

APPROACHES TO HISTORIOGRAPHY III.

Editors:

VILMOS ERŐS, ANNA KATALIN KÁDÁR



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Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó
Debrecen University Press

2026

Lektorálta:
Prof. Dr. Keményfi Róbert

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beleértve az egyetemi hálózaton belüli elektronikus terjesztés jogát is

ISBN 978-963-615-334-2 (print)
ISBN 978-963-615-335-9 (pdf)

Kiadta a Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó Debrecen University Press
dupress.unideb.hu

Felelős kiadó: Karácsony Gyöngyi
Műszaki szerkesztés: Madarász György
Borítóterv: M. Szabó Monika

A nyomdai munkálatokat
Készült a Debreceni Egyetemi Kiadó nyomdájában 2026-ban

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ERŐS VILMOS

Előszó

Az alábbi kötet alapvetően a 2024. november 21–23-án, Debrecenben, a Debreceni Egyetem BTK Történelmi Intézetében tartott, III. Nemzetközi Historiográfiai Konferencia anyagát tartalmazza.¹

A konferencia egyik apropója két neves magyar történész, Mályusz Elemér és a debreceni kötődésű Szabó István halálának 35. illetve 55. évfordulója volt. Alapjában ennek szenteltük a konferencia első, nyitónapját, amelynek során Miru György egyetemi docens olvasta fel – egyfajta könyvbemutató gyanánt – a közelmúltban elhunyt akadémikus, Orosz István (Szabó István tanítványa) lektori véleményét Erős Vilmos 2022-ben megjelent, Szabó Istvánról szóló monográfiájáról.² Ezen felül előadás hangzott el, főként Mályusz Elemérről összefüggésben (s egy 2023-as krakkói konferencia kapcsán) a 20. századi magyar történetírás Anjou-képéről, valamint Both Noémi Zsuzsanna, Gyergyószentmiklósról mutatta be a Korunk című folyóirat 2024/4-es számát, amely a 20. századi magyar történetírás kiemelkedő alakjairól (köztük Mályusz Elemérről és Szabó Istvánról) közölt tanulmányokat. A konferencia első napja magyar nyelven zajlott, részben ezért is az alábbi kötet vonatkozó írásait magyar nyelven közöljük.

A konferencia következő blokkja/egysége (a második nap előadásai) angol nyelven hangzottak el, s fő tematikai egységüket a 20. századi diktatúrák alatti történetírások elemzése adta. A téma több vonatkozásban folytatása volt az *Approaches to Historiography II*-ben megjelent³ (s eredetileg 2021-ben Párizsban tartott konferencia) előadásainak, részben személyi vonatkozásban is. Christoph Araújo ebben a kötetben is olvasható írása ennek szellemében szól az Annales-iskola recepciójának problémáiról Portugáliában az 1960-as/1980-as években; Iryna Mikhailova az olasz reneszánsz recepcióját veszi górcső alá az 1920-as/1930-as évek Szovjet-uniójában. A konferencián még Jan van Muilekom tartott előadást a Franco- és Tito diktatúra összehasonlításának historiográfiai vonatkozásairól, Lévai Csaba az Egyesült Államok történetének magyarországi recepciójáról a kommunista-szocialista rendszer időszakában, Erős Vilmos pedig a magyar történetírás fejlődésének fő momentumait vázolta fel 1948-tól 1989-ig.

¹ A historiográfiai munkacsoport tevékenységéről, megalakulásának hátteréről, céljairól stb., lásd *Approaches to Historiography I.*; *Approaches to Historiography II*. Mindkettőben főként az Előszavak jelen sorok szerzőjétől.

² A lektori vélemény megjelent Nagyerdei Almanach, 15. évf., 2025/1. 74–92.

³ *Approaches to Historiography II*.

(Utóbbi három előadás szövegét jelen kötetben nem közöljük, mert részben már megjelentek egyéb kiadványokban, illetve Erős Vilmos inkább a magyar történetírás 1989 utáni folyamatairól ad itt áttekintést.⁴)

A konferencia további részeiben (a 2. és 3. napon) Fatih Durun tartott előadást (már nem az előző tematikai blokk keretében) a 19. századi angol és német történetírás kiemelkedő alakjait (William Stubbs, Georg Waitz) középpontba helyezve a historizmus/professzionizmus szakmai és retorikai/ideológiai implikációiról. Sáfrány Milán egyetemi hallgató az amerikai forradalom értelmezésének újabb megközelítéseiről/interpretációiról közöl itt is tanulmányt, amely a konferencián elhangzott előadására épül.

Külön tematikus blokként értelmezhető a konferencia 3. napján elhangzott két, német nyelvű előadás, amelyek a történetírás és a társtudományok kapcsolata elemzésének jegyében születtek. Ennek szellemében Kiss Endre a történelmi revizionizmus elméleti hátterét elemezte, a nagy huszadik századi történész-viták (főként Francois Furet és a német Historiker-Streit alapján) lényegi momentumaira támaszkodva, míg Propszt Eszter a németek/svábok 18. századi bevándorlását tematizáló irodalom eltérő narratív konstrukcióiról adott áttekintést.

A konferencia fő szervezője, Erős Vilmos, már a konferencia bevezetőjében hangsúlyozta, hogy a rendezvény intézményes hátterét alkotó historiográfiai munkacsoport egyik markáns törekvése a fiatalok, egyetemi hallgatók bevonása az ilyen jellegű kutatásokba. Ennek megfelelően tartott előadást (egyúttal tovább feszegetve a történetírás és a társtudományok kapcsolatát, immár a néprajzi szempontokat bevonva) Kádár Anna Katalin az ún. „materiális fordulat” magyarországi hatásáról, illetve már esett szó Sáfrány Milán előadásáról, aki még szintén egyetemi hallgató volt a konferencia idején.⁵

A konferencián elhangzott több könyv-, illetve folyóirat-bemutató is, ezek közül Erős Vilmos monográfiájáról, illetve a *Korunk* 2024/4-es számáról már esett szó. Ezen felül feltétlenül megemlítenő (s a szöveget közöljük is az alábbiakban) Kádár Anna Katalin bemutatója Stefan Berger könyvéről⁶, amely a nemzetközi historiográfia főként 1970-es évek („nyelvi fordulat”) utáni újabb jelenségeiről, s azoknak a különböző identitásokat megalapozni kívánó (vagy éppen megkérdőjelező) törekvéseit tekinti át. Stefan Berger professzor a historiográfiai munkacsoport régi támogatója, 2019-es konferenciánkon személyesen is részt vett és elő is adott⁷, s számos formában (konferencia meghívások, nemzetközi publikációs lehetőségek, ösztöndíj/pályázati támogatások) tevékeny és elkötelezett ösztönzője erőfeszítéseinknek.

⁴ Erős, „From Gleichschaltung to Reprofessionalization and After (until public history).”

⁵ A doktorandusz hallgató Andrékó Tamás tanulmánya szintén ilyen megfontolásokból került a kötetbe.

⁶ Berger, *History and Identity*.

⁷ Bővebben lásd Erős, „Egy elkötelezett történész.”

A kötet függelékében Antoon de Baets professzortól közlünk egy fontos írást, amely több szempontból is némi magyarázatot igényel. Antoon de Baets-t a szóban forgó konferencia fő szervezője 2019-ben, egy Stefan Berger által, Bochumban szervezett konferencián ismerte meg személyesen, s meghívta egy, a historiográfiai munkacsoport keretében tartandó előadásra. De Baets professzor (jelenleg egyébként az ICHTH, a nemzetközi historiográfiai társaság elnöke) debreceni előadása azonban főként a COVID, ezt követően pedig az Erasmus programmal összefüggő adminisztrációs problémák miatt nem valósult meg, mint ahogy a debreceni konferencián történő részvétele sem. Ugyanakkor De Baets professzor volt szíves felajánlani tervezett debreceni előadásának szövegét, amelyet a historiográfiai munkacsoport keretén belül vitattunk volna meg.

De Baets professzor írása egy nagyobb lélegzetű munka és nemzetközi tudományos kutatói vállalkozás keretein belül született, amely a történészek ellen elkövetett „bűncselekmények” sorjázására épül, a kérdést földrajzi szempontból is globális aspektusból vizsgálva. Jelen szöveg a probléma magyarországi vonatkozásait lajstromozza a két világháború közötti időszakról egészen napjainkig, nyilván több esetben vitára, alkalmanként kiegészítésre, pontosításra készítve. (Ezt terveztük megtenni a végül megghiúsult debreceni programon.) A tanulmány nyilván alapvető fontosságú, s csak azért került függelékként jelen kötetbe, mert sok szempontból inkább (bár lényegi értékelést is sugalló) „tényközlés/tényfelsorolás”, s technikai vonatkozásban is az ilyen formátumban való publikálás tűnt előnyösebbnek.

A kötetben még szerepelnek mindezen felül olyan írások – Erős Vilmos „Views and debates...” című, illetve Andrékó Tamás tanulmányairól van szó – , amelyek konkrétan nem kötődnek a kötet alapjául szolgáló konferenciához. Az *Approaches to Historiography* című sorozatnak egyik fő törekvése azonban, hogy – pl. fiatal, pályakezdő történészeknek a historiográfiai kutatások iránti orientálása mellett, amelyről már esett szó – átfogóbb képet adjon a historiográfiai munkacsoport tevékenységéről, s ebbe – magától értetődően – például a csoport tagjainak egyéb konferenciákon, tudományos rendezvényeken tartott előadásai is beletartoznak, miként ez a már említett 2023-as krakkói konferencia esetében is érvényes. (A vonatkozó budapesti konferenciának ráadásul debreceni vonatkozásai is voltak, hiszen annak protagonistája, Niederhauser Emil akadémikus évtizedeken keresztül a Debreceni Egyetem Történelmi Intézetének professzora volt.)

Befejezésül a konferencia szervezői és jelen kötet szerkesztői köszönetüket szeretnék kifejezni Keményfi Róbert professzornak, a Bölcsészettudományi Kar dékánjának a konferencia és jelen kötet anyagi hátterének megteremtésében nyújtott nagyvonalú támogatásáért. Hasonló köszönet illeti azokat a kollégákat és egyetemi hallgatókat, akik valamilyen formában segítették munkánkat, nevezetesen Dr. Miru György, Dr. Velkey Ferenc, Dr. Lévai Csaba, Andrékó Tamás, Sáfrány Milán és legfőképpen Kádár Anna Katalin munkatársak áldozatos és nagymértékű segítségével a vázolt programok lebonyolítását, s jelen kötet megszületését.

Debrecen, 2025. augusztus. 25.

Irodalom

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VILMOS ERŐS

Foreword

The present volume entails basically the material of the conference, entitled III. International Conference in Historiography, held in Debrecen, in November 2024. One of the main motives of the conference were the commemoration of the 35th and respectively 55th anniversary of the passing away of two outstanding Hungarian historians, Elemér Mályusz and István Szabó. The first day of the meeting was devoted to them, during which György Miru read out as a sort of book presentation the review by the academician István Orosz (passed away also recently) about the monograph by Vilmos Erős about István Szabó, published in 2022¹. Furthermore a paper in Hungarian had been delivered by Vilmos Erős relating to Elemér Mályusz about the Anjou image in the Hungarian historical writing in the 20th century (previously in English on a conference held in Cracow in 2023); besides a journal presentation was held by Zsuzsanna Noémi Both, introducing the April 2024 special issue of the journal from Transylvania, *Korunk*, dedicated to the outstanding Hungarian historians in the 20th century (including the above mentioned Elemér Mályusz and István Szabó). As referred to earlier, the opening day of the conference took place in Hungarian, that's why we publish here the relating papers in the volume also in Hungarian.

The following section of the volume contains papers of the second day of the programme, when the official language was English and the first part of which was mainly concerned with the topic: writing history under dictatorships in the 20th century. This can be seen as a continuation of our previous volume “Approaches to Historiography II”², regarding, in part, authors as well. The paper by Christophe Araújo is about the problems of reception of the Annales-school in Portuguese historiography in the 1960s–1980s. The essay by Iryna Mikhalova discusses the acceptance and interpretations of the Italian Renaissance in the Soviet Union of the 1920s/1930s. Ian van Muilekom analyses the historiographical aspects of the comparison of the Franco and Tito dictatorships. Csaba Lévai presents a paper on the reception of the history of the United States under the Communist-Socialist regime in Hungary. Vilmos Erős outlines the main tendencies of Hungarian historical writing from 1948 to 1989. (The last three papers have not been published

¹ About the working group, background, etc. see previously *Approaches to Historiography. I.; Approaches to Historiography. II.* The review has been published in *Nagyerdei Almanach* 15. 2025/1. 74–92.

² *Approaches to Historiography. II.*

in the present volume, partly because they have been published on other platforms, and partly because Vilmos Erős offers here an overview of the main trends in Hungarian historical writing after the political changes of 1989.³)

During the next section of the Conference, on day 2, Fatih Durgun presented a paper (outside the framework of the previous topic) on two outstanding 19th century figures of historiography, the English historian, William Stubbs, and the German, Georg Waitz, focussing on the professional and ideological implications of the period in question. The (then) still university student Milán Sáfrány scrutinized some aspects of the latest interpretations of the American Revolution in the historiography of the United States.

The two following papers on day 3 of the workshop, both in German, can be considered as a special thematic bloc elaborating, in some respects, the connection between historiography and other social sciences. In this regard the philosopher Endre Kiss discussed the theoretical background to the revisionist approaches in 20th century European historiographies (mainly on the basis of the revisionist historian François Furet and the German ‘Historiker-Streit’). Eszter Propst, meanwhile, investigated the different narrative structures in Hungarian literature concerning German/Swabish immigration in the 18th century. The main organiser of the programme, Vilmos Erős, pointed out on the opening day that one of the main objectives of the working group in historiography is to attract younger colleagues into engagement and research in different areas of the field. In line with this, Anna Katalin Kádár discussed the impact of the so-called ‘material turn’ in Hungary, highlighting, mainly, the consequences of research in ethnography. (The paper by Milán Sáfrány, still a university student, has already been mentioned.⁴)

Book presentations and journal shows were also organised during the Conference. The monograph by Vilmos Erős and the special issue of *Korunk* have previously been evoked. Anna Katalin Kádár’s presentation of the monograph by Professor Stefan Berger, which gives comprehensive treatment of the main and latest trends in historical writing after 1970 and their efforts to provide different and specific identity strategies, is also worthy of mention.⁵ Professor Stefan Berger⁶, has long been a supporter, a pillar, of our working group in historiography. In 2019 he took part in our meeting in person and tirelessly instigates research activities in numerous forms (scholarships, publications, invitations to international conferences etc.).

An important paper by Professor Anton de Baets is published in the Appendix of this volume. The paper requires a certain explication. The main organiser of the

³ Erős, „From Gleichschaltung to Reprofessionalization and After (until public history): Hungarian Historical Writing after 1948”

⁴ The paper by Tamás Andrékó has been published here on the ground of the same intentions.

⁵ Berger, *History and Identity*.

⁶ Erős, „Egy elkötelezett történész”

Conference, Vilmos Erős, became acquainted with Professor de Baets at a workshop in Bochum in 2019, organised by Professor Stefan Berger, and invited Professor de Baets to lecture within the framework of our working group at the University of Debrecen. (Professor de Baets is currently the President of the International Commission of Theory and History of Historiography – ICTHH.) Professor de Baets was unable to deliver his lecture in Debrecen because of the 2020–2022 Covid pandemic and later because of Hungarian administrative difficulties with Erasmus. Professor de Baets subsequently retired and was unable to participate in our Conference in 2024 either. Nevertheless, Professor de Baets has been kind enough to offer the text of his paper for publication. The paper in question is part of a comprehensive international undertaking, cataloguing and investigating different forms of (often violent) crimes committed against professional historians. The paper depicts the Hungarian aspects of this disturbing issue from the period between the two World Wars to the present day, generating debate, controversy, conclusions and other comments and additions. The paper and its topic are highly relevant and actual and has been placed in the Appendix only because of technical and formal difficulties. It is in many respects a kind of catalogue. We considered publication in this form more advantageous and accessible.

The volume contains beside papers – e.g. the papers by Vilmos Erős, entitled „Views and debates...” and the paper by Tamás Andrékó – which cannot be linked with the Conference in question as a base for this volume. One of the main goals of the series “Approaching Historiography” is to give a comprehensive account of the activity of our working group. This includes, for example, presentations and participations by group members in other scholarly programmes. This occurred at the previously mentioned conference in Cracow and the international conference in Budapest in 2024 celebrating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Emily Niederhauser (who had firm links to the University of Debrecen and, personally, to István Szabó).

In conclusion, the organisers and editors of the present volume wish to thank Professor Róbert Keményfi, Dean of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Debrecen, for his generous and manifold support in securing the financial background for the Conference, including for the present volume. We also wish to thank our colleagues Dr György Miru, Dr Ferenc Velkey, Dr Csaba Lévai, Tamás Andrékó, Milán Sáfrány and, above all, Anna Katalin Kádár, whose unselfish and unstinting help made possible the implementation of the outlined programme as well as the birth of this volume.

Debrecen, 31, August, 2025.

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ERŐS VILMOS

A gótikától az Anjou-reneszánszig: az Anjou-k öröksége a 20. századi magyar historiográfiában.¹ (Különös tekintettel a két világháború közötti szellemtörténet Anjou-recepciójára.)

Az alábbi tanulmány alapjául szolgáló előadás témakörként megjelölt kérdéssel korábban már foglalkozott a magyar történeti irodalom, az ezzel foglalkozó tanulmányok (Steven Béla Vardy, Thomas Szendrey)² ráadásul angol nyelven jelentek meg, egy zömében külföldön élő, s túlnyomórészt magyar származású szerzők műveit tartalmazó kötetben, 1986-ban.

Jelen előadásban/írásban azonban pl. Várdy Bélától eltérően, aki a 14. századtól (gyakorlatilag Kükülléitől) kezdődően egy átfogó képet ad a teljes magyar historiográfiának az Anjoukról alkotott képéről (egészen az 1980-as évekig), jómagam főként a 20. századra, azon belül is inkább a két világháború közötti időszakra fogok összpontosítani. Ezt az időszakot egyébként Várdy professzor Szendrey Tamásra hivatkozva³ csak röviden érinti, viszont Szendrey Tamás írása inkább csak Hóman Bálint Anjouk-ra (ezen belül is főként Nagy Lajosra) vonatkozó munkásságát elemzi, ezt azonban (azon kívül, hogy Hómanról is lényegesen több mondanivalóm van) jelentősen kibővíteném a következőkben, mert – mint látni fogjuk – az Anjouk-ra (beleértve Nagy Lajost is) vonatkozó ekkori diskurzus lényegesen szélesebb körű.

A dualizmus kora – a professzionális történetírás

Amint a felidézett korábbi irodalom ezt többször leszögezte, az Anjouk-kal foglalkozó újabb kori/modern diskurzus a 19. század második felében kezdődik a magyar történeti irodalomban.⁴ Itt szeretném mindjárt leszögezni, hogy – szintén a korábbi

¹ A tanulmány alapja angolul elhangzott a következő konferencián: “The Heritage of the Anjou Dynasty in Central Europe.” Krakkó, Jagellon University, 2023. Október 19-20. Valamint magyarul III. Nemzetközi Historiográfiai Konferencia, Debreceni Egyetem BTK, 2024. November 21–23.

² *Louis the Great (King of Hungary and Poland)*.

³ Vardy, „The Image of Louis the Great in Modern Hungarian Historiography.”; Szendrey, „The Image of Empire.”

⁴ Vardy, „The Image of Louis the Great.”

irodalommal ellentétben – (lásd Várdy, de pl. R. Várkonyi Ágnes is⁵) ez az időszak nem a pozitivizmus, hanem a professzionalizmus kora a magyar historiográfiában, amely ennek számos vonatkozásában (így a modern/módszeres forráskritika megteremtése, segédtudományok művelése, szeminárium rendszer meghonosítása, intézményesülés – pl. szakfolyóiratok, Történelmi Társulat megalapítása, Monumenta Hungariae Historica című monumentális forráskiadvány-sorozat megindítása⁶) európai színvonalat ért el, de legalábbis közelített ahhoz/vagy azt tekintette mintának.⁷ Ennek jegyében született a millennium politikai és szellemi bűvkörében, tehát kb. 1896-ban a magyar történetírás első nagyobb kollektív történeti szintézise, a 10 kötetes „Magyar Nemzet Története”, amelyben Pór Antal és Schönherr Gyula készítette a vonatkozó fejezeteket.⁸ Kifejezetten az Anjou-korra vonatkozó részt Pór Antal, aki e fejezeteken kívül számos egyéb tanulmányban tárt fel és tett közzé addig ismeretlen forrásokat, tisztázott részletkérdéseket, s Nagy Lajosról külön életrajzot és készített a korszak, illetve a professzionális történetírás reprezentatív vállalkozásában, a Magyar Történeti Életrajzok című sorozatban.⁹

A szakirodalom (így Steven Béla Várdy is) meglehetősen lekezelően ír Pór Antal munkásságáról, pedig alapvetően beleillett az említett professzionális történetírás kánonjába, hiszen munkáit (egy-két párbeszédresztől eltekintve) mintaszerű hivatkozási apparátussal látta el (számos későbbi történész dolgozott ebből), nagytömegű új, addig ismeretlen forrást tárt és használt fel, egyéb tanulmányai is a magyar történetírás vezető folyóirataiban jelentek meg (leginkább a Századok, de a Turul vagy a Hadtörténeti Közlemények említhetők itt meg)¹⁰, számos részletkérdést tisztázott, mindenekelőtt persze külpolitikai vonatkozásokban¹¹. Igaz, hogy munkái (de ez is kor-, sőt európai jelenség) alapvetően eseménytörténeti jellegűek (a „histoire événementielle” jegyében), dominálnak bennük tehát a külpolitikai és egyéb politikai vonatkozások, alkalmanként egyenesen a különböző intrikák, valamint az egyének középpontba állítása (főként Nagy Lajosé, akit glorifikál, sőt kifejezetten annak génuszáról beszél). De persze ez sem 100%-ban érvényes megállapítás, mert pl. összefoglalásában is kitér belviszonyokra, tehát gazdaság-, társadalom- és kultúrtörténeti vonatkozásokra is, igaz, hogy a politikai eseménytörténetnél jóval kisebb terjedelemben. Részben már érintettem, hogy a kor

⁵ Vardy, *Clio's Art in Hungary and Hungarian America*. Különösen a „The Social and Ideological Make-Up of Hungarian Historiography in the Age of Dualism” című fejezet. 1–16. Valamint R. Várkonyi, *A pozitívista történetnézet a magyar történetírásban I-II*. Újabban Romsics, *Clio bűvöletében*; Erős, *Modern historiográfia*.

⁶ Lásd Benda, „A magyar történeti forráskiadás története.”

⁷ Erős, *Modern historiográfia*; Romsics, *Clio bűvöletében*.

⁸ Pór, Schönherr, *Az Anjou ház és örökösei*.

⁹ Pór, *Nagy Lajos, 1326–1382*. Lásd még ebben a sorozatban a korhoz kötődően Pór, *Keszei Miklós*.

¹⁰ Lásd például Pór, „Nagy Lajos halálós betegsége.”; Pór, „Az Anjouk és a Wittelsbachok.” Uő: *Nagy Lajos szövetkezése IV. Károly császár ellen 1362-ben*. Budapest, 1900.

¹¹ Persze mindezt nemzeti retorikával, de ez is természetes a korban.

(Pór Antalón kívül is) egyik legnagyobb teljesítménye az Anjou-korral kapcsolatos többé-kevésbé módszeres forrásgyűjtés és publikáció, amelyek közül a Pór által is sokat forgatott „Anjou-kori Okmánytár”¹² és az „Anjou-kori Diplomáciai Emlékek”¹³ emelkednek ki, mindkettő több vonatkozásban európai színvonalon, de mindenképpen annak normáit követve.¹⁴

A két világháború között: a szellemtörténet

a) Hóman Bálint

A két világháború közötti magyar történetírás leginkább kiemelkedő irányzata a *szellemtörténet* volt.¹⁵ Nincs itt tér a szellemtörténet európai vonatkozásainak és helyének behatóbb ismertetésére és elemzésére, csak utalni tudok – részben angol nyelvű- erre vonatkozó tanulmányaimra, illetve az ott hivatkozott irodalomra. Maradjunk annyiban, hogy a szellemtörténetnek (18-19. századi előzmények után) markáns ismeretelméleti (Wilhelm Dilthey, Heinrich Rickert, Wilhelm Windelband, Max Weber), lételméleti („Weltanschauungslehre”, Dilthey, Ernst Troeltsch, Eduard Spranger), politikai filozófiai (Friedrich Meinecke, Benedetto Croce) és kultúrfilozófiai, kultúrkritikai (Oswald Spengler, Ortega Y Gasset, Arnold Toynbee) álláspontja volt¹⁶, amelyek végül a kultúr- és művelődéstörténetnek, mint vezető történetírói műfajnak (lásd Johan Huizinga, Egon Friedell, Dagobert Frey, Ernst Kantorowicz, Guglielmo Ferrero) elismerésében, preferálásában összegeződtek.¹⁷

A két világháború között (itt nem részletezhető motívumok folytán) vezető irányzattá vált mindez Magyarországon, amelynek olyan képviselői voltak a filozófiában, mint Kornis Gyula, Joó Tibor (az emigrációban Mannheim Károly, de akár Lukács György is), az irodalomban és az irodalomtörténetírásban Babits Mihály, Szerb Antal, Horváth János, Zolnai Béla (ő részben a nyelvészet területén is),

¹² *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek az Anjou-korból; Anjou-kori Okmánytár. II.*

¹³ A forráskiadványokhoz lásd még Vardy, *Modern Hungarian historiography*, 303.

¹⁴ A fentiek mellett persze számos szerző különböző műveit lehet megemlíteni az Anjoukkal kapcsolatban a korból, például Fraknói Vilmos műveit. Fraknóiról újabban lásd *Fraknói Emlékkönyv*.

¹⁵ Lásd Erős, „A szellemtörténet.”

¹⁶ Rajtuk kívül számosan említhetők még ebben a vonatkozásban pl. Max Scheler, Karl Jaspers, Jacques Maritain, Robin Georg Collingwood és mások. Lásd átfogóbban minderre még *Történetelmélet I-II.*

¹⁷ A szellemtörténethez lásd még Vardy, *Modern Hungarian historiography*. Például Triumph of the Geistesgeschichte School. 79–94; The Diffusion and Differentiation of Geistesgeschichte Historiography: The Rise of a Young Generation. 95–101; Említhető még pl. Miskolczy, *Szellem és nemzet*.

Eckhardt Sándor, Barta János, a művészettörténetben Gerevich Tibor.¹⁸ A két világháború közötti magyar történetírás intézményrendszere sok tekintetben a szellemtörténet alapján szerveződött meg (ld. folyóiratok – Minerva. Részben a Századok is, történeti szintézisek – Magyar Történet, Egyetemes Történet, Magyar Művelődéstörténet, módszertani kézikönyv, főként „A magyar történetírás új útjai”, 1931, stb.)¹⁹

Az intézményrendszer ilyen jellegű kialakításának/alkalmanként átalakításának egyik fő kezdeményezője/spiritus rector-a Hóman Bálint volt, aki a magyarországi Anjou-korra vonatkozó kutatások máig meghatározó, talán legjelentősebb alakja volt, akinek úttörése, eredményei/megállapításai máig befolyásolják, vagy egyenesen meghatározzák a történettudománynak a korra vonatkozó nézeteit, a középiskolai tankönyvekkel bezárólag.²⁰ Az ő szerepe azért is fontos/sőt lényegbevágó, mert alapvető tudományszervező volt²¹, de a harmincas évektől kezdve fontos politikai pozíciókat is betöltött a Gömbös, Teleki, Bárdossy, Kállay kormányokban (minden esetben vallás- és közoktatási miniszter volt).²²

Nincs itt tér (és nem is szükséges ez) Hóman teljes történetírói profiljának bemutatására (a korábban hivatkozott munkák részben megtették ezt, bár megjegyezhető, hogy a Hómanra vonatkozó ilyen jellegű kutatások még sok tekintetben gyerekcipőben járnak²³), de a szellemtörténettel való kapcsolata már a fentiekből is nyilvánvaló, ráadásul ez a világháború előtti időszakra is (tehát történetírói pályája kezdetére) visszanyúlik,²⁴ később pedig lényegi szerepet játszott a szellemtörténet egyik vezető orgánumának, a Minervának a működésében (több tanulmányt is írt bele, lásd a krónika-tanulmányok, főként a Gesta Ladislai regis²⁵), s a szellemtörténet jegyében készült a két világháború közötti időszak legfontosabb történeti szintézise, amelynek társszerzője volt, Szekfű Gyulával együtt.²⁶ (A középkori és

¹⁸ Természetesen számos történész is összefüggésbe hozható a szellemtörténettel pl. Szekfű Gyula és tanítványai, Váczy Péter, Deér József, valamint Eckhart Ferenc, de Mályusz Elemér sőt Domanovszky Sándor, részben Hajnal István vagy a kiemelkedő egyháztörténész Ifjabb Révész Imre is. Utóbbihoz újabban Erős „A szellemtörténet Debrecenben: Ifjabb Révész Imre.”; Domanovszkyhoz Erős, „Menekülés a hallgatásba... és a szellemtörténetbe.”

¹⁹ Lásd Erős, *Modern historiográfia*.

²⁰ Hómanról irodalom lásd Hóman, *A történelem útja*. Benne: Búza János: Utószó. 523–530. *Hóman Bálint és népbíróvágyi pere.*; *Történeti ártértékelés*; Szende, „Hóman Bálint és a Magyar Történet genezise.”; Glatz, *Konzervatív reform*. 581–632. Ujváry, „Hóman Bálint és a magyar történettudomány.”

²¹ Megemlíthető például a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Magyar Történettudomány Kézikönyve, Magyar Szemle Társaság kereteiben végzett ilyen jellegű tevékenysége.

²² Hóman életútjához lásd főként Glatz Ferenc, Búza János, Ujváry Gábor korábbi jegyzetekben említett műveit.

²³ Lásd Draskóczy, „Hóman Bálint, a gazdaságtörténet művelője.”

²⁴ Lásd pl. Hóman, *Szent László történelmi jelentősége*.

²⁵ Lásd erről bővebben Erős, „Hóman Bálint és a historiográfia”.

²⁶ Hóman – Szekfű Gyula, *Magyar történet*. (A továbbiakban Magyar Történet.)

a korábbi időszakra vonatkozó fejezeteket írta ő. Kisebb részben Bartoniek Emma segítségével), ő volt ezen felül a szerkesztője és részben szerzője a korszak alapvető „historiká”-jának, „A magyar történetírás új útjai”-nak²⁷, amelyben egyértelműen a szellemtörténetet jelölte meg a követendő új irányként, de az 1934-től publikált 4 kötetes Egyetemes Történet²⁸ koncepciójának a kialakítására is jelentős befolyása volt, hiszen szintén Szekfü Gyula mellett, ő volt a társszerkesztő. (A kötetek szerzői: Váczi Péter, Hajnal István, Ifjabb Iványi Grünwald Béla, az ókori kötet összeállító-szerkesztője Kerényi Károly, szinte mindannyian telivér szellemtörténészek, részben Hóman közvetlen tanítványai.)²⁹

Hogy mindebben a meglehetősen szerteágazó történész/történetírói spektrumban alapvető, sőt kifejezetten vezető szerepe volt az Anjou-korra vonatkozó kutatásoknak, nem szorul különösebb bizonyításra. Hiszen, ahogy erről már részben esett szó, szinte történész pályájának kezdetétől foglalkozott Károly Róberttel, ez volt a tárgya magántanári előadásának is (az első világháború alatt³⁰), s ami különösen nagy változást jelentett a dualizmus kori történetíráshoz képest az az volt, hogy a korszakot, illetve az uralkodót (Károly Róbert-et) főként gazdaság- illetve az ettől részint elválaszthatatlan társadalomtörténeti szempontból közelítette meg, ilyen jellegű kérdéseket/problémákat vizsgált mindezzel összefüggésben. De ilyenfajta kérdések dominálnak, illetve az Anjouk kora a következő nagyobb művekben, így a „Magyar pénztörténet” (1916)³¹, az alapvetően ennek nyomán született „A magyar királyság pénzügyei és gazdaságpolitikája Károly Róbert korában.” (1921) című monográfiákban³². Alapvető szerepet játszik az Anjou-kor az említett történeti szintézisben, a „Magyar Történet”-ben, amelynek számos része külön vagy egyenesen előzőleg is megjelent s ezeket Hóman beépítette nagy művébe (pl. a krónika-tanulmányokat, vagy az említett cikkeket az 1910-es évekből³³,

²⁷ *A magyar történetírás új útjai.*

²⁸ Lásd még mindehhez számos részlettel Bisztray Gyula: A négy kötetes Egyetemes Történet kiadásának krónikája. Egyetemi Könyvtár Kézirattára, G 635/56.

²⁹ Erős, „From „Geistesgeschichte” to Public History”. Magyar változata Erős, „A szellemtörténettől a „public history”-ig.”

³⁰ Lásd Hóman: „A középkor elhanyaglása.” Erős, „From „Geistesgeschichte” to Public History”; Erős, „A szellemtörténettől a „public history”-ig.” Lásd Hóman, „A középkor elhanyaglása.” Eredetileg egyetemi magántanári próbaelőadás 1916, majd *Magyar Történet* II. köt., 1930 43–52, illetve *Magyar Történet*. 2. Kiad., I. köt. 463–472. Búza János bibliográfiájában nem szerepel.

³¹ Hóman, *Magyar pénztörténet, 1000–1325.* Hóman, *A magyar királyság pénzügyei és gazdaságpolitikája Károly Róbert korában.*

³² Hóman, *A magyar királyság pénzügyei és gazdaságpolitikája Károly Róbert korában.*

³³ Hóman, „A XIV. századi aranyváltás.”; Hóman, „A magyar pénzverés Szent István korában.” Leginkább azonban Hóman, „A középkor elhanyaglása.” Ehhez szorosan kapcsolódik, lényegében előzőnek, amely inkább az általános európai viszonyokra fókuszál, lefordítása a magyar helyzetre Hóman, „A középkori királyság romlása”, valamint *Magyar Történet* II. 385–401. Illetve *Magyar Történet* II. Köt., I. fejezet, „Az ország romlása”. Az utalt szövegek sok tekintetben megegyeznek egymással, sok helyen a megegyezés szó szerinti. Nyilvánvaló a társszerző, Szekfü hatása is, hiszen

s persze a Károly Róbertre vonatkozó széleskörű kutatások eredményeit is.)³⁴ Külön érdemes kiemelni, hogy a „Magyar Történet” Anjou korral foglalkozó része olaszul is megjelent³⁵, de számos egyéb tanulmányt is készített a korrall kapcsolatban, pl. „Károly Róbert”, Nagy Lajos” címmel³⁶, s ő írta a Cambridge Modern History korszakra és Magyarországra vonatkozó fejezetét is az 1930-as évek közepén.³⁷

Melyek Hóman Anjou-korral összefüggő felfogásának fő jellemzői, illetve eredményei? (Leginkább persze a szellemtörténeti/társadalom- és gazdaságtörténeti vonatkozásban.)

Az egyik legfontosabb, ami – mint korábban jeleztem – fordulópontot jelentett a kor vizsgálatában a gazdaság- és társadalomtörténeti szempontok érvényesítése.³⁸ Döntő ebben a „Károly Róbert” gazdaságpolitikája” című műve, illetve az ehhez kapcsolódó egyéb tanulmányok,³⁹ amelyekben új korszakként határozza meg a 14. századi fejleményeket. A korszakváltás fő tartalma a korábban, az Árpád-korban érvényes domaniális jövedelmekről a regale jövedelmekre való áttérés, azaz a királyi magánbirtokból származó jövedelmek (*lucrum camerae*, *descensus*, kisebb mértékben adók,⁴⁰ stb.) helyett új típusú, a királyi felségjogon szedett jövedelmi források középpontba helyezése, mint pl. a *lucrum camerae* (de ez itt már adó), az *urbura*, a vámok, (főképp a harmincadvám), mindezeken felül az állandó értékkel bíró forint/aranyforint megteremtése, Buda számára (a Béccsel szembeni) árumegállító jog biztosítása és érvényesítése, amelyek együttesen teremtettek gazdasági stabilizációt (a politikai stabilizáció mellett)⁴¹, amelynek különböző mozzanataira szintén bőségesen kitér Hóman – leginkább a tartományúri/kiskirályi rendszer felszámolására – ld. Rozgonyi csata, stb. – ennek fő elemeit azonban már korábban tisztázta a korábbi irodalom.⁴²

Hóman egyfajta tiszántúli és dunai magyar opposícióról beszél, utóbbiak kapcsán pedig a „féktelen harcos szellem”-ről, illetve a pogány erkölcsök újbóli előretöréséről, ami az ország romlásának egyértelmű motívuma és bizonyítéka. Szekfű megkerülhetetlen Hóman számára a familiaritás tárgyalása során is, tehát meglehetősen nyilvánvaló egyfajta közös, „szellemtörténeti” beszédmód.

³⁴ Lásd Hóman, *A magyar királyság pénzügyei és gazdaságpolitikája Károly Róbert korában*. Valamint Hóman, „Friesacher, Wiener und Böhmische Münzen in Ungarn zwischen den Jahren 1200 bis 1338.”

³⁵ Lásd Bálint Hóman, *Gli Angioni di Napoli in Ungheria, 1290–1403*; Bálint Hóman, *Geschichte des ungarischen Mittelalters*.

³⁶ Hóman, „Nagy Lajos.”

³⁷ Bálint Hóman, *Geschichte des ungarischen Mittelalters*, 1941; Hóman, *Hungary, 1301–1490*.

³⁸ Lásd ehhez Draskóczy, „Hóman Bálint, a gazdaságtörténet művelője.”

³⁹ Lásd például Hóman: *A magyar pénzverés Szent István korában*.

⁴⁰ Illetve a só, fémek (arany, ezüst) kötelező beszolgáltatása is eleme mindennek.

⁴¹ Hóman, *Magyar Történet*, 79–149.

⁴² Megemlíthetők még számos egyéb mellett pl. a kancelláriai reformra, az 1351-es törvényekre vonatkozó fejtegetései. Lásd *Magyar Történet*, 208–263.

Természetesen részletesen szól Hóman Károly Róbert és Nagy Lajos külpolitikájáról, amelyhez kötődhet (de a belső viszonyokra vonatkozóan is) a „középkori magyar nagyhatalom” kifejezés/vagy egyenesen „lózung”, ami azonban nem feltétlenül Hóman Bálint-tól származik (ezt inkább megörökölte), s egyébként is Károly Róbert és Nagy Lajos közül az előbbi tartotta nagyobb formátumú uralkodónak (aki tehát inkább megérdemelte volna a „nagy” jelzőt/epitethon ornans-t).⁴³

Bárhogyan is legyen, Hóman nagy teret szentel Károly Róbert és főként Nagy Lajos uralkodása külpolitikai aspektusainak, így a nápolyi hadjáratoknak, a balkáni háborúknak, a lengyel szövetségben folytatott litván-galíciai hadjáratoknak. Mindezek kapcsán vetődik fel Hóman sajátos külpolitikai koncepciója⁴⁴, amelyet az 1930-as évek első felében fogalmazott meg, s amely nem csak az Anjou-korban, hanem részint az egész középkorra (tehát az Árpád-korra is), de az újkorra vonatkozóan is érvényesnek tartott, s amelynek újabban jelentős irodalma is keletkezett.⁴⁵ Ennek értelmében a magyar külpolitika, amikor defenzív volt mindig német és Habsburg oldalon keresett hatalmi szövetségest, amikor pedig hódító, nagyhatalmi törekvéseket kívánt vagy volt alkalma érvényesíteni, akkor a Balkánon, Kelet-Európában, többnyire a csehekkel és a lengyelekkel való együttműködésben keresett szövetségeseiket (ld. pl. a Visegrádi találkozó, stb.). Mindennek nyilvánvalóan aktuálpolitikai vonatkozásai voltak, amelyből Glatz Ferenc főként azt emeli ki⁴⁶, hogy a fokozatosan előtérbe kerülő (de persze mindig is jelen lévő) német orientáció (ez a második világháború alatt kulminál) azért erősödik meg Hóman nézeteiben,⁴⁷ mert a külpolitikai/reálpolitikai szempontból történő együttműködést a németekkel összekötötte a belső függetlenség igényével.

Mindenesetre a harmincas évek közepén látványos gesztusokat tesz (beszédet is tart)⁴⁸ a lengyel-magyar együttműködés hagyományos/történetileg megalapozott

⁴³ Lásd Hóman, *Nagy Lajos*.

⁴⁴ Hóman, *Külpolitikai irányok a magyar történetben*. Több idegen nyelven is lásd pl. Hóman, „Les grandes lignes de la politique étrangère au cours de l’histoire hongroise.”

⁴⁵ Lásd még Hóman, „Külpolitikai irányok a magyar történetben.” Hóman koncepciójáról lásd még Romsics, *Clio bűvöletében*, 307–312; Pritz, „Hóman Bálint és a magyar külpolitika irányai.” Utóbbiban a szerző sokat és harsányan hivatkozik a valóságra, illetve arra, hogy Hóman mennyire nem volt tisztában a nemzetközi realitásokkal. Valóság az is azonban, hogy a szerző a kérdéskörre vonatkozó szakirodalmat nem ismeri (pl. Glatz Ferenc munkáját), s Hóman „irreális” nézeteit a szellemtörténet homályos vonatkozásaiból vezeti le, holott egy másik munkájában (szintén a realitás elvét véelvén védelmezni) Collingwoodra hivatkozik, aki a szellemtörténet telivé képviselője. A zűrsvart növeli, hogy a tanulmány a politikatörténet védelmében készült, ami Collingwood tökéletes félreértése. Lásd erről még a Gyáni-Pritz vita, Erős, *Modern historiográfia*, 398.

⁴⁶ Lásd Glatz, „Németbarátság, történelmi alapokon.” Ugyanaz: In: *Konzervatív reform*. 609–632.

⁴⁷ Mályusz Elemér Hóman és a szellemtörténet kapcsán egy magyar-lengyel-olasz-horvát katolikus államszövetség igényéről beszél. Lásd Mályusz, *A történettudomány mai kérdései*.

⁴⁸ Lásd Hóman, „A magyar-lengyel barátság történeti alapjai.” (Lengyelül is.)

sükségességéről, amit később inkább Domanovszky Sándor és köre folytatnak/erősítenek, de Hómanék is, így mindez inkább csak háttérbe szorul.⁴⁹

Hangsúlyozni szeretném, ezek a szempontok/aspektusok (pl. a „külpolitika elsőbbsége” rankei tétele) nincsenek ellentétben a szellemtörténeti pozícióval (a társadalom- és gazdaságtörténeti szempontok sem⁵⁰), de különösen szellemtörténeti beállítódást tükröz az, hogy Hóman nagy hangsúlyt fektet a kor szellemi, kulturális, művelődési viszonyainak/momentumainak bemutatására, s egyáltalán pl. Nagy Lajos egyéniségének egyfajta kifaragására.⁵¹ Ennek döntő motívuma a „lovagkirály” eszménye, az ezzel összefüggő bőséges részek szinte tobzódnak a „lovagi eszmény”, a „lovagi szellem” kifejezésektől,⁵² amelyet nem nehéz összekötni a korábban taglalt külpolitikai vonatkozásokkal (nápolyi hadjáratok, Zára, egyéb hódító törekvések, stb.). Hóman ebből vezeti le Nagy Lajos (részben Károly Róbert) vonzódását általában a lovagság intézményéhez és a lovagi mentalitáshoz és (főként) kultúrához, de kedvenc olvasmányait (*Secreta Secretorum*), életrajzíróját, Kükülleit,⁵³ korának történeti irodalmát, leginkább a talán Kálti Márk által készített Képes Krónikát, amelynek fő hőse/protagonistája a lovagkirály mintaképe „Szent László” (lásd még Hóman gesta-, illetve krónika tanulmányait erről)⁵⁴, de a várkultuszt (Diósgyőr, Visegrád, Zólyom központokkal)⁵⁵ valamint a művészeteket/képzőművészetet is az obligát Kolozsvári testvérek megemlékezésével, de akár az ötvösművészetet vagy a gótikus írást is.⁵⁶

⁴⁹ Lásd Erős, „Menekülés a hallgatásba...és a szellemtörténetbe.”

⁵⁰ Lásd erről például Erős, „A szellemtörténettől a 'public history'-ig.”

⁵¹ De a motívum Károly Róbert tárgyalásánál is megjelenik, pl. a banderális hadsereg, vagy a Szent György-lovagrend alapításának tárgyalásakor.

⁵² Nagy Lajos egyéniségéről, aki a lovagkirály eszményét testesíti meg, így ír Hóman: „Mindezek a tényezők – származás és nevelés, társadalmi és politikai környezet, családi hagyományok és a lovagkor szelleme (!!!-E.V.) – együttesen alakították ki az ifjú király nemes vonásokban gazdag jellemét, együttesen határozták meg a kortársaktól annyira magasztalt egyéniségét... Lelkéből a tehetség duzzadó ereje mellett az etikus életfelfogás nyugalma, a lelki béke derűje sugárzott; egyéniségét Szent Ferenc ember- és létezerető filozófiájának és az igaz lovag nemes életelveinek békés harmóniája hatotta át. Benső vallásosság és nemes világi szórakozások – vadászat, torna, tudomány, művészet – kedvelése, keresztényi alázat és erős öntudat, bölcs önmérséklet és félelmet nem ismerő bátorság, komoly jogtisztélet és hajthatatlan erély, mértéktelen könyörület és a bűnt megalkuvás nélkül üldöző igazságérzet, lovagias nőtisztület és a tiszta élet vágya, békés hajlandóság és szenvedélyes dicsőségvágy, politikus tapintat és harcos erő csodálatos összhangban olvadtak össze benne s avatták a legtisztább értelemben a lovagkirály (!!!- E. V.) magasztalt eszményképévé.” *Magyar Történet*. II. köt., 2. kiad.157.

⁵³ Lásd *Magyar Történet*, 247–250.

⁵⁴ Lásd Erős, „Hóman Bálint és a historiográfia.”

⁵⁵ *Magyar Történet*, 247–250.

⁵⁶ Hóman mindezek kapcsán foglalkozik persze a pécsi egyetem alapításának részleteivel is.

[Kifejezetten a Hóman Bálint által kijelölt csapásirányban haladt tovább a művészettörténész Dercsényi Dezső,⁵⁷ valamint Kardos Tibor⁵⁸ is a korai magyar humanizmusról készített tanulmányaiban. Dercsényi egyértelműen/bevallottan Hóman folytatásának, kibővítésének tekinti munkáját, többször is alapvetően hivatkozva Huizingára,⁵⁹ de az itt érintett Kardos Tiborra is, a művészettörténet területén hosszabbítva meg/érvényesítve Hómannak a „lovagkirály”-ra vonatkozó nézeteit. A korábban említetteken felül részletesen elemzi (később is vö. kötetük Kristóval⁶⁰) még például a Képes Krónika ikonográfiáját, aalfestészetet, egyházi templomépítészetet, valamint szobrászatot, benne a Veleméri, Mariazelli, Aachen-i alkotásokkal. Minden területen a lovagkirály, a lovagi eszmény és a gótika/trecento szelleme a háttér szerinte. Hasonlóan a „flamboyant”/égő gótika elemei látja Kardos Tibor is a korszak korai humanizmusában,⁶¹ amelyek – egyebek mellett – a kancelláriai stílusban (érzékletesebb/változatosabb nyelv), a Velencei Dandoló hatását mutató s így világiasabb Kükkülei életrajzában (ld. általában az individuum szerepe), a szintén Velencei/sőt egyenesen Petrarca hatását érzékeltető/bizonyító forráshasználatra, oklevélkritikára való törekvésben fedez fel.^{62,63}

⁵⁷ Dercsényi, *Nagy Lajos kora*. (Reprint 1990.) Előszó. Marosi Ernő. I–XII. Az Előszó a Reprint kiadásban rámutat Dercsényi nézeteinek szellemtörténeti gyökereire.

⁵⁸ Lásd Kardos, *A magyar humanizmus kezdetei*.

⁵⁹ Róla irodalom pl. Krul, *Egy korszerűtlen történész*.

⁶⁰ Lásd erről még jóval később Dercsényi, „A Képes Krónika és kora.”

⁶¹ Lásd még Kardos, *A humanista irodalom*.

⁶² Megjegyzendő, hogy Kardos Tibor műve, 1936-ban, Pécsen a par excellence Halasy Nagy József szellemtörténeti sorozatában jelent meg. (Részbeni cáfolatára az 1980-as évekből lásd a következők.)

⁶³ Hómanhoz még megjegyezhető, hogy a harmincas évek második felében felbukkannak nézeteiben a faji frazeológia elemei is, de ez már a Magyar Történet vonatkozó részeiben is megjelenik. A többször kiadott Magyar Történet Kútfolk és irodalom néhány részében egészen furcsa és már-már a pamflet irodalom határait súroló részében ugyanis az Anjou-k kiemelkedő uralkodói képességeit faji-geneológiai alapon vezeti le és magyarázza (geneológiai táblázatot is mellékel), szerinte ez az ősök (Capetingek, Karolingok, Wittelsbachok, Luxemburgok, Habsburgok, stb.) fényes faji, uralkodásra termett (velük született) erényiből/tulajdonságaiból magyarázható, ami ez uralkodóházak minden egyes tagjára, kivétel nélkül jellemző. Hóman itt veszélyesen közel került a fajbiológiához (használja is ezt a fogalmat), amit Szekfű Gyula már 1924-ben határozottan elutasított és bírált. (Lásd Fajbiológiai vagy történeti egység.) Remélhetően Hóman újabb összefoglalója (és apologetája) nem ezekre a kitételeire gondolt, amikor Hóman történetírását objektívnak minősíti (igaz egy szuszra és a zűrzavart csak tovább fokozva a posztmodern-nel is összeboronálja, bár fölébe is helyezi, mert szerinte Hóman legalább érthetően fogalmazott). *Magyar Történet* II. (Kútfolk és irodalom, 620–621.): „E kiváló fejedelmi egyéniségek nem egy jellemvonása világosan felismerhető Nagy Lajos lelki képén, mint a dinasztikus házasságpolitika *fajnemesítő* (Kiemelés az eredetiben – E. V.) hatásának eredménye. Hasonlóképpen fel kell ismernünk a lovagkori eszmék és magasabb műveltség terjedésével egyre gondosabbá váló udvari nevelésnek biológiai, de egyérszermind történeti értelemben is *környezetjavító* (ered. kiemelt, dőlt) szerepét. Mindezt szemem előtt is tartva, talán közelebb tudtam jutni Nagy Lajos testi és szellemi fejlődésének, eszményeinek és törekvéseinek, egész egyéniségének megértéséhez.” A Hóman apológiára lásd Ujváry, „Hóman

b) Mályusz Elemér

Szinte teljesen ismeretlen a vonatkozó irodalomban (mind Várdy-nál, mind Szendrey-nél) az egyébként viszont közismert és általában nagyra tartott Mályusz Elemérnek a korra vonatkozó, Hómannel alapvető összefüggésben álló, szintén kifejezetten szellem- és társadalomtörténeti munkássága.⁶⁴

Mályusz 1936-os, nagy lélegzetű, a Magyar Történet-re vonatkozó kritikájában⁶⁵ Hómant főként azért bírálja, mert nem vagy alig használja a gótika kategóriáját a korszakra vonatkozóan (azaz Mályusz is szellemtörténeti pozíciót képvisel.)⁶⁶ Mályusz szerint Hóman ezt azért (is) teszi, mert – Szekfűvel együtt – katolikus szemszögből elfogultak, s ebből következően a katolikus nézeteknek jobban megfelelő középkor-barokk- romantika „világnézeti”-sor (a világnézet egyébként par excellence szellemtörténeti kategória) mellett teszik le voksukat, a protestáns Mályusz viszont a világiasabb gótika-reneszánsz- felvilágosodás-liberalizmus vonalat preferálná.⁶⁷

Meg lehet itt jegyezni, hogy Mályusz e kritikája nem előzmények nélküli, ugyanis szegedi kezdemények után már a harmincas évek első felében „A gótika Magyarországon” címmel előadásokat/kurzust tart a budapesti egyetemen, amelyeknek szövege két változatban is fennmaradt.⁶⁸ Ezekben az előadásokban főként Heinrich von Eicken, Dagobert Frey, Ernst Troeltsch, Max Weber, Max Dvorak (osztrák művészettörténeti iskola) nyomán beszél részletesen a gótikus műveltség magyarországi elterjedéséről, de a gótikáról általában is, pl. annak építészetéről, festészetéről, szobrászatáról, stb.⁶⁹

Bálint és a magyar történettudomány.” Hóman faji frazeológiájának erősödésére az 1930-as években lásd Hóman, „Szent István király.” (Az írás Hóman 2002-es kötetében is megjelent.) Szekfű nézeteire lásd Szekfű, „Fajbiológiai vagy történeti egység?” (Eredetileg, 1924, illetve 1922.) Hóman németellenességéhez adalék még Ujváry „A külföld még mindig alig tud rólunk” Magyar-német tankönyvvita a második világháború idején.” Itt azonban a szerző a völkisch Volksboden-Kulturboden teóriát mentegeti, s egyéb tévedései is vannak, például az általa hivatkozott Szabó István cikket sem „a kitűnő történész” Szabó István írta, hanem egy Szabó István nevű közíró, aki gyakran publikált a Hítel című folyóiratban.

⁶⁴ Erős, „Utak a népiségtörténethez.”; Erős, „Mályusz Elemér: Visszaemlékezések. (Recenzió és reflexiók.)” Vardy, „Mályusz and the Hungarian Ethnohistory School.” Valamint Várdy, „Elemér Mályusz and the Hungarian Ethnohistory School.”; Klimó, „Volks-geschichte in Ungarn.” Újabbán Paksa, „Mályusz Elemér.”

⁶⁵ Mályusz, „Magyar reneszánsz, magyar barokk.”. Lásd még Erős, „Hóman Bálint és Mályusz Elemér kapcsolata.”

⁶⁶ Megjegyzendő persze, hogy Váczy Péter és Kardos Tibor alapvetőnek tekintették a gótika kategóriáját. Lásd Kardos, „A humanista irodalom”; Váczy, „A magyarság a román és a gót stílus korában.”

⁶⁷ Lásd Mályusz, *A történettudomány mai kérdései*.

⁶⁸ Lásd Erős, Történelem és filozófia és antiszemitizmus.” Lásd még Mályusz előadásainak kézírata: „Magyarország a gótika korában.” MTA KIK Kt., Ms 6553/2. 1932/3. Az előadásokat a Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetemen az 1930-as években tartotta, de feltehetően már Szegeden megkezdte mindennek alaposabb kidolgozását.

⁶⁹ Mályusz, *Visszaemlékezések*.

Mindezzel összefüggésben a következőkre szeretnék rámutatni (amellett, hogy mind az Anjou-korra, tehát a 14.századra vonatkozik, s szinte alig van bennük politika- vagy eseménytörténet, bár részben igen): egyrészt az ezzel egy időben készült „Árpádházi Boldog Margit” című tanulmányt emelném ki⁷⁰, amelyben Mályusz azt bizonyítja, hogy Margit a túlvilágra összpontosító/tekintő román-kori művelődés után az evilágiságot jobban érvényesítő gótikus művelődés (világnézet) kifejezője és megtestesítője, amennyiben az Istennel való egyesülést a földi életben is lehetnek tartja.⁷¹

A másik momentum Mályusznak még az egyetemi éveire visszanyúló⁷² Toldi Miklósról szóló tanulmánya,⁷³ amelyben világosan bizonyítja, hogy Toldi Miklós valóságosan élt személy volt, alakja, illetve a legenda egyértelműen alátámasztja a gótikával a lehető legszorosabb összefüggésben lévő „lovagi műveltség” jelenlétét a korabeli Magyarországon (tehát a 14. században).⁷⁴ [Mályusz ennek kapcsán – is – vitába bonyolódik Moór Elemérrel, aki szerint ez német közvetítéssel érkezett Magyarországra, sőt egyenesen a német irodalom – „deutsche Spielmannstoffe”-ról beszél – termékének/alkotásának tekinthető.⁷⁵]

Harmadrészt Mályusz szintén ebben az időszakban fogalmazta meg nagyszabású, s mindenekelőtt Max Weber-re, nagyrészt az ő „ideáltípus” fogalmára támaszkodó

⁷⁰ Mályusz, „Árpádházi Boldog Margit.” (*Újból megjelent In: Klió szolgálatában.* 73–107.)

⁷¹ Domanovszky Sándor a következőket írja az „Árpádházi Boldog Margit”-ról, a Mályusz Elemér egyetemi tanári kinevezésével kapcsolatos kari előterjesztésben, 1934-ben: „A ‘Boldog Margit’ nem egyszerű életrajz; a 45 lapos tanulmány jellegét alcíme: ‘A középkori magyar egyházi műveltség problémája’ fejezi ki valójában. Egyszerű eszközökkel, szigorúan pozitív adatokkal felépített szellemtörténeti tanulmány. Éles határvonalat húz a régi, bencés jellegű magyarországi egyházi műveltség és az akkor újabb, általa ‘gótikusnak’ nevezett, misztikus és skolasztikus jellegű között s megállapítja, hogy Boldog Margit ennek az újabb, akkor modern iránynak volt a képviselője. A kanonizációs tanúvallomásokból rekonstruálja, hogy az addigi kolostorműveltséggel szemben az új szellemi áramlat hatása alatt mi volt az új Boldog Margit életében. A misztika iránti vonzódását gyóntatójának, a domonkosrend egyik kiváló tagjának hatására vezeti vissza és a szellemi áramlatok recipiálására vonatkozólag is értékes eredményre jut annak megállapításával, hogy a misztika hozzánk nem német közvetítéssel jutott el, hanem Lüttich vidékéről, vagy eredeti francia forrásokból közvetlenül. A középkori szellemi áramlatokra vonatkozó modern külföldi Margit életében. A misztika iránti vonzódását gyóntatójának, a magyar irodalom alapos ismerete s ugyanakkor a magyar forrásanyag lelkiismeretes feldolgozása képesíti Mályusz arra, hogy látszat szerint rég eldöntött problémákat is egészen új világításba helyezzen és beillesse őket a nagy, európai szellemi áramlatokba.” ELTE Levéltára, Budapest.

⁷² Lásd Mályusz, *Visszaemlékezések*. Passim. Valamint Mályusz, „Toldy Miklós Olaszországban.”

⁷³ Mályusz, „A Toldi monda.”

⁷⁴ Lásd Erős, „Mályusz Elemér (1898–1989), mint a magyarországi Zsigmond-kutatás kiemelkedő képviselője.”

⁷⁵ Lásd ehhez Törő *Történeti viták Nyugat-Magyarországról/Burgenlandról 1918–1945*. Valamint Mályusz, *A középkori magyarság település- és nemzetiségi politikája*. Illetve Erős, „Mályusz Elemér (1898–1989), mint a magyarországi Zsigmond-kutatás kiemelkedő képviselője.” Alapvető még Mályusz, „A Toldi-monda történeti alapja.”

felfogását a középkori társadalom/uralkodó formák hármas osztatú fejlődéséről.⁷⁶ (Ezt az említett „A gótika Magyarországon” című előadásában is érvényesíti. E szerint a középkor első fele a karizmatikus királyság időszaka – szemben Hóman-nal és Szekfűvel, de pl. Váczy Péterrel is, akik szerint ez inkább a hűbériség vagy a patrimoniális állam korszaka.⁷⁷ Ezután következik a 13. századtól az arisztokrácia hatalmát érvényesítő hűbériség, amely a gótika, illetve a lovagság intézményének társadalmi/uralkodó háttérét képezi⁷⁸, míg a 15. századtól kezdődően beszélhetünk a köznemesség hatalmán alapuló rendiség kialakulásának periódusáról.⁷⁹ Mályusz fő gondolata itt az „elvilágiasodás” folyamatának a bemutatása, amelyben alapvető lépcsőfok a gótika, s amelyet részletesen kifejt az „Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon”-ban is (első változata az 1940-es évek elejéről való, szintén egyetemi előadások formájában a budapesti egyetemen), s amely a számára nyilvánvalóan oly fontos reformáció gyors elterjedésének alapvető magyarázata volt.⁸⁰

Mályusz a gótikáról tartott előadásaiban részletesen beszél még a jellegzetes gótikus írás elterjedéséről is a 14. századi Magyarországon (nyilvánvalóan a közeli barát Hajnal István eredményeire támaszkodva, utal is rá)⁸¹. Illetve meg lehet jegyezni, hogy az 1940-es évek elején készült szintén nagyszabású tanulmányaiban a magyar köznemesség kialakulásáról Mályusz ezt a kialakulást lényegileg a lovagi harcmodor, a lovagi taktika előtérbe kerülésével hozza összefüggésbe, amelyre a tatárjárás pusztításai után volt alapvetően szükség.⁸² (Korábban inkább a honfoglalók, részben török származású leszármazottjainak tekintették ezt, az alacsonyabb rendű, s a jobbágyság háttérét jelentő szláv rabszolgákkal szemben – még Kézai nyomán.)⁸³

⁷⁶ Mályusz, „A patrimoniális királyság.”; Mályusz, „A karizmatikus királyság.”

⁷⁷ Erős, *A Szekfű–Mályusz vita*. Mályusznak erről a tanulmányáról Domanovszky Sándor a következőket írta: „Varsói előadásának nyomtatásban csak kivonata jelent ugyan meg, /Résumé, 1933. I. 316-21./ továbbá egy rövidebb részlet /A patrimoniális királyság. Társadalomtudomány, 1933 37-39/ azonkívül akadémiai székfoglalóját hallhattam 1933 tavaszán ‘Hűbériség és rendiség Magyarországon a XV. században’ címmel, de ezekből is megállapítható társadalomtörténeti munkásságának biztos alapokon nyugvó újszerűsége. Modern szociológiai elveket alkalmazva – itt Max Weberet vallja mesterének – szembefordul avval a felfogással, mintha nálunk egyáltalán nem lett volna hűbériség és a XIII. század elején már a rendiség kora kezdődött volna meg; az aranybulla előtti kort ő patrimoniális helyett karizmatikusnak nevezi, a XIII. századtól kezdve a XV-ig a feudalizmus korát iktatja be s csak innen számítja a rendiséget. Bizonyos, hogy a rendszerezés ez új kísérletei még termékeny vitákra fognak alkalmat adni, de evvel végre részletes és beható kutatás tárgyává lesz az eddig legelhanyagoltabb XIV. és XV. századi társadalom- és gazdaságtörténet.” ELTE Levéltára, a Mályusz Elemér egyetemi tanári kinevezésével kapcsolatos iratok. Lásd ehhez még Mályusz, *A középkori magyarság település- és nemzetiségi politikája*. 157.

⁷⁸ Lásd még mindehhez Szekfű, *Serviensek és familiárisok*. Illetve a következők.

⁷⁹ Átfogó és teljes kifejtésére mindennek lásd Mályusz, „A magyar társadalom a Hunyadiak korában.”

⁸⁰ Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon*.

⁸¹ Hajnalhoz lásd még a következők.

⁸² Mályusz, „A magyar köznemesség kialakulása.”

⁸³ Lásd még ehhez Benda, „Történelem és szociológia.”

c) Kitérő: Hajnal István (külön?) véleménye

Markáns véleményt fogalmazott meg az Anjou-k korával kapcsolatban Hajnal István (hosszú időn keresztül Mályusz Elemér legközelebbi barátja) a Hóman Bálint és Szekfű Gyula által szerkesztett Egyetemes Történet III. Kötetében, „Az újkor történeté”-ben.⁸⁴ Hajnal e munkájához feltétlenül meg kell jegyezni, hogy több értelmezéssel ellentétben korántsem volt olyan éles ellentét közte és a szellem-történet képviselői között, mint ahogy feltételezik, amit bizonyít, hogy részt vehetett a szintézis elkészítésében⁸⁵, s ennek keretei között fogalmazhatta meg saját koncepcióját, ráadásul – művének végén – ő maga vallja be, hogy interpretációjának kialakításában döntő módon támaszkodott Hóman (középkor) és Szekfű (újkor) nézeteire.

Hajnal nagyszabású szintézisében külön fejezetet szentel a 13-14. századi magyar viszonyok elemzésének/bemutatásának, s itt alkalmas terep nyílik kedvenc gondolatai kifejtésének (amiket más műveiben is kifejtett már) a magyar társadalom fejlődéséről, főként az írásbeliséggel foglalkozó tanulmányai⁸⁶ alapvető konklúziójáról az intellektuális réteg kialakulásával, a szakszerűsödés előtérbe kerülésével kapcsolatban, amit a Nagy Lajos idején fontos szerepet kapó királyi személyes jelenlét bíróságával hoz összefüggésbe. Megfigyelhető itt még a familiaritás jelenségére való utalás⁸⁷, illetve a magyar fejleményeknek az orosztól való határozott elhatárolása.

⁸⁴ Hajnal, *Az újkor története*. (A következőkben ennek a kiadásnak az oldalszámaira fogok hivatkozni, a mű eredetileg 1936-ban jelent meg.) Hajnal hoz irodalom pl. Lakatos, *Az élet és a formák. Hajnal István történelemszociológiája*; Kovács, „Szokásszerű és okszerű társadalom.”; Glatz, *Konzervatív reform*. (Uo. részletes ismertetés az újabb Hajnal irodalomról, lásd 868.) Újabban Viskolcz, *A herceg történetése*; Gyáni, „Hajnal István rendhagyó történetírása.”

⁸⁵ Lásd még mindehhez Bisztray Gyula: A négy kötetes Egyetemes Történet kiadásának krónikája. G 635/56. A Bisztray által közölt részletek közül szempontunkból lényegbevágó egy konfliktus, ami Váczy Péter kötete körül alakult ki. Hóman Bálint felháborodással közölte Szekfű Gyulával (is), hogy Váczy elhanyagolta a magyar történetet, pedig az egész vállalkozásnak alapvető üzenete volt a magyar nemzeti szempontok különleges hangsúlyozása. Hóman méltatlankodása olyannyira heves volt, hogy nevét is le akarta vetetni a sorozatról. A gikszer végül Hajnal Istvánnal válték megoldhatóvá, aki szerintük saját kötete Előszavában, illetve részben az itt idézett fejezetben volt hivatva pótolni a Hóman által sérelmezett hiányosságokat. Bárhogya is legyenek a részletek, mindez világosan bizonyítja, hogy korántsem volt olyan nagy a különbség/ellentét Hóman és a „szellem-történészek” között, mint ahogy azt a szakirodalom jelentős része sugallja, sőt alkalmanként a szellem-történészek között (Váczy Péter par excellence szellem-történésznek számított) ez jóval élesebb volt. Váczyról lásd Várdy, *Modern Hungarian Historiography*, 203–204.

⁸⁶ Lásd pl. Hajnal, „Írásbeliség, intellektuális réteg és európai fejlődés.” Valamint Hajnal, *Technika, művelődés*, 37–64.

⁸⁷ A familiaritás intézményének felemlítése természetesen szintén a Szekfűvel (sőt Hómannal) való rokonságot erősíti, hiszen azt ő fedezte fel. Megjegyzendő, hogy Mályusz Elemér a korábban említett középiskolai tanároknak tartott előadássorozatában hosszasan foglalkozik Szekfű koncepciójával. Fő kifogása, hogy Szekfű mindezt államtörténeti aspektusból közelíti meg, míg ő társadalomtörténeti elemzést sürget. Lásd Ms 6547/155, 16–22. Illetve Erős: *Történelem és filozófia*.

Nagy Lajos idején a ‘personalis presentia regia’ önálló testületté válik ismét, szintén szakhivatalnok, a titkos kancellár kerül az élére, akiből később a királyi perszonális országos méltósága lesz. Végül maga a nádor is visszakерül az udvari hivatalnokság vezetői közé, szerepe közeledik a nyugati kormányférfiakéhoz. Az egyes főtisztviselők eleinte a maguk familiárisaival intézik az ügyeket, de ezek, ítélőmesterek és más alkalmazottak, idővel önálló, szabályozott helyzetű tisztségekké alakulnak ki: az egész üzemet a szakszerű gond szelleme (!!!-E-V.) és nem a parancsszó, a nyers kormányzati érdek hatja át, ellentétben az orosz (!!!-E.V.) államhivatalnoksággal.⁸⁸

Igen fontos megjegyzés alapvető témánk szempontjából, hogy Hajnal az Anjou-korát egyenesen tetőpontnak tekinti az intellektualizmus kialakulásának folyamatában, amit megerősíti a francia kultúrának az alapvető hatását, amit Hajnal az írástörténeti munkáiban is legfontosabbnak tart a magyar viszonyokra vonatkozólag.

Tetőpontnak bizonyára az Anjou-k korszakát lehetne felvenni, Róbert Károly következetes építőmunkáját és Nagy Lajosnak ezen alapuló európai nagyhatalmát. Nem véletlen, hogy a magyar fejlődésnek konstruktív elemei éppen a francia uralkodóház idején jutottak szilárd kiképződésre. A magyar intellektualizmus, részben közvetlen iskolázás útján is, elsősorban a franciák tanítványa volt.⁸⁹

Világos bizonyítéka a Hóman narratívájával való lényegi kapcsolatra a lovagi intézmény, a lovagi hűség megemlézése és elemzése, amely a nyugati fejlődéshez hasonló (nem egyoldalúan, ridegen racionális) társadalmi jelenségek egyik fő bizonyítéka, s ami végül az „ősiség” intézményében kap konkrét formát.

A ‘lovagi hűség’ kora ez, amiben benne rejlik mindenki íratlanul is megszabott önállósága s egyúttal kötelezettsége felfelé, de lefelé is, beleértve a paraszttársadalmat is. Nem rideg átvétel, idegen intézmények erőszakolása; a kompromisszumnak legfőbb példája magának az öröklésjognak a rendezése: a hűbéries birtoklásjognak egybeolvasztása a nemzeti birtoklásjoggal az ‘ősiség’ intézményében.⁹⁰

Igen fontos megemléteni, hogy – az előzőkkel a lehető legszorosabb összefüggésben – a jobbágyi helyzetet is ebből a szempontból közelíti meg. Ennek fő jellegzetessége, hogy – bár rosszabb, mint a nyugat-európai jobbágyoké – az üzleties, kapitalisztikus, kizsákmányoló momentumok kevésbé jellemzőek itt, mint a kelet-német területeken, s egyértelműen elhatárolja a magyar fejlődést a Balkántól és az orosz körülményektől. Szintén alapvető motívum Hajnal gondolkodásában, hogy a magyar viszonyokat a lengyellel rokonítja (mindkettő egyfajta átmenet Nyugat és

⁸⁸ Hajnal, *Az újkor története*, 155.

