

of 1657–1660 and its consequences one cannot have a full picture as regards to the decline of the fortunes of Protestantism in Poland and Lithuania. Evans is much better on Bohemia and Hungary; as to the latter he rightly points out that the first Hungarian “Calvinists” were as much influenced by Melancthon and Bullinger as by Calvin himself; he also stresses the role of the Hungarian nobility and the Princes of Transylvania in the survival of the two reformed churches. In the case of Transylvania I missed the name of John Sigismund the tolerant “Arian” Prince under whose rule the four main religions (Catholic, Calvinist, Lutheran, Unitarian) were “accepted” by the Diet. Although Evans’s discussion of the Hungarian Puritans is well-informed and even-handed, they could have hardly objected against the populace’s fondness for the *csárdás* (p. 187) which was invented only in the 19th century. His study is completed by a detailed bibliography on the subject covering publications in English as well as other languages.

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Society in Change

Edited by S. B. Vardy and A. H. Vardy

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This collection of essays constitutes a very worthy tribute to a historian who has done much for Hungarian studies in the West. Béla Király is perhaps best known to anglophone readers as the author of two invaluable books on Hungarian history (*Hungary in the Late Eighteenth Century: The Decline of Enlightened Despotism*, New York 1969, and *Ferenc Deák*, Boston 1975) and as the editor of two major series of monographs: “Brooklyn College Studies in Society and Change” and “War and Society in East Central Europe”. The present collection of essays testifies not only to Professor Király’s considerable influence upon Hungarian historiography in the United States, but also to the esteem in which he is held by his fellow scholars.

The grounds for this esteem are made quite clear by the opening section of *Society in Change* which consists of a laudatory, but balanced and informative, biographical essay by S. B. Vardy, followed by an impressive and very useful bibliography listing seventy four items. The second section of the volume, “Sieges, Wars, Military Theories and Military Alliances” contains nine papers on one of Béla Király’s key areas of specialization, military history. Of particular interest here are Joseph Held’s discussion of “controversial issues” surrounding the defense of Nándorfehérvár/Belgrade in 1456 (pp. 25–37), Zoltán Kramár’s paper on “Command Problems” in the *Honvéd* Army during the 1848–49 War of Independence (pp. 75–88) and Gábor Vermes’s “Hungary and the Common Army in the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy” (pp. 89–101). Kramár sets out to challenge the notion that Kossuth’s failure “to get a proper grip on the *Honvéd* Army” was “due to the lack of revolutionary consciousness” of the officer corps, or “to the inflated pride and near pathological ambitions of certain high commanders” (p. 76). Inevitably he has to face the rather thorny problem of evaluating the role of Görgey, whom he treats with considerable sympathy, while describing Kossuth’s command style as “incompatible” with the unique characteristics of the army he sought to command. Vermes’s well-structured and engaging presentation of conflicting attitudes to the Monarchy’s common army makes excellent use of quotation (from Deák to Jászi) to illustrate several very different approaches to Hungary’s wider role and position in Central Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Part three of *Society in Change* is entitled "Ethnicity, Immigration and Domestic Politics in America" (pp. 153–170). The opening essay, "The New Anti-Semanticism: Ethnicity and Nationalism" by Louis Snyder, attempts to retrieve and clarify the original meaning of the key terms of its title. "Much difficulty", Snyder argues "has been caused by the application of the term 'ethnic' and its variants to the field of nationalism" (p. 163), while the "original definition of 'ethnic' refers specifically to physical and mental traits in races or groups of races" (p. 166). While Snyder is clearly right to insist on differentiating between the racial and the national, his repeated references to Socrates (as a "semanticist" *par excellence*), make one wonder why he has only pursued his definition of "ethnic" as far back as *Webster's International Dictionary* (p. 157). For Socrates, after all, *athnos* (ἔθνος) would have meant "nation" and not race.

Snyder is followed by Mario D. Fenyő on "Haraszty: a Hungarian Pioneer in the American West" (pp. 169–87). While this paper makes some interesting points about nineteenth century America in the eyes of a Hungarian immigrant, some of Fenyő's comments about Hungary during the same period are more questionable. Count Széchenyi István, for example, who closes his first book to provoke unprecedented nationwide interest in political debate and social reform (*Hitel*, 1830) with an attack on his fellow patriots for their nostalgic preoccupation with the national past and lack of belief in the future, was hardly "the most conservative member of the Reform Generation" (pp. 174–5). Two further discussions of Hungarians in America are also included in this section: S. B. Vardy's "The Great Economic Migration from Hungary: 1880–1920" (pp. 189–216) and Ivan Sanders on "America through Hungarian Eyes: Images and Impressions of American Civilization as Reflected in Recent Hungarian Writings on the United States" (pp. 231–49). Vardy's highly informative and well-documented paper discusses the national and social composition of the Hungarian immigrants, the causes of their emigration and the character of their settlements in the United States. Addressing the question of national composition, Vardy concludes that of the 1.7 million "Hungarian citizens" who emigrated to the United States between 1849 and 1914 only "around 65 000" were "Magyars" (p. 196). Ivan Sanders provides a very readable introduction to recent writings by Hungarian visitors to the United States while making some searching remarks about national "complexes" and preconceptions. His claim that Hungarians can now read "all the major and sometimes not so major recent American novels and plays in translation" (p. 244) is, however, a considerable exaggeration. The novels of Thomas Pynchon and Robert Coover are, for example, only the most obvious exceptions that spring to mind.

