

Shostakovich-Syndrome
The Burdened Memories of Central European Societies in the 20th Century

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Impressum

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Preface

First of all, this is not a musicology book, nor primarily a Shostakovich study book despite its (sub)title but rather a selection of academic essays of Central European cultural memory. The studies discuss the reception of Dmitri Shostakovich (1906–1975) as a symbol of burdened memories of work of arts, persons and societies. Shostakovich, in spite of having a significant international reputation and a relevant oeuvre, is a controversial figure today due to his former ideological, political and cultural readings. There are many similar authors, works of art and styles that have been revaluated due to the political events of the last century. Shostakovich's reception related to the key issue of the self-identification of our region: to what extent has contemporary culture been determined by the multiple changes of identity imposed against the will of society?

This question would have been answered at the third scientific workshop in Szigliget, if it had been held. Its further aim was to explore how the successor society could live by the cultural reminiscence created by state ideologies. What should we do with the monuments, the films and ideological poems? The survey focuses on three elements of intellectual history: ideology (represented by states), culture (cultivated by societies) and collective memory (imbued with life by people). We detected the conflicts of modernisms in changes in the life-world. In our region the changes in lifestyle, values and place caused difficulties for the masses. The appearance of the modern symptoms of the economy, culture and mentality was rapid for the greater part of the societies in the region, and they sought alternative ways to reconstruct their former world. Both the first stream of modernism and the cited restoration of the old times failed as the dictatorships usurped both trends. However, both modernism and restoration deconstructed the former collective memory, with this deconstruction carried out by academic apparatus during the dictatorships. That's how we find the collective memories of the last century laden with such burdens.

Although the annual workshop in Szigliget by the Hungarian Academy of Arts Research Institute of Art Theory and Methodology was postponed in 2020 we still invited researchers to answer the questions above in the following way: How did modernisms appear in the region? Which ideological burdens of interpretation can be detected in culture that are no longer current? What is the region-specific relation of memory, culture and politics? Finally, how can culture exist without using force? Our editorial staff selected the twelve best ones from among the invited studies. We divided them into three parts: *Lady Macbeth – Concept of Modernity*, *The Age of Gold – Burdened National Memories* and *The Limpid Stream – Relations of Politics and Culture*.

The first part, *Lady Macbeth*, contains four musicological essays by Leon Stefanija, László Gombos, Ivana Medić and Nemanja Sovtić. These texts analyse the cultural problems of the Shostakovich-syndrome (aka. not-Western modernism), which was summarised by Ivana Medić as: “If someone suffers from Shostakovich syndrome, then he [is] »too avant-garde for their [his] native lands, but not advanced enough for the West«.” She presented the cited phenomenon in the case of four Serb composers (Milenko Paunović, Josip [Štolcer] Slavenski, Vojislav Vučković and Vladan Radovanović). The theory of modernism is also analysed in Stefanija’s paper. His high-quality semantic study defines the meaning of “modernity” in music, and its conclusion confirms our expectation that “modernity” has a multiple meaning. Gombos’s article focuses on the Hungarian violin virtuoso and composer, Jenő Hubay. Upon encountering modernism Hubay was shocked, but later released his orchestration followed German modernity, yet his artistic vein remained French Romantic. Sovtić’s study discusses the *Lady Macbeth*’s première in 1977 at Beograd. The twist of the text is that this *Lady Macbeth* is a ballet, not an opera, and moreover, its composer is Rudolf Bruči and not Shostakovich. Another trick is that the essay affects the philosophical perception of the relationship between the common good and violence while presenting a typical collaboration of different branches of art (literature, music, ballet).

The second part, *The Age of Gold*, discusses what burdened the cultural memory in the above-mentioned period. The anthropological essays of Attila Farkas, Tamás Kollarik – Bálint Zágoni, Ákos Windhager, Bence Csátári and Áron Máthé concur that political manipulation in the collective memory cannot be put into brackets, but that objective discovery can nevertheless repair the harm it does. In the first chapter Farkas summarises the essence of the part as he demonstrates the historical experience of the periods (ideological dictatorships of Nazism and Communism) and suggests a possible way forward for the development of a mature intellectual’s thinking. He presents Anthony de Jasay, who was a relentless critic of the welfare state, but who also outlined the basic features of the minimal-capitalist state and even the possibility of the civilised state of nature. Kollarik and Zágoni cover a similar modernist approach against ideological burdens telling the story of the first world-famous Hungarian filmmaker, Jenő Janovics. Windhager, provides a detailed analysis of Hungarian musical works of art between 1920 and 1938, addressing the burdened memory of the Treaty of Trianon. The study deals with the former and corresponding receptions, readings and misunderstandings. Máthé’s article represents the same topic in a later period, in the Kádár-era. It dealt with the political-ideological burdens on the national memories, and proposed a solution that could comfort the societies of Central Europe. Csátári also discussed the same topic in the field of popular music. He shed light on the popular conspi-

racy theories about national pop music, which were widespread in Hungarian society.

The third part, *The Limpid Stream*, looks at the healthy relationship between culture, politics and memory. The three theoretical essays of János Boros, Valerio Severino, and Miklós Köllő – Andor Wesselényi-Garay give three different answers for the main topic of modernism: Does culture exist without using force? Boros analyses the theoretical background of the relationship between freedom, culture and force. He argues that they are dependent upon different norms. In his interpretation normativity is an imperative to make something, and to do something in a certain way. Severino tells a story about a chapel, which became a tense crucial point of cultural patriotism and fascist ideology. Lastly, Köllő and Wesselényi-Garay demonstrate the corresponding architectural movements, which were entrenched in regional traditions and moves on to future realms.

Our leitmotifs (keywords): modernism, collective memory, ideology and Shostakovich connect the different studies. We can see many versions for regionalism from Portugal, Italy through the Balkans to Hungary and Romania. The spheres of culture are also various: from music and literature to cinema and architecture, from politics to philosophy. We have some moral justification for using force to create art in order to revive our collective memory. Finally, we are obliged to end with Shostakovich, who had a special way with cultural memory: “The best way to hold onto something is to pay no attention to it. The things you love too much perish. You have to treat everything with irony, especially the things you hold dear. There’s more of a chance then that they’ll survive.”

Ákos Windhager

Lady Macbeth – Concept of Modernity

Leon Stefanija

Concept-analysis of *Modernity* through Rhetorics on Slovenian Orchestral Music (1918–1945)

Aim and the Thesis

My aim is to point to semantic shifts in one of the central concepts in musical practice, the concept of *modernity*. This is, of course, by far a musical concept. The focus remains historically confined within the two decades separating the world wars in Slovenia, a part of the Kingdom of SHS/Yugoslavia.

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Background, Thesis and Methodology

The rhetorics of the time, as indicated by Anton Dolinar, an influential musician and cultural worker of his time, in almost still valid terms as an era of:

“general boiling, instability, and uncertainty as well as a clear reflection of everything that is happening in the realm of every branch of art, especially in music. [...] Not only audiences but also active musicians are competing among themselves. The ones that belong to the 'older school' hold the ones that see themselves as belonging to the 'newer, modern style' in disdain. The 'advocates of the new current' do not have a favourable words for their predecessors, and between the two camps there is the third way, the middle path that would accommodate all the greatest contrasts and recognize the merits of each camp.”¹

The levers of modernity were neatly addressed by Julian Johnson as different “sounding utopias”.² He recasts the idea of modernity as an idea about “commonalities and continuities”, even “extrusion of tensions latent in the Classical”, as suggested by Julian Johnson in his “*sensible* history of musical modernity”.³ And the events from the last century Slovenia indicate fairly strong “commonalities and continuities” within what seemed like a pressing need for a certain

¹ DOLINAR, Anton: *Donesek h glasbeni kritiki = Cerkveni glasbenik*, 48/11–12., 1925, 125–129., 125.

² JOHNSON, Julian: *Out of Time: Music and the Making of Modernity*. New York, Oxford University Press, 2015, 70–81, 70.

³ Ibid. 4., 7., 10.

musica viva, for certain *contemporary, modern, new* music with its “extrusion of tensions” in different forms supporting (if not creating) the “general boiling, instability, and uncertainty” indicated by Dolinar.

Thus, I wanted to find out what the very use of the word *modern* with regard to symphonic music tells me about the interwar period. The aim of this contribution is thus to sketch the range of musical *modernity* in Slovenia. The symphonic genre was chosen because of its cultural relevancy as the most written-about genre that also indicates the rhetoric of thinking about music for all the other musical genres.

The thesis behind the paper is: the concept of modernity, so pervasive in Western cultural history, that was but a common sense, pragmatic corrective of what was considered (and is actually often still addressed) as its opposition, the *classical*, inevitably something *old*. In what follows, the concept of *modernity* is analysed through its use in the two sets of writings: 1) daily reviews of the symphonic concerts and 2) essays on modern music in journals.

What is Modern from Today's Perspective?

Today, the concept of *modernity* with regard to Slovenian music is used rather differently. If O'Loughlin (2000) uses the word *modern* cautiously, only twice for the discussed period⁴, once even in quotation marks, Darja Koter, uses it as something definable, pointing to Slavko Osterc (1895–1941) as the “leading personality of the modernist musical streams in Slovenia”.⁵ Pompe 2016 considers the term modernity (*moderna*) as a separate concept if compared to the concepts of *modernism* or *New Music* and he sees its main feature in the *ambivalence*⁶ and “inclination toward lyricism”,⁷ attaching the concept of modernity to Anton Lajovic (1878–1960), Lucijan Marija Škerjanc (1900–1973), Risto Savin (1859–1948), Emil Adamič (1877–1936), adding to the list the Lied of and the early oeuvre of Matija Bravničar (1897–1977) and claiming that the “modernity was after the Great War in the Slovenian context prevalent”.⁸

Obviously, modernity creates an historiographical confusion: if O'Loughlin avoids the concept and Koter sees it as embodied in one person, Pompe tries

⁴ O'LOUGHLIN, Niall: *Novejša glasba v Slovejiji*. Ljubljana, Slovenska matica, 2000, 18., 79.

⁵ KOTER, Darja: *Slovenska glasba 1918–1991*. Ljubljana, Študentska založba, 2013, 20.

⁶ Leaning on Carl Dahlhaus and Hermann Danuser; POMPE, Gregor: *Glasba slovenske povojne moderne (1918–1927) = De musica disserenca*, 2016, 12/2., 23–46., 24. <https://ojs.zrc-sazu.si/dmd/article/view/4953/4545>

⁷ Ibid. 43.

⁸ “da je bila moderna takoj po prvi svetovni vojni v slovenskem kontekstu prevladujoča”, ibid. 41.

to delimit modernity from other stylistic solutions claiming its omnipresence. Obviously, there is something fuzzy.

What does the use of the word modern with its derivatives and synonyms reveal about the interwar period?

How Musical Modernity is Phrased

The concept of *modern* (moderen) is used between 1918–1936 in the following forms (the analysis was done on a sketch engine (<https://www.sketchengine.eu/>, lemmatized with a JOS ToTaLe text analyser for Slovene texts on <http://nl.ijs.si/analyse/>):

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Linguistic form/frequency

Adjective

moderen/75
moderno/22
moderna/21
moderne/13
moderni/8
modernega/6
modernih/6
modernem/5
nemoderen/2
modernističen/2
premoderen/1
premoderno/1
ultra-modernističen/1
hipermoderna/1

Noun

Moderna/32
modernizem/6
modernist/2

Verb

modernizirati/4

In what follows, the three lexical items are discussed. The main feature being: what is modern in music has been indicated mainly through adjectives (162

out of 206 = almost 80%). *The* modernity/modernism (noun) has actually been described quite often (19%), whereas the process of modernization was thematised (verbs) only exceptionally.

Modernity through Adjectives

The adjectival form points to a “carnavalesque” provenience and compound meaning of modernity.

1. I therefore suspect that Adamič could compose for a very good, modern, but at the same time melodic opera for us.
2. The last movements are partly of a modern unmaterial nature, so that the inscriptions are a little embarrassing, only the first two are still of a distinctly emotional nature.
3. But just as the modern position of consistent non-thematic construction goes too far to one side, so does the repetition of the same motif, as used by Arnič, goes in the other direction too often, although the composer is defended here by the stylistic features of Russian naturalism.
4. In the middle part, the composer uses canonical imitations and other polyphonic means that direct the work toward strong and very colourfully sounding climaxes, which show his modern and skilful instrumental knowledge.
5. With *Svirka* and *Burleska*, Bravničar proved himself to be a modern oriented neo-realist, also using contrapuntal technique with all its ostinati, canons and fugati, in which, however, the main decisive surprise is colour, just as it was in impressionism.
6. It is modern non-individual and non-subjective art that has a future.
7. The composition itself is simple, modern music on an old Slovene text, without a real internal connection, divided into short sentences, and multiple jumps into the lower third. [...] Škerjanc's 'Dance Motif' is a short, too short a thing of a completely modern direction, in an interesting two-part form. The first movement of which is a polyphonic playful ostinato motif in low register, passing from instrument to instrument, the second sordino movement sounding very sincere and intimate, and concludes this interesting work as a strong contrast to the first movement.
8. This thing, however, is varied, always fresh, bold, and sounds nice, albeit very 'modern'.
9. Meanwhile, modern music has gone through revolutions; the tonal systems of our ancestors became very simple, once colossal themes – banal.

10. It is adorned with a very careful detailed counterpoint treatment, with selected, unusual modern harmonies emerge on every step, passages are unique especially with regard to the modulation.
11. The entire work is built in a modern, very bold musical sense.
12. 'Ruzhka's Dream' was accepted with reservations claiming that it is too modern, too difficult, and that the singers will be unable to negotiate their way through all the subtleties and the audience unable to realise all the beauties of the nuances.

Modern can be: 1. something usually “without melody” (as a 4. the artful handling of the instrumentation or 10. “strange harmonies”), 2. something abstract, “modern immaterial character”, 3. athematic structuring, 5. Style of New Objectivity that is the foundation of 6. “un-individual and un-subjective art” or 11. simply as a “very bold musical sense”; further modern as a 7. fragmented whole, 8. “variegated, always fresh, vigorous [krepka]” aesthetics, 9. modern music as a set of changes or 12. *modern* as something *difficult*.

Modern can be a (fragmented) form, structural aspect of the form (as “strange” harmonies and rich instrumentation as well as athematic logic). These features of the form/structure are indices for the then modern style of New Objectivity and its abstract, “un-individual, un-subjective” expression. Yet, it is exactly the aesthetic domain in which a liminal territory emerges. Modern is something in a “very bold musical sense”: thus it may be (as in 7.) “simple, modern music in old-Slavic lyrics, without an inherent connection, dismembered on short movements”, it may be (as in 8.) “variegated, always fresh, vigorous [krepka] in spite of being modern” but it may also be (9.) simply something “too modern, too difficult” a piece to perform.

In short: *modern*, as an adjective, pertains to the musical form, musical structure (harmony and rhythm especially, not melody), to the appearance of a musical text (instrumentation), but it also *sticks constantly* (as the etymology of the Latin verb “pertinere” – indicates) to a set of aesthetic variables that belong to the contextual, and also to a certain extent phenomenological universals: *difficulty* (as in 12.), *boldness* (11.), *immateriality* (2.), *changeability* (9.).

The Modernity (noun)

The use of **modernity/moderna and modernizem, as a noun**, a label for an art species (all the details about the quotes are available in the Appendix).

- The modernity that struck our ears here and there was a monstrosity for us, we leaned on the Italian verists, on their dramatic quirks, on the sensuous text rather than on the inner musical power.

- The modernity is seducing him, the romantic laughs out from his works, but at the bottom of the bold, harmonically varied waves of his orchestral apparatus, the mysteriously magical Vineta, our national song, is dreaming in the depths.
- Modernism is manifested in a new love of strict form and linear expression.
- Far from modernism, Premrl clung to noble and graceful forms and breathed out his soft, gentle soul.
- In addition to him, there are also representatives of older world movements, e.g. impressionism, programme music, who are also more reserved in all their statements against modernism, such as, first and foremost, Krsto Odak, and Emil Adamič among the older ones, with whom we are already acquainted.

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The features are rather heterogeneous: modernity as an *un-creature* [nestvor]; modernity as a veil emergent out of the impressionist and romantic tradition; as an inclination toward “rigorous form and linear expression”. All that is an opposition to “gracious form” in which a composer had “exhaled his soft and gentle soul”, a sign of the “older Emil Adamič”.

How can modernism/modernity be understood within these terms? The lax semantics are obvious. Although some understood the style as an “un-individual”, “un-subjective” and leading toward “fragmented short movements”, modernism may also be approached from a *vitalist* – rather subjectively aesthetic – side: the music may be “variegated, always fresh, vigorous [krepka]” and “sounding nice in spite of being »modern«”.

Modern music, in a word, is double-coded: 1. In the “un-individual” and “un-subjective”, “new love of strict forms and linear expression” (= as a counterpart to “yesterdays modernism”, expressionism), and 2. In “something variegated, always fresh, vigorous [krepka]”, even as an “un-creature [nestvor]”, something undefinable, evasive, *strange*.

What is Being Modernized (verb)?

What does it mean: to modernize? With is being modernized. The answer here is a short one. The use of the verb *to modernize* has only two palpable instances (two are semantically indifferent, synonyms for contemporaneity):

- Osterc has a unique compositional tunic with which he modernises old forms and presents them in a completely new and non-concessional style.
- Škrjanc has the quality of a good actor to inhabit different roles, so it won't be difficult for him to modernise himself, if only he would not stop

being his own because of it or if the lyricist-melodist in him would not lead him down the path of less serious music!

To modernize, one has to “update” the “old [musical] forms”. To achieve this, one has to be “capable of familiarizing oneself with different roles”. In other words, modernization is always represented as a twin-dwarf on the shoulders of a giant: modern music emerges from past traditions, yet at the same time it is also a vulnerable creature that is easily influenced by its surroundings, a chameleon-like phenomenon with an evasive identity, living in-between peculiarity and commonality – just like the “old traditions” of the modern era.

It seems that there were two directions of modernization: if Osterc modernizes the “old forms” and “presents them in a new, uncompromising style”, Škerjanc does that because “he has the capacity of a good player to accustom himself to different roles”. To modernize means either to rewrite the past “uncompromisingly” or to do artistry with the available resources, i.e. to do a sensible patchwork.

Thus, there is a double yardstick for measuring the processes of modernization: 1) one end is embedded in the music history and its compositional, poetological traditions; the other end 2) points to the phenomenology of aesthetics that hovers in the evasive present.

If the first view offers an appearance of objectivity, the second emphasizes individualist pragmatism. If the first substantiates itself historically, the second flattens the historical perspective universalizing the musical substance as something ahistorical, and as something postmodern before the wider proclamation of postmodernity.

Modernity vs. Contemporaneity

The concept of *contemporaneity* was used mainly as an adjective (*contemporary...*) in its vague temporal meaning⁹, yet in the thirties it appears as a synonym for modernity (before that it seems that only Kimovec 1916 used contemporary music as a synonym for contemporary). It was related especially to Slavko Osterc's as well as to Lucijan Marija Škerjanc's work¹⁰. The following comment indicates the quandary of the modernist concept:

⁹ As, for instance, in: *Jutro* (priloga), 5. 4. 1923, 5. *Jutro*, 7. 5. 1926, 6. St. Vurnik. Glasba. *Dom in svet*, 42/1–2, 1929, 62. *Slovenec*, 13. 3. 1930, 7. *Jutro*, 14. 10. 1931, 3. *Jutro*, 17. 4. 1937, 3. *Ponedeljski Slovenec*, 19. 4. 1937, 2. *Jutro*, 22. 4. 1937, 7. *Slovenec*, 2. 9. 1941, 5. *Jutro*, 25. 3. 1938, 5. *Slovenski dom*, 24.11.1938, 3.

¹⁰ As in *Jutro*, 8. 3. 1930, 6. *Jugoslovan*, 11. 10. 1931, 3. *Jutro*, 14. 10. 1931, 3. *Jutro*, 7. 9. 1935, 7. *Jutro*, 31. 1. 1936, 7.

"My teacher, as a practitioner [...] said that the durability or short lives of compositional elements is, in the end, dependent on the human ear, and that it is unlikely that after 100 years a composition will be effective with the same freshness and intoxication as at the time of its birth.

In the meantime, modern music has experienced a real set of revolutions; the tone systems of our ancestors became simple, with the once highest-reaching themes – becoming banal. We live in a time when the human ear is ignited by new harmonic sensations, the new melos. Debussy, followed by the Russians, and then all those who are looking for motifs in contemporary music, discover new tone worlds. This is not a capricious novelty, a search for new paths, but a search for a new suggestion, a truly fertilizing melodic invention.

This development will not get out of the world, neither the Germans nor the other nations who deny that the old things are losing their power. Perhaps after 100 years, the classics will flare up again. Today we stand at a cross-roads. [...]”¹¹

The perspective of a crossroad between a past and a future rest on a rather evasive yet age-old – aesthetic – argument: “a search for a new suggestion, a truly fertilizing melodic invention” has been a classical issue in art history. Yet, it is a tricky one: the “new melos” – the *musica viva* – appears to be only a sigh, a trace, a *frame* in the rather variegated musical landscape of “now” and the plethora of “before”: it is “out of time”¹² in terms of aspiration, hope, and need, but it is actually founded by the processes that produce the time. They define the difference between the past and the future, as Boris Groys neatly indicates the New: “Das Neue ist nicht bloß das Andere, es ist das vertvolle Andere.”¹³ The *valuable* (das Vertvolle) is, of course, a variable that connects two dependencies: valuable for whom and why.

¹¹ “Moj učitelj se je kot praktikus uprl tej misli in dejal, da je trajnost ali minljivost godbenih elementov vendarle odvisna od človeškega ušesa in da je malo verjetno, da bo skladba po 100 letih učinkovala s tisto svežino in opojnostjo, kakor ob svojem rojstvu.

Medtem je moderna glasba doživela cele revolucije; tonski sistemi naših prednikov so postali sila enostavni, nekoč nebotične teme – banalne. Živimo v času, ko človeško uho vžigajo nova harmonska občutja, novi melosi. Debussy, za njim pa Rusi in nato vsi oni, ki iščejo v sodobni glasbi novih motivov, odkrivajo nove tonske svetove. To ni kapricijozna novotarija, iskanje novih potov, pač pa iskanje nove sugestije, resnično oplajajoče melodične invencije.

Tega razvoja ne bodo spravili s sveta ne Nemci ne oni med drugimi narodi, ki zanikajo, da starine bledijo, da njihova moč peša. Morda bo čez sto let drugače, morda bodo klasiki nanovo vzplamteli. Danes stojimo na razpotju.”

Dr. J. B. Simfonični koncert. *Jutro*, 14. 10. 1931, 3.

¹² JOHNSON: *op. cit.* (2015).

¹³ GROYS, Boris: *Über das Neue. Versuch einer Kulturökonomie*. München – Wien, Carl Hanser Verlag (Edition Akzente, ur. Michael Krüger), 1992, 43.

Modernity: Too Many Giants on the Dwarfs' Shoulders?

There are several similarly intoned reflections on modern music written by different authors in a somewhat longer essayistic form. They recurrently address the same difficulties that even as early as in 1935 seemed futile for many. In 1935 namely the main modernist ideology, the 41-year old (!) Slavko Osterc (1895–1942) stated:

“It is the duty of the younger generation to cut-off with Petrushka [by Stravinsky], when the ideology of Schoenberg, Berg and Hába grows old, the duty of the youngest ones is to break up with Schoenberg and the others named here.”

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Osterc namely claimed that music “has even greater possibilities for advancement”,¹⁴ yet he never defined these suggestions, not declaratory – his most revered composers were the French masters of the interwar period, especially his contemporaries Honegger and Milhaud –, even less practically.

A short recapitulation of the main claims regarding modernity within longer texts dealing with modernity in music offers an interestingly ambivalent view:

Kalan 1916 published in the bimonthly *Church Musician* and was apologetic regarding dissonances:

“Let's be honest, dissonances exist in life, and that is the reason why they are also needed in music. That is exactly why modern music is otherwise distinct, revived, and enthusiastic, because of **the dissonances: they are doubtlessly a more perfect means of expression than simple chords or diatonics.**”¹⁵

Only several issues later, *Church Musician* published another, more competent and actually the first elaborated view on musical modernity by Franc Kimovec (1978–1964). He aimed to “offer the essence of the newer music with regard to its tendencies and also its means” (p. 89), although he acknowledged that it is all about an “ongoing process” thus allowing only incomplete claims. He called attention to the general *aesthetic* concern regarding the

¹⁴ “Sedaj je dolžnost mlade generacije, da prekine s Petruško [Stravinskega], ko že ostareva ideologija Schoenberga, Berga in Hábe, dolžnost najmlajših pa je, da že s Schoenbergom in imenovanimi pretrga” saj da ima glasba “še večje možnosti razvoja!” (Osterc, 1935, III, 91)

¹⁵ “Bodimo odkritosrčni, disonance so v življenju, in zato so potrebne tudi v glasbi. Ravno zato je pa moderna glasba vse drugače izrazita, oživiljena, oduševljena, ker ima disonance, ki so brezdomno popolnejša izrazilna sredstva, kakor enostavni akordi ali diatonika.” KALAN, Milan: *Nekaj o moderni glasbi, disonancah in v obrambo modernistov = Cerkevni glasbenik*, 2016, 39/1., 5–6., 6. (all emphases L. S.)

“fundamental features of the newer music we proclaim its lush, unusual harmony, its rich dissonances, its varied chromaticism, and the flexible, hitherto unheard of modulation, its bold cautious, irrepressible counter-point”.¹⁶

The point is, the complex formal elements are not the essence of modern music:

“It seems that the centre of gravity of the newer creation in music is in the longing for an accurate expression of the inner feeling, a deep feeling and its maximal unity.” (p. 90.)¹⁷

To achieve the new art,

“the principle of simplicity and elementarity, to the extent that contemporary art can be called the art of elementarity in all its right, that is to say, it tries to achieve the greatest effect with the smallest, simplest means that are as elementary as possible”. (p. 92.)¹⁸

This is the main reason why the new music excels in

“conciseness, solid, elemental expression in which every word represents its prime meaning”. (p. 92.)¹⁹

Premrl also remained similarly favourably disposed toward expressionism in 1917, indicating three issues of the musical modernity – 1. expression vs. rationalism, 2. dissonance, and 3. ties with folklore. But as early as in the late 1920s modern music lost the ground under its feet. If Anton Dolinar defined modern music as “a reaction, a thrust against new romanticism”²⁰, Slavko Osterc, a year after the above quoted quest for new music addressed to the younger

¹⁶ “kot bistvene prvine novejšje glasbe razglašamo nje bujne, nenavadne harmonije, nje bogate dissonance, nje pestro kromatiko in gibčno, doslej nezaslišano modulacijo, nje drzovito, neugnano kontrapunktiko.” (Ibid.)

¹⁷ “Zdi se, da je težišče novejšje glasbene stvaritve v hrepenenju po čim natančnejšem izrazu notranjega občuta, v poglobljenju čuvstvovanja in njega čim večji enotnosti.”

¹⁸ “načelo preprostosti, elementarnosti, to pa v taki meri, da se sodobna umetnost po vsej pravici more imenovati umetnost elementarnosti, to se pravi, da poizkuša z najmanjšimi, najpreprostejšimi, čim elementarnejšimi sredstvi kar največji efekt doseči. [...]”
“Novejša umetnost – v kolikor je – ni v toliko velika po lepih besedah, še manj po rožnatem slogu, ampak po jedratem, klenem, elementarnem izražanju, kjer vsakatera beseda v svojem prvotnem pomenu nastopa.”

¹⁹ Idem.

²⁰ DOLINAR, Anton: *Na pragu novejšje glasbe = Cerkevni glasbenik*, 1933, 56/3–4., 9–11., [http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-EUWDUCIH.56/3–4.](http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-EUWDUCIH.56/3-4.), 35–37.
[http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-0F7ISA3L.56/5–6.](http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-0F7ISA3L.56/5-6.), 76–80.
<http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-1PJTRZ02>

generation, listed almost every music reviewer of his time and replied to their writings about his music "Ad informandum". A shopping list of their (or his?) "faults" are set under a telling title of *Quarrel over our contemporary music*:

- popularity/unpopularity
- advocacy of different compositional courses
- a constant change of styles
- masterful/poor artistry
- expectations of the listener
- formal fragmentation
- technicality vs. invention
- reproduction of old solutions/development of new ones
- similarity of styles/individuality
- revolutionism/evolutionism
- successful/unsuccessful »exploitation of the old goods«
- school-like/artistic
- soulful/soulless music
- content/»technique (form)«
- originality/resemblance with respect to old compositional solutions
- exporting/importing (»hyper-modernism«)

23 —

The list, of course, may be reconsidered differently, of course, for different milieus, composers, and generations of musicians. Yet the list of modernity issues as extracted from Osterc's "Ad informandum" indicates a nice view on the Slovenian musical modernism (I believe not only in the interwar period). It may be summarized by the anecdote Osterc recalls in his text:

"Once with Dr Švara [a conductor] we stopped in front of a picture that stands upright in the window of a photographer's studio: with a man holding his head. Perhaps only to give the appearance of a scientist. Švara, what do you think – O wie fällt mir heute den Denken so schwer! [Oh, it is so hard to think today]' – I often find my evaluators in such a position."²¹

And in such a position musical modernism appears to be in the mid-1930s: heterogeneous and heteronomous – fairly *post-modernist*.

²¹ "Z dr. Švaro sva se nekoč ustavila pred fotografijo moža, ki se drži v fotografski izložbi (že dolgo) za glavo. Morda zato, da bi se videl bolj učenjaški. »Švara, kaj praviš na to? – O wie fällt mir heute das Denken so schwer«! – V taki pozi vidim večkrat svoje ocenjevalce. Toda: v izložbi je fotografija moža, ki se drži za glavo!"
OSTERC, Slavko: *Skladatelj Slavko Osterc odgovarja kritikom – Predstavitev modernistične struje v slovenski glasbi o svojem delu*. Jutro, 31. 1. 1936, 7. Drugi del članka o skladatelja Osterca. Jutro, 1. 2. 1936, 7.

The last essay mentioned here dealing with Slovenian musical modernism I would like to conclude with; Šijanec in 1939, starts tellingly: "When I write about new directions, I presume that you also know the old directions of Slovenian music." The story ends with praise of Lucijan Marija Škerjanc as the most prolific composer who educated "only three talents [...]: Arnič, Bravničar, and Prevoršek".²² Slavko Osterc, while the rivalry of Škerjanc, is not even mentioned.

This statement indicates that as a concept, modernism was advocated by the leading church musicians and remained mainly associated with expressivism, harmony, rhythm and instrumentation. Since the late 1920s, modernism was advocated mainly within New Objectivity catchword; its meaning had already grown pale and vague by the mid-1930s.

In short. 1) is modernism identified by cliques, scotomization, ignorance, and pettifoggery? Or 2) does modernism have *substantial* forms, such as dissonance, fragmentation, *strangeness*, or cacophony? Or 3) is modernism contextual, subject-related, an on-going process comprising heterogeneous variables, such as modernism, New Music, Neue Sachlichkeit, Neoclassicism etc.? As far as the collected material indicates, it seems that the questions are misleading. Modernity should be considered alongside all three questions.

At least one holds true if the above analysis is considered. 1) In Slovenia, modernity as a process was closely connected to church musicians. The list given by Pompe above should be quite substantially extended: it should start with **Hugolin Sattner** (1851–1934) and include **Josip Čerin** (1867–1951), **Karel Jeraj** (1874–1951), **Franč Kimovec** (1878–1964), **Stanko Premrl** (1880–1965), **Vasilij Mirk** (1884–1962), **Miljutin Negode**, **Bogomir Leskovic** (1909–1995) and **Blaž Arnič** (1901–1970). The list, thus, includes church music – in Slovenia, the issue on dissonance in music was elaborately reflected by a church musician Josip Klemenčič (1892–1969).²³

Besides, if one considers the metonymy, different versions of folk music should also be considered as a paragon of modernity that aspire to be "variegated, always fresh, and vigorous [krepka]". The list, in other words, consists not only of those composers that have *modernized* certain features but also of those that usually remain outside of the horizon of modernity.

²² ŠIJANEC, Drago Mario: *Nove smeri slovenske glasbe = Radio Ljubljana: tednik za radiofonijo*. Konzorcij, 1939, 3–4. <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-NYD0962YAnd:RadioLjubljana:tednikzradiofonijo>. Konzorcij, 1939, 1–2., 4., <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-8ZTHKQP8>

²³ *Cerkveni glasbenik*, 38/5–6 (1916), 65–68; 38/7–8. (1916), 81–87. <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-6T116VW1>.

The concept of modernity 2) is the concept that integrates different styles regardless of the genre divisions. Modernity actually seems typically post-modern: it is integrative, inclusive, and selective – in the sense of incorporation, not exclusion. Modernity, as seen through its use in the interwar period, is contingent. It leaves its meanings to the players and the community involved in the game. And yet, the game remains alive.

Appendix: Quotations from Those Sentences Including the Word *Modern*

The use of the term *modern* and its derivatives 1918–1936 with regard to the Slovenian symphonic music in the daily newspapers and music journals. The list includes all uses of the concept of *modernity* with regard to the Slovenia symphonic music.

25 —

About **Emil Adamič** (1877–1936)

»Živ, bujen, **modern je Adamičev 'April'**. V njem se kaže kolikortoliko že vpliv zadnjih Lajovčevih zborov.« *Cerkveni glasbenik*, 44/7–8, 1921, 65.

»5. Pripovedka. Uvod slika v **modernih disonancah** pustinja in svojo usodo čakajočo kraljičino. [...] Glasba suite je originalna, karakteristična. Skladatelj se v nji poslužuje **modernega orkestra**, ki kar kipi pestrih barv.« *Jugoslavija*, 8. 1. 1922, 1.

»Vse delo je komponirano v **najmodernejši maniri**, a zato morda naši publiki ne povsod dovolj umljivo.« *Slovenski narod*, 24. 1. 1922, 2.

»Zato slutim, da bi nam Adamič lahko ustvari prav dobro, **moderno, a hkrati melodično opero**.« *Jutro*, 3. 12. 1925, 3.

»Kakor pri mnogih modernistih, pogrešamo pa tudi tukaj celokupnega utisa vsled pomanjkanja logične razporedbe v obliki.«

»Najbolj še prva dva stavka težita k dražljivi harmoničnosti, vendar je preko nekaj atonalnih mest **jasen moderen značaj** te suite, ki kaže v tretjem stavku fugetno formo, v četrtem in šestem pa močan naslon na klasicizem in italijansko 18. stoletje tako v obdelavi kakor kompoziciji, da, do neke mere celo v izberi melodije za teme, v čemer se kaže modema skladateljeva ljubezen za strogo formo, naklon k kontrapunktični obdelavi, pri čemer ne molijo dosti tupatam še vedno preostali dražljivi harmonski drobci. Zadnji stavki so deloma že **moderno nesnovnega značaja**, da nadpisi malo spravljajo v zadrego, le prva dva sta še izrazito občutenjskega značaja. [...] To je **moderna neindividualna in nesubjektivna umetnost**, ki ima bodočnost.« *Slovenec*, 16. 3. 1926

»Stil slovenske glasbe je letos pokazal določen prelom z navpično pojmovano muziko impresionizma in se je nagnil v **modernejšo horizontalno smer**, ki pa v **najmodernejših skladbah že prehaja tudi iz linearnega ekspresionizma**

v polifoni plastični stil. V teh mejah se giblje vse, **najmoderneje pišejo poleg Kogoj in deloma Adamiča cerkveni skladatelji Kimovec, Premrl i. dr., ki so moderni po vzgoji gotovo bližji.**« *Dom in svet*, 39/1, 1926, 61-4.

»Dočim je jedro skladbe s svojo ilustrativno, programsko muziko še impresionistično, je eden izmed stavkov zgrajen že **modernejši, »in modo antico**« in se nekatera mesta nagibljejo iz impresionizma ven, h korahi in polifoniji. **Modernizem se kaže pač v novi ljubezni do stroge forme in do linearne izraza.**« *Dom in svet*, 40/1, 1927, 47-50.

»Od sličic sploh ne vemo, katera je boljša, vse zvenijo polno, orkestralno, vse so klasične v svoji preprostosti in prikladne ne le za mladino, ampak tudi za odrasle, ki so veseli, **če se iz modernega šundra oglasi zopet nekaj muzike.** *Jutro*, 17. 5. 1934, 3.«

About **Blaž Arnič** (1901-1970)

»Arnič je vseskozi **moderen, sodobni skladatelj**: pri poslušanju njegovih del se mora vsak za novo glasbeno smer le navdušiti in prav nič od nje odtujiti.« *Slovenski dom*, 20.11.1936, 2.

»Toda kakor sega **moderno stališče dosledne netematične gradnje** predaleč v eno stran, tako prepogosto ponavljanje istega motiva kot gradi Arnič, zopet v drugo, čeprav skladatelja tu zagovarjajo stilne poteze ruskega naturalizma.« *Slovenec*, 23.4.1937, 7.

»Če pa je ostalo njegovo ime, ko se je vrnil v Ljubljano, pri nas skrito in njegovo delo skoro neznano, je pač temu vzrok njegova skromnost in neobvladovanje reklamne tehnike, v kateri se odlikuje kak drug naš moderni skladatelj.« *Slovenski dom*, 24. 11. 1936, 2.

About **Matija Bravničar** (1897-1977)

»V srednjem delu se komponist poslužuje kanoničnih imitacij in drugih polifonskih pripomočkov ter **zažene delo v silno in zelo barvito zveneče viške, ki kažejo njegovo moderno in spretno instrumentacijsko znanje.**« *Slovenski narod*, 17. 11. 1932, 2.

»Bravničar se je s »Svirko« in »Burlesko« pokazal kot moderno orientiranega novostvarnostnika, deloma že tudi kontrapunktične smeri z vsemi ostinati, kanoni, fugati, v katerih je pa vendarle glavno odločilno presenečenje pa kolorit kakor v impresionizmu. Bolj papirnata je ta muzika: kdovekaj samorasla tudi ni, smo vse te efekte Osterčeve in Bravničarjeve v bistvu že vsaj kje poprejšli.« *Slovenec*, 23. 2. 1932, 4

About **Josip Čerin** (1867-1951)

»Kraši jo jako skrbna podrobna kontrapunktična obdelava, izbrane, **nenavadne moderne harmonije** se ti porajajo korak za korakom, prehodi so zlasti v modulationskem oziru svojevrstni.« *Cerkveni glasbenik*, 52/11-12, 1929, 190.

About **Karel Jeraj** (1874–1951)

»Jerajeva »Lepa Vida« je **moderen kos v tem oziru, ker vzdržuje navadno deklamacijo** kakor Schönbergov »Pierrot lunaire« z glasbenim ozadjem, **nemoderen kos pa v harmoniji.**« *Jutro*, 21. 12. 1922, 3.

About **Franč Kimovec** (1878–1964)

»Skladba sama je **preprosta, moderna glasba na staroslovensko besedilo, brez prave notranje zveze, razkosana na kratke stavke**, večkratni skoki v spodnjo terco: n. pr. iz G-dura v Es-dur; bogata instrumentacija ji je dala šele praznično lice.« *Cerkveni glasbenik*, 43/3-4 (1920), 26.

»To je **v modernem slogu zgrajena skladba**, v svojem začetku (Gospodine, pomiluj) nadvse preprosta in mirna potem raste z veliko silo v Slavi in posebno v Veri, doseže višek v »Svet«, ki je silno veličasten in se potem izpremeni v mehko nežnost v 'Blagoslovljen'.« *Slovenec*, 27. 3. 1920, 4.

About **Srečko Koporc** (1900–1965)

»Kritično stališče, ki ga moremo zavzeti nasproti celotnemu učinku tega koncerta, nam pokaže mnogo priznanih vrednot in te so: izredno napeto in požrtvovalno delo zbora in pevovodje, pozornost do modernega ustvarjanja, naklonjenost našim vrednim, pa pri nas preziranim skladateljem. [...] Rekel sem, da je vrednost v tem, da **zbor goji našo moderno umetnost.**« *Slovenec*, 8. 6. 1935, 4.

»Ne morem že zahtevati, da bi mili, skromni škerjanček pel bobneče slapove harškega kanarčka, da bi pastir na svoji piščali piskal vratolomne favtne koncerte z orkestrom, da bi primitivni zbor delavskih in obrtniških fantov in deklet izvajal za nje nerazumljiva dela »**modernega slovanskega skladatelja** in pri nas edinega teoretika najnovejše glasbene smeri, ki zastopa Schönberg-Bergovo ideologijo«, torej skladatelj«, ki namerno ne piše iz duha in za duha svojega naroda, ki **se očitno priznava za epigona, za posnemovalca in oponašalca tujih glasbenih veličin.** Ali je to ono, kar smo naglošali pri koncertih APZ, kar poudarjajo **moderni hrvatski, srbski, bolgarski, jugoslovenski mladi komponisti, komponisti vseh narodov?** Izvzemam **muziko res internacionalistično modernih, ki jo nikomur ne vsiljujejo in jo pišejo le za ozki krog izbranih**, enako mislečih izvajalcev in poslušalcev.« *Slovenski narod*, 4. 6. 1935, 3.

»Zdi se, da je Koporčev orkestralni epilog zares komplicirana uganka, ki jo stavi '**sfinga**' **moderne glasbe 20. stoletja** nekaterim glasbenim šolnikom v razrešitev, pa še ni razrešena.« *Jutro*, 12. 7. 1935, 7.

About **Anton Lajovic** (1878–1960)

»Kot glasbenik hodi moderna pota.« *Slovenski narod*, 30. 4. 1928, 3.

»Bogata polifonija in **moderne harmonije** ga odlikujejo formalno, vsebinsko pa neka nad vse simpatična možata nota, ki povzroči, da mehki »dagio« nikoli

ne postane osladen, ampak drži vso pozornost poslušalca skrajno napeto do konca.« *Jutro*, 21. 12. 1922, 3.

»S tem delom je Lajovic po Psalmu dosegel višek impresionizma in se deloma nagnil v **naslednjo etapo moderne, v čistomuzikalično smer**, ki deloma že negira čustveno romantiko in je nekak prehod k moderni.« *Slovenec*, 23. 1. 1929, 7.

»Osterčeve drobne stvarice nimajo sile, da bi si pomagale v ospredje. Šele Lajovic je ogrel. Ta stvar je pa **pestra, vedno sveža, krepka, lepo zveni, četudi zelo 'moderna'**«. *Slovenec*, 15. 1. 1932, 4.

»Glasba je zelo **moderna, toda izredno blagoglasna**«. *Cerkveni glasbenik*, 46/5-6, 1923, 54-5.

»Mogoče bi se naši mladi le dali odvrniti od onega **brezplodnega forsiranja ultra-modernističnega stila v korist resnično občutene, prave, iskrene muzike**«. *Slovenski narod*, 3. 5. 1929, 3.

»To je edina moderna skladba te vrste pri nas« *Ljubljanski zvon*, 49/6, 1929, 382-383.

»Po Lajovicu je zavladovalo v slovenskem glasbenem življenju mrtvilo. Splošna zmeda v ustvarjanju po Evropi je vplivala tudi na Slovence uničujoče. Zastale so vse sile, ki naj bi gonile umetniško delovanje. Zato očituje doba okrog leta 20 izrazit zastoj. Namesto razgibanih poskusov smo doživeli otrplo čakanje. **Tista moderna, ki nam je tu in tam udarila na ušesa, je bila za nas nestvor**, naslanjali smo se ob italijanskih veristih, na njihovih dramatičnih domislekih, bolj na čutnem tekstu kakor na notranji glasbeni moči. Zato stoji pojava L. M. Škerjanca prav osamljena sredi gnile okolice.« *Ljubljanski zvon*, 55/5 (1935), 573-577.

»Lajovčev 'Lan' je tudi zelo **moderna skladba**, nežna in globoko občutena.« *Cerkveni glasbenik*, 44/7-8, 1921, 65.

About **Bogomir Leskovic** (1909-1995)

»Mladi komponist se še bori s preobilico materijala, išče še svojski obraz, a ko se ustali in najde sam sebe, bo sigurno naglo stopil med, ah celo pred prve borbe **za našo moderno simfonično muziko**«. *Slovenski narod*, 17. 10. 1933, 2.

»Skladba je smiselno, organizirano zgrajena, napisana **v prav krotkem modernističnem slogu** ter se znatno odlikuje po barvitosti instrumentacije; originalna in srečna uporaba globokih pihal in trobil ter presenetljivo gorki ton saxofona ji dajejo velik barvni interes.« *Jutro*, 19. 10. 1933, 3.

About **Vasilij Mirk** (1884-1962)

»Dasi so uporabljena **sredstva moderna** in je tudi **izraz moderen**, je vendar očuvana vsestranska resnost ustvarjanja, ki jo prevevajo prijetne melodične poteze, izredno peestre harmonije in bogata uporaba polifonije (zlasti monumentalni fugirani zaključek)«. *Mariborski večernik Jutra*, 11. 5. 1929, 3.

About **Miljutin Negode** ()

»V Dolničarjevem paviljonu ti postrežejo tudi s pristno turško kavo, kakršno Ljubljčan le malokdaj pije, za zabavo pa skrbi Nagodetov džezbend orkester, ki **neprestano igra moderne »šlagerje«** in splošno animiranost med gosti le še poveča.« *Slovenski narod*, 4. 6. 1928, 2.

About **Slavko Osterc** (1895–1941)

»Je to povse **izvirno, moderno** muzikalno delo, čigar **težišče leži v bujni, žaroviti, mestoma blesteči instrumentaciji po vzoru ruskih in francoskih modernih skladateljev.**« *Slovenski narod*, 29. 4. 1922, 4.

»Arhitektonsko ogrodje nima vzsločenosti; človeku se zdi, kot da stoji pred ozko pritlično stavbo razsežne dolžine pa **moderne mrzle kubistične zunanosti.**« *Slovenec*, 14. 2. 1936, 8.

»Osterc razpolaga s svojevrstno kompozicijsko tuniko, s katero **modernizira stare forme** in jih prezentira v popolnoma novem in brezkoncesijskem slogu.« *Jutro*, 31. 10. 1925, 7.

»Tukaj začenja Osterc uporabljati **moderno polifonijo.**« *Jutro*, 7. 5. 1926, 6.

»Če izvezamemo v zadnjem času po dr. Čerinu odkrita dela Mihevca, ki se zdi res nekaj Mozartov epigon moramo konstatirati, da **stoji instrumentalna (simfonska) glasba pri nas v znamenju romantike** (močan je vpliv Wagnerja) **in moderne.** Baš **moderno smer** išče v zadnjem času zopet oni pravec slovenske glasbe, ki vre, neizčrpljiv – iz duš narodove – narodne pesmi. [...] **Moderna** ga mami, romantika se smeje v njegovih delih – a na dnu drznih, harmonično pestrih valov njegovega orkestralnega aparata sanja v globini tajinstveno čarobna Vineta, naša narodna pesem. Te **pestre slike moderne harmonije** in hromatičnih drznosti zablestijo pristrčne, tako domače melodije, zadoni eleganten valček, – delo brez dvoma velikega talenta, ki išče poti do cilja.« *Jutro*, 11. 5. 1926, 3.

»Vsi predznaki so tu, obvladati bo mu le potreba obliko, se osamosvojiti in se tudi poglobiti v **'moderni tonovni jezik'**.« *Tabor*, 10. 11. 1922, 4.

»In vendar imamo skušnje, da se na dolgo in široko omenjajo **'umetnosti' kakega modernega telepata** ali pa n. pr. cirkuške rokoborbe.« *Učiteljski tovariš*, 14. 12. 1922, 1–2.

»Vse delo je zgrajeno **v modernem, zelo smelem glasbenem smislu.**« *Slovenski narod*, 2. 5. 1931, 3.

»Prvi čas njegovega prerujenega ustvarjanja je odločno pod vplivom Stravinskega in **modernih Francozov** (Milhaud). [...] Obrnil se je proč od bachovske tematike, od **moderne fuge in ostinatov ter ostalih klasicističnih oblik v tako zvano atematiko in atonalnost.** [...] Zlasti v srednjem stavku koncerta, kjer upošteva skladatelj pravi klavirski zvok, vstajajo pred nami že precej določeni obrisi bodoče slovenske klavirske glasbe, ki se povsem razlikuje od starokla-

sicistične, kamor jo je **moderna kompozicijska tehnika** skoraj zavedla, kakor tudi od novoromantične, ki je dosegla svoj razvojni višek v poznem Skrbabinu.« *Ljubljanski zvon*, 55/5 (1935), 573–577.

About **Leopold Pahor** (1863–1928)

»**Valček z modernim koncertnim uvodom** je sestavljen iz narodnih in ponarodelih slovenskih pesmi prav ljubeznivo in efektno.« *Jutro*, 19. 4. 1923, 6.

About **Mirko Polič** (1890–1950)

»Nato je sledila Poličeva uvertura »Smrt majke Jugovičev«, pestra, **v modernem, a tudi solidno melodičnem slogu** prav efektno napisana skladba, polna občutja in ilustriranja liričnih, damatičnih in globoko tragičnih momentov kosovske žaloigre.« *Jutro*, 3. 12. 1925, 3.

About **Stanko Premrl** (1880–1965)

»Daleč od **modernizma**, se je oklenil Premrl plemenite in graciozne forme ter je izdihnil svojo mehko, nežno dušo.« *Slovenski narod*, 9. 3. 1921, 3.

»Prvi in zadnji **stavek moderne božične suite** sta zelo ugajala, ker sta izborno zadela milje, drugi pa je bil malo trdo izvajan.« *Jutro*, 21. 12. 1922, 3.

»Stilsko označuje skladbo deloma klasična zasnova in upuraba stavkov in **moderni kolorit uporabljenih disonanc**.« *Jutro*, 13. 5. 1923, 6.

»Skladba se giblje **v najmodernejši smeri**, ki išče posebno učinkovite izrazitosti v postopih in sozvokih, katerih se moramo pri nas šele navaditi. Da se da tudi v tem slogu pisati pravilno, je dokazal g. skladatelj ponovno.« *Dom in svet*, 33/ 3-4 (1920), 98-99.

»Zložena je v modernem slogu, iz katerega – kakor pri Premrlu velikokrat – zazveni večkrat prava ljudska cerkvena melodija, kar dela Premrlove sicer večkrat težke kompozicije tako privlačne in domače.« *Slovenec*, 27. 3. 1920, 4.

»V potrdilo tega vedno ponavljajoči unisono zbor in četveroglasni refren, ki pa v svoji preprostosti ne sodi v to **eminentno moderno skladbo**.« *Cerkveni glasbenik*, 43, 3-4 (1920), 26-27

About **Janko Ravnik** (1892–1982)

»Naprosil sem za sodelovanje enega najboljših, modernih slovenskih skladateljev, brata Janka Ravnika, profesorja na ljubljanskem konzervatoriju.« *Sokolski glasnik*, 2/1-2 (1920), 62-65.

About p. **Hugolin Sattner** (1851–1934)

»V njem je sicer ostala sveža, zdrava melodika, kateri se pa pridružuje v izdatni meri **modernejša harmonika**.« *Sokolski glasnik*, 2/1-2 (1920), 62-65.

»Sattnerjevo delo na polju vokalne in instrumentalne, še posebej cerkvene glasbene produkcije je ogromno in je intenzivno zadoščalo in bo še zadoščalo konsumpcijskim potrebam, dasi morda po svojem stilnem značaju **ne bo na razvoj moderne glasbe imelo širšega vpliva**. [...] S temi sredstvi dosega zelo melodične, često romantično-čustvene efekte, ki se **trdovratno drže ob strani moderne impresionistične in ekspresionistične glasbe**.« *Slovenec*, 14. 4. 1926, 3.

»Skladba je polna sveže, zdrave, religiozne lirike, **odeta v fino, okusno moderno obleko, v kateri se kaže že njena popolnost**.« *Jutro*, 31. 3. 1927, 3.

»Oratorij je komponiran v slogu, ki je povprečnemu poslušalcu dostopen, »Oljka« je pa že bolj moderna, četudi religiozna tvorba ...« *Cerkveni glasbenik*, 59/9-10 (1936), 138-144.

»Pomislike so imeli radi 'Ružkinje sanje', češ, to je **premoderna, pretežka skladba**, ne bodo pogodili vseh fines pevci in navzoči ne bodo spoznali vseh lepot pri nijansah.« *Goriška straža*, 29. 9. 1924, 5.

»Vsa **glasba** je pristno Sattnerjeva, plemenita, melodiozna, **zmerno moderna**, semtertja v modulacijah presenetljiva.« *Cerkveni glasbenik*, 54/11-12 (1931), 190.

»najboljše **delo. Je moderno**; vendar ne v tem smislu, da bi delalo velikansko skoke in daleč za seboj pustilo ljudstvo, ki ne more slediti; marveč je nova etapa, do katere se bo slovenska duša lahko in rada povspela; je skladba, ki jo bo narod zaradi zdrave melodiko in globokega čuta umel; skladba, ki ne bo počivala v arhivu Glasbene Matice, marveč bo zaradi prikladnosti in ker je prepojena narodnostnega idealizma našla pot med slovanski svet. *Jutro*, 3. 5. 1921, 2; *Slovenec*, 4. 5. 1921, 3.

»Res, da ima kantata 'V Pepelnični noči' hibe, res je pa tudi, da ima mnogo lepih glasbenih misli in da se tudi v orkestraciji opaža **upliv modernih svetovnih komponistov**.« *Jugoslavija*, 25. 5. 1921, 2.

About **Saša Šantel** (1883-1945)

»**Stilno nima z moderno nič opraviti**, ne v harmoničnem ne kompozicionalnem smislu, nego je dosti bližja nekakšni pozni romantiki; posebno Veseli ples kaže naslon morda na Dvořakovo delo.« *Slovenec*, 16. 3. 1926, 6.

About **Lucijan Marija Škerjanc** (1900-1973)

»Najbolj hvali list [Prager Tageblatt] skladatelja Škerjanca, o katerem pravi, da je **najmodernejši med vsemi komponisti**.« *Jutro*, 11. 11. 1927, 3-4.

»Nagiba k groteski in je v njem mnogo sile, uravnati se **z zadnjo moderno**. [...] Poleg njega so tu navedeni tudi zastopnika starejših svetovnih smeri, n. pr. impresionizma, programske glasbe, kateri so tudi v vseh svojih izjavah **napram modernizmu rezerviranejši**, kakor je na prvem mestu od njih Krsto Odak ter nam že poznani starejši Emil Adamič. [...] Vendar večina, kar so pokazali ti

skladatelji med 25. in 30. letom na nedeljskem festivalu, zveni že kot 'vieu jeu', **le Lucijan Marija Škerjanc, najmlajši med njimi, udarja tudi najmodernejše zvoke.**« *Jutro*, 23. 11. 1927, 7.

»**Pri moderni glasbi** nastane pogosto nevarnost, da neharmonični prosti glasovi in spremljevalne figure zabrišejo glavno linijo. [...] Tudi občinstvo nikakor ni **moderne glasbi** nenaklonjeno, ako jo sliši v dobri reprodukciji.« *Jutro*, 12. 3. 1930, 6.

