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Polanyi and the Treason of the Intellectuals*

Lee Congdon

In the years since the Second World War, Michael Polanyi has emerged as a philosopher of the first rank. His major work, *Personal Knowledge* (1958), is a brilliant tour de force that manages to steer a course between the Scylla of a critical philosophy that insists upon completely objective epistemological criteria and the Charybdis of a subjectivism that denies the possibility of surmounting caprice. By demonstrating the viability of a personal knowledge that is neither wholly objective nor arbitrary, Polanyi has helped to open paths of thought and existence previously obstructed.[1] Although this philosophic achievement still awaits comprehensive examination, my present intention is more modest; I should like to call attention to Polanyi's lifelong concern with the question of moral and intellectual responsibility and to his thoughtful and devastating indictment of the treason of the intellectuals.

Unlike Julien Benda, whose *La Trahison des clercs* (1927) is generally regarded as the classic statement on the subject, Polanyi recognizes that by far the greatest number of traitorous intellectuals have abandoned the independent search for truth in order to further the revolutionary goals of Marxism. They have offered not only their intellectual freedom but also their moral principles as ransom for a world made perfect; paradoxically, they have sacrificed morality for moral reasons.

Although Polanyi has dated the beginning of his attempts to expose the treason of the intellectuals to the 1930's,[2] he had, in fact, become initially concerned with the question before 1920 in his native Hungary. Indeed, as his friend and fellow countryman Paul Ignotus has written, "the intellectual environment of his youth has profoundly influenced his development."[3] Before turning to his mature critique of Marxism, therefore, it would be well to consider his years in Hungary.

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I

Polanyi was born in 1891 in Budapest, the scion of an extraordinary Hungarian-Jewish family.[4] His father Mihály Pollacsek, a building contractor for Budapest's suburban railways, watched his fortunes soar in the last years of the nineteenth century only to plummet to the earth in the early years of the twentieth.[5] More important, however, Pollacsek was a man of exemplary character whose life bore eloquent witness to his commitment to the highest moral standards. When, for example, a business venture of his failed, he insisted that every share-holder be paid to the last penny, even though to do so spelled his own financial ruin.[6] For Michael Polanyi, as well as for his brothers and sisters, the example of Pollacsek's life provided the moral ballast necessary for navigating the stormy seas of twentieth-century existence.[7]

Polanyi's Russian mother, Cecile Wohl, was a high-spirited, energetic woman with a great interest in Hungary's intellectual life. In the years preceding the outbreak of the First World War, her salon attracted men and women, old and young, who were anxious to discuss new ideas from Western Europe. "Mama Cecile," as she was called, reveled in the intellectually-charged atmosphere of fin de siècle Budapest, where, as one contemporary observer put it: "Everyone is talking about Marx or Herbert Spencer; the class struggle, historical materialism, evolution, the organic and inorganic view of the world are on everyone's lips."[8]

This intellectual ferment was generated by the members of Hungary's emerging "counter-culture," a heterogeneous and uncoordinated movement that sought to reawaken the country from the cultural slumber that had begun about the time of the *Ausgleich* or Compromise of 1867. With a few notable exceptions,[9] late nineteenth-century Hungarian cultural leaders were less concerned with creativity and profundity than with giving expression to an increasingly rigid official ideology that was a blend of clericalism and Hungarian nationalism.[10]

The counter-culture centered around two forums: *Huszadik Század* (*"Twentieth Century"*), a sociological journal edited by Oszkár Jászi, and *Nyugat* (*"West"*), a literary journal edited by Ignotus.[11] These journals accepted contributions from young writers and scholars intoxicated with Western ideas and Western creative experiments and eager to break loose from the fetters that bound Hungarian cultural life. The young writers' confidence was all the greater because of the existence of parallel rebellions in other cultural fields. Two young composers, Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály, had begun the work that would soon bring them world renown; groups such as the "Circle of Hungarian Impressionists and Naturalists" and

"The Eight" provided new opportunities for Hungarian artists and suggested new artistic possibilities to the educated public.[12] And Sándor Ferenczi, one of Freud's closest associates, defended brilliantly the epoch-making claims of psychoanalysis.

The gathering counter-cultural forces became self-conscious when, in 1906, Endre Ady published his *New Verses*, a book that boldly challenged the official ideology and spoke in a powerful Magyar idiom of a new Hungary. Not only did Ady place himself at the head of the counter-cultural movement, he also summoned his countrymen to national regeneration, by which he meant the creation of a society governed by moral principles rather than by class privilege. Himself a member of the gentry (though, the impoverished gentry), Ady, like István Széchenyi in the nineteenth century, believed that the Magyar ruling classes, the magnates and the gentry, had become morally derelict and had therefore forfeited their right to speak for Hungary.[13] Proclaiming himself to be the embodiment of his country's most noble traditions, the proud poet declared that he, not they, possessed the right to command Hungarians and in the exercise of that right, he would recall them to their authentic selves.[14]

It was in this turbulent, stimulating atmosphere that Polanyi came of age. From the first, his sympathies lay with the counter-culture and the more encompassing movement for national regeneration.[15] Yet, unlike his elder brother Karl and many of his friends, he was never attracted to radical politics. "His reputation," according to Paul Ignotus, "was that of the man who had the courage to dissent from the dissenters; in a flock of black sheep he shocked many by seeming almost white."[16]

As a medical student at the University of Budapest in 1908, Polanyi joined the newly-founded Galileo Circle, a counter-cultural organization of students interested in the sciences—natural and social. Under the leadership of its first president, Karl Polanyi, the Circle announced that its aim was the "defense and propagation of unprejudiced science. Teaching and studying are the means employed in the struggle against religious, racial, and class prejudices."[17] To that end, the Circle organized a series of lectures that was an education in itself. Leading Hungarian thinkers such as Oszkár Jászi and Sándor Ferenczi, as well as foreign scholars such as Max Adler, Robert Michels, Werner Sombart, Eduard Bernstein, and Wilhelm Ostwald, addressed the Galileoists.[18] In addition to sponsoring these lectures, the Galileo Circle opened reading rooms, published a series of scholarly studies, and established the journal *Szabadgondolat* ("*Free Thought*"), primarily as a vehicle for younger scholars.[19]

Polanyi played an active role in the Circle's life, serving for a time as a member of the "Committee on Natural Science."[20] Yet,

while he was enthusiastic about the pursuit of scientific truth and certainly possessed the moral sensibility that was the animating force behind the Circle's scientific activity,[21] he objected to the ever-increasing tendency on the part of his comrades to view scientific (especially social scientific) research as a weapon in the battle for social and political reform. Hence, while continuing to support the Circle's stated purposes, Polanyi seems to have drifted further and further away from its leaders, including his own brother.

Having completed his M.D. in 1913, Polanyi entered the Austro-Hungarian army as a medical officer on the outbreak of world war. Soon, however, he contracted diphtheria and, returning to the University, earned a Ph.D. in physical chemistry in 1917. By that time the cataclysmic character of the war was apparent to all Europeans and efforts to provide an explanation for its outbreak reflected a profound need to make sense of three years of unprecedented devastation—material and spiritual. In the summer of 1917, Polanyi contributed an article to *Huszadik Szazad* in which he discussed the causes of the war and the prospects for peace. The article was entitled: "To the Peacemakers: Views Concerning the Conditions of European War and Peace."[22]

In this rare non-scientific essay, Polanyi argued that the war was not the result of a clash of economic interests, but rather of the almost religious idea of the sovereign state abiding in the hearts of the European peoples. "The war is bad business," he wrote. "The state, however, becomes engaged in war not as an association of interests, but as an idea; what is bad business for an association of interests, is health-giving nourishment for an idea. Business demands rational investments; an idea clamors for bloody sacrifices."

Polanyi acknowledged that his view could not be reconciled with the popular materialism of the day and would therefore call forth strenuous opposition. In an effort to anticipate objections, he faced the central issue squarely and assumed the offensive. The widespread disavowal of every preconception (to which, as we have seen, the Galileo Circle was committed) had not been wholly successful, "because these [preconceptions] are rooted in those tacit assumptions which govern our thinking without our being aware of it. This is why it is impossible to disavow them."[23] It was possible then, Polanyi continued, that twentieth-century thought was prisoner to materialistic preconceptions. The frequent assertion of such unexamined shibboleths as "the interest of the ruling classes," "war profiteers," "bureaucratic and military ambitions," and "economic expansion" constituted clear evidence that an unprejudiced social science did not exist.

In order to bring the war to an end and to prevent a renewal of hostilities, citizens of every state would have to become Europeans in the fullest sense of the word; they would have to abandon the idea of the sovereign state in favour of that of a unified Europe. Indeed, Polanyi insisted that civilization itself depended for its survival on the realization of the idea of a united Europe in which sovereignty was set above the individual nations. Unless that was accomplished, revolution would be inevitable, a revolution so terrible that it would soon reduce to insignificance the horror of the war. "Workers for peace! Only the creation of a European legal order can deliver us from revolution, because in its essence, the revolution of which everyone speaks is *the stirring of the peoples' conscience in an effort to free it from the idea of the state.*"

Anticipating Benda, who wrote in 1927 that "the progress of political passions in depth during the past century seems to me most remarkable in the case of national passions,"[24] Polanyi criticized the intellectuals for failing to take the lead in moderating nationalistic fervor. "Europe's intellectuals . . . ," he wrote, "who speak equally well Europe's languages and whose spirit was nourished equally on every culture . . . one after another repudiated the internationalist ideal that was an animating force in the composition of their personalities."

Polanyi's counsel to the peacemakers was inspired by a concern for the precariousness of civilization and a conviction that the national passions that produced one war must not be allowed to call another into being; his essay did not betoken any taste for politics or political action. On the contrary, he regarded the blind national partisanship of the European intellectuals as a betrayal of their responsibility to defend civilization against internecine strife. And, precisely because the Galileo Circle had been captured by political radicals during the war, he apparently severed all ties with the organization, having found his way, in 1915, to a remarkable Sunday-afternoon discussion circle presided over by György (Georg) Lukács and Béla Balázs.[25] The subject for discussion at these gatherings was always chosen by Lukács and it invariably centered on some ethical problem or question suggested by the writings of Dostoevski and Kierkegaard. Politics and social problems were never discussed.[26] In a memoir concerning the "free school" organized by the circle in 1917, Balázs wrote: "There were eight or ten of us who never thought about politics even in our dreams."[27]

The political aloofness cultivated by the Lukács-Balázs circle became increasingly difficult to maintain as time wore on, for in the closing months of 1918, Hungary entered one of the most critical periods in its thousand-year history. By conceding defeat in the Great

War, the military leaders of the Central Powers had sounded the death knell for the Hohenzollern and Habsburg monarchies and created an atmosphere of political uncertainty in *Mitteleuropa.* In Hungary, that uncertainty was not removed when, in late October, the liberal aristocrat Michael Károlyi led a bloodless revolution against the helpless old regime.[28] The Károlyi government sought to remake Hungary in the image of the Western democracies, but the enormous difficulties it faced made constructive action all but impossible. Locked in a vice by the victorious Allies and political enemies on the Right and the Left, Károlyi's democratic republic sank ever deeper in the quicksand of the post-war chaos while the Hungarian Communist Party, organized on November 24, 1918,[29] waited impatiently for its disappearance.

In the midst of this political maelstrom, most Hungarian intellectuals hastened to volunteer for political combat. Even Lukács and Balázs, to the dismay of their friends, joined the Communist Party.[30] Polanyi was a major exception. On February 1, 1919, less than two months before the fall of Károlyi's democratic regime and the establishment of Béla Kun's Soviet Republic, he published an article in *Szabadgondolat* entitled "New Skepticism."[31] The essay was a searing indictment of the intellectuals' prostration before the altar of politics; it was the initial engagement in Polanyi's lifelong war on the politicized intelligentsia. So anomalous was the article in a journal whose pages rang with political debate, that its publication can only be explained by the fact that Karl Polanyi was then *Szabadgondolat's* editor-in-chief.

Polanyi began his essay by pointing out that before the world war, intellectuals had largely disdained politicians and political engagement. In the wake of the collapse of the old order, however, they had abandoned their position above the strife and descended into the political arena; they had begun to seek salvation through political faith. Such faith, according to Polanyi, was misguided and dangerous; modern society was so complex that not even the most talented social scientists, much less politicians, were able to calculate the future effects of any political innovation. Politics was the blind eruption of terror and hope; political struggles did not ensure historical progress, but only aimless destruction. Faith in politics was, therefore, faith in an illusion.

The authentic task of intellectuals living in a politicized world was to preserve culture and to shatter faith in politics. In place of the illusions engendered by that faith, the ancient tradition of the skeptics had to be revived. To be sure, illusions would never die, because their death, like that of kings, enthroned their successors. That is so because the causes of illusions, hope and fear, could never be laid to

rest. Yet, by fostering a spirit of political skepticism among the European peoples, intellectuals could contribute to the establishment of less dangerous illusions.

"Our work," Polanyi continued, "is the exploration of the truth." Intellectuals had to discover the origin of political illusions in order to dispel them. Once that task was accomplished, perhaps a real community could be built, grounded in political as well as personal self-restraint.[32] Until then, intellectuals would have to regard politics as their enemy.

Polanyi's warning and counsel could not be heard above the shrill cries of political prophets and shortly after the formation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic in March 1919, he left Hungary for a life in exile.

II

I have dwelt at some length on Polanyi's years in Hungary because his early experience exerted a profound influence on his mature work; certainly they helped inspire him to discover the origin of political faith in man's moral nature. In contrast to most critics of the modern world, Polanyi does not think that ours is an age of moral weakness. On the contrary, "never in the history of mankind has the hunger for brotherhood and righteousness exercised such power over the minds of men as today."[33] The humanitarian reforms of the past two centuries embody in concrete form our moral sensibilities. And yet, something has gone wrong; the nineteenth century's dreams of continuous progress have turned into the twentieth century's nightmares. The political nihilism of Hitler and Stalin has shaken the edifice of civilization and ushered in an ice age of the human spirit.

Polanyi explains this paradox by analyzing what he has called "moral inversion." By that he means the process by which modern men have converted their moral passions into acts of manifest immorality in the search for perfection in society. They have done this because, while longing for an earthly paradise, their moral skepticism, engendered by "critical" thought since Descartes, forces them to conclude that all moral imperatives are mere epiphenomena without any legitimate claim to ontic status.

It is from this paradox that moral inversion springs. Man's moral impulse, Polanyi believes, is primal and cannot be successfully suppressed.[34] The more powerful that impulse and the less able it is to express itself through traditional channels, the more it will seek clandestine outlets. Embarrassed to be seen publicly, it disguises itself behind a mask of science or history; castigating the self-serving hypocrisy of "bourgeois" morality, it asserts its preeminence on grounds of its complete lack of self-deception and public duplicity.