⁸⁹ Hajnal, *Az újkor története*, 156.

⁹⁰ Hajnal, *Az újkor története*, 157.

Kelet) között, ami világos bizonyítéka nézetei alapvetően „harmadik utas” jellegének, amit Hajnal számos elemzője (akik inkább csak szociológiai nézeteinek modern, tudományos jellegére, egyenesen úttörő voltára koncentrálnak) egyenesen említetlenül hagy.⁹¹

A magyar, s vele a lengyel társadalom óriási változatossággal tagolt üzemként áll a balkáni és az orosz társadalmak mellett. Mindkét nemzet évszázados, észrevétlen folyamattal hatolt e szomszédos társadalomszerkezetekre. Védte politikai kulturális önállóságát nyugat felé is, a német császári hatalommal szemben, védekezett kelet felé a tatár, a török és a moszkovita birodalom szörnyű racionális szervezete ellen; de a nyugati kultúra igazi védelmét⁹² a hozzá való feltétlen csatlakozással végezte el, s azzal, hogy határain túl is előkészítette a társadalmakat e kultúrához való csatlakozásra. Nagy Lajos, Magyarország-nak és Lengyelországnak uralma alatt való egyesítésével, politikai realitást is adott e közös szerepnek.⁹³

Igen sajnálatos Hajnal fejtegetéseinek egy következő része, amit szintén hajlamos ignorálni az őt tárgyaló irodalom jelentős része. Hajnal szerint ugyanis további közös problémája a magyar és a lengyel fejlődésnek a zsidóság negatív szerepe. A lengyel viszonyokat elemezve mutat rá a területi eltérésekre/különbözőségekre, Krakkó nyugatias vidékével szemben például Litvánia és az orosz vidékekhez közeli régiókban a nemesség útját állja a polgári „munkaszervezetek”-nek. Hasonlóan káros a nyugatról beáramló zsidóság szerepe is, amely majdhogynem nyerészkedő szövetségben áll a nemességgel, s a társadalom egészséges tagozódásának ilyen értelmű megakadályozását Hajnal egyenesen politikailag végzetesként aposztrofálja.⁹⁴

Összességében látható, hogy – természetesen a különböző értelmezések ellenére is – a két világháború közötti időszakban a legkiemelkedőbb történések a korszak kutatásával kapcsolatban túlnyomóan sok vonatkozásban európai horizontú, és elemző jellegű szellem- és társadalomtörténeti szempontokat érvényesítettek (még ha politika-történeti aspektusok, illetve – bizonyos esetekben faji/antiszemita frazeológiával átszőtt nézetek – is megfigyelhetők).⁹⁵

⁹¹ Lakatos László, Gyáni Gábor, Nyíri Tamás ezt figyelmen kívül hagyja, de Kovács Gábor, Glatz Ferencig említi mindezt. Lásd pl. Kovács, „Harmadik utas magyar gondolkodók.”; Glatz, *Konzervatív reform*.

⁹² Lásd minderről még Erős, „A kereszténység védőbástyája” és Westungarn.”

⁹³ Hajnal, *Az újkor története*, 159.

⁹⁴ Hajnal, *Az újkor története*, 160. Hajnal antiszemitizmusról, lásd Miskolczy, „'...igen, de...' Antisze- mitizmus és történetírás Hunniában.”; Glatz, *Konzervatív reform*. Erős, „Történelem és filozófia”

⁹⁵ A politika-történet által uralt művekhez lásd még Miskolczy István számos művét, pl. Miskolczy, *Magyarország az Anjouk korában*. Valamint Tóth Zoltán szintén számos, és alapvetően szintén hadtörténeti fogantatású munkája is megemlíthető. Utóbbiról lásd Thoroczkay, *The Historical Research on the Árpád Era*, 102–104.

1945 után: A gleichschaltolástól a reprofesszionalizációig.

A második világháború után a marxista-kommunista történetírás dominál Magyarországon (is), főként persze 1948-tól, s ekkor a magyar történetírás/történettudomány „gleichschaltolás”-áról szoktunk beszélni újabban.⁹⁶ Ennek itt nem taglalható sokféle eleme van, de az Anjou-korra vonatkozóan többé-kevésbé egyetérthetünk Várdy Béla 1986-os összefoglaló tanulmányának fő megállapításával⁹⁷, aki látványos visszaesésről beszél a korszak értelmezésével és kutatásával kapcsolatban. E sorok készítője még hozzáteszi mindehhez, hogy a visszaesés fő motívuma a politika-történet (osztályharc) visszatérése és egyenesen túlsúlyba kerülése, ami ráadásul túlpolitizált történetet is jelent, például az ún. „citatológiá”-t, azaz Marx, Engels, Lenin és Sztálin kijelentéseinek állandó hangoztatását/idézését (akik persze nem végeztek kutatómunkát ezen a területen [sem]⁹⁸, sőt megállapításaik is roppant gyérszámúak) és igazolását. A fő kiadványok mindezzel kapcsolatban az egyetemi tankönyvek (ezekből is eltűnik pl. a Nagy Lajos minősítés, s I. Lajos-ra szelidül), és egyéb országos/országgtörténeti szintézisek⁹⁹, de pl. a Székely György által szerkesztett kötet is említhető, „A tanulmányok a parasztság történetéhez Magyarországon a 14.században”¹⁰⁰, amely Székely György intencióinak megfelelően a „nép”, azaz a parasztság történetére fókuszált, ebből is főként az osztályharcra, az egyház reakciós szerepének a bemutatására, a fokozódó kizsákmányolásra (lásd pl. Szabó vitája 1954-ben Székely Györggyel), a földesúri terrorra és a népnéyzésre, amelyekből az Anjou-k is kellőképpen kivették a részüket.¹⁰¹

A korszakkal/1950-es évek összefüggésben újabban felvetődik a nagyszámú/széleskörű/nagyszabású forráskiadó/forrásfeltáró tevékenység, amelyre vonatkozóan viszont ismét csak felhozható a szakszerűtlenség és a túlpolitizálás kevésbé hangsúlyozott szempontja. Szabó István kezéből például 3 igen terjedelmes (akkorra már lényegében munkatársai által is összegyűjtött) igen terjedelmes parasztság-történeti forráskiadványt vesznek ki, mondván, hogy nem hangsúlyozza

⁹⁶ Romsics, *Clio bűvöletében*. 356–376.; Erős, *Modern historiográfia*. 377–408. Újabban Vilmos, Erős, „From Gleichschaltung to Reprofessionalization – and after (until “public history”): Hungarian Historical Writing after 1945.”

⁹⁷ Vardy, „The Image of Louis the Great.”, 357–359.

⁹⁸ Lásd mindezekről *Tudomány és ideológia között.* Tanulmányok az 1945 utáni magyar történetírásról.

⁹⁹ Lásd *A magyar nép története*.

¹⁰⁰ *Tanulmányok a parasztság történetéhez Magyarországon a 14. században*. Székelyről pl. Thoroczkay: *The Historical Research on the Árpád Era*. 117–118. Az itteni értékeléssel azonban nem igazán érthetünk egyet.

¹⁰¹ Persze nagyrészt polgári történészek tették mindezt Székelyen kívül (aki egymaga 10 tanulmányt jegyez a kötetben), s Székely írásainak a forrásait is túlnyomórészt ők gyűjtik össze, pl. Mályusz Elemér vagy Fügedi Erik. Néhányan csak gyűjthettek (forrásokat) de nem írhattak a kötetbe, pl. Fekete Nagy Antal. Lásd Mályusz: *Visszaemlékezések*. 550–553.

kellőképpen földesúr és jobbágy szembenállását, s a Jobbágylevelek-et kifejezetten tudománytalanított formában adják ki.¹⁰²

Az Anjou-korra vonatkozó értékelésekben gyakori a polémia és Hóman denunciaciója, aki (ld. Léderer, Elekes, Székely) a fasiszta Horthy rendszer előképét látja a magyar nagyhatalom dicsőítésében, s az egyértelműen, szlávellenes, azokat a kultúrfölény jegyében alacsonyabb rendűnek tekintő, imperialista törekvések szolgálatában áll.¹⁰³ Mindez még – mint arra Várdy Béla felhívja a figyelmet – még olyan történészek esetében, mint Makkai László is érvényes alkalmanként, aki az Anjou-kori levelek kiadásának előszavában (illetve kommentárjában) gúnyolódva ír Nagy Lajos „lovagkirályi” attitűdjéről, s egyenesen Don Quijote-szerű, légvárat építő mániaként diffamálja azt.¹⁰⁴

Az újabb összefoglalások¹⁰⁵ a marxista-kommunista történetírással kapcsolatban hangsúlyozzák azonban, hogy az említett gleichschaltolás teljes egészében sohasem volt sikeres a magyar historiográfiában, aminek következtében jelentős nyitás figyelhető meg az 1960-as évektől főként, s amely jelen téma vonatkozásában is az 1980-as évektől éri el egyfajta tetőpontját/kulminál.

Hogy a teljes „gleichschaltolás” nem sikerült, abban szerepe volt az ún. emigrációs történetírásnak is, amelyre világos bizonyíték témánk vonatkozásában a Várdy Béláék által szerkesztett, korábban már utalt, 1986-os, Nagy Lajosról szóló kötet (angol, német, olasz és francia nyelvű tanulmányokkal), amelynek írásai azonban többnyire korábban születtek, például Ferdinándy Mihály egyfajta szintetizáló igényvel készült írása az 1970-es években, németül az Ungarn Jahrbuch-ban.¹⁰⁶ E tanulmányok egyik fő jellemzője, hogy nem kötelezi őket semmiféle megrendelt diffamáló szándék, gazdagon merítenek a két világháború közötti magyar történetírás megállapításaiból/részben megközelítéseiből, nem utolsó sorban, sőt alkalmanként Hóman-ból (a kötet címébe is visszatér a Nagy epitethon ornans Lajos nevébe), több szerző egyfajta folytonosságot is képvisel a két világháború közötti időszakkal – pl. Fügedi Erik, vagy a már érintett Dercsényi Dezső -, s többen is a magyar (Bak János) és pl. a lengyel (Kloczowski) medievisztika élvonalába tartoztak.¹⁰⁷ A kötet egyébként alkalmanként nem nélkülözi a kritikát sem a korábbi történetírással kapcsolatban (lásd a Kardos Tibor felfogásáról való kritika, szerinte nem beszélhetünk reneszánszról [protoreneszánszról sem] Nagy Lajos udvarában,

¹⁰² Lásd Erős, *Populus, plebs, rusticus*.

¹⁰³ Elekes–Léderer–Székely, *Magyarország története I. Magyarország története a korai és virágzó feudális időkben*.

¹⁰⁴ Árpád-kori és Anjou-kori levelek.

¹⁰⁵ Glatz, „Történetírás Magyarországon, 1949–1990.” Újból megjelent In: Glatz: *Konzervatív reform*. 842–861.

¹⁰⁶ Ferdinándy, „Ludwig I. von Ungarn (1342–1382).”

¹⁰⁷ Fügedi, „Castles and Castellans in Angevin Hungary.”; Dercsényi, „The Age of Louis I in Hungarian Art History.”; Kloczowski, „Louis the Great as King of Poland as Seen in the Chronicle of Janko Czarnekow.”; Bak, „Louis I and the Lesser Nobility in Hungary.”

Petrarca is bírálja Nagy Lajos kultúra iránti közömbösségét)¹⁰⁸, s egyfajta irányadó megállapításként értelmezhetjük Várdy Béla kijelentését, aki az újabb irodalomból (1980-as évek) főként Engel Pál és Dümmerth Dezső munkáival ért egyet, azokat tartja elfogadhatóknak/reálisnak és tudományosnak.¹⁰⁹ Mindezzel már elérkeztünk az 1980-as/1990-es évekhez, amikor az említet nyitásnak, illetve 1990-től a rendszerváltásnak is köszönhetően egyfajta Anjou-reneszánszról, de mindenképpen az Anjou kutatások jelentős fellendüléséről beszélhetünk.¹¹⁰

Ebben az időszakban jelennek meg Engel Pál (korábban már részben Kristó Gyula), Fügedi Erik, Bertényi Iván, Kubinyi András, Kurcz Ágnes korszakkal kapcsolatos művei, amelyeknek szinte közös jellemzője – különösen Engel Pál és az egyébként eredetileg Mályusz-tanítvány Fügedi Erik esetében – a társadalomtörténeti szemlélet/fogalmi apparátus megjelenése.¹¹¹ Ezek azért több szempontból is visszanyúlnak, legalább a kérdésfeltevések szintjén, a két világháború közötti, egyébként szintén a társadalomtörténet jegyében fogant kezdeményezésekhez (eredetileg úttörésekhez), hiszen pl. az Engel Pál által érvényesített „honor” fogalom a hűbériség vagy a familiaritás egyfajta pontosításaként vagy továbbgondolásaként is értelmezhető (persze alapvető újdonságokat is hozva), illetve Fügedi Erik is a várrendszer alapjául szolgáló társadalmi háttér elemzésekor a megkerülhetetlen hűbériség fogalmából indul ki. (Az újabb kutatások megállapításait összegző jelleggel Csukovits Enikő 2010-es években készült munkái foglalják össze, amelyek eredetileg a külföld számára készültek.¹¹²)

A legújabb fejlemények: a rekonstrukcionista történetírástól a public history-ig

Jelen sorok szerzője az újabb magyar történetírással kapcsolatban, Alun Munslow csoportosítására is támaszkodva, négy fő irányzatot különböztet meg, amelyek mindegyike – bár eltérő súllyal – kitapintható az Anjou-korra vonatkozó

¹⁰⁸ L. S. Domonkos, „The Influence of the Italian Campaign of Louis the Great on Hungarian Cultural Developments.” Lásd ehhez újabban Máté, *Petrarca és Nagy Lajos*.

¹⁰⁹ A marxista Kristót nem említi. Várdy, „The Image of Louis the Great.”, 362–363.

¹¹⁰ 1990 után a korábban említett két világháború közötti irodalomból számosat kiadnak, különböző kiadók és különböző minőségben. Mindesetre a pontos adatokról a korábbi itteni jegyzetek erről megfelelőképpen tájékoztatnak.

¹¹¹ Lásd Fügedi, *A 15. századi arisztokrácia mobilitása.*; Fügedi, *Ispánok, bárók kiskirályok*; Kurcz, *Lovagi kultúra Magyarországon a 13-14. században*. Fügedi Erikhezhez megjegyezhető, hogy számos vonatkozásban kötődik Hóman megállapításaihoz, (Kristó Gyulával ellentétben) sokszor utal rá, akár a lovagság részletes tárgyalásában is. Persze kritikai szempontokat is megfogalmaz, például a banderális hadsereg újdonságának kérdésében, s ő sem tartja például kulturális szempontból különösen kiemelkedőnek az Anjouk időszakát. De egy új arisztokrácia kialakulását illetőleg igen.

¹¹² Csukovits, *Az Anjouk Magyarországon I. I. Károly és uralkodása (1301–1342)*. Illetve Csukovits Enikő: *Az Anjouk Magyarországon II. I. (Nagy) Lajos és Mária uralma (1342–1395)*.

historiográfiában is. Egyrészt beszélhetünk egyfajta politikai eseménytörténet-centrikus rekonstrukcionista történetírásról, amely a magyar és kelet-európai közegben az ún. reprofesszionalizáció jelenségével színeződik/ötveződik. A reprofesszionalizáció azt jelenti, hogy ebben a térségben az 1970-es évektől (lényegében máig) a történetírás 19. századi feladatait kell elvégezniük (és folytatniuk), miután a marxista-kommunista történetírás ezt (pl. a segédtudományok művelését) lényegében feleslegesnek tartotta, de mindenképpen a háttérbe szorította (mint ahogy általában is a középkor művelését). Ennek jegyében kell és lehet értékelnünk az 1980-as évektől pl. az Anjou-kori Okmánytár/-ak újbóli kiadását, illetve a korábbi kiadások folytatását¹¹³, de ebbe a kategóriába tartozik pl. Bertényi Iván munkássága is (ez ráadásul nem ritkán összefonódik egyfajta „nemzeti látószög” érvényesítésével¹¹⁴) vagy akár Engel Pál archontológiával vagy genealógiával kapcsolatos kutatásai/publikációi is rokoníthatók mindezzel. (Ő, mivel több itteni kategóriában is érintett, bizonyítja e csoportosítás határait, illetve a különböző kategóriák közötti átjárhatóságot is.)

Egy másik kategória lehet az alapvetően társadalomtörténeti megközelítés (Munslow-nál konstrukcionista), amely több vonatkozásban felvállalja (illetve bizonyos történészek esetében személyes kontinuitás is van) a két világháború közötti előzményekre, hagyományokra (Hóman, Mályusz, Dercsényi) való visszatérést, pl. Fügedi Erik, Engel Pál¹¹⁵, részben Kristó Gyula¹¹⁶, újabban Tringli István,

¹¹³ *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár I-XV., XVII, XIX-XXXIV, XXXVIII, XL, XLII.*

¹¹⁴ Bertényi, *Magyarország az Anjouk korában.*; Bertényi, *A címertan reneszánsza.* (Utóbbiban különösen nyilvánvaló a szerző „nemzeti” elkötelezettsége.)

¹¹⁵ Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája (1301-1437). I-II.*; Engel, *Honor, vár, ispánság.* Engel honorról vallott felfogását vitatta Fügedi Erik. Fügedi tagadja az európai párhuzamok jelentőségét. Lásd Thoroczkay, *A középkori Magyarország (Állam és ideológiák).*

¹¹⁶ Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi; Károly Róbert emlékezete.* Valamint még Kristó, *A feudális széttagolódás Magyarországon.* Illetve pl. Kristó, Gyula: *História és kortörténet a Képes Krónikában.* (Ez alapvetően eszmétörténeti munka) Kristóról átfogóan vö. Thoroczkay, *The Historical Research on the Árpád Era.* 145–148. és passim. 1979-es munkáját Thoroczkay is kifejezetten marxistának minősíti, egyik lektora Székely György volt, nyilván az ő szája íze szerint is írta. Kristó Gyula ugyan biztosan nem olvasott semmit Hayden White-től (ha igen, minden bizonnyal mélyen megvetette), ugyanakkor – amint ez történni szokott a saját előfeltevéseiben mélyen megbízó, reflektálatlan történészekkel – szövege iskolapéldája a White által feltálat „cselekményesítés”-nek (emplotment). Kristó utólag kreál egy ágenst (tartományúri rendszer), amelynek szemére hányja, hogy nem a marxizmus klasszikusai (vagy Elekes Lajos) által előírt fejlődésment (természeti gazdálkodás, virágzó feudalizmus) mentén folytatta életvitelét, s Kristó rá (a tartományurakra) vonatkozó jelzői (mohó, rabló, útonálló) is alapvetően megfelel a kor elvárásainak, nem elemzések, hanem az említett Ágoston Péterre hajazó ráolvasások. (Nyilván ezért nem említette Várdy Béla sem az 1980-as években az Anjou-kor kutatásának mértékadó történészei között.) Lásd Kristó, *A feudális széttagolódás.* 165. „Voltaképpen mind a kereskedelmet, mind a városokkal, mind pedig a bányászattal kapcsolatos tartományúri politika azonos ismérvet visel magán, a parazita jelleget, az imént említett rablogazdálkodás ismérvét. A tartományúri rendszernek tudomásul kellett vennie az árutermelés és pénzgazdálkodás elemeinek jelenlétében megmutatkozó virágzó feudális kori

Csukovits Enikő megközelítésében/kutatásaiban. Ők elemző, Komplex fogalmi megközelítésre törekszenek, az ún. modern történetírás értelmében¹¹⁷, s politikai történet helyett, vagy mellett inkább szociológiai, társadalmi jelenségekre összpontosítanak, akár a történeti demográfiára is támaszkodva (vagy egyenesen azt képviselve), a tudományosság és az objektivitás igényével és az ennek lehetőségében való szilárd meggyőződéssel, illetve az ideológiai elkötelezettség eltökélt kizárásával/az attól való elhatárolódással.¹¹⁸

Amint említettem, persze, jelentős az átjárás is az egyes kategóriák között, amit – egy más szempontból – alátámaszt, hogy a történészek közül (pedig ugyancsak a régi generációhoz tartozik immár) van olyan, aki a történeti antropológia felé tájékozódott, pl. Fügedi Erik, akinek az Elefánthyakról munkájában a századvégi (2000-es évekről van szó) mikrotörténelem alapvető művét láthatjuk/üdvözlhetjük, nem véletlenül jelent meg angolul is a CEU kiadásában.¹¹⁹ Utóbbi a történeti antropológiai kutatások egyik fellegetként is tekinthető, nem véletlen, hogy ide kötődik a szintén történeti-antropológiai, sőt kifejezetten a posztmodern (Foucault) szempontjait érvényesítő Klaniczay Gábor tevékenysége, aki pl. Peter Brown eredményeit hasznosítva a középkori szentkultusz, a legendák, csodákban való hit Anjou-korra is vonatkozó kérdéseit boncolgatja.¹²⁰

A fenti irányzatok szinte mindegyike új értelmet kap az ún. public history megemlékezésével, amely különösen az 1990-es, illetve a 2000-es években erősödött fel, akár mondjuk a „digitális fordulat” (digital turn) felbukkanásával is összefüggésben.

viszonyokat, de a tartományuraság mégsem ezt a gazdasági alapot építette tovább; a tartományuraság nem élt, hanem visszaélt ezekkel az új viszonyokkal. Nem támogatta a kereskedelmet, hanem útonállásaival, sűrűn elhelyezett váraival, magánútjaival egyenesen gátolta mind a bel-, mind a külföldi árucserét. Nem ismerte fel a városokban rejlő politikai erőt, hanem csak gazdasági erőforrást látott bennük, olyan gazdagságot, amelyet érdemes kisajátítani, és nyers erővel szándékozik ezt elérni. Nem döbönt rá a bányászat fontosságára sem. A tartományuraság életmegnyilvánulásai egyértelműen arra mutatnak, hogy a rendszer a kora feudalizmus gazdasági alapján, a természeti gazdálkodás rendjén épült fel, s mint ilyen képtelen volt a virágzó feudalizmus új jelenségei – az árutermelés és pénzgazdálkodás – lényegének megértésére. Ezzel magyarázható a tartományúri rendszer ama utolsó brutalitása, amellyel egy csapásra igyekezett minden új jövedelmet a maga számára biztosítani anélkül, hogy egy másodszori jövedelemnyerésnek akár elvi lehetőségét is meghagyta volna.” Amint szó esett róla, persze Kristónak vannak ideológiailag kevésbé terheltek (akár eszmetörténeti) elemzései is, s nagyarányú forrásfeltáró erőfeszítései is tagadhatatlanok.

¹¹⁷ Engel, „Birtokosztály és családkepződés.” Eredetileg Engel, *Honor, vár, ispánság*. 625–637. Valamint pl. *L'Ungheria angioina 2013*. Megemlíthetők még, főként bizonyos rész kérdések vonatkozásában, illetve részleteinek tisztázásában pl. Veszprémi, *Lovagvilág Magyarországon*; Bagi, *Az Anjou-k Krakkóban*.

¹¹⁸ Lásd „Házasságpolitika, honor, hadjáratok – tanulmányok az Anjou-korról.”

¹¹⁹ Lásd ehhez újabban Erős, „From Reconstructionist to Public History in East-Central Europe. (Main Trends in Hungarian Historical Writing after 1990.)” Fügedi művéről Rady, „Erik Fügedi and the Elefánthy Kindred.” Az idegen nyelvű irodalomból lásd még átfogóan Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*.

¹²⁰ Klaniczayról átfogóan lásd pl. Thoroczkay, *The Historical Research on the Árpád Era*. 135–136.

Természetesen voltak ennek korábbi képviselői is, mint pl. az Anjou-korral kapcsolatban Dümmerth Dezső még az 1980-as évekből¹²¹, aki azért a public history pozitívabb üzenetű válfájához tartozhat (elemzők szerint ilyen is van, Dümmerth esetében pl. akár a szellemtörténeti elemek bizonyos felélesztésével, rehabilitálásával – Váczy Péter az Anjou-kötet lektora, talán nem véletlenül¹²²).

Szintén a public history egyfajta pozitívabb hozadéka az új tudományos eredményeket nem produkáló, hanem inkább színvonalas népszerűsítésre (néhánykor kritikára) vagy egyes történészek (Hóman, Mályusz) rehabilitására törekvő digitális portál, az ujko-hu.¹²³

Mindezek inkább negatív ellenpólusa a public history legrosszabb hagyományait érvényesítő tendencia, amely szélesebb közönséget meghódítva, különösebb szakmai-forráskritikai aggályok nélkül fabulál szereplőket, hatásvadász történeteket, sokszor giccses, nemzeti szenvedélyeket feltüzelni kívánó üzeneteket, mondjuk sok-kötetes regényfolyam formájában, s amely nem ritkán szélsőjobboldali politikai törekvések számára szállít ideológiai és propaganda muníciót.¹²⁴ Ehhez képest kap jelentőséget és értéket a korábban említett rekontstrukcionista irányzat is a szakmai kritériumok/akríbia vagy akár a forráskritikai pedantéria érvényesítésének igényével.¹²⁵

¹²¹ Megjegyzendő persze, hogy a public history-n belül is nagy különbségek vannak, például az irodalmi színvonal tekintetében. Passuth László regényei mesze felülmúlják az újabb (nemsokára utalandó) műveket, mondjuk Bíró Szabolcsét. Passuth nagy műveltségű, már a két világháború közötti időszakban is komoly fórumokon publikáló író, aki széleskörű nyelvtudásával, mély történelmi és irodalmi ismereteivel képes mélyebb korfestésre, történelmi, szellemi háttér felvázolására, esetlegesen hiteles lélektani motívumok boncolgatására, még ha nem is feltétlenül az élen járó irodalom színvonalán. Bizonyos mértékben igaz ez Ferdinándy Mihály olykor tudományos igénnyel fellépő munkáira is. Passuth, *Nápolyi Johanna*.

¹²² Dümmerth, *Az Anjou-ház nyomában*.

¹²³ Lásd Szende László írásai az ujko.hu-n. Tőle még Szende, *Piast Erzsébet és udvara (1320–1380)*. Utóbbi természetesen nem a public history műfajába tartozik. Sokkal inkább társadalomtörténeti, történeti-antropológiai elemekkel.

¹²⁴ Bíró Szabolcs, *Anjouk. I. rész. Liliom és vér*. (Valamint számos más vaskos és valószínűleg jól jövedelmező, mert nagy példányszámban kiadott kötet ugyanettől a szerzőtől.)

¹²⁵ Még Gyáni Gábor is ehhez a 19. századi fogantatású, jelen sorok szerzője által professzionálisnak minősített történetíráshoz „menekül” a public historynak (mondjuk a széleskörűen burjánzó összeküvés-elméleteknek) a mindenfajta forráskritikai szempontot, sőt forráshivatkozást nélkülöző, a történelem tudományos jellegét, szakmai szabályait alapvetően figyelmen kívül hagyó attitűdjével szemben. Hozzáteve persze, hogy ez nem történhet egy naiv „objektivitás”-hitet tükröző, a források nagyfokú tiszteltén, forráskritikát középpontba helyező alapuló pozícióból. Ehhez nem kevés hozzáfűznivalónk lenne (pl. a historiográfiai távlat lényegi hiányának a felvetése), elég legyen itt annyi, hogy sokan szeretnének olyan „naiv” objektivitás-hitben megrekedt történészek lenni (még akár az inkriminált kijelentés szerzője is), mint mondjuk Marczali Henrik vagy Champollion, a maguk – egyebek mellett – széleskörű nyelvtudásával, hiszen utóbbi ennek nyomán alapította meg az egyiptológiát. De e tanulmány korábbi részeitől is számos történész említhető a „szakmaiság”, az igazi történészi teljesítmény szempontjából, ami a public history-val szembe szegezhető. Lásd Gyáni, *A Nation Divided by History and Memory*.

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CHRISTOPHE ARAÚJO

The *Annales* and the Portuguese historical community (from the 1930 until the 1970): an influence or a repellent?¹

The idea for this contribution came to me during a colloquium organized in 2021 at CY Cergy-Paris University, unfortunately a remote one, due to a new wave of COVID-19. With the different speakers, we realized that in many European countries, the *Annales* review has had a significant influence on the writing of history. After the Second World War, the journal's influence could be seen not only in the democratic countries of Western Europe, but also in the dictatorships of the Iberian Peninsula and the people's democracies of Eastern Europe.

The journal was founded in 1929 by Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, both professors at the University of Strasbourg. Officially re-established as a French university in 1919, many professors were appointed there, and the two historians were among the first to be named. They had in common their opposition to the methodical school of Charles-Victor Langlois and Charles Seignobos². Consequently, their taste for historiographical innovation led them to create this journal of economic and social history, as its first name indicates³. It was especially after the Second World War, when Fernand Braudel became the journal's editor between 1956 and 1968, that the journal's international circulation became clear. The journal has sometimes been described as a veritable school, even though Fernand Braudel denied it when he took over its direction⁴. However, he clearly

¹ I would like to thank Vilmos Erős for his kind invitation – and his patience – to contribute to this volume. It is a real honour to have the possibility to write for the second time about Portuguese history in a Hungarian publication.

² These two historians have often been described as methodical, thanks to the work they published in 1898, *Introduction to the historic studies*, which became a reference for younger generations of historians at a time when history had been becoming professionalized since the 1880s. (Langlois and Seignobos, *Introduction aux études historiques*, 1898). Severely criticized by the two founders of the *Annales*, they were later rehabilitated by Antoine Prost. (Prost, “Charles Seignobos revisité”, 100–118.)

³ The first name of the academic journal is *Annales of economic and social history*, between 1929 and 1938 (the volumes of the academic journal have been digitalized, and can be consulted on this website: <https://www.persee.fr/collection/ahess>, retrieved on 8 June 2025). During the Second World War, it has changed its name several times until 1946, when it received its best-known name, *Annales, Economies, Societies, Civilizations*, until 1993.

⁴ Thus, Fernand Braudel, in his text announcing the turning point of the scientific journal following the death of Lucien Febvre in September 1956, refers to the fact that “neither Marc Bloch nor Lucien Febvre had the will or the illusion to have founded a school, with its formulas and illusions”. (Braudel, “Les Annales continuent”, 1.)

acted to make it a veritable school, going beyond the founding nucleus of the School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences created in 1947. Of course, not all French historians began to write economic and social history, but this type of history, which promotes the crossing of methods from different social sciences, became the majority. In fact, as Peter Schöttler has so aptly described, evoking the *Annales* allows us to describe three phenomena:

1/ a scientific journal of great reputation founded by Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre and which continues to exist; 2/ a ‘school’ or, more precisely, a group and network of French or French-speaking historians; and 3/ a very broad and heterogeneous movement which, under the impetus of the journal, has profoundly renewed, especially since the end of the Second World War, our way of thinking and writing history.⁵

I would therefore like to focus on the third aspect, to see whether the Portuguese historical community has considered some of the practices developed in France when the historiographical paradigm of economic and social history was dominant. The main question underlying this contribution is therefore, on the one hand, to see whether the dictatorship wanted to limit – or not – the access and the dissemination of this way of writing history coming from abroad, and on the other, to measure how economic and social history have been received in Portugal, despite the dictatorial context.

To answer this question, I intend first to recall the particularly restrictive context in which Portuguese historians wrote history. Secondly, I will show how the history written by historians who accepted the authoritarian regime is, by and large, representative of a rejection of economic and social history. Finally, I will show that historians who opposed the authoritarian regime overwhelmingly chose to write economic and social history, strongly influenced by the *Annales* review.

I. The control of history during the Portuguese dictatorship (1933–1974)

The professionalization of history in Portugal is more recent than in other countries such as Germany, France, or the United Kingdom, where it began in the 19th century. During this century, history was still a young discipline in the process of consolidation in Portugal⁶. Thus, history was taught in certain literary courses in

⁵ Schöttler, “*Annales*”, 33.

⁶ The birth of history as a scientific discipline is attached to the figure of Alexandre Herculano (1810–1877) because it is the starting point from which “history manifested itself as a secularized knowledge area, that is, independent of faith, although religious and ecclesiastical themes were an important field of analysis for him”. (Torgal and Mendes and Catroga, *História da história em Portugal, séculos XIX–XX*, 10.) As a result, it dates to the mid-nineteenth century.

the 19th century, but there was no independent history program, either at the University of Coimbra or at the Higher School of Letters in Lisbon⁷. Changes only came about with the reformist actions of the Portuguese Republic⁸. In fact, the first republican governments introduced a new university map in 1911, creating universities in Lisbon and Porto and, above all, establishing a separate history program within the university curriculum⁹. At last, in a largely illiterate country, the few privileged individuals who were able to pursue higher education had the opportunity to enrol in history. As a result, the institutionalization of history really began with the Republic, enabling the professionalization of historians. Being a historian no longer only meant a person who wrote history, but also who had an academic job.

However, due to the economic difficulties associated with the end of World War I, the republican regime became unstable and was overthrown by a military coup on 28 May 1926. Portugal therefore joined many countries in Southern and Eastern Europe that had become dictatorships in the 1920s¹⁰. In 1932, the Minister of Finance and professor of economics at the University of Coimbra, António de Oliveira Salazar, was appointed Prime Minister and remained in office until 1968¹¹. He and his government established a new constitution in 1933, and the country became the New State. What was this regime like? It was a radical right-wing dictatorship, conservative in religious and social terms, with fascist tendencies, at least during the 1930s¹². To underline the important shift that this decade represents,

⁷ Coimbra University was the only university in the country until 1911. In the capital there was an important institute of higher education, the Higher School of Letters (*Curso Superior de Letras*), where history was taught by professors who wrote history but had had other formation. (see for example Matos, “O Curso Superior de Letras e a vulgarização histórica em Portugal em confronto (1858–1911)”, 367–388.)

⁸ The Republican current gained strength from the 1890s, when the monarchy was increasingly criticized for its foreign policy. The monarchy was overthrown by a coup d'état between 4 and 5 October 1910, led by Republican militants and backed by insurgent soldiers; the Republic was proclaimed on the morning of 5 October 1910 as the royal family fled by boat from Ericeira, and a provisional government was appointed. It is this provisional government that has taken many decisions that will mark the country's history, including in the field of education.

⁹ It should be noted that the history curriculum was associated with geography from 1911 to 1929, and then with philosophy from 1929 to 1957. Then, the straightly autonomous history really exists until 1957.

¹⁰ To place the Portuguese dictatorship in the European authoritarian wave following the First World War, see Rosas, *Salazar e os fascismos*, 46–50.

¹¹ Major figure of the dictatorship, António de Oliveira Salazar has long had very few biographies written by academics who do not wish to pay a sustained tribute to him. However, the end of the taboo in Portugal has been lifted. For example, a biography was written by Yves Léonard recently, first published in Portuguese and then in French (but written in that language). See Léonard, *Salazar. Le dictateur énigmatique*.

¹² In the words of René Rémond, Yves Léonard used the expression “romaine-style badigeon” to highlight fascist inspirations regarding the contours of the Portuguese authoritarian regime.

we can mention the supervision of the youth that is set up from 1936, the *Mocidade Portuguesa*, which enlisted both young boys and girls, taking the example of the Italian *Opera Nazionale Balilla*, to indoctrinate them¹³. Similarly, it may be pointed out that the Roman fascist greeting has become a gesture taken up in Portugal in military parades and by another structure created in 1936 and affiliated to the Ministry of the Interior, the *Legião Portuguesa*. It was a paramilitary organization inspired on the Italian Blackshirts and the German SA, that intended to play a doctrinaire and controlling role for the Portuguese population¹⁴.

I chose 1933 as the start of the period under study because the early years of the dictatorship, between 1926 and 1933, were characterized by the military's difficulties in stabilizing the regime, due to the republican reaction and the onset of the 1929 crisis¹⁵. The various military governments therefore left the academic world aside to focus on the sustainability of the dictatorship. However, from 1933 onwards, things changed with the civilian governments directed by Oliveira Salazar. Faced with persistent criticism of its power, the regime used the constitution and new laws to deprive civil servants of the relative freedom they had enjoyed until then. Thus, in 1935, it decided to grant itself the right to dismiss any civil servant who ideologically challenged the government. In fact, the decree-law n.º 25,317 of 13 May 1935, which reports directly to the President of the Council, António de Oliveira Salazar, ended dissent in the civil service by article 1, stating that:

Civil servants or employees, whether civilian or military, who have revealed or reveal a spirit of opposition to the fundamental principles of the Political Constitution, or who do not give a guarantee of cooperation in the attainment of the higher ends of the State, shall be retired, if they are entitled to do so, or excluded otherwise”.

This law has been used regularly for waves of public service purges¹⁶. In addition, in 1936, with the beginning of the Civil War in neighbouring Spain, the Portuguese government felt threatened. The dictatorship was encouraged to reinforce the

(Léonard, *Salazarismo et fascisme*, 141.)

¹³ For now, the main publications on youth structures focus on young girls as with Pimentel, *Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina*. Beyond the testimony books, a comprehensive study on both sexes has yet to be done.

¹⁴ For now, no systematic research has been carried out on the *Legião Portuguesa*. However, it is possible to rely on the collected and published sources as Martins, *Quem vive? Portugal! Portugal! Portugal! a Legião Portuguesa através dos discursos e textos*. Then, this is a research subject still to be explored.

¹⁵ For example, during the military dictatorship from 1926 to 1933, a republican protest movement stirred up Portuguese political life, a sign that the dictatorship was not uncontested. This movement, called the *revirinho*, led to several coup attempts, the most virulent of which were in 1927 and 1931. (Farinha, *O Revirinho. Revoltas Republicanas contra a Ditadura e o Estado Novo, 1926–1940*, 1998.)

¹⁶ If there are several, the two biggest waves are in 1935 and in 1947 as shown in Rosas and Sizifredo, *Estado Novo e Universidade, A perseguição aos professores*, 44–49.

control of the functionary. That's why the decree-law n°. 27,003 of 14 September 1936 required every new civil servant to sign a sworn statement, with acknowledgement of signature, stating that: "I declare, on my honour, that I am integrated into the social order established by the Political Constitution of 1933, actively rejecting communism and all subversive ideas". The fear of communism was clearly identified, and the ideological control thus became a reality and confirmed this desire to bring the public service to heel within two years. It was for now required to pledge ideological allegiance to the government.

To monitor all areas of dissent, whether among teachers or in scientific publications, the Portuguese authoritarian regime relied on two main tools: censorship and the political police. Censorship was introduced in July 1926, in the first weeks of the military dictatorship, and continued until 1974¹⁷. Retired military personnel or those not assigned to barracks were responsible for monitoring all periodicals. For books, while it was simply necessary to submit the title to the censors to publish, censors wrote reviews and could ban the circulation of publications¹⁸. The censors identified the most rebellious individuals, and the political police could take over from there. The political police were established in 1933 through the fusion of several existing police forces. She was active until the end of the regime despite various names¹⁹. Its function was to identify opponents, monitor them, interrogate them and, if they were too active, imprison them in its own prisons without trial. A concentration camp in Cape Verde even housed those considered most dangerous²⁰. Censorship and political police worked hand in hand, and either one could alert the other if opposition was identified.

¹⁷ Cândido de Azevedo explained how officials from the Secretariat of National Propaganda regularly visited bookstores to verify that prohibited books were not being sold. (Azevedo, *A Censura de Salazar e Marcelo Caetano, Imprensa, teatro, televisão, radiodifusão, livro*, 76.)

¹⁸ Indeed, the military were the people who controlled all the periodic publications throughout the dictatorship. (See Gomes, *Os Militares e a Censura, A Censura à Imprensa na Ditadura Militar e o Estado Novo (1926–1945)*.) The censored parts were marked by lines of "blue pencil" – a term that remained in Portugal to describe censorship – and by stamps that allowed or prohibited the circulation of texts.

¹⁹ Between 1933 and 1945, the Political Police was known as the Vigilance and Defense of the State Police, studied by Ribeiro, *A Polícia Política no Estado Novo, 1926–1945*. Then it was named the International and Defense of State Police between 1945 and 1969 (studied exhaustively by Pimentel, *A história da PIDE*.) Finally she went by the name the General Directorate of Security between 1969 and 1974.

²⁰ The camp first concerned Portuguese political prisoners between 1936 and 1954. Closed due to pressure from Western powers, the prison was reopened in 1961 for pro-independence activists from African colonies after the outbreak of the colonial war. A recent publication on Tarrafal, which has been studied on numerous occasions, has made it possible to identify the prisoners incarcerated in this structure during its two periods of activity: Caldeira and Esteves (coord.), *Tarrafal. Presos Políticos e Sociais (1936–54 e 1961–74)*.

What were the consequences of these instruments of control on Portuguese historiography? As explained above, history was a recent discipline, its institutionalization was in progress, and the younger generations had studied history before entering university as professors, even though in 1933, many professors had not yet completed an academic course in history. The Portuguese political authorities, as the main source of funding for Portuguese universities, gradually but inexorably took control of the academic world²¹. Officially, the government did not intervene in the functioning of the academic field, as appointments to universities were not made directly by the authoritarian authorities but by committees that met to co-opt future colleagues. However, in facts, candidates' profiles were sent to the political police before the competition was held to check that they were not identified as opponents²². Subsequently, those recruited understood they were being monitored and that they could lose their jobs. In terms of writing history, historians knew full well that they could not say everything they wanted. Taboos gradually became established. The Portuguese authorities were clever in never explicitly prohibiting anything, which made the regime appear less restrictive than other totalitarian or authoritarian regimes. It was obvious to the political authorities that they should not criticize national history, the place of Christianity, or government action. Anything that could be considered political or social history was subject to censorship. As a result, a kind of tacit agreement was reached between the scientific community and the authorities: historians knew that by following the rules, they would not be constrained in their professional practice by the political authorities.

Having highlighted the restrictive context in which the historical community operated during the Portuguese dictatorship, I now intend to highlight the various rules followed by historians who accepted the authoritarian regime, one symptom of which is avoiding economic and social history.

²¹ For example, the *Junta de Educação Nacional* created in Portugal in 1929 was the first structure created to support research in and outside Portugal (see Lopes, *A Europeização de Portugal entre guerras, A Junta de Educação Nacional e a investigação científica em Portugal*.) Transformed into the Institute of High Culture, it played a very important role but was politically controlled from 1936, during all the dictatorship (Rollo and Queiroz and Brandão and Salgueiro, *Ciência, Cultura e língua em Portugal no século XX, Da Junta de Educação Nacional ao Instituto Camões*, 16).

²² A very good example is the disappearance of three applications for a post at the University of Porto in 1962. Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho, João Bénard da Costa and Joel Serrão had applied but, once the competition was over, they were told that their applications had been withdrawn. (File Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho, ANTT, PIDE/DGS, Série: CI(2), N°P:79, NT: 6958, sheet 358.) Upon closer inspection, the three candidates appear in the files of the political police and since the three were identified as left-wing historians, they were dismissed.

II. Does accepting the rules of power mean rejecting economic and social history?

In this section, I intend to show how accepting dictatorial political power leads to a particular way of writing history, although I will qualify this statement by citing a few examples of historians who accepted the existing power structure and wrote about economic and social history. However, these are exceptions that prove the rule: namely, approving the authoritarian regime meant rejecting economic and social history. While there were official historians – who could also be called *organic* historians in Gramsci's sense – whose goal was to praise the policies of the dictatorial government, they were few and never managed to integrate into Portuguese universities, a sign of the academic milieu's closed nature²³. On the other hand, the circle of Portuguese historians who were integrated into Portuguese universities was very conservative from the early days of the dictatorship, particularly in Coimbra, as Cristina Faria has pointed out, they formed “an extremely elitist and conservative group [and] the teaching staff generally showed great complicity and solidarity with the regime that was being established [...] [and] one of the main recruitment centres for political leaders”²⁴. That observation can be generalized to all the dictatorship²⁵. The few left-wing historians were either under close surveillance or were dismissed from their posts after the 1935 law. One notable example is Joaquim de Carvalho (1892–1958), who, without being dismissed from his position, was punished by the closure of the University of Coimbra press, which he directed, because a poem against Salazar was allegedly published by this publishing house in 1934²⁶. Similarly, Manuel Rodrigues Lapa (1897–1989), a philologist of the Portuguese language and defender of the democratic republican regime, was part of the first wave of purges in 1935 and was subsequently unable to rejoin the Portuguese university system²⁷. Due to the elimination or silencing of professors who could have been dissidents, there was a certain ideological homogeneity within the Portuguese academic community, in that, without being forced to take an official position in favour of the political regime, those in place or recruited did not challenge the dictatorship.

²³ Only 2% of the historian as it can be seen on the graphic in Araújo, “Science and Political Power. Writings of Portuguese History during the Dictatorship (1926–1974)”, 125.

²⁴ Faria, *As Lutas Estudantis contra a Ditadura Militar (1926–1932)*, 59.

²⁵ Let us recall that Marcelo Caetano, who took the position of President of the Council after Salazar between 1968 and 1974, was also an academic. Indeed, he was a law professor at the University of Lisbon.

²⁶ Beyond the punishment against Joaquim de Carvalho, Luís Reis Torgal said it was “a way to neutralize an institution with a large editorial and press production, which could eventually escape state control” (in Fonseca, *et alii* (coord.), *Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, Uma história dentro da História*, 93.)

²⁷ Dionísio, “Manuel Rodrigues Lapa”, retrieved on 8 June 2025.

The consequences of this political stance are numerous in terms of the writing of history. First, taboos have become established among historians integrated into the academic world. The first taboo concerns the contemporary period. Historians quickly stopped writing about contemporary history because it was considered too risky and too political, particularly in view of the turbulent history of 19th-century Portugal. The history of the present was unthinkable because it meant talking about the dictatorship. Similarly, university programs usually ended in 1640 or, at best, in the mid-18th century, but never beyond that. Contemporary history was too politically dangerous to be discussed in front of students. Historians therefore focused mainly on the medieval and modern periods. Economic and social history which began to develop in France is the second taboo. It was not favoured in academic circles or among historians who had not clearly opposed the authoritarian regime. However, French was the main foreign language read and even written in Portugal. For example, French was always chosen as the language for summarizing publications in Portuguese that could be read by foreigners²⁸. There was therefore a cultured audience that could read and write in French, a sign that the language was not a linguistic barrier. As a result, it was mainly a matter of fear, as this new way of writing history could be seen as too left-wing because it was “social” and could enable some critics of the dictatorial policies.

Torquato de Sousa Soares (1903–1988) illustrates this idea very well. This historian spent his entire career at the University of Coimbra. He was a medievalist and distinguished himself with a history focused on the Portuguese great battles of the Middle Ages. Then, he wrote a political and military history. However, he seemed interested in economic and social history, as evidenced by a separata he wrote after Marc Bloch's death. In it, he stated:

More than any other contemporary historian, Marc Bloch seems destined to have a very fruitful influence on our training as history students. [...]. In reality, the work of the *Annales* is a work of apostolate, like all truly professorial work. It is in this climate, which implies a spirit of sacrifice that goes as far as renunciation, that all of Marc Bloch's mental activity develops.²⁹

The tribute paid to Marc Bloch was marked by respect for his work and his life – he who was murdered by the Nazis. Indeed, Torquato de Sousa Soares' admiration focused on the importance of Marc Bloch's historiographical output. He even asserts that the book *Feudal Society* was a “truly masterful work” in the

²⁸ For example, the historian Joaquim Bensaúde (1859–1952), after studying in Germany – which was already original in comparison with other scientists – wrote many of his books directly in French, indicating a mastery of the language and the absence of the need to translate it. (see the active bibliography in Matos, “Joaquim Bensaúde”, retrieved on 8 June 2025.)

²⁹ Soares, *Marc Bloch*, 5–8.

same text. However, despite the enthusiasm he seems to show in his writings and critical reviews, “he is not a supporter of the *Annales*”³⁰. Despite the praise, his writing style did not change and remained the same throughout his career. This is the paradox of Torquato de Sousa Soares, who seemed to read and show a genuine interest in historiographical works from abroad, but at the same time, he did not draw inspiration from them for his own work. He saw them as attractive intellectual tools without grasping them, as if his fear of standing out from Portuguese historiography had overcome his interest. This example of Torquato de Sousa Soares can be generalised to many of these historians, who did not dare to take the plunge into economic and social history.

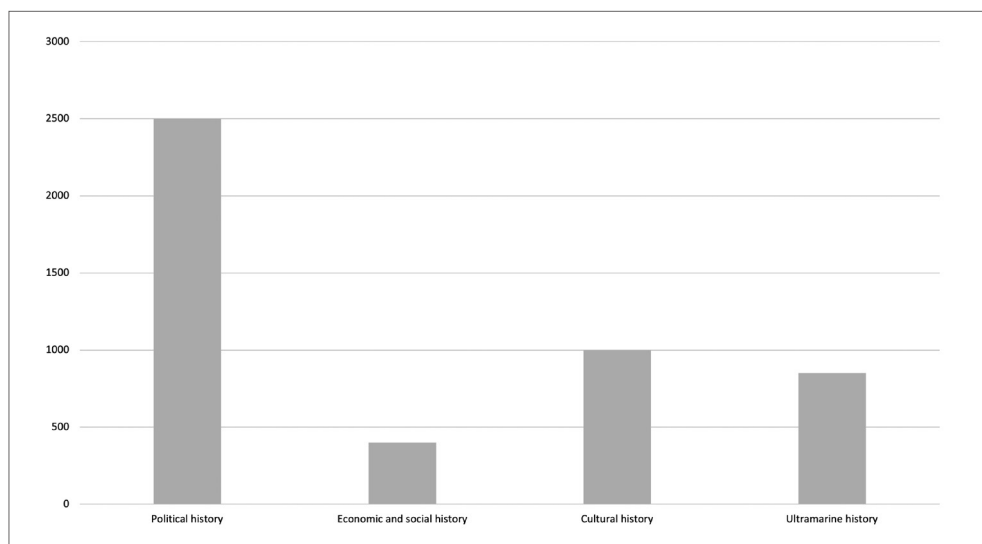


Figure 1: Extensive treatment, expressed in pages, by type of history in the History of Portugal directed by Damião Peres³¹

One might therefore wonder what kind of history these historians wrote. It had to be, as we have just said, in line with the regime’s expectations. If historians respected the taboos of history during the dictatorship, there was in fact a certain freedom in writing, even if censorship was vigilant. However, historians did not take advantage of this freedom because, in practice, the writing of history did not undergo any change throughout the dictatorship. At the beginning of the authoritarian regime, as it was the case in Europe at the beginning of the 20th century, the dominant history was mainly event-based, centred on the great figures of history – which

³⁰ Martins, “Torquato Brochado de Sousa Soares”, retrieved on 8 June 2025.

³¹ This diagram reproduces the one shown in Torgal and Mendes and Catroga, *História da história em Portugal, séculos XIX–XX*, 271.

could only please the authoritarian regime – and, as a result, it was mainly a political history. Here we can clearly see the influence of French and German methodical history. The large collection *História de Portugal* (History of Portugal), edited by Damião Peres, is a good example. Begun in 1928, a few years after the start of the dictatorship, the first phase of publication ended in 1937 with the publication of seven volumes and an index volume. The [figure 1] shows the predominant place given to political history. To these 2,500 pages, representing 53% of the total, we could add ultramarine history, which focuses mainly on imperial conquests – an additional 18%. In total, only 8% of the total volumes deal with economic and social history, a clear sign of its marginality. This work is therefore a relevant example of the limited space given to this type of history in the 1930s.

Were there any changes over the period? On the one hand, the threat of censorship contributed to what I call a *petrification* of history writing³². While in many countries the way history was written and taught underwent profound changes from the 1930s onwards, and especially in the 1940s, with the proliferation of works on economic and social history, historians in Portugal decided not to change anything and to remain largely impervious to the new paradigm. History seemed to be frozen in time: a scholarly history focused on political history and retaining a strong nationalist bias. Nevertheless, it was a rigorous history that respected the fundamentals of the scientific method, with numerous footnotes referring to sources and to the work of other historians. The seriousness of these works cannot be questioned, but its anachronism in relation to the rest of European historiography was obvious. As a result, accommodating the dictatorial regime caused a disconnect with economic and social history.

However, it is possible to identify a few historians who wrote economic and social history that differed from that written by other historians. Two historians, both teachers in Lisbon, stand out: Virgínia Rau and Jorge Borges de Macedo. Their careers were unusual compared to other historians who accepted the dictatorship. This originality explains their ability to innovate. Virgínia Rau (1907–1973) was one of the few women historians of her time. Educated at the University of Lisbon, as she herself describes, she:

left Portugal in the spring of 1928, interrupting her studies without, however, abandoning them, and took advantage of her stays abroad, particularly in France and Germany, to attend various courses during the holidays or for foreigners and to begin historical research in libraries and archives³³.

³² Araújo, *Être historien sous un régime autoritaire : Pouvoir et savoir au Portugal (1926–1974)*, 553.

³³ These are the words of Virgínia Rau, reported and inserted in an article (see Melo and Cardoso, “Virgínia Rau. Uma medievalista na pré-história”, 2014, 512.)

It was during this stay that she discovered economic and social history, and when she returned to Portugal due to the outbreak of the Second World War, she began to write about economic and social history. As a medievalist, she was interested in medieval fairs and the salt trade, among other things. Her work surprised her colleagues, but she was recognised for her achievements and even managed to become a university professor. She was also known abroad. Among being in direct contact with Fernand Braudel, “the importance and prestige of her work resulted in countless contacts with European and American historians, as she was invited on numerous occasions to speak at academic events and encouraged some of these authors to visit Portugal³⁴”. Indeed, the fact that she wrote economic and social history, like her peers abroad, explains this international openness, which was not at all the case for most historians in office. On the other hand, it must be said that her ideological alignment with the regime was clear: when she attended conferences abroad, she took the opportunity to report any possible criticism of Portuguese colonial policy to the authorities, thus acting to defend Portugal’s interests³⁵. Aware of her peculiar position within the historiographic community, she did not forget her alignment with power to defend Portuguese views.

The career of Jorge Borges de Macedo (1921–1991) is also interesting in that. During his studies he was close to groups opposed to the Portuguese authoritarian regime. He was therefore surrounded by young historians who were interested in economic and social history. However, as the years went by, he became closer to the authoritarian regime and returned to university³⁶. Nevertheless, he did not change his way to write history, and his work focused on the economic and social history of 18th-century Portugal. Although he changed political sides, he retained his interest in economic and social history. Thus, we see that at the University of Lisbon, two teachers active between the 1940s and the 1970s were particularly interested in economic and social history, in contrast to the historiographical practices in other universities in the country.

As mentioned in the beginning of this section, it should be noted that the careers of these two historians are exceptions, and their ideological alignment with the authoritarian regime allowed them to avoid attracting its attention. This situation does not apply to the other writers of economic and social history that we will now discuss.

³⁴ Matos, and Ó, *A Universidade de Lisboa nos Séculos XIX e XX*, 932.

³⁵ As reported in a letter of 27 November 1965, after a trip to Vienna where she reports that “nothing has affected the position of Portugal and its historical past”, while the colonial war was ongoing (Archives JEN/IAC, file 0841: Virgínia Roberts Rau, sheet 22.)

³⁶ Barata, “Jorge Borges de Macedo”, retrieved on 8 June 2025.

III. Does opposing dictatorship mean choosing economic and social history?

Before answering the question posed in the title, I would like to recall everything that opposing the Portuguese dictatorship entailed. First, there were professional consequences. As mentioned in the first part, historians could be dismissed from their positions or have their temporary contracts not renewed. Historians could therefore be deliberately removed from higher education, depriving them of the profession with which historians had been associated in Portugal since 1911. However, the authoritarian regime could go much further to harm historians who criticised it. For example, scientists considered most dangerous in the eyes of the regime could also be banned from teaching in secondary and primary schools. Depriving them of any teaching position was necessary to prevent their ideas from spreading among the younger generations. Those associated with the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), the main underground party from the 1940s onwards, were the most targeted by the political police³⁷. When membership of this party was known to the political police, they were systematically prevented from holding any public office. Assuming this political position therefore had serious professional consequences for individuals. Historians opposed to the dictatorial policy, who were closer to socialist or republican tendencies, were able to continue teaching in secondary schools. This was particularly the case for Joel Serrão (1919–2008), who was not a PCP activist but was close to many opposition historians. He taught between 1948 and 1972 at secondary schools in Funchal, Viseu, Setúbal and from 1954 at Passos Manuel High School in Lisbon and he even managed to join the Higher Institute of Economics from 1972 until 1975³⁸. It can therefore be seen that, after being kept away from higher education for a long time, his qualities have been recognized, and that he has managed to integrate it – without it being a position in history at the University of Lisbon. His attachment to an institute of economics is also a sign that he wrote about economic and social history.

For historians who had links with the PCP, the professional situation could be complicated, and even more so when historians had families. Some were able to join the private education system, which was outside the reach of the public authorities, as was the case with the *Colégio Moderno*, a privileged school located in Lisbon and which has welcomed some historians in opposition like Jorge Borges de Macedo, when he was still an opponent³⁹. Others had to find jobs in sectors far

³⁷ For the history of this important political party see Madeira, *História do Partido Comunista Português, das origens ao 25 de Abril 1974 (1921–1974)*.

³⁸ Sousa, “Joel Serrão”, retrieved on 8 June 2025.

³⁹ The Modern College was founded by João Lopes Soares. He is the father of Mário Soares, an important figure in Portuguese political life and founder of the Socialist Party. He became President of the Republic between 1986 and 1996. Jorge Borges de Macedo taught there courses

removed from the professions associated with the role of historian. They could choose to make use of their intellectual training to work in an advertising agency. For example, Augusto da Costa Dias (1919–1976) worked for the advertising agency Latina-Thompson between 1968 and 1974⁴⁰. Finally, they could try to join a publishing house, like Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1918–2011)⁴¹, or earn money by doing translations or anthologies as Fernando Piteira Santos (1918–1992) did⁴².

Not being dependent on the government was also a form of freedom. Those who opposed the government could choose not to follow the model of history written by those who had accepted the government and thus had the opportunity to write as they wished. However, this freedom was mainly theoretical, as in practice there were many constraints. Censorship was particularly vigilant when it saw certain names, and there was a high risk of not being able to publish one's work. Similarly, the surveillance of public communications was well known, and it was therefore necessary to be cautious in one's remarks in case a political police agent had infiltrated the group. Sometimes, communications were forbidden due to political positions as António José Saraiva experienced it⁴³. In addition, correspondence was read by the political police or even confiscated, which could have direct consequences, as some proposals for contributions might not reach their recipients. Some historians therefore chose to go into exile to be able to write freely. There were several waves of historians leaving for abroad: the first at the very beginning of the military dictatorship; the second after 1940, when the two host countries – France and Spain – experienced significant political upheaval; and the last phase after 1960, when some of the younger historians also chose to leave to escape military service and avoid fighting in the colonial war. These historians who went into exile nevertheless chose to try to continue publishing in Portugal and continued their work on Portuguese history from abroad⁴⁴.

between 1949 and 1953 as a professor of history and philosophy (Barata, “Jorge Borges de Macedo”, retrieved on 8 June 2025).

⁴⁰ Araújo, “Augusto da Costa Dias”, retrieved on 8 June 2025.

⁴¹ Magalhães, “Vitorino Magalhães Godinho”, retrieved on 8 June 2025.

⁴² Centro de Documentação do 25 de abril, *Fernando Piteira Santos: português, cidadão do século XX*, 18–19.

⁴³ He had the unpleasant experience of having a conference on the theme of “theatre and society” cancelled at the Theatre Initiation Circle of the Academy of Coimbra. Permission had been obtained for 28 November 1956 and announced in the press, but it was cancelled at the last minute by the political police. He sent a letter of protest to the Ministry of the Interior (file António José Saraiva, ANTT, PIDE/DGS, Delegation of Coimbra, Série: PI, N°P: 12 056, NT: 4604, sheets 24–29.)

⁴⁴ For the first wave, we can mention António Sérgio, Jaime Cortesão and Armando Cortesão. For the second, Vitorino Magalhães Godinho is the best known, but we can add Jaime Cortesão that went to Brazil. For the third wave, we can see Flausino Torres, António José Saraiva, Victor de Sá and Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho and for youngest Manuel Villaverde Cabral and Miriam Halpern Pereira. All these historians continued their work on Portugal.

Those who clearly opposed government policy generally chose to write history differently from those who accepted the regime. However, it is necessary to emphasise chronology to establish a link between political positioning and the writing of history. I will distinguish three different periods here. The first period extends from the early 1930s to 1940. At that time, historians wrote a history that was still timidly different from that of historians who accepted the regime. For example, the two leading historians of the opposition, António Sérgio (1883–1969) and Jaime Cortesão (1884–1960), did not stand out so much from the others. Erudition was still the norm, despite the increasingly need to problematise, to open to foreign bibliography and to present innovative analyses. While there was clear political opposition to domestic politics, political tensions faded when it came to the Empire. Indeed, the historians who opposed the dictatorship in the early decades of the authoritarian regime were characterised by their visceral attachment to the Empire. For example, the two brothers Jaime and Armando Cortesão (1891–1977) regularly celebrated the Portuguese Empire. Jaime Cortesão, was forced to get back in Portugal due to the invasion of France. We went to jail, but he was allowed to exit it for speak publicly, during the 1940 Portuguese World Exhibition, before being expelled again and leaving to Brazil⁴⁵. Armando Cortesão's intellectual journey is symptomatic of this attachment to the Empire. Exiled for several years in the United Kingdom and critical of the dictatorship, he gradually decided to defend the policies of the New State at the end of the 1950s, in response to the rise of independence activism, and ultimately became a fervent defender of the Empire's continued existence⁴⁶.

From the 1940s to the early 1960s, a new period began. The writing of history underwent profound changes and there was a clear generational break with the early opponents. Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1918–2011) played a pioneering role in Portugal. He quickly embraced economic and social history from 1940 onwards and was able to teach it to young students, even if he was dismissed two times⁴⁷. Following his first dismissal, he received an invitation of Lucien Febvre, which was a loss for Portuguese history but a professional opportunity for him. Thus, it was from France that he wrote his thesis on prices and currencies. He was

⁴⁵ This strange year for Jaime Cortesão is explained in Magalhães, “António Sérgio”, retrieved on 8 June 2025. The Portuguese World Exhibition was organised to celebrate the Portuguese nation on a double centenary. This event, held during the World War, attracted mainly Portuguese visitors and the nationalistic nature of the event was clear. An entire section was dedicated to celebrating the Empire and Portuguese colonial expansion, yet Jaime Cortesão did not hesitate for a second to participate.

⁴⁶ Andrade, “Armando Cortesão”, retrieved on 8 June 2025.

⁴⁷ He first taught at the University of Lisbon between 1941 and 1944 (Godinho and Justino (coord.), *Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, 1918–2011, Um itinerário sem ilusões nem desistência*, 21.) Dismissed from his post, he was called back to teach in 1960 due to his international prestige, before being dismissed again in 1962 for supporting the Lisbon student movement.

a direct correspondent with Fernand Braudel and tried to establish a historical society inspired by the *Annales*⁴⁸. By innovating in relation to the rest of the historical community, he adopted contemporary methods developed by other historiographies and clearly distinguished himself from the rest of the historical community. In his wake, many young historians became fascinated by economic and social history and began to write this type of history. The bibliographies of these young historians' works contain many references to French and other foreign historians, as well as to each other. This is a sign that writing economic and social history was a way for them to show their solidarity, but also to discredit the history written by other Portuguese historians. While some had to flee Portugal, others remained in Portugal and supported each other, as shown in their letters, prefaces and all other forms of solidarity. There was therefore a clear increase in the number of people who followed the economic and social history written by the *Annales*, and they all accepted this: they did so not only out of scientific interest but also to criticise the perspective of historians linked to the academic world.

The third and final period, from 1960 to 1974, was a continuation of the previous period, with a few changes. First, historians sought to offer an interpretation of history that was diametrically opposed to the view of accommodating historians. They asserted the primacy of economic and social history over an event-based and scholarly history that was considered completely outdated and out of step with the rest of historiographical production. The interpretation of imperial conquests was the subject that aroused the most tension. One notable example is António Borges Coelho (1928– still alive)⁴⁹. Historians then continued the pioneering work of the previous period to shed light on little-studied aspects of the history of Portugal, a country that remained the focus of their attention. Examples include the Inquisition studied by António José Saraiva and António Borges Coelho, and the re-evaluation of the period when the western Iberian Peninsula was under Arab rule⁵⁰. Then, opposing historians sought to fill the many gaps in the history of Portugal, notably through in-depth study of the 19th century and, to a lesser extent, the 20th century. Examples include the work of Victor de Sá (1921–2003) and Miriam Halpern Pereira (1937– still alive), who had completed their doctoral theses in France to benefit from doctoral supervision, which would have been

⁴⁸ He tried in 1947 to create a Portuguese Society for the History of Civilisation, whose aim was to impulse a branch of the Marc Bloch Society. However, after bringing together all the historians who wrote about economic and social history, the association never came to fruition, most likely due to institutional obstacles (Sousa, “Sociedade Portuguesa de História da Civilização”, retrieved on 8 June 2025.)

⁴⁹ See the example of *Roots of the Portuguese Expansion* developed in Araújo, “Science and Political Power. Writings of Portuguese History during the Dictatorship (1926–1974)”, 136–138.

⁵⁰ See Saraiva, *Inquisição e Cristãos-Novos*, 1969 and Coelho, *Portugal na Espanha árabe*, 1972 to 1974.

unthinkable in Portugal⁵¹. The younger generations therefore sought to shed light on these centuries, which had been neglected for decades for political reasons in favour of medieval and modern history, through a reading focused on economics and society.

Conclusion

This contribution sought to highlight the influence of Portuguese authoritarian power on the writing of history through the example of economic and social history. Thus, while the Portuguese dictatorship may give the impression of a certain moderation compared to other authoritarian regimes in place at that time, a closer look at the functioning of the academic world reveals a palpable discrepancy between discourse and reality. Accepting the dictatorship meant complying with certain rules and being unable to study and write about whatever one wished. For historians who criticised the regime, the risk was losing their civil service jobs or being unable to join the teaching profession. There was therefore an ideological lock on the role of the historian. Economic and social history reveals the constraints of authoritarianism. Therefore, while this way of writing history was developing abroad, academics who accepted the New State and belonging to the university, without ignoring it, very rarely opted for this style of writing and continued to write in the same way throughout the dictatorship, i.e. political history, focusing on events and major periods in Portuguese history. The academics who wrote economic and social history were mainly historians who opposed the authoritarian regime. For them, choosing economic and social history was a political act, a way of distinguishing themselves from other academics and showing that some scholars were interested in what was being written beyond national borders.

The fall of the dictatorship after the coup d'état of 25 April 1974 disrupted the functioning of the historiographical community. Many of the historians who had previously been excluded for political reasons managed to obtain university positions. From then on, economic and social history took on much greater importance in the courses taught and in publications. Thus, history written by opponents of the authoritarian regime quickly became a major trend in the 1970s and 1980s. However, despite this new impetus, there is, as Miriam Halpern Pereira has noted, a “persistent ultranationalist influence that creates another absence: that of studies on other countries”⁵². Indeed, Portuguese historians rarely venture beyond Portuguese themes. This observation, which dates to 1991, is still valid today. Is this a remnant of the national focus of historical writing during the

⁵¹ Sá, *A Crise do Liberalismo e as primeiras manifestações das ideias socialistas em Portugal (1820–1852)* and Pereira, *Livre Câmbio e Desenvolvimento Económico, Portugal na segunda metade do século XIX*.

⁵² Pereira, “Breve reflexão acerca da historiografia portuguesa no século XX”, 15.

dictatorship, or a lack of resources to conduct research on territories other than Portugal? Both arguments are valid in any case, and this point deserves further study.

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‘The Last Word of the Renaissance Civilization’: On the Soviet Edition of Francesco Guicciardini (1934)¹

Introduction

The idea of the Italian Renaissance has held a unique role in national historiographies. Since this remarkable epoch is strongly associated with values such as humanism, scientific inquiry, individualism, and creativity – values often seen as foundational to modernity – the Renaissance has been diversely reinterpreted, reflecting the cultural aspirations and political values of various nations. Across Europe and beyond, historians, writers, and politicians have sought to incorporate the legacy of the Italian Renaissance into their cultural genealogies, thereby legitimizing claims to a shared heritage of progress and cultural achievements.

In *The Italian Renaissance in the German Historical Imagination, 1860–1930* (2015), Martin Ruehl has examined how German intellectuals reimagined the Italian Renaissance during a transformative period in Germany’s history. Focusing on the years between 1860 and 1930, Ruehl demonstrated how figures like Jacob Burckhardt, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Hans Baron, among others, conceptualized the Renaissance as a symbol of modernity, individualism, and cultural rebirth. They “conceived and idealized” the Renaissance as “an intellectual and cultural revolution that fundamentally transformed man’s understanding of his place in the natural as well as the social world and gave birth to the central values (rationalism, secularism and individualism), ideologies (humanism and republicanism) and institutions (capitalism, the centralized nation state) of modern Europe.”² These interpretations, in turn, were deeply intertwined with the political and ideological currents of Imperial and Weimar Germany.

Antony Molho, in his essay “The Italian Renaissance: Made in USA,” argues that the modern conception of the Italian Renaissance as a foundational moment in Western civilization was largely constructed by American scholars in the 20th century.³ While Jacob Burckhardt laid the groundwork in the 19th century, the

¹ This chapter originates from the project that has received funding from the European Union’s Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie Grant Agreement No. 101023490.

² Ruehl, *The Italian Renaissance in the German Historical Imagination 1860–1930*.

³ Molho, “The Italian Renaissance, Made in the USA”, 263–294.

Renaissance was institutionalized as a distinct epoch marked by individualism, secularism, and modern political values in the United States. Molho emphasizes that this narrative served ideological purposes during the Cold War, presenting the Renaissance as the origin of values aligned with liberal democracy and contrasting them with totalitarian ideologies. In this sense, the Renaissance, though rooted in Italian history, was conceptually “made in the USA” and largely shaped by the cultural and political needs of its interpreters.

This chapter addresses the first Russian translation of the selected political and autobiographical writings of Francesco Guicciardini, published in 1934 by *Academia*, one of the most successful publishing houses in Soviet history. By situating the publication of Guicciardini’s writings within the broader political and intellectual context of the time, the chapter demonstrates how Soviet historians engaged with Renaissance political thought during a period of profound ideological transformation in the early Soviet era and, more broadly, explores the complex relationship between Western intellectual heritage and Soviet historical discourse.

