique place: UNESCO.</p> <p>Professionalism prevails (history of co-workers, carpenters, upholsterers, research base).</p> <p>It represents art-historical and historical value.</p> <p>Modern technical solutions have been implemented.</p> <p>It is easily accessible from downtown.</p> <p>There is a rise in the amount of foreign tourists, it is a number one tourist attraction in Budapest (advertising costs without media buying).</p> <p>Renewed Square and House emit the atmosphere of modernity, offering visitors a pleasant environment.</p>
OUTER FACTORS	<p>THREATS</p> <p>Financial resources are difficult to access.</p> <p>Because of the four-year cycle of elections there is no room for long-term planning.</p> <p>The place for holding National Assemblies makes the capacity for the hosting of visitors limited.</p> <p>Due to security reasons enhanced safety measures have been implemented.</p>	<p>OPPORTUNITIES</p> <p>Event venues have been set up by the Headquarter of Federation of Technical and Scientific Societies.</p> <p>In courtyard No 3 a new event and exhibition space has been established.</p> <p>Event venue found in courtyard No 15 is not used enough.</p> <p>There is a prevalence of social media in independent and cultural area.</p> <p>Kossuth Square can more frequently be used for hosting programs, public events.</p> <p>Numerous new services, special tours (nocturnal, or the one taking place in the dome) can be offered.</p>

The biggest strength of the House of Parliament lies in that it provides a home for artistic and historical memories as a place that sells itself by their aesthetic character traits. Visitors' main motivation is primarily to see this place as that of world heritage and only secondarily as the one for holding National Assemblies. This dualism is reflected in the managing of the House of Parliament as a cultural product, with its apparatus serving the need of Hungarian legislation, making economic, cultural and functional aspects taken less into account, often even opposite to each other. If it could be solved technically, amount of visitors arriving with touristic goals would be increased, particularly in order to generate revenue, although mass number of visitors would threaten smooth-running work of National Assemblies and restrict representatives' move within the House.

As a next point of SWOT analysis, political environment means such a source of threat that has an effect on the opinion formed of the Hungarian Parliament Building as a cultural product. With the changing of the persons of political decision makers (that of the Speaker) positioning and segmenting of cultural product can be formed. It exerts an influence primarily on Hungarians' picture shaped of the House of Parliament, as foreign tourists generally aren't aware of our

political situation and system. However, ever-increasing attention from foreigners' part, mostly from those coming from the European political area, will give this segment a priority. In my view, the biggest opportunity of the House of Parliament lies in that by its geographical location being known it would be easy for it to become a part of Budapest's cultural and touristic life. I mean classical music events, opportunities provided by concerts held here, street music like open programs, events of Spring and Autumn Festival by this.

With using SWOT analysis opportunities of the Hungarian House of Parliament as a cultural product have been measured up. In the following section, micro-environment of the Parliament will be shown taking one step behind, with the help of STEEP analysis, taking social, technological, economic, ecological and political aspects into account.

S (social) – Social micro-environment surrounding the House of Parliament consists of residents of the 5th District. From their point of view, the Parliament and Kossuth Square don't count as public areas, instead create a small island within the district with the local government having no authority over them. Local residents aren't properly involved in cultural life taking place in the House of Parliament, they aren't informed about opportunities and occurring events. Walking dogs on the Square is prohibited, at the same time a large number of sitting and sunbathing places have been built, coffee houses are opening continuously, having made the Square in summer months packed with people time and time again.

T (technological) – The House of Parliament is extremely well equipped technically with the most cutting-edge tools, due to its reconstruction, in order to meet security expectations. On the other hand though, it lags one step behind as far as the latest trends are concerned: a main stage, an event tent and concert tools are to be obtained from outer source.

E (economic) – From an economic point of view, the Parliament Building is in a prominent position, given that a huge amount of financial resources is earmarked annually for its maintenance. Revenue generated by tourism is ploughed back to the development of quality services offered here. Owing to this, projects that don't cover primarily profit-oriented activities can also be funded, such as student programs or "Square-Music" concerts which can be participated in and enjoyed free of charge, furthermore, Visitor Centre can also be developed and enlarged. (Rebuilding works are taking place even these days.)

E (ecological) – During its reconstruction the House of Parliament and its surroundings were undergoing a complete change ecologically. Since vehicles were forbidden from the Square and bicycle lane was fortified, visitors have been provided with environmentally conscious traffic opportunities. The plantation of a new garden served the goal of embellishing the Square with endemic plant species.

P (political) – Kossuth Square and the House of Parliament are national memorial places of outstanding importance, as it was mentioned previously, the owner of them is not the 5th District but the state. In this present case, permitting the use of the Square and the holding of events falls within the competence of the all-time Speaker.

Having examined the environment of the House of Parliament and the services offered there I will now make a suggestion regarding target groups who are affected by them. The first one is made up of those who come to visit with pedagogical aim, students (reached through

pedagogues) and teachers. Apart from this, a prominent target group of the Parliament consists of the age group of those retired, whose main points of interest are the two public collections and visiting the Parliament Building on occasions of special events. Audience made up of professionals (those belong to upper layers of society who are culturally cultivated and have art-historical interest) and tour operators, i.e. travel organisers, also play an important role in mediating services. It is also important to remember that as the House of Parliament is the place for legislation, delegations are to be considered target groups in the same way as representatives. Last but not least, it is the tourists to whom Visitor Centre and services related to the visiting of the House of Parliament have mainly been positioned.

Information about services reaches target groups through online and offline channels. Online communication tools are made up of four main factors—websites, social media (Facebook, Instagram), Youtube channel, mobile applications—complemented with notifications sent via email functioning as newsletters. Quality of websites shows a wide variety, parlament.hu is a site where all information is available both in English and Hungarian. However, given that it is a collection page touristic and cultural services are lost in the flow of information, not to mention that as far as quality of its design and web design is concerned it needs to be streamlined. Besides parlament.hu there are several smaller websites, such as nemzetfotere.hu, inmemoriam1956.hu, szabadsagkodjai.hu or ogyk.hu. So that readers have access to cultural content in one place, different contents should be harmonised.

Facebook pages show a more complex picture. Both public collections (Library and Museum) have their own Facebook page, as both Hungarian National Assembly and the Hungarian House of Parliament have their own social media profile. In addition, student programs and podium talks (Pulpitus) have their group or so-called circle of friends on Facebook. It would be worthwhile to write concise posts of a maximum of forty characters on social media platforms and use them as a transit zone embedding articles published on websites. For imparting information more effectively, it would be practical to include infographic tools, such as gifs and hashtags, in the portfolio published on social media.

Communication platforms of cultural content of the House of Parliament are the following:

1. One-way

a) Websites

- parlament.hu
- nemzetfotere.hu
- ogyk.hu
- <http://latogatokozpont.parlament.hu>
- <http://parlament.hu/infoszolg>
- orszaggyulesimuzeum.hu
- inmemoriam1956.hu
- szabadsagkodjai.hu
- konseta.parlament.hu

b) Videos

- about the Library, nemzetfotere.hu
- Youtube channel: “Országház, Közönségszolgálat” (“House of Parliament, Public Relations”)

2. Two-way

a) Direct

- E-mails
- Mailing lists
- Newsletters

b) Indirect

Social media sites: Facebook, Instagram

The House of Parliament conveys its message to its target groups via channels in its own operation, although representatives pursue only direct marketing activities. They don't use classic ATL marketing tools (TV ads, citylight, giant posters), targeting tourists or Hungarian citizens. Branding activity pursued by the House of Parliament is not comprehensive. Institutional background for the improvement of this process have already been established (Board for Public Collection and Public Education), although a comprehensive strategy is necessary also here for the accomplishment of long-term goals. The process of cultural building is aggravated by the fact that the House of Parliament fills in the function of the place for legislation as well, with non-negligible political content.

THE HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT' ROLE IN TOURISM

The House of Parliament and Nation's Square are visited by hundreds of those interested on a daily basis, tourists and Hungarians, politicians and foreign delegations as well. It undeniably plays an important role in tourism, which has further been strengthened since reconstruction works ended. Until 2017 when the project came to its end, the paving of the Square had been changed completely, in the place of a surface parking lot an underground garage had been established (with a space capacity of nearly 600 vehicles). The opening of the underground Visitor Centre solved the task of serving those interested at 21th century level. Before that, long rows of visitors were snaking on the uncovered Square trying to get into the Parliament Building. Today tickets are available in a modern way, through Visitor Centre designed by Zoltán Tima. In addition to this, those who want to avoid standing in long queues have the possibility of buying their tickets online. In Visitor Centre a café bar, a gift shop and two exhibition spaces have been set up providing the opportunity for visitors to widen their knowledge of the thousand-year history of legislation and the House of Parliament's construction. These venues are adequate even to arranging events there (Office of Parliament 2018).

During the course of reconstruction, environment of landscape architecture around Kossuth Square was undergoing a complete change, furthermore, community spaces have been established and free exhibitions have been launched. In two former ventilation tunnels exhibition

spaces have been set up in memory of 1956's victims of volley of fire together with a stone collection exhibiting special pieces of stone carving and architecture that can hardly be seen with naked eye on the edifice. Since reconstruction works were completed, there's been a continuous increase in the number of those coming to see the House of Parliament; in 2013 amount of visitors were 394 128, which in 2016 rose to nearly 582 930. 2017 witnessed this same dynamism, with more than 600 000 (exactly 647 255) of those interested having come to see the Hungarian Parliament, 80 percent of whom having arrived from abroad (Office of Parliament 2018).

The Building of Hungarian Parliament enjoys unbroken popularity, a social travel magazine titled TripAdvisor put it on its 2017's list presenting the most popular sights in Europe to the 7th place, before such world-wide liked attractions like the Big Ben, the Notre Dame in Paris, or even the Acropolis. In the list of world's most popular sights the House of Parliament gained a prominent, namely the 14th place (TripAdvisor 2017). However, the House of Parliament was considered popular not only by TripAdvisor's ranking list, but is also included in tourist and travel agencies' offer as a general favourite, as a symbol representing Hungary.

Nation image depicted in Hungarian publications in the tourism field was examined in the turn of the millennium by two cultural anthropologists, in the framework of an international comparative study. They took brochures of Hungary compiled by then mainstream travel agencies under scrutiny, trying to find answer to the question of what kind of a national identity these publications suggest. Budapest was symbolized by widely-known historical monuments; the Castle, Heroes' Square and the House of Parliament were included in almost all of them, in some cases complemented with Margaret Island and Váci Street (KAPITÁNY 2001. 51–52.).

Viewing touristic offers published 17 years later online I think nothing much has changed. In big travel agencies' online offers concerning our homeland the view of the Danube and the House of Parliament was the most widely presented. It's time to do a new research taking representative samples under scrutiny that makes a comparison between central guidelines regarding nation image and tourist offers related to Hungary. Harmonising these two areas would be given a high priority considering that services provided by travel agencies are primary channels of the country' reputation.

THE HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT AS A PART OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

Previously, I showed the House of Parliament as a cultural venue from a historical perspective and the point of view of service marketing. Viewing all this as a complete whole now I examine the relation between the House of Parliament and Hungarians' national identity. What visitors' number described in previous chapter indicates is that the amount of those coming to see the House of Parliament, both from abroad and within the country, is in a dynamic increase. This phenomenon is a result of complex factors. It is due primarily to that there's been a tendency to show legislative power as being open to the public. Conferences, podium talks, book presentations, open days provide opportunities for those interested to discover new segments of the building and legislation time and time again.³ In addition to this, Hungarians have long been

³ These programs and cultural products are offered in Hungarian language presently. These cultural values would be worth being mediated to foreigners strengthening the House of Parliament's feature as being open to the public. In this chapter, however, I examine Hungary's country image, from this point of view it carries no relevance.

provided the opportunity to see the Holy Crown free of charge on every national holiday. Apart from this, every school and kindergarten group can participate in the visiting of the House of Parliament without no entrance fee, bound to registration, guaranteed free travel opportunity.

For Hungarian society as a whole the House of Parliament is a symbolic place, that of the Holy Crown and statehood, an important place of Hungarian independence. It makes a part of Hungarian people's self-image that once in their lifetime they visit the Parliament, with the aim to see primarily the Holy Crown and secondarily the building itself. (By contrast, for those arriving with touristic goals aesthetic quality is the most relevant attractive force, as in most of the publications and books in the tourism field Budapest and Hungary are popularised with the view of the Danube and the Hungarian Parliament Building. The fact that Crown Jewels are also be found here doesn't seem to make an important part in foreigners' interest toward the country.

What role does the House of Parliament play in Hungarians' national identity? Does it constitute a part in collective nation-consciousness? National feeling is a result of a complex process of rites, community events, symbols, emblems, objects, symbolic acts and historical memory. All these contribute to the creation of group cohesion, making people feel belong to one nation. National symbolics are an important pillar of national identity; the Anthem, the Flag, and the Crest constitute a part of Constitutional Law, their relevance isn't questioned by anyone. However, all the other symbols of the Hungarian cannot be circumscribed as easily (PAÁR 2016, JANCSÁK 2020).

In the late 1990's Ágnes Kapitány and Gábor Kapitány, a married couple of cultural anthropologists, were conducting a large-scale research project about the symbols of the Hungarian. According to their view, it is through symbolic meaning of objects and people that we are connected to a system wider than us, even unaware. It binds us to the "collective unconsciousness" in which we can find our own identity. It helps us separate from the others, from the other nation or subculture, drawing a border line between its user and the person or group in some aspect different from them. In their publications authors strive to show symbols of the Hungarian that helps shaping proper national self-consciousness objectively (KAPITÁNY – KAPITÁNY 2002. 9–13.).

In the Kapitánys' research both the Parliament Building and Kossuth Square are included, in the framework of an extended questionnaire. Their question was as follows: "Which one of the following public buildings do you think represents the Hungarian most appropriately?" Apart from the House of Parliament, Buda Castle, Matthias Church, Fisherman's Bastion, National Museum, Saint Stephen's Basilica, and Hungarian Academy of Sciences places found in the countryside were also included in the list, such as Pannonhalma Abbey, Esztergom Basilica, Great Church of Debrecen, Votive Church of Szeged, Eger Castle or Verecke Memorial. It is interesting to note that "future" National Theatre being built that time was also taken on the list (KAPITÁNY – KAPITÁNY 2002. 264.). If this research was conducted these days, composition of the list would certainly change. 57,7 percent of respondents marked the Parliament revealing that the edifice designed by Imre Steindl constitutes a part of Hungarians' national identity. Buda Castle gained the second place, only with a proportion of 32,5 percent though, while as the third most characteristic public building Eger Castle was selected (30,2 percent). This latter is explained by the fact that the novel of Géza Gárdonyi titled "The Stars of Eger" is widely popular amongst Hungarians. Consequently, as more than half of respondents identify themselves

with the Building of Hungarian Parliament, it undoubtedly makes a part of national identity (KAPITÁNY – KAPITÁNY 2002. 74.).

By contrast, amongst the answers given to the question related to illustrious public places Kossuth Square proved to be less attached to national identity. Not only Heroes' Square, Buda Castle and Ópusztaszer Heritage Park came before that, but also National Museum, Visegrád Castle, Gellért Hill and Batthyány's Sanctuary Lamp. Only 17 percent of respondents felt Kossuth Square a place symbolising the Hungarian (KAPITÁNY – KAPITÁNY 2002. 265.). This result took me and also the researchers by surprise, as public spaces counting as representative places (Gellért Hill, Kossuth Square, Bem Square) appeared only marginally. This was explained by the Kapitánys with that in the whole course of research symbols of national memory attaching to 1956 showed this tendency, with hardly any vote given to them. Although Kossuth Square is a part of Hungarians' self-image, it primarily constitutes the pillar of the memory of 1956's Revolution instead of being a symbol of statehood and democracy (KAPITÁNY – KAPITÁNY 2002. 275–276.). As far as I see, answers to this research question would completely be different nowadays, this picture has been formed by the reconstruction of Nation's Main Square with related cultural events and marketing activity. Besides, I find it highly important to reexamine this when the Curia moves back to the place of Museum of Ethnography, making the symbolic unity of the three power (legislation, execution, jurisdiction) appear on Kossuth Square.

Historian, political scientist Ádám Paár calls the attention in his study to that the Parliament Building is a prominent place of connection to the West. The researcher highlights the British parallel to the House of Parliament, as was shown in the historical part of my thesis, pointing out to that Hungarian Parliament was built by the design of its London counterpart, the relevance of which was to emphasise even that time. However, Western sample, referring to England's democratic past as an example didn't emerge in symbolic space arrangement, Imre Steindl and his team at the architectural office use number symbolism there. During the course of planning, for example, they chose 96 metres as the height of the Dome referring to the millennial anniversary, the history of Hungarians, and the conquest (PAÁR 2016). This symbolic number appears in the main flight of stairs: a prominent guest (an ambassador, a delegation member) have to take exactly that many steps upward from the main entrance to the Dome Hall (DÚZSI – SZÉLL 2017).

The House of Parliament constitutes a part of Hungarians' national identity, attested by its pictorial representations: numerous reproductions have been made portraying it, articles of personal use, ornamental pieces are constantly emerging. In the world of Web 2 thousands of photos are taken and videos are made of the Parliament, primarily by tourists, though. In the next chapter I'll show interpretations of the Parliament Building appearing on objects, and how Hungarians' national image is reflected through reproductions.

SUMMARISING THOUGHTS

The House of Parliament and Kossuth Square spreading in front of it, as a result of Steindl Imre Program commenced in 2011 according to the goals set by the authority of the state, became Hungarian Nation's Main Square. As a justification of reconstruction the Parliament is referred to not only as a home for legislative power but also a place where the Holy Crown is kept safe

and protected, thus besides its public law functions it has to meet touristic expectations together with being a source of Hungarian society's erudition and identity. In the wake of reconstruction, in 2017 Kossuth Square became a national memorial place of outstanding importance that made it a more open community space after having been used as a parking lot for officials' and representatives' vehicles.

Can Kossuth Square be the Nation's Main Square? This iconic place has always performed an important role in the life of Hungarian society, particularly in the twentieth century. It witnessed the proclamation of the Third Republic, as in Horthy-era, mass events organised by the Christian Community, and in 1938 the Eucharistic World Congress. Interestingly, in this current year, in 2021 when Hungary organised this event again a commemoration was held, although main ceremony involving the Pope's visit was delivered on Heroes' Square that is another symbolic place, according to the results of researches conducted to this day.

Victims of volley of fire in the 25th of October in 1956 are also attached to the Square, a memorial established has been holding the memory of "Bloody Thursday's" innocent victims since then. Under communist regime, Kossuth Square was a scene of representation where receptions, protocolar events, pioneers' gatherings were taking place, among others Bertalan Farkas was welcomed here by leaders of the party after accomplishing his travel to space. National character of the Square wasn't found even after the change of regime, instead, events, such as concerts, were organised to make the place spread in front of the House of Parliament more open to the public, beside Santa Claus Factory and a skating ring having been set up. It only almost acquired a solid function and image, still, it attracted tourists as well as domestic visitors.

Nowadays numerous visitors come to the Square and the House of Parliament, from within Hungary and abroad as well, events occurring here succeed in popularising architectural and touristic strengths, however as an element in Hungarians' national identity, particularly amongst the young, dominance of the processes taking place in the building against its relevance and role played in historical past leaves room for improvement for the Board designated for this task and the Hungarian political elite. Rhetoric and behaviour presented by this latter leaves a stronger mark on the process of the young's enculturation.

It would be worth to rethink service development on the model of Visitor Centre in United States Capitol as the process of American legislation and the building where it takes place is shown there by an interactive and professionally impeccable way. Capitol, the same way as the Hungarian Parliament Building, plays an important role in the shaping of nation image, parallels and differences between these two establishments should be worth being examined in the framework of a study.

REFERENCES

- ANDRÁSSY, DOROTTYA (2016): *Az Országház építéstörténete* ("Construction History of the House of Parliament"). Budapest, Office of Parliament.
- ANHOLT, SIMON (2005): Anholt National Brand Index: How Does the World See America? *Journal of Advertising Research*. September, 2005. DOI: 10.1017/S0021849905050336

- BALATONI, MONIKA (2018): Országmárka vagy országimage? (“Nation Brand or Nation Image?”). In: Bába, Iván ed.: *Közsolgálati Protokoll 1.* (“Public Service Protocol 1.”).
- CSILLAG, GÁBOR (2000): Greetings from Hungary. In: Zoltán, Fejős ed.: *Turizmus és kommunikáció* (“Tourism and Communication”). Museum of Ethnography, Budapest. 83–95.
- DÚZSI, ÉVA – SZÉLL, SZILVIA (2017): *Országházi Kalauz* (“A Guide to the House of Parliament”). Budapest, Office of Parliament.
- EU-VONAL (2013): Észtország (“EU-Line: Estonia”). http://www.euvonal.hu/index.php?op=mindennapok_tagallamok&id=21 <https://www.euvonal.hu/tagorszagok/esztorszag/> (Last download: 30th April, 2021)
- HUSZTI, VERA (2003): *A marketing általános kérdései* (“General Questions of Marketing”). http://www.omikk.bme.hu/collections/mgi_fulltext/marketing/2003/11/1101.pdf (Last download: 10th September, 2021)
- JANCSÁK, CSABA (2020): Történelmi emlékezet és a család. (“Historical Memory and Family”) In: A.Gergely, András – Kapitány, Ágnes – Kapitány, Gábor – Kovács, Éva – Paksi, Veronika (szerk.) *Kultúra, közösség és társadalom*. Budapest, Magyarország: Társadalomtudományi Kutatóközpont, Magyar Szociológiai Társaság. 141–159.
- JENES, BARBARA (2010): Az országimázs fogalmának szakirodalmi megközelítései (“Approaches of the Concept of Nation Image in Literature”). Budapest, MOK. 1004–1012.
- KAPITÁNY, ÁGNES – KAPITÁNY, GÁBOR (2002): *Magyarságszimbólumok* (“Symbols of the Hungarian”). Budapest, European Institute of Folklore.
- KAPITÁNY, ÁGNES – KAPITÁNY, GÁBOR (2001): Magyarságszimbólumok idegenforgalmi kiadványok tükrében (“Symbols of the Hungarian Reflected in Publications in the Tourism Field”). *Jel-Kép*. 3. 51–71.
- KILDUFF, KERRY – TABALES NÚNEZ, JULIA M. (2016): Country Branding and its Effect on the Consumer in the Global Market. *Cuadernos de Gestión*. 17/1.
- KOTLER, PHILIP – KELLER, LANE KEVIN (2006): *Marketingmenedzsment* (“Marketing Management”). Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.
- KOZMA, BOGLÁRKA (2004): *Turizmusmarketing* (“Tourism Marketing”). Budapest, Business School Faculty of Commerce, Catering and Tourism.
- KSH a) (“Central Statistical Office” / a) (2018): *Közvetlen külföldi működőtőke-befektetések* (“Direct Foreign Working Capital Investments”). http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xstadat/xstadat_eves/i_int044b.html (Last download: 12th September, 2021.)
- KSH b) (“Central Statistical Office” / b) (2018): *A külkereskedelemi termékforgalom értéke forintban és értékindexei a fontosabb országok szerint* (“Value of External Trade in Goods in Hungarian Forint and its Value Indexes According to Relevant Countries”). https://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xstadat/xstadat_eves/i_qkt019d.html (Last download: 12th September, 2021)
- MORAVETZ, ORSOLYA (2016): *Időtlen érték – közel s távol* (“Timeless Value—Close and Far”). In: nemzetfotere.hu, 11th December 2016 15:52 <http://www.nemzetfotere.hu/blog/posts/idotlenertek-kozel-s-tavol> (Last download: 30th December 2017)

NAGY, BEÁTA (2008): Egy ország a világ szemében. *Tér és Társadalom* (“A Country in the Eye of the World.”). 22/4. 205–219. http://epa.oszk.hu/02200/02251/00033/pdf/EPA02251_Ter_es_Tarsadalom2411.pdf (Last download: 13th September, 2021)

NAGY, KRISTÓF (2017): *Rekord a külföldi befektetésekben* (“Record in Foreign Investments”). In <https://magyaridok.hu/gazdasag/rekord-kulfoldi-befektetesekben-1730695/> (Last download: 13th September, 2021)

NBI (2018) <http://nation-brands-gfk.com/> (Last download: 04th March 2018)

NEMZETFOTERE.HU (2018): *Tér-Idő* (“Space-Time”). <http://www.nemzetfotere.hu/ter-ido> (Last download: 13th September, 2021)

NEMZETI JOGSZABÁLYTÁR (2010): 1212/2010. (X. 8.) kormányhatározat az Országmárka Tanács létrehozásáról (“National Collection of Regulations (2010): Government Decision 1212/2010. (X. 8.) about the Establishment of Country Brand Council”). http://njt.hu/cgi_bin/njt_doc.cgi?docid=134244.251940 (Last download: 13th September, 2021)

NEMZETI JOGSZABÁLYTÁR (2011): 2011. évi CXLIX. törvény a kulturális örökség védelméről szóló 2001. évi LXIV. törvény módosításáról (“National Collection of Regulations (2011): Law No CXLIX/2011 about the Amendment of the Law No LXIV/2011 about the Protection of Cultural Heritage”).

OFFICE OF PARLIAMENT (2018): Based on statistics and sources made by Board for Public Collection and Public Education.

PAÁR, ÁDÁM (2016): Aközösségi szimbólumok és rituálék szerepe a magyar nemzeti identitásban (“Role of Community Symbols and Rites in Hungarians’ National Identity”). *Kultúra és Közösség* 7/4. 37-57. <http://www.kulturaeskozseg.hu/pdf/2016/4/04.pdf> (Last download: 30th January 2018)

PAPP-VÁRY, ÁRPÁD FERENC (2006): Az országmárkázás elmélete és gyakorlata (“Theory and Practice of Country Branding”). *reklámértek* 4/34.

PAPP-VÁRY, ÁRPÁD FERENC (2007): *Az országmárkázás szerepe és hatásai: országimázs a kibővült Európai Unióban* (“Role and Effects of Country Branding: Nation Image in Enlarged European Union”). Book of a Doctoral Thesis, Sopron.

PAPP-VÁRY, ÁRPÁD FERENC (2009/a): Országmárkázástól a versenyképes identitásig. A country branding megjelenése, célja és természete. (“From Country Branding to Competitive Identity. Appearance, Goal and Nature of Country Branding.”) *Marketing és Menedzsment* 2. 4–19.

PAPP-VÁRY, ÁRPÁD FERENC (2009/b): **Újragondolt országimázs.** (“Nation Image Rethought.”). *Marketing és Média* 1-14th April, 2009. 14–15.

PATAKI, FERENC (2001): Élethörténet és identitás (“Life History and Identity”). Budapest, Osiris Kiadó. http://www.szaktars.hu/osiris/osiris/view/pataki-ferenc_elettörtenet_es_identitas-2001. (Last download: 10th September, 2021)

R. HAHN, VERONIKA (2013): *Bajban a Magyar imázs*. In: NOL.hu.2013.10.27. (Last download: 15th September, 2021)

SAME, SIIRI (2014): Experience Marketing in Country Branding: Theoretical Developments and an Estonian Case Study. *Research in Economics and Business: Central and Eastern Europe* 6/1. 65-89.

SZÖRÉNYI, ANDRÁS (2009): Smart power, avagy az év „felfedezése” (“Smart Power or ‘Invention’ of the Year”). *Külgüyi Szemle* 8/3. 147–158. http://kki.hu/assets/upload/Kulugyi_Szemle_2009_03_Smart_power_avagy_az_ev.pdf (Last download: 30th July, 2021)

TERRY, ANDREW – FORREST, HEATHER (2008): Where’s the Beef? Why Burger King is Hungry Jack’s in Australia and Other Complications in Building a Global Franchise Brand. *Northwestern Journal of International Law and Business* 28/2. 170–214.

<https://scholarlycommons.law.northwestern.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=http://www.news.com.au/&httpsredir=1&article=1667&context=njilb> (Last download: 19th July, 2021)

TÓZSA, ISTVÁN (2012): *Mi az országimázs?* („What is Nation Image?”). Turizmusonline.hu. 25th November, 2012. 09:02 <http://turizmusonline.hu/aktualis/cikk/orszagimazs> (Last download: 18th July, 2021)

TÖRÖK, ANDRÁS – WACHSLER, TAMÁS (2015): *A nevezetes magyar Országház, és a tér, ahol áll* („The Famous Hungarian House of Parliament and the Square where it Stands on”). Osiris Kiadó, Budapest, Office of Parliament.

Tradeforum.org (2018): *Is There a Case for National Branding?* <http://www.tradeforum.org/Is-There-a-Case-For-National-Branding?> (Last download: 30th July, 2021)

TripAdvisor (2017): *A világ 25 legnépszerűbb látványainak* (“The 25 Most Popular Sights of the World”). <https://www.tripadvisor.co.hu/TravelersChoice-Landmarks> (Last download: 30th December, 2020)

Turizmus Bulletin (2006): *Magyarország imáza a GMI Nation Brands Index alapján* (Hungary’s Image by GMI Nation Brands Index”). 4. 28–33.

UNESCO (2018): *Budapest, Including the Banks of the Danube, the Buda Castle Quarter and Andrassy Avenue*, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/400> Last download: 30th July, 2021

VILAGOROKSEG.HU (2018): *Our World Heritage Sites.* <http://www.vilagorokseg.hu> (Last download: 17th August, 2021)

ZENTAI, ANDRÁS (2015): *Nemzeti értékeink megőrzése. A hungarikumok és a köréjük szerveződő rendezvények Magyarországon és külföldön* (“Protecting Our National Values. Hungaricums and Events Organised Around Them in Hungary and Abroad”). Budapest Business School.

TÓTH DOMINIK

dmnk.tth@gmail.com
doktorandusz (NKE KMDI) ORCID: 0000-0002-5593-5730

How the war wagon looked like in the 15th century?

Additions to the research connected to the development of a military vehicle



ABSTRACT

By the first third of the 15th century, the use of war wagons on the Eastern and Central European battlefields was raised to a new level by the hussite rebels. The vehicle was adapted by the Hungarian Kingdom, as well, and there are sources containing evidences for its use in the late 16th century. Though, the rebels' warfare is rich in bibliography, the structure of the wagon is barely known. This article aims to give a detailed account on the structure of the vehicle, and on the difference between a "civilian" and a war wagon.

KEYWORDS

war wagon, salt delivery wagon, hussite warriors, Győr

DOI 10.14232/belv.2021.2.4

<https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2021.2.4>

Cikkre való hivatkozás / How to cite this article:

Tóth Dominik (2021): How the war wagon looked like in the 15th century? Additions to the research connected to the development of a military vehicle. Belvedere Meridionale vol. 33. no. 2. 53–63. pp

ISSN 1419-0222 (print)
ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

(Creative Commons) Nevezd meg! – Így add tovább! 4.0 (CC BY-SA 4.0)
(Creative Commons) Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-SA 4.0)

www.belvedere-meridionale.hu

INTRODUCTION

The use of war wagon in the medieval times is generally associated with the hussite rebels as it was them who perfected its use¹ by transforming a “civilian” vehicle. Libraries could be filled with literature on this topic, however, there are hardly any authors who dealt with the structural solutions used during the construction and transformation of the vehicles.

This article can be divided into three segments. In the first segment, I examine the main parts of the four-wheeled horse-drawn wagon based on the available literature. In the second segment, I use this knowledge to identify the main parts of the vehicle in the 15th century primary source material. In the third segment, I aim to find the difference between the structure of the contemporary “civilian” vehicle and its transformed variant.

This article aims to prove only one hypothesis which states that the delivery wagon used at the end of the Middle Ages and in the Early modern period is reconstructable in terms of its main structural elements, and thus, the structure of the war wagon can also be presumed.