Polanyi distinguishes between personal and political inversion,[35] the symbol of the former being the bohemian immoralist. Because of the totality of his contempt for all moral standards, the immoralist demands our respect and admiration. "I shall show you," he says, "an honesty as terrifying as it is pure. Like Smerdyakov, I shall follow to its logical conclusion Ivan Karamazov's 'everything is permitted' and shall taste those forbidden fruits before which you tremble with lust and fear of exposure. Your petty addiction to empty forms pales in moral significance beside my open decadence." It is on terms such as these that Simone de Beauvoir asks us to recognize in the Marquis de Sade our moral superior.[36]

Obscene as this personal inversion is, Polanyi has reserved his most scathing attack for those intellectuals whose treason consists of being seduced by the "magic of Marxism," for they have helped to create and sustain a leviathan that has devoured millions of human beings and, what is perhaps worse, deprived millions of others of the last shred of human dignity.

What, precisely, is the magic that Marxism possesses? "The answer is," Polanyi writes, "that it enables the modern mind, tortured by moral self-doubt, to indulge its moral passions in terms which also satisfy its passion for ruthless objectivity."[37] While mocking the acknowledged moral concern of liberal reformers, Marx channeled his far more demanding moral passion into a scientific theory of historical inevitability. There is, in short, more morality to be found in Marx's monumental works than in all the works of liberals put together. So demanding and uncompromising is that morality that only a resort to violence can effect the realization of its imperatives. Thus, Marx the moralist becomes Marx the apologist for violence.

It is impossible, I think, to read much of Marx without becoming aware of his Old Testament moral fervor; indeed, many writers have called attention to the moral ground of Marx's doctrines. Polanyi's great contribution is to have shown precisely *how* the descent from lofty, if disguised, ideals to the abyss of nihilism logically proceeds. Because of his work, we now have a much clearer understanding of the treason of the intellectuals and a fuller appreciation for the agonizing efforts made by some of them to stand morality back on its feet.

That such efforts have been made by those intellectuals most sunk in the slough of political nihilism—the Stalinists—is the ground for Polanyi's conviction that twentieth-century man has now advanced "beyond nihilism." The turning point, he argues, came in 1956, the year in which the Poles and the Hungarians revolted against a system that proclaimed that truth was party truth and common decency the fossilized remains of bourgeois cynicism.

It is not by chance that Polanyi has singled out the Hungarian Revolution for especial analysis, for despite his many years in Germany and England, he has never severed spiritual ties with his native land. The dark years of the Rákosi dictatorship (1948-56) must have been a source of great pain to him and the Revolution of 1956 a proud moment. Again and again he has written of its crucial significance in the moral history of mankind.[38]

The Revolution, Polanyi maintains, cannot be comprehended by social scientists committed to value-free descriptions, because it was generated by an analytically simple but existentially profound moral awakening among Hungarian communists. Any attempt to link the tumultuous events of October-November 1956 to some imagined social or economic change will end in a scholarly cul-de-sac; no such change induced the Hungarians to revolt. Rather, the rebel intellectuals finally recognized that they had betrayed systematically every moral principle for which they had originally alienated themselves from polite society. As two participants in the Revolution, Tamás Aczél and Tibor Méray, have written of their comrades: "The decisive impulse which flings the adventurers out of their usual course with such force into the opposite direction (sometimes with such force that they themselves hardly know where they have landed) is usually a moral impulse."[39]

To be sure, many communists and fellow travelers, such as Koestler, Silone, and Gide, had recanted prior to 1956, but now the recantations came in the very heart of darkness—the Stalinist state; and from those whom that state had honored and rewarded.[40] Morally, the Hungarian communists are back on their feet and because in 1956 they were, metaphorically speaking, the embodiment of the world spirit, mankind can be said to have emerged from the dark cave of nihilism into the refracted sunlight of an imperfect but potentially decent world.

Polanyi insists, however, that a return to the moral status quo ante is not sufficient surety for a world ravaged by the effects of nihilistic politics. It is not enough, he argues, to restore rationalist enlightenment, since the logic of its demands for critical objectivity has been exposed as the fertile ground of nihilism. Rather, intellectuals must recognize that men are not machines whose task it is to reject all truth claims and moral postulates because they are incapable of objective verification, but moral agents who cannot set aside the burden and responsibility of personal commitment.

In one of the most challenging chapters of *Personal Knowledge*, "The Logic of Affirmation," Polanyi identifies his "post-critical philosophy" with that of St. Augustine.

> We must now go back to St. Augustine to restore the balance of our cognitive powers. In the fourth century A.D., St. Augustine brought the history of Greek philosophy to a close by inaugurating for the first time a post-critical philosophy. He taught that all knowledge was a gift of grace, for which we must strive under the guidance of antecedent belief: *nisi credideritis, non intelligitis.*[41]

The similarities between the two thinkers are indeed striking. In common with St. Augustine, Polanyi has forged his philosophy in the crucible of a broken world, and like the great Church Father, he has offered an alternative to nihilistic despair rooted in a recognition of the fiduciary source of all knowledge. If twentieth-century intellectuals are to remain beyond nihilism, they must, in Polanyi's judgment, submit to intellectual and moral requirements which, while not scientifically demonstrable, are not for that reason merely the products of passing fancies, but the independent and universal determinants of authentic human existence.[42]

NOTES

1. As a philosophic pathfinder, Polanyi has surprisingly much in common with Martin Heidegger. In at least one place, he has made explicit his accord with the great German thinker. *Personal Knowledge: Towards a Post-Critical Philosophy* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1964), p. x.
2. *Ibid.*, p. ix.
3. Paul Ignotus, "The Hungary of Michael Polanyi," in *The Logic of Personal Knowledge: Essays Presented to Michael Polanyi on his Seventieth Birthday, 11th March 1961* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961), p. 12.
4. On the Polányi family, see Laura Fermi, *Illustrious Immigrants: The Intellectual Migration from Europe, 1930-41* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 113-15. Even more valuable, but in Hungarian, is Ilona Duczynska, "Polányi Károly (1886-1964)," *Századok*, 105, No. 1 (1971), 89-95. Ilona Duczynska is Mrs. Karl Polanyi.
5. Duczynska, "Polányi Károly," 89. Like many Hungarian Jews during the era of Dualism (1867-1918), Pollacsek chose to Magyarize his children's name (though not his own) to "Polányi," in the hope that their social and economic opportunities would thereby be greater.
6. *Ibid.*, 89-90.
7. The lifework of Karl Polanyi also bears the mark of Mihály Pollacsek's moral earnestness.
8. Pál Wolfner cited in Gyula Merei, *Polgári radikalizmus Magyarországon, 1900-1919* (Budapest, 1947), p. 10.
9. Exceptions include the poet János Arany (1817-82) and the painter Mihály Munkácsy (1844-1900).
10. Because Hungary's lyricists had traditionally been the pride of the nation, the sterility of Hungarian poetry at this time was particularly conspicuous. According to the perceptive critic and literary historian Aladár Schopflin (1872-1950), "The manner of our great classical poets became conventional in [fin de siecle] patriotic poetry. Generally, there was more patriotism . . . than poetry in this work." *A magyar irodalom története a XX. században* (Budapest: Grill Károly Könyvkiadóvállalata Kiadása, 1937), p. 57. In art, paintings of the Holy Family and portrayals of glorious historical events proliferated.

11. On Jászi and *Huszadik Század*, see Merei, *Polgári radikalizmus Magyarországon* and my article, "The Moralist as Social Thinker: Oszkar Jaszi in Hungary, 1900-1919," in Walter Laqueur and George L. Mosse (eds.), *Historians in Politics* (London: Sage Publications, Ltd., 1974), pp. 273-313. On Ignotus and *Nyugat*, see Miksa Fenyő, "The Nyugat Literary Magazine and the Modern Hungarian Literature," *The Hungarian Quarterly*, III, No. 3-4 (1962), 7-28, and Andre Karatson, *Le Symbolisme en Hongrie* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1969).
12. On Bartók, see the excellent study by Halsey Stevens, *The Life and Music of Béla Bartók* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964); Krisztina Passuth, *A Nyolcak festészete* (Budapest: Athenaeum Nyomda, 1967) is an important study of the new art.
13. For an outstanding study of Széchenyi, see George Barany, *Stephen Széchenyi and the Awakening of Hungarian Nationalism, 1791-1841* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1968).
14. See my article, "Endre Ady's Summons to National Regeneration in Hungary, 1900-1919," *Slavic Review*, 33, No. 2 (1974), 302-22.
15. Polanyi has testified to his youthful identification with Hungarian liberalism in *The Tacit Dimension* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1967), p. 86.
16. Ignotus, "The Hungary of Michael Polanyi," p. 12.
17. Márta Tömöry, *Új vizeken járok: A Galilei Kör története* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1960), photographic plate between pp. 48 and 49. On the formation of the Galileo Circle, see also Zsigmond Kende's posthumous memoir, *A Galilei Kör megalakulása*, ed. by Péter Hanák and György Litván (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974).
18. For a complete list of these lectures, see Tömöry, *Új vizeken járok*, pp. 278-79.
19. The Galileo Circle received most of its financial support from the Hungarian Freemasons.
20. Tömöry, *Új vizeken járok*, p. 274. The mathematician George Polya served on the same committee.
21. Like Ady, with whom they established a close relationship, the Galileoists sought the moral regeneration of Hungarian society. See Károly Polányi, "A Galilei Körre vonatkozo ismeretlen dokumentumok," ed. by Zoltán Horváth, *Századok*, 105, No. 1 (1971), 99-100.
22. Mihály Polányi, "A békeszerzőkhöz. (Nézetek az europai háboru és béke feltételeiről.)," *Huszadik Század*, 2 (1917), 165-76.
23. Polanyi's later theory of tacit knowledge is here prefigured.
24. Julien Benda, *The Treason of the Intellectuals*, trans. by Richard Aldington (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1969), pp. 13-14.
25. Balázs Béla naplói: 1899-1922. Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára: Kezirattár, Ms 5023/19, p. 47. December 22, 1915. On the Lukács-Balázs circle, see my article, "The Making of a Hungarian Revolutionary: The Unpublished Diary of Béla Balázs," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 8, No. 3 (1973), 57-74.
26. Interview with Professor Arnold Hauser in London, August 28, 1971. Hauser was a member of the circle.
27. Béla Balázs, *Válogatott cikkek és tanulmányok*, ed. by Magda K. Nagy (Budapest: Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1968), p. 91.
28. The best study of the October Revolution and the Károlyi government is still Sándor Juhász-Nagy, *A magyar oktoberi forradalom története (1918 okt. 31-1919 márc. 21)* (Budapest: Cserepfalvi, 1945). See also Oscar Jaszi, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Hungary* (Howard Fertig, Inc. ed.; New York: Howard Fertig, 1969) and Gábor Vermes, "The October Revolution in Hungary: From Károlyi to Kun," in Ivan Volgyes (ed.,) *Hungary in Revolution, 1918-19* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), pp. 31-60.
29. György Milei, "Mikor alakult a KMP?," *Párttörténeti Közlemények*, XI, No. 3 (1965), 140-41.

30. On Balázs, see my "The Making of a Hungarian Revolutionary"; on Lukács, see my article, "The Unexpected Revolutionary: Lukacs's Road to Marx," *Survey*, 20, No. 2/3 (91/92) (1974), 176-205.
31. Mihály Polányi, "Új szkepticismus," *Szabadgondolat*, February 1, 1919, pp. 53-56.
32. The theme of political skepticism and restraint is a recurring one in Polanyi's writings. He admires greatly the "suspended logic" of English political theory. For example, see Michael Polanyi, *Knowing and Being: Essays*, ed. by Marjorie Grene (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 22-23.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
34. Polanyi, *Personal Knowledge*, p. 234.
35. Polanyi, *Knowing and Being*, pp. 16-17; Michael Polanyi, "On the Modern Mind," *Encounter*, XXIV, No. 5 (1965), 19.
36. Simone de Beauvoir, *The Marquis de Sade: An Essay* (New York: Grove Press, 1953).
37. Polanyi, *Personal Knowledge*, p. 228.
38. See especially, Polanyi, "The Message of the Hungarian Revolution," in *Knowing and Being*, pp. 24-39.
39. Tamás Aczél and Tibor Méray, *The Revolt of the Mind* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1959), p. 325.
40. Tamás Aczél was a celebrated communist novelist and winner of both the Stalin and Kossuth Prizes; Tibor Méray was a highly-praised journalist-novelist and recipient of the Kossuth Prize.
41. Polanyi, *Personal Knowledge*, p. 266.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 300.

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Hungarian Studies at American and Canadian Universities*

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According to a definition coined during the 1930's, when Hungary witnessed a major resurgence of the discipline known as Hungarology or Hungaristics /Magyarságtudomány/, Hungarian studies comprise "the sum of all knowledge pertaining to the Magyars". More specifically, "it is the science that concerns itself with the past, physical and spiritual makeup, intellectual values and the conditions of the natural existence of the Magyars. Thus, in addition to history, it comprises geography, ethnography, anthropology, literary and cultural history, as well as the study of all other manifestations of Magyar existence."[1]

While this definition of Hungarian studies may not be the best, it is certainly as encompassing as any. But precisely because of its comprehensiveness, it is more suitable for the description of Hungarian studies in Hungary, where such an encompassing approach is both natural and feasible.

Naturally, the situation is quite different for Hungarian studies abroad. Due to the lack of adequate funding, unfavorable conditions and insufficient interest, Hungarian studies outside of Hungary have to be more limited in scope. Initially programs are usually limited to the study of the Magyar language, with perhaps some reference to literature, culture and history. Only later, with the growing evidence of demand and support do some of these initial efforts evolve into more comprehensive programs, that may entail courses in several related fields under the direction of a scholar-professor.

This pattern has generally been true for most of the Hungarian programs at North American colleges and universities, although only two evolved into respectable centers of Hungarian learning. The birth and development of programs depends on a number of frequently changing external factors. These factors generally include: (1) the

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interests, needs and support of the American or Canadian Hungarian communities; (2) the interest and support of the Hungarian government; (3) and the needs and support of the American scholarly community and that of the U.S. or Canadian governments. The relative significance of these factors varied from time to time, and their impact also depended to a considerable degree on the role played by a few dedicated individual scholars at various times (e.g. Joseph Reményi in the U.S. and Watson Kirkconnell in Canada). The role of such scholars has been particularly significant during periods of disinterest on the part of the American and Canadian scholarly circles and the respective governments.

In addition to the above factors, the development of Hungarian studies in the U.S. and Canada also depended to a large degree on the maintenance of certain more encompassing area programs. The most significant of these were (and still are) the East European language and area programs, which have had a relatively high degree of popularity and support during the past twenty-five years. But the more limited Uralic and Altaic and Habsburg studies—which had their heyday in the late 1950's and 1960's—were also significant.