»Medtem je **moderna glasba** doživela cele revolucije; tonski sistemi naših prednikov so postali sila enostavni, nekoč nebotične teme – banalne. [...] Ivan] Noč bi bil z **modernim koncertom** dosegel neprimerno več!« *Jutro*, 14. 10. 1931, 3.

»Komponirana je uvertura **z modernimi harmoničnimi sredstvi** ter zveni radi tega precej tuje ušesu, ki ni doma v ekstremni sodobni glasbi Orkestralno društvo je uverturo zaigralo z mladostnim ognjem in še dokaj popolno.« *Jutro*, 10. 5. 1927, 3.

»Že uvertura je pokazala **višek impresionističnih izraznih možnosti** v Škerjančevem razvoju, radovedni smo, ali se je v poznejšem delu že nagnil **v modernejši ekstrem. Škerjanc ima lastnost dobrega igralca vživeti se v različne vloge, zato se mu ne bo težko modernizirati**, če le ne bi nehal biti s tem sam svoj ali če ga lirik-melodik v njem ne bo vedel na pota manj resne glasbe!« *Slovenec*, 11. 5. 1927, 3.

»Za marsikoga je ta skladba težje dostopna, ker je pisana **v zelo modernem slogu.**« *Jutro*, 1. 6. 1929, 7.

»Škerjančev 'Plesni motiv' je kratka, da, **prekratka stvarica popolnoma moderne smeri**, v zanimivi dvodelni obliki, katere prvi stavek je na ostinatnih nizkih notah polifonsko igrajoč se motiv, prehajajoč iz instrumenta v instrument, drugi sordinirani stavek, ki zveni prav iskreno in intimno, zaključuje kot močan kontrast zanimivo delo.« *Slovenski narod*, 31. 5. 1929, 2.

»Analitično je v prvem stavku lahko razbrati sonatno obliko, v drugem trodelno pesemsko, v tretjem pa razširjeno rondo-formo, vsako seveda z modifikacijami, kakor jih **zahteva razširjena vsebina modernega simfoničnega ustvarjanja.**« *Program booklet*, 19. 5. 1941.

»Stilno je skladba zasidrana v romantični programitiki predvsem zunanje strani, s čemer se sklada tudi recitativno zasnovani prevski del; **zapleteni akordi in ritem jo hočejo le maskirati v moderno tvorbo.**« *Slovenec*, 14. 2. 1936, 8.

Summary

In 1925, Anton Dolinar, an influential music coordinator, defined his era as one of “general boiling, instability, and uncertainty, and as a clear reflection of everything that is happening in the realm of every branch art, especially in music. [...] Not only audiences but also active musicians are competing among themselves. The ones that belong to the 'older school' hold the ones that see themselves as belonging to the 'newer, modern style' in disdain. The 'advocates of the new current' do not have a favourable word for their predecessors, and between the two camps there is the third way, the middle path that would accommodate all the greatest contrasts and recognize the merits of each camp.”²⁴ The diction is fairly modern. The “third way” seems to be a catchy phrase of an entire culture in which differences prevail and actually there are no common phenomena apart from the human rights and duties (understood somewhat differently in different cultures). The search for “the best way” seems to be actually a common denominator of the last several centuries and the axiology seems rather variegated, heterogeneous and heteronomous.

This paper focuses on the axiological levels as found in the reviews of the Slovenian orchestral pieces performed from 1919 to 1945. The analysis collects the concepts of evaluating orchestral music as the most respected genre of music (besides opera, of course) and confronts the differences and similarities in the argumentation of both camps mentioned by Dolinar, the modernist and the “older school”. Methodologically, the paper is conceived as a text-corpus analysis of all Slovenian newspaper articles from the discussed period in which the word “orchestra” appears in connection to an orchestral piece by a Slovenian composer (with certain limitations, of course – the short announcements of the concerts are not included).

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László Gombos

Jenő Hubay's Place in the Annals of Hungarian Music

Translated by Malcolm Sharps

By the 19th century, a distinctive Hungarian art music had reached such a point in its formative or transformation phase that its practitioners could increasingly look at their activities from a historical perspective and set role models for themselves. They also named the great ones who after their deaths would take their places in the pantheon, which was an abstract, ideological community, in contrast to the temple of all the Gods (Pantheon, Rome), and a Mausoleum of National Excellence (Panthéon, Paris). The role of the select was not just to symbolize the unity of a smaller, heterogeneous group, but was to have an impact on the nascent modern nation as a whole. The elderly Franz Liszt and Ferenc Erkel were so revered in their lives that they had already joined their musical forebears János Lavotta, János Bihari and Mihály Mosonyi, just as would occur half a century later with Ernő Dohnányi, Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály. From the generation born around the middle of the century, perhaps only Jenő Hubay received a similar honour; this judgement, however, raises more questions than usual and has gone through significant changes over time (during the periods 1919–1921, 1945–1948 and 1995–1998 in particular). The question arises as to how in the eyes of his contemporaries Hubay belonged in the Hungarian musical Pantheon and, after many attempts to remove him, why we think today that he still retains his place there?

The fact that Hubay was excellent in many diverse areas of activity, world class in some cases, plays an important role in his evaluation. As a violinist, he was a soloist, chamber musician and orchestral player; he taught viola and violin playing, chamber music and orchestral practice; as a composer, he composed in almost every genre of composition, from character pieces, etudes and Hungarian arrangements, through songs and choral works on to concertos, orchestral pieces, oratorio symphonies and large scale operas. He was also a choir leader and conductor, head of department and director, leader or a board member of professional and social organizations, organizer of musical life, as well as a writer on music and a public figure. He spent his whole life in the spotlight, and gained widespread recognition in all of these roles. All of this predestined him to be amongst the chosen in the middle years of his life, while in the last two decades, the 1920s and 1930s, he gained an authority that is no longer imaginable in today's world. We could mention a number of excellent Hungarian performers from the same period who are similar to Hubay, having performed successfully in the concert hall, but they did not write operas and

fill positions as directors; and the majority of our prominent composers were not concert performers of the stature of Hubay, while he alone created a world-famous instrumental school under his own name in Budapest.

Following World War II, accusations were made against Hubay in Hungary, primarily in relation to his public appearances. Not that they could have called him to account for anything untoward, since throughout his life he kept a distance from party politics, and his death in 1937 ruled out any possibility of collaboration with the Arrow Cross or the Nazis (unfortunately, Dohnányi could not avoid slander in this regard). However, because of his success, prestige and his connections with the dominant sections of the society he became a symbol of an era that the new system which emerged after the war sought to deny. He wasn't even accused, because he couldn't be accused, he was just silenced. The pressure to conform worked well even among musicians: he was virtually erased from history. Over the next half century, his name was missing from concert programmes, journalism and music literature, though he featured in lists, footnotes, and as a negative minor figure in Bartók's biographies. Conversely, students, music fans, and personal acquaintances nurtured his cult; thus his legend continued to live on like an underground stream until the late 1990s and the Hubay Renaissance.

One of the reasons for Hubay's dismissal is to be found in his social status. He was married to a high-ranking lady, Countess Róza Cebrian; his lifestyle, as a result, was close to that of an aristocrat, and in 1907, under the aristocratic name of Szalatna, he himself was ennobled by the King. Although his house in Buda was built in 1897–1908 from his previous concert income, soon he also benefited from his property as a count from a Cebrian inheritance in the form of rural estates and mansions (Szalatna [Slatinka], which was added to in the 1920s by the Révay estate in Mosóc [Mošovce] from his wife's maternal uncle). He operated a brick factory and then a distillery in the area of Losonc [Lučenec]; and engaging stewards he also farmed as a lord. Thus, if either he or his wife had reached the year 1951 or their descendants had stayed in Hungary, they would certainly have had their entire property confiscated and eviction would have awaited them as class enemies.

Moreover, Hubay was notoriously conservative, he held with Bolshevik ideas in disdain, and partly because of this he fled abroad with his family in order to avoid being targeted during the tenure of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919. No wonder that after World War II many people were careful not to even mention him, apart from the performances of a *Scène de la Csárda* or a small character piece (*Zephir, In the Spinning Room*). Even in the latter years of the 80s, in the context of a concert programme, official opinion expressed the reservation that 'Hubay is not politically relevant' and, surprising as it may be, the same objection was made years after the change of regime, when the

student orchestra of the Liszt Academy of Music wanted to put on the *Symphony No. 2*.

In addition to the aforementioned social politics, musical political considerations may have been more significant in the dismantling of the Hubay myth. One interesting symptom of this was in the 1950s and 1960s, when a strange amnesia beset the minds of his former students, and many violinists suddenly became 'Bartók students', at least according to more recent brochures (the same was true of composers, although they were less likely to be caught out abroad, since few people knew that Bartók taught neither violin nor composition). Hubay did not sympathize with the latest musical trends and believed that he could teach only already accepted styles, while experimentation was best pursued outside the walls of the school. Against this, some members of the turn-of-the-century generation, including some of Hubay's most outstandingly talented students, stood up for the new music, supporting the art of Bartók and Kodály, and they mistakenly thought that this support should mean they had to break away from the generations of their fathers and grandfathers. The mission of some of those who graduated in the 1920s and 1930s was to fight the conservative trend for which Hubay, director of the Academy of Music, was one of the symbolic figures. The meaningless struggle of musical worldviews was decided for them in advance by the fact that the majority of the conservative Hungarian composers, though significant masters of knowledge and talent, were not comparable with epoch-making composers such as Bartók, Kodály or even Schönberg.

Even so, the fact that the most outstanding Bartók performers came from among Hubay's students, derived from his free-spirited method. Even if in old age he had not changed his musical tastes, he paid attention to innovations, and his students were also encouraged to be open. André Gertler tells how in his youth he discovered Hubay more than once in the director's box the moment the latest musical works could be heard. Because he was reluctant to seek the community of the moderns of the time, he often hid behind in the half-light and could only be seen by those sitting in the teachers' box opposite and by artists playing on the left side of the stage.

Half a century earlier, at the beginning of his career, he even felt that he belonged to the 'advanced' camp. His worldview of music developed in the 1870s when the Berlin performances of *Tristan and Isolde* and *Aida* made a deep impression on him, and he felt close to the mature works of Liszt. Later, under the influence of Massenet, Richard Strauss and Debussy, new elements were added to his style, but it remained Romantic all along, preserving the triad construction and keeping within the traditional 19th century framework of tonality. Let us not forget that Hubay, born in the year 1858, belonged to the generation of Rimsky-Korsakov, Fauré and Puccini, and was older than

Mahler, Debussy and Richard Strauss. Although his career reached its peak in the 20s and 30s, the last two decades of a long life, he produced most of his works at the turn of the century, thus we can only require originality of them, not the style of a later era.

Clearly, in the pantheon of music we cannot place Hubay in the line of the greatest masters, at the same time we cannot deny that his works brought joy to many over half a century. More than 200 pieces for violin and around a 100 songs played a permanent part in the everyday musical life of his times: there was hardly a violinist, be they a student or a mature artist, who would not have played some of his Hungarian song arrangements or character pieces (the biggest successes were the *Scènes de la Csárda* like *Hejre Kati* and *The Waves of Lake Balaton*). Besides songs composed on poems by Victor Hugo, Eduard Mörike, Carmen Sylva, François Coppée and others, which belonged to the concert hall and the artistic and aristocratic salon, were some songs in a folk-like style, such as the one which begins *Why are you so turbulent, wild pigeons?* – which was not only a song of the towns, but one that spread to the villages. His mixed and men's choruses also featured regularly in the programmes of school and amateur choirs, for example his setting of the *Nemzeti dal* (National Song to the poem by Sándor Petőfi) was for many years a standard piece for school celebrations on 15 March, the anniversary of the 1848 revolution.

The four violin concertos, the viola concerto, the four symphonies, the *Biedermeier Suite* and the nine stage works reached a different audience. In the series of violin concertos, the third, which was dedicated to Ferenc Vecsey, was the most popular. *Symphony No. 2*, referred to by the adjective 'War' (one not given to it by the composer), enjoyed great success, similarly to the *Dante* and *Petőfi Symphonies*, employing vocal soloists, a large orchestra and several choirs. The latter two monumental works were written to commissions and presented in connection with related events: the symphony of 1921, which sets for voice passages of Dante's lyrical novel *Vita nuova*, on the 600th anniversary of the Italian master's death, and the *Petőfi Symphony* of 1923 on the poet's birth centennial celebrations.

Hubay completed one of the central works of his oeuvre just before his death, the cantata *Ara pacis*, employing soloists, orchestra and choirs. By the time of the First World War Hubay had become familiar with the poem of that name by Romain Rolland and worked for 20 years on the music. However, in a Europe that had drifted towards war and finally became a battlefield, it was no longer possible to promote the idea of peace and brotherhood, and it was presented only in 2000 at the Academy of Music, Budapest, performed by the ensembles of Hungarian Radio, in collaboration with vocal soloists Andrea Meláth, Viktor Massányi and Klára Kolonits, led by conductor László Kovács.

Among the theatrical works, *Aliénor* (1891), *The Bad of the Village* (1896), *Moss Rose* (1903), *Lavotta's Love* (1906), *The Venus of Milo* (1935) and *The Selfish Giant* (1936), based on Oscar Wilde's children's tale, had modest success, compared to *Anna Karenina* (1923) and *The Mask* (1931), which attracted considerable attention abroad, and the latter being performed decades after its composition. Both works were conducted in Vienna and many German cities in the 1930s by world greats such as Felix Weingartner and Josef Krips. The real worldwide success, however, was provided for Hubay by the second opera, *The Violin Maker of Cremona*. Arthur Nikisch gave the first performance in Budapest in 1894, then over a decade it was performed on more than 70 stages in Europe, and in 1897, it reached New York. The 100th Budapest performance was conducted by Pietro Mascagni in 1925, in a programme also marking the 300th performance of his own opera *Cavalleria Rusticana*.

Hubay began his career as a violinist, and this provided the basis for all his subsequent successful activities. He was initially taught by his father, Károly Huber, who for decades was a teacher of the National Conservatory and next to Ferenc Erkel, as well as being second conductor at the National Theatre, and in 1884 he founded the Violin Department of the Academy of Music. In 1873, his son continued his studies at the Berlin Hochschule für Musik under Joseph Joachim, then returned home to Budapest in order to be near Franz Liszt. At that time he played with the master several times in the salons of Pest; especially memorable for him was their joint performance of Beethoven's *Kreutzer Sonata*. Following his years of study, he made his first appearance before a public audience on 25 February 1877, present in the audience was Liszt, who kissed him publicly on the forehead. This symbolically represents a tradition with a long history. Beethoven had passed on his kiss half a century earlier, which was originally perhaps just a legend, but for Hubay it became a reality and a mission.

The following year, on Liszt's advice (and with the master's letters of recommendation in his pocket), he tried his luck in Paris, where in the artistic salons and the concert halls he soon became a popular guest. Through his fine manners and his legendary ability at making contact, he got to know the most notable personalities of the age; musicians, poets, writers, scholars, politicians and statesmen. His musician friends included Gabriel Fauré, Benjamin Godard, Charles Gounod, Jules Massenet and Camille Saint-Saëns and he came into contact with Alexandre Dumas and Victor Hugo, Prime Minister Léon Michel Gambetta, Republican president Jules Grévy, the Suez Canal builder Ferdinand Lesseps, the banker Porgès, and the astronomer Camille Flammarion. At the Hungarian table of the Grand Café he often met with famous painters such as Tivadar Feledi (Flesch), Lajos Deák Ébner, József Rippl-Rónai, and Mihály Zichy, while becoming close friends with Mihály Munkácsy.

Thanks to his success as a violinist, he was appointed as Head of Department at the Conservatoire Royal de Bruxelles, a post formerly occupied by Beriot, Vieuxtemps and Wieniawski, which at the time was Europe's top position for a violinist. Situated less than half a day's journey from a dozen musical centres, Brussels offered excellent opportunities to increase his reputation as a performing artist, while the Conservatory, along with the summer break, guaranteed him annually five months' holiday. In 1886, after the death of his father, Franz Liszt and Minister of Culture Trefort requested him to return home to take his vacant place at the Academy of Music. For another two decades, he toured regularly throughout Europe, and in the estimation of critics he was one of the greatest violinists of his time.

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Chamber music became increasingly important in his programmes, and by the twentieth century it had taken the starring place in his performances. The Hubay-Popper string quartet, which he founded, can be considered as the first world-class Hungarian quartet, and for two decades it played a crucial role in the fostering of Hungarian audiences. Their concerts managed to attract such celebrity performers as Emil Sauer, Eugen d'Albert, Ignacy Jan Paderewski, Ignaz Friedman and Karl Goldmark. Year after year on their Brahms evenings, the German master himself performed; several of his late pieces were performed in Hungary or premiered by the Hubay quartet, together with the composer (world premieres were: the Piano Trio in C Minor, the Violin Sonata in D Minor and the revised version of the Piano Trio in B Major). From the second decade of the century, Hubay featured less frequently in public, as most of his time was tied up in other activities, but until the last minute he remained loyal to his instrument.

Hubay's merits have been awarded dozens of honors both at home and abroad (including the Order of Franz Joseph, Councillor to the Royal Court, the French Legion of Honor, the Finnish Order of the White Rose, an Honorary Doctorate of the University of Kolozsvár [Cluj-Napoca], Honorary Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Corvin Chain), and he held several significant positions in his life. In the year of his return, in 1886, he succeeded Ferenc Erkel and Károly Huber as conductor of the National Song Association, and – as already mentioned – he became the director or a board member of dozens of professional and social organisations (Friends of the Arts, the Association of Hungarian Stage Authors, the National Association of Hungarian Music Teachers etc.). From 1919 to 1934 he was director of the Academy of Music (director general from 1925) and represented the institution in the upper house of Parliament.

In addition to all of this, Hubay's pedagogic work alone might have allowed him during his life entry as a full member of the Pantheon of the Immortals, something even his fiercest critics did not question (or they at least kept quiet

about it). From 1886 to 1936, a round half century, he led violin teaching at the Academy of Music and is credited with establishing a Hungarian violin school. The Hubay name in the first half of the 20th century was a true 'global brand', with the reputation of his school only rivalled in Europe by Leopold Auer's in St. Petersburg and Otakar Ševčík's workshops in Prague and Vienna. The young violinist who could write 'Hubay student' in his biography was already in the hallway of success and could embark upon a journey of world-conquest confident of success. Students also flooded into Budapest to entrust the final polishing of their craft to the Hungarian Master or at least to play a few times in the legendary white music room of Hubay Palace.

He always objected to his teaching being regarded as a "method". He dealt with every student according to their individual talents, and his main purpose was to lead them towards natural, easy playing. He was able to perform miracles through his mere presence. He created a strange atmosphere around himself in which the loosening of inhibitions and the elimination of bad inner-
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 vation paved the way for the free exercise of talent. He was able to almost completely reshape the playing of some in a few months, but he never encouraged slavish imitation. Stefi Geyer recalled her student years in this way: *"Jenő Hubay's words had such an encouraging effect on me that I solved almost the impossible if he wished. [...] Can a disciple be any more appreciated than by being led in the path of art in the way that is right for them? [...] That's how we became independent at a very early age, because the Master taught us to work alone, to think for ourselves. So it was possible for the three of us: Vecsey, Szigeti and me, to play quite differently, although all three of us displayed all the stamps of the Hubay school. Our playing had one thing in common: the wide, open sound, the Hubay school's principle beauty..."*

Dénes Koromzai described the atmosphere of the master school three decades later: *"His classes were conducted with extraordinary solemnity, almost reminiscent of the celebration of the Mass. [...] in addition to the students, there were always so many invited guests, fans, and internationally noteworthy visitors [...]. We quietened down, waiting with contained excitement. After a few minutes, the master appeared, with springy steps, a handsome posture, a brilliantly groomed white beard, and suddenly he created the unique charm that is perhaps the most important memory of his lessons for any Hubay student: he was able to inspire us."*

Among the Hubay students who graduated in the first decade and a half, many became concertmasters of major orchestras; and included among them were the future teachers of the Academy of Music: Rezső Kemény, Gyula Mambrinyi, Géza Kresz, Rezső Lentz and Gusztáv Szerémi. Worldwide success came to Hubay in the form of the first three prodigy children: to Stefi Geyer in 1902, was added Ferenc Vecsey in 1903 and József Szigeti in 1905. Then

a whole series of outstanding artists followed, including Jelly Arányi, Imre Waldbauer, Emil Telmányi, János Temesváry, János Koncz, István Pártos and Erna Rubinstein. Then in 1917, Jenő (Eugene) Ormándy, who became world famous as a conductor. In the 1920s, Zoltán Székely graduated as well as Ilona Fehér, Ede (André) Gertler, Ede Zathureczky, Tibor Serly, Tivadar Ország, Ödön Pártos, László Szerdahelyi, László Szentgyörgyi and György Garay. Among the last Hubay students were Dénes Koromzay, Sándor Végh and Lóránt Fenyves. Gabriella Lengyel and Róbert Virovai's graduation concert was the last to be conducted by the master, in May 1936.

In this introductory outline of Hubay's areas of activity, we have tried to make clear, whether in his conservative taste or the unparalleled recognition he received from the conservative establishment in his old age, that we find nowhere sufficient reason to forget an entire life's work. If as a composer he cannot be counted among our greatest, his diverse work, especially the key role he played in the performing arts and his teaching for more than half a century, have played a decisive part in the history of music. Judgment of him has varied over time, but since his rediscovery in recent decades, the time has come for him to take his place in the pantheon of Hungarian music once and for all.

Ivana Medić

Playing Catch-Up: Serbian Art Music against the Odds¹

This essay aims to answer the main question that this book deals with – namely, to what extent has contemporary culture been determined by multiple changes of identity forced against the will of the societies of the Central European region over the past century. I will focus on the example of Serbia, one of the countries which experienced a belated development of its cultural and, more specifically, musical life, due to unfavourable political circumstances. Ever since its modern-era (re)birth in the mid-nineteenth century, Serbian art music has been playing “catch-up” with the rest of Europe. At the same time, the country itself has undergone multiple changes of its borders, names, (con)federal organisations, constitutions and dominant ideologies, not to mention multiple wars, which have inevitably affected the development of Serbian musical life and its institutions. Due to the fact that this development was uneven, often interrupted by wars or stifled by political intervention, many composers suffered from the so-called “Shostakovich syndrome”. As defined by Jeff Simon, this phenomenon applies to composers from non-Western European countries, whose output was “too avant-garde for their native lands, but not advanced enough for the West”.² Shostakovich himself was a victim of the ideological pressures and prejudices that accompanied the post-WWII global divide. As observed by Gerard McBurney;

“Any Western European like myself, brought up within the highbrow aesthetic consensus of the cold war period, will remember their teachers and mentors dismissing Shostakovich as more or less worthless. [...] Many thought him far worse than mediocre, angrily deriding him as a dreary and bombastic court-bard to Stalin, Khrushchev and Brezhnev, a time-server, a purveyor of cheap and diluted film-music masquerading as art. It is extraordinary how vitriolic such discussions could become...”³

¹ This research was conducted within the scientific-research organisation The Institute of Musicology, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia (RS-200176).

² SIMON, Jeff: *In Search of Poland's Musical Royalty* = *Buffalo News*, 11 May 1990, https://buffalo-news.com/news/in-search-of-polands-musical-royalty/article_9c9af9e5-7ad7-5cf2-b9f1-92274e382ce6.html (accessed on 5 January 2021).

³ MCBURNEY, Gerard: *In From the Cold* = *The Guardian – Classical Music*, 14 January 2006, <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2006/jan/14/classicalmusicandopera> (accessed on 5 January 2021).

If such contempt was reserved for Shostakovich, one of the most remarkable art music composers of the twentieth century, was there any hope for artists coming from a small musical culture that had long been divided between the empires and whose protagonists faced countless obstacles? Furthermore, Serbian artists were often forced to choose between adhering to the European trends of that time (inevitably as mere followers or epigones, rather than frontrunners) and writing music that would satisfy the too-slowly developing cultural needs of their own society. As I aim to show, this situation affected both the composers who were educated outside of Serbia, in one of the large European centres of that time, and those who received their education domestically.

In the discussion that follows I will overview the lives and careers of several remarkable protagonists of Serbian musical culture from the past hundred years, whilst also highlighting the circumstances in which they worked and how they all ended up suffering from the “Shostakovich syndrome” to various degrees.

The first outstanding figure from the period under scrutiny is Milenko Paunović (1889–1924), the composer of the first Serbian musical drama, whose life was tragically cut short at the age of 35. Paunović was born in Újszentiván, a village in Csongrád County which had a considerable Serbian minority. Paunović was educated (1900–1908) in the Serbian Grammar School in Novi Sad (at that time the city was still a part of Austro-Hungarian Monarchy), where he had his first violin lessons. He completed his violin studies at the Conservatory in Prague in 1909, and subsequently enrolled at the Conservatory in Leipzig (1909–1911), where he studied composition under the supervision of Max Reger. He simultaneously attended Hugo Riemann’s classes at the University of Leipzig. After completing his studies he worked in Ruma, Novi Sad, Jagodina and Belgrade, before he was drafted into the army and sent to the front line at Thessalonica. After the war he became a conductor for the Orchestra of the Royal Guard and an officer of the Ministry of the Military, where he worked on improving the financial status of army musicians. According to Biljana Milanović, Paunović’s most important works include two musical dramas (*Divina tragoedia*, 1912 and *Čengić-aga*, 1923) and two *Yugoslav symphonies* (1914–1920; 1924).⁴ He also composed a number of instrumental and incidental scores, including *The Wedding March* dedicated to King Alexander Karadordević. His literary output consists of seven dramas (*People from Sentivan*,

⁴ MILANOVIĆ, Biljana: *Serbian Musical Theatre from the Mid-19th Century until World War II and Features of the Serbian Symphony in the First Half of the 20th Century* = ROMANOU, K. (ed.): *Serbian and Greek Art Music. A Patch to Western Music History*, Bristol-Chicago, Intellect Books & University of Chicago Press, 2009, 15–32.; 55–67.

1908; *Divina tragoedia*, 1910; *Coastal People*, 1911; *Devil's Tragedy*, 1912; *Model*, 1917; *Čengiċ-aga*, 1918; *Court of Srdja Zlopogledja*, 1919), two of which were adapted as librettos for his musical dramas, following Richard Wagner's model. As discussed by Biljana Milanović, Paunović's musical dramas and symphonies "mark a sudden professional and creative leap in relation to previous compositional practice in Serbian music".⁵ Moreover, Milanović illustrates that Paunović's first musical drama, the single-act *Divina tragoedia*, incorporated a blasphemous treatment of Christ's resurrection, thus showcasing a specific avant-garde dimension.⁶ On the other hand, Paunović wrote two symphonies, at a time when Serbian symphonic tradition was virtually non-existent; hence, he did not have any role models locally, and the chances of these works being performed and finding enthusiastic audiences were slim to none – considering the fact that the Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra was only established in 1923. Both Paunović's symphonies were related to the topics linked to the Yugoslav ideology, which was particularly important after the end of the Great War, when the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) was founded. Thus, as observed by Milanović, "the genre stands as a signifier of current national identity construction in the context of the newly formed state".⁷ In spite of Paunović's pioneering work in the domains of both symphonic and operatic music in the Serbia of that time, his most important works have remained unperformed until the present day. While his late Romantic style, nurtured by Max Reger, was somewhat belated in European coordinates, it was still too advanced for the local context. Namely, at the time when his symphonies and musical dramas, scored for the exuberant orchestra of Wagnerian proportions, were written, Serbian musical culture did not possess the institutional infrastructure and the protagonists necessary for its production and performance. The composer's premature death certainly contributed to his subsequent neglect; and it is only in the last two decades that his works have been rediscovered and have become subjects of scholarly study.

⁵ MILANOVIĆ, Biljana: *Umetnost Milenka Paunovića od identifikacije sa Vagnerovim dostignućima do sopstvenog umetničkog izraza* (The Art of Milenko Paunović from the Identification with Wagner's Achievements to His Own Creative Expression) = MARINKOVIĆ, Sonja (ed.): *Wagner's Writing "Opera and Drama"* = Today, Novi Sad, Matica srpska, 2006, 137–146.

⁶ MILANOVIĆ, Biljana: *Kontekstualizacija ranog modernizma u srpskoj muzici na primeru dva ostvarenja iz 1912. "godine"* (Contextualization of Early Modernism in Serbian music: Case Studies of Two Works from 1912) *Muzikologija/Musicology* 6, 2006, 251–266.

⁷ MILANOVIĆ, Biljana: *Recepcija "Prve jugoslovenske simfonije" Milenka Paunovića (1889–1924)* (Reception of the First Yugoslav Symphony by Milenko Paunović [1889–1924]) = PERKOVIĆ-RADAK, Ivana – STOJANOVIĆ-NOVIČIĆ, Dragana – LAJIĆ-MIHAJLOVIĆ, Danka (eds.): *History and Mystery of Music*. Belgrade, Faculty of Music, 337–346.

Josip (Štolcer) Slavenski (1896–1955) was a highly original figure in the Serbian and Yugoslav interwar music scene, which was undergoing a slow process of modernization. In his comprehensive investigation of music in the Balkans, Jim Samson describes Slavenski as “one of a very small handful of truly major composers from South East Europe in the first half of the twentieth century”;⁸ moreover, he was the only Belgrade-based composer who had an exclusive contract with the publishing house Schott of Mainz.

Slavenski was born Josip Štolcer into a working class family from the small town of Čakovec, in the region of Međimurje (present-day Croatia), which was then under Hungarian rule. While both his parents were amateur musicians, Josip did not receive any musical lessons until he was 16 years old, and he was denied entry to the Music School of the Croatian Music Institute in Varaždin, due to his humble background (his father was a baker, his mother a maid) and a lack of formal training.⁹ However, thanks to the support of private patrons, in 1913 the young autodidact composer was admitted to the Budapest Conservatory, where his teachers included Zoltán Kodály, Albert Siklós, and Béla Bartók. His studies were interrupted in 1916 when he was drafted into the Austro-Hungarian army. After the war ended, he returned to his native Međimurje; this region became a part of the newly established Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Whilst working at his father’s bakery in Čakovec, Josip aspired to continue his musical education, and in 1920, again thanks to the support of private sponsors, he went to study with Vitezslav Novak at the Prague Conservatory. Upon the completion of his studies in 1923 he returned to Croatia and taught for a year at the Zagreb Music Academy. This is also the time when he adopted an alias surname Slavenski [meaning Slavic], avoiding his family surname Štolcer [Stoltzer], because he did not want other people to think that he was a German;¹⁰ he legally changed his surname in 1932. However, soon after coming to Zagreb, the free-spirited Slavenski clashed with the conservative administrative director of the Croatian Music Institute, Vjekoslav Rosenberg-Ružić – the same man who had refused to admit him to the Varaždin music school – and the young composer was dismissed from his teaching post in 1924. He promptly moved to Belgrade, the capital city of the new Kingdom, and remained there for the rest of his life,

⁸ SAMSON, Jim: *Music in the Balkans*. Leiden, Brill, 2013, 390.

⁹ HRUSTEK-SOBOČAN, Maša: *Josip Štolcer Slavenski – Čakovečki skladateljski genij s beogradskom adresom i sujetskim glasom* (Josip Štolcer Slavenski – A genius composer from Čakovec, with Belgrade address and worldwide reputation) = MEDIĆ, Ivana (ed.): *Josip Štolcer Slavenski (1896–1955). Povodom 120. godišnjice kompozitorovog rođenja*. Belgrade, Institute of Musicology SASA, 2017, 30.

¹⁰ Ibid, 34.

teaching at Belgrade music schools and then at the Music Academy (which itself was only established in 1937).

Slavenski first gained international recognition in 1924, when his First String Quartet was successfully performed at the Donaueschingen Festival; this led to a contract with Schott. Slavenski then produced a series of outstanding orchestral and chamber works, most notably the symphonies *Balkanophonía* (1927) and *Religiophonía [Symphony of the Orient]* (1934), which were performed all over Europe and the USA by the most prominent conductors and orchestras of that time. However, in Belgrade, his increasingly experimental and unconventional works such as *Prasymphony*, a symphonic vision of the creation of the universe (the score of which has unfortunately been lost), or *Heliophony*, a cosmic vision for a mixed choir, electronic instruments and symphonic orchestra (of which only a single movement, *Chaos*, has been completed), as well as *Music in the Natural Tone System* for the Bosanquet enharmonium with 53 tones in an octave, four trautioniums and timpani, were met with increasing misunderstanding and hostility and remained unperformed. As an artist, Slavenski was developing at a much faster pace than the culture in which he lived and worked; he had no predecessors in Yugoslav music, and very few of his students can be regarded as his successors – most notably Ludmila Frajt (1919–2000),¹¹ herself a somewhat obscure figure, although she was a descendant of a notable Czech musical family which had lived in Belgrade since the turn of the twentieth century. In Frajt's case, it is likely that the fact that she was only the second academically educated female composer in Serbia played a crucial role in the general neglect of her oeuvre.¹²

Slavenski was also an adherent of the ideas of the so-called “Zenitist” movement in Serbian avant-garde art and theory of the 1920s and 1930s, led by the Micić brothers (Ljubomir and Branko). Influenced by their ideas, Slavenski came to believe that the people of the Balkans had a special role to play in the “rebirth” of the decadent, stale European culture and that a Balkan-born “barbarogenius” (a variant of Friedrich Nietzsche's *Übermensch*) would lead this artistic and cultural revolution.¹³ Such ideas were met with bafflement in the musicological and educational circles of that time.

¹¹ On the professional relationship between Josip Slavenski and Ludmila Frajt, see: MEDİĆ, Ivana: *Posvete Josipu Slavenskom [Dedications to Josip Slavenski]* = ŽIVKOVIĆ, Mirjana (ed.): *Josip Slavenski i njegovo doba [Josip Slavenski and his Time]*, Belgrade, Faculty of Music / Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts /Serbian Composers/ Association, 2007, 121–129.

¹² See MEDİĆ, Ivana: *Ludmila Frajt – druga srpska kompozitorka [Ludmila Frajt – The Other Serbian Female Composer]*. *Sveske* 77, 2005, 208–214.

¹³ On Slavenski's connection with the Zenitist movement and his concept of “barbarogenius” see: Sanja Grujić, “Veze Josipa Slavenskog sa zenitističkim pokretom dvadesetih godina” [Josip Slavenski's ties with the Zenitist movement in the 1920s], *Medimurje – časopis za društvena pitanja i kulturu* 4, 1983, 54.

Slavenski's music became better known and more frequently performed only after his death; by that time, it was already too late for it to exercise a direct influence upon Yugoslav composers. On the other hand, his international career suffered an irreparable blow with the rise of Nazism in Europe, when his works such as *Religiophonia* (which contains movements dedicated to various religions and peoples, including *Jews [Jevreji]* as the second movement of the symphony) and others, which showcased his affinity for Balkan folklore and mythology, were banned, and his contract with the publishing house terminated.

48 — Vojislav Vučković (1910–1942) is another remarkable figure of an artist born in the wrong place at the wrong time, whose political activities led to his premature and tragic demise. He was a composer, conductor and one of the first musicologists in Serbia who wrote from a Marxist standpoint. Vučković studied at the Prague Conservatory and the Meister School with acclaimed professors of that time: Josef Suk and Alois Hába (composition), Nikolai Malko (conducting), Zdenek Neyedli (musicology) and others. In Prague, Vučković was a member of the peer group of Serbian music students, the so-called “Prague group”, which included Predrag Milošević (1904–1987), Dragutin Čolić (1907–1987), Ljubica Marić (1909–2003), Stanojlo Rajičić (1910–2000) and Milan Ristić (1908–1982). As a young man Vučković became infatuated with the ideas of the revolutionary communist youth, and he joined the Yugoslav Communist Party in 1933. Vučković defended his PhD at the Karlovy University in Prague with a dissertation “Music as a Means of Propaganda” in 1934. After the invasion of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia by the Nazis and their allies in April 1941, he joined the National Liberation Movement. Vučković and his Jewish wife Fani Politeo were arrested in December 1942 by the Special Police for their illegal activities and tortured to death.

During his career, which only spanned about a decade, Vučković wrote one ballet, three symphonies, three symphonic poems and several chamber pieces. His most famous work is a symphonic poem *Burevestnik [Stormy Petrel]* after Maxim Gorky, dealing with the revolutionary theme. Whilst studying in Prague, Vučković and his peer group discovered expressionism, atonality, athetmaticism, quarter-tone music and other modernist and avant-garde tendencies of that time. Vučković's works written during his studies in Prague exhibit the tendencies of the left-wing of European interwar modernism, characterized by a predominantly expressionist, atonal, anti-romantic character, mostly influenced by Arnold Schönberg's school and Hába's own experiments, but also by Paul Hindemith's “objectivist” neoclassicism. At that point Vučković believed that leftist ideology was best expressed by the most advanced modernist art.

However, upon his return to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Vučković realized that it would be impossible to win over listeners to his left-wing beliefs if he

continued to write hermetic, radical works, which would be neither understood nor accepted in a country with a still underdeveloped musical culture. As pointed out by Katarina Tomašević, the output of the Prague Group marked the first time that Serbian and Yugoslav music had caught up with modernist developments in Europe; however, when these composers returned to Belgrade with portfolios of modernist works, they were greeted with a chorus of hostility from audiences and performers alike.¹⁴ Vučković's artistic ideology then took a U-turn, and he became one of the early advocates of socialist realism in Yugoslav music, as exhibited in the symphonic poem *Ozareni put* [*Enlightened Road*]. Vučković's turnover was not an isolated phenomenon, as noted by Jim Samson:

"The obvious lack of comprehension must have been a motivating factor in the retreat from modernism that became apparent in the late 1930s. But the wider climate of ideas was also shifting during these years. [...] there was a treacherous course to steer between the Scylla and Charybdis of the Soviet Union and the German Reich [...] A new conformity began to appear in Yugoslavia, a 'back to the roots' movement that responded to Soviet aesthetics, though it was already in place before 1945 and thus before it could be officially prescribed by the Communist state."¹⁵

Nevertheless, Vučković's case is the most poignant one, because he was the most outspoken and politically active member of the Prague Group, but also because he was the only group member who perished during the war and did not live to see the establishment of the "second", communist Yugoslavia after the end of WWII.

The final illustrative example is that of Vladan Radovanović (born in 1932), the only consistently avant-garde Serbian composer in the second half of the twentieth century, who occupies a unique position in our history of music. Born in Belgrade in 1932, Radovanović is the most erudite Serbian composer and multimedia artist of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. He is the sole Serbian composer who, as asserted by Jim Samson, "committed himself to a remarkably radical position right from the start".¹⁶ As I wrote in an article of 2019 dedicated to Radovanović:

"His prolific career has spanned almost seven decades, during which he has worked in the realms of instrumental, vocal-instrumental and electro-acoustic music, metamusic, visual and tactile arts, artifugal projects, literature, recordings

¹⁴ TOMAŠEVIĆ, Katarina: *Conflict and Dialogue of the Old and the New in Serbian Music between the Two World Wars* = CHEW, Geoffrey (ed.), *New Music in the 'New' Europe 1918-1938: Ideology, Theory and Practice*. Prague, Koniasch Latin Press, 2007, 162-171.

¹⁵ SAMSON: *Music in the Balkans*, 367.

¹⁶ Ibid., 488.

and drawings of his dreams, polymedial and vocovisual projects, as well as art theory. The key features of Radovanović's art are: first of all, his self-proclaimed goal to express himself by doing what no one else has done before, thus embodying the avant-garde urge for innovation and originality; second, his autoreflexivity and a constant dialogue with himself, as exhibited both in his individual artistic and theoretical works and in their interrelations within his entire output; and finally, an incredible complexity and wealth of symbolism in his music, writings and multimedia works – seemingly abstract, yet embroidered with Radovanović's immense erudition and a quirky sense of verbal and visual humour.”¹⁷

It is remarkable that Radovanović developed his interdisciplinary avant-garde artistic identity in the conservative environment of post-WWII Serbia. As we have seen, the composers of the “Prague group” failed to establish an avant-garde musical scene upon their return to Belgrade in the mid-1930s, due to the general underdevelopment of Serbian musical life and its institutions. As observed by Melita Milin, “The negation of tradition, which is one of [avant-garde's] main positions, [...] was too radical for a young musical culture which had been trying to establish its own tradition during the last century with a lot of enthusiasm and effort”.¹⁸ After the war ended, the doctrine of socialist realism became – albeit only for a brief period of time – the official cultural norm in the newly established Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (later Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia). Although Yugoslav artists escaped the harsh denunciations that their peers in the countries of the Eastern Bloc were subjected to, the composers were still expected to write accessible, tonal music, loosely based upon “national” musical premises. The late 1940s and early 1950s saw the emergence of the first generation of composers educated at the Belgrade Music Academy (nowadays Faculty of Music), which had only been established in 1937. Radovanović used the term *academic classicism* in his writings to describe the rigid canon that the young composers were subjected to.¹⁹ The dogma of socialist realism was abandoned as soon as Yugoslavia parted ways with the USSR and Eastern Bloc in 1948, after which this simplified neoclassicism easily transformed into slightly more advanced *moderated modernism*.²⁰

¹⁷ MEDIC, Ivana: *The Impossible Avant-garde of Vladan Radovanović* = *Musicological Annual*, 2019, 55/1., 157–176.

¹⁸ MILIN, Melita: *Tradicionalno i novo u srpskoj muzici posle Drugog svetskog rata (1945–1965)* (Beograd: Muzikološki institut SANU, 1998), 84.

¹⁹ See MEDIC: *op. cit.* (2019), 161–162.

²⁰ On various implications of moderated modernism in Serbian post-WWII music and musicology, see: MEDIC, Ivana: *The Ideology of Moderated Modernism in Serbian Music and Musicology* = *Muzikologija/ Musicology* 7, 2007, 279–294; MEDIC, Ivana: *In the Orbit of Shostakovich: Vasilije Mokranjac's Symphonies* = *Music and Society in Eastern Europe* 8, 2013, 1–22.

In post-war Yugoslavia, Radovanović's truly innovative oeuvre was at complete odds with the surrounding social and cultural environment in a country that did not yet possess the institutional or discursive tools necessary to acknowledge and validate his poetics; moreover, his avant-garde output was "too abstract" and could not express the desired socialist ideological values. On the other hand, having spent his entire career in a country that was on the "wrong" side of the centre-periphery divide in post-WWII Europe, Radovanović could not make his mark in a way that the composers and other artists who lived and worked in the great European centres did.²¹ However, these are not the only reasons why his avant-garde remained unrecognised, invisible and irrelevant both in the local and global contexts. As observed by Serbian philosopher Milorad Belančić:

"In Vladan Radovanović's oeuvre one finds some entirely unexpected, never-before-seen artistic innovation, not only in local, but in wider, European and global coordinates (*visions, voco-visual, tactile art, minimalist music, meta-music* etc.) In the 1950s their originality must have been so surprising, that they could not be understood, therefore they were not taken seriously. These works were 'untimely', 'un-contemporary' in Nietzschean sense, because they presented such an unforeseen broadening of an artistic field. His avant-garde appeared *too early*, both in the local and global artistic scenes. Yet, this *undestined* avant-garde (or: undestined *signpost*) played a truly liberating role, although it was completely confusing and incomprehensible for the conventional understanding of art."²²

In other words, as I discussed previously, "Radovanović's avant-garde was so *ahead* of its time and place, that it could not immediately anticipate, or precede any artistic movement or school, thus remaining isolated, 'infertile', without direct successors, only to be retroactively recognised as a forerunner of many artistic movements that appeared much later."²³

Since the late 1950s, Yugoslav composers and critics started to have regular contacts with the West, and it was chiefly after the Biennial of Contemporary Music was founded in Zagreb in 1961 that the composers were encouraged to assimilate at least some of the latest avant-garde techniques; however, by that time, Radovanović had already made far more advanced breakthroughs, including proto-minimalist works, *meta-musical projects*, *hyperpolyphony*, *synthesic art* etc. All of these innovations are yet to be recognized by writers of global histories of music. Although Radovanović is still alive (he is 88 years old),

²¹ MEDİĆ: *op. cit.* (2019), 160.

²² BELANČIĆ: *Jedan osoben pluralizam*, 192.

²³ MEDİĆ: *op. cit.* (2019), 160.

it is very unlikely that his oeuvre will receive international recognition during his lifetime. In his case, the “Shostakovich syndrome” has taken an unexpected twist because, whilst his creations were definitely too avant-garde in the local, Serbian and Yugoslav context, we can not say that they were “not sufficiently advanced for the West”; rather, it was the overall “invisibility” of the peripheral Yugoslav (and within it, Serbian) art and the lack of access to Western art markets, galleries and festivals that caused the neglect of Radovanović’s oeuvre. While Yugoslavia did not belong to the Eastern bloc, it was still a peripheral, communist country, thus its artists inevitably suffered from ideological prejudices during the decades of the Cold War.

All of the composers discussed in this brief overview might have made a greater impact on European and global art music scenes, had they lived in countries with well-developed music institutions and advanced cultural infrastructure. However, having lived in a country which suffered a belated development of its musical life, which was often interrupted by wars and abrupt changes of political circumstances, they constantly had to choose between two diametrically opposed artistic positions: either trying to “catch up” with European trends and novelties, or adapting to the requirements of their cultural environment (which itself was constantly changing, and sometimes drastically). Obviously, their careers and artistic identities suffered in the process, and the question of “what might have been if...” remains looming.

Nemanja Sovtić

From the Opera *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District* to the Ballet *Katerina Izmailova* '77

Rationalization of Violence Reflected in the Creative Dialogue
Between Rudolf Bruči and Dmitri Shostakovich

Abstract

Although not officially dedicated to Dmitri Shostakovich, the ballet *Katerina Izmailova* '77 by Yugoslav composer Rudolf Bruči undoubtedly represents a homage to the most important Soviet composer. This is evidenced by the fact that Bruči began his work on the ballet shortly after Shostakovich's death in 1975. In choosing the Shakespearean story about Katerina Izmailova, Bruči was driven not only by the motifs in Nikolai Leskov's novella, but also by the way this vibrant literary work received its musical-dramatic transposition in the Soviet cultural milieu. Both Shostakovich's and Bruči's work, despite their different musical languages, emphasize Leskov's lamenting empathy towards the heroine, who kills three times, motivated by the urge for self-preservation, but also in search of personal happiness. The reception of Shostakovich's opera in the socialist realist context testifies to an ideological misunderstanding with the Stalinist idea of rationalizing violence as part of the common good, while the poetics of Bruči's ballet indicate the monumentalization of Shostakovich as a "neuralgic point" of 20th century music, dialectically perpetuated in the Sovietophilic/Sovietophobic social circumstances in socialist Yugoslavia.

The critique of ideology in the opera *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District*, offered by Richard Taruskin, is the starting point for rethinking the intertextual relations between Shostakovich's operas from the early 1930's and the ballet *Katerina Izmailova* by the Yugoslav composer Rudolf Bruči, staged in 1977. Bruči's adaptation of Leskov's literary piece reflects not only the exemplary strength of Dmitri Shostakovich's widely known opera, but also the Yugoslav articulation of the Soviet legacy burdened by differences in understanding the rationalizations of violence in the service of the common good. Shostakovich's opera *Lady Macbeth* is specific for the introjection of the idea of the common good which, in the Soviet social context of the 1920's and early 1930's, sees violence as morally acceptable. Taruskin's assessment that Shostakovich's opera *Lady Macbeth* symbolizes the struggle against the same despotism whose idea it embodies, actually criticizes this belief that violence is a rational and acceptable social means when it follows the idea of the common good. Rudolf Bruči,

one of the most prominent artists whose worldview converged with the state ideology of self-management socialism, continues to nurture the lamenting empathy towards the heroine of Leskov's novella in his musical-dramatic piece. In relation to Nikolai Leskov's novel and Dmitri Shostakovich's opera, Rudolf Bruči's ballet displaces the main heroine from the habitus in which her actions are situated as an aesthetic phenomenon by suppressing the historical-geographical reference to a specific social reality. Bruči's musical language in the ballet *Katerina Izmailova* is radically modernist in terms of the historical topicality of the compositional and technical devices he uses. The music in Bruči's ballet follows the emotional breakdown of the heroine, while he challenges the individuality of her victims by standard musical indexations, thus approaching Katerina's psychological reality through a strategy of identification. Shostakovich's and Bruči's musical-dramatic adaptation persists on the grounds of lamenting empathy towards Katerina Izmailova and in that way testifies to the horizon of expectations which inscribes the idea of the utopian rationalization of violence in the humane message of the work of art.

KEYWORDS: Rudolf Bruči, Dmitri Shostakovich, *Katerina Izmailova*, *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District*, rationalization of violence, Stalinism, common good, SFRY, Soviet Union.

Censorship and its Dialectical Turn

The heroine of Leskov's novella *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District*¹ is a female mass murderer who eventually commits suicide.² However, her per-

¹ The novella was first published in 1865 in the magazine *Epoch*. Leskov imagined that it would be the first in a series of stories dedicated to a Russian woman.

² Russian writer Nikolai Leskov imagined Katerina Lvovna Izmailova as a poor girl, who was doomed to a dull and monotonous life by marrying into wealth. Her boredom is the "same Russian boredom, the boredom of a merchant house, a boredom so profound that, as people say, it makes even the thought of hanging yourself seem like fun" (LESKOV, 1961, 7). Katerina's husband Zinovy Borisovich is often on the road, but his absence does not bother Katerina, because "she had never been especially fond of Zinovy Borisovich and, with him out of the way, there was at any rate one less person telling her what to do" (ibid.). On one occasion, Katerina was wandering about the property in her solitude and met a group of cheerful workers. The most sparkling among them, Sergey, caught her attention. The maid Aksinya warned Katerina that Sergey was "fickle, as fickle as they come" (ibid., 9). Sergey approaches Katerina with the intention of seducing her. Katerina resists him at first, but then succumbs to his desire. Boris Timofeyevich, Katerina's father-in-law, notices Sergey sneaking out of Katerina's chambers. He lashes him with a whip, and threatens to flog Katerina. That same evening, Katerina kills her father-in-law by putting poisonous mushrooms in his kasha. In her husband's absence, Katerina and Sergey experience idyllic love that is tainted by Katerina's doubting the sincerity of Sergey's emotions. She tells him that she "shan't be parted from him alive" if he "ever deceives her and leaves her for anyone else". In a dream, Katerina is obsessed with the vision of a gray tomcat "with whiskers like a tax collector", whose "guts inside it have been torn apart" and "eyes fallen out". The husband, who heard about Katerina's infidelity, returns home. He enters silently with the intention of catching Katerina in the act. Katerina decides to stand up to him and after a brief struggle, kills him with

sonality in Shostakovich's opera of the same title is not demonized, but, on the contrary, it was music that raised her above and beyond her (self) destructive actions. At least that is what Richard Taruskin, one of the best connoisseurs of Russian music of the 19th and 20th centuries, claims. Taruskin's point of view is supported by a review of the musical characterization of the characters in Shostakovich's opera. Namely, the language in which music speaks about victims in one of the most controversial works in the history of opera is based on the expressionist deformation of traditional compositional-technical models, while the musical portrait of their punisher – Katerina Izmailova – is painted with a seductive palette of romantic tonal colours. An analytical look at the score is just one aspect of Taruskin's insight that Shostakovich does nothing but justify Katerina's violence with his music in the opera! This provocative conclusion is part of Taruskin's polemical attitude towards the narrative in which the opera *Lady Macbeth* appears in the context of limited freedom of artistic expression. Shostakovich's opera was banned – that is a fact, not the subject of interpretation – but Taruskin does not think that Shostakovich should therefore be considered a victim of Stalinist repression. The victim is by definition innocent, and Shostakovich was not, according to Taruskin, because his profiling of opera characters testifies to his participation in the (Stalinist) idea of rationalizing violence. Taruskin's "presentation of evidence" against Shostakovich, wins with an ironic assessment that the opera *Lady Macbeth* symbolizes the struggle against the same despotism whose idea it embodies.

The described critique of ideology in the opera *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District* is the starting point for rethinking the intertextual relations between Shostakovich's operas from the early 1930's and the ballet *Katerina Izmailova* by the Yugoslav composer Rudolf Bruči, staged in 1977. My opinion is that Bruči's adaptation of Leskov's literary piece reflects not only the exemplary strength of Dmitri Shostakovich's widely known opera, but also the Yugoslav articulation of the Soviet legacy burdened by differences in understanding the common good in a state-socialist and self-managed socialist political culture.

a cast-iron candlestick. No one in the house had noticed the return of Zinovy Borisovich, so Katerina and Sergey have a peaceful period ahead of them again. Pregnant Katerina takes charge of the property. However, the arrival of Katerina's nephew Fyodor, whose capital was also used by his father-in-law Boris Timofeyevich, spoils the happiness of the lovers. The innocent child gets sick. Katerina takes care of him at first, but a terrible idea comes to her mind. With Sergey's help, she suffocates Fyodor with a pillow. This time, the crime does not go unnoticed. The people are gathered in the church. There was talk of strange events in the house of the merchant Zinovy Borisovich. Upon the news of the boy's death, the mob breaks into the house and takes Katerina and Sergey away. On the way to Siberia, Katerina bribes the guards in exchange for permission to be next to her lover, who, however, becomes more distant, but only after he gets woollen stockings from her, which he gives to his new mistress Sonya. Sergey mocks Katerina, showing his mean and unscrupulous face. The minute she gets the chance Katerina pushes Sonya off the ferry into the Volga, and then jumps into the abyss herself.

Common Good and Rationalization of Violence

In philosophy, economics, and political science, the common good refers to what is beneficial for all or most members of a given community. There is no general agreement on the concept of the common good, but the (liberal) attitude that the common good is achieved by active participation of citizens in the realm of politics and public service. The concepts of the common good were set out by ancient Greek philosophers, including Aristotle and Plato, and later in medieval and modern political theory, ethics and economics, in the writings of thinkers such as Thomas Aquinas, Niccolò Machiavelli, John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Adam Smith, Karl Marx, John Stuart Mill and many others. The genealogy of the idea of the common good is too complex to be further discussed in this paper, so we will stick to the basic definitions and use them to review the argument about the unwanted ideological misunderstanding between Dmitri Shostakovich and the Stalinist aesthetic ideology that appeared in 1936 in the form of the socialist realism critique of the opera *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District*.

In his book *The Imagining of Community in Works of Beethoven, Verdi, and Shostakovich: Musical Means for Envisioning Community*, David Greene states that “Dmitri Shostakovich, at various times in his life, made public statements to the effect that his career as a composer was a means of pursuing the common good. Taking these statements at face value, one might say that he was putting that commitment into deeds when he wrote pieces like the *Leningrad Symphony*, presenting the suffering of the Russians during the 1941 siege of Leningrad [...] or the soundtrack to Eisenstein’s 1927 film celebrating the October Revolution”.³ According to Greene, Shostakovich’s statement about Soviet music being a “weapon in the international ideological battle”, expressed in 1968 at the Fourth Congress of Soviet Composers, speaks in favour of the persistence of such an attitude as his. Greene, however, overlooks the fact that Shostakovich’s entire oeuvre nominally reflects socialist humanism as an ideology that connects the ethical and aesthetic domain of the artistic creation of a great many Soviet and Eastern European authors. Shostakovich’s quest for the common good is nothing but the basic level of discourse known as the *ideological engagement of art*. From the moment the aesthetics of the beautiful is suppressed by the aesthetics of the sublime – and that moment hails back to the romantic 19th century – art in the function of politics / ideology is art in the function of the common good. Backing the idea of the common good is the highest goal of all spiritual endeavours, including the creative ones.