Study of the Italian Renaissance in the Early Soviet Era

Admiration for the Italian Renaissance was widespread among the educated public in the Russian Empire. Russian nobility held Italian art, music, and architecture in especially high regard, and a journey to Italy was considered an essential part of aristocratic education. In the mid-nineteenth century, Russian professional historians first looked at the Italian Renaissance as a unique cultural phenomenon that had a special significance for the history of Western civilization. Influenced by Hegelian philosophy of history, these historians largely focused on “spiritual life,” or “ideology” of the Renaissance, looking at its art, humanism, and philosophy as the self-actualization of the World Spirit.¹ At the same time, fascinated with Jacob Burckhardt’s *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (1860), Russian historians, particularly those aligned with the Westernizer camp, were captivated by the idea of the Renaissance as the “mother of modernity.” These scholars, many of whom were educated in Western Europe, sought to identify “turning points” in world history that could help discover Russia’s path of peaceful modernization.

The study of the Italian Renaissance in the early Soviet era unfolded under particularly challenging circumstances. Following the October Revolution of 1917, Russian historians, who had enjoyed a relative degree of academic autonomy,

¹ On the study of the Italian Renaissance in the Russian Empire, see, for instance, Afoniuskhina, “Izuchenie ital’ianskogo Vozrozhdeniia v rossiiskoi universitetskoi nauke vtoroi poloviny XIX veka”, 3–9.; Lunin, “Dorevoliutsionnye otechestvennye gumanitarii o proiskhozhdenii kul’tury evropeiskogo Vozrozhdeniia”, 150–160.

mobility, and methodological pluralism in the late imperial period, found themselves in a new ideological landscape. Political shifts after the revolution dramatically changed historical writing and the interpretation of the past. Marxism-Leninism, soon institutionalized as the official state ideology, put an end to a diversity of historical methodologies and interpretations of the past. Historical materialism was now regarded as the only valid scientific method of conceiving objective truth. History, in turn, interpreted through the Marxist lens of class struggle and economic formations, had to reflect the material conditions of the studied period and give priority to the roles of the proletariat and the dynamics of economic class relations.²

In his 1950 review of postwar Guicciardini scholarship, Vincent Luciani (1906–1980) – a distinguished American scholar of Italian political thought and author of the seminal *Francesco Guicciardini and His European Reputation* (1936) – praised the early twentieth-century Italian historians Paolo Guicciardini, Roberto Ridolfi, and Roberto Palmarocchi as “tireless investigators whom no external conditions have diverted from their labors.”³ Luciani’s observation can be equally applied – perhaps even to a greater extent – to Russian historians, who, against all odds, devoted themselves to the study of the Italian Renaissance in the early Soviet decades. The devastating consequences of the First World War and the Russian Civil War resulted in poverty and social disintegration in the country, leaving little room for scholarship. Research infrastructures significantly deteriorated: the acquisition of foreign books became nearly impossible, interlibrary loan services were frequently interrupted even within the country, and opportunities for international travel were severely restricted.

For scholars specializing in medieval and early modern history, these conditions were especially damaging. Medieval and Renaissance studies traditionally depended on engagement with European manuscript collections and access to up-to-date scholarship in the field, often unavailable in Russia. The considerable limitations imposed on Soviet historians either forced them into exile, “internal emigration,” or adjustment to the Marxist framework while seeking alternative ways to continue their professional activities. Among these alternatives for the scholars of medieval and early modern Europe were the popularization of historical knowledge and the translation of Renaissance humanist texts.

At the same time, Karl Marx’s and Friedrich Engels’ admiration for the Italian Renaissance and some of its key protagonists, such as Leonardo da Vinci or Niccolò Machiavelli, gave the study of the Italian Renaissance in Soviet Russia a new

² On the party institutions aimed to prepare Marxist cadres for education and propaganda, particularly, Sverdlov Communist University, the Institute of Red Professors, and the Communist Academy, see David-Fox, *Revolution of the Mind: Higher Learning among the Bolsheviks, 1918–1929*; Fitzpatrick, *Education and Social Mobility in the Soviet Union 1921–1934*.

³ Luciani, “Recent Guicciardini Studies (1945–1948)”, 109.

momentum. In *The Dialectics of Nature* (1873–1883), Engels characterized the cultural and political developments in Renaissance Italy as follows: “It was the greatest progressive revolution that mankind has so far experienced, a time which called for giants and produced giants – giants in the power of thought, passion, and character, in universality and learning. The men who founded the modern rule of the bourgeoisie had anything but bourgeois limitations. On the contrary, the adventurous character of the time inspired them to a greater or lesser degree.”⁴

The high regard for the Italian Renaissance expressed by Marx and Engels played a crucial role in promoting Soviet scholarship in this field. The “revolutionary” spirit of the Renaissance found an unexpected echo in the imagination of the Bolsheviks, as well as among Soviet historians and writers. They perceived a certain affinity between the heroic figure of the Renaissance man, as described by Engels, and the New Soviet Man, the key “ideological construct” of the Soviet project.⁵ Both Renaissance man and the Soviet proletarian were imagined as historical “giants,” agents of transformation standing at turning points in history. In such a perspective, the Renaissance was not a distant cultural moment but a precursor to the revolutionary future, part of a historical continuity culminating in the rise of socialism.

As a consequence, publication of popular biographies of Renaissance painters, philosophers, and poets, as well as new Russian translations of Renaissance humanist literature, was among the notable developments of the 1920s and 1930s. Generously sponsored by the state, the newly prepared Soviet editions of Western literary and philosophical masterpieces were supplemented by critical introductions and commentaries, aimed not only to introduce Soviet readers to the cultural heritage of the West but also to reinterpret that heritage in line with the socialist ideals and purposes of Soviet propaganda.

In this context, thoughts of Anatoly Lunacharsky (1875–1933), the first People’s Commissar for Enlightenment, on the significance of Western “bourgeois” culture for the Soviet proletariat are particularly prominent and reflect Soviet policies of cultural appropriation of the Western heritage:

By thus opposing our proletarian culture to the old bourgeois one, I am far from suggesting that the works of geniuses should be counted among the bourgeois ranks. [...] From this point of view, these geniuses are not yours, gentlemen of the bourgeoisie – they are ours. And they are not there for us to bow before slavishly or imitate blindly; they are simply our comrades and suffering brothers who, like us, create and shape life. Such geniuses should occupy an honorable place in our proletarian pantheon.⁶

⁴ Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*. 21. (Written 1873–1883.)

⁵ Fritzsche–Hellbeck, “The New Man in Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany”, 322.

⁶ Lunacharsky, “O proletarskoi kul’ture”, 19. Similar ideas are expressed by him in Lunacharsky, *Self-Education of the Workers: The Cultural Task of the Struggling Proletariat.*; On A. Lunacharsky

In his speeches, lectures, and writings, Lunacharsky repeatedly insisted that the greatest figures of the Western canon, including what he ambiguously called "Renaissance intelligentsia," not only should not be rejected but should be seen as the forerunners of socialist values.⁷

After the October Revolution, Anatoly Lunacharsky played a key role in shaping Soviet cultural policies. He believed that the proletarian revolution required not only economic, but also cultural transformation. Having studied in Zurich and spent much of his life before 1917 in Western Europe, Lunacharsky was a connoisseur of European culture. In 1905, he spent a short period in exile in Florence and, in later years, was a frequent guest at Maxim Gorky's villa on the island of Capri.⁸ There, together with Gorky and Alexandr Bogdanov, he developed the idea of a new socialist culture and educational model for the proletariat. The future People's Commissar for Enlightenment admired Italian Renaissance literature and art and was fluent in Italian. In 1905, he even wrote a short story, *Night in Florence* (published in 1909), in which Girolamo Savonarola and Sandro Botticelli witness the birth of Christ in Florence. He also authored an unfinished theatrical play about Tommaso Campanella.

Lunacharsky's affinity for Italian and broader European culture anticipated and, in many ways, set the tone for the Soviet state's engagement with the cultural legacy of the West. This vision found institutional expression in the work of, among others, the publishing house Academia.⁹ Active from 1922 to 1937, Academia played

and his ideas on socialist education and culture, see, among others, Fitzpatrick, Sheila. *The Commissariat of Enlightenment: Soviet Organization of Education and the Arts Under Lunacharsky, October 1917–1921.*; O'Connor, T. E. *The Politics of Soviet Culture: Anatolii Lunacharskii.*; On Lunacharsky's years in Italy, see Chapter 2 of R. C. Williams. *Artists in Revolution: Portraits of the Russian Avant-Garde 1905–1925.*

⁷ The term "Renaissance intelligentsia," coined by Lunacharsky and developed by Dzhivelegov within the context of socialist culture is addressed in Kravtsova, Elena Sergeevna. "Bol'shevistskaja vlast' v poiskah istoricheskoi legitimacii: sozdanie sovetskoj koncepcii jepohi Vozrozhdenija", 41–58. Kravtsova examined how, in his early 1920s lectures at the Communist University, Anatoly Lunacharsky interpreted the Italian Renaissance as a formative moment in the development of bourgeois culture and a useful historical analogy for the Soviet present. Drawing on Marx and Engels, he traced the rise of the bourgeoisie through economic changes in Italian city-states and described the Renaissance intelligentsia as a class-aligned ideological force that helped articulate bourgeois values. Crucially, he argued that the intelligentsia is never classless but always serves the dominant class – past or present. In this light, Lunacharsky cast Renaissance humanists as sympathetic forerunners of the Soviet intelligentsia, who, despite their compromised position, longed unconsciously for social justice, which only the proletariat could bring. His reading both aligned with Marxist historical materialism and served to justify the ideological role of Soviet intellectuals in building proletarian culture.

⁸ On the pre-revolutionary developments on Capri, see Cioni. *Un Ateismo Religioso: Il Bolscevismo dalla Scuola di Capri allo Stalinismo.*; Caruso, *Lenin a Capri: Intellettuali, Marxismo, Religione.*

⁹ On the history of the publishing house Academia and its catalogues, see Krylov–Kichatova. *Izdatel'stvo "Academia": Ljudi i knigi. 1921–1938–1991.*

a crucial role in introducing European classics – including masterpieces of the Italian Renaissance – to Soviet readers. Despite economic hardships and repressions against its staff, Academia managed to publish approximately 900 volumes, distinguished by their exceptional editorial and aesthetic quality. Its illustrated editions of world literature received international acclaim and earned prestigious prizes at book fairs in Prague (1924), Leipzig (1927), Cologne (1928), and Paris (1937).

Within Academia, the Italian unit was specifically tasked with producing annotated translations of key works of Italian literature. Its scope extended beyond the canonical figures to include Renaissance humanists, political theorists, and poets. New Russian translations of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Machiavelli, Guicciardini, Politian, and Bracciolini, among others, were published in about fifteen years of Academia's existence. These volumes were accompanied by scholarly introductions and prefaces – often substantial in length and written by the best experts in the field – in which the best Soviet historians and literary critics framed the significance of these texts for Soviet modernity.¹⁰

In 1932, the Russian historian of Armenian origin Aleksey Karpovich Dzhivelegov (1875–1952) was appointed as the head of the Academia's Italian unit. His students called him a “Renaissance Man” and a “Knight of the Quattrocento” – a reflection of his reputation as a passionate expert on Renaissance Italy and an excellent lecturer. Dzhivelegov studied history and philology at Moscow University under the prominent Russian (and later British) historian Pavel Gavrilovich Vinogradoff (1854–1925). Vinogradoff's historical work focused on social, economic, and legal history. His methodological approach, grounded in historical positivism and close reading of primary sources, shaped Dzhivelegov's path and choice of research subjects. Under Vinogradoff's influence, he developed a strong interest in the social and economic history of medieval and early modern Europe and learned to systematically work with primary sources – an approach he carried into his later work on the Italian Renaissance.¹¹

By the 1930s, Dzhivelegov had gained a reputation as one of the most knowledgeable experts on the Italian Renaissance, committed not only to its scholarly study but also to the popularization of knowledge about it. He translated

¹⁰ The significance of these translations for Soviet internationalism and socialist culture is explored, among others by Eleonory Gilburd in *To See Paris and Die: The Soviet Lives of Western Culture*. 1–55.; Bedson, Tatiana–Lin, Yumeng–Schulz, Maxim. *Translation Strategies in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and 1930s: Implementation of Translation Principles in Publishing Houses.*; Schippel, Larisa and Cornelia Zwischenberger (eds.), *Going East: Discovering New and Alternative Traditions in Translation Studies (Transkulturalität – Translation – Transfer 28.)* 269–292.; Sherry, “Translation and Translators in the Soviet Union.” 17–44.

¹¹ For Dzhivelegov's biography, see Egorov–Kazarov, “A.K. Dzhivelegov – istorik, iskusstvoved i pedagog,” 175–186.; Kirakosyan, *Aleksej Dzhivelegov i ego istoriko-publicisticheskoe nasledie.*; Devyatova, *Aleksei Karpovich Dzhivelegov: Obshchestvenno-politicheskii deiatel', istorik i pedagog.*

several important humanist texts, including Poggio Bracciolini's *Facetiae* (1470) and Angelo Poliziano's *Fabula di Orpheo* (1479–1480), as well as published a series of popular biographies of major Renaissance figures, including *Leonardo da Vinci* (1934), *Michelangelo* (1938), and *Dante* (1946). Written in vivid and engaging language, these works still retain their educational value today. In 1921, he was appointed as a deputy director of *Lo Studio Italiano* – Institute for the Study of Italian culture in Moscow, founded by the Italian literary scholar and translator Odoardo Campa in 1916. After the revolution, the initiative was supported by the Bolsheviks and, personally, Anatoly Lunacharsky.¹²

As the head of the Italian section, Dzhivelegov prepared, among others, Russian editions of the selected writings by Niccolò Machiavelli and Francesco Guicciardini (1483–1540), both published in 1934.¹³ Unlike Machiavelli, whose political writings were well-known to Russian scholars and the educated public since they had been translated into Russian before, Guicciardini was “a stranger to the Russian reader.”¹⁴ The volume included the *Ricordi politici e civili* (1512–1530) as well as Guicciardini's autobiographical notes. The texts were translated from Italian into Russian by the lawyer and historian of philosophy Mikhail Solomonovich Feldshtein (1885–1939),¹⁵ and prefaced by Dzhivelegov himself.

“True son of the Renaissance, not of its heroic times, but its decadent ones”¹⁶: Soviet historian interprets Florentine statesman

Francesco Guicciardini, the Florentine historian and statesman, was hardly a suitable figure to educate Soviet people. Born into a prominent aristocratic family, he served as an ambassador of the Republic of Florence to Spain and as an advisor to the Medici, including Pope Clement VII. Guicciardini's often ambiguous reflections on the state, government, and church have led to polarized interpretations of his legacy among scholars. For example, in his *Considerations on the Discourses of Machiavelli*, Guicciardini – who had served the papacy since 1516 – opens Chapter XII with the harsh condemnation of the Catholic Church: “One can never speak ill enough of the Roman court, for it is an infamy, a pattern

¹² D'Amelia, Antonella, and Daniela Rizzi (eds.), *Russkoe prisutstvie v Italii v pervoi polovine XX veka: Entsiklopediia*. 307–309.

¹³ On Machiavelli in Russia, see Rees, *Political Thought from Machiavelli to Stalin: Revolutionary Machiavellism*; Prezzolini, *Machiavelli*. 327–335.; Yusim, “Machiavelli v Rossii”, 196–557.

¹⁴ Dzhivelegov–Feldshteyn (eds.), *Francesco Guicciardini. Sochineniia*.

¹⁵ Mikhail Solomonovich Feldshtein (1885–1939) was a Russian legal scholar, historian of philosophy, and expert in the history of political thought. Educated at Moscow University, he became a lecturer and later a professor at the university's law faculty. Feldshtein was repeatedly arrested under Soviet rule, accused of anti-Soviet activities, and sentenced to death in 1939. He was posthumously rehabilitated in 1957.

¹⁶ Dzhivelegov, “Vstupitel'naja stat'ja”, 37.

of all the opprobrium and vituperation of the world.”¹⁷ Such a fierce criticism of the papal court fit the Soviet anticlerical propaganda, but Guicciardini’s aristocratic background placed him within the oligarchic elite, hardly a role model for the proletariat.

Also, Guicciardini was known to question the ability of the common people to establish and maintain a republic without the guidance of a wise aristocracy. Unlike Machiavelli, who believed the common people were powerful agents in maintaining a stable government, Guicciardini expressed aristocratic disdain for them, describing the masses as “a wild animal,” “a chest of ignorance,” or “waves of the sea driven by the wind.”¹⁸ Guicciardini’s reasoning on people did not align with the interests of the Florentine “working class” and did not fit the Soviet narrative where the proletariat was enthroned as a ruling class.

Sincerity of Guicciardini’s patriotism likewise raised doubts among his readers. While he expressed a strong sense of patriotism in *Dialogue on the Government of Florence* (1520), Guicciardini turned more cynical and instrumental towards his homeland in *Considerations on the Discourses of Machiavelli* (1527–1529):

All cities, all states, all reigns are mortal. Everything, either by nature or by accident, ends at some time. And so, a citizen who is living in the final stage of his country’s existence should not feel as sorry for his country as he should for himself. What happened to his country was inevitable, but to be born at a time when such a disaster had to happen was his misfortune.¹⁹

Yet, alongside Machiavelli, Francesco Guicciardini was one of the foremost political thinkers of the Renaissance, whose insights into Florentine history and politics were as significant as Machiavelli’s – even if he was overshadowed by Machiavelli for centuries. The Soviet edition of Guicciardini was published in only 300 copies, targeting a narrow audience within the Russian-speaking intelligentsia, able to appreciate both Guicciardini’s thought and Dzhivelegov’s insights into his persona and writings. In comparison, the first volume of Machiavelli’s works, prepared by Academia in the same year (1934), had a print run of 5,300 copies. In 1933, *The Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* by Giorgio Vasari was published in 10,350 copies, and Politian’s *The Fable of Orpheus* in 5,300. These numbers demonstrate that the publication of Guicciardini’s writings was a niche, rather than mass, event in Soviet cultural and intellectual life.²⁰

¹⁷ Guicciardini, “Considerations on the Discourses of Machiavelli”, 81.

¹⁸ See, for example: Francesco Guicciardini, *Maxims and Reflections of a Renaissance Statesman* (*Ricordi*), trans. Mario Domandi 76. “To speak of the people is really to speak of a mad animal gorged with a thousand and one errors and confusions, devoid of taste, of pleasure, of stability.”

¹⁹ Guicciardini, *Considerations*. 89.

²⁰ For the full catalogue of the books published by Academia, see Krylov–Kichatova. *Izdatel'stvo "Academia": Ljudi i knigi. 1921–1938–1991*.

Dzhivelegov, who was commissioned to write the introductory essay and edit the translation, faced a difficult task: he had to justify the publication of a Florentine aristocrat whose political views were, from a Soviet perspective, ideologically questionable, and explain the relevance of his work to a Soviet readership. In the early twentieth century, Guicciardini's significance for the history of political thought and, more broadly, Italian Renaissance culture, was an understudied subject matter not only in Russia but also in Europe. Such a state of things was caused by the fact that most of his works were discovered in the archives and published only in the mid-nineteenth century. During the Renaissance, only Guicciardini's *Storia d'Italia* was published in full. It was only in the 1850s and 1860s, during the Risorgimento, when Giuseppe Canestrini (1807–1870) published ten volumes of Guicciardini's writings that allowed scholars to start reevaluating him as a historian and political thinker, and it took even more decades to fully grasp the immense significance of his writings.

In this context, Dzhivelegov's original contribution to the interpretation of Guicciardini can be seen as valuable not merely in a narrowly Soviet but in a broader European context. From the preface to Guicciardini's writings, we learn that Dzhivelegov was well aware of the key developments in Guicciardini's studies during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Among the reasons why Guicciardini gained such a negative image among scholars, Dzhivelegov argued, was the lack of knowledge of his writings as well as the adverse portrait created by the influential Italian scholar of literature Francesco de Sanctis (1817–1883). Pasquale Villari, another prominent Italian historian, in contrast, defended Guicciardini, which later paved the way to more apologies for the Florentine diplomat's persona and work.

"What accounts for this huge variation in the evaluation of the man and the writer?" Dzhivelegov asks and immediately gives the answer: it is easy to run into mistakes if there is no "firm soil" for judgments. As Guicciardini often wrote and acted in such a way that his true thoughts were not always easy to discern, "firm soil" to understand his behavior, a Russian historian insisted, must be sought in Guicciardini's social background and the historical moment he lived in.²¹ The historian's aim, therefore, is to understand Guicciardini rather than take sides with his critics or advocates. This approach allowed Dzhivelegov to look at the Florentine thinker in a rather balanced way, avoiding superficial judgements in the spirit of vulgar Marxism-Leninism.

Guicciardini, Dzhivelegov argued, was a man of his time – a time of a deep political crisis in the Florentine Republic and, more generally, "the collapse of power in Italy at the end of the Renaissance."²² The Florentine diplomat was seen by a Russian historian as an embodiment of "decaying" bourgeoisie, and his *Ricordi*

²¹ Dzhivelegov, "Vstupitel'naja stat'ja", 14.

²² Ibid, 7.

were read as reflections of an intellectually and morally declining class – “the last word of the Renaissance civilization.”²³ In the spirit of the time, Dzhivelegov made parallels between the Florentine bourgeoisie and the present-day capitalist West, which, according to him, was going through an even more devastating moral and political crisis than the Florentine Republic in the sixteenth century.

To understand Guicciardini, the historian explains to his readership, means to understand the logic of the crisis of modern capitalism: “Guicciardini will help the Soviet reader grasp and be appalled by the moral and intellectual decline of the modern bourgeoisie better than anyone else. This alone, not to mention other reasons, may justify the appearance of a translation of Guicciardini in our time.”²⁴ Dzhivelegov’s interpretation thus aligns with the broader Soviet historiographical project, shaped, among others, by Lunacharsky’s aspirations: to uncover in the past the seeds of present struggles and to use historical figures like Guicciardini as cautionary examples of bourgeois decay, pointing at the inevitability of revolutionary transformation.

The decline of the Renaissance civilization, Dzhivelegov argued, raised pessimism and moral ambivalence even among “the most brilliant Italian minds”²⁵ that he otherwise defines as “Renaissance intelligentsia.” Dzhivelegov introduced the term “Renaissance intelligentsia” to his scholarship soon after the October Revolution of 1917, perhaps under the influence of Lunacharsky, who applied this term in the lectures on Italian literature in the early 1920s.²⁶ In 1929, Dzhivelegov devoted the entire book, *Essays on the Italian Renaissance*, to the analysis of “the Renaissance intelligentsia.” The endpoint and motivation of this analysis are no less striking than the term itself. In view of the historian, this was the sole method that could demonstrate how “facts and ideas of that time [*Cinquecento*] can be connected with our modernity.”²⁷

Some of Dzhivelegov’s reflections in the book of 1929 are rather remarkable. As the “ideology” of humanism, according to him, expressed the interests of the bourgeoisie, it acquired “ugly” traits, among which Dzhivelegov stressed the “supernatural ability to adapt” and “flexibility, sometimes reaching the point of moral indifference” that altogether helped the humanists “to fulfill their historical mission.”²⁸ When describing the miserable life of the humanists, who had to beg the wealthy kings and princes, the image of the Soviet intellectuals forced to find a common language with the Bolsheviks comes to mind: “Humiliating themselves before kings, princes, nobles, begging from popes and prelates, groveling wherever

²³ Ibid, 56.

²⁴ Ibid, 8.

²⁵ Ibid, 36.

²⁶ This issue was addressed in Kravtsova (2021), cit.

²⁷ Dzhivelegov, *Ocherki ital’janskogo Vozrozhdenija*. 5.

²⁸ Ibid, 13.

gold rang, humanists hammered into the minds of the haves and commanders, and the whole society through them, the idea of the importance, and great importance of intellectual labor. Their efforts were crowned with success. Those in power have more than once had the opportunity to test both the moral strength and the practical power of the main craft of humanists..."²⁹

One way or another, Dzhivelegov explained what he saw as the moral decline of the Renaissance and, particularly, Guicciardini as the embodiment of its "decadence." In the time when its homeland was collapsing, Florentine bourgeoisie was guided by self-interest and willingness to survive that forced them to develop flexibility and adapt to the changing political circumstances: "When the line of individual behavior, and the code of personal morality is established in an almost catastrophic situation, altruistic motives fall silent: people think about their salvation. Francesco finished his *Ricordi* under the roar of cannons firing at Florence, amidst the fires that were consuming villages and cities around it."³⁰ Guicciardini, in Dzhivelegov's view, believed that self-interest governed human behavior more than any sense of duty, and that private motives could easily override even the strongest convictions. He is thus presented as a quintessential product of late Renaissance culture: "What Guicciardini said in the *Ricordi* had to be said. Without this, the Renaissance civilization would not have spoken its last word."³¹

Guicciardini embodied a synthesis of "idealism" and "practicism," which is he possessed a clear vision of how things ought to be yet adapted his actions to the practical constraints of political reality: "To reproach him [*Guicciardini*] for this is to misunderstand both the politics of the era and its culture."³² This reasoning on Guicciardini's way of thinking and conduct is close to that of Felix Gilbert. In his article exploring the influence of Machiavelli on Guicciardini (1939), Gilbert wrote: "The driving force behind Guicciardini's incessant literary efforts and the development of his political thought is the bent of the Renaissance mind for speculation and, more especially, Guicciardini's own tendency to combine *ragione* and *esperienza*, that is to fit his practical experience into a rational system."³³

Among the strengths of Dzhivelegov's analysis is his interpretation of the opposition between Machiavelli and Guicciardini. This interpretation emerged from his deep engagement with the political and economic history of the Florentine Republic, as well as with the personalities and intellectual trajectories of both thinkers. According to Dzhivelegov, the fundamental difference between them lay in the trajectories of their thinking. Machiavelli began with personal ethics and moved toward the analysis of public affairs – progressing, as Dzhivelegov put it,

²⁹ Ibid, 14.

³⁰ Dzhivelegov, "Vstupitel'naja stat'ja."

³¹ Ibid, 58.

³² Ibid, 55–56.

³³ Gilbert, Felix. "Machiavelli and Guicciardini", 263–266.

“from ethics to sociology and politics.” Guicciardini, by contrast, evolved in the opposite direction: from political and sociological analysis toward the ethics of everyday life.

This divergence in intellectual trajectory, Dzhivelegov argued, reflected the distinct historical moments in which each thinker wrote. Machiavelli composed his major works before what Dzhivelegov identified as the “decisive turning point” in Florentine history, marked by the year 1526. Guicciardini, on the other hand, wrote in the aftermath of that turning point, “when hopelessness, like a thick, viscous fog, had begun to envelop everything.”³⁴ Dzhivelegov emphasized that although the two men belonged to neighboring strata of bourgeois society, they represented irreconcilable positions within it. Despite personal friendship, they developed opposing political doctrines, each embodying a distinct phase in the evolution of Renaissance thought.

Finally, Dzhivelegov grounded the contrast between Machiavelli and Guicciardini in their differing social backgrounds. Machiavelli, whom Dzhivelegov appeared to regard more sympathetically, represented what he called the “mercantile-industrial bourgeoisie,” whose position was threatened by the resurgence of feudal forces. Guicciardini, by contrast, spoke for the “rentier class,” which preferred a social order that privileged agriculture over commerce and industry. As a result, Machiavelli distrusted the feudal aristocracy and the landed classes but placed confidence in the people. Guicciardini, conversely, feared the masses and aligned himself with the stability he associated with property and hierarchy.

Such terminology and interpretation would be today recognized as anachronistic and ideologically charged, as it reflects the Marxist-Leninist analytical framework dominant in early Soviet historiography. Rather than attempting to reconstruct Renaissance political thought on its own terms, Dzhivelegov projected modern class categories onto the past, transforming historical actors into precursors of the bourgeoisie or reactionary aristocracy. While this approach oversimplified the complexities of Renaissance political discourse, it also served a clear pedagogical function within the Soviet context, which was to present political and intellectual developments in Renaissance Florence through the prism of class struggle.

Between conformity and conviction: survival of a liberal historian in Soviet academia

In the spirit of the time, Dzhivelegov employed some of the Marxist terminology that would make his interpretation better fit the Soviet ideological framework. Yet, despite using terms such as “class interest” and paying much attention to the “social

³⁴ Dzhivelegov, “Vstupitel’naja stat’ja”, 56.

struggle” and “class background” in his analysis, Dzhivelegov, who was educated in a liberal tradition of historical science before the revolution, was far from accepting historical materialism. He believed historical process represented a succession of stages and periods rather than economic formations. Neither did he view the Renaissance as merely “a superstructure,” brought to life due solely to economic factors. Answering the question that puzzled many European and Russian historians, which is what the factors were that contributed to exceptional cultural flourishing on the Italian lands in the 14th–16th centuries, Dzhivelegov argued that the Renaissance was a result of a complex interplay of factors, including but not limited to economic one. Yet his views transformed in response to the changes in the political landscape in the country.

In 1908, Dzhivelegov published *The Origins of the Italian Renaissance (Načalo ital'ânskogo Vozroždeniâ)*,³⁵ which was one of the first attempts in Russian historiography to comprehensively address the nature and genesis of the Italian Renaissance. Most chapters in this book, written rather in a popular than strictly academic style, focused on Renaissance art, humanism, and politics. In this book, Dzhivelegov, on the one hand, argued: “It is completely false to see it [*the Renaissance*] as a purely ideological phenomenon that has no connection with economic, social, and political relations.”³⁶ On the other hand, Dzhivelegov did not claim that some factors were more important than others; rather, he argued that all of them contributed equally to the cultural flourishing of the Italian cities and gradual replacement of the medieval worldview. Such an interpretation was a step forward compared to previous Russian historiography, impacted by Hegelian philosophy of history that looked at the Renaissance as primarily an intellectual or spiritual movement. It was closer to a modern view that any period or phenomenon in history is shaped by a constellation of conditions, both material and ideal.

In the 1920s, however, Dzhivelegov was compelled to revise his earlier views, as is evident in the second edition of *The Origins of the Italian Renaissance* (1924), published shortly after the Bolshevik Revolution. In this edition, the Russian historian emphasized the primacy of economic forces and material conditions in shaping the cultural and intellectual developments of Renaissance Italy. Due to the lack of sufficient archival evidence, it is difficult to determine Dzhivelegov’s true motivation for these changes. Whether he sought to align his work with the new ideological climate or his historical perspective genuinely shifted under Bolshevik influence remains unclear. Nevertheless, Dzhivelegov incorporated new chapters addressing themes traditionally emphasized in Marxist historiography, such as the Ciompi Revolt and “social struggle.” Notably, the foreword of the 1908 edition, which stated, “It is hard to be original after Burckhardt,” was omitted in the second edition. In Soviet historiography, Jacob Burckhardt had come to be viewed as

³⁵ Dzhivelegov, *Nacahalo italianiskogo Vozrozhdenia*.

³⁶ Ibid, 5.

a “bourgeois” historian who, despite his monumental contributions in the study of the Renaissance, was criticized for his failure to grasp the materialist foundations of history.

Dzhivelegov had the misfortune of working under political and economic conditions that left little room for intellectual freedom. By the 1920s – and especially the 1930s – it was no longer possible for a historian in Soviet Russia to openly diverge from the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of history. Although Dzhivelegov was fortunate enough to avoid political repression, the dominance of historical materialism and criticism from Marxist historians contributed to the fact that this talented scholar, fluent in several European languages, including Italian, had a less successful academic career than he arguably deserved. An unsophisticated Soviet reader might not have noticed that Dzhivelegov’s approach to history differed from Marxist orthodoxy, but his peers in the academic community quickly identified these “flaws.” For example, historian Osip Vainshtein, while acknowledging Dzhivelegov’s deep knowledge of Renaissance sources, criticized his conclusions as overly “simplistic” and incompatible with Marxist historiography.³⁷ Matvey Goukovsky, another prominent historian of the Italian Renaissance, was even more severe in his critique, questioning Dzhivelegov’s methodology and ideological stance, attributing his allegedly “bourgeois” perspective to both his pre-revolutionary liberal affiliations and methodological divergence from Marxist principles.³⁸

Indeed, Dzhivelegov’s intellectual formation occurred within the context of Russian liberal historical scholarship, which by the late 19th century had adopted a broadly positivist framework. In contemporary terms, his approach paralleled what might be described as a commitment to empirically grounded social science history, seeking generalizable patterns and “laws” in human development. Following his teacher, Pavel Vinogradoff, Dzhivelegov saw historical inquiry as a form of social science, capable of producing objective knowledge through rigorous source criticism and inductive reasoning. While he did not develop a distinct theoretical break from the dominant paradigm, his work on the Renaissance illustrates a form of contextualist analysis, situating intellectual movements like humanism within their political, economic, and cultural situation of the time. Dzhivelegov’s emphasis on historical causation and sociological frameworks places him in alignment with what would now be identified as a historically grounded form of social theory.

³⁷ Vainshtein, *Istoriografiia Srednikh vekov v sviazi s razvitiem istoricheskoi mysli ot nachala srednikh vekov do nashikh dnei*. 310.

³⁸ Gukovskii, “Sovremennaia literatura po italiianскому Vozrozhdeniiu”, 313.

Conclusion

The 1934 Soviet edition of Francesco Guicciardini's political and autobiographical writings was not merely an act of scholarly preservation or cultural appreciation. It is rather another example demonstrating the complex nature of the Soviet engagement with the Western intellectual tradition. In a period marked by ideological dogmatism and political repression, the publication of Renaissance texts served as both a survival strategy for historians and a means of constructing Soviet cultural identity. Far from rejecting the legacy of the Italian Renaissance, Soviet intellectuals – following Marx, Engels, and the educated Bolsheviks like Lunacharsky – reinterpreted it as a precursor of socialist revolution.

By situating Guicciardini within a dialectical narrative of historical development, Soviet historians reimagined Renaissance political thought not as a celebration of bourgeois individualism but as a necessary stage in the evolution of class consciousness and the eventual triumph of the proletariat. This act of ideological appropriation can serve as another example of how the Renaissance legacy was adapted to ideological concerns across divergent political regimes and intellectual paradigms. Finally, the 1934 edition reveals the persistence of humanist inquiry under Soviet rule and offers another insight into how the past was mobilized to serve the ideological imperatives of the present.

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VILMOS ERŐS

From Reconstructionist to Public History in East-Central Europe. (Main Trends in Hungarian Historical Writing after 1990.)

Introduction

The professionalization of Hungarian historiography took place in the second half of the 19th century, in the period of the so-called Austro-Hungarian Dualism.¹ Although political-ideological motives played a significant role in this process (e. g. in institutionalization), the era was essentially characterized by an atmosphere of freedom in academia, in tune with the generally liberal political attitude of the century.

For most of the time between the two World Wars, this tendency continued. The academic climate of the period was characterized by openness, only immediately before and during the Second World War were some historians forced into emigration.²

All this changed significantly in 1945, but mainly after 1948. Between 1945–1948, many historians (András Alföldy, József Deér, Károly Kerényi, Gyula Miskolczi) chose emigration and then, in 1948, the Stalinist-Communist takeover came about, which entailed an entire « Gleichschaltung », or homogenization of historical scholarship. This process included many components, such as the removal of several « bourgeois » historians from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the ideological-political reckoning with the representatives of the so-called « Geistesgeschichte », the over-emphasis on the history of labour movements (mainly that of the Communist Party), the so-called « citatologie » (i. e. the constant citation of the classics/apostles of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, instead of rigorous source criticism), the forcible accentuation of the impact of Slavic-Russian influences on Hungarian history, etc.³

¹ About Hungarian historical writing in the age of Dualism in English cf. e. g. Vardy, *Clio's Art in Hungary*.

² Cf. Vardy, *Modern Hungarian historiography*.

³ See Erős, „From ‚Gleichschaltung‘ to Reprofessionalization.”

A previous study⁴ by the author of the present lines accounted for the key circumstances of this process, but it also looked to provide an overview of the development of Hungarian historiography after 1945 in its entirety; that is, it not only focussed on the immediate aftermath of the 1948 takeover, but discussed the 1960s, 1970s and the 1980s as well.⁵ Since these phenomena can be interpreted from several different perspectives emerging in relation the political changes after 1989/90, it seems necessary to continue with the analyses of the consequences of these changes as well, i.e. with the latest developments in the 1990s and 2000s.⁶

After the “Changes” in 1989/1990

The political turn of regime in 1989/1990⁷ triggered fundamental changes in the institutional framework of Hungarian historical writing/historiography, though several of these were rooted in the previous period. As part of these developments, new historical journals such as “Aetas” and “Korall”⁸ were launched, though Aetas had originally been founded in the middle of the 1980s. These new historical journals attempted to follow up on and disseminate the achievements and recent insights of Western European historiography, e. g. that of the “linguistic turn” and the results of multiple other “turns” (from the spatial, through the iconic and the sensual, to the digital turn etc.); in other words, they endeavoured to introduce the new themes of historical anthropology, heritage etc. They were making serious efforts to engage more deeply with issues in historical theory and epistemology, such as Reinhart Koselleck’s “Begriffsgeschichte” and Hayden White’s narratology. This included regularly translating key authors of these theories (Frank Ankersmit, Hayden White, Keith Jenkins, Alun Munslow) into Hungarian, and sparking

⁴ Erős, „From ‘Gleichschaltung’ to Reprofessionalization.”

⁵ Erős, “From ,Gleichschaltung’ to Reprofessionalization.”

⁶ The paper offers a possibility as well to demonstrate how the basic ideas of the founding father of the journal *Rethinking History*, professor Alun Munslow about reconstructionist-constructionist-deconstructionist historiography can operate on such a delicate subject as the historical writing in an Eastern-European, post-Communist country in the 1990s and 2000s. See Munslow, *Deconstructing History.*; Munslow, *The Routledge Companion to Historical Studies.*; Erős, “‘I place form before content’”.

⁷ From the relevant literature see mainly Holger, “Neuere Entwicklungen.”; Benda, “L’historiographie hongroise après 1989.”; Pók, „Einige Gedanken zur Geschichte und Geschichtsschreibung in Ungarn 1990-2000.“; Rásky, „(Allzu)persönliche Anmerkungen zur ungarischen Geschichtsschreibung nach 1989.“; Trencsényi-Apor, “Fine-Tuning the Polyphonic Past: Hungarian Historical Writing in the 1990s.”; Gyáni, “A posztmodern és a magyarországi történetírás.”; Gyáni, 2021; De Baets, 2002/2024. Laczó, “The Many Moralists and the Few Communists. » ; Klimó, Überlegungen; Thorockay, *The Historical Research*, 161–180.

⁸ Other journals that tended to display the themes of historical anthropology, gender and new cultural history include e.g. „Múltunk,” BUKSZ [Budapest Review of Books.].

debates among Hungarian historians (e.g. Gyáni-Pach, Gyáni-Pritz, later Romsics-Gerő, Őze-Pálffy, Karády-Gyáni, Ungváry-Tomka and alia).⁹ There was also quite a strong emphasis on the critical scrutiny of Hungarian studies published on these topics.

Among the new developments in the institutional framework, the “Hajnal István Circle” may be further highlighted. By choosing this historian as their “godfather,” and by building on/reaching back to the aspirations of Hungarian historical writing in the interwar period, this association indicated that their primary intention was to integrate the vital achievements of Western European social history, following in the vein of the *Annales*-school, the “*Geschichte und Gesellschaft*,” the “Past and Present,” and similar movements. Consequently, in the early phase of the Hajnal István Circle, the themes of classical, and later somewhat orthodox social history (strongly characterised by theoretical orientations) were dominant, and its members strived for deeper analyses by drawing on models, structures, concepts borrowed from the social sciences, and by way of an intensive and close collaboration with social scientific fields such as demography, sociology, economics, political science, etc. In more recent years, the “Hajnal István Circle” has begun to focus instead on the problems of historical anthropology, addressing topics such as the history of everyday life, historical memory, memory culture, memory wars, issues of trauma, aggression and heritage, borders, and various aspects of local, gender,¹⁰ and environmental history. In their related efforts, they have formed strong alliances with other new institutions, including the Central European University in Budapest and the Department for Social and Economic History at Eötvös Lóránd University, also located in Budapest.

Their aspirations in these areas were realised in the form of an essay collection, a 2003 volume titled “Introduction Into Social History,” which serves as a kind of *historics*¹¹ (a methodical guide, a kind of manual for modern and postmodern historians), and displays, at the same time, a striking enthusiasm towards historiography as well. The main chapters of this volume discuss the predecessors of social history in the 19th century, focusing on the key trends and institutions of social history in Western Europe throughout the 20th century, covering major sub-disciplines (e.g. economic history, urban history, historical demography, new cultural history, etc.), and addressing the challenges of the “linguistic turn” and its aftermath, including the subsequent development of the history of mentality, historical anthropology, micro history, gender-history and psychohistory.

⁹ Rigó, “A Hungarian Version.” To Karády see Török, “Elites all Over the Place.”

¹⁰ Outstanding woman historians of the period include e. g. Mária Ormos, Andrea Pető, Katalin Péter, Bácskai Vera. See Erdélyi, “The Hungarian Miss Marple”; Pető, „Genderforschung in Ungarn”; Pál, “Vera Bácskai.”; Pál, “Wouldn’t be Better.”

¹¹ In the vein of Johann Gustav Droysen’s “*Historik*.”

In the 1990s, some significant developments occurred in Hungarian historiography, among which it is particularly worth mentioning the considerable interest in the translation of theoretical, methodological and even epistemological research focusing on issues of history and historiography, giving rise to a veritable “translation industry”. Some of the most important figures whose fundamental works were translated include Robin Georg Collingwood, Friedrich Nietzsche, Karl Popper, Johan Huizinga, Ortega, Max Weber, Michel Foucault, Reinhard Koselleck, Hayden White, Hans Georg Gadamer, Siegfried Kracauer, Odo Marquard, the Assmanns, Pierre Nora, Marc Bloch, the representatives of the *Annales* school, Aly Götz, Hans Belting and Bruno Latour.¹²

To sum up, four main, distinct schools or streams may be identified in the recent development of Hungarian historiography (originating in the 1990s and reaching well into the 2000s).

One prominent direction is the aforementioned effort of historical anthropology / micro history to integrate the insights and perspectives of the “linguistic turn” and some of the other turns as well. Many scholars belonging to these movements were initially influenced by the trends of social history in the vein of *Annals*, *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* (then considered ground-breaking), as well as by the insights coming from fields such as historical demography. Some of the most outstanding representatives of such tendencies of social history and historical anthropology include Gábor Klaniczay¹³, György Granasztói, György Tóth István, György Kövér, Gábor Gyáni, Tamás Faragó, Gyula Benda, Mihály Lackó, Tibor Valuch, Zsolt K. Horváth, István M. Szíjártó, Krisztián Ungváry, Béla Tomka, Mónika Mátyay, Lilla Krász.¹⁴ Others, such as Lajos Für and Erik Fügedi produced research without a rigorous theoretical background or methodological foundation. Many of these scholars commenced their career with what could then be considered a relatively orthodox approach to social and structural history (or history of mentality, even psychohistory); and later on, a number of them turned towards the tendencies of

¹² Furthermore, from the vast scholarly literature, Natalie Z. Davis, Robert Darnton, Gérard Noiriel, Giovanni Levi, Carlo Ginzburg, Mary Beard, Lauro Martinez, Fernand Braudel, Leroy Ladurie, and many other representatives of microstoria could be mentioned here. In addition, from the (second half of the) 1980s onwards, publishers such as Osiris, Atlantis, and later on later Kijarat, Kossuth, Gondolat, Napvilág, Corvina are worth highlighting in this respect.

¹³ Klaniczay, “Georges Duby et les *Annales* en Hongrie.”; Florea, “On the Enduring Fascination.”

¹⁴ Gábor Gyáni argues for the rise of social history in the 1990s, but refers only to works on the modern period, while this assertion may also be valid with respect to previous eras. According to Gyáni the most outstanding social historian is presently Béla Tomka, but many representatives can be mentioned who pursue and pursued recently social history in terms of other periods of Hungarian history as well. See Gyáni, *A Nation Divided by History and Memory*.; Tomka, *Austerities and Aspirations*. Other relevant works are e. g. Gyáni–Kövé – Valuch, *Social History of Hungary*.; Pálffy, *The Kingdom of Hungary*.; *L’Ungheria angioina*.. Relating to the medieval period Kristó, *Histoire de la Hongrie Médiévale*.; Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen*.; Zsoldos, *The Legacy of Saint Stephen*. About Zsoldos see latesty Thoroczkay, *The Historical Research*, 161–162.

historical anthropology¹⁵ and the insights of the postmodern or towards gender and memory history, occasionally even engaging in theoretical debates with representatives of older schools belonging to the tradition of the so-called reconstructionist history. A recurring feature of Hungarian historiography is that all of these diverse trends are frequently labelled as “social history,” without establishing a clear difference between – to borrow the terms of Alun Munslow – constructionist and deconstructionist historians.¹⁶ This can occasionally lead to serious misunderstandings, with critics of orthodox social history being mistakenly seen as advocates of political history and *histoire événementielle*.

This confusion is partly due to the fact that social history arrived relatively late in Hungary (and Eastern Europe), at a time when representatives of historiography in Western European countries (along with the United States and other Western-type democracies), were already facing the implications of the “linguistic turn”. Taking into consideration the various consequences of the abovementioned “reprofessionalization” – which reinforced and rendered some aspects of (mostly nationalist) political history more popular again –, the combined effects of these tendencies led to the emergence of a unique situation, to the so-called “piling up” of different schools and tendencies within Hungarian and Eastern European historiography.

Another prominent stream was intellectual or conceptual history (also known as the history of ideas) which, similarly to social history, often had a strong theoretical orientation. Its main representatives are Ferenc Horkay Hörcher, Mária Ludassy, János Kelemen, György Litván, János Gyurgyák, László Kontler, Balázs Trencsényi,¹⁷ József Takács; and, from among the members of the older generation, Ambrus Miskolczy, Iván Zoltán Dénes, Tibor Frank. They frequently rejected closer connections with postmodern and deconstructionist approaches to history, and placed quite a strong emphasis on political engagements and historical continuity. Most recently, they have increasingly acknowledged the import of analyses of language and various other discourses, but still rather tend to favour the methods of comparative and even transnational history.

Among the most widespread tendencies in recent Hungarian historiography, a third stream consists of representatives of traditional political history, such as Pál Pritz, Ignác Romsics, Iván Bertényi, Éva Somogyi, Balázs Ablonczy, Sándor Szakály, Miklós Zeidler, Róbert Hermann, Tibor Zinner. While some of these figures are willing to consider novel, innovative approaches and reflect on insights coming from the “new political history” (e.g. the study of symbols, signs, of memory

¹⁵ See e. g. Tóth, „Der Zeitbegriff der Bauern und Kleinadligen in Ungarn im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert.“; Tóth, „Book Writing and Book burning.”

¹⁶ Munslow, *Deconstructing History*. Erős, “I place form before content”.

¹⁷ See e. g. Trencsényi – Janowski – Baár – Falina – Kopeček, *A History of Modern Political Thought*.

and everyday life¹⁸), their primary focus remains “histoire événementielle,” including military history (World War I and II; interwar Hungary, the 1956 revolution, and the Kádár and Rákosi regimes, etc.), often characterised by a strongly anti-Communist and nationalist bias (and occasionally by a close alignment with the current political administration as well.)¹⁹

These historians (much like their Western-European counterparts) often distance themselves from philosophical frameworks and theoretical considerations, sticking with the belief that the traditional tools of the historian, following in the spirit of Ranke – that is, a close examination of the original (mostly written) sources and rigorous source criticism – are enough for engaging in an “objective” and unbiased historical scholarship.²⁰

¹⁸ See Jean-Francois Sirinelli’s, Michel Winnox’s, etc.’ strivings in this respect in France. Sirinelli, *Histoire des droites en France*.

¹⁹ See Apor, “An Epistemology of the Spectacle?,” and the following note, respectively.

²⁰ There are differing and often controversial interpretations and evaluations regarding the tendencies in Hungarian historiography after 2000 and especially after 2010. Antoon De Baets and Andrea Pető contend that, primarily after 2010, the political influence of the government has become paramount, manifesting in increasing attacks on the historical profession (“Crimes against history”). Such attacks have for example taken the form of banning certain subdisciplines (mainly postmodern and gender studies) at universities, or the expulsion of the Central European University from Budapest to Vienna. According to Andrea Pető, one of the primary consequences of these actions has been the resurgence of political history (and, we might add, the primacy of military history). Based on the statistical research that she has carried out, Pető also claims that the majority of historical studies in Hungary in the second half of the 2010s primarily deal with issues of political, rather than social history. (Concerning the study of Antoon de Baets, it is worth noting that while these recent assaults on the part of the government are obviously serious offences, such attacks cannot be compared to the far more explicit and rather more cruel, occasionally even criminal offensives against historians in the 1950s.) According to Gábor Gyáni, on the other hand, the dominant (mainstream) trend today is essentially positivist, and historians adopting this approach primarily aim at an empirical source collection (for the sake of publication itself), and prioritize event-history, without engaging more profoundly in theoretical considerations or innovation. Here, it must also be noted that in his writing, Gyáni seems to confuse positivist and historicist methodology, while the most recent developments of Hungarian historiography certainly cannot be considered positivist in the Comtean sense (and even less in the Popperian sense), characterized by a genuine aspiration to establish general laws about the development of universal history. Gyáni also (mis)uses some other terms of historiography, (e.g. *Geistesgeschichte*, which, he claims, focuses on state, power and political events; an assertion that seems misguided/unfounded, as illustrated by Huizinga and especially Meinecke’s “*Die Entstehung des Historismus*”). Nevertheless, in spite of these issues, Gyáni makes some valuable observations (citing Balázs Trencsényi and Péter Apor’s lengthy study) on the rise of modern social history in Hungary following the political changes in the 1990s. However, in addition to this it must be noted that social history had already prevailed or at least had begun to flourish in Hungary much earlier, during the Horthy era (though not supported by Horthy personally), between the two World Wars. (In my interpretation, it is much more adequate to describe these historians as “reconstructionist” [borrowing Munslow’s term], instead of positivist. Furthermore, the favourable aspects of this trend may be further appreciated if we applied and analyzed together with the process of “reprofessionalization,” which Gyáni ignores

The final and fourth stream to be mentioned is the so-called *public history* approach, in its various forms.²¹ This is not an entirely new phenomenon, since a form of public history (which, in this respect, may be perceived rather positively) has already existed in the 1960s and 1970s; for discussions on the topic within the Mohács-debate, see István Nemeskürty,²² etc. At that time, (this form of) public history included – among other things – “nonprofessional” genres such as films²³ and various forms of literature, which could assume the task of addressing sensitive topics of Hungarian history, including the holocaust,²⁴ the 1956 revolution and the Rákosi-system in general, the communist coup in 1949, Imre Nagy, the Kádár-consolidation, populist movements, Trianon, the fate of Hungarian minorities beyond Hungarian borders – topics that were otherwise neglected or often even banned from being included in the considerations of the “official” historiography.

In this respect, a considerable turn occurred after the political changes of the 1990s (a shift continuing well into the 21st century). Since then, these and many

entirely.) In assessing the latest trends, Attila Pók laments the methodological and theoretical indifference (describing the trend as an “unhappy hybridity,” paraphrasing Bruno Latour, Stefan Berger, as well as Chris Lorenz) of historians in post-Marxist Hungary, while Tamás Faragó – in his categorical rejection of the postmodern – urges the strengthening of “scientific” methods (in the vein of cliometria) in Hungarian research. In her latest study, Zsuzsanna Varga sees the main merit of her own research on Hungarian agricultural history and the history of collectivization in the 1960s, in that as opposed to the approaches of political and increasingly orthodox social history (as a third stage), she approaches these issues from the aspects of comparative, transnational point of views, concentrating on different forms of social transfer and everyday life experiences, etc. I agree with those criticising the resurgence of political history, and I would add, in reference to Zsuzsanna Varga’s work, that at the same conference where her paper was presented, a book launch also took place, introducing a volume discussing the results and recent trends of Russian studies in Hungary research, in which political history similarly prevails. This suggests that our critical remarks can not only be directed at right-wing (and government supported) endeavours and institutions (e.g. Veritas, Terror Háza, etc.), but at left-wing orientations as well. The institutions and genre of the latter find expression in public history (c.f. the journal “Eszmélet”), while their proper attitude is embodied in the vague and highly controversial image of the “engaged” historian. As mentioned in the main text, in this respect even the reconstructionist approach can play a positive role (especially when contrasted with public history). See Baets, 2024; Pető, „Genderforschung in Ungarn.“; Gyáni, *A Nation Divided.*; Pók, „Einige Gedanken zur Geschichte und Geschichtsschreibung in Ungarn 1990-2000.“; Faragó, *Historical demography in Hungary.*; Latour, *Hibrid Gondolkodás.* Zsuzsanna Varga’s presentation in the conference *Nation, Statehood, and Historiography in East- and East-Central Europe*, 2023. In addition: Russian Studies HU, 2020. Varga, *The Hungarian Agricultural Miracle.* On “Eszmélet” see Pók “Marxism in Post Communist East-Central European Historical Writing.”, 225–226, though he fails here to point out the over-engaged, over-biased, non-scholarly (so the “public historical,” that is, non-scientific) character of the journal.

²¹ On public history, see Lücke – Irmgard, *Einführung.*

²² Pók, “Historical Scholarship in Hungary 1945-2016.”

²³ Kalmár, *Formations of Masculinity.*

²⁴ *The treatment of the holocaust in Hungary and Romania during the post-communist era.*

other topics can be freely discussed and thematized; however, over time, some rather negative, occasionally even extremist and nationalist aspects of this public history began to emerge (not rarely with the backing of the government/national administration).²⁵ One of the most explicit manifestations of this process has been the widespread publication or re-publication of the works of far-right émigrés belonging to previous generations (e.g. László Götz, Ida Bobula, János Drábik, Tibor Baráth, etc.). These authors preferred to focus on and emphasise the “greatness” of Hungary’s ancient history (insisting on the idea of Turkish instead of Finno-Ugric origins, for example), venerating the major figures of Hungarian history (e.g. celebrating Koppány instead of St. Steven), looking into battles (like Pozsony and Mohács), and even engaging in conspiracy theories surrounding the World Wars, Trianon, 1956 and the political changes in 1989, etc.²⁶

In the recent years, this movement has even received a special “research-institute” (Magyarságkutató Intézet), primarily dedicated to the effort of establishing “scientifically,” the genuine genealogical-racial origins of the great kings of Hungary such as Béla I and the Hunyadi-dynasty, and to the commemoration of major historic events such as the Golden Bull (Aranybulla), Andreas Hadik, the foundation of the cities of Sopron and Balassagyarmat (referred to as “civitas fidelissima,” etc.)²⁷ This trend tends to simplify historical figures by assigning them to the categories of either “heroes” or “traitors,” and often seek to discover the causes for Hungary’s major historical defeats, typically finding responsibility in (the behaviour of) those labelled as “traitors,” mostly identified as foreigners, Slavs, Germans, Jews, freemasons, etc.

Their preferred genres are film and literature, along with media (television) and social media platforms (such as YouTube). Examples include the television programmes and films of Gábor Koltay, most recently those of Philip Rákay, Gábor Kálomista, or the “semi”-historical works of Kornél Bakay, Árpád Popély, Ernő Raffay, Borbála Obrusánszky, Sándor Őze, Péter Illik, László Szegedi, József Zoltán Tóth and Zsolt Zétényi.

As mentioned earlier, the significance and somewhat positive role of the so-called political and “reconstructionist” history may be appreciated here, in contrast with these tendencies (since the former tend to adhere quite strictly to historical sources, emphasise rigorous source-criticism, and often represent/advocate for a more “restrained”/ “sober” form of nationalism; e. g. they reject, anti-Semitism). However, it is not rare for these historians to engage, to a certain extent, with the

²⁵ One of the hubs of this direction is “Magyarságkutató Intézet” (Institute for Hungarian Research). See still De Baets, “Censorship of history in Hungary.”; Baets, *Censorship of historical thought*; Apor, *Fabricating Authenticity in Soviet Hungary*.

²⁶ See Erős, „From ‘Geistesgeschichte’ to Public History”. Another proponent of these kinds of far-right interpretations (and ideologies) is e. g. Tamás Molnár, see Molnár, *Sartre philosophe de la contestation* 1969.

²⁷ Szele, “The historical teleology and worldview of Hungarian fascism in the 1930s-1940s.”

themes and figures of public history (particularly on topics like World War I, Trianon, Sopron, Horthy and the Holy Crown).

Conclusions

It is beyond question that in many other Eastern and East-Central European countries, similar patterns may be observed in the 1950s and afterwards, given the Marxist-Communist political takeover.²⁸ For instance, the process of *Gleichschaltung* is an issue more-or-less shared by all of these countries (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria, GDR etc.); similarly, the gradual opening efforts in the 1960s and 1970s²⁹ and the process of the so-called “reprofessionalization” are also more-or-less common features in these regions.³⁰ This process of “reprofessionalization” continues to be influential in historiography even today, while it is basically absent from the historical writing in Austria,³¹ where such a process did not occur. (It should be noted that these Eastern European developments in historiography also share some similarities with other, non-East European countries under totalitarian regimes at the time – e.g. with Spain and Portugal,³² among others. As has been established recently, in the case of the latter countries, the adoption of the approaches of the *Annales*-school and its social-scientific attitude – similarly as it did in Eastern/-Central-Eastern Europe – served as a form of opposition against the authoritarian regimes.)³³ The radical political changes after 1990 also brought other common features to the development of historiographies in Eastern/East Central European territories, such as the “piling-up” of various paradigms (the simultaneous existence and confluence of political history, social-scientific methods and historical anthropology, closely connected to the “linguistic turn”), due to the late arrival of Western European methodical and theoretical-philosophical innovations from the 1970s. The resurgence of the

²⁸ Erős, “From ‘*Gleichschaltung*’ to Reprofessionalization.”

²⁹ But there are of course significant differences as well, e.g. between Romania and GDR. On GDR historiography, see Iggers, “New Directions in Historical Studies in the German Democratic Republic.”; Sabrow, *Das Diktat des Konsenses*. On Romania Boia, *History and Myth*. On Poland e. g. Stobiecki, “Historians Facing Politics of History.”; Górný, “Historical Writing in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.”; Górný, *The Nation Should Come First*. For the most recent discussions on the general intellectual background, see Trencsényi – Janowski – Baár – Falina – Kopeček, *A History of Modern Political Thought*.

³⁰ Erős, “From ‘*Gleichschaltung*’ to Reprofessionalization.”

³¹ In 1940s and 1950s Austria, the so-called „*Entnazifizierung*” was instead a dominant phenomenon. Fellner, *Geschichtsschreibung und nationale Identität*.; Fellner und Corradini, *Österreichische Geschichtswissenschaft*.

³² See Araújo, “Science and Political Power.”; Muilekom, “Spain’s Dictatorship and the Control of the Historical Image of Francisco Franco.”

³³ See Araújo, “Science and Political Power.”

“national paradigm”³⁴ in the 2000 and 2010s may also be mentioned as a more-or-less common feature, often occurring in parallel with the growing dominance of political (often military) history and with an immense increase in the influence of public history³⁵ as well.

In contrast to the growing influence of public history (which may be described as immensely detrimental, irrespective of whether we are considering its leftist-, or far-right form³⁶), the achievements and contributions of “reconstructionist” historiography (and the process of “reprofessionalization”) can offer a positive counterbalance, not to mention the most recent developments in the historical-anthropological efforts of the István Hajnal Circle and other institutions, such as the Central European University (as well as, to a certain extent, the endeavours of the Historical Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, some departments at Eötvös Lóránd University and some historians of other, provincial universities – in Szeged, Pécs, Debrecen – as well³⁷).

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³⁴ According Stefan Berger, the renewed foregrounding of/emphasis on the “nationalistic aspect” is a paramount feature/tendency in Western-European historiography as well. See Berger, *The Past as History*.; Berger, *History and Identity*.

³⁵ Which can be regarded as a consequence of the “digital turn” too. (But this is a Western European phenomenon as well.) On the digital turn: Porciani and Tollebeek, “Historians and the web.”

³⁶ Also this now stronger see e.g. besides Szele, “The historical teleology and worldview of Hungarian fascism in the 1930s–1940s.”

³⁷ Szíjártó, *A történelem diskurzusa*.

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VILMOS ERŐS

Views/debates on Hungary's place within Europe in 20th century Hungarian agricultural history/rural historiography.¹

Between the two World Wars

The concept of the so-called “third way”² was one of the most significant and at the same time most controversial elements of the politics of history operating in Hungary between the two World Wars. The idea was mostly linked to the so-called “populist” writers and thinkers, mainly represented by Dezső Szabó, László Németh, the philosopher-pedagogue Sándor Karácsony, and later on by István Bibó, following in their wake; however, several other figures can be associated with them in some respects: e.g. Péter Veres, Zsigmond Móricz and Gyula Illyés, who more or less also belonged to the “populist” group.³

It is nearly impossible to formulate an exact definition of the concept of the „third way” (according to István Bibó⁴, the content of the idea depends on the researcher's individual approach/perspective) but it may encompass specific geopolitical implications (e. g. it may be understood as an antithesis to the German Mittel-Europa ideology), and may eventually evolve into a socio-political alternative positioned between East and West, between socialism and capitalism; furthermore, it can also comprise more specific political-cultural perspectives: for instance, László Németh strived to synthesise physical and intellectual endeavours.⁵ The so-called “Eastern European” idea may be perceived as an important result of Németh's synthesis. Instead of the Western European orientation that many considered to be one-sided, this idea emphasised cooperation (at different levels) among neighbouring nations, and highlighted the embeddedness of Hungarian

¹ Based on a paper, delivered on the conference *Nation, Statehood, and Historiography in East- and East-Central Europe*. (International Conference in Memory of the 100th Anniversary of the Birth of Emil Niederhauser.) Eötvös József University, Budapest, 2023.

² Yagil, *L'Homme nouveau et la Revolution nationale de Vichy*; Raulet, *Historismus, Sonderweg und dritte Wege*.

³ Papp, *A magyar népi mozgalom története*. Vardy, *Modern hungarian historiography*, 129–135; Borbándi, *Der ungarische Populismus*.

⁴ Borbándi, „Bibó István.”.

⁵ Vardy, *Modern hungarian historiography*.

culture within this ethnically diverse environment [some other political and cultural movements that were based on similar principles include Sarló [Sickle], the March Front (Márciusi Front), or the Transylvanian Youth (Erdélyi Fiatalok)].⁶

Approaching this issue/question from the perspective of my narrower field of research (i.e. historiography), it is fair to claim that the idea is also partly present in the historical scholarship of the time. Within the framework of the so-called “Geistesgeschichte” (advanced by Gyula Szekfű⁷, for instance) it was essentially rejected. However, some elements of the third way-ideology – such as its approach towards the peasant culture or the idea of cooperation with Eastern-Europe – became prominent in Szekfű’s thinking as well, and proved even more influential for Szekfű’s friend Ferenc Eckhart (and his younger brother Sándor Eckhardt), who conceived a fundamental theory about the parallels between Hungarian, Czech and Polish constitutional developments; but the journal “*Revue d’Histoire Comparée*” is also worth mentioning, as it advocated for a comparative approach between the historical development of Hungary and that of neighbouring cultures.⁸

Curiously enough, the idea is almost absent from the so-called “Volksgeschichte” initiated by Elemér Mályusz⁹ – and perhaps this is where his position diverges most significantly from the populist ideology (in addition to some other aspects). Yet certain components of the “third way” can be detected in the oeuvre of one of his closest colleagues, Sándor Domanovszky and at his so-called “Hungarian Civilisation-History” school¹⁰. Its effect is first and foremost visible in the concept that – instead of Szekfű’s and Hóman’s Western European orientation, considered to be one-sided by Domanovszky (and his associates) – highlighted the parallels between the socio-historical (and even economic) development of Hungary and the phenomena unfolding in Eastern Europe. In agricultural history, Domanovszky and his associates applied the models of “Grundherrschaft” and “Gutsherrschaft”; thus, while they still distinguished between Eastern and Western European paths of development, they rather laid emphasis on the shared features of Eastern European structures.¹¹

The idea of the “third way” emerged even more significantly in the research of István Hajnal, yet most recent literature focused on his life and work tends to ignore this fact¹²; at best, scholars (such as Ferenc Glatz or Miklós Lackó from the previous

⁶ Salamon, *A harmadik út küzdelme*.

⁷ Erős, „Gyula Szekfű (1883-1955)”; Erős, „In the Lure of ‘Geistesgeschichte’.”

⁸ Kosáry, „Sur quelques problemes d’histoire comparée.”; Kosáry, „The Idea of a Comparative History of East Central Europe.”; Ablonczy „A Revue d’Histoire Comparée 1943-1949.”

⁹ Klimó, „Volksgeschichte in Ungarn.”; Erős, „Volksgeschichte in Ungarn zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen(und danach).“

¹⁰ Vardy, *Modern hungarian historiography*, 161–174.

¹¹ Erős, *Populus, plebs, rusticus*.

¹² Lakatos, *Az élet és a formák. Hajnal István történelemszociológiája*.

generation¹³) tend to hint vaguely at the connections between István Hajnal and the populist tendencies (represented by authors such as László Németh, Ferenc Erdei and by the journal “*Response*”/“*Válasz*”, edited by Gyula Illyés). Nevertheless, this idea proved crucial in István Hajnal’s oeuvre, even before the end of the Second World War, since it was then that he penned his interpretation of the Middle Ages, drawing principally on the work of German sociologists such as Max Weber, Alfred Vierkandt, Ferdinand Tönnies, Hans Freyer and Gunther Ipsen¹⁴. Hajnal’s own concept was built on the tradition- and custom-oriented Middle Age, in opposition to the restricted, technically-minded rationality of the modern, capitalist age, building on the only seemingly value-free models about the “*Gesellschaft*” contra “*Gemeinschaft*.”¹⁵

Hajnal rejected the over-emphasis on the principle of collectivism as well, as he believed that the incapacity for development and modernisation, the gradual stiffening of the system (modelled after Eastern European and Soviet patterns) were rooted in the oppression of the creative forces of the individual. (In the wake of the second World War, Hajnal saw the discrepancy between physical and intellectual labour as the primary cause of the crises and decline in Europe; an idea that was originally outlined by László Németh.)¹⁶

After the Second World War: “Second serfdom”, “Prussian way”, “deviation” versus “Third way”

One of the most dominant and wide-ranging ideology after the Second World War was the question of the so-called concept of « second serfdom » (closely connected to the “Prussian way”), which gained absolute dominance and even became a “master narrative” in Hungarian historiography after the Communist/Stalinist political takeover in 1948/49.¹⁷ This narrative borrowed many of its arguments from the “Hungarian Civilization History School” of Sándor Domanovszky, existing between the two World Wars, which first applied the theoretical model and concept of “*Grundherrschaft*” and “*Gutsherrschaft*”¹⁸. In contrast to the “*Geistesgeschichte*” interpretation of Hungarian history that put much greater emphasis on the Western European influences on Hungarian development, this concept held that in the 16th-17th centuries, the so-called “*Gutsherrschaft*” came to the fore again in Eastern European regions. I.e. the “domain/demesne” where the landlord had had his

¹³ To the relationship between Hajnal, Németh and Erdei see Glatz, *Konzervatív reform*, 718–719.

¹⁴ Glatz, *Konzervatív reform*.

¹⁵ Kovács, „Harmadik utas magyar gondolkodók.”

¹⁶ Kovács, „Harmadik utas magyar gondolkodók.” ; Gyáni, „Hajnal István rendhagyó történetírása.”

¹⁷ From the international literature cf. „*Grand domaine et petites exploitations*.”

¹⁸ See Wellmann, „Mezőgazdaságtörténetünk új útjai.”

property cultivated on his own, and as a consequence, a socio-economic structure evolved that was different from the Western European pattern.¹⁹

After 1948, Marxist historiography took up this theory and stretched it to its extremes, speaking not simply of a “turning away” from Western development, but expressis verbis elaborating on a unique and comprehensive Eastern European pattern.²⁰ This model placed great emphasis on the overwhelming role of the property retained under the landlord’s management/”domain” (Gutswirtschaft), where the landlord had his property cultivated by relying on the ever-extending services of his serfs. At the same time, the serfs’ situation began to deteriorate swiftly and increasingly : the ranks of the so-called « corvée » serfs (forced to labour on the property of landlords, with nothing in exchange) began to swell radically, an “expelling” of the serfs from their tenancies (“Bauernlegen”), the scope of the lords’ monopoly on the so-called “ius regalia” – such as wine producing, meat selling, milling, etc. – expanded more and more.²¹

István Szabó²² had manifold connections with the abovementioned “Domanovszky-school” and continuously rebutted these contentions of Marxist historiography. Already in many of his studies appearing in the second half of the 1940s, but especially in his volume published in 1948, he elaborated on the idea that the situation of Hungarian serfs in the Middle-Ages can be located somewhere in between Western and Eastern European developments. For instance, he argued that the phenomenon of “desertification/depopulation” in that period was caused not so much by the gradually aggravating exploitation of the serfs, but rather by the “sweeping effect” of market towns, which offered a possibility to improve serfs’ social position. This was eventually the root cause of the Peasants’ Rebellion of 1514 as well.²³

Szabó held similar views in 1947–48, concerning circumstances in the 16th–18th centuries²⁴, asserting that although after the rebellion of György Dózsa in 1514, Werbőczy imposed “eternal serfdom” and decreed that serfs were “bound to the soil”, his laws could not have been enforced as serfs had the option to flee from the

¹⁹ About the Domanovszky-school cf. above the previously mentioned e.g. Csíki, *Társadalomábrázolások és értelmezések a magyar történeti irodalomban (1945-ig)*.

²⁰ Pach, *Die ungarische Agrarentwicklung im 16-17. Jahrhundert*.

²¹ Cf. Maksay, „Gutswirtschaft und Bauernlegen in Ungarn im 16. Jahrhundert.”

²² István Szabó was born in Debrecen, and worked at the National Archives of Hungary until 1943. From 1937 onwards, and became a member of the so-called “Ethnohistory School” of Elemér Mályusz. After the Second World War, at the University of Debrecen, together with his students and colleagues he founded a well-known school in rural history, which represented a social-history orientation under the Communist era. After his continuous denigration in 1948-49, he was excluded from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In 1958, he retired and in the last decade of his life, edited three large volumes about the history of peasantry in Hungary in the 18-19th centuries. He died in 1969. See furthermore *A harmadik út felé; Erős, Populus, plebs, rusticus*.

²³ Szabó, „A középkorvégi parasztlázadások.”

²⁴ Szabó, „Les grands domaines en Hongrie au début des temps modernes.”

properties of the landlords, furthermore they gradually gained more and more opportunities to own and establish their own properties, such as vineyards, cleared, pawned and rented lands, etc.²⁵ Szabó explicitly objected to and challenged the thesis of « second serfdom » in the 1950s. His abovementioned debate with György Székely, his reviewer's opinions about university textbooks, and his letters to other historians, e.g. to Ferenc Maksay, etc.²⁶ serve as major evidence of his position.