Types of Hungarian Studies Programs

In examining the development of Hungarian studies at American and Canadian colleges and universities, we find basically three types of programs, which on the whole correlate with the above-mentioned external factors. These include programs (1) which had been established and supported primarily by the Hungarians in North America, (2) those that enjoyed the financial and moral support of the Hungarian Government, and (3) those that were initiated by the American academic community, and at times supported by grants from various foundations or the U.S. Government. In the past, Hungarian studies programs have existed in all three of these categories, and their fate and fortune are good indicators of the relative interest and dedication of the above three factors in Hungarian studies.

The Pioneer Hungarian Studies Programs

The roots of Hungarian studies in the United States reach back to the early years of the twentieth century. They stretch back almost to the time when the pioneers of Russian and East European studies, professors Archibald Coolidge (1866-1928) and Leo Wiener (1862-1939), both of Harvard University, had turned the attention of American scholarship to the study of the East European world.

The first Hungarian program was initiated in 1904 in Bloomfield College and at the Bloomfield Theological Seminary in New Jersey,

where it continued until 1957. The primary purpose of this program was to educate Hungarian speaking ministers for the Hungarian Reformed and Evangelical Churches in the United States. Simultaneously, the college also provided English language training for theologians and theology students coming from Hungary.

A similar program also functioned at Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, between 1922 and 1936—apparently in the form of a separate Department of Hungarian Studies. Like the Bloomfield program, the Lancaster program also consisted of fundamental courses in language, literature, history and geography which stretched anywhere from two to eight semesters. The director of this program was the Rev. Dr. Alexander /Sándor/ Tóth, who also taught Hungarian at the nearby Lancaster Theological Seminary.

The third such program was initiated at Elmhurst College, near Chicago, Illinois, in 1941. Founded by the Rev. Dr. Barnabás Dienes, it also functioned as a separate Department of Hungarian Studies. After 1952 the department at Elmhurst College came under the direction of Professor August J. Molnár, who with others in 1955 established the American Hungarian Studies Foundation for the support and expansion of Hungarian studies programs in America. In 1959 this program was transferred to Rutgers University, where it functioned until its termination in 1965. In the meanwhile, the American Hungarian Studies Foundation (renamed American Hungarian Foundation in 1974) expanded its activities and support to include numerous other Hungarian academic programs and individual scholars. Thus, in the course of the past two decades (1955-1975), the Foundation has distributed over $300,000 in grants and fellowships.

All three of the above pioneer college programs fell into the first category of Hungarian studies, in that they were supported primarily by the Hungarian Protestant churches in America, and they reflected the needs and aspirations of pre-World War II Hungarian immigrants and of their descendants in the United States. These programs also reflected the dedication of their founders and directors who struggled continuously to keep them going even in the face of various adverse circumstances.

The role and support of the American Hungarian community in Hungarian studies programs during the interwar period is also reflected by the University of Dubuque, Iowa, in the 1920's; the Central Theological Seminary of Dayton, Ohio, in the late 1920's and early 1930's; the Bridgeport Junior College of Bridgeport, Connecticut, from 1926 to 1931; and perhaps several other similar programs, most of which were composed of elementary language courses, with some aspects of Hungarian culture.

The situation appears to have been different with the Hungarian language programs that functioned off and on at Columbia and Harvard Universities during the 1920's and 1930's. In these two instances the needs of the American scholarly community seemed to converge with the desire of the Hungarian Government to support selected Hungarian programs abroad. During the mid-1920's Hungarian was taught at Columbia University by the visiting lecturer László Tápay-Szabó, and subsequently by the Rev. Dr. Géza Takaró, who also covered Hungarian literature, history and cultural history. Finally in 1939, a permanent Hungarian lectureship was established there by the Hungarian Government. This Columbia University lectureship functioned only for a few years under the direction of Joseph Szentkirályi (St. Clair), for the American-Hungarian belligerency in World War II terminated Hungary's financial support.

It deserves to be mentioned that the Columbia University lectureship was a byproduct of the comprehensive cultural and educational policy of interwar Hungary aimed at the formation of public opinion favorable to the revision of the Treaty of Trianon (1920). Initiated in the early 1920's by Count Kunó Klebelsberg (1875-1932), and continued by the historian Bálint Hóman (1885-1951) in their capacity as Hungary's ministers for culture and education, this policy was quite well served by the establishment and support of various centers of Hungarian learning in Europe. In the United States, however, it hardly went beyond the foundation of the Hungarian lectureship at Columbia University.

Although in a different sense, the scholarly activities of Professor Joseph Reményi (1891-1956) at Western Reserve University in Cleveland, and of Professor Watson Kirkconnell (b. 1895) at several Canadian colleges and universities were also of utmost significance throughout the interwar and post-World War II periods. Their activities were more significant in the area of publishing on Hungarian literature and culture, than in teaching, which was limited by the lack of sufficient demand. Both Kirkconnell and Reményi were motivated primarily by their scholarly interest, although they both maintained close contact with the Canadian and American Hungarian communities, as well as with scholarly and cultural circles in Hungary.

As we survey the development and achievements of Hungarian studies in North America prior to the golden age of this discipline during the quarter of a century following World War II, we find that all of the college and university programs were of rather limited scope and of modest quality. Even the most comprehensive of them were limited to basic language studies, with perhaps the selective inclusion of some literary, historical and geographical studies—all given by the same professor, who at best was a specialist in only one of these fields.

Next to offering the basics of Hungarian language and culture, the main function of most of these pioneer programs appears to have been to supply the Hungarian Protestant Churches in America with the needed number of clergymen. The preparation of prospective area scholars was a secondary goal, and then it was limited to such institutions as Columbia and Harvard, where future East Europeanists may also have wished to gain some familiarity with the Magyar language and culture. This situation remained unchanged until after World War II, when the sudden emergence of the Soviet Union as one of the two super powers and the controlling influence in East Central Europe, made it necessary for the U.S. Government to support the quantitative and qualitative improvement of East European, and therein Hungarian studies.

The Golden Age of Hungarian Studies (1945-1970)

In addition to the general rise of interest in Russia and East Central Europe during and after World War II, the specific factors that have contributed to the rise of Hungarian studies in America during the 1940's and 1950's include: (1) The birth of a number of intensive language programs during the war, which were inspired by considerations of national security (e.g. the Army Language School of Monterey, California, the Indiana University Air Force Language School in Bloomington, Indiana, and the Foreign Service Institute of Washington, D.C.); (2) the rise of American structural linguistics and the creation of two major and several smaller Uralic and Altaic programs at a number of American universities; (3) the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958 and the consequent establishment of four Uralic and Altaic (Columbia, Indiana, Berkeley, Colorado) and a number of Russian and East European Language and Area Centers; and finally (4) the rise of Habsburg studies during the late 1950's and 1960's.

The above factors have all contributed to the rise and development of Hungarian studies on a much higher scholarly level than before World War II—reaching their climax during the 1960's. After a quarter century of qualitative and quantitative improvement, however, around 1970 there began a noticeable decline. This decline was due partially at least to the general economic crisis in the Western World that dried up many of the formerly available financial sources. It was also due, however, to the senseless "over-production" in the field of East European studies, the progressive liquidation of the Cold War, and the simultaneous decline in the need for East European area specialists. As a result, severe cutbacks occurred in several respectable Hungarian studies programs and others were simply abolished. Some of the small programs which came into existence in the late 1960's and

early 1970's in consequence of the so-called "ethnic revolution" somehow survived. Interest in ethnicity in a pluralistic society brought them into existence, keeps them going, and also determines to a considerable degree their general tone and makeup. The most significant of these types of programs is the yet-to-be discussed Cleveland State University Hungarian studies program founded in 1969.

In light of the decline and disappearance of a number of significant Hungarian programs during the past few years, it is perhaps justifiable to include in this survey not only the currently functioning programs, but also those that have been discontinued or suspended recently. While they functioned, they all had a considerable influence on the spread of Hungarian language and culture in the United States and Canada, even though they were rather unequal in scope and uneven in quality. Content and quality-wise they range from such comprehensive and interdisciplinary programs as those at Columbia and Indiana Universities (involving scores of Hungarian and Hungarian-related courses, and perhaps a dozen or more scholars from various fields) to a number of simple programs composed only of one or two basic language courses, at times taught by non-professional native speakers.

The Two Leading Hungarian Studies Centers: Columbia and Indiana

Comprehensive interdisciplinary Hungarological programs on a high scholarly level have developed only at two universities: Columbia University in New York City and Indiana University at Bloomington, Indiana. Of these two universities, Columbia pioneered Hungarian studies, providing the same level of excellence that characterized the university at large. But ultimately it was Indiana that developed the most encompassing program. Moreover, today Indiana University's program is the only remaining American Hungarological center; and it is also the only remaining NDEA Language and Area Center in Uralic and Altaic studies supported by the U.S. Government.

Both at Columbia and at Indiana University, the Hungarian studies programs have developed in conjunction with two significant area studies programs, involving numerous departments. At Columbia the Hungarian area studies were an integral part of the Uralic Language and Area Center (1959-1965), which since 1965 is the Subcommittee on Uralic Studies, and the Institute on East Central Europe. At Indiana the Hungarian program came to be based largely in the Department of Uralic and Altaic Studies (the only one of its kind in the Americas), and partially in the Russian and East European Institute. The disciplines involved in these two programs vary slightly, but they generally include anthropology, economics, educa-

tion, Finnology, geography, government, history, international relations, law, linguistics, music, Slavistics, sociology, Turkology, as well as a number of other fields, including a great number of East Central European and Uralic and Altaic languages and literatures. While the program at Columbia declined in recent years the program at Indiana has remained substantially intact. In addition to scores of related area courses, the program at Indiana is also distinguished by the fact that—among the sixty-plus languages offered by the university—it teaches over a dozen Uralic and Altaic languages.

Hungarian Studies at Columbia University

Before its recent contraction, Columbia University's Hungarian studies program used to offer between fifteen to twenty semesters of specifically Hungarian courses. These included offerings in the Magyar language, philology, literature, history and proto-history. During the late 1950's and early 1960's, when Columbia University became one of the four NDEA Uralic and Altaic Language and Area Centers (1958-1965), its Hungarian program was particularly strong in linguistics. Later, with the decline and eventual elimination of the whole linguistics program, the emphasis shifted to literature and history.

In addition to some of the interwar attempts, the origins of the Columbia University Hungarian program go back to 1947, when—in conjunction with the rapidly expanding East European program, that soon resulted in two distinct institutes (Russian and East Central European)—Professor John Lotz (1913-1973) was appointed to the Department of Linguistics. Professor Lotz soon developed the nascent Hungarian studies into a respectable program, in conjunction with the newly founded Department of Uralic and Altaic Languages (1953-1965), and also produced several excellent scholars to continue his work. Without aiming at completeness, some of the noted linguists and literary scholars who at one or another time were associated with the Columbia University Hungarian program include Robert Austerlitz, Elemér Bakó, Francis S. Juhász, Kálmán Keresztes, Albert Tezla and others. Following Professor Lotz's retirement from Columbia in 1967 (when he became the director of the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, D.C.), the major burden of carrying on the linguistic aspects of Hungarian studies at the institution fell to his former student, Professor Robert Austerlitz; while the Hungarian language and literature courses were taught by various resident lecturers and visiting literary scholars. The latter also included the noted poet György Faludy (b. 1910). At the present Hungarian language is taught by Francis Juhász and János Latin. Dr. Juhász also offers courses in linguistics.

In the area of social sciences, the burden of Hungarian studies has been borne primarily by Professor István Deák who, since 1967, is also the director of the Institute on East Central Europe. Ever since his first appointment at Columbia in 1963, Professor Deák has made an effort to extend offerings in Hungarian history. This also involved the periodic appointment of such visiting scholars from Hungary as Drs. Péter Hanák, Domokos Kosáry and Zsuzsa Nagy. Unfortunately, the general economic decline, the retirement and death of Professor Lotz, and the sagging interest in East European studies had an adverse effect on area programs at Columbia. The formerly impressive Hungarian program had deteriorated considerably, along with the decline and contraction of the sponsoring Uralic and East Central European programs. Yet, the presence of Professors Austerlitz, Deák and Tibor Halasi-Kun (Turkic studies), and such other scholars as F. Juhász and J. Latin keep the remaining program at a respectable level. Moreover, should circumstances change favorably, the Columbia University Hungarian program could again develop into a full-scale center of Hungarian studies.

Hungarian Studies at Indiana University

The Hungarian studies program at Indiana University has been more fortunate than its counterpart at Columbia University, and today it is the only federally supported comprehensive Hungarological center in North America. Moreover, while it also felt the negative pressures exerted on programs considered of low priority at a time of diminishing funding, the Indiana University program still retains much of the coverage, quality and vitality that used to be its mark during the 1960's. This is due to a large degree to the dedicated and effective leadership of Professor Denis Sinor, the chairman of the Department of Uralic and Altaic Studies, without whose efforts the Indiana University Hungarian program would also have suffered considerably.

Hungarian studies at Indiana University reach back to the period of World War II, and more specifically to the Air Force Language School established there for the teaching of rare, but strategically important languages. This was soon followed by the development of an increasingly comprehensive East European studies program, which soon grew into an East European Institute (1951), and then into an even more comprehensive Russian and East European Institute (1959). Initiated by Professor James F. Clarke in 1951, and then restructured and directed by Professor Robert F. Byrnes in 1959, this institute ultimately developed into one of the three leading Russian and East European study and research centers in the United States, which at times was manned by over fifty teaching and research scholars. Moreover,

in the area of East Central European and Hungarian studies, it was rivalled only by Columbia University's Institute on East Central Europe.

Parallel with the rise of East European studies at Indiana University, the Uralic and Altaic program also developed from its World War II roots. For a considerable time it functioned under the leadership of Professor Thomas Sebeok, who developed it into an increasingly complex linguistically oriented program. Then in 1963, Indiana University was made into one of the NDEA-sponsored Uralic and Altaic Language and Area Centers under the chairmanship of Professor Denis Sinor. Two years later the program was transformed into a full-fledged department.

As it stands, the Indiana University Hungarological program is part of the only Department of Uralic and Altaic Studies and the only surviving NDEA Uralic and Altaic Language and Area Center in the United States. Moreover, it is also the only Hungarian studies program which—in addition to offering the traditional M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in various aspects of Uralic and Altaic studies—also offers a Certificate of Hungarian Studies, either independently, or in conjunction with one of the advanced degrees. Furthermore, the program also offers a wide variety of courses both on the undergraduate and graduate level.