³ GREENE, David: *The Imagining of Community in Works of Beethoven, Verdi, and Shostakovich. Musical Means for Envisioning Community*. New York, Edwin Mellen Press, 2010, 28–29.

Shostakovich's opera *Lady Macbeth* is specific for the introjection of the idea of the common good which, in the Soviet social context of the 1920's and early 1930's, sees violence as morally acceptable. Before socialist realism suppressed violence from the optimal projection of the future, (post) revolutionary Soviet art had detected the socially creative role of violence in the current society "in transition". The opera *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District* is just one example of a Soviet work of art that undermines Schiller's legacy on the moral investment of civil art in overcoming world-historical violence. If we accept Taruskin's interpretation of Shostakovich's "despotic" poetic intention, the answer to the question of why there was a deliberate, yet unsuccessful participation in the ideologised framework of Soviet cultural policy can be found precisely in the indicated paradigm shift from aesthetically, poetically and stylistically indomitable (post) revolutionary art to doctrinally structured socialist realism.

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The Stalinist rationalization of violence is a deviant social practice that arose from revolutionary ecstasy / paranoia and too harsh a suspension of bourgeois morality in the name of the class struggle. From a contemporary perspective, the Stalinist terror is a radical form of a *dystopian instrumentalisation of violence*. Outside the Stalinist ideological horizon, the relativisation of good and evil in the Stalinist value system is easy to see. It is quite evident that Stalinist violence was motivated by the particular interests of a despot, and not by general state reasons. The validation statement in the form of self-affirmation of the punisher's identity in Stalinism reads: violence is justified if the suffering of another means my salvation and progress. However, things are different within the Stalinist ideological horizon. What is recognized outside that horizon as a dystopian instrumentalisation of violence becomes a *utopian rationalization of violence* within it. Those who want to reconcile with the world find justification for the rationalization of violence in the inclusive idea of the common good, in the form of the following statement: violence is acceptable if the suffering of all of us (both punishers and victims) is a necessary step towards everybody's salvation and progress. In a revolutionary context, the utopian rationalization of violence combines the Enlightenment's belief in the power of reason to control irrational aspects of human nature and the *absent* Judeo-Christian idea of a catastrophic and unpredictable messianic event which brings definitive peace, i.e., the end of all violence. The utopian rationalization of violence is based on the paradoxical belief that controlled, directed and time-based violence is the only means to finally curb uncontrolled, unbridled and long-lasting violence.

Taruskin's assessment that Shostakovich's opera *Lady Macbeth* symbolizes the struggle against despotism whose idea it embodies, actually criticizes this belief that violence is a rational and acceptable social means when it follows

the idea of the common good. The established narrative of the musical-aesthetic disqualification of the opera with an emphasis on Stalin's very conservative taste in music therefore represents a redundant interpretation, if the reasons for the ideological disqualification of the opera from the point of view of the Stalinist horizon of expectations are ignored. The distribution of romantic and post romantic (expressionist) elements in the music of the opera opens up the possibility for Katerina Izmailova's violent actions, from the Stalinist point of view, to be read in light of the liberal-bourgeois myth of individual liberation, the ability as a contribution to the utopian imaginary of collective emancipation. Katerina's erotic instinct, which breaks social constraints in search of unattainable happiness, is certainly more reminiscent of Schopenhauer's irrational will than a reflection of the relentless march of history towards progress, while Shostakovich's musical commentary on that instinct is not an ideologically appropriate, but rather subversive rationalization of violence. Misled by the Leninist social milieu that left room for nuanced, even subversive rationalizations of violence in the field of art, Shostakovich did not live up to the expectations of the Stalinist worldview, overlooking the danger of a narrowed space for exploring the abhorrent dimensions of social being. Demanding that reality as it is to be suppressed for the sake of reality as it should be, the Stalinist cultural climate produced such an ideological semiosis of Shostakovich's opera *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District*, which, until Taruskin's intervention, was decoded in Western music historiography as the initial manifestation of the composer's dissident defiance.

Rudolf Bruči and the Yugoslav "*Lady Macbeth*"

The internal confrontation with Stalinism in symphonies and string quartets became the cornerstone for the affirmative reception of Shostakovich in the political West and in socialist Yugoslavia, the Titoist regime of which barely survived after turning its back on Stalin in 1948. The ease with which the political culture of Stalinism reached for the destruction of everything that would oppose it, seemed a wake-up call for the Yugoslav communists who found themselves in the way of Stalin's geopolitical vision. The confrontation with Stalin's supporters in their own ranks was the last Yugoslav communist act of rationalized violence characteristic of Stalinism. The latter response to the gap between utopian projections and the realpolitik of Stalin's totalitarianism were socialist self-management and foreign policy non-alignment. For the next forty years, Yugoslavia vacillated between East and West. A similar thing happened to its culture, torn between the state's attempts to preserve control over aesthetic ideology and the (seemingly) permissive attitude towards artistic autonomy.

It is interesting that post-socialist historiography continuously pays more attention to the artistic work of those on the cultural scene who took a critical attitude towards the authority of the party and its ideology. Although the myth of the subversive effect of modernism in Yugoslavia can be easily dispelled by analysing the modernist cultural policy of numerous institutions, artists who, in the Yugoslav context, worked to remove a sharp division between realism and modernism still remain marked by the stigma of opportunistic behaviour in a repressive social system. One of the most prominent artists whose world-view converged with the state ideology of self-management socialism was the Yugoslav and Vojvodina composer Rudolf Bruči. As an artist of modernist sensibility who was also a member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Bruči constantly felt a double pressure – pressured by history to introduce innovations into his artistic expression and by society to remain communicative and understandable. Bruči often found the answers to this challenge in a creative dialogue with prominent phenomena from the world of musical past and the present. Bruči personally met Shostakovich on one of his trips to Moscow, where although on official duty he usually spent much more time in the company of Shostakovich's "enemy" Tikhon Khrennikov. The degree of Bruči's affection for Shostakovich became clear only after the death of the great Soviet composer. In 1975, he started working on the ballet *Katerina Izmailova*. This was the last out of a total of five pieces by Bruči in the genre of ballet. The libretto, direction and choreography were signed by Dimitrije Parlić. Petar Pašić did the scenography, and Božana Jovanović was in charge of costumes. The premiere took place at the National Theatre in Belgrade on 27 November 1977.

In relation to Nikolai Leskov's novel and Dmitri Shostakovich's opera, Rudolf Bruči's ballet displaces the main heroine from the habitus in which her actions are situated as an aesthetic phenomenon by suppressing the historical-geographical reference to a specific social reality. It is in this Russian social reality of the 19th century that a Shakespearean story of Katerina Izmailova finds its driving motives or so literary historians and literary critics claim:

Leskov neither accuses nor justifies his heroine, but considers her a "victim of social corruption and her own recklessness." The eerie drama of his novella does not lie in "unbridled passions" or, as it was once claimed, in the unfettered actions of "ruthless natural forces", but in a satirical depiction of everyday life of the merchant class, that "dark realm" which rewards tendencies and aspirations in the character of its victims, and submits them to its law of the jungle.⁴

⁴ ŠOVARY, Roman: *Pogovor = Lady Macbeth Mcenskog okruga*. Zagreb, Zora ["Afterword." *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District*], 1950, 82.

The Yugoslav literary critic Milosav Babović points out that “Leskov [...] needed to challenge [...] the opinion of a part of the Russian intelligentsia and prove that life conflicts in a non-noble environment are often imbued with the drama of a Shakespearean power”.⁵ Just like many other literary works immersed in the time and place of its origin, the story of *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District* does not build relations with the social context under the veil of ahistorical illusion, but directly reflects that context in its own imaginary universe. When we look at Bruči’s (and Parlić’s) notes on the ballet *Katerina Izmailova*, we notice the intention to eliminate this social context through a dehistorical and universalized reading of Leskov’s satirical literary work:⁶

Characters and situations develop and reveal themselves as if it happened anytime and anywhere, and at the same time as if it was happening – then, at the moment. From a wrongdoer, Katerina becomes a victim, a tragic character who loses her grip on life and responds to violence with violence. Having committed a crime, Katerina does not find happiness – she is tormented by guilt and suffers from hallucinations. The destructive forces that break her are more powerful than Katerina herself and her longing for happiness and love.

⁵ BABOVIĆ, Milosav: *Nikolaj Ljeskov = Ledi Magbet Mzenskog okruga*. Levoruki, Beograd, Rad [“Nikolai Leskov.” *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District*: Lefty], 1969, 90.

⁶ In the critique published in the daily *Borba*, Milica Darić-Zajčev wrote in his review that Bruči’s ballet “with the maturity of its components, a high level of performance, promises not only a more permanent presence in our ballet ensembles, but also points to a way to nurture this type of stage expression”. Using his previous experiences in composing ballet works, Rudolf Bruči, like a true master, clearly expressed his musical thoughts in ‘Katerina Izmailova 77’, precise and strong in his elementary rhythmicity, and refined in the treatment of orchestral colors. Dimitrije Parlić, choreographer, director and librettist, accepted the offered challenge to tell the cruel story of Katerina Izmailova’s crime and suffering in modern ballet language, and he succeeded. His libretto freed the Mtsensk district story from local details, and directed the drama to a series of dance numbers, real events and hallucinations of the main character, which he skillfully connected with his choreography, where he used the richness of dancing expression in contemporary theatre. Although, in our opinion, the entire dance in this ballet should be freed from neo-classical forms and allowed to take place through more freely organized dance numbers of a more modern connotation. It must be acknowledged that Parlić had an unusual inspiration at the climax of the drama, so the setting of the trio Katerina – Sergey – Sonya not only had a strong psychological basis, but also courage and skill, which gave the performers special impulses, so that they are remembered for their sincere impressiveness. [...] The painter Petar Pašić did the scenography with simple lines and dark colors, creating an atmosphere of hopelessness and gloominess in which the dancing drama takes place on two levels of the stage: one that meant the intimate world of the main character and the other that was the scene of conflict, crime and passion. Costume designer Božana Jovanović opted for only a few colours – olive green, light brown and white – which she expertly combined in costumes that, except for ‘kokoshnik’ in the scenes depicting the village, were not intrusively associated with Russian folklore, which also contributed to ‘Izmailova 77’ getting more universal theatrical features. Conductor Dušan Miladinović knew how to delight the orchestral ensemble with Bruči’s score, and under his baton this musical work flourished to its fullest, not only as an incentive, but as an equal and valuable participant in the events on the stage” Darić-Zajčev, according to SOVTIĆ, Nemanja: *Nesurstani humanizam Rudolfa Bručija: kompozitor u društvu samoupravnog socijalizma*. Novi Sad, Matica srpska [The Non-Aligned Humanism of Rudolf Bruči: The Composer and the Society of Self-Management Socialism], 2017, 63–64.

To Bruči's and Parlić's assessment that Katerina Izmailova is a "tragic character" and a "victim", Richard Taruskin would probably say that tragic characters do not deserve the misfortune that befalls them. Indeed, the conditions in which the maturing of Katerina's eruptive nature takes place cannot justify her destructive actions, except under the assumption of a total abandonment of all moral scruples. If Taruskin had the opportunity to read a statement from the programme booklet of Bruči's ballet, he would have to affirm the intention to justify Katerina's violence, but he could not lay down his thesis on the introjected despotism of the socio-historical environment, because Yugoslav society in the second half of the 1970's was not characterized by Stalinist state terror, but by a permissive consumer "Coca-Cola" socialism. So, where does Bruči's and Parlić's lamenting empathy for Katarina come from? Is the homage to Shostakovich at the same time a tribute to the Soviet (post) revolutionary rationalization of violence? In what way is all this convergent with the idea of the common good in self-management socialist Yugoslavia? Just as Taruskin bases his critical interpretation of Shostakovich's opera on an insight into its musical language, so does Bruči's ballet hide potential answers in the semantic layers of the musical score.

The Musical Language of the Ballet '*Katerina Izmailova*'

At first glance, it seems that the ballet adaptation of the novella *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District* leads to the "anaesthesia" of her abhorrent aesthetic subject. The opera voice indeed is a more suitable medium for expressing strong passions and instincts than the dancing movement, but that does not mean that the synergy of music and dance is not capable of "seismographic gestures of shock" as, for example, Theodor Adorno felt in Schoenberg's opera *Erwartung* and noted in his *Philosophy of New Music*. In relation to Shostakovich's expressionist estrangement of the "ugliness of the world" from Leskov's literary work, Rudolf Bruči finds a balance between the new sound sublimation and the re-affectation of ghoulish literary motifs. As much as Shostakovich's approach is characteristic of the music of the first half of the 20th century, Bruči's is paradigmatic for the music of the second half of the same century.

Bruči's musical language in the ballet *Katerina Izmailova* is radically modernist in terms of the historical contemporaneity of the compositional and technical devices he uses. The main musical and stylistic features of this work include blocks of tone clusters, ostinato rhythms, expressionist melodies and textural blocks composed of punctuating, heterorhythmic and repetitive cells. Blocks of tone clusters and micropolyphonic textures acquire different articulation, dynamic and register indexations in the function of characterization of

dramatic action. The “economic” production of larger segments from a limited number of material units recreates the neo-baroque logic of the affective unity of the scene. More specific neo-baroque signifiers were introduced through motoric concertantism and polyphonic elements such as canonic imitation, fugue, florid heterophony, and counterpoint confrontation of expressive lines. To the peculiarities of Bruči’s last ballet, one should add the postmodern device of quoting Johann Sebastian Bach’s organ toccata (Toccatina and Fugue in D minor BWV 565) in the upsetting scene of the child’s murder. The introduction of the choir as a lamenting colour in the final scenes of the ballet is also a very special device, almost unprecedented in the history of the genre.

When it comes to ballet dramaturgy, the manuscript from 1977 is a slightly different one to the programme booklet from 1980. The corrections made in the latter version refer to the number of acts and the titles of some scenes. According to the score, Bruči’s work has three acts, while the programme booklet from the Dubrovnik Summer Festival (1980) presents two acts with the following scenes:

(Act One): Boredom. Vision of Maidenhood. Farewell to the Husband. The Merry Workers. The First Encounter of Katerina and Sergey. The Arrival of the Father-in-law. Love Dance I. Vision II. The Punishing of Sergey. Conflict Between Katerina and her Father-in-law (father-in-law’s death).

(Act Two): The Great Love Scene (Katerina and Sergey). Vision III (dead father-in-law). The Arrival of the Husband and his Death. Pre-holiday Evening. Death of a Boy Heir. Exile to Siberia. Sergey’s Infidelity. Revenge (death of a rival). Suicide.

The introductory *Andante* (b. 1–26) combines repetitive rhythmic cells in percussions and a successively filled block of twelve-tone clusters. From the very beginning, the musical means have been focused on the semantic centre of the literary template, which is Katerina’s existential anguish with “explosive” potential. The unpitched percussions and the xylophone develop a hetero-rhythmic and punctuating texture, while glissandos in string instruments form a vertical of a wide register range, with the density of tone clusters in the upper octave, and a more relaxed one in the lower octave. Unfortunately, the pages 3–8 (bars 30–70) of the score with music that accompanies the scenes of *Boredom* and *Vision of Maidenhood* are missing, so we do not know how Bruči designed these dramatic segments. From the 70th to the 102nd bar, there is a domination of micropolyphonic articulated passages of escape notes leaning on the tone centres of a whole-tone scale. The energy concentrated by the accumulation of sound in string instruments through passages is then resolved in a chord vertical in triplets (dissonant but non-cluster) and short

melodic fragments filled with complex rhythmic groups and large interval jumps.

In the scene *Farewell to the Husband* (4th in [10] – 7th in [12]), the pulsation in triplets of register-distant clusters is moved to the piano part, over which the violins play a descending glissando of the tremolo clusters on the notes of the augmented fifth chord (A₆-F₆-D₅^b-A₄), announcing the leitmotif of the husband in trombones. The semantic association of Zinovy Borisovich's leitmotif in Bruči's ballet is consistent with Leskov's literary and Shostakovich's operatic characterization of his character as a "superfluous man". The reduction to four tones in dissonant superposition with *crescendo* – *decrescendo* oscillation within the piano dynamics indicate the imperative of disappearance stemming from the character deficits of the one these devices represent.

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Example 1.: *Katerina Izmailova*, b. 11–17

Andante

The score shows a series of ascending and descending melodic lines in the strings, with dynamic markings like *ppp* and *pp*.

The score shows a series of ascending and descending melodic lines, with dynamic markings like *p* and *pp*.

Example 2.: *Katerina Izmailova*, leitmotif of the husband

The *Merry Workers* scene consists of three numbers marked as dances. *Dance 1* (♩ = cca 100, 8th in [12]–[16]) opposes the metric and ametric structure of the musical flow. The figured ascending of the triplets in sixteenth notes on the notes of the scale emerged from a diminished and augmented tetrachord, connected by a whole-tone or semitone synaphe, leads to a polyrhythmic, ametric aleatorics of tonal groups, characteristic of Lutoslavsky's musical language. Bruči, following his own poetic intention towards the universalization and dehistoricization of the aesthetic subject of Leskov's literary work, deliberately misses the opportunity to give this dance genre a rustic musical treatment.

Example 3.: *Katerina Izmailova*, Dance 1, score sig. [13]

Ad lib cca 8"

The image shows a page from a musical score for 'Dance 1' from the opera 'Katerina Izmailova'. The score is for a full orchestra and includes parts for Piccolo (Picc.), Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet in A (C. A.), Clarinet (Cl.), Trombone (Tombt.), Trumpet (Tpb.), Cornet (Cmpl.), and Vibraphone (Vib.). The tempo is marked 'Ad lib cca 8\". The music is written in 2/4 time and features complex rhythmic patterns, including triplets and sixteenth notes. The score is marked with 'ff' (fortissimo) and 'f' (forte) dynamics. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The score is marked with 'Ad lib cca 8\".

Contrary to the variant manifestations of a stripped-down rhythm in the previous number, *Dance 2* affirms the melody and the rhythm. The microformal physiognomy of the musical material is stylistically defined as neo-classical / neo-baroque in the form of a concertante-motoric treatment of motif cells. The scherzo musical phrase is deprived of neo-classical vertical support within a linear texture whose latent atonal harmonic context arises from a frequent insistence on augmented fourths and whole-tone scales, as well as the rhythmic variation of the motif in fourths. The neo-classical scherzo is established in order to achieve contrasting dramaturgy and to set up an alternative stylis-

tic centre in relation to the blocks of tone clusters and micropolyphonic textures. Pages 38–46. with the *Russian Dance* are missing.

Example 3.: *Katerina Izmailova*, Dance 2, score sig. [16]



Sergey and Katerina (♩ = cca 168, b. [29] – 3rd in [33]) meet while the rhythmic chanting of the vertical alternates with glissando melodic movements and abandons a successively filled block with a fifth-fourth repercussion of voices. The uniform pulsation of the ostinato figure in the piano is counterpointed by the heterorhythmic lines of the other percussions, preparing a figured ascending on the notes of the whole-tone scale as a reminiscence of the material from the previous scenes. Interludium (5th in [39]–[44]) brings blocks of tremolo clusters in the high register of the first and the second violins that coats the “ominous” beats of bare tone clusters in the piano contra octave and reduced melodic fragments in flutes, the clarinet and the bassoon. The moment in which *Katerina is alone in the room* (Senza tempo, improvvisando, [44]–[46]) represents a resting place from the massive orchestral sound and percussions, i.e. an opportunity for the clarinet’s solo cadence whose line, directed towards intonative fixation of initialis and gradual acquisition of rhythmic mobility, supported / illuminated by melodic fragments of the vibraphone, the bass clarinet and the oboe. The tamburo legno with the motif of knocking disturbs the improvisational section of the clarinet – *Sergey is knocking on the window*. A section in Allegro appassionato ([47]–[48]) in which *Sergey is intimate with Katerina* commences, after which a love dance in Adagio (5th in [49]–[55]) develops through a lyrical approach based on the polychrome distribution of expressive melodies with polyphonic matching of the structural environment. These are the key scenes for understanding Bruči’s attitude towards the characters of Katerina and Sergey. The solitary melody of the clarinet and the dialogue of expressive melodies in violins, the clarinet and the oboe are the counterparts of Shostakovich’s “romanticization” of Katerina to which Taruskin refers, thus accusing him of justifying the violence.

Example 4.: *Katerina Izmailova*, “Katerina is alone in the room”, score sig. [44]



Example 5.: *Katerina Izmailova*, “Sergey is intimate with Katerina“, 6th in [49] – 2nd in [50]

Adagio

Ob Fl Cl Bs Vn1 Vn2

p espress. *f* *p espress.* *f* *p* *mf* *cresc.*

The ascending of the violas in tremolo on the notes of a half-diminished seventh chord announces the moment when the *Father-in-law notices Sergey* ([56]–[58]). *Katerina is plotting how to poison her father-in-law* ([59] – 8th in [61]) against the successively filled blocks of tone clusters in the background, colouristically particular thanks to the sul ponticello playing of string instruments, while the father-in-law's agony (*Senza tempo, improvvisando, cca 25"*) is musically characterized by glissando defined by the legno battuto articulation. The death itself is underlined by the complete chromaticism in pianissimo, while the funeral procession is genre-wise represented by the *Funeral March* ([62] – 5th in [65]) and an even pulsation in quarter notes. The musical devices used in the scenes of Katerina's violence do not give any comment other than the conventional denial of the elements of "musically beautiful" where the "ugliness of the world" requires harsh and neurotic sound articulation.

Example 6.: *Katerina Izmailova*, “Father-in-law notices Sergey”

[illegible]

Example 7.: *Katerina Izmailova*, “Katerina is plotting how to poison her father-in-law”

$\text{♩} = 88$

The musical score for Example 7 is written for a woodwind ensemble and strings. The tempo is marked as quarter note = 88. The woodwinds (Xyl., Fln. I, Fln. II, Vln. I, Vln. II, Vla., Vcl.) play a melodic line with various dynamics (mf, f, p, pp) and articulations (sul pont., staccato). The strings (Vln. I, Vln. II, Vla., Vcl.) play a block of tone clusters with a slow glissando movement up and down from the initial tone, followed by a contraction on the unison initialis, an octave jump, and stabilization of the block as a base for the ascending projection of the whole-tone scale in the violins.

The Second Act commences with the *Great Love Scene of Katerina and Sergey* (Adagio, b. 1 – 4th in [7]). The arioso recitative in woodwinds, colouristically articulated by the polychrome distribution of the melody, grows into a polyphonic play of florid lines on the blocks of tone clusters in violas. By migrating from one instrumental colour to another, the melodic line takes on the technical characteristics of individual instruments, which makes it more melodious and calm in the bassoon and the cello, and more vibrant and capricious in flutes and the clarinet. The musical material for this scene is derived from the material we find in the scene *Sergey is intimate with Katerina*.

The scene in which Katerina sees her father-in-law as a Tomcat (Molto Adagio, [8]–[13]) is marked by another gradually filled block of tone clusters. It spreads in unison with slow glissando movements up and down from the initial tone and follows the dramatic tension with the increasing density and register range. After the contraction on the unison initialis, there is an octave jump and the stabilization of the block as a base from which the ascending projection of the whole-tone scale in the violins begins. This dream marks the moment in which Katerina becomes a victim of the violence she commits, and thus a tragic figure. A unison, which moves into a tone cluster and returns to the same tone, stands as evidence of the dissolution and regeneration of

Katerina's lyrical subject. The Freudian interpretation of dreams bringing the remnants of the day immersed in repressed desires and fears, best describes Leskov's artistic vision supported by Bruči's musical devices.

Example 8.: *Katerina Izmailova*, "Katerina and her father-in-law (a nightmare)", 4th in [8] – 11th in [8]

Molto Adagio

Murder of the Husband ([13] – 4th in [18]) is musically described by an unstable block of tone clusters and the expressionist deformation of punctuated fragments, represented by extended playing techniques and a grotesque distortion of the sound of the horn (alternate opening and closing of the corpus followed by oscillations between dynamic extremes), the flute (flutter-tonguing) and trumpets (wah-wah). Katerina and Sergey fight with Katerina's husband. Hit over the head by a cast-iron candlestick, her husband is left gasping in a pool of blood, which is represented in the music by a fragmented musical flow in the section (♩ = 45, [22] – 6th in [24]) which brings dark colours and a low register of the orchestra. In this scene, too, the music describes the gestural dynamism of the violent act, holding fast to the obligation to direct the dancing movement.

The genre scene *The Wedding* (♩ = 104, 7th in [24] – 4th in [30]) is based on a three-bar nucleus of a fanfare-like character developed through the alternation of homophony and polyphony. The homophone approach varies between the unison of the whole orchestra and the internal polyphony through the vertical second superposition of the three-bar motif, which results in a cluster vertical. Polyphony is realized by canonic imitations.

Example 9.: *Katerina Izmailova*, "The Wedding", 8th in [24] – 10th in [24]

♩ = cca 104

The *Pre-holiday Evening* scene (Allegro molto, 5th in [30]–[35]) is built by varying a characteristic figure of four of the same rhythmic values within which the fourth one differs in pitch and / or articulation. The polymusical scene *Death of a Boy Heir* ([36]–[38]) quotes Bach's organ *Toccata in D minor*. The tonal structure is based on a static block of harmonics in high string instruments, which monitors and regulates the tension with the increasing density, while the musical-semantic illustration of the boy's death is achieved by death bells. It remains unclear what Bruči wanted to say by quoting Bach in this scene, but there is no doubt that Bach's pietistic quietism is the reference point on which the interpretation should be based. The increasing tension generated by the block of tone clusters and chord beats is resolved by the appearance of Bach's music conveying a message of (Christian?) mercy towards Katerina, which Katerina herself denied to her victims.

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Example 10.: Katerina Izmailova, “Death of a Boy Heir” /quotation of J. S. Bach, score sig. [36]

The last opening of the curtain begins with *Interludium* (Senza misura, [38]–[52]) with a successively filled glissando block of tone clusters in the low register and a sombre timbre spectrum (double basses and cellos). Besides a tempo marking in the scene *Exile to Siberia* (Largo, [52]–[57]), there is an indication for the composition technique in brackets – fugue – which refers to a polyphony in a group of pitched and unpitched percussion instruments. The complementary layer of the structure was entrusted to a non-traditionally treated choral ensemble in obtaining a mournful sound colour. The choir, therefore, does not use the words. It is differentiated into melismatic singing

of vowels and a rhythmic pronunciation of consonants “m”, “n”, “d”, “t”, “s”. *Sergey's Infidelity* ([58]–[64]) brings cries of the solo soprano and the solo tenor, a block of tone clusters in male voices, and wailing in the form of a quarter-tone vibrato. The lamenting climax culminates with the *tapan* beats and heterophony effects characteristic of the final movement of Bruči's *Third Symphony*, noting that the suggestiveness of the florid heterophony in four choral voices, oboes and low string instruments in this ballet may even surpass the mournful expression of the three oboes in the *Third Symphony*. The scene concludes with an arrhythmic pronunciation of the words with no meaning. *Revenge (death of a rival)* and *Suicide* (Molto Adagio, [64] – end) are marked by the three tam tams on the stage, which arrive at a pulse in quavers by a phase shift of their half-note beats. The vertically synchronized aleatoric-micropolyphonic texture in string instruments contributes to the final tension. Sonya's death, like her husband's death, is marked by the tremolo ascending of clusters on the notes of a half-diminished seventh chord. Katerina's jumping off the ferry in the Volga follows the unison of the whole orchestra in crescendo, extended to the minor second at the dynamic climax, and then suspended by fading tone clusters in the subcontra octave of the piano.

Example 11.: Katerina Izmailova, “Sergey's Infidelity”, 3rd in [60] – 9th in [60]

Quasi senza tempo, improvvisando ♩ = 50

The musical score is written for a vocal soloist (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and a full orchestra. The tempo is marked 'Quasi senza tempo, improvvisando' with a quarter note equal to 50 beats. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The score shows a complex texture with many overlapping lines and dynamic markings like 'pp' (pianissimo) and 'pp sempre'.

The final unison that spreads to the tone clusters evokes Katerina's tragic lyrical subject from the nightmare scene. However, while in the nightmare scene, the resolution of tone clusters into the unison initialis is a hint of the potential regeneration of the lyrical subject, at the end of the ballet any musical “rescue” of Katerina from herself is out of the question. The music follows

the emotional breakdown of the heroine. The individuality of her victims is reduced to standard musical indexations, which indicates Bruči's approach to Katerina's psychological reality through a strategy of empathic understanding.

Excursus

The analysis of the musical language of the *Katerina Izmailova* ballet confirms the convergent poetic intentions of Rudolf Bruči and Dmitri Shostakovich, those that Richard Taruskin connects with the musical justification of Katerina's violence. In an effort to emphasize the similarities, we must not forget the differences between the Soviet and the Yugoslav composer's approach to the theme. The most important difference lies in the attitude towards the new sound. In Shostakovich's case, the new musical elements are primarily related to an expressionist stylistic process aiming to mark the aesthetically ugly, while in Bruči's, such elements are partially emancipated from their original context. The blocks of tonal clusters and micropolyphonic textures form the "connective tissue" of the ballet at a neutral level of the discourse in the affective sense, except when redefined by elements such as tremolos, vertically synchronized beats and razor-sharp colours of individual instrumental groups.

The parallels between Shostakovich's and Bruči's musical-dramatic adaptation of Leskov's story are indicative from the approach to Katerina's sexuality, as well as from their attitude towards her violence. The author of the article "Muddle Instead of Music" accused Dmitri Shostakovich, among other things, of writing "pornographic music". The adjective "pornographic" indicates a vulgar, coarse invasion of sexuality into the field of artistic expression. In this regard, Elizabeth Wells in the text "The New Woman: Lady Macbeth and Sexual Politics in the Stalinist Era" states that "The complex relation between Shostakovich's detailed representation of sexuality and his portrait of Katerina [...] mirrors the social tensions of the sexual revolution and the conservative backlash from the 1920s and 1930s".⁷ It is, therefore, a similar ideological misunderstanding as the one Shostakovich had pertaining to the rationalization of violence – the (post) revolutionary social context of the 1920's delivered a different horizon of expectations from the socialist-realist horizon of expectations from the mid-1930's.

⁷ WELLS, Elizabeth: "The New Woman": *Lady Macbeth and Sexual Politics in the Stalinist Era* = *Cambridge Opera Journal*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001, 163–189, 163.

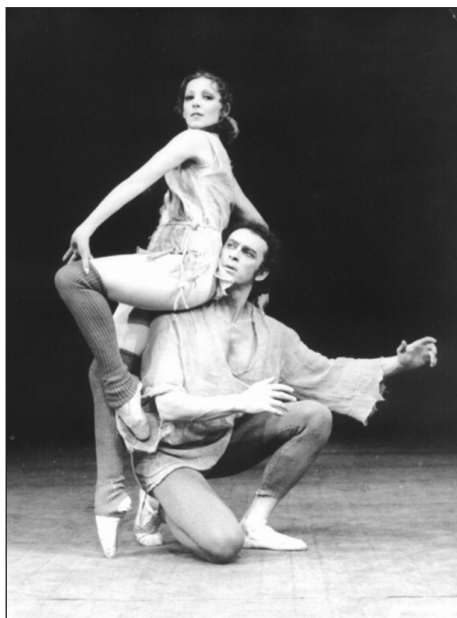


Image 1.:

Višnja Obradović *Katerina*
and Radomir Vučić *Sergey*

A bodily dimension of Katerina Izmailova is also carefully designed in Bruči's ballet. Unlike Shostakovich's opera, which tested the limits of public morality, Bruči's ballet expresses a more subtle stylization of Katerina's sexual being. For that reason, we can talk about the suppression of the libidinous impulses of Katerina's personality, which was justified in the still shy, although in the normative sense, sexually liberalized Yugoslav society of the 70's. The tragedy of the perpetrator of violence that Bruči showed in his ballet excluded the orgiastic revolutionary body as portrayed by Shostakovich. The domestication of Katerina Izmailova in Bruči's ballet is therefore accompanied by an ambivalent feminist emancipatory message, which we find in other Bruči's musical-dramatic works, primarily in the ballet *The Demon of Gold*.

Every creative reading of Leskov's novella *Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District* is confronted with the theme of the romanticized act of violence. Shostakovich's and Bruči's musical-dramatic adaptation persists on the grounds of lamenting empathy towards Katerina Izmailova and in that way testifies to the horizon of expectations which inscribes the idea of the utopian rationalization of violence in the humane message of the work of art. No matter how much they imply the inalienability of the right to life as a basic human right, the artistic identification with a tragic subject does not necessarily have to be a political identification with the victim. An important message about that is sent through the story of Katerina Izmailova told through a multiple and

multi-phased questioning of the abhorrent dimensions of art, characteristic of totalitarian and authoritarian social systems. This message emphasizes the following paradox: while liberal civil thought – of which Richard Taruskin is the most prominent representative in the field of the written word about music – morally condemns the aesthetic subject of “despotism”, the separation of democracy and capitalism in the modern global world makes authoritarian political systems conceivable, even realistic, on the until recently inalienable grounds of liberal civil society.

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The Age of Gold – Burdened National Memories

Attila Farkas

The Anti-Communist Minimal State against History

Antal Jászay and a Lesson for a Lifetime

Anthony de Jasay was a remarkable thinker, and his book, *The State* is a fascinating read, disturbing and challenging. He was a relentless critic of the welfare state, but he also outlined the basic features of the minimal-capitalist state and even the possibility of the civilised state of nature. In the following, I will first demonstrate the historical experience that may have contributed to the development of the author's thinking, then I will summarize the argument of the work, and finally criticise it.

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Hungary 1947: A Lesson for a Lifetime

Anthony de Jasay, namely Antal Jászay, was born in Aba, a small town in Fejér County in 1925. He graduated in agriculture, and tried to become a journalist after the war, but soon realised that the new communist regime was not for him. He emigrated in 1948, spent two years in Austria, then studied economics at a university in Australia before winning a scholarship to Oxford in 1955, where he worked as a researcher until 1962. Oxford University was at that time a citadel of Keynesianism, but he did not find his place in this, so left science behind and worked as an investment banker in France until his retirement in 1979. He returned to science, and published several books, in which he increasingly linked his original field to political philosophy. He died on 23 January 2019, in Normandy. In general, he is described as a thinker who was independent of various political and scientific power centres. However, we rightly consider him as an eminent representative of right-wing libertarianism, also known as the trend of libertarian capitalism, and a relentless and virtuous critic of the increasingly totalitarian state.

Jászay shared little information about his personal history with us, though he once commented that "My family became poorer and poorer in the course of history and I had no [better] luck either".¹ The fate of his family is a good example of the consequences of the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. His predecessors were the landowners who served as hussars in

¹ SCHWARZ, Karl-Peter: *Anthony de Jasay (1925–2019)*, <https://europeanconservative.com/2019/04/anthony-de-jasay-1925-2019/> (accessed on 29 December 2020).

the Imperial and Royal Army. As a result of the Treaty of Trianon, which ended First World War, the Czechoslovak state, which was formed partly from Hungarian territories, expropriated his mother's prestigious estate in Slovakia. After Second World War, the Communist authorities in Hungary deprived his father of his family estate. One part of the estate was in Carpathian Ruthenia, which was temporarily returned to Hungarian jurisdiction from 1938 under the First Vienna Award, but after the war had become part of the Soviet Union, and the Bolsheviks did not, in any sense, tolerate any private property, neither Hungarian, nor Rusyn nor Ukrainian. The publication of *The State* in Hungarian was only possible after the fall of state socialism, indeed, twelve years after the change in the political system. In the foreword of the Hungarian edition, the author describes an incident that took place in 1947, which determined his career, and greatly contributed to his decision to leave his country. He had been looking for a job in Budapest, and in one place, the director told him that "You and your kind don't and never will get a job in this country. You must die."² This threat remained with him for the rest of his life: "A lesson I brought back from Hungary, and I have never forgotten about the relationship between the individual and the state. When the »public interest«, in the name of »society«, both political and economic power are concentrated in the hands of the same body, i.e. the state, individuals can be condemned »fated«".³ It is little wonder that this lesson, which was meted out to many other "class aliens" in the Soviet Empire, made him into a man of conviction, an anti-Marxist and anti-Bolshevik.

According to Marx's economic determinism, the economic substructure defines people's preferences while the superstructure defines the establishment and functioning of the institutional system. Jászay did not believe in strict determinism, as it would deprive a man of all freedom of choice, however, he believed in the relative explanatory power of the various effects on man as regards decisions and action. But he did not accept the Marxist model with such a constraint either since he considered the opposite of the relation to be correct. We can explain people's behaviour not on an economic basis, but rather on that of the institutional system. The existence and nature of individual preferences for a political system are largely created by the political system itself, „so that political institutions are either *addictive* like some drugs, or *allergy-inducing* like some others, or both, for they may be one thing for some people and the other for others.”⁴ It is quite clear which group Jászay belonged

² JASAY, Anthony de: *Az állam*. Bp. Osiris, 2002, 11.

³ Ibid.

⁴ JASAY, Anthony de: *The State*. Liberty Fund, 1998, 22.

to, he was repulsed by the communist state, but rejected many other trends of the modern state that posed a threat to human freedom.

When in 1945 the Red Army forced communism upon the Hungarians, which was essentially alien and hostile to their traditions, it essentially brought about the end of the Hungarian State that had endured for almost one thousand years. The Horthy System, established in 1920, had set itself two goals; the revision of Trianon and keeping the “spectre of communism”⁵ out of the country. Both efforts ended in complete failure. The revisionist aims of Hungary pushed the country first towards Mussolini’s Italy, then increasingly embroiled it with Nazi German Reich in the thirties. The territorial expansion achieved between 1938 and 1941 temporarily justified this policy, but it was accompanied by the fact that the country joined the war against the Soviet Union on the 27 June 1941. Since then, the question remains whether we could have kept some of the regional profits if we had not joined in the invasion of the Soviet Union. Molotov made a promise, but we don’t know if the promise would have been kept. After the defeat of the Wehrmacht at Stalingrad, it became clear that Germany could not win the war, but a crushing defeat still seemed avoidable, and to facilitate this the Hungarian political leadership took steps to withdraw from the war. This strategy failed, and the Germans occupied Hungary on 19 March 1944, which gradually became the scene of bitter struggle until the historical defeat. The German occupation was replaced by the Russian occupation that lasted until 16 June 1991, when the last Russian soldier departed in the person of General Viktor Silov.

In 1945, many people saw that there was a chance for democratic transformation in Hungary that would resolve those serious economic, social and political problems that policies between the two wars had not been able to address. In this hope, they were tragically disappointed. In historical terms, a dictatorship was established and from one day to the next human freedoms were eradicated, from having an opinion to owning private property, moreover, even the concept of the latter was removed from the dictionary because that is where every bad source was believed to derive. It is important to point out that although communism was not popular in Hungary and support for the Hungarian Soviet Republic of 1919 was also consistently low, criticism was nevertheless also regularly levelled at capitalism. It was precisely after First World War that views that had been expressed at the turn of the century, which had identified the economic, social and moral mischievousness of 19th century capitalism again came to the fore. Such opinions appeared not only on

⁵ “A spectre is haunting Europe – the spectre of Communism.” That is how the now almost forgotten MARX, Karl – ENGELS, Friedrich begins: *The Communist Manifesto*, <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/61/pg61.txt> (accessed on 29 December 2020).

the left, but also to a large extent on the right as well. This followed from the unique situation the country was in, and although the adverse effects of modernization had accelerated in the second half of the 19th century they had also formed a part of the world order. At all levels of economic development, in both rich and poor countries, almost everyone considered the reform of capitalism to be necessary. Many political and artistic movements endeavour to do this, regardless of their populist and elitist motives. Among Hungarian thinkers, outraged by the injustices of capitalism, convictions became consolidated that made the whole of history responsible for the evil that was taking place in the present. The temper of “No more tradition's chains shall bind us”⁶ formulated in addition to or against the international labour movement in national radicalism. The Hungarian writer Dezső Szabó, for example, often condemned Hungarian history as a “thousand-year-old torture chamber”, in which the Germans used various methods to torture the Hungarians in their own country.⁷

Looking back from today's perspective, it is hard to understand at first why the 19th century, and especially dualism established in 1867, seemed so bad after its downfall, even though economically and culturally it was one of the most successful periods in Hungarian history. The explanation is generally based on the fact that an historical perspective was not yet available to the people of the time, they simply did not know what kind of horrors the 20th century would bring.

What they knew was the fact of failure. Dualism had collapsed, and along with it historical Hungary too, it is obvious that the reasons for this tragedy should be sought amidst dualism itself. This was found in national and economic-social policies, and not entirely without reason. It is worth remembering, however, that the condemnation and denial of the 19th century can also be observed in countries that were victors in First World War. In Great Britain, for example, criticism of the Victorian era was delivered tragically and comically in the 20th. Generational reasons also contributed to the changes in perspective, the youth of the early 20th century and of the 1920's were almost automatically separated from their great predecessors by different morals and tastes, and they had to grow old to change at least some of their preferences.

The ideology of “great denial” also led to many of the ardent liquidators of the 19th century sympathising, and to some extent cooperating, and even joining communism. In Hungary this was facilitated by the fact that after Second

⁶ From *The Internationale*, the left-wing “anthem” by Eugène Pottier, translated by Charles Hope Kerr, which has been a standard of the socialist movement since the late nineteenth century.

⁷ See details: KOVÁCS, Dávid: *Dezső Szabó's Concept of Nation*. Máriabesnyő, Attraktor, 2014, 129–145.

World War, and more especially after the quashing of the revolution of '56, it clearly seemed that the Soviet occupation and communist rule would endure until the end of time, or at least as long as the 150-year period of Ottoman occupation. It seemed like a *fait accompli* that people had to make the best of, or at least accept as the lesser of two evils. Antal Jászay rejected these choices. He chose emigration, and used its opportunities to develop a consistent anti-communist state theory, as well as to rehabilitate capitalism and the 19th century. At the same time, denying the past haunted him, and instead of history, he placed logic at the philosophical centre of his theory. His rejection of collective planning and support for free market fundamentalism linked his theory to the representatives of the Austrian School, to the views of Ludwig von Mises, Friedrich von Hayek, Murray Rothbard and to the Chicago School of Economics, as well as the monetarism of Milton Friedman. It is noteworthy that all of these people had all migrated from Central Europe, the former Austrian Hungarian monarchy to the West, or were children of such immigrants. However, whoever chose whichever kind of philosophy, ought to be regarded as having done so on the basis of a personal decision. The differences in personal decisions can be seen in the case of the Polányi brothers of Hungarian origin, with Karl Polanyi becoming a well quoted author as a critic of the free-market theory and as a supporter of Michael Polanyi.

The Logic of the State

The modern democratic constitution, which is supposed to protect citizens' rights against state power, is putting the chastity belt on the mistress, but leaving the key with her. The state is at war with the people for their freedom and property, but this battle is unequal to the end, because the legitimate monopoly of violence is owned by only one of the parties. Therefore, if the state is satisfied with less than enslaving its subjects, it should be explained separately. The redistributive state is a drug that is addictive and, like drugs, deprives the users of their freedom. We could say the state uses society, not the other way around. Society becomes dependent on the distribution system at both the individual and group level. It takes on such dimensions that withdrawal would lead to an individual catastrophe, and to economic and social crisis. The caring state is responsible for the increase in the number of divorces, the collapse of the family, children growing up without a father, and old people becoming depressed because welfare systems make people stop taking responsibility for their loved ones. It goes without saying that the moral foundation of society is also wavering. It is not surprising that free rides as a rational form of behaviour become dominant in these circumstances.

Interest groups are organised not to compete in the market but rather to win the favour of the state: for prizes, grants, tax exemptions, tariff concessions, research scholarships, military orders, industrial policy measures, regional development, cultural policy and so on. Everybody just wants to receive and not give. In order to satisfy such desires, it would be necessary for goods to be available indefinitely, but this cannot be the case. The state, on the other hand, needs to buy citizens' support under democratic conditions. Then what to do? The state must exhibit complex distribution processes as if it was fulfilling everyone's wishes. So it starts churning in order for the illusion of the prize pool to take root in the minds of the citizens, even though they have to pay the cost of the prizes themselves. What they gain on the ferry is lost on customs, which they receive as subsidies in the form of tax rebates, which are sucked back from them with as little pain as possible. Thus *The State* argues against the state.

The book is still an important extreme point of reference in disputes concerning the involvement of the state against the other extremity, the whole of etatism, of course, it also received much criticism from a theoretical and empirical perspective. It was based on the methodological assumption that we can understand the state if we consider it not as an instrument of society but as a rational act of self-determination. What does the state want? To survive. How can it ensure that? If it increases its power. The natural state also plays an important role in its mind-set. This is where the logical path of state development begins, which is both development and then decline into totalitarianism. Because of economic and/or moral reasons, people decide to give up their natural freedom for the benefit of the state in the hope of prosperity, justice, and equality. First, the capitalist state tries to meet these needs at a minimum level. It does not give much, but nor does it demand a great deal either, it does not interfere with the freedom of contracts, nor does it seek to redistribute property based on some definition of justice. The capitalist state, free from ideology and politics, leaves people alone, just wants to survive. There has never been such a state in history, though some corporations of the 19th century resemble one. However, some citizens are dissatisfied with the capitalist state, which then perceives them as a threat and thus proceeds to offer more to them in exchange for support. Various democratic and welfare reforms are launched, but the caring state, as we know, can only give if in return it takes something, which requires an ever-growing apparatus, and requires resources, which requires purchase of support and so on, until the state realizes that it is better to take economic power into its own hands: and state capitalism comes into existence. But there is no stopping upon this slippery slope, once a contradiction is eliminated, there is a new one, if the state already has all the capital, it must have all the workers too, a socialist plantation needs

to be set up where slaves work, whose every need is planned by the state, and who are taken of without being mediated the remnants of money and the market. According to Jászay the question should arise in the reader: is this all worth it? Wouldn't it have been better to leave the capitalist state alone so it would leave us alone too? Moreover, wouldn't it be better to approach the civilised form of the state of nature?

Criticism of Logic

The State was published five years before the fall of the Soviet empire, and predicted the logical necessity for the state to develop into totalitarianism. We could say history has disproved logic. However, this would be a hasty judgment that could raise false hopes. The Bolshevik state failed, but in Communist China state-coordinated super capitalism began to unfold, the idea of a “United States of Europe” is now filling with political content. There are also plans how ties could be tightened by post-Brexit Britain within the successor of the British Commonwealth and how the latter could perhaps be connected to the United States. Such super-states would probably not accord with the geopolitics principle of Orwell. In 1984, Oceania, Eurasia and East Asia are in a continuous state of war with one another in ever changing alliances, perhaps we can trust that this will remain fiction, but the totalitarian tendencies within states could intensify. However, history is not dominated by analytical logic, it is not necessarily the case that the slightest intervention in the supposed natural freedom of the market would inevitably set everyone on a slope that would end in total slavery. History is a cumulative result of decisions made by individuals and bodies, which is not entirely predictable, but this does not mean that planning is completely meaningless either. We are future-oriented beings, but we must consider more possibilities for the future. Therefore, the warning of the dystopias of Jászay, Orwell and others must be taken seriously to prevent them from happening.

Jászay is on the side of capitalism. He distinguishes capitalism from socialism through the fundamental legal concept of private property. None of the commitments are exclusive among the opponents of socialism. Following Ludwig von Mises' definition, private property is perceived by many people not as a legal but as a broader economic concept. According to this, private ownership is the final provision over resources, which may differ from formal ownership. On the other hand, several critics of socialism condemn capitalism not only for moral reasons, but for economic ones too, saying that it is not only unfair, but also inefficient in its free market form. John Maynard Keynes defined capitalism according to the legal category of private property on the

one hand, but he finds the definition of capitalism more important that identifies it as a money-loving society. According to him, the love of money appears in the simple psychology of envy and greed, but beyond that, in a modern economy of savings, compound interest and speculation. Such “reactionary romantic bourgeois anti-capitalism” is usually stigmatized by Marxists, who claim that it is the hall of fascism. They obviously know that by stigmatizing it they are undermining the thousand-year-old moral foundation of civilization. In reference to Mill and Hayek, Jászay considers envy to be one of the most evil antisocial passions in the world, and accuses John Rawls’s political philosophy – which, by the way, is an outstanding achievement of the 20th century – of disguising envy as social justice, and making it a universal norm. Jászay can imagine no other form of anti-communism but strict capitalism. This is what the wording of the bivalent logic suggests: “The operation of the principles of justice lets us have our cake and eat it, have capitalism and socialism, public property and private liberty all at the same time. Rawls’s blandness on these deeply contentious points is astounding”.⁸

To confirm property, Jászay provides a simple formula: “finders are keepers”.⁹ This will even take back Locke’s confirmation referring to the *Bible*, because Locke, in addition to finding it, also demanded that the person who found it mix it with his own work, i.e. cultivate it. Property is the question of the *is* and not the *ought*, and is not a moral issue. We should not interfere with the freedom of contracting on the basis of the interests of either party or of a third party. The capitalist state respects these principles and requires this same respect from society.

Jászay abstracts further from the capitalist state to the minimal state. This construction means a state that renounces its political goals and uses most of its energy to limit itself. If the state has no political purpose, then what is the point? The intellect unfolds from the fact that it has a meta-governmental purpose to keep the enemies of the minimal state out of power. It is not certain if this is where the theory reveals its own problems, but it’s very likely that the restraining order won’t be easy. Many citizens will probably think otherwise. Persuasion, education, campaigns, law enforcement, riot control, and in extreme cases terror is not free. The state must choose to limit either itself or society. If it limits itself, then it fails, if it limits society, it fails too, as a *minimal* state. A state theory must declare not only the state as such in a normative way, but also make clear the way to implement a state that is considered good. The latter, in this case is not satisfactory.

⁸ JASAY: *op. cit.* (1998), 172.

⁹ E.g. *ibid.*, 5., 68.

The states known from history apart from a few disincentive exceptions, respected private property to some degree, at the same time they also intervened in ownership, if they thought it was right. Ownership of land, for example, was completely free only in the rarest of cases, if at all. These real states sometimes did the right thing, sometimes they did not. However, interventions that have failed economically and/or are morally reprehensible do not give rise to the view that the historic state is a dead end and give priority to the minimal state. Although Jászay rehabilitated the 19th century in the sense that it was the closest thing to the capitalist type of state, he still did not share Hayek and others' views on classical liberalism. He regarded the guarantees of the liberal constitution as an illusion in regard to the provision of freedoms.¹⁰ He was not too far wrong about that, but he had illusions about the minimum state.

The nation state is not a central category in Jászay's theoretical thinking, nor probably in its values. Its criticism, as it applies to the state *in general*, applies to the nation state as well. In one respect, however, this political formation gains great importance, namely in the context of the examination of the possibility of a state of nature. The idea is that if nation states can live together keeping contracts in a civilized manner without being a super state, then individuals can do so without a state. A natural state, in their case would not be the Hobbes-type "*Bellum omnium contra omnes*" with all its misery. He also includes the results of the decision theory in its reasoning saying that sufficiently repeated prisoners' dilemma games can lead to spontaneous cooperation at national and individual levels because players realize that keeping contracts is more rewarding than breaking them. We can make a number of objections to this argument, many of which go back to the fact that micro level (individuals) and macro level (nation states) cannot be matched without further ado. It is enough to think that individuals do not have the essentially irreplaceable deterrent for war of nuclear weapons. Let us rule out the possibility of privatising them on the grounds of the right to self-defence. Not to mention that relatively peaceful cooperation between nation states would not be possible, or even its name would not be known without nation states. Of course, we may consider spontaneous cooperation without the state impossible because we have not tried it yet. But who will take us along this path and by what methods try to see the sacrifices that will be made? The lesson provided by Jászay's theory leaves some unsettling questions in its wake...

¹⁰ He trusts these guarantees against Jászay, praising the author in other respects, the representative of a public choice theory Nobel Memorial Prize: BUCHANAN, James M: *Anthony de Jasay: The State = Public Choice*, 1986, 51., 243.

Tamás Kollarik – Bálint Zágoni

The Career of Jenő Janovics (1872–1945)

*"This small country with her narrowly defined language area can only attract foreign attention by way of a particular style, distinctive feature, in the colour of some sort of succulent originality."*¹

Dr. Jenő Janovics was born in 1872 in Ungvár (Uzzhorod), in Austria-Hungary, today located in Ukraine. Janovics is undoubtedly one of the most significant and greatest figures in the history of Hungarian film and theatre. His life path deserves to be in a feature film, his oeuvre in the textbooks: a powerful personality and an exciting character, with the first half of 20th century Hungarian history rippling through his life.² He learned, lived and when it was necessary, went into hiding in Budapest, also worked in Szeged, but his home was in Hungary, in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), now part of Romania. "I am not Transylvanian, but the wheel of history that has crept through us has bound me to Transylvania, and every nerve of my heart has been rooted inexorably here. In order to take on the Hungarian destiny, I proudly and happily declared myself a Transylvanian" – he wrote in 1933.³

The Janovics family of Jewish origin, living under scarce financial conditions, moved from Ungvár to Budapest to ensure appropriate schooling for their five children. The lower-middle class parents intended their children to pursue intellectual careers as doctors and lawyers, and young Jenő was oriented towards the mechanical engineering profession. Jenő Janovics completed elementary school studies in Budapest already, then continued his education in one of the best secondary schools of Budapest (in Zerge street, later renamed to Horánszky). Janovics's interest and talent in literature and acting showed early in a self-study circle open to sixth, seventh and eighth grade students at

¹ BALOGH, Gyöngyi – ZÁGONI, Bálint (eds.): *The history of film production in Kolozsvár in pictures from 1913 to 1920*. Filmtett Association, Cluj, 2009. Additional quotation: JANOVICS, Jenő: *The Hunyadi Square Theatre*. Korunk Association of Friends, Komp-Press Publisher, Cluj, 2001.