In these documents Szabó asserts consistently that the phenomenon of “second serfdom” did not exist in Hungarian social history as there had not even been a first one.²⁷ The position of serfs (including their standard of living) was improving, the peasant society was at least somewhat stratified (it included several social layers/levels), and there were hardly any among them who had been deprived of their belongings. In terms of the 16th-18th centuries, the concepts of “second serfdom” are doubtful, to say the least, as the “Gutswirtschaft” and “domain” did not exclusively prevail, the number of “corvée” serfs was not continuously growing (the state and the Habsburgs – Maria Theresa, Joseph II – sometimes even offered serfs significant protections), large estates depended on serf-tenants to a considerable extent, thus the landlords had no interest in banishing them away from their property (their revenues also came largely from serfs' taxes and services), the “Bauernlegen” was basically unknown and therefore non-existent.²⁸ Serfs had numerous chances to improve their social status in this period as well, e.g. they could become a “hajdú”, or rise to the ranks of soldiers in the military fortresses on the Ottoman Hungarian frontiers, they could obtain citizenship in market towns, they could even become nobles (gentry), or break out of their lower serf-positions via the so-called manumissio, exemptio, inscriptio, taxa, etc.²⁹

It is another question whether Szabó agreed with the concept of the so-called “Prussian way”, which is closely related to the “second serfdom” theory and mainly refers to the 18th-19th centuries, coming to the fore in Szabó's research in the 1960s.³⁰ (According to Zsigmond Pál Pach, Gábor Gyáni, and József Köbli, the two concepts are basically the same.) In the volumes edited by Szabó in this period³¹, we often come across approving sentences about the “Prussian way”, and even Szabó uses

²⁵ Szabó, *A jobbágy birtoklása az örökös jobbágyság korában*.

²⁶ *A harmadik út felé*, 310–319. 362–368. 356–360. Szabó's reviews on the first volume of the university textbook. MTA KIK Ms 5440/17; Ms 5440/16; Ms 5440/14.

²⁷ For Marxist literature on “second serfdom” see furthermore Nichtweiss, „Zur Frage der zweiten Leibeigenschaft.”

²⁸ *A harmadik út felé*. 356–362. And István Szabó's editors' review on the introduction of Urbarial Volume edited by Ferenc Maksay. MTA KIK, Ms 5440/16; István Szabó's letter to Ferenc Maksay. MTA KIK. Ms 5438/111.

²⁹ See Szabó, „A jobbágy megnevesítése.” Similar views in Varga, *Jobbágyrendszer a magyarországi feudalizmus kései századaiban 1556–1767*.

³⁰ Szabó (1965); Szabó (1960a).

³¹ See Szabó (1960a).

the term once, also in a positive context. At the same time, many studies in these volumes challenged this theory, e.g. the one by István Orosz about market towns in Tokaj-Hegyalja, the one by Gyula Varga about a village-community of free peasants in Kismarja³².

Among all of these arguments I consider Szabó's interpretation of the role of farms in Hungarian socio-economic history decisive, on which he had already published a significant study in 1929³³, then returned to the issue again in the 1960s on several occasions.³⁴ Szabó regarded farming as an alternative to the free-peasant development, which was a major challenge to the "Prussian way" alternative, and for him epitomized an alternative to the "American way" development.

István Szabó and Emil Niederhauser/Emil Niederhauser and the "second serfdom"/ "Prussian Way" thesis

It may prove beneficial – linked, in many respects, to the previous reflections – to evoke the connection between István Szabó and Emil Niederhauser, which may potentially provide further insight into the idea of the "third way" as well.

Emil Niederhauser came to the Institute of History at the University of Debrecen in the early 1950s, where he held courses mostly on the history of Eastern Europe till the 1990s³⁵. From an early stage of his career in Debrecen, he maintained – in some cases, a fairly close – contact with István Szabó and his pupils, since one of his primary fields of research was the history of Eastern European peasantry. He published widely on the subject (in Acta in Debrecen as well), and the topic of his "candidature" thesis was the abolition of the serfdom-system in Eastern Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century.³⁶ Niederhauser also collaborated with Szabó on the two-volume book intended to synthesise the history of the peasantry in Hungary in the 19th century ("in the age of capitalism"³⁷); he wrote the last chapter summarizing the most important findings of the volumes³⁸ (discussed in

³² Varga, „Kismarja.”

³³ Szabó, „A debreceni tanyarendszer kialakulása.”

³⁴ Szabó, „Kísérletek az alföldi tanyarendszer megszüntetésére az 1780-as és 1850-es években.”

³⁵ Emil Niederhauser (1923-2010) was an internationally well-known Hungarian historian, whose main field of research was the history of East Central and Eastern Europe, e. g. the history of nationalities and political- and intellectual history of various national movements, different problems of social (peasant) history of these regions but it included in addition many questions of Hungarian history, the history of Habsburg Monarchy and the comparative history of East European historical writing. He was professor at the University of Debrecen, at the „Eötvös Lóránd” University in Budapest, and was also a research-professor in the Institute for History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA). More about him *Kortalan Kelet-Európa; Egyetemes Történeti Tanulmányok XVI.*

³⁶ Niederhauser, *A jobbágyfelszabadítás Kelet-Európában.*

³⁷ Szabó (1965)

³⁸ Niederhauser, „A parasztság Európában.”

more detail in the next section of this paper). After Szabó's death, he remained on friendly terms with Szabó's pupils, and continued to work in close association with the Institute of History: he authored several studies in the Institute's yearbooks, published the bibliography of his complete oeuvre in 1987 with the Institute, and he penned a paper concerned with the historiography of agricultural history in Eastern Europe that was included in the volume dedicated to the memory of István Szabó (Festschrift), published in 1998.³⁹

Given his main field of research and teaching, the concepts of the "Prussian Way" and the "second serfdom" were pivotal for Niederhauser from the very beginning of his career: he had published a paper in German about the development of Eastern Europe as early as 1958⁴⁰, translated to Hungarian and republished in the 1980s.⁴¹ In this article he explains his views on the issues of Hungarian development, and presents both of these ideas – i. e. the "second serfdom" and the "Prussian way" – as valid, which suggests that he predominantly shared the narrative of the reigning Marxist/Communist historiography (the latter obviously linked to the 19th century); it is also safe to assume that he chiefly maintained this opinion towards the later period of his career as well.⁴²

At this time (in the second half of the 1950s and the first half of the 1960s) he was working on his "candidature" thesis, the topic of which – as mentioned earlier – was the abolition of the serfdom system in the second half of the 19th century in Eastern Europe.⁴³ Here, after meticulously analysing the circumstances of the peasantry in different regions, states and even empires (Prussia, Habsburg Empire, Czech and Polish territories, Balkan-peninsula, Russia), he came to the conclusion that, in spite of some unquestionable differences, the individual paths of development in these countries/regions lead to similar consequences / also had common features that can be summarized under the category of "Prussian Way".⁴⁴

„The corvée-system did not entirely come to an end: capitalist development was hindered by multiple remnants of feudalism. This type of agricultural development is what Lenin termed "the Prussian way", precisely because the way in which serfdom was abolished in Prussia was an exemplary implementation of such a reform. According to Lenin, the main feature of the Prussian way was "that the feudal estate-system had not been eliminated abruptly and all at once, but had slowly been adjusted to capitalism, which consequentially would contain semi-feudal features for a long time. The Prussian large estates had not been crushed by a bourgeois revolution, but remained intact and ultimately became the foundation

³⁹ Niederhauser (1998).

⁴⁰ Niederhauser, „Zur Frage der osteuropäische(sic!!!) Entwicklung." (1958).

⁴¹ Niederhauser (1986).

⁴² See later Niederhauser, „Kelet-Európa a magyar történettudományban.", 503.

⁴³ Niederhauser, *A jobbágyfelszabadítás Kelet-Európában.*

⁴⁴ Nichtweiss, „Zur Frage der zweiten Leibeigenschaft."

of the Junker farming-system: predominantly capitalist, but unable to operate without subordinating the rural population to a certain extent...

... Consequently, after 1848, the leading position of the Junkers was consolidated for several decades, and the production capacity of German agriculture developed more slowly than in the United States.⁴⁵ The development of the Prussian Way was an inevitable consequence of the Eastern European transition to capitalism, the shared features of which we aimed to explore in the investigations above.⁴⁶

As noted earlier, Niederhauser also contributed to the massive multi-volume project exploring the situation/development of the Hungarian peasantry in the age of capitalism (1965)⁴⁷, initiated by István Szabó (and István Balogh). As pointed out in my 2022 monograph⁴⁸, Niederhauser made an attempt here to summarize the conclusions of the previous studies included in the volumes, while also offering a comprehensive overview of the circumstances of the peasantry in Eastern Europe. He argued that the progress of Hungarian peasantry paralleled that of the peasantry across Eastern Europe (here, he explicitly mentions a shared orientation towards the “Prussian Way”); nevertheless, he also emphasized that the development of peasantry in Hungary was certainly autonomous in some respects, possessed a transitional quality, exhibiting both Eastern and Western features.⁴⁹

In his analysis of the estate-structure,⁵⁰ he claims that it displays *expressis verbis* Eastern European qualities, an assertion further supported by the fact that the majority of the large estates displayed a bidden/hitbizományi character, so they remained more feudal in nature than their Polish or Russian counterparts.

In summarizing the credit issues – see for example the contribution of Gyögy Szabad concerning this topic – Niederhauser shares the opinion that the peasantry also faced difficult circumstances in terms of credit options; however, precisely in this period, compared to the Balkan-region (where usury was so widespread as to be almost exclusive) their situation was much improved, approaching (living) conditions in Western Europe, where credit institutions were willing to offer credit to the peasantry, on the condition that it would be used to for the appropriate agricultural purposes.⁵¹

With respect to the contribution of Zoltán Sárközi and Imre Katona, (who focused on issues concerning transitional forms of wage labour), Niederhauser concluded that the situation in Hungary also demonstrates a certain transitional aspect between an Eastern and a Western type of development. In Western Europe, pure wage labour dominated – a form of labour that was almost

⁴⁵ Citation from Lenin.

⁴⁶ Niederhauser, *A jobbágyszabadság Kelet-Európában*.

⁴⁷ Niederhauser, „A parasztság Európában.”

⁴⁸ Erős, *Populus, plebs, rusticus*.

⁴⁹ Erős, *Populus, plebs, rusticus*, 364–365.

⁵⁰ Orosz, „A differenciálódás és kisajátítás.”

⁵¹ Szabad, „A hitelviszonyok.”

nonexistent in the Balkans –, while in Hungary (or more precisely in the Hungarian part of the Monarchy), the so-called “summás” and “kubikos” construction workers represented the first steps towards capitalism.⁵²

As stated earlier, Niederhauser's study from 1958 was published in 1986 again⁵³; in the meantime, he also authored several other studies that reiterated his earlier views. The following section provides a brief summary of his investigations concerning the 15-16th century (with the inclusion of Engel's much-cited assertions on the “second serfdom”, considered almost obligatory to mention).

„Diese Tatsache hatte aber wieder wesentliche Folgen für die Entwicklung der osteuropäischen Gesellschaft. Der Grundherr konnte sich nicht mehr mit den Naturalien und dem Geld begnügen, die ihm von den Bauern zukamen, diese konnten nämlich weder so viel Getreide abgeben, daß es sich gelohnt hätte nach dem Westen verfrachtet zu werden, noch so viel Geld, als der Grundherr aus dem Westen für sein Getreide hätte bekommen können. Darum ging der Großgrundbesitz in Osteuropa zur Gutsherrschaft über. Demgemäß enteignete er immer mehr Boden von den Bauern und zwang sie, für die ihnen überlassenen Hufen Arbeit in der Gutsherrschaft zu leisten. Diese Erscheinung nannte schon Engels, wie bekannt, die zweite Ausgabe der Leibeigenschaft, da die Bauern hierdurch zur anfänglichen Form der feudalen Rente, der Arbeitsrente zurückgezwungen wurden.“⁵⁴

In the second half of his aforementioned study, Niederhauser elaborated on 19th century conditions (his main field of research field at that time); in addition, he made the following statements with respect to the socio-economic background of the so-called national independence movements:

Die Bauernbefreiung von oben her bestimmte im weiteren die Entwicklung des Kapitalismus auf dem sogenannten »preußischen Wege«, d. h. auf einem langsamen und qualvollen, mit feudalen Überresten beladenen Wege. Auf dem Gebiete des einstigen Türkischen Reiches gab es keine zweite Leibeigenschaft; als hier infolge der Befreiungskriege kleine Nationalstaaten zustandekamen, war die Zahl der feudalen Überreste ganz geringfügig.⁵⁵

(Here, we can detect a striking contradiction within Niederhauser's conclusions, and by extension, within the ideologies of “deviation” and the “Prussian Way” on the whole: that is, according to the latter, there was no equivalent of this

⁵² Erős, *Populus, plebs, rusticus*, 364–365; Niederhauser, „A parasztság Európában.”, 667–668.

⁵³ Niederhauser, „A kelet-európai fejlődés kérdéséhez.”

⁵⁴ Niederhauser „Zur Frage der osteuropäische(sic!!!) Entwicklung.”, 363. (In original in German, also.)

⁵⁵ Niederhauser, „Zur Frage der osteuropäische(sic!!!) Entwicklung.”, 367. (In original in German, also; osteuropäische recte osteuropäischen!)

phenomenon (“second serfdom” and feudal remnants) on the Balkan-peninsula (under the Ottoman Empire), yet the theory advanced by Lenin still contends that a common path of development was unfolding throughout Eastern Europe during the 19th century.⁵⁶ The shared features had been pointed out by Lenin, whose “remarkable” insight – referenced eagerly by Niederhauser – was that in Eastern Europe, the social revolution could only be carried out by way of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry. The latter was essentially the – politically motivated – real message of the theories of “deviation” and the “Prussian Way”; which is why the common features of the Eastern-European development (discussed earlier) were constantly highlighted.)

One of Niederhauser's last texts pertaining to this complex of issues was his essay published in 2006, in the volume dedicated to the memory of Miklós Szuhay.⁵⁷

In this study, Niederhauser contends that the “second serfdom” thesis was 50% Marxist myth and 50% scholarly achievement. It is worth noting, though, that he did not take into consideration (or at least made no mention of) Gyáni Gábor's articles published in the 1990s or the ensuing scholarly debate brought about by these texts – nor did he refer to the pertinent findings of e. g. János Varga or Péter Hanák.⁵⁸

Counter-narrative, master-narrative and public history in agricultural history after 1945 (and in the 1990s)

In the final part of my paper, there are two more questions I would like to explore. Firstly, to what extent was the adoption of the “third way” theory typical among the representatives of Hungarian agricultural history and in general social history (with the exclusion of the representatives of official historical writing)?⁵⁹

Here, we can observe that although István Szabó maintained quite close connections with the so-called older “Bourgeois” historians⁶⁰ (from the Dománovszky circle: Jenő Berlász, Imre Wellmann; from the Mályusz's pupils: Erik Fügedi, Bálint Ila, Ferenc Maksay; in addition e. g. Endre Varga, Kálmán Eperjessy, and from Szekfű's students: Kálmán Benda), none of them occupied an *expressis verbis* “third road” standpoint. On the other hand, most of them were barely tolerated by the reigning political power: many were relegated to secondary, even marginal(ised) positions, in spite of the fact that (following in the footsteps of their

⁵⁶ Niederhauser, „Kelet-Európa a magyar történettudományban.”

⁵⁷ Niederhauser, „A „második jobbágyság” – mítosz vagy valóság?”

⁵⁸ Ibidem. And similarly Niederhauser, „A kelet-európai történetírás útja a mítosztól a tudományosságig.”

⁵⁹ Pók, „Historical Scholarship in Hungary 1945-2016.”; Romsics, „A magyar történetírás gleichschaltolása.”

⁶⁰ Erős, *Modern historiográfia*; Romsics, *Clio bűvöletében*.

mentors as well) they held a more modern socio-historical perspective – not rarely approximating the Western European (occasionally *Annales*) tendencies⁶¹ – than the historians of the official historiography (including Erik Molnár).⁶²

Additionally, the abovementioned historians opposed the reigning “master narrative” in many respects, and they strived to widen the framework of the official historiography – which was narrow, politically motivated, and dominantly focused on event-history⁶³ – in multiple directions. The same endeavours were continued by the following generation – whose members found their way to István Szabó –, as well as by the pupils of István Szabó himself. From this group, the aforementioned György Szabad, János Varga, Károly Vörös, Vera Zimányi, Vera Bácskai, Jenő Szűcs, Emil Niederhauser and Péter Hanák⁶⁴ are worth mentioning again, however, Jenő Szűcs is more or less the only one among them who (evoking István Bibó) may be linked to the concept of “populism” and the “third way” theory.⁶⁵

At the same time, either in a certain form or in terms of a specific topic, almost all of these historians cast more or less serious doubts upon the narratives of the official/dominant historical writing.⁶⁶ In this respect I previously referred to György Szabad and János Varga,⁶⁷ who – though they initially conformed to the system (like Károly Vörös), having begun in the manner of “young Turks” –, already in the evaluation of the so-called “guerrilla fights” in 1848/49, held a position very similar to that of István Szabó.

The most striking piece of writing in Varga's oeuvre is his volume entitled “The serf-system in the late centuries of feudalism [in Hungary]”,⁶⁸ where, citing Szabó multiple times, he refutes the dogmas of “second serfdom” and the “Prussian Way”, on the whole arriving at conclusions very similar to those of Szabó. It should be noted that concerning the conditions (of the peasantry) at the beginning of the 19th century, János Varga admittedly shared Szabó's assertions (with Szabó being one of his main points of reference), pointing out – in opposition to the views held by Imre Szántó⁶⁹, who advocated the “Prussian Way” in this period as well – the possibility of peasants' land ownership, noting the significant proportion of landed property owned by serfs in the era in question.⁷⁰

⁶¹ Klaniczay, „Georges Duby et les Annales en Hongrie.”; Rady, „Erik Fügedi and the Elefanthy Kindred.”.

⁶² Lackó, „Molnár Erik és a 60-as – évek történész vitája.”; Litkei, „The Molnár Debate of 1950.”.

⁶³ Sándor, „A magyar agrártörténeti irodalom kritikája.”

⁶⁴ To Hanák latestly Csunderlik, „A magyar 'Schorske'? Hanák Péter és a nyugati történettudomány.”

⁶⁵ See earlier.

⁶⁶ Erős, *Modern historiográfia*, 377–409; Romsics, *Clio bűvöletében*; Pók, „Historical Scholarship in Hungary 1945-2016.”

⁶⁷ Gyáni, *Történészdiskurzusok*.

⁶⁸ Szabad, „Varga János.”

⁶⁹ Erős, *Populus, plebs, rusticus*; Erős, „A 'porosz utas' fejlődés „lassú” változata.

⁷⁰ Erős, *Populus, plebs, rusticus*.

From our perspective, a more elaborate analysis of the oeuvre of Jenő Szűcs may be of particular significance.⁷¹ In the “Bibó Memorial Volume” (1981), Szűcs published an article in which one may detect/notice striking parallels with a “third way” concept, but only as far as the Middle Ages are concerned – since with respect to the 16-18th centuries, Szűcs shared the view of “second serfdom” (and even that of “deviation”). His future co-author, Péter Hanák,⁷² also sketched out an alternative in connection with the developments unfolding in the 19th century, thereby diverging from the Eastern European pattern, however, this can hardly be linked to the “populist” movement (harshly criticized by Hanák) or to a “third way” theory. Nevertheless, it is safe to state that both Szűcs and Hanák opposed the reigning “master narrative” of Hungary belonging to the Eastern European sphere.⁷³

To further summarise the points made earlier, we may assert that after the 1990s, but mainly in the 2000s, the concept of “second serfdom” and the “Prussian Way” have rather become more of a part of the so-called “public history”.⁷⁴ These theories have more or less melted into the rear-guard fights of Marxist historiography, which has gradually been deprived of its academic power, demoted from its ruling position to a marginalised one; though it must be noted that even in its prime, it was never absolutely up to scholarly standards, but – rooted in ideological imperatives – rather strived for self-justification above all else.⁷⁵

According to its researchers, “public history” can convey both positive and negative messages, and the author of present lines would rather refrain from passing a verdict concerning the classification of the rear-guard fights in question. He would rather cast his vote for the negative domain, but he is afraid that those still considering themselves to be Marxist historians would not even be very enthusiastic about the label “public history”, a term that, from a scholarly aspect, can be regarded as suspect at the very least.⁷⁶

Abbreviations: MTA KIK – Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtár és Információs Központ

⁷¹ Molnár, „Szűcs Jenő, avagy ’nemzeti’ történetírás a regionális összehasonlítás látószögéből.”; Szűcs, *The Historical Construction of National Consciousness*; Szűcs, „The Three Historical Regions of Europe.”

⁷² Szűcs-Hanák, *Európa régiói a történelemben*.

⁷³ Gyáni, *A Nation Divided by History and Memory*.

⁷⁴ To public history in Hungary see Erős, “From Reconstructionist to Public History in East-Central Europe.”

⁷⁵ Krausz, „A magyar történetírás és a marxizmus.”; Erős, „A ’harmadik út’ gondolata az 1945 utáni magyar agrár történetírásban.”; Pók, “Marxism in Post Communist East-Central European Historical Writing.”

⁷⁶ To public history see e.g. Lücke- Irmgard, *Einführung in die Public History*.

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Between Göttingen and Oxford: Georg Waitz, William Stubbs, and the Intellectual Politics of Their Scholarly Collaboration

I.

Georg Waitz (d. 1886) and William Stubbs (d. 1901) occupy a preeminent place in nineteenth-century medieval historiography, each leaving an indelible mark on the scholarly traditions of Germany and England, respectively. This study investigates the complex entanglement of historiographical, cultural, and political forces that shaped intellectual relationship of Waitz and Stubbs, situating their exchange within the wider context of Anglo-German scholarly interaction during the long nineteenth century.¹ At the heart of their transnational entanglement lay several converging motivations: the pervasive British admiration for the methodological rigor of German *Wissenschaft*; the lasting impact of Leopold von Ranke's historiographical legacy; the shared Protestant cultural and intellectual foundations of both traditions; a common strain of anti-French sentiment that informed national historical narratives; and the dynastic connection between the British crown and the House of Hanover. No less important was the growing German scholarly fascination with English constitutional development, which mirrored, and indeed influenced, the emergence of source-based institutional historiography in Victorian Britain. Together, these dynamics fostered a mutually fortifying, though asymmetrical, exchange that would delineate the contours of professional historical scholarship on both sides of the Channel.

The paper argues that this network, though briefly fostering a moment of fruitful transnational exchange through mutual recognition, selective citation, and the mediating efforts of German historians of England such as Reinhold Pauli and Felix Liebermann, remained limited in scope and ultimately short-lived. This was

* I would like to express my gratitude to the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Türkiye (TÜBİTAK) for supporting this study within the scope of the TÜBİTAK 2219 International Postdoctoral Research Fellowship Program, and to my host professor at Ruhr University Bochum, Prof. Dr. Stefan Berger.

¹ A notable contribution to this line of inquiry is: Heather Ellis and Ulrike Kirchberger (eds.), *Anglo-German Scholarly Networks in the Long Nineteenth Century*.

so despite its foundation in the scholarly affinity between Waitz and Stubbs and their shared conviction in the common Teutonic origins of Germans and English, a belief that motivated what has been described as “a particularly close community- or *Gemeinschaft*- of English and German scholars that emerged around the middle of the nineteenth century”.² However, linguistic barriers and institutional differences, compounded by escalating national rivalries that rendered the “common Teutonic origins” thesis ideologically obsolete, -although muted and shifting echoes of this idea persisted within and beyond academia during the interwar years and even after the Second World War³ – as Germany and Britain moved from rivalry to enmity, curtailed the possibility of deeper collaboration. The outbreak of the First World War brought these exchanges to an abrupt halt, a suspension that prevailed until their gradual revival after the Second World War, though under conditions profoundly reshaped by the transformed postwar landscape of academic interaction and intellectual exchange.⁴

Moving from these structural constraints to their historiographical implications, this study foregrounds the methodological, cultural, and political dimensions of the relationship between William Stubbs and Georg Waitz to illuminate not only the generative potential of Anglo-German cooperation in the genesis of professional medieval historiography but also the inherent limits that circumscribed its depth and durability. In tracing this interplay, it demonstrates how nineteenth-century historical scholarship emerged at the intersection of entrenched national traditions and episodic moments of transnational convergence, moments as frequently characterized by mutual recognition as by structural asymmetries and eventual fragmentation.

II.

A devoted protégé of Leopold von Ranke, Waitz’s influence on his students about was apparent in embedding what would later be codified particularly by the late nineteenth century as the canonical principles of Rankean historical method:

² Oded Y. Steinberg, *Race, Nation, History: Anglo-German Thought in the Victorian Era*, 2.

³ Stefan Berger and Peter Lambert, “Intellectuals Transfers and Mental Blockades: Anglo-German Dialogues in Historiography,” in *Historikerdialoge: Geschichte, Mythos und Gedächtnis in deutsch-britischen kulturellen Austausch 1750–2000*, edited by Stefan Berger, Peter Lambert and Peter Schumann, 9–61. at 27–29. See also another article in this work: Malcolm Chase, “‘North Sea and Baltic’: Historical Conceptions in the Youth Movement and the Transfer of Ideas from Germany to England in the 1920s and 1930s,” 309–330.

⁴ Berger and Lambert, “Intellectuals Transfers,” *Historikerdialoge*, 9–61. at 29–61, Benedikt Stuchtey and Peter Wende, “Introduction: Towards a Comparative History of Anglo-German Historiographical Traditions and Transfers,” (eds.) Benedikt Stuchtey and Peter Wende, *British and German Historiography 1750–1950: Traditions, Perceptions and Transfers*, 1–24. at 22–23.

foremost among them, the primacy of source criticism and the imperative of empirically grounded inquiry and the myth of objectivity, which came to define the epistemological foundations of historical scholarship.⁵ Waitz's scholarly itinerary included appointments at the University of Kiel (1842–1848) and subsequently at the University of Göttingen (1849–1875), though the latter was initially postponed due to his active engagement in the political upheavals of the era.⁶ A committed liberal constitutionalist, Waitz – alongside fellow historians such as Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann and Johann Gustav Droysen – played a prominent role in the Frankfurt Parliament of 1848, participating in the drafting of a constitutional framework for a unified Germany. Nevertheless, his conception of liberal constitutionalism remained distinctly elitist by modern democratic standards, as is evident from his assertion that “No system of government, be it monarchic or republican, will endure, nor even attain any degree of stability, if the decision on all political questions is placed in the hands of the great mass, which all too often allows itself to be led without will and capriciously follows one leader or another from day to day.”⁷

Georg Waitz opposed the creation of an entirely new state; instead, he championed the reconstitution of Germany's historical federal order in a modern form – one that combined national unity under Prussian leadership with the

⁵ In this context, the following observation is particularly noteworthy: “Ranke's ideas on history and the state became outmoded long before the seminar had become fully recognized as the form of education needed. Therefore, new ideas on methods and criticism were said to be Ranke's legacy to an extent that was not true.” Rolf Torstendahl, *The Rise and Propagation of Historical Professionalism*, 94.

⁶ For Waitz biography see: Eberhard Waitz, *Georg Waitz: Ein Lebens- und Charakterbild zu seinem hundertjährigen Geburtstag 9. Oktober 1913*. Waitz's own autobiographical statement until the 1860s can be found in: Georg Waitz, *Deutsche Kaiser von Karl dem Grossen bis Maximilian* (Berlin: Verlag von B. Brill, 1862), VII–XXVI. Niklas Lenhard-Schramm, *Konstrukteure der Nation: Geschichtswissenschaftler als politische Akteure in Vormärz und Revolution 1848/49*, 50–54. Robert L. Benson and Loren J. Weber, “Georg Waitz (1813–1886),” in Helen Damico and Joseph B. Zavadil (eds.), *Medieval Scholarship: Biographical Studies on the Formation of a Discipline, Volume I: History*, 63–75. Ferdinand Frensdorff, “Waitz, Georg,” in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 40., 602–629. Rudolf Schieffer, “Georg Waitz“, in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 27, 268–269. [Online-Version]; URL: <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd119059142.html#ndbcontent>

⁷ Georg Waitz, *Grundzüge der Politik nebst einzelnen Ausführungen*, 228. In the Frankfurt Parliament, Waitz belonged to the centre-right *Casino* faction and maintained that political agency should be reserved for an educated and propertied minority. According to this view, the disenfranchised masses – lacking formal education, stable economic standing, and the reflective capacity for political judgment – were not yet fit to participate in public life. Only through gradual social reform and moral improvement could the broader population be prepared for admission into the civic body of the bourgeois nation. *The Democratic Tradition: Four German Constitutions*, edited and introduced by Elmar M. Hucko, 15. Mark Hewitson, “‘The Old Forms are Breaking Up, ... Our New Germany is Rebuilding Itself’: Constitutionalism, Nationalism and the Creation of a German Polity during the Revolutions of 1848–49”, 1173–1214, at 1207.

preservation of the individuality of the member states as he would indicate in the Frankfurt Parliament that “Nur eine Föderativ-Verfassung wird für die Zukunft möglich sein” (“For the future, only a federal constitution will be possible”).⁸ However, the failure of the 1848–1849 revolutions, most notably King Friedrich Wilhelm IV’s refusal of the German imperial crown, shattered these hopes.⁹ Disheartened by the collapse of the German Revolution- driven forward by the very professors that Karl Marx scathingly described in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* as those who fashioned the theory of history while history itself surged ahead, indifferent to the history of the gentlemen professors.¹⁰ Waitz withdrew from active political life, later emphasizing its significance by remarking “Ich habe in ihr mehr gelernt auch für meine Wissenschaft, als in manchem Jahr gelehrter Arbeit” (I learned more during that time, even for my scholarly work, than in many years of academic labor”).¹¹ Thereafter, he devoted himself fully to historical scholarship, where he would leave his most lasting legacy.¹² His years in Göttingen were decisive in shaping the “development of modern historical scholarship” (“die Entwicklung der neueren Geschichtswissenschaft”)¹³ in the German lands, both through his distinctive pedagogical practice grounded in the Rankean method and exemplified by his *Historische Übungen* (*Historical Exercises*), drawing on Ranke’s legacy, as well as through his formative role in the institutionalization of history as a methodologically grounded discipline and the training of numerous students, no fewer than nineteen of whom later held professorial chairs at German universities¹⁴, despite his reservations about the spread of the seminar system, which he believed

⁸ Cited from Karl Obermann, “Die deutschen Historiker in der Revolution von 1848/49,” (ed.) Joachim Streisand, *Die deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft vom Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Reichseinigung von oben*, 219–238. at 235.

⁹ Lenhard Schramm, *Konstrukteure der Nation*, 314.

¹⁰ Cited from Ibid., 314.

¹¹ Waitz, *Deutsche Kaiser*, XXII.

¹² For Waitz’s historiography see: Karl Jordan, “Georg Waitz als Professor in Kiel,” in: Peter Classen and Peter Scheibert (eds.), *Festschrift für Percy Ernst Schramm zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag von Schülern und Freunden zugeeignet*, Bd. 2, 90–104. Ulrich Muhlack, “Die Stellung von Georg Waitz in der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft des 19. Jahrhunderts,” in Bohumil Jiroušek, Josef Blüml, Dagmar Blümllová (eds.), *Jaroslav Goll a jeho žáci* (České Budějovice (Budweis): Jihočeská univerzita, 2005), 165–181. For an illuminating discussion of Waitz’s influence as a mentor, exemplified by his epistemic virtues like loyalty, see Herman Paul, “The Virtues of A Good Historian in Early Imperial Germany: Georg Waitz’s Contested Example,” *Modern Intellectual History*, 15 (3), 681–709.

¹³ Hermann Grauert, „Georg Waitz“ *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 8, 48–100. at. 86.

¹⁴ Cited from Herman Paul, “Hunting for Sources: Dreams and Realities of Nineteenth-Century Archival Travel,” in Alison E. Martin, Lut Missinne, and Beatrix van Dam (eds.), *Travel Writing in Dutch and German, 1790–1930: Modernity, Regionality, Mobility*. 95–113. at 98. Wolfgang Weber, *Priester der Klio: Historischsozialwissenschaftliche Studien zur Herkunft und Karriere deutscher Historiker und zur Geschichte der Geschichtswissenschaft, 1800–1970*, 222.

posed risks such as imposing restrictions on the desirable freedom of intellectual action and flexibility (die wünschenswerte Freiheit der Bewegung).¹

Waitz's crucial role in institutionalizing modern historical scholarship in the German lands was confirmed by his appointment in 1876 as director of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (MGH)², the monumental editorial enterprise with which he had first been involved in 1836 and to which he devoted more than five years of early service. His elevation to the directorship of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, following the resignation of Georg Heinrich Pertz, marked the culmination of an illustrious scholarly career and cemented his status as a foundational figure in German historiography and one of the chief architects of its rigorous methodological framework. Under his influence, historical scholarship in the German lands came to embody the so-called Rankean-Waitzian principles, which emphasized critical source analysis, philological precision, and documentary verification. These principles were subsequently codified for the next generation by Ernst Bernheim in his celebrated *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode und der Geschichtsphilosophie*, a work that went through numerous editions after its first appearance in 1889 and transformed the pedagogical and methodological practices pioneered by Ranke and Waitz into a coherent and systematic canon of historical method, albeit through the lens of a Comtean positivism³ that neither Ranke nor Waitz would ever have accepted.

Nowhere are these principles more fully realized than in Waitz's own scholarship, most notably his magisterial *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte* (1844–1878).⁴ This monumental study offers a comprehensive and methodologically rigorous reconstruction of German constitutional structures from their earliest origins to the mid-twelfth century. Regarded as a “torso” of German constitutional historiography – monumental in scope and ambition, yet fragmentary in its final form – the work continued to shape scholarly discourse long after its publication.⁵ In this

¹ Georg Waitz, *Die historischen Übungen zu Göttingen: Glückwunschsreiben an Leopold von Ranke zum Tage der Feier seines fünfzigjährigen Doctorjubiläums*, 20. Februar 1867, 7–8. Kasper Risbjerg Eskildsen, *Modern Historiography in the Making: The German Sense of the Past, 1700–1900*, 107–118.

² Horst Fuhrmann, “Sind eben alles Menschen gewesen” *Gelehrtenleben im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. 29–52. Enno Bünz, “Die Monumenta Germaniae Historica 1819–2019: Ein historischer Abriss” in *Mittelalter lesbar machen, Festschrift, 200 Jahre Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 15–36.

³ Ernst Bernheim, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode und der Geschichtsphilosophie*, Verlag von Duncker & Humblot, Leipzig, 1889. Frederick Beiser notes that in the fifth and sixth editions of Bernheim's *Lehrbuch*, there are as many as twenty references to Comte, concluding that “with Bernheim, it is fair to say, Comte had finally arrived in Germany.” Frederick Beiser, *Early German Positivism*, 31.

⁴ For Waitz's bibliography see: Ernst Steindorff, *Bibliographische Uebersicht über Georg Waitz's Werke, Abhandlungen, Ausgaben, kleine kritische und publicistische Arbeiten*.

⁵ Ewald Grothe, *Zwischen Geschichte und Recht: Deutscheverfassungsgeschichtsschreibung 1900–1970*, 48.

scholarly setting, as a formative architect of Rankean historicism and a towering presence in German medieval studies, Waitz established the point of departure against which his English contemporary, William Stubbs, would articulate a cognate yet distinct insular vision of constitutional historiography.

The Anglican High Church clergyman William Stubbs, who began his ecclesiastical career as vicar of Navestock, Essex (1850–1866), and later advanced to the episcopate as Bishop of Chester (1884–1889) and subsequently Bishop of Oxford (1889–1901) offered a striking contrast to the professional historian Georg Waitz, whose scholarly path originated in an altogether different sphere as an autodidact.⁶ Nevertheless, through his meticulous engagement with primary sources, Stubbs secured his place among the most erudite and methodologically exacting historians of his generation. Stubbs' scholarly formation gained decisive momentum with his appointment as librarian of Lambeth Palace in 1862 and was further inflected the following year by his assumption of principal editorial responsibility for the *Rolls Series*, an ambitious enterprise, launched in 1857 under the auspices of Lord John Romilly, Thomas Duffus Hardy and Joseph Stevenson. The *Rolls Series* was established to publish major medieval sources of British history⁷ and widely viewed as the English analogue to the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (MGH) and Stubbs obtained the editorial position in 1863 “only after repeated applications over five years.”⁸

Stubbs admitted this delay as arising largely from the fact that he was not yet a recognized historian,⁹ But in a letter to Edward A. Freeman dated 10 April 1860, he also conjectured that the editors were “fettered by an uncertainty about their grant of money,” and, more decisively, that they were “determined not to go beyond their own circle of Editors, and to let them edit what they like.”¹⁰ In the end, this post, spanning almost two decades, served not merely to consolidate his scholarly reputation but to furnish the documentary bedrock upon which his constitutional historiography would ultimately be built. In truth, Stubbs emerged as a foundational figure in the professionalization of historical scholarship in England, a role first signaled by his unexpected appointment to the Regius Professorship of Modern

⁶ For an up-to-date biographical overview of William Stubbs and the evaluation of his historiography: Fatih Durgun, “William Stubbs,” In *BHTM Spring 2024 Update*. Accessed July 29, 2025, <http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781350885219.008>. Also see: James Campbell, “William Stubbs (1825–1901),” 77–87. William Holden Hutton (ed.), *Letters of William Stubbs: Bishop of Oxford, 1825–1901*. Thomas F. Tout, “Stubbs William (1825–1901),” *Dictionary of National Biography*, 444–451.

⁷ David M. Knowles, “Presidential Address: Great Historical Enterprises IV: The Rolls Series,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, no. 11 (1961): 137–159.

⁸ P.B.M. Blaas, *Continuity and Anachronism: Parliamentary and Constitutional Development in Whig Historiography and in the Anti-Whig Reaction between 1890 and 1930*, 154.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 154.

¹⁰ *Letters of William Stubbs*, 82–83.

History at the University of Oxford in 1866, despite his not being a candidate¹¹, and later affirmed by his influential role in the institutionalisation of Modern History at Oxford in 1872, which helped consolidate medieval history as a professional field of historical scholarship.¹² Despite his elevation to the Bishopric of Chester in 1884, necessitating his departure from Oxford, Stubbs persevered in his scholarly pursuits until 1889. Deeply influenced by Rankean methodology, he authored the seminal *Constitutional History of England in Its Origin and Development* (1873–1878), a comprehensive study spanning the fifth to the fifteenth century as well as his other works like *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History from the Earliest Times to the Reign of Edward the First* (1870).

Although Stubbs, as an Anglican clergyman, lacked the active political career that marked Georg Waitz, he was nonetheless a politically conservative Tory. Yet this orientation did not preclude him from ranking among the foremost “Whig” historians, understood in a sense far removed from narrow party allegiance.¹³ In this context, “Whig” does not denote liberal political identity but rather a historiographical posture that defined by Herbert Butterfield as “Whig Interpretation of History”: a teleological and presentist conception of the past as a progressive continuum culminating in constitutional liberty and representative government.¹⁴ In the nineteenth century, this orientation crystallized into what John W. Burrow termed “the Whig Compromise,” a historiographical construct that, drawing on Edmund Burke’s notion of organic continuity, arose in reaction to Enlightenment cosmopolitanism, was recast in the service of English nationalism and exceptionalism, and derived additional impetus from the cultural currents of Romanticism.¹⁵ But in contrast to the canonical Whig narratives of Henry Hallam’s *Constitutional History of England from the Accession of Henry VII to the Death of George II* (1827) and Thomas Babington Macaulay’s *The History of England from the Accession of James II* (1848), whose interpretive horizon remained largely confined to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reaching back no further than Magna

¹¹ Having failed in his bids for the Chichele Professorship of Modern History in 1862 and for the Regius Chair of Ecclesiastical History in 1863, Stubbs was taken entirely by surprise when he was chosen for the Regius Professorship of Modern History, a position for which he had not even applied. Durgun, “William Stubbs”. Writing to Freeman on December 23, 1865, he confessed: “I am not going to stand anymore for things. If I am not worth looking up, I am not ambitious enough to like to be beaten”, *Letters of William Stubbs*, 102. His appointment, following Goldwin Smith’s resignation, was driven largely by political calculation: the Conservative Derby–Disraeli government sought “someone who was a Conservative and a sound churchman, someone the very opposite of Goldwin Smith”. N.J. Williams, “Stubbs’s Appointment as Regius Professor, 1866”, 121–125. at 122.

¹² Durgun, “William Stubbs”.

¹³ Michael Bentley, *Modernizing England’s Past: English Historiography in the Age of Modernism: 1870–1970*, 10.

¹⁴ Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*.

¹⁵ John W. Burrow, *A Liberal Descent: Victorian Historians and the English Past*, 28–48.

Carta, Stubbs projected this progressive schema across the entire expanse of the English Middle Ages.¹⁶ His *Constitutional History of England* thus constituted the first systematic attempt to write a Whig history of the medieval period “from the ‘constitutional’ angle,”¹⁷ construing institutional development as an organic, evolutionary process oriented toward modern parliamentary governance. In this regard, the work became a cornerstone of English medieval historiography, distinguished by its scrupulous deployment of primary sources and by an intellectual authority whose influence persisted deep into the mid-twentieth century.¹⁸

III.

Georg Waitz and William Stubbs maintained a sustained and intellectually significant connection, punctuated by personal meetings in both the German lands and England.¹⁹ This relationship reached its most active phase in the 1870s and early 1880s, before being curtailed by Stubbs’s departure from Oxford upon his appointment as Bishop of Chester in 1884, a change that drastically reduced his engagement with historical research and came to a definitive close with Waitz’s death in 1886.

This intellectual network also encompassed German historians of England, most notably Reinhold Pauli and Felix Liebermann. According to William H. Hutton, the editor of *Letters of William Stubbs*, Pauli was “the first of modern German historians to study English history intimately.”²⁰ Pauli was the author of works such as *König Aelfred und seine Stelle in der Geschichte Englands* (1851) and maintained close ties with leading English historians, including Edward A. Freeman and James Bryce.²¹ As the principal reviewer of English historical works in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, founded by Heinrich von Sybel in 1859, Pauli also assessed the writings of the British historians and, in 1875, published a review of Stubbs’s

¹⁶ Benedikt Stuchtey, “Literature, Liberty and Life of the Nation: British Historiography from Macaulay to Trevelyan”, 30–46. at 31.

¹⁷ Campbell, “William Stubbs,” 77–87. at 79.

¹⁸ Durgun, “William Stubbs”.

¹⁹ *Letters of William Stubbs*, 140–143. Steinberg, *Race, Nation, History*, 84–85. Waitz also had contact with Lord Acton, who played a major role in the transmission of German historiography to England. In September 1877, Waitz visited Lord Acton at his Aldenham estate before being warmly received by Stubbs at Oriel College. Georg Waitz, “Reise nach England und Frankreich im Herbst 1877. Von G. Waitz,” in *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde zur Beförderung einer Gesamtausgabe der Quellschriften deutscher Geschichten des Mittelalters*, Vierter Band, 9–42. at 12.

²⁰ *Letters of William Stubbs*, 140.

²¹ Steinberg, *Race, Nation, History*, 79.

Constitutional History of England. In that review, Pauli commended Stubbs's profound familiarity with German legal-historical scholarship and underlined "the marked affinity with Waitz's *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, the influence of which is particularly evident in the chapters on the Anglo-Saxon period".²² He likewise served as the principal intermediary between Waitz and Stubbs in facilitating their meetings at Göttingen and Oxford.²³

Moreover, Felix Liebermann, a young and indefatigable scholar of English history, later renowned for his monumental three-volume *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (1903–1916) played a significant role in the intellectual network linking Waitz and Stubbs. Their first encounter took place in the Göttingen Library in 1875, during Stubbs's visit to Waitz and Pauli, and was followed by an ongoing correspondence on matters of shared scholarly interest. When Liebermann visited Oxford, he received a cordial welcome from Stubbs.²⁴ The admiration he felt for the English historian was fully returned. In a letter to G. W. Prothero in 1894, Stubbs wrote: "I know Liebermann very well, and have known him ever since he took his degree. He is a man of first-rate ability in both research and criticism on historical matters, and a clear and judicious critic of men, as well as books."²⁵ Liebermann worked closely with Pauli for several years as his assistant and collaborator and was later appointed by Waitz to edit, complete, and extend Pauli's work on English *Scriptores*.²⁶ Although Edward A. Freeman, who in fact praised Liebermann's work on English legal history, casually referred to him as "Stubbs's Jew,"²⁷ a phrase that reflects the prejudices of the time, the remark nonetheless indicated the closeness of their scholarly association. After Stubbs's death in 1901, Liebermann honored his memory by dedicating his study *Ueber das englische Rechtsbuch, Leges Henrici* with the inscription: "Dem Andenken an William Stubbs, den Meister der Erforschung und Darstellung englischer Geschichte im Mittelalter."²⁸

²² Reinhold Pauli, "The Constitutional History of England in its origin and development by William Stubbs, M. A. Regius Professor of Modern History, Vol. I. Oxford at the Clarendon Press. 1874. VIII. 638. 8^o," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 126–139. at 128. Peter Wende, "Views and Reviews: Mutual Perceptions of British and German Historians in the Late Nineteenth Century", 173–189. at 180. For correspondence between Stubbs and Pauli: *Letters of William Stubbs*, 183–185. Relating to the letter of condolence and the editorial completion of Pauli's unfinished *Wardrobe Accounts*, addressed to Mrs. Pauli, see: *Ibid.*, 186–187.

²³ Elisabeth Pauli, *Reinhold Pauli: Lebenserinnerungen nach Briefen und Tagebüchern zusammengestellt*, 308.; 321. This work is particularly valuable for illuminating the close connections and sense of community that existed between German and English historians.

²⁴ *Letters of William Stubbs*, 140.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 356.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 141.

²⁷ C.H.S. Fifoot (ed.), *The Letters of Frederic William Maitland*, 301. Andrew Rabin, "Felix Liebermann and *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*," (eds.) Stefan Jurasinski, Lisi Oliver & Andrew Rabin, *English Law Before Magna Carta: Felix Liebermann and Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 1–8.

²⁸ Felix Liebermann, *Ueber das englische Rechtsbuch, Leges Henrici*.

This demonstrates that, although the German imprint was more pronounced, the channels of interaction were nonetheless reciprocal. German engagement with English history was animated above all by the latter's distinctive course of constitutional development—a process that German liberal constitutionalists such as Waitz and Dahlmann, the latter having published *Geschichte der englischen Revolution* in 1844 in the years preceding the Frankfurt Parliament. Frankfurt Parliament, regarded as an instructive paradigm for reconciling political authority with legal restraint. Another striking example stressing the uniqueness of England's constitutional development can be found in Rudolf von Gneist's *Das Englische Parlament in tausendjährigen Wandlungen vom 9. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert* (1886), which appeared in English translation the same year as *The English Parliament in Its Transformations through a Thousand Years* by R. Jenery Shee. Ranke himself shared abiding fascination with England's political experience, as reflected in his *Englische Geschichte vornehmlich im sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhundert* (1859–1865), later rendered into English as *A History of England Principally in the Seventeenth Century* by eight Oxford dons in 1875, an undertaking initiated by William Stubbs. England's comparatively seamless passage from absolutism to constitutional monarchy culminating in the settlement of 1688 exerted a compelling allure for German scholars' intent on discovering historical models of political stability and representative governance within a national context still constrained by autocratic structures. As Peter Wende has strikingly observed, “for German scholars, studying the history of England was like opening a window onto their own country's future.”²⁹

For German historicists, whether from merely a national or liberal constitutional perspective, these episodes exemplified the dynamic balance between monarchy, law, and representative institutions. They also presented the distinctive role of England's common-law tradition as a formative force in the development of political society.” It was within this intellectual climate that Waitz, recalling his Berlin years, later remarked in his *Historische Übungen* that under Ranke's guidance, students were encouraged to probe the foundational significance of *Magna Carta* as well as the *Constitutio de expeditione Romana*, the *Landfriede* of 1235 and the decree on papal election, an exercise emblematic of the organic liberal conception of constitutional development at the heart of Waitz's historicism.³⁰

Furthermore, in the evolution of scholarly exchanges between Waitz and Stubbs, the “Hanoverian connection” linking England and Germany proved particularly significant. As James Campbell observes, this connection possessed

²⁹ Wende, “Views and Reviews,” *British and German Historiography*, 173–189, at 179–180. For nineteenth-century German engagement with English history, see the classic study: Charles E. McLelland, *The German Historians and England: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Views*.

³⁰ Waitz, *Die historischen Übungen*, 6.

considerable intellectual weight, yet its importance has often been overlooked.³¹ The term “Hanoverian connection” here directly refers to the dynastic relationship between the British Crown and the German House of Hanover, which persisted essentially from 1714 until 1901. It originated with the accession of George I, a Hanoverian prince, to the British throne in 1714, inaugurating the Hanoverian dynasty in Britain. This union, far from being a mere matter of royal succession, exerted lasting political, cultural, and diplomatic effects on both nations. A decisive turning point came in 1837 with the death of William IV. His successor, Queen Victoria, ascended the British throne; however, owing to the Salic Law barring female succession in Hanover, the Hanoverian crown passed instead to her uncle, Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland. This development formally ended the personal union, though strong familial and cultural ties between Britain and Hanover persisted well beyond this date.³²

Relations between Hanover and Britain were, perhaps inevitably, remarkably close. The British literary critic and historian of the Enlightenment, Robert Shackleton, once characterized Hanover as “an outpost of English civilization.”³³ The University of Göttingen where Waitz would assume the chair of history in 1849 had been founded by George II (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen) in 1737 in his dual capacity as King of Great Britain and Elector of Hanover and the university would, in time, be colloquially dubbed “Georgia Waitzia” by Waitz’s students.³⁴ From its inception, the university functioned as a conduit for the transmission of British political and social thought and as a crucible for German Anglophilia, shaping an image of Britain as the exemplar of political freedom, economic vitality, and a refined culture of sociability.

Although comparatively few members of the British elite pursued studies there, and Göttingen never supplanted Oxford or Cambridge as the primary training ground for Britain’s governing class, British scholarship nonetheless profited considerably from this intellectual linkage. Much like London’s merchants operating in global commerce, members of this Anglo-German scholarly network acted as transnational agents within an increasingly internationalized academic sphere though the episode involving the dismissal of seven liberal professors by the new king, the Göttingen graduate Ernest Augustus, in 1837, offers a cautionary counterpoint.³⁵

³¹ Campbell, “William Stubbs (1825–1901)”, *Medieval Scholarship*, 77–87. at 79.

³² Torsten Rott, „The House of Hanover. Queen Victoria and the Guelph Dynasty”, 75–96. For the general survey of the Hanoverians: Jeremy Black, *The Hanoverians: The History of a Dynasty*.

³³ Michael Maurer, *Aufklärung und Anglophilie in Deutschland*, 44. Cited from Thomas Biskup, “The University of Göttingen and the Personal Union, 1737–1837”, 128–160. at 128.

³⁴ Benson and Weber, “Georg Waitz (1813–1886)”, *Medieval Scholarship*, 63–75. at 65.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 143; 160.

The constitutional annulment by Ernest Augustus of Hanover triggered one of the most renowned confrontations in modern German history: the protest of the so-called “Göttingen Seven.” When compelled to swear an oath of allegiance to the new monarch, seven professors refused, publicly condemning his abrogation of the existing constitution. Among their number were the liberal historians Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann and Georg Gottfried Gervinus; the philologists Wilhelm and Jacob Grimm, celebrated for their pioneering linguistic and folkloric research; the jurist Wilhelm Albrecht; the physicist Wilhelm Weber; and the theologian-orientalist Heinrich Ewald. Dahlmann, Gervinus, and the Grimm brothers would later assume a prominent role alongside Georg Waitz, with whom they had cultivated close ties since his appointment to the post at *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* in Hanover in 1836³⁶, as advocates of German unification under a constitutional monarchy, aligning with the centrist “Casino Faction” during the Frankfurt Parliament of 1848.³⁷

The cultural dimension of the Hanoverian connection between Britain and Germany is exemplified by the establishment of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (MGH) in Hanover in 1819 as a scholarly editorial project, founded by the Prussian reformer Heinrich Friedrich Karl Freiherr vom Stein. Bearing the motto *Sanctus amor patriae dat animum* (Sacred love for the fatherland gives the spirit), the enterprise embodied the characteristic fusion of Romantic nationalism with emerging norms of professional scholarship. Its first volume appeared in 1826, and although initially anchored in Hanover, following the creation of the German Empire under Prussian leadership, the MGH was reorganized as a formal institution and relocated to Berlin.³⁸ In this regard, acutely aware of the significance of the Hanoverian connection between Britain and Germany, William Stubbs observed that the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Oxford, along with its counterpart at Cambridge, had been instituted by George I in 1724 to confer a uniform character upon these chairs, thereby shaping the institutional foundations for the study of modern history in England and he also noted that:

Under George IV, as king of Great Britain and Hanover, was begun the great series of Monuments of German History, the editor of which was once wont to call himself Historiographer of the Most Serene Guelfic house, and of which the king of Hanover was a patron to an extent double of that of Prussia, and nearly equal to the patronage of all the rest of the German Courts; a great work which has made Hanover its home, ...³⁹

³⁶ Schramm, *Konstrukteure der Nation*, 52.

³⁷ James M. Brophy, “Hanover and Göttingen, 1837”, 9–14.

³⁸ Fuhrmann, *Gelehrtenleben im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, 29–52. Bünz, “Die *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*”, 15–36.

³⁹ William Stubbs, “Inaugural. (Feb. 7, 1867),” *Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Medieval and Modern History and Kindred Subjects*. 1–25. at 4.

In this context of Hanoverian connection, the scholarly collaboration of Waitz and Stubbs apparently gained new impetus following Waitz's appointment as director of the *MGH* in 1876. Seeking to broaden the *MGH*'s scope to encompass Anglo-Saxon history, Waitz invited Stubbs to contribute as an initiative emblematic of their shared commitment to a transnational, critically rigorous, and source-oriented approach to medieval scholarship.⁴⁰ This was, in fact, an extension of the planned joint work undertaken by Pauli, and Stubbs on the English *Scriptores* relating to the Hohenstaufen period, prepared for the *Monumenta*.⁴¹ In accepting the invitation, Stubbs described the opportunity as a great honor and, as on other occasions, emphasized the profound influence of German scholarship on the evolution of English historical writing:

And I may add that I believe that I owe to this the honour, and a very great honour I esteem it, of an invitation to take part as a fellow editor in the great series of German Historical Monuments, known for the last fifty years under the name of Pertz, which has now passed into the hands of a commission of which Dr. Waitz is the chief. I am proud indeed to be an instrument, in the humblest way, in repaying the debt which English history owes to German scholarship.⁴²

This project, which appears to have been conceived through the correspondence and conversations among Waitz, Stubbs, and Pauli⁴³, and of which Liebermann seems to have been unaware that Stubbs was also involved⁴⁴, was eventually realized in the twenty-seventh (1885) and twenty-eighth (1888) volumes of the *MGH* under the title *Ex rerum Anglicarum scriptoribus* as a joint edition by Pauli and Liebermann,

⁴⁰ Steinberg, *Race, Nation, History*. 85.

⁴¹ "Herausgeber einer Reihe der wichtigsten Englischen Scriptores, Prof. Stubbs in Oxford, sich mit Prof. Pauli in Göttingen über die Bearbeitung jener für die Monumenta vereinigt hat..." Waitz, "Reise nach England," 9–42. at 11. "About the volume of *Scriptores* which Pauli and I were to do for the Hohenstaufen period. When I saw Waitz last year at Würzburg, he told me to correspond with you about it. But I am in total ignorance of Pauli's plan of working; and, as I should be sorry to drop out of my share in the great work, I will ask you to keep me up to the mark in the way of information and preparation. Pauli, in his last letter, told me that he had a set of sheets of the early Anglo-Saxon historians which he had prepared for Waitz, which sheets he would send me when he had an opportunity. But I have never received them." "Stubbs' Letter to Liebermann, June 4, 1883," in *Letters of William Stubbs*, 142–143.

⁴² Stubbs, "On the Present State and Prospects of Historical Study (May 17, 1876)", Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures*, 26–48. at 28.

⁴³ "Stubbs' Letter to Liebermann, June 4, 1883," in *Letters of William Stubbs*, 143.

⁴⁴ Liebermann would state in 1902 that: "But it was only after the death of Pauli, who had for some years employed me as his assistant and fellow-worker, and when Waitz had engaged me to edit, complete, and continue Pauli's work, that I learned from the letter No. 2 that Stubbs had intended actively to share in the work. The conversation at Würzburg which Stubbs refers to must have been in French. And this probably gave rise to the misunderstanding". *Letters of William Stubbs*, 141.

containing 149 references to Stubbs, whereas Freeman was cited only four times.⁴⁵ In the preface to the edition, Waitz would express Stubbs's contribution to this work as follows:

Both men (Pauli and Liebermann), in the years that followed, visited English libraries repeatedly, collated manuscripts with printed editions, transcribed some unpublished texts, and were kindly assisted by the librarians and by men of distinguished merit in the study of national history, among whom particular mention must be made of the Most Reverend W. Stubbs, then Professor at Oxford and now Bishop of Chester, who had most diligently prepared editions of a great number of writers. He also gave every assistance we requested for this work through his advice and his letters.⁴⁶

Comparable to the 149 references to Stubbs in the *MGH* edition of *Ex rerum Anglicarum scriptoribus*, Stubbs cited Waitz's *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte* no fewer than thirty-three times in the first volume of his *Constitutional History of England*, a work he began after the appearance of Waitz's seminal study, an engagement that is particularly striking when contrasted with his far fewer citations of other German authorities: eight references to Grimm, twelve to Maurer, and ten to Bethmann-Hollweg.⁴⁷ Among British authors, only John Mitchell Kemble, himself a former student of Jacob Grimm at Göttingen and a leading Anglo-Saxonist whose *The Saxons in England* (1849) contributed significantly to "the development of a Germanic pedigree in British history, legal traditions, and historiography"⁴⁸, received more than a single reference, with six citations.⁴⁹

This pattern of engagement, on the one hand, affirms Reinhold Pauli's characterization of the "marked affinity" between the two scholars, and, on the other hand, demonstrates the formative influence of Waitz's research on Stubbs's interpretation of the early Anglo-Saxon period. More significantly, it reveals the extent to which Stubbs adopted Waitz's work as a methodological template for his own historiographical enterprise. In this sense, E. A. Freeman's remark that "If Stubbs is the Waitz of England, Waitz is the Stubbs of Germany"⁵⁰ serves as a telling acknowledgment of their methodological kinship, beside their shared aspiration toward an ideal of transnational scholarly collaboration.

⁴⁵ Steinberg, *Race, Nation, History*, 86, endnote 179 at 214.

⁴⁶ "Waitz's Preface," in *Ex rerum Anglicarum scriptoribus saec. XII et XIII, Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, vii-viii.

⁴⁷ James Campbell, "Stubbs, Maitland and the Constitutional History," in *British and German Historiography*, 99–122. at 115.

⁴⁸ Campbell, "Stubbs, Maitland", 115.

⁴⁹ Michael Stuckey, "John Mitchell Kemble's Anglo-Germanic Legal Historiography," *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis, Folia Iuridica*, 51–66, at 52.

⁵⁰ Edward A. Freeman, *The Methods of Historical Study*, 289.

IV.

This collaboration was undoubtedly nourished by the belief in the “common Teutonic origins” of the German and English peoples. Although the advocates of Teutonic heritage differed at times in their interpretations of its scope and substance, both Stubbs and Waitz operated within this paradigm. Stubbs and Waitz maintained that the institutional development of their respective nations rested on an essential core of Teutonic racial purity⁵¹, subject only to very limited alteration through external influences. At the same time, they argued that the libertarian institutional legacy of the Teutonic tradition, inseparably bound to this racial distinctiveness, continued to shape the historical character, individuality, and vital energies of the English and German peoples within the framework of their organic historical evolution.⁵²

The thesis of “common Teutonic origins” was inextricably bound up with the pervasive anti-French sentiment and the Latinized image of France that came to shape much of nineteenth-century discourse in both England and the German lands. Among Germans, hostility toward France drew deeply on the lived memory of the Napoleonic Wars, the humiliations of foreign occupation, and the subsequent rise of nationalist feeling.⁵³ On the other hand, Anti-French sentiment in nineteenth-century Britain was shaped by a complex amalgam of historical memory, geopolitical rivalry, and cultural opposition. The legacy of the Napoleonic Wars, with their attendant anxieties about invasion and national security, remained deeply etched in the British imagination well into the Victorian era. France was frequently depicted as the embodiment of political volatility, associated with absolutism, revolutionary excess, and later Bonapartist authoritarianism, in sharp contrast to Britain’s self-conception, which had begun to firmly establish itself in the eighteenth century as a bastion of political stability and Protestant liberty. This antagonism was further reinforced by rivalries in colonial expansion and recurrent diplomatic crises, fostering a powerful discourse through which British identity was continually articulated in opposition to France.⁵⁴

Out of a body of Teutonically inflected historical literature emerged a powerful vision of the English and Germans as kindred branches of a single people, an almost indivisible community bound by shared racial and Protestant cultural heritage. In this sense, for many scholars of the period from philologist Max Müller to priest and historian Charles Kingsley, this Teutonic idea was not a distant historical

⁵¹ Anthony Brundage, and Richard A. Cosgrove, *The Great Tradition: Constitutional History and National Identity in Britain and the United States, 1870–1960*, 27–55.

⁵² Burrow, *A Liberal Descent*, 97–151.

⁵³ Karen Hagemann, “Francophobia and Patriotism: Anti-French Images and Sentiments in Prussia and Northern Germany During the Anti-Napoleonic Wars,” *French History*, 404–425.

⁵⁴ Linda Colley, “Britishness and Otherness: An Argument,” *Journal of British Studies*, 309–329.

construct but a living ideal shaping contemporary political, social, and religious self-understandings.⁵⁵ Within this framework, France represented both the principal geopolitical rival and the civilizational “other”: since antiquity, these scholars claimed, the Gallic and Roman inheritances, overlaid in the modern era by Catholicism, had stood in sharp antithesis to the Teutonism and, subsequently, the Protestantism of Lutheran Germany and Anglican England. Later the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71⁵⁶ further strengthened this perception by casting France as the leading adversary in the political imagination of both nations.

In this context, it is hardly surprising that Georg Waitz, himself a Protestant and a politically right-leaning liberal constitutional nationalist, interpreted the early medieval German polity through a rigid polarity between an ostensibly “pure” Germanic element and a Latinized Frankish counterpart. For example, in his account, the Merovingians eventually “became Romanized” a transformation that, in his view, fostered resistance among the German princes. By structuring his narrative in these terms, Waitz not only reaffirmed the primacy of the “German essence” but also inscribed the “Roman–Germanic opposition” as a foundational category of his historical vision.⁵⁷ Stubbs’s anti-French rhetoric was considerably sharper. In his view, the Germanic roots of the French had been corrupted through intermixture with Gallic elements, leading to the loss of their ancient liberties, the adoption of a feudal order, and ultimately a descent into “actual despotism”.⁵⁸ For Stubbs, this historical course stood in stark contrast to the English constitutional tradition, which rested on the preservation of liberties. This “actual despotism” by contrast, “becomes systematic tyranny”, and its logical culmination, he argued, “is the explosion which is called Revolution.”⁵⁹

However, from a broader vantage point, the affinities that sustained the scholarly collaboration between Waitz and Stubbs inclined both toward a common historiographical orientation, while the imperatives of their respective national contexts and political commitments imparted distinctive contours to their work. Whereas Waitz articulated a *völkisch*-teleological narrative of German constitutional development anchored in the primordial institutions of the early Germanic tribes and oriented toward the historical fulfillment of the *Volksgeist*, Stubbs constructed a progressive Whig teleology that cast the evolution of English constitutional forms as a cumulative achievement, culminating in the modern Victorian constitutional order. For Waitz, the medieval structures of the German *Reich* represented an organic continuity of freedom grounded in racial and customary law, survived

⁵⁵ Steinberg, *Race, Nation, History*, 74.

⁵⁶ Georgios Varouxakis, *Victorian political thought on France and the French*. 156–163.

⁵⁷ Georg Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, Bd. 2., 605. Cited from Lenhard Schramm, *Konstrukteure der Nation*, 99.

⁵⁸ William Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England, In its Origins and Development*, 2–4.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

despite later foreign influences, a vision he developed most systematically in his monumental eight-volume *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte* (1844–1878), tracing the growth of the German constitution from Roman times– drawing extensively on Tacitus’ *Germania* through the Carolingian and Ottonian frameworks to the threshold of the twelfth century. In this sense, he would write that:

...Rather, it is smaller autonomous units that emerge as the true bearers of political life, what we call *Völkerschaften*: not artificially constructed, but organically grown, the result of the processes through which the people as a whole has developed. Dedicated to historical life, they were therefore capable of manifold transformations over time, yet possessed such intrinsic significance that they often outlasted even the greatest changes in external conditions.⁶⁰

On the other hand, Stubbs envisioned the English past in an even more pronouncedly teleological manner than Waitz’s *völkisch*-teleological narrative casting it as the seedbed of parliamentary sovereignty and the common law, a constitutional fabric rooted in national customs with “the fewest organic changes”⁶¹ and preserving its “organic whole”⁶² through “the continuous development of representative institutions from the first elementary stage, in which they are employed for local purposes and in the simplest form, to that in which the national parliament appears as the concentration of all local and provincial machinery...”⁶³ In this sense, Stubbs depicted “the growth of the English constitution” not as a mere survival of archaic forms but as a series of adaptive structures, shaped by the interplay of “the national character, the external history, and the institutions of the people”⁶⁴, and ultimately securing England’s distinctive pattern of liberty and self-government, all the while drawing upon the methods and results of German *Rechtsgeschichte* scholarship, and especially upon Waitz and Tacitus’s *Germania*, for the foundational volume of his own work. Overall, what set the scholarly collaboration between Waitz and Stubbs apart was Stubbs’s exceptional confidence in, and commitment to, German historical scholarship, a trust unmatched even by contemporaries such as Edward A. Freeman or John R. Green, who likewise espoused the idea of a Teutonic heritage. This intellectual orientation found its most tangible expression in Stubbs’s adherence to German *Wissenschaft* and Rankean principles.

⁶⁰ Georg Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, Bd. 1. 201.

⁶¹ William Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England*, 1, 98.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 681.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 584.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

V.

The intellectual model of German *Wissenschaft*, conceived as a disciplined and methodologically exacting pursuit of knowledge⁶⁵, exerted a decisive influence on the formation of modern historical scholarship in nineteenth-century Europe. Its imprint was discernible in the elevation of academic standards, the methodological recalibration of historical inquiry, and the fostering of new circuits of transnational exchange. Grounded in the imperatives of empirical research, rigorous source-criticism, and the systematic organization of knowledge, this German paradigm did more than refine the practice of history across Europe: it reconstituted its epistemological foundations and reoriented its institutional ambitions. This achievement was grounded, beyond question, in the historicist outlook, an intellectual disposition that sought to apprehend every cultural phenomenon in its full historical and contextual particularity. It was this methodological ethos that empowered German historians to formulate professional standards of unprecedented rigor, to assert normative authority even in the face of politically contested terrains, and to command an international prestige and intellectual ascendancy unmatched before or since.⁶⁶

Within this broader intellectual milieu, the contributions of Leopold von Ranke were especially formative. As Frederick Beiser has observed, although the oft-repeated claims that Ranke was “the father of modern scientific history” or “the founder of historicism itself” exaggerates his originality given the deeper roots of historicism in the eighteenth century, he nonetheless emerged as its most emblematic figure.⁶⁷ Ranke pioneered a documentary-based approach that privileged the rigorous use of primary sources and sought to reconstruct the past on the basis of empirical evidence rather than speculative theory or normative judgment. This orientation, crystallized in his celebrated and much-debated dictum in the Preface of his *Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1514* (1824) to present history ‘wie es eigentlich gewesen’ (how it essentially was), signaled a methodological commitment to historical objectivity and an explicit rejection of anachronistic assumptions or ideologically driven interpretations.⁶⁸ Moreover, from the late nineteenth century, well into the twentieth, Ranke’s ideal of empirical rigor was habitually refracted through a positivist optic, reducing him to the figure of a meticulous archivist immersed in the sterile

⁶⁵ Fritz Ringer, *The Decline of the German Mandarins: The German Academic Community, 1890–1933*, 102–103.

⁶⁶ Daniel Fulda, “Between Archival Research and Aspirations to Leadership in Society: 19th-Century Germans as Practitioners in History”, 59–82, at 59.

⁶⁷ Frederick Beiser, *The German Historicist Tradition*. 253.

⁶⁸ Andreas Boldt, “Ranke: Objectivity and History”, 457–474.

accumulation of detail under the ostensible banner of methodological neutrality.⁶⁹ Yet Ranke's historiographical vision extended well beyond evidentiary rigor. It encompassed a profoundly contextual methodology that insisted upon situating events within their proper temporal, political, social, and cultural frameworks. In so doing, it resisted reductive generalizations and foregrounded the significance of historical particularity. Rather than projecting presentist assumptions onto the past, Ranke urged the young historians like Georg Waitz and Heinrich von Sybel around him to adopt an interpretive posture attuned to the mental horizons and lived conditions of historical actors themselves. In this sense, his historicism was not merely a methodology but an ethos: a sustained endeavor to grasp the past on its own terms while preserving the authenticity of its otherness. However, far from an aloof pursuit of objectivity, Ranke's historical production became deeply imbricated in the anti-revolutionary ideology of Friedrich Wilhelm IV's regime, a symbiosis crowned in 1841 with his appointment as Prussia's official historiographer.⁷⁰

Georg Waitz, who dedicated his *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte* to his mentor Ranke, likewise wrestled with the tensions inherent in claims to historicist objectivity. On the methodological plane, Waitz cast himself as the consummate heir to Ranke's empiricist creed: an unwavering fidelity to the exhaustive interrogation of primary sources, philological rigor, and the inductive reconstruction of historical reality. His pedagogical innovations at Göttingen, epitomized in the *Historische Übungen*, and his explicit homage to Ranke, whom he once described as having "encapsulated the demands of historical work, the duties of the historian: criticism, precision, penetration," displays this self-positioning. "Your own works", he affirmed, "stand as an enduring example and model for all time".⁷¹

Yet this ostensibly empiricist apparatus was neither ideologically neutral nor methodologically innocent. As a native of traditionally Protestant northern Germany, Waitz was deeply embedded in the milieu of *Kulturprotestantismus*, a form of cultural Protestantism that integrated confessional identity with liberal historicism and advanced a civilizational narrative that privileged the German nation.⁷² Beneath the rigorous scaffolding of his scholarship operated a teleological Protestant-historicist impulse that grounded the legitimacy of the modern Protestant German state in the principle that "*der Staat erwächst organisch*" ("the state grows organically"). In Waitz's case, this outlook sanctioned the vision

⁶⁹ Beiser, *The German Historicist Tradition*, 255.; Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession*, 28. Georg G. Iggers and Konrad von Moltke, "Introduction," in *The Theory and Practice of History by Leopold von Ranke*, edited with introduction by Georg G. Iggers and Konrad von Moltke. xix-xx.