RESEARCH HISTORY

Combined driving has an extensive literature in today’s Hungary. In the first segment, I mostly relied on Balázs Pataki’s book titled *Magyar népi fogatok [Hungarian folk carriages]* among the relevant works.² It was rather written for combined drivers and equestrian traditionalists than for researchers. However, due to its detailed description, with proper literature background, of the horse harnessing methods, the structure of horse carriages and wagons, and the horse tacks, it can be used for comparisons such as the one that is to be found later in this article.

Nevertheless, examining the different variants of the delivery vehicles in the 15th century is a harder task. Which wagon and carriage models were typical in each region of the Carpathian Basin is a widely discussed topic within ethnography. However, these discussions are based on collections from the 20th century, thus, the given vehicle model and its structure reflects the 19th and 20th century. Researching the development of the delivery vehicles is hampered by the lack of sources and by the depictions being sporadic. Regarding the Middle Ages, only works

¹ They also perfected the use of the wagon fort, however, this article does not aim to research that.

² Pataki 2013.

dealing with economic history touch on the appearance of the wagons as different models can be differentiated in contemporary custom tariffs.

In the order of publication, *Mázsaszékér*,³ [*Quintal cart*] written by Sándor Domanovszky, is the first work dealing with the medieval models of delivery vehicles within Hungarian history. Its use for studying the structure of the vehicle is limited as the work is dealing with the vehicle as a unit of measurement for custom tariffs. However, he deduces in what way this vehicle used in the international trade continued to exist until the middle of the 20th century which allows us to assume its structure.

Apropos of the study on the medieval civilian vehicles, Jenő Szűcs's work titled *A gabona árforradalma a 13. században*⁴ [*The price revolution of the wheat in the 13th century*] also must be mentioned. Szűcs made his research taking Domanovszky's results into account, and one of his important partial results is that he managed to identify two other wagon models besides the quintal-wagon.

Despite its name, László Tarr's *A kocsi története*⁵ [*The history of the carriage*] is dealing with the history of the two and three wheeled delivery vehicles used for the transport of people and goods, as well, and does not focus only on the carriage. In many cases, he refers to photos found in ethnographic collections, archaeological findings, and contemporary depictions instead of written sources as there is a lack of them. In case of this article, his work is important due to its depictions of the parts of the medieval wagon models.

Hugo Toman Bohemian historian was the first to deal with the look of the actual hussite war wagon. In his work titled *Husitské válečnictví za doby Žižkovy a Prokopovy*, [*Hussite warfare in the era of Žižka and Prokop*] which is dealing with the hussites' warfare, he writes that the wagons from the 15th century do not differ significantly compared to the wagons of his age (viz. the 19th century).⁶

The merchant wagon was the “civilian” vehicle on which the actual hussite war wagon was based. He claimed this referring to František Mihálek Bartoš’ etymology dictionary where the parts of the wagon and their contingent name variants can be found.⁷

Though this article does not aim to prove the Bohemian author’s right, I will make the comparison to achieve the proposed object. During the analysis I will not touch on every part depicted on picture 1. In the case of those which I do touch upon, I will mark the name of the parts below picture 1. with the assigned number.

THE RECONSTRUCTABILITY OF THE DELIVERY VEHICLES OF THE GIVEN TIME INTERVAL.

The structure of the vehicles used in the agriculture on the turn of the 19th and 20th century can be separated into a lower and an upper part. The lower part, the so-called, running gear is the

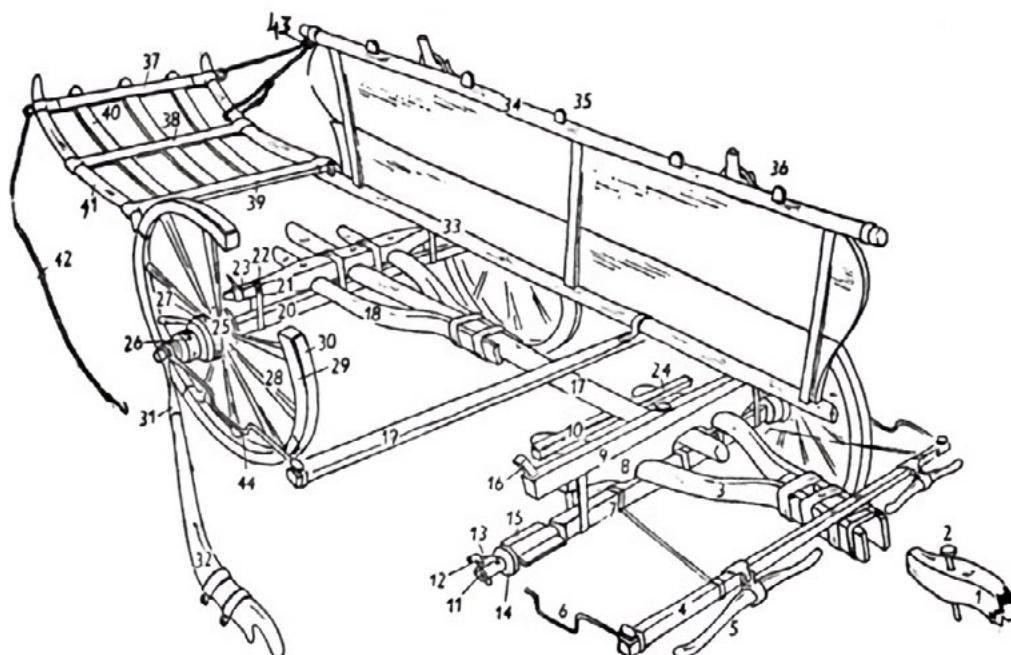
³ DOMANOVSZKY 1917.

⁴ SZŰCS 1984.

⁵ TARR 1968.

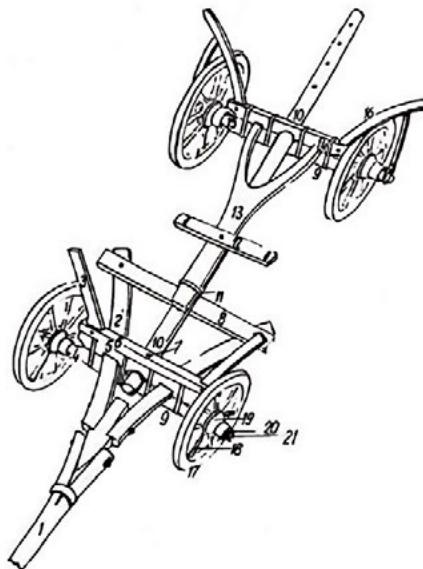
⁶ TOMAN 1898. 198.

⁷ BARTOŠ 1895. 442–446.



Picture 1. The structure of the horse-drawn wagon

- 1) pole 2) pin 3) hounds 4) front crossbar/doubletree 5) singletree 6) front running-board 7) axle-box 8) front bolster 9) upper bolster 10) sway bar 11) axletree and axle-arm 12) wheelpin 13) bottom wheelpin 14) neck 15) wheelend 16) stake 17) reach 18) horizontal rod's wing 19) rear crossbar 20) rear axle-box 21) rear bolster 22) axlehoops 23) stakepin 24) main bolt 25) hub 26) hub band 27) spokering 28) spoke 29) felly 30) rim 31) car-stake's charm 32) car-stake 33) top rails 34) top rails 35) wagonside 36) car-stake's ring 37) stretcher's upper timber 38) stretcher's middle timber 39) stretcher's front timber 40) stretcherrod 41) stretcherside 42) stretcherchain 43) stretcherchain's retainer ring 44.) rear running-board



Picture 2. The structural components of a military-type wagon (Used by the K. u. K. Armée, called: Országos jármű)

supporting framework underneath the vehicle. It can be divided into several parts; the front axletree [Picture 1. – 11] with two wheels attached; the bolster [Picture 1. – 8), 21)] and the upper bolster [Picture 1. – 9)] with the stake in it. (Picture 1. – 16)] The two short rods between the bolster and the axletree are the hounds (Picture 1. – 3)] which extend backwards and attach to the pole. [Picture 1. – 1)] The pole is attached to the reach [Picture 1. – 17)] with a main bolt [Picture 1. – 24)] in a way that allows the axletree to move in two directions, thus, making it rotatable. The ends of the hounds are secured by the sway bar [Picture 1. – 10)] which lies under the reach and stabilizes the pole.

The rear of the running gear is structured in a similar way. The only difference is that the reach is secured at the rear part. There is no upper bolster, thus, the rear axletree cannot rotate in any directions. The front and the rear parts are connected by the reach for which the hounds are often stabilized by iron bars.

The structure of the wheel is rather complex, as well. It usually constitutes of 6-8 different parts, the so-called fellies, [Picture 1. – 29)] which are held together by iron rims. [Picture 1. – 30)] Spokes [Picture 1. – 28)] are installed in each felly and their other endings meet in the hub. (Picture 1. – 25)] It is important to note that the wheels rotate independently of the axletrees.

The upper part of the vehicle, the one above the reach, is called the wagon bed which is the superstructure of the wagon. In most cases, there were two variants of the bed depending on the design of the cart-ladder. Accordingly, there were ladder and board wagons. In both cases, the cart-ladder is stabilised by two wooden rods called top rails [Picture 1. – 34), 35)] which are secured by side rungs.⁸ Both sides attach to the stakes which hold the cart-ladders. In order to be able to support larger weights, the cart-ladders are secured at the necessary spots with ironed car-stakes [Picture 1. – 32)] that are attached to the hub band [Picture 1. – 26)] sticking out of the hub. To protect the delivered goods, a canvas was often tied above the cargo space

Regarding harnessing, crossbars [Picture 1. – 4), 19)] are vital components as the singletrees [Picture 1. – 5)] exert the pulling force of the harnessed workstock through these parts. There are examples for its use in the 15th century, and for the use of the double shaft, as well, which allowed the harnessing of two or three horses.

The Hungarian and Bohemian vehicles built in the 19th and the 20th century show no significant difference in their structure compared to the analysed wagon. There are only two smaller dissimilarities that are worth mentioning. Firstly, Toman did not mention racks in his work. This is the component that closes the sides; one at the front (small rack) and one at the rear (big rack).⁹ Though it is true that only the small rack can be seen on the illustration of the etymology dictionary, and as it is written below, this component is completely missing from the medieval depictions.

The second difference may seem more serious; however, the contradiction is easy to solve. Toman calls the part helping the front axle to rotate *oplín* which in Hungarian may refer to both bogie and upper bolster. “The upper bolster lies on the front bolster and is attached to it with a main bolt, thus, allowing the wagon to rotate.”¹⁰ However, Bartoš’ volume clears that the term refers to the upper bolster.¹¹

⁸ The three wooden components elements between the rails that are depicted but not marked on picture 1.

⁹ PATAKI 2013. 39.

¹⁰ PATAKI 2013. 37.

¹¹ BARTOŠ 1895. 444.

It is important to note that the above analysed structure is typical of the military vehicles, as well, more specifically the 1882M military and the 1854M treasury vehicles used in the second part of the 19th century, and it is not solely a characteristic of the four-wheeled horse-drawn „civilian” delivery vehicles.¹² Taking a look at the structural elements of the running gear also shows that their structure is nearly the same as the one analysed above.¹³

THE BASIC CIVILIAN VEHICLE OF THE PERIOD

Inspecting if the delivery vehicles in the 15th century were similarly structured as the one analysed above is a harder task. Ethnographic collections may help as in the middle third of the previous century a late (20th century) descendant of a wagon model widely used in medieval Hungary was documented in them. At the time of the collecting, it was called the *salt delivery wagon* in the vernacular language. This is the so-called “loaded” or the “quintal-wagon”, which is a more archaic name, which Sándor Domanovszky studied. In his research, he found that the vehicle first appeared in 13th century custom tariffs, however, regarding its look he only found that this vehicle is a “curru magnus quod vulgo masa dicitur” that is “large vehicle generally referred to as quintal.”¹⁴ It was used in the contemporary trade especially in the northern and the north-western parts of the Carpathian Basin.¹⁵ Initially, the quintal-wagon was used to deliver fish between the contemporary Kingdom of Bohemia and the Kingdom of Hungary¹⁶ in the 13th and the 14th century, however, later it was also used for delivering salt. From the 16th century, it is called freight wagon.¹⁷

It is difficult to be specific regarding the carrying capacity of the vehicle. The “quintal” prefix does not allow for making conclusions as it is not the same as the metric centner that is believed to have Roman origins, which belief, however, was never proved indisputably. Due to the lack of sources, it cannot be determined how much mass it meant in medieval Hungary.¹⁸ Ortutay in his ethnographic lexicon considers the salt delivery wagon to be the descendant of the quintal-wagon whose carrying capacity was 200 wagon salt on mountain terrain and it would have been somewhat more than 250 wagon salt on plain terrain.¹⁹ However, the wagon salt was not a specified unit, thus, it is a deceiving starting point, as well. In fact, this unit of measurement existed, however, it meant a different amount in each region. For example, in the case of the salt donated to Szentgotthárd Abbey, the edge of the salt was 10 [Hungarian] royal inches

¹² The difference between the 1882M and 1854M is that the latter is more robust and designed for driveways, whereas, the 1882M has a lighter structure and can be used on rough roads, as well. Read more: FARKAS – FRÖHLICH 2015.

¹³ FARKAS – FRÖHLICH 2015. 252.

¹⁴ DOMANOVSZKY 1917. 38.

¹⁵ There is no sign of the use of quintal-wagons in the Hungarian Great Plain. DOMANOVSZKY 1917. 54.

¹⁶ Regarding customs policy, several Bohemian features appeared, such as borrowing the Moravian and Bohemian merchants’ privileges in 1344, during the reign of Charles I and Louis I.

¹⁷ Its late descendant is the salt delivery or the ironed wagon, which was 8 meters long with the pole.

¹⁸ Custom regulations sometimes contain *mensura cere non pure, quod vulgo masa dicitur* [measurement unit of the unpurified grain which is commonly called quintal], (WEISZ 2013) however, it doesn’t allow for a more specific definition.

¹⁹ ORTUTAY 1982. 463.

(26 cm) based on which the volume can easily be calculated (17.576 cm^3) and then the mass of the cube (cca. 38 kg), as well. However, the unit of measurement in this form was used only until the end of the 13th century.²⁰

As far as I know, only Jenő Szűcs's results can be used as a point of reference. Using Dománovszky's results, he found that three wagon models were used in medieval Hungary. One with large carrying capacity (*currus honeratus*), the quintal-wagon belonged to this "category",²¹ one lighter model (*parvus levus*), and he presumed the existence of an "intercategory".²² While studying the custom tariffs, Szűcs noticed that the sources regarding the middle 13th century customs of Buda mention wine delivery vehicles that could safely carry three barrels and each barrel had a capacity between 4 and 5.5 hl. From this, he concluded that the loading capacity of this vehicle was around 12 and 16.5 hl (1.2 and 1.6 t). This weight is roughly the same as what was meant by a wagonful of grain, which is 13.43 q (1.3 t).²³

Presumably, this carrying capacity did not change by the 14th and the 15th century. However, the inconsistency of the units of measurement and the vehicle terminology throughout the regions remained the same. The traffic custom of Bács was created in this period, which also mentions the *quintal-wagon* similarly to the 1326 traffic custom of Bosnya²⁴ and to the 1327 toll of Hídvég.²⁵ At the end of the 15th century, the term appears in the town privileges of Kézsmárk (Kežmarok, Slovakia), as well.²⁶ The extent of the carrying capacity in Máramaros also resembles those that were mentioned earlier. "The smallest quantity [viz. what was put on the wagons – note from me (TD)] exceeded 10 q, and the largest was 27 q."²⁷

As I have already referred to it multiple times, no detailed medieval written sources dealing with the structure of the contemporary delivery vehicles have been found yet. However, there are depictions of delivery vehicles used for military purposes (not for melee combat) in the period.²⁸ With their help and with the terminology found in the written primary source material,²⁹ it can be verified that there is no major difference between the medieval wagons and the wagons from the 19th century.

In Ulrich Beßnitzer's work titled *Zeughausinventar* there is a depiction of a (four-wheeled) wagon model.³⁰ The front and the rear wheels are the same size, each made with six spokes and

²⁰ F. ROMHÁNYI. 2016. 281.

²¹ An instance of this can be find in 1317 when in the custom of Bács a model of a "loaded wagon which was commonly called quintal" [*currus honerato quod vulgo masa dicitur*] was mentioned. HOkl. 187. Original quotation: WEISZ 2013. 457. *currus magnos summarios vulgo mazás szekér (sic!) vocatos*.

²² SZŰCS 1984. 19.

²³ Addition; the research estimated that the load capacity of the load carrying wagons moving between the mountain passes of Switzerland and Italy to be around the same size, thus, cca. 12.5 q. SZŰCS 1984. 19.

²⁴ „*uno magno currus honeroso, vulgariter masaa dicto*” ZICHY I. 277. Original quotation: WEISZ 2013. 458.

²⁵ „*currum, vulgo masaa dicto*” CD VIII/3. Original quotation: WEISZ 2013. 200–201. 459.

²⁶ „*currus magnos summarios, vulgo mazás szekér vocatos*” WAGNER 1774. I. 56.

²⁷ DRASKÓCZY, 178. o.

²⁸ There are depictions and drawings, however, the creators did not or barely left any notes or descriptions.

²⁹ Instances: the wagon bed (szekérderék in Hungarian) is „*zekerderekath*” in a document written in 1508, and the reach (nyújtórúd in Hungarian) is „*nwythorwd*” in a document written in 1493. SZAMOTA 1906. 703, 901.

³⁰ BEßNITZER 1480. 14r.

ironed rims.³¹ The car-stakes and another constituent that seems to be a running-board are easy to identify. The running gear cannot be seen; only the pole, the right hound and the crossbar is visible. The depiction is important for two reasons: firstly, the main structural elements are identifiable; secondly, it proves that transforming “civilian” vehicles into military ones was not a new practice. The depiction is an illustration for a list, thus, there is no note belonging to it.³²

In Philipp Mönch’s *Kriegsbuch*, one can see the running gear of a saddle wagon.^{33 34} Most likely it was used for military purposes (for gun barrel delivering to be more specific), however, it contains structural elements that were also present in the contemporary civilian vehicles. The depiction of the wheels is rather strange; they lack spokes, the depicter makes them look rotund, and the ironings seem to secure the fellies in a peculiar way. At the front of the running gear, one can see the pole, the hounds and the sway bar. The reach located above the front axletree is also visible, however, the structure is confusing here as it cannot be decided to what component the reach between the hounds and above the sway bar, which structure is typical of the modern vehicles, is attached. Though it is tempting for a researcher to identify it as an upper bolster but in the depiction the rear and the front of the running gear are nearly the same, and thus, this component can be seen at rear part as well. As a result, I must presume that it is a bolster. There is a sway bar at the rear part, as well, which is interesting and atypical nowadays.

The analysis of the contemporary imagery from this angle requires further study, however, the two earlier mentioned examples also show that the main structural components of the wagon already developed by not later than the 15th century.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE STRUCTURE OF THE CIVILIAN VEHICLE AND THE WAR WAGON

In the previous subsection, we learnt how the contemporary “civilian” vehicles looked like based on the written primary source material. Now, we shall research appearance of a vehicle that is transformed for military purposes. The Bohemian authors (and the Hungarians and other foreigners who use their works) often refer to Toman when studying the appearance of the war wagon.³⁵ However, referring to the contemporary laconic regulations, Toman only claims that the Hussite war wagon had no major differences compared to the “civilian” delivery vehicles apart from the massive and large wheels.³⁶

³¹ The manufacturing of the rims in the examined period is still in question. To answer, further research is required. According to a Czech work, the rim was firstly mentioned in 1628. VISINGER 2013. 22.

³² The first point of the list of things to be held in store were *large and well-built wagons*. [drey(!) gross wolgerüstet Wagen] Ibidem.

³³ A wagon used for carrying firearm barrels. The structure of its running gear is nearly the same as the running gear of a civilian vehicle. Read more: DOMOKOS 1997. 678., 696., 698.

³⁴ MÖNCH 1495. 13r.

³⁵ Example: DURDÍK 1952. 97., B. SZABÓ 2014. 459.

³⁶ TOMAN 1898. 197–198.

In the 15th century, multiple states regulated which vehicles were adequate for military use and how they were to be equipped.³⁷ It is important to note that there was a difference between a war wagon and a war wagon in the discussed period. The *streitwagen* mentioned in German sources that are written in the first third of the century is a delivery vehicle. The so-called *Silesian orders* of 1429 uses the same term and one of the passages order the use of strong wagons that have high-laddered sides and have a board fixed between and above the sides.³⁸ *The provision of the Teutonic Order* of 1433 mentions “a large, strong and ironed wagon with large wheels, which is wider than the other wagons”³⁹.

Though both texts use the *Streitwagen*, their use is different to that of the hussites’ war wagon. We learn about the rebels’ vehicle from the former condottiere Václav „Vlček“ z Čenova’s work in which he explains how the actual war wagon, the so-called *outer wagon* [*krajní vůz*] is supposed to look. He specified that it has to have a “...rampart ‘with pitchforks’(?) and holes [*taras s berlú a s děrú*] and a board [*prkno*] has to hang from the bottom of each so that the people and the horses are protected.”⁴⁰ The board underneath the wagon, which stops the enemy from crawling in, is mentioned in another work, as well. Hájek z Hodětína says that „...there shall be a board and a chain [*prkno a řetěz*] under the wagon.“⁴¹

I believe it is safe to say that the vehicle used in battles by the hussites is a variant of the contemporary high-carrying capacity delivery wagon, but it is more massive, it is fortified with ironings and has larger wheels. It is equipped with boarded cart-ladder with one side having an extra board with battlements and there was another board attached between the two axletrees vertically to the bottom of the wagon. It is the utility of the contemporary small arms that dominated the design of the war wagon.⁴²

SUMMARY

This article aimed to answer if the delivery vehicle of the Middle Ages is reconstructable, and to find the differences between the “civilian” vehicle and the war wagon. I divided the article into three segments regarding their content. After having studied the main structural elements of a traditional horse-drawn wagon based on the literature in the first segment, I aimed to identify these elements in the 15th century primary source material. In the third segment, I attempted to find the difference between the “civilian” and the “military” vehicles of the period.

I was working with one hypothesis: I presumed that the delivery vehicle used at the end of the Middle Ages and at the beginning of the Early modern period can be reconstructed which

³⁷ In this article I do not deal with the equipment (apart from the firearms) and only focus on the instructions regarding the structure.

³⁸ „....starker wagen soll sin in fassonwise mit hohen leitern (...) zwischen den leitern und under den leidern mit hagenden bretttern an starken wider oder ketten.“ Source: TOMAN 1898. 404.

³⁹ „einen guten, starken, grossen fuhrweyn mit hohen raden, die beslagen sin, und dass der etwas weiter sei, dann andere weyzen.“ Source: TOMAN 1898. 421.

⁴⁰ In: SVEJKOVSKÝ 1952. 52.

⁴¹ In: SVEJKOVSKÝ 1952. 41–42. Vlček added that a wagon should have two guns, two pounds of gun powder, stone bullets, arrows, iron-cramps and iron flails. In SVEJKOVSKÝ 1952. 52–53.

⁴² The vehicle in Vlček’s work is interestingly not a delivery vehicle as it helped the crew of the wagon in completing their task and achieve the proposed object. Read more: TÓTH 2017. 240.

allows for the researcher to figure out the structure of the war wagon. I believe the hypothesis was proven to be true: most of the parts of the running gear and the superstructure (bolster, axletrees, reach, crossbar, pole, stake, etc.) can be found in the researched period. The depictions used for the research (Beßnitzer's *Zeughausinventar* and Mönch's *Kriegsbuch*) seems to prove this undoubtedly, however, further research is required for confirmation. Regarding the major structural elements, there were few differences between the base vehicle and its variant transformed for military use. As the German instructions and the two Bohemian authors', Vlček's and Hájek's notes of embattle show, the hussites used some additional elements that aimed to defend the people on the vehicle. Therefore, as Hugo Toman also pointed it out, the vehicles used to create the war wagon are indeed similar to the vehicles built on the turn of the 19th and the 20th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- B. SZABÓ JÁNOS (2014): A huszita hadviselés hatása és adaptációja Kelet-Közép-Európában. In BÁRÁNY ATTILA – PÓSÁN LÁSZLÓ (Szerk.) „*Causa unionis, causa fidei, causa reformationis in capite et membris*” *Tanulmányok a konstanzi zsinat 600. évfordulójáról alkalmából*. Debrecen, Printart-Press Kft., 432–441.
- BESSNITZER, ULRICH (1480): *Zeughausinventar von Landshut*. Landshut.
- DOMANOVSKY SÁNDOR (1917): Mázsaszekér. In SZENTPÉTERY IMRE (Szerk.) *Emlékkönyv Fejérpataky László életének hatvanadik évfordulójára ünnepére*. Budapest, Franklin társulat. 37–74.
- DOMOKOS GYÖRGY (1997): A kassai királyi hadszertár fegyverzete és felszerelése a XVI–XVII. században az inventáriumok tükrében. *Hadtörténeti Közlemények* 110. évf. 4. sz. 667–747.
- DRASKÓCZI ISTVÁN (2018): *A magyarországi kőszó bányászata és kereskedelme (1440–1530-as évek)*. Budapest, MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont.
- DURDÍK, JAN (1952): *Husitské vojenství*. Praha, Naše Vojsko.
- ERNST JÓZSEF (1989): *Régi magyar fogatok*. Budapest, Téka Kiadó.
- FARKAS ZOLTÁN – FRÖHLICH DÁVID (2015): Az 1854M kincstári jármű és az 1882M országos jármű. Fogatolt szállítóeszközök az osztrák-magyar és a magyar haderőben a XIX–XX. században. *Katonai Logisztika* 23. évf. 2. sz. 250–275.
- F. ROMHÁNYI BEATRIX (2016): A beregi egyezmény és a magyarországi sókereskedelem az Árpád-korban. In Kovér György – Pogány Ágnes – Weisz Boglárka (főszerk.): *Válság – kereskedelelem. Magyar Gazdaságtörténeti Évkönyv 2016*. Budapest, MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont. 265–301.
- HÁJEK Z. HODĚTÍNA, JAN: Vojenské zřízení. in *Staročeské vojenské řady*, In SVEJKOVSKÝ, FRANTIŠEK (Edit.): *Staročeské vojenské řady*. Praha, 1952. Orbis Praha. 36–42.
- HOKL = NAGY IMRE – DEÁK FARKAS – NAGY GYULA (SZERK.): *Hazai oklevéltár 1234–1536*. Budapest, 1879.

- M. BARTOŠ, FRANTIŠEK (1895): *Dialektologie moravská II.* Brno, Matica Moravská.
- MÖNCH, PHILIPP (1496): *Kriegsbuch.* Heidelberg.
- ORTUTAY GYULA (főszerk.) (1982): *Magyar Néprajzi Lexikon III-IV.* Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.
- PATAKI BALÁZS (2013): *Magyar népi fogatok.* Budapest, Mezőgazda Kiadó.
- SZAMOTA ISTVÁN (1902–1906): *Magyar oklevél-szótár.* Budapest, Hornyánszky Viktor Könyvkereskedése.
- SZŰCS JENŐ (1984): A gabona árforradalma a 13. században. *Történelmi Szemle* 27. évf. 1–2. sz. 5–33.
- TARR LÁSZLÓ (1968): *A kocsi története.* Budapest, Corvina Kiadó.
- TOMAN, HUGO (1898): *Husitské válečnictví za doby Žižkovy a Prokopovy.* Praha, Česká Spoločnost' Náuk.
- TÓTH DOMINIK (2017): A huszita típusú hadiszékér alkalmazásának összehasonlítása a 20. század első harmadának mobilizálásra vonatkozó elgondolásaival. *Katonai Logisztika* 25. évf. 1–2. sz. 220–242.
- TÓTH ZOLTÁN (1916): A huszita eredetű szekérvár. *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 17. évf. 1–2. sz. 265–311.
- TÓTH ZOLTÁN (1918): A huszita szekérvár a magyar hadviselésben I–II. *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 19. évf. 1.sz. 1–32, 159–185.
- TURCSÁNYI KÁROLY et al. (2015): *Haderők és hadviselés az előtöltő fegyverek korában.* Budapest, HM Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum.
- VÁCLAV „VLČEK” z ČENOVA: Naučení o šikování jízdních, pěších i vozů. In SVEJKOVSKÝ, FRANTIŠEK (Edit.): *Staročeské vojenské rády.* Praha, 1952. Orbis Praha. 43–53.
- VISINGER, BOHUMIL (2013): *Analýza kovových součástí vozů ve středověku až raném novověku.* Bakalářská práce, Západočeská univerzita v Plzni, Plzeň.
- WAGNER, CAROLUS (1774): *Analecta Scepusii sacri et profani I.* Viennae.
- WEISZ BOGLÁRKA (2013): *A kirájketteje és az ispán harmada.* Budapest, MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont.
- ZICHY I. = NAGY IMRE ET AL. (SZERK.): *A zichi és vásonkeői gróf Zichy-család idősb ágának okmánytára I.* Pest–Budapest, 1871–1915.

JANCSÁK CSABA PHD, HABIL.

jancsak.csaba@szte.hu

college associate professor, head of department
(University of Szeged Department of Applied Social Sciences)

Whose Association Is It?

Three MEFESZ in History of Hungary



ABSTRACT

MEFESZ (Association of University and College Students, AHUCS), which is considered to have been the spark of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, was founded at the University of Szeged on 16 October 1956. The acronym (MEFESZ) appeared three times in the Hungarian history of the second half of the 20th century (in 1945, 1948, and 1956), and all three of them were youth and education organisations. The few years of the existence of each ‘MEFESZ’ has many lessons to teach.

The three organisations, abbreviated identically but different in long forms of their names, each had different objectives and roles. In this paper, we show that the 1956 AHUCS (the third MEFESZ) was not a successor to either of the earlier organisations: the first MEFESZ of the period of the “tentative democracy” (1945–1948) and the second MEFESZ (in the first period of the communist dictatorship, 1948–1950). The precursor of the 1956 revolution (MEFESZ₃, AHUCS) was a new grassroots initiative, grounded in democratic principles in its aims, programs, and missions. The 1956 AHUCS organisation was not an umbrella organisation of student associations like the first MEFESZ organisation. The founders of the 1956 AHUCS were deliberate in not seeking to become the sole, unified organisation of university youth (like MEFESZ₂).

KEYWORDS

Hungarian history 1945–1957, 1956 Hungarian Revolution, MEFESZ, student organisation, student association, student movement

DOI 10.14232/belv.2021.4.5

<https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2021.4.5>

Cikkre való hivatkozás / How to cite this article:

Jancsák Csaba (2021): Whose Association Is It? Three MEFESZ in History of Hungary. .

Belvedere Meridionale vol. 33. no. 4. 64–92. pp
ISSN 1419-0222 (print)
ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

(Creative Commons) Nevezd meg! – Így add tovább! 4.0 (CC BY-SA 4.0)

INTRODUCTION

MEFESZ₃, which is considered to have been the spark of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, was founded in the Auditorium Maximum of the University of Szeged on 16 October 1956. The acronym (MEFESZ) appeared three times in Hungarian history in the second half of the 20th century (1945, 1948, 1956). In all three cases, the organisations were actors in the field of youth and education. The short course of their history and the short existence of each MEFESZ bears many lessons. They serve as a mirror to illustrate the social conditions of the time and, at the same time, provide us with a deeper understanding of the political context. The basis for writing this study was the fact that, after the publication of my recent papers on the Hungarian revolutionary youth of 1956, the question of the name, and more precisely, whether the 1956 MEFESZ was the successor or legal successor of the earlier MEFESZes, was raised repeatedly in professional circles and in letters to me from readers. In this paper, I would like to answer this question by presenting the history of the events and the histories of the organisations and by analysing the future orientation and mission of the 1956 university student organisation.