² The article follows and in part quotes the following documentaries: ZÁGONI, Bálint: *Jenő Janovics, the Hungarian Pathé*. Producer: Filmtett Association. Cluj (Romania), 2011. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TxzhLwA1j8&t=2s> and ZÁGONI, Bálint: *In Search of the Yellow Foal (A Sárga csikó nyomában)*. Producer: Filmtett Association. Cluj (Romania), 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ma-iDOMjO3g> and the writing From Farkas Street to Corvin Film Studio. The true story of Jenő Janovics film director, by Tamás Kollarik. Országút magazine, August 2020, (<https://orszagut.com/cikk/a-farkas-utcatol-a-corvin-filmgyarig>)

³ ZAKARIÁS, Erzsébet: *Janovics and the Hungarian theatre of Kolozsvár = Janovics Jenő 1872–1945*, Cluj, 2015, 37.

the school.⁴ Two of the school's key teachers, the nationally renowned aesthete Jenő Péterfi, and Károly Patthy literary translator, renowned expert in Spanish literature, have been increasingly monitoring Janovics's activities in the self-study circle. It is thanks to these two excellent teachers that his parents accepted that acting is not merely fun, insane idleness, but artistic activity that requires serious talent, effort and hard work. Janovics turned to theatre and acting beyond doubt, attended performances by the National Theatre under the direction of Ede Paulay, and admired the acting of celebrated stars of the age, Mari Jászai and Imre Nagy. He successfully applied to the Theatre School (Színészeti Tanoda) led by Ede Paulay (from 1893, the National Royal Hungarian Academy of Drama) with the poem *Az őrült* (*The Madman*) by Sándor Petőfi and parts from the second act of *Bánk bán*. The Theatre School's teaching staff included the stars of the Budapest stages: Ede Ujházi, Béla Bercsényi, Antal Várady, Bernát Alexander and Mari Jászai, probably the most celebrated actress of the age.

Janovics's recollections show that Gergely Csiky, the playwright and priest, and Ede Paulay had the greatest influence on him. Years later in Kolozsvár he chose to process the life and work of Gergely Csiky as the topic of his doctoral dissertation. Down to Janovics's outstanding accomplishments and exceptional talent, Ede Paulay offered him – with unanimous support from the faculty – the opportunity to skip the final year and receive his degree a year earlier. Janovics remained very grateful for this gesture throughout his life, as he wanted to support his family living in difficult financial circumstances as soon as possible, and the hope of becoming an independent breadwinner encouraged him to carry out his task even more diligently than before.

Janovics graduated in 1894, and then contracted with the Miskolc Theatre. The mentality and reality of the rural theatre, the company of mostly self-taught actors, and the scarcity of technical and financial opportunities were important learning experiences for him. After a short detour in Dés, he returned to Budapest, then from 1896 for six years he became the actor, director, artistic director of the National Theatre in Kolozsvár, and director of the company.

The Farkas Street Theatre in Kolozsvár was the first theatre building in Hungary to operate continuously between 1821 and 1906. Janovics was enchanted by the city, he walked the pulsating, zigzagging streets, he became a Kolozsvarian in a matter of moments: "a hundred and forty years ago, Transylvania gave Hungarian acting to Pest [...], bloody and deep-rooted Hungarian acting will always remain as a noble tradition in Transylvania, to

⁴ Ed.: BALOGH, Gyöngyi: *Instead of a biography (Imaginary interview with Jenő Janovics)* = *Film-spirál*, 2002, Bp., volume 8, issue 30, 2.

give fresh strength, new thoughts, throbbing blood circulation, uplifting momentum, soaring talents to the Budapest stages”⁵. He found home in the city, he enrolled in the Hungarian – French and Philosophy Department of the Franz Joseph I University of Kolozsvár. In 1896, Dezső Megyeri was appointed as the theatre’s director, who greatly appreciated the diligence and talent of the barely 24-year-old Janovics, which brought him to appoint the young, almost beginner actor as a director after only a year in Kolozsvár. Following university years and a study trip to various foreign cities, Jenő Janovics moved up the theatre career ladder and under the leadership of József Bölöny, he advanced from director to artistic director at Farkas Street Theatre.

However, due to a change of directors at the Kolozsvár theatre once again, Janovics had to go, thus, between 1901 and 1905, he took up the position of director in the Theatre of Szeged, nevertheless, he longed to return to Kolozsvár.

Janovics was finally able to return home to Kolozsvár in 1905 and was managing the local company until 1933.⁶ He could also slowly start working on his taste reform programme: initially, in addition to the usual premieres, there were weekly opera performances and classical evenings, and a bi-weekly youth programme. In 1906, the crumbling, dilapidated Farkas Street Theatre was replaced by a modern, eclectic building constructed by Fellner and Helmer architectural firm, which met the expectations of the age, and housed the new National Theatre in Kolozsvár on Hunyadi Square. With the last performance of Farkas Street, which was the drama *Bánk bán* by József Katona, Janovics said goodbye to the previous years and the audience, he paid his respects to the past. It is characteristic to his personality, but it is also symbolic that at the end of the performance he stretched a piece from the stage board, took it to the new theatre and asked the architects to incorporate the old piece into the new stage,

According to the press criticism of the first ten years of the 1900s, during the directorship of Jenő Janovics, the classical and modern repertoire of the Hungarian theatre in Kolozsvár (from antique dramas, through Shakespeare to Moliere) exceeded that of the theatres of the capital. It was a matter close to his heart to acquaint the audience not only with the classical pieces, but also with the hidden treasures of Hungarian drama waiting to be discovered. One of the pioneering, yet highly successful ventures of the Kolozsvár National Theatre on Hunyadi Square was the Hungarian Drama History Series of the

⁵ DR. JANOVICS, Jenő: *The early years of Hungarian film in Transylvania* = *Filmkultúra*, 1 January 1936, 10–13; *Filmspirál*, Bp., 2002. volume 8, issue 30, 2, 70.

⁶ Janovics directs the company until 1930, and between 1930 and 1933 he was still the art director of the theatre, although he had less and less say in economic matters.

1911–1912 season, in the framework of which 29 largely unknown, unperformed Hungarian dramas were presented. Some of these were also staged with great success in the Hungarian Theatre of Budapest.⁷ *“The press received the initiative with doubt, since Janovics intended to start with the earliest written pieces, the ancient language and cumbersome structure of which could have been unenjoyable for contemporary audiences.”*⁸ In the end, Ferenc Herczeg⁹, Zsigmond Móricz¹⁰, Mihály Babits¹¹ and Dezső Kosztolányi¹² also mentioned the guest performance of the artists from Kolozsvár, and they praised the revolutionary act that inspired Janovics when he insisted on the revival of ancient Hungarian culture on the increasingly superficial stages of the capital, in a westernized society. In addition to the profession, the audience also enthusiastically received *“the relics scattered far away by oblivion”*.^{13,14} *“Janovics unquestionably proved himself: he was valued and respected by the profession, and his theatre unquestionably earned the title of the second national theatre in the country, in addition to the National Theatre of Budapest.”*¹⁵

Encouraged by the success of the drama history series among the audience and by its professional recognition, Janovics was planning to present two more series for the coming seasons. One was a series of nine antique dramas, and the other was the staging of fourteen Shakespeare dramas that were declared an impossible undertaking by the critics of the age. Both series, true to the drama history one, were also surrounded by well-deserved attention and appreciation. *“During his directorship, there were usually 4-5 charitable performances per year, but after the outbreak of the war, their number naturally jumped, despite the fact that the theatre had little revenue. [...] In his life Janovics as an institutional leader could never be accused of being driven by a desire for personal profit under any circumstances. Rather, we find examples to the*

⁷ ZÁGONI, Bálint: *Jenő Janovics, director of the first Transylvanian theatre* = ZAKARIÁS, Eszter (ed.): *Janovics Jenő 1872–1945*. Association of Kolozsvár Opera Friends, Cluj, 2015, 105–120.

⁸ ZAKARIÁS, Erzsébet: *Janovics, az erdélyi Hollywood megeremtője / Janovics, creatorul Hollywood-ului transilvan / The Creator of Transylvanian Hollywood*. Bucharest, Tracus Arte, 2014, 62.

⁹ HERCZEG, Ferenc: *About the guest performance of Kolozsvarians* = JANOVIĆ, Jenő: *The Hunyadi Square Theatre*. Korunk Association of Friends, Cluj, 2011, 201–202.

¹⁰ MÓRICZ, Zsigmond: *Omnia vincit amor* = *Theatre week*, Bp., 16 May 1912 = *Filmspirál*, 2002, Bp., volume 8, issue (30) 2, 94–95.

¹¹ BABITS, Mihály: *The Kolozsvarians (A kolozsváriak)* = *Nyugat*, Bp., volume 5, issue 10, 16 May 1912 = *Filmspirál*, Budapest, 2002, volume 8, issue (30) 2, 90–91.

¹² KOSZTOLÁNYI, Dezső: *Kolozsvarians (Kolozsváriak)*, Week, Bp., May 1912 = *Filmspirál*, Bp., 2002, volume 8, issue (30) 2, 92–93.

¹³ *The Hunyadi Square Theatre*. Edited by: József Kötő, György Kerekes. Korunk Association of Friends, Komp-Press Publisher, Cluj, 2001, 206.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 201–207.

¹⁵ ZAKARIÁS: *op. cit.* (2014), 64.

contrary. For noble purposes, but mainly for the cause of Hungarian acting in Transylvania, he was willing to sacrifice anything.”¹⁶

Light pieces were exiled from the repertoire of Hunyadi Square Theatre, the entertainment style was given a place in the New Summer Amphitheatre (Új Nyári Színpark) created specifically for this purpose, which was also the second stone theatre in Kolozsvár, and the construction and directorship of which was also undertaken by Janovics. “Since after a year of directorship, he was appointed as director of the National Theatre of Kolozsvár for another eight years by Apponyi, the Minister of Culture, Janovics decided to build the second new theatre in Kolozsvár, that is, to build a stone theatre as a summer theatre instead of the wooden, highly flammable Amphitheatre. The Korbuly Amphitheatre could actually only be used in the summer, when the citizens of Kolozsvár, walking among the shady trees of the Promenade, gladly sat down there for entertainment, watching a theatrical performance. But over time the plank structure became flammable and had to be constantly renovated. Instead of repairs, Janovics considered it reasonable to build a new building with a larger investment, although it was predictable that he could only rely on his own sources financially.”¹⁷

Hungarian film life began in Budapest, where shortly after the screening by the Lumiere brothers in Paris in 1895, the first Hungarian cinema, the short-lived Ikonográf (Iconographer) opened its doors on Andrásy Street in 1896. The first newsreels were shot in Budapest, and the writer Jenő Heltai christened the screening rooms as cinemas (“mozi”). However, while in Pest only Parisian films were made, under the leadership of Janovics, particularly Transylvanian production slowly started in Kolozsvár. He had already planned the reconstruction of the Amphitheatre so that it can also project moving images. For Janovics, film meant new means of expression even though initially it was not considered art; it was merely seen as a popular, inexpensive pastime. Unlike his contemporaries, however, Janovics did not regard film as an enemy. “Theatre and cinema: two new enemies” – was written even in 1915 after the screening of the film *Bánk bán*, “two separate arts, with different content and different means. Film is reality, life is photography. Drama has always been more”, not sparing criticism.¹⁸ Instead of the death of theatre, he saw new opportunity in it, and learnt to incorporate moving image elements into his plays: in 1913, he used a motion picture in one of the scenes in Imre Madách’s drama, *Az ember tragédiája* [The Tragedy of Human].¹⁹ “Heaven, for example,

¹⁶ Ibid., 72.

¹⁷ Ibid., 52–56.

¹⁸ ZOLNAY, Béla: *Bánk bán in film* = *Nyugat*, 1915/9., 504–505.

¹⁹ ZÁGONI: *op. cit.* (2011).

was conveyed by »projected, retreating, soft, white clouds bathed in the sun, and then, according to the change of mood, wildly galloping black clouds slicing through the zigzags of lightning«, and in the Egyptian scene, »exhausted slaves« appeared in the background. Janovics believed that film was a factor accompanying and helping on-stage acting, providing background to it.”²⁰

During the search for a path for Hungarian film production, most producers saw the secret of guaranteed success in copying the twists and turns of Western films. But Janovics did not envision his film business based on seemingly improvised, bizarre stories; he was convinced that high-quality production could only be created on the basis of proven, accepted literary materials.²¹ “While in the first years in Pest they mostly lived from Parisian films, then showed news-type films about current events, in Kolozsvár the production of particularly Transylvanian films soon began, which would regularly and in large numbers display the masterpieces of Hungarian literature on screen” – writes Janovics in a memoir.²²

Thus, in the initial experimental stage of movies for the cinema, Janovics is convinced that in contrast to the experience in Budapest, it is much safer and more cost-effective to film an adaptation of a mainly nationally based play than inventing and filming an unknown story. “In the time of silent movies, films made in Transylvania were Hungarian in their character, theme, national aspects and style.”²³

His first attempt was an adaptation of Ferenc Csepreghy’s *Sárga csikó* [Yellow Foal]. The film was realized with technical help from Pathé, as the renowned French film producer wanted to expand their international collection with a film with Hungarian national theme, thus gladly accepted Janovics’s suggestion to film the well-known folk play.²⁴ The French sent one of their best directors, Felix Vanyl to Kolozsvár, along with two cameramen, and also undertook to distribute and market the film abroad. Janovics had to provide the appropriate cast during filming, set the scenes and costumes, as well as assume the technical costs of the film. Upon arrival, the French explored the area, and although there was no film studio, they shot most of the scenes outdoors, in the open air. Since Vanyl did not speak Hungarian, Janovics inter-

²⁰ ZÁGONI: *op. cit.* (2015), 105–120.

²¹ MAGYAR, Bálint: *History of the Hungarian silent film*. Palatinus, Budapest, 2003, 107.

²² *The Hunyadi Square Theatre*. Edited by: József Kötő, György Kerekes. Korunk Association of Friends, Komp-Press Publisher, Cluj, 2001.

²³ DR. JANOVICS, Jenő: *The early years of Hungarian film in Transylvania = Filmkultúra*, 1 January 1936, 10–13.

²⁴ JORDÁKY, Lajos: *History of making silent films in Transylvania (1903–1930)*. Kriterion Publishing House, Bucharest, 1980, 38.

preted the stage director's instructions to the actors, using his excellent French knowledge. This proved to be a grateful task also because it allowed Janovics to familiarize himself with the art of filmmaking from up close. Thanks to Janovics's concept of drawing from classical Hungarian pieces – plen-air recordings of village life, pictures depicting our folk traditions – such film materials were made in Kolozsvár that in value and character are almost equivalent to documentaries.²⁵ Enabled by the wide distribution of Pathé and the success of the film, Janovics earned significant revenue – “137 copies had to be made for the five parts of the world, it was shown with great success even in Japan, and after the war the Parisian company paid a significant amount of royalty from there as well”²⁶, this success made it possible for Janovics to continue pursuing his filmmaking plans and provide the technical conditions for further production.

After developing the necessary infrastructure, he won over renowned cameramen and actors from Budapest for the theatre in Kolozsvár. Among others, Mari Jászai and Lujza Blaha also appeared before camera, this is how he sought to compensate for the initial lag behind Western film production in terms of advanced technical achievements. Besides cameramen and actors, Janovics also invited young, talented directors who travelled Europe. “The young and restless Korda was daydreaming about a job in journalism providing some modest livelihood at the cold marble table of the New York Café in Pest when I put him on a train and took him to Kolozsvár to be a film director for a fix annual salary of 18,000 coronas (Kronen)”²⁷. Sándor Korda (Alexander Korda) and Mihály Kertész (Michael Curtiz) also received their first serious film requests from Janovics before they could have guessed that they would become celebrated stars of Hollywood and England in a short while. Márton Garas, another prominent figure of the heroic age of Hungarian silent film production, who later directed successful films in Germany as well, also started his film career in Kolozsvár. “Jenő Janovics was able to own up everything he learnt from the French in the films he directed or in those produced under his direction, and in his movies, he not only did not show provincial backwardness, but on the contrary, in certain ways he even surpassed that knowledge”.²⁸

The studio truly began to thrive even though his cooperation ceased with Pathé production company for political reasons. In the very same year Janovics

²⁵ ZÁGONI: *op. cit.* (2011).

²⁶ DR. JANOVICS: *op. cit.* (2002), 74.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 75.

²⁸ HEVESSY, Iván: *Additions to the history of Hungarian silent film...* = *Filmkultúra*, October 1961, 134–139.; *Filmspirál*, Budapest, 2002, volume 8, issue 30, 2., 77.

Studio was established, and its films were released by the Budapest-based Projectograph. Their mutual enterprise ran under the name of Proja production company. *“Proja films were very well received in Austria as well, and the fact that the new Hungarian brand will soon be popular all over the world is proven by the fact that Union film company from Berlin has already acquired a monopoly on Proja films throughout Germany.”*²⁹ Around the middle of the first world war, due to the war-induced embargo on foreign films, demand for Hungarian films increased significantly; foreign films and later overseas ones were in a strong competitive position for other national film cultures as well.³⁰ The wealth of Jenő Janovics increased in direct proportion to his success in films: he had tenements across the country, opened cinemas, rose to become one of the city's wealthiest virilists. He also continuously worked on modernizing his studio: atelier, equipped with technical devices that meet the expectations of the age.³¹ In 1916 he founded Corvin Film Studio, named after the pride of Kolozsvár, Matyas Corvin, then after selling it a year later to Sándor Korda and Miklós Pásztor M., he continued producing films under the emblem of Transsylvania Film.

A slightly exaggerated report by Cinema Week in 1916 paints an interesting picture of the vivid cinematic life in the Szamos-shore studio and in the nearby neighbouring village of Szászfenes, renamed as 'Cinema Village': *“The theatre and its surroundings are a real movie district, everything revolves there around cinema, [...] it is now considered natural that all famous actors are in Kolozsvár this summer and that if you do not have a match to light your cigarette, Gyula Csontos will give you light. In a few months, Szászfenes became a living model of anachronism. On the roads around the old castle, in Rákóczi Garden, the cars of Corvin factory [...] are puffing away. [...] Szászfenes is a kaleidoscope, which changes into something else in the blink of an eye. We do not exaggerate to say that there are no more than two or three other film factories in the world which are more comfortable, a more perfect place for outdoor shots than the Transylvanian Szászfenes”*.³²

More than fifty feature films were made in Janovics's studio in six years, almost one tenth of our total Hungarian silent film production. However, the

²⁹ Without a title. Cinema week, 1915/16. Quoted: *The history of film making in Kolozsvár in pictures from 1913 to 1920*. Ed. BALOGH, Gyöngyi, ZÁGONI, Bálint, Filmtett Association, Hungarian National Film Archives, Cluj, 2009, 20.

³⁰ KOLLARIK, Tamás – VINCZE, Zsuzsanna: *Issues of support for national film production in Europe* = KOLLARIK, Tamás – VARGA, Balázs: *Motion picture and legislation. Institutional and regulatory issues in film production*. Art and Methodology Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Arts, Bp., 2018, 27.

³¹ DULÓ, Károly: *The Janovics script. Work diary*. Bp., Gondolat, 2020, 184.

³² Cinema week, 2 July 1916, volume 2, issue 27.

merit of the studio director is not necessarily measured by the number of films produced: unlike his contemporaries, he not only tried to film novels and dramas which guarantee box-office success, but also experimented with new film genres in his workshop. The first Hungarian ballad adaptation, János Arany's *Tetemrehiadás* (*Ordeal of the Bier*) was filmed in Kolozsvár in 1915. Janovics also adopted five poems by Petőfi to film, but a movie was also made from Anna Szederkényi's symbolic drama *Lanterna Magica*, and the first Hungarian historical drama adaptation, *Bánk bán*, was also filmed in the studio by the river Szamos. Unfortunately, these films, like the largest proportion of the films from Kolozsvár, no longer exist today.

With the outbreak of the first world war, as the Amphitheatre closed its gates, Janovics planned to present a series of performances at Hunyadi Square Theatre again. However, due to the chaos, confusion and uncertainty caused by the war, instead of Moliere's comedies, he found it better to nurture the idea of national consciousness in the hearts of Hungarian people. Thus, for a long time, only plays by Hungarian authors were staged in Kolozsvár. In the following seasons, to alleviate the increasing losses, Janovics used the proceeds of the theatrical performances to aid deprived families and help them to acquire the means necessary for daily living.³³ Only slowly, by the start of the 1917 season, did the order and hustle and bustle previously seen in theatrical life return. This time, Janovics wanted to delight the audience with a powerful musical repertoire. It is only natural that the Hungarian aspect also played a key role in this series: the formation and development of the history of Hungarian music from the beginning to the contemporary works of the time. *"In this season, the theatre directed 84 opera performances. This is a number the Kolozsvár Theatre has never achieved in 150 years. There were two opera performances each week regularly, and the audience always filled the theatre to the last seat."*³⁴ Everything changed, though, from 1918. After the Romanian army invaded Transylvania, part of Hungary, the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy, Janovics was subjected to more and more harassment by the new authorities.

Fleeing from arrest, for a few weeks Janovics went into the local neurology institute under the supervision of Professor Lechner, where he was busy writing his Shakespeare study.³⁵ From 1919, the bleeding out of the National Theatre of Kolozsvár slowly began. In the absence of Janovics, the deputy director took over the theatre, then, when Janovics was acquitted, he returned to operate

³³ *The Hunyadi Square Theatre*. Ed.: József Kötő, György Kerekes. Korunk Association of Friends, Komp-Press Publisher, Cluj, 2001, 308–312.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 320.

³⁵ <https://fidelio.hu/szinhaz/cenzura-zaklatasok-vallatasok-janovics-jeno-es-a-kolozsvari-nemzeti-szinhaz-156979.html> (accessed on 3 January 2020).

his theatre at the expense of his own funds and in spite of difficult circumstances. He continued to pay full salaries to the 250 actors at the National Theatre in Kolozsvár, and also undertook to support retired actors.³⁶ The theatre was nationalized in the same year, and the company moved from Hunyadi Square to the Amphitheatre, where it was able to operate in rather harsh conditions; they also had to rent their own equipment. Evening performances were often cancelled by the censor on the day, or the repertoire was modified. Janovics tried to make up for the losses of the theatre with income from the remaining cinemas, without success. *“Cinema revenues are more and more consumed by the theatre every day, so that it can no longer fulfil its own obligations so much that it is constantly stumbling on the slopes of bankruptcy.”* – he writes in 1923 to an acquaintance.³⁷ His soul and fortune were slowly grinded by this uncertainty and unpredictability, which led to the sad decision by the 1930's to pass on the theatre's leadership to the Drama Support Association (Színpártoló Egyesület), then in 1933, he finally resigned from the institution.

However, due to the continuous and rapid development of technology, sound film gained ground worldwide in the 1930s. Janovics, accustomed to silent films, out of practice and struggling financially, had to compete again. As he learnt to speak Romanian and sought to maintain a good relationship with the local government, in the second half of the 1930s he made nature films for the Romanian state. Secretly and in parallel, with no small danger, he also undertook to use these shooting days to capture the hidden treasures of Transylvania on behalf of the Hungarian Ministry of Culture. At the same time, he was very critical about film production in Budapest in the 1930s, he was not pleased with the choice of topic or the approach: *“we have to state objectively that in Hungary no Hungarian films are made today, but only films produced in Hungary”*.³⁸ His life was more and more in danger because of the Jewish laws. In 1944, German troops occupied Kolozsvár, but he managed to escape to Budapest and hide in Pest until the end of the war. During his hiding in the capital, he was deprived of his only secure source of income, the Art Cinema, which he had run for three decades.³⁹ He returned to Kolozsvár in the same year and reorganized the Summer Amphitheatre company. According to the plans, the theatre would have started again in 1945 with *Bánk bán*, the play with which he started thanks to its successful filming, but there was no time left for that, Jenő Janovics passed away on the morning of the performance.

³⁶ ZÁGONI, Bálint: *op. cit.* (2015), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ma-iDOMjO3g>

³⁷ Library of the Hungarian National Film Archives KÉ 405/6.

³⁸ JANOVICS: *op. cit.* (2002), 72.

³⁹ ZÁGONI: *op. cit.* (2015), 105–120.

The birthplace of one of the greatest figures of Hungarian culture is found in Ukraine, and the major city of its life is now part of Romania. Among two of his young directors, in Sándor Korda we honour the creator of English film production, while the other, Mihály Kertész, directed the world's perhaps best-known Oscar-winner film in Hollywood, Casablanca. His book *Directions of Hungarian Drama Writing*, published in 1907, was also translated into French and used as a textbook at the University of Prague. His deeds and his memory and tradition justify his words: “Now it is perhaps not immodest to state that my Transylvanian film ideas and plans were significant and correct path-finding both from Hungarian and international point of view.”⁴⁰

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⁴⁰ JANOVICS: *op. cit.* (2002), 2.

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Ákos Windhager

The Musical Memory of Trianon in the Interwar Period

Abstract

Following the break-up of Hungary after WWI, Hungarian composers had to overcome the difficulty of how to represent the national grief in a universal language. As an immediate reaction to the shock, *Hiszekegy* [National Credo] came into being together with numerous minor compositions. It could be played as a part of national music life but it could not be interpreted abroad. Dohnányi also had to face this fact when he could not perform the cantata with the same title and lyrics in the USA. It was customary to represent a tragedy through musical symbols or programmes but outside the Hungarian culture, the audience would not have understood them. The 'task' was solved by Bartók, Kodály and Dohnányi, whose musical pieces demonstrating modern Hungarian music were followed by major international success. Bartók's *Táncszvit* [Dance Suite] is a dramatic Central European landscape, and the *Cantata profana* can be interpreted as an art work revelling in the utopic ode of Central European nations' brotherhood. Dohnányi's *Ruralia Hungarica* is a programme-suite which is an unequivocal reference to the Hungarian peasant culture (with folk song citations), its common grief and vigour. Kodály's *Psalmus Hungaricus* placed the individual and national calamities in a biblical context and by doing so made it universally understandable. However, there is a tragedy that can be linked to the *Psalmus*, as after its premiere in Temesvár [recently: Timisoara in Romania], the Romanian government drove the conductor to suicide.

KEYWORDS: mythical and historical memory, cultural remembrance, Dohnányi, Bartók, Kodály, peasant songs

Cultural Memory Research in Classical Music Literature

The presence of historical events in classical music can be discovered by researching mythical, historical as well as collective and cultural memory. In mythical memory, the event becomes identical in both the festivals and the everyday life of the community. (For Jan Assmann, this is what characterizes "hot society".)¹ In historical memory, the given event is considered a closed

¹ ASSMANN, Jan: *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization. Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011, 8.

event of the past, which has no effect on the behaviour of the current society. (For Assmann, this is what characterizes “cold society”).² In the traditional sense, collective memory is primarily verbal and is recorded in both folk music and pop music in the case of 20th century events.³ Cultural memory, which combines mythical, collective and material memory, is primarily written and can be detected in classical music literature.⁴ The aim of this study is to show that in the event of strong emotional shocks, it is often mythical memory that appears – while the institution quickly builds around it – and it is taken over by both collective and cultural memory. This latter, however, is also influenced by historical memory.

By investigating the marks left behind by historical events in music, this study attaches importance to the pieces that create a programme-music reading. According to the most outstanding author and theoretical writer of programme music, Franz Liszt, programme music provides a narrative in addition to music so it can be understood.⁵ However, this narrative does not form the main events in the piece. In contrast, researchers of cultural memory interpret the pieces as they relate to certain events, based on their intention, temporality and reception.⁶ In the case of an inferable intention, the first aspect is text and source research. The Great War works are illustrative examples: a conscious declaration of cultural memory can be traced in open programmes (The first movement of *The Planets* orchestral suite by Gustav Holst is “The Mars, Bringer of War”, 1916), in titles (*Symphony No.3 - 'Sinfonia Brevis de bello Gallico'* by Vincent d'Indy, 1918), subtitles (*Symphony No. 4* by Carl Nielsen also known as “*The Inextinguishable*”, 1916), or dedication (*Morning Heroes* by Arthur Bliss,

² Ibid.

³ See: BERRY, Jason: *African Cultural Memory in New Orleans Music = Black Music Research Journal*, 1988, Vol. 8, No. 1 (1988), 3–12. BAKER, Sarah – HUBER, Alison: *Locating the canon in Tamworth: historical narratives, cultural memory and Australia's 'Country Music Capital'* = *Popular Music*, May 2013, Vol. 32, No. 2 (May 2013), 223–240.

⁴ ASSMANN: *op. cit.* (2011), 6.

⁵ “The program asks only acknowledgement for the possibility of precise definition of the psychological moment which prompts the composer to create his work and of the thought to which he gives outward form. If it is on the hand childish, idle, sometimes even mistaken, to outline programs after the event, and thus to dispel the magic, to profane the feeling, and to tear to pieces with words the soul's most delicate web, in an attempt to explain the feeling of an instrumental poem which took this shape precisely because its content could not be expressed in words, images, and ideas; so on the other hand the master is also master of his work and can create it under the influence of definite impressions which he wishesto bring to full and complete realization in the listener.” LISZT, Franz: *From Berlioz and His “Harold” Symphony*. Transl. by STRUNK, Oliver = *Strunk's Source to Readings in Music History*, vol. 6., *The Nineteenth Century*. Ed. SOLIE, Ruth, Norton, New York, 1950, 846–873, 863.

⁶ For a detailed methodology see: GRANT, Peter – HANNA, Emma: *Music and Remembrance: Britain and the First World War = Remembering the First World War*. Ed. by. ZIINO, Bart, Routledge, London, 2015, 110–126, 111.

its dedication: “To the Memory of my brother Francis Kennard Bliss and all other Comrades killed in battle”, 1930). The genre interpretation of the works written in the era clearly shows temporal coincidence (e.g. *Requiem* by Emanuel Moór, 1916). In the end, reception research demonstrates when certain works become part of the collective memory. A typical case from a different period is the example of *Missa in Angustiis* written by Joseph Haydn in 1798, at the time of the Napoleonic Wars. It was performed again in 1800, in honour of Horatio Nelson, and from then on it has been remembered as the *Lord Nelson Mass*.⁷ The historical aspects of the mass have taken root despite the fact that they refer to an occasional relationship and that Haydn had not even known about the admiral's victory at the Battle of Nile at the time of the composition.

This study is about the musical representation of the national shock caused by the loss of Hungarian territories after WWI. Primarily, the subject does not have any comparable international examples. However, musical reflection on national tragedies has been researched by many and the memory music of WWI, which is close to the chosen topic in time, also has its own literature.⁸ I will provide examples of micro-historical approaches that follow institutional, generative and personal fate in order to anticipate the interpretational questions and difficulties of the Hungarian material. Kate Kennedy studies works that came into being and reflect on the Great War from the perspective of how the British musical institution system works. She gives a comprehensive, generative analysis of the era.⁹ She follows the works of the English composer, Arthur Bliss¹⁰ and provides a sociological description – albeit to support the interpretations. Through Bliss and other authors' war-pieces (like the *Morning Heroes* by Bliss), she points out the expectations from the journalists and – supposed – audience of the time.¹¹ Her examples are primarily about the way contemporary collective memory made cultural life productive. The aforementioned Grant and Hanna's study offers a music literature panorama, which follows up the way the British memory of war turns the mythical into the historical. They relate to the works of Bliss too, as well as his contemporaries'

⁷ CRAIG, D. Millar: *When Haydn Met Nelson = The Musical Times*, Jun., 1939, Vol. 80, No. 1156 (June 1939), 416–417.; LEBLANC, Jean-Marc: *Franz Joseph Haydn (1732–1809) La Nelsonmesse = Musurgia*, 1998, Vol. 5, No. 3/4, Dossiers d'analyse (1998), 125–139., 128.

⁸ The topic is similar, but the analytical aspects are different in: ALAJAJI, Sylvia A.: *Exilic Becomings: Post-Genocide Armenian Music in Lebanon = Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 57, No. 2 (Spring/Summer 2013), 236–260.

⁹ KENNEDY, Kate: 'A music of grief': classical music and the First World War = *Royal Institute of International Affairs*, March 2014, Vol. 90, No. 2, The Great War (March 2014), 379–395.

¹⁰ Sir Arthur Edward Drummond Bliss (1891–1975) was an English composer and conductor.

¹¹ KENNEDY: *op. cit.* (2014), 383.

memory music after WWI.¹² There is special emphasis on the WWI memory wave after 1945, which was uncommon in other parts of Europe and inspired later masterpieces such as Britten's *War Requiem*.¹³

In one of the micro-historical approaches, Laura Watson studies the effect of intensive nationalism at the time of the war in Paul Dukas' works.¹⁴ The composer originally planned a patriotic symphony, which eventually became the plan for a victory celebration. For him, the memory of the mythic defeat in the French-Prussian war was connected to the direct experience of the Great War. Carlo Caballero presents a similar issue in regard to Gabriel Faure's war era works.¹⁵ He attempts to draw a fine line between patriotism and nationalism, during which he contrasts the ideological-political identity and the non-political but institutionalized identity provided by the memory community. Marianne Betz compared the war-related claims and works by George Chadwick.¹⁶ Chadwick continuously fought to prevent memory from becoming mythical due to his contemporaries' accounts.

The literature mentioned, therefore, demonstrates that mythical, historical, collective and cultural memories can be present together and even at the same time. In the case of Hungarian examples, those mentioned will be keywords.

Trianon

After signing the Treaty of Trianon on 4 June 1920 (in the Grand Trianon Palace, in Versailles, France) following its defeat in WWI, the Kingdom of Hungary lost two thirds of its historical territory, over half of its population, and regained its independence lost *de facto* in 1540 and *de jure* in 1687. The decision was a veritable shock to Hungarian society on both sides of the new frontiers. From the first third of the 19th century, the Hungarian political and cultural elite had feared that the Hungarian state, which was in a way under Austrian control, would be torn apart from within by the various ethnicities (Romanians, Slovaks, Serbs and Croats) initially demanding territorial autonomy, and then, separation. This sense of danger can be perceived in the vision of the

¹² GRANT-HANNA: *op. cit.*, 115.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 118.

¹⁴ WATSON, Laura: *Dukas' 'Victory': a cultural and political reading of a post-WWI manuscript* = *The Musical Times*, Vol. 151, No. 1911 (summer, 2010), 53-70.

¹⁵ CABALLERO, Carlo: *Patriotism or Nationalism? Faure and the Great War* = *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 52, No. 3 (autumn, 1999), 593-625.

¹⁶ BETZ, Marianne: *"This war is too dreadful to write about": Composer George Whitefield Chadwick's Reactions to World War I.* = *American Music*, Vol. 34, No. 4, Music and the Great War (Winter 2016), 447-473.

death of the nation, which defines the narrative of the Hungarian anthem, the *Himnusz* (1823), and the second national anthem, the Szózat ([Appeal], 1836). After 1867, the Hungarian political elite took over the French concept of the nation state and began introducing measures to modernise the country along with Hungarianization, but at the same time, they granted a wide-ranging collective, cultural and religious autonomy to the minorities. Despite these concessions, the political leadership of these minorities first turned to Austria to help them against Hungary, and later sought international supporters, for example the Serb and the Romanian Kingdom, and indeed, France.¹⁷ During the world war years, this longing for separation intensified and the Entente's promises were supportive of it. At the peace negotiations, the Entente powers declared the principle of national self-determination and asserted their own political interests, which led to the division of the Kingdom of Hungary.¹⁸

The new borders meant not only the end of centuries-old social, economic and cultural coexistence but also that millions of Hungarians found themselves no longer living in their motherland but in a foreign country.¹⁹ The new states (Czechoslovakia, Romania and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) provided the Hungarian people with only a very small fraction of the collective ethnic rights they themselves had found insufficient before this. Between the two world wars, the Hungarian state propagated territorial revision. While the state's aim was the restoration of the pre-WW I borders through the tools of propaganda, the political elite considered a revision along ethnic principles to be realistic. The tragic consequences of the partial re-annexations between 1938 and 1941 (entering WW II. in an alliance with the Third Reich, the Shoah and the Hungarian genocide) proved that territorial changes lacked rationale. During the communist dictatorships, all collective rights were abolished de facto. Following the political transition and especially by joining the European Union, the situation of minority groups improved as compared to before, but it was not solved satisfactorily. It is not in the European Union's competence to ensure the collective rights of ethnic minorities.²⁰

¹⁷ CASE, Holly: *The Strange Politics of Federative Ideas in East-Central Europe = The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 85, No. 4, New Directions in Legal and Constitutional History (December 2013), 833-866, 841. For more details see: the refusal of the Minority Safepack Initiative on 14 January, 2021. C (2021) 171 final.

¹⁸ HALÁSZ-SZABÓ, Miklós: *Trianon: Instead of the principle on self-determination of nations, the victorious great powers re-drew borders according to their geopolitical interests – Interview with historian Balázs Ablonczy = Hungary Today*, 03. 06. 2020. Available: <https://hungarytoday.hu/trianon-treaty-historian-ablonczy-interview-hungary-ww1/>

¹⁹ SARNYAI, Gábor: *The Treaty of Trianon: Railroad Hungary = Hungary Today*, 08. 04. 2019.

²⁰ REISSER, Wesley J.: *Self-Determination and the Difficulty of Creating Nation-States: The Transylvania Case = Geographical Review*, Apr., 2009, Vol. 99, No. 2 (April 2009), 231-247., 238.

Hungary was only able to slowly recover from the economic and social insolvency after 1920. Cultural life became single-centred due to the lack of the cultural centres that had formed part of the country before (Pozsony [Pressburg / Bratislava], Szabadka [Subotica], Kolozsvár [Cluj], Nagyvárad [Oradea], Temesvár [Timisoara]). The formerly Hungarian population considered Trianon a national tragedy. It is peculiar of the trauma that there is no monument that would commemorate the internationally guaranteed independence that these people gained through the peace treaty. The scholarly interpretation of the event began after 1990, and in many cases, against the mythization of collective memory.²¹ In the sphere of collective memory, the consequences of the peace are yet to be processed and several myths endure in regard to it. The mythic memory has been exploited time and time again by the political powers of the region (e.g. Romanian, Slovakian, Serbian, Ukrainian, Hungarian), and by doing so, they hinder the amelioration of the minority situation.

The objective research, an internationally interactive process, has provided new opportunities for a renewed discussion of the situation. For a long time, even the scholarly discourse that deals with the region had seen the historical injury to the Hungarians in a fundamentally different light.²² Typically, the French historian, Cathrine Horel, who knows the region and the era, emphasizes the historical approach through which the social harmony of the region, even despite its traumatic past, could be created. It was Mike Cornwall, who first pointed out that between 1920 and 1938 the British political elite, although haphazardly, repeatedly expressed positive comments on the grievances of Hungary. In his conclusion, however, he says: "It is worth emphasizing, especially in this centenary year of Trianon, that even friends of Hungary like Lord Bryce or Walter Elliott were not advocating a crusade to overturn the new frontiers. Theirs was a pragmatic approach: to complain about Trianon Hungary, but largely to accept it despite its imperfections: there could be no restoration of greater Hungary."²³ More recently, the English historian, Norman Stone's *Hungary: A Short History* approached the era with academic professionalism, as well as with clarity and profound empathy acceptable even for the international audience.²⁴ The critic summarizes the message of the book: "Upon finishing this book, the reader is left with a sense that whatever contemporary problems Hungary faces, she has seen worse, and survived. Perhaps hope

²¹ ABLONCZY, Balázs: *Az ismeretlen Trianon* [The Unknown Trianon]. Bp., Jaffa Press, 2020.

²² See: HOREL, Cathrine: *L'amiral Horthy, régent de Hongrie*. Paris, Perrin, 2014.

²³ CORNWALL, Mark: *The Flickering Lighthouse: Rethinking the British. Judgement on Trianon = Hungarian Historical Review* 9, No. 1 (2020), 3-25., 22.

²⁴ STONE, Norman: *Hungary, A Short History*. London, Profile Books, 2019.

should not be such an alien feature in Hungarian history after all.”²⁵ This essay interprets musical works written between 1920 and 1931, and points out the way in which the composers reflected on the Trianon-myth.

The Response of Professional Music to the Trianon-trauma

*“The heroic musical tradition would not be sufficient to express this war [...] there would have to be a music of grief, too.”*²⁶

The miracle of Hungarian music history is that not too long after Trianon three masterpieces were written presenting the vitality of the mourning nation in a contemporary language, using universal symbols: Zoltán Kodály’s *Psalmus Hungaricus* (1923), Béla Bartók’s *Táncszvit* ([Dance Suite] 1923) and Ernő Dohnányi’s *Ruralia hungarica* (1923–1924). The three pieces confirmed the significance of Hungarian music culture to the outside world, and at the same time, they set the high standard which the audience could expect from any cultural memory composition. The fact that the music of Kodály, Bartók and Dohnányi became the standard is another miracle of Hungarian music history. All three of them participated in the work of the Music Directory in 1919, during the period of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. Moreover, Kodály and Dohnányi even undertook managerial posts at the Academy of Music. The amendments of 1919 were annulled by Article 1 of 1920. Dohnányi could have kept his teaching position but until his appointment as director in 1927, he did not teach.²⁷ There was a disciplinary investigation against Kodály because of his (actual or suspected) cooperation with the communist regime. Consequently, he did not teach for a year and a half.²⁸ The maturity of Hungarian music culture in the interwar period is therefore demonstrated by the fact that by 1924, three politically opposed composers had become pre-dominant thanks to their creative achievements. The third miracle of cultural history follows from the aforementioned two: Hungarian music culture managed

²⁵ SNEDDON, Tom: “Hungarian history, like Irish history, can seem at first glance a distinctly unconstructive succession of defeats and missed chances, interspersed with all-too-brief golden ages.” *Norman Stone’s Hungary: A Short History* = *Hungarian Literature Online* (hlo.hu), 22nd February, 2019. Available: <https://hlo.hu/review/hungary-a-short-history.html>

²⁶ HYNES, Samuel: *A war imagined: the First World War and English culture*. London, Bodley Head, 1990, 37–38.

²⁷ VÁZSONYI, Bálint: *Dohnányi Ernő*. Bp., Zeneműkiadó, 1971, 93–102.

²⁸ CSÓNKA, Laura: *Kodály Zoltán fegyelmi ügye* [*Zoltán Kodály’s Disciplinary Proceedings*] = *Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár* [National Archives of Hungary], 7 August 2017, https://mnl.gov.hu/mnl/ol/hirek/kodaly_zoltan_fegyelmiugye

to endorse the expectation of a professional standard against governmental revisionism. This is mostly perceptible through the fact that compositions openly addressing the Trianon trauma were only rarely accepted in the philharmonic nights after 1923. Yet the government was still interested in the construction of the institutionalised myth of Trianon-victimisation, and the aforementioned composers wrote their pieces to create the historical memory.

The Treaty of Trianon shocked all of the participants mentioned. Béla Bartók decided not to collect folk songs anymore; Pressburg²⁹, born Ernő Dohnányi did not conduct in the town of his birth after the European tour of the Philharmonic Society, and Zoltán Kodály, who was keen on French culture, mocked Napoleon and the French army in *Háry János* ([The soldiers János Háry's adventure], 1926). The conservative orientated Viktor Papp, who analysed music events on a regular basis, reviewed the topic in 1923: "These are the best wines of our splendid and rich musical harvest: *A vajda tornya* [Iwa's Tower] (Ernő Dohnányi), the *Farsangi lakodalmom* [Carnival Wedding] (Ede Poldini)³⁰ and the *Háry János* (Zoltán Kodály) were born in our opera literature; while in our symphonic music, the *Helikon szvit* [Helicon Suite] (Árpád Szendy)³¹, the *Psalmus Hungaricus* (Zoltán Kodály), the *Vita Nuova* (Jenő Hubay)³² and the *Ruralia hungarica* (Ernő Dohnányi) were composed. These seven masterpieces are absolute Hungarian values worldwide, they are exuberant and grandiose works of the Hungarian genius to be talked about by the general music history. Five of these seven opuses have already gone round or are still going round the world."³³

This study presents those pieces in which the authors gave voice to the trauma in a concrete or symbolic way. There are separate sections studying Béla Szabados's *Hiszekegy* [National Credo] anthem (1920), Emil Ábrányi's opera, *A vak katona* [The blind warrior] (1923) and his symphonic poem, *Trianon* (1929), Ernő Dohnányi's *Hiszekegy* ([National Credo], 1920), *Ünnepi nyitány* ([Festive overture], 1923) and *Ruralia hungarica* and discusses the role of Bartók's *Magyar képek* [Hungarian Pictures] (1931) and Kodály's *Psalmus* in

²⁹ Pressburg is now called Bratislava. The city was the capital of the Hungarian Kingdom between 1540 and 1848 (it was called: Pozsony), and it has been the capital of Slovakia since 1919. The city had a long musical tradition.

³⁰ Ede Poldini (1869–1957) was a Hungarian composer of the early modern period. Famous in Hungary for writing many operas, he became internationally famous when Fritz Kreisler transcribed his piano piece "La poupée valsante" for the violin.

³¹ Árpád Szendy (1863–1922) in Budapest) was a Hungarian pianist, composer and teacher.

³² Jenő Hubay (1858–1937) was a Hungarian violinist, composer, music teacher and the director of the Hungarian Royal Music Academy.

³³ PAPP, Viktor: *Klebelsberg Kunó gróf és a magyar zenekultúra* [Count Klebelsberg Kunó and the Hungarian Music Culture] = *Muzsika*, 1929, (6–7.), 3–6., 3.

the subject.³⁴ Because of the limited wordage, this paper will forego the discussion of shorter musical approaches (songs, marches and orchestral pieces), the popular operettas and masses, as well as pieces written after 1945. For the same reason, it cannot deal with the comparison of compositions representing national identity by the Czech Bohuslav Martinů, the Moravian Leoš Janáček, the Slovakian Vítězslav Novák and Eugen Suchoň nor as the Romanian George Enescu.

The National Credo

The cult of Trianon victimisation, which was controlled, but in most cases restricted by the Hungarian government, flourished only after 1928 (for example, in spectacular political memorials), however, it had already appeared in music in the 1920–1921 season and faded by 1923. In 1920 The Hungarian Territorial Integrity League launched a tender to set the winning anthem of that autumn (*Hiszekegy* [National Credo] by Elemérné Papp-Váry)³⁵ to music. According to the sources, over three hundred compositions were submitted to the tender.³⁶ The three-member-jury: conductor István Kerner³⁷, and composers Hans Koessler³⁸ and Ödön Mihalovich³⁹ chose those ten pieces they deemed most suitable to be counterparts of the Hungarian Anthem and the *Szózat* [Appeal]. The successful entries were first performed on piano by Imre Palló⁴⁰, then by the choir of the Opera House on 21 May 1921.⁴¹ Eventually, the political, administrative and cultural leaders present at the Academy of Music chose

³⁴ The scores' viewing was made possible by: The Institute of Hungarian Musicology's Hungarian Music Archive of the 20–21st centuries, The Library of Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music and the National Széchenyi Library.

³⁵ Papp-Váry Elemérné [Mrs. Elemér Papp-Váry], Szeréna Sziklay (1881–1923) was a dilettante lyricist. She published her volumes of poetry during the Great War. The first verse of her *Hiszekegy* (Credo) was the political "anthem" in the interwar years.

³⁶ GAÁL Endre: *Emlékezés Szabados Bélára* [Remembering Béla Szabados] = *A Zene*, 1941, (3), 38–40, 39.

³⁷ István Kerner (1867–1929) was a prominent Hungarian conductor, former Director of the Hungarian opera and the Budapest Philharmonic Society.

³⁸ Hans von Koessler (1853–1926) was a German composer, conductor and music teacher. He worked for 26 years at the Hungarian Royal Music Academy. His students became some of the best Hungarian composers of the time: Zoltán Kodály, Béla Bartók, Ernő Dohnányi.

³⁹ Ödön Mihalovich (1842–1929) was a Hungarian composer and music educator. While his works are thoroughly Wagnerian in style, he was supportive of Hungarian nationalism and encouraged composers such as Béla Bartók, Zoltán Kodály and Ernő Dohnányi.

⁴⁰ Imre Palló (1891–1978) was a Hungarian baritone. He created leading roles in both *Háry János* and *Székelyfőnök* by Kodály and sang in Bartók's *Cantata profana* under Ernő Dohnányi in 1936.

⁴¹ [ANONYMOUS]: *A Hiszekegy-pályázat nyertese: Szabados Béla* [The Winner of the Hiszekegy Tender: Béla Szabados] = *A Nép*, 24 May, 1921, 7.

the winning piece, which had the motto “Incomplete Hungary is no country, Whole Hungary is heaven” by Béla Szabados. It received 61 votes out of 139.⁴² Szabados was an acclaimed composer of his time, he taught at the Academy of Music, led the National School of Music and took part in the Music Board of the Radio. At first, he wrote operettas, then operas (for example, *A bolond* [The Vagabond], the *Menyasszonyháború* [The Bridal Rivalry] or *Fanny*), which were performed at the Opera House.

His anthem – the late counterpart of royal anthems from the period of Austro-Hungary – was sung for the next twenty-three years on national holidays at schools, in the offices of local governments and churches. The work is divided into two parts: six bars in D minor (two bars as a prelude, four bars of singing) and eight bars in D major (six bars of singing, two bars of postlude). The first section resembles liturgic chorales, while the second is similar to a military march. In the first part, Szabados demonstrates the triple intensification “Hiszek egy Istenben, hiszek egy hazában, hiszek egy isteni örök igazságban” [“I believe in one God, I believe in one home, I believe in the divine eternal truth”] by gradually raising the melody. In the second part, following the powerful repetition “Hiszek, hiszek” comes the passage “hiszek Magyarország”. Madrigalism is clear in the scores to the word “feltámadásában” [resurrection – transl.] because the melody of the text rises, i.e., it symbolizes resurrection in musical terms.

Image 1.: Béla Szabados: *Hiszekegy* [National Credo], the melody.

Slowly

Hi - szek egy Is - ten - ben, hi - szek egy ha - zá - ban,
 [I be - lie - ve in God, be - lie - ve in one home,

3 hi - szek egy is - te - ni ö - rök i - gaz - ságban.
 belie - ve in the di - vi - ne e - ter - nal truth,

5 Hi-szek, hi-szek hi-szek Ma-gyar-or-szág fel - tá-ma-dá - sá - ban!
 I be - lie - ve, be - lie - ve, be - lie - ve in Hun-ga-ry's re - sur - rec - tion!

⁴² [ANONYMOUS]: *Jegyzőkönyv [Protocol]* = SZABADOS, Béla: *Hiszekegy*. Bp., Rózsavölgyi, 1921, 2.

The contemporary critics reviewed it positively: "Our new national prayer, whose elevated hymnal power winds confidence, faith and the hope of a better future into the despondent Hungarian hearts, originates from a warm Hungarian soul at a fortunate moment of true inspiration. The *National Credo* is a worthy counterpart of our two national anthems musically. Béla Szabados has enriched our music culture with numerous wonderful Hungarian pieces, but above all his merits, his name will always shine with the *National Credo*-song's music."⁴³ Today, it can be said, that in the world of the state's representational music common in Hungarian public culture, he stated something valid in its simplicity. It was the hymn of the Trianon-myth clearly for political use. However, in comparison with *La Marseillaise*, it is not a nationalistic song, but a patriotic one, because it does not mention the enemy, does not blame anyone, but reflects only on a utopic future.

The Blind Warrior

The opera, *A vak katona* [The blind warrior] (1923) and the symphonic poem, *Trianon* (1929) by Emil Ábrányi, who was popular at the time, were his two attempts to combine high aesthetical standards with the mythical and collective memory. Following his student years in Budapest, Ábrányi honed his knowledge in German opera houses, then, from 1911 he became the conductor at the Hungarian Royal Opera House and directed it in the 1919/1920 season. Between 1921 and 1924, he led the Városi Színház (Erkel Theatre today). He built an impressive career in Debrecen [a town in Eastern Hungary]: he became the director of the theatre there (1914) and of the Debrecen MÁV Philharmonic Orchestra [MÁV was the Hungarian State Railway, which sponsored the orchestra at that time] (1924), which he had founded. The backbone of his oeuvre is formed by his twelve operas, which enjoyed major success at the time. Three of his works stand out: the *Monna Vanna* (1907), written to the text of the Maeterlinck, the *Paolo és Francesca* [Paolo and Francesca] (1912), following Dante, and *Ave Maria* (1922) – also called May intermezzo –, which was also performed with great success on German stages.

His first work in the Trianon subject is *The blind warrior*, an opera, which was written as an occasional piece. It was first performed on 27 May 1923, in the Városi Színház at a gala organized in honour of blind soldiers.⁴⁴ From 11

⁴³ PAPP, Viktor: *Jelentés az 1923. évi Greguss-jutalom tárgyában. Második Zenei Évkor (1917–1922)* [Report on the Greguss-prize of 1923. Second Musical Period (1917–1922)] = *Kisfaludy-Társaság Évkönyve 1923–1924, Új Folyam* Vol. LVI., 1924, 145–162., 155.

⁴⁴ [ANONYMOUS]: *(Hangverseny a vak katonák javára)* [(Concert for Blind Soldiers)] = *Budapesti Hírlap*, 29 May, 1923, 6.

June in the same year, it was played several times on the same stage. In the opera – based on the libretto by journalist, Ede Sas⁴⁵ –, the protagonist loses his sight in a battle at the Italian front. After that, he finds shelter with his family. One night, he weeps over his lost sight, his family and nation, when suddenly a miracle happens: he regains his vision. He sees his family; the angels and pre-Trianon Hungary and they sing the Hungarian *National Credo* together. This occasional performance was met with great success, and as a contemporary critic wrote: “The opera of dramatic power, especially in which the author depicts the battle scene with clever instrumentation, met with much success.”⁴⁶ Other newspapers reported similar enthusiasm. After becoming a repertoire piece, however, varied reviews followed. A journalist writing for *Pesti Hírlap* still praised it: “Emil Ábrányi has congenially put Ede Sas’s patriotic, poetic script into music; the cosy soundscape of the night battle and the seraphs’ songs are particularly prominent in the atmospheric and melodic music.”⁴⁷ A reporter for *Népszava*, however, criticised the government’s Trianon-propaganda: “The new piece is made up of three components. The first is the idea of integrity [the restoration of Hungary (ÁW)], the second is the issue of disability (in this case, blindness), and the third is: Ede Sas. Integrity and blindness are two very serious issues, but in Ede Sas’s framing, they both turn out as an empty, superficial, sophomoric mass of melodies. The blind soldier dreams and envisions the map of greater Hungary. It is not the content, therefore, but the map, which is important. [...] The music, which was hardly present, should not be mentioned.”⁴⁸ The musical scores of the opera are not available, and so, no appraisal of them can be given.

Ábrányi wrote the symphonic poem, *Trianon*, in 1929. The three-movement piece of thirty-three minutes, according to the composer’s notes, was written for a full orchestra. A critic writing for *Budapesti Hírlap* summarised its agenda: “*Trianon* comprises of three movements: the illustrious composer details the breach of the Trianon-cursed nation with itself in the first movement; in the second, a ray of hope flickers for the nation languishing in a cemetery-like country; while in the third movement, the pulsation of life reborn overcomes the Trianon-curse following the entry of the national military. The last bar, the hopeful vision of the future, brings the triumphant jubilation and closes the monumental composition with the scores of the *Himnusz*.”⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Ede Sas (1869–1928) was a writer, journalist, editor and successful screenwriter of the first Hungarian films.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 6.

⁴⁷ (-Idi.) [BÉLDI, Izor]: *A vak katona* = *Pesti Hírlap*, 12 June 1923, 6.

⁴⁸ (B-t.): *Városi Színház* = *Népszava*, 6 June 1923, 6.

⁴⁹ [ANONYMOUS]: (Ábrányi Emil “*Trianon*” *szimfóniájának bemutatója*) [Premiere of Emil Ábrányi’s “*Trianon*” symphony] = *Budapesti Hírlap*, 23 January 1935, 11.