⁷⁰ Eskildsen, *Modern Historiography in the Making*, 103.

⁷¹ Waitz, *Die historischen Übungen*, 4.

⁷² Gangolf Hübinger, *Kulturprotestantismus und Politik. Zum Verhältnis von Liberalismus und Protestantismus im wilhelminischen Deutschland*.

of a federal polity under a constitutional monarch, projected back onto the atavistic lineaments of early medieval constitutional forms.⁷³ These Protestant and statist inflections in his historiography ultimately provoked sharp criticism from the Catholic historian Ludwig Pastor, who charged that Waitz was far from an objective historian. According to Pastor, he failed to subject facts to a genuinely critical process of scrutiny and instead operated as a *preußischer Geschichtsmonopolist*, a Prussian monopolist of history.⁷⁴

On the other hand, Ranke's methodological exactitude and historicist ethos exerted a transformative influence on English historiography. As German historicism gained ascendancy, the English historians helped propel the systematic professionalization of historical study within the English universities, most notably at Oxford under William Stubbs and at Cambridge under John Seeley and Lord Acton, fostering a curricular turn toward rigorous source criticism and archival research.⁷⁵ While these historians differed markedly in their interpretive engagements with Rankean historicism, they nonetheless shared a circumscribed consensus: its adoption was largely instrumental, valued for its technical apparatus and critical method.⁷⁶ For Stubbs, this provided not merely a methodological resource but a means of anchoring his own scholarly claims within the very heart of *Wissenschaft*. However, one construes his engagement with Rankean historiography and German historicism, Stubbs's deep reverence for the learning of German scholars epitomized the broader Victorian captivation with "the organizational forms and the methodology of German *Wissenschaft*"⁷⁷, a disposition clearly registered in the imprint of Ranke upon Stubbs's historical practice⁷⁸ and the school of German *Rechtsgeschichte*. Stubbs expressed his confidence in the German historical tradition with an almost Enlightenment-like optimism in the cumulative progress of scholarly knowledge:

But I am sure that they have a great object- to increase human knowledge in minuteness of accuracy as well as in breadth and firmness of grasp; to perfect the instruments of historic study; to make, perhaps subordinately and subsidiarily, their exploration of our history throw light on the dark places, the obscure passages and flickering popular institutions of their own land. I wish that we should do the same, that we could and would

⁷³ Waitz, *Grundzüge der Politik*, 5.

⁷⁴ Ludwig Pastor, "Georg Waitz als preußischer Geschichtsmonopolist", 435–445.

⁷⁵ For the classical studies on the transformation of history education in Britain at that time, see Reba Soffer, *Discipline and Power: The University, History and the Making of an English Elite, 1870–1930*.

⁷⁶ Stuchtey and Wende, "Introduction" *British and German Historiography*, 13–16.

⁷⁷ Berger and Lambert, "Intellectuals Transfers", *Historikerdialoge*, 9–61. at 31.

⁷⁸ John Warren, "The Rankean Tradition in British Historiography, 1840 to 1950," *Writing History: Theory and Practice*, edited by Stefan Berger, Heiko Feldner, Kevin Passmore. 23–41. at 32.

so study not merely the works of Waitz, Sohm, Brunner and the Maurers, but the documentary evidence on which those writers have based their conclusions.⁷⁹

Although Stubbs was never formally a pupil of Ranke, he absorbed the profound influence of Ranke's method of source criticism.⁸⁰ He consciously adopted terms such as *Geschichtsquellen* and *Kritik der Quellen* to signal his methodological fidelity, while simultaneously inflecting this Rankean framework with elements drawn from Anglican empiricism, Burkean organicism, and the broader currents of Protestant historicism.⁸¹ Building on this foundation, he worked assiduously to propagate its principles among his peers and pupils. For Stubbs, Ranke was "not only beyond all comparison the greatest historical scholar alive, but one of the very great historians that ever lived".⁸² His *Englische Geschichte*, was a great example of impartial and critical history writing based on an in-depth study of sources about "a period on which no Englishman can look or speak without prejudice".⁸³

Like Ranke and Waitz, he maintained a deliberate distance from the philosophy of history and speculative interpretations, a position he stated with characteristic clarity: 'I do not believe in the Philosophy of History and so do not believe in Buckle'⁸⁴, referring to *The History of Civilization in England* of positivist Henry Thomas Buckle. Moreover, in a manner that stressed his self-fashioning in a Rankean image, he would later remark: I can only say that I hope my work has not been unworthy of Oxford, or of England. Judging from the reception accorded to it, I think I should say that it has met with more appreciative and intelligent reception in Germany than in England.⁸⁵ In this sense, like Waitz, who professed to maintain a deliberate distance from politics and speculative historical interpretation, Stubbs likewise fashioned an image of himself as the embodiment of scholarly

⁷⁹ Stubbs, "On the Present State and Prospects of Historical Study (May 20, 1876)," Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures*, 49–70. at 63.

⁸⁰ About the glorification of Stubbs as model scientific historian in England, see: Elise Garritzen, *Reimagining the Historian in Victorian England Books, the Literary Marketplace, and the Scholarly Persona*, 81–111.

⁸¹ Durgun, "William Stubbs". J.E. Kirby, "An Ecclesiastical Descent: Religion and History in the Work of William Stubbs," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 84–110. Brian Young, "History," *Historicism and the Human Sciences in Victorian Britain*, 154–185. Wende, "Views and Reviews," *British and German Historiography*, 173–189. at 182. Ian Hesketh, *The Science of History in Victorian Britain: Making the Past Speak*, 35–54.

⁸² Stubbs, "On the Present State and Prospects of Historical Study (May 20, 1876)," Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures*, 49–70, at 57.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁸⁴ *Letters of Stubbs*, 42.

⁸⁵ Stubbs, "On the Present State and Prospects of Historical Study (May 17, 1876)," *Stubbs, Seventeen Lectures*, 26–48. at 28.

integrity and rigorous devotion to research, famously characterizing himself ‘not as a philosopher, nor as a politician, but as a worker at history.’⁸⁶

Although both Waitz and Stubbs grounded their work in Rankean empirical norms and stressed the notion of a shared Teutonic heritage, a fundamental difference in narrative capacity distinguished them. Waitz lacked the literary grace that renders Stubbs not only readable but at times even engaging. Nor did he attempt to shape his material into the sweeping narrative of national development that became the hallmark of Stubbs.⁸⁷ Paradoxically, this very absence of narrative flourish may have reinforced Waitz’s image as the more rigorously academic and methodologically self-disciplined scholar, whereas Stubbs despite his professed disdain for speculative theory produced a work interwoven with moralistic undertones, edging closer to the posture of a political moralist than to that of a detached historian.

VI.

The scholarly collaboration between Georg Waitz and William Stubbs, maintained through German historians of English history such as Reinhold Pauli and Felix Liebermann and sustained by a shared commitment to historicist principles, offers a revealing perspective on the patterns of nineteenth-century historiographical interaction. Their relationship sheds light on both the creative possibilities and the inherent limitations of Anglo-German historiographical exchange at a time when the discipline of history was moving toward full professionalization.

What emerges here is not simply a correspondence between two notable historians but an episode embedded in the broader interplay of methodological innovation, cultural ideals, and political contingencies that formed the intellectual horizons of the long nineteenth century. This study situates the Waitz-Stubbs collaboration within that context, arguing that their connection represents a moment of convergence between two national historiographical traditions that were at once intertwined and distinct. Their mutual admiration expressed in personal encounters, reciprocal citations, and institutional initiatives, was affirmed by common methodological allegiances to Rankean historicism and by a shared belief in the configuring role of Teutonic heritage in constitutional development. Yet these affinities were counterbalanced by structural asymmetries. Linguistic and institutional barriers, divergent political cultures, and the gradual hardening of national rivalries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which finally inhibited the promise of deeper scholarly integration. By tracing this relationship, this paper aimed to illuminate both the generative impulse of transnational

⁸⁶ Stubbs, “Inaugural. (Feb. 7, 1867),” *Seventeen Lectures*, 1–25. at 13.

⁸⁷ G.P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, 119.

cooperation and the forces that limited its scope. In doing so, it situated the Waitz–Stubbs dialogue within the broader story of nineteenth-century historical scholarship, a story marked by the tension between universalist claims of method and the inescapable effect of national context.

At its core, this network was animated by an ideal that historical scholarship, anchored in the rigorous interrogation of sources, could transcend national boundaries and constitute a universal *Republic of Letters*. Waitz and Stubbs agreed on common methodological ground in their shared adherence to Rankean historicism and its ethos of critical source analysis; yet the interpretive paths they pursued bore the distinct imprint of their respective contexts. For Waitz, the recovery of early Germanic constitutional forms served as the foundation for a organicist teleology oriented toward the historic mission of a federated German polity. For Stubbs, the same methodological apparatus legitimized an evolutionary Whig narrative of English constitutional continuity, a story of organic growth culminating in the Victorian settlement. Thus, even as they shared a scholarly language of empiricism, they spoke in idioms shaped by divergent political imaginaries: the liberal constitutional nationalism of a still-fragmented Germany at least until the foundation of the German Empire in 1871 and the insular exceptionalism of a self-assured Victorian England. The thesis of “common Teutonic origins,” which infused the writings of Waitz, Stubbs, and their contemporaries with an almost ethnological sense of kinship, was more than an academic conjecture; it was a politically charged narrative that cast England and Germany as kindred nations bound by racial and Protestant heritage. This construction functioned as a potent counterpoint to the Latinized “otherness” of France and as a normative model for constitutional development. Yet in the crucible of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century politics, this ideal of a Teutonic community crumbled under the weight of intensifying national rivalries and the cataclysm of the First World War.

If the collaboration between Waitz and Stubbs was delimited by these structural and ideological constraints, it was nonetheless deeply consequential. It facilitated the selective transmission of German methodological rigor into an English scholarly culture still shaped by divergent mechanisms. Stubbs’s *Constitutional History of England* bears clear traces of this influence, just as the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* under Waitz’s direction opened its scope to Anglo-Saxon materials with the assistance of those working on English history. They signal a transnational scholarly collaboration that helped consolidate the epistemic norms of professional historiography as archival precision and philological exactitude. This scholarly collaboration, linking Göttingen and Oxford, was brief and limited in scope, yet it stands both as a monument to the cosmopolitan idealism of the nineteenth-century historical profession and as a poignant reminder of its fragility in the face of the disintegrative forces of nationalism and war.

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MILÁN SÁFRÁNY

The Land of the Free? Recent Developments in the Historiography of the American Revolution

Introduction

There is extensive scholarship on the American Revolution. The dozens of books published each year are more than enough to keep interested readers occupied, let alone the hundreds of journal articles.¹ This abundance of material allows for the continuous study of developments in the historiography of the revolution. While only time can truly tell how significant a certain work is, it is possible to point out works that showcase important developments in the writing of history.

The following paper is based on a conference presentation, which has since been developed into a thesis paper. My aim here is to offer insight into two significant historiographical trends as well as to briefly discuss an ongoing development regarding the interpretation of early American history. The latter is more relevant to contemporary memory politics than to historiography proper, but I believe it is worth addressing given its influence, particularly in education. Although the paper does not cover the full historiography of the revolution, understanding these trends and topics might make the broader field a little less confusing.

The Neowhig school and Republicanism

The *Neowhig* school was most influential in the second half of the 20th century, and as such, it provides a great opportunity for comparison with more recent developments.² The term Neowhig refers to the Whig historians of the 19th century, who claimed that over time societies progress towards higher levels of freedom and democracy. While this liberal interpretation also appeared elsewhere, what made

¹ The number of books published in the last few years: 63 in 2019, 64 in 2020, 77 in 2021, 56 in 2023, 63 in 2024 (ignoring self-published works.) Tortora, *US History Books on the American Revolution in 2020*. Tortora, *US History Books on the American Revolution in 2021*. Procknow, *2023 American Revolution Scholarship in Review*. Procknow, *2024 – A Surprisingly Vibrant Market for American Revolution Era Books*.

² The term Neowhig was coined by Jack P. Greene. Greene, “The Flight from Determinism.” Lévai, *A republikanizmus-vita*, 125–126.

these American scholars distinct was their belief that the United States held a special place in this model, having made the greatest achievements in freedom and democracy. Their version of the revolution mainly emphasized political and intellectual developments.

The emphasis on political history was not unique to American historians as it was part of a broader trend in Western historiography. The professional history writing of the 19th century kept European historians focused on politics, and since many Americans had mastered the discipline in Europe, primarily in Germany, it comes as no surprise that American history-writing followed in the footsteps of the European in this respect.³

Neowhig historians drew from the 19th century intellectual interpretation but offered a modernized version of it. While maintaining the emphasis on intellectual history, these works also began to incorporate elements of social history and began moving away from simplifications and deterministic approaches typical of the previous century.

In 1967, Bernard Bailyn's *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* was published, marking the emergence of the *Neowhig* school. As its title suggests, Bailyn's book centers on intellectual history, focusing on the origins of the ideas brought forward during the revolution. Bailyn's method was to read through the political pamphlets written by colonial radicals. These pamphlet authors not only expressed their thoughts but also cited their sources. Bailyn identified these influences and established five categories based on them: classical antiquity, Enlightenment rationalism, English common law, New England Puritanism and lastly, the political thought of the English Civil War and Commonwealth period.⁴

The first four, while not marginal, were less central than the fifth. Bailyn made the point that the authors' citations of antique philosophers or Enlightenment thinkers were often superficial, and New England Puritanism was largely regional. The political thought of the English Civil War and the Commonwealth period was, however, the key element in the colonists' ideology, shaping how they envisioned the political system that they wanted to create. This ideology, what Bailyn described as *republicanism*, served as the ideological framework of the revolution.⁵

It is important to note that republicanism did not imply that the colonists wished to abolish monarchy altogether. It meant that they desired a bottom-up flow of power instead of the top-down, that they imagined a government where the most qualified individuals would occupy positions, and that members of the

³ Ibid, 37–46.; Erős, *Modern historiográfia*, 234.

⁴ Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution*, 23–34.

⁵ Ibid. 34–36.

legislature would work *pro bono*, as serving the country was supposed to be the natural responsibility of the elite, not a source of income.⁶

The emphasis on ideology and on the intellectual side of the revolution can be traced back all the way to John Adams, who was a Founding Father and later served as the second President of the US. In 1815, he wrote the following to Thomas Jefferson:

What do We mean by the Revolution? The War? That was no part of the Revolution. It was only an Effect and Consequence of it. The Revolution was in the Minds of the People, and this was effected, from 1760 to 1775, in the course of fifteen Years before a drop of blood was drawn at Lexington.⁷

Three years later, when asked by a journalist about the Revolution, he gave a similar response:

But what do We mean by the American Revolution? Do We mean the American War? The Revolution was effected before the War commenced. The Revolution was in the Minds and Hearts of the People. A Change in their Religious Sentiments of their Duties and Obligations.⁸

In both letters, Adams emphasized how the revolution and the war that followed were separate events. This idea—that the war is best understood as a consequence of the revolution but not as an integral part of it—survived in the works of Whig and Neowhist historians.

Robert G. Parkinson and New Left history

Robert G. Parkinson offers a very different explanation in his works. *The Common Cause* and its abridged version, *Thirteen Clocks*, essentially represent a single work (although *Thirteen Clocks* does include a few additional sections not appearing in *Common Cause*.) Parkinson's main question was how the thirteen colonies managed to work together towards a common goal despite their differences. His answer is what he calls the *common cause appeal*. The common cause appeal was the idea behind which revolutionary leaders would try to line up the colonists. It had two main phases. The first version of the common cause was progressive, it was the rhetoric against tyranny (real or anticipated), it included the nonimportation

⁶ Gordon S. Wood, who was an apprentice of Bailyn, explained in details such aspects of republicanism. See: Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*.

⁷ John Adams to Thomas Jefferson, August 24, 1815, *Founders Online*, National Archives.

⁸ John Adams to Hezekiah Niles, February 13, 1818, *Founders Online*, National Archives.

movement as well as the argument for representation.⁹ However, after the war broke out, events took a darker turn. Revolutionary leaders were now campaigning for the war effort, and they needed to make an argument that would convince people to fight against Britain.

The new common cause appeal was designed to spread fear. Newspapers started to suggest that Britain would free and arm the slaves in the colonies, that British agents were making alliances with Indians, and that German mercenaries were being paid, all to put down the revolution. What connected these groups was how newspapers would make sure that they were portrayed as barbaric, cruel and merciless.¹⁰

While the stories were not completely fabricated, the way newspapers presented them was highly strategic. Jane McCrea, a young woman from the colony of New York was indeed murdered by natives, but the story quickly turned from an isolated event into the narrative that merciless savages are murdering young American girls. Additionally, British officials did make efforts to enlist slaves into the British army. A well-known story is Dunmore's proclamation. Following the defeat at Lexington and Concord, the last royal governor of Virginia proclaimed that all slaves who leave their masters and join the British army would be granted their freedom. The bold effort of the governor was quickly turned against him. The radicals, who controlled most of the colonial press made sure that readers everywhere would learn how the British were trying to excite a slave rebellion.¹¹

Further proof of the revolutionary leaders knowingly creating these narratives was the story of Benjamin Franklin's "little book." Franklin (with the help of Lafayette) aimed to publish a children's book that would tell the story of the country's birth through illustrations of British atrocities. Although the book was never completed due to the lack of funding, Franklin's and Lafayette's draft is known. One of the proposed illustrations would have been about Dunmore's proclamation. It reads:

Dunmore's hiring the Negroes to murder their Master's Families.
A large House
Blacks arm'd with Guns and Hangers
Master and his Sons on the Ground dead, Wife and Daughters lifted up in the Arms of
the Negroes as they are carrying off.¹²

This draft reflects the themes promoted in the revolutionary press. Parkinson ultimately argues that the effects of this propaganda campaign got embedded in

⁹ Parkinson, *Common Cause*, 19–22.

¹⁰ Parkinson, *Thirteen Clocks*, viii. Covart, *Ben Franklin's World*, episode 144.

¹¹ Parkinson, *Common Cause*, 153–163, 340–346.

¹² *Ibid.*, 400–401.

American society. The war ended, but slaves and Indians had little place in the new country.¹³

The stories of McCrea's murder or Dunmore's Proclamation had been known to historians long before *Common Cause*, but the way Parkinson presents them feels novel.¹⁴ However, it is difficult to measure the extent to which these stories actually influenced Americans to join the war.

One particular episode which appeared only in *Thirteen Clocks* is one that, in my opinion, strengthens Parkinson's argument. It is the story of *Somerset v Stewart*, which was a legal case between a master and his slave in England. Somerset was bought by Stewart in the colonies and was brought to England where he escaped. After capturing him, Stewart planned to sell him to work on a plantation in the Caribbean. Somerset's defenders argued that since slavery was not a recognized institution by English law, habeas corpus applied. Stewart's side argued that the court would establish a dangerous precedent by ruling in favor of Somerset, because there were tens of thousands of slaves in Britain. Both abolitionists and the supporters of slavery followed the proceedings closely because they believed the case was a test for the legality of slavery in England. The judge, Lord Mansfield, eventually ruled in favor of Somerset. Although the decision did not apply directly to the colonies, as they were not part of England, the colonists did sense uncertainty over the future of slavery.¹⁵

The *Somerset v Stewart* episode provides support for Parkinson's argument, but not all historians agree on its importance. In his recent book, Gordon S. Wood claims that there is insufficient evidence to back the argument that slaveholders paid much attention to the ruling.¹⁶

Parkinson's work is connected to an important trend in historiography. The second half of the 20th century saw the rise of New Left history-writing, which sought to recover the voices of historically marginalized groups of people. In the American context, these groups were mostly the enslaved people, people of color, indigenous people, women and queer communities. New Left historians usually aim to place these groups at the center of their narratives to uncover marginalized stories. In this respect, Parkinson is not a conventional example of a New Left historian, because the main themes of his work are more in line with political history and the mechanisms of wartime propaganda. However, his ultimate argument, that the effects of the new common cause appeal provided the basis for the exclusion of slaves and Indians, connects him to New Left. New Left history not

¹³ Ibid., 581–588.

¹⁴ As early as in the 1930s, Philip G. Davidson recognized the importance of rhetoric and hate in creating war psychosis during the revolution. See: Davidson, "Whig Propagandists of the American Revolution" and *Propaganda and the American Revolution*.

¹⁵ Parkinson, *Thirteen Clocks*, 53–55. Oldham, "New Light on Mansfield and Slavery."

¹⁶ Wood, *Power and Liberty*, 111.

only focuses on marginalized groups of people but also tries to uncover the ways a political system and its institutions are biased against them.¹⁷

A clear distinction between the intellectual interpretation of the Neowhig school and Parkinson's work is that Parkinson rejects the separation of the Revolution from the war that followed. The outbreak of the war influenced what trajectory the revolution would take and changed the methods and goals set by its leaders. The two events were not only consecutive (as suggested by John Adams,) but they were mutually influential.

Contemporary developments

There are some recent developments which are not strictly part of professional historiography, but more within the realm of journalism and politics, however, they are appropriate to address here because of their influence.

In August 2019, *The New York Times Magazine* published what came to be known as the 1619 Project. With the aim to reconsider American history, the project offered 1619 as the true birth of the nation because that was the year when the first ship carrying enslaved Africans arrived in Virginia.¹⁸ Centering US history around the experience of enslavement, the project wished to address the systematic oppression of black people throughout American history.¹⁹

The project became a matter of public interest and received criticism from multiple sides, the most important of which was a letter by five prominent historians who pointed out some historical inaccuracies.²⁰ It is important to note that amongst the five historians there was Gordon S. Wood, known for his contributions to the Neowhig school, but also Sean Wilentz who is more left leaning. It was clear that their critique was not partisan but rooted in their professional opinion. Project 1619 suggested that American historians are still marginalizing oppressed groups of people. This claim would have been valid in the past, but the American historical profession, putting the developments of New Left history to good use has been reflecting on the issue of marginalization for quite some time now.²¹ It appears that the main difference between the historians criticizing the project and the

¹⁷ Bogdanor, *Politikatudományi enciklopédia*, 691.

¹⁸ Historians disagree with the notion that 1619 marked the beginning of slavery in present-day US. See: Landers, "Slavery in the Lower South."

¹⁹ Hannah-Jones, "Our Democracy's Founding Ideals Were False When They Were Written. Black Americans Have Fought to Make Them True."

²⁰ Silverstein, "We Respond to the Historians Who Critiqued The 1619 Project".

²¹ In 2021, Trevor Burnard published a historiographical work, in which he argued that history writing in the last decade had been more inclusive compared to previous periods, with more attention given to marginalized groups of people as well as previously neglected regions. Burnard, *Writing Early America*, 21–22.

journalists working on it is that the former group has more insight into the topic's historiography.

Looking ahead, 2026 will mark the 250th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, which will indefinitely prompt a great deal of discussion and debate over the birth of the United States. In order to keep up with these events and to engage in such conversations – whether in academia or the public sphere – one must navigate the many versions of the American Revolution historians have constructed over time.

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ENDRE KISS

Über Grenzen, Einschränkungen, Revisionen. Über das Phaenomen des geschichtswissenschaftlichen Revisionismus

Über die Problematik der Einschränkungen und Grenzen (die nicht selten schon als Tabus vorkommen) kann man beim Eingang nur äusserst allgemein sprechen, um erst dann Schritt für Schritt nach einer Reihe von begrifflichen Konkretisationen zu immer konkreten Aussagen zu gelangen.

Unter Grenzen und Einschränkungen verstehen wir ausschliesslich diejenigen des Menschen überhaupt, bzw. der menschlichen Gattung.¹ In dieser Allgemeinheit geht es mit Notwendigkeit um Grenzen und Einschränkungen, die für die menschliche Gattung und in ihr für die die Gattung repraesentierenden Individuen im Sinne der *condition humaine* unüberwindlich sind. Eine solche ist offensichtlich der Tod. Die Gattungsgrenzen und ihre Geltung werden nicht auf der Ebene des Individuums konstituiert, wie die Bestimmung der Grenzen und die Legitimation ihrer Auswahl auch nicht von den freien Tathandlungen des Einzelnen abhaengen. Die menschliche Freiheit begegnet sich permanent und unvermeidlich den wirklichen Gattungsgrenzen, sie wird mit ihnen stets konfrontiert, sie akzeptiert ihre Existenz oder revoltiert gegen sie.

Es ist ferner alles andere als Zufall, dass in einem so extrem individualistischen Zeitalter wie gerade die Gegenwart jegliche Grenzen und Einschränkungen eine viel sensiblere Herausforderung darstellen wie je zuvor.

Schaut man zurück in die Geschichte, so wird man sagen müssen, dass die Menschheit in dieser Geschichte in sehr harte und omnipotente Grenzen eingefangen war. Man kann aber auch sehen, dass diese vielfachen Grenzen für den Menschen auch durchaus selbstverstaendlich waren. Lange historische Perioden hindurch fiel dem Menschen überhaupt nicht ein, diese Grenzen ausdehnen zu

¹ Diese konkrete Problematik der Gattung ist allerdings eine, die man – bedauerlicherweise – verhaeltnismaessig exakt nur „auf deutsch“ artikulieren kann. In anderen Sprachen, in denen dieser Begriff *wegen des Fehlens der entsprechenden philosophischen Tradition* fehlt, hat man die grössten Schwierigkeiten gleich bei Artikulierung dieses relevanten und durchaus unvermeidlichen Begriffs. Das besonders Gelungene dieses Begriffsgebrauchs besteht darin, dass in ihm die beschreibend-anthropologische Komponente und die Wertung (Wertschaetzung) praktisch vollkommen zusammenfallen und dieser Begriff darüber hinaus auch noch als Produkt einer umfassenden historischen Prozesses definiert wird.

wollen oder gar diese Grenzen voll zu beseitigen. Religiöse Vorstellungen, aber auch die Mythologien der uns bekannten urgeschichtlichen und antiken Gesellschaften legen darüber klar Zeugnis ab. Nicht nur die historischen Rekonstruktionen bezeugen das, so tun auch die wahrnehmbaren Traditionen der menschlichen Praxis selbst. *Wir sehen eine permanente Kommunikation mit dem Jenseits*, ein nie aufhörendes Interesse für den Willen der Götter, ein extremes Ernstnehmen jeglicher geheimen Zeichen vom Jenseits, bzw. den ungebrochenen Willen, ein Wissen über göttliche Entscheidungen herbeizuschaffen. Die Welt der griechischen Tragödie kann ein ideales Beispiel dafür werden, in welchen konkreten Konflikten und wegen welcher konkreten Zufälle die menschlichen Grenzen und Einschränkungen schon mit der Freiheit, bzw. dem autonomen Willen der Protagonisten kollidieren. Die Welt der Grenzen und Einschränkungen hatte auch das Christentum auf seine Weise verewigt und steigerte die Relation des Menschen zu ihren Gattungsgrenzen zu seinem alltaeglichen Problem, mit dem der Mensch jeden Tag kaempfen musste.

Als dann in spaeteren Zeiten die prinzipielle Problematik der Grenzen und Einschränkungen überhaupt erst wirklich auch reflektiert wird, werden auch die Veraenderungen, bzw. Modifizierungen dieser Grenzen konkret erlebbar. Gerade diese Reflexion zeigt, dass es hierbei im Grunde *um drei umfassende Themengruppen* geht. Die *eine* ist die Problematik der Grenzen und Einschränkungen der Natur, die *zweite* die Ausdehnung der Grenzen und Einschränkungen des gesellschaftlichen Seins und die *dritte* die Ausdehnung der Grenzen und Einschränkungen der Erkenntnis. In diesen Zusammenhang ziehen wir aktuell die Problematik des Einzelnen (des Individuums) nicht ein, und zwar vor allem aus dem Grunde, weil die universale Gattungsmaessigkeit des Individuums eine vollkommen anders geartete Relation zu den Grenzen darstellt wie die anderen drei Relationen.

Die Problematik der Natur und der Gesellschaft trennt sich hier von jener der Erkenntnis deutlich. Die permanente operative und handgreifliche Umwaetzung der Gesellschaft und der Natur laesst sich in der Erkenntnis nicht reproduzieren. Die These meint überhaupt nicht, dass die Grenzen der Erkenntnis nicht auch jeden Tag hinausgeschoben werden, sie meint nur, dass sich die Grundprinzipien, die Logik oder das Verifikationssystem der Erkenntnis trotz jedem programmierten Fortschritt nicht in jener Geschwindigkeit ausdehnen können wie es mit der Natur und der Gesellschaft der Fall sein kann.

Die Kraft und die Geltung der Grenzen, ihre Unüberwindbarkeit bedeutet jedoch überhaupt nicht, dass diese Grenzen und Einschränkungen sich auch nicht aendern würden. *Die Unveraenderbarkeit und die ihr gegenüberstehende gleichzeitige Veraenderbarkeit der Grenzen und Einschränkungen bedeutete in der ganzen Geschichte keinen wirklichen Widerspruch*. Veraendert sich in irgend einem Segment der Natur und der Gesellschaft eine Grenze, so wird der so entstehende neue Zustand ohne Übergang schon zur neuen Grenze selbst!

Für die moderne Gesellschaft ist das Hinaustreten aus den Grenzen, die ständige Ausdehnung der Grenzziehungen bereits eine *alltägliche* Tätigkeit. Jener Forscher, der auf seinem Gebiet die Grenzen des dort relevanten Wissens nicht vergrößert und dadurch dort die Grenzen nicht selber ausdehnt, kann schnell existentielle Probleme bekommen. Die ständige Ausdehnung, bzw. Transformation der Grenzen bedeutet, wie betont, überhaupt nicht die Aufhebung derselben. Denn an Stelle der zu beseitigenden Grenzen kommen gleich wieder wirkliche neue Grenzen und diese werden ohne Übergang gleich als wirkliche akzeptiert.

Wir machten vorhin den bewussten Unterschied zwischen Gattungsgrenzen, die nicht aufgehoben, bzw. ausgedehnt werden können (das einleitende Beispiel war der Tod) und Grenzen, die zwar aktuell endgültig sind, aber jederzeit ausgedehnt werden können.

In unserer Zeit der welthistorischen Globalisierung werden „aktuell endgültige“ Grenzen und Einschränkungen des öfteren erschüttert. Was jedoch auffällt, in unserer Zeit werden aktuell auch Gattungsgrenzen erschüttert, die wir unter der Gattungsperspektive als solche ansahen und immer noch ansehen, die man nicht überschreiten sollte und dürfte. Unser *erstes* Beispiel ist die Welt der gefährlichen Sportarten (Extremsports), die mit der qualifizierten Gattungsgrenze der menschlichen *Todesangst* ein Ende macht. Unser *zweites* Beispiel ist die Gender-Revolution, die neben vielen anderen Motiven und Auswirkungen die Gattungsgrenze der menschlichen *Reproduktion* aufhebt, denn Mädchen die Junge werden, werden sich auf Kosten der Sozialversicherung kaum wieder zurück operieren lassen. Unser *drittes* Beispiel sind die aktuell laufenden Kriege von welthistorischem Ausmass. Man kann über die beiden manifesten Kriege unserer Tage durchaus verschiedenlich denken, man kann es aber unter keinen Umständen in Zweifel ziehen, dass der moderne Krieg (wie auch schon die früheren modernen Massenkriege) mit seinen möglichen nuklearen, chemischen oder biologischen Komponenten keine Gattungsgrenzen überschreiten würde.

Es werden – es wurden – Gattungsgrenzen definitiv erschüttert, die bis jetzt mit Recht als unerschütterlich galten und tatsächlich auch gegolten haben sollten. Mit diesen einmaligen und dramatischen Ereignissen müssen diese Jahre und diese Gesellschaften fertig werden. Diese sind jedoch nicht nur die einzige inkommensurable Gefahr für die kommende Gesellschaft. Eine ebenso bedrohende Gefahr für die Zukunft ist, ob es in der Zukunft überhaupt einmal noch möglich werden kann, wirklich funktionierende und unüberschreitbare Gattungsgrenzen aufzustellen. Denn nach der Erschütterung dieser Grenzen wird es im Strome der Globalisation praktisch vollkommen unvorstellbar, dass nach dem Wegfall der Grenzen der Todesangst, der menschlichen Reproduktion und des modernen Vernichtungskrieges wieder einmal neue und aus ihrer eigenen Kraft und Evidenz aufkommende Gattungsgrenzen auf den Plan treten.

* * *

Ein vollkommen einmaliges Fallbeispiel für die Gattungsgrenzen aus der Vergangenheit ist der *Holokaust*. Er ist das Sinnbild der Überschreitung aller menschlichen Grenzen und Einschränkungen. Damit hat sich auch die breite Historiographie des Holocausts auseinandergesetzt. Abgesehen von ganz wenigen, jedoch keineswegs unwesentlichen Ausnahmen erwies sich als die eigentliche Aufgabe dieser Historiographie von Anfang an weniger die Erschließung der Tatsachen, sondern die *Interpretation* der einzelnen Akteure, die Geschichte seiner internationalen Kommunikation und ähnliche Folgeprobleme. Die *Inkommensurabilität der Transgression im Falle des Holocausts verwandelte sich in einen historischen und geschichtsphilosophischen Massstab* und in ein goldenes Fundament der Moral. In seinem einmaligen Ausnahmecharakter wurde der Holocaust von Anfang an zum Gegenstand der „*philosophischen Politik*“. Die einmalige Grenzüberschreitung verwandelte das historische in ein philosophisches Ereignis. Es ist durchaus notwendig, denn die philosophische Politik hat in dieser Interpretationsaufgabe von Anfang an mehr Chancen als jeder mögliche andere wissenschaftliche und philosophische Ansatz. Der bedeutendste Vertreter einer mehr oder weniger expliziten philosophischen Politik im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert war Karl Jaspers. Kein Zufall, dass Karl Jaspers aus so vielen unterschiedlichen Seiten den deutschen Neuanfang philosophisch reflektieren, bzw. auch schon nachhaltig untermauern konnte, denke man an den kriminellen Staat, die Verjährung von Kriegsschulden, die Wiedergutmachung und andere Kategorien, die mit seinem Namen seitdem schon untrennbar verbunden sind.

Die wichtigste Komponente einer philosophischen Politik besteht darin, dass sie sowohl in der Beschreibung wie auch in der Interpretation eine unmittelbare, geradlinige und effektive Geltung der politischen Grundprinzipien ermöglicht. Sie braucht sich nicht spektakulär moralisierend, auch nicht besonders intellektualistisch aufzuführen. Allein schon die bloße Existenz der philosophischen Politik nimmt normative Züge an. Sie hebt den Widerspruch zwischen Theorie und Praxis nicht auf, sie ist jedoch eine lebendige Polemik gegen Politikwissenschaft, die sich von ihren eigenen Prinzipien entfremdete.

Kein Zufall, dass gegen die Interventionen der philosophischen Politik des öfteren Widerstand geleistet wird, wie es auch kein Zufall ist, dass die Interpretation der drastischen historischen Wendepunkte und der ebenso drastischen historischen Neuanfänge am intensivsten immer wieder die stets neuen Formen der philosophischen Politik generieren.

Der Holocaust ist selbstverständlich Gegenstand der philosophischen Politik, und zwar gerade wegen seines inkommensurablen, mass- und praezedenzlosen Charakters. Deshalb gilt die Leugnung des Holocausts mit Notwendigkeit eine unqualifizierbar niedrige Stufe des politischen Engagements.

Die philosophische Politik (mitsamt ihrer Wahrnehmung und Interpretation) steht auch mit dem geschichtswissenschaftlichen Revisionismus in enger Verbindung. Die beiden Phänomene sind jedoch bei weitem nicht identisch. Beim Vollzug des

geschichtswissenschaftlichen Revisionismus ist zwar die philosophische Politik unerlaesslich. Karl Jaspers formuliert die Selbstreflexion der philosophischen Politik unmissverstaendlich: "Das Aufweisen der Tendenzen bedeutet nicht, dass wir sie voraussehen wuerden. Die Komponenten der politischen Geschehnisse sind so zahlreiche (wenn nicht unendlich), die Zufaele sind so unkalkulierbar, dass die Prophetie heute ebenso misslingt, wie es je zuvor der Fall war. Sie benennt zwar gewisse Tendenzen richtig, wie jene aber zur Wirklichkeit werden, haengt auch von unseren Taten ab"² Diese *ars poetica* scheint zwar bescheiden zu sein, auf der anderen Seite sind es aber gerade diese Momente, die die philosophische Politik legitimieren. Denn die philosophische Politik kann in die Interpretation von jenen komplexen politisch-historischen Akkumulationspunkten hineintreten, die mit den Instrumenten einer politologischen Normalwissenschaft nicht bearbeitet werden koennten. *Die philosophische Politik kann auch bei der Interpretation von Phaenomenen von besonderer Bedeutung sein, die fuer die Gegenwart eine ausgezeichnete sittliche Bedeutung aufweisen.* Die normale Geschichtswissenschaft (im Sinne Kuhn's) kann am wenigsten "moralisieren", deshalb kann erst eine philosophische Politik den historischen Einzelheiten eines post-totalitaristischen Deutschland wirklich gerecht werden. In seiner nicht zu ueberbietenden Singularitaet hat der Holocaust jede moegliche Gattungsgrenze ueberschritten. So wurde er zu einem wirklichen und zur gleichen Zeit einem irrealen Phaenomen. So erscheint die *Negation* des Holocausts als eine absolute Transgression bei der Interpretation der absoluten Transgression, mit anderen Worten, als eine *zweifache absolute Ueberschreitung* der Gattungsgrenzen. Diese Zusammenhaenge machen dann den breiteren Kontext des "*Historikerstreits*" in der Bundesrepublik aus.

Der „Historikerstreit“ ersteht im direkten Umfeld einer absoluten Grenzueberschreitung, sein Revisionismus richtet sich zwar nicht direkt gegen sie, im indirekten Sinne beruehrt sie aber auch noch eine absolute Transgression in ihrer urspruenglichen Transgression. Von der Perspektive des Jahres 2025 aus ist schon eindeutig, dass diese Revision somit gleich auf zwei Weisen eine indirekte gewesen ist. Der erste Schritt zielte auf die Frage der *Singularitaet* im Medium einer absoluten Transgression. Er setzte sich damit auseinander, ob ein Phaenomen wie der Holocaust wirklich so beispieillos einmalig gewesen ist, ob nicht auch andere Tiefpunkte der Ueberschreitung der Gattungsgrenzen in der Geschichte doch mit ihm vergleichbar waeren. Ernst Noltes Eröffnungstext betont dieses Moment unmissverstaendlich.³ Daher folgt auch, dass diese Intonation gewisse Momente noch unbeleuchtet laesst, die im spaeteren relevant werden. Nolte ist wie geeignet fuer die Intonation eines solchen Revisionismus mit Elementen der philosophischen Politik. Er ist auch philosophisch gebildet, hat eine gewisse linke Vergangenheit und kennt den Marxismus. Er ist ferner in seiner Zielsetzung nicht ohne eine

² Jaspers, 1966. 27. S. dazu: Kiss, 2008.

³ Nolte, 1986.

monomanische Leidenschaft. Er ist aber auch Strategie, er wählt den Beginn der Diskussion mit glücklicher Hand, *er erlebt die langsame Verlagerung der ideologischen Schwerpunkte mit der notwendigen Sensibilität*, er hat aber auch polemische Ideen, wenn nicht „Tricks“ – wiederholt setzt er etwa hinter die stärkeren „rechten“ Thesen seiner Revision unerwartet anerkennende, positive Bemerkungen über die „Linke“. So sorgt er bewusst dafür, dass man ihn nicht schnell politisch einordnen kann. Auch ein besonderer *psychologischer* Druck ist in seinem auktorialen Verhalten anzumerken, manche Reaktionen zeigen ihn aber auch pragmatisch, nicht selten aber auch gerade zynisch.

Der Unterschied in der historischen Beurteilung der einzelnen historischen Perioden beschäftigt ihn am intensivsten. Jener permanent funktionierende Mechanismus also, durch welchen aus gemeinsamen Erlebnissen von Millionen die bleibenden Gestalten in der Geschichtswissenschaft sich herauskristallisieren. In Anbetracht dieses Mechanismus stösst Nolte also auf sein tiefstes existentielles Problem. Er nimmt wahr, dass die Hitler-Periode mit ihrem wahnsinnigen Bellizismus sich nicht in diese Reihe einordnen lässt, *sie wird keineswegs auf jene Weise zur Vergangenheit wie andere historische Zeitalter.* Im Gegenteil, er muss mit wachsender Verzweiflung zur Kenntnis nehmen, die Erinnerung an die Hitler-Zeit wird „stets lebendiger und kraftiger“, sie „richtet sich beinahe schon auch in der Gegenwart ein“. Die Gegenwart blickt auf diese historische Etappe nicht mit der optimalen historischen Distanz zurück, obwohl er (Nolte) sich damit auch konfrontieren muss, dass die „beiden Supermächte von Jahr zu Jahr grössere Summen für die Aufrüstung ausgeben wie es einst Hitler tat“.

Auf der Oberfläche erscheint im Auftakt, dass sich die Gegenwart verunsichert (!), sie verliert die notwendige historische Distanz, der unerwartete Hinweis auf die Rüstausgaben der beiden Supermächte verrät jedoch schon eingangs die *geheime Gravitationsrichtung* von Noltés Revision. Er exponiert den Versuch, nicht direkt die Tatsachen, sondern die *historische Singularität* der Ereignisse zu relativieren und dadurch sie (die Singularität – E.K.) möglicherweise auch faktisch aufzuheben. *Es ist somit eine ganz besondere Art zur Revision.* Wir können uns dessen bewusst sein, dass Nolte diese Absicht sorgfältig reflektierte und analysierte, bevor er sich für sie entschlossen hat. Vermutlich kam er zur Einsicht, dass eine indirekte und partikuläre Revision immer noch nützlicher für seine Zwecke werden kann als wenn er auf jedwede Revision verzichtet.

Er konnte im Anfang auch noch damit rechnen, dass die ganze und umfassende Verlagerung der internationalen ideologischen Atmosphäre vielleicht auch noch weitere und noch dazu grössere Schritte auf dem Wege der Revision ermöglicht.

Immerhin realisiert sich die besondere, d.h. die indirekte Revisionsabsicht mit Hilfe eines feinen Instrumentariums der philosophischen Politik und der philosophischen Geschichtsbetrachtung, und zwar so, dass sie von Anfang an schon nur im Medium der Grenzüberschreitungen vor sich gehen kann. Die

Interpretation des Holocausts ist stets die der Grenzüberschreitung und auf jenem Wege auch Gegenstand der philosophischen Politik.

Der erste Schritt der indirekten Revision besteht darin, dass Nolte das betreffende Ereignis nicht singulär sehen will. Er sucht deshalb unaufhörlich nach Parallelen und analogen Ereignissen. Auf dieser Grundlage verlangt er die „gleiche Behandlung“ (für Deutschland), er verbreitet die Idee einer notwendigen „Symmetrie“ unter den ähnlich eingeschätzten Phänomenen. In diesem Augenblick erscheint es als eine eher psychologische Motivation, wir können aber bei aller Irrealität der Annahme auch wenig Illusionen haben, dass diese selbe Initiative *unter günstigen politischen Umständen* gleich auch ins Politische hätte umschlagen können. Nicht nur *sprachlich*, sondern auch *situativ* probiert er die Adaptation einer Symmetrie-Relation auf aktuelle Tatbestände. Dabei kann er die realen Situationen nicht immer adäquat einschätzen, die starke Motivation, *die voluntaristische Energie stört seine Urteilskraft*. 1986 besuchte beispielsweise Ronald Reagan zusammen mit Helmut Kohl einen Militärfriedhof in der BRD. Der Besuch mündete letztlich im Skandal, denn wegen des starken Schneefalls haben die Veranstalter des feierlichen Ereignisses übersehen, dass in demselben Friedhof auch die Grabstätten von SS-Soldaten zu finden waren. Dieser die Öffentlichkeit zutiefst erschütternde Skandal lieferte schon allein einen sehr komplexen Gegenstand für eine Auseinandersetzung mit dem geschichtswissenschaftlichen Revisionismus.

In seinem bereits angesprochenen psychologischen Schwung konzentriert Nolte jedoch allein auf jenes Moment, das propagandistisch ihn unterstützen und trotz allem in der Richtung einer makabren „Symmetrie“ weisen kann. Laut seiner Argumentation war dieser Skandal wegen der SS-Soldaten doch nicht ganz berechtigt, denn eine wie immer auch geartete Symmetrie doch bestand: In diesem Militärfriedhof sollten naemlich auch englische oder amerikanische Flieger begraben werden können, die nicht in einer militärischen Operation, sondern in einem Terrorbombardement ihr Leben verloren haben (!). Wegen der ersehnten Symmetrie kommen SS-Soldaten und amerikanische Flieger in die gleiche Kategorie.

Wohl in diesem Geiste der Symmetrie protestiert er gegen Darstellungen, die die Teilnahme der Wehrmacht in den genozidalen Atrozitäten vor allem an der Ostfront hinterfragen wollten. Dieser Ansatz startete übrigens bald eine weitere ganze Reihe von historischen Untersuchungen und anderen Aktivitäten. Charakteristisch für Nolte war, dass er durch eine bloss oberflächliche Heraufbeschwörung des türkischen Genocidiums gegen Armenier seine Forderung nach „Symmetrie“ schon voll zu verwirklichen glaubt. Darüber hinaus werden den Atrozitäten Hitlers auch diejenigen von Stalin entsprechen. *Neben Auschwitz erhebt sich also die Vision über den GULAG*, mehr noch, von Anfang an wird dem GULAG eine beinahe noch grössere Aufmerksamkeit zuteil, da er in den Augen Noltens nicht nur ein früheres, sondern auch noch ein „originelleres“ historisches

Phänomen war. Als Zeichen seiner Unparteilichkeit nennt Nolte jedoch manchmal (und immer spektakulär) auch den *weisen* Terror in Russland.

Unter strengerem wissenschaftlichem Aspekt liesse sich die aufgefundene Fragestellung (Auschwitz = GULAG) auf drei unterschiedlichen Ebenen diskutieren. Auf der *ersten* Ebene wird die bestimmende historische Tatsache klar, dass die starke westliche Hegemonie des Neomarxismus Mitte der siebziger Jahre mit der Kraft einer Naturkatastrophe explodiert. Dabei ging es (trotz Kuhn's Paradigmen-Theorie!) keineswegs um einen Kampf der Argumente. Der Vorgang erinnerte tatsaechlich an eine Naturkatastrophe, die alle Positionen schlagartig veraenderte. Man wundert sich freilich, warum der GULAG-Schock seinen Höhepunkt gerade 1975 erzielte, als Stalin 1953 starb und Chruschtschew seine Geheimrede schon 1955 vorgetragen hat (darüber ganz zu schweigen, dass das GULAG-System als solches auch nicht mehr existierte). *Dasselbe geheimnisvolle Moratorium von mehr als zwei Jahrzehnten können wir übrigens auch Ernst Nolte vorwerfen*, denn er übergeht in seiner eigenen früheren Marx-Monographie die Gleichsetzung „Auschwitz=GULAG“ ebenfalls mit natürlicher Grosszügigkeit. Dieser Zug dürfte den Motivationshintergrund von Nolte nur noch vervollstaendigen. Neben vielen diversen psychologischen Elementen, einem guten Stück Monomanie und einem voll entwickelten Anerkennungsdrang zeigt sich hiermit auch das *konjunkturelle* Element klar. Die Transparenz dieses Elementes wirkt in einem so stark philosophisch-moralischen Zusammenhang selbstverstaendlich nicht elegant. In unserer Zeit der welthistorischen Globalisierung werden endgueltige Grenzen und Einschränkungen des öfteren erschüttert. Es wurde eindeutig: *Ernst Nolte setzte sich auf die Wellen des Untergangs des Neomarxismus in der Mitte der siebziger Jahre auf das Deutlichste*. Er setzte damit auf die neue Konjunktur. Er streckte seine Haende nach der reichen ideologischen Beute aus, die zu dieser Zeit aus dem Zerfall der Dreiheit des Marxismus-Sowjetunion-Linken in den politischen Raum erstehen konnte. Der damalige Untergang des Neo-Marxismus erwies sich als ein gewaltiger und unvorbereiteter Umwertungsprozess (in diesem Versuch werden wir diesen Prozess „Inhalts-Transfer“ nennen, denn die Schwaechung der Positionen dieser Dreiheit hat Nolte gleich in seiner Revision ausgenutzt). Dieser Realprozess begründet jedoch Nolt's These über eine mögliche Symmetrie zwischen Nationalsozialismus und Stalin-Kommunismus in keiner Hinsicht. Eine weitere Schicht dieses Ansatzes kann man in jenem intellektuellen „Schatten“ identifizieren, den die auf diese Wendung ebenfalls aufkommende Totalitarismus-Theorie von Hannah Arendt auf diese Situation wirft. Diese ist nicht nur eine durchaus bedeutende Theorie der Moderne, sie war zwischen 1949 und 1989 tatsaechlich ungerecht behandelt. Ihre wirkliche Botschaft stand trotz all dem von der These „Auschwitz = GULAG“ durchaus fern. Sowohl der Untergang des Marxismus, wie auch die Neubelebung der Totalitarismus-Theorie galten in der Tat als relevante Prozesse in der Umwertung, die wissenschaftliche Atmosphaere erlebt sie auch als relevant, ihre Ausstrahlung

ist jedoch überhaupt nicht entscheidend in der Frage nach dem Wahrheitsgehalt von Nolte's grossem Versuch, eine „Symmetrie“ in der Beurteilung herbeizuführen.

Zuletzt gilt die *dritte* Ebene als die wirkliche und konkrete Inhalt der These. Die damit zusammenhaengenden „Ergebnisse“ der ganzen Diskussion betrachten wir nicht nur als nicht-relevant, wir erblicken in ihnen vielmehr tendenziöse und selektive Datenkomplexe, die am Ende zu jenen ungewollt komischen Anstrengungen führten, dass namhafte Autoren die einzelnen konkreten Einrichtungen der unterschiedlichen Straf- und Vernichtungslager miteinander minutiös verglichen.⁴ Der bestimmende Unterschied laesst sich auch mit genügender Deutlichkeit beim Namen nennen. In seinen Erinnerungen⁵ schrieb János Rózsás darüber, dass er in der Bibliothek seines Arbeitslagers abends Alexander *Solschenitzyn* regelmaessig begegnete und sie redeten vor über Literatur. Seine Begegnungen wurden spaeter auch von Solschenítzin bestaetigt. Angesichts dieser Begegnungen müssen wir zur Feststellung kommen, dass wir nichts darüber erfahren haben, dass es in Auschwitz auch eine Bibliothek existiert haette, wo man abends über Literatur reden konnte.

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Schon die fundamentalen Grundrisse von Nolte's Intervention zeigen den indirekten, vermittelten Charakter derselben. Die *erste* Übertragung richtete sich auf die Relativierung des Attributes des einzigen Sünders, die Tatsache der Sünde selber wurde hierbei nicht angerührt. Zu dieser ersten Übertragung gehört auch der Gestus der Unmittelbarkeit, man wollte die Relativierung geschichtswissenschaftlich auch direkt unter Beweis stellen. Die *zweite* Übertragung bleibt in Hinsicht auf den Holocaust zwar ebenfalls eine Übertragung, sie richtet sich jedoch schon direkt gegen den Kommunismus und die Linke. Einerseits beteiligte sich der die Linke für alle Ewigkeit verkörpernde Bolschewismus – nach eindeutigen Hinweisen Nolte's – ebenfalls an der Sünde des Holocausts, andererseits ersteht gleich die zweite These, der Bolschewismus habe auch auf Hitler und die nationalsozialistische Bewegung *ausgewirkt*. Diese zweite Übertragung laesst sich auch als Verallgemeinerung und Explikation der ersten auffassen: Der Kommunismus sündigte im Holocaust zumindest so sehr wie es der Nationalsozialismus tat, von hier aus waren schon einige Schritte genug, um anzudeuten, der Kommunismus dürfte wohl noch sündiger gewesen sein... Zweifellos gab es breitere Schichten sowohl innerhalb als auch

⁴ Das Verfahren des sog. „Diktaturenvergleichs“ kam sogar in die wissenschaftliche Mode. Gleichzeitig ist es aber auch ein praechtiges Beispiel dafür, dass eine spontane und selbstverstaendliche Fragestellung des Alltagsbewusstseins („worin unterschieden sich die einzelnen Diktaturen voneinander?“) von der Geschichtswissenschaft nicht in jedem Fall unmittelbar fortgesetzt werden darf. In diesen Situationen wird gerade die „philosophische Politik“ gefragt, denn die hier entstehenden Fragen lassen sich nicht mehr in die historische „Normalwissenschaft“ einordnen.

⁵ Rózsás, 1986.

ausserhalb der Geschichtswissenschaft, die dieses „Forschungsergebnis“ mit innerer Freude und Genugtuung lesen konnten und wollten...

Wir sehen, der eine entscheidende Hintergrund der Diskussion war der seelische Druck der ausschliesslichen Sünde. Der andere entscheidende Hintergrund war jedoch schon von ganz anderer Provenienz. Er war ein deutliches Vorgefühl dessen, dass sich zu dieser Zeit (Mitte der siebziger Jahre) die Position der Sowjetunion und des sozialistischen Lagers im internationalen Leben ändert und diese Modifizierungen könnte man schon als eine Schwächung des Systems (und des Imperiums) deuten.⁶

Für das breitere Publikum entfaltete sich der Historiker-Streit sonach in einem historischen Augenblick, in dem die Positionen des kommunistischen Komplexes (Ideologie, Marxismus, Sowjetunion) sich sichtbar geschwächt haben, während das politische System selbst und das kommunistische Weltimperium noch beinahe vollkommen intakt waren. Der Revisionsversuch Noltes könnte also einen noch gewaltigen realen Akteur angreifen, wodurch die Korrektur der Vergangenheit zumindest von der Ferne her auch eine gewisse Gerechtigkeit für die Gegenwart und dadurch auch eine neue Zukunft versprechen konnte. Wegen des ihm zur Verfügung stehenden Moratoriums konnte dieser Versuch auch noch den Schein aufrechterhalten, dass dieser neue und vollkommen unerwartete Ansatz in der Zukunft noch neue historische Beweise aufbringen wird, vor allem was die neuen Ergebnisse der immer freier werdenden Forschung über die Geheimnisse des Stalinismus betraf.

In welchem Ausmass die Problematik der welthistorischen Grenzüberschreitungen in diesem Ansatz aufkamen, zeigt, dass selbst schon in Nolte's Auftakt⁷ die These der Identifizierung von „Auschwitz“ und „GULAG“ vorkommt, die schon hier die so heiss ersehnte Symmetrie zwischen den grossen ideologischen Diktaturen in der alleroffensten Art zur Schau stellt. *Die Möglichkeit der Symmetrie hat jedoch mit dem Kern der Problematik der Gattungsgrenzen nicht viel zu tun.* Denn es lag von Anfang an auf der Hand, dass man die allergrösste Grenzüberschreitung erst dann zum umfassenden Thema machen kann, wenn auch noch die *andere*

⁶ Von dieser Wende in der Mitte der siebziger Jahre ist der Weg zum Ende der siebziger Jahre rein chronologisch *ein sehr kurzer*. Am Ende desselben Jahrzehnts beherrschten schon *Thatcher* und *Reagan* den westlichen Diskurs, die öffentlichen ideologischen Kräfteverhältnisse bewegten sich rasch in der Richtung des Neoliberalismus/Neokonservatismus. Innerhalb dieser Welle avancierte sich die Sowjetunion schon vor 1989 erfolgreich zur Rolle des Imperiums des Bösen.

⁷ Nolte, 1986. – Das Gedankensystem Nolte's erscheint zum ersten Mal 1963 vor der Öffentlichkeit. Die Elemente dieses ersten Anfanges erscheinen auch noch in dem *Historikerstreit*, ohne dessen Charakter als radikalen Neuanfang in Zweifel ziehen zu können (S. Nolte, 1963). Dieser Opus aus dem Jahre 1963 schien die Rahmen und Grenzen der Diskussion noch eher ausgedehnt zu haben, vor allem mit der Einbeziehung des vielfachen internationalen Vergleiches.

allergrösste Grenzüberschreitung zum Thema gemacht wird.⁸ Hird wird implizit aber auch sichtbar, dass *der naechste Schritt* der weiteren Diskussion schon um die Absolutisierung des GULAG drehen muss. So geht der *Historikerstreit* im wesentlichen nicht mehr um die deutsche Rolle im Holocaust, es geht vielmehr um den GULAG, d.h. um die „Russen“, denn von der Einstellung der Russen haengt am Ende der Erfolg der These der Singularitaet der deutschen moralischen Sünde ab. Diese Verbindung zwischen den kriegsführenden Imperien mag logisch korrekt sein, moralisch ist sie aber überhaupt nicht. Es gibt kein eingeführtes Zurechnungssystem, das die beiden historischen Verhalten miteinander verrechnen kann. Die Revision wurde demnach auch in jenem neuen Sinne zu einer Re-vision, dass in ihr ein bis dann mit dem Holocaust nicht in Verbindung gebrachtes Imperium in den Mittelpunkt kam.⁹ *Die Revision des Holocaust (direkt oder indirekt) verwandelt sich mit Notwendigkeit in eine Revision des Kommunismus, waehrend der Kommunismus selbst auf einen Schlag mit dem GULAG identisch wird.*

In dieser historischen Situation ergaben sich gemeinsame Schnittmengen zwischen der Revisionsidee und dem Gedankenkreis der damals aufkommenden *neuen Rechte*, bzw. des *neuen Rechtspopulismus*. Bald wird es sichtbar, dass in dieser Vereinigung, wie so oft, *wieder der Antikommunismus* der effektivste Kitt gewesen sein sollte. Obwohl die Revisionsidee schnell auch zum Symptom der neuen Rechte werden konnte, wir halten diese beiden Prozesse methodologisch *vorlaeufig* noch fern voneinander. Auch deshalb, weil trotz allen Problemen der *Historikerstreit* Teil der wissenschaftlichen Kommunikation geblieben ist.

Eine merkwürdige politische Einbettung kam auf diese Weise zustande.

Für die damalige grosse Politik in Deutschland (BRD) blieb die politische Dimension der Diskussion in der Öffentlichkeit marginal. Trotz den schon deutlich sichtbaren neoliberalen, konservativen und antikommunistischen Tendenzen (*Neoliberalismus und Antikommunismus sind in enger Parallelitaet aufgekommen*) verblieb sowohl die demokratische wie auch die offizielle allgemeine Meinung auf dem radikal und bedingungslos ablehnenden Standpunkt gegenüber jeder möglichen historischen Revision des Holocausts. Die unter solchen Umstaenden

⁸ Die Situation selbst erinnert an eine geistreiche Anekdote. Sie besagt, dass der Gott den deutschen Professoren schuf und ihn mit allem versah, was im Leben nur wertvoll und schön werden kann. Bald erschuf er aber auch den anderen deutschen Professoren, den er auch mir allem versehen hat, was im Leben nur wertvoll und schön werden konnte...

⁹ Diese Verbindung existiert jedoch in einem anderen Zusammenhang auch, *sie war aber vor der breiteren Öffentlichkeit so gut wie verschwiegen*. Es geht um jene Millionen von russischen und anderen Kriegsgefangenen, die in denselben Konzentrationslagern im wahren Sinne des Wortes „namenlos“ betriebsmaessig exekutiert worden sind. Es hat sich in gewissen Verhandlungen nach dem Kriege entschieden, dass weder Russen, noch Polen, noch Ukrainer oder andere Nationen Anspruch auf Wiedergutmachung und dadurch auf die Aufmerksamkeit der Öffentlichkeit und auf die „Erinnerung“ Anspruch erhaben dürfen. Daher die aktuelle Sensation, dass Polen offiziell Anspruch auf kollektive Wiedergutmachung erhoben hat.

sich verfestigende originelle Marginalität bewegte sich trotzdem in einem sich ändernden Europa, und zwar unter sich langsam modifizierenden global-strategischen Bedingungen. Die Spitze der Diskussion richtete sich gegen das eine Fundament der damaligen globalen Situation (man könnte sagen, des globalen Gleichgewichts), nämlich gegen die Sowjetunion, den Marxismus und die Linke. Jede und sei es noch so tangentielle Berührung dieses Gleichgewichts richtete die Aufmerksamkeit auf die Möglichkeit einer Verschiebung der Kräfteverhältnisse. Es ist ferner mehr als bekannt, dass nicht alle überzeugte und leidenschaftliche Nationalsozialisten trotz der nicht erfolglosen Entnazifizierung verschwunden sind, während das grösste und wahre Argument für die Legitimation des Nationalsozialismus blieb immer wieder der Antikommunismus und die aus ihm bezogene Legitimation von Lebensraum und Untermenschentum. Schon eine leise Berührung des anti-faschistischen Konsensus (und Gleichgewichts) war deshalb von Anfang an viel mehr als sie selbst. Sie war das Auftauchen einer Möglichkeit, deren mögliche Konsequenzen sehr weitreichend waren. Längst unterdrückte Leidenschaften und Affekte konnten Feuer fangen. Die Setzung der „Ausschliesslichkeit“ (und die Hoffnung auf „Symmetrie“) konnten auch noch weitere Schichten ergreifen, die im wahren Sinne des Wortes keineswegs extreme Rechte gewesen sind. Auf diese Weise mobilisierte der *Historikerstreit* auch noch zahlreiche weitere Interessen und/oder Leidenschaften, die gewiss schon weit von den Historikern und Historiografen gestanden sind. Die Inhalte erreichten immer breitere Kreise, die Kette der Vermittlungen wurde unaufhörlich länger. Diese Vermittlungskette absorbierte auch die ganze bis dahin ausgekämpfte Ergebnisse über die spezifisch deutsche Problematik, die des sogenannten „Deutschen Sonderweges“. Die Ausstrahlung des historiographischen Kerns erreichte im Medium der neuen Möglichkeiten auch die Politik, hierbei genoss die Diskussion zunächst die Extraterritorialität des Wissenschaftlichen, während das Psychologische schon in dieser Phase in Bewegung kam. Die theatralische Aufführung eines historischen Stückes hat schon mehrfach eine Revolution in der Geschichte ausgelöst. Durch diese zum Teil sichtbare, zum Teil unsichtbare Ausstrahlung des historiographischen „Kerns“ selbst über die Grenzen der breit verstandenen Historiographie hinaus erweist sich der geschichtswissenschaftliche Revisionismus als ein extrem besonderes Phänomen. *Der geschichtswissenschaftliche Revisionismus kommt dort an, von wo er ausgegangen ist, er landet im Politischen.*

Sowohl im Kontext der Holocaust-Problematik, wie auch des „deutschen Sonderweges“ erscheinen die Momente der philosophischen Politik mit Notwendigkeit. Es ist deshalb unvermeidlich, weil es hierbei von Anfang an nicht um normalwissenschaftliche Probleme geht. Die Eigenart der philosophischen Politik besteht darin, dass sie ihre besonderen Bewegungsräume unter den Disziplinen der gewöhnlichen politischen Theorie, der politischen Philosophie, der klassischen Politikwissenschaft und der Politologie unserer Tage ausbaut. Die Eigenart der

philosophischen Politik besteht auch nicht in der Neubestimmung der besonderen Relation von Theorie und Praxis. Die philosophische Politik weist in der Richtung von neuen Lösungen, sowohl von Lösungen komplexer theoretischer Probleme wie auch von Lösungen von den praktischen Fragen der Zukunft. Diese Innovationen entstehen nicht aufgrund von Kombinationen von intellektuellen und praktischen Erfahrungen, sie artikulieren sich vielmehr aus der Anwendung von Prinzipien, die wegen ihrer geradlinigen Relevanz und Evidenz in „optimalem“ Fall schon spontan hätten verwirklicht werden sollen. Deshalb sind diese Innovationen zur gleichen Zeit konkret (unmittelbar) und abstrakt. Ihre Intervention trägt auch „normativen“ Charakter, daher ihre moralische und heuristische Kraft und daher auch der reichlich entwickelte Unwille seitens der Politik, diese Innovationen anzunehmen, denn die Politik will stets Prinzipien aus dem Wege zu gehen, die eine normative, d.h. dadurch „verpflichtende“ Kraft ausstrahlen. Was in der philosophischen Politik oft als „Moralisieren“ erscheint, ist im politischen Feld in der Tat eine *Forderung*, einen „Sinn“ der politischen Praxis zu verleihen.

Die philosophische Politik kann auf mehrfache Motivationen zurückgehen, unter ihnen ist das Motiv der philosophisch-moralischen *Verantwortung* eines der Markantesten. Gerade aus diesem Grunde kann sie bei der Interpretation von grossen historischen (und geschichtsphilosophischen) Wenden in den Vordergrund treten. Diese moralische Dimension darf man jedoch nicht überbetonen. Dies kann sogar noch auch irreführend werden. Die Affinität der philosophischen Politik zur prinzipiell-moralischen Transparenz bedeutet nämlich überhaupt nicht, dass dieser Ansatz deswegen ihre Intellektualität aufgeben und zu einem edlen Moralisieren werden würde. Es ist auch im Falle des „*Historikerstreites*“ nicht anders.

Der „*Historikerstreit*“ hält die Problematik der Gattungsgrenzen permanent auf der Tagesordnung. *Der revisionistische Ansatz relativiert zwar die einmalige Grenzüberschreitung nicht direkt, vor allem will er ihre Einmaligkeit relativieren.* Eine neue Dialektik wird sichtbar. Selbst eine periphere Relativierung der grössten Grenzüberschreitung ist Grenzüberschreitung. Die Antizipation, dass eine sekundäre Relativierung selber auch schon Grenzüberschreitung werden kann, schreibt eine gewisse Strategie, wenn nicht „Koreographie“ der wissenschaftlichen und der medialen Öffentlichkeit vor. Naiv kann man hierbei nicht vorgehen.

* * *

Es ist durchaus lehrreich, in einer aktuellen Reflexion den *Historikerstreit* mit einer anderen, ebenfalls extrem relevanten Revision jener Zeit, und zwar mit Francois Furet's Revision der (Grossen) Französischen Revolution zu vergleichen. Die Gegenstände der beiden Revisionen liegen *einerseits* in vieler Hinsicht ziemlich weit voneinander, sie weisen jedoch *andererseits* auch Analogien auf, in einem noch tieferen geschichtsphilosophischen Sinne sind sie sogar auch noch als Gegenpole voneinander aufzufassen.

Das historiographische Schicksal der Französischen Revolution zunaechst hat gewisse Aehnlichkeiten mit dem des Holocausts, nur auf einem anderen Niveau. Indem wir gerne konzedieren, dass die Französische Revolution (neben Napoleon) das mit Abstand frequentierteste Thema für Philosophen, Moralisten und Historiker des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts gewesen ist, ist es auch klar, dass für die Beurteilung dieser Revolution auch eher eine breit gefächerte Eindeutigkeit charakteristisch war. *Die Einmütigkeit bestand in der Beschreibung der Faktizität der Revolution.* Jede Weltanschauung, bzw. Ideologie hatte ihr eigenes Bild über die Revolution, sie akzeptierten jedoch mehr oder weniger alle dieselben Tatsachen. Die Revision der Revolution war auch nicht selten, und wenn schon ein energischer Versuch auf den Plan trat, so musste es gleich um eine Neuinterpretation der Geschichte im ganzen gehen. Es ist unmöglich, hier nicht an Alfred Rosenbergs extrem monumentalen Versuch zu denken, der 1939 noch in einem "erfolgreich" zu nennenden Augenblick der Geschichte des nationalsozialistischen Systems mit dem originalen Pathos der Grundlegung einer neuen Ordnung *den Nationalsozialismus als Ganzes als die Zurücknahme der Ideen von 1789 eingestellt hat*.¹⁰ Auf der Linie der *Singularität* existiert die Parallele zwischen den beiden Ereignissen schon wesentlich weniger, die Singularität der Französischen Revolution in Zweifel zu ziehen wäre kaum sinnvoll gewesen, um so weniger, weil diese Einmaligkeit eher in der Richtung der "Klassizität" als etwa der Inkommensurabilität gewiesen hat. Die Französische Revolution ist also in ihrer Klassizität "singulär", was das diametrale Gegenteil der Singularität des Holocaust ist.

Die Erscheinung der Französischen Revolution auf dem Plan des geschichtswissenschaftlichen Revisionismus ist ein bleibendes Beispiel dafür, dass sich der wahre Revisionismus in der Regel tatsächlich mit den wichtigsten historischen Ereignissen auseinandersetzt. *Dahinter steht eine geheimnisvolle Beziehung zwischen Geschichte und Politik.* Diese unter Revision genommenen Ereignisse bestimmen die ihnen folgende Geschichte extrem einschneidend und das kann nichts anderes bedeuten, als dass sie eine ganz weitgehende Wirkung auch auf die ihnen folgende Politik ausüben. Und damit landen wir wieder beim Ausgang unseres Gedankenganges: *Historische Revisionismen haben politische Gründe und Ziele*, die Geschichte ist ihnen nicht von primärem wissenschaftlichen Interesse. Dies ist ein klares Interesse, gegen welches die seriöse Geschichtswissenschaft schon deshalb auftreten muss, weil durch diese Herausforderung gleich die ganze Glaubwürdigkeit der wissenschaftlichen Verfahrensweise untergraben werden kann. Es ist eine besondere Frage, wie der geschichtswissenschaftlicher Revisionismus und die wachsende relativierende Auflockerung der geschichtswissenschaftlichen Strenge zusammenhängen, ob nicht eine "Post-Truth"-Mentalität schon allein den Weg für geschichtswissenschaftliche Revisionismen eröffnen kann.

¹⁰ Sehr lehrreich s. Betz, 1991.