The course requirements for the Certificate of Hungarian Studies vary between thirty-one and thirty-four semester credit hours beyond basic language courses. The requirements include advanced courses in the Magyar language, history, literature, linguistics and various elective courses in anthropology, economics, folklore, geography, government, music and a number of other fields. Moreover, the requirements include an examination of the candidate's reading and oral proficiency in Hungarian, a written comprehensive examination on the material covered in the course work, and a research thesis or essay on a specific topic prepared partially in conjunction with a required seminar in Hungarian studies. Candidates for the Certificate in Hungarian Studies generally, but not necessarily, combine their work with study for one of the advanced degrees in the Department of Uralic and Altaic Studies, in the Russian and East European Institute, or in one of the numerous relevant departments of the University.

Despite certain cutbacks in funding, the Russian and East European Institute is still manned by about forty scholars, with about 130 semesters of courses, and the Department of Uralic and Altaic Studies by sixteen scholars, who offer over 100 semesters of course work. Of the scholars, several are of Hungarian birth (i.e. Professor Denis Sinor, Thomas Sebeok and Gustav Bayerle), and two others, who

have received part of their training in Hungary at the intellectually exclusive Eötvös College of the University of Budapest, also speak Hungarian (i.e. Professors Alo Raun and Felix Oinas). Moreover, the department has constant Hungarian visiting language instructors (e.g. Tamás Radványi for 1973-1975), and often also noted visiting professors from Hungary and Germany (e.g. Professors Gyula Décsy from Germany, and Professors Edmond Schultz, Barnabás Csongor, Károly Czeglédy, András Róna-Tas and others from Hungary). No less is it significant that noted Hungarian-born professors also offer courses in several related departments and disciplines (e.g. Professors Linda Dégh in folklore, Andrew Vázsony in Language Sciences, and János Starker and Tibor Kozma in music, etc.). All in all, despite the difficulties of the 1970's, the Indiana University program in Hungarian studies is still a comprehensive one, and it offers undoubtedly the best preparation for a prospective Hungarian area specialist in North America.

Military and Diplomatic Schools

As the rise of these two leading Hungarian studies programs was considerably influenced by the federally supported military and diplomatic schools developed during World War II, we cannot bypass the latter—even though they do not fit into the traditional category of "college and university".

The most significant of these schools is undoubtedly the Defense Language Institute (DLI), which came into being in 1963 through the unification of the Army Language School at Monterey, California, and the Language Department of the Naval Intelligence School at Washington, D.C. These two institutions became respectively the West Coast Branch and the East Coast Branch of the DLI.

The teaching of Hungarian has generally been limited to the more significant West Coast Branch of the DLI at Monterey, which for two decades functioned as the Army Language School, and where some of the revolutionary methods of language teaching have been developed under the direction of professional linguists and competent native speakers. Some of the Hungarian linguists who have contributed to the development of the Hungarian program at Monterey included Professors B.C. Maday, J.S. Nyikos and J. St. Clair /Szentkirályi/. Professor Maday, currently of American University, was the chairman of the Hungarian Section during the early 1950's; while Professor St. Clair, formerly of Columbia University, has headed the section during the 1960's and 1970's.

During the past two decades Hungarian has been taught at two different levels at the Monterey branch of the DLI. The first level consists of a forty-seven week "Basic Course", and the second level of

a thirty-seven week "Aureal Comprehension Course". The former carries a maximum undergraduate credit recommendation of twenty-one hours, and the latter fifteen hours. In addition to speaking and aural fluency in the Magyar language, DLI students also acquire some background in Hungarian history, geography, economy and politics.

While it functioned, Hungarian language training at the Indiana University Air Force Language School was basically identical with the training at the Army Language School at Monterey. Apparently, this was not quite true for the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) at Washington, D.C. Established in 1947 as a direct successor to the Foreign Service School (or Foreign Service Officers' Training School) for the purposes of providing background and language training to the professional members of the American diplomatic corps, the FSI is composed of several specialized schools. These include the schools of language and area studies, to which over half of the institute's resources are allocated. But as testified to by a number of official reports, the FSI's achievements during the 1960's were less than favorable. While its achievement level has undoubtedly improved in recent years, in the teaching of languages (including Hungarian) it does not seem to be on par with the West Coast Branch of the DLI. The FSI, however, was responsible for the development and publication of language textbooks for over two dozen languages, which are generally highly regarded both by teachers and students. The FSI's Hungarian textbooks and readers are used by a number of universities.

Recently Terminated and Still Functioning Smaller Programs

Next to the two leading centers of Hungarian learning in the United States—Columbia and Indiana Universities—the other Hungarian college and university programs were of modest scope and quality. Several promising programs of only a few years ago have lost their vitality, and have either abandoned, suspended or at least reduced their offerings considerably. These formerly promising centers include such institutions as the University of California at Berkeley, Rutgers University, the University of Washington in Seattle, as well as the State University of New York College at Buffalo, which was part of a consortium with the State University of the same city. While none of these institutions had extensive offerings in Hungarian studies, these studies frequently had the advantage of being connected with noted universities, and in some instances with significant centers of Central and East European studies.

Up to 1973, the University of California at Berkeley program consisted of eleven semesters of course work in language and litera-

ture, which was supplemented by various related area courses from a wide variety of fields on Central and Eastern Europe, offered by a number of departments of the university. After several years of successful work, this program came to a halt in 1973 as a result of the termination of those external funds that supported it. Subsequently, Dr. Lóránt Czigány, the director of this program, returned to another academic post in England.

The Hungarian program at the State University of New York College at Buffalo functioned between the years 1969 and 1973 under the direction of Professor Joseph Értavy-Baráth. It consisted of a few basic courses in Hungarian language and literature, and was aided by various related courses offered in the East European program of the Buffalo consortium. Professor Értavy-Baráth's departure from the university in 1973 terminated the Hungarian program, save for the language courses, which may be offered occasionally on a tutorial basis. Its most lasting achievement appears to have been the initiation of a monograph series with the financial support of the Hungarian Cultural Foundation, also headed by Professor Értavy-Baráth. This series has already six published volumes on Hungarian topics, with an additional twenty-plus volumes in various stages of preparation.

Contrary to the situation at California-Berkeley and Buffalo, the Hungarian program at Rutgers University and the University of Washington in Seattle have not been officially terminated. Due to a lack of interest and perhaps financial problems, they both appear to be in a state of suspended animation. While theoretically they still offer Hungarian language courses, in practice these courses seldom materialize. Courses on the history, politics and culture of the Danubian Area (if not on Hungary specifically), are still available at both of these universities.

After the termination of an earlier Hungarian program at Rutgers University under Professor August J. Molnar, a new program was started in 1965 by Professor Joseph Held. During the late 1960's and early 1970's, this program consisted of basic Hungarian language and history courses, with additional related courses offered by such noted historians as P. Charanis, R. Kann, and T. Stoianovich, and more recently by G. Vermes at the university's Newark campus.

The Hungarian program at the University of Washington in Seattle is connected with the scholarly activities of two Hungarian born historians, Professors Peter Sugar and Imre Boba. Moreover, it is part of one of the strongest programs on East Central Europe. Despite the University's strength in East Central Europe, however, the University of Washington's Hungarian offerings never developed into a comprehensive program. Thus outside of a few basic language courses, it consisted largely of area courses, rather than specific

Hungarian course offerings. It seems that the current crisis in American East European studies had an adverse effect also on the East European program of the University of Washington.

Of the still functioning small but meaningful Hungarian programs, the most significant include the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), Portland State University, and Cleveland State University. Though different in character, they all are basically one man programs.

The Hungarian program at UCLA is composed of eight semesters of course work under the direction of Dr. Marianna Birnbaum. Interestingly, the courses include not only the customary offerings in language and literature, but also Hungarian folklore and mythology. Moreover, in addition to the advantages of being part of a major university, with significant East European and other related offerings, this is the only Hungarian program—outside of its more extensive counterparts at Indiana and Columbia—that is also part of a small Finno-Ugric studies program.

The situation at Portland State University is slightly different in that the local Hungarian program is connected with a Central European Studies Center which, on the undergraduate level, has been rated in the past as one of the best in the country.

The Portland Hungarian program is directed by Professor Louis J. Éltető and it offers two years of basic language courses, two semesters of literature, and occasionally some additional tutorial courses on a higher level. In 1974, the university has also initiated an intensive summer institute, which is composed essentially of the above courses. It is equally significant that since 1973—similarly to some of the larger programs—it also has a special exchange arrangement with Hungary, which permits American students to spend a year at the University of Szeged.

Cleveland: The Special Case

The Hungarian program at Cleveland State University is in many ways different from all other similar programs in the United States. This difference is due partially to the makeup of the local Hungarian community (which has generally been one of the largest, most compact and ideologically most conservative of all Hungarian settlements in North America), and partially to the fact that the current program is based largely on second generation Hungarians who come from this community.

The history of Hungarian studies in Cleveland reach back to the professorial activities of the already mentioned Joseph Reményi at Western Reserve University (1926-1956). Professor Reményi taught Hungarian literature in his comparative literature courses, and

promoted the cause of Hungarian culture through his extensive literary activities.

In the early 1950's Professor Reményi's work in Cleveland was complemented by the establishment of the St. Stephen Free University that functioned for three years under Professor Ferenc Somogyi's direction. It offered courses in a wide variety of fields, including Hungarian history, legal history, literary history, linguistics, geography, ethnography and on several aspects of Hungarian law. At the time of its foundation, the goal was to make the St. Stephen University an integral part of John Carroll University of Cleveland—in imitation of several so-called "free universities" of the interwar and post-World War II era in Europe. Due to the lack of sufficient interest on the part of prospective students, however, this plan eventually failed to materialize.

During the 1960's, Professor Reményi's work at Western Reserve University was continued by Professor Ferenc Somogyi. With funding and support from the American Hungarian Studies Foundation Professor Somogyi introduced a seminar in Hungarian cultural history that functioned between 1962 and 1967. During the same period, Western Reserve University also offered courses in Hungarian language, taught by Dr. Ilona Vassko.

In 1969 the center of Hungarian studies in Cleveland has shifted from Western Reserve University to Cleveland State University. This new program was established by Professor Robert Oszlányi within the Department of Modern Languages, in the wake of the so-called "ethnic revolution" that surfaced about that time. Subsequently the university also developed a modest East European studies program up to the level of an M.A. degree. As it stands, the Cleveland State University Hungarian program is composed of two academic years or six quarters of general Hungarian literature, history and culture (simply called "Hungarian"), and two quarters each of composition and conversation, literature in translation and readings in Hungarian literature. Additional work may also be taken under the classification of "independent study". All courses are offered by Professor Oszlányi, and the majority of them are geared to second generation Hungarians who already have some command of the Magyar language.

In addition to its heavy reliance upon second generation Hungarians, the Cleveland program appears to be different from all of the above-mentioned Hungarian programs also in that it has an intimate relationship with the local Hungarian community and seems to reflect the relatively conservative political philosophy of the post-1945 immigrants. Perhaps for this very reason—and in contradistinc-

tion to all other Hungarian programs—the Cleveland program has no official contact with scholarly institutions in Hungary.*

We might add that in recent years the Cuyahoga County Community College of Cleveland also tried to offer courses in Hungarian, but apparently without much success.

Hungarian Studies in Pittsburgh

Of the remaining universities that had offered Hungarian language courses during the past few years, only the University of Pittsburgh and American University of Washington, D.C. had the potential to develop these courses into more encompassing programs. At the present, however, only Pittsburgh still offers some Hungarian language courses in the Department of Linguistics. These are basic introductory and intermediate courses which are handled by William /Béla/ Biró and Melinda Besskó.

While due largely to the lack of sufficient interest, a Hungarian program has never developed in Pittsburgh beyond simple language courses, instruction in Magyar had already been offered during the 1930's by Dr. Clara Fetter. During World War II Pittsburgh also had an Army Language School that emphasized Balkan languages, but it did not survive the war. Since the early 1960's, East Central European studies have been well represented by the consortium composed of the University of Pittsburgh, Duquesne University and Chatham College. Jointly, these three institutions offer dozens of related courses in such diverse fields as history, literature, political science, economics, anthropology and even music. However, most of the Hungarian-related courses are in history and are taught by Professors James F. Clarke (a specialist in Byzantine and Balkan history), S.B. Vardy (who offers several courses in East Central European, Habsburg and Ottoman political and social history), and Stephen Borsody (who specializes in the region's twentieth-century developments). Courses in Hungarian music—including the "Kodály method"—are offered both at Duquesne University (Professor L. Munkáchy and C. Kunko) and at the University of Pittsburgh (Professor D. Bartha). Duquesne University is also the home of the Tamburitzan Institute of Folk Art, which specializes in East Central and Southeast European folk art and folk music, and has an internationally recognized folk ensemble that also performs Hungarian dances. At the present plans are also under way for an interinstitutional and multidisciplinary

*Following Professor Oszlanyi's illness and subsequent retirement, the direction of the Hungarian Program at Cleveland State University was assumed by Professor Theofil Lant of the Department of German of that institution. Dr. Lant is already making contacts with scholarly circles in Hungary.

seminar in Hungarian culture and civilization, to be offered jointly by a number of specialists (e.g. W. Biró in geography, E. Chászár in political science, L. Munkáchy in music, M. Sózán in anthropology and folklore, A.H. Várdy in literature and S.B. Várdy in history). Pittsburgh is also the center of a number of scholarly journals in the area, some of which have relevance to Hungarian studies (e.g. *East Central Europe, Southeastern Europe, Byzantine History,* as well as the older *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*). They are all under the general editorship of Charles Schlacks Jr. from the University Center for International Studies at the University of Pittsburgh.

Past and Current Programs from Washington, D.C. to Colorado

Hungarian studies at the University in Washington, D.C. never reached program status, although Professor Béla C. Maday has been offering various related courses in the Anthropology Department and in the School of International Services for over a decade. These courses inspired a number of Ph.D. candidates to concentrate on Hungarian studies. The American University has also offered Hungarian language courses in alternating years. For a while these courses were taught by Dr. András Sándor, and more recently by Dr. Enikő M. Basa who also introduced an interdisciplinary course in Hungarian civilization. But due to low level of student interest, these courses are offered only irregularly.

During the past few years Hungarian language courses have also been offered at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, Ohio University in Athens, Colgate University in Hamilton, N.Y., and Purdue University's extension center at Calumet, Indiana. But of these language course offerings only Stony Brook has managed to maintain itself, with the support of the American Hungarian Studies Foundation. In most instances they were lacking the social and institutional backing for the development of more comprehensive Hungarian programs.

The situation was considerably different at the University of Colorado, at Cornell University and at Georgetown University, where Hungarian was also taught for a number of years after World War II. Due to a wide variety of related course offerings at these universities, they might have developed comprehensive programs in Hungarian studies.