The composition of the orchestra (the big wind- and percussion apparatus) is unconventional in Hungarian symphonic pieces and through this is a reference to its antitype: Jenő Hubay's *Symphony No. 2 (in C minor, "1914")*.⁵⁰ The first movement (*Grave*) bears the *Átkozott Trianon* [Cursed Trianon] motto. The elegiac movement in A major consists of sixty-three bars only, however, to emphasize its tragic agenda, it lasts for ten minutes.⁵¹ The effect of the dissonant and suspenseful motto theme (first subject) is escalated by chromatics, which are answered by semibreve octachord-based small diapason melody fragments. The second subject is a trumpet signal built on quart- and octave jumps and is followed by a lamenting motif. The Hungarian-style fugato, which moves the whole orchestra, is impressive. It ends in the reserved closing chord of the harps and the strings. The movement resembles *Hungaria's*, Liszt's symphonic poem's mourning episode.

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The second movement (*Allegro moderato*) sounds in a shiny D major and due to a pulsation more stirring than in the one before, 312 bars of music take twelve minutes. The dynamic motto like the first subject ("Áll Buda még!" – ["Buda is still standing!"]) – structurally a primary theme – is built on a major chord structure, whose jovial simplicity is counterpointed by the ten-scale second subject. Pushing tonality to its limits increases the painful and tense sounding. By recalling the first subject of the first movement as well, the development part reaches the climax, where Anton Bruckner's influence is palpable. In the recursion, the themes are above the chromatic volley of notes and their movement is closed by the massive beats of kettle-drums. Whilst the first movement can be considered a uniform orchestral elegy, the second one abounds in beautiful solo and nuanced, chamber-style episodes as well.

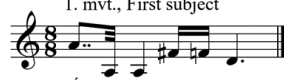
The motto of the closing movement, which goes from C major to A major (*Allegro di marcia*) is: "Hiszek, hiszek, hiszek Magyarország feltámadásában!" ["I believe, believe, believe in the resurrection of Hungary!"] The 273 bars last eleven minutes because the opening march-tempo is later taken over by a slower one to generate a poignant effect. Besides the march-like first subject of the movement, some of the earlier themes are also recalled. First, we hear a drumbeat, then a military call, and then again, a march-like second subject sounded by wind instruments and percussion. The graceful melody pulsates all over the orchestra, however, the bass line makes the music gloomy. The sorrowful trumpet cadence of the transition is followed by a choral, which creates a hymnal atmosphere, then the themes of the symphonic poem are layered on

⁵⁰ ÁBRÁNYI, Emil: *Trianon* symphonic poem, music scores, and the author's manuscript, in the Ábrányi-legacy of the Library of the Liszt Academy of Music, no record.

⁵¹ Note of the author. ÁBRÁNYI: *op. cit.* (1929), front page verso.

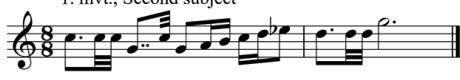
Image 2.: Emil Ábrányi: *Trianon*, subjects

1. mvt., First subject

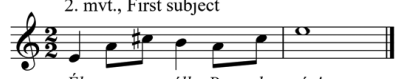


Át - ko-zott Tri - a - non!
[Cur-sed Tri - a - non!]

1. mvt., Second subject

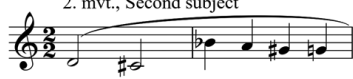


2. mvt., First subject



Él ma-gyar, áll Bu - da még!
[Hun - ga - ri - ans still li - ves!]
[Bu - da is still stan-ding!]

2. mvt., Second subject



3. mvt., First subject



Hi-szek, hi-szek, hi-szek Ma-gyar-or - szág föl - tá - ma-dá - sá - ban!
[I be - lie - ve, I be - lie - ve in Hun - ga - ry's re-sur - rec - tion!]

3. mvt., Second subject



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one another. After another trumpet signal, an anthem is being prepared, and in the end, the organ, the bell and the male choir join the grand orchestra. Together they sound the Ábrányi-version of the *National Credo*.

Trianon evokes the world of secession through its semibreve-scale, the ten-scale theme and the grand orchestra. It uses a language that Jenő Hubay and Ernő Dohnányi, who were recognized at the time, also adopted in their symphonies. The strengths of the piece are the fugato of the first movement, the chamber-style episodes of the second movement and the polyphonic structure of the finale. Ábrányi's orchestral style is effective, it can easily move the audience. The piece, which was finished on 7 December 1929, was performed two years later, on 6 March 1932, in Debrecen, conducted by the composer and performed by the Debrecen MÁV Philharmonic Orchestra.⁵² The audience welcomed the piece with eager rejoicing. Ábrányi was able to perform his work in Budapest with the Budapest Railway Choir and Music Society on 25 January

⁵² [ANONYMOUS]: (Ábrányi Emil *Trianon* szimfóniájának bemutatója Debrecenben) [The Premiere of Emil Ábrányi's *Trianon* Symphony in Debrecen] = *Budapesti Hírlap*, 8 March 1932, 9.

1935.⁵³ With the same group, the piece was performed in Szeged [a town in Southern Hungary] on 28 February 1935, and in Székesfehérvár [a town in central Hungary] on 2 March. Both shows were a hit.⁵⁴ Only one more performance is documented (Székesfehérvár, 21 April 1936).⁵⁵

The daily press gave an account of the beauty and the impact of the performances. The *Esti Kurír's* review read: "The grief is followed by the revival lifting up in the crescendo, after which the *Allegro di marcia* cadence triumphantly closes the brilliantly instrumented symphonic poem, which is abundant in poetic beauties."⁵⁶ *Zene*, the major journal of the time, also reviewed the performance in Debrecen: "The piece, which was created with great preparation and warm invention, displayed the Nation's collapse, reviving hope and all-illuminating faith. The composition, performed by the MÁV Philharmonic Orchestra with great love, had an elemental impact."⁵⁷ On the performance in Budapest, the review read: "Emil Ábrányi's rich melodious invention demonstrates Hungarian historical song-style themes, which are rather common with regards to onomatopoesis. The powerful rhythm of the primary theme, which goes all along the composition, the sobbing-like, downward chromatic theme of the second movement, which is dominant especially in the fugues, and the wide crescendo of the czardas-melody signalling the entry of the military, accompanied by the sounds of spurs. The orchestra's fortissimo, reinforced by the bell and the male choir, closes the appealing piece effectively."⁵⁸

He composed both of his works from the perspective of mythical memory. The opera was an operatic melodrama, but the symphonic poem was an artistic work with aesthetic value. Both of them related the legend of Trianon discovering the trauma and the utopic recovery. He did not reflect on the enemy, which makes it distinct from political music pieces. For example, Vincent d'Indy's *Symphony No. 3 ('Sinfonia Brevis de bello Gallico')* reflects on the Good (the French) and the Bad (the Germans), Ábrányi did not blame anyone.⁵⁹ This

⁵³ [ANONYMOUS]: *Hanguverseny* [Concert] = *Pesti Hírlap*, 25 January 1935, 14.

⁵⁴ [ANONYMOUS]: *(Ábrányi Emil Trianonja Szegeden és Székesfehérvárott)* [Emil Ábrányi's Trianon in Szeged and Székesfehérvár] = *Budapesti Hírlap*, 3 March, 1935, 11.

⁵⁵ [ANONYMOUS]: *(Ábrányi Emil Trianon-szimfóniája Székesfehérvárott)* [Emil Ábrányi's Trianon Symphony in Székesfehérvár] = *Budapesti Hírlap*, 22 April 1936, 13.

⁵⁶ (-o.): *A vasutas-zenekar hangversenye* [The Concert of the Railway-orchestra] = *Esti Kurír*, 27 January 1935, 10.

⁵⁷ [ANONYMOUS = LÁNG, Henrik]: *Vidéki zeneélet - Debrecen* [Music Life in the Countryside - Debrecen] = *A Zene*, 1932, (13), 8.

⁵⁸ (-k -a.): *Ábrányi-bemutató a Vasutasok hangversenyén* [Ábrányi-premiere at the MÁV Orchestra's Concert] = *Budapesti Hírlap*, 26 January 1935, 11.

⁵⁹ For d'Indy's symphony see: SCHWARTZ, Manuela (ed.): *Vincent d'Indy et son temps*, Mardaga, Sprimont, 2006, 24.

narrative was the opposite even of Hungarian political memorials and caricatures. Thus, the composition was written from the perspective of cultural memory and not the mythical one. Ábrányi later used allegorical parables, making his operas into highly refined music literature: *Az éneklő dervis* [The Singing Dervish] (1937), which proclaims the peaceful co-existence of religions and *Bizánc* [Constantinople] (1943), which envisions the death of the nation caused by the sins of the Hungarian political elite. Ábrányi's tragedy is that these two operas could not play a role in WWI or the periods of the party state precisely because of their message.

Ruralia Hungarica

The era's prominent pianist, conductor and composer, Ernő Dohnányi did not write any Hungarian-related pieces until 1917, apart from some of his early works (e.g. *Zrínyi-nyitány* [Overture to Miklós Zrínyi])⁶⁰. Following the *Változatok egy magyar népdalra* [Variations on a Hungarian Folk Song], he composed several pieces, for example *A vajda tornya* [Iva's Tower] (opera), *Hiszekegy* [National Credo] (cantata), *Magyar jövő* [Hungarian Future] (choral piece), *Magyar népdalok* [Hungarian Folk Songs] (song cycles), *Ünnepi nyitány* [Festive Overture] and the *Ruralia hungarica* [Rural Hungary] suite. His works with a Hungarian subject demonstrate his sincere patriotism and are expressed in a universal musical language. This paper studies three of his works: The *National Credo* (1920), the *Festive Overture* (1923) and the *Ruralia hungarica* (1923–1924). These works show three different stages of reaction to the Trianon-trauma, as they start from an open protest and reach the ostentation of the survival of Hungarians beyond the borders.

The *National Credo* has survived in eight full variations, in which there is a mixed choir, a male choir and a melodrama version.⁶¹ The cantata version is written for tenor solo, mixed choir and orchestra (*ad libitum*: piano accompaniment).⁶² The composer did not enter the tender for the *National Credo* because

⁶⁰ Miklós IV Zrínyi (1507/1508–1566), was a Croatian–Hungarian nobleman and general. He became well known across Europe for his involvement in the Siege of Szigetvár (1566), where he heroically died stopping the advance on Vienna by the Ottoman Turks under Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. The importance of the battle was considered so great that the French clergyman and statesman Cardinal Richelieu described it as “the battle that saved civilization”.

⁶¹ KISZELY-PAPP, Deborah: *A Queens College Dohnányi-kéziratai* [A Queens College Dohnányi-manuscripts] = *Dohnányi Évkönyv 2006/7*. Ed. SZ. FARKAS, Márta, GOMBOS, László, Bp., Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Musicology, Dohnányi Archive, 2007, 47–58.

⁶² Dohnányi dubbed the shorter version *Nemzeti ima* (National Prayer), and the cantate version *Hitvallás* (Creed). I will use the title: *Hiszekegy*.

of its political nature but when his old acquaintance, Dezső Demény⁶³ asked him to perform a piece of his own at a Christmas ceremony at the Academy of Music in 1920, he agreed.⁶⁴ The *Pastorale* (piano version for the folk song *Mennyből az angyal* [The Angel from the Heaven – a Hungarian Christmas song]) and the *National Credo* enjoyed success at the Academy performance on 27 December 1920, so both were published in printed form the following year.

Image 3.: Ernő Dohnányi: *Hiszekegy* [The National Credo] – soprano part

Maestoso

5 *Hi-szek egy Is - ten - ben, hi-szek egy ha - zá -*
[I be - lie - ve in God, I be - lie - ve in one

10 *ban, hi-szek egy is - te - ni ő - rök i - gaz - ság - ban.*
home, I be - lie - ve in the di - vi - ne e - ter - nal truth.

15 *Hi-szek hi - szek Ma-gyar - or - szág fel - tá - ma - dá - sa - ban!*
I be - lie - ve in Hun - ga - ry's re - sur - rec - tion!_____

Ma-gyar - or - szág, Ma-gyar - or - szág fel - tá - ma - dá - sa - ban! Á - men!
in Hun - ga - ry's, in Hun - ga - ry's re - sur - rec - tion!_____ A - men!]

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National Credo is a 160-bar cantata with the tonal centre in B flat major, which contains seven verses from the poem by Elemérné Papp-Váry.⁶⁵ Despite the pathos, the short oratorial work's intonation is dynamic and jovial. The tenor solo is easy to sing, there are no challenges for the soloist and the choir parts are also easy to perform. Surprisingly, the author, who handles polyphonic structures and the variational technique brilliantly, wrote homophone choral parts while the tenor-section that makes up the backbone of the piece is also translucent. The only objection against him could be that the German choral sound effect and Brahms's influence are clearly palpable. Viktor Papp,

⁶³ Demény Desiderius (1871–1937) was a Hungarian composer, and ordained as a priest at Gran, who later became court chaplain in Budapest. In 1902 he founded *Zeneközlöny*, a prestigious Hungarian music journal.

⁶⁴ GALAFRÉS, Elsa: *Lives, Loves, Losses*. Vancouver, Versatile, 1973, 266–268.

⁶⁵ DOHNÁNYI, Ernő: *Hitvallás*. *Piano Reduction*. Author's manuscript, property of the Institute for Musicology's Hungarian Music Archive of the 20–21st centuries. Record: *Hitvallás – Nemzeti ima*, Budapest Philharmonic Orchestra, conductor: Ernő Dohnányi, Viktor V-V 11009, V 60001 (78rpm), 1936.

who has already been quoted, gave an appraisal of the work: “A great piece. A gem in the Hungarian choir literature.”⁶⁶ Deborah Kiszelly-Papp pointed out the connection to other contemporary pieces in regard to style, and so the author mentions the themes in the prelude of *Iud's Tower* and in the climax of the *Festive Overture*.⁶⁷ The composer claimed his work, moreover, he prepared it for an American performance but in the end, he did not succeed.⁶⁸

The *Festive Overture* was first performed at the 50th anniversary grand concert of the unification of Pest, Buda and Óbuda, on 19 November 1923, along with Kodály's *Psalmus hungaricus* and Bartók's *Dance Suite*. If the composer's manuscript of the *Festive Overture* is credible, Dohnányi finished the piece six days before the premiere.⁶⁹ The composition, which uses two symphonic and one wind-band, is built on a sonata form with a tonal centre in B flat major. The first subject is of *Scherzo*-character, perpetuum mobile, while the second subject is the variation of the *Szózat* [Appeal]'s first four bars (“Hazádnak rendületlenül légy híve, ó, magyar! – [“To your homeland without fail be faithful, oh Hungarian!”]). At the closing of the second subject's sections, the third line of the Hungarian Anthem (“Balsors, akit régen tép” – [“Who has been long torn by ill fate”]) appears. Nevertheless, the Hungarian Anthem is also heard before the Coda (“Isten, áldd meg a magyart!” – [“O, God, bless the Hungarian nation!”]). The two symphonic orchestras exchange the themes in the prelude and the development, then, a brass band is also sounded in the coda, and the author's *National Credo* joins the two national prayers. Thus, the first subject and the three hymnal melodies sound in unison in the finale.

The musical quotes become a fused “text” and thus, proclaim the imperative unwavering of patriotism even in ill fate, which is complemented by the chorus of the forward looking *National Credo*: „Hiszek Magyarország feltámadásában”. [“I believe in the resurrection of Hungary.”] However, the morale of the finale goes even further than this, as the melody, which is becoming a passacaglia-theme, continuously pulsates along with patriotism, endurance and hope: only serenity, which comes from reality and accepts what fate deals out, can lend the strength to survive. Besides the *Szózat und Hymnus* by Franz Liszt (1872), which rewrites our national prayers into an orchestral fantasy, and the *Ünnepi*

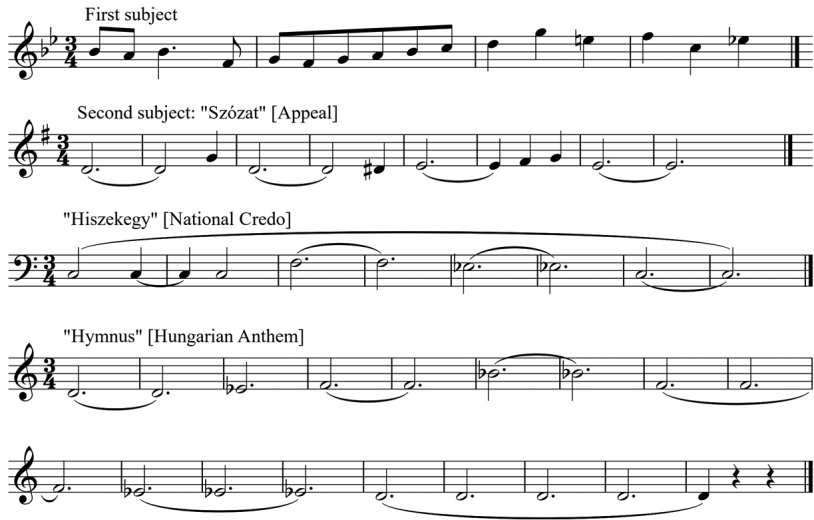
⁶⁶ PAPP: *op. cit.* (1923), 155.

⁶⁷ KISZELY-PAPP: *op. cit.* (2007), 56.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 55. It was performed in Hungary with piano accompaniment five times and once with an orchestral accompaniment. It is a shame in national concert life that it has not been played since 1989.

⁶⁹ DOHNÁNYI, Ernő: *Ünnepi nyitány nagy zenekarra*, op. 31. – *Ungarische Festouverture für grosses Orchester*, op. 31., scores, author's manuscript, property of the Institute for Musicology's Hungarian Music Archive of the 20–21st centuries. Record: Dohnányi, Debussy-Kocsis, Rahmanyinov, National Philharmonic Orchestra, Zoltán Kocsis (conductor), BMC CD 101, Bp., 2004.

Image 4.: Ernő Dohnányi: *Festive Overture* – characteristic themes



nyitány [Festive Overture] by Ferenc Erkel (1887), Dohnányi refers to another antitype, the finale of *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, which celebrates German art. The composer provides a framework of interpretation for the patriotic, public thoughts in the aforementioned Wagnerian reference, noting that they belong to his artistic and not political creed. The late reception of the overture is dual. The leading critic during the period of the party state, János Breuer considered it as a piece to be forgotten: “It seems, that is, sounds, that aulic music can only be marketed at a daily rate, then history unmercifully culls. All that was once celebrated so luminously in this overture has faded by today.”⁷⁰ However, Sándor Kovács, an influential critic of today commended it: “It is a perfect masterpiece: it lasts as long as it needs to. Its instrumentation is by the book. Bartók commented on *Ruralia*: a well-instrumented Hungarian composition, at last. He could have said the same about this musical score, too. It is dazzling how the playful Master confronts and blends the colours of the trichotomous orchestra. [...] Dohnányi links the well-known melodies with amazing elegance and workmanly virtuosity.”⁷¹

⁷⁰ BREUER, János: Dohnányi Ernő: *Ünnepi nyitány* = *Népszabadság*, 23 June 1994, 11.

⁷¹ PORRECTUS [= KOVÁCS, Sándor]: *Rehabilitációk egy évszázad múltán. Kocsis Zoltán és a Nemzeti Filharmonikusok lemezei* [Rehabilitations after a Century. Records of Zoltán Kocsis and the National Philharmonic Orchestra] = *Muzsika*, 2004, (11), 39–40.

Of all his pieces of national subject, Dohnányi had the greatest success with the orchestral version of the *Ruralia hungarica* suite, which adapts Transylvanian folk songs.⁷² He finished his seven-movement suite for piano in 1923 and by 1924 he had instrumented five of the movements. In the same year, he performed them on 27 November with the Budapest Philharmonics.⁷³ The composer selected from the *Népdalok* [Peasant Songs] volume, published by Bartók and Kodály, and complemented them with a melody popular at the time.⁷⁴ The first movement (*Andante pocomoto, rubato*) is a lyrical pastoral, which adapts the popular reform era song “Cserebogár, sárga cserebogár” [Cockhafer, yellow cockchafer].⁷⁵ The second movement (*Presto, ma non tanto*), which runs the primary theme in parallel fourths, is a tempestuous, dance-style symphonic fantasy of four folk songs („Én Istenem, add megérnem...” [My God, let me live with whom I love]; „Verd meg, Isten, azt az anyát...” [God, beat the mother, who...]; „A kaposi kanális...” [The canal in the town of Kapos]; „Kolozsváros olyan város...” [Kolozsvár / Cluj-Napoca is such city]) invoking Liszt’s rhapsodies.⁷⁶ The third movement (*Allegro grazioso*), adapting a nursery rhyme (“Kis kacska fürdik” [Little duck has a swim]), merges the childlike idyll with the grievous nostalgia of adults. It prepares the lamenting fourth movement (*Adagio non troppo*), which elevates a melancholic folk song (“Árva vagyok, apa nélkül, mint gerlice párja nélkül” [I am as an orphan without the father, as the dove without his partner]) into hymnal heights. The finale (*Molto vivace*), often encored by the audience, uses a historical song (“A bolond német így jár táncot” [The foolish German hops like that]) in eight variations.

Dohnányi, who, refused to conduct at the Bratislava performance of the Philharmonic Orchestra, came up with a gesture of music for the Hungarians beyond the borders. The piece was warmly welcomed at the time and was awarded the Greguss-prize in 1929, an appreciation of high art.⁷⁷ Viktor Papp praised the piece: “it is an everlasting pearl of our music art. It is a masterpiece which will always represent Hungarian music art worthily. That art music, which roots in Erkel and Liszt and which soars on wings of the most modern

⁷² DOHNÁNYI, Ernő: *Ruralia hungarica. Five Orchestral Pieces. Op. 32/b*. Budapest, Rózsavölgyi, 1925. Several recordings are available; the latest: Budapest Philharmonic Orchestra, János Kovács (conductor), in the banquet hall of the National Museum of Hungary, 11 January 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yqsDEIECjNg>

⁷³ PAPP: *op. cit.* (1929), 292.

⁷⁴ *Népdalok* [Folksongs]. Disclosed by BARTÓK Béla, KODÁLY Zoltán, published by the Népies Irodalmi Társaság, Budapest, Rózsavölgyi, 1923.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 293.

⁷⁶ KOVÁCS, Ilona: *Dohnányi Ernő: Ruralia hungarica*, Op. 32/a = Parlando, 2009, (4) <https://www.parlando.hu/2009-4-011-Dohn.htm>

⁷⁷ PAPP: *op. cit.* (1929), 294.

orchestral technical innovations towards general art music, following the trusted and straight path of the musical form art, in its old sense”⁷⁸. The piece also received great appreciation abroad, for example from Viennese audiences: “Already the first part, the Andante, had a surprising effect on the musically highly trained Viennese audience; then the *Presto ma non tanto*, during which the storm of the wilderness rumbled along the hall, enhanced the impression to induce a frenzied enthusiasm after the poetic *Allegro graziosa*. The brilliant performance of the Adagio and the Molto vivace was accompanied by a thundering applause.”⁷⁹ Albert Siklós reviewed it ardently even ten years later: “Dohnányi’s main merit is that through this piece, he transfers the accomplishments of the developments of European music into Hungarian art music. In his work [...] he conveys his honest and oftentimes intimate message using rather developed and artistically noteworthy devices. His musical score is by the book.”⁸⁰

There are three sides to the manifestation of Dohnányi’s patriotism: the nobly simple *Hiszekegy*, the *Festive Overture* with its cunning polyphony, and the folk-song inspired *Ruralia Hungarica*. He could evoke strong feelings from his audience by keeping his mind strong even in the most painful moments and thus, *Ruralia* could become popular. Dohnányi wrote the *National Credo* and the *Festive overture* from the perspective of mythical memory and the *Ruralia Hungarica* from cultural remembrance. He accepted the identical symbols, like the *Hungarian Anthem*, the *Szózat* and the *National Credo*, but put them into the framework of cultural remembrance. This gesture was emphasised by the allusion of the *Meistersinger-motive*. In the *Ruralia* he applied folkloric elements and constructed a new, internationally well-received symphonic style from them.

An Evening in Transylvania

Béla Bartók believed in the “idea of nations becoming brothers”, that is why we cannot find any openly Trianon-related music in his oeuvre. In his review of Dohnányi’s *National Credo*, his perspective on the trauma and the politics exploiting it, is clear. “*National Credo*, born about a year ago, has become the

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ [ANONYMOUS]: *Dohnányi Ruralia Hungaricájának nagy sikere Bécsben* [The éclat of Dohnányi’s *Ruralia Hungarica* in Vienna] = *Szózat*, 15 January 1925, 13.

⁸⁰ [ANONYMOUS = SIKLÓS, Albert]: *Budapest Székesfőváros Népművelési Bizottsága hangversenyei a Székesfővárosi Zenekar közreműködésével – Evadnyitó magyar hangverseny* [Concerts of the Cultural Committee of Budapest with the contribution of the Capital’s Orchestra – Season opening Hungarian concert] = *A Zene*, 1934, (1-2), 2.

watchword of today's national-Christian political direction; its edge is towards the ungodly and the enemies of Hungary. We can imagine the Christian-national emotions and the ecstasy of the audience when hearing their watchword instrumented, especially in a Dohnányi adaptation.”⁸¹ For foreign readers Bartók provided Mrs. Papp-Váry's poem and made two comments, which he revokes before the publication: “»Resurrection« means regaining the territories lost.”⁸² The other comment goes: “*National Credo*, born about a year ago, has become the watchword of today's political direction; its edge is towards the international socio-democrats and the neighbouring Czechs, Romanians and Yugoslavians as the enemies of Hungary. We can imagine the national-chauvinist exultation of the audience.”⁸³

Bartók was shocked by Trianon because it destroyed the organized life's work of the nations and cultures that had been living together for centuries. However, he condemned the political use of the trauma.⁸⁴ The composer writes about the late state in several places, for example: “[The] majority of the population: the peasants of different nationalities lived in the greatest agreement during the Hungarian hegemony. Even the slightest spark of chauvinist hatred could not be detected among them: whenever there was any kind of oppression or prepotent behaviour, they originated exclusively from the government.”⁸⁵ By citing the music of the peoples in Central-Europe (for him, this expression meant the peasantry) in many of his works (e.g. *Dance Suite*, *Hungarian Pictures* and *Cantata profana*), he commemorated that peaceful coexistence.⁸⁶

The tragedy of Trianon contributed to the fact that he accentuated the community over the individual in his works. Bartók was interested in peasant cultures and preferred the company of peasants, but in his art works he dealt with the lonely man's individual problems. The community appeared in his music intentionally for the first time in the *Dance Suite*. This process can be seen most spectacularly in the subject choice of his grand compositions: as a sequel to *A kékszakállú herceg vára* [Duke Bluebeard's Castle], *A fából faragott*

⁸¹ BARTÓK, Béla: „Schönberg and Stravinsky Enter »Christian-National« Budapest Without Bloodshed”. Published by VIKÁRIUS, László: *Bartók az integritás válságának idején. Két Bartók-írás Budapest zeneéletéről (1920/21)* [Bartók at the time of integrity crisis. Two of Bartók-writings about the music life in Budapest. (1920/21)] = *Muzsika*, 2007, (7), 8–13., 12.

⁸² Ibid., 13.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ KÁRPÁTI, János: *Bartók Béla és egy Duna-völgyi zenei integráció lehetősége* [Béla Bartók is a possibility for a musical integration along the Danube valley] = *Muzsika*, 2002, (3), 8–14.

⁸⁵ DILLE, Denijs publishes the unpublished German language study of Béla BARTÓK: „*Bartók und die Volksmusik*” = *Documenta Bartókiana*. Hrsg. von DILLE, Denijs, Heft 4. Bp., Akadémiai, 1970, 112.

⁸⁶ KÁRPÁTI: *op. cit.* (2002), 11.

királyfi [The Wooden Prince] and the *Csodálatos mandarin* [The Miraculous Mandarin], he expanded the ballad of the boys who turned into a deer (Cantata Profana). Likewise, his “subjects” in his orchestral and choral pieces become communal. Similarly, to Dohnányi and Kodály – among others –, for him, the new geopolitical structure destroyed the above-mentioned harmony of coexistence. What provided the melodies for the *Dance Suite* (1923) was “the peasant music of all kinds of nationalities: Hungarian, Romanian, Slovakian, even Arabic; and what is more, at certain places, even the crossing of these types.”⁸⁷ A slow, Hungarian ritornello connects several movements in the six-movement piece. As for its atmosphere, it is a reference to the nostalgic golden age, which was destroyed by the tensions of war in the other movements. Ferenc Bónis ascribes an even more symbolic meaning to it: “Between all, the Hungarian ritornello is the connecting element, the wonder-bridge.”⁸⁸ The stumbling and roughness of the first movement, the sword-dance of the second and fifth movement, the grief of the fourth and the third movement’s folk feast distorted into despair, are born again with the ritornello in the – mirage-like – jovial finale. The impact of the *Dance Suite* can be noted intangibly in the folk music suites of the time – except for the *Ruralia*, composed at the same time. For example, in Kodály’s *Galántai táncok* [Dances of Galánta] and *Marosszéki táncok* [Dances of Marosszék], Leó Weiner’s *Divertimentos* and (*Hungarian*) *Suite I.* as well.

Just like the *Dance Suite*, the *Cantata profana* (1930) is a bitter cry for the region’s nations that were turned against each other. In the transformation-tale woven from the Romanian primary motif, the author cites several layers of tradition (for example Bach, Hungarian and Romanian folk music), but he mainly uses his own musical material. Although it became a reference point in Hungarian culture, what is more, intangible behaviour, the fate of the cantata indicates the contradictory relationship between Bartók, the national and the neighbouring states’ culture policy. Bartók was considering a series of cantata whose first part would have been the “Romanian” *Cantata*; the second would have been the Slovakian, the third would have adapted Hungarian material and the fourth would have combined them all.⁸⁹ He offered the premiere to music circles in Bucharest because of the Romanian Colinde-theme, but they

⁸⁷ TALLIÁN, Tibor: “Bartók-marginália” [Bartók-marginalia] = *Zenatudományi Dolgozatok* 1979. Ed. BERLÁSZ, Melinda, DOMONKOS, Mária, Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Musicology, 1979, 35–46., 43.

⁸⁸ BÓNIS, Ferenc: *A Tánc-szvit üzenete* [The Message of the Tánc-szvit] = *Hitel*, 1991, (6), 25–26, 26.

⁸⁹ VIKÁRIUS, László: *A Cantata Profana (1930) kéziratok forrásainak olvasata* [The Reading of Cantata Profana’s (1930) Manuscript Resources] = *Zenatudományi Dolgozatok* 1992–1994. Ed. FELFÖLDI, László, GUPCSÓ, Ágnes, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Musicology, Bp., 1994, 115–159., 153.

rejected it. Bartók forbade any performance in Hungary in 1932, so the work was premiered in London in 1934. Eventually, he consented to a Hungarian premiere in 1936 but at the time of the concert he was in Turkey – due to previous commitments.

Just like the *Dance Suite* and the *Cantata profana*, his most easily receivable work, the *Hungarian Pictures* (1931) cannot be interpreted as political art work. However, the movements' title and the cited melodies inspired by the *Ruralia hungarica* (as well) refer to the divided late state. In the *Hungarian Pictures*, Bartók arranged five of his pre-war piano pieces in a bridge-like structure and instrumented them for a smaller symphonic orchestra. The first movement, the *Este a székeleyknél* [An Evening in Transylvania] (*Lento e rubato*), presents a hymnal, pentatonic melody and a fluty, dancy motif. Although it is widely known that the hymnal melody is a peasant song, it is nevertheless Bartók's own invention. The second movement, the *Medvetánc* [Bear Dance] (*Allegro vivace*), turns the previous feeling into a world of distortion. The third movement, the chore of the suite, the *Melódia* [Melody - Dirge] (*Andante*), is of grief, in which the composer uses a pentatonic melody again. The fourth movement, the *Kicsit ázottan* [Slightly tipsy] (*Allegretto rubato*), is a perceptibly mockingscoffing scherzo. In the end, the finale, the *Ürögi kanásztánc* [Swineherd's dance] (*Allegro molto*), which contains the only real folk melody, defuses all the tension. The hymnal-distorted-sorrowful-ironic-liberated movement dramaturgy can be interpreted in itself, however, when read with the titles, the agenda also becomes apparent. The titles of the first two movements are clearly a

Image 5.

"Székely Anthem"

Hej, én é-des jó Is-te-nem Ol - tal-ma-zóm, se - ge-del-mem,
[Hey, my de-ar go - od God, my pro-tec-tor, my sup-por - ter,

Ván - dor-lás-ban re-mény-sé - gem. Ín - sé-gem-ben lág-ya-rem.
My ho-pe in pe-reg - ri - na - tion, My soft bre-ad in fá - mi - ne.]

Táncszvit: Ritornello

reference to Transylvania (to both the Hungarian and Romanian population), then the grief-movement and the folk-dance-finale, following from the previous ones, carry on towards the interpretation known from the *Dance Suite*.

Bartók: the simplified melody of the *Este a székelyeknél* (An Evening in Transylvania), with the first verse of the text which was associated with it in the *Énekszó* (1940) and is still known today; and the ritornello theme of the *Táncszvit* [Dance Suite], summoning the golden age.

Bartók, who wholeheartedly condemned the mythical memory fed by the government, still had to unexpectedly contend with it on two occasions. The issue of the pedagogical journal of November 1940 *Énekszó* [Singing], which was edited by Kodály-students, published the simplified hymnal melody of the *Este a székelyeknél*⁹⁰ with a poem by an anonymous secondary school teacher from Szolnok, which the editors appraised with the acclamation “Íme, az igazi Székely Himnusz!” [“Alas, the real Szekler Anthem!”]⁹¹ The text and the melody were published in the reader called *Betűország* [Letterland], used in elementary schools in 1942, and from then on, this version spread.⁹² The words are rather far from what Bartók would have undertaken but after he left the country in October 1940, he could not protest.

In the United States of America, he was faced with the political use of the mythical memory. He heard one of the songs from Ferenc Lehár's *A víg özvegy* [The Merry Widow] (1905) in the first movement of Dmitri Shostakovich's *Symphony VII*. (1941) as an obnoxious military march. He was so upset by the frequent radio broadcast of the symphony that he alluded to it as a rough blare in his oeuvre's final, finished work, the five-movement *Concerto* (1943). Whilst he remembers his homeland with a solemn grief in the third movement of the piece, in the fourth, he cites a hymned-version of the Hungarian operetta-melody („Szép vagy, gyönyörű vagy, Magyarország” [You are beautiful, Hungary]), which had gained a public role, and juxtaposes it with the march-form theme by Shostakovich. For the sake of symbols, Bartók sounds only one propaganda-melody in his lifetime – in all the splendour of his personal world. Then, in the last movement – similarly to the two aforementioned finales –, he

⁹⁰ The original Hungarian title is *Este a székelyeknél* [An Evening with the Szeklers]. The Szeklers are a Hungarian ethnographic subgroup, living in the Eastern region of the Carpathians, nowadays in the centre of Romania. Although they belong to the Hungarian nation, they have their own mythology, traditions and identity. For more details see: KOLBA, Gergely: *The history and traditions of the Hungarian subgroup: the Szeklers* = *Daily News Hungary*, 24 January 2019. (online), <https://dailynewshungary.com/the-history-and-traditions-of-the-hungarian-subgroup-the-szeklers/>

⁹¹ [ANONYMOUS]: *Lapszemle* [Press Review] = *Énekszó*, 1940, (11), 780.

⁹² KÓNYA, Ádám: Az „igazi” székely himnusz forrásvidéke [The Headwaters of the “Real” Székely Anthem] = *Romániai Magyar Szó*, 10 September 1994. Location cited by him: *Betűország*. Bp., Szent István Társulat, 1942, 257.

composes the jovial procession of the Central-European peoples' dance music. Bartók always alluded to historical memory, cultural remembrance and folklore, that's why his works can be understood by everybody without any political bias.

Psalmus Hungaricus

124 Trianon forced Kodály to reconsider his entire work. He wrote: "Around 1920, I began to realize that I am not my own, everyone is worth as much as they can be of use to the public."⁹³ Instead of excruciating personal matters, he started considering the essentials of the life of the nation in his artistic work, as had Bartók. He grew especially sensitive towards the Hungarians living beyond the borders. Thus, in his first opera (*Háry János*, 1925), the hero, who defeated the French, is returning home from Milan and Vienna and through the folk songs sung, the opera takes a tour around the Carpathian Basin. French and Italian music culture had long been the ideals for Kodály, consequently, the fact that he flaunts Napoleon at length in the opera, and then enjoys parodying the *La Marseillaise* is a clear reference to the Trianon-decision. A few years later, he came up with a different gesture in the *Székelyfonó* [The Spinning Room]⁹⁴ (1932) – giving voice to only Transylvanian folk songs –, in which he stands for the idea of staying still, patriotism and human perseverance. The *Dances from Galánta* (1933) builds on melodies from "Felvidék" (late Hungarian territories in Slovakia), and the *Dances from Marosszék* (1927–1929) uses Szekler folk and historical melodies. Apart from these, Kodály refers to the detached territories with a series of choruses (such as: *Kádár Kata*, *Molnár Anna* or the historical *Ének Szent István királyhoz* [Hymn to St. Stephan]).

However, his protest was the loudest with the manifold symbolic *Psalmus Hungaricus* (1923), which is the centrepiece of 20th century Hungarian culture; its citation is exceptional both in musical and literary circles. International academic literature also covered its significance sufficiently.⁹⁵ It is of particular

⁹³ KODÁLY, Zoltán: *Közélet, vallomások, zeneélet* [Public Life, Confessions, Music Life.] Ed. VARGYAS, Lajos, Bp., Szépirodalmi, 1989, 166.

⁹⁴ The official translation of *Székelyfonó* is The Spinning Room, but, the true version is: The Spinning Room in Szeklerland. This is the same folkloric subgroup, which was mentioned in the analysis of Bartók's *Hungarian Pictures*.

⁹⁵ See: In English: ITTÉZS, Mihály: *Zoltán Kodály, in retrospect*, Kodály Institute, Kecskemét, 2002, 26–30; STEVENS, Halsey: *The Choral Music of Zoltán Kodály = The Musical Quarterly*, April, 1968, (Vol. 54, (2)), 147–168, 149.; in Hungarian: TÓTH, Aladár: *Kodály és Psalmus Hungaricus* [Kodály and his Psalmus Hungaricus] = *Nyugat*, 1923, (24), 607–614.; BÖNIS, Ferenc: *A Psalmus Hungaricus születése* [The Birth of The Psalmus Hungaricus], A candidate's study, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Bp., 1987, 132–160.

interest, that the piece impacted (in form, style and content) even the grandest work of Slovakian national identity, Eugen Suchoň's *Psalm of the Carpathian Land* (1938). Kodály's psalm is about how King David quarrels with God, in a lengthy monologue, after his friends betrayed him, and it is written in the language of a 16th century psalm translation. A reporter for *The Musical Times*'s commented on it after the first performance in England: "[Kodály] shows his modernity clearly enough in his treatment of harmony, but there is not a chord in the whole 'Psalmus' that should cause annoyance to grammarians. The music is robust, and even violent, but so is the theme, which represents King David calling upon Heaven to avenge his wrongs and smite the offenders."⁹⁶ It has been interpreted in various ways; both as the composer's most personal confession and as a political work against the all-time government, as well.⁹⁷ It includes no direct reference to Trianon, yet, after 1923, it was considered the most significant manifestation of the Hungarian fate-tragedy.⁹⁸ To avoid the most cited comments of music literature, here stands the recommendation of the radio broadcast on 20 April, 1934: "We are going to hear [...] Kodály's masterpiece again, the »Psalmus Hungaricus«, which has been lamenting the woes of Hungarian fate to the world for more than ten years, and proclaims our child-like faith in the Divine Providence."⁹⁹

Unfortunately, a tragedy can be linked to this, which precisely highlights the national interpretation of the piece. Radu Urițășanu, a Romanian conductor, presented the *Psalmus* in Eastern Romania, in Temesvár [in Romanian: Timișoara] on 3 January 1934, and in Arad, on 4 January, with great success.¹⁰⁰ The performances were followed by a boisterous celebration, which the Romanian leaders of the two towns also supported. The conductor planned a Bartók-recital to be held a month later but the Romanian Ministry of Culture banned it with no explanation. A vile press-campaign began against Urițășanu, to which he responded with a noble gesture: "I express my gratitude to the city of Timișoara, because they have provided the people with a gift of cultural aspect through the city's symphonic orchestra, which has given the opportunity to prove the *raison d'être* of Romanian music culture and gain the appre-

⁹⁶ (F.B.): *Kodály's 'Psalmus Hungaricus' at Cambridge* = *The Musical Times*, 1 January 1925, 71.

⁹⁷ See the interpretation of the *Psalmus* as a personal confession, FODOR, Ilona: *Psalmus hungaricus* = *Új Írás*, 1967, (1), 95–102, 96.; a political interpretation: BREUER, János: *A guide to Kodály*. Trans. by STEINER, Mária, Bp., Corvina, 1990, 92.

⁹⁸ See the scientific analysis of the *Psalmus*-reviews, BÓNIS: *op. cit.* (1987), 132–160.

⁹⁹ [ANONYMOUS]: *Rendkívüli filharmóniai hangverseny* [Extraordinary Philharmonic Concert] = *Pesti Hírlap Rádiómelléklete*, 20 April, 1934, 12.

¹⁰⁰ BARABÁS, István: „Elsiették a dolgukat, akik csak zenekritikusnak könyvelték el” [Pintér Lajos újságíróval beszélget Barabás István [“Those who put him down only as a music critique have rushed their judgement” István Barabás talks to music critic, Lajos Pintér] = *A Hét*, 2003, (1–2), 3–4.

ciation of one of the best musicians in Europe. I thank culture advisor, Emil Grădinariu, for the fact that by gathering Romanians, Hungarians and Germans at his host table, he showed my guest, Zoltán Kodály, the real face of Bánság [South-Eastern part of the Carpathian-basin], where the spirit of brotherhood prevails instead of the pestilent hatred.”¹⁰¹ The government banned the composer from conducting, then turned his military officer father against him too, so eventually, in the garden of the *Curentul* daily paper’s editorial office in Timișoara, he shot himself in the head on 7 March 1935.¹⁰² Following these events, the Bucharest government still feared the *Psalmus Hungaricus* so they issued a statute to ban any performance in Romania.¹⁰³ The local police stations made all musicians, especially the leaders of gypsy bands, sign a statement on the statute. Kodály had a bitter response to the attack: “There has been no account of walls collapsing to the sound of a horn since Joshua. In any event, it is peculiar of the Romanians’ power, so often and vehemently expressed, that they cannot bear the sounds of the *Psalmus*, they fear the return of the Jericho incident so much.”¹⁰⁴ The psalm has still not been performed often in Hungary’s neighbouring country since then. István Nagy began to rehearse it in Kolozsvár [in Romanian: Cluj-Napoca] in 1957, but the authorities put an end to this.¹⁰⁵ Finally, in 1992, Attila Demény performed it there, and then, in some other Szekler towns. Sándor Berkesi conducted the piece in Nagyvárad [in Romanian: Oradea] in 2005. Due to its undisguised bitterness, subject and its composer’s authenticity, the *Psalmus Hungaricus* has become the musical symbol of the ill-fated nation.

Epilogue: May Day at Pressburg

The Hungarian political leadership made the Trianon-trauma a taboo after 1949. Despite this, there were people who continued to commemorate it; the most well-known pieces are: László Lajtha’s *Symphony V.* (1952), dedicated to

¹⁰¹ Lajos PINTÉR publishes the text: *Emberek viharban (2.) A hangverseny* [Men in Storm (2.) The Concert] = *A Hét*, 1979, (23), 8.

¹⁰² [ANONYMOUS]: *Öngyilkos lett Urlățeanu Radu karmester, a Curentul munkatársa, akit eltiltottak a dirigáldstól* [Conductor, Urlățeanu Radu, the associate of Curentul, and the one who was banned from conducting, has committed suicide] = *Erdélyi Lapok*, 9 March 1935, 8.

¹⁰³ [ANONYMOUS]: *Kiirtották a Psalmus hungaricus-t Romániából. Kodály Zoltán nyilatkozata műve betiltásáról* [The *Psalmus Hungaricus* has been banned in Romania. Zoltán Kodály’s statement on the banning of his work] = *Az Est*, 20 March 1935, 6.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ TÓTH, Gábor: *Egy megkésett Kodály-zsoltár nyomán* [Following a Delayed Kodály-psalm] = *Várad*, 2007, (7), 97–101., 100.

Transylvania, Sándor Szokolay's *Ima rontás ellen* [Prayer Against Hex] (1988), and Ede Terényi's *Tér és Fény szimfónia* [Space and Light – A requiem for the Transylvanian churches] (1988). They do not close the panorama, yet the Czechoslovakian concert does, which is surprising given the earlier analyses.

The Vilmos Rubányi led MÁV Philharmonic Orchestra of Debrecen performed pieces related mostly to the detached territories and enjoyed great success in Pressburg [in Slovakian: Bratislava], in the concert hall of the Slovakian Philharmonia on 10 May 1966.¹⁰⁶ Apart from Bedřich Smetana's *Moldva* (1874), only Hungarian composers' works were performed, such as a noble dance from Lajos Rajter's *Pozsonyi majális* [May Day at Pressburg] (1938), Béla Bartók's *Magyar képek* and Ernő Dohnányi's suite, the *Ruralia hungarica*, as well as Zoltán Kodály's *Galántai táncok*, and finally, Franz Liszt's *Les preludes* (1854).¹⁰⁷ The forty-minute applause induced the orchestra to play the *Rákóczi-induló* [Rákóczi March] (Hector Berlioz's adaptation, 1844), the recruiting dance (1926) from Kodály's *Háry* and one of Dvořák's *Dance Slave* as a gesture towards the hosts. With a slight alteration, the orchestra had performed the concert earlier in Igló [in Slovakian: Spišská Nová Ves], Kassa [in Slovakian: Kosice] and Nyitra [in Slovakian: Nitra] – but instead of Rajter's *dance*, they played Leó Weiner's *Divertimento I*, subtitled *Régi magyar táncok* [Old Hungarian Dances].¹⁰⁸ What opened the door to the performance was the fact that Dohnányi, Bartók and Rajtner's childhood was closely linked to Bratislava, but the former coronation city also played a role in the lives of Liszt and Kodály. It was not only the artistic impact of the significant pieces of universal music history that caused the *éclat* of the concert but also the fact that all the works adapted the Trianon-trauma, known but unsaid by the audience. Therefore, Rubányi, in hindsight, justified Radu Urlăţeanu's heroism since they both used music as a cure for the injury caused by politics.

¹⁰⁶ [ANONYMOUS]: *Kiküldött munkatársunk telefonjelentése: A kassai sikert is felülmúlja a pozsonyi. Csütörtökön érkezik haza a MÁV-zenekar* [The telephone report of our emissary associate: The *éclat* in Bratislava surpasses the one in Kosice. The MÁV Orchestra is coming home on Thursday] = *Hajdú-Bihari Napló*, 12 May 1966, 1.

¹⁰⁷ Lajos Rajter's pantomime is set in the Reform-era Bratislava (at that time it was the capital of the Hungarian Kingdom) and tells the story of the rivalry over a beautiful Hungarian bourgeoisie girl's hand. For more detail see: WINDHAGER, Ákos: *Rajter Lajos: Pozsonyi majális (1938/1954)* = *Országút Online*, 6 July 2020, <https://orszagut.com/cikk/rajter-lajos-pozsonyi-majalis-zenekari-szvit-1938-1954>

¹⁰⁸ [ANONYMOUS]: *Vasárnap este indul csehszlovákiai vendégszereplésre a debreceni MÁV Filharmonikus Zenekar* [The MÁV Philharmonic Orchestra of Debrecen is setting off for a tour in Czechoslovakia on Sunday evening.] = *Hajdú-Bihari Napló*, 1 May, 1966, 12.

Conclusion

We have now seen now that mythic memory, which was also generated by the government, was institutionalized after 1920, and thanks to *Hiszekegy*, its literary (Papp-Váryné), musical (Szabados) and political versions soon appeared. However, it was also perceptible how the composers who experienced the trauma deeply in their personal and social connections took an active role in making memory historical and preventing it from becoming politically thematized – for the sake of a healthy society. Ábrányi first commemorated victimization in *Trianon*, but then in *Constantinople*, which uses historical symbols, he criticized the Hungarian elite. In *National Credo*, Dohnányi elevated myth to musical heights, but in *Festive Overture*, he placed it in historical perspective emphasizing the imperative need to move forward, while a year after that, he combined it with collective memory and created a universal musical work in *Ruralia*. Bartók and Kodály were never willing to take part in fostering the Trianon-myth, but they summoned collective memory (peasant music) in their works. However, mythic memory made its marks in both their works (e.g. *Hungarian Pictures*, *Psalmus Hungaricus*), and as we have seen, sadly, the Romanian political leaderships also interpreted them in this way. Nevertheless, the international reception unequivocally accepted *Ruralia*, *Dance Suite*, *Psalmus* and *Cantata* as masterpieces, which are only secondary references to cultural memory. Musical works cannot heal the wounds of society but they may well facilitate rapprochement.

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Áron Máthé

Literature, Kádár, the Soviets and Trianon: How the Issue of “Hungarian Nationalism” was Present in Communist Literary Policy between 1956 and 1968

Hungarian writers and poets have a centuries old tradition of taking responsibility for the community and thinking about national issues. In fact, since the Bible translation by Károli¹, and since the Reformation, through Zrínyi², the Bodyguard writers³ and poets to the great national epic poem of the 19th century and the tragically unsolvable dilemma of the 20th century, indeed, throughout the history of Hungarian literature, in addition to creating literary works, most of the aforementioned authors also strove to better their homeland. This, of course does not mean exclusivity, there have been many Hungarian poets and writers who, while not committing to the idea of l'art pour l'art, i.e. art for art's sake, would be difficult to classify as “political” in any sense of the word.

After 1945, as was typical under Stalin, writers and poets were considered as “engineers of the human soul”, which highlighted their public role even more. I use the latter assertion only in a functional sense now and I do not even want to refer to the complex issue of literature associated with the Communist party. The key role of the Hungarian Writers' Union was not to promote the interests of its members and obviously it could not provide, or could provide only to a very limited extent, a platform for writers of different schools for debate. The Writers' Union became one of the transmission machines of the single-party state, an area in which the Communists could exercise power. After the process of change between 1949 and 1950 and before 1956, during the madness of the Rákosi era⁴, the Writers' Union had almost 500

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¹ The oldest surviving full Hungarian Bible translation (which is still in use). It was translated by Gáspár Károli and his fellow pastors between 1586 and 1589. The first translation of the Bible was done by Hungarian Hussite clerics in the 15th century, but only segments of this translation have survived.

² Count Miklós Zrínyi (1620–1664): Hero of the Ottoman wars, one of the most important Hungarian and Croatian poets, military leaders, politicians and authors of military science in the 17th century.

³ Maria Theresa of the Habsburg dynasty, the ruler of Hungary, established a bodyguard of Hungarian noblemen in 1760 in Vienna. It was an elite group of officers familiar with the French culture, some of whom became the first literary authors of the Hungarian national Enlightenment.

⁴ Mátyás Rákosi (1892–1971): Communist politician, general secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party and later of the Hungarian Working People's Party, prime minister. He was in charge of the Sovietisation of Hungary, and, apart from some power struggles, he was the absolute ruler of the country between 1948 and 1956.

members, half of whom were members of the communist party. Naturally, they did not represent the whole Hungarian literary scene, there were many authors who were not admitted to the Writers' Union because of their views, their style, their work before the war or because they were "class aliens".⁵ However, the Communist party did not fully succeed, as Hungarian literature did not become an exclusively party issue, but rather remained a national one.

As a result of all this, Hungarian writers played a prominent role in 1956 and also during the period leading up to it.⁶ The situation is perhaps best described in a diary entry by Gyula Illyés⁷ on 28 October:

"As we were heading towards Üllői street, someone in a group ahead of us said, so loudly that we could understand: the comrades have had it. In that area, you would have risked your life if you had called them by that name. In the afternoon, I was in the Parliament (representing the Writers' Union, together with [Tibor] Déry). A strikingly beautiful and well-dressed young woman came in, and in the delicate manner of secretaries, she told one of the men among us:

»The comrade ministers are asking for you...«

This was the first time that day, there among the red velvet and carpets, that I heard this word uttered without bitter sarcasm. I felt it was tragic and I said so. The minister in question responded.

»Yes, it is terrible. We are this secluded.«

Later, when we discussed the fervent and hurried mood in the streets, someone asked: who should be minister then? I said:

»The person who dares to walk along the boulevard.«

It sounded improper. Silence followed."⁸

After the revolution was crushed, as a kind of rear-guard action, the writers who were speaking the truth about it published a proclamation, "Gond és hitvallás" ["Matter and Creed"], written by Áron Tamási⁹ on 28 December, which

⁵ STANDEISKY, Éva: *Az Írószövetség 1956-ban* [The Hungarian Writers' Union in 1956] = *Alföld*, 2007, 58/3 (In an electronic format: <https://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00002/00103/stan.html>).

⁶ For the role of the Writers' Union see FEKETE, Gyula: *Az Írószövetség mint az erkölcsi erők központja* [The Writers' Union as the centre of moral powers] = KISS GY., Csaba – PÁPAY, György (eds.): *Közép-Európa jegyében. Írószövetségek a demokráciáért és a nemzeti függetlenségért – Tanácskozáskor az Írószövetségben*. Budapest, Kortárs, 2011, 43–47; Also the designated website of the Writers' Union: <http://iroszovetseg1956.hu/bevezeto/> In 2016, the Hungarian Academy of Arts organised an outdoor exhibition to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the revolution: <https://www.mma.hu/muveszeti-hirek/-/event/10180/irok-a-forradalomban-%E2%80%93-1956-%E2%80%93-a-magyar-iroszovetseg-kulteri-kiallitas>

⁷ Gyula Illyés (1902–1983): poet, writer, playwright, literary translator, editor, corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

⁸ ILLYÉS, Gyula: *Atlantisz sorsára jutottunk – Naplójegyzetek 1956–1957 (Részletek)* [Submerged with Atlantis – A Diary 1956–1957, Excerpts]. = *Magyar Szemle Online*, http://www.magyar-szemle.hu/cikk/20160613_atlantisz_sorsara_jutottunk_naplójegyzetek_1956_57_reszletek

⁹ Áron Tamási (1897–1966): Hungarian writer from Transylvania, he lived and worked in Budapest after 1945. One of the most influential figures in 20th-century Hungarian literature.

was followed by their persecution and reprisals against them by the state. Arrests and measures to divide and rule followed, writers were prosecuted and the imperative in realpolitik that "Hungarian life must live on" also led to changes.