The literature on the 1956 MEFESZ paints a confused picture of the organisation's name. This may be partly due to the historical proximity and similar "profiles" of the two earlier MEFESZes, and partly to the specificities of mass communication in October 1956. This may have led to a "misunderstanding by implication" that the 1956 MEFESZ₃ was a reorganisation of the former MEFESZ₁. Even the first newspaper report on the formation of the organisation on 18 October 1956 contained a misnomer: "As a result of the debate, a new youth organisation, the United Association of Hungarian University and College Students, was formed..."¹

In 1967, after the revolution, in a work written under the Kádár dictatorship, János Molnár first described the organisation as a "recreation" of the youth organisation of the post-1945 coalition era.² This misstatement was reflected in the literature published in that era and in some of the literature written after the regime change.³

The following is a summary of the history of the three organisations. First, it should be noted that the abbreviation for the association formed in 1956 is MEFSZ. The second "e" is an inserted sound to ease pronunciation (MEFeSZ).⁴

¹ Délmagyarország, issue of 18 October, 1956.

² MOLNÁR 1967. 37.

³ BERTÉNYI – GYAPAY 1992. 600., SZENTIRMAI – RÁCZNÉ 1999. 27., ROMSICS 1999. 385., MOLNÁR – KŐRÖSI – KELLER 2006. 372., SOMLAI 2016. 10.

⁴ My statement that the second [e] sound – common in the Hungarian language – was included in the abbreviation to ease pronunciation was first published in our book Hungarian Association of University and College Students 1956 – Szeged, pp.159-168, based on our first interview with Tamás Kiss. "It was never, never the Me that was pushed to the foreground, but always the Us" (interview with Tamás Kiss, on pages 159-168 of the book, as note 4 on page 161. See Kiss 2002. 161

THE ALLIANCE OF HUNGARIAN UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGE ASSOCIATIONS (1945–1948), THE FIRST MEFESZ (MEFESZ₁)

The Alliance of Hungarian University and College Associations (AHUCA, Magyar Egyetemi és Főiskolai Egyesületek Szövetsége, MEFESZ₁) was founded on 12 August 1945 at a youth conference held in Balatonlelle.⁵ This umbrella organisation of student associations was established on the initiative of the Hungarian Democratic Youth Association (MADISZ).⁶

MADISZ was born in Debrecen on 7 December 1944. On 7 January 1945, it also started its activity in Szeged. The national leadership of MADISZ was established in Budapest on 23 April 1945. MADISZ was not only an organisation of higher education students. “*At that time, MADISZ was an independent, democratic youth organisation that did not belong to any political party, but the political influence of the MKP was strongly felt in its activities all along. [...] The political influence of the Communist Party was indirectly exerted through the communist youth and youth leaders working in the organisations: Ágnes Bakó, Jenő Hazai, András Hegedűs, Ervin Hollós⁷, István Kende, Béla Koós, György Nonn, Béla Szalai⁸, Hédi Vitéz, as well as through the communists working in the local organisations.*”⁹

⁵ See MICHELLER 1992 for more details.

⁶ CSIKÓS 1979. 60.

⁷ Ervin Hollós (originally: Holzsclag), (1923–2008), communist party worker. From 1938, he was secretary of the youth group of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party (MSZDP). Member of the illegal Communist Party. After completing six years of elementary school and then the party school in 1950–53, he was admitted to the Faculty of Humanities at ELTE, where he studied history. In the 1950s, he worked as a youth secretary of the MDP. From 1952 to 1956, he was secretary of the central leadership of DISZ. As a DISZ representative, he took part in the debates of the Petőfi Circle and took an extreme Stalinist position. During the 1956 revolution, he stayed in the Party House in Köztársaság Square and later in the Parliament. After 4 November, at the personal request of János Kádár, he was transferred to the Ministry of Interior. In 1956–1957 he worked at the Investigation Department of the political police in Gyorskoci utca. He was a leading figure in the post-revolutionary repression. From June 1957, as a police lieutenant-colonel, he was deputy head of Department II/5 of the Ministry of Interior. In 1961, he was appointed head of the Ministry of Interior’s Counter-Internal Reaction Department. From 1962, he was deputy head of the Marxism-Leninism Education Department of the Ministry of Education and a university lecturer at the Budapest University of Technology. His books on 1956 are today seen as examples of the falsification of history about the period. See HOLLÓS 1967 and HOLLÓS–LAJTAI 1986, and EÖRSI 2006.

⁸ Béla István Szalai (1922–2008) communist politician, economist. He studied economics at the Technical University of Budapest. In 1943, he joined the Hungarian Peasant Association and became a member of the Community of Peasant College Students. In January 1945, he was elected head of the economic department of the Hungarian Democratic Youth Association (MADISZ). From then on, he was a member of the Hungarian Communist Party. He worked in the youth secretariat of the MKP and in the party’s general secretariat. He graduated in 1946. In 1947–1948, he was President of the Association of Hungarian University and College Associations (MEFESZ₁). In 1949, he was General Secretary and later Vice-President of the Hungarian Youth People’s Association (MINSZ), the central youth organisation set up by the Communist dictatorship. In June 1953, he became a member of the MDP Central Executive Committee (KV) and an alternate member of the Political Committee (PB). He was the Minister of Light Industry from 30 October 1954 to 8 September 1955. He was a member of the anti-Imre Nagy party line. He played no part in the 1956 revolution.

⁹ Csiikós 1979. 60.

The first president of the Alliance of Hungarian University and College Associations was Pál Jónás¹⁰, who believed that “after the clearing of the ruins and the reconstruction of the country, which had gone through so much suffering, a democratic, happy and balanced era was ahead”¹¹, but soon the “destruction of the democratic, independent-minded young generation striving for revolutionary and social truths and social achievements began.”¹² On 22 November 1945, statutes of the Alliance of Hungarian University and College Associations were adopted in the second Student Parliament.

On May 28-29 1946, a national student leaders’ meeting was held in Szeged, organised by the Students of the University of Szeged (Szegedi Egyetemi és Főiskolai Ifjúság, SZEFI). The president of SZEFI was László Péter. The president of the national umbrella organisation, AHUCA (MEFESZ₁), was Pál Jónás. Erik Molnár¹³, Minister of National Welfare and Dezső Keresztfury¹⁴, Minister of Religion and Education also attended the meeting. In September 1946, in the first issue of the newspaper University Life, they published their position on the reorganisation of the national umbrella organisation, the Alliance of Hungarian University and College Associations (MEFESZ₁):

- 1. All university or college students automatically become members of the faculty or other unit organisations upon enrolment. Membership carries both rights and obligations.*
- 2. 2% of the tuition fees shall be transferred by the Minister of Culture to the faculty unit organisation.*
- 3. Three unit organisations should be set up in Budapest: one at Pázmány Péter University, one made up of the faculty associations of the Technical University, and one of the colleges.*
- 4. MEFESZ should be structured as follows: the Board should be elected by democratically elected representatives in proportion to the number of young people enrolled (one per 300) and sent to the Central Executive Committee (Központi Intéző Bizottság, KIB). In addition to the Board (which is the executive body), there is also a Co-Chairs’ Committee (Társelnöki Bizottság, TB), a decision-making body made up of the presidents of six unit organisations (Pázmány Péter University, Technical University, colleges, University of Pécs, University of*

¹⁰ Pál Jónás (1922–1998) studied economics at Pázmány Péter University from 1940. In 1942, he joined the far-right Turul Alliance, later becoming its cultural vice-president. After the Arrow Cross coup d'état following the German occupation of Hungary on 20 December 1944, he was arrested by the Arrow Cross and handed over to the Gestapo, but managed to escape while being transported to prison. In January 1945, he helped found MADISZ. He was president of MEFESZ when he got interrogated by ÁVO in 1947 as they were preparing a show trial, after which he resigned. He was arrested in October 1948 and detained in Kistarcsa and then in Recsk until 1953. On 27 June 1956, he took part in the Petőfi Circle press debate. After the Soviet intervention, he left the country and settled in the United States and then in Mexico. See also: JÓNÁS 1971.

¹¹ BENKŐ 1964. 13–14.; JÓNÁS 1971.

¹² BENKŐ 1964. 13–14.

¹³ Erik Molnár (1894–1966) was a historian, philosopher, economist, lawyer and politician, professor at ELTE. Between December 1944 and October 1956, he was involved in all Hungarian governments. From 1944 to September 1947, he was Minister of National Welfare. Minister of Justice from September 1947 to August 1948. President of the Supreme Court from 1953 to October 1956, Minister of Justice in October. After 1956, he was ousted from power.

¹⁴ Dezső Keresztfury (1904–1996) writer, poet, literary historian, critic, literary translator, university professor, member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He completed his university studies at the Eötvös College, and obtained his degree in Hungarian and German Studies in 1928. From 1945 to 1947, he was Minister of Religion and Education as a member of the National Peasant Party. Between 1945 and 1948, he was the principal of Eötvös College. From 1948 to 1950, he worked in the library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and from 1950 until his retirement, he worked in the National Széchényi Library.

Debrecen, University of Szeged). Without the TB, important decisions (action before ministries, representation abroad, political position, etc.) cannot be taken. The Political Committee, consisting of two university or college students who are party delegates from each coalition party, also works alongside the Board as an advisory body with a political perspective.

5. There is no quorum in either the KIB or the TB meetings without a representative of the universities in the countryside. A KIB membership may be delegated to another person by written mandate on a case-by-case basis.

6. Universities in the countryside have only unit organisations: faculty organisations have a high degree of autonomy.

7. The sports clubs (BEAC, DEAC, PEAC, and SZEAC) function as sports departments of the unit organisations and have appropriate autonomy.

8. The press of MEFESZ is a weekly newspaper (four pages). Its editors shall be appointed by the TB as an editorial board on the proposal of the MEFESZ Board.”¹⁵

The following year, a communist leadership took over the Federation of Hungarian University and College Associations. The leadership, which had been under constant pressure¹⁶ (Secretary General Jenő Hám, Board Member László Németh, and President Pál Jónás) resigned, and Béla Szalai, who at the time was working in the Youth Secretariat of MKP, became President.¹⁷ From 1947 onwards, the leadership of the Alliance of Hungarian University and College Associations moved away from the multiparty pluralism advocated when it was founded. From then on, it sought “unified communist leadership in the life of university and college student associations”¹⁸. From this point onwards, the diverse youth civil scene was in its final days. “Unity” became the keyword. In the process of building up the communist dictatorship, the creation of a “unified” (i.e. uniformly communist) university youth organisation entered its final phase. As a result, an event took place that symbolically expressed the fact that the organisation had become communist-led. On 20 January 1948, MEFESZ₁ removed the statues of István Werbőczy¹⁹ and Maria Theresa²⁰ from the Pantheon in Szeged’s Dóm Square.²¹ The event was portrayed in the press as an act of young people representing progressive ideas. This was the action of a small group of people. In the spring of 1948, the Szeged Unit of the Alliance of Hungarian University and College Associations had eight faculty groups with 20 active students (out of nearly 1,500 university and college students).²²

¹⁵ The document is published in HEGYI 1987. 315–316.

¹⁶ President Pál Jónás was arrested in connection with the so-called anti-republican conspiracy and interrogated at 60 Andrásy utca. See also JÓNÁS 1971.

¹⁷ SZALAI 1970.

¹⁸ MICHELLER 1992. 139.

¹⁹ István Werbőczy (1458–1541) Hungarian jurist, royal magistrate, royal personal representative, the governor of Hungary, author of the Tripartitum (1514). In these books the legal rules and customary laws of contemporary Hungary were written down.

²⁰ Maria II, full name in German: Maria Theresia Walburga Amalia Christina (1717–1780), Queen of Hungary from 1740 to 1780.

²¹ Szegedi Hírlap. 21 January 1949

²² László Perjés, Secretary of the Youth Executive Committee of the MKP in Szeged, reports to the Central Executive Committee of the MKP. 11 May 1948.

This period is well illustrated by the statement of Gyula Técsy, a law student and member of the board of the Alliance of Hungarian University and College Associations: “*We, university youths, are also trying to do our part in preparing the creation of youth unity; we are trying to raise from our ranks members who will be able to lead the united youth organisation, together with the young people of the working class and the working peasantry.* Mátyás Rákosi²³ recently announced the need to review the leadership of mass organisations. This was also a topical political issue in Szeged, and following the criticism, an internal change took place, which brought MEFESZ closer to the youth organisation that was to be formed.”²⁴

From our overview of organisational history so far, the political-organisational tactics that the Communist Party preferred to use during the period of so-called “tentative democracy”²⁵ are clearly visible. The political organisers of the time held the view that whoever held the leadership of youth organisations represented the youth, and whoever represented the youth controlled the masses of youth. The attack to gain control of the youth took several directions.

One tactic was to gain control over youth and student organisations. This was done by the communist core, who became a stronger voice, more assertive in its leadership, and aggressive in its rhetoric. The close cooperation of this minority with the power structures of the emerging dictatorship made the leaders of the organisations representing the majority of young people more insecure and increasingly silent. At the same time, their withdrawal and resignation were accompanied by an increase in the number of communist sympathisers in the leadership. In this way, the “communist voice” in the leadership increasingly prevailed in decision-making.

The other tactic was to support the foundation of many organisations. In the struggle for youth leadership, as an increasing number of organisations were created, the boundaries that distinguish one organisation from another became blurred. Differences in ideology, social status, religion, and values have become indistinguishable and entangled. In this confusion, the disciplined and purposeful cooperation of communist youth organisers made their actions more effective. The voices of non-communist youth organisations were less visible in the communist-controlled mass media. For young people, this gave the impression that all the organisations were on the extreme left.

The third tactic, aimed at gaining youth representation, was to “create leadership”. More specifically, the idea was to create a top position in a reconstituted hierarchy with leadership functions and competencies. This was done in such a way that the organisations, already occupied by the communists themselves, requested, or even demanded, that a top organisation should be created to exercise control over the existing organisations. A so-called umbrella organisation was set up above and from outside all of the youth organisations. “From outside” in this case meant a political power outside the organisation, while “above” meant the creation of an apex organisation above the existing organisations.

“From the autumn of 1946, the tone of the discourse on democracy became more and more strident, the stigmatizing exclusionary tendencies of the communist side intensified, while in

²³ Mátyás Rákosi (until 1903 Mátyás Rosenfeld, 1892–1971) was the General Secretary and then First Secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party and the Hungarian Workers’ Party between 1945 and 1956, and also President of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People’s Republic in 1952–1953.

²⁴ *Délvidéki Hírlap* 24 March 1950

²⁵ The period from the end of World War II to the beginning of the establishment of the communist dictatorship in Hungary (1945–1948). See Botos et al 1988, Gyarmati 2011

daily political practice the law enforcement agencies were increasingly active in providing constructed evidence on the mine-laying activities carried out by the enemies of the new social order. By 1947, it became clear that the communists believed that the right to politics did not apply to all actors, but only to those who respected the end they had set themselves; by 1949, they had come to openly admitting that popular democracy was essentially a form of communist dictatorship.”²⁶

In February 1948, the Political Committee (Politikai Bizottság, PB) of the Hungarian Communist Party (Magyar Kommunista Párt, MKP) decided to establish a unified youth organisation. With the establishment of the Hungarian Youth People’s Association (MINSZ) in March 1948, “*the party struggle to win over the youth came to an end*”.²⁷ The leaders of the organisation (György Nonn, president; Zsigmond S. Nagy and János Gosztonyi²⁸, vice-presidents; Ervin Hollós, secretary general) held communist views.

UNIFIED ORGANISATION OF HUNGARIAN UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGE STUDENTS (1948–1950), THE SECOND MEFESZ (MEFESZ₂)

From 1947 onwards, the communists began to seize power using the Stalinist model and tactics. Opposing leaders were ousted by the parties forming the governing coalition. In June 1948, the Hungarian Workers’ Party (HWP, Magyar Dolgozók Pártja, MDP) was formed through a merger of the Social Democratic Party (Szociáldemokrata Párt, SZDP) and the Communist Party (Magyar Kommunista Párt, MKP). The party was under communist control. By this time, all the parties had been successfully “salami-sliced”, and the leaders and prominent members of the parties that had been in operation since 1945 had, almost without exception, either already been arrested or forced into emigration or collaboration. On 1 February 1949, the former coalition parties (Independent Smallholders’ Party, Független Kisgazdapárt, FKGP, Nemzeti Parasztpárt, National Peasants’ Party, NPP), led by politicians willing to collaborate with the communists, were forced into a united front with MDP (and led by the communists) and the Hungarian Independence People’s Front (Magyar Függetlenségi Népfront, Peoples’ Front). The first one-party election was held in 1949. Only the candidates of the People’s Front could be voted for. The list of candidates was drawn by the MDP.

²⁶ Kiss 2020. 151. For more details see: Medgyesi 2017.

²⁷ CSIKÓS 1979. 66.

²⁸ János Gosztonyi (1925–1985) was a politician. Graduated from high school in 1942, then studied economics at the Royal Hungarian József Nádor University of Technology and Economics in Budapest. Between 1943 and 1944, and again between 1946 and 1949, he lived in the Győrffy Dormitory, where he became involved in youth movements. From 1945 he was an organiser of the Hungarian Democratic Youth Association in Celldömölk and an activist of the Hungarian Communist Party. From 1946 he was head of the organizational department of the People’s Youth League (NISZ) and later deputy secretary general. Between 1946 and 1948 he represented the NISZ in the Association of Hungarian University and College Associations. In 1948 he joined the Hungarian Workers’ Party. He was a member of the Presidential Council from 1953 to 1963.

The People's Front list received 95.6% of the votes. After the elections, the installation of communist dictatorship began. Under the 1949 Constitution, the Hungarian People's Republic was born. All aspects of the economy, society, education, science, and culture were nationalised. Planned economy was introduced and the council system was established following the Soviet model. "The autonomy of the branches of power and administration became a semblance. The MDP manually controlled the actual functioning of politics."²⁹

The fifth Student Parliament of the Alliance of Hungarian University and College Associations (AHUCA, MEFESZ₁) held in the spring of 1948 changed the name to Unified Organisation of Hungarian University and College Students (UOHUCS, Magyar Egyetemisták és Főiskolások Egységes Szervezete, MEFESZ₂), following the example of the Stalinist monolithic system.³⁰ The acronym "MEFESZ" was retained.³¹

At this milestone, we must pause for a moment. As we shall see later, when we come to the history of the birth of AHUCS (Association of Hungarian University and College Students, Magyar Egyetemisták és Főiskolások Szövetsége, MEFESZ₃) in 1956, despite the similarity of the organisational name, there are fundamental differences between the two earlier MEFESZes (AHUCA and UOHUCS) and the MEFESZ (AHUCS) born in 1956, which are the result of different conceptions of democracy.

Born in 1945, the MEFESZ₁ organisation was established as an umbrella organisation of the diverse scenario of university and college student associations, and then, in the transformation of 1948, MEFESZ₂ defined itself as a monolithic higher education student organisation. Instead of the former self-organising associations at the faculty or university level, from the autumn of 1948, students could only join this single, uniformed student organisation, seemingly by voluntary declaration of membership.

From 1948 onwards, the Hungarian Youth People's Association (HYPA, Magyar Ifjúság Népi Szövetsége, MINSZ) managed the Unified Organisation of Hungarian University and College Students (UOHUCS, MEFESZ₂).³² As a result, it played an inglorious role in the university "reform" from 1949 onwards, in the removal of lecturers and students by means of show hearings and disciplinary measures in the name of the fight against reaction. From the autumn of 1949 on, the leadership of the Unified Organisation of Hungarian University and College Students (UOHUCS), on the basis of MDP guidelines, advocated the creation of a unified youth organisation (and thus the abolition of the UOHUCS).³³

This shows that by 1950, the communist dictatorship gradually eroded and dismantled former youth organisations.

It did so by channelling it into the HYPA (MINSZ), which then merged into the Union of Working Youth (UWJ, Dolgozó Ifjúság Szövetsége, DISZ) created on 18 June 1950. DISZ was the only centralised organisation for young people aged 14–26 (following the Soviet model).

²⁹ Kiss 2020. 153.

³⁰ The Soviet Komsomol, which served as the model, celebrated its 30th anniversary in 1948. See also. *Szabad Nép* 17 October 1948.

³¹ A turnaround among young people. *Szabad Nép* 12 May 1948.

³² The Hungarian Youth People's Association (MINSZ) was founded in Budapest on 22 March 1948, and the dissolution of MADISZ was declared.

³³ HOLLÓS 1949.

Lajos Szűcs was appointed to be the first secretary general of DISZ, and János Gosztonyi, István Kádas, and György Várhegyi became secretaries. János Gosztonyi, the secretary of the Central Executive Committee of DISZ, published his thoughts in the January 1956 issue of University Youth: “*We want a youth unity at the universities based on the world view of Marxism-Leninism and the unified pursuit of the policies of our party. It is therefore necessary that the dominant, leading role in the universities should be played by communist students. [...] But this [...] can only be worked out if we pursue a consistent class policy without wavering, which includes a majority of students of working class and peasant origin. The majority of students must come from the ranks of the working class and the working peasantry.*”³⁴

Under the higher education admission system in effect from that time onwards, the proportion of students of non-working class or peasant origin (so-called “origin X”) could not exceed ten per cent of the total number of students admitted.

During the next five years (1950–1955), the leadership of DISZ became a part of the party nomenclature. In 1955, DISZ had seven hundred thousand members.³⁵

THE ASSOCIATION OF HUNGARIAN UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGE STUDENTS (1956–1957) THE THIRD MEFESZ (MEFSZ, MEFESZ, MEFESZ₃)

In the autumn of 1956, Hungary’s universities, especially in Budapest and Szeged were in ferment. The first event leading to this was the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) held on 14–25 February 1956.

In a four-hour speech at a closed session of the Congress, the party’s number one leader, Khrushchev³⁶, “exposed” the crimes of Stalin and Stalinism. The manipulative purpose and Janus-faced nature of this “unmasking” is illustrated by the fact that the speech was not heard live by the foreign delegations attending the congress, and the party leaders of the socialist camp and the French and Italian communist leaders were not privy to the content of the secret speech until two days later. From the speech, the main elements of which had already been formulated at the meeting of the Central Committee of the USSR Communist Party held a week before the congress³⁷, and from the press coverage in Hungary, which was based on the MTI reports³⁸, could be interpreted by the citizens of the states under the Russian yoke as a kind of intention and aspiration for regime reform.³⁹ The 20th Congress had a strong impact on the countries of the Eastern Bloc, including Hungary. Among party members, questions of how the system could be repaired and mended

³⁴ Egyetemi Ifjúság 1956. január 11. 1.

³⁵ TÓTH 1984.

³⁶ Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev (1894–1971) Russian-born Soviet communist politician. After Stalin’s death, 1953 from 1964 First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

³⁷ FURSZENKO 2004. See also: BARÁTH 2006.

³⁸ Hungarian Telegraphic Office (MTI) is the Hungarian National News Agency

³⁹ MTI international news 14–18 February 1956. 1.

(including the assertion of collective leadership, the rehabilitation of the victims of show trials, “anti-dogmatism” and “anti-Stalinism”) were raised.

Tamás Kiss, the compiler of the political programme of AHUCS (MEFESZ₃) and the spokesman for the academic and political demands at the General Assembly on 20 October, talked about the “social climate change” of the early autumn of 1956 as follows. *“A year earlier, it was unheard of that students would talk about political issues among themselves, even in a corner, in a dormitory room, or in a private conversation. It was taboo. Simply no one dared to risk voicing an opinion even if they had one. By September 1956, it had become clear that something was about to change. Something was going to happen, something was happening around us.”*⁴⁰

From the early autumn of 1956, discussions began between Tamás Kiss, András Lejtényi, Iván Abrudbányai, János Aszalós, Imre Tóth, Miklós Vető, and other students at the University of Szeged, about what courses of action could be considered to achieve a freer student life.

Between 10 and 13 October, a letter arrived in Szeged. The letter was sent to Helmut Alaksza, a second-year law student at the University of Szeged, by Károly Román, a humanities student in Budapest (ELTE). The letter, dated 10 October, was signed “From the students of humanities in Budapest”. It was unknown under what circumstances the letter was written. According to this letter, *“the spirit of Congress broke the shackles of ideas. Today, the concepts of democracy and socialism are beginning to take substance. [...] The aim of the demonstration of the students of Budapest on 6 October was to tear apart the fears that had been weighing on souls and to restore the right to free expression. This was our first step and the next step will be determined by the current political situation. However, while we give voice to the demands of the masses, we cannot disregard our own situation either. The current university education system is producing intellectual cripples, not knowledgeable professionals, and despite the fact that state leadership knows this as well as we do, no action has been taken to remedy the situation so far. We are forced to act! Our first step must be to make the Russian language optional. [...] Note that teaching the Russian language in this way is a consequence of Russian chauvinism, which was fed by Stalinism. We therefore call on you to join us in a united strike on 22 October 1956 for the Russian language to be made optional.”*⁴¹

In the first days of October, Kiss, Lejtényi, and Tóth visited the medical school dormitory and the liberal arts dormitory, and organised and presented their ideas for the creation of a new university student union. During these days, they spoke to the rector of the University of Szeged (Dezső Baróti), to whom they explained the need for the creation of an advocacy organisation and talked about the planned organisation’s structure and objectives. The university rector said that he would support the students’ association if it was established.

On the morning of 15 October, the draft of the organisational rules of the new association and the provisional name “Students’ Association” (Diákszövetség) were adopted at the University Students’ Club.

On 16 October, a meeting with DISZ took place at the student club. At the meeting, András Lejtényi and Tamás Kiss presented their positions on Russian language education and student representation to the participants. During the meeting, they stressed that they definitely wanted to create a new youth association.

⁴⁰ Kiss 2000. 53.

⁴¹ Published in Kiss 2002. 175.

According to István Sipos, DISZ secretary, the MEFESZ₃ organisers set 5pm as the starting time for the student assembly. However, the DISZ leadership had previously been informed that because of the public mood in the student club, many students would turn up for the 5pm meeting and would “*declare DISZ dissolved*”⁴². Therefore, with the aim of disconnecting the crowd from the leaders, they organised a large rally in the university’s main lecture hall, the Auditorium Maximum⁴³ at the same time as the meeting, and advertised it on hand-drawn posters.

István Sipos recalled that “*Contrary to what had previously been announced, they refused to develop a common position with us and threatened to invoke the masses. Finally, Lejtényi and Tamás Kiss in particular interrupted further discussions, and the MEFESZ representatives present, upon Lejtényi’s words, “come on guys, the masses are waiting”, got up and left for the university building in Ady Square, where most of the youth were already together.*”⁴⁴

From the student club, the organisers of the new student union and the leaders of DISZ started in two directions. Kiss, Lejtényi, and other students went to AudMax (to their fellow students), and the DISZ leaders went to the university party committee to ask for further guidance. However, they did not receive any guidance there, as the inertia of the “ancien régime” had already shown. “*By the time we got there (Sipos later said) the students had already started the meeting, and the crowd was so big that we could hardly get into the hall.*”⁴⁵

On arrival at AudMax, Tamás Kiss and András Lejtényi stepped up to the podium and opened the meeting. Tamás Kiss greeted the audience and introduced his fellow students, and Lejtényi said that the attendees were patriots who had started a movement for students’ rights. Then the students formed a student union, the Hungarian Association of University and College Students (AHUCS, Magyar Egyetemisták és Főiskolások Szövetsége, MEFESZ₃). In the first part of the meeting, the necessity, aims, principles, and organisational framework of the organisation were discussed. Then Tamás Kiss took the floor. He spoke about the fact that the association would also make academic and social demands, and that this would happen at the programme-forming meeting on 20 October, which was to take place after the faculty meetings where the faculty demands would be formulated. At that time, academic demands were raised. The atmosphere began to intensify. One participant, József Görög, a DISZ leader, recalled that “*before the meeting, several party members, and the DISZ functionaries agreed that they would try to move the meeting back on track by their comments. But they couldn’t, as some of their speakers were jeered and booed by the participants.*”⁴⁶ The mood of the meeting changed from minute to minute. In his speech, Tivadar Putnik, a humanities student, argued in favour of making political demands. Putnik’s proposal demanded the removal of the Russian troops. The AHUCS organisers then suggested that the issue of AHUCS (MEFSZ, MEFESZ₃) demands should be closed now and that the formulation of demands should continue on the 20th. At the end of the meeting, it was decided that the Steering Committee of AHUCS should draw up the organisational rules and

⁴² Testimony of István Sipos, 26 August 1957 CSML XXV. 9/b. Criminal Court records of Szeged County Court. B. 1249/1957

⁴³ Ibid

⁴⁴ Ibid

⁴⁵ Ibid

⁴⁶ Service report 23 August 1957. B.M. Csongrád County Police Headquarters Political Investigation Department, Szeged.

program and then resubmit them for adoption at the General Assembly on 20 October. Several demands were repeated and rewarded with enthusiastic applauses. According to secretary László Székely, these were the main demands:

1. *Withdrawal of Soviet troops*
2. *Public hearing of Mihály Farkas*
3. *Imre Nagy to the leadership*
4. *Review of commercial contracts*
5. *Termination of the Warsaw Treaty and neutrality.*⁴⁷

"It was a noisy night. (Tamás Kiss told us in an interview with him) Although a few of us, Lejtényi, Gönczöl, myself, Imre Tóth, about six or eight of us, the most agile members of this group, walked over to one of the dorms. We drafted (on a little typewriter) a letter addressed to all the students in the country: Join us!"⁴⁸ The text of the call was as follows:

"Student Brothers! We, the students of the University of Szeged, the Medical University of Szeged, the College of Pedagogy of Szeged, and the College of Music Teacher Training formed our own university youth organisation on 16 October 1956, the Association of Hungarian University and College Students. Our aim is the freedom of thought so that we can brush off the burden forced on us by Stalin and Rákosi. We want to defend our special student interests, and we want to go on and develop free. DISZ – as we see it and as the leading board of DISZ also admits – has lost the confidence of the youth and is also lagging far behind the Party in its development. We cannot wait for it to catch up. We cannot wait until the house collapses upon us. That is why we, in the spirit of the 20th Congress, have formed a new, independent organisation which only represents the interests of the college and university students of today. We, the students of Szeged took the first step, we call you to join us!!!

Let's expand MEFSZ into a nationwide organisation! Brothers of us! It is about you as well, Your interests are at stake. United we stand! Join MEFSZ! Szeged, 17 October 1956, The Szeged MEFSZ"⁴⁹

⁴⁷ László Székely's interrogation report of 28 August 1957.

⁴⁸ Interview with Tamás Kiss. Published in: Kiss 2002. 138.

⁴⁹ Published in Jancsák 2016. 221.

DÍKAKTUS - TÜZÜRSZERELÉK !

Mi, a Szegedi Tudományegyetem, a Szegedi Orvostudományegyetem, a Szegedi Pedagógiai Főiskola, a Szegedi Zenetanárképző hallgatói 1956 október 16-án létrehoztuk saját egyetemi ifjúsági szervezetünket a Magyar Egyetemisták és Főiskolások Szövetségét. Műlünk a gondolat, ^{SZEGED} a Szatlin és Rákosi által ránkként írtott szellemi iga lenne. Meg akarjuk védeni hajátos egyetemisták érdekeinket, szabadon akarunk haladni, fejlődni.

A DISSZ - tapasztalatunk szerint, melyet maga a DISSZ Központi Vezetősége is beismerte elvezetésére az ifjúság bízalmát, szemkívül meneszt elmaradt fejlődésben a Párt miatt. Mi nem várhatjuk meg, amíg utoléri! Nem várhatunk, mert fejünkre ér a bázis. Ezért, a XX. Kongresszus szellemében egy új, a MEFSZ-tól teljesen független ifjúsági szervezetet hozunk létre, amely kizártan részleg a műszaki egyetemisták és főiskolások érdekeit képviseli. Mi, a szegediak megtettük az elég lépést, felhívunk benneteket.

CSATLAKOZÁSI CÉLUNK !!!

Terjesszük ki országos méretűvé a MEFSZ-t!