Nicht in der ersten Linie im Gegenstand, vielmehr in der im Hintergrund stehenden politischen Motivation besteht das wirklich entscheidende gemeinsame Element zwischen den beiden Revisionismen. Und das ist das Miteinander der Elemente des Kommunismus-Sowjetunion-Marxismus-Komplexes. Die aktuelle historische Staerke und Durchschlagskraft dieses Komplexes ist es, die gerade in der Mitte der siebziger Jahre zu zerbröckeln beginnt. Die marxistisch-wissenschaftliche Einstellung, bzw. ihre breite Anerkennung, der Einfluss (und die blossе Existenz) der Sowjetunion als Grossmacht und die Vitalitaet des neulinken Neomarxismus (auch in Kreisen, die sich nicht einmal marxistisch identifizieren konnten ode wollten) galten als selbstverstaendliche Stützen der historischen Einordnung des Holocausts und der Französischen Revolution. Wir sprachen über “Stütze” und “Legitimation” und keineswegs darüber, dass dieser Komplex die Interpretation der beiden gewaltigen historischen Ereignisse direkt oder sogar kausal haette *selbstaendig* bestimmen können oder wollen. *Ideologie ersetzt die ernsthafte Forschung nicht*. Deshalb muss eine ideologische Wende sich auf neue Forschungen „stützen“.

Diese Relation der “Stützungs”-Funktion war jedoch mindestens in dem Ausmass sichtbar, dass die Schwaechung des linken Komplexes den Wunsch einer wie immer auch gearteten Revision ins Leben gerufen hat. *Dies bildete eine gemeinsame Grundlage der beiden Revisionismen*. Dies exponiert politische Interessen, und dabei dürfen wir die in der Form der Ideologie erscheinenden politischen Interessen auch nicht unterschätzen. Denkt man daran, dass die grosse Transformation des Jahres 1989 letztlich auch eine philosophisch-weltanschauliche war und erst dadurch zur Politik wurde, so kann man diesen Zusammenhang schnell durchschauen.

Der Angriffspunkt der bewussten Veraenderung der Interpretation war im Falle des Holocausts das Moment der “Einmaligkeit” und “Ausschliesslichkeit”, die Teilung der auf die Deutschen fallenden Anklagen (vor allem natürlich mit dem Kommunismus-Sowjetunion-Marxismus-Komplex). Im Falle der Französischen Revolution war diese primaere Ursache *die direkte Umdeutung des historischen Ereignisses* selbst. Dieser Kommunismus-Sowjetunion-Marxismus-Komplex stützte auf zahlreiche Weisen die geltende Interpretation der Revolution, der Zusammenhang wirkte aber auch umgekehrt (diese Interpretation war ein staendiger Beweis für die Wahrheit der marxistischen Geschichts- und Revolutionstheorie). Unter anderen auch auf der Grundlage, dass die Klassiker des Marxismus dieses Ereignis stets mit dem grössten Interesse studiert haben (wie noch viele andere im 19. Jahrhundert, *Marx kannte jede Einzelheit des grossen Ereignisses auswendig*). Sie betrachteten die Revolution als direkte Vorgeschichte, aber auch als direktes Vorbild ihrer politischen Strategie.

Der Fall Furet zeigt die besondere Natur der geschichtswissenschaftlichen Einwurzelung der wichtigsten wehthistorischen Ereignisse ausgezeichnet. Studiert man diese “Natur” mit der notwendigen Vertiefung, so wird man beinahe schon

verstehen, *warum etwa die Veraenderung einer einzigen Grenzbedingung der grossen Diskussion ausreichen kann, eine neue Interpretation tangentiell auf den Weg zu leiten.* Für breite Kreise und für mehrere Generationen besass die Linke die Interpretationshoheit auf dem Gebiet der Französischen Revolution. Hier haette deshalb sowohl die Akkumulation der neuen Forschungsergebnisse ebenso eine Revision eingeleitet wie die als relevant angesehenen revisionistisch anmutenden Verschiebungen der ideologischen Palette. Schaut man nach, so wird man sich schnell gewahr, dass Furet schon in den frühen siebziger Jahren die Erschütterung des Kommunismus zur Grundlage genommen hat.

Schon der *Historikerstreit* hatte etwas mit historischen Jahreswenden zu tun gehabt, denn das 200jaehrige Jubilaem der Französischen Revolution bereitete wie spontan eine einmalige Publizitaet für einen möglichen und einmalig durchschlagenden Revisionismus. Furet konnte daher *mit vollkommener Evidenz* damit rechnen, dass seine Revision eine einmalige Publizitaet geniessen wird und sein Name für alle Ewigkeit in der Geschichtswissenschaft berühmt bleiben kann. Man kann es aus eigenen historischen Erinnerungen nur noch bestaetigen: *Allein das Warten auf Furets Buch enthaelt die Erwartung eines umwaelzenden wissenschaftlichen Ereignisses*, in welchem man von Anfang an wissen musste, dass seine Bedeutung bald auch über die Grenzen der Geschichtswissenschaften weit hinausstrahlen wird. Sieht man diese Revision von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus, so muss man anerkennen, dass Furet tatsaechlich von einem Unglück verfolgt war: *Denn die Perestrojka von Michael Gorbatschow hat die bis dahin bewussteste und strategisch auch am meisten durchdachte historische Revision klar in den Hintergrund gedraengt.*¹¹ Mehr noch, für jene Kreise, die von diesem Versuch wussten und dazu noch auch die welthistorische Grosswetterlage auch nüchtern einzuschaetzen faehig waren, war dieses einmalige Unglück schon in der damaligen welthistorischen Gegenwart unschwer wahrzunehmen.

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Es hat sich gezeigt, dass die Revisionen der beiden inkommensurablen historischen Ereignisse durchaus lange philosophisch-weltanschaulich-politische Vermittlungslinien durchlaufen. Die pure Existenz, das Durchlaufen der einzelnen Inhalte

¹¹ Wir hoffen, dass man im Jahre 2025 diese Aussage noch nicht mit zusaetzlicher Erklaerung versehen muss, einige Jahre spaeter wird es aber vermutlich nicht mehr so sein. In der Geschichte des Jahres 1989 die von Gorbatschow geleitete Selbstauflösung der Sowjetunion hat alle anderen Ereignisse in den Schatten gestellt. *Und dies war nicht nur eine Folge der physischen Grössenordnung der Ereignisse, sondern hatte auch eine sehr deutliche inhaltliche Komponente.* Denn Gorbatschow selbst schaltete jenen Komplex der *Linke-Sowjetunion-Marxismus* aus dem weltpolitischen und intellektuellen Spielraum aus, der die bisherige Interpretation so stark stützte, ohne dass sie deshalb unbedingt eine „marxistische“ haette gewesen sein sollen. Das Erodieren der Inhalte dieses Komplexes machte die soliden Konturen der Interpretation unsicher, andere Momente, die bis dahin kaum wahrgenommen worden sind, mochten grössere Gewichte gewinnen.

durch diese Ketten hindurch hat eine gewisse Aehnlichkeit mit jenem extrem interessanten historiographischen Phaenomen, das Jakob Burckhardt bei seiner Beschreibung des Römischen und des byzantinischen Imperiums *Theokrasie* nannte.¹² Die Theokrasie bezeichnet ein Kettenphaenomen, das den über die einzelnen Grenzen hinausreichenden Kultus von einzelnen Göttern zusammenfasst. Auf diesem Wege geraten die einzelnen Götter in immer neue historische und kulturelle Zusammenhaenge, sie können neue Züge auf sich nehmen, waehrend als Teil desselben Prozesses wieder andere Götter ihre Inhalte und Funktionen übernehmen können.¹³ Die Aehnlichkeit zwischen der Vermittlungskette der Revisionismen und dem Phaenomen der Theokrasie erscheint in jenen nicht immer in jedem Detail erkennbaren inhaltlichen Transformationen, durch welche die Attribute der einzelnen Götter auch in anderen Göttern erscheinen können.

Diese Analogie bedeutete in vereinfachter Gestalt, dass waehrend in der Theokrasie der eine Gott in der Gestalt eines anderen Gottes in einem anderen in einer anderen Mythologie erkennbar wird, in unserem Fall der Revisionismen die Triade Linke- Sowjetunion – Marxismus als Hintergrundbedingung hinter beiden Transformationen sichtbar werden muss. Als diese Triade erkennbar schwaecher wird, ermutigen sich die Motivationen für eine Revision. Diese besondere *historiographische Theokrasie* modifiziert langsam Akzente und Vorzeichen in historischen Komplexen, die ein für allemal für ewig und unveraenderbar gehalten worden sind. Die Triade Linke- Sowjetunion – Marxismus bildete die Grundlage zur marxistischen Geschichts- und Gesellschaftsauffassung, für welche die Französische Revolution unter anderen auch ein methodisches Musterbeispiel darstellte.¹⁴ Die Französische Revolution bildete ein Musterbeispiel für die marxistische Geschichtsbetrachtung (evidenterweise etwa für eine Theorie der Revolution), die marxistische Geschichtsbetrachtung erklärte und interpretierte die Französische Revolution optimal. Diese reflexive Relation scheint ein Zirkel zu sein, sie ist es aber auch nicht, denn beide Relationen haben ihre eigenen unabhangigen Fundamente.

Eine überdurchschnittlich lange Reihe von inhaltlichen Vermittlungen schafft also die Möglichkeit dessen, dass die Veraenderung der globalstrategischen Grosswetterlage (vor allem die Erschütterungen, aber auch das generelle langsame Verbllassen des Komplexes “Linke-Marxismus-Sowjetunion”) Furet endgültig ermutigen, die Französische Revolution direkt neu zu interpretieren. Mit seiner neuen Strukturierung der Revolution (vor allem der neuen *zeitlichen Gliederung*

¹² Burckhardt, 1853, 107.

¹³ S. hierzu eine aktuelle Definition: „Theokrasie, die Vereinigung oder Vermischung verschiedener Götter oder göttlicher Attribute in einer zusammengesetzten Gottesvorstellung.“ S. *Wikipedia*, 2025.

¹⁴ Hier geht es eindeutig nicht darum, dass unterschiedliche Philosophien ein einmaliges historisches Ereignis auf unterschiedliche Weisen interpretieren. Hier geht es darum, dass die eine Theorie das historische Ereignis vielfach gründlicher und tiefer erschliessen kann als die andere.

der Ereignisse) relativiert er jene Interpretation, für die eine innere und nahe Beziehung mit dem Marxismus bestimmend war. Die nahe Beziehung zum Marxismus (und zu dem "Komplex") entstand aus der "Bewahrheitung" der marxistischen Geschichtsbetrachtung am Beispiel der Französischen Revolution und nicht aus dem Willen, eine marxistische ideologische Vision auf diese Revolution aufzuoktroyieren.¹⁵ Hierzu gesellt sich jenes Moment, das wir vorhin mit der Theokrasie in Verbindung gebracht haben. Es ist *das gesellschaftliche Bewusstsein selbst*, das diese Zeichen klar wahrnehmen (lesen) kann. Etwas einfacher formuliert, die Gesellschaft versteht diese Zeichen, sie kann auch die Verbindung erkennen, sie kann mit grosser Exaktheit verfolgen, wie die historisch legitimierte superstarke Position dieses Komplexes schwächer wird, sie kann darüber hinaus auch die hier allerwichtigste Verbindung zwischen dem Rückzug dieses Komplexes und den ersten Spuren der geschichtswissenschaftlichen Revisionismus erkennen. *Das gesellschaftliche Bewusstsein weiss und versteht alles*. Es durchschaut den historischen Revisionismus als *sichtbare Konsequenz der globalstrategischen Gesamtlage*, wie es auch die globalstrategische Gesamtlage als den Rahmen des geschichtswissenschaftlichen Revisionismus interpretiert. *Der scheinbar rein wissenschaftliche Verschiebung der Paradigmen übernimmt zeitweilig die Rolle des Politischen*. Jeder weiss, dass – wie in der Theokrasie – eine hegemonie Interpretation der Französischen Revolution mit der aktuellen Position des Marxismus identisch ist, jeder weiss es aber auch, dass der erfolgreiche Revisionismus der Französischen Revolution einen deutlich veraenderten Zustand in der öffentlichen Position des Marxismus signalisiert.

Die zusammen auftretenden, miteinander vermengten, komplexen Inhalte bilden aber eine auch für das öffentliche Bewusstsein erkennbare Verkettung nur, wenn die so entstehende logische und materielle Kette besonders relevant und von allgemeinem Interesse ist. Diese Bedingungen sind im Falle der Dreiheit "Linke-Sowjetunion-Marxismus" ohne Zweifel da. Sie liegt in der Mitte der politischen Bruchlinie, die das zwanzigste Jahrhundert bestimmt. Die Analogie zur Theokrasie bewahrheitet sich so, dass gewisse relevante Inhalte auf der Linie dieser Vermittlungskette ineinander übergehen und in ihren konkreten lokalen Varianten einander bedeuten (miteinander identische Bedeutungen tragen).

Am Ende der 1950er Jahre spielte man in Ungarn King Vidor's Film *Krieg und Frieden*. Obwohl der Film aus dem Roman von Lew Tolstoj gedreht wurde (einem guten Realisten also!), dürfte im Ungarn gerade nach 1956 die Aufführung eines neuen amerikanischen Superfilmes etliche Probleme bereiten. Die Transformation der Inhalte wurde im zeitgenössischen Kabarett verewigt. Béla Salamon, der kleine

¹⁵ Diese Zweifelt ist ein bekanntes *Begleitphaenomen* der Geschichte des marxistischen Denkens. Die Bewahrheitung von marxistischen Momenten in einer Forschung oder in einer Interpretation ist ein alltaegliches Phaenomen, nicht jedes Werk ist marxistisch, in dem ursprünglich marxistisches Gedankengut sich bewahrheitet.

Mann von Budapest, redet in seinem Arbeitsplatz mit strahlender Freude darüber, dass er gestern den *Krieg und Frieden* im Kino gesehen hat. Er erkennt jedoch sehr schnell, dass seine strahlende Freude über einen “amerikanischen” Film nicht ganz problemlos ist. Er erkennt, dass er durch seine Aussage ungewollt die grosse “Bruchlinie” berührt hatte. Er konnte in einem winzigen Detail des Alltagslebens die “grosspolitische Wetterlage” fehlerlos verifizieren. *Gerade diese Faehigkeit begleitet die geschichtswissenschaftlichen Revisionsprozesse*, gerade deshalb kann die Gesellschaft jede und sei es noch so indirekte Verschiebung problemlos identifizieren. Salamon will korrigieren. Er fügt zu seiner Aussage schnell hinzu: “Ein albanischer Film!” Es kommt ihm jedoch nicht ausreichend vor! Der kleine Mann wird von den möglichen Gefahren seines verfehlten Aussage noch weiter geplagt, so dass er seine Ergaenzung (“Ein albanischer Film!”) auch noch mit einer weiteren Ergaenzung versieht: “Ein nord-albanischer!” Dann können endlich auch seine Zuhörer endgültig beruhigen. Sein Verhalten ist nunmehr also voll auf der richtigen Linie der fortlaufenden Vermittlung der politischen Inhalte. Mit “Nord-Albanien” kann er sich schon in voller Geborgenheit erleben, “Nord-Albanien” kann kein politischer Verdacht berühren (so wie einen amerikanischen Superfilm!), denn – und dann wussten zu jener Zeit alle! – in der damaligen geopolitischen Laenderverteilung waren die Staaten, die mit “Nord” angefangen haben, die positiven Verbündeten (wie “Nord-Korea” oder “Nord-Vietnam”). So erscheint ein schöner “nord-albanischer” Superfilm *Krieg und Frieden* als Produkt eines vielfachen Transfers von politisch zu deutenden Inhalten.

Gerade so ergeht es mit der öffentlichen Wahrnehmung auch von geschichtswissenschaftlichen Revisionsprozessen, wenn die *Beziehung zwischen der politisch-ideologischen Grosswetterlage und dem konkreten geschichtswissenschaftlichen Paradigmenwechsel* erkannt und erlebt werden kann.¹⁶

Die Dreiheit Linke-Sowjetunion-Marxismus ist – selbstverstaendlich – *keine Ursache* dieser Revisionen, noch weniger eine alleinige Ursache. Sie ist ein *umfassender Hintergrund*, vor welchem zahlreiche kausale Zusammenhaenge ihre Wirkung ausüben können. So relevant der umfassende Hintergrund und die einzelnen (motivierenden) kausalen Komponenten auch sein mögen, sind es letztlich die *Aktoren*, die geschichtswissenschaftlichen *Argumente* und überhaupt die geschichtswissenschaftliche *Arbeit*, die die Revision motivieren, praegen und dann entscheiden. Dadurch stellt sich auch die Frage nach der wirklichen Relation zwischen dem Hintergrund (mitsamt den kausalen Komponenten und den

¹⁶ Einen aehnlich transparenten Gehaltstransfer stellte in der zweiten Haelfte der achtziger Jahre auch die Aufführung des repraesentativen Kultfilms über das Leben des *Heiligen Franziskus* in Budapest. Die blossе Tatsache, dass diese Aufführung unter den gegebenen historischen Umstaenden überhaupt möglich war, zeigte eine Verschiebung unter den Koordinaten der globalen Grosswetterlage. Eine durchaus aehnliche Verschiebung signalisierte schon die blossе Publikation vom ersten Diskussionsbeitrag Ernst Noltes 1986 in der *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.

Transfer von Inhalten) und den konkreten positiven Forschungen. Pauschal gesagt, es geht hier um die Relation zwischen *Werten* (Ideologie, Wertewandel) und *Wissenschaft* (so komplex auch die Wissenschaftstheorie der Geschichtswissenschaft in Wahrheit auch ist).

Diese Relation zwischen den die Revision (Umwertung) tragenden Inhaltstransfers und den konkreten geschichtswissenschaftlichen Forschungen ist in unseren beiden Fall-Beispielen jedoch durchaus unterschiedlich.

Da Furet's Revision der Französischen Revolution viel deutlicher an die idealtypischen Revisionen erinnert, so lässt sich diese Frage in seinem Fall auch eindeutiger beantworten. Diese Revision war, wie mehrfach angedeutet, mit dem Komplex Linke-Sowjetunion-Marxismus tief und sensibel verbunden,¹⁷ die unmittelbare Wirkung der Veränderungen der globalstrategischen Grosswetterlage kann kein Gegenstand der Diskussion werden. Die von ihnen motivierte und initiierte Forschung genügt jedoch den höheren wissenschaftlichen Forderungen nicht. Die Neubestimmung der einzelnen *Stationen* der Französischen Revolution, die Neudefinition der einzelnen Perioden und überhaupt eine neue Kategorisierung des Gegenstandes wäre freilich nicht nur möglich, sondern auch direkt produktiv. Nicht Furet's einzelne Innovationen bedeuten hier das Problem, sondern die Tatsache, dass diese Innovationen die Ganzheit (auch "Totalität") der Problematik der Französischen Revolution keineswegs abdecken. Sie lösen keine Probleme, die bis dahin ungelöst waren, vielmehr, sie lösen auch Probleme nicht, die in den früheren Interpretationen als beruhigend gelöst schienen.

Furet nimmt also die globalstrategische Modifizierung der Grosswetterlage sensibel (und früh) wahr, die Elemente seiner Revision sind transparent und stehen auf einem gewissen Niveau. Was dabei am Ende doch herauskommt, ist doch eine Art Reduktion und Dekonstruktion, weder der Umfang, noch der Inhalt seiner Rekonstruktion kann den vollen Umfang und den vollen Inhalt der Französischen

¹⁷ Furet verhält sich an mehreren Stellen nicht als „Forscher“ der Geschichte, *er benimmt sich an diesen Stellen gleich als vorausseilender Historiograph, der das Urteil von grossen historischen Veränderungen vollstreckt*: „---n y aurait à écrire, de ce point de vue, une histoire de la gauche intellectuelle française par rapport à la révolution soviétique, pour montrer que le phénomène stalinien s'y est enraciné dans une tradition jacobine simplement déplacée (la double idée d'un commencement de l'histoire et d'une nation-pilote a été réinvestie sur le phénomène soviétique); et que, pendant une longue période, qui est loin d'être close, la notion de déviation par rapport à une origine restée pure a pennis de sauver la valeur suréminente de l'idée de Révolution. C'est ce double verrouillage qui a commencé à sauter: d'abord parce qu'en devenant la référence historique fondamentale de l'expérience soviétique, l'œuvre de Soljenitsyne a posé partout la question du Goulag au plus profond...“ S. Furet, 1978, 28-29. – In dieser Beleuchtung erscheint auch das im Titel angeführte „penser“ in *doppelter Bedeutung*. Es kann die Revision (durchgeführt aufgrund der neuen Forschungen) bedeuten, es kann aber auch ein einfaches „Neudenken“ bedeuten, das der Historiker – konfrontiert mit der veränderten Grosswetterlage – unter den veränderten Koordinaten vollzieht. In dem zweiten Fall forscht er also nicht mehr, er vollstreckt nur ein Urteil...S. dazu noch: Christofferson, 2001. 422.

Revolution abdecken. Seine ideologischen Akzente gegen die Dreiheit Linke-Sowjetunion-Marxismus sind jedoch unmissverstaendlich, kein Wunder, dass seine Interpretation starke *neoliberale* Praeferenzen aufweist. *Er vertritt damit den Geist von 1989 und versucht es allen Ernstes und sehr konkret, neoliberale Züge auf 1789 zurückzuprojizieren.*¹⁸

Die Beziehung zwischen den Inhaltentransfers (und des grossen Umwaelzungsprozesses) und den Ergebnissen der konkreten geschichtswissenschaftlichen Forschung erscheint in dem *Historikerstreit* durchaus anders. Die eigentlichen Ziele der Revision sind hier mehrfach indirekter. Auch die Auswirkungen der Inhaltentransfers kommen stets nur in vermittelter Weise zum Ausdruck. Die Einschaetzung der frühen Sowjetgeschichte bringt Ergebnisse, sie bringt ein gewisse Umwertung der sowjetisch-deutschen Relation mit sich. Diese Gebiete stehen jedoch von dem eigentlichen Ziel der Revision noch durchaus fern. Von Anfang an waren politische (und politisch-psychologische) Momente im Vordergrund, sie waren deutlich höher gestellt als die Tatsachen selbst. Man wollte zwar den Holocaust keineswegs unter Revision nehmen, es haette der Revision jedoch nicht weh getan, wenn auch der Holocaust am Ende anders haette gesehen werden können. *Hier zeigt sich der aktionistische, wenn nicht gerade abenteuerliche Motivation des Historikerstreites*, denn er musste von Anfang an schwerwiegende Risiken auf sich nehmen. Er griff die "schwachen Zeichen" des grossen Umwaelzungsprozesses (das Erodieren der Dreiheit von Linke-Sowjetunion-Marxismus) auf, in der leidenschaftlichen Hoffnung, dass die noch nicht einmal entdeckten weiteren "Sünden" der Sowjetunion die Gleichung Auschwitz-GULAG immer symmetrischer machen werden. Die reale Forschungsarbeit richtete sich in diesem Fall deshalb auch nicht so sehr auf den Gegenstand, sie richtete sich auf Momente, die die Revision (die Umwertung) nur noch staerker machen konnten. In jedem latenten Aktionismus steckt Risiko, am Anfang konnte man doch nicht sehen, ob die noch nicht entdeckten Sünden der Sowjetunion auf die Höhe von Auschwitz hochgehen können. So entlarvt sich der *Historikerstreit* als ein *kolossales Warten*, nicht als ein "Warten auf Godot", sondern als ein *Warten auf neue Sünden* in der Grössenordnung des Holocausts. Und *was man mit der Wissenschaft nicht erzielen kann, kann man mit Politik und Propaganda immer noch versuchen...*Dafür gibt es mehrere Beispiele bis heute.

¹⁸ Treffend charakterisiert es Christofferson so: „...liberal revisionists believed the revolution should be treated as a wholehearted move from a pre-modern French to a modern society. In accordance with their beliefs, the Ancient Regime had gotten so caught up in their own web, that it was inevitable that the only way change was going to prevail was with a revolution. Liberal historians argued that the *French Revolution* was an agent of progress; despite the drastic measures, it demonstrated the possible future for the Parisian with revolutionary change. The Terror was nothing more than a grievous stepping stone that would eventually lead to the establishment of a new government.“ (Ebenda.)

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Konstrukte des Ursprungs in der ungarndeutschen Literatur

Folgender Beitrag setzt sich zum Ziel, ursprungskonstruierende Strategien der ungarndeutschen Literatur an einigen exemplarischen Beispielen – an Texten, die die Ansiedlung deutscher Kolonisten im 18. Jahrhundert in Ungarn ausgestalten – darzustellen. Erörtert werden soll, wie dabei eine ungarndeutsche Geschichte konstruiert und eine ungarndeutsche Wirklichkeit interpretiert wird, wie Generationen überspannendes Wissen erstellt und weitergereicht wird, wie also eine ungarndeutsche Gemeinschaft Besitz von ihrer Vergangenheit nimmt und sich selbst legitimiert.¹

Als einer der ersten Versuche entwirft Georg Wittmanns Erzählung, *Die Holzpuppe*² einen ungarndeutschen Ursprungs- oder Gründungsmythos³. Der Erzähler greift weit in die Zeit vor dem ungarisch-ungarndeutschen Nachkriegskonflikt zurück, und schweigt dabei von Diskriminierungen und Repressalien der Nachkriegsjahre, als wolle er nun eine neue Seite in der gemeinsamen Geschichte aufschlagen und mit dem Umstrukturieren des ungarndeutschen historisch-sozialen Wissens von Anfang an beginnen. Erzählt wird die Geschichte von Promontor (Budafok), und das Ziel, der Ortsgeschichte Bedeutsamkeit zu verleihen und dadurch eine vorgestellte Identifikationsgemeinschaft zu stiften, wird offen formuliert:

Viele der Schriftsteller greifen im Zeitgeschehen auch rückwärts und lassen das Einst vor unseren geistigen Augen entstehen, damit wir das Heute, die Gegenwart besser begreifen können. Die Menschheit hat und soll aus der Weltgeschichte lernen; jedes Volk, jede

¹ Der Beitrag stellt eine gekürzte und leicht veränderte Fassung des Aufsatzes *Gründungsmythen – literarische Konstruktionen der Ansiedlung der Deutschen in Ungarn von 1973 bis heute* (erscheint demnächst in *Mit der Vergangenheit in die Zukunft. Verortung der frühneuzeitlichen Siedlungsmigration bei den Ungarndeutschen*. Hg. von Márta Fata. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag) dar.

² Fischer – Koch – Petrovan – Wittmann, *Die Holzpuppe*, 5-47. Künftig zitiert als HO und Seitenangabe. In den 1970er Jahren, als sich die ungarndeutsche Literatur institutionalisiert, ruft die soziale Aufgabe einer ungarndeutschen Identitätssicherung auch viele Laienschriftsteller auf den Plan, Georg Wittmann (1930-1991) ist einer von ihnen. (Zusammenhänge – historisch-soziale und auch literarisch-theoretische –, die hier bloß skizziert werden, können ausführlich in Propsz, *Zur interdiskursiven Konstruktion* nachgelesen werden.)

³ Die Begrifflichkeit von Mythos weist weit führende Abgrenzungsfragen auf, für die Zwecke dieses Beitrags soll jedoch nur so viel festgehalten werden, dass hier das Wort in seinem übertragenen, alltäglichen Sinn benutzt wird, für die spezifisch literarische Bearbeitung historischer Ereignisse, in bzw. mit denen sozial relevante Wissensstrukturen organisiert werden.

Nation und Nationalität hat und soll das eigene Vermächtnis der Ahnen kennenlernen und pflegen.

Derjenige, der fortgezogen ist, soll ein kleines Bild, eine kleine Rückerinnerung mit sich führen dürfen, und derjenige, der sich jetzt bei uns ansiedelt, soll von der ortsgeschichtlichen Vergangenheit etwas mitbekommen und Bescheid wissen, wenn er auf den Gassen ein deutsches Wort hört und vielleicht ein Interesse daran hegt, eine alte Geschichte zu hören. (HO 6-7)

In der Darstellung des Gründungsereignisses ist die Motivation der Ansiedler unscharf entwickelt. Die Entscheidung für die Auswanderung wird eher auf emotionalen Grundlagen aufgebaut

Und die Kunde kam immer öfter, daß der Sultan weit nach dem Süden gedrängt wurde, daß da Land frei zum Ansiedeln bereitstünde, es mangelt aber an Menschen, denn im Krieg sind sie umgekommen. Verödet und brach liegen fruchtbare Gebiete, und wer sich da ansiedelt, erhält Abgabe- und Steuerfreiheit.

Boten kamen den Donaustrom herauf, und die Nachricht bewegte die Herzen, der Leute Gemüter. Doch das beängstigende Gefühl, daß die Türken wiederkehren könnten, ließ viele Ansiedlungsbereiten im Aufbrechen wanken. Was dann, wenn sie alles hinter sich aufräumen, ihr Elend zurücklassend das winzige Hab und Gut mit sich führen und dort in der weiten Ferne, noch um vieles weiter als das ferne Wien, irgendwo im Unbekannten ein neues Land, eine fremde Heimat bevölkern wollen und eines unerwarteten Tages sie die Janitscharenhorden des Sultans treffen? [...]. Doch vermehrten sich die Deutungen, daß sich die Macht des Halbmondes unwiederbringlich im Verfall befände. (HO 20),

und durchemotionalisiert werden zwei Lebensformen einander – deutlich überzeichnet – gegenübergestellt, die des „Sklaven“ und die des „freien Bauers“.

Boten kamen und berichteten, daß Menschen benötigt und erwartet würden, die Hand anlegen und fest zugreifen sollten, damit versumpfte, verödete Ländereien urbar gemacht werden. Aber damit nicht genug, die Neuankömmlinge brauchen keine solchen Abgaben gegenüber Fürsten und Herrschern leisten, wie das in deutschen Landen der Fall ist. Sie können freie Bauern werden, nach Herzenslust sich dort ein neues Zuhause schaffen, wo es ihnen gefällt. Lange Jahre hindurch genießen sie nach den Ansiedlungsjahren volle Steuerfreiheit und erhalten sogar Saatgut und viele Begünstigungen. Ist das alles nicht zu verlockend? Wer möchte solche Anreize hierzulande erdenken? Von einem freien Bauernstande trauten sich nicht mal die kühnsten Geister was im Geheimen zu träumen. (HO 20-21)

Sie wollten dem Sklavenschicksal, dem trostlosen Knechtsleben der Holzfäller und Ackerroboter freiwerden. Abschütteln wollten sie ihr menschenunwürdiges Joch, die verschiedenen Naturalien- und Geldabgaben, die Dienstleistungen und Frondienste, die sie zu verrichten hatten. (HO 27-28)

Die Schilderung der Entscheidung für die Auswanderung, die hier einen leicht romantischen Ton bekommt und in ihrem Freiheitsstreben ein beinahe reformatorisches Sendungsbewusstsein aufweist, entbehrt einer festen Grundlage in der historischen Realität. Ungeachtet bleibt in der Darbietung der wirtschaftlichen Motive bspw. der Kaufkraftunterschied, der zwischen den Herkunfts- und Ansiedlungsgebieten bestand (in den Zielgebieten konnten Bauernstellen wesentlich preisgünstiger erworben werden) und der – da er einen sozialen Aufstieg ermöglichte – ein überaus gewichtiges Argument für die Auswanderung bildete, und auch in der Beschreibung der sie erwartenden Vergünstigungen geht die Erzählung weit über die der Kolonisten tatsächlich in Aussicht gestellte Rechtsstellung hinaus.⁴ Eine mögliche Erklärung für diese Übertreibungen ist in dem soziokommunikativen Kontext der Erzählung zu suchen: Zur Entstehungszeit von dieser (1973) war die ungarndeutsche Literatur – im Sinne einer sozialistischen Minderheitenpolitik, durch die sie in den Anfangsjahren ihre Legitimation gewinnt – bemüht, die ungarndeutschen Leser zu vergewissern, dass das Land, in dem sie leben, der ideale Lebensraum sei, der durch seine günstigen Lebensbedingungen alle Voraussetzungen für ein glückliches Dasein erfülle.⁵ Diese Ideologie prägt, quasi rückwirkend, in mehreren literarischen Texten der Zeit auch die Geschichte der Ansiedlung.

Den Erfahrungs- oder Wahrnehmungsraum des Lesers literarisch zu strukturieren, gelingt der Erzählung nicht. In den Text werden Volksbräuche und Volkslieder, aber auch Dokumente (Dekrete, Aufzeichnungen des Historikers Matthias Bél usw.) und wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen eingefügt – für die Legitimation der Ansässigkeit ist die historische Belegung von Ereignissen offensichtlich ausschlaggebend –, zu einer eigentlichen literarischen Verarbeitung der Vorlagen kommt es jedoch nicht. Es fehlt an einer übergreifenden literarischen Struktur, die fahle Handlung ist beinahe nur ein Vorwand, um Informationen zu vermitteln, die der Erzähler nicht dem Vergessen überlassen will.

Die Erzählung verfehlt auch den Ausbau eines metaphorischen oder symbolischen Netzes, das die Vorstellungsgemeinschaft absichern könnte. Träger der Ursprungsgeschichte sollte eine Puppe sein, eine Erinnerung des Erzählers, um die herum die Geschichte der ersten Ansiedler aufgebaut werden sollte:

Am Dachboden gab es hier viele Spielzeuge, und einmal zeigten mir die Mädchen eine Anziehpuppe, die aus Holz war. Wenn man ihr die Volkstracht auszog, erschien im Rücken ihr „Geburtsjahr“ eingraviert, eine vierstellige Zahl, beginnend mit 17, die dritte Nummer konnte man nicht mehr recht ablesen, und von der vierten Zahl waren Bruchwölbungen wahrzunehmen. Nichts blieb nach dem erwähnten Bombenangriff von

⁴ In der Geschichte der Ansiedlung orientiert mich vor allem Seewann, *Geschichte der Deutschen in Ungarn*.

⁵ Siehe dazu mehr in Propsz, *Zur interdiskursiven Konstruktion*.

Haus und Hab, nichts von den begehrten Spielzeugen, von der kleinen Holzpuppe, welche die Mädchen so lieb hatten neben den übrigen Kautschuk- und Stoffpuppen. Nicht einmal das Allernötigste blieb den Hauseinwohnern, nur das, was sie an hatten, und sie mußten bei fernen Verwandten ein Obdach suchen.

Wo mag nun die kleine Holzpuppe gebettet sein mit ihrem schönen Volkstrachtenkleide, die über zwei Jahrhunderte überlebte und ihr langes Leben um den Bombentrichter wo beenden mußte? Wer mag sie wohl geschnitzt haben auf dieser großen Welt? (HO 10-11)

Die Puppe – die in der gewissermaßen als Antwort auf diese Frage konzipierten Geschichte die Ansiedlerin Vroni von ihrem Verlobten Andreas noch im Schwarzwald geschenkt bekommt, und die mit nach Ungarn mitgenommen wird – erfüllt die ihr zugedachte symbolische Funktion nicht. Dass sie eine Verbindung zwischen der alten und der neuen Heimat darstellt, wird berichtet, aber nicht als Handlung ausgeführt,

Wie gut, daß sie die kleine Holzpuppe aus Deutschland mitgebracht hat. Im Winter kann sie kleine Kleidchen der Puppe nähen, sie wird zu einer richtigen kleinen Trachtenpuppe. Ja, die Puppe stammt vom Schwarzwald, ebenso wie sie, und mit dem Stückchen Puppe haben sie etwas, ein kleines greifbares Ding vom einstigen Zuhause mitgebracht ... (HO 38-39)

[...] und Vroni übergab Anna eine kleine Holzpuppe. Sie soll diese Puppe bewahren, auch dann, wenn sie und Andreas sich mal dort droben ausruhen werden am bergichten Friedhof, wo die alten Promontorer nach der Mühe des Lebens Einkehr halten.

Denn diese kleine Holzpuppe wurde aus einem Baume des Schwarzwaldes geboren ... (HO 46),

der Gegenstand wird im Verlauf der Geschichte nicht mit persönlichen und symbolfähigen Inhalten (etwa Erinnerungen, Gefühlen, Vorstellungen der Ansiedler und ihrer Nachfahren) gefüllt.

Dazu kommt, dass die Wurzelmetaphorik, die ebenfalls eine Kontinuität begründen sollte, die Ansiedlungsvergangenheit und die Nachkriegsgegenwart verbinden sollte, inkonsistent ausgearbeitet wird. Der Erzähler betont immer wieder (in Untertiteln, in seinem Nachwort), dass er der Zukunft zugewandt ist und sucht den Aufbau dieser Zukunft, eigentlich die Angliederung der Ortschaft an die Hauptstadt, als einen organischen Prozess auszuweisen:

Die Zukunft wird gebaut, und das alles mutet, wie die Verjüngung der altgewordenen Obstbäume im Weingarten; die morschen Äste müssen abgesägt werden, um Platz, Luft, Licht und Sonnenschein verschaffen für die frisch eingesetzten Triebe. (HO 6)

Die Verjüngung entlarvt sich aber in anderen Passagen, so in der Darstellung der Gegenwart als Aufforsten eines Kahlschlags:

Vor drei Jahren nahm es den Anfang [...]. Bauarbeiter, Baggerführer beherrschten tagsüber das Gelände, und aus der Hauptstraße wurde eine tote Gegend, denn die Bewohner der einstigen Dorfstraße Promontors zogen weit weg, wo sie in anderen Gegenden Großbudapests Wohnungen erhielten, nur nachts schien der Mond auf eine menschenöde, verlassene Ruinensiedlung herab. [...] Staub wirbelte nach den eingesetzten Räumungsmaschinen, [...] Bäume krachten in den Hausgärten, als sie den vordringenden Maschinen nachgeben mußten. [...]

[...] Bauarbeiter und Soldaten werkten emsig, und es entstand eine kleine neue Siedlung [...]. [...] Neue Gesichter tauchen auf, das Licht entflammt in immer mehr Neubauwohnungen, und viele von weitem gekommene Familien beziehen ihre neue kleine Heimat und werden da Wurzel fassen. (HO 5-6)

Die Wurzeln der neuen Pflanzen werden folgewidrig mit den abgerissenen der alten gleichgesetzt, wodurch die Identitätsvorstellung ihre Kohärenz einbüßt.

Die geschichtlichen Zusammenhänge der Ansiedlung konturiert István Elmers ungarischsprachiger Roman⁶, *Parasztbarokk/Volksbarock*⁷, dessen zentrale Figur die Rekonstruktion der Geschichte ihrer ungarndeutschen Familie beschäftigt, mit folgenden Worten:

Die Türken ritten auf Istanbul zu und hinterließen verwüstete Felder, eine Leere, die nach Menschen schrie. Ein wildes Land mit Tausenden von bunten Blumen, Nachtigallpunkten in der Luft, eine wilde Region voller glitzernder Sümpfe und Moore.

⁶ In meiner Forschung definiere ich die ungarndeutsche Literatur nicht auf der Grundlage der Sprache, sondern auf der Grundlage der direkten, d. h. semantisch expliziten Konstruktion einer ungarndeutschen Identität, das bedeutet über die konfigurations- und/oder konfliktkonstitutive Aktualisierung des Sems „ungarndeutsch“ in einem Text (siehe dazu mehr in Propsz, *Zur interdiskursiven Konstruktion*). Mit dieser Definition trage ich auch dem Sprachverlust der ungarndeutschen Minderheit Rechnung, in dessen Folge sich deutschstämmige Autoren, die inzwischen ungarische Muttersprachler sind, mit diesem Lebensthema auf Ungarisch auseinandersetzen.

⁷ Elmer, *Parasztbarokk*. Das Werk liegt in keiner deutschen Übersetzung vor, deshalb werden die Textstellen, die meiner Argumentation unterlegt werden sollen, in meiner Rohübersetzung, mit den bibliographischen Angaben der ungarischen Originalausgabe präsentiert. Künftig zitiert als VB und Seitenangabe. Der Roman erzählt die Geschichte der Selbstvergewisserung eines jungen Mannes. Aladar Bischof, der seit einiger Zeit getrennt von seiner Frau lebt, kauft nach der Wiederbeerdigung seines Vaters in (der fiktiven Ortschaft) Bácsalja das Pfarrhaus, das seine Ahnen erbaut haben, in der Absicht, dort mit seiner Frau eine funktionsfähige Familie zu gründen. Die Wiederbeerdigung seines Vaters gestaltet sich als ein sinnbildendes Ereignis, das Aladar zum Re-Konstruieren seines Wissens über sich selbst, zum Re-Konstruieren seiner Lebensgeschichte veranlasst. Die Re-Konstruktion findet in einem Spiel statt: Aladar Bischof stellt sich vor, er springt mit seinem Großvater vom Turm der Franziskanerkirche in Frankenstadt (Baja) und erlebt im Sprung die Geschichte seiner Familie von der Ansiedlung der deutschstämmigen Ahnen an. Im Spiel wird ein Narrativ ausformuliert, in dem Aladar seine neu gewonnene Identität seiner Frau anträgt, in dem er die Ereignisse seines Lebens gestaltet und interpretiert.

Das deutsche Land wurde von der Pest verdunkelt. Die Menschen versteckten sich in Kutten, damit man ihnen die Krankheit nicht ansehen konnte. Auf die Tore war ein schwarzes Kreuz gemalt: Hier wütet die Pest! Der eine ging dem anderen aus dem Weg, um ihm nicht den Tod einzuhauchen.

Ist es nicht wunderbar? – Stefan holte tief Luft. – Spürst du es, Maria? Wir wurden gerettet! – und beide dachten an die Toten, die zu Hause zurückblieben, an das Haus mit vernagelten Fenstern, an das Stöhnen, das die Nächte zerschlug. Die Soldaten brachten den Tod, bissen die Bauern ihre Flüche zusammen, und sie sahen die von den Militärpferden umgegrabenen Felder, die zertrampelten Ernten. Komm Maria, lass uns hier verschwinden – Stefan schüttelte die Frau nach einer Nacht lauter Hilferufe im Morgengrauen wach –, lass uns hier verschwinden, irgendwohin weit, weit weg, wo man wenigstens leben kann. (VB 56-57)

Die Auswanderung und die Ansiedlung zeichnen sich im Text, metaphorisch, als eine mühselige und kampfreiche Reise ab. Das junge Ehepaar aus Baden, Stefan und Maria Bischof, kämpfen sich zu zweit auf dem Wasserweg, die Donau hinunter. Die Hoffnungen der Eheleute, die sie zum Aufbruch veranlassen und die sie gegen die Schwierigkeiten durchsetzen wollen, verkörpert das Kind, mit dem Maria schwanger ist.

Stefan fuhr mit der Hand über Marias Bauch. – Wir werden retten, was uns gehört, keine Angst, uns wird es gut gehen, ihm wird es bestimmt gut gehen – und er streichelte mit seiner von Adern geschwellenen Hand erneut über Marias Bauch.

In diesem Moment bewegte sich das Kind: Zum ersten Mal in seinem Leben gab es dort, auf dem Rücken eines Floßes, das auf den Wellen der Donau trieb, ein Zeichen von sich selbst: Ich bin hier, ich bin bei euch und unter euch, ich existiere bereits. (VB 52)

Die Hoffnung, die Stefan hegt, wird aber bitter enttäuscht. Der Acker, den er zugewiesen bekommt, wird immer wieder überflutet, sodass er in seiner Betrogenheit den Kaiser und den König verflucht, ein noch schwererer Schlag ist allerdings, dass er seine Frau bei der Geburt des Kindes verliert. Der Roman idealisiert die Umsiedlung nicht, er zeigt, dass dieser nicht unbedingt der gewünschte Erfolg beschieden wird, dass sich Wege nicht nur öffnen, sondern auch verschließen.

Maria, anders als ihr Mann, scheint dabei den Weg nicht hinterlegt zu haben, die alte Heimat nicht hinter sich gelassen zu haben:

Maria stand am Fenster; aber sie sah nicht, was vor ihr lag, sondern ihren Vater und ihre Mutter. Ihre Körper waren mit Leid übersät, es erschienen Wunden, die nicht heilen wollten, sie schwitzten Blut und konnten mit ihrem Schmerz nirgendwohin. Im Haus ihrer Eltern sah sie das ans Kreuz genagelte, schwarz gestrichene Brett und die kleine Öffnung, durch die sie ihnen täglich Essen gab. (VB 63)

Bei der Geburt gibt sie die Kupferohrringe ihrer Mutter nicht aus der Hand, und diese Bindung erweist sich als stärker als diejenigen, die der Volksglaube in Vorbereitung der Geburt auflösen kann, die durch Schlösser und Knoten im Haus vertreten sind, die alle geöffnet und aufgemacht werden müssen, damit die Geburt ohne Schwierigkeiten verläuft.

Als würde es das Nicht-Weiter-Können der Mutter miterleben, bleibt das Kind im Geburtskanal stecken. Stefan, der in den Stunden der Geburt denkt, sie seien „endgültig angekommen“ (VB 64), verbindet nicht seine Erstgeborene mit der neuen Heimat, vielmehr Marias Grab. Das Zuhause-Finden fängt mit Marias Begräbnis an, „Alles musste von vorne beginnen. Auch das Sterben.“ (VB 65), heißt es.

Die Erfahrung prägt die Identität der Familie. Bei Marias Tod spaltet sich der Spiegel an der Wand. Stefan schaut in den gerissenen Spiegel, und fragt sich: „Mussten wir deshalb wegkommen?“ (VB 65). Die reflektierende Fläche zeigt ihm seine irdische, körperliche Identität: „Er schaute in den Spiegel, sein Gesicht rutschte entlang dem Haarriss auseinander, der oben in der linken Ecke losging und das Glas gespalten hat. Er hat den Spiegel nie ersetzt, damit der Riss ewig zu sehen ist.“ (VB 65). Der Riss konkretisiert und veranschaulicht die Bruchlinien, an denen „entlang“ sich auch spätere Bischof-Identitäten herausbilden.⁸

Gründervater Stefan kann das Land zwar nicht mit Kindern bevölkern – seine Kinder aus der zweiten Ehe sterben alle bis auf einen Sohn, Johann –, aber er erträumt die Wassermühlen, die der Familie über Generationen hinweg eine sichere Lebensgrundlage bieten, und er lässt eine Kirche bauen, „so eine, die wir in Deutschland hinterlassen haben und in der sich Gott mit uns verträgt“ (VB 78). Dieser Gründungsmythos spiegelt sich in seinen Bestandteilen: In dem Willen, die Kraft des Wassers in Wassermühlen zu nutzen, spiegelt sich das Bemühen des Mythos, aus dem Fluss von zufälligen Ereignissen Sinn und Orientierung zu gewinnen.

Die imaginative Kraft, die Stefan befähigt, etwas zum ersten Mal vorzustellen, und an der Vorstellung festzuhalten, auch angesichts des Unverständnisses seiner Umgebung, die Kraft, die auch den Plan des Kirchenbaus hervorbringt, lässt ihn die neue Umgebung erschließen, und sein Leben in Ungarn einrichten.

Dadurch kann Stefans Gründungsreise das Selbstverständnis seiner Nachkommen konstituieren, für diese eine Vorstellung eines inneren Weges erzeugen, die Möglichkeit der Annäherung an sich selbst, an eine innere Realität (die Generationen umfasst). Das Volkslied aus der Ansiedlungszeit trägt dieses Denkmuster, das Wissen, dass Identität in Vergänglichkeit, in Verlust, in Trennung entsteht und durch diese erlebt werden kann:

⁸ Eine umfassende Interpretation des Werkes ist in Propsz, *Zur interdiskursiven Konstruktion zu lesen*.

Die Donau fließt und wieder fließt
wohl Tag und Nacht zum Meer.
Ein' Well die andere weiterzieht
und keine siehst du mehr.
All' Frühjahr kehren d' Schwälblein zurück,
der Storch kommt wieder her,
doch die gen Ungarn zogen sind,
die kommen nimmermehr.⁹ (VB 21)

Dieses Lied erscheint an verschiedenen Stellen im Leben der Familienmitglieder.

Robert Baloghs *Schwab evangiliom: Nagymamák orvosságos könyve/Schwab evangiliom: Großmutter's Arzneibuch*¹⁰ stellt mehrere Geschichten der Gründung einander gegenüber. Der in der Familie bzw. in der sozialen Umgebung tradierten Erinnerung wird in *Der Monolog des Enkels an den Großvater, der auf dem Gang*¹¹ *sitzt (Buch der Enkel)* eine historisch belegbare Ereignisfolge entgegengesetzt.

Ja, erinnern kann man sich auf Schwäbisch, was in der Familie war, welcher Opapa der Wagner war und wer [...] der Ururgroßvater von seinem Großvater war, bis an die Flöße zurück, als wir das große Wasser runtergefahren sind [...]. Na, dafür ist Schwäbisch gut. Und für Ihre Märchen, Engel und Teufel und Brauchfrau.¹² [...] Woher Sie kamen, haben Sie vergessen. Was ist deutsche Geschichte, Großvater? Kennen Sie es? Nicht. Na, sehen Sie? Sie haben in der Schule ungarische Geschichte gelernt. Sie haben im Gebüsch Rákóczi mit dem Holzsäbel gespielt, nicht Windischgrätz. [...] Wissen Sie, was der Geschichtslehrer mir in der Schule beigebracht hat? Was ist der Schwabe? Volksüberschuss, der die Donau herunterschiffte. Der Türke, der Kuruzze, der Labanze und die Pest rotteten die Völker hier aus, wie Sie sagen. Und der die Donau herunterschiffende Überschuss

⁹ Zitiert nach Manherz Hg., *Holzapfels Bäumelein*, 6.

¹⁰ Balogh, *Schwab evangiliom*. Da das Werk in keiner deutschen Übersetzung vorliegt, werden die Zitate in meiner Rohübersetzung präsentiert. Künftig zitiert mit den bibliographischen Angaben der ungarischen Originalausgabe als SCHE und Seitenangabe.

Der Text organisiert sich nicht eine kohärente Handlung entlang, seine Selbstdefinition ist zu zitieren: „Was ist das? – Ein Buch, das sich aus Fragmenten aufbaut, die sich nicht zusammenfügen, eine Geschichte, die sich aus zum Vergessen verurteilten menschlichen Schicksalen zusammensetzt, eine Geschichte, die sich nicht [als Geschichte] gestaltet, Erinnerungen, Farben, Düfte, die verschmelzen, Trennung, Vereinigung, Rausch und Wahnsinn. Ein stilles, schneckenförmiges Nachdenken. Über Schwaben.“ (SCHE 11) Auf der Schneckenlinie werden Grundelemente einer ungarndeutschen Konvention und damit einer ungarndeutschen Identität ausgearbeitet. (Sie dazu mehr in Propsz, *Zur interdiskursiven Konstruktion*) Auch wenn relativ viel Dokumentarisches ins Werk installiert wird, ist dieses weniger von einer dokumentarischen Intention dominiert als andere hier dargestellten Werke. Anzumerken ist, dass das Dokumentierte hier in miteinander meisterhaft gekoppelten inhaltlichen und formalen literarischen Strukturen verarbeitet wird.

¹¹ Für „Hausgang“. Ungarndeutscher Dialekt im Original.

¹² „Brauchfrau“ für „Brauchersfrau“. Ungarndeutscher Dialekt im Original.

wollte nicht ewig Fronbauer sein, Steuerfreiheit wurde ihnen versprochen und Ackerfelder. Man probierte die Serben schon einmal aus, aber sie wollten nicht wirklich arbeiten. Dann kam die Idee, wir brauchen hier vermögende Deutsche! [...] Aber warum wollte der Volksüberschuss das Reich verlassen? Sie waren schollengebundene Leibeigenen, Großvater, die jungen Männer konnten ihre Liebchen nur mit der Erlaubnis ihres Herrn heiraten, aber nur, wenn sie ein Haus hatten oder in eine andere Landschaft ziehen wollten, es gab sie so viele. Und die Franzosen brachen ein und ihre schönsten Siedlungen wurden zerstört, Jesz Márija¹³! Arme Rhein-Provinzen! Und wegen der bösen Franzosen litten die armen Germanes homines bene stantes Not! Die prachtsüchtigen deutschen Kurfürsten, weit weg von dem Schlachtfeld, luden eine so große Last auf die Schultern der Landwirte und der Handwerker, dass sich der Rücken von diesen gekrümmt hat. Deshalb saßen sie dem Märchen von der Schwäbischen Türkei auf. Dass im Süden, dort, weit unten, in einer ungebrochenen Tiefebene, das wirkliche Leben beginnen wird. Bauer! Die unbewohnten Süd-Tolnau und Nord-Branau warten nur auf dich! Bauer! Die verlockenden Steuererleichterungen warten nur auf dich! (SCHE 98-99)

[...] Sie erhielten buschige Felder, Wiesen, vor hundert Jahren verwilderte Weinberge und Gärten und brachten alles in Ordnung, auch die Dörfer, die seit zwei oder drei Jahrhunderten unbewohnt waren. Die Wälder wurden an den Rand des Dorfes zurückgedrängt, die Kirche und die Schule aufgebaut, und dann, erst dann, verlangte der Grundherr die Begleichung der Rechnung. (SCHE 100)

Jetzt kucken Sie nur, was, Alter? Jetzt erzähle ich. Die Siedler flohen, zogen sich zurück, kamen und gingen. Manchmal machte ihnen der Sumpf zu schaffen, manchmal hielt der neue Herr sein Versprechen nicht, manchmal brannte das Dorf bis auf den Grund nieder, manchmal raffte die Pest jeden vierten Einwohner des Dorfes dahin. Die ersten ernteten den Tod, die zweiten die Not, erst die dritten das Brot¹⁴. (SCHE 101)

Die Geschichte der Ansiedlung wird in anderen Sequenzen ins Mythische gehoben. In *Die Erzählung des Opapa über die alte Heimat, darüber, warum wir diese Gegend verlassen haben, um hierhin aufzubrechen (Buch des Opapa)* machen sich die Schwaben nach einer Heuschreckenplage auf den Weg.

Dann haben wir die Heuschrecken verbrannt. [...] Die Toten haben wir in einer Grube verbrannt, wir, die wir geblieben sind, die die Krankheit überlebt haben. Schwarzer Rauch stieg in den Himmel. [...] Dann kam dieser Mann und sagte, wer wolle, könne gehen. Sehr weit. Er bekommt Land. Er bekommt Wald. Er bekommt Weinfeld. Er bekommt Wasser. Er bekommt alles. Er kann gehen, weil das Leben dort besser ist als hier. (SCHE 21-22)

¹³ Ungarndeutscher Dialekt im Original.

¹⁴ Letzter Satz in ungarischer Übersetzung im Haupttext und in deutscher Sprache als Randnotiz.

Die Bibelkonnotation wird nicht gänzlich ausgebaut, dieser Auszug (Exodus) begründet nicht den Bund Gottes mit einem Volk und leitet nicht eine Heilsgeschichte ein. *Die Geschichte von Opapa, des Vaters meiner Großmutter über die Vorfahren, über die Macht des Predigers über unsere Frauen, über Land und Wasser, den ewigen Sommer, und über den Verlust unseres Priesters und die Ankunft der Bettler (Buch des Opapa)* legt ein Gegenkonstrukt dieses Auf-dem-Weg-Seins vor, und erzählt einen persönlichen Mythos, dessen Grundmotive Verführung (falsche Versprechungen) und die darauf folgende Enttäuschung, Ernüchterung sind. Der Opapa – der durch seine unangepasste Sichtweise auf die Welt charakterisiert wird – spricht (oder phantasiert) über Frauen, die befruchtet werden wollen, über Betrüger, die sie ausnutzen, und über tiefst gedemütigte Männer – wobei das Erzählte auf die Verheißungen der Anwerbung und auf die Realität des späteren Ansiedleralltags projiziert werden kann.

Fruchtwasser floss von den Frauen, es floss und floss, aber es war nicht ein Kind, das sich in ihrer Gebärmutter versteckte, sondern das Wasser. Als ihre Bäuche flacher wurden, begann der Bach zu fließen, die Hügel wurden grün, die Bäume blühten aus. [...] Unsere Frauen saßen da mitten im Wasser und blickten mit leeren, gequälten Augen auf den schmutzigsten Prediger der Welt, den Herrn und Gott der bösesten, hungrigsten Bettler, und erst jetzt spürten sie, wie schmutzig sie geworden waren [...]. (SCHE 32-33)

Hinzugefügt werden muss, dass dieser private Mythos die tradierten und allgemein akzeptierten sozialen Normen und Verhaltensmuster offen anprangert. Der falsche Verführer macht sich nämlich das Gebot des nimmermüden Schaffens, also das der Fruchtbarkeit, zunutze, er fordert diese „schwäbische“ Ordnung ruchlos heraus, und führt mit Hohn vor Augen, dass diese Norm das einzelne Individuum überfordert (die Frauenkörper und -seelen werden in dem Fruchtbarkeitswahn ausgelaut) und im Falle einer Nicht-Erfüllung mit gesellschaftlicher, gemeinschaftlicher Zerstörung droht (die Geschichte des Opapa endet mit dem Bild abgenutzter Körper und Beziehungen, mit der Auflösung der Gemeinschaft).

Die Geschichte der Ansiedlung begründet in der beinahe musikalisch komponierten Familiengeschichte von László Kollár-Klemencz *Öreg Banda/Alte Kapelle*¹⁵ eine organische Identität. Indem Bilder des Flusses, des Flussweges und

¹⁵ Kollár-Klemencz, Öreg Banda. Das Werk liegt in keiner deutschen Übersetzung vor, deshalb werden die Textstellen, die meiner Argumentation unterlegt werden sollen, in meiner Rohübersetzung, mit den bibliographischen Angaben der ungarischen Originalausgabe präsentiert. Künftig zitiert als AK und Seitenangabe

Streng genommen handelt es sich bei dem Werk nicht um einen Roman, sondern um eine episodische Abfolge von Vorgängen aus dem Leben einer Familie (der Familie Kaldenecker), die – neben Ort und Charakteren – durch die Geschichte einer von einem Urgroßvater gegründeten Blaskapelle zusammengehalten wird. Der Titel bezieht sich – wie es auch bei Bonomi zu lesen ist (Bonomi, *Deutsche Blasmusik im Ofner Bergland*), mein Dank gilt Mária Erb für den Hinweis – auf

der ungarndeutschen Charaktere aufeinander projiziert werden, werden Konturen von Fruchtbarkeit, Wirksamkeit, Wachstum erkenntlich:

[...] woher ihre Urgroßeltern fast als Kinder zusammen mit Verwandten und anderen Familien kamen, aus Gremheim, vom Ufer der Donau. Ein Fluss verband sie mit ihren Ururgroßeltern, Häuser, Berge, Wald, alles blieb dort, ohne sie. Wie die Donau die Alpen durchschneidet und ihren Schutt in das Karpatenbecken ablegt, sie verlangsamt sich, wenn sie die Haine nach den rauen, mit Kiefern bewachsenen Bergen erreicht, und macht das verstummte Becken fruchtbar, sie tat dasselbe mit ihnen, sie grub sie im kriegszerstörten Schwarzwald aus und trieb sie so schnell hierher, dass weder ihre Kleidung noch ihre Schuhe bis heute Zeit zum Trocknen hatten. Sie liebten es, an die Donau zu fahren, jeden Ostersonntagnachmittag fuhren sie von Soroksár zum Gottesdienst, wo Josef die heiligen Lieder spielte, dann gingen sie ins Restaurant Kisrigó [...], von dort gingen sie hinaus ans Donauufer, saßen auf einer Bank oder einfach auf einem trockenen Baumstamm am Ufer, und schauten auf den Fluss. Sie redeten nicht viel, sie holten eine alte Erinnerung hervor, was ihre Großeltern erzählten, über Gremheim, über einen verstorbenen Verwandten, manchmal über den Glöckner oder vielleicht über den armen Poldi, der mitkommen wollte [...]. So saßen sie am Donauufer, bis die Sterne aufgingen, glücklich, dass sie wissen, woher sie kommen, aber wohin sie gehen, weiß nur der liebe Gott. (AK 14-15)

Der Schöpfungsprozess, an dem die Ungarndeutschen beteiligt sind, wird darüber hinaus als ein klingender dargestellt. Die Musik fungiert als ein Bindeglied zwischen der geregelten Ordnung der Alltagswelt, der Sozialordnung und einer sozusagen größeren Naturordnung, durch sie wird eine Zusammenschau dieser Welten möglich:

[...] schön langsam, wenn die Melodie nach der Einleitung tief geht, sie wird langsamer, und wie ein Schwung aus der Tiefe eines kalten Brunnens setzt der Walzer ein, der Walzer, den man nur Walzer nennen kann, sonst nichts, so ist es eins-zwei-drei, eins-zwei-drei, es trägt alles mit sich, wie die Donau im Frühling, obwohl sich das Dorf nicht mehr an die Donau erinnerte, Duna, man sprach ihren ungarischen Namen aus, nicht mehr, zufällig, Donau, wie damals, aber ihr Schwung blieb, unweigerlich blieb es, die Donau schrieb den Walzer, der Walzer ist der Rhythmus des Flusses, so, in diesem Rhythmus konnte er so viel aus diesem Teil der Welt aufnehmen, wo es hohe Berge gibt, dunkle Berge, deren Gipfel reichen bis zum Himmel und Raben fliehen auf die Spitze der Gipfel

die Tatsache, dass es sich um die erste Blaskapelle handelt, die in der Gemeinde gegründet worden ist. Wo es mehrere Kapellen gab, wurde nämlich zwischen der neuen und der alten Kapelle unterschieden. Das Adjektiv „alt“ trägt dabei auch die Bedeutung von Erfahrung, Zuverlässigkeit und Qualität, eine nicht wörtliche Übersetzung des Titels, die die übermittelte Lebenseinstellung reflektiert, könnte deshalb *Flügelhorn – alte Schule* lauten.

und schreien einander von dort aus, ich-lieb-dich ich-lieb-dich ich-hass-dich ich-hass-dich eins-zwei-drei, eins-zwei-drei, die Menschen arbeiten auf fruchtbarem schwarzem Land und schütten ihre warmen Seelen und kalten Kräfte aus, bis sie sterben, das fließt dann in das Wasser der Donau, und vermischt sich damit. Beim Vermischen entsteht kein Ton. Sie schauen nicht zu den Raben auf, denn das Sonnenlicht würde ihre Augen blenden, aber sie hören sie, und ihre Stimme steigt auf die Oberfläche des rauschenden Flusses, wo in der Tiefe die Kraft und Seele der Menschen wirbeln, sie kräuseln die Oberfläche mit kleinen Spitzenwellen, die sich nur hie und da zeigen, sanft, und der rauschende Fluss überschwemmt die Stille Mitteleuropas mit dem Walzer. (AK 177-178)

Fluss und Melodiefluss sichern, aufeinander abgebildet, eine Verbindung mit dem Ausgangspunkt, eine Kontinuität, „Dann hatte Hans all seine Geschwister, die jemals gelebt haben, Verwandte und Ahnen herbeimusiziert, vielleicht auch die deutschen Verwandten vom anderen Ende der Donau.“ (AK 132), sie verbinden Anfang und Ende:

Er hatte eine stille Beerdigung, er bat, dass dort keine Musik gespielt wird, er würde die Trompeten hören, und er wird sie auch nach seinem Tod hören und er wolle jetzt nichts anderes hören, nur diesen feinen, kristallklaren hohen Klang, der auf den Kiefern im Schwarzwald herumschweift und nachts auf einen dunklen Zweig hinabsteigt, um sich wie ein Vogel mit Kindsgesicht auszuruhen, dann wird es Stille auf der Erde geben, reines Schweigen, das nur tief aus dem Wald kommen kann, das in Bäche fließt und Watte auf den Gesichtern der Menschen legt. Er will die Kapelle nicht spielen hören, wenn er nicht mitspielt, er will sie nie mehr hören. (AK 82-83)

Die kognitiven Muster, die mit der Ansiedlung vorgegeben werden, hebt die Familie auch in einem Gemälde auf. Zu Anfang nutzen die Nachgeborenen das Bild bewusst, sie schöpfen Kraft daraus, um zupacken zu können, um neue Pläne verwirklichen zu können, d. h. um sich immer wieder auf den Weg machen zu können:

Die Kerze beleuchtete das Gemälde an der Wand: Ein Ehepaar in festlicher Kleidung sitzt aneinander gelehnt vor einem grünen Damastteppich, ohne zu lächeln, aber ein kleines Mädchen steht zufrieden neben ihnen. Ein Mann, eine Frau und ein kleines Mädchen, das kleine Mädchen hätte ihr Kind sein können, im weiten schwäbischen Schürzenkleid mit ernstem Blick, die Frau im Kopftuch, daneben der Mann im Kurzmantel, mit großem, lebenskräftigem Schnurrbart. Ihre Urgroßeltern nahmen nur dieses eine Bild auf das Schiff als Andenken mit, aber wer die Menschen darauf waren, weiß niemand mehr. Wenn sie aufgeregt war, vor großen Entscheidungen stand oder einfach nur sehr müde war, ließ sie ihren Blick auf dem Bild, auf den gemalten Augen ruhen, spielte mit der Vorstellung, dass sie das kleine Mädchen irgendwo in Deutschland sei, und beruhigte sich. (AK 15)

Dieses Gemälde wird nach fast 300 Jahren von einem späten Nachfahren von dem Dachboden geholt, „damit es nicht von der Zeit verzehrt wird“ (AK 357),

Sie fand ein Porträt, ein sehr altes, gemaltes, wahrscheinlich aus der Zeit, als die Schwaben kamen, ein Mann, eine Frau und ein kleines Mädchen, das kleine Mädchen in einem weiten schwäbischen Schürzenkleid mit ernstem Blick, die Frau auch wunderschön, und der Mann neben ihr trägt einen kurzen Mantel, einen großen Schnurrbart und Stiefel. Es ist nur so, dass niemand mehr weiß, wer sie waren. (AK 358),

vermutlich, damit es wieder als „Ankerplatz“, als „Vertäuung“ für die Familie dient, immer noch im Ansiedlungsfluss, damit diese weiß, woher sie ihren Halt bezieht, worin sie sich gründet.

Die Sichtung der literarischen Ansiedlungskonstrukte weist nach, dass die jeweils aktuelle Gegenwart das Bild der Ansiedlung (ein notwendigerweise unvollständiges, vereinfachtes oder auch verzerrtes Bild) sich immer wieder neu entwirft. Der Ursprung verliert offensichtlich nicht an Aktualität. Gefunden werden konnten Texte, die einen stabilen, geläufigen – d. h. die heroische Aufbauleistung der Vorfahren artikulierenden – Ansiedlungsdiskurs vertreten, und auch andere, die diesen fein durchfärben (*Volksbarock*) oder kritisch hinterfragen (*Schwab evangiliom*). Dabei konnte beobachtet werden, dass die Konstrukte ihre Legitimation mit dem Wandel der soziokommunikativen Kontexte immer weniger von der Politik erwarten, sie beanspruchen vielmehr eine familiäre oder persönliche Authentizität. Inwiefern diese Ansiedlungskonstrukte reale Wissens- und somit Selbstkonstruktionsbedürfnisse bedienen, wie weit sich also ihre Wirkungsmacht erstreckt, ist schwer herauszufinden. In den Jahren, als sie eine sozialistische Ideologie zu stabilisieren hatte, konnte die ungarndeutsche Literatur nur wenige Leser verzeichnen¹⁶, sodass die Erweiterung und Strukturierung von Wissensbeständen ihr nur bedingt möglich war. Heute, in einer Zeit, die die transgenerationalen Zusammenhänge (Traumata) als wichtige Wissens- und Deutungsquelle erkannt hat, und in der beinahe überall nach retrospektiven Deutungsmustern gesucht wird, scheinen Texte, die ihre Vorlagen einer kleineren, gut identifizierbaren Gemeinschaft anbieten, intensiver gelesen zu werden und damit wirkungsmächtiger sein zu können. (Der Erfolg von *Alte Kapelle* lässt allerdings darauf schließen.) Was aber auch die Erklärung sei, eine Pluralisierung der Selbstvergewisserungsvorräte, so auch die der Ansiedlungskonstrukte, ist ein unbedingt erfreulicher Prozess.

¹⁶ Siehe dazu mehr in Propsz, *Zur interdiskursiven Konstruktion*.

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“Material turn” – a new approach to material culture studies and an insight into material ethnographic research in Hungary¹

The *material turn* is a term coined by analogy with the *linguistic turn*. It is a well-known phenomenon that in the 1960s there were significant changes in the theoretical and methodological framework of the social sciences. The humanities disciplines, based on empirical research, were also affected by the turn in the theory of science that was unfolding in the fields of philosophy of language and literary studies.² On the one hand, the increased attention to language is explained by the realisation that the researchers of various humanities disciplines have realised that *they all work with texts*³ as a common feature of their studies. On the other hand, they have recognised that the language they use to describe and explain is not a neutral mediating medium, but influences interpretation.⁴ Following the example of the linguistic turn, a number of other trends (less well known in the Hungarian literature than the linguistic turn) have emerged: for example, *visual turn*⁵ and *pictorial turn/iconic turn*, or *material turn*, which is the subject of this study, both of which deal with new phenomena and methods in the fields of history and ethnography, anthropology, archaeology and sociology on new theoretical and methodological bases.

In this study, I would like to pursue two objectives. Firstly, I will approach the meaning of *material turn* theoretically. Secondly, I will show how the new theoretical approach has influenced material studies, and in connection with this,

¹ Supported by the EKÖP-24-2-DE-121 University Research Scholarship Program of the Ministry for the Culture and Innovation from the source of the National Research, Development and Innovation Fund.

² Kisantal–Szeberényi, “A történetírás nyelvi fordulata”, 419–448.

³ As a result of *linguistic turn*, the concept of the *text* itself is expanded. Phenomena that would not previously have been referred to the sphere of textuality, such as pictures, museum exhibitions, mass cultural phenomena or *the decoration of objects*, are beginning to be understood as textual. I will return to the latter within the framework of this study.

⁴ Gyáni, *A történeti tudás*, 75–76.

⁵ Tamás, “Visual History: a történettudományos képelemzés megújítása? A vizuális történelem új német paradigmája”, 156–168.

I will look at the way in which the change in interest in material culture has affected *ethnographic research in Hungary*.⁶

A turnaround in material culture research

According to Stefan Berger, the meaning of *material turn* can be explored by interpreting the direction in relation to the meaning of *linguistic turn*.⁷ In the chapter “The History of Material Culture” in his monograph *History and Identity*, published in 2022, the author, in his historiographical analysis, sees *material turn* as *an interest in a past reality beyond texts*.⁸ This means that, according to the historian, the proponents of *material turn* nuance the idea that the linguistic turn’s agenda is to capture social experience primarily in language and textual readings. He concludes that historians must challenge the belief that the world is reducible to texts produced by humans.⁹ Stefan Berger’s statement is based on Timothy LeCain’s book *The Matter of History*, in which LeCain ironically deconstructs this anthropocentric belief. On the one hand in chapter “We never left Eden. The

⁶ The interest in objects is almost as old as ethnography as a discipline in its own right, and it is not possible to cover the full scope of this study. Moreover, the main trends in theoretical and methodological changes in material culture research, such as in the study of folk art and applied arts, are well known to the discipline’s representatives. For this reason, I will highlight only those summary works that provide a basis for comparison with the very few works written in the field of the material turn, as Kincső Verebélyi indicates. Verebélyi, *Nép, Ipar, Művészet*, 62.