In the present study I wish to describe the interaction between the relationship of Hungarian writers and the national thought, the national issue, and the attempts to bring about restoration and consolidation by the communist regime. To explore the issue, I rely on two main groups of sources, a collection of Soviet documents from Russian archives, published by the Committee of National Remembrance, and some quotes from the 1968 "dual bond" debate. The first was the starting point of communist restoration, and the second was after the consolidation, the beginning of mature Kádárism, which was captivated by "reforms" from which it was expecting socialist welfare. In 1957 a lot of trials were still going on, people were being executed; in 1967, however, the last politically motivated execution marked the end of an era.¹⁰ In 1956 and 1957, it was the Romanian comrades that helped restore dictatorial rule in Hungary, and in 1958 a Hungarian delegation went to Romania for what was to be a humiliating visit. 10 years later, however, Romania did not take part in the intervention in Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact, which was a spectacular demonstration of its individual policies, and in the autumn, operation plan "Delta" of the Hungarian People's Army included the scenarios of military aggression from the Yugoslavians and Romanians.

During this period, not unrelated to the Romanian context, Hungarian national thought was reintroduced as tolerated within the ideological map of the Kádárist People's Front, of "alliance politics".¹¹ This, however, was no full rehabilitation, "Hungarian nationalism" was still considered a major threat.

Let's take a look at the first part of the process; the Soviet interpretation of 1956. Before the revolution, on 27 September 1956, Yuri Andropov, the Soviet ambassador to Hungary, wrote the following note: "Comrade Komor, the deputy editor-in-chief of *Magyar Nemzet* (the newspaper of the Council of the Patriotic Popular Front) visited me of his own accord. The reason he gave for visiting the embassy was that he was deeply worried about the situation he saw on the ideological front in Hungary. [...] It is understood that, for example, at the coming general assembly of the Hungarian Writer's Union they are planning to elect a leadership consisting only of persons who took a strong stand

¹⁰ Some miners in western Hungary planned and carried out attacks with explosives against a Soviet military train and a Lenin statue. One of the defendants was sentenced to death and the execution was carried out.

¹¹ Alliance politics: This sprang from the once mighty "Popular Front" tactics. It meant that the Communist Party was the core of a political alliance for progress and for the sake of the country.

against the Political Committee of the MDP KV (Central Leadership of the Hungarian Working People's Party).¹² Déry and Tardos, who have recently been expelled from the Party, will be included in the leadership of the Writers' Union and the editorial staff of *Irodalmi Újság* [Literary Journal]. However, neither of them retracted the comments they made in the Petőfi Circle, where they were calling for a »second revolution«¹³ in Hungary. Quite the contrary, they said repeatedly that their remarks were correct. [...] In relation to what Comrade Komor said, the following fact might prove interesting. On 24 August, Comrade Gergely, the writer, had a conversation with Comrade Gorbachev, an employee at the embassy, and the former told the latter that Comrade Szalai, the secretary of the MDP KV had recently received a group of Hungarian writers. At the meeting, writer Mihály Földes spoke and told Comrade Szalai that there was a strong anti-Soviet sentiment among the writers. As comrade Földes said, an anti-Soviet sentiment has recently become stronger among Hungarian writers and has manifested in new forms that are characterised by Hungarian chauvinism, antisemitism and openly anti-Soviet sentiments. Writers are saying that the »Soviet liberation« truncated Hungary the way the »Trianon diktat«¹⁴ truncated it and now, and they say, nearly three million Hungarians ended up outside of Hungary again. There is talk that Hungary lost Horthy's legacy because of the »Soviet liberation«.¹⁵ Does this note really reflect the opinion of an ideologically driven writer who was a comrade loyal to the party or does it reflect the views of the embassy? Perhaps both, and in such a way that the embassy had its connections through which it could verify its own view, the Soviet view. Let me quote a letter from another Hungarian writer, one who not only became increasingly ideologically driven, but would later work as an agent recruited by state security. Kálmán Szentiványi wrote a letter to the globally renowned Russian-Soviet writer Mihail Solohov at the end of December 1956. The reason for writing the letter was that Solohov discussed the Hungarian situation in 1956 in a statement. In this statement, as part of the

¹² The Hungarian Working People's Party was the communist party in Hungary between 1948 and 1956. The Central Leadership was its most important elected body, while the major decision-making organ was the Political Committee, which also had direct control over the state.

¹³ According to the communist historical narrative, a "popular democratic revolution" took place in Hungary between 1944 and 1948. See: MÁTHÉ, Áron: *Április 4. – Egy népi demokratikus forradalom?* [April 4th – A popular democratic revolution?] = *Valóság*, 2015, 58/5, 87–99.

¹⁴ With the Treaty of Trianon after World War 1, Hungary lost two thirds of its territory and approximately 60% of its population, including three million ethnic Hungarians, almost one third of the total Hungarian nation.

¹⁵ BABUS, Antal – MÜLLER, Gabriella – SERES, Attila: *Magyar irodalom és szovjet irodalompolitika a hruscsovi korszakban. Orosz levéltári iratok, 1953–1964, I. kötet (1953–1957)* [Hungarian literature and Soviet literary policy in the Khrushchev-era. Documents from Russian archives, 1953–1964, vol 1. 1953–1957]. Budapest, Committee of National Remembrance, 2019, 297., 299., 302.

two-front war, he praised them for fighting against the "sectarian-dogmatic", ultra-Stalinist rule of Rákosi, but he also chided them: "It pains me to see that Hungarian writers did not speak up against advancing reactionism."¹⁶ Szentiványi learned about this statement and wrote a letter to "Dear Comrade Sholohov". In this letter he referred to the travel report, *Roads of Europe*, by the Russian-Soviet writer Ilya Ehrenburg, in which he used quite offensive words when describing Hungarians. Szentiványi wrote that it was insulting for the whole nation that the book was published in Hungarian, under the communist rule of Rákosi. He added, "I would like to remind you of an interesting detail. A few days before the revolt, all the phones at the Writers' Union were ringing, factories, social organisations and private individuals were asking when and where the Writers' Union was organising a demonstration. The leadership says they did not organise anything and there is no reason not to believe them, but in that case, for the sake of historical accuracy, it must be established who dared to organise a demonstration in the name of the Writers' Union. [...] Rákosi and his supporters [...] caused immeasurable harm to the idea of communism, and no reference to Beria and I don't know who else can justify what they did. They paid absolutely no attention to national and folk tradition, they ignored the extremely important fact that our people were afraid of all forms of colonialism and would strenuously resist. They should have known the history of the Hungarian people and they should have not been content repeating their speeches on progressive tradition senselessly. No-one has proved to us that our customs and cultural and economic forms are worse than those of other peoples."¹⁷ Szentiványi goes on to provide what is basically an apologia of Hungarian writers and the Writers' Union, pinning the blame on "bourgeois with party pins" who joined Imre Nagy and changed sides. Was Szentiványi honest? He was recruited by state security earlier, before the revolution, and in 1957 his handler described him thus: "As a result of his relationship with us, he gradually got rid of the remnants of his folk-rural features and at the end of 1955 he already claimed to be a communist. [...] Once the counter-revolution was crushed, he immediately joined the MSZMP (Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party). He has been a member of the Workers' Militia¹⁸ ever since it was founded. In November 1956, he was one of the agents who actively sought to contact us."

Let's compare this to the official report by the Soviet embassy. On 31 January 1957, Andropov wrote: "As a result of counter-revolutionary agita-

¹⁶ Ibid., notes 325., 830.

¹⁷ Ibid., 338.

¹⁸ The Workers' Militia, established in 1957, was a militia of the communist party functioning as a special police force.

tion, which is trying to exploit the mistakes made by the former Rákosi-Gerő leadership in national politics and the shortcomings of the organisation of Soviet-Hungarian cultural relations, national sentiment is still intense among a significant part of the population. In the press and in the radio, among intellectuals and university students, at different gatherings, the historical characteristics of Hungary are always highlighted, along with its »peculiar« situation among the neighbouring, mostly Slavic countries. The symbolism of the Kossuth coat of arms is highly popular in Hungary, the message of which is that »Greater Hungary« should include territories that currently belong to Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The tricolour and Saint Stephen's crown are highly promoted as symbols and relics of the Hungarian people. Reactionary propaganda is trying to use the old Hungarian national traditions of the anti-feudal revolution of the »liberating period« of 1848–1849 for its own purposes, including poems by Petőfi and statements by Kossuth and other revolutionaries.

The Writers' Union, many papers, university student organisations and other organisations are doing everything they can to stir nationalist and anti-Soviet feeling. Pressured by the nationalists among the workers, the government declared 15 March a public holiday (this was the date the 1848 revolution started). The public is now singing, again, the national anthem with the religious and nationalist lyrics by Kölcsey (until now the national anthem was played instrumentally).

Nationalist feelings are mostly directed against neighbouring countries, Romania and Czechoslovakia. But the main, key element of these feelings is the anti-Soviet sentiment. [...] It is clear from the above that it would be a great mistake to keep building Hungarian-Soviet cultural relations in the same way as they were built before the October events as it would only harm the cause and it would make our friends' situation more complicated. The Hungarian comrades understand this situation, and the way we see it, they are somewhat worried that we will start to restore cultural relations as they were. They mentioned to us several times that cultural relations between the Soviet Union and Hungary must be improved gradually, step by step, to the extent that nationalist and anti-Soviet feelings are defeated here in Hungary. We fully agree with the Hungarian comrades regarding this issue.”¹⁹ In his report Andropov provided an analysis of the situation where the image of “peace-wrecking Hungarians” can be used to scare the Moscow headquarters; moreover, there were complete lies in it – in reality nobody cared about Romania or Czechoslovakia, it was

¹⁹ *Magyar irodalom és szovjet irodalompolitika a hruscsovi korszakban*. Ibid. 358–359. (Document 64 A report by Yuri Andropov, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary to Nikita Khrushchev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Dmitri Shepilov, Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the cultural scene in Hungary after the revolution of '56 and the need to strengthen Soviet-Hungarian cultural relations, Budapest, 31 January 1956).

the Soviet Union that was causing a headache. In this analysis mostly *everything that belongs to the symbols of national self-expression is hostile and anti-Soviet*. It is also exciting how Andropov linked 1956 to the Trianon-syndrome, but this, according to the agendas of revolutionary bodies, reminiscences, documents and inscriptions on walls as attested to in photos, is absolutely unfounded. More precisely, there is one thing: communists believed that the Hungarian national thought, or Hungarian nationalism, if you will, was linked to Horthy and the bourgeois system between the two world wars. They could not and did not want to imagine Hungarian nationalism without “Horthysm”. There was a reason why the resolution of the Hungarian Socialist Workers’ Party in December 1956²⁰ included “Horthysm” in the analysis of the causes behind the revolution (in communist parlance: counter-revolution): “In the preparation and instigation of the October events, the Horthy-fascist and Hungarian capitalist-landowner counter-revolution was a key factor.”²¹ This was clearly expressed by Marshal Tito, on behalf of the Yugoslav communist leadership, which acted hypocritically with regard to the Hungarian events in 1956 at a party meeting in Istria on 11 November: “It is clear how dreadful resistance people are capable of, with their own bare hands, if they need to, if they fight for their freedom and independence. It doesn’t matter to them what kind of independence they are fighting for, that the bourgeoisie will come back and the old reactionary system will be restored, all they want is national independence.”²²

Because of this, in his report quoted above, Andropov makes a suggestion regarding culture, more specifically literature: Hungarian communists should also be tasked with the ideological implementation of anti-nationalism. If I may use some bitter, historical irony, I could say that by the time the Andropov-report was written, in practice anti-nationalism was going full steam ahead. János Kádár, the new communist leader who came to power with Soviet help had said this earlier. On 6 December 1956, communist provocateurs and activists held demonstrations with red flags all over Budapest. These rallies were attended by a couple of dozen or several hundreds of people. People in the streets of Budapest were, of course, angered by these marches, and several counter-demonstrations started spontaneously. Finally, at the Nyugati railway station, the well-prepared Hungarian communist special police force opened

²⁰ The Hungarian Socialist Workers’ Party (MSZMP) was the new Marxist-Leninist political organisation established to replace the Hungarian Working People’s Party (MDP), the Bolshevik party that collapsed as a result of the revolution of ’56.

²¹ Resolution by the Provisional Central Committee of MSZMP on 5 December 1956 Online, <https://mek.oszk.hu/01900/01937/html/szerviz/dokument/msmphats.htm>

²² Quoted by FARKAS, Lajos: *A titkos brioni találkozó* [The secret meeting in Brion] = *Rubicon*, 2016/10–11., 161.

fire on the counter-protestors. Kádár praised one of the commanders of the special afterwards: *"Comrade Csémi, you might not even know what you did on 6 December. All you know is that you fulfilled your duty and smashed the marching counter-revolutionaries. And this is true. But you did so much more. You showed the underlying strength of the Hungarian armed forces, the power of the special police force. After what you did, those who went home with a bullet in their leg or with their nose broken berated the Hungarians, not the Russians. This means that the Hungarian special police force pulled the rug from under nationalism on 6 December. You may not understand this, others may not understand this, but we do."*²³

140 It is clear that Soviet and Hungarian leaders connected the struggle for Hungarian sovereignty and the war of independence over 100 years earlier. The national struggle for freedom of 1956 was mixed together with the Hungarian national thought in general, which they wanted to stigmatize as "nationalism". As a result, the Hungarian national thought became entangled with the question of borders and the issue of Hungarians living as minority ethnic groups beyond the borders. So when we talk about Kádár "building an antinationalist nation", we are also talking about the fact that they wanted to contrast "Hungarian" as a quality with the efforts to establish sovereignty and with the large number of Hungarians living beyond the borders. This issue, however, caused annoyance to Kádár and his comrades due to the situation in the Carpathian Basin and especially the relations with Romania, not to mention that there were quite a few Hungarian communists in the upper echelons after 1956 who were born in Transylvania.

As for the particular issue, the Hungarian national thought *is indeed* inseparable from the trauma of Trianon, the highly adverse decision that was reinforced in 1945 and from the issue of the Hungarian communities separated from the homeland. It is another matter that 1956 was not about this; it was just an opportunity for the Soviets and their Hungarian henchmen to grab so that they could cast suspicion on the revolutionaries of 1956.

This two-faced approach was reflected in the speeches Kádár and his comrades gave in 1958 during a visit to Romania. The visit resembled an ancient Roman triumphal parade where the Hungarian communist leaders played the part of the defeated enemy as they were humiliated, taken to several places in the country by the Romanian hosts, which was a break from diplomatic protocol. Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş), a city with a 75% Hungarian population at the time, was the centre of the Magyar Autonomous Region, which was used for political window dressing in respect to ethnic minorities; here, before a

²³ BERECS, János (ed.): *Visszaemlékezések 1956* [Looking back on 1956]. Bp., Zrínyi, 1986, 265.

meeting with cadres from the region, Kádár gave a toast: "Ethnic Hungarians live here, too [...], nationalism has deep roots in the way people think, [...] the Hungarian state is interested in what happens to ethnic Hungarians outside its borders, but of course it is also interested in the fate of Czech, Slovak and Romanian workers."²⁴ At a "workers' meeting", comrade Gyula Kállai, a close colleague of Kádár, said: "If the counter-revolution had won in Hungary, it would have meant the beginning of imperialist wars of plunder in the Danube basin, and the Hungarian and the Romanian people would have been the first victims."²⁵

This issue, however, was still a problem for the Hungarian comrades. A few years later, on 7 January 1964, an unusual, even exceptional debate took place in the Political Committee of MSZMP. Originally, the main item on the agenda was the most recent extravagant proposal by Khrushchev, namely that war should be outlawed in international law. He sent a letter on this subject to the leaders of satellite nations, and the members of the Political Committee were trying to come up with an answer. It wasn't easy, as Khrushchev's letter mentioned border issues, of course focusing on the Federal Republic of Germany and the Oder-Neisse line, i.e. the border between Germany and Poland. Dezső Nemes²⁶ noted on the draft response: "It could provide an opportunity to raise border issues here in Hungary, too, and if we are to expect these negative phenomena revived, we must prepare to fight them too."²⁷ Sándor Gáspár²⁸ went even further: "We, Hungarians are not in dispute with our neighbours. [...] But we need something more here in the response, something that is not too much. [...] We need a reference that there are no disputed borders, but since dogmatism and sectarianism are losing their relevance in the international communist movement, similarly, it is manifested in ethnic policy in an increasingly Marxist manner, and it is our intention too." István Szirmai²⁹ was even bolder.

²⁴ Quoted by FODOR, János: *Az 1958-as magyar-román tárgyalások körülményei és következményei* [Circumstances and consequences of the 1958 Hungarian-Romanian negotiations] = *Transindex*, <https://itthon.transindex.ro/?cikk=14164>

²⁵ Quoted by BALOGH, Gábor: Trianon-trauma [The trauma of Trianon] V., http://elsovilaghaboru.com/tortenete/cikk/trianon_trauma_v

²⁶ Dezső Nemes (1908–1985): communist politician, historian and journalist. One of the major communist ideologists of the era, the head of the communist Institute of Party History. Originally an upholsterer.

²⁷ MNL (National Archives of Hungary) OL, 288. f. 5/324. ó. e., 12.

²⁸ Sándor Gáspár (1917–2002): communist politician. The most important position he held was as general secretary of the Council of Trade Unions.

²⁹ István Szirmai (1906–1969): journalist, politician. Member of the Romanian Communist Party from 1929, member and senior official of the Hungarian Communist Party and its successors from 1940. After the takeover of power by the communists, he was a leader in charge of political agitation, party propaganda and the centralised ideological control over the press and culture.

"In the official, written response, I think, it is not necessary to start with, this is not the time to start with that we, Hungarians, or we as a socialist country don't have territorial disputes. This would weaken our position. [...] I would like to raise something to consider, in the national assembly, when comrade Kállai talks about international issues and the latest message by Khrushchev must be addressed, would it not be appropriate to say in a carefully worded message something along the lines that the People's Republic of Hungary acknowledged the Paris peace treaty eveeven though it significantly truncated the historical borders of the country and Hungary has no territorial claims regarding the neighbouring, friendly countries, we have put the friendship with socialist countries or the nations along the river Danube before territorial issues, but we have the legitimate demand that Hungarian minorities should be provided all political and cultural rights. This is a thought that would reassure those Hungarian social categories that are now worried about border issues."³⁰

Finally, Kádár summarised the debate. First, he referred back to Dezső Nemes's speech, about who was interested in border issues: "Comrade Nemes says that »certain groups«. I can tell you which groups: workers, peasants, intellectuals. Everyone is interested in this issue." Was this a slip of the tongue? Was this the Andropov-formula put into use? Or was it a special, two-faced Kádárist version of it, namely that anyone can be labelled as irredentist, but they can leave the door open for legitimate Hungarian claims? Perhaps *all at once*? Let's take heed of this, as later, like a good communist, he would speak of a narrower group ("wild petty bourgeois") and with that he would go on to condemn those "interested in border issues". Kádár then went on to talk about his pondering. "If I may something like this to the Political Committee, I can tell you there is something I've often been thinking about. The second world war ended, with the correct result, as the Allies stated that there would be no modifications. The status quo was restored here as well – and this is all right. However, this status quo is, if we view it from a Marxist perspective, an imperialist treaty of robbers. This was true. The Trianon peace treaty was also an imperialist treaty of robbers like the Versailles treaty. We must call the treaty ending the second world war fair, but what has been restored is the imperialist treaty of robbers. I, as a communist, am asking myself. [...] Why do we say the treaty of robbers has been restored? Because the world has changed a lot. We have five neighbours, all five have something that belongs to us, and four of the five are socialist countries. I believe that the ideal of communism will prevail in the end, and it will eventually solve the issues of peoples, the problems of national development and border disputes. We could include in the middle

³⁰ MNL (National Archives of Hungary) OL, 288. f. 5/324. ó. e., 14.

[of the response] a Hungarian issue, as there are two historical topics. One is the past, as the Hungarian people have a lesson they learned from the past: as chauvinism was stoked, power was abused and the country was almost destroyed between the two world wars. The other is the future, we are on the way of socialist development, we are progressing towards communism, and that will solve all disputes between peoples. [In the response] we would be crazy to say there is no border issue. The party has been struggling with this for 18 years..."³¹

Finally, after two brief remarks by Dezső Nemes ("We have no demands" and "We should expect some reverberations as to why we don't start negotiations") Kádár closed the debate: "We can't view it like this. There are many assumptions in the Hungarian public today. Some wild petty bourgeois are hoping that our government, the line it is taking, will help them in this. These problems will be solved by communism."³²

We see "Hungarian self-criticism" here, which doesn't sound genuine from a communist, and, explicitly and implicitly, the "border issue" and the issue of Hungarians beyond the borders are linked to the Horthy era. It is no wonder that it led to nothing, and, in line with Kádár's idea, they expected that the problem would be solved when communism was established.

Yet Hungary and the Hungarian community also had to carve out a place in the sun in the historical galaxy of the Soviet Union.³³ In March 1968, a strange debate started in the Writers' Union. It was about Hungarian writers living and working in Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia being a part of not only the literature of the given country, but a part of the whole Hungarian literature as well. The "dual bond" debate, the "official" assertion and practical implementation of this fact, which now seems trivial, lasted for months. After that, not independently of the intentions of the party leadership that was trying to launch an economic transformation with the New Economic Mechanism³⁴, in April, in one of the key ideological institutions of the MSZMP, the Political Academy, it was not the "hardliner" István Szirmai, who was in charge of this area, but György Aczél, who was the face of cultural policy in the Kádár era, that gave a presentation about the current issues in cultural policy. Talking

³¹ Ibid. 15–15/a.

³² Ibid. 15/b.

³³ "Hungary's Place in the Sun – Safety for Central Europe" – Lord Rothermere published an article in the 21 June 1927 issue of Daily Mail, which would have a great impact on Hungarian revisionist politics. Here I draw a parallel, meaning that the Trianon decision, reinforced in Paris in 1947, literally put Hungary in an impossible position.

³⁴ There was a comprehensive reform of economic governance and planning during the socialist era, which was prepared in the mid-1960s and implemented on 1 January 1968.

about the national issue, Aczél implicitly warned writers: nothing should be discussed that could lead to the slightest conflict with neighbouring countries. Party leaders in these countries managed to convince people that the communist dictatorship was in fact national fulfilment, and historically they based or built socialism at the expense of the local Hungarian minority. Aczél was especially critical of the views of the great folk writer Gyula Illyés, namely that he tried to lessen the responsibility of Hungary and of the former leading groups/classes of Hungary in the political tragedies that the Hungarian nation experienced in 1918–1920 and 1944–1945.³⁵ Here, again, Aczél referred to the Horthy-era, but whichever way we look at it, he, again, identified it with the entire Hungarian national issue.

Finally, on 6 June 1968, Kádár went to the extended board meeting of the Writers' Union. The introductory speech was given by József Darvas, the chair of the Writers' Union. He said that they were not pursuing a direct political role, but they agreed to convey the social message of the party. Then he went on to discuss the issue this paper is focussed on: "We have recently started to discuss the issue of Hungarian literature outside the borders of Hungary. Just yesterday, a very interesting debate was closed here regarding Hungarian literature in socialist countries. It was a responsible and serious debate. We believe it is right to build on the principle that these literatures, considering their peculiar situation, are integral parts of Hungarian literature and we must definitely care about them. [...] When five years ago comrade Kádár was here, the consolidation of the literary scene was nearly completed, and we were right to establish – and if I'm not mistaken, he did too – that in this work, in the consolidation of the literary scene, the Writers' Union had played a serious and important role. We never took credit for the result, we never said we played the key role in it: obviously the good policies, the good cultural policy of the party was the basis [...] The last question in foreign policy: it is well-known that while in the Trianon peace treaty there were some points about the rights of ethnic minorities, there is no such thing in the Paris peace treaty. It deals with this issue under general human rights. In some socialist countries the situation of the Hungarian minority is less settled than it was between the two world wars. Unfortunately, this is true for ethnic Hungarians in Carpathian Ukraine, too. Can't we pursue a more active policy for the more consistent implementation of Lenin's policy on nationalities? How do international events, for example the national autonomy policy of the Romanians and the Czechoslovak changes affect public opinion here and what reactions do they

³⁵ FEITL, István: *Kiegyezés vagy fegyverszünet? Kádár János 1968-ban az Írószövetségben* [Compromise or truce? János Kádár in the Writers' Union in 1968] = *Múltunk*, 2008, 53/4., 152.

trigger? There is this strange situation, and comrade Kádár knows this too, that an awakened nationalism is now condemning the Romanians in an internationalist way and is happy to condemn it. At the same time there are questions raised whether this may be the wise thing to do what the Romanians are doing, they have always made their own policy on time."³⁶ János Kádár addressed the issues that were raised in detail and he discussed the national issue as well. It is worth quoting him at length: "We often heard from the comrade writers that we were not dealing with the issue of patriotism well enough, were not dealing with it appropriately, and other artists, for example Kodály, chided us. I remember when Kodály cried out at the congress³⁷ [of the Patriotic People's Front]³⁸: They are taking that little nationalism away from us, what will we, poor Hungarians, have left? Of course, he meant something different by nationalism than we do. He rather meant a feeling of patriotism. And we often hear criticism, when it comes to Hungarians living in neighbouring countries, that we don't deal with them properly, that we don't care about them. [...] Look, comrades, if we wanted to deal with this national issue and the issue of Hungarians in neighbouring countries irresponsibly, if you think about the Political Committee as a general partnership, if it were doing nothing else but playing on these nationalist strings, the PC could live on this for 10 years. But we cannot do that because of our belief and worldview. What is the situation with Hungarians living in neighbouring countries? Look, comrades, legally we cannot turn anywhere to anyone, there is no court we could turn to. [...] Constitutionally we have no say in these matters. And there is another thing, and I must speak about this frankly. I consider myself a Hungarian, but I'm a Hungarian communist. I believe that if a Hungarian worker lives free, free of human exploitation in another country and he can live here under the yoke of capitalism, I call this other person a free man and not the one living here, even if the sign on the country said Hungary. I'm referring to the Horthy era and I don't know what else. This is the social side of the issue. [...] The other is that because I'm a Marxist and a communist I believe that in a socialist country the national issue [...] can and must be solved fairly based on Marxist principles in the sense that an individual from another ethnicity can be free socially and free

³⁶ *Jegyzőkönyv a Magyar Írók Szövetsége 1968. június 6-i kibővített választmányi üléséről* [Minutes of the extended board meeting of the Writers' Union on 6 June 1968] 11., http://polhist.hu/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/03-jvk_iroszovetseg_ules_1968_jun_6.pdf

³⁷ Zoltán Kodály (1882–1967): World-renowned composer, musicologist, music teacher and folk music researcher. One of the greatest collectors and recorders of Hungarian and Eastern-European folk music and folk songs.

³⁸ Patriotic People's Front: poster organisation of the communist dictatorship, a political forum to conceal the total power of the communist party, the manifestation of the cooperation of fellow travellers.

in his language and culture and feel that he is Hungarian, Armenian or I don't know what. [...] Because I'm sure the final outcome, the final solution will be this. What state systems will come when states will be more advanced, some sort of confederation and unions and who knows what – we should not be concerned about that. This will be an issue of progress in the distant future.”³⁹

As we can see Kádár shrugged off political responsibility for the millions of Hungarians living beyond the borders as minorities, but gave a free hand to writers: “I believe it is appropriate and justified what you have brought up regarding literature etc. Of course, it is one way to serve Hungarians, an honest and nice way, and it should be developed as allowed for by objective opportunities.”⁴⁰

We can see that we got from stigmatization to some slightly troubled thinking to carefully taking on the idea of a culturally coherent nation. More precisely, it was not taking on the issue, it was merely that dealing with it in this way was no longer banned, it was tolerated. They also got to the point that the question of Hungarian sovereignty was no longer connected to border issues and border issues were treated independently of Hungarian ethnic minorities abroad.

This, however, could not be solved in the historical galaxy of the Soviet Union, in the “objective circumstances”, as was clear from the intervention by the Warsaw Pact in Czechoslovakia in 1968. The situation of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia seemed to get better as a result of the “Prague Spring”, when it was sacrificed to communist “normalisation”, i.e. that the influence of the Soviet superpower would not diminish over Czechoslovakia. The great Hungarian freedom fighter of the 19th century referred to this in a prophetic piece of writing: “Even if the nations of the lower Danube succeeded in drawing together all ethnic cousins who now belong to other states, they would create, at best, second-rate states whose independence would be forever in peril and which would inevitably be vulnerable to foreign influence.”⁴¹

The situation of Hungary and the Hungarian nation in the Carpathian Basin can only be settled through the cooperation of sovereign nation states to eliminate the external influence of great powers.

³⁹ *Jegyzőkönyv a Magyar Írók Szövetsége 1968. június 6-i kibővített választmányi üléséről* [Minutes of the extended board meeting of the Writers' Union on 6 June 1968], 57.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 56.

⁴¹ KOSSUTH, Lajos: A „Dunai Szövetség” tervszövege (1862. május 1.) [A plan for the “Danubian Confederation” 1 May 1862]. <http://mek.niif.hu/04800/04882/html/szabadku0178.html>

Bence Csatári

The Appearance of National Identity in the Pop Music of the Kádár-era

From the *Nemzeti dal* to *István, a király*

Introduction – The Antinomy of Communism and Nationalist Sentiments

Magyar is he who feels the pain over Trianon – this phrase of hazy, balladistic origin, having matured to the proverbial, is, contrary to common beliefs, not attributable to the poet Gyula Illyés, nor even to Frigyes Karinthy, but to Miklós Patrubány¹, could under no circumstances have become common parlance in Hungary under János Kádár. The tragic situation of Hungarians beyond Hungary's borders, the outrageous discrimination they were subject to and the heavily decisive challenges they faced were literally hushed up by the one-party state, on the fake grounds that our neighbours – with Austria's exception, where the fewest Hungarians lived – belonged to the group of “friendly countries”, similar to us, therefore nothing bad under the aegis of socialist internationalism could happen to our fellow countrymen torn from us – there could simply be no conflict of perspective whatsoever between the Hungarians in minority and the majorities of these nations. If for no other reason, then because these people, glorified by the ideology of communism would unify in a country with a “society without classes” anyway, where one's national identity would not matter at all – the very term could even be eradicated from the face of the Earth. This term simply would not even be recognised by the Kádár administration, which was completely indifferent towards national interests and – considering their use of Soviet “assistance” to crush the Revolution of 1956 – would have been downright treasonous, therefore it is no surprise that any expression of such in artistic creations, including works of music, were thwarted. They harboured fears that any emergence of nationalistic thoughts

¹ Zoltán Ábrahám, university lecturer at Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureș, Romania), attributes the phrase to Frigyes Karinthy. <https://kronikaonline.ro/velemenymagyar-az-aki-tudataban-van-trianon-fajdalmanak#> (accessed on 31 October 2020). Most people, however, opine it originated from Miklós Patrubány, president of the Hungarian World Congress. <https://e-nyelv.hu/2020-06-03/kitol-szarmazik-a-magyar-az-akinek-faj-trianon-kijelentes/> (accessed on 31 October 2020). Literary historian Mária Stauder excludes the possibility of Gyula Illyés ever having said it, and Miklós Patrubány confirmed in a statement of having said it as quoted on 25 May 2020 at the opening conference of the 5th Hungarian World Congress. <https://24.hu/tudomany/2017/06/08/magyar-az-akinek-faj-trianon-hirtelen-felindulasbol-jott/> (accessed on 31 October 2020).

and sentiments would undermine the power and authority of the one-party state – if it ever had such at all.²

The Beginning: National Identity Engraved in Rock and Reprises of Folk Songs

As early as in the heyday of beat music, there were significant attempts in Hungary to touch upon a folk style in pop music, with the clear intent to strengthen nationalistic sentiments. Leading the way down this path was the otherwise highly popular group, Illés. They won five out of a total of 11 prizes at the prestigious Táncdalfesztivál [Festival of Dance Music] in 1968 with their song *Amikor én még kisserd voltam* [When I was just a little guy], which, mostly due to its instrumentation, playing a recorder in it, was conspicuously folkish, but little did the public seem to notice that the song's tunes were in fact southern Slavic.³ On the surface, it was a hit masterfully built on folk tunes, but the underlying context must have gotten the message across enough to the opposition then underground, concentrated mostly in the lines "*Elvisznek engemet / Rossz arcú emberek*" [Ill-countenanced people / Will take me away]. This was a perfect allusion to the period of unlawfulness and show trials in the 1950s, as in 1968 one could already talk about how horrible the years of the Rákosi-era had been, when the band members of Illés were indeed 'little guys'.

In the first album of the creative duo of Levente Szörényi and János Bródy, released in 1969 and titled *Nehéz az út* [It's a hard way]⁴ they even sounded a zithern in the song titled *Sárga rózsza* [Yellow rose] – an instrument also used by Omega, especially when they toured in England in 1968⁵ – and an accordion to better underline what they intended to communicate. János Bródy also remembers this piece: "*As a first impression, it's certainly about the passing of emotions and love and the dry flower in the song symbolises the past one's memories are linked to, of all of one's dreams that never came true. Since then, I've used the theme of the yellow rose in many other songs, and it has become*

² The fundamentals of the cultural politics of the Kádár-era were shaped by György Aczél and his entourage and were later even published in a topically organised form. ACZÉL, György: *Szocializmus, nemzet, kultúra. Írások a kultúráról* [Socialism, nation, culture. Writings on culture]. Budapest, Kossuth, 1985; ACZÉL, György: *Művelődéspolitikánk időszerű kérdései* [Timely questions of our cultural policy]. Bp., Kossuth, 1985.

³ Personal communication by Levente Szörényi, lead guitarist and lead vocalist of Illés on 6 October 2020.

⁴ Illés: *Nehéz az út*. Magyar Hanglemezgyártó Vállalat (hereinafter called: MHV) Qualiton. LPX 17391. *Sárga rózsza* is the fourth song of the album's 'A' side.

⁵ Personal communication by János Kóbor, lead vocalist of the group Omega on 3 October 2020.

symbolic in a way. Although it also comes up quite frequently in folk poetry as well, it was never linked to any political movement, therefore the censors, too, were uncertain about what to do with it.”⁶ The powers that be may have even interpreted it as a means of popularising the Kodály-method and strengthening the knowledge of folk songs, in *Sárga rózsa*, as well as in the song that followed it directly on the same album; *Átkozott féltékenység* [Damned jealousy]. This latter is a specialty, sung by János Bródy, and its text follows the tunes of a bride’s farewell song from Transylvania’s Mezőség region. Many folk musicians remember this, because this was the first Hungarian folk song played by a rock band.

Illés continued to touch upon folk motifs by choice; nationalistic romanticism was represented in their album of 1972; *Add a kezed!* [Take my hand!] by the song⁷ *Virágének* [Flower song]. In addition to its lyrics being reminiscent of those of folk songs, with the singer likening his love to a flower, the choice of musical instrument – the recorder plays the main tune over the base tune of the acoustic guitar – helping the recipient to feel as if they were in the world of Hungarian folk music, so the one-party state’s cultural policy allowed it to be published in the mother country,⁸ but it was not exported to Transylvania. Illés also released songs inspired by folk music, thereby strengthening national identity. *Alig volt zöld* [It was hardly green] focusing on the difficulties of young people in finding the right partner was released in 1969,⁹ its folkish feature being the dialogue of the drums and the recorder, enhanced by Levente Szörényi flexing the tunes at ends of the lines. The theme of *Kis virág* [Little flower], released in 1968, is about a similar topic, albeit less directly,¹⁰ turned truly dramatic by the dialogue of the solo and the vocal. Of their songs using folk motifs, *A lány és a csavargó* [The girl and the vagabond], released in 1971¹¹ stands out with its balladistic topic, likewise accompanied by recorder, this latter was even mentioned in the lyrics.

⁶ Personal communication by János on 30 January 2017.

⁷ Illés: *Add a kezed!* MHV-Pepita SLPX 17437.

⁸ The dance house movement initiated by bands playing pure folk music also gained momentum at this time. Iván Vitányi, heading the Institute for Public Culture defended this genre before the party’s management, even by convincing György Aczél of its necessity, if need be. The Sebő band, evolved from the Sebő-Halmos duo, as well as Muzsikás and Kaláka were the flagships of this movement. For more information on the dance houses, see: JÁVORSZKY, Béla Szilárd: *A magyar folk története* [The history of Hungarian folk]. Budapest, Kossuth-Hagyományok Háza, 2013.

⁹ MHV-Qualiton SP 542. The song was covered in 1984 by Kormorán on their first album, titled *folk and roll* [sic!]. This album also includes other folk music-inspired songs, such as *Zöld szemű rózsa* [Green eyed rose], the *Alig volt zöld* [It was hardly green] or *Gyere ki, te gyöngyvirág!* [Come out, lily of the valley!] MHV-Pepita SLPM 17852.

¹⁰ MHV-Qualiton SP 465.

¹¹ MHV-Qualiton SP 825. The song was covered in a very special, unique intonation and interpretation, yet kept parts of the recorder theme, bringing back the original topic in the end using

Most of the dust among the contemporary cultural circumstances, however, was most certainly kicked up among all of Bródy's songs by *Ha én rózsá volnék* [If I were a rose]. It was released on Zsuzsa Koncz's much-troubled album titled *Jelbeszéd* [Sign language] that had been banned for a period of ten years,¹² and is so close to folk songs that its tune is identical to the folk song called *Megkötöm lovamat* [I tie up my horse], hence Levente Szörényi not being credited as the song's composer on the album. Basically, Bródy just wrote a new poem for its tune. This song makes a reference to tolerance by referring to the gate that would always be open, and to openness and the effort to strive for the many things purity can mean, in the verse about the window. The tracks trampling along the street is not only a clear allusion to 1956, but to the Prague Spring in 1968 as well. The flag theme at the end of the song is a declaration of the desire for independence and autonomy, desirable at an individual, state and national level, which, however, were completely out of the question in Hungary at the time. As the political situation thawed, Magyar Hangfellelgyártó Vállalat (MHV) was allowed to release *Jelbeszéd* in 1983,¹³ and in unaltered form, which meant *Ha én rózsá volnék* could also be released again, while the lyrics' reference to tracks now included Martial law in Poland in 1981. Finally, the releasing career of this song was crowned by appearing as a closing chord on Bródy's second solo album titled *Ne szólj szám!* [Loose lips sink ships]¹⁴ in 1985.

The banned *Nemzeti dal*

Accompanying texts expressing nationalistic sentiments with music has an augmented effect, if a popular poem is set to music. This is exactly what happened to Sándor Petőfi's *Nemzeti dal*, when László Tolcsvay one of the

brass instruments by the band Quimby on their album titled *Amikor én még kisserác voltam* [When I was just a little guy]. 3T Hungarian Polygram 983 1429; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P_omuOcWhJY (accessed on 31 October 2020).

¹² MHV-Pepita SLPX 17462. In the course of the *Jelbeszéd*-affair, MHV released the solo album of the same title by Zsuzsa Koncz in 1973, including the title song *Jelbeszéd* by Lajos Illés and János Bródy, as well as the priceless generational anthem of *Ha én rózsá volnék*, but they could not be aired over the radio, i.e. they did not get the so-called "Z-rating" as they were criticising censorship, and, with a bit of imagination, socialist slogans. Zsolt Kőhádi, the coordinator for popular music of the Scientific, Public Educational and Cultural Department (TTKO) of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party was requested from the radio to take action, who eventually arranged to have the record banned. See the case in detail in: CSATÁRI, Bence: *Az ész a fontos, nem a haj. A Kádár-rendszer könnyűzenei politikája* ["Brain goes a longer way than hair." The pop music policy of the Kádár-era]. Budapest, Jaffa, 2015, 15–16.

¹³ MHV-Pepita SLPM 17821.

¹⁴ MHV-Favorit SLPM 17967.

eponyms, composer, keyboardist, guitarist and harpist of the Tolcsvay Trió, otherwise having several folk music-infiltrated hits, put a coat of pop music on the poem in 1973, thereby turning it into the anthem of freedom for the youth of the time, fuelling their national identity. Just as the original poem back in 1848 had, back when nationalism and liberalism were mutually supporting and supplementary goals, far from being the contradictory ideologies they have by now developed into. The Tolcsvay piece, in spite of being composed upon an official request for the March 15 commemorations organised at Forradalmi Ifjúsági Napok [Revolutionary Youth Days], this latter heavily promoted by the one-party state, ran the gauntlet for a further eight years. The establishment's thwarting efforts were caused by a strengthening of movements in 1972 and 1973 that celebrated 15 March separately, as an alternative to the one-party state's official ceremonies, and which were violently crushed by the police. In order to defuse opposition movements, the Belvárosi Petőfi Emlékbizottság [Inner City Petőfi Memorial Committee], operated by the District 5 Patriotic People's Front (elsewhere: Petőfi Centenárium Emlékbizottság [Petőfi Centennial Memorial Committee], led by József Gyenes, employed by the Ministry of Interior Affairs), the district committees of the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party], the District 5 Committee of KISZ [Hungarian Young Communist League], as well as the National Office for Event Organisation (ORI) requested pop musicians to author and compose songs, arguing that the year had marked the 150th anniversary of Petőfi's birth.

According to the memoirs of László Tolcsvay, when he performed *Nemzeti dal* before the jury at the ORI headquarters building, "all faces went pale. With my originally tame nature, I surprised and won them over with four chords".¹⁵ What Zsolt Kóháti, the coordinator for popular music of the Scientific, Public Educational and Cultural Department (TTKO) of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party had written in a note in 1973, namely that in the event of politically questionable performances of certain popular music bands, the Division for Musical and Dance Arts of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs was right to intervene with a firm hand had also applied to him. At the same time, Kóháti criticised the memorial committee's support for the song, arguing it represented danger out of all proportion: it had the potential to agitate the people against the occupying Soviet troops stationed in the country, and could also stir excessive nationalistic sentiments.¹⁶ Therefore the *Nemzeti dal* – although given

¹⁵ <http://valasz.hu/itthon/tolcsvay-nehezen-viselem-hogy-a-hazafisag-manipulacios-eszkozze-valt-127755> (accessed on 31 October 2020).

¹⁶ National Archives of Hungary, National Archives (MNL OL) M-KS 288. f. 36/1974 (Az MSZMP KB TKKO iratai [Documents of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the TKKO]) 48. ő. e. 141–143.

the green light by the Committee for Dance Songs and Chansons¹⁷ – could not be officially aired over the radio, and was not released on vinyl; it could only be heard at live performances of the Tolcsvay Trió. Occasional bootleg recordings of these performances would be made and subsequently played at school commemorations, resulting in minor local incidents. The breakthrough for *Nemzeti dal* was finally brought about by the film *A koncert* [The concert] directed by Gábor Koltay, and the concert held on 26 March 1981 at the National Sports Hall, as well as the double live album made of it. The film’s “producer”, István Nemeskürty, had successfully convinced Jenő Bors, the director of the MHV to include the song in the album, despite the fact that it had been silenced for years before, as it was composed, after all, on the orders of the Patriotic People's Front and the Hungarian Young Communist League. Faithful to the one-party state's customs, however, the release could not happen without some Freudian slip, since besides Tolcsvay as the composer, the record's sleeve credited the poem's text to János Bródy instead of Sándor Petőfi. With some irony, Bródy remarked that MHV employees must have thought a song turning out to be this troublesome could in no way have been authored by Petőfi; it could only have been Bródy's work.¹⁸ From then on, the genie was out of the bottle, and the *Nemzeti dal* had been played on many occasions, before the broadest possible public. The most spectacular examples of this were the official March 15 commemorations held at the National Museum, where, instead of the boring ceremonies of the past years, Miklós Varga performed the rock reprise of the song before tens of thousands of people and millions of television viewers.¹⁹

Honfoglalás [Conquest]: A rock suite to strengthen national identity

The band P. Mobil's rock suite titled *Honfoglalás* [Conquest of the Motherland] strengthened national identity by the choice of topic, written by László Földes,

¹⁷ The Committee for Dance Songs and Chansons was established on 1 June 1959 on the orders of the Theatre and Musical Division, under the purview of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs. Its members were nominated by the minister for cultural affairs in the case of musical institutions and by the president of Magyar Rádió és Televízió [The Hungarian Radio and Television Corporation] in the case of radio and television positions. The committee was initially assigned under the State Concert Directorate. From September 1 1959, the chanson committee included the delegate of the trade union, and from then onwards, the fees of the members were paid by the Alliance of Artistic Trade Unions. The chanson committee was eventually dissolved in 1985 by Árpád Zongor, its last chief officer in charge, after he realised that institutions of popular music do perform their censor activity anyway. MNL OL XIX-I-4-ff (Members of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs and the Directorate of Theatrical and Musical affairs), 50. 49936/1959.

¹⁸ JÁVORSZKY, Béla Szilárd – SEBŐK, János: *A magyarok története 1*. [The history of Hungarians]. Bp., Népszabadság könyvek, 2005, 209.

¹⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kyg7J9ncOL8> (accessed on 31 October 2020).

based on band leader Lóránt Schuster's idea, and composed by the quartet of Sándor Bencsik, István Cserháti, László Kékesi Bajnok and István Mareczky.²⁰ The five-movement work on the ancient history of Hungarians, and their arrival in the Carpathian Basin after centuries of migration unambiguously awoke national identity, quite contrary to the spirit of the age during when it *was written*. This is corroborated by the introductory sentences: "Those mountains stand right up to today, those rivers run right up to today, that star still shows the way and that folk is still alive." The first movement, the *Őshaza* [Ancient Motherland] begins in slow, six-eight time, with Lóránt Schuster's prose, alluding to the place from where Hungarians may have originated. The initial lyric intonation perfectly reflects the fate of the Hungarians, about to grow into a culture, turning bad "*grief to nuptials, tears to smile*" follow as they are attacked by hostile adversaries, forcing them to continue on. This tragedy culminates at the end of the movement, backed by the hard guitar and the drums strengthening in parallel.

While one listens to *Vándorlások* [Wandering] the wind tearing across the endless Asian steppes is almost audible; the synchrony of the keyboard and the guitar, the hectic drum of the verses and the curt but powerful drum variations during the breaks actually substituting the refrains perfectly give back what riding in the steppe must have been like. The pagans appear in the text as the shaman, asked by the people to pray for them during their tribulations. The text – which cannot be expected to be fully historically accurate – suggest Hungarians had a spirit of sticking together even back then and were sensitive to any losses their tribes suffered. The short, but all the more dynamic third movement titled *Harcok* [Battles] is instrumental; the keyboard and the bass guitar engage in a soft dialogue in the beginning, with a perfect and lively guitar theme emerging from this, even including a characteristically hard rock solo, the hit completed in the end by an organ, as if holding the entire work together in a frame. The loose rhythm of *Vérszerződés* [Blood oath] suggests some kind of resolution for the dramatic tensions, with the keyboard and the guitar taking turns to lead the theme. The musicians also involve the audience in the arcana of becoming a nation; the theme about settlement, "*Mit a hét törzs keresett, a nemzet kapta meg*" [What the seven tribe leaders had initially sought became the nation's reward] is all about this. The vocal at the end is about the last moments before entering the Carpathian Basin, when they sing "*Pusztá népe, utadnak vége / A hegyen túl vár az aranyos szegellet*" [This is the end of the journey, sons of the steppe / Loving shelter awaits you over the hills].

²⁰ MHV-Start SLPM 17812.

The last and positive movement of *Honfoglalás*, titled *Új haza* [New home] – rhyming with the “*Őshaza*” opening theme, embedding the piece into a frame structure – which is a very shocking and uplifting experience, given its complexity. The piece, starting, and also continuing with virtuosic guitar solos – in fact the entire fortress is but a major guitar solo – depicting Prince Álmos at the Verecke pass in a neo-romantic way, whose personal tragedy is that he cannot enter the promised land with his people (this theme emerged before in mankind’s history, as Moses also could not set foot in Israel, even though he led the Jews to safety there) to the Promised Land where they could carry on with their settled lifestyle. The heroic leader of the Magyars does his duty, but he eventually dies, this is the last theme of *Honfoglalás*, when he is buried. Musically this is quite appropriately illustrated by the band members of P. Mobil, the lead vocalist – Gyula Vikidál in the original version from 1978 and Péter Tunyogi in the first officially released version in 1984 – movingly singing out the higher tunes, while the last beats of the work, with the organ’s tunes, lead the audience into the Carpathian Basin. The most important, essential sentence of the history of Hungarians is spoken in *Új haza*: “*Hajtsd meg Álmos ősz fejed, élni csak velük lehet*” [Bow your grey head, Álmos, we can only coexist with them]. In other words, tolerance towards other nations – given that there are other nations stronger, perhaps smarter and more experienced than us, and we after all occupied a passageway upon the Conquest of the Motherland – must be an accompanying element of Hungarian history in order to survive.

According to accounts, on the premiere of *Honfoglalás* on 1 May 1978, part of the audience, grasping the inspiring and uplifting magic of the moment, knelt down, listening to the music at Buda Youth Park. It may sound absurd at first, but if one gives it a little more thought, one can understand that the outcasts of the society of the era, the lowlifes and their teenage peers were touched, and identified with the music and its message. Of the pop music institutions, surprisingly Magyar Rádió [The Hungarian Radio Corporation, also known internationally as Radio Budapest] was more open towards *Honfoglalás* than the MHV (under normal conditions, it should have been the other way round, but censorship at the radio was more stringent as it reached out to a greater number of people), therefore, on 26 October 1978, they recorded their live show performed at Láng Cultural Centre, without hiding the intention that they had intended to make a live album out of it.²¹ This, however took a long six years to materialise, thanks to the “benevolence” of the record factory. The piquancy in this concert was otherwise that they performed before the Apos-tol band, and the applause given to *Honfoglalás* was mixed under the material

²¹ Personal communication by Lajos Csiba, pop musical editor of Magyar Rádió on 26 June 2014.

of Apostol's performance. P. Mobil, however, recorded the material with a so-called "artificial head", in which two very sensitive microphones had been incorporated, including the original house announcement and audience noise, and they incorporated this into the CD they released after 1989. Lóránt Schuster sought MHV with the copy of the radio recording in 1978, where the work was labeled chauvinist, and after a lengthy tug-of-war, he was told the recording had been lost. Even Péter Erdős' secretary said she had no idea of the whereabouts of the record. When it had become clear that the question of release had been completely ignored, and the leader of the band exposed the betrayal during one of his visits to the MHV (he had found the record in one of the cabinets in the secretary's room), members began to leave the band.²² Gyula Vikidál quit first, and joined the band Dinamit in 1979, followed by two key authors of the *Honfoglalás*, Sándor Bencsik and István Cserháti also left P. Mobil, establishing Pandora's Box in 1980. Actually, this incident demonstrates in perfect clarity how the communist cultural policy obstructed the expression of nationalistic sentiments, and how one of its monopoly institutions, the MHV used salami tactics to dismember bands that were out of its preference.

P. Mobil eventually successfully worked off the backlogs they were facing for reasons outside their authority, and their album titled *Honfoglalás* could be released in 1984, the cover featuring a guitar body in the shape of Hungary's post-Trianon borders. This gave birth to a popular joke at the time, especially among Hungarians beyond the borders about the "mutilated instrument". The deceitful, or from their own point of view, stupid nature of the censorship of the era would allow the design of a record sleeve with a red-white and green ribbon as a ring on the ring finger of the hand plucking at the chords, while on the verso, thick red arrows would indicate which region we came to the Carpathian Basin from, even though it would have been easier to make these in red, white and green too. The more imaginative fans of the era directly associated this with Soviet oppression. The list of those playing on the records also turned out to be rather interesting, as the aforementioned persons who left the band were also asked to cooperate in certain songs, giving the album its special symbolism. Gyula Vikidál sang the closing theme, which greatly added to the value of this album. The story of *Honfoglalás* after the political changes of 1989 cannot be told without mentioning at least so much that it was staged in 1995 with the Hungarian National Philharmonic Orchestra, and

²² CSATÁRI, Bence: *Jampecek a Pagodában – A Magyar Rádió könnyűzenei politikája a Kádár-rendszerben* [Swanks in the Pagoda – Magyar Rádió's pop music policy in the Kádár-era]. Budapest, Committee of National Remembrance, 2016, 246–247.

a CD of the performance was released in the same year.²³ In this, even Márta Sebestyén agreed to sing the subsequently edited insert titled *Hazám, Hazám* [My country, my country] (the rock suite was also supplemented with *Sámánének* [The shaman's song]). The ultimate compensation for the band was the release in 1998 of the first album from 1978 with the original settings, *Az „első” nagylemez* [The “first” album]. A rarity of rock history was that its sleeve still showed Zoltán Pálmai as the drummer, but the record actually has István Mareczky on the drums, also credited as the author, as Zoltán Pálmai had by then been conscripted into the army.²⁴ It is equally worth for critics and fanatics to judge how well this creation of national value sounds with Gyula Vikiidál, the original lead singer.²⁵

István, a király – The Safety Valve of Nationalistic Sentiments

The rock opera *István, a király*, with music by Levente Szörényi and lyrics by János Bródy, also functioned as a safety valve of national pride, and according to many approaches, it was inspired among others by *Honfoglalás*. The source of conflict in the piece is the dilemma of protection of independence versus integration into Europe, therefore the authors placed great emphasis on showcasing national pride. This explains why folk instruments go hand in hand in the piece with rock music and ecclesiastical music symbolising multiculturalism, but the dancers clad in folk costumes also form a well accentuated element, as the minstrels play folk inspired rock in one of the scenes. The premier of elementary force, which was followed by six more performances, allowing a total of 140 thousand people to see it (with another one and a half million in cinemas and seven million on television), the Youth Event Organising Bureau, organising the series of performances at Királydomb in 1983 had attracted the antipathy of many party potentates, with one member of the Central Committee directly seeking to ban further performances – István Gál said.²⁶ Choosing the locations for shooting the film of the same title proved to be

²³ MEGA HCD 37826.

²⁴ MEGA MCDA 87606.

²⁵ Cultural policy acclaimed two of their songs on the *Heavy Medal* album in 1983, originally titled *Transylvania* and *Piros, metál, zöld* [Red, metal, green] nationalist, and they had to be renamed to *Metalmánia* [Metamania] and *Nem érhet baj* [I can't get in no trouble], respectively. MHV–Start SLPM 17770. The album titled *Babba Mária*, released in 1998, is about the Csíksomlyó Pilgrimage, while the title song of their album titled *Kutyából szalonna* [The spot-changing leopard], likewise released in 1998, has Lóránt Schuster chanting “No, no, never!” over the basic riffs. MEGA MCDA 87605. In addition, they also covered a rock version of *Nélküled* [Without you], the smash hit by Ismerős Arcok, which, too became a great success. GrundRecords GR 145.

²⁶ Personal communication by Iván Gál on 26 June 2005.

anything but easy and straightforward, the bureaucratic hindrances of the district councils playing a significant part in this. The first choice would have been the Amphitheatre at Óbuda, which was cancelled due to endangering the protected monument conservation areas, and then Népstadion also desisted from providing the venue. Hence, the choice of the only remaining option of Szánkódomb [Sledge hill] in Budapest's District 14, which Bródy had named Királydomb [King's Hill] for the occasion.²⁷ It is especially interesting that János Bródy wrote the lyrics of the piece based on Miklós Boldizsár's drama titled *Ezredforduló* [The Turn of the Millennium], who must have had reservations concerning the moral dilemma of antagonism between István and Koppány, as his father (who had been nominated state secretary for foreign affairs in 1947, then later editor of *Magyar Nemzet* in the Rákosi-era) also played a significant role in calming the writers down during the period of the post-1956 retribution meted out by the communists.