The fourth section of *Society in Change* looks at "Central European and Balkan Social and Political Developments" (pp. 273–367). Imre Boba sets out to "investigate the place and significance" of "The Seven Hungarian Counties in Medieval Transylvania" (pp. 273–89) and challenges the way in which "recent historiography has emphasized the trends toward separatism and regionalism" in the area. János M. Bak's "Delinquent Lords and Forsaken Serfs: Thoughts on War and Society during the Crisis of Feudalism" (pp. 291–304) compares this "crisis" in Western and East Central Europe. Bak pays particular attention to the case of the Hungarian peasant uprising of 1514, which he sees as a "most mature expression of the conflict between unprotected *laboratores* and inactive *bellatores*" (p. 299) and highly representative of "the crisis of 'military' legitimation of noble rule" in East Central Europe. Istvan Deak offers a very thought-provoking short history of Budapest – "Budapest: A Dominant Capital in a Dominated Country" (pp. 315–26) – centred around a discussion of whether the capital has represented a progressive or oppressive force in Hungarian history. Addressing his own rather tendentious formulation of a debate between "urban intellectuals" who "tend to see the city as an agency for civilization and progress in a rather crude, primitive and slow-moving country" and traditionalists and populists who "tend to argue that Budapest has corrupted and exploited the countryside, and has often decisively influenced national politics", Deak proceeds to present a case of qualified support for the former position. This paper is followed by Tamás Aczél's "God's Vineyard: Excerpts from a Political Autobiography" (pp. 327–47), a candid description of the author's "years of innocence" which culminated, at around the time of the Rajk trial in 1949, in a "tragicomic" blindness that „appeared to me the only way of seeing" (p. 337). The closing essay in this section is

Michael Sozan's "Peasants in Two Political Systems: An Austrian and a Hungarian Village Compared" (pp. 349-67). The two villages chosen are Alsóór (Unterwart) in Eastern Austria and Táp in Western Hungary. As the former "had been part of Hungary from the ninth to the early twentieth century", Sozan argues that he is actually considering "two Hungarian villages on either side" of the political border (p. 350).

The fifth and longest section of the volume is devoted to "Central European and Balkan Cultural Developments" (pp. 371-520). It opens with L. S. Domonkos on "The Problems of Hungarian University Foundations in the Middle Ages" (pp. 371-90). Working from very limited source materials Domonkos nevertheless succeeds in reconstructing many of the key circumstances surrounding both the foundation and rapid decline of the universities of Pécs, Óbuda and Pozsony (Bratislava) in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. His paper is followed by Thomas Szendrey's "Hungarian Historiography and European Currents of Thought from Late Baroque to Early Romanticism 1760-1830" (pp. 391-411) which offers a useful introduction to the work of several eighteenth and early nineteenth century Hungarian historians (concentrating, understandably, on the work of Katona and Pray), but does not provide the wider intellectual context suggested in its title. While much biographical and bibliographical information is imparted clearly and economically, some of Szendrey's more general arguments are rather questionable. His claim, for example, that "the Reform Era (1825-1848) in Hungarian history served as the transition between an imperfectly assimilated Enlightenment heritage and a fully developed National Romanticism" (p. 406) is, at best, misleading if one considers the historiography of the likes of István Horvát and the literature of the *Auróra* circle in the 1820s and 30s. Hungarian attitudes to the national past are also the subject of Peter F. Sugar's paper on "The Evaluation of Leopold II in Hungarian Historiography" (pp. 435-47). Sugar considers six Hungarian accounts (Fraknói, Marczali, Acsády, Szekfű, Varga and Benda) and attempts to establish "what if any biases the selected authors displayed and to what extent these can be explained by the political circumstances that prevailed in Hungary when they wrote their works" (p. 436). Sugar's own attitude to Leopold II seems most consistent with that of the contemporary Hungarian historian, Kálmán Benda who portrays the emperor as (in Sugar's words) "a very capable ruler, a good diplomat, a clever, although often cunning politician and first and foremost a Habsburg" (p. 446). Sugar's case for Leopold II as a representative of enlightened absolutism ("his absolutism was, nevertheless, enlightened", he quotes approvingly from Benda, p. 441), is perhaps more controversial. In considering the question of continuity and discontinuity with Joseph II, Sugar does not mention that the reigns of Maria Theresa's two sons were divided by the French Revolution, which would not only seal the fate of their sister, Marie Antoinette, but also constituted a major crisis of conscience for the agents of Enlightenment in Europe.