⁷ Of course, comparing *material turn* to *linguistic turn* does not mean or cannot mean that *linguistic and material turns* are of equal importance. The critical position and deconstructionist attitude of *linguistic turn* towards earlier historical writing trends is fundamentally different from the historical writing practice of the first half of the 20th century: postmodern in 1960s and 1970s and linguistic turn question the scientific nature of dealing with history and prefer to speak of historical writing, while the first part of the 20th century is more about the scientific nature of history. The newer “turns” (e.g. *material, visual, pictorial turn*) cannot be considered as paradigms that create entirely new theoretical-methodological foundations compared to the former example. For clarification of the paradigm concept, see Erős, *Modern historiográfia*, 12–32.

⁸ Berger, *History and Identity*, 235–260.

⁹ Ibid. 242. Stefan Berger connects the exclusive interest of historians in human beings with the Christian tradition, which defines human beings as immaterial entities with minds and souls. He assumes a close connection between the Christian idea of humanity and the practice of historians because, despite the Enlightenment and secularisation, he believes that both Hegelian philosophy and Collingwood’s philosophy of history, which focuses on thinking, and postmodern ideas, lead to the conviction that human texts are the primary source of knowledge about history. The author argues that the over-emphasis on the (source) value of human-made texts is a secularised version of religious belief. Stefan Berger’s briefly summarised observation is part of a broader interpretation. In *History and Identity*, the author takes as his starting point that, until the Enlightenment, historical writing served to construct religious identity. However, although history writing moved away from theology in the 18th century, the anthropocentrism Berger sees as religious in origin continued in a secularized framework.

Religious and Secular Marginalization of Matter”¹⁰ LeCain points out that texts capture only a narrow slice of reality, and therefore encourages research into material culture. On the other hand, he reminds those who study the material world that it is also anthropocentric to place humans hierarchically above the animal world due to tool making their skill. He cites great apes as an example, since they are not only capable of creating utilitarian objects, but also consciously place finished objects where they will be used.¹¹

Although the concept of material turn focuses on the material world rather than texts, Stefan Berger argues that there is no antagonistic opposition between linguistic and the material turns. Rather, it is a matter of material culture scholars make use of critical findings of the linguistic turn (and of postmodern) in relation to earlier historical writing trends.¹² Their aim is to make the study of the objects as dominant as the interest in language.¹³

First published in 2009 to encourage material culture research, and then in 2018, *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* is a collection of studies intended as a guide. In this volume, edited by Karen Harvey, the authors set out to motivate further research by capturing the theoretical and methodological frameworks of *material turn*. In the introductory chapter, the editor reviews the ways in which objects can form a source base for historical research.¹⁴ She cites Henry Glassie's observation that objects, alongside written texts, must be recognised as historical sources, because by ignoring material culture we miss out on the experience of people without words.¹⁵ And studies are useful when researchers examine objects not in themselves but in their context, because this allows us to understand what the object means to its user. Accordingly, dealing with the world of objects requires an interdisciplinary approach,

¹⁰ LeCain, *The Matter of History. How Things Create the Past*, 23–66.

¹¹ Berger, *History and Identity*, 28.

¹² It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss postmodern and *linguistic turn*, and their relation to earlier historical writing practices, such as scientific historical writing, so I will only briefly mention one of the critiques of the 1960s and 1970s, a critical position that is typical of both *linguistic and material turn*. In contrast to the research based on quantitative sources, which was particularly dominant in the first half of the 20th century, and which sought to explore long-term relationships, these two trends argued that it was more appropriate to focus on the small details and marginal phenomena of everyday life. This is the ambition of, for example, historical anthropology, which is closely linked to postmodern and *linguistic turn*, or the German *Alltagsgeschichte*. See on this: Erős, *Modern historiográfia*, 249–255; 293–297; 315–317. The rejection of comprehensive narratives and the interest in everyday life represent a change of approach that is characteristic of both *linguistic and material turn*, so that, in addition to the differences between the two movements as described in the main text, we can also observe the same ambitions. Berger, *History and Identity*, 80–104.

¹³ Berger, *History and Identity*, 259.; Pickering “Material Culture and Dance of Agency”, 191–208.

¹⁴ Harvey, “Introduction. Historians, Material Culture and Materiality”, 1–26.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 3.

involving collaboration between historians, archaeologists, anthropologists and art historians.¹⁶

An example of cooperation between related sciences is the adoption of the *thick description* method by historians of material culture, which is the hallmark of the anthropologist Clifford Geertz. This means that those who study the material world see culture as a text whose “thick reading” reveals the functions and meanings of objects.¹⁷ A similar argument for the need for an anthropological approach is made by Dan Hicks in his essay “The Material-Cultural Turn: event and effect” in *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*.¹⁸ According to the British archaeologist, both structural and interpretive anthropology helps us to understand the role of objects in a community, for example in a ritual practice. Claude Lévi-Strauss’s work *Structural Anthropology* makes a significant contribution in this respect, because he analyses cultural manifestations (kinship prohibitions or the use of ritual masks) as structures that are not visible but experienced by the community, of which objects also a part.¹⁹

In parallel with the anthropological approach, there is also a form of interest in material culture as well in which the researcher’s intention to explore the role of the object in human culture is complemented by an interest in the history of the objects themselves. Objects are not only evidence of complex social relations, but also have a history of their own since the moment of their creation. For this reason, on the one hand *object-oriented analyses* must focus on the physical and visual properties of objects. The aim is to record the material characteristics of objects as accurately as possible. On the other hand, this is naturally complemented by an analysis of the place of objects in the human world.²⁰

Historians study material culture through quantitative and qualitative analyses. Catherine Richardson, in her article “Written texts and the performance of materiality”, cites as examples the studies of English households between the 1600s and 1750s by Mark Overton, Jane Whittle, Darron Dean and Andrew Hann.²¹ Using quantitative sources (probate inventories)²², the researchers carried out *comparative analyses* between Kent in south-east England and Cornwall in south-west England. It was found that in Cornwall, less than 5 per cent of households inventoried had

¹⁶ Ibid. 2–11.

¹⁷ Geertz, “Sűrű leírás. Út a kultúra értelmező elméletéhez”, 194–226.

¹⁸ Hick, “The Material-Cultural Turn: event and effect”, 25–97.

¹⁹ Ibid. 42–43.

²⁰ Herman, *The Stolen House*, 3–14.

²¹ Richardson, “Written texts and the performance of materiality”, 45–58.

²² The research on inventories has also pushed forward the ethnographic and museological object analyses in Hungary, an example of which is the research programme of the OTKA entitled *The Differentiation and Change of the Object World of the Common People in 18th-19th Century in Hungary* (A köznépi tárgyi világ differenciáltsága és változása a 18–19. századi Magyarországon). See Granasztói, “Tárgyak tengerében. Inventárium, adatbázis, anyagi kultúra”, 9–54.

only some kind of special service room, whereas in Kent, they were found in 70 per cent of houses.²³ Quantitative data therefore primarily aid comparative analyse, which can reveal regional and geographical differences. However, quantitative data do not aid understanding of the interactions of individuals in their material environment. In the case of the above example, this means that even though we know the number of service premises, we do not yet know what their role was in everyday life. Therefore, in discussing the aforementioned volume, Catherine Richardson points out that qualitative analyse are not indispensable if we are to understand the choices and experiences of individuals within the context of the material world.²⁴ The source of research from a qualitative perspective is the probate inventories; not only the objects themselves, but also the precise descriptions of the objects. When a person passed away, detailed descriptions of the objects they owned were prepared and their second-hand market value was determined. A text was written for each object that gave the inventory maker's value judgement. When researchers analyse the recorded texts, they can learn not only about the physical properties of the object, but it is also possible to know were considered valuable, or status symbols by the community or more specifically by the individual who made the inventory, in a given historical period. As Catherine Richardson's study suggests, *language is not a neutral mediating medium* in descriptions of objects. This is a clear demonstration of how the proponents of *material turn* take into account in their research the linguistic turn's assertion that the language used to describe something is a "dim mirror"²⁵ between researchers and the former reality.

Stefan Berger in his historiographical summary of the links between history and identity cited above, reflects on the concept of objects as values, and in connection with this he also considers whether a sense of identity is formed as a result of the possession of certain types of objects chosen by a community.²⁶ The question is whether the hierarchical superiority of certain objects in a community in relation to other objects considered to be less valuable may prove that the possession of certain objects constitutes a shared sense of identity. In her paper "Regional identity and material culture"²⁷ Helen Berry faces the methodological challenge for material culture researchers of how to explore identity through objects. She also raises the problem of what belongs to the world of objects in relation to this methodological dilemma. This question is relevant because historians committed to *material turn*

²³ Dean–Hann–Overton–Whittle, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600–1750*, 121–136.

²⁴ Richardson, "Written texts and the performance of materiality", 46.

²⁵ Gyáni, *A történelmi tudás*, 75–76. (own translation from Hungarian)

²⁶ Berger, *History and Identity*, 21.; 244. Berger's idea is inspired by Pierre Bourdieu. Stefan Berger draws attention to the French philosopher's observation that those who have access to the same material goods are likely to form a social group (Bourdieu's term for class) with a common identity.

²⁷ Berry, "Regional identity and material culture", 187–205.

also consider *the text as an artefact*. This means that for scholars, it is not only the content of the text that is a source, for example in identity research, but also the object that carries the text.²⁸ According to Berry, the source value of a book is not only the text it contains, but also the quality of the paper used, the type of font and the way it is bound. If there are illustrations, what the relationship is between the text and the pictures. It is also very relevant to know where the book was bought, by whom, for how much, whether the owners lent it to others and how it was stored. Helen Berry’s briefly summarised study shows that if the researcher succeeds in supplementing the written source (book, old newspaper, letter, etc.) with ego documents that answer the questions raised above, then the description of the physical properties of objects and the interpretation of the text on the object together provide answers to the question of what the object is and what its role was in the lives of its owners.

Manuel Charpy is also concerned with objects and their role in identity. In his study “How things shape us: material culture and identity in the industrial age”²⁹, he explores how increasingly accessible objects (such as clocks and light sources that replaced candles) influenced identity and everyday life in the late 19th century. He finds that the widespread use of the clock or oil and kerosene lamps significantly transformed the perception of time. The clock enabled people to learn to think about time in an abstract way.³⁰ The devices for lighting dissolved the observation between day and night, as artificial light sources made it possible, for example, to work at night. According to the author, thanks to the availability of these objects over the world (in New York, Paris, London, etc.) means that the difference between places that are distant in space and time is significantly reduced. So, before modernisation, communities were more clearly separated from each other, but this differentiation has changed with the coexistence of new elements of material culture, especially technological achievements in different places. The widespread distribution of new objects that have significantly transformed the way of life reduces the differences between cultures.³¹ Manuel Charpy argues convincingly that the proliferation of material goods and the fact that the aforementioned new objects are an integral part of everyday life have made it necessary to redefine the “self” and thus the identity of individuals.³² The use of *display cabinets*, in which pictures and memorabilia of the individual and his or her family or of a significant life event (wedding) are displayed, is a manifestation of this phenomenon. In the

²⁸ Ibid. 188.

²⁹ Charpy, “How things shape us: Material culture and identity in the industrial age”, 161–180.

³⁰ Ibid. 162–167.

³¹ On the impact of 19th century modernisation and technological advances on the way of life and the significant changes it brought about, see also: Bausinger, *Népi kultúra a technika korszakában*.

³² Charpy, “How things shape us: Material culture and identity in the industrial age”, 168–171.

cabinet, glass has made it possible to both aesthetically display and protect the pictures and objects.³³

Of course, the role of objects in self-definition does not begin with the modernisation process of the 19th century, and we can see examples of the close relationship between objects and identity centuries earlier. In his study “Ornament as evidence”³⁴ Andrew Morrall gives examples from *the early modern period* and asks what meaning a particular form of decoration might have had in the lives of the people of the time and what mental constructs they concealed. The author sees *ornamentation as a language* that can be used to display membership of a social group or religious community and to separate oneself from others. Thus, ornamentation was used by contemporaries to define themselves, to visually represent (group) identity. According to Andrew Morrall, the ornamental elements on the surface of objects play a role like metaphors in a text. An example of this analogy is the visual representation of a written moral ideal on the tiled stove³⁵ of a public function officer in the early modern period. The tiled stove features scenes from the *Old Testament*, as well as Roman heroes of personal courage, commitment to the state and sacrifice. The imagery/ornamentation and the written moral guidelines from the period (e.g. Institutio Foeminae Christianae/The Education of a Christian Woman) represent the same values of practising the Christian faith and faithful service to the state.³⁶ The ornamentation of the tiled stove and the identity of the object’s owner (a trustworthy officer) can be linked in such a way that the tiled stove symbolically manifests the self-image of the owner. In his careful analysis, the author of the study does not forget that there were many common decorative elements of the period and that most of the designs are (or were) recorded in some kind of index book.³⁷ The significance of his finding is that it shades the close relationship between the owner and the object, since the symbols on the tiled stove were common in the period. It is therefore somewhat of a historian’s construction to assume that the decoration on the object was a conscious expression of the owner.

As I discussed in the introduction to this article, material turn is a trend that can be interpreted in relation to the linguistic turn, whose main objective is to ensure that the study of material culture does not become a marginal field of study in parallel with the increased attention to language. The research carried out with its theoretical and methodological apparatus is characterised by an interest in object-centred analysis and the autonomous history of objects, complemented by

³³ Ibid. 169.

³⁴ Morrall, “Ornament as evidence”, 51–70.

³⁵ Ibid. 61–63. This tiled stove was made in 1609 by Ludwig Pfau II for Heinrich Pfyffer of Altishofen, a prominent Catholic citizen of Lucerne, and his wife.

³⁶ Ibid. 62.

³⁷ Ibid. 52–60.

a social-historical perspective. In quantitative studies, the qualitative approach is much more pronounced, as it allows the exploration of micro-experiences such as the decoration on the aforementioned tiled stove and, in this context, the identity (construction) of the owner of the object.

The main trends in material culture research in Hungary and its links with *material turn*

In the second part of the paper, I would like to approach the question of how *material turn* fits into Hungarian *ethnographic research*³⁸ on objects. Before I do so, however, I will give a brief overview of the scientific-historical process that has made interdisciplinary ethnographic research, as it combines social-historical and anthropological aspects. I will highlight two earlier works and their authors on folk culture that are significant in the history of ethnography. I will compare their works to show how the innovative features of *material turn* have transformed object research today. My aim is not to present a complete history of object research in ethnography in Hungary, but to highlight how the results of earlier studies have been enriched by research using the tools of *material turn*.

³⁸ The study of material culture is not only present in ethnography. Other disciplines, such as *sociology* or *psychology*, also carry out object studies, which indicate that studies of the material world require an *inter- and transdisciplinary* approach. Ágnes Kapitány and Gábor Kapitány, in their book *Tárgyak szimbolikája* (*The Symbolism of Objects*) have attempted to answer the question of what an object means to its owner by means of questionnaire-based surveys. Based on the responses of the participants, they analyse the relationship between the individual and the objects in 42 points; among other things, they explore which objects people consider *the most useful*, which evoke a *memory*, which are linked to a *period of life* (childhood, adulthood or old age), and what factors cause people to fear objects. Kapitány–Kapitány, *Tárgyak szimbolikája*, 45–150. Mihály Csikszentmihályi and Eugene Halton wrote *Tárgyaink tükrében* (*In the Mirror of Our Objects*) using the methodological apparatus of psychology and ethnography, based on interviews with more than 300 members of 82 families. One of their main findings is that symbolic manifestation of kinship ties is integrally linked to the possession of objects. Reading a *Bible* that contains the names of its previous owners (family members, relatives) is a direct way of *identifying with the past*. The perception of *the future* in the present is facilitated, for example, by the drawing of a child, which the authors interpret as an extension of the individual into the future. Csikszentmihályi–Halton, *Tárgyaink tükrében*, 12–19; 342–348. The interpretation of objects as symbols is also present in the work of Ágnes Kapitány and Gábor Kapitány. They argue that an object primarily symbolises is realised as a function in the course of its use, so in this what interpretative framework it is the use that creates the symbolic meaning. They cite as an example, the use of objects by prehistoric man, who had very few objects. Precisely because of the small number of objects, their function was extremely broad, and the result of this polyfunctionality was that an object had a complex and layered symbolic meaning. Kapitány–Kapitány, *A szimbolizáció. Hogyan cselekszünk szimbólumokkal?*, 88–93.

The historical-scientific process by which the interest in folk culture, which emerged in the 18th century, has nowadays developed into an interpretative science of the cultural community processes of the contemporary and the past, is well known to ethnographers.³⁹ At the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries, the primary aim was *to learn about own (Hungarian) folk culture* and to explore its oral traditions, which was supplemented from the second half of the century by comparative analysis, a sub-discipline known as folklore studies.⁴⁰ This interest in orality went hand in hand with the recording of *written and field data*.⁴¹ Systematic museum collections began in the second half of the 19th century, and the collection of objects for the 1896 Millennium Exhibition gave a boost to *the study of material culture*.⁴² The aim was to explore the culture of people themselves; initially, there was no anthropological or ethnological approach to social aspects. The aim was to explore our own (Hungarian) folk culture; at the beginning there was a lack of anthropological and ethnological orientation.⁴³ The interest in social aspects was not significant until the end of the 19th century and became really dominant after the peace treaties of 1920. Due to the territorial and political transformation of the Carpathian Basin, intellectuals living in both Hungary and the breakaway territories became more sensitive to social problems; for example, village studies and sociographic fiction are the result of this process.⁴⁴

The revival of ethnographic research is due to the work of Klára Csilléry, Edit Fél, Mária Kresz and Tamás Hofer, who focused on fieldwork and planned collections. Thus, field-oriented investigations made it possible to explore certain historical processes through research into the material world. However, as Kincső Verebélyi points out,⁴⁵ the research of these authors focuses only on those elements of folk artifact culture that they, as researchers, consider to be (folk) art. Thus, they are not interested in *ethnographic objects in general* – i.e. the totality of objects

³⁹ Keményfi, *Néprajztudomány*, 33–120.

⁴⁰ Keményfi, „Társadalomtörténet és néprajz”, 581–603.

⁴¹ Keményfi, *Néprajztudomány*, 33–34.

⁴² Kósa, *A magyar néprajz tudománytörténete*, 106–108.

⁴³ Keményfi, „Társadalomtörténet és néprajz”, 583. The anthropological approach in Hungarian ethnographic research was also hampered by the fact that since Hungary was not a colonial power, research on the foreign (non-European) in the anthropological sense of the 18th–19th centuries did not take place, while it did in British (and American) anthropology. Even in the last third of the 20th century, there was a methodological challenge in bringing anthropology, ethnography and related disciplines (such as history) closer together. For this reason, Gábor Klaniczay argued in 1984 that in Hungary anthropology was not really possible, and that it was more appropriate to approach history using the tools of ethnography rather than anthropology. Klaniczay „A történeti antropológia tárgya, módszerei és első eredményei”, 23–60.

⁴⁴ Keményfi, „Társadalomtörténet és néprajz”, 588–595. Interest in objects from the beginning to the emergence of the (social) historical perspective: Verebélyi, *Nép, Ipar, Művészet*, 29–45.

⁴⁵ Verebélyi, *Nép, Ipar, Művészet*, 47.

produced and used in popular culture⁴⁶ – but, as researchers, they highlight certain objects that they consider valuable for their aesthetic quality. This is how Edit Fél and Tamás Hofer put this research practice in their 1975 volume *Magyar népművészet* (*Hungarian Folk Art*):

In our book, we do not intend to give a *peasant “sociology of objects”*, for example, we do not publish *ugly or non-aesthetic objects*, although there must have been quite a few of them once, nor do we seek to document the material equipment of peasant groups of different wealth levels. We act as art (and folk art) writers usually do, *giving priority to great masters over epigones*, and masterpieces over half-baked, flavourless creations.⁴⁷

In addition to the value attributed to objects on the basis of their aesthetic quality, the *social-historical aspect*⁴⁸ is now also present in the analysis of objects:

Tracing the journey of *beautiful objects* from one family to another, from one house to another, other, less significant, but equally characteristic of peasant society, become apparent. *Such as the link between godparents and godchildren*. A godparenthood is usually a symmetrical relationship between two households, where they are godparents to each other’s children. *Beautiful objects gifted by godparents are present at every significant turn in the lives of godchildren*.⁴⁹

The paragraph proves that Edit Fél and Tamás Hofer are not only interested in the physical characteristics of the gift object, but that they attach more importance to the fact that *the gesture of gift-giving creates a relationship between two families*. Thus, gift giving influenced people’s interpersonal relationships.

In his two-volume work *A Magyar nép díszítőművészete* (*The Decorative Art of the Hungarian Folk*), published in 1981, György Domanovszky, like the previous authors, considers ethnographic objects as artistic works, an example of which is

⁴⁶ Ibid. 62.

⁴⁷ Fél–Hofer, *Magyar népművészet*, 9. (own translation from Hungarian; own highlighting) The volume is accompanied by a selection of over 500 pages of photographs, which also reflect the aesthetic quality of objects that was a primary consideration in the collection.

⁴⁸ In *Magyar népművészet* (*Hungarian Folk Art*) there is no interest in everyday life in the sense that the authors discuss the material culture of everyday life with a claim to completeness (i.e. without aesthetic value judgement). At the same time, Edit Fél and Tamás Hofer were also among the first ethnographers to ask the laws of how society functions. The socio-ethnographic and anthropological interests are also reflected in Edit Fél and Tamás Hofer’s monograph “*Mi korrekt parasztok...*” *A hagyományos élet Átányon* (“*We fair peasants...*” *Traditional life in Átány*). Furthermore, Tamás Hofer used the term ethnology instead of ethnography in his 1984 study “Történeti fordulat az európai etnológiában” (“Historical turn in European ethnology”), because he wanted to use the term to indicate the transformation of ethnography into a social science. Hofer, “Történeti fordulat az európai etnológiában”, 61–72.

⁴⁹ Fél–Hofer, *Magyar népművészet*, 25. (own translation from Hungarian; own highlighting)

his study of shepherd carving in different geographical contexts. He believes that shepherd carving is the most prominent in Transdanubia, while in Transylvania there is practically no shepherd art to speak of.⁵⁰ He considers Transdanubia to be more valuable than Transylvania because the former region has the oldest carvings and their makers used elaborate technical processes, whereas this was not the case in Transylvania.⁵¹ The example clearly shows that György Domanovszky establishes a *hierarchy between the everyday objects* used by shepherds in different geographical contexts, *based on the aesthetic characteristics of the tools*.

As the statements quoted from Edith Fél–Tamás Hofer and György Domanovszky indicate, in Hungarian ethnographic research on objects there is no distinction between the terms ethnographic object, folk art or even decorative art. Kincső Verebélyi also argues that this problem has not changed in the research practices of today.⁵² The inconsistency in the use of the terminology needs to be reflected upon by those working in the field of ethnography, which, in her opinion, has not been done in the series *Népművészeti Örökségünk (Our Folklore Heritage)*.⁵³ There is a very long literature on what term would be more appropriate to replace the term *folk art*⁵⁴, but the number of possible appropriate terms is growing.⁵⁵

The question of which subjects should be the object of ethnographic research is related to the need to clarify conceptual issues. In *Accounting and Planning. The place and future of ethnography in the 21st century collection of articles*, Fruzsina Cseh, like Kincső Verebélyi, reflects on the ways in which tinkering, leisure-time object-making activities or mass art are related to folklore-related object-making.⁵⁶ The author of the study believes that in order to answer these questions, an appropriate method of analysis and description of the objects must be developed.⁵⁷ Zoltán Fejős also reflects on the question of which objects can be considered ethnographic objects in his work entitled *Tárgyfordítások (Object translations)*,

⁵⁰ Domanovszky, *A magyar nép díszítőművészete*, 226–227.

⁵¹ Ibid. 236.

⁵² Verebélyi, *Nép, Ipar, Művészet*, 58.

⁵³ Ibid. 50–56.

⁵⁴ The terminology folk art comes from the Viennese art historian Alois Riegl. Riegl, “Népművészet, háziszorgalom és háziipar”, 74–140. On the problematic nature of the term, see, for example, Zoltán Fejős’ volume *Néprajz és muzeológia (Ethnography and museology)*, chapter „A «népművészet» a 19–20. század fordulóján – kutatás- és fogalomtörténeti jegyzetek” (“Folk Art at the Turn of the 19th–20th Century – Notes on Research and Conceptual History”). Fejős, *Néprajz és muzeológia*, 153–164.

⁵⁵ Fruzsina Cseh, aiming for completeness, reviews the terminological dilemma (the terminology used in research for the subject under study) and the history of research on ethnography. Cseh, “A néprajztudomány hatása a tárgyalkotó népművészet és a kézműves örökség mai helyzetére”, 183–199.

⁵⁶ Ibid. 183–199.

⁵⁷ The need for a precise theoretical-methodological framework was already highlighted by Kincső Verebélyi in 2002. Verebélyi, “Korok és stílusok a magyar népművészetben”, 36–44.

published in 2003. In the author’s view, an object becomes an ethnographic object because those who study it make it the focus of their research.⁵⁸ Thus, the conscious selection of an object and the increased attention paid to it are crucial.

The Museum of Ethnography is a key area for object research that consistently applies the Hungarian anthropological approach. The research carried out within the MaDok programme⁵⁹ and the studies published in the *MaDok booklets* focus on *the present*,⁶⁰ with an emphasis on the preservation and documentation of *the contemporary material world*. Tünde Turai, in her study “Rítusba zárt tárgyak – tárgyakba fogadott rítus” (“Objects enclosed in ritual – ritual received in objects”), observed the confirmation of the Palm Sunday in a Reformed congregation in a village in Silágyság in 2004.⁶¹ In her study she discusses confirmation as an event connected to the sacred sphere, followed by a gesture of gift-giving. She used a questionnaire method, which enabled her to gain an insight into contemporary gift-giving practices. On the other hand, the questionnaire also inquired about what the parents and grandparents of the young people who were confirmed in 2004 had received on the occasion of their own confirmation.⁶² Thus, synchronic and diachronic perspectives were simultaneously present in the study.

Also in the *MaDok booklets* we can read an example of how object research is nowadays not only a segment of analyses interested in anthropological ways of life (as in the “Átány-monograph” by Edit Fél and Tamás Hofer), but rather the personalisation of objects and the focus of research on the price of their use, as in the study of Zoltán Fejős on “Esszé egy késről” (“Essay on a knife”).⁶³

Finally, I would like to highlight two very significant monographs that review the theoretical framework of dealing with the material world in an attempt to be complete, and in my opinion, the innovative characteristics of material turn can be observed in the works of Gábor Wilhelm and Kincső Verebélyi. Gábor Wilhelm’s monograph *Antropológiai tárgyelmelet (Anthropological Object Theory)* was published in the Tabula books series in 2016. In this volume, the author reflects on the parallel existence of abstract and conceptual, material and concrete features of

⁵⁸ Fejős, *Tárgyfordítások*, 44. Zoltán Fejős distinguishes between ethnographic objects and museum ethnographic objects. The reason for defining these two categories is that in the case of a museum ethnographic object, the removal of the object from its original context changes its context, while in the case of an ethnographic object, it is not always the case that the researcher permanently removes the object from its original location.

⁵⁹ About MaDok programme: [<https://www.neprajz.hu/madok/muzeumi-jelenkutatas/madok-program.html>] [2024. 10. 1.]

⁶⁰ Zoltán Fejős considers the interest of ethnography in the present to be significant from 1971, when the Hungarian Academy of Sciences began to support the study of the social structure of the village and the village way of life. Fejős, “Jelenkorkutatás és néprajzi muzeológia”, 9–24.

⁶¹ Turai, “Rítusba zárt tárgyak – tárgyakba fogadott rítus”, 98–105.

⁶² Ibid. 101–102.

⁶³ Fejős, “Esszé egy késről”, 28–39.

the material environment. A clear specificity of the everyday presence of objects is that they occupy a place in physical space.⁶⁴ Since several objects are present in space simultaneously, they form a system and form an integral part of the lifeworld.⁶⁵ Objects affect human action because the physical properties of objects make them suitable for certain actions and unsuitable for certain actions.⁶⁶ Kincső Verebélyi's monograph *Nép, Ipar, Művészet* (*People, Industry, Art*) is published in 2019 and deserves special attention because the author reflects on research that is theory-centred and validates the aspects of *material turn* that are now widespread in international practice.⁶⁷ For example, Jean Baudrillard's *The System of Objects*⁶⁸, Norbert Elias's theory of civilisation⁶⁹ is an essential point of reference.

In the first part of the article, I have reviewed the relationship of material turn as a research trend to linguistic turn. Furthermore, I have presented its main methodological features and the results of research using its methodology along examples selected from the Anglo-Saxon literature. In the second part, I have attempted to describe the process in which, in addition to research with a 20th-century aesthetic background (e.g. György Domanovszky: *A magyar nép díszítőművészete I; II*) and contextual research exploring object systems (e.g. Edit Fél – Tamás Hofer: “Mi, korrekt parasztok...” *Hagyományos élet Átányon*)⁷⁰, object analyses related to the material turn have been present since the early 2000s. The pursuit of interdisciplinarity is fundamental in the field of object research, which is reflected in the monographs highlighted in the study (Kincső Verebélyi: *Nép, Ipar,*

⁶⁴ Wilhelm, *Antropológiai tárgyelmelet*, 243.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 22–24.; 244.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 89–95.

⁶⁷ Kincső Verebélyi's activities are particularly interested in the theoretical and methodological framework of international research on ethnography and folk ornamentation. In 1980, she edited issues 4–5 of *Folcloristica*, which published translations of works that provided the theoretical background for international ethnographic research at the time.

⁶⁸ Baudrillard, *A tárgyak rendszere*. The postmodern French sociologist-philosopher's work *A tárgyak rendszere*. (*The System of Objects*), for example, is based on the fundamental assumptions that objects can only be understood in their system, in their context, and that objects can only really be understood in their meaning if their function is also examined; ideas that are generally present in Kincső Verebélyi's work. Baudrillard's work is also a starting point for analysing the material world of consumer society (in which the practical function of objects is easily determined). Verebélyi, “A szokások tárgyai”, 53–61.

⁶⁹ Elias, *A civilizáció folyamata*. The consideration of civilisation theory has contributed to the realisation that the process of civilisation involves the development of a demand for more objects and an increase in the number of objects used for the same purpose. Kincső Verebélyi uses the example of the bench to illustrate this point. The bench was originally placed next to the wall of the room, used for sitting and lying down, so one object could serve several functions. Then the bench was separated from the wall and its function changed. It was made in such a way that the bench could be used to sit on and the bed to lie on. Verebélyi, *Nép, Ipar, Művészet*, 66.

⁷⁰ Wilhelm, *Antropológiai tárgyelmelet*, 46–48.

Művészet, Gábor Wilhelm: *Antropológiai tárgyelmelet*), in book series (Tabula books) and in research projects (MaDok-programme).

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TAMÁS DÁNIEL ANDRÉKÓ

A French Interpretation of the Status Quo and Legitimism: Metternich's Portrayal in Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny's Historiography¹

Introduction

Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny's body of work plays a significant role in the post-Napoleonic war reassessment of nineteenth-century European diplomacy. As a researcher deeply engaged in archival research, Sauvigny contributed change the view of the Austrian statesman, Klemens Wenzel Lothar von Metternich from a symbol of 'restoration' to a pragmatic statesman whose decisions were shaped by changing alliance systems, internal issues, and the complexities of the European international order. Sauvigny dedicated a wide range of publications to Metternich and to the Austro-French relations. The range of these publications spans from comprehensive monographic analyses to editions of primary sources. Sauvigny employs primary research to elucidate the development and operation of the 'Metternich system' and its interaction with French politics from the 1810s to 1830s.²

Despite his significance, there is no dedicated historiographical study has been devoted specifically on Sauvigny himself. What exists are analyses of the historiography of Restoration-era research, which highlight debates rather than serve as biographical or methodological reviews of individual historians' works.³

¹ This study was supported by the EKÖP-24-3-I. DE-474. University Excellence Scholarship Program of the Ministry for Culture and Innovation from the source of the National Research, Development and Innovation Fund.

² For Sauvigny's works on Metternich and Franco-Austrian relations, see Sauvigny, *Metternich et son temps*; Sauvigny (ed.), *France and the European Alliance, 1816-1821: The Private Correspondence between Metternich and Richelieu*; Sauvigny, *Sainte-Alliance et Alliance dans les conceptions de Metternich*; Sauvigny, *Metternich et Decazes, d'après leur correspondance inédite (1816-1820)*; Sauvigny, *Metternich et la France après le Congrès de Vienne Tome I-III*; Sauvigny, *La Sainte-Alliance*; Sauvigny, *Metternich*, 1986.

³ Without claiming to be exhaustive, see: Sauvigny, *La Restauration: un siècle d'historiographie*; Sauvigny, *La Restauration, essai d'historiographie*; Sauvigny, *Quarante ans d'historiographie (1940-1980)*; Sauvigny, *The Bourbon Restoration: One Century of French Historiography*; Charle, *Histoire du XIXe siècle, la fin des querelles*; Christen-Lécuyer; Fureix, *Introduction: «La Restauration revisitée»*; Démier, *Relecture de la Restauration*. Dupont, *Le légitimisme, parent pauvre de l'historiographie ? Un état de la recherche*. Goujon, *Restauration, la mal nommée*; Gruner, *Political Historiography in*

Historiographical works concerning Metternich exhibit similar characteristics. Numerous historical analyses have been conducted on the Holy Alliance and its reception, revealing the tendencies within the historiography of individual nations. For instance, there exists a comprehensive German-language review of the Congress of Vienna's role in German historiography, an article detailing the Hungarian interpretation of the diplomatic history of the Holy Alliance, and a recent Russian-language assessment of the interpretation of the Holy Alliance within Russian historiography.⁴ To the best of my knowledge, no scholarly work has yet been produced on the interpretation of Metternich and the Holy Alliance which related to the French historiography. It is not the aim of this study to revisit the extensive literature on Metternich.⁵ This paper investigates to analyse and understand Sauvigny's Metternich-related writings collectively, focusing on the following three questions:

1. How does Sauvigny's portrayal of Franco–Austrian relations evolve from early studies and edited correspondences to his three-volume monograph (*Metternich et la France après le Congrès de Vienne*)?
2. How does he interpret the Holy Alliance – whether as a confessional concept, or pragmatic ‘concert’ – and where do France and Austria fit within that framework?
3. What considerations did Sauvigny incorporate in his analysis of foreign policy, with a particular focus on Austrian–French diplomatic relations? While the French Annales school shifted its focus toward structures and the *longue durée*, diplomatic history in France also underwent a methodological change under Pierre Renouvin and Jean-Baptiste Duroselle. Their *Introduction à l'histoire des relations internationales* argued that states should be explained through ‘*forces profondes*’, or ‘deep forces’ – geography, demography, economic and social energies, mentalities – without dismissing the role of statesmen's decision-making.⁶ In the context of Sauvigny's work, does it

Restoration France; Mollier, *Repenser la Restauration*; Voilliot, *La candidature officielle en France de la Restauration aux débuts de la IIIe République. Retour sur l'historiographie d'une pratique d'État*; Waresquiel, *L'histoire à rebrousse-poil. Les élites, la Restauration, la Révolution*; Waresquiel, *Penser la Restauration. 1814–1830*.

⁴ Without claiming to be exhaustive, see: Kaiser, *Neuordnung oder Restauration? Die deutsche Historiografie zum Wiener Kongress während der Diktaturen des 20. Jahrhunderts*; Kerautret, *Quelques réflexions sur l'historiographie française du Congrès de Vienne*; Marcowitz, *Der Wiener Kongress – seine Rezeption und Relevanz für die deutsche Historiographie*; Парсамов, *Священный союз и его интерпретаторы*; Ильяшенко, *Священный союз в историографии: от 'плохой легенды' к переосмыслению*; Шрек, *Трактовка эпохи Священного союза в венгерской историографии (1867–1990)*; Pillinini, *Il congresso di Vienna: un cruccio della storiografia italiana*.

⁵ For a complete overview, one may consult Wolfram Siemann's recent revisionist biography, see: Siemann, *Strategie und Visionär*, 16–30.

⁶ Pierre Renouvin and Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, *Introduction à l'histoire des relations internationales*.

represent a traditional analysis of diplomatic history, or does it also incorporate considerations of ‘deep forces’? To situate Sauvigny within the framework of French historiography during the 1950s/1960s, it is essential to first delineate the historiographical context of France in this era before proceeding to a detailed analysis.

French Historiography of the 1950s and 1960s

By the mid-twentieth century, French historiography displayed a clear imbalance: a major social-scientific approach, mainly represented by the journal *Annales*, coexisted and often competed with a tradition of diplomatic and political history. This tradition was developed by Pierre Renouvin and his students, focusing on methodological development.⁷ One considers institutional power and editorial prestige; the *Annales* network (*École pratique des hautes études, Sciences économiques et sociales Section*, which was the VI-e Section, and from 1975, the *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales*) enjoyed hegemony under Fernand Braudel, while the Renouvin–Duroselle circle maintained a strong research programme for international history (*histoire des relations internationales*, HRI). Lynn Hunt’s broad overview highlights this balance: by the 1960s, *Annales* had become the almost inevitable starting point, even for its critics, but its dominance had sparked counter-moves and had prompted historians of diplomatical and political history to rethink their approaches.⁸ Meanwhile, recent French reappraisals highlight that this ‘classical’ diplomatic history was never as insular as it was portrayed: IR historians coordinated joint researches, developed new source methodologies, and tackled topics in ways that challenge a simple ‘Sorbonne versus VIe Section’ divide.⁹ At the same time *Annales* itself was gradually shifting toward global frameworks, which later influenced national historiographies.¹⁰

⁷ Hunt, *French History in the Last Twenty Years: The Rise and Fall of the Annales Paradigm*, 209–14, 221–22. Regarding *Annales* hegemony in the 1960s and institutional power, see Hunt’s overview and the quantitative/serial turn summarized by Burke, *The Annales in Global Context*, 422–24. For a contemporary French assessment, see Dosse’s reflections on the rise and later fragmentation of the *Annales* paradigm: Dosse, *L’histoire en miettes: des Annales militantes aux Annales triomphantes*, 47–60.

⁸ Regarding the table of contents of French journals, Hunt’s figures (based on the contents of *Revue Historique*) support the commonly held view that political narratives lost ground in the 1950s–1970s, even as diplomatic history re-emerged in new forms; see Hunt, *French History in the Last Twenty Years: The Rise and Fall of the Annales Paradigm*, 209–14, 221–22.

⁹ Tournès, *Review of L. Badel (dir.), Histoire et relations internationales.... Revue d’histoire des sciences humaines*, 283–85. For field re-balancing and the myth of a simple ‘Sorbonne vs. VIe Section’ divide, see *ibid.*

¹⁰ Soutou, *A French Whisper Among European Voices*, 113–15. Cécile Vidal shows the *Annales* shift toward global frames; see Cécile Vidal, *Pour une histoire globale du monde atlantique...*, 391–96, 408–10.

Methodologically, *Annales* emphasised a downgrading of political eventfulness by the hierarchy of temporalities: structures and tendencies over events. In his 1958 programmatic essay, Braudel expressed the classic preference for long-duration processes.¹¹ This repositioning did not eliminate political history; it reframed it. Even sympathetic observers recognised how the ‘*quantitative turn*’ of the second *Annales* generation (Braudel, Ernest Labrousse, et al.) recalibrated historical explanation around prices, demography, and social structures.¹² Since the 1990s, the *Annales* school’s focus on global history has expanded the range of issues where political narratives could be revisited, introducing new questions into the group of problems.¹³

Alongside this evolution – and never replaced by it – the HRI shifted from ‘classical’ diplomatic history to a broader analysis of the constraints influencing state decision-makers. Pierre Renouvin’s and Jean-Baptiste Duroselle’s *Introduction à l’histoire des relations internationales* (1964) established the methodology of *forces profondes*, with the material (geography, demography, economy/finance) and the moral (collective psychology, sentiments) as the essential backdrops against which decisions are made.¹⁴ Thus, this was not the deficiency of *Annales* but a broadening of diplomatic history’s scope: the dominance of state action persisted, but the range of explanations was expanded.¹⁵

Another significant school running through the period – sometimes in tension, often in dialogue with, the previous ones – is the Marxist tradition. The 1950s and 1960s were also the decades during which Marxist historians specifically gained influence in revolutionary, economic, and social history. Ernest Labrousse’s work on price movements, conjunctures, and social classes established a quantitative, structurally Marxian interpretation of crisis and transformation.¹⁶ Albert Soboul’s *Les sans-culottes parisiens en l’an II* (1958) similarly emphasised class conflict as central to political radicalisation. George Rudé highlighted how ‘social, economic

¹¹ Braudel, *Histoire et sciences sociales: La longue durée*, 725–33.

¹² Burke, *The Annales in Global Context*, 422–24. The measurable editorial shift away from political narrative is visible even in the *Revue historique*, where the proportion of political/biographical pieces fell by 1972 while economic and social history rose; Hunt uses this dataset to argue that by the early 1970s *Annales* methods had re-ordered the discipline’s centre of gravity; see Hunt, *French History in the Last Twenty Years: The Rise and Fall of the Annales Paradigm*, 212–13. For a broader mapping of the *Annales* reach, see Burke, *The Annales in Global Context*, 421–24.

¹³ Vidal, *Pour une histoire globale du monde atlantique...*, 391–96, 408–10.

¹⁴ Renouvin and Duroselle, *Introduction à l’histoire des relations internationales*, 7–31.

¹⁵ Saul, *L’histoire des relations internationales: contexte, cheminement et perspectives*, 27–33.

¹⁶ French Marxist historiography’s convergence with (and friction against) *Annales* is best grasped through Ernest Labrousse’s programme: for price and wage series, conjunctural crises, and their political effects, see Labrousse, *La crise de l’économie française à la fin de l’Ancien Régime*. Later stock-takings emphasized how Labrousse’s ‘school’ legitimated serial quantification in French historical practice; see Grenier and Lepetit, *L’expérience historique. À propos de C.-E. Labrousse*, 1339–44.

and political' dimensions were integrated to explain the processes in the years 1793–1794.¹⁷ These Marxist strands were connected and often integrated into, *Annales*; Labrousse moved easily within Annaliste circles, and the second generation's quantitative turn bore his influence.¹⁸ Lynn Hunt's assessment subscribes this relation as a both rivalry and symbiosis: *Annales* could emphasise structures and tendencies without using the Marxist ideology, whilst Marxist historians could adopt *Annales* techniques to reinforce class analysis.¹⁹

For diplomatic history, the Marxist influence operated indirectly but meaningfully. Renouvin's *forces profondes* established a link to economic structures; Jacques Thobie later developed the theory of the dialectic between deep forces and decision.²⁰ Robert Frank's programme of essays documented the economy's constraining and facilitating roles while cautioning against economic monocausality;²¹ Duroselle would formalise the decision-making aspect into a structured model.²² In more recent debates, the 'class struggle' problematic has been reframed rather than discarded: the academic journal of *Actuel Marx* revisited classical questions in dialogue with social-historical methods in 2015; Jean-Numa Ducange's contribution demonstrates how early nineteenth-century liberal histories already employed conflictual classifications that both anticipated and complicated later Marxist narratives.²³ This line of inquiry complements transnational approaches by

¹⁷ Within Marxist Revolutionary Studies, Albert Soboul's *Les Sans-culottes parisiens en l'An II* (1958) offered a class analysis of popular politics that would be canonized in the 1960s; George Rudé's review stressed his exploitation of police, judicial, and sectional archives, as well as his framing of popular agency; see Rudé, *Review of A. Soboul, Les sans-culottes parisiens en l'an II*, 521–25.

¹⁸ Burke, *The Annales in Global Context*, 422–24.

¹⁹ Hunt, *French History in the Last Twenty Years: The Rise and Fall of the Annales Paradigm*, 213–14, 221–22. For a longer historiographical view of Marxism in Revolutionary Studies, Claude Mazauric's analysis clarify both theoretical stakes and archival practices by which Marxist historians shaped mainstream agendas; see Mazauric, *L'histoire de la Révolution française et la pensée marxiste*, 15–22.

²⁰ Thobie, *La dialectique forces profondes–décision en histoire des relations internationales contemporaines*, 29–38.

²¹ Frank, *Penser la complexité: l'histoire des relations internationales*, 103–15.

²² Duroselle systematised the '*décision*' side of that dyad in a much-cited 1974 essay proposing a model of foreign-policy decision-making; it orders variables (from constraints to representations to choose) without collapsing history into political science. See Duroselle, *La décision de politique étrangère. Esquisse d'un modèle-type*, 5–26. Thobie later read this as complementary to structural inquiry; for example, he treated economic/financial constraints, colonial entanglements, and bureaucratic routines as patterned pressures. See Thobie, *La dialectique forces profondes–décision en histoire des relations internationales contemporaines*, 29–38.

²³ The class-struggle problematic reframed: the *Actuel Marx* in 2015, including Ducange on Augustin Thierry's liberal historiography and its conflictual classifications. See Ducange, *Marx, le marxisme et 'le père de la lutte des classes'*, 12–15, 24–27.

examining diplomatic occurrences or problems through conflicts.²⁴ In a brief summary, during the 1950s/1960s, French historiography was marked by pluralism and the reciprocal competition and interaction of various historical school trends: a dynamic *Annales* centre pushing serial/structural methods, the school of diplomatic history marked by the names of Renouvin and Duroselle, which emphasized the incorporation of ‘deep forces’ into research, and a Marxist trend, sometimes intersecting with *Annales*, anchoring class society relations and modes of production in accounts of revolution, history of states, and foreign-policy constraint.²⁵

To which school of historiography can Sauvigny be attributed? He did not feel obligated to incorporate the structural system analysis of the *Annales* School or the methodologies employed by Renouvin and Duroselle in their exploration of ‘deep forces’ into his own research. Instead, Sauvigny chose not to use the innovations of contemporary French historiography, instead maintaining his dedication to the principles of classical diplomatic history. He positioned himself in such a way that *‘the fact that an author is forced to explain himself, almost to apologize, when presenting a work purely about diplomatic history, a work that at the beginning of the century was still proudly at the forefront of Clío’s army, is undoubtedly a sign of the trends in contemporary historiography. Today, the dialogues of chancelleries no longer arouse the interest of the public; instead of studying the deeds and actions of statesmen, they prefer to investigate the ‘deep forces’ that influenced their actions. For a work of historical research to be worthy of attention, it must incorporate economic, social, and cultural factors and be supplemented with statistical tables, graphs, and maps.’*²⁶ Although Sauvigny adhered to the methodology of ‘classical diplomatic history,’ this does not diminish the significance of his works. His meticulous archival research has comprehensively examined the relationship between Metternich and France, thereby enhancing our understanding of the French interpretation of two principal components of Metternich’s foreign policy: the status quo and legitimacy.

²⁴ Marxist-adjacent concepts, such as crises and social blocs productively meet transnational approaches in explaining diplomatic episodes. Vidal, *Pour une histoire globale du monde atlantique*, 401–5; Tournès, *Review of L. Badel (dir.), Histoire et relations internationales*, 283–85.

²⁵ Hunt, *French History in the Last Twenty Years: The Rise and Fall of the Annales Paradigm*, 209–14; Saul, *L’histoire des relations internationales: contexte, cheminement et perspectives*, 27–39. By the mid-1980s, the *Annales* school had fragmented into several distinct sub-tendency; see Dosse, *L’histoire en miettes: des Annales militantes aux Annales triomphantes*, 47–52, 58–60.

²⁶ Sauvigny, *Metternich et la France après le Congrès de Vienne Tome I*, 7.

Sauvigny's Metternich: Pragmatism, Raison d'État, and Alliance Architecture

In his research, Sauvigny emphasised a case-study approach to Metternich's foreign policy rather than relying solely on conceptual constructs such as the 'Concert of Europe' or the 'pentarchy'. This approach clarifies how statesmen make decisions and act. Thus, in analysing the German discourse regarding whether the chancellor's actions were influenced by *ideological conservatism* or by *raison d'État*, he distils the concepts of 'liberal' and 'conservative' to their fundamental essence: policies were shaped less by (political) ideas than by the needs and vulnerabilities of the Austrian state and by the circumstances of crises as they unfolded between 1815 and 1820 – notably in Germany.²⁷ Therefore, even where he acknowledges an ideological tone, Sauvigny insists that the chancellor's actual frame was the protection of Austria's central European position against both revolutionary movements and Russian preponderance, a point developed through the German Affairs surrounding Article XIII, the Diet at Frankfurt, and the prelude to the Carlsbad Decrees (1819).²⁸

In addition to emphasizing the great power politics, Sauvigny placed significant importance on the publication of primary sources, thereby facilitating micro-historical analysis. Sauvigny published the correspondence between Élie Decazes,

²⁷ On the '*raison d'État* versus. ideology' debate, Henry Kissinger emphasizes Metternich's doctrinal legitimism and a ideology of order, whereas Paul W. Schroeder reconstructs a problem-solving statesman who sustained equilibrium through flexibility and case management. Wolfram Siemann's recent biography balances doctrine with an information-rich strategy. See Kissinger, *A World Restored* (1957); Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763–1848* (1994); Siemann, *Metternich: Strategie und Visionär*, 497–501; 719–26; 770–79; 792–829.; Schrek, *The Emergence of Raison d'État and its Adoption in the Conflicts of the Seventeenth Century*, 170–76.; Schrek, *The Congress of Vienna and the Maintenance of European Order until 1914*, 199–206.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 192. Sauvigny's reading of the Vormärz culminates in Carlsbad as a calibrated, defensive police framework. Yet, German, Italian, and Hungarian historiographies have long disputed whether the 1819 degress was primarily prudential stabilisation or programmatic repression. A cultural-diplomatic line (Heinz Duchhardt) treats 1814–1815 as a 'diplomatic revolution' that re-benchmarked great-power procedure and hierarchy; hence, Carlsbad appears as an extension of a new *modus operandi*, not merely a clampdown. Italian syntheses (Luigi Mascilli Migliorini) emphasise the shift from 'equilibrium' to 'order' in the 1820s, reading Carlsbad within a broader transition from flexible balance to conservative containment. By contrast, Hungarian Marxist-inflected scholarship (Erzsébet Andics) cast Metternich's German policy as anti-national and anti-liberal, rendering Carlsbad a watershed of political reaction. Methodologically, recent French historiography (Laurence Badel) pushes beyond state-only lenses, showing how the field now reads 'order' through multiple actors and sites, thus undermining the idea of an individual system. See Duchhardt, *Der Wiener Kongress und seine 'diplomatische Revolution'*, 27–32; Migliorini, *Metternich. L'artefice dell'Europa nata dal Congresso di Vienna*, 61–62; Andics, *Metternich és az 1830-as évek magyar reformmozgalma [Metternich and the 1830s Hungarian Reform Movement]*, 272–310; Badel, *Écrire l'histoire des relations internationales. Genèses, concepts, perspectives XVIIIe-XXIe siècle*, 192–201.

the French Prime Minister from 1819 to 1820, and Metternich, covering the period from 1816 to 1820. This correspondence, according to Sauvigny's statement, reveals Metternich's attempts to influence French domestic politics as an advisor during the transition from 1819 to 1820. Metternich advised Decazes to exercise caution with electoral legislation and to maintain control over the press. Sauvigny reinforces that these letters were crafted to avoid the perception of foreign interference, yet Metternich harboured doubts regarding the stability of French domestic politics. Austria's interest lay in ensuring a stable, yet not excessively powerful, France that would uphold rather than disrupt the balance of power in Europe. Sauvigny confirms that Metternich insisted that official decisions should originate from Decazes, even though he himself advocated for measures necessary to preserve the '*légitime monarchie*'.²⁹

Prior to examining the case studies, two brief analyses illustrate how Vienna effectively utilized the alliance system in practice. From this point of view, the alliance architecture appears in two layers in his work: an inner layer, narrowly defensive Quadruple Alliance aimed at France's internal stabilisation after 1815 and an outer layer, five-power consultative order which aimed to maintain the balance of power in Europe. In Sauvigny's reconstruction of the events of 1818, Metternich welcomes the Paris Conference of Ambassadors as a 'materialised' Quadruple instrument for supervising France's transition, while at the same time he resigns himself to France's admission to the general consultations envisaged by Article VI, an inclusion he feared would dilute the alliance's edge.³⁰ The situation at Aix-la-Chapelle encapsulates this: the protocol that maintained the Quadruple Alliance as a secret, specifically anti-revolutionary compact aimed at a French emergency coexisted with the five-power alliance. Sauvigny cites Metternich's own formulation to lay bare this tension: the four would keep their rights 'clearly defined' for their alliance, which remained the 'palladium' of France's government and Europe's repose, even if sovereigns no longer met as four. That said, the moral machinery would atrophy without a visible centre. According to Sauvigny, '*an institution of the mind without a central, visible representation must fall into desuetude, just as every religion needs a cult*'.³¹ This dual interpretation is central to Sauvigny's historiography: he posits that there is no 'concert' in the contemporary sense, but rather a Quadruple

²⁹ Sauvigny, *Metternich et Decazes, d'après leur correspondance inédite (1816–1820)*, 100–103.

³⁰ Sauvigny, *Sainte-Alliance et Alliance dans les conceptions de Metternich*, 257–61. For dismantling the 'Holy Alliance' myth and reframing the post-Napoleonic order as practices of peace-making, see Sluga, *The Invention of International Order*. 87–104, 175–90, 191–206. Ghervas, *Conquering Peace*, 82–147.

³¹ Sauvigny, *Sainte-Alliance et Alliance dans les conceptions de Metternich*, 261. Sauvigny's volumes consistently stress that 'managing' France meant binding her by subsidies, protocols, ministerial conference at Paris and restrictions; he documents Metternich's memoranda on the conditions for reintegration; see Sauvigny, *Metternich et la France après le Congrès de Vienne Tome I*, 122–24. French political historians of the Restoration nuance this by showing how parliamentary cycles

Alliance aimed at restraining France and a pentarchy (since 1818) designed to maintain the balance of power in Europe.³² These explanations substantiate that Metternich, along with European diplomacy, adjusted his policies in response to evolving European circumstances rather than adhering to a rigid, anti-French ideology.

At two points, Sauvigny steps back to condense his view of the Sainte-Alliance and the Alliance. His verdict, sharpened against later historiography, is that the Holy Alliance is an unfortunate shibboleth – useful for polemics, useless for analysis – whereas the operative Alliance that matters to Metternich is the variable arrangement of powers to contain revolution where it threatens the balance, above all in France. In his own words, *‘The Holy Alliance, that shibboleth with which people terrorize examination of facts and contexts, has never been anything but a myth with shifting avatars [...] What is real, in the chancellor’s practice, is the conservative alliance as an instrument of order calibrated to the dangers of the moment.’*³³

To appreciate the weight of that claim, he sets it against the chancellor’s own ‘moral power’ talk given in approximately 1818–1819. Metternich’s hope, in Sauvigny’s telling, was to transform the Quadruple Alliance into an *‘immense moral power’* that could substitute, where possible, moral suasion and coordinated admonition for military policing. When the Paris Conference of Ambassadors was suppressed (1818), that hope faded; the Alliance, he later admitted, was effectively annihilated by France’s inclusion, since the very presence of a fifth weakened the four’s cohesion. The historian’s point is not to moralise a failure; it is to show why, thereafter, Metternich resorted more often to the piecemeal management of diplomatic conflicts, while trying – case by case – to recreate fragments of that vanished *‘moral centrality’*.³⁴

Within this framework, the Franco–Austrian relations from 1816 to 1818 serve as a case study, wherein Sauvigny’s analysis elucidates Metternich’s strategy: establish communication channels, evaluate potential influences, and, when necessary, circumvent individual personalities. The chancellor is depicted as oscillating

and opinion repeatedly forced Vienna to recalibrate the ‘lane’ in which France could be kept. See Waresquiel and Yvert, *Histoire de la Restauration, 1814–1830*, 224–25.

³² For a classic ‘concert’ reading (Harold Temperley, Charles K. Webster) versus the revisionist ‘alliance-as-instrument’ line (Harold Nicolson, Paul W. Schroder, Mark Jarrett, Brian Vick), compare Temperley, *The Foreign Policy of Canning 1822–1827* (1925); Webster, *The Congress of Vienna* (1934); Nicolson, *The Congress of Vienna* (1946); Schroder, *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763–1848* (1994), esp. 549–592; Mark Jarrett, *The Congress of Vienna, 1814–1815* (2013); Brian Vick, *The Congress of Vienna: Power and Politics after Napoleon* (2014).

³³ Sauvigny, *Sainte-Alliance et Alliance dans les conceptions de Metternich*, 249–61. The older theological-legitimist reading of the Holy Alliance contrasts with recent literature that treats 1815–1820s order as a network of practices rather than a doctrinal system. See Sluga, *The Invention of International Order*, 87–104, 175–90; Ghervas, *Conquering Peace*, 82–147.

³⁴ Sauvigny, *Sainte-Alliance et Alliance dans les conceptions de Metternich*, 261.

between flattery, moral persuasion, and pointed rebuke, as Paris navigated between Richelieu's cautious diplomacy and Decazes's improvisational strategies.³⁵

When German affairs came to a head at Carlsbad, Sauvigny interpreted events in terms of the distinction between conservatism and *raison d'État*. He underlines the initial reluctance to endorse general principles of intervention in the internal constitutions of minor states. According to Sauvigny, a pivotal moment in Metternich's policy regarding the German Confederation and constitutional matters occurred when Tsar Alexander I of Russia endorsed the constitutionality of the German states, thereby exerting influence over German affairs. Sauvigny contends that by nullifying the constitutionality of individual states through the Carlsbad Decrees and implementing centralizing measures, such as censorship, Metternich transformed the governance of the German territories into an 'internal issue', effectively limiting Russian influence. Therefore this turn was not a conversion to an anti-revolutionary viewpoint; it is a refocusing of the affairs inside the Confederation.³⁶

In his examination of Italian affairs, particularly during the revolutions of 1820–1821 and the conferences of Troppau and Laibach and its impacts, Sauvigny, as with his analysis of German affairs, underlines that Metternich's policy was guided not by ideology but by *raison d'État*. In September 1820, the political situation was evident: London did not endorse the joint declaration against the revolution, whereas the St. Petersburg cabinet advocated for a congress involving the pentarchy and a meeting of the rulers. According to Sauvigny, Austria's influence in the Italian states had waned due to Russia's antagonistic stance. He substantiated this perspective by noting that in September 1820, the Austrian government was compelled to collaborate with Russia, indicating that Vienna's actions were driven not by ideals or the principles of the Holy Alliance, but by geographical and strategic considerations. Sauvigny further interpreted the events in Troppau and Laibach as a necessary equilibrium from Austria's viewpoint: he posited that Austria managed to secure its autonomy in Italy by aligning with Russian diplomacy and endorsing a general doctrine (the Troppau Protocol), but only because this alignment safeguarded its own interests.³⁷ The resulting Troppau–Laibach line is

³⁵ Sauvigny, *Metternich et Decazes, d'après leur correspondance inédite (1816–1820)*, 73–75, 99–103; Sauvigny, *Metternich et la France après le Congrès de Vienne Tome I*, 91–113.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 181–83. Schroeder also underlines that post-1815 equilibrium depended on handling 'internal' German affairs within the Confederation, avoiding external guarantees that could empower Russia to interpose in German affairs. See Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763–1848*, 517–92.

³⁷ Sauvigny, *Metternich et la France après le Congrès de Vienne Tome II*, 339, 341, 346. For the broader diplomatic geometry, see Jarrett, *Congress of Vienna, 1814–1815*, 364–72. On Troppau–Laibach as the fusion of collective-legal formulas with Austria's Italian needs, see Šedivý, *Crisis among the Great Powers*. A core debate contrasts a 'Troppau doctrine' of generalised intervention with a pragmatist interpretation that views Metternich as tailoring responses on a case-by-case basis.

thus a compelled equilibrium: Austria secures freedom of action in Italy by paying the price of endorsing a general doctrine, yet only in so far as it secures her own interests.³⁸

Sauvigny's treatment of the Oriental and Iberian Affairs then feeds his closing judgment on Metternich's appraisal of the French Restoration. By late 1824, he writes of a chancellor who, while nursing a preference for drawing Great Britain back 'into the Alliance', is quick to recognise when London's engagement would create larger systemic risks; likewise, he 'minimises' French claims whenever the Paris cabinet overreads its leverage within the five.³⁹

Sauvigny provides a comprehensive analysis of the Spanish Revolution and the diplomatic negotiations that preceded the French intervention (1820–1823). He elucidates the reasons behind Metternich's hesitance to endorse French intervention in Spain, the efforts of the French government to persuade Metternich, the response

Recent German scholarship recasts him as a risk manager and organiser of domestic–international linkages (universities, press, police), rather than a doctrinaire ideologue: Siemann emphasises how the Carlsbad Decrees (1819) was conceived as governance mechanisms rather than mere repression. Italian historians likewise minimise dogma, reading Troppau–Laibach as tools to contain destabilisation in the Italian theatre, not to export a principle; Migliorini highlights Metternich's language of '*ordine*' and '*tranquillità*' as situational, not absolutist. By contrast, a traditional Hungarian Marxist perspective, as maintained by Erzsébet Andics, adheres to the older 'reactionary doctrine' framework, linking Metternich's Europe directly to anti-national control. See Siemann, *Strategie und Visionär*, 662–70; Migliorini, *Metternich. L'artefice dell'Europa nata dal Congresso di Vienna*, 167; Andics, *Metternich és az 1830-as évek magyar reformmozgalma*, 272–310.

³⁸ Sauvigny, *Metternich et la France après le Congrès de Vienne Tome II*, 366–88, 405–11. On Troppau–Laibach, Sauvigny's narrative links Vienna's language of 'principle' to concrete risk management in Italy and Germany; but the depth of 'doctrine' is contested. His volume frames the 1820–1821 cycle as the moment when a *droit d'intervention* was asserted, yet comparative treatments stress that intervention remained negotiated, interest-driven, and contingent on coalition more than ideas. Italian historiography argues early cracks in the post-Vienna Concert – especially over the 'Oriental' and Italian dossiers – suggesting that what looked like doctrine functioned as issue-specific reciprocity. For the German debate, the 'diplomatic revolution' lens again downplays any single ideological template. French debates around the *droit d'intervention* also split along these lines. Waresquiel–Yvert point out that Restoration governments often dressed *raison d'État* in juridical garments of 'legitimacy' while keeping options open; their treatment of ministerial responsibility and the legal-political mix in 1814–15 (and after) underline how 'principle' frequently served as *language* for contingent decisions. Démier's synthesis similarly shows the Restoration as an 'impossible return' in which legitimacy talk masked experiments with modern governance. See Sauvigny, *Metternich et la France après le Congrès de Vienne Tome II*, 565; Migliorini, *Metternich. L'artefice dell'Europa nata dal Congresso di Vienna*, 149–52; Durchhardt, *Der Wiener Kongress und seine 'diplomatische Revolution'*, 27–32; Waresquiel and Yvert, *Histoire de la Restauration. 1814–1830. Naissance de la France moderne*, 58; Démier, *La France de la Restauration (1814–1830). L'impossible retour du passé*, 68.

³⁹ Sauvigny, *Metternich et la France après le Congrès de Vienne Tome III*, 935–46, 947–49.

of British diplomacy to these, and the internal divisions within the Paris cabinet.⁴⁰ Here, the chancellor is not the supporter of intervention: he dislikes constitutional 'transactions', mistrusts Spanish stability. Sauvigny accented that Metternich's stance evolved in response to geopolitical interests of Austria, as he meticulously details the negotiations that culminated in Metternich's endorsement of French intervention in Spain. It is evident from this analysis that Metternich's support was contingent upon Austria maintaining its autonomy in Italy. Sauvigny thus concludes that *raison d'État* was the decisive factor influencing Metternich's policy in this instance.⁴¹ In accordance with this reasoning, Sauvigny elucidated the proceedings of the Congress of Verona (1822), during which Metternich adopted a position aimed solely at averting a more detrimental outcome for Austria. His objectives were threefold: firstly, to prevent Russia from assuming the moral leadership; secondly, to avert the isolation of Vienna by Great Britain; and thirdly, to ensure that France, rather than Austria, would engage in the interventionist conflict.⁴² In the months subsequent to the Congress of Verona, Metternich's strategic vision was validated. He successfully prevented France from retracting its involvement in interventionist activities, while Villèle and Chateaubriand were embroiled in political conflicts with one another. Concurrently, he allowed Wellington's efforts to mediate with the Spanish constitutional movement to falter. Considering these developments, Sauvigny concludes that Metternich exercised comprehensive control over the proceedings of the Congress of Verona, as well as the diplomatic landscape of the 1820s.⁴³

⁴⁰ Sauvigny's chapters on Verona and the French intervention in Spain in 1823 portray Metternich as steering France toward a 'limited-liability' intervention, reintegrating Paris. See Sauvigny, *Metternich et la France après le Congrès de Vienne Tome II*, 600–13, 626, 634–46. French historiography is split: political narratives (Waresquiel–Yvert) stress domestic polarization, ministerial tactics, and the press in 1822–1823, which can make the Spanish episode look like a French own intention. This dichotomy – independent French endeavours and encouragement from Vienna – sits at the heart of how one reads both Verona and the expedition's diplomatic aftercare. See Waresquiel and Yvert, *Histoire de la Restauration, 1814–1830*, 229, 377–79. German-language works use Spain to show how case-specific enforcement of order – accepted at Verona – coexisted with British dissent; hence, no uniform doctrine existed. See, Angelow, *Von Wien nach Königgrätz: die Sicherheitspolitik des Deutschen Bundes im europäischen Gleichgewicht (1815–1866)*, 217–19.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 600–606, 643–49.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 638–46. In Spain after Verona, Webster and Temperley long sustained Canning's liberal thinking, rooted in parliamentary rhetoric, while Schroeder and Šedivý reframed British aims as flexible balance-keeping and liability-minimising. See Temperley, *The Foreign Policy of Canning 1822–1827* (1925); Webster, *The Congress of Vienna* (1934); Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763–1848*, 548–50; Šedivý, *Si vis pacem, para bellum. The Italian Response to International Insecurity 1830–1848*, 12–17, 51–71.

⁴³ Sauvigny, *Metternich et la France après le Congrès de Vienne Tome II*, 663–685. Was Verona the end of the Restoration or merely a waypoint? Italian historians have argued that Verona signalled the conclusion of the Restoration's equilibrium because the Eastern powers and Austria could no longer harmonise approaches once the Greek question and Italian unrest overlapped; from this

A comparable combination of prudence and system maintenance characterizes the events surrounding the Eastern Question during the years 1823–1824. In the Russo–Ottoman prelude to the Greek question, Sauvigny interprets Metternich’s objective as one of saving time and compelling St. Petersburg to assume the initiative. Following the acquisition of a step-by-step procedure from Tsar Alexander I to regularize the Russo–Ottoman conflict, Metternich pressured for the allies to limit the St. Petersburg ‘conference’ to merely listening to Russia. The objective was to prevent any binding resolution by the Pentarchy, thereby allowing the process to conclude and leaving Russia to solve the initiative. Sauvigny’s analysis reveals that Metternich sought to maintain the continental balance of power during 1822–1823 by ensuring Austria’s dominance over Central Europe (over the German Confederation and the Italian States), while France (and to some extent Britain) exerted control in Western Europe, and Russia preserved its influence in Eastern Europe. In articulating a French stance aligned with this consultative process in January 1824, Chateaubriand’s position is acknowledged by Sauvigny as convergent; however, Sauvigny considers it subordinate to Vienna’s broader objective of preventing Canning from establishing a London–Russia alliance that would marginalize both Paris and Vienna.⁴⁴

Sauvigny also insists that Metternich’s posture toward Britain is never set in amber. In Sauvigny’s discussion of the Hanoverian–Portuguese Question in 1824, he presents the chancellor’s long-standing wish to ‘bring England back into the Alliance’ colliding with the risks of over-institutionalisation at the Diet. After this failed, Sauvigny registers first the irritation of Metternich at the lost opportunity and then promptly recognises its dangers, followed by a sincere return to blame Paris for the project being dropped.⁴⁵ The deeper British cause, however, was the British foreign minister, George Canning. Sauvigny quotes the Viennese scorn for the Foreign Secretary’s parliamentary rhetoric and its perceived ‘radical’ implications for European order. The analysis convincingly argued that the more England isolated itself, the more Metternich prodded France to hew to ‘the only

perspective, Verona marks the turning point from ‘refounded Europe’ to a re-emergence of complex geopolitics. German security history (Angelow) and Siemann’s Metternich likewise emphasise divergence, with interventions (the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Sardinia-Piedmont, and Spain) and Anglo–Austrian frictions weakening the international order. See Romagnani, *Il Congresso di Verona del 1822: l’Italia della Restaurazione e l’Europa delle grandi potenze*, 18–20 (argument on Verona ‘closing’ the Restoration). On divergent interpretations of Verona and Spain, see Black, *Visions of the World: A History of Maps* (2000), 211–14; Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763–1848*, 582–92.

⁴⁴ Sauvigny, *Metternich et la France après le Congrès de Vienne Tome III*, 1068–71.

⁴⁵ Sauvigny, *Metternich et la France après le Congrès de Vienne Tome III*, 935–46. On Canning’s historiography – long heroized (Temperley, Webster), more recently nuanced via Castlereagh–Canning continuities (Bew). See Temperley, *The Foreign Policy of Canning 1822–1827* (1925); Webster, *The Congress of Vienna* (1934); Bew, *Castlereagh: Enlightenment, War and Tyranny*, 534–61.

principles the Alliance can avow’, thereby knitting Paris closer to Vienna against London.⁴⁶

Sauvigny also explored the impact of individual politicians’ personalities on the evolution of international relations. A good example of this, according to Sauvigny, is that the much-derided ‘*pliancy*’ of the French ambassador to Austria, Louis Charles de Riquet, Duke of Caraman served as a channel for Metternich to test proposals and gauge the events of French politics. He records Chateaubriand’s contempt – who branded Caraman ‘*the most abject and cowardly valet of Metternich*’ – but sets it against a documentary trail of methodical, loyal reporting that, from Vienna’s standpoint, made Caraman a useful intermediary (a reliable hinge) between the two capitals.⁴⁷

Sauvigny justifies this assertion by stating that Metternich approached the European order as a collection of resolvable issues, each governed by its own inherent logic. Hence the recurring refrain, which Sauvigny lets stand in the chancellor’s argumentation at several decisional nodes: ‘*choose the configuration that keeps Russia from one’s rear, that keeps England from weaponising isolation, and that keeps France within a manageable lane, and then move on.*’⁴⁸

By 1824–25, as Sauvigny’s research shows, Metternich’s appraisal of France becomes more clinical still. The cooperation with the Papal Police illustrates his main support: the intelligence services. Metternich strategically utilised information to accomplish his objectives, even resorting to the humiliation of other politicians when it served his purposes. The analytical point of Sauvigny is indisputable: secrecy faults in the French diplomacy justified Vienna’s policing reflex, which the Viennese government had no scruples about employing defensively, especially if it was in his interests.⁴⁹ In a similar vein, Sauvigny examines how the secret police acquired intelligence on concerning Villèle’s internal strategies. Sauvigny portrays Metternich as a chancellor who deliberately constrained France’s involvement whenever it threatened to exceed its useful

⁴⁶ Sauvigny, *Un dossier de lettres inédites de Chateaubriand*, 309–14. For historiographical contrasts on Canning’s ‘liberalism’, compare Matthew, *Canning, George* with Bew, *Castlereagh: Enlightenment, War and Tyranny*, and Schroder, *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763–1848*.