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On the idealism of the rock opera, János Bródy said: “Very unfortunately and very tragically, the desire for national identity and that of the ascension to the community of European nations very rarely walked hand-in-hand. Those who sided with Hungarian traditions, identity and sovereignty usually looked suspiciously at any innovative, progressive, European and western effort, and those for whom the Western states served as role models would always consider the opponents backward and provincial, and this is so, right up to today. [...] Réka's figure actually embodies the thought that it is perhaps possible to resolve enmity by some kind of agreement, but sentiments always manage to obstruct it somehow. Réka approaches István, matching her by age, as Koppány's daughter, and their relation could perhaps be a solution, but it is out of the question as both sides oppose it. In the beginning, Koppány's people opprobiate Réka for accepting the new Christian ideas, and later she is threatened by István's mother, upon requesting her father's body from the court.”²⁸ And when Christianity is criticised, Laborc says the key phrase from the perspective of national pride: “*Nem kell olyan Isten, aki nem tud magyarul, szabad magyaroknak nem kell ilyen úr*” [We don't need no Lord whom we don't comprehend, to this no free Magyar will ever condescend!]²⁹ The exclamation “*Nem kell!*” [We don't need it!] at the end of the song additionally stresses its message – this phrase is sung out a total of 37 times, making one feel as if Bródy had known in advance these words would have to be shouted out by singer Feró Nagy aka “the cockroach of the nation”, who, too – how surprising – had a banned song titled *Nem kell*, which

²⁷ CSATÁRI: *op. cit.* (2015), 279.

²⁸ CSATÁRI, Bence: *Nekem írod a dalt. A könnyűzenei cenzúra a Kádár-rendszerben* [You're writing it for me. Censorship of pop music in the Kádár-era]. Bp., Jaffa, 2017, 76–77.

²⁹ SZÖRÉNYI, Levente – BRÓDY, János: *István, a király*. MHV-Hungaroton. SLPM 13973-13974.

the MHV had no intention of releasing. There are no coincidences, but Bródy asserts that he had no foreknowledge of Feró Nagy eventually getting to sing this song at the time he wrote it. Similarly, nationalistic sentiments are at the focus in the movement called *Szemtől szembe* [Eye to eye], in which Koppány sings “*Büszke népünk idegen hatalmat nem tűr, az igazságunk győzni fog, ne félj!*” [Our proud people will tolerate no foreign power, fear not; justice will prevail!] A few songs later, Koppány is in discussion with Réka and István and, continuing his chain of thought, he blames István for bringing foreigners into the country to establish his power against Hungarians (“*Idegeneket hív magyarok ellen segítségül*”), then concludes the following: “*Pogánynak tartanak, mert szembeszállok a hódítókkal/Pogány itt mindenki, ha velem van, és nem Istvánnal*” [Now I’m a pagan, for I stand in the way of the conquerors/Pagan is anyone here, who sides with me and not István]. It doesn’t take rocket science to understand that this is the very description of the conflict between Imre Nagy – János Kádár, at the end of which Hungary lost her short-lived independence in 1956, just as Prince Koppány fell against István.

The illustration of nationalistic sentiments using novel artistic means eventually did not bother the more enlightened members of the Hungarian Socialist Workers’ Party, and László Maróth, head of the Budapest party committee – whom many thought had been hand picked as Kádár’s successor – openly took Szörényis’ side, in the face of potential conflicts his action might have entailed within the party. Feró Nagy remembers the use of large nationalistic symbols, appearing as novelties in that milieu, when they had first stretched out the 50 metre long national flag at the “live” rehearsal, mentally preparing for the authorities possibly banning and confiscating it from the live performance – for this occasion, they could nevertheless argue that it only served an experimental purpose. Either the powers grew a little less alert or it was indeed the winds of change, eventually the piece was subject to no form of retaliation, and every performance could go ahead with the red-white-green scenery. The same happened to the *Himnusz* [the Hungarian national anthem], the replay of which at non-official events was re-established by this premiere – previously this was deemed contradictory to the ideas of the international workers’ movement by the communist administration, and as such was objected to and banned. The benevolent effect of *István, a király* and that of Gorbachev’s Glasnost was perceptible in the report written by the minister for education, Béla Köpeczi, in May 1986, submitted to the Agitation and Propaganda Commission of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers’ Party, describing nationalistic sentiments in rock music as a virtue.³⁰

³⁰ MNL OL M-KS 288. f. 41/1986 (Az MSZMP KB Agitációs és Propaganda Bizottságának iratai [Documents of the Agitation and Propaganda Commission of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers’ Party] 469. ó. e. 15–16.

Conclusion

This study could have been easily extended to analyse in depth several more songs, musical works or plays on nationalistic sentiments. Without striving for completeness, the song of the Bojtorján band's *Történetek* [Stories] album from 1983, titled³¹ *Összetartozunk* [We belong together] also falls into this category, the lyrics of which had been written in a way by Attila Horváth so as to allow its interpretation as a love duet, in order to get it through the censorship machinery. Similarly, albums and singles were released in the turmoil of the political changes around 1989, which themselves embodied a patriotic stand for the nation. Such was Bikini's album titled *Temesvári vasárnap* [Sunday in Temesvár],³² as well as the hit by Miklós Varga in 1990 titled *Otthonról hazafelé* [Homing from home]³³. Judit Halász's 1989 album titled *Ismeretlen ismerős* [Unknown acquaintance]³⁴ also includes a melodised poem by Ernő Szép, *Felhő* [Cloud], which is about the Peace Dictate of Trianon, accompanied by László Tolcsvay's music, as does tangentially Beatrice's song from 1991 titled *Utálok az egész XX. századot* [I hate the entire 20th century], opening the album³⁵ of the same title. The musical historic play titled *Trianon*, created by Gábor Koltay, to be performed on 4 June 2018 at Budapest's Heroes' Square, specifically focuses on this very topic. The play's music had been composed by the director's brother, Gergely Koltai, leader of the band Kormorán. The other branch of national rock, starting out nearly as unnoticeably as a sinking stream and then swelling considerably, was represented by the bands, reaching the peak of their popularities along with the movements of the radical right in the 2010s, were among others Kárpátia, Romantikus erőszak, Egészséges fejbőr, Hungarica and Magozott cseresznye – the introduction and analysis of this phenomenon would call for another separate paper.

³¹ Bojtorján: *Történetek* [Stories]. MHV-Pepita SLPX 17735. On the history of Bojtorján: CSATÁRI, Bence: *Vigyázz magadra, fiam! A Bojtorján együttes krónikája*. [Take care, son! The Chronicle of the Bojtorján band] Budapest, Committee of National Remembrance, 2018.

³² Bikini: *Temesvári vasárnap*. /Sunday in Temesvár/ MHV-Favorit SLPM 37397.

³³ Miklós Varga: *Otthonról hazafelé* [Homing from home]. Proton LP 0121.

³⁴ Judit Halász: *Ismeretlen ismerős* [Unknown acquaintance]. MHV-Hungaroton SLPX 14138.

³⁵ Beatrice: *Utálok az egész XX. századot* [I hate the entire 20th century]. EMI-Quint QUI 106002.

The Limpid Stream – Relations of Politics and Culture

János Boros
Freedom, Force and Culture
A Philosophical Account

Summary

In my paper I analyse the theoretical background of the relation of freedom, culture and force. I argue that they are dependent upon different norms. Normativity is an imperative to make something, and to do something in a certain way. My conclusion is that there is no culture without using force, without effort. The question is finally, what is the origin of force in society and culture?

What is freedom? Who is free? What can be forced? Who can be forced? By whom? What do culture and political systems have to do with freedom and force? These are the questions I would like to discuss.

When freedom is mentioned many Hungarians think of the works of the nineteenth century poet, Petőfi Sándor.

Freedom and love

*Freedom and love my creed!
These are the two I need.
For love I'll freely sacrifice
My earthly spell,
For freedom, I will sacrifice
My love as well.*

(Translation: Kery, Leslie A.)¹

Petőfi connects two words which should belong together, in a broader sense than they do in Hungarian. The Hungarian language has two words for love, one is general and the other is the feeling of sympathy and attachment usually between two people of different genders. Petőfi uses the Hungarian expression in the second meaning, whereas for freedom the first is relevant. Since

¹ Original title: *Szabadság, szerelem*,
https://www.magyarulbabelben.net/works/hu/Pet%C5%91fi_S%C3%A1ndor-1823/Szabads%C3%A1g_szerlem/en/65517-Freedom_and_love?interfaceLang=en

the second kind of love has to do with desire, instinct and drive, it is not necessarily and without any contradiction compatible with freedom. At least if this kind of love influences the actions of humans, since freedom also means freedom from causal determination, i.e. from any biological or psychological influence in an individual or particular action.

Freedom and love in the broad sense of the terms are necessarily connected within the space of reason. Just like freedom and force. There is no liveable culture without them.

Freedom

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We cannot make sense of the freedom of stars, stones, flowers and beasts. We use this expression exclusively for human beings. Generally we understand under it that humans can decide what they want to do and what they do. The capability of independent decision making means that the decision maker is either uninfluenced or unforced to do something, and he or she acts upon his/her own choice and force. He or she is forced to act exclusively by himself or herself.

Donald Davidson wrote some seminal articles about free will, causality, and intention.² He asks questions about how the action of free will can be caused or how reasons can be causes. For my political-philosophical purpose in this paper it is enough to maintain the common sense view of freedom, which is, that acting subjects can decide within a relatively wide range what to do and what not to do.

The physical world as we know it, is governed by causal laws. Physical entities cannot decide, they do not have the capability to do other than the law prescribes. Physical entities are *forced* by physical law in their movements and changes.

Humans, on the other hand, are capable, to a certain degree, of not obeying the laws of physics. In particular, they can, to a certain degree, refuse to obey their own desires. I wish to drink a coffee, but I do not drink one. I wish to go to the seaside, but I have to do my work. I can resist physical necessitation and constraints. This is what we call freedom in a *negative* sense. In a certain sense and to a certain degree I am free not to follow physical coercion.

There is a *positive* sense of freedom, when I choose from among different ways of acting. I can eat either a vanilla or a strawberry ice cream or I can resist eating ice cream at all.

² DAVIDSON, Donald: *Actions and Events*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1980.

To resist certain constraints there is a need for an inner force. Also, if we want to do something, it often takes considerable effort. In the case of free human beings the force for acting cannot directly originate from a physical law, but we humans have to conjure up the force for our free actions. Without force there is no action.

Human beings are self-determined and this is the positive sense of freedom. Independence and self-determination are the constituents of freedom. Both need the inner force of the subject. The subject is free, if it has the inner force to resist physical desires, if it determines its own action and it can act. Freedom originates from inner force. More precisely inner force constitutes freedom.

Who is free? Every human being *is* free, this is a fundamental characteristics of it. The focus of freedom is human thinking, and rationality. Only thinking can be free. When a society would like its members to be thinking people, it should develop an education system based on the appropriation of thinking. One could say, everyone thinks, there is no necessity to teach thinking. But that is only half of the truth. All people think, but the modality and quality of thinking matters. And this can be developed and improved.

Thinking has other laws than physics. Logic is not physics and does not obey the laws of causality. It is from here that the saying originates; “thoughts are free”. Imagination is a way of thinking, and it is probably the “most” free part of it. Whereas through knowledge and logical structures the mind has to obey the world, imagination can construct entities in intuition, which are not subject in any way to the causal world.

To speak about freedom and to assess all that is one thing. Another is that we try to find out and establish what it is. To do that we must suppose that freedom has a structure. About things without structure we cannot speak and we cannot act with them or deal with them.

Will and Force

Freedom is a conceptual and not a physiological procedure or process. Freedom *is* thinking. Every entity, which has a conceptual ability is free. It is free in the sense that thinking’s laws, i.e. logic do not belong to nature. Logic is not the law of nature but the law of thinking. The nature of thinking and the nature of nature are different. That is why they are independent of each other. This independence can be called freedom. Thinking is ontologically other than nature. Whereas thinking is per definition free from physical nature, the thinking subject can *realize* its freedom. The thinking of the subject is free, but if the subject is to be free, it has to apply the rules of thinking to the subject itself, to its psychological and biological structure. It can happen only within a limi-

tation, since most of the biological processes in the subject's biological space cannot be governed by thinking. The subject is free in a practical and ethical sense, if it withstands the forces of physical nature in the determination of the will and of actions.

Continuously withstanding nature is not necessary for the exercise of freedom. Freedom is the continuous possibility and readiness not to let oneself be led by nature but to determine acts by oneself.

For Immanuel Kant will was a practical reason. It must obey the laws of itself, which is practical rationality. Only rational action can be free, and consequently good. The law of freedom is for him the *categorical imperative* which put into transcript by John Rawls as the *veil of ignorance*. To act rationally is to act morally in this sense.

— 166 To realize goals and purposes, there is a need to act, to bring from one to another state of affairs. To act, and to change relationships there is a need for energy and force, which are the conditions of movement. It is crucial, who determines the goals, who gives the force and who acts.

Humans can determine their goals and have the force to realize their reasonable purposes. Not only individuals but larger communities can have goals. To make them purposes of action there must be decisions and then actions for that purpose. Those actions should be forced. It is a fundamental question, who gives the force and who acts in society? The answer to this also answers the question of what kind of society we have in mind.

If free people found a state, they finance the state via tax and the state serves them. In state-wide actions although the state decides, it collects people as actors with methods, which honour human dignity. The state offers a salary, for which it is worth working.

Culture

Where there are humans, there is culture, there is society, and there are politics. People dance, sing, construct houses and homes, tell stories, organize their lives, help or fight each other, build social structures, make politics. This is in general the culture of humans.

Art as a constituent part of culture cannot be forced from outside, since it is not under the control of concepts whereas art very much needs force on the part of the artist. Culture needs force and to be forced. I force myself to get up in the morning, to wash myself, and to start to carry out my tasks. In a general sense everything we do, needs force

The steps of building culture are:

1. *Epistemology, Metaphysics*: thinking about the given world and the situation we are in
2. *Imagination, Art*: formulation of ideas, what could be otherwise, better for us, elaboration of alternative possibilities
3. *Analysis*: analysing, which alternative is better for us and what can be done to realise it
4. *Theoretical decision*: the decision between the alternatives
5. *Practical decision*: the decision to take action
6. *Action*

In every step there is conceptual work. Concept creation, investigation, reflexion, decision. Concepts are norms of thinking and norms of action. As Robert Brandom says, “We are the ones on whom reasons are binding, who are subject to the peculiar *force* of the better reason.”³ When we think, we have to, we *must* follow rules. Rules of thinking, of logic, of semantics. Of course, reasons are created by rationality, by inborn or transcendental rules. Brandom quotes Frege: “*Logic, like ethics, can also be called a normative science.*”⁴

Brandom reinforces this, “Intentional states and acts have contents in virtue of which they are essentially liable to evaluations of the »force of the better reason« [...] This »force of the better reason« is a normative force”⁵.

We are special, because we have a special mind, consciousness, self-consciousness, and all what that means, that for us rationality and “reasons are binding”. We cannot be non-rational. But the effect of rationality is force, coercion, compulsion: as long as we are humans, we have to be rational, we must follow the rules of reason. Normativity means just this. We cannot be not reasonable, not rational, and we must follow the best reason we know. We can do it, when we follow the better reason among all the reasons we have in mind.

Without following the better reason, we cannot have any knowledge and we cannot have correct actions. Without the “force of the better reason” there is no human existence, there is no human society. That means, *without force, without forcing, necessitating and coercion, there is no human being, there is no society.*

Brandom emphasizes mostly one part of the “force”, the normative one, which is a kind of “prescription” and “enforcement”, how to use concepts, both referentially and inferentially. The enforcement of the concepts on the thinker

³ BRANDOM, Robert: *Making it Explicit*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1994, 5. (italics added)

⁴ FREGE, Gottlob: *Posthumus Writings*. HERMES, H., KAMBARTEL, F., KAULBACH, F. eds., Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1979, 128.

⁵ BRANDOM: *op. cit.* 17.

is derivative, concepts themselves are results of methodological enforcements of thinking. Results of the structures of rationality and of the human mind. The force of logic must be responded to by the user of the logic, by the reasonable thinker. It is not just that the rules force the thinker, but the thinker must force itself to think and act following the rules. The thinker responds to the rules of logic and rationality in a cooperative way. He/she has to make efforts in using or creating concepts, collaborating with the rules of rationality, which his/her own rational constitutive rules.

Returning to 1.-6. every point is based on concepts and concept usage, that means conceptual necessitation and forces. With the short demonstration of the normativity and force-content of our thinking it is obvious that such a complicated and multilevel concept using procedure as culture, is full of normativity and force. And the use of force has many faces. Force can be used for good or for bad, and even good and bad has conceptual structure, that means, one condition of having the concepts of good and bad is the force in the normativity of all rationality.

Using force is, however, near to forcing, necessitation, compulsion, violence, tyranny. Are concepts violent or tyrannical? If rationality and logic is normative, this means it cannot be otherwise. It forces us to think in one way and not in another way. It even forces us “saying”, any other way of thinking is not thinking at all, and cannot lead to the truth and to truthfulness.

And when we are careful and when we try to avoid violence and tyranny; we have to use concepts and force.

If we ask the question, whether a society is forced or necessitated, the answer every time is: yes. Every society and even every individual is forced by its rationality. Force is all the way down.

And if all these are not enough, to follow something, to follow rules needs force and it needs the capability of having effective force, *energy, energeia*. And *energy must be produced*. The question of producing returns us again to the decision structure 1.-6. How the resources of the use of force are distributed in society is another, meta-rational question, where meta does not mean “non”, but just a special thinking procedure.

A brief conclusion of this short argumentation is that all politics, all ethics, all thinking is full of the forces of normativity. Can we not escape the force and the danger of tyranny? This is possible only via an appeasing force and thinking. Ethics are charged with the task of finding the procedures of appeasement and pacification of our originally normative and forceful thinking and action.

This should be a bringing down, an enervation of the force inside our thinking. A normativity above conceptual or rational normativity, a meta-level thinking. A categorical imperative in the sense of Kant.

As a matter of fact we have come very far from freedom and love, as the poem at the beginning suggests. Freedom and love are full of force, because both are based on rationality in a different way. Without freedom from causal determination there is no rationality, hence freedom is the necessary condition or possibility of rationality. And therefore freedom is the origin of force. If there is no freedom, there is no force, and there is no freedom without the consequence of force. Love is one possible way of using rationality. The wonderful poem of Petőfi does not stand up to a normative analysis. It only mediates a feeling, not a thought. If the poet sacrifices his earthly spell for love, then everything is finished. There is no one, who loves, when he sacrificed his life for love. And since he already died for love, it is not possible to sacrifice his love. Even when he would not succeed in sacrificing his earthly spell for love, sacrificing love for freedom is a contradiction in the normative inferential chain of concepts. Since the very essence of a freedom is love, because freedom is pure active rationality toward itself and toward other persons. The poem is not forced by conceptual normativity, it cannot be understood in a sense that is not contradictory, it is not rational, nor is it epistemological or metaphysical, but it is beautiful.

I tried to make clear that all thinking and rationality, hence the very essence of human beings and society is based on force. Every culture, every structure of a society is forced, full of force. The next question would be: how is force to pacify, how is force to bring about and produce the best possible society, and how force and the resource of force, energy is distributed, and why so. The distribution of force also needs force. A theory and a philosophy of force would also help us to understand the given historical, moral and political situation in the Carpathian Basin: why and for whom was it possible for centuries to force people and their culture? To answer these questions would require studies that are, among others historical, psychological, sociological and cultural.

Valerio Severino

The Strained “Catholic Anti-Pagan Alliance” in the Aftermath of Dollfuss’s Assassination

Data on the Italian “Altar of the Fatherland”-Building Renovation in 1934

1 §. In the book titled *Risorgimento in Camicia Nera* [Italian Unity in Fascist Black Shirt], Massimo Baioni – a historian specializing in the politics of memory – argued that an architectural fusion of Italian traditions was achieved by locating a Catholic crypt (*Sacellum*) inside the Vittoriano¹, the national monument in Rome, in the room worshipped as the “Altar of the Fatherland” (*Altare della Patria*)² which, next to its outer-side wall, also hosted the tomb of the Unknown Soldier (*Milite Ignoto*), and underneath the statue of Vittorio Emanuele II, the *Pater Patriae*, i.e. the first Italian king.³ The renovated building, inaugurated in 1935, also included a new shrine of the national flags (*Sacrario delle Bandiere*, earlier established in Castel Sant’Angelo in Rome) and enabled the celebration of the Catholic mass of “World War I Victory Day” (4 November-ceremony), inside the Vittoriano monument, which had previously been celebrated in the basilica Santa Maria degli Angeli.

According to the most accredited interpretation – formulated by Rossella Leone in her essay on the history of the Catholic chapel – the crypt should have represented a «permanent symbol of the Conciliation between Fascism and Catholicism»⁴. The explanation provided by Leone is based on the fact that this project for a Catholic crypt to be located in the national monument, was unsuccessfully launched in the early 1920s, i.e. not realized in the years preceding the Italian Treaty (“Lateran Pacts”, signed by Mussolini in 1929 to

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1 It is impossible and unnecessary to review the studies dedicated to the history of the Vittoriano systematically here. I shall therefore limit myself to a few references, i.e. the outstanding works by PORZIO, Pier Luigi (ed.): *Il Vittoriano. Materiali per una storia*, 2 volumes (Rome, Fratelli Palombi Editori, 1987–1988); BRICE, Catherine: *Le Vittoriano: Monumentalité publique et politique à Rome* (Rome, École française de Rome, 1998; and its Italian translation by Luisa Collodi [Roma, Archivio Guido Izzi, 2005]); TOBIA, Bruno: *L’Altare della Patria* (Bologna, Il mulino, 1998 [second edition 2011]); WITTMAN, Laura: *The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, Modern Mourning, and the Reinvention of the Mystical Body* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2011).

2 The form “Fatherland” is a literal translation of “Patria”, which is deliberately used here instead of such more common forms as “homeland”. My intention is to reflect the Latin root and etymology of *patria*, which is formulated from the word *pater*, “father”.

3 BAIONI, Massimo: *Risorgimento in Camicia Nera. Studi, Istituzioni, Musei nell’Italia fascista* (Roma-Torino, Carocci, and Comitato di Torino per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, 2006), 162.

4 LEONE, Rossella: *La cripta del Milite Ignoto e le scelte propagandistiche del Regime fascista* = PORZIO, Pier Luigi (ed.), *Il Vittoriano. Materiali per una storia*, vol. 2 (Rome, Fratelli Palombi Editori, 1988), 46: “[...] simbolo definitivo della Conciliazione fra fascismo e cattolicesimo”.

settle the enduring *Questione romana*, i.e. the dispute following the Italian invasion of the Papal States). I would like to introduce a new argument concerning the crypt, namely that its location in the Vittoriano cannot be considered merely as a result of the “Conciliation / Treaty”. It should be noted that the *Sacellum* was inaugurated long after, i.e. eleven years later than the Treaty; and on the date of 24 May, therefore not on the day of the commemoration of the Lateran Pacts (11 February); and not even immediately following the Resolution of September 1931 that settled the conflict that arose shortly after the Concordat between State and Church on account of the education of the youth and the “Catholic Action” (*Azione cattolica*) organizations.

The project of the two-sided architecture of the Italian Altar of the Fatherland, adapted to host both religious and civil ceremonies – to be performed inside, in the crypt, and outside, celebrating open-air rituals on its terrace, respectively – that had been conceived in the first half of 1924, was interrupted during the government crisis (1924–1925, that broke out upon the assassination of the Socialist Deputy Giacomo Matteotti), and were then proposed again and rejected in 1926⁵, finally resumed and was completed in the mid-thirties⁶.

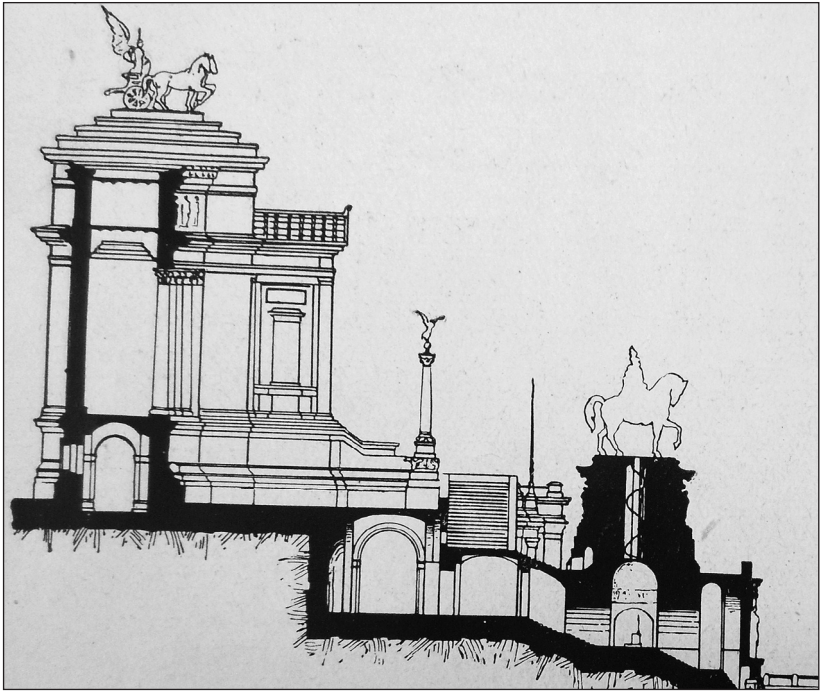
The project was delayed, while in the years 1932–1934 a similar twofold design was experimented with in the new Fascist-shrine architecture, promoted in Italy and applied to e.g. the mausoleum of the “Quadrumvir of the Fascist Revolution” Michele Bianchi (1932), the burial ground of the “Fascist martyrs” of the *Certosa* in Bologna (1932), and the shrine of Santa Croce in Florence (1934)⁷. All these new buildings were equipped to jointly perform the rites of Fascist Militia and Military Catholic chaplains. Therefore, the restructuring of the *Altare della Patria* in 1934–1935, by setting up the chapel in the monument, may have been a result of this new political-shrine model, which implemented a two-sided architectural device and endorsed such a design in Italy. In this

⁵ Letter, Minister of Public Works, Giovanni Giurati, to the President of the National Association of Mothers, Widows and Families of the Fallen Soldiers, Graziella Prunas, 7 July 1926 (Central Archives of the State (ACS), MLLPP, DG, *Edilizia e Porti*, Div. V, *Monumento a V.E. II*, 1871–1928, b. 39, fasc. 107 *Sepoltura del Soldato Ignoto sull'Altare della Patria* [Burial of the Unknown Soldier on the Altar of the Fatherland]), according to which the Ministry considered it unnecessary to re-examine the project.

⁶ A chronology of the principal events related to the long-standing construction of the Vittoriano may help the reader grasp its complexity: first call for project in 1880, second call in 1883 (project archit. Giuseppe Sacconi), foundation-stone ceremony performed in 1885, call for the project of the Altar of the Fatherland in 1909, opening ceremony in 1911, entombment of the Unknown Soldier in the Altar of the Fatherland in 1921, second opening ceremony in 1935 (renovation and completion of the building by archit. Armando Brasini).

⁷ I take the liberty of referring to my essay dedicated to this topic: *Architectural Structure and Ritual Practices of Fascist Shrines in Italy in the Interwar Period* (paper presented at the 2018 annual conference of the European Association for the Study of Religions (topic: *Multiple Religious Identities*, panel *The plurality of ritual practices*), University of Bern, Switzerland, soon to be published.

Figure 1: Cross section of the Vittoriano building. On the right side, the “Altar of the Fatherland” room, hosting the crypt inside (Francesco Saponi, *Il Vittoriano* [Roma, La Libreria dello Stato, 1946])



respect the national monument renovation in 1935 chiefly illustrates its “Fascist-ization”, i.e. its adaptation to the two-sided architecture of Fascist shrines, and thus it conforms to the style of the Italian religious art of the period. However, the exact moment in which the crypt project was relaunched and, once officially planned, and quickly achieved, should also be taken into consideration. For the first time, this essay seeks to provide a more specific contextualization, which is related to international, rather than domestic policy.

2 §. On 28 July 1934, during a meeting of the Council Board of the “National Society for the History of *Risorgimento*” – which later turned into an institute that came to be located in the Vittoriano –, the Quadrumvir [i.e. one of the four leaders of the “March on Rome” demonstration] Cesare Maria De Vecchi, first Italian ambassador to the Holy See, announced that “a Catholic crypt should be built inside the tomb of the Unknown Soldier” and that “this crypt would

be consecrated on that occasion”⁸. On 3 November, the Ministry of Public Works approved an estimate for the decoration of the *Sacellum* (presented on 10 October) in respect to the Armando Brasini project⁹.

On 25 November, in his capacity as president of the Central Council for Historical Studies (*Giunta Centrale per gli Studi Storici*), De Vecchi went public: “I suggested to the Duce, and he authorized me, to consecrate the innermost part of the crypt, by turning it into a place for worship”¹⁰ annexed to the new Shrine of the Italian Army’s flags located in the Vittoriano. In this way, a means for integrating the »civil rite« of national flags with the “Catholic religious rite” was envisaged¹¹.

The contracts for the mosaics of the *Sacellum* were signed in December with the artist Giulio Bargellini¹². The Italian Military Ordinariate’s inspection, which the restoration area of the Altar of the Fatherland was subjected to in order to ascertain compliance with the liturgical requirements, took place on 13 May 1935. On 20 May, the works at the sites of the *Sacellum* and the annexed Flags-Shrine were “feverish” – according to the newspapers reports – and had “regular (*incessanti*) monitoring visits conducted by De Vecchi”¹³. The opening-day of the new Altar of the Fatherland was set for 24 May, commemorating Italy’s entering WWI. It is clear that the project took shape between July 1934 and May 1935.

To this day, to the best of my knowledge, any consideration of the international context of those years has been neglected. An examination of the main activities in which De Vecchi was involved at the time when the project was relaunched in 1934 (almost ten years after the failure of the early project), led me to draw attention to that “tragic summer” – as De Vecchi defined it – in which Germany and Austria were at the centre of Fascist foreign policy concerns.

As is well known, in 1933, Hitler’s seizure of power made the issues of both the Anschluss (particularly keeping in mind the progress of National Socialism in Austria), and the relations between Dollfuss and Italy, crucial. Over the course of a year Mussolini’s support-policy and his promotion of Fascism in

⁸ AISR, Minutes of the meeting, 28 July 1934, Società nazionale per la storia del Risorgimento, quoted by Baioni, *Risorgimento*, 162 in the paragraphe *Il Risorgimento alla prova della Conciliazione* [Putting Italian unification to the test of the Lateran Treaty].

⁹ LEONE: *op. cit.*, 46., footnotes 25 and 26.

¹⁰ G.A.A.: Il Museo del Risorgimento e la nuova disciplina degli studi in un’intervista col Quadrum viro De Vecchi di Val Cisman = *Messaggero*, 25 November 1934, 5.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² LEONE: *op. cit.*, 46, note 26: the first contract signed on 5 December was followed by a second one signed on 22 December relating to required changes.

¹³ R.P.: *L’epopea del Risorgimento e della guerra nel Museo del Vittoriano* = *La Stampa*, 21 May 1935 (Rome, 20 May, at night).

Austria led to the "Rome Protocols", which also involved Hungary (17 March 1934). Cooperation was fostered by appealing to common interests and mutual guarantees in respect to territorial independence threatened by Nazi Germany's expansionist claims. In June 1934, Mussolini and Hitler met twice, in Stra and Venice, in order to discuss the Anschluss. On this occasion, Mussolini strategically engaged Hitler in a conversation about the "relations between Nazism and the Vatican"¹⁴ and then asked De Vecchi – in his capacity as Italian ambassador to the Holy See – to report the contents of the two meetings to the Vatican Secretariat of State.

Mussolini ordered De Vecchi to leak information to the Holy See, for the purpose of pointing out dangers and opportunities relating to the situation of Roman Catholics in Central Europe. In the following I provide a transcription and translation of the report De Vecchi wrote on 2 July 1934 on the meeting with Hitler, containing the particulars that Mussolini expected to be disclosed to the Vatican:

Hitler claimed that the Catholic Church is nothing more than one of the many Jewish mystifications. This "Jew" (Jesus Christ) would have found a way, by means of his preaching, to mystify Western mankind (*umanità occidentale*) as well. "Good for you, Hitler went on, addressing the Duce, you [alluding to the civilization which Mussolini originated from] have included [in the Church] a little, and more than a little paganism, making its center in Rome, and used it for your own ends". According to Hitler, the Catholic faith is of no use in Germany¹⁵.

This confirms what De Vecchi stated in his memoirs:

On July 2 [1934], I met Mussolini. We talked at length about the Stra meetings. I came to learn, directly from him, about other details; from the way he spoke, it was easy to understand that Hitler had aroused no sympathy on his part. "His voice", he [Mussolini] told me, "sounded like the voice of a broken record". He [Hitler] persisted in saying that the Catholic

¹⁴ Letter, 22 June 1934 (*Segreteria Particolare del Duce* archive [ACS]) B. Mussolini to De Vecchi, conveying information about his meeting with Hitler (DE FELICE, Renzo: *Mussolini il duce. Gli anni del consenso 1929–1936* [Torino, Einaudi 1996 (1974)], 495, note 2).

¹⁵ Report on the meeting between the head of government and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mussolini, and the Italian Ambassador to the Holy See, De Vecchi, Rome, 2 July 1934, 2 o'clock, in Ministero degli Affari Esteri, *I documenti diplomatici italiani*, settima serie: 1922–1935, vol. 15 (18 March – 27 September 1934) (Rome, Libreria dello Stato 1990), 495–496. A more appealing but less literal translation than the one provided here is available e.g. in David I. Kertzer, *The Pope and Mussolini: The Secret History of Pius XI and the Rise of Fascism in Europe* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014), 206–207.

Church was nothing but one of the many Jewish mystifications. Christ, whom he called “that Jew”, had succeeded, by means of his preaching, in mystifying even the Western mankind (*umanità occidentale*). “Good for you,” he [Hitler] said at some point, “that you have included a little paganism into religion, making its center in Rome. In Germany, the Catholic religion is of no use. I personally am a Catholic, but that's what I think”¹⁶.

A few weeks after the meetings in Stra and Venice, on 25 July 1934, E. Dollfuss was assassinated in the Austrian Chancellery. The National Socialist putsch failed, but created the urgency of precautionary measures (e.g. in the short term, the deployment of Italian troops to the Austrian border)¹⁷. A month later, De Vecchi was summoned by Mussolini who, again, considered the religious issue as a factor to be weighed up in determining what measures would be most advisable to pursue. He asked De Vecchi to discuss matters of interest and concern to the Catholics in Austria unofficially with the Secretary of State Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli (N.B.: signatory of the *Reichskonkordat* in 1933), in order to understand the position and the degree of support of the Holy See for Italy that could be expected if war was to break out. A questionnaire acknowledging Mussolini's requests was compiled by De Vecchi, in view of the meeting held on 29 August. Point 9 of the questionnaire reads as follows:

If the Holy See follows the principles of both the support to [Catholic] Austria today and the aversion to Hitler's Germany, on this basis we ask [the Holy See] for supportive action in the event of war, so that if we cross the border, such support should be expected not only at home, but also through the European Nunciatures (Catholic Front against neo paganism [*Fronte cattolico contro il neo paganesimo*])¹⁸.

¹⁶ DE VECCHI, Cesare Maria di Val Cisman: *Il Quadrumviro scomodo. Il vero Mussolini nelle memorie del più monarchico dei fascisti*. Ed. Luigi Romersa (Milano, Mursia, 1983), 226–227.

¹⁷ See e.g. De Felice's examination of some hesitancy in mobilizing the Italian army in his *Mussolini il duce*.

¹⁸ Note, DE VECCHI: *Questionario e proposte per il mio colloquio con Sua Eminenza il Cardinale Segretario di Stato il mercoledì 29 agosto 1934 XII, ore 11, in seguito agli ordini ricevuti dal Capo il 27 agosto XII ore 16* [Rome, 28 August 1934], in Ministero degli Affari Esteri, *I documenti diplomatici italiani*, settima serie: 1922–1935, vol. 15, 786. A slightly different version of the Questionnaire can be found in De Vecchi's archive: “If it is correct that the Holy See intends to support Catholic Austria and fight against Hitler's Germany, which has demonstrated its intention to revive [*risolvere*] old pagan ideas, we ask the Vatican, in the event of war, for its support in providing us with effective acts of solidarity, and that, if our troops should cross the border, all the European Nunciatures show such solidarity tangibly” (DE VECCHI: *Il Quadrumviro*, 227–228, [Chapter XVIII Vienna – Santa Sede – Mussolini e Hitler]). Or see: VALVO, Paolo: *Dio salvi l'Austria! 1938: il Vaticano e l'Anschluss* (Milano, Mursia, 2010), 110.

Figure 2: Altar of the Fatherland’s facade



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In the draft of the questionnaire that De Vecchi compiled, there are references to the notes he took during his meeting with Mussolini, including the following statement: “our relations with Germany are ultra-tense and difficult to fix – since the 25th it is just like walking on broken glass, and our relationship is so much damaged that it is very difficult to fix it”¹⁹.

After the meeting with the Cardinal Secretary of State, De Vecchi reported to Mussolini that, according to Pacelli, the “policy of the Holy See towards Hitler’s Germany” was “the most contrary and the most antithetical that one could imagine”, because Pacelli believed that it was a “conscientious duty to oppose forms of neo-paganism that the Church cannot tolerate”²⁰. This answer to point 9 of the questionnaire is more articulated in the comments that De Vecchi added in this matter:

9) You can guess the state of mind of the Holy See in the event of war from the following sentence which, after intense discussion, runs on the lips of

¹⁹ Ministero degli Affari Esteri: *I documenti diplomatici italiani*, settima serie: 1922–1935, 786. “Colla Germania i nostri rapporti sono ultra tesi e difficilmente sanabili – dal 25 ad oggi si sono rotti tanti vetri che è difficilissimo sanarli.”

²⁰ Ibid.

almost everyone in charge: “It is a Catholic alliance against neo-paganism [*Si tratta di fronte cattolico contro il neo paganesimo*]”. It is clear that, on the Catholic front, all Catholics must fight. At my request for total solidarity that [would also manifest itself] also through of all the European Nunciatures, the Cardinal reserved himself the right to consult the Holy Father in this subject, as it was too important an issue. Right now, I can assure you that as soon as this situation becomes effective, the solidarity of this Pope will follow and [which is more:] without reservations²¹.

Another version of the same text can be read in a document found in De Vecchi's archive: “In case of war, of inauspicious war – this is what I say, and what I and they said referring to a specific sentence, the mindset of the Church would be as follows, and as can be inferred from Pacelli's words: »It would be a Catholic front against paganism [*Si tratterebbe di un fronte cattolico contro il paganesimo*]«”²².

Pacelli ensured the availability of *L'Osservatore Romano*, the daily Vatican newspaper, to push its attack on Hitler's Germany much further²³. On 6 September, in the “public exploit” (as the biographer of the Duce, Renzo De Felice, defined it)²⁴, Mussolini started disseminating statements on the clash of civilizations between Germany and Italy: “Thirty centuries of history” – I quote from his speech in Bari – “allow us to look with utter disdain (*sovrana pietà*) on certain doctrines beyond the Alps which are preached by the descendants of people who were wholly illiterate at a time when Caesar, Virgil and Augustus flourished in Rome”²⁵.

In December 1934, Mussolini elaborated on the threat of Nazi neo-paganism again, when addressing a French audience: “State's duty” – I quote his article titled *The Church and the State* from the newspaper *Le Figaro* – “does not consist in writing a new gospel or other dogmas²⁶, in overthrowing old

²¹ Ibid.

²² DE VECCHI: *Il Quadrumviro*, 229.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ DE FELICE: *Mussolini il duce. Gli anni del consenso 1929-1936*, 505.

²⁵ MUSSOLINI, Benito: *Al popolo di Bari* [6 settembre 1934 dal balcone del Palazzo del Governo] = *Opera omnia*, eds. Edoardo e Duilio Susmel, vol XXVI (Firenze, La Fenicie 1958), 319: “Trenta secoli di storia ci permettono di guardare con sovrana pietà talune dottrine di oltr'Alpe, sostenute dalle progenie di gente che ignorava la scrittura, con la quale tramandare i documenti della propria vita, nel tempo in cui Roma aveva Cesare, Virgilio e Augusto.”

²⁶ Probably a tacit reference to the Nazi ideologue Alfred Ernst Rosenberg, *Der Mythus des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* (München, Hoheneichen, 1930) and its topic of the awaited fifth Gospel oriented to the myth of blood, and influenced by the medieval German mystic Meister Eckhart; and/or to the Nazi movement *Deutsche Glaubensbewegung* oriented to Germanic paganism, developed in 1934 and founded by the historian of religions Jakob Wilhelm Hauer.

gods substituting them with others, called »blood«, »race«, »North-ism« [in French: *Nordisme*] [...]”; he alluded to “what recently happened in Germany”; and finally focused attention on the need for increased security in Europe: “Those who break up or disturb the religious unity [*union religieuse*] of a country commit a crime of *lèse-nation* [high crime of treason against the nation]”²⁷.

3 §. The assassination of Dollfuss (25 July) and the decision to restart the “crypt of the Unknown Soldier” project (July 28) overlap, as the Austrian Putsch and the renovation of the Italian Altar of the Fatherland follow closely upon one another. It may have been no more than a chronological coincidence, but it should not to be overlooked that De Vecchi was the promoter of both the new “Catholic anti-pagan alliance” policy of the Italian diplomacy toward the Holy See, and the restoration of the national monument, the Vittoriano, with regard to the *Sacellum*. The conjunction of the two events aligns the building renovation with the new Italian religious politics faced with the Austrian crisis, and can hardly be considered as unrelated. On the basis of the data collected, I am inclined to believe that the “anti-pagan” tactic, in the context of the Anschluss, has, if not determined, at least forced the architectural renovation, i.e. the crypt in the Altar of the Fatherland, and it certainly hastened its achievement.

From an architectural perspective, the *Sacellum* is one of the very rare national expressions of an obscure religious policy promoted in Italy with the aim of hindering and damaging the Nazi presence in Europe; the emblem of Mussolini's strategy, which sought to find an anti-Nazi argument by opposing neo-paganism with Catholicism in the South (Italy and France) and Central Europe (Austria and Hungary). It illustrates the forgotten Fascist anti-Nazism of the Altar of the Fatherland in Rome, no matter how ephemeral it was. The course of events made its weakness clear in every respect. Such a recovered memory that was presented in this paper, namely the short duration of this Fascist anti-Nazism, may become contradictory if it claims something that doesn't correspond with other historical records (i.e. the Pact of Steel), without the mention of which one would run the risk of a “false memory syndrome”. In light of this, the obligation to source-monitor experiences of past trauma can hardly be overemphasized.

²⁷ MUSSOLINI, Benito: “L'Église et l'État” = *Le Figaro*, 18 December 1934, 1, quoted and examined e.g. by GENTILE, Emilio: *Contro Cesare: Cristianesimo e Totalitarismo nell'epoca dei Fascismi* (Milano, Feltrinelli, 2010), 378–379. See also his essay in NELIS, Jan – MORELLI, Anne – PRAET, Danny (eds.): *Catholicism and Fascism in Europe, 1918–1945* (Hildesheim, Georg Olms, 2015), 24–25.

4 §. The existence of a specific agenda of absorption of the Church by the Fascist state should also be mentioned in order to illustrate further aspects related to the understanding of Fascist religious policy, and this must also be taken into consideration when examining the various factors at stake. The suggestions De Vecchi presented to Mussolini in the early 1934, i.e. shortly before the Catholic crypt's Vittoriano project, were such. The agenda left few traces in the documentary record, mainly in De Vecchi's papers, but enough to make it clear that the control over the Church, to be implemented by incorporating and subjugating it, was the main idea. This argument was expressed by De Vecchi and, in my view, might have been exacerbated as a reaction to the encyclical *Non abbiamo bisogno* ("We do not need") of Pope Pius XI, published in 1931 against the "pagan worship of the state – the »Statolatry«" in Italy (§ 44) during the so-called "Conflict after the Conciliation / Lateran Treaty" era (according to an idiomatic expression of 1932)²⁸. I quote a passage from a letter by De Vecchi to Mussolini which implies the above-mentioned agenda:

[...] We must not be afraid that the Church will absorb us if we approach it; because, if we stay apart, we will always have only two snarling dogs chained up, face to face, without being able to reach each other, instead of the new Roman spirit that comes from You [*Tu*, Mussolini] and forces the Church, very adaptable, to adapt itself to this new form of civilization as well, by serving it, not being served [...]. By acting so, as indeed we have been acting with continuous success at home and abroad for three years since the victory of 1931²⁹, gradually every command lever will pass into the hands of Fascism, also that of the Church³⁰.

By the time the crypt was inaugurated in the Altar of the Fatherland, in May 1935, the agenda of an anti-Nazi alliance was already over. The new architectural device was activated for mobilizing the Italian Army, as the idea of an Italian colonial empire had already arisen at the end of 1934. The opening ceremony was performed in view of the deployment of troops, by performing the Catholic blessing and "regeneration" of the military flags³¹. A few days

²⁸ MORELLO, Vincenzo [Rastignac]: *Il conflitto dopo la conciliazione* (Milano, Bompiani, 1932).

²⁹ With reference to the solution to the above-mentioned *Azione Cattolica* issue and Italian youth organizations.

³⁰ Letter, De Vecchi to Mussolini, 27 March 1934, in DE VECCHI, Cesare Maria di Val Cison: *Tra papa, Duce e Re*. Ed. SETTA, Sandro: *Tra papa, duce e re: il conflitto tra Chiesa cattolica e Stato fascista nel diario 1930-1931 del primo ambasciatore del Regno d'Italia presso la Santa Sede* (Rome, Jouvence, 1998), 43.

³¹ G. A. A.: *Il Museo del Risorgimento e la nuova disciplina degli studi in un'intervista col Quadrumviro De Vecchi di Val Cison* = *Messaggero*, 25 November 1934, 5; "La grande cerimonia del 24 maggio al Vittoriano," *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento* 22, 6 (1935 June), 984; *L'austera ceri-*

later, on 8 June, in the Cagliari speech, Mussolini forewarned of the Italo-Ethiopian war. The subsequent events show that the Altar had by this time lost its original function of standing for the anti-paganism struggle, and came to be used as a device for colonial imperialism. During the thirties, and even during WWII, the flags to be given to the new regiments were delivered in the new architectural device.

5 §. The crypt in the Italian Altar of the Fatherland is to be considered as a key-case of de- / re-construction in national narratives, when it comes to the question discussed in this volume, i.e. "collective memory"³². On the one hand, it illustrates how changes of identity occurred during a political regime, i.e. not only after its collapse, and multiple self-interpretations ran parallel despite the totalitarian claim of "no-alternative thought". On the other hand, it provides new data on a forgotten element displayed in the Altar of the Fatherland in Rome, the civil architecture related to the anti-Nazi alliance in the mid-thirties, which could have changed the history of Europe had such an alliance been pursued consistently.

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monia nella cripta = *Popolo d'Italia*, 25 May 1935, 2; *Il glorioso rito dell'Italia guerriera nel giorno dell'intervento* = *Messaggero*, 25 May 1935, 2; *Bandiere e Labari al Quirinale* = *Giornale d'Italia*, 24 May 1935, 1.

³² The literature on "collective memory" has grown exponentially since Maurice Halbwachs published his study *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris, Alcan, 1925) and *La Mémoire collective* (Paris, PUF, 1949 = *Année sociologique*, 1940–1948). This is not the place and time to comprehensively examine the debate, i.e. to review the literature on this matter, and not even to list the main contributions to the "memory studies" field, or to acknowledge the pioneering works in its most recent phase. Some books on that subject, by which I was influenced, include: CONAN, Eric – ROUSSO, Henry: *Vichy: un passé qui ne passe pas* (Paris, Fayard, 1994); ASSMANN, Jan: *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (München, Beck, 1997); RIEFF, David: *In Praise of Forgetting: Historical Memory and Its Ironies* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2016); BEINER, Guy: *Forgetful Remembrance: Social Forgetting and Vernacular Historiography of a Rebellion in Ulster* (Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 2018).

Andor Wesselényi-Garay – Miklós Köllő

Reactions to Guest Identities: Architectural Regionalisms in Europe

It is a strong contention of this paper that architectural regionalisms are complex configurations of resistance that developed as a reaction to similarly complex representational constraints of politics and power. Representational constraints are typically underpinning partial sets, identifiable as styles, through which architecture is driven into elaborate semantic games. These representational methods, which had been around for thousands of years, peaked with the absolutism of modern architecture, which supplemented the expression of power through scale and wealth with a single progressive mode of existence offering no alternative. From the minor masters onwards, but especially with the generation that followed, modern architecture was the exclusive (alternativeless) attitude to the future promoting progressive solutions to all problems; it became the vehicle for immaterial things and propagated fundamental assumptions and principles of unquestionable validity. In the spirit of optimism about the future, all the architectural solutions were assigned forms through elaborate identity-configurations; these solutions inevitably led to universalities and simplifications, realised under the spell of economy (the disappearance of ornamentation and the articulation of walls) and eliminated the physical durability of edifices and proved unliveable in places with extreme climates and topography. Hence, it could be expected that aspirations aimed at adjusting designs to the local climate, materials and work practices while keeping economical ground plans in mind, would emerge almost simultaneously with the conception of modernism. The first example of this was Finland, whose architecture – as expressed by Alvar Aalto's architectural self-image too – is discussed as part of the modern movements as a rule but it would be more accurate to define it as a pre- or proto-regionalist aspiration and approach it as a topographic correction of modernism as an attitude-identity.

The above simultaneity cannot be seen in the architecture of Portugal, Vorarlberg and the Őrség region, where the principles of modern architecture – which in any case pertained to healthy living environments – began to be represented by buildings adapted to the local conditions. This is how regionalisms – which can be understood as an inner criticism of modernism – evolved into configurations that organised themselves as a reaction to forced identities manifest in the ideologeme of progressivity.

Portugal

The history of Portuguese architecture, and especially its changes from the first half of the twentieth century, provides a good example for what is stated in the abstract of this study. By reconstructing Tamás Szentirmai's¹ and Zorán Vukoszávlyev's² texts³ it transpires that Portugal's architecture was fundamentally determined by two tendencies: one was an international and cosmopolitan trend that had appeared in the country's architecture by the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries which sought and represented foreign relations in the then prevailing realm of national romanticism, while the other one, Raul Lino's *casa portuguesa* (Portuguese house) movement, which, in contrast, was a national trend and carried traditionalist elements⁴.

The aforementioned international relations and openness to foreign countries was supported by the Portuguese educational system organised on the foundations of Beaux-Arts: the Academia Portuense de Belas-Artes in Porto and the Academia Real de Belas-Artes de Lisboa in Lisbon both had their curricula developed based on the already well-known academic system. Architects who graduated from these institutions carried on the traditions that defined the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, and clad their buildings using increasingly geometrical elements borrowed first from the Art Nouveau and the Wiener Werkstätte and, from 1925, from Art Déco, as if opening a stylistic door towards modernity.

The *casa portuguesa* movement began upon the initiatives of Raul Lino, an architect, and Rosa Peixoto, a historian, who, drawing on the achievements of the Arts & Crafts movement in the United Kingdom, simultaneously discovered the values of crafts and those of rural architecture. Inspired by German romanticism, they contributed to the emergence of a special kind of architecture which drew on national traditions but had no buildings in Portugal that would have meant a precedence.⁵

¹ SZENTIRMAI, Tamás: *Változókéony modern: a modernizmus és a hagyomány viszonya a portugál építészet 20. századi történetében* = PUHL, Antal – VALASTYÁN, Tamás (ed.): *Árkádia: építészet-elméleti jegyzet*. Debrecen, Magyarország, Debreceni Egyetem Műszaki Kar, 2015, 193–197.

² VUKOSZÁVLYEV, Zorán – SZENTIRMAI, Tamás: *Kortárs portugál építészet / Contemporary Portuguese Architecture*. Bp., Magyarország, TERC Kereskedelmi és Szolgáltató Kft., 2010.

³ SZENTIRMAI, Tamás: *Hagyományos egyszerűség: kortárs portugál építészet: téziszfüzet a Kortárs portugál építészet című könyvhöz*. Bp., BME Középülettervezési Tanszék, 2012, consultant: Cságoly Ferenc DLA, manuscript, 28.

⁴ SZENTIRMAI: *op. cit.* (2015), 193.

⁵ Ibid.

As a result of their international embeddedness and their talent-based education, these architects easily mastered the fine knacks of modern architecture, so when the international movement took off, modern forms started to appear in Portugal too in the early 1920s with the continued emphasis on the importance of the international embeddedness of architects. One of the characteristic features of early Portuguese modernism is that despite the large number of buildings in question, architects did not derive their forms from the internal principles that lay at the core of the movement but from a stylistic knack they had borrowed from elsewhere.

A fundamental change was introduced to this plurality of styles by the fascist takeover in 1926, after which the question of architectural character was treated as an issue of national representation, while the government drew a parallel between the 'contemporariness' and 'novelty' of modern architecture and its own self-image. As Tamás Szentirmai remarked, *"In order to express its unambiguous opposition to its history up until that point, the country also chose to radically diverge from historical styles in the area of architecture and [the government (inserted by WGA)] supported the modern architects newly emerging on the scene. This decision was not underpinned by ideology but was solely governed by breaking away from what went before; the only thing needed was a 'fashionable' style that was easy to communicate. The relation between the state power and the architects was characterised by a peculiar mutuality: in exchange for catering to the needs of the state, the architects intent on renewal were given the opportunity to design important public buildings. Although the participants were driven by different ideologies and their relationship was fragile, the completed projects attest to the success of their cooperation."*⁶

The state, which had been consolidated by 1933, announced the ideal of Estrada Nuovo (New State), which, placing portugalism at its centre, rejected the previous modernism (which did not exactly enjoy an in-depth understanding), while at the same time defined its identity by reviving the *casa portuguesa* movement launched back at the beginning of the twentieth century. An important contributing factor to the relative success and acceptance of this movement by society was that – in accordance with the practice of the international community of architects – the local examples of modernism did not in the least take into account the local socio-cultural and geographical features of their environs. This resulted in buildings that alienated the public virtually from the moment of their conception. This shift was also facilitated by these architects lacking a Bauhaus education: *"With almost no exception, the architects accepted the new dogmas, which, again, conformed that they did not have*

⁶ Ibid., 199.

a thorough theoretical knowledge about the principals of the modern international movement, thus they were not motivated to stick to such when the shift in style dictated by the ruling power took place.”⁷

While the above was generally true for all of Portugal, some regional differences could already be seen between the two centres, i.e. Porto and Lisbon. While in the capital architects did not have the chance to seriously oppose the doctrines of taste dictated by the regime, the architects in Porto, the centre located further away from the capital, provided the opportunity for architects to carry on, to some extent, the by then rather slim tradition of modernism, as if representing “the triumph of geography”⁸. Although attempts were made to combine the international modern style with the centrally expected trend of nationalism, they did not lead to successful outcomes, one of the reasons being that the regime saw the national traditions and the principles of modernism as irreconcilable. The Porto modernism was also supported by the capital that was concentrated there, as businesses found the iconography of development and prosperity in modernism, thus instinctively confirming the capitalisable nature of the movement; in Lisbon, however, “the young architects gathered around a few outstanding figures because of the missing institutional background, which led to the emergence of small professional groups and ‘schools’”⁹.