The institution that came closest to the development of such a program was the University of Colorado, which for seven years had one of four U.S. government sponsored NDEA Uralic and Altaic Language and Area Center (1958-1965). During most of this period, the Hungarian language instruction was under the direction of Dr.

Charles Wojatsek, supported by the university's program in East Central Europe. The latter was established during the interwar period by Professor S. Harrison Thomson (b. 1895), one of the great pioneers of East Central European studies in the United States, who had also established and edited the first significant American scholarly journal of the area, the *Journal of Central European Affairs* (1941-1964).

At the present, the University of Colorado's program in East Central Europe is under the direction of Professor Stephen Fischer-Galati, the founding editor of both the *East European Quarterly* (1967-) and the "East European Monographs" series (1970-). Currently, courses in Hungarian are not offered by the university.

The "Kodály Method" in America

While perhaps not in the main line of Hungarian studies, mention should be made of the work of the Kodály Musical Training Institute (KMTI) at Wellesley, Massachusetts. Founded in 1969 with the assistance of the Ford Foundation, the KMTI is a non-profit educational corporation whose mission is "to develop an authentic adaptation of the Kodály concept for the use in American schools."[2]

The Kodály method is also taught at Duquesne University, the University of Pittsburgh, Indiana University, as well as at Holy Names College in Oakland, California. In August of 1973, the latter institution hosted the "First Kodály International Symposium" with the participation of over sixty delegates from sixteen countries. Moreover, in September of that year, Holy Names College instituted a new Masters of Music Education Degree, with an emphasis on the Kodály method.

Hungarian Studies in Canada

While Hungarian immigration to Canada has been considerable, Hungarian studies programs at Canadian institutions of higher learning have never been able to compete with their counterparts in the United States. Moreover, prior to 1964 no Hungarian program at the university level seems to have existed in Canada. The scholarly activities of Professor Watson Kirkconnell, reaching back to the 1920's, were, of course, very significant; and his scholarly output in the area of translating and interpreting Hungarian literature for the English speaking world is probably without parallel. But he never managed (or perhaps never intended) to establish a Hungarian program. Thus, the first Canadian Hungarian studies program was established only in 1964 at Montreal's Loyola College under the direction of Dr. Dezső Heckenast. It was sponsored by Canada's Széchenyi Society and comprised basic courses in Hungarian language, literature

and history. The Loyola program functioned for six years (1964-1970), in the course of which it had about 250 registered students in one or another of its courses. Even so, by 1970 it was terminated, partially because of a lack of sufficient interest, and partially because the Széchenyi Society terminated its financial support.

Since then plans have been under way to create an endowed chair of Hungarian studies at the University of Toronto, which sponsors perhaps Canada's most significant program on East Central Europe. The latter even contains a course on the "History of Modern Hungary and Czechoslovakia", which is given by the noted Polish specialist, Peter Brock. If and when established, the proposed chair of Hungarian studies will undoubtedly serve as an intellectual center for the study of Hungarian language, literature, history and culture on a scholarly level. But this will require an endowment of about $575,000, and the current fund drive is still far from its goal.

While currently no Hungarian studies program exists at any of the Canadian universities, several institutions have programs in Central and East European studies. Some of these have Hungarian area specialists, or at least scholars who are interested in aspects of Hungarian developments attached to them. The most significant of these include the University of Toronto (Professors Bennett Kovrig, Peter Brock, Scott M. Eddie and H.G. Skilling), Carleton University in Ottawa (Professor Philip E. Uren) and the University of British Columbia (Professor János Bak). Other scholars in the field of Hungarian studies, working in isolation, include Professors Nándor F. Dreisziger (Royal Military College of Canada at Kingston), Louis A. Fischer (McGill University's Macdonald College), Alexander Fodor (McGill University), Peter Hidas (Dawson College at Montreal), Martin L. Kovács (University of Regina), László László (Concordia University at Montreal), Pál Pilisi (Université du Québec at Chicoutimi), Géza de Rohan (University of Western Ontario), Thomas Spira (University of Prince Edward Island), Charles Wojatsek (Bishop's University), and a number of others. Of these scholars, Professor Dreisziger is the editor of the *Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies*, and Professor Spira is the editor of the *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism—Revue Canadienne des Études sur le Nationalisme*. Professor Kovács, who is known for his work on early Hungarian settlements in Saskatchewan, has treated Hungarian history and culture in several of his courses. Starting with the fall semester of 1975, Professor Fodor of McGill University will teach a course on Hungarian literature.

It should also be mentioned that, in imitation of several American universities, in 1974 McMaster University of Hamilton, Ontario, has initiated an exchange program with the Hungarian Institute of

Cultural Relations in Budapest. But as McMaster University has no Hungarian-related studies, this program is limited primarily to the exchange of scholars in the physical and natural sciences.

Potential Hungarian Studies Programs in North America

According to a survey prepared by Professor Piotr S. Wandycz of Yale University under the sponsorship of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS), in 1970 there were over thirty strong or at least good Russian and East Central European programs in North America. Of these all but two—those at the universities of Toronto and Ottawa—were in the United States. In addition to the most significant institutions already mentioned in conjunction with some of the Hungarian programs (i.e. California-Berkeley, Columbia, Harvard, Indiana, Pittsburgh, UCLA and Washington-Seattle), some of the other respectable East European programs were located at the University of Chicago, Duke University, Georgetown University, the University of Illinois, University of Kansas, University of Michigan, Michigan State University, University of Minnesota, University of North Carolina, University of Notre Dame, Ohio State University, Princeton University, Vanderbilt University, University of Wisconsin and Yale University. While this list is not complete and the changing conditions of the early 1970's have undoubtedly altered the content of some of these programs, given a favourable turn of events, all of these universities have the potential to support strong programs in East Central Europe, with considerable attention to Hungarian studies. Some of these institutions and programs also have scholars on their faculties who specialize in, or at least have some interest in Hungarian history and culture (e.g. K. Hitchins and P. Schroeder at Illinois, G. Kiss at Michigan, W.O. McCagg at Michigan State, S. Kertész and A. Gábriel at Notre Dame, and many more). This holds also true for the institutions listed in the first group where, in addition to the already mentioned scholars of Hungarian birth, there are such historians and political scientists who study aspects of Hungary and its neighboring lands as A.C. János and W.B. Slottman at California-Berkeley, Barbara and Charles Jelavich and H.B. Kaplan at Indiana, R.L. Wolf and P. Magocsi at Harvard, and a number of others.

There are of course numerous other scholars of both Hungarian and non-Hungarian birth at a number of American and Canadian colleges and universities who are interested in Hungarian history, literature and other aspects of culture. But perhaps less than half of them are located at institutions which have the potential for more comprehensive Hungarian studies programs. In addition to those already mentioned, the latter include T. Aczél, W.M. Johnston, L.

Tikos and F. Váli at the University of Massachusetts, M. Hollós at Brown University, T. Barker and J.F. Začek at the State University of New York at Albany, G. Bárány at the University of Denver, R. Braham, P. Fichtner, B. Király, M. Low and A.G. Whiteside at one or another of the colleges of the City University of New York. R.V. Burks at Wayne State University, L. Domonkos at Youngstown State University, J. Kessler at the University of Kentucky, M. Fenyo at Boston University, A. György and and G. Teleki at George Washington University, G. Lányi at Oberlin College, A. Makkai at the University of Illinois-Chicago, A Nekam at Northwestern University, M.S. Pap and G.J. Prpic at John Carroll University, J. Rath, the editor of the *Austrian History Yearbook*, at Rice University, J. Remak at the University of California-Santa Barbara, T. Sakmyster at the University of Cincinnati, B. Szabó at Long Beach State University, R. Tőkés at the University of Connecticut, I. Völgyes at the University of Nebraska, W.S. Vucinich at Stanford University, D.E. Weinberg at Case-Western Reserve University, Z.A.B. Zeman at the University of Texas, and P.E. Zinner at the University of California-Davis. Others are located at institutions which conceivably would be less willing and able to support comprehensive programs in Hungarian studies. These include W.M. Batkay and P. Pastor at Montclair State College, E. Chászár at Indiana University of Pennsylvania, J. Décsy and S. Goldberger at Greater Hartford Community College, C. Gáti at Union College and University, M. Hillinger at Hampton Institute, G. Horváth at Oregon State University, J. Horváth at Butler University, M.S. Horváth at St. Peter's College, A. Kovács and until recently B. Borisz at St. John's University, W.A. Jenks at Washington and Lee University, A. Kadarkay at Occidental College, S. Kosztolnyik at Texas A. and M. University, Z. Kramár at Central Washington State College, E. Lengyel at Fairleigh Dickinson University, A. Lengyel at Northern Kentucky State College, A.Ludányi at Ohio Northern University, N. Nagy-Talavera at Chico State College, A.N. Nyerges, Eastern Kentucky University, L.P. Pastor at Seton Hall University, J. Radványi at Mississippi State University, A.A. Reisch at Manhattan College, G. Rothenberg at Purdue University, M. Sózan at Slippery Rock State College, T.L. Szendrey at Gannon College, E.A. Tuleya at Millersville State College, A. Urbansky at the University of Bridgeport, A.H. Vardy at Robert Morris College, L. Vincze at Bowling Green State University, and perhaps numerous others whose names and activities have not come to my attention. Thus, this listing and categorization is neither complete, nor faultless. It simply reflects my awareness of scholars who are working or at least are interested in aspects of Hungarian studies; and the categorization is my understanding about their general social and institutional base.

While the fortunes of Hungarian studies have steadily declined during the 1970's, the situation is still far from hopeless. Both language and other fields are available for study at a high and comprehensive level. In the past, summer language courses have been offered both on the East and the West coast with the support of the NDEA. More recently the AAASS has made an effort to coordinate these efforts so as to permit alternating universities to participate in this undertaking. As an example, according to a recent survey by the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), in the summer of 1975 Hungarian language courses were available at least at five universities in the United States. In addition to the already discussed summer institute at Portland State University, these institutions included Kent State University, the University of Pittsburgh, the University of Texas at Arlington, and Yale University. Several of these universities offered Hungarian courses on two or three levels, depending on demand. Moreover, specialized language instruction was also available abroad at the University of Debrecen in Hungary, and at the *Gesellschaft für Ost- und Südostkunde* in Linz, Austria.

In this connection mention should also be made of the significant work of the International Research and Exchanges Board of New York, which handles most of the official scholarly exchanges between the United States and Hungary. Established in 1958 as the Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants at Indiana University, and transferred to New York City in 1969 under its new name, IREX is the most significant institution that makes it possible for American scholars to conduct research in Hungary under rather favorable circumstances.

Although initially American scholars could collectively spend only a total of twenty-four man months in Hungary, today seventy man-months are available. This makes it possible for IREX to send up to ten to twelve American scholars per year to Hungary, for periods ranging from one to twelve months per recipient. The scholars involved represent various fields, from humanities and social sciences, to natural and physical sciences. The beneficial effects of this exchange program are incalculable. This is attested to by all former IREX Fellows, including the author of the present study.

IREX also encourages various other forms of scholarly contacts and collaborations between American and Hungarian scholars and tries to aid such contacts with a limited number of *ad hoc* grants.

Some of the Major Problems of Hungarian Studies

Among the numerous problems that have plagued and still plague Hungarian studies in the United States and Canada, none is more significant than the lack of sufficient funds. Contrary to the situation in the interwar and the immediate post-World War II period, when there was a shortage of qualified scholars, today there are more than enough American and European-trained historians, political scientists, linguists and other scholars to man several significant Hungarian programs. In fact their major problem appears to be that they have nowhere to go with their training; or that they have to engage in activities and teach in fields which are really beyond their intended field of competence. Thus, the majority of them teach courses in Russian or general European history, literature, political science, etc., and only a lesser number of them stay within the confines of East Central and Southeastern Europe. Moreover, only a select and fortunate few can devote themselves primarily to Hungarian studies.

It is the absence of demand for their specialty that prevents Hungarian area scholars from becoming more immersed in Hungarian studies. This lack of demand is naturally reflected in the lack of sufficient funds. This is precisely why—after the brief flareup in the post-Sputnik period—Hungarian programs are again suffocating for want of financial support. Government grants have shrunk, and few of the universities seem to be able to support such "esoteric" and economically unviable programs as Hungarian studies. Private foundations geared toward the support of Hungarian studies can hardly keep going themselves.

Hungarian Foundations

The oldest and largest of these foundations is the *American Hungarian Foundation* (until 1974 known as the American Hungarian Studies Foundation), which was founded under the leadership of Professor A.J. Molnár, its current Executive Director. During its two decades of existence (1955-1975), the American Hungarian Studies Foundation distributed $307,880 to various Hungarian studies programs, for fellowships, research grants, library collections and various other related Hungarian educational and cultural programs. While this undoubtedly appears to be a respectable sum (and it certainly involved major efforts on the part of the Foundation), it loses some of its impressiveness when viewed against the time span of twenty years, and against the overall size of the American Hungarian community (which numbers perhaps close to a million). It certainly does not speak well for the generosity of American Hungarians toward Hungarian culture and learning in the United States.

The foundation that distributed the next largest sum is the Canadian *Széchenyi Society*, founded in 1963 and directed by J. Fülöpp and L. Duska. Between 1964 and 1972 the Széchenyi Society's "Hungarian Educational Committee" collected and distributed close to $50,000, supporting not only the Montreal Hungarian program, but also dozens of other cultural and scholarly activities. Since 1970, when the idea of a Hungarian chair at the University of Toronto was conceived, the Széchenyi Society raised over $190,000 for that purpose. This is still far short of the goal of $575,000, but it speaks well for the Canadian Hungarians. Despite their being fewer in number, they appear to be more generous toward Hungarian culture and learning than their counterparts in the United States.

The third foundation in the area of Hungarian studies is the *Hungarian Cultural Foundation*, established and led by Professor Joseph Értavy-Baráth. This foundation came into being in 1966 largely for the purpose of supporting a Hungarian program at one of the colleges or universities in Buffalo. When the Buffalo Hungarian program was finally established in 1969, it depended largely on the support of the Hungarian Cultural Foundation. In the same year the foundation also began a valuable publication series in conjunction with the Program in East European and Slavic Studies at the State University of New York College at Buffalo. When completed as projected, the series will have between 25 and 30 significant volumes on Hungarian literature, history and on various other aspects of Hungarian culture. So far six volumes have appeared (on E. Ady, L. Mécs, S. Petőfi, A. József, L. Kossuth and N. Lenau), and several others are in the final stages of publication.

The Hungarians of North America have also initiated some years ago the *United Hungarian Fund* for the purposes of supporting Hungarian studies on the primary, secondary and university level. Though the Fund had been re-started several times, usually under different leadership, it still has far to go to become a viable organization. Moreover, up to now very little of its financial support went to existing Hungarian programs on the university level. The United Hungarian Fund appears to be more interested in primary and secondary education and in youth organizations.