Munkastérium is emiatt, a Te érdekeid fürgések keckén. Egyetértenek vele,

CSATLAKOZZ AZ MEFSZ-hez!!!

Szeged, 1956. október 17.

A szegedi MEFSZ.

This meeting was reported in the 18 October issue of the daily Délmagyarország: “*MEFESZ was formed, or rather, its Szeged branch, which operates alongside DISZ, and the inaugural meeting turned into a mass rally. The young people sharply criticised the present form and system of teaching foreign languages, Marxism-Leninism, and national defense, and also decided to address the country’s leaders with their demands on certain issues of political life. They demand, among other things, the abolition of the death penalty, a public trial of those found guilty of wrongdoings – above all in the Rajk case – the equalisation of salaries, the settlement of salaries for the low-paid, an alliance with Yugoslavia, and the improvement of information.*”⁵⁰ In this report, the paper did not give a full account of the students’ demands (e.g. the demand for democratic elections or the withdrawal of foreign troops was not reported).

In the following days, Szeged’s higher education institutions held faculty meetings and created demands reflecting the specificities of their faculties. During these days, Tamás Kiss and András Lejtényi (together with the students involved in the organisation of AHUCS⁵¹) held negotiations with DISZ. In these negotiations, the DISZ leaders focused on the need for AHUCS (MEFESZ₃) to define itself not as an independent organisation, but as part of DISZ. During the days of 18-19 October, the AHUCS organisers agreed “*that DISZ has been discredited and that the name of the new organisation should be AHUCS. [...] The position of AHUCS was that AHUCS should be independent of DISZ until the DISZ’s honour was restored.*”⁵² It was made clear to the DISZ leaders⁵³ that an independent and grassroots organisation would be set up as a student self-government representing the interests of a specific group of students. The minutes of the meeting on the AHUCS’s (MEFESZ₃) statutes, held in the student club on 17 October, state: “*We will operate independently of DISZ. [...] We distance ourselves from DISZ. If DISZ regains the lost confidence, we will not be needed anyway [...] We will not hand over power to DISZ. [...] The common, unifying organisation should not be called DISZ. Our relationship with the DISZ is clear; yesterday’s members’ meeting said so. The name of the comprehensive body should not be DISZ either.*”⁵⁴

The new organisation held its second general assembly on 20 October. The meeting was attended and recorded by György Garai, a correspondent of Hungarian Radio.⁵⁵ At this event, after the opening speech by Dezső Gönczöl, András Lejtényi took the floor and presented the draft Rules of Organisation and Operation (SZMSZ). After the adoption of the SZMSZ, Tamás

⁵⁰ Délmagyarország 1956. október 18.

⁵¹ János Ambrus, Iván Abrudbányai, Vilmos Ács, Iván Csete, György Halász, Károly Hámori, Dezső Gönczöl, Tivadar Putnik, László Székely, Imre Tóth

⁵² László Székely’s interrogation report of 28 August 1957.

⁵³ “The DISZ leaders sat at the long table, and we sat here. Not all 18 of us, but maybe 10 or so. Formally, the organisation was not established because it would have needed a permit, but we considered it formed and that was enough. For practically two days, we argued about whether we should stay within DISZ, so we should not do this separate organisation, but as DISZ members – because as many of us as there were, we were all DISZ members, and there were even DISZ leaders among us, although only group leaders, not senior leaders. So should we stay within DISZ and demand these rights there? But with the exception of maybe one or two people, the vast majority of this group of 18 and basically myself, András and Imre, we all said no way, we are not going to cooperate with DISZ, we are fed up with it, you have lied enough, you have fooled us enough. Now we will go through with it.” Kiss 2002. 140.

⁵⁴ The litigation of Tamás Kiss and his associates. CSML B.1249/1957.

⁵⁵ See JANCSÁK 2017 for more details.

Kiss took the floor to present the political program of AHUCS (MEFESZ₃), which was drafted based on the proposals of the faculty meetings⁵⁶. Tamás Kiss then first presented the academic demands and then the political demands, which were adopted by unanimous vote, with a few points added.

The political claims of AHUCS (Szeged, 20 October 1956):

1. *"We press for bringing those into justice who are responsible for the crimes of the last era and the trials should be public!"*
2. *We press for the freedom of information! The press should comment everything in full details!*
3. *We press for reelecting Imre Nagy and György Lukács into the Central Leading Board!*
4. *We claim a salary reform! The upper limit of incomes coming from the state should be announced and the improvement of low salaries should be accelerated!*
5. *We press for abolishing death penalty concerning political crimes!*
6. *We press for a reestablished, free, democratic system of elections!*
7. *We claim that university youth should play a greater role in directing the political and other matters of the country!*
8. *The national celebration of 15 March should be restored!*
9. *Russian troops should be withdrawn!*
10. *The mandatory delivery of peasants' surplus should be abolished!*
11. *Let there be university autonomy!*
12. *We press for the restoration of the 1848 Kossuth coat of arms!"*⁵⁷

The following were the milestones in the birth of the student movement starting in Szeged and the development of their demands on a national scale:

- 16 October, University of Szeged (inauguration)
- 20 October, University of Szeged (adoption of organisational rules, programme, academic and political demands)
- student assemblies in Hungarian universities, where the Szeged delegates presented their demands:

21 October

- Pedagogical College of Eger (the delegate from Szeged was Sándor Szőke Sándor),

22 October

- Budapest Technical University of Construction and Transport (the delegates from Szeged were Tamás Kiss and András Lejtényi)
- University of Debrecen (the delegates from Szeged were János Ambrus and Gábor Jancsó)
- Gödöllő University of Agricultural Sciences (the delegates from Szeged were Tamás Kiss and András Lejtényi)

⁵⁶ Kiss stressed that the programme and the demands are the programme of the AHUCS in Szeged, the faculty demands are/was created by the faculty meetings. I note here that this statement already indicated that the new organisation will apply the principle of subsidiarity in all its elements, i.e. it will be a truly bottom-up organisation.

⁵⁷ Some parts of the political claims of AHUCS read up on 20 October can be heard here: <http://www.mefesz.hu/mefesz.php?oldal=doku>, the script of the tape record can be found here: <http://www.mefesz.hu/english.php?id=6>

- Miskolc University of Heavy Industry (the delegates from Szeged were Iván Csete and Károly Hámori)
- Pécs (the delegates from Szeged were Iván Abrudbányai Iván and Vilmos Ács)
- Veszprém University of Chemical Industry (the delegate from Szeged was Attila Kádár).

On 21-22 October, the students of higher education institutions joined the Szeged initiative, they formed their own AHUCS organisation, and joined the demands for democratic transformation, restoration of the country's independence (and national symbols), political and economic reforms, and personal and collective freedom. The student demonstrations emanating from these rallies fanned the flames of revolution the following day, 23 October.

AHUCS (MEFESZ₃), born in Szeged, demanded a regime change. The demands for the restoration of national historical symbols and the independence of the state, as well as free and democratic elections, were demands for regime change in the direction of a sovereign Hungary with a multi-party system, and civil democracy.

DEMOCRACY, SOLIDARITY, AUTONOMY IN RULES OF ORGANISATION AND OPERATION (SZMSZ) OF AHUCS

The Association of University and College Students (born on 16 October) was formally established at the general assembly held in the Auditorium Maximum of the University of Szeged on 20 October 1956 with the adoption of the Rules of Organisation and Operation.

The mission of the organisation is defined as: "*The aim of the alliance is that the youths leaving the universities and colleges who are dedicated to represent the mind of the nation should not be an indifferent, passive crowd, a layer of coward, supple and mean ones, but an army fighting bravely and soulfully for the nation, the country and for a merrier future. These people should not fear talking about the truth but should serve the nation and the country with their skills, knowledge, and ability.*" (*Section 5 of the Rules of Organisation and Operation (SZMSZ) of the AHUCS*)⁵⁸

András Lejtényi explained the reasoning behind this point: "*The system of Stalin and Rákosi brought up intellectual cripples and sycophants. They used merciless and inhuman tools against those who dared to raise their voices in the name of rationality and humanity against their brutality and failures. They tried to teach us crude selfishness, unprincipledness, repression, and subservience with more or less success. They wanted to tread down the desire for freedom coming from our souls; they wanted to turn us into servants accepting their perfidies obediently. The spirit of the 20th Congress swept these intentions away. A free, fruitful atmosphere came into being, but the remains of the past hinder us from evolving. The aim of our youth organisation is to throw these remains out of our mind for the benefit of our nation, country, and ourselves.*"⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Published by JANCSÁK 2016. 222-223.

⁵⁹ Published by JANCSÁK 2011. 93–94.

When MEFESZ was launched, there was an elementary demand that, since the world, interests, and goals of higher education students are characterised by specific individualities, their articulation and representation should be carried out by the students themselves. “*We know our interests best, it is our task to represent them and to defend them, if it is necessary. An organisation standing outside of us, with leaders who are not only our representatives, cannot represent our interests as strongly as we can. We are not children who cannot tell right and wrong apart. Our experience is that we can only reach what we fight for.*” (Section 2/c of the Rules of Organisation and Operation (SZMSZ) of the AHUCS) “*It is the duty of every AHUCS member to represent, defend, and fight for the interests of the university and college students on every forum and in any other organisation. AHUCS was founded to defend the interests of both university and college students. Every AHUCS member has to strive for – on the basis of rationality – defending these interests which are our own. Do not forget that we are all for one and one for all.*” (2nd article, Section 6 of the Rules of Organisation and Operation (SZMSZ) of the AHUCS)⁶⁰

Disillusioned with DISZ, university students started to organise AHUCS as what they saw was that youth representatives, the DISZ leaders, were distanced from the students, were not credible, and did not represent university youth. However, there was another reason why the student organisation was created, namely that the representation of university youth in DISZ, which was centralised following the Soviet model, was not insufficient due to the internal hierarchy of the organisation and the control of the communist party. Moreover, resolving the problems of workers and peasants was always prioritised over students’ issues and problems.

This exploration of values and articulation of interests, resulting from the specific life in higher education, became the driving force behind the student movement. In 1956, students recognised that the three main subsystems of higher education (administration, educational institutions, and student self-government) had a specific and common interest in efficiently functioning student representation. At the same time, it was also recognised that only a bottom-up, democratic approach could create a vibrant and functioning student representation.

The nature and mission of the association was defined as “*AHUCS is an organisation of the masses of university and college students which includes the whole number of youths participating in education.*” (1st article, Section 1 of the Rules of Organisation and Operation (SZMSZ) of the AHUCS)⁶¹

Membership is based on the free choice of the individual and his/her declaration of membership: “*Every university and college student who accepts the aims of AHUCS and considers the rules and regulations of AHUCS to be obligatory, and signs the admission form, becomes a member of AHUCS by their free will. The democratic way of operation of AHUCS requires people to consider the constitution and the rules and regulations of the association to be obligatory. However, we cannot force anyone to join us if they hold different views.*”⁶²

The need to create a new and independent grassroots organisation was seen in the fact that there was no other organisation capable of doing so instead of or alongside MEFESZ,

⁶⁰ Published by JANCSÁK 2016. 224.

⁶¹ Ibid. 227.

⁶² Published by JANCSÁK 2011. 94.

which acted as a representative of student interests. “*We need a new organisation that only defends our particular interests. No other organisation is capable of it. In DISZ, not only the problems of university youth are at stake. For example, if a case of a young worker is more important, then it would be discussed first, not our case. We cannot wait on every occasion, if we feel that our case is urgent. Anyway, we lost confidence in DISZ, so the significance of the new organisation is clear.*” (Justification of Section 1/a of the Rules of Organisation and Operation (SZMSZ) of the AHUCS)⁶³

The values of MEFESZ are well illustrated by the point that “*The members of AHUCS have the right to rely on the solidarity of AHUCS in a reasonable and justified case. One of the main duties of AHUCS is to protect the interests of students as much as possible. The association consists of all the individual members; therefore, a member should be able to rely on its solidarity in every case which concerns the interests and authority of the association. Without it, the members would not dare to submit proposals and claims which would be addressed to the leaders of the state or the party, for example, the recent question concerning the Russian language. AHUCS, of course, will not stand by anyone if the given person breaks the moral standard, law, or any kind of regulation.*” (2nd article, Section 5 of the Rules of Organisation and Operation (SZMSZ) of the AHUCS).⁶⁴

The General Assembly (GA, Diáknagygyűlés) was identified as the association’s highest decision-making forum. The GA consisted of all university and college students in Szeged. The decisions of the GA were seen as an expression of common will and were therefore binding to all MEFESZ₃ members.⁶⁵

The level below this was the Faculty Student Assembly (FSA, Kari Diákgyűlés), which had decision-making power. In terms of the Rules of Organisation and Operation (SZMSZ), the FSA allowed the students of the faculty to make specific decisions arising from the faculty’s specificities, but the binding decision of the Faculty Student Assembly could only be enforced at the faculty level and could not contradict a decision made by the General Assembly. The decision of the faculty students was binding on all members of MEFESZ₃. The implementation of the decisions of the Faculty Student Assemblies was carried out by the Faculty Student Council, elected for each class. The class council implemented the decisions of the class assemblies, and the group representatives elected by the group implemented the decisions of the group assembly.⁶⁶ The University Student Council (USC, Egyetemi Diáktanács) represented the student body during the breaks between sessions of the General Assembly. USC (the so-called “18-member committee”) was composed of three representatives per faculty (Faculty of Law, Faculty of Arts, Faculty of Science, Faculty of Medicine, Faculty of Pharmacy, and Pedagogical College).

AHUCS was based on direct democratic principles and social values. They secured freedom of thought, opinion, and decision in the rules and regulations for its members. One-person leadership (“leadership cut off from the crowd”) was excluded in its constitution. “*AHUCS is an independent, free organisation. [...] The basic principle of the AHUCS is democracy, spreading*

⁶³ Published by JANCSÁK 2016. 219.

⁶⁴ Published by JANCSÁK 2016. 226.

⁶⁵ Published by JANCSÁK 2011. 96. (3 article Section 1)

⁶⁶ Published by JANCSÁK 2011. 96–97. (3 article Section 2)

to the widest range of affairs. As a consequence, and in order to avoid one-person leadership, decisions can only be made by the majority of the members. So as to avoid the devastating system of instructions coming from above, decisions can only be made by the members.” (1st article, Section 2.a of the Rules of Organisation and Operation (SZMSZ) of AHUCS)

[...]

“AHUCS is the organisation of university and college students. The right to debate must be secured and must be given to every student and every member of AHUCS, by which the issue of direct democracy is maintained. The right to vote is also concerned the same way. It was really problematic that the members did not dare to express their opinions. So it can be considered to be correct that let us have a public forum where everybody can tell their point of view without any restriction, without facing reprisal or pushback.” (2nd article, Section 3 of the Rules of Organisation and Operation (SZMSZ) of the AHUCS)

[...]

“If a theory goes to the wall during a debate, it is obviously unfair. What is right, it is the interest of all. What is the interest of all of us, it is obligatory to fight for it. Our envoys should not be leaders (in the incorrect sense of the word), but the faithful and exact executors of the will of youth. The system of commands coming from up is theoretically full of mistakes and practically unjust.” (2nd article, Section 7 of the Rules of Organisation and Operation (SZMSZ) of the AHUCS)⁶⁷

All of this suggests that AHUCS (MEFESZ₃) was a grassroots student self-government system based on democratic principles.

THE NAME OF MEFESZ₃ IN CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

The first document announcing the founding of the organisation, the appeal entitled “Our Student Brothers!”, dated 17 October 1956 in Szeged, written by the founders of the organisation themselves, helps to decide on the name. It begins as follows: “*We, the students of the University of Szeged, the Medical University of Szeged, the Pedagogical College of Szeged and the Szeged Music Teacher Training College, founded our own university youth organisation, the Association of Hungarian University and College Students on 16 October 1956.*” On the typed appeal, made the night after the meeting on 16 October (dated 17 October), the acronym appears twice: “*Join MEFSZ.*” And the signature is “*The MEFSZ of Szeged.*” In the text of the leaflet, the abbreviation of the organisation’s name is thus given without the inserted “e” sound.

In the article “The Grand Assembly of Szeged University Students” published on the third page of the 18 October issue of the Szeged daily Délmagyarország, it is written that “*As a result of the debate, a new youth organisation, the Unified Association of Hungarian University and College Students, MEFESZ, was founded.*”

The following day, in an article published on 19 October in Délmagyarország, we read: “*It was this willingness to help, to criticise mistakes with courage and consistency that led to the establishment of MEFESZ, the United Association of University and College Students in Szeged*

⁶⁷ Published by JÁNCSSÁK 2016. 226–227.

[...] MEFESZ was founded in Szeged, in the auditorium of the University of Szeged, amidst stormy and courageous debates of principle. The rally's tone was set by criticism from the masses. They criticised the university education system, and the inaugural meeting turned into a mass meeting, where political issues were debated.”⁶⁸

The events in Szeged were also reported by Radio Free Europe (RFE, Szabad Európa Rádió, SZER). In the “News” starting at 1 p.m. on 20 October 1956, it said: “According to a report in the Free Youth, 3,000 university students left the organisation and formed a new autonomous university youth organisation under the name of MEFOSZ [sic]. The students held meetings at the Faculty of Humanities in Szeged for days, demanding the creation of an autonomous university youth organisation, the rapid and decisive implementation of university reforms, and the translation of socialist democracy into action. They demanded general democratic elections in the youth organisations, the implementation of the Communist Party's intellectuals' resolution, and a reduction in the number of lectures on national defence and Marxism. In addition, the students of Szeged put forward other demands of a political nature. They demanded complete freedom of the press, the abolition of the death penalty, a cap on state salaries, and an increase in low wages. In their resolution, they stressed the need for certain personal changes and the punishment of the guilty. It was at these meetings that it was decided to set up MEFOSZ. The Minister of Education, Albert Kónya, promised to examine the demands. He announced that optional language teaching would be implemented. The resolution of the first meeting of the new university organisation, MEFOSZ, stresses that DISZ has failed to lead the students' movement and has not consistently fought for their justifiable demands.”⁶⁹ The RFE, declared by the communist dictatorship to be “the mouthpiece of American imperialism”, was forbidden to listen to in Hungary at that time. Radio transmission was made difficult to hear with jamming towers. Thousands of Hungarians listened to news from the “free world”, with the radio turned down and their ears glued to the loudspeaker so that it would not be heard in the next apartment. In many cases, the news from behind the Iron Curtain reached the SZER’s editorial offices in snippets. Under these circumstances, it is understandable that the name of the organisation was mistakenly given as ‘MEFOSZ’ in the news reports.

On 20 October at 21:10 and 23:59, Imre Mikes (Gallicus) gave a commentary on the SZER’s program “Reflektor”:

“There is a storm in Szeged, a destructive storm [...] Indeed, there is a storm in Szeged, not a storm of the forces of nature, but an elemental storm of the rebellion of young souls. But why is this storm called destructive? It may, and probably is, destructive to the system, but it may, and certainly is, equally purifying and edifying to the nation. After all, what are the young Hungarians of the University of Szeged demanding, and what are all young Hungarians demanding with them? Independence for themselves, autonomy for the college, people's rule for the nation, free elections, the suspension of the Hitlerian system of cadres by descent, a reduction in the number of so-called defense, party science (marxism), and Russian language classes, and they demand freedom of the press, the abolition of the death penalty, a cut in the exorbitant incomes of colonial governors, and an increase in the hunger wages of the millions of people who toil. [...] Would this storm be devastating? Not a destructive storm, but a creative storm, giving life to

⁶⁸ Apor 1956

⁶⁹ [http://szer.oszk.hu/felvetel?i=776729324&n=13-00-ora-hirszolgatal \(2021.10.02.\)](http://szer.oszk.hu/felvetel?i=776729324&n=13-00-ora-hirszolgatal (2021.10.02.))

those ideals which no shackles and no ropes could extirpate from the Hungarian soul. So there is a storm in Szeged, almost a revolutionary storm. Not only in words and not only in ideals, but also in deeds. For the young people who took to the intellectual barricades in the metropolis on the banks of the Tisza also took to the barricades from DISZ and immediately established and revived the Alliance of Hungarian University and College Associations [sic!] ”⁷⁰ The name of the organisation in this radio note was the name of the former organisation.

The MEFESZ's programme-making general assembly on 20 October was reported in the Hungarian Monday News on 22 October: “...Long before four o'clock the auditorium was already packed to capacity. Almost two hours before the auditorium was already full. At exactly four o'clock, the presidency, four students, a female student, and the president of the assembly, József Perbíró, the deputy dean of the Faculty of Law, entered the room. They were greeted with a huge round of applause, which was loud when Rector Baróti and Professor Gábor Fodor, two-time Kossuth Prize-winning scientist and world-famous chemist, took their seats in the front row. At this point, the assembly began. The first task: to present and discuss the provisional organisational rules of the recently established MEFESZ (Association of Hungarian University and College Students)... ”⁷¹

The last document to be presented in this paper on the birth of the organisation was written after the students' general assembly of the Technical University of Construction and Transport Engineering (Építőipari és Közlekedési Műszaki Egyetem, ÉKME) on 22 October⁷². It is one of the most famous leaflets of the 1956 revolution. At this assembly, the students of the ÉKME joined the proposal of Szeged students.⁷³ The document, stencilled typewritten proclamation No. 6330, containing the 14 points of demand, was written on 22 October and can be found in the archives of the National Széchényi Library (OSZK, Budapest). The first lines of the leaflet read: “*Manifesto. We join the proposal of the Szeged university students and formed the MEFESZ organisation of the Technical University of Construction and Transport. The students of the University of Technology [Műegyetem] and the College of Horticulture [Kertészeti Főiskola] joined the organisation. The task of the new MEFESZ will be to make the student body's position on serious political issues into a resolution and to resolve the current problems of university youth (defense education, canteen, student hostel, rail discount, free exams, and individual travel abroad). The MEFESZ organisation was unanimously formed by a spontaneous meeting of university youth attended by 4-5,000 people.*” Although the full name of the organisation is not given in this document, only the acronym MEFESZ, the adjective “new” (“the task of the new MEFESZ”) emphasises the distance from the previous organisation with that name.

⁷⁰ <http://szer.oszk.hu/felvetel?i=664438590&n=reflektor> (2021.10.02.)

⁷¹ HALÁSZ 1956

⁷² Jövő Mérnöke 1956. október 23. For more details see: FRIVALDSZKY 2006., HORVÁTH 2006., LIPTÁK 2003.

⁷³ POGÁNY 1996. 14.

127

6330

Határozat.

Csatlakozunk a Szegedi Egyetemisták javaslatához és megalakítottuk az Építőipari és Közlekedési Műszaki Egyetem MEFESZ Szervezetét. A Szervezethez a Műegyetem és a Kertészeti Főiskola jelenlévő hallgatói is csatlakoztak. Az új MEFESZ feladata lesz a súlyos politikai kérdésekben a diákság állásfoglalását határoztatni nyilvánítni és az egyetemi ifjúság jelenlegi megoldatlan problémáit /honvédelmi oktatás, menza, diákokthon, vasuti kedvezmény, szabad vizsga, különöldi ut egénileg is/ lehetővé tétele. A MEFESZ Szervezetét az egyetemi ifjúság spontán gyűlésén 4-5000 fő jelenlétében egyhangúlag alakította meg.

1./ Az MDP kongresszus azonnali üsszehívása, alulról választott vezetőség, az új központi vezetőség megalakítása.

2./ A kormány alakuljon át Nagy Imre elvtárs vezetésével.

3./ Gazdaságilag és politikailag teljesen egyenrangú alapon és egymás belügyeibe való be nem avatkozás elvén álló magyar-szovjet és magyar-jugoszláv barátság megalakítása.

4./ Az összes szovjet csapatok kivonását Magyarországról a magyar békészerződés értelmében.

5./ Általános, egyenlő, titkos választásokat több párt részvételével, új nemzetgyűlési képviselők választásával.

6./ A magyar gazdasági élet átszervezését szakemberek bevonásával és ennek keretében a magyar urainőre magyar felhasználással. Hozzák nyilvánosságra a külkereskedelmi szerződéseket és vizsgálják felül a tervgazdaságon alapuló magyar gazdasági életet.

7./ Teljes ipari munkásig azonnali normarendezést a létminimum megállapítása alapján és a munkás autonómia bevezetését az üzemekbe.

8./ A beszolgáltatási rendszer felülvizsgálását és az egénileg dolgozó parasztok támogatását.

9./ Az összes politikai és gazdasági perek felülvizsgálását, az artatánul elítélt politikai foglyok részére a teljes amnesziát, ill. a hatranya kerítések rehabilitálását.

10./ Legyen nyilvános tárca Farkas Mihály ügyben és Rákosi szerepének kivizsgálását, valamint az Oroszországban igazságtalannul elítélt és otthartott magyarok hazahozatalát.

11./ A néptől idegen címer helyett a régi Kossuth címer visszatállítását, a március 15-ét és október 6-át nyilvánításuk nemzeti ünnepé és munkaszünettel. Ujj egyenruhit honvédelmünknek.

12./ Teljes vélemény és sajtószbadság megalósítása, rádiót is, és ennek keretében külön naplapot az új MEFESZ Szervezetnek. A régi káderenyeg nyilvánosságra hozatalát is eltörölését.

13./ A zsarnokság és az önkény jelképét, a Sztálin szobrot azonban tivoltításával.

14./ Egymisárt teljes szolidaritást vállalunk.

Az egyetemi ifjúság egyhangú lelkesséssel nyilvinitotta ki szolidaritását a varsói munkásokkal és ifjúsággal, a lengyel függetlenségi mozgalommal.

Az Építőipari és Közlekedési Műszaki
Egyetem
Nagygyűlése. 1956. október 22.
MEFESZ.





The manifesto of "Műegyetem MEFESZ" published on the cover page of the 23 October issue of the Jövő Mérnöke [Engineer of the Future], the newspaper of Műegyetem (Budapest)

The founders of AHUCS told us during our interviews⁷⁴ that at the beginning, in the first weeks of October 1956, the initiators (Kiss and Lejtényi) referred to the organisation they wanted to found as “student association” during their smaller or bigger conversations with students. The documents of the time (documents of the general assemblies held at Hungarian universities between 21 and 23 October) and later recollections show a very polarised picture of the name of the organisation, with the terms “Alliance” (*Egyesületek* in Hungarian, so Alliance of Hungarian University and College Associations) or “Unified” (*Egységes* in Hungarian, so Unified Organisation of Hungarian University and College Students) sometimes appearing as a way of resolving the meaning of the second “e” (MEFESZ).

This could be due to the exchange of information between the earlier and the 1956 generations of students (older brothers and sisters, etc.), and the fact that there were older students among the youth studying at the universities in 1956 (e.g. Tivadar Putnik⁷⁵ or József Kováts⁷⁶ in Szeged), who had a vivid picture of the earlier Alliance of Hungarian University and College Associations (1945–1948), or Unified Organisation of Hungarian University and College Students (1948–1950). However, among the mentor teachers and role models of the students, there were also some who, as university students or young teachers (e.g. László Péter in Szeged), were active participants in MEFESZ₁ (AHUCA), which was born in 1945. We can assume that there were some who may have considered this organisation to be a re-establishment of the former AHUCA. There may also have been members of the press who saw AHUCA as being reborn (because of the similarity of the acronym).

However, based on our interviews, we can say that the initiators and leaders of AHUCS (MEFESZ₃) did not associate the word “unified” or “united” with the name of the nascent organisation. During our interview, Tamás Kiss clearly refuted that they would have been planning a “single” or “uniform” organisation.

It can be ruled out that they would have formed a union of associations because the founders in Szeged in 1956 created a civil association based on individual members joining voluntarily, not an umbrella organisation.

The issue of the inserted “e” sound to ease pronunciation has important symbolic value for sociology or history research. In our case, it is not “The thickness of a hair divides the two”⁷⁷. As we have seen earlier, AHUCA (MEFESZ₁), founded in 1945, was an umbrella organisation of higher education associations, and the name change in 1948, which changed the official name to the Unified Organisation of Hungarian University and College Students (MEFESZ₂), leaving the acronym, was intended to give a foothold to the Stalinist unified (uniform) youth organisation, the Union of Working Youth (DISZ).

However, the period of the creation of this “unified” MEFESZ from December 1956 to February 1957 [please note that we are talking about a name change again!], which in fact meant the internal transformation of the revolutionary AHUCS (MEFESZ₃), fits well into the process and logic of the Kádár takeover.

⁷⁴ JANCSÁK 2016b.

⁷⁵ For more details see Miklós 2017.

⁷⁶ For more details see BÁLINT 2004.

⁷⁷ Imre Madách: The Tragedy of (Man Scene 7) ”Whatever seems ridiculous to others. / The thickness of a hair divides the two - / Only some inner voice can judge between them, / And this close magistrate is sympathy / Which sanctifies or murders with its mockery.” <http://mek.oszk.hu/00900/00918/html/madach7.htm> (2021.10.17.)

In the first months of 1957, the former initiators and founding fathers of AHUCS (MEFESZ₃) were already in emigration (among the people of Szeged Vilmos Ács, János Ambrus, Iván Csete, György Halász, Károly Hámori, Attila Kádár, András Lejtényi, Tivadar Putnik, Tóth Adorján, Vető Miklólós, Vezényi Pál, or, for example, Alpár Bujdosó from Sopron and students from the Technological University (Béla Lipták, Gyula Várallyai) or were in hiding (Tamás Kiss) or had not yet been identified by the police (János Aszalós).

Meanwhile, the Association of Hungarian University and College Students underwent a change in image and preferred social values led by the Communist Party (the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, MSZMP⁷⁸).

On 14 February and 16, 1957, the new secretariat of the association (by then the name had been changed to the Unified Association of Hungarian University and College Students, AHUCS, MEFESZ₄) published a statement in which it expressed that "*The existence and activity of the class enemy requires the realisation of proletarian dictatorship in the realisation of socialism, but at the same time the working masses must be given a share in the exercise of power through democratic organisations. The leading force of the working masses, bearers, and developers of Marxism-Leninism in our country is the revolutionary party of the working class. Therefore, we recognise the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class, the MSZMP, in the building of socialism.*"⁷⁹ In the same document, it was also stated that "we do not consider it right [...] that MEFESZ is an organisation independent of party and government. This declaration of independence has given and may give rise to certain harmful oppositional attitudes [...] Membership of MEFESZ is open to those university and college students and young academics who accept the present declaration of the Secretariat and wish to work in its spirit"⁸⁰.

On 11 April 1957, the National Secretariat of AHUCS (MEFESZ₄) announced that it would stop the recruiting activities of MEFESZ and would seek to dissolve the organisation this semester, and expressed its joy that "*the MSZMP Provisional Central Committee in its February and March resolutions had concluded that the forces loyal to socialism had triumphed over the forces of counter-revolution in youth organisations*"⁸¹.

In the months of March and April 1957, the same thing happened as in the years 1945-49 when youth organisations were destroyed. In accordance with the communist tactics that were then being used again, MEFESZ₄ was occupied by trusted people and thus came under the direct control of the communist party (Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt, MSZMP)⁸², which was then merged in April into the new mass youth organisation,

⁷⁸ The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (MSZMP) was founded on 31 October 1956 after the dissolution of the Hungarian Workers' Party. The party operated under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The MSZMP exercised power in Hungary as a state party under the one-party system between the suppression of the 1956 revolution and October 1989.

⁷⁹ Published by SZÉKELYHIDI 2011. 45.

⁸⁰ Ibid

⁸¹ Ibid 51.

⁸² In Szeged "In January or February, communist youths took over the leadership. Imre Pásztor, József Zsuró and a few others, and the development took the right direction." Top Secret Classified Memorandum to the Political Investigation Department dated 8 June 1957. ÁBTL 0-12770

the Hungarian Communist Youth League (Magyar Kommunista Ifjúsági Szövetség, KISZ)⁸³, which was founded on 21 March.