Although Portugal managed to remain neutral during WWII, the focus was shifted away from architecture due to the economic difficulties arising with the gradual melting away of the colonial empire. For this reason, and also in order to alleviate the tension created by a clash of ideologies within the architectural profession, the ruling power initiated a dialogue with the architects initially envisioned to take place within the framework of the 1st National Congress, but in the end the council expressed their undivided support, delivered in an extremely critical tone, of the principles of the International Congresses of Modern Architecture (CIAM) and the Athens Charter.

In the few years following WWII Portuguese architects had to face the general triumph of modern architecture as well as bouts of criticism, which could more or less be anticipated after the CIAM organised in Bridgewater in 1947, a year before the Portuguese congress, especially based on the plenary session held by Walter Gropius, who argued against the collective ownership of property. At later congresses it became increasingly obvious that the untenable idea of “the functional city” was not suitable for the rehabilitation of the

⁷ Ibid., 200.

⁸ KAPLAN, Robert: *The Revenge of Geography, What the Map Tells Us about Coming Conflicts and the Battle Against Fate*. Random House, 2012.

⁹ SZENTIRMAI: *op. cit.* (2015), 204.

European urban centres destroyed in the war. While this did not directly affect Portugal, which was neutral during WWII, it was virtually simultaneously with the local institutionalisation of modernism that concepts arose “*which saw the solution in the synthesis of modern and traditional principles. By promoting Dutch architecture and Willem Marius Dudok in 1947 Keil do Amaral proposed research into traditional architecture¹⁰ in order to arrive at an authentic architecture free from eclecticism and styles. Around the same time, the young Fernando Távora sought authenticity in continuing traditions without rejecting modernism. In his study titled *The Problem of the Portuguese House*¹¹ (1947) he stated that ‘It needs to be completely rebuilt, from the roof to the bottom.’”¹²*

The above shows that the dynamism that had been driving Portuguese architecture-making practices along the lines of tradition and internationality remained a key element even after half a century. When, virtually adopting Távora’s proposal, the 1st National Congress initiated surveying the country’s folk architecture, a symbolic attempt was made to bring the two paradigms together. The series of surveys began in 1955 and lasted five years: “*the buildings, then still considered as a living memory, was documented in five regions; this was supplemented by the documentation on towns and villages as well as folk crafts, thus giving a complex cultural overview of that period in the country. The state expected the research to provide the architectural basis for ‘portugalism’, but, in contrast, the study¹³, published in 1961, concluded that there was no unified architectural tradition with the regions and at times even neighbouring towns or villages having different architecture and cultural traditions. The publication of the work marked the end of the myth of ‘the Portuguese house’, which had begun at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries*”.¹⁴

The fact that the above surveys were carried out by practising architects produced a pool of active knowledge, which could be used in actual planning work. It accepted the amplitude of traditions, which were, by definition, regional, while further deepening them with modernist ideas, many of which – for example Mies van der Rohe’s *beinahe nichts*, or Le Corbusier’s poetic definition of architecture and his affection for the Mediterranean – were promisingly feasible, partly because of the local climate. As Tamás Szentirmai records in his thesis: “*Thanks to the success [of the survey (inserted by WGA)] folk archi-*

¹⁰ do AMARAL, Keil (1947): *Uma iniciativa necessária* = *Arquitectura* 14, Abril 1947, 12–13.

¹¹ TÁVORA, Fernando (1947): *O Problema da Casa Portuguesa* = TRIGUEIROS, Luís (ed.): *Fernando Távora*. Blau, Lisboa, 1993, 13.

¹² SZENTIRMAI: *op. cit.* (2015), 206.

¹³ *Arquitectura Popular em Portugal*. Lisboa, SNA, I-II. 1961.

¹⁴ SZENTIRMAI: *op. cit.* (2015), 208.

tectural tradition could be built into the creative processes of architecture, thus facilitating the synthesis of traditional local and the modern ideas, which has remained a defining attribute of Portuguese architecture until today.”¹⁵

An integral part in this process was played by the architectural education in Porto. The curriculum was jointly developed by the students and the professoriate after the revolution of 1974¹⁶. Thanks to the master-pupil relationships that formed at the academy in Porto (Távora – Alvaro Siza – Souto de Moura) knowledge was transferred through internships, the cornerstone and framework for which was the architecture faculty built between 1986 and 1995. The building was designed by the great master Alvaro Siza, who thus created an institution that pointed beyond its own function while being the living museum of contemporary architecture.

— 188 The planning of the faulty of architecture in Porto coincided with the country’s accession to the EU in 1986, which provided the opportunity to develop the infrastructure of the country, which, despite the revolution, was still lagging behind to a great extent. The architects participating in projects supported by EU funds – regardless of whether it was a new church or a large-scale monument reconstruction – were selected in competitive tenders, which was one of the guarantees of high quality designs. In the 1990s the critic Manuel Mendes coined the phrase ‘portoguese’ architecture, which was a clear reference to the hegemony of the Porto academy, while stating that the phenomenon expanded beyond the country’s borders. José Saramago’s and Lobo Antunes’ literary successes first raised international awareness of the Portuguese ‘language’ and the culture linked to it; this was soon followed by architecture and the series of successes was concluded by the Portuguese ‘golden generation’ of football players in the early 2000s.

The discussion of the frustration of virtually psychological depths that the figure of Alvaro Siza has ‘inflicted’ on the Portuguese architectural scene is not possible within the framework of this paper but it is worth quoting the text by Pedro Gadanhó printed in the appendix of the book co-authored by Tamás Szentirmai and Zorán Vukoszávlyev¹⁷. The opening of the text richly interwoven with allusions from literature and pop culture carries great gravity. “*The ‘regionalist’ architectural circles that are enjoying international acclaim have got only one common denominator, only a single one. What is it that connects Spanish,*

¹⁵ SZENTIRMAI: *op. cit.* (2012), 28.

¹⁶ VUKOSZÁVLYEV-SZENTIRMAI: *op. cit.* (2010).

¹⁷ GADANHÓ, Pedro: *Hatás alatt: a vulkántól a génállományig / Under the influence: from volcano to gene pool* = VUKOSZÁVLYEV, Zorán – SZENTIRMAI, Tamás: *Kortárs portugál építészet / Contemporary Portuguese Architecture*. Bp., Magyarország, TERC Kereskedelmi és Szolgáltató Kft., 2010, 313-317.

Dutch, Swiss, Mexican and Japanese architecture from time to time? And what has made Polish, Belgian, Luxembourgish, Norwegian, Argentinian and Thai [and, more recently, Vietnamese, I could add (inserted by WGA)] architectural practices stand out from their environment? Think about it.

Ever since the 'opposition' of critical regionalism was brought into serious question, there must be some deeper connection that can distinguish architectural practices, understood in a geographical sense [...]. Outstanding personalities and architectural players have emerged in these countries [...] who exerted a debilitating influence on their own environment [...] (T)hese architects form the circle of today's star system.

The star [architect] system – closely linked to personalities and areas of creative activity – which defines the international architectural scene might have something to do with our reasoning but only in the sense that through their very presence these architects have a steady effect on the creative processes of architecture both at a regional and international level.”

In his text with a rich network of metaphors Gadanho compares the presence of the great master Álvaro Siza to a volcano that is terrifying and procreant at the same time borrowing this figure of speech from Malcolm Lowry¹⁸; destructive and oppressive. Beyond the obvious banality confusing cause and effect and containing a good measure of tentativeness, it is nevertheless an irrefutable fact that the emergence of these personalities is inseparable from the identification – and capitalisability – of particular cultural phenomena. Having accepted the inherent communicational potential of the architectural star system and having stopped questioning its benefits, it is my express objective to illustrate the following with the case studies below, perhaps inadmissibly concise just like the section on Portugal: when it comes to the circles of regionalist architects enjoying international acclaim today, star architecture is not the “only common denominator, not the single one”.

Switzerland

When discussing the stories of regionalism, the developments in Swiss architecture – which came to the forefront of international attention in the early 1980s – are equally indispensable and impossible to cover in a single chapter. Impossible because Switzerland is like a thematic experience park of architecture, thanks to the quality and great quantity of its buildings, and indispensable because Swiss architecture had proposed solutions addressing the question of

¹⁸ LOWRY, Malcolm: *Under the Volcano*, Reynal & Hitchcock, 1947.

locality far sooner than Kenneth Frampton's canonisation of the same issue into a comprehensive architectural programme. Luigi Snozzi and Mario Botta's houses in Ticino have proven to be extremely important raw material for Kenneth Frampton, who turned them into the building blocks of his concept of critical regionalism.

The Hungarian reception of Swiss architecture has its unique aspect. It was around the change in the political system in Hungary that a Platonic love of Swiss architecture took hold typically among the architects passionately gathering around the Master School, one of the most important postgraduate programmes for architects in Hungary launched biannually. Their love, verging on a cult, has pervaded professional discourse as well as architectural education, including regular- and postgraduate programmes, until today, not least thanks to the person of Ákos Moravánszky, formerly a professor of ETH (Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule). The students of the 14th cycle of the Master School travelled to Switzerland in 1998, and Moravánszky was a guest lecturer at MOME in Budapest in the academic year 2003, which ended with a Swiss study trip. A major breakthrough in the Hungarian reception of Swiss architecture was the publication of *arc'1*¹⁹ (1998), co-edited by Dominika Vámos, Ákos Moravánszky and Katalin M. Gyöngy Katalin, accompanied by a two-day conference. This volume eventually became the basic narrative for a story of desire which had originated in Hungary since the change in the political system; although no in-depth research had been carried out on this subject before Péter Klobusovszky's PhD study²⁰, it was continuously kept alive by the lecture series Swiss Made, held by András Szalay as part of the history of contemporary architecture curriculum of the faculty of architecture at BUTE.

A key element of Swiss architecture becoming internationalised was Aldo Rossi receiving a position as guest associate professor in 1972 at ETH in Zürich, which also had an architectural programme; he worked here as a visiting lecturer for two years, starting in 1976. Rossi and Luigi Snozzi, the latter having worked at the institution since 1970, went against previous educational practice and argued in favour of an architecture *"that took a clear approach to its own history, was pervaded with meaning, culture and customs, and in which buildings were not seen as free-standing objects but forming part of a larger*

¹⁹ VÁMOS, Dominika – MORAVÁNSZKY, Ákos – M. GYÖNGY, Katalin (ed.): *arc' 1, Je pense donc Je suisse*, Az Új Magyar Építőművészet negyedéves melléklete, 1998.

²⁰ KLOBUSOVSZKY, Péter: *Érzéki rend, Kortárs német-svájci építészet, DLA értekezés, mestermű: a Dubniczay-ház rekonstrukciója és bővítése*. Veszprém, László Károly Gyűjtemény, Teglarium, a Magyar Építőipari Múzeum Téglaújteménye, consultatnt: Karácsony Tamás DLA, Budapesti Műszaki és Gazdaságtudományi Egyetem Építőművészeti Doktori Iskola 2008, manuscript, <http://dla.epitesz.bme.hu/appendfiles/296-Klobusovszki%20P%C3%A9ter%20-%20C3%89rz%C3%A9ki%20rend%20-%20DLA.pdf> (accessed on 17 December 2020).

inherent unit, part of a city... Rossi argued that towns were made up of distinctly identifiable and jointly used forms and signs too. He asserted that forms conveying meaning have endured in history and that a place is also defined by the physical reality and the symbolic power of expression of its buildings."²¹

In addition to Rossi – who in effect created one of the important branches of post-modern architecture with his research on architectural referentiality and type –, it was the Tendenza Group in Ticino that played a pioneering role in surveying local traditions; the group displayed its works at the exhibition titled *Tendenzen*, held at the ETH in 1975. The participants “*combined the achievements of modernism with local building traditions, in the spirit of Italian rationalism.*”²² This resulted in buildings such as Maria Botta’s Villa Bianchi in Riva San Vitale – which became a landmark in the literal sense of the word too –, and Luigi Snozzi’s Casa Kalman in Brione (1975) – an exposed reinforced concrete box seated onto its site using extremely subtle tools. While the emergence of the Ticino School and its classification as an example of regionalism preceded Frampton’s activity, this same earliness resulted in the phenomenon that the forms whose use was initially justified in their location – especially in Mario Botta’s case – became mannered over time and grew separate from the region where they originated. It was a different case with Gion Caminada, active since the 1990s, whose architecture and career became the prototype of the reflexive practice that was later seen in the architecture of Gábor U. Nagy in Hungary.

Vrin can be found in the Surselva region of the distant Lumnezia valley. The village had a population of 440 in 1950, which decreased to 249 by 2000. “*The village is composed of a central core and four smallish farmsteads (called aree in Graubünden province) surrounding it. The Diesrut pass, which leads to the nearby Greina peak and connects the area to the southern Mediterranean region, starts from the village. The extreme climatic conditions and topography of the mountainous landscape are crucial factors in determining the typology of the buildings and the conjunctive, cluster-like character of the villages here with their spatial structure defined by narrow alleys winding through the huddled-together buildings.*”²³ Vrin’s contemporary structure was developed from 1982. In order to avoid the further break-up of the estate structure, they merged the lands and thus reduced the number of estate units from 3,500 to 600. Strict construction regulations were introduced with the planning council being a required institution, while the use of the landscape and the local suburbanisation were also

²¹ Ibid., 13.

²² Ibid., 14.

²³ Ibid., 27.

controlled when they designated urban areas and drew tight boundaries. In order to preserve the original spatial structure it was banned to plant hedges along with stables being converted into holiday property. Moreover, the regulation setting the minimum distance to be left between edifices was withdrawn with the aim of preserving the layout character defined by huddled-together buildings. Partial renovations were also banned: if an owner wanted to have half of their property to be converted, after having the drawings approved by the planning council, they had to rebuild it as a new, integer building. A foundation was set up in 1990 with the name Pro Val Lumnezia with the goal of developing eco-tourism in the area, one of the outcomes of which was the construction of Peter Zumthor's legendary baths in Vals, located in the nearby valley; the influx of tourists generated by this was a reason for caution for the local residents.

Economist Peter Rieder, who supported the project from the side of business soon realised that the tourism-based model implemented in Vals at a location that was only ten kilometres away but on the other side of impassably steep mountains, could not be adopted in Vrin. The short holiday season and the relatively impassable roads as well as the distrust demonstrated by the local residents jointly led to the following: it was agreed that the village, which once sustained itself merely from agriculture, could only survive if it started agricultural production. Together with his students and colleagues Rieder, a professor teaching in the agricultural economics programme at the ETH, numerically calculated if it was worth building a slaughterhouse, what size it should be, and what area would be optimally required for agricultural production. Based on the optimistic and pessimistic scenarios potentially resulting from the fluctuations in the global economy, the local population of Vrin united their parcels of land and began doing communal animal husbandry and product distribution by excluding purchasers and mediators from the system.²⁴

During the time that has passed since then twenty-five farmers have cultivated 610 meadows. They set up a cattle cooperative, and built a meat plant, while the local carpenters and cabinet-makers were employed in the construction projects. The model implemented by the village was awarded the Wakker Prize of the Swiss Heritage Society in 1998, and it won the Arge Alp Award in 2004.

Gion A. Caminada's designs represented the architectural 'mounting' for the economic policy measures. After being an apprentice as cabinet-maker Caminada studied in the School of Applied Art in Zurich and completed his post-graduate studies in architecture at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology.

²⁴ THIMM: *Das Wunder von Vrin* = *Der Spiegel*, 15. 08. 2005, <https://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-41429266.html> (accessed on 21 December 2020).

He opened his own studio in 1990 in Vrin, and implemented his projects together with the village community from the onset. It was a small project, the building of a telephone booth, that brought him international acclaim. In 1995 the Swiss telephone company decided to install a public phone booth in the village, but their design – a prefab vitrine – was rejected by the local community. Instead of this, Caminada designed a booth using untreated solid wood; the wooden elements are connected with box joints exerting a modern feel. This design brought Caminada world fame and as this form of telecommunication became obsolete it was seen as a cult-free monument. With the spread of mobile communication the phone itself was removed, and its original function is only attested to by the cable grooves and the bench.

Caminada's architectural activity is both about keeping crafts alive and organising communities, both about keeping young people in villages and providing work opportunities. To quote Péter Klobusovszki: *"Caminada's buildings are deeply embedded in the social, climatic cultural interrelations of a given place. A decisive factor in his choice of structures is that materials should be available locally and cheaply, and that work processes requiring complex expert knowledge should be kept at a minimum during the construction processes and the manufacturing of building structures. It is important that buildings do not demonstrate their being tied to the given location with the chosen structures and materials, but that they wield a strength out of necessity: to Quote Caminada, "It is far more appealing to think about what can be made with the materials readily available in the immediate environment". This is linked to keeping production costs low but, similarly to the objectives set when the slaughterhouse was built, it also caters to keeping work opportunities, which are essential for the livelihood of the local craftsmen, in the area. The further development of traditional building methods free from nostalgia, the numerous innovations, the sometimes poetic solutions not present in the original structure and the rigour of necessity produced a unique blend of modern and local traditions in Caminada's architecture.*

Caminada's buildings are only significant in their connections with previously existing elements, such as streets, squares and building types; their careful installation simultaneously serves the purpose of their integration and the further development of the cultural landscape. This is manifest in the concept of Vrin's further development, in how the stables and sheds are fitted into the landscape..."

As the master himself said: *"Right architecture adapts to normality, seeks to respect the necessities of its time: it is architecture that embraces all from social and economic needs to aesthetic values. Aesthetic objects that people fundamentally cannot associate with have no value whatsoever."*²⁵

²⁵ CAMINADA, Gion A: quoted in Christoph Schaub, 'The Vrin Project'. 2G 14 2000:02, 137.

While the Vrin model as well as regionalism as a programme leaving a mark on the history of architecture are inseparable from Switzerland, it is undeniable that urbanisation in the 1990s, continually fuelled by migration, produced concepts that challenged the notion of autonomy upon which regionalism is founded through redefining landscape and settlement categories virtually in parallel with the success of the Vrin model.²⁶ While the importance of Geneva, Basel and Zurich expanded far beyond the country's borders and became part of a supranational urban landscape, the rural areas were severely hit by outward migration, which had started in the 1950s at the latest. The disproportionate situation was further exacerbated by the regulations that went hand in hand with regional autonomy as it was stipulated that Swiss citizens must be granted the same conditions wherever they live. This resulted in the redistribution of income produced by the richer regions and the distribution of extremely hefty benefits. The Swiss peasant, seen as being part of Swiss identity and the Alpine landscape, was far from being independent but found himself as a necessary and integral part of a Switzerland image subsidised by the state. Thus, for example, in its first research project, titled *An Urban Portrait*, Studio Basel – founded upon the initiative of Roger Diener, Jacques Herzog, Marcel Meili and Pierre de Meuron within the framework of the ETH in Zurich – argued in favour of a new regional identity and topography. Replacing the principle of canton-based autonomy, they divided the area of the country into five units. The fifth type was the 'Alpine fallow lands': an area of tiny villages difficult to access – Vrin being an example – which the aforementioned research saw no feasible future for. Since Vrin was named in the project as one of the places to demolish, Caminada was bound to respond to the project's conclusions. He organised an exhibition and conference on 26 June 2005 on the future of Alpine areas in Meran, northern Italy. He published his manifesto titled "Nine Theses on Reinforcing the Periphery"²⁷, which is a discussion paper in reaction to the *Urban Portrait*²⁸ in its entirety and its details. The architectural concept outlined therein is only partly to do with architecture: Caminada calls the Alpine culture the greatest economic treasure of the Alps, and the Alpine peasants the integral part of the Alpine landscape.

It must be admitted, however, that, within Swiss regionalisms, the super-regionalism modelled by Vrin continues to be financed by the cantons and the

²⁶ WETTSTEIN, Domonkos: *Eltérő pozícióból: Urbanizáció és autonómia ellentmondásai Svájcban – Az ETH Studio Basel és Gion A. Caminada vitája alapján = Utóirat: A Régi-Új Magyar Építőművészet Melléklete*, 12: 3, 2012.

²⁷ CAMINADA, Gion A.: *Kilenc tézis a periféria erősítésére*. Translated by Tamás Herczeg, DLA.

²⁸ Switzerland: *An Urban Portrait* Published by ETH Studio Basel. Roger Diener, Jacques Herzog, Pierre de Meuron, Marcel Meili, Christian Schmid. 4 volumes, 1,020 pages, Birkhäuser-Verlag für Architektur, Basel, 2005.

federal government; a hefty sum in this support is the money paid annually by the Nordostschweizerische Kraftwerke to the neighbouring villages as compensation for the 2.4 million francs they lost when the Greiner power plant project was stopped. The long-term problems of this area could be solved by a population increase. According to calculations by Peter Rieder, the critical lower limit of the population would have to be 500 inhabitants, required for the urban structures in the village to be sustained. These structures – culture, financial profit, social life – are needed by everyone regardless of where they live. “If this third sector is missing, a village has no chance.”²⁹

Vorarlberg

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The history of regionalisms in Vorarlberg has also taught us some lessons. Vorarlberg emerged at the centre of debates on architectural regionalisms in the 1980s but, unlike its Swiss 'counterpart', it did not stir much attention in Hungary.³⁰ The Vorarlberg phenomenon was linked to the activity of a small, distinctly defined group of architects, who earned themselves a name as the Vorarlberger Bauschule and turned this region into a centre of contemporary European architecture. Bordered by Germany, Switzerland and Liechtenstein, Vorarlberg is the smallest federal state of Austria, and with its 380 thousand inhabitants it is the second most sparsely populated one. Nevertheless, the Vorarlberger Bauschule is seen as one of the most important pioneers of new Alpine architecture. The school did not ascribe to any theoretical programme or manifesto: its concept was shaped by the network-based cooperation of architects, engineers, craftsmen and intellectuals who had been seeking a solution to the challenges faced by the post-war rural area and its existence since the 1960s. While the aim of constructing buildings here was to adopt the iconography of Alpine architecture to a certain but the least possible extent, both the name and the building methods of the school were based on local traditions.³¹

²⁹ THIMM: *Das Wunder von Vrin* = *Der Spiegel*, 15. 08. 2005, <https://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/print/d-41429266.html> (accessed on 21 December 2020).

³⁰ PESTI, Monika: *Kompakt, masszív és áttetsző. Rohner Vitorlás Klubház, Fussach, Vorarlberg* [építész Carlo Baumschlager, Dietmar Eberle], in: *Metszet : építészet, újdonságok, szerkezetek, részletek*, 2010. (vol. 1) issue 5., 38–41, LÉVAL, Tamás: *Múlt-idő, jelen-lét: Ravatalozó és temető-bővítés, Batschuns, Vorarlberg, Ausztria 2001* = *Régi-új magyar építőművészet*, 2003, issue 6, 9–11.; TAR-DOS, Tibor: *Hételeje Bregenzben* = *Építészfórum*, 2008. 06. 25., <https://epiteszforum.hu/heteleje-bregenzben>. The first two articles are traditional descriptions of the buildings, while the third one is an inspired travel account.

³¹ NATTER, Tobias G. – GRABHER, Gerhard: *Barockbaumeister und die Moderne Bauschule aus Vorarlberg: Architectura Practica*. Bregenz 2006, Publikation zur Ausstellung 2006, Vorarlberger Landesmuseum.

The association of Vorarlberg Builders belonged to the Guild in Au, which had operated between 1661 and 1842. Courses were held to provide training and further training for craftsmen and the theoretical material was contained in a two-volume work. The first volume was founded in 1948 by the school's director, Gebhard Albrecht, in the Aberer family's house in Schoppernaut, while the second one was owned by the Feuerstein family originating from Au-Schrecken. These books equally contained the theory on perspective by Andrea Pozzo (1642–1709) and excerpts from the theory on form by Augustin-Charles d'Aviler (1653–1701) in Leonhard Christoph Sturm's (1669–1719) translation. The work titled "Detailed Instructions for All of Middle-class Architecture" was illustrated by model drawings, building plans, layout designs and schemata.³² Although this area was not included among the centres in the general history of architecture, the model books confirm that the scheme developed by the master builders in Au for the Vorarlberg Cathedral takes us back to the projects of Italian Baroque architect Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (1507–1573). Similarly, Vignola's rules on how to construct the five orders is addressed by Johann Rudolph Fäsch (1680–1749), a Saxon engineer and architect, in his "Vignola's Basic Rules on the Five Columns", which was also included in the teaching material of the Auer training courses.³³ Hence, the architectural traditions in Vorarlberg were not static: at their focus was an artisan building practice which proved to be a suitable basis with a potential to be carried on by the artists who moved back to their native villages from the 1950s and 1960s. The group's name – Voralberger Bauschule – alluded to the old guild tradition and aptly expressed the central role that building and the art of building played in German architectural culture.

Hans Purin, Jakob Albrecht, Rudolf Wäger, Bruno Spagolla, Leopold Kaufmann, Gunter Wratzfeld, Karl Sillaber and Max Fohn graduated in architecture from the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. Impassioned by the modernist programme of Roland Rainer (1910–2004)³⁴, they decided to return to their native villages, which were considered wealthy but culturally on the periphery. Their first projects were collectively implemented simple, resource-efficient and inexpensive wooden structures, and from the very start relied on the knowledge and skills of the local building industry, thanks to which they

³² LÖHR, Herlinde – LÖHR Valentine: *Die Vorarlberger Barockbaumeister*. Franz I Beer & Franz II Beer von Bleichten, 2nd edition, self-edition, 2002, accessed: 12 February 2018.

³³ LIEB Norbert: *Die Vorarlberger Barockbaumeister*. 3rd edition, München and Zürich 1976, 68.

³⁴ The modernist architect, who had membership in the Nazi party was the head of the Architectural Faculty of the Vienna fine Art Academy from 1954. His most important project were the designs made for the Vienna city hall. As an influential writer and theoretician, he advocated the construction of cheap, sustainable and widely available flats.

managed to maintain the historical continuity of the local crafts despite the rapid industrialisation of post-WWII Europe. While the building culture in Vorarlberg is integrally linked to the local crafts, a process of emancipation started among the master craftsmen as a result of the creative impulses coming from the clients and their architects; hence, the craftsmen became innovative artists themselves.

The solidarity – shared concepts and personal ties – was further consolidated in the group when the Austrian Society of Architecture launched a lawsuit against them for making designs without having paid the – pricey – membership fee of the society. By 1984 this conflict had escalated to the point of posing a threat to the livelihoods of the group's members³⁵, so Carlo Bauschlager, Dietmar Eberle, Roland Gnaiger, Walter K. Holzmüller, Wolfgang Juen, Markus Koch, Helmut Kuess, Sture Larsen, Norbert Mittersteiner, Hans Purin, Wolfgang Rotsch, Bruno Spagolla, Walter Unterrainer, Rudolf and Sigfried Wäger formed their own society in order to be able to represent their interest. Since the title of architect was linked to membership in the official society of architecture, i.e. only those who were its members could even call themselves architects, the above people referred to themselves as the Vorarlberger Baukünstler, or Vorarlberg Building Artists. Although the conflict was unofficially resolved, this affair is a clear indication of the attitude of the profession and the community, which, according to Otto Kapfinger³⁶ – who published several articles on this issue – was reflected in the group's later designs.

Up until 1980 the activity and achievements of the Vorarlberger Baukünstler seemed to be marginal. The breakthrough came in 1991, when the group won the International Art Award of the Vorarlberg Region, which put the group on Austria's socio-cultural map as an important political and artistic player overnight. The aforementioned collective approach was exemplified by the fact that when Hans Purin was awarded the art prize alone he was only willing to accept it on condition that the entire group was recognised with it. Along with awarding the region's most prestigious recognition, arose the idea of documenting the achievements of the group from 1960 with a publication titled *Einfach Bauen – Architektur in Vorarlberg seit 1960*. The costs of the publication and the accompanying exhibition were covered by the money prize they received with the art award. The exhibition was eventually organised only two years later, in 1993, in the Künstlerhaus in Bregenz, which clearly conformed with the architectural and cultural foundation of the group, which

³⁵ FIEL, Wolfgang: *Evolution of the Built Environment in Vorarlberg*, <https://www.austria.org/evolution-of-the-built-environment-in-vorarlberg> (accessed on 5 January 2021).

³⁶ KAPFINGER, Otto: *Architecture in Vorarlberg Since 1980*. A Guide to 260 Noteworthy Buildings, KUB, Kunsthaus Bregenz, vorarlberger architektur institut, HATJE, 2003. No page number.

had attracted serious attention from the 1980s, reached back to the 1960s. It also became obvious that a new generation had emerged besides the 'founding fathers'. The first studios were developing, while independent architects also appeared on the scene who, carried away by the gravity of the phenomenon, started to exploit its achievements. Barely a dozen architecture studios operated in the region in 1980, but this soared to some 150 by the early 2000s. This change led to the initially homogenous group having become a heterogeneous entity difficult to define.

It was the third generation of practicing architects in Vorarlberg who received the greatest acclaim beyond Austria's borders, while, following the traditions of the Au Guild, the region continued to remain open to international influences. The Kunsthaus Bregenz was built in 1997 according to Peter Zumthor's designs, and in the framework of the initiative called BUS:STOP, launched in May 2014, architects from seven countries – Russia, Spain, Belgium, Norway, Japan, China and Chile – worked together with local partners to implement a bus stop each in Krumbach, a small town with a population of 1,000 in the Bregenzerwald valley. Both these projects undoubtedly consolidated Vorarlberg's international reputation, and the bus stop initiative was even able to ride the then extremely powerful wave of star architecture cleverly and inexpensively.

In 2013 the Austrian ministry of foreign affairs proposed the idea of introducing the architecture of Vorarlberg to the international community. They compiled exhibition material presenting more than 230 buildings and including 700 photographs, and they planned to mount the show in each of the thirty-two cultural forums around the world. Since architectural culture is also dependent on people's awareness of the hard-earned practical experience of architects and the level of social interaction, the exhibition sought to present the 'stories' of those to the public who had been actively shaping Vorarlberg's architectural development over the course of more than fifty years.

The story of regionalism in Vorarlberg is hard to match despite it being typical in several respects. Technology, economy and functional competence were at the focus of the region's architectural activity. This practice – on a par in its importance to research – concentrated not on form but the contemporary circumstances of building and evolved through very small-scale projects commissioned by private individuals. This provided the basis for the participants to be able to work successfully for larger partners, companies and political clients later, and, moreover, to cut through the red tape. The main characteristic feature of Vorarlberg's architecture is manifest in the structural concept of its buildings, in spaces shaped by implementation and use as well as in a kind of distance that was a reaction to representative and often short-lived formalisms.

Vorarlberg architects placed emphasis not on ideological programmes but on 'dressing up' the architectural tools they used, i.e. on the practical circumstances of building itself. As previously mentioned, the culture of the building industry in this region remained intact to a certain extent: together with the regionalist concepts of landscape, light and material, this intactness was fertile enough soil for a contemporary tradition to grow out of it on its own. The productive meeting of the local crafts culture and the timber industry led to answers that centred not on form but the abstract foundations of tradition permeated with thought³⁷. Vorarlberg architects adopted the inherited repertoire and technical expertise of architecture in wood from the start and applied them to other types of buildings. Thus, in this sense, the Vorarlberg School cannot be formalised: it can be rather defined as a bottom-up system that kept its distance from the academies as well as from cultural bureaucrats. It is not merely an architectural achievement but the collective effort of people working locally.

Architectural boards were organised in Lustenau from 1985. Functioning as an active interface, they introduced some life into the impersonal bureaucracy created by the nameless authorities, which determined the communication between the experts, politicians and the public. Thanks to their activity, new ideas, new solutions and innovations were processed more efficiently. The Vorarlberg Energy Institute was founded in 1990 with the aim of supporting sustainable architecture and the number of energy-efficient buildings in the highest in this region as a result of its operation.

The network operation built on the trust between the participants³⁸ helped to realise the shift of scale that began in the early 1990s. Public buildings were constructed and industrial functions appeared even in the smallest communities, which set off a chain reaction of high architectural quality that did away with the differences between urban and rural areas. What was only a sporadic ensemble of private houses in 1981 was viewed by the progressive middle-class and the cultural elite in the 2000s as the symbol of their self-image.

The bottom-up organisation of the architectural production in Vorarlberg from the very start made it possible for this region to remain independent from political populisms, funding-driven designs and the influence of aesthetic dogmas, thanks to which their buildings did not fall victim to being frozen in any architectural canon. This mostly became obvious when the architectural

³⁷ KAPFINGER: *op. cit.* (2003), no page number.

³⁸ GÜNTHER, Prechter: *Architektur als soziale Praxis. Akteure zeitgenössischer Baukulturen: Das Beispiel Vorarlberg*. Wien-Köln-Weimar (Böhlau) 2013.

domain distinguished by extremely strong coherence in terms of quality, opened up around 1987, and revealed a free creative field in which the youngest generation was able to express itself too.³⁹

The benefits of this unmatched cooperation enjoyed by both the craftsmen and the architects partly resulted from the manageable scale of local building projects and the indirect relations within the closely-knit social networks that exist here. An example of mutual motivation in cooperative projects is the initiative of craftsmen in the Bregenzerwald region, who decided to revive the tradition of alliance between craftsmen and traders. More than eighty artisan businesses entered the coalition called Werkraum Bregenzerwald and the Swiss architect, Peter Zumthor, was entrusted to design the building of their centre in the village of Andelsbuch. The exhibition space, held together by a single roof, was opened in 2013 and was devoted to artisan culture. One of the most important activities of the association is the organisation of a triennial competition titled Handwerk + Form, during which local artisan businesses to present their projects implemented in cooperation with international designers and architects to the public.⁴⁰

The region greatly contributed to the architectural achievements here: while it traditionally sustains itself from agriculture and it has the smallest area, it nurtures serious traditions of autonomy, self-reliance and the crafts industry. The textile industry brought capital and trade relations to the region, which made Vorarlberg the most industrialised part of Austria. This, of course, had its drawbacks too: while the number of births is the highest here, so is the pace of urbanisation as well as the number of divorcees and those living alone.

Another factor that contributed to the region's successes and has architectural relevance is Vorarlberg's complex cultural continuity: the rich texture of folk architecture and the new buildings are linked by the local architectural. New buildings are deeply rooted in their own local contexts – what is more, they rhizomatically grew out of them – but architects managed to strike a balance between the various layers of historical evolution and the clients' needs as well as the global discourses on architecture, with a special focus on climate change.

³⁹ ACHLEITNER, Friedrich: *Österreichische Architektur im 20. Jahrhundert*. Band 1 – Oberösterreich, Salzburg, Tirol, Vorarlberg, Wien, 1980.

⁴⁰ FIEL, Wolfgang: *Evolution of the Built Environment in Vorarlberg*, <https://www.austria.org/evolution-of-the-built-environment-in-vorarlberg> (accessed on 5 January 2021).

Burgenland

The case of Burgenland is somewhat at variance with that of Vorarlberg, despite the fact that the two regions have the same configuration when looking at their key characteristic from a sociological point of view. Burgenland is Austria's poorest, eastern province⁴¹, which benefited the most from the country's accession to the EU in 1995. The proportion of employed rose above the national average in the region along with its economic growth. This was almost instantly reflected by architectural production and self-organisation, the latter of which had already started not long before the country's EU accession: Seven local architects – Heinrich W. Gimbel, Peter Grabner, Otmar Hasler, Hans Schandl, Gustav Schneller, Kurt Smetana and Rudolf Szedenik – founded the Architekturraum Burgenland in 1993, when they debuted with an exhibition. When they first showcased the architecture of the rural provinces in 1993 with then title *Positionen*⁴², they only had eighteen buildings to show; ten years later this number rose to above one hundred. While reports on Burgenland had previously discussed the problems of the periphery, unemployment and the lack of innovative companies and looked for ways to keep the workforce commuting between the villages from leaving, the same documents after 2000 reported on an economic breakthrough: what previously was Europe's easternmost corner⁴³ evolved into a geographical area of central importance as a result of the development projects.

Despite Otto Kapfinger's anamnesis above, the rural areas, despite their relative poverty, could not be regarded as an architectural and artistic wasteland. In 1960 the thematic issue of *l'Architecture d'au jour d'hui* presented twenty-four buildings, three of which were built in the environs of the Neusiedler See.

One of these three played a crucial role in the region's further architectural development: It is Roland Rainer's Sommerhaus built in 1957-58 in Sankt Margarethen im Burgenland, which was included in a selection published in the book written by Rainer and titled *Anonymes Bauen: Nordburgenland*, which also laid down the theoretical foundations of modern architecture.⁴⁴ The

⁴¹ KAPFINGER, Otto: *Előszó = Neue Architektur in Burgenland und Westungarn*, Új építészet Burgenlandban és Nyugat-Magyarországon, Nova arhitektura u Gradišću izapadnoj Madarskoj, Arhitektur Raum Burgenland, Verlag Anton Pustet, 2004, no page number.

⁴² SMETANA, Kurt – SZEDENIK, Rudolf – ARTNER, Franz – BUNZL, Franz – SCHATOVICH, Rupert – CHRAMOSTA, Walter M.: *positionen – Beiträge zur Modernen Architektur im Burgenland*, Architekturraum Burgenland, Eisenstadt, 1993.

⁴³ KAPFINGER: *op. cit.* (2004), no page number.

⁴⁴ RAINER, Roland: *Anonymes Bauen: Nordburgenland*, Akademie der Bildenden Künste in Wien, Institut für Städtebau, Salzburg, Verlag Galerie Welz, 1961.

impact of the volume and the building cannot be overestimated: fifty years after the publication they still exerted an influence on the design of Josef Umathum's own wine cellar.⁴⁵ With its architectural forming and behaviour – its extensive inner courtyards delineated by rough-hewn limestone block walls, and its mass cosily sitting on the ground – Rainer's summer house is distinguished by a lasting design, still valid today, which preceded the cultural programme of regionalism. Other architects came on the scene besides Rainer, such as Raimund Abraham, Gunther Domenig and Walter Pichler, whose projects made it into Friedrich Achleiter's seminal volume.⁴⁶

The “completely obsolete barren provincial lands”⁴⁷ were populated by buildings not long after WWII which did not find a following: although they were outstanding and their designers, exploiting the benefits of the proximity of Graz and Vienna, were able to create something valuable here, their initiative did not attract a following and a simpler, provincial modernism had taken root here by the 1970s. The energy crisis of 1974, the criticism of capitalism and the political system as well as postmodernism reached the region simultaneously, generating a wave of contextualisation in which the old typologies were used, and the new buildings generally followed – even in their morphology – the already existing models, seen as traditional; this was often manifest in the form of reviving old designs. This period lasted until the mid-1980s but provided the basis for the village regeneration programmes, which started in 1987-88 but, according to Kapfinger, have gradually been reduced to externalities. In any case, it was thanks to these programmes that spatial development plans extending to the entire province were drawn up; they proved especially successful in regulating the public spaces and centres of villages and towns.

As the next step an attempt was made to increase architectural quality with administrative tools: they set up design juries, whose members were recruited from among architects and the advisors of provinces. In 1993 the Architekturraum Burgenland was organised, with its first president being Rudolf Szedenik, in order to have a forum facilitating the direct debate between the general public and architects on issues pertaining to architectural quality. The organisation was established with the aim of providing a suitable platform for professional debates and the critical discussion of development projects, while proliferating knowledge pertaining to architecture and, especially to raise

⁴⁵ SEILER: *op. cit.* (2008), 24.

⁴⁶ ACHLEITNER, Friedrich: *Österreichische Architektur im 20. Jahrhundert (from 1880)*. Band I-III, Ein Führer in drei Bänden. Band 2: Kärnten - Steiermark - Burgenland, Residenz Verlag, Salzburg, 1983.

⁴⁷ KAPFINGER: *op. cit.* (2004), no page number.

awareness about the cause of architecture. A new generation of architects came on the scene in 1990, who were educated in the centres (Vienna, Graz) but returned to their narrower native land, which is a fact that cannot be emphasised enough. Upon returning home, they encountered a well-informed layer of clients, who had stable financial backgrounds too, which was instrumental in their being able to launch their practices in Burgenland.

The latent potential that eventually led to a more massive presence of contemporary architecture in Burgenland was realised by Austria's already mentioned EU accession in 1995. A decisive factor in this was the competitive tender drawn up for the building of the Technologiezentrum Eisenstadt, which was eventually completed in 1998 based on Sep Müller's designs. Buildings linked to winemaking were the main engine of development projects: the majority of support was granted to oenology, which had a beneficial effect on the architecture of the region as a whole. The love, consumption and production of wine as well as farming, production and reproduction were condensed in a single segment, and architecture – similarly to the Vorarlberg story – was seen as a culturally embedded building process. However, no less than an economic disaster ending in criminal proceedings was necessary for there to be an Austrian oenological revolution.

Despite the famed French wines and sparkling wines, oenology was only one of the slowly changing agricultural and industrial functions up until the 1970s. The great breakthrough was brought about by a Californian winemaker, Robert Mondavi, entering the scene; he was the first to define wine consumption as a culture, not independently of his marketing campaigns⁴⁸. To make a point of this, he created an architectural framework for his own Napa Valley winery to reflect this approach: the central building of his estate was designed in 1966 by Cliff May, the father of 'the California ranch house', in a style that reflected his good name. Mondavi's congenial move was that besides having spaces built for the consumption of wine, the new type of winery he envisioned not only provided wine as a product but involved those interested in the process of wine-making from planting the nursery to labelling bottles, from the terroir to the blending of grape varieties. This method proved so successful that it was eventually adopted by car manufacturers, the makers of

⁴⁸ MONDAVI Robert: *Mission campaign = Robert G. Mondavi Papers*, D-533, Department of Special Collections, General Library, University of California, Davis, 2011, <https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8mg7qp7/admin/?query=photographs#ref13> (accessed on 11 August 2020). "At Robert Mondavi, we view wine as an integral part of our culture, heritage and the gracious way of life. We believe wine is the temperate, civilized, sacred, romantic mealtime beverage. Wine has been praised for centuries by statesmen, philosophers, poets, and scholars. Wine has been with us since civilization began and will be with us indefinitely. Now it is up to us to educate ourselves about what wine really is."

luxury goods, alcohol and tobacco, and the fashion industry, which resulted in consumers becoming experts having mastered the neologisms of product reviews and liberally snobbish consumption habits. The most momentous architectural breakthrough took place in 1984, when Jan Shrem and his wife chose Michael Graves, one of the foremost masters of postmodernism, to design the image of their winery called Clos Pegase in a tender. Robert Mondavi, who had previously participated in refining the design concept, was a member of the jury too. The tender was sponsored by the Shrems through the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art and ninety-six architects submitted their projects. The participants were expected to propose a design for 'the temple of wine and art'. Five architects were shortlisted in the first round of the competitive tender and the winning project, that of Michael Graves, was selected in the second round. Graves work was an architectural achievement that stood its ground in the international architectural scene too: not only did it introduce a new type of public building but it raised awareness about winemaking and architecture in California. It was amidst this increasing interest in winemaking and architecture that the wine scandal broke out in Austria on 30 April 1985 kicked off by an anonymous report sent to the agricultural ministry.⁴⁹

The report stated that winemakers added diethylene glycol in their semi-sweet and semi-dry wines in order to be able to cater to the quantity requirements of the German markets. The basis of semi-sweet wines enjoying great popularity in Germany was the Austrian 'ice wine' the sugar content of which was gained from frostbitten grapes. The making of ice wine is strongly dependent on weather conditions and the winemakers used the chemical to compensate for the climate's unevenness; there had been suspicions of this practice since 1983 but this time chemical tests confirmed it.

After the internationally known scandal Austrian wines were banned in Germany, in Japan and in the end in the whole world, which sent the oenological industry to the floor, while forcing the participants involved to break with the dishonest practice and start building up the industry from scratch.

This level of renewal required a new product range: Austrian winemakers discontinued their previously dominant semi-sweet portfolio and started blending dry grape varieties, thus setting into motion the soaring success of the Blaufränkisch.

The imprisoned farmers were replaced by new entrants and the winemakers of the young generation set off on study trips to master the industrial background of Napa Valley wine production. The reform in production necessitated new architecture both for technological and functional reasons. The modern

⁴⁹ SEILER: *op. cit.* (2008), 20.

wine presses, maturing and fermenting tanks were two large to be installed in old style wine cellars. The legal regulations were tightened: permanent recipes and continuous inner audits became mandatory. This led to such highly regulated circumstances and technology that created the need for a new type of architectural space with the same transparency as that prevailing in the wine making sector. This need for transparency resulted in the new wineries breaking with the old tradition of dark and mouldy cellars, and the obsolete iconography of the Heimatstil. Maturing cellars had a glass wall, in the spirit of transparency, opening them towards the public arriving for tasting, and the tastings were supplemented with paid tours of the establishment, where the owners avoided even the slightest suspicion of hiding something. Adopting the tradition of German style architectural culture, the spaces were 'wrapped in' minimalistic super-modern boxes using the most cutting edge building technology; besides their professionalism and readiness, these edifices did not seek to get entangled in conveying any narratives.

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Anton Mayerhofer completed his degree project "The Winery of the Future" in 1984. Then, together with Anton Iby, he built the first winery in Horitschon based on the new principles. Then, when the Loimer Weingut – designed by Andreas Burghardt in 2000 to be constructed in Langenlois – was built, a modern building came into being that continues to stand the test of times even at the moment of these lines being written; indeed, this house provided inspiration for Steven Holl's Loisianum, which later conquered the global press. In 2005, exactly twenty years after the wine scandal, Austrian wines again became noted in the international arena: they competed at international exhibitions together with their wineries. These same wineries – similarly to their Vorarlberg and other counterparts – said no to exploiting the semantic potential inherent in architectural forming.

The developments in Hungarian oenology and architecture around this time formed a sharp contrast to the processes in Burgenland. While in the latter a rejection of the past can be observed, the houses built in this period in Hungary could be illustrations for works by Béla Hamvas and Sándor Márai (both artists active around WWII); in other words, while the Austrians reacted against tradition, Hungarian were linked to their cultural traditions in a thousand ways. This contrast is further strengthened by the winery in Balf, designed by Propeller Z, which is linked to Hungary but in regard to its cultural embeddedness forms part of Burgenland. In order to establish the economic reasons for this – besides the deep cultural embeddedness – a micro-example of Hungarian regional aspirations should be examined through Gábor U. Nagy's architecture in Hungary's Őrség region.

Similarly to the previous examples, the Őrség is also an isolated area, within which the Vend region has its own distinct cultural identity. Its value rooted in its isolation is well recorded by Gábor U. Nagy: *“What makes this region unique is a kind of preserved state that things did not change here for a long time. The reason for this was not that people living here thought this was a great value, or that the essence of what is where should not change, but that change was not possible due to its isolation and closedness.”*⁵¹

Despite intactness preserved through isolation here, U. Nagy’s approach to tradition is not static. Just like Miklós Köllő, who sees the opposite of tradition not in the contemporary but in the superfluous, he did not operate with forms in his architecture but rather with materials and work culture. *“The sum of architectural elements primarily constitutes forms. Some believe that they can protect architecture by protecting these. I think every healthy community goes beyond these configurations because every healthy community is also embedded in its own era. Only unhealthy communities have a ‘crutch-constraint’, i.e. they need to stick something under their arm for support. That’s when they look at some forms as fetishes and they insist on them even if they are obviously linked to long obsolete lifestyles. Architecture and the world are striving for economy. The idea is that the approach should be economical. Rural architecture and public architecture follow models not only in terms of the forms they use but also in the form of how they create things.”*

The above quotes illustrate Gábor U. Nagy’s approach well. He graduated in 1981 and after a short intermezzo working at the Public Building Design Institute (KÖZTI, one of Hungary’s oldest architecture studios), he joined the General Building Design Company (ÁÉTV), directed by Jenő Rimanóczy,⁵² which was a workshop that – especially despite the nostalgia surrounding Iparterv (Hungarian architectural office established in 1948 and acting as a ‘magnet’ for the young Hungarian Avant-garde artists, who gathered around its exhibitions) – seemed to be the most important incubator for the generation in their late fifties: Levente Varga, the head of the studio, as well as Ferenc Cságoty, Tamás Tomay and Gábor Turányi; and those who were at the start of their

⁵⁰ WESSELÉNYI-Garay, Andor: *Elbeszélhetetlen, U. Nagy Gábor regionalizmusa = Metszet*, 2013/1., January/February, 12–19.

⁵¹ U. NAGY, Gábor: *Az építész mindig egy házat tervez, 2009, Kétvölgy = ÁRVAI, András – BENEDEK, Anna (eds.): Valami megint rabbanni fog*, 6b.hu Kiadó Kft. + PRAE.HU Kft., 10–31.

⁵² The most detailed interview: ÁRVAI András – BENEDEK Anna: *Hogyan lehet minél kevesebb esz-közzel minél többet elmondani? Interjú U. Nagy Gáborral = Prae.hu*, 19 October 2009, last download: 14 January 2013.

careers at the time, such as Mihály Balázs, Katalin Somogyi Soma, Péter Sugár and Gábor U. Nagy. These names are hallmarks of an iconic generation: these architects are linked together not only by their roles played in education but also by the Master School, which launched its 8th cycle in 1984.

Although the date of the change in Hungary's political system is 1990, forms that sought to provide a more or less clear framework for private property had emerged in the slowly re-privatised Hungarian economy a decade earlier. The internal demolition of the big planning offices began around that time too and the first business associations called 'economic work communities' (GMK), started to flourish; as a result, by the mid-1980s it was virtually impossible to know which parts of the same project was designed by a state architecture office and which parts were carried out privately. The only way out of this chaos was for architects to find their own path: Tamás Tomay launched his private practice in 1986, and Gábor U. Nagy joined him.

Since the second half of the 1980s U. Nagy, who is integrally linked to Pest in every way, has spent his summers in the Őrség whenever he could. Besides his attractions to this region, these 'adorable masterpieces' of elemental building – the inspiration of houses built with so few architectural tools – have become key to his daily architectural activity. He made a crucial decision in 1991: leaving behind his practice in Budapest, he and his family moved to the Vend region. This step – especially viewed from the contemporary horizon – speaks volumes of someone's faith in himself and in the future. He is convinced that in today's radically changing reality he will be able to keep his relationships alive regardless of the place where he lives, and regards it as an axiom that he can get by anywhere in the world as an architect.

Even an approach like his might have some misunderstandings in store. It soon transpired that it was not architects but builders they needed in the Őrség, not only because of the local cultural practices and the very ideal of elemental architecture – i.e. the untranslatability of the abstraction inherent in drawing – but also because of the essence of the process's malleability that takes place through building. As he said, "The essence and innermost characteristic of elemental architecture is that it evolves during building, i.e. design as abstraction is not present in the hundred year history of elemental architecture. What *is* present is knowledge of the materials and building, its continuity and it being passed down by one generation to the next." This hit him even more powerfully when he realised that none of his houses were built the way he had imagined. It was in 1992 that he began to take part in the building of his own designs, thus setting off an architectural practice – referred to in literature as reflexive regionalism – that is one of its kind in Hungary. Its uniqueness is it being outside paradigms: existing frameworks of interpretation can only be imposed on U. Nagy's architecture with serious reservations.

The turn in Gábor U. Nagy's lifestyle – which, in retrospect proved to be constructive in his architecture – cannot be viewed in a Thoreauan context. Unlike Henry David Thoreau's decision, U. Nagy's choice was not driven by his desire to save the world – which also inspired many Hungarian intellectuals in the early-1960s to move to the countryside, to build up the country's industry; nor was it a utopian dream, which – taking the example of the Collective House in Miskolc – plonked a bit of Budapest in the middle of a housing estate as a spatial insert. U. Nagy's decision is also free from the passion that drove many artists in the 1980s to move to forsaken villages, where they then lost themselves in alcohol, and nor is it analogous with the existential-revolutionary statement of the young generation of architects who set out to find their own voice in reaction to the crisis of the times.

Building in U. Nagy's practice is more like a cultural practice teaching him lessons and inspired by these lessons. It is not a means to secure himself, nor is it a means of voluntarism. It is a test strip of economical approach and sensibility, which shapes its processes depending on the resources at hand and not determined by fetishised materials and forms.

In the mid-1990s the standard ratio in architectural projects was two-thirds paid for labour and one third for materials. U. Nagy was intent on changing this proportion to fifty-fifty. His strategy proved successful, up until 2005, when labour costs began to increase to such an extent – partly because of the proximity of Austria – that the idea of finding new building methods arose. U. Nagy takes a similarly sensible (economical-ecological) approach to building materials: paying 3-4 forints per piece for bricks coming from demolished buildings, especially if they can be found locally, makes sense, but the moment the same bricks begin to be fetishized and cost 80 forints per piece (virtually viewed as exhibits) it is untenable. He felt the time had come for technologies and processes that would be able to take the burden off practices built on cheap labour. Such alternatives are typically provided by industrial prefabrication, and if we compare Hungarian and Austrian wineries from this perspective, or take a look at Glenn Murcutt's metal houses in Australia, we will immediately find the answers to the obvious differences in the use of forms and materials. These examples will also show why the reflexive practice in the Őrség made U. Nagy turn away from brick-based craftsmanship and turn to prefabricated industrial structures.

Recipe

At the end of this paper's first chapter I quoted an essay by Pedro Gadanho, which proposed that the common denominator of internationally acclaimed

architectural regionalisms is the system of star architects. The case studies that follow confirm that there are other factors that connect examples of regionalism. The most important such common denominator is geography: all the regions in the case studies are enclosed, peripheral areas that are difficult to access, enabling them to stand up against stylistic trends dictated by the centres. The other factor is architectural: none of these regions had previously existing non-vernacular architectural traditions with enough gravity to shape and act as a mould for the architecture of coming generations. Closely linked to this is the noticeable attention people in these regions sought to understand the vernacular traditions and embed its working practices into their building processes. Each one of the regionalist architectural practices demonstrate a special interaction between the centre and the periphery: architects educated in the centres of architecture moved back to their native lands and developed practices resulting from the reflections of the given place. An element must be specially noted in the case of Portugal: *inquérito*, which is the system of building surveys, which was not aimed at drawing up a kind of visual archaeology but rather to integrate its findings into the daily practice of architectural planning and thus design buildings linked to their localities. As I already expounded in several of my studies to be published: the above can be distilled – virtually like a recipe – in the case of Transylvanian eco-regionalisms, which have been around – or to borrow Zsolt Tövissi's words 'simmered together' – for less than fifteen years and whose local, Romanian, reception practically spans from schematic Kós-Makovecz interpretations to regionalism being detected. But that is another story.