Problems of Publication

Closely related to financial problems is the difficulty of publishing in the area of Hungarian studies in North America. The number of journals and other periodicals is limited, and the publication of monographs is next to impossible. The difficulty is best illustrated by the fact that no major journal of Hungarian studies came into existence even during the heyday of these studies in the 1960's. The ephemeral

The Hungarian Quarterly (1961-1965) was closer to a political and cultural than to a scholarly journal, and it never managed to acquire the desired stature. The multilingual *Hungarian Historical Review* (1969-), which subsequently moved to South America, lacks the necessary institutional affiliation and it publishes almost exclusively in proto-history. Not until 1974 was there a new attempt made, when *The Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies* appeared on the scene, under the editorship of Professor N.F. Dreisziger. It is sponsored by the Hungarian Readers' Service of Canada, whose director, Dr. F. Harcsár, hopes to affiliate the journal with a scholarly institution. It is hoped that the Review will emerge into a position of a respected and quoted journal in its field.

A year earlier, the American Hungarian Foundation launched its *Hungarian Studies Newsletter* (1973-) under the Editorship of Professor B.C. Maday. But being what it is, a newsletter and not a periodical, it publishes only brief book and periodical reviews and short notices on research in progress and on exchange programs. It does not carry articles of a scholarly nature.

There are of course a number of well-established area periodicals, such as the *Slavic Review* (1941-), the *Slavic and East European Journal* (1943-), The *Austrian History Yearbook* (1965-), the *East European Quarterly* (1967-), the *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* (1967-), the lesser known and irregular *Studies for a New Central Europe* (1963-), and the more recent *East Central Europe* (1974-) and *Southeastern Europe* (1974-). They usually publish on the whole area or on large regions of East Central and Eastern Europe, and do so in numerous fields. Consequently, their capacity to publish on Hungarian topics is limited.

The difficulties in the area of periodical publications are multiplied when it comes to the publication of monographs. The most significant monograph series in the area include Indiana University's "Uralic and Altaic Series", which since 1960 has published well over 150 volumes; Columbia University's "East Central European Studies" series, with close to two dozen volumes; and the more recent "East European Monographs" series, published by the *East European Quarterly* at the University of Colorado and distributed by Columbia University Press, which in the course of the past five years has published about a dozen volumes. The existence of these series is very significant, for they all include Hungarian topics. Because of the lack of formerly available funds, however, they all seem to have slowed down the pace of publication.

There are some primarily Hungarian undertakings in the area of monographic publications. The most significant of these are two series: One referred to earlier and sponsored by the Hungarian Cul-

tural Foundation within the "East European and Slavic Studies" series of the SUNY College of Buffalo; and the second being the "Hungarian Heritage Books" series under the sponsorship of the Hungarian Literary Guild and the Danubian Press. Both of these series are suffering from the lack of adequate funds, and the latter also from the lack of accepted scholarly institutional affiliation.

In the light of the above, it is hardly surprising that most specialists of Hungarian studies find it difficult to publish in their field, and that with a few fortunate exceptions even the many dozens of valuable Ph.D. dissertations remain unpublished. The demand for scholarly publications in Hungarian studies is so limited that most commercial publishers do not even consider them. (A recent notable exception is the "Hungarian Authors" series, initiated by Twayne Publishers in 1975, under the editorship of Dr. Enikő M. Basa. The volumes in this series, however, have to be written according to a specific and uniform formula.) University presses, which previously at least considered some manuscripts in the area, have also become reluctant to publish on such esoteric topics as Hungarian studies.

Associations of Hungarian Area Specialists

Up to relatively recently, Hungarian studies were not represented by any independent scholarly association. Hungarian area specialists functioned only within such more comprehensive organizations as the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, the Conference Group on Central Europe, and various regional organizations. In 1969, on the initiative of Professor Peter F. Sugar and others, efforts were begun to establish an association for historians with Hungarian interests. The result was the foundation in 1970 of the American Association for the Study of Hungarian History (AASHH), which subsequently sought affiliation with several more encompassing professional societies. The purpose of the AASHH is to establish contacts among historians with interest in Hungary, both in North America, as well as in Europe. It does so, partially by organizing Hungarian panels at various scholarly meetings, and partially by publishing a *Newsletter*, which includes news of the profession and lists many of the current publications of its members.

Another somewhat more encompassing association was founded in 1974. Called the American Hungarian Educators' Association, this organization hopes to unite those college and university professors (and secondary school teachers) who have scholarly or cultural interests in Hungary. Under the temporary leadership of Dr. Enikő M. Basa, the AHEA hopes to affiliate with several American professional associations and to hold annual conferences. It already has close ties with the American Hungarian Foundation's *Hungarian Studies Newsletter*, which carries most of the news about the new association.

In addition to the well-known financial problems (i.e. the lack of funds either for teaching programs, or for publications), the most significant problem that plagues scholars of Hungarian studies in North America is their somewhat ambiguous position in the three separate "worlds" to which they are more or less attached. While trying to conform to the rigorous demands of the American scholarly world, they are confronted on the one hand with the expectations of the American-Hungarian community, and on the other with those of the present-day Hungarian scholarship in Hungary. The interests of the latter two usually clash, as do the interests of objective scholarship and those of the politically charged American-Hungarian community. Thus, whatever the practitioner of Hungarian studies does (particularly if he is of Hungarian birth or background), he is certainly unable to live up to the expectations of all of these three separate worlds. In American scholarly circles he is generally thought to be less than fully objective, even if he goes out of his way to be so; the politically charged American-Hungarian community usually regards his striving for objectivity as an act bordering on treachery to Magyardom; and in the scholarly world of today's Hungary he is often suspected of being the harborer of various "bourgeois" and other anti-Marxist ideas, and thus the value of his work is questioned. Consequently, while trying to preserve his independence and scholarly integrity, many a scholar of Hungarian studies in North America finds himself suspected and distrusted by all of the three "worlds" in which he moves. And thus, unless willing to sell himself to the highest bidder, he usually ends up as an isolated advocate of an esoteric cause.

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

The purpose of this essay is to summarize and to evaluate briefly the development of Hungarian studies in the United States and Canada on the college and university level. While I have tried to mention most of the significant milestones in this development, this essay makes no claim to comprehensiveness, nor to finality in its evaluations. It is not based on a statistical analysis of all possible sources, partially because of many of the desired sources are still not available, and partially because such a thorough analysis could only be published in a monograph form.

Most of the current information in this essay is derived from direct communication—both written and oral—with colleagues who are active in the field of Hungarian Studies in the United States and Canada. Some of these came in the form of observations and criticism on one of my earlier studies on this topic entitled *Magyarságtudo-*

mány az észak-amerikai egyetemeken és főiskolákon/Hungarian Studies at North American Colleges and Universities/ (1973); others are the result of conscious data collection on my part. Information was also derived from the most recent catalogues of the universities discussed, as well as from brochures published by institutes and departments within these universities.

Because Hungarian studies are in a constant state of flux, and because not many colleagues took the effort to report on their respective programs in response to my appeals published in the Hungarian *Studies Newsletter* and the *Newsletter* of the American Association for the Study of Hungarian History, some of the most recent (and perhaps some earlier) developments may have escaped my attention. I do hope that response to this study will be more widespread and I shall be able to prepare a more thorough and comprehensive summary on this topic in the future.

The text of the original version of this essay was read and criticized by the following scholars: Paul Bődy (Ohio State University), James F. Clarke (University of Pittsburgh), Nándor F. Dreisziger (Royal Military College of Canada), Joseph Értavy-Baráth (Hungarian Cultural Foundation), Béla C. Maday (American University), August J. Molnár (American Hungarian Foundation), Denis Sinor (Indiana University), and Ágnes Huszár Várdy (Robert Morris College).

While I am grateful to them, and have tried to take their recommendations into consideration, it was not always possible. Thus, the final version of this essay reflects my own knowledge and thinking about the topic, as well as my limitations and fallibilities.

Since much of the information in this essay is based on other than published sources, only direct quotations from printed sources are documented. Some of the results of my research have already appeared in print in the form of the studies listed under my name. I have relied on them considerably, but I have also found the following additional works useful.

NOTES

1. *A Kir. Magy. Egyetemi Nyomda jelentése a "Magyar történet" befejezéséről és a magyarság tudományos megismerését szolgáló "Hungarológiai Sorozat" további köteteiről* [The Report of the Roy. Hung. University Press on the Completion of the "Hungarian History" and on the Forthcoming Volumes of the "Hungarological Series" Destined for the Scientific Examination of the Magyars], attached to vol. VIII of Bálint Hóman's and Gyula Szekfű's *Hungarian History*, 8 vols. (Budapest 1928-1934), p. 1.
2. Kodály Musical Training Institute flyer, August 1, 1973 (Wellesley, Mass.), p. 1.

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REVIEW ARTICLE

Origins of Romanesque Rotundas in East-Central Europe

Veronika Gervers-Molnar

Moravia's History Reconsidered: A Reinterpretation of Medieval Sources. By Imre Boba. The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1971. Pp. 167. Price: Guilders 24.30. ISBN 90 247 5041 5.

During the pre-Romanesque and Romanesque periods, a large and characteristic group of round churches appeared in East-Central Europe, particularly in the territory of medieval Poland, Bohemia and Hungary, though similar structures may also be found in parts of Germany, Austria and Yugoslavia. The earliest examples, dating from the 10th and early 11th centuries, were built as chapels of dukal and royal palaces. The form continued to be favoured after this time, but the function changed. From about the mid-11th century, many of them were built as seigneurial chapels for castles and fortresses. Yet the majority were constructed as simple village parish churches and flourished in that capacity from the 11th to the 13th century.

Almost all of the early chapels are known from excavations, and most of them have been discovered since World War II. Because of the recent nature of the discoveries, there is as yet no comprehensive work published on the subject. A number of studies have been written concerning the results of excavations done within the boundaries of one or the other of the countries in the area under consideration. Some deal with the problems of a single structure, while others take a wider view and discuss a particular group, or the rotundas of an entire country. There now seems to be enough ground to go beyond such local studies and to draw some general conclusions concerning these structures in the whole of East-Central Europe.

These round churches probably derive from Carolingian and Ottonian models. The early rotundas seem to imitate, both in their basic form and function, a venerated prototype, Charlemagne's imperial palace chapel at Aachen. Almost as soon as it had been built,

this church became a symbol of the whole Carolingian Empire, and of the strength of Charlemagne. Furthermore, bolstered by the reminiscences it bore, it symbolized the first Christian emperor, Constantine the Great, his palace in Constantinople, and the central churches built in Jerusalem. The oft visited, and highly admired church of Aachen was one of the most frequently copied buildings of the Christian world. Contemporary imitations appeared, and the Ottos were responsible for a whole series of copies all over the Empire.

The influence of Aachen reached the newly Christianized countries of East-Central Europe, which took, as their most important model, the Empire of the Ottos, and through it that of Charlemagne. By building their palace chapels on a central plan, imitating Aachen, the first rulers of these lands endeavoured to absorb and share the legitimacy of that proven Empire, and to show themselves similar, if not equal, to their western neighbours. For obvious economic and technical reasons, the palace chapels of these territories were built on a considerably smaller scale and with a much simpler architectural construction than that of their idealized prototype.

The most impressive monument from Bohemian territory is the *Saint Vit of Prague*, which was discovered during the excavations of 1911 and 1931 in the castle of Hradčin.[1] From the relatively meagre wall-remains, Professor Cibulka's reconstruction proposes four large, horse-shoe shaped apses at the cardinal points of the round nave. Since the inner diameter of the central part is 13 m, quite large compared to the other monuments of the area, Cibulka reasonably suggested that there must have been a series of pillars or columns around the centre of the interior supporting a cupola. The Prague church was built by Prince Venceslas as his palace chapel in the first half of the 10th century, but certainly before 940. The other early Czech monuments, much smaller in size and simpler in plan, such as the *Saint Clement at Levý Hradec*, the *Saint Peter at Budeč*, the *Saint John the Baptist at Vyšehrad*, the *Saint Peter at Stará Plzen*, the *Saint Désiré at Lysa*, and the *Holy Mary at Znojmo*, were all situated in dukal or royal castles, and served as private chapels of the Přemislide family.[2] Most of them have a circular nave with a semi-circular apse, and in almost every case date from the 10th or early 11th centuries.

In Poland also, the earliest monuments are closely connected with the palaces of the ruling dynasty, the Piasts.[3] Archaeological research has brought to light five early administrative centres, from which in four cases round or centrally planned chapels were found. The chapel of *Ostrów Lednicki*, built originally with an emphasized central tower supported by four strong pillars, was connected to the palace. The staircase tower suggests a special choir for the ruler, which could have been approached directly from his living quarters. In Giecz, the same

basic system can be seen in the form of a simpler, completely round chapel. At Przemysl, attached again to a palace, the chapel has a round nave and a semi-circular apse towards the east. In the *Wawel of Krakow*, the church has a more complicated ground plan with four large apses at the cardinal points, thus strongly resembling the *Saint Vit of Prague*, although on a reduced scale. The remains of a staircase tower leading to a choir were also discovered here. The Polish monuments date from the second half of the 10th and early 11th centuries, and were built either by Mieszko I (mid-10th c. - 992) or by his son, Boleslav the Brave (992-1075). Their local prototype must have been built in either Poznan or Gniezno, if not at both of these sites, where the palaces have unfortunately not yet been excavated.

The earliest Hungarian rotundas, dating from the late 10th to the mid-11th century, follow the same line as the Bohemian or Polish monuments.[4] The earliest example is the palace chapel of Duke Géza (970-990) at Esztergom, one of the first capitals of Hungary. Significantly enough, it is dedicated to Saint Vit and, with its more complex ground plan, is reminiscent of the *Saint Vit of Prague*. A second rotunda came to light directly beside the north wall of the cathedral at Veszprém, in an early dukal castle, which was later owned by the queen. Its orientation is quite different from that of the cathedral, which must have been under construction, if not completed, in 1002. The rotunda was most likely built earlier. A third important monument was excavated at Sárospatak on the south side of the Gothic parish church. Here again, the orientation of the rotunda is very different from that of the later building. Sárospatak served as one of the early royal residences in Hungary. The round church was probably built by King Andrew I (1042-1060). In the 13th century, a castle, replacing the old royal residence, was built in a different part of the town. As a result, the chapel lost its original function and became the local parish church. Soon afterwards, a larger church was built directly beside it, and retained the old privileges attached to the rotunda. We learn even from documents of the late 14th century that the parish church was exempt from episcopal control, and was directly under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Esztergom, a privilege characteristic only of royal chapels.