MEFESZ organisations

the names of the organizations in chronological order	the time of existence	The name of the organization in Hungarian	The abbreviated name of the organization in Hungarian	The name of the organization in English	The abbreviated name of the organization in English
MEFESZ ₁	1945–1948	Magyar Egyetemi és Főiskolai Egyesületek Szövetsége	MEFESZ	Alliance of Hungarian University and College Associations	AHUCA
MEFESZ ₂	1948–1950	Magyar Egyetemi és Főiskolai Hallgatók Egységes Szervezete	MEFESZ	Unified Organization of Hungarian University and College Students	UOHUCS
MEFESZ ₃	1956–1957	Magyar Egyetemisták és Főiskolások Szövetsége	MEFESZ* MEFESZ**	Association of Hungarian University and College Students	AHUCS
MEFESZ ₄	1957 Spring	Magyar Egyetemisták és Főiskolások Egységes Szövetsége	MEFESZ	Unified Association of Hungarian University and College Students	UAHUCS

* 17. October 1956. Proclamation of AHUCS (signature: MEFESZ)

** The second “e” character designated an inserted phoneme ([e]) to ease the pronunciation of the word MEFESZ

SUMMARY

The Spark of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution (AHUCS, MEFESZ₃) was a new grassroots initiative. It was founded on 16 October 1956 at the University of Szeged.

The 1956 organisation was not an umbrella organisation for student associations (like AHUCA, MEFESZ₁, which was founded in 1945 and abbreviated by the same acronym).

The founders of AHUCS (MEFESZ₃) in 1956 were deliberate in not seeking to become the sole, unified organisation of university youth. This was due to disappointment with the previous unified organisation (UWY, DISZ).

According to the organisational rules, adopted on 20 October 1956, membership was based on a personal decision to join. The organisation defined itself as a representative body of higher

⁸³ The Hungarian Communist Youth League (KISZ) was under the control of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (MSZMP) and operated as a youth organisation of the MSZMP between 1957 and 1989.

education students, i.e. a student's self-government. AHUCS was founded on democratic principles, autonomy, and subsidiarity in its aims, program, and mission. This commitment to democratic social values was reflected in both organisational rules and political demands.

The political demands of 20 October became the demands of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution.

REFERENCES

- APOR JÓZSEF: A szegedi ifjúság problémái. [The problems of the youth in Szeged] *Délmagyarország* 1956. október 19.
- BÁLINT LÁSZLÓ (2004): *Kováts József (1926–1958)*. Szeged, Belvedere Meridionale.
- BARÁTH MAGDOLNA (2006): Az SZKP XX. kongresszusa a legújabb szakirodalom tükrében. [The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in recent studies.] *Műltunk* 51. évf. 2. sz. 177–200.
- BENKŐ ZOLTÁN [ed.] (1964): *Visszaemlékezés a MEFESZ őskorára. Jónás Pál visszaemlékezései* [A look back at the early days of the MEFESZ. Recollections of Pál Jónás.] Tájékoztató, a MEFESZ lapja, 13–14
- BERTÉNYI IVÁN – GYAPAY GÁBOR (1992): *Magyarország rövid története*. [A brief history of Hungary] Budapest, Maecenas.
- BOTOS, JÁNOS – GYARMATI, GYÖRGY– KOROM, MIHÁLY– ZINNER, TIBOR (1988): *Magyar hétköznapok Rákosi Mátyás két migrációja között 1945–1956*. [Hungarian everyday life between the two migrations of Mátyás Rákosi, 1945–1956] Minerva, Budapest
- CSEKÓS JÓZSEF (1979): *Mit kell tudni a magyar ifjúsági mozgalmakról*. [What to know about Hungarian youth movements.] Budapest, Kossuth Könyvkiadó.
- EÖRSI LÁSZLÓ (2006): *Köztársaság tér 1956*. [Köztársaság Square 1956] Budapest, 1956-os Intézet.
- FRIVALDSZKY JÁNOS (2006): Ötvenhat műegyetemistái. Ének a lyukas zászlóról. Történet dokumentumokban. [Students of Technical University 1956. Song of the flag with holes. History in documents.] Pomáz, Kráter.
- FURSZENKO, A. A. [ed.] (2004): Prezidium CK KPSZSZ 1954–1964. Tom 1. Csernovije protokolnije zapiszi zaszedanyij. Szytenogrammi. Glav. Moszkva, ROSZSZPEN
- GYARMATI GYÖRGY (2011): *A Rákosi-korszak: rendszerváltó fordulatok évtizede Magyarországon, 1945–1956*. [The Rákosi-era: a decade of regime-changing turns in Hungary, 1945–1956] Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára – Rubicon, Budapest
- HALÁSZ PÉTER (1956): Húszévesek közt, Szegeden. [Among young people in their twenties, in Szeged] *Hétfordi Hírlap* 1956. október 22. 3.
- HEGYI ANDRÁS [ed.] (1987): *Haladó Ifjúsági mozgalmak Csongrád megyében*. Válogatott dokumentumok. [Progressive Youth Movements in Csongrád County. Selected documents.] Szeged, KISZ Csongrád megyei Bizottság.

HOLLÓS ERVIN (1949): Teljes ifjúsági egységet! [United Youth!] *Szabad Nép* 1949. október 8.

HOLLÓS ERVIN (1967): *Kik voltak, mit akartak?* [Who were they, what did they want?] Budapest, Kossuth Kiadó.

HOLLÓS ERVIN – LAJTAI VERA (1986): *Köztársaság tér 1956.* [Köztársaság Square 1956] Budapest, Kossuth Kiadó.

HORVÁTH ZSOLT (2006): *Műegyetem 1956-57. A forradalmi tanév története.* [Technical University 1956-57. History of the revolutionary school year.] Budapest, BME.

JANCSÁK CSABA [ed.] (2011): *A szegedi szikra: MEFESZ, 1956.* Szeged. [The spark of Szeged: MEFESZ, 1956] Szeged, Belvedere Meridionale.

JANCSÁK CSABA (2016a): *Az 1956-os forradalom indítószikrája a szegedi MEFESZ.* [The MEFESZ was the starting point of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution] Szeged, Belvedere Meridionale.

JANCSÁK CSABA (2016b): *A Magyar Egyetemisták és Főiskolások Szövetsége (1956) Életútinterjúk tükrében.* [The Hungarian Association of University and College Students (1956) In the light of biographical interviews.] Szeged, Belvedere Meridionale.

JANCSÁK CSABA (2017): Voices of Revolution: The History of Scroll No. MR D565. *Belvedere Meridionale* 2017:1 63–67. DOI 10.14232/belv.2017.1.5

JÓNÁS PÁL (1971): Az ifjúsági mozgalom történetéből 1944–1948. [History of the youth movement 1944–1948] Új Látóhatár 1971/4. 435–440.

KISS MÁRIA RITA: „Próbálkozó demokrácia” – sztalinizálás – resztalinizáció – forradalom, 1945–1956. [„Tentative” Democracy – Stalinisation – Restalinisation – Revolution, 1945–1956] In Cora Zoltán – Kiss Mária Rita – Olasz Lajos (2020) [ed.]: *Fejezetek a magyarországi társadalom- és szociálpolitika történetéből I. Tanulmányok a kiegyezéstől a rendszerváltásig (1867–1989).* [Chapters from the history of social and social policy in Hungary I. Studies from the Compromise to the change of regime (1867–1989)] Szeged, Belvedere Meridionale, 149–163.

KISS TAMÁS (2000): „Ötvenhatnak az a megismételhetetlen hangulata” – beszélgetés Kiss Tamás szegedi diákvézérrel. [A conversation with Tamás Kiss, student leader from Szeged, 1956] Interviewers: Döbör András, Jancsák Csaba. Jegyzetekkel ellátta: Jancsák Csaba. *Belvedere Meridionale* 12. évf. 5–6. sz. 52–65.

KISS TAMÁS (2002) „Soha, sosem az Én került az előtérbe, hanem mindig a Mi” [”It was never, never the Me that was pushed to the foreground, but always te Us”] Interview with Tamás Kiss. [interviewers: András Döbör and Csaba Jancsák.] In Kiss 2002. 132–159. Notes [by Jancsák] 159–168

KISS TAMÁS (2002): *Magyar Egyetemisták és Főiskolások Szövetsége 1956 – Szeged.* [Association of Hungarian University and College Students, 1956, Szeged] Jancsák, Csaba [ed.] Szeged, Belvedere Meridionale.

LIPTÁK BÉLA (2003): *35 nap. A Testament of Revolution 1956.* Budapest, BBS-INFO Kft.

MEDGYESI KONSTANTIN (2017): *Demokrácia-diskurzus(ok) Magyarországon az 1945 és 1949 közötti időszakban és időszakról*. Doktori (PhD) disszertáció. [Discourse(s) on democracy in Hungary between the period 1945-1949. Doctoral (PhD) dissertation.] Szeged, 2017, SZTE. <http://doktori.bibl.u-szeged.hu/4133/19/medgyesidokt..pdf> (2020. 11. 10.)

MICHELLER MAGDOLNA (1992): *Egyetemisták és a hatalom*. A magyar egyetemi hallgatók és a hatalom viszonya 1945–1957. [University students and their power The relationship between Hungarian university students and power 1945-1957.] Szeged, JATE. 113 p.

MIKLÓS PÉTER (2017): A szegedi egyetemtől az emigrációig. Putnik Tivadar. [From the University of Szeged to emigration.] *Belvedere Meridionale* 2017:1. 68–76. DOI 10.14232/belv.2017.1.6

MOLNÁR ADRIENNE – KŐRÖSI ZSUZSA – KELLER MÁRKUS (2006): *A forradalom emlékezete*. [The memory of the revolution.] Budapest, 1956-os Intézet.

MOLNÁR JÁNOS (1967): *Ellenforradalom Magyarországon 1956-ban*. [Counter-revolution in Hungary in 1956.] Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.

POGÁNY MÁRIA (1996): *Amiről kevés szó esett...* IV. [What little has been said about...] Adalékok a Budapesti Műszaki Egyetem 1956.októberi eseményeihez. Budapest, Műegyetem 1956 Alapítvány.

ROMSICS IGNÁC (1999): *Magyarország története a XX. században*. [History of Hungary in the 20th century.] Budapest, Osiris.

SOMLAI KATALIN (2016): Megmozdul a nép. [The people are moving] *A magyar október. A BBC History különszáma*. 10–15.

SZALAI BÉLA (1970): Fordulat éve az egyetemeken. [A year of change in universities] *Kortárs*, 1970/9. 1463–1472

SZÉKELYHIDI ÁGOSTON (2011): A MEFESZ és a KISZ 1957-ben. Értelmiségi fiatalok a nemzet szolgálatában és elárulásában. [MEFESZ, and KISZ in 1957. Young intellectuals in the service and betrayal of the nation] In JANCSÁK 2011. 27–53.

SZENTIRMAI LÁSZLÓ – RÁCZNÉ MOJZES KATALIN (szerk.) (1999): *A Szegedi Tudományegyetem múltja és jelene*. [Past and present of the University of Szeged] Szeged, JATE.

TÓTH ANTAL (szerk.) (1984): *Ifjúsági Kislexikon*. [Youth Encyclopedia.] Budapest, Kossuth Könyvkiadó.

BALIGA VIOLETTA LILLA

violalilla25@gmail.com

doktorandusz (ELTE BTK Történelemtudományi Doktori Iskola Művelődéstörténeti Doktori Program)

Híres kávéházi asztaltársaságok a 19. századi Pesten

Famous Café Table Companies in Pest in the 19th Century



ABSTRACT

The 19th-century cafés in Pest meant more than simple entertainment venues for people of the age. Their basic function, of course, was hospitality, but they gave much more than that to citizens, aristocrats, and rural people or foreigners traveling through the city. Travelers remembered the city's brilliant cafés in many colorful travelogues. The lively social life that took place here in the 19th century attracted many to the town of cafés. In my study, my primary goal was to present the best-known tableware companies of 19th-century cafés, along with their implications for social and political life. We have seen that, in addition to cultural and professional debates, participants have paid close attention to discussing current political issues of the age, focusing on the operation of table companies in the early and middle centuries. The first revolutionary aspirations also started from the cafés. However, after the defeat of the War of Independence, the role of literary cafés, once revolutionary centers, changed. From the 1850s onwards, their primary task was to provide shelter for those actively involved in the revolution. With the selfless help of many coffee shop owners, the literary and cultural life of the coffee shop rebounded and life began to return to its old wheel. Then, in the 1890s, coffee shops had to adapt to the needs of the modern era, also due to increasing foreign influences. By then, the city is no longer just about cafés in the classical sense of the word. There is also an increasing place for musical entertainment venues that provide modern forms of entertainment. In cafés, however, despite modernization, we can find the classic table companies of previous decades, proving that the arts have also found their audiences in a renewable café environment.

KEYWORDS

table companies; café, literature; art; 19th century

DOI 10.14232/belv.2021.4.6

<https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2021.4.6>

Cikkre való hivatkozás / How to cite this article:

Baliga Violetta Lilla (2021): Híres kávéházi asztaltársaságok a 19. századi Pesten. Belvedere Meridionale 33. évf. 4. sz. 93–106. pp

ISSN 1419-0222 (print)

ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

(Creative Commons) Nevezd meg! – Így add tovább! 4.0 (CC BY-SA 4.0)

(Creative Commons) Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-SA 4.0)

www.belvedere-meridionale.hu

BEVEZETÉS

»*Ide minden rangú ember és minden nem eljöhét...«¹* Saly Noémi 2004-ben, a Budapesti Neugyed folyóirat hasábjain megjelent tanulmányának címe pontosan tükrözi a 19. századi kávéházlátogató közönség összetételét. De mit is jelentett a kávéház az újkori magyar polgárok számára? A 19. században voltaképpen a kávéház alapfeladatán túl egy másik igen fontos szerepkört is betöltött. Itt találkozott ugyanis egymással társadalom színe-java. A kávéházak enteriörjében ebben az időben keveredett az otthoni terek bensőséges hangulata a mindenki számára nyílt utca élettel teli hangulatával. A város szerkezetét tekintve a kávéházak a városkapuknál, piactereken vagy a hídfőknél helyezkedtek el.

A pesti kávéház két és fél évszázadon keresztül az egyik legfontosabb színtere a kötetlen társasági beszélgetéseknek, a sokféle közös játéknak és egyéb szórakozásnak, de megfordultak itt az üzleti élet kulcsszereplői, a helyi és az országos politikai élet szószólói, valamint a sajtó vagy az irodalmi és kulturális szellemi élet legfontosabb képviselői. A kávéházak asztalainál így hamarosan megindult a Saly Noémi által csak „szakosodásként”² jellemzett folyamat. Hasonlóan a többi foglalkozás képviselőihez, az irodalmi és politikai élet legjelesebb képviselői is asztaltársaságokba tömörültek.³

A reformkori asztaltársaságok közül mindmáig a Pilvaxban felállított Közvélemény asztala a legismertebb. Az asztalnál helyet foglaló ifjak vívták ki 1848-ban az ország számára az áhitott

¹ TRENCSENYI WALDAPPFEL 1944. 26., idézi: SALY 2004. 39.

² SALY 2004. 39.

³ KONRÁDYNÉ GÁLOS 1975a. 38.

önrendelkezési jogot. Ugyanezeknél az asztaloknál találkoztak egymással naponta a fővárosi értelemiség legjelesebb tagjai és ezeken a helyeken születtek meg azok az irodalmi művek is, amelyek jelentős hatás gyakoroltak nem csak a 19-20. század, hanem napjaink irodalmi életére is.

1. IRODALOM ÉS POLITIKA AZ 1830-AS ÉS 1840-ES ÉVEKBEN

1.1. A Csiga vendéglő és kávéház

A magyar írók a különböző irodalmi szalonok és kávéházak megnyitása előtt igen változó környezetben voltak kénytelenek alkotni. Az 1800-as évek első társaságállalkító kísérlete Kármán József 1794-ben alakult Uránia köre volt, ami azonban sajnos hamar feloszlott. Az alapvetően ekkor még németajkú város irodalmi életében először 1822-ben történik változás, amikor Kisfaludy Károly megjelenteti az *Aurora* című évkönyvet. Korai halálát követően a pesti irodalmi élet irányítása, az évkönyv korábbi szerzője, Vörösmarty Mihály kezébe került.⁴

Az irodalmi és kulturális élet központjai lassanként a fővárosi kávéházak és vendéglők lettek. A szerelmi csalódását követően 1837-ben Pestre érkező Vörösmarty, majdnem minden este eljárt vacsorázni és beszélgetni író és színészbarátai társaságában – nótáztak, irodalmi vitákat folytattak és versetek írtak a fehér abrossz mellett. Legkedveltebb törzshelyük a Sebestyén tér sarkán álló Csiga vendéglő volt, amely egyben kávéházként is működött.

A társaság tagjai 1838-tól kezdően rendszeresen találkoztak törzshelyükön. Az alapító tagok között találjuk Egressy Gábort, Lendvay Márton, Szentpéteri Zsigmondot és Megyeri Károlyt. Asztalukhoz mind több – a nemzeti műveltséget szívén viselő – gondolkodó csatlakozott, közülük kerültek ki az 1840-es években a *Nemzeti Kör* alapító tagjai is. A frissen alakult irodalmi körhöz az arisztokrata és a polgári társadalom tagjai egyaránt csatlakoztak. Időnként megjelentek az asztalnál kétkezi munkások (pl. asztalosok, gépész) is. Az asztalnál minden garantált volt a jó hangulat, Egressy szavalataival, Lendvay nótáival igyekezett vidámságot csempészni az esti összejövetelekbe, Megyeri pedig anekdotákkal szórakoztatta a betévedt közönséget. Szigligeti Ede így jellemzte az anekdotaesteket: »Megyeri ezeket nem elmondta, hanem előadta. Ez tökéletes színielőadás volt, díszítmény, costume és álcza nélkül. Ugyanazon anekdotában néha két-három különböző egyént látott és hallott az ember. Némely anekdotát elmondott ötvenedik szer is, s hallgatói mindenkor oldalnyillallást kaptak a kacagás miatt.«⁵ Írótársai sikereit látva Vörösmarty több ízben elsőként a Csiga vendégei előtt mutatta be legfrissebb költeményeit és szívesen énekelt is hallgatóságának. A korabeli visszaemlékezések tanúsága szerint leggyakrabban a *Hazám, hazám, édes hazám* kezdetű dalt lehetett tőle hallani.

Az egyre nagyobb érdeklődés eredményeképp a Vörösmarty által vezetett kör „kinötte” régi helyét, tagjai ezért felköltöztek a vendéglő felső emeletére és „résvényes társaságként”⁶ folytatták működésüket. Eleinte azonban, a vendéglő látogatóiban csalódást keltett a viselkedésük. Ahelyett, hogy irodalmi vagy tudományos vitákba kezdtek volna, az első időkben főként szivar-gyártásról, pezsgőkészítésről és a Döbrentei Gábor házában felszolgált töltött káposztáról esett

⁴ Az irodalmi szalonokról ld. SALY 2004. 39.

⁵ Vörösmarty irodalmi társaságáról ld. KONRÁDYNÉ GÁLOS 1975a 38–39.

⁶ FÁBRI 1987. 680–681.

a legtöbb szó. Degré Alajos visszaemlékezéseiben Kuthy Lajost is megemlíti, aki gyomorpanaszainak természetével és az aznap fogyasztott ebédje elemeinek bemutatásával szórakoztatta a nagyérdeműt. A társaság működésének későbbi szakaszában a szórakozás mellett az asztalnál összegyűlt értelmi cígek tagjai itt véleményezték a legújabb hazai és külföldi szépirodalmi műveket és gyakran folytattak itt dramaturgiai vitákat is. A megjelent színészek a színpadi hatás eszközrendszerét és fontosságát is igyekeztek megismertetni a többiekkel, ugyanakkor ők is számos tanácsot kaptak az íróktól arra vonatkozólag, hogyan használják legszebben a magyar nyelv kifejezéseit színészi előadásaik alkalmával. Vörösmarty rendszeresen közölt drámai bírálatokat, ő és Bajza József arra bíztatták a színészeket, hogy vessék fel egy magyar nyelvű prózai színház megnyitásának tervét. Egressy Gábor visszaemlékezéseiben részletesen elmeséli a közösen töltött estéket. Beszámolója szerint a Csigában folytatott beszélgetések után többször sétára indultak egymás társaságában és rácsodálkoztak a fejlődő Pest újonnan elkészült épületeire.⁷

A vidám közös beszélgetések mellett Vörösmarty gondot fordít arra, hogy pártfogolja a fiatalabb írói nemzedék tehetséges tagjait. Az ifjak öszinte csodálattal tekintenek mentorukra. Jókai emlékezéseiben így írt Vörösmartyról: »Az egész nemzet, a művelt világ ünnepi és dicsőítí Vörösmartyt, mint halhatatlan költőjét a magyar Olympnak: - én szellemi apámat, bolygó utam vezérlő holdvilágát őrizem ő benne hálás emlékezetemben.«⁸ 1840-ben a társaság hatósági engedélyért folyamodott annak érdekében, hogy Irodalmi Kör néven folytathassák megkezdett munkájukat. Arról azonban nem maradt feljegyzés, hogy megkapták-e a kért engedélyt.

Voltak azonban, akik nem néztek jó szemmel a Csiga-beli összejöveteleket, ám az asztaltársaság tagjai minden alkalommal védelmükbe vették az itt időző költőket. Gyulai Pál visszaemlékezéseiben a következőképpen nyilatkozik a vendéglőben folyó baráti találkozókról: »Jó helyt volt Vörösmarty a Csiga vendéglőben, s mulatságos órái is hasznot árasztottak.«⁹ A társasági viták azonban idővel túlnyúltak a magyar irodalmi élet kérdésein. Az asztal körül gyülekezők mindenkorábban hangot adtak abbeli reményüknek, hogy összejöveteleik segítségével változást idézzenek elő a nemzet sorsában is.

A korábban irodalmi kör így lassanként politikai szerveződéssé alakult. Az új szerveződés 1843-ben Nemzeti Kör néven vonult be a történelmi köztudatba. A politikai élet képviselői egyre nagyobb számban képviseltették magukat az írói és művészeti élet nagyjai között, 1844-ben a társulás már kétszázötven tagot számlál. A társadalom minden rétege képviselteti magát köztük, de felbukkan soraikban négy mágnás is, Jósika Miklós, Eötvös József, Teleki László és Ráday Gedeon személyében. Tagjai számának ugrásszerű megnövekedése miatt a Nemzeti Kör végleg túlnő a Csiga vendéglőn, így tevékenységét a Heinrich-házban folytatja. 1845-ben aztán az addig összetartó társaság kétfelé szakad: a Ráday Gedeon által vezetett Pesti Körre és a Teleki László elnökletével működő Nemzeti Körre. Egy év múlva a két szervezet Ellenzéki Kör néven egyesül újra. Tagtársai között ekkor szerepel elsőként Petőfi Sándor. A társaság elnökségi tisztjét Teleki László és Vörösmarty Mihály közösen töltik be.¹⁰

⁷ KONRÁDYNÉ 1975a. 39.

⁸ Vörösmarty Csiga vendéglő-beli tevékenységéről ld. FÁBRI 1987. 682.

⁹ A Csiga-beli irodalmi kör negatív fogadtatásáról ld. KONRÁDYNÉ GÁLOS 1964a. 5.

¹⁰ FÁBRI 1987. 684, 686.

Az Ellenzéki Kör elsődleges célja volt, hogy a támogassa a magyar nemzet haladását elősegítő reformokkal kapcsolatos tárgyalásokat. A reformok között kiemelt figyelmet szentelnek a Magyarország és a többi tartomány közötti vámkérdés tisztázásának. Ehhez kapcsolódóan Kosuth Lajos felvéti a vámtarifa kérdését. A vonatkozó statisztikák elkészítését az ismert statisztikusra, Fényes Elekre bízzák. Emellett elhatározták azt is, hogy az országgyűlés elé terjesztik a királyi városok szavazati jogának kérdését, valamint követelik saját alkotmány bevezetését, a magyar nyelv kérdésének napirendre tűzését, a közigazgatási rendszer helyzetének tisztázását, a cenzúra eltörlését, Magyarország és Erdély egyesítését, illetve a vallásszabadságot.¹¹

1847-ben az Ellenzéki Kör megindítja első zsebkönyvét *Ellenőr* címmel. A cenzúra miatt a kiadvány végül Lipcsében jelenik meg, akárcsak az ugyanebben az évben a társaság által indított *Magyar Szózatok* című, Hamburgban megjelent kötet, melynek fő küldetése volt, hogy megjelentesse az ellenzék politikai nézeteit bemutató írásokat. Itt jelentek meg Kossuth Lajos politikai írásai, Irinyi Józsefnek a sajtótörvény reformjáról szóló értekezése, valamint azok a versek, amelyeket a szigorú cenzori eljárás miatt nem lehetett megjelentetni.¹²

A márciusi forradalom idején a Nemzeti Kör tagjait újra a Csiga vendéglőbe vezették az események. Az épület ablakait kivilágítva ünnepelték a forradalom sikerét, azonban a világosi fegyverletételt követően a bécsi kormányzat megvonta a működést mindazoktól a helyektől, amelyek bármilyen módon részt vettek a forradalmi eseményekben. Végül ez a rendelkezés okozta a Csiga végzetét is.¹³

1. 2. Egyéb fővárosi asztaltársaságok az 1840-es években

Az 1840-es évek fiatal írói nemzedékének tevékenysége üdítően hatott a főváros káváházi életének minden napjaira. A Pilvax káváház már a korai időktől fogva vonzotta a nemzeti műveltséget pártfogoló fiatal írói nemzedék tagjait. 1844-ben, a Csiga vendéglő mellett ez volt a másik törzshelye a márciusi forradalom egyik nagy vezéregyéniségeinek, Petőfi Sándornak, de megfordult itt Lisznyay Kálmán, Pálffy Albert, Várady Antal, Kerényi Frigyes, Tompa Mihály, Vajda János, Bérczy Károly, Obernyik Károly és itt töltötte legtöbb szabadidejét Pákh Albert is.¹⁴

A fiatalok – a szépirodalom széles körű megismertetésére tett – irodalmi törekvéseit azonban – a Csiga-beli társuláshoz hasonlóan – itt sem mindenki fogadta kitörő lelkesedéssel. Az ún. „szalonköltszet” képviselői, mint pl. a *Honderű*, nem akartak beletörődni az új vetélytársak megjelenésébe, akiket gúnyos felhanggal csak a német Junges Deutschland mintájára Jeune Hongrie, azaz Ifjú Magyarország néven emlegették. A Pesti Divatlap így nyilatkozott asztalukról: „ez a lapok itélőszéke... itt szivarozzák ki hazánk Lessingjei a megjelent dolgokra az anathemát vagy a magasztalást”.¹⁵

A haza haladásáért és a nemzeti műveltség megeremtéséért munkálkodó művészek és írók még ebben az évben megalakították a Pilvax híres asztalát, amelyet Közvélelmezű asztalának kereszteltek. Itt alakult meg a káváház első irodalmi köre is, Kazinczy Gábor elnökletével. Az

¹¹ BÁRTFAI SZABÓ 1930. 9–10.

¹² FÁBRI 1987. 686–687.

¹³ KONRÁDYNÉ GÁLÓS 1964a. 5.

¹⁴ KONRÁDYNÉ GÁLÓS 1975b. 37.

¹⁵ KONRÁDYNÉ GÁLÓS 1975b. 38.

asztal körül minden este pezsgő élet folyt. A fiatalok jól érezték magukat egymás társaságában, emellett szakmai vitákat is folytattak. Elődjeik hírnevére soha nem áhítottak, sokkal inkább tanulni kívántak tőlük. Ugyanakkor szellemiségükkel ők is hatottak a kor legnagyobb íróira, akik örömmel figyelték a Kazinczy mellett megjelenő Erdélyi János, Szigligeti Ede, Kuthy Lajos vagy Dobrosi István tevékenységét.¹⁶

Az írói mozgalom tagjai azonban nem elégedtek meg azzal, hogy különböző irodalmi lapokban jelentessék meg írásaikat. Kazinczy Gábor és köre ekkor egy saját irodalmi lap megalapításának tervezet dédelgette magában, amelyet *Literaturai taborozások* címmel kívántak megjelentetni. Másfél évvel az első tervezet megjelenése után már készen áll az első folyóiratszám teljes anyaga, amelyet végül *Népbarát* címen harangoznak be az *Athenaeum* hasábjain. A lap szerkesztésében több, mint ötven fiatal irodalmár vesz részt, azonban Csató Pál *Hírnökben* megjelent reflexiói az új lap kapcsán félelmet keltettek a cenzori hivatalban, így a lap megjelentetése kudarcba fulladt. A meghiúsult lapindítási kísérlet miatt Kazinczy végül visszavonul az irodalmi élettől, több társa azonban folytatja a megkezdett munkát.¹⁷

A fiatalok friss ereje a korábban a Csigában időző színészszemzedéket is a Pilvaxba csalogatta. Élükön Egressy Gáborral ellátogattak ide a Nemzeti Színház színészei is, hogy meg-hallgathassák az új írói nemzedék irodalmi eszmecsereit. Az asztal körül esténkét felolvasások zajlottak, bemutatásra kerültek itt a legújabb irodalmi novellák, kritikák és a legfrissebb külföldi irodalom magyar nyelvre fordított változatai is, mint pl. Petőfinek az 1840-es években készült *Robin Hood*-fordítása. Ez utóbbi művek alkalmat adtak az írók számára arra is, hogy a nemzeti eszmények és irodalmi műfajok mellett a magyar nyelvvel kapcsolatos vitákat is folytassanak¹⁸

A fiatalokat azonban az irodalmi viták mellett egyre inkább foglalkoztatták a nemzet sorsával kapcsolatos hazafias gondolatok is. A Pilvaxban élődező forradalmi hangulat természetesen nem kerülte el a bécsi kormányzat figyelmét sem. A kávéház beépített kémei 1846-ban egyre-másra küldték a jelentéseket a császári udvarba az országban uralkodó forradalmi hangulatról. Az egyik 1846. január 19-én készült jelentés szerint négy vagy öt fiatal értelmiségi *Beisitzer* (Táblabírák) név alatt szították az indulatokat a bécsi kormányzat ellen.¹⁹ Ferdinand császár saját kezűleg írt levélben figyelmeztette a Pesten tartózkodó ország bíróit, gróf Majláth Györgyöt a veszélyre és felszólítja, hogy vessen véget a kávéházban történő gyülekezéseknek. Különös figyelem övezte a bécsi rendőrkémek jelentéseiben szereplő Petőfit is, akiről így írnak: »A Pilvax kávéház elvadult ifjai közt Petőfi különös figyelmet érdemel, márcsak a politikai versek és cikkek iránti hajlama miatt is, amelyeket cimborái közt felolvast.«²⁰«

A fiatalok tevékenységét ellenző értelmiségek megalakítják az Ifjú Magyarországgal szemben álló társulást, amit Gyúlde névre keresztelnek. Azonban hiábavalónak bizonyul minden erőfeszítés, a Gyúlde nem tudott szert tenni olyan erős támogatásra, mint ellenfele.

Az ellenzéki-nemesi politika eközben beszivárog a társas élet minden napjaiba is. Az írói nemzedék társas élete azonban élesen különbözik más társadalmi csoportok összejöveteleitől. Az ő találkozóikon hangsúlyos szerepet kap az újdonságok megismerése iránti vágy, amely

¹⁶ KONRÁDYNÉ GÁLOS 1964b. 4.

¹⁷ FÁBRI 1987. 583.

¹⁸ KONRÁDYNÉ GÁLOS 1975b. 38.

¹⁹ TÁBORI 1921. 65.

²⁰ KONRÁDYNÉ GÁLOS 1964b. 5.