The next two papers in this section consider aspects of the relationship between history and literature. Agnes Huszar Vardy's "The Turks and the Ottoman Civilization in Jókai's Historical Novels and Short Stories" (pp. 449-69) offers a critical account of Jókai's role in perpetuating and popularizing a (nationally) partisan misrepresentation of Turkish history, mitigated only by an equally questionable idealization of a number of his "positive" Turkish heroes. If her conclusion - that, Jókai's works should "be viewed as fiction" and not be seen to "present a reliable portrait of the past" (p. 464) - is indisputable, it is surely no less self-evident. In a paper entitled "The Hungarian Poet's Task: The Historic and Historical Mission of Hungarian Poetry Through Five Centuries" (pp. 471-87) Louis J. Elteto makes extensive and apposite use of quotation to present Hungarian literature from Bálint Balassi to László Benjámín as a *litterature engagée*. Not everyone will accept Elteto's inclusion of pre-eighteenth century Hungarian poetry in his projected tradition of commitment (it is, after all, hard to see Balassi as "engagé in the modern sense", p. 474) and it may be misleading to represent the relatively independent achievements of sixteenth century Hungarian verse as products of a coherently "national literature".

The sixth section of *Society in Change* focuses on "Inter-Nationality Relations in the Danube Valley" (pp. 523-671). The opening essay, Stephen Borsody's "Hungary in the Habsburg Monarchy: From Independence Struggle to Hegemony" (pp. 523-38) is based around a series of "assumed" and

actual German–Hungarian alliances, from “Palaczky’s fondness for dating these alliances back to the fall of the Great Moravian Empire” (p. 525), through the “climax of a centuries old Hungarian struggle against German power” in 1848–49 (p. 532) to the end of “the short period of hegemony” the Hungarians had shared with the Germans until 1918. While most of Borsody’s account is lucidly argued and clearly illustrated, a tendency to conflate the terms “German” and “Austrian” (“fighting against Austria had always meant fighting Germans”, p. 532; “interest in a Hungarian alliance with Germany against Austria was rekindled when Bismarck seized the helm of Prussian politics” p. 533) does at times prove problematic. After all, one year before the *Ausgleich* of 1867 – the “formal beginning” of a “period of German–Hungarian hegemony in Central Europe” (p. 535) – Klapka’s legion had been making preparations in Prussia for the liberation of Hungary from the Habsburgs. Borsody is followed by N. F. Dreisziger on “Central European Federalism in the Thought of Oscar Jászi and his Successors” (pp. 539–56). A sound representation of Jászi’s federalism prior to 1945 is followed by a discussion of his less well-known reassessment of “his attitudes towards the nations of East Central Europe” (p. 546) and by a consideration of his influence on subsequent “federalist” Hungarian intellectuals in the United States.

The other two papers in section VI discuss the culture and conditions of national minorities in East Central Europe. Andrew Ludanyi’s persuasively written and copiously documented “Socialist Patriotism and National Minorities: A Comparison of Yugoslav and Romanian Theory and Practice” (pp. 557–83) concentrates on the regions of Transylvania and the Vojvodina. He is followed by Károly Nagy whose “Patterns of Minority Life: Recent Hungarian Literary Reports in Romania” (pp. 585–95) offers a brief but instructive introduction to Hungarian sociographical prose in and about Transylvania.

The final section of *Society in Change* carries the title “Inter-State Relations in Central and East Europe” (pp. 599–671). The first two papers present an interesting contrast between the attitudes of two major Hungarian statesmen, Counts Gyula Andrassy (the elder) and Mihály Károlyi, to Russo–Hungarian relations. János Decsy offers a short and positive account of “Andrassy’s views on Austria–Hungary’s Foreign Policy toward Russia” (pp. 599–612) while Peter Pastor provides an engaging and fairly comprehensive survey of Károlyi’s less cautious approach to both Czarist Russia and the Soviet Union in “Mihály Károlyi and his Views on Hungarian–Russian ties” (pp. 613–21) which, rather surprisingly, makes no mention of the more guarded position Károlyi develops toward the end of his *Faith without Illusions* (1957). The closing essay of *Society in Change* is also the longest in the volume. György Ránki’s “Hitler and the Statesmen of East Central Europe’ 1939–1945” is a fascinating study of Nazi Germany’s opportunism concerning the region’s rulers based upon Hitler’s own comments quoted primarily from Andreas Hillgruber, *Staatsmänner und Diplomaten bei Hitler* (Frankfurt, 1970).

The impressive range of scholarly interests and approaches represented in *Society in Change* bears eloquent testimony to the scope and influence of Béla Király’s work. The inclusion of several papers on themes less immediately related to East Central Europe – from a discussion of Clausewitz as a “Forerunner of Mathematical Praxeology” to an essay on Roosevelt and “Rainbow 5” – provide further evidence of Király’s reputation outside of his own immediate field. The quality of much of the scholarship presented in this volume, combined with the editor’s excellent organization and presentation of their wide-ranging material, also make *Society in Change* a most welcome contribution to Hungarian studies in the English speaking world.

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