Amongst the early rotundas of these countries, there is but a single group, those discovered in the territory of the so-called Great Moravian Empire in the valley of the northern Morava River in present day Czechoslovakia, which do not seem to fit the general development. Although the churches of Mikulčice and Staré Město can be associated with centres of importance, none of them can be considered as palace chapel. At the same time, since Moravia was overrun and completely destroyed by the invading Hungarians

between 900 and 907, their excavators and all Czech architectural historians date them to the 9th century, predating the rotundas previously mentioned.[5]

In Mikulčice, three rotundas were found in the vicinity of the fortification. The most interesting one (no. 6), found north-east of the castle, has a horse-shoe shaped apse both on the eastern and western sides of the round nave, a form which may be a derivation of more complicated structures. The walled cemetery around it, containing a number of rich graves, suggests that the church had a considerable importance. The second rotunda (no. 7) is a simpler monument with a poorer cemetery around it, and was found somewhat further away from the castle walls. The third church, completely circular from the outside, has four, semi-circular niches built into the thickness of its interior walls. It is considered to have been a baptistery. Neither in function, nor form does it appear to belong to the group under discussion. The fourth rotunda, probably with a horse-shoe shaped apse at the east side of the round nave, is from Staré Město.

According to Czech scholars, Mikulčice must have been the centre of Great Moravia, the princely site of Rastislav and Svatopluk, and perhaps already of Mojmir I, while Staré Město could have belonged to a member of the ruling family or to one of the important families of the Moravian court. Not only has it been presumed that these round churches were built in the 9th century, but new research has often connected them with the mission of Saints Cyril and Methodius, and has sought their architectural prototypes in the region of the Adriatic, a Slavic cultural sphere. It has also been argued that these rotundas, being the earliest of their type in East-Central Europe, had to be the prototypes of the Bohemian and other examples, and even the more complicated structures, such as the *Saint Vit of Prague*, must have derived from them.

Through a critical analysis of historical sources, Professor Boba in his recent work, *Moravia's History Reconsidered*, reached the conclusion that Moravia of the 9th century did not exist north of the Danube as has been generally believed. Indeed, a principality called Moravia did not exist at all. It clearly shows from the examination of western, Byzantine and Church Slavonic written documents that what has been considered the country of Moravia was in reality a Slavonic principate around the town of Marava (Maraha, Margus), the Sirmium of antiquity (today Sremská Mitrovica, Yugoslavia). This town, and the territory under its jurisdiction, was inhabited by Slavonians (in Latin *Sclavi, Slavi;* in Church Slavonic *Slaviene*). It was not an independent political formation, but a patrimonium of Slavonia, which extended from the Dalmatian coast to Belgrade and Niš.

The geographical localization of this "Moravia" is a key factor when considering the extent of the mission of Cyril and Methodius amongst the Slavs. In the light of Boba's research, the bishopric/archbishopric of Methodius could not have been situated north of the Danube. It is apparent from the sources that Rastislav of Marava, together with the other Slavonian princes asked the Byzantine emperor, Michael III, for a teacher. Kocel thereupon requested the pope to appoint Methodius to the episcopal see of Saint Andronicus (Saint Andronicus is known to have been bishop of Sirmium in Roman times) on the territory of Rastislav. Pope Harian II made him the archbishop of "all the Sloven lands", and not of "all Slavs" or "all Slavic nations", as it has been mistakenly translated. As we learn from a letter of Pope John VIII (872-882), Methodius' see was Marava, that is to say Sirmium: "Methodius reverentissimus archiepiscopus sanctae ecclesiae Marahensis", which became "Methodius, archbishop of Moravia" only through erroneous translation. Beside the language difficulties, the former interpreters of the question neglected the fact that in the 9th century, and already earlier, a see had to have a cathedral: it was *impossible* to appoint a bishop or archbishop simply to a territory or a country. Looking at the problem purely from the legal view-point, Methodius could not have been made a "missionary bishop", or a "bishop-archbishop without a see", or "nominally the bishop of Sirmium" working in the court of Svatopluk north of the Danube with a see either at Nitra or Velehrad. Furthermore, the diocese of Methodius is called *diocesis Pannonica*, which—while it included Sirmium—could not have even partially been north of the Danube.

In this light, the rotundas found at Mikulčice and Staré Město could not have been "Moravian", and are not necessarily to be dated as eary as the 9th century. This early dating was not deduced from the archaeological finds of the cemeteries around the churches, but was concluded mainly from the historical fact that the Hungarians demolished Moravia in the early years of the 10th century, in which case the churches must have been built, they conclude, prior to the invasions.

Under the circumstances, there can be little doubt that the *Saint Vit of Prague*, built sometime before 940, must have been the earliest round church of these territories. It was this building, a derivation of the palace chapel at Aachen, which served as a prototype for the other Czech rotundas, a view which was suggested by Cibulka himself as early as 1934. However, this view has been completely rejected in recent works emanating from Czechoslovakia. The round churches discovered at the so-called "Moravian" sites may consequently be dated some time between 940 and the early 11th century.

In Hungary, the first round church, built in Esztergom at the end

of the 10th century, was dedicated to Saint Vit, as was the Prague church. Notwithstanding the possibility that there might have been here direct influences from Aachen, which would be quite understandable from the dynastic and political connections of the Árpáds, the similar dedication may show links with the neighbouring court of Prague. Since Saint Adalbert, the bishop of Prague, visited and aided Duke Géza in 995, he might have instigated the building of the Esztergom rotunda. The other Hungarian examples probably have derived directly from it.

The *Saint Vit of Prague* and the other early Czech rotundas might also have had some influence on the round palace chapels of Poland. Duke Mieszko, who was baptised in 966, married a Bohemian princess, Dubravka. At the same time, however, a closer influence of Aachen is apparent in Poland, which may be explained by the political relations with the Ottos of Mieszko I, and particularly of Boleslav the Brave. Of the new monarchies, it is in Poland alone that the rotundas are not only built in a castle, but are actually constructed together with the royal palaces, clearly a simplified variation of Charlemagne's ensemble. That all these structures were dedicated to the Virgin Mary, an otherwise uncommon dedication in these lands at this time, again shows a strong Carolingian tradition.

Arguing from the conclusions reached by Professor Boba, it can be stated that the earliest rotundas of East-Central Europe do not derive from those round churches discovered at the so-called Great Moravian sites. Through Ottonian influence their major source of inspiration was Charlemagne's palace chapel at Aachen. Naturally, when the type was established with the building of the *Saint Vit of Prague*, this local example influenced many of those built later both within Bohemia and in the neighbouring lands, while direct connections with Aachen can also be seen.[6]

NOTES

1. Cibulka, J., *Václavova rotunda svatého vita*, in the series *Svatováclavsky Sbornik*, I, Praha, 1934; Merhautová, A., "Les débuts de l'architecture du haut moyen âge en Bohême", *Mélanges offert à René Crozet*, I, Poitiers, 1966, p. 116; Merautová-Livorová, A., *Einfache mitteleuropäische Rundkirchen: Ihr Ursprung, Zweck, und ihre Bedeutung*, Prag, 1970.
2. Kořán, I., "Tradition des églises à plan central de Bohême", *Mélanges offert à René Crozet*, II, Poitiers, 1966, pp. 1058-59; Merhautová (1966), pp. 111-117.
3. Zurowska, K., "L'origine du vocable de Notre Dame dans les chapelles palatines des premiers Piasts en Pologne", *Mélanges offert à René Crozet* I, 1966, pp. 159-167.
4. Gervers-Molnár, V. *A középkori Magyarország rotundái* (Rotundas of medieval Hungary), with English summary, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972, pp. 26-30; Dercsényi, D., "Vorromanische Kirchentypen in Ungarn", *Acta Historiae Artium*, XX/1-2 (1974), pp. 6-8, fig. 11.

5. Cibulka, J., "Le chiese della Grande Moravia", *Sancti Cyrillus e Methodius, Vita e Opera*, Prague, 1963, pp. 86ff; Kořán (1966), pp. 1057-66; Kotrba, V., "Cirkevni stavby Velké Moravy" (Churches of Great Moravia), *Umeni*, XII (1964), pp. 325ff; Merhautova (1966), pp. 111-117; Poulik, J., *Dve velkomoravské rotundy v Mikulčicich* (Two Great Moravian rotundas at Mikulčice), in the series *Monumenta Archaeologia*, XII, Prague, 1963.
6. Deriving from a number of different sources, other types of round churches also appeared in these countries from at least the 11th century.

Book Reviews

The New Hungarian Agriculture. By Lewis A Fischer and Philip E. Uren. Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's Universtiy Press, 1973. 168 pp. $10.00.

The *New Hungarian Agriculture* is a descriptive rather than an analytical work. The book follows the structural development of Hungarian agriculture and countryside since 1945, with some glances back to the prewar years.

The 120 pages are divided into seven chapters. The readers are reminded in several instances of periods in Hungarian history when foreign influences dominated the land. This was "not all bad," in the authors' view. The inequities of prewar land distribution and the redistribution of land in 1945 are well documented. "The great land reform" created too small units, and donated the land to many individuals ill-equipped with finances and often lacking the knowledge of how to cultivate and manage a farm. The inevitable failure to private farming ended in collectivization which had a short setback following Stalin's death but came to a conclusion in the 1960's when authorities applied "greater skill" to achieve their goal.

The authors selected 3 collective farms in Somogy county to illustrate the great varieties in stage and type of farming even in close vicinity. These differences are hidden in aggregate national statistics.

The authors explain the New Economic Mechanism which has been in effect since 1968. This mechanism is a deviation from the Communist economic theory. It involves limited use of market economy and reintroduces the profit motive. Under this mechanism, auxiliary industrial activities have been permitted in collectives and the continuation of household farming has been assured and even supported.

Industrial development in absorbing farm workers gradually relieved the agricultural sector from overemployment; however, because many of the younger people left the farms, this exodus led to the ageing of farm population. At present, a gradual amalgamation of neighboring collectives is in process. This consolidation of farming may help prove a new type of village development, a center with

about 5,000 population serving as nucleus to the smaller settlements. These villages will have hospitals, and educational and cultural facilities.

The principal merit of the book lies in its good organization. The authors bring under one roof the materials available on economic, topographical, and rural development and they point out the interdependence of various factors, including political, which are shaping rural life in Hungary.

This reviewer considers a shortcoming the book's numerous citations, footnotes, and tables which are of little value to the lay reader. If the authors are writing for the serious student of social and economic aspects of socialized agriculture, the presented data are inadequate. To this reviewer's disappointment, the author's field trips to Hungary revealed no more information than what has been available in the literature. The authors sounded out only county officials, writers and leaders of the present regime, and retold the official version. It remains obscure what one of the authors gained in discussing the "black Christmas in 1944 and the days of Hunyadi," with young farm managers who were in 1944 at grade school age.

The authors' thesis in connecting the "great land reform" with the previous inequalities in land distribution and relating the collectivization with the failure of productivity on the newly created units is erroneous. The land reform was an intermediary step designed to justify collectivization by its anticipated failures. The land reform was conducted in a disruptive manner—not for correcting past inequalities but for destroying the so-called class enemies. A few statements in the book, with little validity, could have been avoided like "the Westerners were unreasonable to regard Stalin's iron rule total and permanent." This reviewer has not met a "Westerner" yet, who did not expect some change for the better after Stalin's death. The authors' statement in Chapter IV that, "collectivization is sine qua non of any socialist system," raises a question about their familiarity of the agricultural organizations in Sweden, Finland, Yugoslavia, or Poland. Nevertheless, the book's merits outweigh the few shortcomings, one of which is the lack of providing insight into the daily life of farm workers and collective members. The book mainly concerns itself with the framework surrounding the farmers, not with the farmers themselves. The book has not made clear to me whether everybody engaged in farming or just a minority is standing at the threshold of the "brave new world" the authors see coming.

United States Department of Agriculture Thomas A. Vankai

A Study in Austrian Romanticism: Hungarian Influences in Lenau's Poetry. By Agnes Huszar Vardy, with an historical introduction on the Age of Romanticism by Steven Bela Vardy. State University of New York College at Buffalo Program in East European and Slavic Studies, No. 6. Buffalo: Hungarian Cultural Foundation, 1974. 173 pages. $6.00.

Austrian Literature has seldom been accorded a life of its own, yet whoever studies it soon learns that it is distinct from German: in spite of identity of language, Austrian literature has its own being. A good example of this is to be found in Nicholas Lenau, one of the chief lyric poets of German *Weltschmerz*. In her study of this representative of Austrian Romanticism, Agnes Huszar Vardy concentrates on one of the factors that distinguish the literature of this country from those of other German-speaking states: the input of the nationalities which formed the Austrian empire. One of these, Hungarian, had a cultural heritage essentially independent of the Austrian, though the cultural exchange between Hungary and its German-speaking neighbor had always been significant. In Lenau's time it entered a unique phase. On the one hand, German-speaking Hungarians became interested in the language and traditions of the Magyars, while on the other, repeal of repressive legislation allowed the teaching of Hungarian in the schools of the country. To this was added the flurry of activity that accompanied the linguistic, literary and political interests of the Reform Age, and it is clear that few poets could have remained unaffected. Lenau certainly did not.

In her study of Lenau, Professor Vardy presents the various influences that Hungary exerted on the poet between his birth in 1802 and the time when, owing to pressure from his wealthy grandfather, he settled permanently outside of Hungary. It is important to note that these were the years of Reform, and the spirit of the times, as Steven B. Vardy points out in his introduction, enabled Lenau to learn more of the rural, non-German conditions than his Germanic and primarily urban background would suggest. This awakening of interest in their Magyar homeland by German settlers accounts for part of Lenau's Hungarian heritage. Agnes Vardy, however, concentrates on the more definitive Hungarian influences in the poet's childhood and youth.

The poet's father, an officer in the Habsburg bureaucracy, died young, so that Nicholaus was brought up by his mother, the daughter of patrician burghers of Pest. The family's traditions, consequently, had been tied to Hungary in spite of their retaining a basically German culture. The poet's education reflected this: instruction in Hungarian at the provincial town of Tokaj after the mother's remarriage, studies at the notoriously pro-Hungarian Piarist gimnasium in Pest, and

lessons from the tutor József Kövesdy. Professor Vardy effectively proves that in poems such as "Die Bauern am Tissastrande," "Die drei Zigeuner" or the Mischka poems, Lenau is drawing on the remembrances of his youth. "Lenau's subjective description and use of Hungarian imagery," she argues, "while stemming from immediate experience, reveal intense emotions which show more understanding of the Magyar frame of mind, customs and traditions than that of his fellow Austrian and German poets."