összekapcsolódik az önrendelkezési jog kivívásának kérdésével.²¹ Az erre irányuló törekvések egyik sajátos hozadékaként az Ifjú Magyarország köréből 1846-ban kiválik tíz tehetséges magyar író, akik Petőfi elnökletével Tízek Társasága néven kívántak tovább működni. Szándékaik szerint egy évig nem óhajtottak együttműködni a kor szépirodalmi lapjaival. A társaság tagjai közé tartozott Petőfi Sándor mellett Pálffy Albert, Degré Alajos, Obernyik Károly, Pákh Albert, Bérczy Kálmán, Kerényi Frigyes, Lisznyay Kálmán, Tompa Mihály és Jókai Mór.²²

A Tízek – elődeikhez hasonlóan – saját lapot kívántak indítani, amit *Pesti Füzetek* címen szerettek volna a nagyközönség elé terjeszteni. A kormányzat és a cenzori hivatal azonban jól ismerte az írók kormányellenes politikai nézeteit, ezért egy újabb kísérlettől tartva, a folyóirat megjelentetésére nem adtak engedélyt.²³ Az írók számára ezért kiválló lehetőséget jelentett Frankenburg Adolf – az *Életképek* 1845-ben kinevezett főszerkesztőjének – megkeresése, aki állást ajánlott lapjánál a fiataloknak.²⁴

A szigorú cenzúrának köszönhetően ebben az időszakban a magyar szépirodalom jeles képviselői három divatlap szerkesztősége között oszlottak meg. Frankenburg lapja egyik fő céljának tehát elsősorban azt tekintette, hogy a szépirodalom megjelentetése számára egy olyan lapot biztosítson, amelyben minden szellemi és politikai irányzat megfér egymás mellett. A magyar közvélelmény ugyanakkor – politikai nézeteit tekintve - erősen megosztott volt, ezért az egységesítés tervét el kellett halasztani. Azonban ez idő alatt sem kerülte el figyelmét a Pilvaxban szerveződő Tízek Társaságának tevékenysége.²⁵

Az *Életképek* szerkesztőségének tagjai igen elcsodálkoztak Petőfi és társainak közleménye láttán. Az írók tervét égből pottyan, nevetséges ötletnek tartották. Frankenburg – maga is író lévén – tudta jól, hogy a fiatalok ezen lépése komolyan hátráltathatja a szépirodalom széleskörű elterjesztésére tett kísérleteket az olvasók körében. Ezért néhány hónappal a kiválaszt követően levelet intézett a Pilvaxban időző írói társaság tagjaihoz, amelyben ugyan örömet fejezi ki az iránt, hogy a társaság tagjai önálló, eddig megjelent műveikkel kívánják színesíteni a magyar irodalom palettáját. Ugyanakkor a saját folyóirat – almanach – indítása ellen komolyan tiltakozott. Mint írja: „*Az Almanach-literatura sokkal kisszerűbb, sokkal szükebb körre szorított, minthogy jól ismert nevekkel bíró tehetségek magukat ennek korlátai közé temessék.*”²⁶

Frankenburgot az is igen komolyan aggasztotta, hogy amíg e tíz tehetséges magyar író kivonult a szépirodalmi körökből, helyüket középszerű írók foglalták el, akik véleménye szerint komoly konkurenciát jelenthettek volna a feltörekvő irodalmároknak. Mint levelében írja: „*Veterán íróink nagyobb része – hála nekik és elismerés az eddigi küzdelmeikért – most már örömetebb élvez nyugalmát, vagy az élet nehezebb fáradalmaival harczol;önök azok, kiknek most, ha valaha, kell egyesült erővel föllépniök a síkra, hogy azon – ismerve az irányt, mit honfínak és becsületes embernek követni kell az igazság és honérzet diadalát kivívni segítsék.*”²⁷

²¹ FÁBRI 1987. 695.

²² KONRÁDYNÉ GÁLOS 1975b. 38.

²³ NAGY 1975. 503.

²⁴ FRANKENBURG 1898. 56.

²⁵ FRANKENBURG 1898. 57.

²⁶ FRANKENBURG 1898. 58–59.

²⁷ FRANKENBURG 1898. 59.

E felszólító levére érkezett válaszukban a fiatalok megköszönték Frankenburg észrevételeit, ugyanakkor az asztaltársaság jegyzője, Pákh Albert leszögezte, hogy a társulat az eredeti tervek szerint egy évig működött volna jelen formájában, ám – mivel a társaság tevékenységét komolyan hátráltatta a cenzori hivatal és a kormányzat ellenük irányuló tevékenysége, ezért közös megegyezéssel a fiatalok szövetsége 1846. november 16-án feloszlott. Mindazonáltal leszögezték azt is, hogy minden erejükkel azon lesznek, hogy az irodalom segítségével minél több emberhez eljuttassák a hazai szabadságáért vívott küzdelmek híreit és reményüket fejezték ki az iránt, hogy a későbbiekben ennek okán újra egyesülhessenek.²⁸

2. A FORRADALMAT KÖVETŐ ÉVTIZEDEK KÁVÉHÁZI ASZTALTÁRSASÁGAI

A világosi fegyverletételt követően az egykor virágzó Pest már csak árnýéka volt régi önmagának. Heinrich Henzi von Arthurm Buda ostroma idején ágyúival lebombázta a város legszebb épületeit. A minden nap élet csak lassan tért vissza a korábban megszokott ritmusához. A kávéházak, vendéglők és kocsmák többsége az első néhány héten meg sem nyitotta kapuit a látogató közönség előtt. De ki is járt volna társaságba? A korábban a város díszeinek számító kávéházak vendégeinek többsége a forradalomban való tevékeny részvételle miatt bujdosni kényszerült a hatóságok elől, mások az osztrák seregen töltötték a büntetésként rájuk szabott katonai szolgálatot, ismét mások pedig börtönben sínylődtek.

A nyitást vállaló kávéházak többsége osztrák katonák és hivatalnokok tanyája lett, magyar ember csak ritkán tévedt ezekbe a helyiségekbe, ha mégis betévedt, minden szavát lesték a fizetett kémek és a kormányzat bérencsei. Hosszú időnek kellett eltelnie, míg a magyar szellemi és irodalmi élet képviselői újra visszaszívárogtak a fehér abrosszal letakart asztalok mellé.²⁹

Egyik legkedveltebb találkozóhelyük az Arany Sas Fogadó volt. Az 1850-1860-as évek egyik legfontosabb gyülekezőhelye nem csak asztalait és a vendéglátásban megszokott egyéb szolgáltatásait kínálta vendégeinek, de hitelt is nyújtott azoknak, akik éppen a börtönből vagy a száműzetésből szabadulva betértek falai közé. Josef Protmann rendőrkapitány minden megtett, hogy kémeit ide is bejuttassa, de erőfeszítései nem jártak sikerrel. Ez annak is volt köszönhető, hogy a tulajdonos – igazi hazafi lévén – nem szívárogtatott ki információkat a fogadóban folyó összejövetelekről. Az itt összesegregált írók, költők színészek, orvosok és iparosok félelem nélkül járhattak társaságba. Mozgatórugójuk a „megvirrad még valaha” eszméje volt. A sok fájdalom és elnyomás után itt szervezték újra a régi idők kulturális életét. Krúdy Gyula egyenesen így fogalmaz: „*a korcsmák, kávéházak levegőjében fejlődött az akkorai magyar irodalom megújhodása*”³⁰. Váci utcai lakásának felújítása idején gyakran megfordult a vendéglőben Vörösmarty Mihály is.

Az írói asztalok újraalakulásának másik fontos helyszíne az Arany Ökör kávéház volt. Az akkorai Vármegyeház és a Gránátos utca sarkán álló egyemeletes, egyszerű épületbe betérve a

²⁸ FRANKENBURG 1898. 60.

²⁹ A forradalom utáni Pest-Buda életéről ld. KONRÁDYNÉ GÁLOS 1964c 21.

³⁰ KONRÁDYNÉ GÁLOS 1964c 21., 23.

magyar értelmiségek és a sok szenvedésben megfáradt polgárok egy kis időre megszabadulhattak a császári udvar kémeitől. Az épület földszintjén kapott helyet az osztrák katonák kedvelt szórakozóhelye, az ott eltöltött szabad órák pedig elvonták a katonák figyelmét egyéb kötelességeikről, így az emeleten működő írói társaságok tevékenysége rejte maradhatott a irodalmi kancellária előtt. Ide járt a magyar szellemi élet képviselőinek többsége. Gyakori vendég volt többek között Vajda János, vagy éppen a Tízek Társaságának egykorai alapító tagja, Degré Alajos is. Ezek az írók jelenlétékkal is alátámasztották, hogy az irodalmi élet még nem halt ki teljesen a fővárosi közösségi terekből.

Az itt megalakult társasághoz nap-nap után egyre többen csatlakoztak. Visszatért lombardiai száműzetésből Vadnai Károly, de az osztrák hadseregen letöltött büntetését követően ide tért be elsőként Lisznyay Kálmán is. Tanyát vert még itt az ismert regényírók, Nagy Ignác, Kemény Zsigmond, Vas Gereben vagy Ágai Adolf (Porzó) is. Vadnai Károly emlékezéseiben összefoglalja a kávéház akkori kulturális életben betöltött szerepét: együttesen „*Találtunk egy pontot, melyből ki lehetett zökkeneni a rossz világot, a Bach világot.*”³¹ A maroknyi még életben maradt magyar író nem vesztette el a reményt, amit a magyar irodalom megújítása jelenthetett számukra. Az újraéledő lelkesedés sokakban reményt ébresztett a magyar nemzet sorsának jobbra fordulására. Később csatlakozott a társasághoz a vak Garay János és Vörösmarty Mihály is.

Az írók később áttettek székhelyüket a Komlókertbe, ami szintén a Gránátos utcában helyezkedett el. A kerthelyiség már a forradalmi időkben sok írónak biztosított lehetőséget a feltöltődésre. Hasonlóan az Arany Sas vagy az Arany Ökör fogadóhoz, a Komlókert tulajdonosa is örömmel fogadta a kulturális szellemi élet megmaradt képviselőit. Ebben a helyiségen – Krudy Gyula ránk maradt visszaemlékezései szerint – kötelező volt a magyar beszéd, külföldi szó nem hangozhatott el az összejöveteleken. Ha ez mégis megtörtént – kemény hangon figyelmeztették a szabályok betartására azokat, akik nem magyarul szólaltak meg. Az 1850-es években – eltérően a többi helyiségtől – magyar nótát is hallgathattak itt a betérő vendégek. A jó hangulat megalapozásáról minden este Patikárius Ferkó gondoskodott.³²

Vörösmarty – aki társaival együtt szintén áttette székhelyét a Komlóba – Patikárius játkáját még Baracskán hallotta először. Az 1850-es években írott verseiben meg is örökítette a cigányprímást, amivel – a kortársak véleménye szerint – a Patikárius Ferkó művészete iránti tiszteletét kívánta kifejezni.³³

Az 1860-as évek asztaltársaságainak legfontosabb helyszíne a méltatlanul elfeledett Kávéforrás volt. Hasonlóan a korszak más kisebb helyiségeihez, a nagyobb irodalmi és művészeti társaságok gyülekezőhelyeitől elkülönülve, a magyar nemzeti irodalom ügye iránt érdeklődő fiatal írók itt folytatták szakmai tevékenységüket. Az Arany Ökör kávéházból ide tette át székhelyét Vajda János, de itt szövögette írótársai körében egy új népszínház tervet a fiatal Rákosi Jenő is. E kávéház asztalainál folytatta egymással szakmai vitáit Berczik Árpád és Tóth Kálmán, illetve itt folytatta írói tevékenységét Eötvös Károly és Greguss Ágost is. A fiatalok működése iránti kíváncsiság ideszólította Gyulai Pált és Ábrányi Kornélt is.

A Kávéforrás azonban nem csupán irodalmi viták helyszíne volt. Termei otthont jelentettek mindazoknak a fiatal íróknak és művészüknek, akik életük nagy részében a közösséggért

³¹ KONRÁDYNÉ GÁLOS 1964c 21.

³² A Komlókertben lévő írói asztaltársaságról ld. KONRÁDYNÉ GÁLOS 1964c 23.

³³ KONRÁDYNÉ GÁLOS 1964c 23.

munkálkodtak. A tulajdonos felesége karácsonykor terített asztallal várta a vendégeket, férje pedig naponta kínálta az asztaltársaságok tagjait a legkiválóbb pipadohánnyal. A Kávéforrás lett a fő helyszíne a *Borsszem Jankó* című élcíp szerkesztőségének, ami folyamatos munkahelyet biztosított a fiatal írók számára. A lap fő céljának tekintette, hogy közérthető, vicces formában juttassa el közönségéhez az aktuális politikai élet eseményeit. A rovat „főszereplői” általában Sanyarú Vendel és Mokány Berci voltak. A közönség az ó „előadásukban” ismerhette meg közelebbről a társadalmat leginkább foglalkoztató közéleti témaikat.

A Rákosi Jenő által elképzelt Népszínház terve, a színházi kulturális élet fellendítése, szintén sok író számára jelentett megoldásra váró problémát. A Kávéforrásba járt Szligeti Ede és Csepreghy Ferenc népszínműíró, Dóczi Lajos – aki a színészek számára előadandó darabokat fordított. Az itt megforduló színészek szolgáltatták a műsort a kávéházban, melyhez egy alkalommal Munkácsy Mihály festette a díszleteket. Csepreghy a Kávéforrás asztalán született Vízözön című művét később szintén a Népszínházban adták elő.³⁴

Az 1870-es és 1880-as évek kávéházi asztalainak működéséről nem sokat tudunk. A kávéházi élet az 1890-es években élte második virágkorát. A 19. század utolsó évtizedében – a külföldi példáknak köszönhetően a kávéházi helyiségek is jelentős változásban mentek át. A korízlásnak megfelelően szórakozási lehetőségeik között helyet kaptak a modern zenei műfajokra – opera és operett – épülő előadások, ugyanakkor a régi kávéházak cigányzenekarai is megtalálták saját közönségüket. A csillagó modern kávéházak mellett ugyanakkor megjelentek az éjszakai élet társasági helyszínei, az éjszakai mulatók és orfeumok. Dolgozatom utolsó fejezete a 19. század végi nevesebb asztaltársaságok bemutatásával foglalkozik.

3. A SZÁZADVÉG NEVES IRODALMI ASZTALTÁRSASÁGAI

A 19. század végének kulturális és szellemi élete, annak legfontosabb gyülekezőhelyei a Terézvárosra irányították a figyelmet. Ez a városrész az 1845-ben kiadott *Buda-Pest* című úticímlauz szerint a főváros kereskedelmi központja volt és itt álltak a legfontosabb gyár- és ipartelepek. Ipari külvárosi jellegét azonban – a betelepülők számának emelkedésével párhuzamosan – elvesztette. A Terézváros arculata fél évszázadon belül jelentősen megváltozott. A gyárak és ipartelepek áadták a helyüket az orfeumoknak, kabaréknak és zenés lokáloknak. Ezek a mulatóhelyek világvárosi jelleget kölcsönöztek a hajdani ipari központnak.

A Terézváros szellemi és kulturális életben való vezető szerepének kialakulásához nagymértékben hozzájárultak a kerületben a 19. század végén megnyílt kávéházak. Ezek elsősorban a korabeli Sugárút, Nagymező utca és az Oktogon által határolt nagy terület környékére koncentráltak. Az első fontosabb kávéházi asztaltársaságot az Abbázia kávéházban alakították meg Purjesz-páholy néven. A Purjesz Lajos író nevét viselő szabadkőműves asztaltársaság tagjai a 19. századi magyar irodalom vezéregyéniségeiből kerültek ki. Az asztal mellett töltötte szabadidejét Molnár Ferenc, Bródy Sándor vagy Heltai Jenő, de ez a kávéház adott otthont Gárdonyi Géza Vese-asztalának, illetve ide térték be előadásaik után az Operaház és a Zeneakadémia művészei is..³⁵

³⁴ A Kávéforrásról ld. KONRÁDYNÉ GÁLÓS 1975b 38.

³⁵ A Terézvárosról ld. WIRTH 1969. 11.

Az irodalom jeles képviselői mellett az Abbáziában adtak egymásnak találkozót a kávéház Teréz körúti szárnyában a festők, szobrászok és építészek is. Az asztalfön általában a vidéki élet képeit csendéletként megfestő Bihari Sándor foglalt helyet. Asztaltársaságuk tagjai között találjuk Vesztróczy Manót, Donáth Gyula kőművesmestert, valamint a haladó szellemű művészeket. 1900-tól kezdve minden nap látogatta az asztalt Kernstok Károly is, akit a század végének legtehetségesebb festőjeként tartottak számon. Az építészeket képviselte az asztalnál Lechner Ödön, akire a fiatal építészgeneráció patronálójaként tekintett.

A legnagyobb érdeklődést az Abbázia asztalai iránt a leginkább a Műcsarnokban rendezett kiállítások alkalmával tanúsították a látogatók. Egymásnakadták a kilincset a vidéki művészek, akik minden megtettek, hogy rábeszéljék a kiállítások zsűritagjait, hogy az általuk legtöbbre tartott művészeknek ítélijék a kiállításon kapható díjakat. Ennek apropóján számos művészeti szakmai vita fontos helyszínévé is vált az Abbázia. Egy idő után azonban az Abbázia tulajdonosa megelégette, hogy a művészek a kávéház képes folyóiratainak illusztrációjait „eltulajdonították”, mert ezek a cselekedetek anyagi kárt jelentettek a kávéház számára. Épp ezért a folyóiratok képeire ráüttette a kávéház bélyegzőjét, amely a következő feliratot tartalmazta: „*Ezt a képet az Abbazia-kávéházból loptam.*”³⁶

Ez a cselekedet természetesen mélyen felháborította a „tolvaj” művészket. Válaszként az Abbázia néhány művésze az éj leple alatt az alábbi feliratot meszelte a kávéház oldalára: „*Ezt a házat az Abbazia-kávéházból loptam.*”³⁷ Lechner Ödön és társasága pedig örökre elhagyta az Abbázia termeit és székhelyét áttette az Andrássy úton lévő Japán kávéházba.

Művészszatalukat a kávéház Andrássy útra néző sarokablaka mögött rendezték be. Nem tudni, miért egy sarokasztalt választottak találkozóik színhelyéül. Az is elképzelhető, hogy Lechner Ödön kifejezett kívánsága volt, hogy a beszélgetések közepette is természetes fény nél rajzolgathassa tervezet a kávéház márványasztalán és figyelemmel kísérhesse közben a pezsgő utcai életet is. A Japán művészszatala - az Abbázia-beli időkhöz hasonlóan – műcsarnoki kiállítások idején és a szép napsütéses nyári időben örvendett a legnagyobb népszerűségnek.³⁸

A Lechner Ödön után elnevezett Papszi-asztal mellett egymást váltották az asztalnál a vidéki művészeti élet képviselői, civil foglalkozású művészeti pártolók és az asztaltársaság tagjainak barátai. A legnagyobb érdeklődés mindenkor a művészeti politikai viták idején övezte az itt tartott összejöveteleket³⁹ „Békeidőben” a művészszatal bal sarkában Papszi bácsival szemközt foglalt helyet a Meissonier-tanítvány, Kardos Gyula. Papszi azonban a napfénynél sokkal szívesebben hódolt kedves időtöltésének és inkább az utcán folyó eseményeket figyelte és legtöbbször csak napnyugta után elegyedett szóba a művészszatalnál helyet foglaló többi művésszel.

A Japán kávéház művészszatalának második generációja – ellentétben az alapítókkal – nem az akadémikus irányzatot képviselték és nem övezte őket akkora érdeklődés, mint az állami művészeti díjak és a nagy megrendelések várományosait. Az új generáció tagjai – Ferenczy Károly, Grünwald Béla, Rippl-Rónai József, Csók István, Fényes Adolf és társaik – a szűkebb műértő körben tettek szert nagyobb ismertségre, művészeti körük az országosan ismert nagyközönség nem értékelte érdemeik szerint. Rippl-Rónai első kiállításain több olyan nézelődöt is látni lehetett,

³⁶ MELLER 1946. 440.

³⁷ MELLER 1946. 440.

³⁸ HERMAN 2001. 286, 292.

³⁹ HERMAN 2001. 292.

akik egy-egy kép láttán hangos kacagásban törtek ki. Az általa képviselt naturalista stílus ugyanis Magyarországon a 20. századig nem talált kedvező fogadtatásra. A későbbiekben hozzájuk csatlakoztak az Abbázia kávéház expresszionista festészettel képviselő művészei is, élükön Ker-nstok Károllyal.

A Japán kávéház művészszasztala harmadik generációjának legismertebb képviselője kétségtelenül Szinyei Merse Pál volt. Korai művészeti képeivel a modern festészeti irányzatot képviselte, de erőfeszítései nem találtak kedvező fogadtatásra, ezért egy időre letette az ecsetet és politikai pályára lépett, felvidéki munkapárti politikusként. Politikai tevékenységében mindvégig Tisza István elveit követte, míg végül országgyűlési képviselővé választották. Politikai karrierjét az 1890-es évek végén fejezte be, amikor az 1896-os országos ezredéves kiállításon már, mint ünnepelt festőművész köszöntötték. 1904-ben a kormány megvásárolta a negyedszázaddal azelőtt festett Majális című képét és kinevezték a Képzőművészeti Főiskola igazgatójává és így került kapcsolatba végül a Japán kávéház művészszasztalával is.

A hivatalos művészeken kívül sok művészeti kritikus és műgyűjtő is megfordult is megfordult a Japánban. Közéjük tartozott Petrovics Elek, aki ebben az időben a Belügyminisztérium munkatársaként dolgozott. Munkássága elismeréseként 1914-ben a Szépművészeti múzeum igazgatójává választották. Ennél az asztalnál telepedett le kávéházi látogatásai során Lázár Béla, aki szívgyünyek tekintette az új stílusú magyar művészet népszerűsítését. Gyakran felkereste a művészszasztalt a híres műgyűjtő, Ernst Lajos is, aki asztaltársaitól meghletve alapítja meg a nevével fémjelzett Ernst Múzeumot, de megfordult itt az értelmiségi művészvilág valamennyi ismert képviselője.

A művészszasztalnál nem voltak alapszabályok, tag bárki lehetett, aki elég nagy érdeklődést érzett magában a művészletek iránt. A névleges elnöki posztot Szinyei töltötte be, de ez a tisztség nem járt együtt semmilyen előjoggal. A művészszasztal tagjai hamarosan úgy döntötték, hivatalos művészcsoporthoz folytatják addigi kötetlen tevékenységüket. A tárgyalások eredményeként a művészszasztalnál megalakult a Magyar Impresszionisták és Naturalisták Köré (MIÉNK). A szerveződés keretein belül a művészek kiállításokat szerveztek és kísérletet tettek a művészeti díjak odaítélését célzó szabályok megváltoztatását célzó javaslatok megtételére is. Azonban, mivel a Japán művészszasztal laikus tagjai nem vehettek részt a MIÉNK munkájában, a szervezet csakhamar feloszlott, helyébe a laikusok által alapított szabadiskola lépett. E szabadiskola első növendékei közé tartozott többek között Szinyei-Merse Pál, Nemes Marcell, Hatvany Ferenc vagy Majovszky Pál műgyűjtők.⁴⁰

A Japán művészszasztala az első világháború végén megszűnt. Az egykor kötetlen asztaltársaság helyét a Szinyei Merse Pál Társaság vette át, amely már szigorú szabályok szerint működött és személyes jellege fennállása 25 éve alatt teljesen formálissá vált.⁴¹

A korízlés megkövetelte a zenés mulatóhelyek létrejöttét is. Ezt az irány vonalat volt hivatalos kiszolgálni a Három Holló kávéház, mely a Japántól nem messzire helyezkedett el. Zenés jellegéből fakadóan elsősorban az artisták, a táncosok és egyéb művészek asztalait lehetett itt megtalálni, de irodalmi nagyságok is szívesen időztek az asztaloknál. 1905 elején egy átmulatott este után betévedt ide Ady Endre is, jó barátja és írótársa, Révész Béla társaságában. Ettől kezdve esténként itt adtak egymásnak találkozót. Ady itt rendezte be írói asztalát, ahol sok

⁴⁰ A Japán kávéház asztalanak művészgenerációról ld. MELLER 1946. 440.

⁴¹ MELLER 1946. 443.

esetben hajnalig írta költeményeit a *Budapesti Napló* rovata számára. Baráti társaságával együtt innen indulnak el esténként a város éjszakai mulatóhelyeire – a Nagymező utcai Orfueum kávéházba, a Révay utcában lévő Casino de Paris helyéhébe, vagy éppen a Nagymező utcai Kovács vendéglőbe – egy kis éjjeli „félresiklás” kedvéért.⁴²

ÖSSZEFoglalás

A 19. századi pesti kávéházak többet jelentettek a kor embere számára egyszerű szórakozóhelyeknél. Alapfeladatuk természetesen a vendéglátás volt, ám ennél jóval többet adtak a helyiségekbe betérő fővárosi lakosoknak, valamint a városon keresztül utazó vidéki embereknek vagy a külföldieknek. A város ragyogó kávéházairól számos színes útleírásban emlékeztek meg az átutazók. Az itt folyó élénk társasági élet a 19. században sokat vonzott a kávéházak városába.

A század elején és közepén létrejött asztaltársaságok tagjai a kulturális és szakmai viták mellett a résztvevők szívesen megvitatták egymással a politikai élet legfontosabb eseményeit is. A szabadságharc leverését követően azonban az egykor forradalmi központoknak számító irodalmi kávéházak szerepe megváltozott. Az 1850-es évektől kezdve elsődleges feladatuknak tekintették, hogy részt vegyenek a kulturális élet felvirágzatásában. Ennek köszönhetően a korábban pezsgő társasági élet az élet kezdtet visszatérni a régi kerékvágásba.

Az 1890-es években aztán – a fokozódó külföldi behatásoknak is köszönhetően – a kávéháznak alkalmazkodniuk kellett a modern korszak igényeihez. Ekkor a városban már nem csak a szó klasszikus értelmében vett kávéházak vannak jelen. Mindinkább helyet kapnak mellettük a modern szórakozási formákat biztosító zenés mulatóhelyek is. A kávéházakban azonban a modernizálódás ellenére is megtalálhatjuk a korábbi évtizedek klasszikus asztaltársaságait, ami bizonyítja, hogy a művészletek a megújuló kávéházi környezetben is megtalálták közönségüket.

Felhasznált irodalom

BÁRTFAI SZABÓ LÁSZLÓ (1930): Széchenyi, Petőfi és az Ellenzéki Kör 1848-ban. Előadás a Szent István Akadémia 1929. 22-i ülésén. *Magyar Könyvszemle* 37. évf. 1-2. sz. 3–28.

FÁBRI ANNA (1987): Az irodalom magánélete. Irodalmi szalonok és társaskörök Pesten 1779–1848. Budapest, Magvető Kiadó

FRANKENBURG ADOLF (1898): *A Tízek*. In: BARTÓK LAJOS – ENDRŐDI SÁNDOR – SZANA TAMÁS [szerk.] (1898): *Petőfi-album*. Budapest, Athenaeum Irod. és Nyomdai R. T. 56–61.

HERMAN LIPÓT (2001): A művészszín. A Japán művészszín fénykora (1910–1920). *Budapesti Negyed*. 9. évf. 2–3. sz. 286–294.

KONRÁDYNÉ GÁLÓS MAGDA (1964): A Csigából kinőtt Nemzeti Kör. *Vendéglátás* 8. évf. 2. sz. 5.

KONRÁDYNÉ GÁLÓS MAGDA (1964): A Közvélemény Asztala a Pilvaxban. *Vendéglátás* 8. évf. 3. sz. 4–5.

⁴² WIRTH 1969. 11.

KONRÁDYNÉ GÁLOS MAGDA (1964): Fogadók, korcsmák, kávéházak jelentősége az abszolutizmus korában. *Vendéglátás* 8. évf. 4. sz. 21,23.

KONRÁDYNÉ GÁLOS MAGDA (1975): Irodalmunk hajdani hajlékai. *Budapest*. 13. évf. 9. sz. 38–39.

KONRÁDYNÉ GÁLOS MAGDA (1975): Irodalmunk hajdani hajlékai III. Irodalmi fórumok és szerkesztőiségek – kávéházakban. *Budapest* 13. évf. 11. sz. 36–38.

MELLER SIMON (1946): A Japán-kávéház művészszasztala. Pólya Tibor rajzaival. *Budapest* 2. évf. 12. sz. 440–443.

NAGY LAJOS (1975): *Művelődési élet*. In Kosáry Domokos (szerk.) (1975): *Budapest története III*. Budapest története a török kiűzésétől a márciusi forradalomig. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó. 502–503.

SALY NOÉMI (2004): „Ide minden rangú ember és mindenki nem eljöhét...” A pesti kávéház mint a társasélet színtere. *Budapesti Negyed* 12. évf. 4. sz. 39–66.

TÁBORI KORNÉL (1921): Gyűlde, Pillvax és Védegylet. In Tábori Kornél (1921): *Titkosrendőrség és kamarilla*. Akták-adatok a bécsi titkos udvari és rendőrségi levéltárkból. Budapest, Athenaeum Irodalmi és Nyomdai R.-Társulat. 65–66.

WIRTH PÉTER (1969): Márvaryasztalok mellett. Írók, művészek a Terézvárosban. *Budapest* 7. évf. 1. sz. 11.

DÁVID BENJÁMIN

d.ben0269@gmail.com
doktorandusz (SZTE BTK)

Magyar historiográfia a Nagy Háborúról. Könyvismertető

Hungarian historiography about the Great War. Review.



SZŐTS ZOLTÁN OSZKÁR (2020): *Az első világháború az 1945 előtti magyar történetírásban*. Nézőpontok, műfajok, intézmények. Pécs, Kronosz.

DOI 10.14232/belv.2021.4.7

<https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2021.4.67>

Cikkre való hivatkozás / How to cite this article:

Dávid Benjámin (2021): Magyar historiográfia a Nagy Háborúról. Könyvismertető. Belvedere Meridionale 33. évf. 4. sz. 107–118. pp

ISSN 1419-0222 (print)

ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

(Creative Commons) Nevezd meg! – Így add tovább! 4.0 (CC BY-SA 4.0)

(Creative Commons) Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-SA 4.0)

www.belvedere-meridionale.hu

Szöts Zoltán Oszkár 2020 őszi megjelenő *Az első világháború az 1945 előtti magyar történetírásban* című kötetét először kézbe véve, egy olyan letisztult könyvborítót láthatunk, ami egyértelműen sugallja, hogy milyen témat dolgozott fel a szerző. Szöts az első világháborús történetírás egy kevésbé kutatott téma ját, a Nagy Háború hazai historiográfiai áttekintését veszi kutatása középpontjába. A kötet három szemszögből, a nézőpontok, a műfajok és az intézmények megközelítési irányból ragadja meg az első világháború 1945 előtti magyar történetírásban elfoglalt helyét. A könyv összefoglalóját és a szerzőről a legfontosabb információkat a kihajtható borító belső felében olvashatja az érdeklődő, mely kiegészít a borító elején látható

emlékművet. A könyv terjedelme összesen 255 oldal, amelyből több mint 55 oldalnyi bibliográfia tétel található, ami szintén bizonyítja, hogy a szerző rendkívül alapos munkát végzett a szakirodalom felhasználásakor. Ez a bibliográfiai lista egyúttal nagy segítség is lehet az első világháború kutatói számára. Ezen felül névmutató is készült a szöveghez, ami megkönyíti az olvasó számára a fontosabb nevek és kifejezések megkeresését. A kötet puhakötéssel készült, de további pozitívumként említhető meg, hogy többszöri forgatás és olvasás után is jól illeszkedik a lapok.