Several areas of "typically" Hungarian life are considered: gypsy music, pictures of hussars, *betyárs* and gypsies. Extensive quotations from the poems (these are given in full in the appendix) and selections from the poet's letters give proof of Lenau's obvious attachment to the scenes of his youth. The point is indubitable, yet well argued. However, one would wish for greater depth in the analysis of the poems. The author tends to rely heavily on paraphrase and summary; though the observations on the poems are generally valid, one always feels that she draws back from the poem upon stating its particular Hungarian implications.

A near exception to the above generalization is found in the comment on the "Schilflieder," in which Agnes Vardy argues that the imagery of the reeds reflects the poet's psychology. In mentioning the role of music in the formation of Lenau's Hungarian and poetic heritage, she is again perceptive. Unfortunately, such probing is abandoned too soon, and instead we have commentary with little commitment: in discussing "Die Werbung" she notes that the system of recruiting soldiers by means of a dance was fairly common in Eastern Europe in the early 19th century, yet fails to explain that the name of the dance, "verbunkos," is a characteristically Hungarian distortion of the German "Werbung." Such clues to cultural exchanges should not be ignored. Similarly, in discussing the cultural revival of the 1820's, she fails to stress that, though *some* of the Austrian and German-speaking nationals living in Hungary tended to consider Hungarian traditions as part of the overall Austrian "Volksgut," a significant majority never did so: Hormayr and his colleagues prepared the way for a renewal of Hungarian, not Germanic culture. Such superficial statements seem to point to both a fear of being challenged and a reluctance to probe the sources deeply. They are consistent with what this reviewer feels was Agnes Vardy's failure to get to the "meat" of the poems.

The information given through the use of Lenau's letters and the interpretation of the poems give the reader a new perspective on both Lenau and Austrian Romanticism. Professor Vardy introduces the poet as a charming, gifted and tragic person. The numerous pictures included in the work, illustrating both Hungary and Lenau's life, provide an added dimension.

A disturbing aspect of the mechanics of this volume is the handling of the German material. Translations of the poems are given as part of the text, enclosed in parentheses. I believe such prose English versions should have a less prominent place—as footnotes or in the appendix. The reader who is unfamiliar with German could then consult the English, while others would not be annoyed by interpolations. Similarly, both the introductory essay and the main work abound in bracketed translations of obvious terms: Weltschmerz [world grief], Vormärz [pre-March]. Thankfully, these are relatively more restrained in the body of the work.

The introductory essay is useful for the background it gives on Austro-Hungarian relations in the early 19th century, but the style is choppy; it has a tendency towards the use of cliches and awkward, fragmented sentences. The style of the book itself is more lively and interesting, even when the dissertation flavor remains. This is particularly evident in prompting the author to explain rather than explicate the poetry of Lenau. One is especially disappointed after the "Preface" suggested in-depth research in Vienna and Budapest, which the book does not bear out.

The American University Enikő Molnár Basa

Review of Reviews

(Abstracts)

Jewish Nobles and Geniuses in Modern Hungary. By William O. McCagg, Jr. East European Monographs III. Distributed by Columbia University Press, New York, 1972. 245 pp.

The strange title of this book does not do justice to a most remarkable work. It offers in the first place a case study of the evolution of a financial-industrial and intellectual elite which in the course of little more than two generations achieved spectacular success and yet failed by this very achievement to shed its minority character in Hungarian public life. In demonstrating this process Professor McCagg traces characteristic features of social development in Hungary between 1848 and 1918 which set conditions there aside from those in other Habsburg lands. Yet the author offers even more, namely patterns of social developments of specific groups in transition from a predominantly agrarian to a capitalistic economic structure. The book offers indeed as much to the student in the field of East Central European social history as to the sociologist.

Basically the author perceives three main causes in the evolution of Jewish co-dominance in the capitalistic structure and leadership in intellectual activities of Hungarian society: a social issue embedded in changes in 19th century social structure; a psychological issue reflected in the urge of a minority to become more like the majority and in doing so over-reaching itself; and finally a political one. This last factor means that in the deep constitutional crisis in Hungary from 1903 to 1906 the forces of old with the support of the king-emperor gained the upper hand. The hope for a restructuring of Hungarian society in terms of greater social justice and a fair compromise with the suppressed national groups went by the board. This failure frustrated and disillusioned the particularly gifted young people who were to a substantial part of Jewish extraction. Many of them moved from participation in the narrow ruts of Hungarian social life to a wider one in the fields of internationally recognized natural sciences. The Kármán, Wigner, Teller, Szillard, von Neumann and their like shifted, in part even without specific intention, from the objective of social reform at home to hoped-for contributions to the liberal world of the West. Natural sciences were the main currency in which the fees

for migration were to be paid, and the social sciences and humanities, exemplified by the achievements of men like Jászi, Lukacs, K. Mannheim, often followed the same track . . . .

One does not have to agree with all of McCragg's propositions; in particular one might perceive some as stronger than others. The psychological factor, for instance, may be rated somewhat higher and the political one lower than the author sees them . . . .

Simply by the wealth of new material presented, by the originality of the topic and the brilliance of the author's accomplishment I would rate this book higher than any other in the field of East Central European history that has come to my attention in several years.

Robert A. Kann (Rutgers University), *Canadian Journal of History*, Vol. IX, No. 2, (August 1974).

Guide to Hungarian Studies. By Elemer Bako. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1973. 2 vols. XV, 1218 pp.

This massive two-volume work is an important contribution to bibliographical research on Hungary. It contains 4,426 entries, some annotated, culled from a wide range of sources . . . .

The bibliography is divided into twenty chapters covering such diverse fields as statistical research, geography, demography, history and historiography, constitution and legislation, government and politics, social life and institutions, economics, religion and church affairs, Hungarian language and literature, fine arts, education, scientific research, and press and publishing. The chapter entitled "General Works" includes general bibliographies, catalogues, lists, encyclopedias, reference guides, and dictionaries.

In spite of its seemingly well-organized format, however, this bibliography is an obstacle course for the researcher. One problem is that Mr. Bako distinguishes only four categories within each chapter: "Special Reference Works," "Journals and Monographic Series," "Monographs," and "Articles and Minor Publications." Within these categories the arrangement is strictly alphabetical. As a result, the researcher interested in a specific period or topic must scan every entry in the chapter.

Another problem is that the distinctions supposedly made by the chapter headings are themselves blurred. For example, a bibliography of the 1956 Hungarian revolution by I. Halász de Béky is included in the chapter on history while an article entitled "The Literature of the

Hungarian Revolution: A Bibliographical Survey" written by G. Vissi is listed in the chapter on government and politics.

The confusion created by overlapping categories is further aggravated by the existance of a chapter on Hungarians abroad. Such a category is certainly justified . . . But "Hungarians Abroad" is not what one expects. In an unfortunate move, Mr. Bako decided to list under this heading not only materials related to Hungarian emigres but also all historical works pertaining to those territories which Hungary lost after World War I. For instance, one finds such entries as Transylvania's relations with England from 1526 to 1711; Hungary's intellectual contacts with the Southern Slavs, beginning with the Middle Ages; the history of the stage arts in Arad between 1774 and 1889; and the history of the teachers' lyceum in Kassa, 1747-1904 . . .

This bibliography is selective. Mr. Bako's aim was to be representative rather than exhaustive . . . Moreover, it includes only those studies which appeared before 1965. Hence this volume provides merely an introduction to the vast material on Hungary and does not replace other bibliographies in the field.

Despite its flaws, Mr. Bako's *Guide to Hungarian Studies* is a much-needed reference work. It is an important publication which every library should have.

Eva S. Balogh (Yale University), *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, Vol. XVII, No. 1, (Spring 1975).

Parteien und Reichstagswahlen in Ungarn 1848-1892. By Adalbert Toth. Munchen: R. Oldenburg Verlag, 1973.

In Hungary, centuries-long domination by Austria precluded a meaningful participation in national and international affairs. Yet this dependence co-existed with a stubborn perseverance of provincial autonomy in which legalistic hairsplitting and highly personalized and passionate politicking made up for the lack of decision-making opportunities on the national and foreign policy levels. The 1867 Compromise—equal partnership with Austria—did not radically alter that mentality; on the contrary, the constitutional issue of whether to tighten or loosen ties with Austria perpetuated and deepened the national proclivity for endless legalistic arguments and further inflamed political passions, which were still highly personal and frequently parochial. The well-known saying that "politics is the art of the possible" reflects the kind of down-to-earth and pragmatic approach to politics, characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon world. Politics in post-1848 Hungary, on the other hand, had retained much of the

emotional content of past history, continuing to be the art of the desirable rather than the art of the possible.

Such a framework does not easily lend itself to a systematic and rigorous classification. The merit of Dr. Adalbert Toth's work lies precisely in the author's successful attempt to apply such a treatment to the fluid and often confusing picture of Hungarian party politics and elections from 1848 to 1892 . . . .

All in all, his book is a product of remarkable scholarship, a pioneering study which will undoubtedly become an indispensable reference work for anyone interested in that period of Hungarian history. Appropriately, this review should be concluded with the wish that Dr. Toth will continue his research and writing in this field and carry the story of Hungarian political parties and elections beyond 1892.

Gabor Vermes (Rutgers University, Newark), *East European Quarterly*, Vol. IX, No. 2 (Summer 1975).

Hungary: A Century of Economic Development. By I.T. Berend and G. Ranki. David and Charles, Ltd., Great Britain, 1974. Pp. 263.

The process of Hungarian economic development as Professors Berend and Ranki relate has been the slow metamorphosis of the country from a predominantly agricultural society to one in which industry has the foremost position. The authors conclude the industrialization of the country has been the logical outcome of an inevitable process, periodically marked by state intervention which culminated in the socialist transformation of Hungary. However, more realistically the economic development that did occur in Hungary should be viewed as the role to which the economy was assigned as the country aligned with different major powers. First as part of the Hapsburg Empire, then its gradual absorption into the German sphere of influence and finally its position in the Soviet dominated CMEA . . . .

The foundations for the industrialization of the country centers around the years of the *Ausgleich.* At this time foreign banks and financial groups invested heavily in Hungary providing the necessary capital accumulation for an economic "take-off". At the same time the state supported industrialization through the state owned railroads and related heavy industry . . . .

The dominant feature of the Hungarian economy has been its seriously one-sided character. Initially it was an agricultural society and when industrialization began, the emphasis was on heavy

industry rather than light industry. This imbalance was reflected in the fact that Hungary exported raw agricultural products and imported finished goods for internal consumption. By the end of the Hapsburg period the Hungarian economy had undergone substantial changes, but was not basically transformed, as many static relationships continued to persist. There remained the inherent weakness of the economy and its dependency on exporting agricultural goods. This was further aggravated at the end of World War I when Hungary, as a result of the territorial losses separated her industries from their sources of raw materials.

During the post-war decade state intervention created the potential for a broadening of the domestic market and general economic expansion. Simultaneously, the commitment of the western countries to further prevent the penetration of socialism into Eastern Europe led them to extend financial credits to Hungary. This assistance, accepted at high rates of interest and poorly used, created the necessity of drafting additional loans resulting once more in the dependency of the country on foreign credits and powerless in terms of western economic penetration. The depression and collapse of the creditor nations brought about the economic alignment of Hungary and Germany . . . .

In the inter-war period there remained no solution to the major social issue, that of land reform. Some modernization of agriculture had taken place but this was primarily on the large estates and never reached the small peasant holding which still remained a dominant force in agriculture . . . .

The emergence of a war economy in the later part of the thirties greatly improved the economic situation of the country but in actual fact, this was unrealistic for such a falsely inflated economic structure could not continue indefinitely. Due to Germany's mounting indebtedness economic conditions worsened and the final months of the war were disastrous. The authors estimate that forty percent of the nation's wealth was lost directly from the transporting of industrial and agricultural goods to Germany and damage from the war. Professors Berend and Ranki argue that the losses to Germany and severe war damage resulted in an economic collapse of the country but neglect to mention the tremendous war preparations that were exacted by the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and other countries.

As a result of the successful socialist revolution, the Hungarian economy became modeled on that of the Soviet Union. The introduction of planned measures resulted not in the spectacular economic growth that was envisioned but did bring about a general improvement in the overall economic situation. Utilizing antiquated methods, and greatly expanded labor force caused by the mechanization of agri-

culture, high industrial output was achieved. Quality was inferior and the goods were not competitive with those produced in the West or the more industrially advanced socialist countries. By the 1960's Hungarian exports had changed from agricultural to finished industrial goods and trade was carried on primarily with other socialist countries according to planned measures. Exports to the West consisted of agricultural products for the most part.

The authors disregard the relationship of the Soviet Union in the Hungarian economy and CMEA which dominates the inter-socialist export trade. They offer no justifications for the changes in agricultural policies since World War II and the fact that the producers' co-operatives have been the least successful aspect of the Hungarian economy. Hungary, once the breadbasket for empires, is now in the position of having to import agricultural goods . . . .

James V. Fitzgerald, Jr. (University of Colorado), *East European Quarterly*, Vol. IX, No. 2 (Summer 1975).

The Pattern of Reform in Hungary: A Political, Economic and Cultural Analysis. By William F. Robinson. New York, Washington and London: Praeger Publishers, 1973. Pp. 468.

As its title implies, Robinson's work is not history in the ordinary sense but an examination of Hungary's fluctuating trends of economic, political, social, and cultural reform during the past two decades. The author, a political scientist and a senior analyst for Radio Free Europe, has attempted to trace the antecedents of reform, depict its character, and assess its ramifications within the framework of Marxist authoritarianism and the West's technological revolution. The interplay between the two hostile systems constitutes the leitmotif for Robinson's investigation.

The book deals with a great variety of crucial issues arising from Hungary's quest for a détante both with domestic and foreign detractors. Among other things, Hungary's Communist regime had to reconcile Marxist dogma with the realities of life in the West which, contrary to somber predictions had grown extremely productive and prosperous. Until recently, the Marxist had dismissed the computerized technological revolution—the source of all this affluence—as a decadent bourgeois phenomenon. More recently, however as Robinson recounts, spectacular advancements in all walks of life in the capitalist countries had greatly impressed the Hungarians. They suddenly became enthusiastic champions of the scientific revolution they had formerly despised . . .

Despite certain shortcomings Robinson's book is a welcome addition to the current literary harvest on East European Marxist problems. Unfortunately, the author is not always objective. At times he criticizes Party policies on the basis of personal bias, at other times —and this is when he is at his best—Robinson is a dispassionate observer. For references the author has regrettably chosen predominantly non-scholarly Hungarian sources and Radio Free Europe staff reports. Robinson would have been well advised to consult other sources as well, as to commit his final draft to scholarly scrutiny. Still, the author's style is excellent, his organization lucid, his prose interesting and concise . . .

Thomas Spira (University of Prince Edward Island), *East European Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (March 1974).

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