A kötet alapjául *Az első generáció –Az első világháború értelmezései az 1945 előtti magyar történetírásban*¹ című a szerző által Eötvös Lóránd Tudományegyetemen benyújtott, majd summa cum laude minősítésével megvédett értekezésén alapszik. A kötet elkészítését segítette, hogy Szőts Zoltán Oszkár az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár mellett, a Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltárában is dolgozott, melynek adatai segíteni és mélyíteni tudták a téma feldolgozását. A kötet szerzője nemcsak kutatott, hanem munkatársként dolgozott azon intézményekben, amelyek kutatóhelyül is szolgáltak az első világháborús magyar történetírás historiográfiai összegzéséhez.

A bevezetés és az összegzés mellett további két nagy fejezetre oszlik a mű. Az első egységen a historiográfiai áttekintéssel ismerkedhet meg az olvasó, ezen felül az első világháborúval foglalkozó nemzetközi és magyar kutatók négy generációját ismerteti Szőts. A második fejezet képezi a könyv címéül szolgáló részt, ahol az intézmények által gyűjtött forrásanyagok mellett megjelennek a memoárok, a katonaírók és a hadtörténészek, katonai és történettudományi szakfolyóiratok, történelemkönyvek, ugyanakkor a népi emlékezetről, hőskultuszról, emlékezetpolitikáról is olvashatunk.

Historiográfiai szempontból két fő művet emel ki a szerző, melyek segítségével tipizálja és kategorizálja a magyarországi első generáció által írt műveket. Nemzetközi szinten Jay Winter és Antoine Prost² írásait tekinti origónak Szőts, akik sajátosságok szerint generációkra osztják fel az első világháború kutatásával foglalkozó szakembereket. Az emlékiratokhoz pedig Romsics Gergely³ kategorizálási modelljét használta fel Szőts Zoltán Oszkár a kötetében. Az áttekintést alapját a kronológia képezi, amelynek végpontja a mérföldkőnek tekintett az 1945-ös év, amit az első világháború első nagy historiográfia korszakhatárának ír le. Szőts Zoltán Oszkár által választott kategorizálási forma azért is logikus és célszerű, hiszen ezáltal az egyes politikai tényezők historiárára gyakorolt hatása is jobban elkülöníthetők.

A második fejezetekben a Jay Winter által meghatározott első világháborúval foglalkozó kutatók négy generációja kerül bemutatásra, ezen belül egyaránt a nemzetközi és magyar szerzők munkáit ismerteti a szerző. Az első generáció fő sajátossága állapítható meg, hogy ekkor elsősorban nem történészi munkák születnek, hanem a világháborúban harcoló és részt vevő katonák munkái kerülnek kiadásra. A művek egyértelmű célja az, hogy az adott ország katonai vezetése levonja a világháború (katonai és hadászati) tanulságait, ezekre a tapasztalatokra építve egy esetleges eljövendő háborúra taktikai és stratégiai alappal rendelkezzenek. A szerző az első világháborús történetírás egy kevésbé kutatott témaáról, jelen esetben a Nagy Háború hazai historiográfiai áttekintését célozza meg, amelyről hiába született több monográfia is, az első

¹ Szőts 2018.

² WINTER–PROST 2004., 2005., 2009., 2014.

³ ROMSICS 2004., 2010. 179–196.

világháború témájában az elmúlt száz év során eddig még nem készült egy önálló összefoglaló munka. Szöts Zoltán Oszkár kiemeli, hogy ennek ellenére voltak olyan művek, amelyek egy-egy nemzet historiográfiájába vagy nemzetközi kitekintésben közelítette meg a historiográfiát, ami igazolja azt, hogy a magyar történetírás sok esetben felhasználva külföldi munkákat. Az első generációra fő sajátosságai közé tartozik, hogy a háború eseményeit vizsgálták, azonban hadtörténeti szempontból nem feleltek meg a tudományos igényeknek. Ebben az időszakban számos munka témakörenek a középpontjában a háborús felelősség kérdését állítják, ami ké-zőbbi generációknál újból és újból meg fog jelenni. A két világháború között kiadott munkák jelentős része a német felt okolja a háború kirobbantásáért, ebben a felfogásban változás csak az 1950-es években következik be.

Az úgynevezett „Lenini” gondolatok az első generáció egyik alfaját képviselte. Ez a gondolkodás további problémát jelentet, ugyanis az 1945 után Magyarországon hivatalos alapként szolgál, így a magyar történetírásban a háború második generációja valójában továbbra is az első generáció elemeit és sajátosságait hordozza, annyi különbséggel, hogy baloldali gondolatok és elemek határozzák azt meg. Mégis ezekben az években jelenik meg hazánkban az első nagy első világháborús monográfiai Galántai József tollából⁴, amely egészen a 2014-ben megjelent Hajdu–Pöllmann⁵ kötetig egyedüli összefoglaló monografiának számított a magyar történetírásban. Míg 1945 után Magyarországon a „Lenini” megközelítés dominál, addig Nyugat-Európában az első világháborús kutatások középpontjában a társadalmi megközelítés kerül fokozatosan előtérbe. Ezzel együtt fokozatosan erősödik meg egy kollektív felelősségtudat is, de a marxista megközelítési módok is folyamatosan jelennek vannak (társadalmi osztályok konfliktusa) a nyugati történetírásban. Pók Attila⁶ 2015-ös munkájában a nyugat-európai historiográfia írásait vizsgálja.

A harmadik generáció megjelenése az 1990-es évek elejére tehető, ekkor a szerzők munkáiban elsősorban a mentalitásokat, megatartásformákat, érzelmi és pszichés hatásokat, valamint identitás és emlékezet téma kerülnek az elemzések középpontjába, ezzel együtt megerősödött a téma társadalom és kultúrtörténeti megközelítése is. Erre a generációra Paul Fussel⁷ és John Keegan⁸ írásai a gyakorolták a legnagyobb hatást. Magyarországon 1989 után számos olyan idegen nyelvű munka jelenhetett meg magyar fordításban, amelyek már évek óta nemzetközi szinten meghatározónak számítottak az első világháborút kutatók körében. (A. J. P. Taylor⁹, Eric Hobsbawm¹⁰ és John Keegan¹¹ is ekkor kerültek először magyar fordításban a hazai könyvespolcokra.) Hiába az újabb magyar és nemzetközi művek megjelenése, ennek ellenére továbbra sem jelent meg nagy összefoglaló monográfia magyar nyelven. A téma kutatása tekintetében fokozatosan előtérbe került a hadszíntérkutatás és az ezredtörténetek feldolgozása. Pszichológia, társadalomtörténeti és a hátországgal kapcsolatos témaújítások közelében a kutatások középpontjába

⁴ GALÁNTAI 1964.

⁵ HAJDU–PÖLLMANN

⁶ PÓK 2015.

⁷ FUSSEL 1975.

⁸ KEEGAN 1976.

⁹ TAYLOR 1988.

¹⁰ HOBSBAWM 1998.

¹¹ KEEGAN 2000.

kerültek. A magyar történetírásról elmondható, hogy 1990 után elsősorban az eddig elfelejtett kérdésköröket kezdi el megvizsgálni.

A negyedik generáció sajátosságai közé tartozik többek között, hogy tagjai már globális kérdéseket fogalmaznak meg és globális összefüggésekre keresik a válaszokat. Hazai viszonylatban inkább egy centenárium generációról beszélhetünk, ennek keretén belül jelent meg 2014-ben Hajdu Tibor és Pollmann Ferenc¹² közös nagy monográfiája is, emellett Bihari Péter¹³ 2014-ben megjelent munkáját emelte ki Szőts. A centenárium további pozitív hozama, hogy számos idegen nyelvű munka kiadásra kerülhetett magyar fordításban. Az elmúlt tíz év pozitív hozadéka, hogy számos könyvet, folyóiratot és korabeli dokumentumot digitalizáltak, amelyeket a széles közönség számára is elérhetővé tettek különböző internetes adatbázisokban. Az első világháború centenáriumának további haszna, hogy a témaiban (nemzetközi) tudományos konferenciákat szerveztek, amelyekből számos tanulmánykötet is készült, ezzel tovább erősödött és mélyült a nemzetek történészei közötti együttműködés.

A következő fejezetben a szerző a magyarországi első generációs írásműveit vizsgálja meg részletesen. Ebben a részben találkozhatunk a nézőpontok, műfajok és intézmények címben is szereplő hármas felosztásával. Az első alfejezetben az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (OSZK) világháborús gyűjteménye kerül ismertetésre. Az intézmény egységeinek rövid bemutatása után, részletes információkat kapunk arra vonatkozóan, hogy miként zajlott az OSZK-ban az első világháborús folyóiratok és egyéb szakmai munkák gyűjtése. Fontos megjegyezni, hogy a háború ideje alatt a hazai megjelenéstű folyóiratok mellett idegennyelvű, elsősorban német nyelvű anyagokat vásárolt folyamatosan a könyvtár. A későbbiekben a gyűjteményből egyedül a kéziratokat választották le, így a dokumentumok mind a mai napig egy fondban találhatóak meg az OSZK-ban, ami várja, hogy feldolgozásra kerüljön. Már a világháború ideje alatt kerültek megjelentetésre hadtörténeti témaúj írások, ennek bibliográfiájában nagy segítséget nyújt Pánity Vukoszava¹⁴ által készített bibliográfia. Pánity által összeállított anyagot a könyv szerzője, Szőts Zoltán Oszkár¹⁵ dolgozta fel, amely 2014-ben önálló kötet formájában jelent meg. Számos olyan munka is megtalálható ebben a gyűjteményben, amely valamely újság mellékleteként¹⁶ adtak közre a világháború ideje alatt. Emellett hivatalos szervek (minisztériumok), haditudósítók, önálló kötetei is kiadásra kerültek. A könyv további érdeme közé sorolható, hogy e fejezetben belül önálló részt kapott a katonai tábori újságok bemutatása, mely az olvasók számára számos újdonságot nyújthat.

A fejezet következő részében az első generációs memoárírók, történetírók és gazdasági szakírók munkáit ismerheti meg részletesen az olvasó. A memoárok ból rendkívül hasznos és részletes információt nyerhetünk ki, melyet a szerző is kiemel, hiszen a magyar történetírás még mindig nem használt ki teljesen ezt a gazdag forrásbázist. Az 1945 előtti emlékiratokkal Romsics Gergely¹⁷ foglalkozott részletesebben, művében a magyar politikai elit visszaemlékezéseit vizsgálta, melynek egyik központi témaja az ország felbomlása szerepelt. A következő

¹² HAJDU–POLLMANN 2014.

¹³ BIHARI 2014.

¹⁴ PÁNITY 1921.

¹⁵ SZŐTS 2014.

¹⁶ TOLNAI világlapja

¹⁷ ROMSICS 2004.

fejezetben az olvasó a különböző tudományos szakfolyóiratok első világháborús írásaival ismerkedhetnek meg: ezek a periodikák, a Magyar Katonai Közlöny, a Magyar Katonai Szemle, a Hadtörténelmi Közlemények és a Századok. Az előbbi két katonai lapban a harci események mellett, hadászati és harcászati publikációk, alakulatok rövid időbeli bemutatása került publikálásra, addig a Századok folyóiratban elsősorban recenziókat jelentettek meg.

Az I. világháború során szerzett tapasztalatokat elsősorban a haderő kívánta felhasználni. Ennek értelmében a két világháború közötti szakmunkák elsődleges célja az volt, hogy a harctéren szerezett gyakorlatok feldolgozása mellett a tisztkar tanulhasson a háborúból. A Hadtörténeti Múzeum célul tűzte ki egy tízkötetes összefoglaló elkészítését. Szakszerű kutatómunka alapján kívánták megalkotni a sorozat egyes köteteit, melynek címe: *A világháború 1914–1918. Különös tekintettel Magyarországra és a magyar csapatok szereplésére*. A kötet részletes és magas színvonala miatt a sorozat félbemaradt, az utolsó része 1942-ben jelent meg, A sorozat jelentős része hadtörténeti munka, mely magyarázó szövegekkel és mellékelt térképekkel van ellátva. Egyenrangú a korabeli európai sorozatokkal, melyben a hazai forrásokon kívül számos idegennyelvű (elsősorban német, francia, angol és román) munkát is felhasználtak.

A fejezet egyik legjelentősebb része a nagyközönségnek szánt művek részletes ismertetése. Ebben az alfejezetben, olyan munkák kerültek felsorolásra, amelyek a háború egészét kívánják megismertetni az olvasókkal, és a mai napig meghatározó a tudományos szakma számára. Az első ilyen műként említhető meg az 1927-ben Kállay István tollából megjelent *Magyarország a világháborúban. 1914–1918.*¹⁸ című munka. Ezen felül Szöts könyv további műveket említi és mutat be részletesen az olvasók számára: Pilch Jenő: *Világháború története*¹⁹; az első monografiát Czékus Zoltán²⁰ írta; Julier Ferenc: *1914–1918. A Világháború magyar szemmel*²¹; Aggházy Kamil – Stefán Valér²² munkáját; továbbá De Sgardelli Caesar²³ írását azért kell kiemelni, mert ezt tekintjük az első magyar kézikönyvnek, amely a világháborúról szól.

A fejezet következő részben a különböző alakulattörténeti munkák kerültek bemutatásra. Az alakulattörténetek, mint műfaj a két világháború között vált tömegessé. A Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum honlapján²⁴ ma már 104 ezredtörténet érhető el.

Szöts Zoltán könyvében külön alfejezetet szánt a két világháború közötti közoktatás tankönyveinek bemutatására, melyben Unger Mátyás²⁵ munkája említhető meg ki. Kiemeli, hogy ezeknek a tankönyveknek szemléletformáló hatásuk volt, hiszen az iskolai tankönyvben elsősorban világháború megítélése volt az elsődleges, nem pedig az eseménytörténetet meg tanítása Ezen belül fontos szerepet kapott a militarizmus, a férfiasság, a hősiesség, a nemzeti identitás erősítése, az áldozathozatal vagy a mártírhalál eszménye. Továbbá a tankönyvekben megjelent az a gondolat, hogy a katona csak hős lehet, az elesett katona pedig hősi halott, akit tisztelni kell.

¹⁸ KÁLLAY 1927.

¹⁹ PILCH 1928.

²⁰ CZEKUS 1930.

²¹ JULIER 1933.

²² AGGHÁZY – Stefán 1934.

²³ DE SGARDELLI 1935.

²⁴ MAGYAR EZREDEK AZ I. VILÁGHÁBORÚBAN

²⁵ UNGER 1976.

A könyv utolsó fejezetében a két világháború közötti népi emlékezet, hőskultusz és emlékezetpolitika kerül a középpontba. Szöts megfelelően hangsúlyozza, hogy különbséget kell tenni az elit és a népi kultúra között. A fejezetben elsősorban Gyáni Gábor²⁶ emlékezetpolitikáról írott művei kerülnek kiemelésre, fontos elem, hogy a nemzeti emlékezet szemben áll az egyszerű ember által megélt háborúval. Ezen felül Ságvári György²⁷ kanonizált emlékezet és Püske Levente József herceg szerepvállalásáról írt munkája emelhető ki.²⁸ A szerző felhívja a figyelmet, hogy a háború antropológiai és mentalitástörténet hiánya figyelhető meg a történeti írásokban, melyre nagyobb hangsúlyt kellene fektetnie a történész szakmának.

Véleményem szerint Szöts Zoltán Oszkár munkája hiánypótlónak tekinthető a magyar historiográfia és történésztársadalom számára. Könyve alapos, logikusan felépített és olvasmányos, mely nemcsak a szűk szakma számára nyújthat új információkat, hanem a történelem iránt érdeklődők számára is, melyet segít terjedelmes bibliográfiai jegyzék. Úgy gondolom, hogy a jövő történész generációi számára már historiográfiai óráinak alapműveként kell majd használniuk ezt a kötetet. Bízom benne, a szerző jövőbeni tervei közt szerepel, hogy folytatja a az első világháborús magyar historiográfia részletes feldolgozását, mindez annak a fényében, hogy a centenárium alkalmából számos munka készült a könyv lezárását követő időszakban.

FELHASZNÁLT IRODALOM

AGGHÁZY KAMIL – STEFÁN VALÉR (1934): *A világháború 1914–1918*. Budapest, Országos Közművelődési Tanács könyvossztálya.

BIHARI PÉTER (2014): *1914 – A Nagy Háború 100 éve. Személyes Történetek*. Budapest, Kalligram.

CZÉKUS ZOLTÁN (1930): *Az 1914–1918. évi világháború összefoglaló történelme*. Budapest, Szerző.

DE SGARDELLI CAESAR (1935): *A világháború kézikönyve, 1914–1918*. Budapest, Lloyd.

FUSSELL, PAUL (1975): *The Great War and Modern Memory*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

GALÁNTAI JÓZSEF (1964): *Magyarország az első világháborúban*. Budapest, Gondolat.

GYÁNI Gábor (2000): Kollektív emlékezet és nemzeti identitás. In: Gyáni Gábor: *Emlékezés, emlékezet és a történelem elbeszélése*. Budapest, Napvilág, 81–94.

GYÁNI Gábor (2010): Az első világháború és a paraszti emlékezet. In: Gyáni Gábor: *Az elvezíthető múlt. A tapasztalat mint emlékezet és történelem*. Budapest, Nyitott Könyvműhely, 294–303.

GYÁNI Gábor (2015): Az első világháború emlékezete. In: Tomka Béla (szerk.): *Az első világháború következményei Magyarországon*. Budapest, Országgyűlés Hivatala, 311–332.

²⁶ GYÁNI 2000. 81–94.; 2010. 294–303.; 2015. 311–332.

²⁷ SÁGVÁRI 2005.

²⁸ PÜSKI 2015. 233–242.

HAJDU TIBOR – POLLMANN FERENC (2014): *A régi Magyarország utolsó háborúja. 1914–1918.* Budapest, Osiris.

HOBBSAWM, ERIC (1998): *A szélsőségek kora. A rövid 20. század története, 1914–1991.* Budapest, Pannonica.

JULIER FERENC (1933): *1914–1918. A világháború magyar szemmel.* Budapest, Magyar Szemle.

KÁLLAY ISTVÁN (szerk.) (1927): *Magyarország a világháborúban. 1914–1918.* Budapest, „Magyarország a világháborúban” Kiadóváll.

KEEGAN, JOHN (1976): *The Face of Battle: A study of Agincourt, Waterloo and the Somme.* London, Jonathan Cape Ltd.

KEEGAN, JOHN (2000): *A csata arca. A közkatonák háborúja 1415–1916.* Agincourt, Waterloo és a Somme. Budapest, Aquila.

KEEGAN, JOHN (2010): *Az első világháború.* Budapest, Európa.

MAGYAR EZREDEK AZ I. VILÁGHÁBORÚBAN: <http://magyarezredek.hu/> (letöltés dátuma: 2021. április 19.)

PÁNITY VUKOSZAVA (1921): A katonai és katonai ténykedéssel összefüggő irodalmi termékek jegyzéke. *Magyar Katonai Közlöny*, 1921/1–3, 1921/5–6.

PILCH JENŐ (szerk.) (1928): *A világháború története.* Budapest, Franklin.

PÜSKI LEVENTE (2015): A világháborús emlékezés reprezentatív személyisége a Horthykorszakban: Habsburg József főherceg. In: Püski Levente – Kerepeszki Róbert (szerk.): *A „Nagy háború” és emlékezete.* Debrecen, Debreceni Egyetem Történelmi Intézet. 233–242.

ROMSICS GERGELY (2014): Mítosz és emlékezet. A Habsburg Birodalom felbomlása az osztrák és a magyar politikai elit emlékirat-irodalmában. Budapest, L’Harmattan.

ROMSICS GERGELY (2010): Az első világháborús magyar emlékezetkultúra. In: Romsics Ignác (főszerk.) *Magyarország az első világháborúban.* Budapest, Kossuth – Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum. 179–196.

SÁGVÁRI GYÖRGY (2005): Tárgyiasult emlékezet – emlékművek, múzeumok a nagy háborúról. *Történeti Muzeológiai Szemle 5.* A Magyar Múzeumi Történész Társulat Évkönyve. Budapest, Magyar Múzeumi Történész Társulat. 147–179.

SZŐTS ZOLTÁN OSZKÁR (2014): *Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár egykorи első világháborús gyűjteménye.* Budapest, OSZK – Gondolat.

SZŐTS ZOLTÁN OSZKÁR (2018): *Az első generáció –Az első világháború értelmezései az 1945 előtti magyar történetírásban.* Doktori Disszertáció. Budapest. https://edit.elte.hu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10831/40466/dissz_Szots_Zoltan_Oszkar_tortenelemtud.pdf?sequence=1 (letöltés dátuma: 2021. április 6.)

SZŐTS ZOLTÁN OSZKÁR (2020): *Az első világháború az 1945 előtti magyar történetírásban.* Nézőpontok, műfajok, intézmények. Pécs, Kronosz.

TAYLOR, ALAN JOHN PERCIVALE (1988): *Az első világháború képes krónikája.* Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.

TOLNAI (1915–1917): *A világháború története: 1914–1917: diplomáciai okiratok, hivatalos jelentések, szemtanúk hiteles följegyzései és eredeti adatok nyomán*. Budapest, Magyar Kereskedelmi Közlöny.

UNGER MÁTYÁS (1976): *A történelmi tudat alakulása középiskolai történelemtankönyveinkben a századfordulótól a felszabadulásig*. Budapest, Tankönyvkiadó.

WINTER, JAY (2009): Approaching the History of the Great War. A User’s Guide. In: Winter, Jay (ed.): *The Legacy of the Great War. Ninety Years On..* Columbia, Missouri, University of Missouri Press.

WINTER, JAY (ed.) (2014): *Cambridge History of the First World War. I–III*. Cambridge, Cabridge University Press.

WINTER, JAY – PROST, ANTOINE (2004): Penser le Grande guerre. Un essai historiographique. Paris, Seuil.

WINTER, JAY – PROST, ANTOINE (2005): *The Great War in History: Debates and Controversies. 1914 to Present*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

VAS BERNADETT

vasdetti87@gmail.com
hallgató (SZTE JGYPK Juhász Gyula Pedagógusképző Kar,
Közösségi és civil tanulmányok szak)

Színlelt izmusok. Könyvismertető.

Pretended isms. Review.



LAKI LÁSZLÓ (2021). A „színlelt” szocializmusból, a „színlelt” kapitalizmusba. Szeged, Belvedere Meridionale

DOI 10.14232/belv.2021.4.8

<https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2021.4.8>

Cikkre való hivatkozás / How to cite this article:

Vas Bernadett (2021): Színlelt izmusok. Könyvismertető. Belvedere Meridionale 33. évf. 4. sz. 115–118. pp

ISSN 1419-0222 (print)

ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

(Creative Commons) Nevezd meg! – Így add tovább! 4.0 (CC BY-SA 4.0)

(Creative Commons) Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-SA 4.0)

www.belvedere-meridionale.hu

Laki László kutatásain keresztül a könyv egy magára hagyott társadalmat mutat be, melyet mélyebben megviselt a rendszerváltás, mint sok-sok korábbi történelmi év. Egy olyan rendszerváltás, melyre sem a vezetők, sem a magyar néppesség nem volt felkészülve. Laki László más szemszögből közelít. Nem csak a rendszerváltás okozta modernizáció szemszögéből, hanem a minden napjai élet vonalán. Hogy tudja feldolgozni a változásokat Magyarország lakossága, akik már eddig is nagy nehézségekkel küzdöttek a minden nap megélhetésért? Akik elméletben kapnak egy új ideológiát, miközben elveszítenek oly sok minden. Megélik a Magyarországon történelmi háttérrel rendelkező mezőgazdaság megváltozását, összeomlását. Az iparosodás fejlődését, mely kiutat jelenthetett volna bizonyos régiókban, de pár év alatt ez is szintén csödöt

mondott. Ezáltal kifordult a sarkából a világ a társadalom egy rétegének. Annak a rétegnek, akik a társadalom közepén, illetve legalján voltak. Vagy rövid időn belül a változások következtében lentre jutottak. Azoknak, akiknek a legnagyobb szükségük lett volna a segítségre. Kiútkeresés, vagy éppen úszni az árral. Kutatások, mely emberéleteken keresztül mutatja be a teljes kétségeket, a próbálkozásokat, és egy kis magyar valóságot.

Laki László azon kevesek között volt, akinek lehetősége volt Gázsó Ferencsel együtt dolgozni. 1970-től empirikus kutatásokat végzett. Megtervezett kutatásait a rendszerváltás megváltoztatta. Fő munkái az ifjúságról, az oktatásról, valamint a magyar társadalom zárványtársadalmairól szóltak. A magyar társadalmat nemcsak a határon belüli lakosokra leszűkítve, hanem a határon túl élő, a trianoni békeszerződés által elszakított népességre és területekre is kibővítette. A könyv bemutatja Laki László szociológiai kutatásainak módszertani sokszínűségét is. Ahogy az előszóban szerepel:

„A munkanélküliség hatásait, a kilábalás útjait firtató, a külföldi munkavállalás, vagy a háztájizás körülményeit stb. feltérképező interjúk, a közép-Tiszavidéki kistérségben és a Csíki medencében végzett empirikus felvételek, a szorult helyzetű család havi étkezési naplója, vagy a különböző statisztikai források használata ugyanakkor világosan jellemzik Laki László következetes kutatói attitűdjét.”¹

És ez a rövid idézet tökéletesen bemutatja a könyvben szereplő kutatásokat, és magát a kutatót is.

A hetvenes és nyolcvanas években átalakult hazánkban az „első” és a „második” gazdaság. Azonban ez az átalakulás nem hozta magával azt a fejlőést, polgárosodást, mely által az ország felvehette volna a versenyt a gazdaságilag fejlett világgal. Az „első” és a „második” gazdaság egymással szoros viszonyban léteztek. A „második” gazdaság önmagában nem volt alkalmas a fejlődésre, az „első” gazdaságból származó alacsony jövedelmek kiegészítéseként beszélhetünk csak róla. Ez a folyamat a rendszerváltás után is befolyásolta az ország gazdasági helyzetét, valamint az egyének élethelyzetét.

Laki László kutatásaiban Magyarországon belül földrajzilag eltérő problémákkal, a társadalomi berendezkedés általi gondokkal, az oktatás problematikájával, az individuumok minden nap fájdalmaival és életével ismerkedhetünk meg. Tanulmányaiban a kvalitatív és a kvantitatív kutatási módszereket egyaránt használta.

Az elsődleges problémát az egész társadalomra kiterjedő nagyszámú munkanélküliségen látja, mellyel egyik érintett sem tudott mit kezdeni. Sem azok, aki elveszítették munkájukat, sem azok a vezetők, akik nem voltak erre a helyzetre felkészülve, és nem találták a megoldást. Habár kialakult egy segélyezési rendszer az országban, azonban ez olyan volt, mint egy nyílt csonttörésre a sebtapasz. Ez egy új társadalmi tömegjelenség volt. Laki László 1992-ben készült Munkanélküliség és bűnözés munkájából származó idézet jól mutatja a társadalom vertikális ellentéteit. „A munkanélkülit a vállalkozó, a segélyeket elosztó állam és önkormányzat marasztalja el (pl. ingyenélő, semmittevő); a vállalkozót az állam, az önkormányzat, a munkanélküli (pl. adócsaló, konjunktúralovag); az államot pedig a vállalkozó, az önkormányzat, a munkanélküli (pl. hitelkamatok megemelése, az állampolgárok túladóztatása, a vállalatok felszámolása miatti

¹ LAKI LÁSZLÓ (2021). *A „színlelt” szocializmusból, a „színlelt” kapitalizmusba*. Szeged, Belvedere Meridionale. 13,14.

elbocsájtások).² Rétegeken belül még jobban fellelhető volt a megértés, azonban olyan ellen tétek születtek a társadalomban, melyek még a mai napig meghatározók. Ezen problémának maga a munkanélküliség csak egy darabja. A kutató innét eredményt az elvándorlásokat nyugatra egy jobb élet reményében. Egy olyan devíáns társadalom kialakulását, ahol az alkoholizmus, a drogok, a bűnözés egy alternatív kiút az emberek számára a minden napok megélhetéséhez, és a túléléshez. A fiatalok életében történt változások, a szülöktől való elszakadás kitolódása, vagy a családalapítás kérdése, melyek még mind a mai napig fellelhető problémák.

Megfigyelhető volt, hogy egyre nagyobb tömegek helyezkedtek el a szolgáltató szektorban mindenhol. De az országban jól kimutatható a társadalomnál egy földrajzi elhelyezkedésen alapuló rétegződés. Itt nem csak a főváros, nagyváros, kisváros, falu közötti különbségeket kutatja (habár itt is nagy különbségek észlelhetők), hanem régióként. A lehetőségek szemszögéből. Ahol korábban nagy volt a mezőgazdaságban a foglalkoztatás, ott sokkal nagyobb százalékban alakult ki probléma a rendszerváltás után, amikor a privatizációk hatására ez átalakult. Ott, ahol az iparosítás megindult, majd csődbement. Ahol, ha nem volt alaptőke – és a legtöbb vizsgált embernek nem volt – és nem tudtak céget alapítani, akkor elindult az egyén a lejtőn. Választ elé került. Sodródik, és él a segélyezési rendszer lehetőségével, bevállal bármilyen munkát, ahol lehet, kevesebbet fog keresni, mintha segélyen élne. Vagy a családját „hátrahagyva” külföldön, vagy az ország más, fejlettebb régióiban vállal munkát, ami újabb kihívások elé állítja. Magyarországon az egykeresetű családi modell volt sok időn keresztül jellemző. Így a nők helyzetében a történelmi visszatekintést is figyelembe véve a rendszerváltás még nagyobb problémákat okozott. A példaként hozott kunhegyesi kutatás ezt jól mutatja. A térségen a nők feladatai a házi munkán, gyermeknevelésen, vagy a háztájizáson már túlmutattak, hiszen a család fenntartásához nélkülözhettek volt, hogy ők is állást vállaljanak. Viszont alacsonyabb iskolai végzettségeük miatt milyen munkát is tudnak vállalni? Arról már nem is beszélve, hogy ezt milyen bérért teszik? Habár megvolt egy bizonyos szintű társadalmi háló, azonban a legtöbbüknek nem tudtak munkát biztosítani a képességeik, körülmények miatt. Hiába lett a probléma közügy, a segélyek elosztásába belebukott a rendszer. És a mai napig felmerülő kérdés: segély vagy munka? Nem beszélve a sokat érintő devianciáról, mely a családokat érintette. A megélhetésért loptak (pl.: ételt, vagy fát, hogy fűteni tudjanak télen), a nehézségek miatt megugrott a családon belüli erőszak, az alkoholizmus és egyéb függőségek. A válasok száma is nagyban megnövekedett a kialakult körülmények miatt.

A kunhegyesi példa jól ábrázolja a regionális különbségeket is. Nem csak városok-falvak, mezőgazdasági-ipari régiók közötti különbségek nagyok az országban, hanem például a tömegközlekedésből kimaradt régiók elmaradottsága is megfigyelhető. Azon városok („kapuvárosok”), régiók, melyekben a külföldi befektetők nagyobb potenciált láttak, ugrásszerűen fejlődtek, így még nagyobb lett az országon belüli társadalmi különbség. A hazai tőkehiány miatt bekerült külföldi befektetések azonban nem a hazai társadalom fejlődését adták, hiszen a haszon nem írt realizálódott.

És mindenek milyen példát mutattak és mutatnak mind a mai napig a fiataloknak? Milyen lehetőségeik voltak és vannak a felnövekvő nemzedékeknek? A munkaerőpiacról való bekerülási körülátlanná vált, hiszen olyan elvárásokat támasztottak velük szembe, melyeket nem lehetett teljesíteni (pl.: pályakezdőként gyakorlati idő). A szülőkre olyan teher került, amivel

² LAKI LÁSZLÓ (2021). A „színlelt” szocializmusból, a „színlelt” kapitalizmusba. Szeged, Belvedere Meridionale. 33.

nem tudtak a legtöbb esetben megküzdeni. A saját életük, a minden nap tűlélés mellett szemsülniük kellett azzal, hogy a korábbi évekhez, évtizedekhez képest a gyermekük sokkal később repülnek ki a családi fészkekből. Nehezebben tudnak elhelyezkedni, és így a családok élete még nehezebbé vált, hiszen hosszabb ideig kellett támogatniuk a szülőknek a gyermeküket. Ami az alapból is szegény körülmények között élők életét még jobban megnehezítette. Sok család nem tudta biztosítani gyermekének a megfelelő oktatást sem. A fiatalok életében a kétélyek mellett kitolódott a családalapítás, hiszen ilyen körülmények, a bizonytalanság, lakhatási nehézségek között realizálódott bennük, hogy erre nem lehet építkezni. A munka melletti folyamatos tanulás, valamint attól a félelemtől, hogy elveszítik a már megszerzett állásukat, a fiatalok prioritási rendjében a családalapítás hátrébb sorolódott, saját életük, értékeik kialakításával voltak elfoglalva. Előtérbe kerültek a korábban elítélt élettársi viszonyok. Depresszió, deviancia alakult ki, mely még nagyobb nyomorba sodorta az érintetteket. Hasonlóan, mint az egész rendszerváltásra, a családok, az iskolai rendszer, az önkormányzatok, és egészében az állam nem volt erre a helyzetre felkészülve. És ez a helyzet még a felsőfokú tanulmányokat elvégzőket is érintette. A „modernizációs kényszer”, és a vele szembenálló nehézségek, körülmények a korábbiaknál sokkal jobban megnehezítik a fiatalok helyzetét.

A könyvben szereplő interjúk adják az igazi ízét a tanulmányoknak. Ettől lesz őszinte. Néha kicsit talán nyersnek tűnnek, de ilyen a való élet. Igaz emberek, igaz életek, gondolatok, érzések. Problémák, élethelyzetek, kétségbeesések, kiútkeresések. És a rendszerváltás utáni, jelenlegi helyzetben is fellelhető problémák. A változás okozta nehézségek, melyek a minden nap emberek, minden nap éltét befolyásolják. Döntések, melyek életeket változtatnak meg. Néha jó, néha rossz irányba, és aminek az eredménye csak évekkel később realizálódik igazán. Megváltozott az élet Magyarországon a rendszerváltás után, ez mindenki számára világos. És mindenki akarta is ezt a változást, habár nem biztos, hogy ebben a formában. A kérdés már csak az, hogy az adott helyzetből mi lesz. Lehet-e megoldást találni a társadalmi problémákra, hogy ez csak egy átmeneti helyzet, mely egy tanulási folyamat mindenki számára? A társadalmi változások, legyenek azok külső, vagy belső indítatásúak, jó és rossz döntések sorából áll. A könyvben szereplő tanulmányok, felvétések, életek bemutatása talán azok számára, akik elolvassák lehetőséget adnak arra, hogy mindezeket átgondolják, és inspirálja őket a megoldások keresésére.

KÁDÁR, ZOLTÁN PhD

zoltaankadar@gmail.com

assistant professor (University of Szeged Faculty of Arts Department of Sociology)

History of sociology that focuses more on the background than usual



Viktor Karády (2020): Válogatott történelmi szociológiai írások I. A társadalomtudományokról. Replika Alapítvány. 480 p.

DOI 10.14232/belv.2021.4.9

<https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2021.4.9>

Cikkre való hivatkozás / How to cite this article: Kádár Zoltán (2021): History of sociology that focuses more on the background than usual. Viktor Karády (2020): Válogatott történelmi szociológiai írások I. A társadalomtudományokról. Replika Alapítvány. 480 p. Belvedere Meridionale vol. 33. no. 4. 119–122. pp

ISSN 1419-0222 (print)

ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

(Creative Commons) Nevezd meg! – Így add tovább! 4.0 (CC BY-SA 4.0)

(Creative Commons) Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-SA 4.0)

www.belvedere-meridionale.hu

In his new book in Hungarian, Viktor Karády presents us eighteen formerly written essays, more than a half of them are translations from French, others from English. These translations were improved, provided with additions that have been appropriate since the majority of the texts written decades ago.

Reading these texts it can be said that - though the topics are mostly known for those who deal with social sciences - the focus the author uses is essentially new. Karády is an insider in French and European sociology as well, thus the point of view he applies in his writings is unique. He is not only a scholar who studied documents about the results the French sociology

achieved in the second half of the 20th century but a contributor who worked with the greatest figures of this era. As a former member of the research circle of Raymond Aron and Pierre Bourdieu (for a long time as a member of both groups parallelly), he can let the reader experience the atmosphere of this scientific world, beyond the mere information that sociology textbooks can tell. For example, based on the first, autobiographical study we can see that fortune accompanied Karády many times during his scientific career. He was a Hungarian refugee in Paris with poor French knowledge at the start, but after the years he spent in the French academic system – which he described as alienating – obtained a sociology basic license and a demography degree with which he was able to become a well-integrated member in these exclusive scientific circles. But studying social sciences - as he describes it - gave not enough skills to him to do be a proper sociologist: "I can tell that everything I know about the 'profession of a sociologist' I learned from Bourdieu. I got this knowledge through a kind of 'osmosis' like reading his writings, my presence at his seminars or sometimes at doctoral thesis defenses, or when I had informal conversations or often phone calls with him, I was able to pick up some crumbs of his scientific remarks".¹ This is reminiscent of what Albert Szent-Györgyi told in an interview about the role of university training when he visited Hungary in October of 1973. As the Noble prize winner told the interviewer 'at first it is a kind of an intellectual hunger what is needed, this is the important part that remains in the rest of man's life. Because when I finish my university training I forget everything and what remains there is this intellectual hunger, and then I follow to nurture my mind with knowledge, with steadiness...' ²

This is what worked in the case of Karády's too, that is wanting to know more than that a formal university training can offer, and this is why we can find extra content in each of his essays in this volume. The importance of gaining knowledge from practice can be seen from the story in which he describes the difficulties he needed to go through when he was the editor of the three-volume Marcel Mauss oeuvre series around 1966-67. Reading this autobiographical story one can see how much knowledge can derive from such an undertaking when a social scientist's task is editing scientific materials and analyzing documents.

All the writings in the book that deal with early French sociology and French cultural or academic life can be regarded as a gold mine for those who are interested in this epoch, but it is much more useful for those who teach sociology as university teachers. Numerous studies deal with the foundation of French sociology and the breakthrough of the Durkheimians. The reader gets a perfect picture of the contemporary French higher educational system and all those factors that could help or hinder the institutionalization of the new science, sociology. There is a very interesting fact that helped a lot for sociology: the Durkheimians were originally philosophers, so they were inside the system and turned philosophy towards sociological questions. As acknowledged contributors of the field of human sciences, Durkheimians did not meet maximal resistance from the side of the academic system. With this advantage, the first theoreticians of sociology could slowly expand the frames of the social sciences to make room for their new discipline. The four writings in the book that deal with the 'foundation syndrome in French sociology' show how scientifically based sociology has grown itself from 'mysticism' to an accepted and blossoming

¹ KARÁDY 2020. 21.

² Interview with Albert Szent-Györgyi, 8-19th of october 1973.

discipline. And we can also see how Durkheimians helped other disciplines – such as ethnology – join the academic system.

Karádi also provides in-depth analyzes of the fact that, although ethnology wanted to establish itself on a strictly scientific basis from the beginning, it was only about half a century later that this discipline could take its roots in the French academic environment. The insight Karádi provides through these studies clearly shows the general resistance of the traditional way of the late nineteenth century French academic world against everything that was new or not ‘French’ by its origin. The long neglect of ethnology is because French scientific circles were not willing to accept it as a normative science, so this discipline – unlike the German, English, or American models – could not develop and grow. Ethnology as a new science was not able to present the kind of historicity that could have made it worthy to become a part of the higher culture and the education system. Ethnology had nothing to present that would have made its themes and objects worthy of national celebration. There were no great historical events or figures among its topics that French scientific circles could have admired. That is why ethnology could not become a normative science. Moreover, since ethnology concentrated on different foreign peoples, tribes, etc., the imprints of French ethnocentrism could not reflect through it, nor could the greatness of the French nation be cheered at the sight of the results of this discipline. The ‘archivist’s rigor’ of the French academic system, therefore, did not find a catch on it that would have made it part of the university curriculum. In addition, ethnography used an illegal way of acquiring knowledge, i.e. its researcher did not use to visit the library or the archives – the realm of classical canonized knowledge – but traveled to visit distant cultures and foreign countries. All of this was completely incomparable with the typical figure of a French scientist who obtains information from classical knowledge. The scientist who is seeking recognition in the French scientific life is therefore not working on trying new methods, or leaving the urban area, but using the source of the classical knowledge as deeply as possible, then undertakes a job as a teacher at a university or at a high school to achieve the desired academic position over a long period of years, Karády points out. Thus ethnology, as a new scientific territory that uses the observation of everyday life and also fieldwork, had no chance in its early stage of development to gain admission to the French academic environment around the end of the nineteenth century. For this reason, French ethnography had to build its framework and publicity outside the academic sphere, with the involvement of various entrepreneurs, travelers, colonial officials as contributing persons. In France, the process of becoming a formal knowledge for Ethnology could therefore only take place decades later. Apart from this Ethnology could more or less become a part of the scientific world by publishing its results as a co-science of physical anthropology. Because of this linkage, Ethnology had to accept evolutionism as a guiding principle, and the foreign cultures needed to be regarded through this optic. Thus, Ethnology remained a kind of descriptive empiricism without well-developed standards until the reorganization of the university research system by the French state after the first World War. Ethnology, as a social science that examines real social facts needed to wait until the Durkheimians’ breakthrough to find a decent place in the academic system. Durkheim and his colleagues (Mauss, Hubert, Fauconnet, Davy, Hertz, and Richard) often used the data extracted by ethnology to support their theoretical works, and as a result, Ethnology was gradually introduced into the University’s acknowledged disciplines. The University of Paris finally founded its Ethnological Institute in 1925, with a great delay though.

Karády devotes several studies in this volume to the interpretation of some Hungarian-related aspects of the history of sociology from different perspectives. He makes his claims with strong empirical data, such as mentions in newspapers and magazines, and when it is possible he uses prosopography. He examines, for example the use of foreign literature related to sociology during the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy, the Horthy era, and the Kádár regime as well as the times after the regime change of 1989-1990. As he claims ‘During the strong German-centricity as the member of the Monarchy, post-feudal Hungary can therefore rightly be considered as a German cultural colony’³, but even before the end of the first world war, there is a growing demand for the use of French and English scientific sources as well. We can see from the data collected by Káradý that in the Hungarian sociological journals of the first decades of the twentieth century a significant part of the sources of publications are in foreign languages. It is German and French in the 1910s and 1920s, then English appears strongly from the 1930s, and by 1944 the latter precedes the French sources. The period until 1944 was – according to Karády – a more or less free scientific development process of sociology even in the semi-feudal eras of the Monarchy and the Horthy-system, but the studies also show off the times ruled by the communist party Karády leads us through these decades as well, showing that apart from a few (more or less) free years and democratic development after 1945, the circumstances of academic research how greatly changed after 1948. All educational institutions, like book publishing, the press, and all cultural or intellectual activities were nationalized by the communists. The social sciences were strictly limited to its Marxist-Leninist versions and sociology soon after 1948 was banned for decades. All the university curriculums were transformed based on bolshevik patterns, but we can of course read about the improving situation regarding sociology from 1970, the weakening communist influence, and the times after 1989 when the Hungarian academic life needed to adapt to the western patterns again, and the communist type higher education structure needed major transformations to be able to connect to the western academic models.

All in all, Karády’s new book is a very important one that offers deeper insight into the history of sociology and the social sciences as well. It can be (and hopefully the future volumes will be too) regarded a compulsory background material, especially for teaching.

REFERENCES

- KARÁDY VIKTOR (2020): *Válogatott történelmi szociológiai írások I. A társadalomtudományokról*. Replika Alapítvány.

³ KARÁDY 2020. 93.

HALMÁGYI MIKLÓS PHD

halmagyi.miklos@mnl.gov.hu
levéltáros (MNL Békés Megyei Fióklevéltár)

A lovagkirály emlékezete. Könyvismertető.



Szent László emlékkönyv. Szerk. Bódvai András. Bethlen Gábor Alapkezelő Zrt., Budapest 2021.

DOI 10.14232/belv.2021.4.10
<https://doi.org/10.14232/belv.2021.4.10>

Cikkre való hivatkozás / How to cite this article:

Halmágyi Miklós (2021): *A lovagkirály emlékezete*. Belvedere Meridionale 33. évf. 4. sz. 5–26. pp

ISSN 1419-0222 (print)
ISSN 2064-5929 (online, pdf)

(Creative Commons) Nevezd meg! – Így add tovább! 4.0 (CC BY-SA 4.0)
(Creative Commons) Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-SA 4.0)

www.belvedere-meridionale.hu

Szent László, a „lovagkirály” emlékezete, tisztelete lényeges összetevője a magyar önazonosságnak. Fontos, hogy a magyar kultúrában élő ember hiteles ismeretekhez jusson mind Szent László történelmi személyiségről, mind pedig az alakját övező legendákról, hagyományokról, vagyis a szent király tiszteletének történetéről. A határon túli magyarság segítésén fáradozó Bethlen Gábor Alap Zrt. friss kötetét kézbe véve történésként leginkább arra lehetünk kíváncsiak: miben mond újat a jelen kiadvány a „lovagkirályról” eddig megjelent „klasszikus” művekhez képest? A tartalomjegyzéket átfutva kijelenthetjük: a tanulmányok témájuk kiváló szakembereinek tollából valók. Ha vállaljuk a szellemi kalandot, és elolvassuk a könyvet, az irodalomjegyzék bongészését sem hagyva ki, megállapíthatjuk, hogy a színvonalas munkák a

legfrissebb szakirodalom felhasználásával készültek, és vitatott témaikban is állást foglalnak. A válogatás nem annyira Szent László életrajzára összpontosít – bár életének fontosabb részleteiről is olvashatunk a kötetben – inkább a lovagkirály későbbi emlékezete áll a figyelem középpontjában.

Thoroczkai Gábor Szent László törvényeit ismerteti. A király nevét őrző három törvénykönyv a hagyományos számozással fordított sorrendben keletkezett: legkorábbi a III. törvénykönyv, legkésőbbi az I. számú, mely az 1092 májusában tartott szabolcsi zsinat határozatait foglalja magában. Ezek a jogi források viszonylag kései – 15-16. századi – kéziratokban maradtak ránk. A törvényeket elemző tanulmány számos sajátosságra, tendenciára kitér. Megtudhatjuk, hogy törvényalkotó korlátozta azt az archaikus lehetőséget, hogy az egyházi helyek menedékkül szolgáljanak bűnösök számára. A törvényekben szó esik a kóborlókról és tolvajokról. A vándorlás jelenségét Thoroczkay részben nomád életmóddal, részben a szolgák uraiktól való menekülésével magyarázza. Zsoldos Attila részéről újabban felmerült a vándormozgalom/kóbortolás kritikája, Thoroczkay szerint azonban a tolvajlással összekapcsolódó vándormozgalom fő problémája volt ennek a kornak. A tanulmány egyebek közt arra is választ keres, mi állhat a szabolcsi zsinatnak a papok első házasságát engedélyező határozata mögött. Van, aki bizánci hatással, más a császárpárti ellenpápa álláspontjával magyarázza, a szerző azonban inkább arra hajlik, hogy olya nyugat-európai joggyűjtemény hatása érvényesülhetett hazánkban, mely nem tartalmazta a női férfiak pappá szentelésének tilalmát.

Zsoldos Attila világi intézmények változásáról szóló írásában részletesen foglalkozik Moson megye kialakulásával. Eleinte Győr vármegye határvidéke, *confiniuma* volt. Miután Salamon király 1074-ben elvesztette a mogyorói csatát unokafivéreivel, Géza és László hercegekkel szemben, Moson és Pozsony várai jelentettek számára menedéket. Szent László 1079 körül fogalta el tőle Mosont, ekkortájt szerveztek ott önálló vármegyet. *Confinium*-ok között Moson az egyetlen, mely önálló vármegyévé vált.

Zsoldos Attila elmélete szerint a ducatus (hercegség) intézménye eleinte Bihar mellett a Baranya térségére terjedt ki. Az 1060-es, 1070-as évek fordulóján Géza herceg elcserélte a hercegség baranyai részét Nyitrára. Ezt a lehetőséget Zsoldos Attila összekapcsolja a székelység vándorlásáról vallott elméletével. Az udvarhelyi székelyeket telegdi székelyeknek nevezték, Telegd pedig Bihar megyében van. Az udvarhelyi székelyek nyelvjárása a baranyai, valkói nyelvjáráshoz hasonlít. Zsoldos Attila feltételezi, hogy a székelyek a baranyai térségből Biharba vándoroltak, hogy védjék a dukátust a Salamon kezén lévő Erdély felől. Szent László trónra lépése után László Biharból a Kárpátok térségébe telepítette a bihari székelyeket, hogy a keleti nomádoktól védjék Erdélyt. Mindez magyarázza a székelység körében eleven Szent László-tiszteletet.

Solymosi László a szent király kultuszának kialakulásával foglalkozott. Megállapítja, hogy Szent Lászlót egyszer temették el, Nagyváradon: a somogyvári temetés gondolata egy összetett latin mondat modern kori félreírtése révén terjedt el. Maga a temetés fontos kiinduló pontja lehetett a király kultuszának. Solymosi vázolja a tisztelet fejlődésének elemeit, elutasítva azt az álláspontot, hogy III. Béla saját hatalmának megerősítése érdekében akarta szentté avattatni László királyt. Solymosi a szentté avatás kronológiáját is vázolja: III. Celesztin pápa valószínűleg 1191-ben állította ki a szükséges bullát, Gregorius de Sancto Apostolo bíboros jelenlétében, 1192 nyarán történettett a földi maradványok kiemelése (elevatio) és átvitele (translatio). Solymosi László megállapítása szerint a kanonizálás előtt tanúk kihallgatására is sor került. A szentté

avatásról szóló pápai oklevél nem maradt fönn, III. Kelemen és III. Celesztin pápa regisztrum-kötetei pedig elvesztek. Klaniczay Gábor korábban a tanúvallomásokkal kapcsolatban máshová helyezte a hangsúlyokat.

Szovák Kornál rámutat a Szent László-legenda, valamint a krónikában megőrzött elbeszélések közti különbségre. Fontos kérdés: melyik készült korábban? Szovák Kornél szerint a krónikaváltozatot írták előbb. A krónika megemlékezik az angyalhozta korona, a lándzsára futó hermelin, az agancsain gyertyákat viselő szarvas és az angyalok által védelmezett László legendás történetéről. Ezeket a krónikában olvasható történeteket a legenda szerzője mellőzte, bizonyára azért, mert a legenda íróját nem érdektelték a politikai csodák, és nem kívánta részletzní Lászlónak Salamonnal, a koronás királlyal való viszályát.

Szovák Kornél vázolja hagiografikus irodalmunk fejlődését a csodák ábrázolása terén. Szent István legkorábbi legendáiban viszonylag kevés csodának minősíthető eseményt találunk, Szent László legendáiban már több a folklór-motívum: a sereget tápláló szarvasok a bibliai manna-csodára emlékeztetnek, László koporsójával emberi vezetés nélkül Várad felé induló szekér bibliai előképe a Frigyládát szállító szekér, mely Isten akaratából éri el célját. László sírjára mutató csillag a betlehemi csillagra emlékeztet. Szovák Kornél szerint a krónika inkább László kegyességét domborítja ki, a legenda pedig a bőkezűségét. Amikor a legenda írója oroszlánhoz hasonló nagy kezekkel ábrázolta Lászlót, az Arisztotelésznek tulajdonított Phisiognomia c. munka hatására írhatott. Létezik olyan legendaváltozat, mely László végtagjait Priamoshoz hasonlítja. Meglehet, hogy egy 13. századi másoló nem egészen értette az oroszlános szóképet, és a trójai háború divatos történetének királyával helyettesítette be.

A legenda szerint Szent Lászlót felkérték a keresztes hadjárat vezetésére. Veszprémy László arra keres választ, hogy ez a fordulat miért kerülhetett a legendába. Megállapítása szerint fiktív fordulatról van szó, mely összekapcsolja az első keresztes hadjárat meghirdetése előtt elhunyt László királyt III. Bélával, aki a valóban segítette a kereszeseket, sőt maga is készült a Szentföldre. Veszprémy több olyan 12. században szentté avatott személyre hoz példát, akiket legendájuk összekapcsolni enged a keresztes eszménnyel. A 10. században élt Rosendo a vikingek, majd a szaracénokkal szemben állt helyt. 1173-ban iktatták a szentek sorába, majd 1195-ben az a III. Celesztin pápa erősítette meg a kanonizálást, aki László királyunkat is szentté avatta. II. Henrik német király legendája szerint „szlávok, lengyelek, csehek” ellen vonult. Kanonizációs bulláját 1146-ban állították ki. Az ő esetében a szerző arra is rámutat, hogy milyen különbségek feszülnek Henrik kortárs forrásokból ismerhető hadjáratai és a 12. századi legendájába írtak között. Knud Lavard, dán király (1096–1131) a szláv obodridokat téritette meg, öt 1169-ben állították ki kanonizációs bulláját. Bambergi Ottó püspök a szláv pomeránok között ért el missziós sikereket. 1189-ben avatták szentté. Más forrással ugyan nem igazolható, de Trogiri (Traui) Szent János, Trau püspökének legendájában az áll, hogy Trau városát támadták a szaracénok. János püspök 1192-ben történt kanonizálása összefüggött László király szentté avatásával.

Tóth Csaba a magyar pénzeken látható Szent László-ábrázolás változását vizsgálta. László saját uralma idején is látható volt a pénzen, de ezek az ábrázolások nem sokban különböztek elődje – Salamon – valamint utódai – Kálmán és II. Béla – pénzén látható portréktől. Nagy Lajos király aranyforintján a kezében csatabárdval jelenítették meg Szent Lászlót, és a 14. században kedvelt fegyverkabátban (*pourpoint*) ábrázolták. Nagy Lajos ezüstgarasán trónon ülve is láthatjuk László királyt. Mátyás király idejében, az 1470-es évektől az aranyforint egyik oldalán

Szent László, a másikon Szűz Mária látható, vagyis ugyanazon az érmén jelenik meg a magyarság két nagy égi pártfogója. II. Ulászló korában fennmaradt olyan arany guldiner veret, melyen lovon ülve látható a csatabárdos László király, fején a Szent Koronával, fölötte lebeg a gyermek Jézust kezében tartó Szűzanya. Ulászló cseh király is volt, ezzel magyarázható, hogy arany próbaveretén a csehek nagy szentjét, Vencelt is megjelenítették a csatabárdos László mellett. Ez az érme valószínűleg Csehországban készült. Tóth Csaba végigvezet azon a folyamaton, melynek során László a 17. századra eltűnik a magyar pénzkról. Habsburg felségterületen II. Mátyás (1608–1619), Erdélyben Báthori Gábor (1608–1613) idején ábrázolták utoljára Szent Lászlót a pénzen. Mind a Habsburg uralom alatt álló Magyar Királyságban, mind Erdélyben az aktuális uralkodót kezdték megjeleníteni az érmeken.

Szakács Béla Zsolt Szent László korának építészetét tekintette át. A váradi és zágrábi székesegyházak mellett a gyulafehérvári székesegyházat is elemzi, figyelembe véve a 15. század végén író Laskai Osvát híradását. A késő középkori ferences szerző ugyanis Váradon kívül a gyulafehérvári püspökséget is Szent László alapításának tartotta. A fenti székesegyházak kezdeti időszakának alapos áttekintéséből kiderül, hogy viszonylag kevés olyan maradványt ismerünk, mely biztosan Szent László korinak mondható. Pécs, Eger, Győr és Vác székesegyházáról is olvashatunk, hisz ezeket a templomokat is a 11–12. század fordulóján építették. Szakács Béla számba veszi a Szent Lászlóval kapcsolatba hozható apátságokat. Ezek közöl a somogyvári monostor maradványairól lehet leginkább érdemben beszélni. Báta, Szentjóbb, Mogyoród is szerepelnek az elemzésben. A krónika szerint Szent László a mogyoródi csata előtt Szent Mártonnak tesz fogadalmat, hogy templomot épít tiszteletre. Mogyoród közelében azonban csak Szent György tiszteletére szentelt apátsagról tudunk. Itt érdemes Veszprémy László gondolatára hivatkozni: ő arra hívja fel a figyelmet, hogy a közelí Isaszegen valóban Szent Márton a templom védőszentje. Szakács Béla áttekintésében Kolozsmonostor, Kolos és Hahót is helyet kap: utóbbi Szakács Béla szerint inkább a 12. században Magyarországra érkezett Hahót nemzetseg alapítása lehet. A tanulmányban falusi és esperességi templomokról is olvashatunk. Szakás Béla áttekintéséből kiderül, hogy még egyes helyeken tovább él a palmettás stílus, a 11. században megjelent a figurális ábrázolás is. A 11. század legvégén meghonosodott Magyarországon a korszerűnek számító, háromhajós, „bencés templomtípus”, mint a somogyvári apátság temploma.

Jékely Zsombor tanulmánya Szent László kunok elleni csatájának középkori képciklusait elemzi. Az előképekhez sorolja a 13. századi francia királyi udvarhoz köthető ószövetségi képciklusokat, melyet IX. Lajos keresztes hadjáratát voltak hivatva alátámasztani. Jékely tanulmánya időrendben tekinti át a Kárpát-medence templomainak Szent László-ciklusait, az Anjou-kor, Zsigmond király ideje, végül a késő gótika korát taglalva, a mecénások kilétéit is kutatva. A legkorábbi ábrázolások közé sorolható a felvidéki Kakaslomnic, mely stílus tekintéteben rokon az 1317-ben készült – Anjou Károly koronázását ábrázoló – szepeshelyi falképpel. A póniki templom ciklusát felirata 1478-ra datálja. Felsölövő ciklusát Jékely szerint az osztrák szakirodalom magyarázza helyesen: a ciklus a Teremtés könyvének jeleneteit ábrázolja, vagyis törölni kell a Szent László-ciklusok sorából. Túz Osvát zágrábi püspök 1469-ben oltárt készítetted Zágrábon: eredetiben nem maradt fönn, de 17. századi leírása szerint ciklus-szerűen ábrázolta Szent László harcát a lányrablóval. Más templomokból ugyancsak ismerünk Szent László tiszteletére állított oltárokat.

A 2015-ben elhunyt Kerny Terézia tanulmánya ugyancsak helyet kapott a kötetben, a kerlési csata székelyföli ábrázolásairól. A kutatónő szélesebb művészeti és történelmi összefüggésrendszerben elemzi a templomok Szent László-ciklusait. Felveti annak lehetőségét, hogy a homoródszentmártoni templom ciklusán Szent László előtt térdelő alak Nagy Lajos király lehet, aki 1352-ben, a litván hadjárat után Nagyváradra jött, hogy hálát adjon Szent László közbenjárásáért. A szent király harcát ábrázoló ciklusokon nem egy esetben látjuk Antiochiai Szent Margit vértanúságát. Kerny Terézia arra emlékeztet, hogy Nagy Lajos király első feleségét is Margitnak hívták. További összefüggés, hogy a Lackfi család ősanyját ugyancsak Margitnak hívták (Szeri Pósa Margit). A Lacki család azért különösen fontos Szent László tiszteletét elemezve, mert 1345-ben, Szent László közbenjárásával győzelmet arató székely–magyar seregnek Lackfi András volt a vezére. Kerny Terézia a fentieken túl a székelyföldi festmények több más izgalmas részletére, és ezek értelmezési lehetőségeire hívja fel a figyelmet, a Nagy Lajos kori történelem beható ismerete birtokában. A 14. század második felében, a Székelyföldön rövid idő alatt elterjedt Szent László-ciklusok központi akaratra készülhettek, a király, vagy „hozzá hű bárok, talán a Lackfiak kezdeményezésére”.

Magyar Zoltán Szent László alakjának a moldvai hagyományokban őrzött emlékét kutatja. Olvashatunk a moldvai kályhacsempéről, melyeken a csatabárdos lovas hős látható. Egészen egyedi módon folyókhoz is kapcsolódik Szent László-monda, miszerint folyómedret hozott létre a kardjának húzásával. Ezek a mondák Magyar Zoltán szerint talán annak emlékét őrzik, hogy valaha Moldva közepén, a Száraz Szeretnél lehetett a keleti határa a Magyar Királyságnak. Részletesen foglalkozik a húshagyásról szóló mondaváltozatokkal. 17. századi román kézirat őrizte meg az 1500-as éveknél korábban lejegyzett Magyar Évkönyv leírását. Eszerint a hadjáratból győztesen visszatérő király húshagyás napján ér haza, de engedélyt kap püspökeitől, „hogy még három napot mulathasson” és kedden hagyjon húst. Hasonló tartalmú mondát magyar nyelven is megőrzött a nép. Ezek az elbeszélések magyarázták, hogy a katolikus magyarok körében miért kezdődött később böjt, mint az ortodox románoknál. Magyar Zoltán tanulmánya arra is rámutat, hogy Szent László idejében, a szabolcsi zsinat szerint a magyarok vasárnap hagytak húst, ellentétben a „latinokkal”. Magyar Zoltán tanulmányához érdemes hozzáenni, hogy a lengyel kultúrában is megtaláljuk a nyugati fegyelemhez képest korábbi böjtkezdet követelményét, és e követelményt magyarázó legendát.¹

A kötet végén időrendi táblázat segíti Szent László életében való tájékozódást. A zágrábi püspökség alapítása 1094. évnél szerepel. A püspökség alapításáról hírt adó, II. Béla korabeli oklevél – Felicián érsek ítéletlevele – nem említi meg az alapítás évét. A szakirodalomban valóban felmerül az 1094. év lehetősége, Körmendy Tamás azonban nemrégiben meggyőzően érvelt amellett, hogy László még a tengermelléki Horvátország 1091-ben történt meghódítása előtt alapíthatta a zágrábi püspökséget.²

A gazdag illusztrált kötet jelen formájában is igen tartalmas, mindenmellett jegyezzük meg: további témák is eszünkbe juthatnak, melyek a Szent Lászlóról való tudományos eszmecsérét gazdagítják. A nagy király egyházszervezői munkája, honvédő és hódító háborúinak kérdése,

¹ ROMAN MICHAŁOWSKI (2004): The Nine-Week Lent in Boleslaus the Brave's Poland. A Study of the First Piasts' Religious Policy. *Acta Poloniae Historica* vol. 89. 5–50.; HALMÁGYI MIKLÓS (2019): A böjt fejelem és a közigosségtudat. *Deliberationes* 12. évf. 2. sz. 54–68.

² KÖRMENDI TAMÁS (2012): A zágrábi püspökség alapítási éve. In Bagi Dániel – Fedele Tamás – Kiss Gergely (szerk.): „Köztes-Európa” vonzásában. *Ünnepi tanulmányok Font Márta tiszteletére*. Pécs. 329–341.

az emlékét őrző szépirodalom és filmművészeti ugyancsak méltó az elemző feldolgozásra. Ne legyünk azonban telhetetlenek! Bódvai András szerkesztésében megvalósult kötet a szent király emlékezetének jelentős részét átfogja, a tanulmányok végén álló irodalomjegyzék pedig további tájékozódásra ad lehetőséget az érdeklődők számára. A kiadvány végén olvasható angol nyelvű összefoglalók a magyarul nem értők számára is képet adnak a tanulmányok tartalmáról. Azt se feledjük, hogy a kötet egy sorozat része. A Bethlen Gábor Alap Zrt. jóvoltából a magyar történelem további fontos személyiségeiről – Mátyás királyról és Rákóczi Ferencről – is olvashat a Kárpát-medencei kultúra iránt érdeklődő közönség, határainkon innen és túl.

MEGJELENT!
RENDELHETŐ A KIADÓTÓL:
terjesztes@belvedere.meridionale.hu