⁴⁷ Sauvigny, *Un dossier de lettres inédites de Chateaubriand*, 305.

⁴⁸ For the long-running ‘doctrinaire versus pragmatic Metternich’ debate, contrast Kissinger, *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh and the Problems of Peace, 1812–22* (1957), 145–75 (doctrinal legitimacy) with Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763–1848*, 517–92 (problem-solving strategist) and Siemann, *Metternich, Stratege und Visionär*, 546–631; 658–81 (strategic personality with a keen sense of information).

⁴⁹ Sauvigny, *Metternich et la France après le Congrès de Vienne Tome III*, 983–986. On the emergence of a ‘security regime’ after 1815 and Metternich’s information governance, see Graaf, *Fighting Terror after Napoleon*. cf. 208–210.

function within the five-power consultations, preserving the European balance of power.⁵⁰

In Metternich's policy, the police and intelligence components are not merely supplementary. Sauvigny's analyses, including Savary's compromising letters, Beaumont's leaks in Paris, and the interception of the French cipher in Rome, are strategically organized to portray a chancellor who employs information as a tool for maintaining equilibrium. However, he utilizes these elements when necessary, as they threaten the '*repose*' that his entire system aims to achieve.⁵¹

Conclusion

This study has examined the portrayal of Metternich in the historiography of Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny. Read across these works, the French–Austrian relations emerge not as an ideological axis but as a instrument of balance of power system maintenance. The Decazes–Metternich correspondence reveals a chancellor who advocates for French stability while subtly limiting overreach, particularly by advising restraint on electoral and press matters to avoid the perception of Austrian influence. In 1818, as noted by Sauvigny, the federal system evolved into a dualistic structure. It is noteworthy that Sauvigny did not assign any significant influence on the Holy Alliance during this period. One component of this dual federal system was the Quadruple Alliance, which functioned to 'control' France, while the other component was the Pentarchy system, which was augmented by the inclusion of France from 1818 onwards. By the mid-1820s, a system of alliances had developed, with Vienna maintaining its own interests while fully engaging its allies into the crisis management, thereby preserving the balance of power in Europe. Sauvigny cited examples such as France's involvement in Spain, Austria's influence in the German territories and Italy, and Russia's participation in the initial stages of the Greek War of Independence. Sauvigny attributed this strategic logic to Metternich.

In relation to this, Sauvigny also critiques the Holy Alliance and the concept of the 'Concert of Europe'. He posits that the Holy Alliance represents a complex

⁵⁰ Sauvigny, *Metternich et la France après le Congrès de Vienne Tome III*, 935–46. By 1824–1825, Sauvigny's picture of a still-workable 'system' intersects with a different theme in recent Italian and German work: the *Restauration* was already fraying along the Greek, Italian, and Spanish revolutions. Mascilli Migliorini highlights how the passage from 'equilibrium' to 'order' eroded British buy-in and nudged Austria toward a Russian–Prussian axis. See Migliorini, *Metternich*, 152. From the German territories' side, the post-Vienna settlement's greatest innovation lay in routinized consultation, not in a stable policy consensus; hence, the political stability in German territories was also only temporary. See Duchhardt, *Der Wiener Kongress und seine 'diplomatische Revolution'*, 27–32.

⁵¹ Sauvigny, *Metternich et la France après le Congrès de Vienne Tome I*, 74–75, *Tome III*, 983–86.; Sauvigny, *Metternich et Decazes, d'après leur correspondance inédite (1816–1820)*, 100–102.

array of issues that are challenging to comprehend. In this context, he asserts that the Quadruple Alliance and the Pentarchy were practically significant. The former played a role in ‘keeping France in check,’ while the latter was instrumental in maintaining the balance of power in Europe and addressing revolutionary movements. Sauvigny acknowledges that France’s inclusion among the great powers diminished the influence of the Quadruple Alliance. According to Sauvigny, Metternich aspired to achieve ‘*enormous moral power*’.

As to explanatory factors, Sauvigny remains firmly within classical diplomatic history. Decisions, actors, and documents organise the narrative; structural constraints—geography, alliance arithmetic, domestic fragility – are acknowledged, yet treated as practical limits rather than as a formal model of *forces profondes*. The case studies point in the same direction: the Carlsbad turn is read as an internalisation strategy that reduces Russian leverage; the Troppau–Laibach line as a doctrinal price paid to secure autonomous action in Italy; the Spanish expedition as conditionally endorsed and carefully bounded to protect Austria’s room for manoeuvre; and in the Eastern Question the tempo is slowed, responsibility is nudged onto St. Petersburg, and binding acts are resisted so as to preserve a workable continental equilibrium. What explains policy, in Sauvigny’s rendering, is *raison d’État* articulated through alliance architecture, not the ideology of restoration and legitimism.

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ANNA KATALIN KÁDÁR

Connection Points of History and Identity¹

Published by the University of Cambridge in 2022, Professor Stefan Berger's² volume on historiography aims to provide an overview of the main points of contact between historiography and the construction of collective identities (nation, class, ethnicity, religion, gender). Identity is central to the author's research, in particular the interpretation of the concepts of nation and national identity. One of his most significant research initiatives, *Writing the Nation*, explains the place of the problem of the nation in historiography. The professor at the Ruhr University in Bochum focuses on this issue because, in his view, since the 1980s we have witnessed a strengthening of thinking beyond the national framework.³ Alongside the return of the national paradigm, *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories*, edited by Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz, discusses the phenomenon of groups hitherto considered marginalized coming to stand in opposition to and against the nation and claim a position in historiography akin to that of the nation.⁴

Stefan Berger's book *History and Identity* provides a detailed account of the topics mentioned above. Through twelve chapters, he examines the historiographical practices of the last third of the 20th century, which intersect in their analytical approach to the subject of their study, they are theory-centered, sometimes borrowing terms and theoretical background from other humanities disciplines. They draw on types of sources that have hitherto been outside the interest of

¹ Supported by the EKÖP-24-2-DE-121 University Research Scholarship Program of the Ministry for the Culture and Innovation from the source of the National Research, Development and Innovation Fund.

² Stefan Berger is Director of the Institute for the History of Social Movements at the University of Bochum and President of the Ruhr Foundation. His research focuses on the problems of nationalism and national identity, as well as historiography and historical theory. He also studies social movements, with a particular interest in the comparative history of labour movements, and heavy industry and industrial heritage compose part of his wide-ranging research. Cf. [<http://www.unrest.eu/prof-stefan-berger/>] [16. 7. 2024.] For more on the career of Professor Stefan Berger, see the interview: Erős, "Egy elkötelezett történész. Beszélgetés Stefan Bergerrel, a Ruhr Vidéki Egyetem professzorával", 120–124.

³ See Erős, "A múlt mint történelem. Elmélkedések Stefan Berger könyve és a *Writing the Nation* sorozat kapcsán", 163–172.

⁴ The two-part Hungarian review of the book is by Káli–Törő, "A nemzet és kihívói: etnicitás, osztály, vallás és gender a nemzeti történelmekben"

historians, such as court documents, inquisition records, ego documents, registers, works of art. His examination of historiography over the past forty years, in particular his review of the diversity of narrativist, constructivist and post-structuralist theories, focuses on the construction of collective identities.

In the introductory chapter, Stefan Berger explains the purpose of the book and reviews the stages in the history of science that he considers to be decisive in terms of historical writing trends of the past forty years. Historical writing and the construction of collective identity were linked even before the Enlightenment. Prior to the 18th century, history, as a sub-discipline of theology, was linked to religious identity, but with the Enlightenment it gradually moved away from religion, and the link between historiography and the construction of national identity became more and more evident. However, this process does not mean that national identity has become exclusive. The author also discusses the social conflicts of the 20th century in which religion played a key role, thus challenging the thesis that modern era witnessed a progressive secularization in which religion played a less and less significant role in political, social and cultural processes.

The 19th century was a time of institutionalization in the historical profession, when communities and networks were created providing a framework for professional historical writing. In the introductory chapter, in an attempt at self-reflection the author formulates the idea which recurs several times in the volume that strictness of the methodological-theoretical framework does not in itself ensure that historians can speak authoritatively (“objectively”) about the past. The reason for this, in his view is that academics in many disciplines, or authors working outside academic discourse, have continued to write histori(es) that have sometimes been more popular and influential than academic historical writing. The rise to prominence of professional historians was due to the fact that both those in positions of power and those seeking to be in power sought to engage with nation-building intellectuals for their own self-perception. The nationalist approach got into background European historical writing after the losses suffered in the Second World War. However, even after 1945 there were some historians who struggled to stabilize traditional national historical narratives. The search for a good national tradition on which to build a post-war national identity was only partially successful and met with growing criticism (6. p.).

A more critical view of national history became more accepted in the 1960s. In addition, Stefan Berger makes the so-called linguistic turn, i.e. postmodern, the subject of interpretation, which the author sees as a set of trends that emerged in opposition to the cosmopolitan universalism of the German philosopher of history Jörn Rüsen.

Rüsen spent decades developing a universal theory of humanism that reconciles the values of humanity with cultural diversity. He advocated cosmopolitan universalism (a perspective that transcended the rigid national-ethnic interpretative framework), and applied a rigorous methodology of historical scholarship, turning

critically to poststructuralism, narrativism, constructivism and postcolonialism. Ultimately, however, these developments in historical theory shook the foundations of historical writing, and their theorists rethought the relationship between history writing and identity construction.

The development of all the trends was triggered by the attention to language, and therefore the terms “discourse analysis” and “linguistic turn” have become integrated into the conceptual apparatus of historians. In addition to the revaluation of the role of language, the rapprochement between literary studies and historical writing is also an important process among the representatives of postmodern tendency. A detailed description of this process is beyond the scope of this book review, but I would like to briefly refer to the activities of those who Professor Stefan Berger considers to be the most influential scholars.

As the author puts it, Hayden White’s view of historical writing as literature is a questioning of the scholarly nature of history as a discipline. In his view, since the past cannot be reconstructed by historians the researcher can only choose between different ways of narrating the past (13–14. o.). This statement has become a central idea of postmodern.

One of the many examples is the chapter “The History of Memory” in which Professor Berger draws the reader’s attention to the historical impact of Hayden White’s work. According to James Wertsch – whose work was certainly influenced by White – collective memory is nothing more than “schematic narrative templates” that organize and structure the memories of particular groups. Events of the past are recorded within the framework of these templates. In what follows Wertsch argues that national collective memory and its role in creating identity are the templates through which national literature, customs, politics, ideas and societies are constructed (162–163. p.). The complexity of the relationship between language and social reality in the past is demonstrated by the author’s comprehensive discussion of the subject in the chapter “The History of Concepts”.

Central to Hayden White’s work is the idea of the role of language and narrative in constituting and organizing the past. This interpretation is related by Stefan Berger to the theory of Michel Foucault, who insists that history is a discursive construction that based itself on the discursive practices of the past.

The author sees similarities between White’s and Foucault’s theories in the way the aforementioned philosophers of history questioned the relationship between historical writing and essential forms of identity construction. At the same time, Professor Berger’s careful analysis also highlights the differences in their theories, showing a particular interest in the two scholars’ positions on epistemology. White belonged to a tradition that emphasized that historical knowledge was based on an understanding of developments in the past, while Foucault took a position contrary to this assertion, and did not believe that historical knowledge was an explanation of these developments (18–20. p.; 318. p.).

What these narratives – and many of the theories in the volume – have in common is that they are all moving towards closure, they have a beginning and an end point in the future. However, Mikhail Bakhtin questioned this linear conception of history. In his view, historical dialogue does not lead to the closure of the past, but to a reaffirmation of the openness of past events. (Bakhtin developed his polyphonic approach in the field of literary studies through his analysis of Dostoevsky’s novels, which he summarized in *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*.)⁵

The aim of Stefan Berger’s *History and Identity* is to describe this process in detail, in which the author introduces the reader to the paradigm shift in writing of history and contemporary research in the field with a rich toolkit. The first three chapters of the volume present the history writing trends that preceded the paradigm shift of the 1960s–1970s. Professor Stefan Berger analyses the new political history, the new economic and social history and the new cultural history from a historiographical perspective. The author then describes the most important subfields that have developed since the 1980s, starting with the history of gender in society (often preferred to women’s history in Hungarian literature), followed by historical anthropology, the history of memory and the history of concepts. The visual turn and the history of material culture – the material turn – are also the trends the author traverses, up to the transnational and comparative approach to history writing, to the recent successes of global history.

In the chapter “The New Political History”, the author returns to the idea, long difficult to separate from writing of history, that historians see their most noble task as writing the history of states, governments and inter-state power relations, and points out that political history writing is closely intertwined with the construction of national identity. At the same time, between 1960s and 1970s – following the falls of the First and the Second World Wars – the trend faced challenges.

The new theoretical and methodological framework of the Annales school provided a long-term solution to the crisis affecting the discipline, as the nation- and state-centricity, the research on great historical figures was replaced by an interest in the functioning of political institutions and a focus on the specificities of the exercise of power. In the new political history, politics is seen as a system driven by conflict creating a set of multiple political identities. Theories of narrativity and discourse, the language of politics, have received much more attention from political historians, influenced for example by Foucault, which has led them to seek to explain the role of language in representing power relations and constituting collective identity. Stefan Berger highlights Foucault’s ideas on governance, who drew attention to politics as an institution of power that claims to influence communicative space (38–43. p.). An innovative feature of political history writing,

⁵ Bahtyin, *Dosztoevszkij poétikájának problémái*.

in addition to the use of new theoretical and methodological frameworks and new approaches, moreover, the historian can see that it no longer seeks to underpin national identity. So that the subfield has had the opportunity to revive itself (56–57. p.).

The 1960s and 1970s were a period of crisis for social history writing, just as it was for political history writing. In the second chapter of the volume “The New Social, Economic and Labour History” Professor Stefan Berger focuses on how social history – widely seen as the successor to political history and the most dominant and popular form of history writing – shaped collective identities. The reason for the initial success of social history writing is that it was interested, above all, in social, demographic and economic processes and conflicts at different times and places in a comprehensive and analytical way. The professor of history therefore finds it ironic that social history writing has come under increasing criticism, one of which has been its alleged structuralist determinism from political historians. A prominent figure in Marxist history writing, Tony Judt criticized social historians for confusing method with theory and for reducing existence in society to statistics and modernization. Indeed, an important strand of social history has been strongly influenced by the modernization theories developed by Talcott Parson and his disciples, based on the work of Max Weber, a classic of (religious) sociology. The reason for the critical position against Weberian theory is that it underestimates human agency (65–67. p.).

The subsequent crisis and transformation of economic history is linked to a methodological change that saw the interpretation of economic questions mainly in cooperation with mathematics and statistics. As a result, economic history moved away from “traditional” historiographical practices and became a partial discipline. Professor Stefan Berger quotes Certeau’s observation that quantification in writing of history served above all to create the illusion of objectivity (68. p.). Economic history moved away from the humanities and the use of language and concepts was rather unreflective. From the point of view of writing of history it seemed increasingly outdated in which man could hardly be seen as an agent.

In order to find a link with everyday life historians who looked at history from the bottom up turned to oral history as a way of finding the sources for everyday experience. The interpretation of everyday life has become a sub-discipline of historical anthropology, mainly because of the practice of thick description, which is the hallmark of Clifford Geertz.

The study of everyday life was also the aim of the labour history which in many ways was linked to Marxist theories describing society. It sought the link – in Marxist terms – between belonging to classes, changes in economic processes and identity. The author devotes a separate chapter to the history of gender in which, among other research topics, he returns to the results of labour history. It also addresses the problem that the success of women’s rights movements in the 20th century was inseparable from their role in production. Historians of labour and

social gender have found that class identity could be constructed not only along gender but also along ethnic lines. Ethnic differences made class solidarity difficult to achieve, as the cohesive white working class often defended its privileges against non-white working class members (76–77. p.; 116–119. p.).

In the chapter “The New Cultural History”, Stefan Berger links his concept to the idea of Tracey Loughran and evaluates it as a precursor of the trends in history writing that emerged in the 1980s (gender history, historical anthropology... etc.). The chapter also seeks to distinguish it from the main fields of interest of turn-of-the-century history writing.

Stefan Berger begins his presentation of cultural history by building on an idea that recurs very often in the volume: records that the relationship between the new cultural history and narrativism and discourse analysis has led to a deconstruction of the relationship between writing of history and national identity formation. As a result, to a more self-reflexive way of thinking.

From a methodological point of view, historians of cultural history regard Wilhelm Dilthey as the leading author, who built his hermeneutical approach on understanding rather than explanation (83. p.). Stefan Berger also considers Anna Green’s conclusion to be the defining point of the movement, as he is one of the researchers who sought to locate the individual in the history of culture. At the same time, Green also explains that, of course, all individuality is always a construct since individuality is an integral part of a discursive field, where it manifests itself within the framework of a given situation (93. p.). It is for this reason that cultural history, rather than constructing identity, conduct their research as deconstructors of identity, seeking self-reflection, the author concludes. At the same time, turning to the history of the influence of this tendency, he notes that there have also developed areas by writing of history that go back to the basic theses of cultural history, but at the same time have contributed to the construction, or at least the shaping, of collective identity (103. p.). There is the phenomenon of the transformation of gender roles in the 20th century. Furthermore, according to the author a certain change happened in the rigid boundaries of identities. At the same time, the strengthening of female identity also took place in the 20th century (118–122. p.; 126–127. p.).

As with the “cultural turn” in writing of history, Professor Berger also sees the “visual turn” as a relevant process, especially in terms of interpreting concepts of identity. In the chapter on “The Visual Turn”, the historian details how its proponents have contributed to transforming, even deconstructing, notions of national, class, racial/ethnic, religious and gender identities.

The aim of visual historians has been to reconstruct the many different ways of seeing and how different aspects relate to each other and to particular social and cultural identities. The infinite number of perspectives provides evidence that identity is not uniform and cannot be captured through images. They have thus

made a significant contribution to clarifying the relationship between history writing and essential forms of collective identity formation.

In the chapter “The History of Material Culture”, the question of identity is as problematic as before. A basic idea of this chapter is also touched upon by Stefan Berger in the chapters on the history of culture and historical anthropology (244. p.; 259. p.). As long as adaptation to the environment is that makes the bearers of culture who the historian “encounters”, then there is no point in constructing historical narratives of unchanging (assumed) identities, since they interact with changing environmental factors.

Like researchers of material culture, historical anthropologists are also interested in the study of objects, and are primarily interested in the question of what meaning the object had for its user. In the chapter “Historical Anthropology”, the author presents the background to the discipline with the thoroughness typical of all the chapters in the volume. During the 1960s, neo-Marxism enjoyed its renaissance in Western Europe with its proponents seeking to explore the history of classes they considered disadvantaged which was then absent from the pages of history textbooks. *Microstoria* in Italy, *Alltagsgeschichte* in Germany and a number of parallel developments were the result of this interest. Foucault’s work is also indispensable to historical anthropology, since one of his many areas of research is the impact of power and those who wield it on the lives of ordinary people or marginalized communities and individuals. He was also concerned with how the presence of power affects the interpersonal relationships of members in a group.

From a methodological point of view, historical anthropology understandably approaches its subject of study mainly with tools and concepts borrowed from anthropology, with a thick description by Clifford Geertz, a representative of interpretive/symbolic anthropology, deserving special mention. The founding fathers of the *Annales* school (Lucien Febvre, Marc Bloch) and the third generation after the Second World War also paid particular attention to anthropology, together with the study of mentality. The theory of civilization of the sociologist and medieval and early modern researcher Norbert Elias – an analysis of social change that contrasts with the modernization theory of Talcott Parson – also had a major impact on the discipline.

In discussing the works of historical anthropologists, the author places great emphasis on works of authors on the former colonies, and the reason for this is related to the original fundamental question of anthropology, which is the cause of cultural diversity if humans are descended from a common race. In the 19th century, anthropological research focused on societies outside Europe and as a result, historical anthropologists also became aware of so-called non-Western societies. Anthropological approaches to history highlighted the limitations of understanding past cultures (European and non-European) and sharpened the distinction between past and present, and the trend’s proponents concluded that there was no collective identity from the past that could be directly experienced in

the present. In the book, the author repeatedly writes about the relationship between Western European history writing practice and colonialism, as well as the increased attention to the history, cultures and societies of non-European continents, which goes beyond the Eurocentric perspective that has existed for a long time. In the chapter on “Transnational, Comparative and Global History”, the author presents the tendency’s assumptions on both past and contemporary processes.

In the concluding lines of *History and Identity*, professor Stefan Berger quotes Andrew Zimmermann’s reflections on the relationship between history, theory and poetry, who (following Heidegger) argued that writing and thinking are always more about writing poetry than about justifying or establishing truth (309. p.). One of the main virtues of the volume, in my opinion, is that the author has excellently achieved his aim of self-reflection rather than formulating “objective truths”, and has provided a comprehensive picture of the ideological and methodological antecedents of the various sub-disciplines and their role in the study of history. Moreover, the interpretation of the diverse, parallel and sometimes complementary trends of writing of history with its rich bibliographical references and 80 pages of bibliography, provides a long-term basis for historiographical research.

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Censorship of History in Hungary: A Survey (1945–2023)

In the early Communist period (1948–1953), and to some extent also later, numerous professional historians were “eliminated in an administrative way” from historical journals and research posts at the universities, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and elsewhere. In 1950–1951, the Academy of Sciences, its History Institute, and the National Archives were reorganized. The Hungarian Heraldic and Genealogical Association (founded in 1883) was banned from 1949 until 1983 because the auxiliary sciences of history were considered to be “feudalistic disciplines”. Some historians had to make statements of self-criticism. The idealist schools of history such as the *Geistesgeschichte* School and the Ethnohistory School came to an end. According to one source, research on the Middle Ages and early modern history was consciously reduced in 1949–1957, but another source indicated that the further back the period that was being studied lay in the past, the more possibility there was of pronouncing an independent judgment on it. Until at least 1956–1957, it was reportedly forbidden to mention the name of Béla Kun, leader of the 1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic and victim of the Stalinist terror in the 1930s. He was omitted from the history of the Hungarian workers’ movement. Similar was the fate of nineteenth-century reformer Count István Széchenyi (1791–1860); Lajos Kossuth (1802–1894), leader of the 1848 uprising and war of independence; and Count Mihály Károlyi, prime minister (October 1918–January 1919) and first president of the Hungarian Republic (January–March 1919). Other controversial or forbidden topics were the peace Treaty of Trianon (1920) – as a result of which two-thirds of the territory of historical Hungary and half of its population passed to the neighboring countries –, the dream of a “Greater Hungary” and the fate of Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries, especially the Hungarians in Transylvania, Romania. Even after the 1956 Revolution, many historians resorted to self-censorship, several were imprisoned or silenced otherwise, others emigrated or went into exile to continue historical work in their host countries. Among the “white spots” of Communist historiography were the following: historical coats of arms; the World War II victims; the history of the 1956 Revolution (officially labeled a “counterrevolution”); Warsaw Pact membership and the stationing of Soviet troops in Hungary; Soviet–Hungarian relations, and Soviet foreign policy and Comecon (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance). As late as the 1970s, typewriters and copying machines in factories and offices were locked away before 23 October in order to forestall the production

of leaflets on the anniversary of the 1956 Revolution. In the 1980s parables in a historic setting, used as veiled criticism, were tolerated. Archival access remained very difficult. Despite several institutional changes, no purges of Communist historians were reported after 1989.¹

**Among the historians who emigrated before 1945
(and living in exile after 1944) were:**

1919–1957 In 1919–1957, independent Socialist **Oszkár Jászi** (1875–1957), sociologist and historian, freemason, lived in exile in Austria and, as a professor of political science at Oberlin College, Ohio, United States (1925–1957). In Hungary, he had been member of the Hungarian National Council and Minister of Nationality Affairs in the Count Mihály Károlyi government (October 1918–January 1919) and, after Béla Kun proclaimed a Hungarian Soviet Republic, professor of sociology at the University of Budapest (January–April 1919). His radical critique of traditional society and his rejection of authoritarian and totalitarian regimes caused him to become an exile under the successive governments that ruled Hungary. He was officially charged with treason under the counter-revolutionary Horthy regime (1920–

¹ G. Benda, “Des Coquelicots dans un champ de blé,” in: A. Marès, ed., *Histoire et pouvoir en Europe médiane* (Paris 1996) 230–31; S. Borsody, “Modern Hungarian Historiography,” *The Journal of Modern History*, 1952: 405; A. Bozóki, “Censorship in the 1980s,” *Hungarian Quarterly*, 1995, no.139: 102, 107–8; A. Burguière, ed., *Dictionnaire des sciences historiques* (Paris 1986) 336–37, 339; I. Deák, “Historiography of the Countries of Eastern Europe: Hungary,” *American Historical Review*, 1992: 1054–55, 1057–58; S. Greenberg, “Les Funerailles nationales d’Imre Nagy,” in: A. Brossat, S. Combe, J.–Y. Potel, J.–Ch. Szurek, *A l’Est, la mémoire retrouvée* (Paris 1990) 136, 146–47; Z. Horvath, “Hungary: Recovering from the Past,” in: W. Laqueur & G.L. Mosse, *The New History: Trends in Historical Research and Writing Since World War II* (New York 1967) 226, 228–30, 232–33; *Index on Censorship* (IOC), 4/89: 37; E. Kovacs, *From the Turul Bird to the Image of the Finance Minister: The Role of Myths in the Post-Communist Transition, Hungary 1988–1996* (Online; London 1998); G. Litván, ed., *The Hungarian Revolution of 1956: Reform, Revolt and Repression 1953–56* (originally Hungarian 1991; London/New York 1996) 116, 161–62; F. Mucsi, “Die Bewertung der Sozialdemokratie und des Bürgerlichen Radikalismus in der Ungarischen Geschichtsschreibung (1948–1989),” in: F. Glatz & A. Pók, eds., *The Soviet System and Historiography, 1917–1989: The Influence of Marxism-Leninism on the Historical Sciences: Preliminary Papers for the Montréal Session (Manuscript)* (Budapest 1995) 54–56; N.G. Papp, “The Paradox of Recent Hungarian Historiography: The Limits of Revision,” *East European Quarterly*, 1986: 229, 235, 237–39; P. Sipos, “Hungarian Historical Scholarship and Marxism-Leninism,” in: Glatz & Pók, eds., *Soviet System*, 1995: 96, 99, 101, 103; S.B. Várdy, *Historical Dictionary of Hungary* (Lanham MD 1997) 356–60, 384–85; Idem, *Modern Hungarian Historiography* (Boulder 1976) 119–20; V. Soulé, “La Guerre des Blasons,” in: Brossat, et al., eds., *A l’Est*, 50–61; D.R. Woolf, ed., *A Global Encyclopedia of Historical Writing* (New York/London 1998) 433.

1944) and regarded “an enemy of the people” in Communist Hungary until 1956. His best-known work was *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy* (1929, reprint 1961, translated in Hungarian in the 1970s). Some of his texts circulated as unofficial publications in Hungary. In 1991, his remains returned to his homeland.²

1919–1964 **Karl Polanyi** (1886–1964), Hungarian-born economic historian, economic anthropologist, and social scientist, was dismissed as a journalist for *Der Österreichische Volkswirt* (1924–1933) for his (Christian-) Socialist views in 1933. He went to the United Kingdom (1936–1940, 1943–1947) and the United States (1940–1943). In 1947, his wife emigrated to Canada when the United States denied her a visa because of her role in the Hungarian Revolution of 1918–1919, and Polanyi divided his residency between Canada and the United States, where he became a visiting professor of general economic history (1947–1953, 1955–1956) at Columbia University, New York. He was famous for his studies of precolonial tribal economies. His major work was *The Great Transformation* (1944), a study about capitalism as a historical anomaly, written during an appointment at Bennington College. As a student, he had been expelled from the University of Budapest because he had mobilized the student organization Galilei Club (which he had founded) against reactionary and clerical student organizations. During World War I, he was imprisoned on the Russian front. In 1918, he cofounded the Radical Citizen’s Party in Hungary, but after the Communists took power in 1919, he left Hungary and went to Vienna.³

1938– In 1938, **François (= Ferenc) Fejtő** (1909–2008), political scientist and expert on the history of Eastern Europe, went to France. In 1932, he was sentenced to one year’s imprisonment for organizing a Marxist study group. In 1938, following six months’ imprisonment for an article criticizing the pro-German government, he left Hungary for France. During World War II, he took part in the French Resistance. Later he

² M. Bernath & F. von Schroeder, eds., *Biographisches Lexicon zur Geschichte Südeuropas II* (Munich 1976) 261–62; Borsody, “Modern Hungarian Historiography,” 400; L. Congdon, “The Moralist as Social Thinker: Oskár Jászi in Hungary 1900–1919,” in: W. Laqueur & G.L. Mosse, *Historians in Politics* (London/Beverly Hills 1974) 273, 312–13; Deák, “Historiography,” 1049; Horvath, “Hungary,” 232–33; G. Litván, “Oszkár Jászi (1875–1957),” *The New Hungarian Quarterly*, Summer 1991: 16–29; Várdy, *Historical Dictionary*, 394–95.

³ K. Boyd, ed., *Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing*, 938–39; K. Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: Politische und Oekonomische Ursprünge von Gesellschaften und Wirtschaftssystemen* (Vienna 1971) backcover; H. A. Strauss & W. Röder, eds., *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933–1945*, 914; Ch. Winters, ed., *International Dictionary of Anthropologists* (New York/London 1991) 543–45.

worked at Agence France-Presse as a journalist (1944–1979). In 1952, he published *A History of the People's Democracies* (it was translated in seventeen languages and reedited several times).⁴

- 1941–1965 **Béla Iványi-Grunwald** (1902–1965), an economic historian studying the activities of exiles of the Hungarian war of independence (1848–1949) in the United Kingdom, renounced his government-funded scholarship when Hungary entered the war and remained in the United Kingdom. He wrote biographies of Count István Széchenyi and Lajos Kossuth which were never published.⁵

Among the historians who emigrated between 1945 and 1948 were:

- 1945–1948 Sometime between 1945 and 1948, constitutional and cultural historian **Ferenc Somogyi** (1906–1995) left Hungary because the Marxist approach to history became dominant.⁶
- 1946– In 1946, historian **John Lukacs** (1924–2019) emigrated to the United States because he did not want to live in Communist-dominated Hungary. From partly Jewish origin, he had lived in hiding after the German occupation of Hungary in 1944. He wrote mainly about the history of World War II.⁷
- 1947– **András Alföldi** (1895–1981), historian of Roman antiquity at the University of Budapest (1930–1947), fled to Switzerland, leaving much of his notes and documents behind. He became a professor at the universities of Bern (1948–1952) and Basel (1952–1955) and then went to the School of Historical Studies at the Institute of Advanced Studies, Princeton, N.J., United States (1955–1965).⁸
- 1947– Historian **Ervin Bonkalo** ([1916]–) went into exile in Switzerland (1947–1950) and in Canada (1950–), where he pursued careers of history teaching and historical artifact restoration.⁹

⁴ Litván, ed., *Hungarian Revolution*, 159–60; *Wikipedia* (Online; 24 April 2010).

⁵ “Béla Iványi-Grunwald” (Archives of the Council for Assisting Refugee Academics, London).

⁶ Várdy, *Modern Hungarian Historiography*, 195.

⁷ *NRC Handelsblad* (5 December 2008) 7; “John Lukacs, Iconoclastic Scholar of History, Dies at 95,” *Washington Post* (6 May 2019).

⁸ Bruch, R., vom, & R. A. Müller eds., *Historikerlexikon: Von der Antike bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich 1991), 3; K. Christ, *Neue Profile der alten Geschichte* (Darmstadt 1990) 40–41; Várdy, *Modern Hungarian Historiography*, 199; W. Weber, *Biographisches Lexicon zur Geschichtswissenschaft in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz: Die Lehrstuhlinhaber für Geschichte von den Anfängen des Faches bis 1970* (Frankfurt/Main 1987) 3–4.

⁹ *Historical Abstracts* (CD-rom version).

- 1948– **József Deér** (1905–1974), a professor of Hungarian history at the universities of Szeged (1932–1940) and Budapest (1940–1944, 1945–1948) who believed in the biologically inheritable charisma of Hungarian kings, left Hungary. He went to Switzerland where he became a history professor at Bern University (1950–1971).¹⁰
- 1948– Medievalist **Thomas von Bogay** (1909–1994), an official in the Hungarian Ministry of Culture and Education until 1945, went into exile in Germany after the Communist takeover and worked for Radio Free Europe under a pseudonym (1952–1974).¹¹
- 1948– In December 1948, **Ladislav Szabó**, a writer who had been in hiding from the Nazis (1944–1945) and who was a professor of art history at the Academy of Arts in Budapest (1945–1948), went into exile in Italy (1949–1951) and the United Kingdom, where he became a BBC collaborator.¹²

Among the young refugees who became historians in their new country after 1948 were István Jancsó (1938–2010) and Marika Sherwood (1937 –).¹³

- 1935–1950 In 1935–1950, historian of art and architecture **Anna Zádor** (1904–1995) worked as an editor at the Franklin Publishing Company, because her Jewish origins reportedly made a position at a university museum impossible. Later, she worked at the National Center for Monuments and Museums (1950) and the Art History Department of Eötvös University (1951–1974).¹⁴
- 1944–1945 Many archives containing Hungarian source materials in Vienna and Transylvania were destroyed during the war campaign without ever having been examined.¹⁵
- 1944–1945 From 19 March 1944 to 4 April 1945 (the German occupation of Hungary), historian **Gyula Szekfű** (1883–1955), leader of the *Geistesgeschichte* (intellectual history) School, sought asylum with ecclesiastic friends and spent a year in hiding. He had burned many of his personal papers. Upon his return, he found his library totally ruined. During World War II, he had been the editor of the anti-Nazi daily

¹⁰ Várdy, *Modern Hungarian Historiography*, 98; Weber, *Biographisches Lexicon*, 101–2.

¹¹ *Historical Abstracts* (CD-rom version)

¹² A. Schuitema, ed., *Schrijvers in Ballingschap* (originally English; Amsterdam [1954]) 316.

¹³ “Marika Sherwood,” *Wikipedia* (July 2016).

¹⁴ G. Kelényi, “Anna Zádor, Art Historian (1904–1995),” *The Hungarian Quarterly*, 1995, no. 138: 123–24.

¹⁵ Horvath, “Hungary,” 223; *The National Archives of Hungary: Its History and Holdings* (Budapest 1999) 8–9.

- Magyar Nemzet*. Ambassador to Moscow in 1945–1948, he resigned this post in 1948 due to ill health and returned to his chair at Budapest University but lived in seclusion. In 1953, he became a member of Parliament (1953–1955) and in 1954 member of the Presidium of the People's Republic of Hungary. His earliest works, *Rákóczi in Exile* (1913) and *Der Staat Ungarn* (1917; The Hungarian State), written while working at the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna (1913–1916), had been attacked for their pro-Habsburg point of view. The 1913 work had publicly been burned by nationalists.¹⁶
- 1945 Historian **Elemér Mályusz** (1898–1989), founder of the Hungarian Ethnohistory School and professor of medieval history at Budapest University (1932–1945), was forced to retire at the age of 46 owing to his conservative political views. Although forced to function at the periphery of the profession, he became a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences History Institute (1954–1968).¹⁷
- 1945 After his return from a German concentration camp, where he had been interned after the German occupation of Hungary, historian and liberal statesman **Gusztáv Gratz** (1875–1946), a former member of Parliament, a minister of finance (1917) and foreign affairs (1921), looked in vain for a publisher for his manuscript on the interwar history of Hungary. In 1921, he had been detained briefly for his support for the return to Hungary of King Charles IV.¹⁸
- 1946 Social historian and philosopher of history **István Dékány** (1886–1965) was dismissed from his chair of social philosophy (1942–1946) at Budapest University.¹⁹
- 1947 In January 1947, historian and political scientist István Bibó [q.v. 1956–] gave a lecture on the separation of powers, pleading for autonomy for the scientific and educational professions. In July 1947,

¹⁶ Benda, “*Des Coquelicots*”, 235.; Bernath & von Schroeder, eds., *Biographisches Lexicon*, vol. 4 (1981): 256–58; L. Boia, ed., *Great Historians of the Modern Age: an International Dictionary* (New York 1991) 346–47; Borsody, “Modern Hungarian Historiography,” 402; Boyd, ed., 1166–67; vom Bruch, & R. A. Müller, eds., *Historikerlexikon*. 306; J. Cannon, et alii, ed., *The Blackwell Dictionary of Historians* (Oxford 1988) 399–400; Deák, “Historiography,” 1049–50; I.R. Epstein, *Gyula Szekfű: A Study in the Political Basis of Hungarian Historiography* (New York/London 1987) 2–3, 254–59, 266–68, 273–77, 320, 326; Horvath, “Hungary” 222–23; D. Kosáry, “The Idea of a Comparative History of East Central Europe: The Story of a Venture,” in: D. Deletant & H. Hanak eds., *Historians As Nation-Builders: Central and South-East Europe* (London 1988) 126–27; Várdy, *Historical Dictionary*, 657–59; D.R. Woolf, ed., *A Global Encyclopedia*, 873.

¹⁷ Várdy, *Modern Hungarian Historiography*, 115; Várdy, *Historical Dictionary*, 475–76; Woolf, ed., *Global Encyclopedia*, 432, 590.

¹⁸ Bernath & von Schroeder, eds., *Biographisches Lexicon*, vol.2 (1976): 84–85; Borsody, “Modern Hungarian Historiography,” 403.

¹⁹ Várdy, *Modern Hungarian Historiography*, 173.

- historian **István Hajnal** (1899–1956) also demanded respect for the autonomy of the universities; he was ignored.²⁰
- 1948– In December 1948, historian and archivist **Gyula Miskolczy** (1892–1962) was dismissed as history professor at Budapest University and as director at the Hungarian Institute in Vienna (1935–1948). He became an honorary professor at Vienna University.²¹
- 1948–1989 After 1948, historians **Domokos [= Dominic] Kosáry** (1913–2007), **Kálmán Benda** (1913–1994) and **László Makkai** (1911–1989), who attempted to continue the tradition of liberal-conservative historiography after 1945, were excluded from the profession. In 1949 Kosáry, history professor at Eötvös College (1937–1949) and Budapest University (1946–1949), vice-director of the Pál Teleki research institute of history (1941–1945), and specialist in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century social and cultural history and historical bibliography, was dismissed as director of the Academy of Sciences History Institute. He had firmly opposed Hungary's entry into World War II on the side of Germany, but he was judged "too bourgeois" nevertheless. In the following years, he earned his living as a bibliographer. In 1954, he was appointed as director of the library at the University of Agricultural Sciences in Gödöllő (1954–1957). His suspension gave him time to work on the three-volume *Introduction into the Sources and Literature of Hungarian History* (1951–1958). Kosáry participated in the 1956 Revolution. He was elected president of the revolutionary committee of Hungarian historians. He had compiled a documentation of the 1956 events and deposited it at the university library. In 1957, he was arrested and in June 1958 sentenced to four years' imprisonment. He was released in 1960 due to a partial amnesty and entirely rehabilitated later. The president and secretary-general of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Italian historian Federico Chabod (1901–1960) and French historian Michel François (1906–1981), had intervened on his behalf. Italian historians of the ex-Partito d'Azione launched a campaign in defense of Hungarian historians such as Kosáry. Kosáry held the post of archivist at the Archives of Pest County (1960–1968) and worked at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences History Institute again (1968–1989). In 1969, he was allowed to publish *History of the Hungarian Nation*. In June 1988, Kosáry, Litván [q.v. 1959]), and others founded the Committee for Historical Justice (TIB) in

²⁰ Péteri, "The Communist Idea of the University: An Essay Inspired by the Hungarian Experience," in J. Connelly & M. Grüttner, eds., *Universities under Dictatorship* (University Park, PA 2005), 146–148.

²¹ Bernath, & von Schroeder, eds., *Biographisches Lexicon*, vol.3 (1979): 223.

Budapest. Kosáry became its president. A full member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences since 1985, he was elected its president (1990–1996). He published a diary from the time of his imprisonment, *A chilloni fogoly: Olvasónapló 1958* (1997; The Prisoner of Chillon: A Diary of My Readings of 1958). In 2006, his speech at the inauguration of the monument to the 1956 Revolution was disrupted by ultra-rightwing hecklers.

Benda was the editor of the official historical journal *Századok* (Centuries). Upon his dismissal as its editor, publication of the 1948 volume of *Századok* was prevented, but he saved the galleys and the 1948 volume was finally printed in 1989. Benda also encountered difficulties with a four-volume chronology. He was an archivist (1951–1956), deputy director of the History Institute after 1957, and vice president of the Hungarian Association of History.²²

1948– After 1948, main targets of Communist historians were **István Szabó** (1898–1969), a historian of peasantry and agriculture at the University of Debrecen, and his followers, because they challenged the concept of “second serfdom,” which implied that the development of Hungarian economy and society followed a specific Eastern-European pattern. Szabó instead argued that Hungary held a “transitional” position between Western and Eastern Europe, and defended a “third road alternative” between capitalism and socialism, relying on the heritage of the so-called “populist” writers of the interwar period (László Németh, István Bibó, István Hajnal). He was attacked until his death. He reportedly burned his personal papers.²³

1949–1956 In 1949, historian **Zoltán Horváth** was imprisoned. He was rehabilitated just before the 1956 Revolution. He became a history professor in Budapest.²⁴

1956 On 26 October 1956, Zoltán I. Tóth (1911–1956), a historian specialized in Hungarian-Romanian relations and social history, dean of the history department of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest (1953–1956),

²² G. Abbatisa, personal communication (October 2009); Benda, “Des Coquelicots,” 230; Deák, “Historiography,” 1053; Deletant & Hanak, eds., *Historians As Nation-Builders*, xv; K.D. Erdmann, *Die Ökumene der Historiker: Geschichte der internationalen Historikerkongresse und des Comité International des Sciences Historiques* (Göttingen 1987) 335–36; M. Fekete, ed., *Prominent Hungarians Home and Abroad* (London 1985) 54; *Guardian* (13 December 2007); J. Held, *Dictionary of East European History since 1945* (Westport 1994) 273–74; H. Kammer, personal communication (May 1997); Litván, ed., *Hungarian Revolution*, 202; Mucsi, “Die Bewertung,” 54–55; J. Stroynowski, ed., *Who’s Who in the Socialist Countries of Europe* (Munich 1989) 82, 598; Várdy, *Historical Dictionary*, 360, 433–34.

²³ Vilmos Erős, personal communication (25 November 2021).

²⁴ Epstein, *Gyula Szekfű*, 331.

- corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences, and Vice President of the Hungarian Historical Society, was killed by a Soviet bullet at Kossuth Square while he led a delegation of students and staff to the Communist Party headquarters in Academy Street, near the Parliament where a massacre was going on. Historian Péter Hanák [q.v. 1957] was wounded during the attack.²⁵
- 1949 Literary historian **George Cushing** (1923–1996), then a student at Eötvös College in Budapest, was expelled from Hungary as a suspected British agent. The notes for his thesis about nineteenth-century Hungarian literature were confiscated. He became a teacher of Hungarian at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, London.²⁶
- 1950–1961 **Erik Fügedi** (1916–1992), medievalist, archivist in charge of the rescue and conservation of private collections, libraries, and archives (1945–1949), head of the Archival Research Center (1950), was persecuted for political reasons and became a clerk in a cannery for ten years. A research fellow at the Historical Association (1961–), he joined and headed the historical demography research group (1965–1980) and became professor at Eötvös Loránd University (1980–), specialized in the sociological and psychological approach of the history of elites.²⁷
- 1951 In June 1951, **Bálint Hóman** (1885–1951), professor of Hungarian medieval history, president of the Hungarian Historical Society (1933–1945) and minister of culture in various governments that supported the German political orientation (1932–1938, 1939–1942), died in prison. When the Red Army approached Hungary (December 1944–April 1945), he had fled to Austria, but from there he was extradited by the United States Army to Hungary because of his pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic wartime activities, including as a leader of the pro-Nazi Arrow Cross Party. As a government minister in the 1930s, Hóman spearheaded anti-Semitic legislation and in 1944 called for the deportation of Hungarian Jews. In 1946, the Communist government sentenced him to life imprisonment for war crimes, including for voting to declare war on the Soviet Union in 1941. With Szekfű [q.v. 1944–1945], he had written an eight-volume *Hungarian History* (1928–1933).

²⁵ “A Historian, Martyr of 1956 Is Commemorated on Polish Social Media,” *Nemzeti Emlékezet Bizottsága* (20 December 2017); “Tóth Zoltán (Inokai),” *Múlt-kor – történelmi portál* (retrieved 29 November 2022).

²⁶ L. Czigány, “The Passionate Outsider: Professor George Cushing,” *Hungarian Quarterly*, 1996, no.142: 101.

²⁷ Boyd, ed., *Encyclopedia*, 425–26.

In March 2015, the Budapest municipal court posthumously rehabilitated Hóman. In December 2015, the private Bálint Hóman foundation wanted to erect a bronze statue to honor Hóman in the latter's hometown Székesfehérvár. Its mayor Andras Cser-Palkovics, a Fidesz member, said that the foundation "had a right to do so in a democracy," but asked it to return the funding it had received from the city and government. On 14 December 2015, several hundred Hungarians, including representatives of Hungary's Jewish community and diplomats from various countries, attended a vigil to protest against the plan.²⁸

- 1953 Another historian, **Ödön Málnási** (1898–1970), was sentenced to forced labor for his pro-Nazi sympathies (date unknown).²⁹
- 1955 In the 1955 revival of William Shakespeare's *Richard III* at the National Theater, spectators were reminded of the machinations of Communist Party leader Mátyás Rákosi, seeing parallels between Richard III and Rákosi. The production had premiered in 1947, when Rákosi was not yet a dictator. The scrivener's lines in the sixth scene of act three (Scrivener: ... Who is so gross / That cannot see this palpable device? / Yet who so bold but says he sees it not? / Bad is the world and all will come to nought, / When such ill dealing must be seen in / thought.) were greeted by wild applause, an outburst which had not been noted in 1947. Defense Minister Mihály Farkas reportedly ran up to the office of director Tamás Major, and took offense at seeing the audience "demonstrating" against Rákosi's régime.³⁰
- 1956 On 23 October 1956, when the Revolution began, the statute of Joseph Stalin (erected in 1950–1951 by destroying the Regnum Marianum, a church built during Horthy's regime to commemorate the victims of the leftist Republic of Councils in 1919–1920) was pulled down in Budapest.³¹
- 1956 In late October 1956, **Erzsébet Andics** (1902–1986), the Communist president of the Historical Society from 1949 who had denounced the

²⁸ Bernath & von Schroeder, eds., *Biographisches Lexicon*, vol.2 (1976): 176–77; Boia, ed., *Great Historians*, 341–42; Borsody, "Modern Hungarian Historiography," 402–3; vom Bruch, & Müller, eds., *Historikerlexikon*, 145; Cannon, et alii, ed., *The Blackwell Dictionary*, 400; Deák, "Historiography," 1051; D. Kosáry, "The Idea of a Comparative History of East Central Europe. 130–31; Várdy, *Historical Dictionary*, 341; "Bálint Hóman," *Wikipedia* (24 April 2010); "US Joins Hungary Protest over Pro-Nazi Homan Statue," *BBC News* (14 December 2015).

²⁹ Borsody, "Modern Hungarian Historiography," 403.

³⁰ György Spiró, "The Writer of Our Discontent," *Index on Censorship*, 45 no. 1 (Spring 2016), 40–43, here 41, 43.

³¹ D. Gamboni, *The Destruction of Art: Iconoclasm and Vandalism since the French Revolution* (London 1997), 58–59.

- old historiography as being a servant of the ruling classes, went temporarily into exile in the USSR.³²
- 1956– On 4 November 1956, when Soviet troops encircled the parliament building, minister of state, judge, and historian **István Bibó** (1911–1979) was the only one to remain at his post at the Parliament, writing a protest against the forcible removal of the legal government and an appeal for passive resistance. He further elaborated his viewpoint in *Political Testament*, written in hiding six weeks later, smuggled out and published in the West a few months after his May 1957 arrest. In a note appended to the text, he had explicitly requested publication regardless of the personal consequences. He was imprisoned without trial until August 1958. He was then charged with “counterrevolutionary conspiracy” and sentenced to life imprisonment in a secret court. In 1963 he was given amnesty. He became a librarian at the Central Statistical Office in Budapest (1963–1971). During World War II, after having forged documents for the persecuted, Bibó had briefly been arrested (1944). Thereafter he had gone underground. Until 1948 he had been a leading member of the National Peasant Party (in 1956 renamed the Petőfi Party) and undersecretary in the Ministry of Interior (1945–1949). After the Communist takeover in 1948, he had returned to his chair at Szeged University (1946–1950), and then had become a clerk working at the National Széchenyi Library in Budapest (1950–1956). On 2 November 1956, he had joined the government.³³
- 1956 On 6–8 November 1956, Soviet artillery bombardment of the National Archives building and the subsequent fire destroyed the Ministry of Justice archives (covering 1867–1944). In 1944, part of the archives had already been destroyed during the siege of Budapest.³⁴
- 1956– Following the Soviet occupation, **József Antall** (1932–1993), history teacher, archivist, librarian, and museologist, was arrested because he had led the Revolutionary Committee of the József Eötvös Grammar School during the Revolution and participated in the reorganization of the Independent Smallholders Party and in the founding of the Christian Youth Alliance. He was banned from teaching from 1959

³² Deák, “Historiography,” 1054–55; Held, *Dictionary*, 242.

³³ B. Lomax, *Hungary 1956* (London 1976) 171–74; Held, *Dictionary*, 246–47; Litván, ed., *Hungarian Revolution*, 104–5, 115–16, 119–20, 142–43, 196; Péteri, “Communist Idea of the University,” 146–148; J.M. Rainer, “István Bibó: A Great Political Diagnostician,” *Hungarian Quarterly*, 1993, no.132: 32, 37; Várdy, *Historical Dictionary*, 161–62.

³⁴ L. Auer, “Archival Losses Since the Second World War,” *Janus*, 1994, no.1: 71; Idem, “Archival Losses and Their Impact on the Work of Archivists and Historians,” *Archivum*, 1996, no.42: 4; J. Lakos, “Die Zerstörung des Archivsmaterials des Ungarischen Königlichen Justizministeriums während der Revolution von 1956,” *Archivum*, 1996, no.42: 255–65; *National Archives*, 9.

until 1963. From 1964, he worked with the Semmelweis Museum, Library and Archives of Medical History, of which he became director in 1974. In 1986 he became the vice president of the International Society for History of Medicine. Leader of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (1989–1993), he was elected to parliament and became Prime Minister (1990–1993) of the first post-Communist government. Among the other historians who participated in the 1956 Revolution and became politicians after 1989 was Lajos Für (1930–), defense minister in 1990–1994.³⁵

Among the historians who emigrated in 1956 were:

- 1956– **Gabor Boritt** found refuge in the United States after participating in the 1956 uprising in Hungary. He became a Civil War historian.³⁶
- 1956– **Charles Kecskemeti** (1933–2021), a historian who went to France where he began working at the National Archives in 1957. He joined the International Council on Archives in 1962 as Secretary and then as Executive Secretary (1969–1988), Executive Director (1988–1992) and Secretary-General (1992–1999). He wrote extensively on archives and archival theory.³⁷
- 1956– In November 1956, at the time of the Soviet invasion, Marxist philosopher and historian **István Mészáros** (1930–2017) went into exile in Italy (1956–1959), the United Kingdom (1959–1973), and Canada (1973–) because he was against the oppression and advocated civil liberties. In February 1972, he was offered a five-year contract by the Division of Social Science at York University, Toronto, but in July he was refused landed immigrant status by the Canadian government because it would be “contrary to Canadian public interest.” He was considered a “security risk” possibly because of rumors that he was a Russian secret service agent. In September an appeal lodged by the university was rejected and Mészáros, who visited Canada, was threatened with deportation. After the Canadian elections, his reapplication was accepted by the new minister of Manpower and Immigration and he left for Canada with his family in January 1973.

³⁵ H.M. Lentz, III, *Heads of States and Governments* (Jefferson, NC 1994) 371; *Wikipedia* (Online; 24 April 2010).

³⁶ AHA, “AHA Condemns Executive Order Restricting Entry to the United States” (30 January 2017).

³⁷ “Remembering Dr Charles Kecskemeti,” Website International Council on Archives (Paris: ICA, s.d. [2021]).

- In 1999, he was a professor emeritus of philosophy at the School of European Studies of the University of Sussex, United Kingdom.¹
- 1956– In 1956, liberal historian, journalist and writer **Georg Paloczi-Horváth** (1908–1973) participated in the Revolution and went into exile in the United Kingdom afterwards. In 1941–1947, he had lived in exile in the Middle East. He returned to Hungary as a Communist, but he was arrested in 1949, and sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment on false charges. In 1951, he had to testify in a secret trial and in 1954 he was released early.²
- 1956–1989 In November 1956, historian and Major-General **Béla Király** (1912–2009), military commander of the City of Budapest and chief commander of the National Guard during the 1956 Revolution, went into exile in Austria and the United States, where he gained a Ph.D. in history at Columbia University, New York, in 1962, and became a professor of military history at Brooklyn College, part of City University of New York. From 1977 he had edited the *Studies on Society in Change* series on problems of Eastern European and Hungarian history. In 1989, he returned to Hungary, spoke at the reburial of 1956 revolutionary leader Imre Nagy (who was executed in 1958), was elected member of the first post-Communist Parliament (1990–1994), and served as government adviser on reform of the armed forces. In 2004, he became an associate member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In 1950, Király had been appointed general and served as the director of the Miklós Zrínyi Military Academy, but in August 1951 he had been imprisoned because of “anti-Soviet propaganda” and sentenced to death in February 1952, then to life imprisonment (1951–1956). Once released in September 1956, he played a leading role in the 1956 Revolution, but after the invasion he went into hiding and escaped.³
- 1956– After 1956, **Péter Gosztonyi** (1931–1999), an army officer who participated in the Revolution, fled Hungary and went into exile in Switzerland, where he studied military history (1957–1961) at Zürich University, became director of the Osteuropa-Bibliothek (East

¹ IOC, 3–4/72: 114; 1/73: ii, 53–59.

² P. Boris, *Die sich lossagten: Stichworte zu Leben und Werk von 461 Exkommunisten und Dissidenten* (Cologne 1983) 208–9; D. Jones, ed., *Censorship: A World Encyclopedia* (London/Chicago 2001) 1123.

³ Greenberg, “Les Funérailles,” 134; Litván, ed., *Hungarian Revolution*, 202; *NRC-Handelsblad* (19 October 1996) 3; *Telegraph* (6 July 2009); Várdy, *Historical Dictionary*, 423.

- European Library) in Bern (1963–), and published about Hungarian history, especially about Horthy, World War II, and 1956.⁴
- 1956– History student **Judit Garamvölgyi-Tarján** (1937–) went into exile, continued her studies at the University of Bern, Switzerland, and became a professor of history there (1971–1999).⁵
- 1957– Journalist and historian **Miklós Molnár** (1918–), editor of *Irodalmi Ujság* (Literary Gazette) until his dismissal (1955), and active member of the opposition led by 1956 revolutionary leader Imre Nagy, emigrated and became a university professor in Geneva. He was the author of several books on the 1956 Revolution.⁶
- 1957– In January 1957, **László Révész** (1916–), professor of the history of law and president of the October 1956 Revolutionary Committee at Budapest University, went into exile in Switzerland, where he became a professor of Eastern European Studies at Bern University and lecturer at the universities of Zürich and Fribourg.⁷
- 1959 Imre Nagy's biographer **Tibor Méray** (1924–), Molnár [q.v. 1957–], and others prepared the documentation *The Truth About the Nagy Affair*, published by the Petőfi Circle in Exile in Brussels in 1959. In June 1988 Méray, then director of the *Gazette littéraire hongroise* in Paris, took the initiative to erect a symbolic monument for Nagy at the Père-Lachaise cemetery. In June 1989 his book *Life and Death of Imre Nagy* (?1979) was published in Hungary.⁸

- Among the young refugees in the wake of the 1956 Revolution who became historians in their new country was **Victor Sebestyen** (1956–).
- 1957 After the 1956 Revolution in which he had taken part, **Péter Hanák** (1921–1997), a cultural historian of Jewish origins specialized in the Revolution of 1848–1849 and the Austro-Hungarian empire (1867–1918), was dismissed from the university for his role in the revolution and marginalized until the amnesty of 1964. Before the war, he could not study because of a numerus clausus. During the war, he was held in a labor camp, first in Hungary, later in Galicia (1942–1944), from which he escaped. After the war he studied history and became a Communist in 1948 and an informant for the secret police ÁVH at the Teleki Institute. In the 1990s, he became instrumental in the establishment of the Central European University in Budapest, where he became head

⁴ Boris, *Die sich lossagten*, 99; Fekete, ed., *Prominent Hungarians*, 189; *Independent* (Online: 28 April 1999); H. Kammer, personal communication (May 1997).

⁵ *Dozenten der Universität Bern 1528 bis 1984* (Online).

⁶ Litván, ed., *Hungarian Revolution*, 159, 206.

⁷ Boris, *Die sich lossagten*, 232–34.

⁸ Greenberg, “Les Funérailles,” 130, 139; Litván, ed., *Hungarian Revolution*, 159, 205.

- of its history department (1993–1997). He was a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (1990–) and won the Széchenyi Prize in 1997.⁹
- 1959 **Sándor Fekete** (1927–), literary historian and journalist of *Szabad Nép*, the central organ of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP; the Communist party) (1952–1956), was sentenced to nine years' imprisonment because of his anti-Kádárist activities and because of his pamphlet written under the pseudonym Hungaricus. The pamphlet, dealing with the history of the Hungarian Communist movement from its beginnings to 1956, began to circulate illegally in December 1956 (first part) and February 1957 (second part). It was soon smuggled out of Hungary and circulated abroad. It was called the first Hungarian critical analysis of the 1956 Revolution. Fekete was amnestied in 1963. Together with him, the last resistance group from the former inner-party opposition, including historian **György Litván** (1929–), was tried. Litván was sentenced to six years' imprisonment. After his release he became a librarian, a fellow at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences History Institute, founder and director of the Institute for the History of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution (1990–), and professor of sociology at ECTE University (1993–). He wrote many books on Jászi [q.v. pre-1945].¹⁰
- 1968 Philosopher **Zsádor Tordai** (1924–2010), who had been a research assistant (1951–1957) at the History Institute of Cluj University, Romania, was expelled from the HSWP for criticizing the Warsaw Pact troops' invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968.¹¹
- 1972 A two-volume collection of documents, *Turning Points*, edited by historian and director of the Central Archives of the Trade Unions **Elek Karsai** (1922–1986), was withdrawn from the bookshops allegedly because it contained five documents with vague references to the violent actions of Soviet soldiers during their 1956 campaign in Hungary.¹²
- 1972 Sociology student **Gábor Demszky** (1952 –) was suspended from Budapest University for organizing a left-wing demonstration on the anniversary of the 1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic. In late 1981, he launched the first independent publishing house, AB: Independent Publishers.¹³ He became mayor of Budapest (1990–2010).

⁹ Monika Baár, personal communication (25 November 2021).

¹⁰ Greenberg, "Les Funérailles," 126, 139; Litván, ed., *Hungarian Revolution*, 119, 143, 198, 203.

¹¹ Stroynowski, ed., *Who's Who*, 1212.

¹² Sipos, "Hungarian," 103; Stroynowski, ed., *Who's Who*, 533.

¹³ *IOC*, 2/83: 3–5.

- 1973– Historian **Ferenc Fehér** (1933–1994), assistant to philosopher György Lukács (1967–1970) and scholar at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences History Institute (1970–1973), resigned for political reasons. In 1977, he left for Australia, and, in 1986, to the United States, where he worked at the New School for Social Research in New York.¹⁴
- 1978 A biography of Béla Kun by **György Borsányi** (1931–1997), historian at the Institute of Party History, was withdrawn from the bookshops because it contained several references to the cooperation between the Comintern (the third Communist International, 1918–1943) and the Soviet secret police, and to Kun’s role in the 1920 Communist terror in the Crimea.¹⁵
- 1978–1979 In 1978 or 1979, historian **Mihály Hamburger** (?–2005) was dismissed by the Trade Union Theoretical Research Institute allegedly because he and another historian, **Gyula Benda** (1943 – 2005), had jointly replied to a questionnaire on Marxism. All the replies to the questionnaire were collected in the book *Marx in the Fourth Decade*, edited by **András Kovács** (1947–), a lecturer in oral history at Budapest University. Kovács had been oppressed for many years, during which he earned money as a life-story interviewer. After the book came out, he was dismissed from Kossuth publishers. Benda was also dismissed and subsequently worked as a researcher in an ethnographic museum. In the early 1980s, he was a member of a *samizdat* (self-publishing) group studying social history. Hamburger became an auto fuel pump attendant.¹⁶
- 1978 In September 1978, Hungary’s unofficial university, sometimes referred to as *repulo ovoda* (Flying Kindergarten), was established. Lectures which regularly attracted large audiences, mostly students, dealt with topics such as twentieth-century Hungarian history. The first lecture, given by historian **Miklós Szabó** (1935–2000), discussed the thoughts of Bibó [q.v. 1956–].¹⁷

¹⁴ Stroynowski, ed., *Who’s Who*, 297.

¹⁵ Sipos, “Hungarian,” 103.

¹⁶ G. Benda, “L’Historiographie hongroise des années 80,” in: Marès, ed., *Histoire et pouvoir*, 118, 120, 123–24 ; *IOC*, 6/78: 21; 2/80: 16; L. Passerini, ed., *International Yearbook of Oral History and Life Stories*, vol.1, *Memory and Totalitarianism* (Oxford 1992) ix.

¹⁷ G. Schöpfli, “Opposition in Hungary: 1956 and Beyond,” in: J.L. Curry ed., *Dissent in Eastern Europe* (New York 1983) 77; G. Stokes, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down: The Collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe* (New York/Oxford 1993) 88–89; Apor, Mihaljević, Petrescu, “Collections of Intellectual Dissent: Historians and Sociologists in post-1968 Hungary, Romania and Yugoslavia,” in Apor, Apor, Horváth, eds., *The Handbook of COURAGE: Cultural Opposition and Its Heritage in Eastern Europe* (Budapest, 2018), 377.

- 1979– When Bibó [q.v. 1956–] died, an opposition group began preparing a collection of articles in his honor, *Bibó Emlékkönyv* (1981; Book in Memory of István Bibó). It was submitted to a state publishing house first, but a HSWP document called it “provocative”; the book came out in *samizdat* later. Certain contributors were summoned to the HSWP headquarters and subjected to a severe “discussion,” others were allowed to retain their jobs but not to teach at the university, still others were dismissed and unable to find state employment for years. A fourth group, finally, was subjected to official monitoring and intimidation.¹⁸
- 1980 An essay by historian and former government minister **Miklós Mester** (1906–1989) *Where Did We Go Wrong? The National Equality of the Peoples of the Danube Valley*, circulated as an unofficial publication. His memoirs were smuggled out of Hungary.¹⁹
- 1981–1982 The underground press published about the following topics: the 1956 Revolution (including documents collected by Krassó [q.v. 1984–] and appearing in *Napló* [Diary], a hand-copied “journal”), the historical and current situation of Hungarian minorities in neighboring countries, and the history of imprisonment and labor camps in Hungary during the Stalinist years (in a series called *The Hungarian Gulag*). British historian and peace campaigner E.P. Thompson’s book *Beyond the Cold War* was translated in September 1982. In 1983 *Beszélő* (The Speaker), the most widely read underground newspaper, devoted a special issue to the memory of the victims of 1956.²⁰
- 1981 In April 1981, **Bill Lomax**, a sociology lecturer at Nottingham University, United Kingdom, was searched by customs officers and had his books and notes confiscated as he was about to leave Hungary after three weeks’ research on the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. Following protests to the foreign ministry, all the material was returned to him in May. In December 1982, he was expelled, although he was in possession of a valid visa. His 1976 book about the Hungarian Revolution (*Hungary 1956*) was smuggled into Hungary and soon translated and annotated by Krassó [q.v. 1984–] but it was not published in Hungarian until 1989. Krassó also published **Béla Szász**’s book about the 1949 László Rajk show trial.²¹

¹⁸ Bozóki, “Censorship” 107; Jones, ed., *Censorship*, 1125.

¹⁹ H. Kammer, personal communication (May 1997); Schöpflin, “Opposition” 77.

²⁰ *IOC*, 2/83: 4; Litván, ed., *Hungarian Revolution*, 163.

²¹ *IOC*, 4/81: 46; 2/83: 12; H. Kammer, personal communication (May 1997); Litván, ed., *Hungarian Revolution*, 157.

- 1984– In June 1984, economist **György Krassó** (1932–1991) was questioned by the police about his interview on the imprisonment, trial, and 1958 execution of Imre Nagy and other leaders of the 1956 Revolution to the *samizdat* periodical *Hirmondó* (The Messenger) in December 1983 and published there as *The Memory of the Dead*. He was released nine hours later. In October 1984, he was again detained. His flat was searched and many *samizdat* materials were confiscated; he was fined for possessing and distributing them. He was the organizer of the *samizdat* October Free Press. From November 1984 to October 1985, he was put under strict police surveillance. In December 1984, nearly 300 people signed a letter of protest to the authorities about his treatment. In late 1985, he emigrated to the United Kingdom, where he worked at the BBC and led a Hungarian news agency. In 1989, he returned to Hungary and founded the Hungarian October Party. In July 1989, he was brought to court following demonstrations in Budapest's Ferenc Münnich Street, during which the nameplates of the street were covered over with plates bearing the street's older name, Nador Street. He was given verbal warnings. In the early 1950s, Krassó had been expelled from the HSWP and from Karl Marx University of Economics. For his participation in the 1956 Revolution, he had been sentenced in 1957 to ten years' imprisonment but he had been released under the 1963 amnesty. Ever since, but especially since February 1979, he had attempted to correct the official view of "1956" in oral or written form, "to give back to the people their own, forgotten history." Since 1963 he had been repeatedly harassed by the police and denied permission to travel to the West.²²
- 1986 Historian **Péter Hanák** (1921–1997 [q.v. 1957]), specialist in the early-twentieth-century Habsburg empire and its successor states, department chairman at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences History Institute, history professor at Eötvös University, Budapest, and since 1991 in charge of the History Institute of the Central European University, was elected to the Academy of Sciences after long having been bypassed for membership because he had refused in 1956 to join the reconstituted HSWP. After 1956, he had been ousted from the university for being critical of official socialism.²³

²² Amnesty International (AI), *Report* (London) 1985: 271, 1986: 288; Greenberg, "Les Funérailles," 130–31; IOC, 5/84: 49–50; 1/85: 62; 2/85: 54; 1/86: 53; 6–7/89: 63; 10/89: 38; H. Kammer, personal communication (May 1997); Litván, ed., *Hungarian Revolution*, 203.

²³ Held, *Dictionary*, 267; Várdy, *Historical Dictionary*, 331; Apor, Mihaljević & Petrescu, "Collections of Intellectual Dissent," 376.

- 1986 On 3 March 1986, historian **György Gadó**'s flat was searched as was his mother's. Manuscripts and materials printed without a licence were taken away. On 7 March he was fined 10,000 forints and on 11 March his flat was searched again. His notebook and some private letters were confiscated.²⁴
- 1986 On 15 March 1986, police broke up an unofficial peaceful procession of four to five hundred people commemorating the anniversary of the 1848 Hungarian Revolution. In the 1970s and 1980s, several illegal demonstrations of the so-called Democratic Opposition reportedly deployed the symbols of 1848, including flags with the coat-of-arms of Lajos Kossuth.²⁵
- 1986– On 20 October 1986, **László Rusai** (?1956–), a former teacher from Hatvan active in opposition circles, was arrested after he had hung a poster from his window commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the 1956 Revolution. He was forcibly confined in a mental hospital until his release in November. In November 1987, he was rearrested and charged with “violating the community” after slogans were chalked on a monument to the Soviet army's losses in World War II. Six days earlier, he had hung a flag commemorating the 1956 Revolution in his window. He denied the charges but remained detained without trial in the psychiatric wing of Budapest Prison in late 1987.²⁶
- 1987 **Karl Pfeifer** (1928–), an Austrian-born journalist of Hungarian-Jewish origin and a member of the board of the Archives of the Austrian Resistance, went into exile in Palestine in 1943, along with 49 other Jewish children. Decades later, he returned to Hungary as a journalist writing for major Austrian newspapers and interviewing dissidents. As a result, the Kádár regime expelled him four times from Hungary, the last time in 1987.²⁷
- 1988 On 16 June 1988, the thirtieth anniversary of Nagy's execution, several TIB members [q.v. Kosáry, 1948–1989] were arrested when police used force to break up a large demonstration in the center of Budapest. TIB demanded a reassessment of the 1956 Revolution and the rehabilitation of its leaders. In 1989 it achieved the rehabilitation and public reburial of the executed leaders of the 1956 Revolution.²⁸

²⁴ IOC, 5/86: 13.

²⁵ AI, *Report* (London) 1987: 298–99; IOC, 5/86: 13–14; Kovacs, *From the Turul Bird*; Stokes, *Walls*, 95.

²⁶ AI, *Report* (London) 1987: 299; 1988: 205.

²⁷ Karl Pfeifer, “What's Going on in Hungary Is Alarming,” *History News Network* (26 March 2017).

²⁸ Greenberg, “Les Funérailles,” 131; IOC, 7/88: 35; Stokes, *Walls*, 96.

- 1988 Until 20 August 1988, the Communist authorities banned the annual procession commemorating the coronation around 1000 CE of King (and Saint) Stephen (975–1038), considered the founder of the Hungarian State and the person who converted the Hungarian tribes to Christianity.²⁹
- 1989 In the spring of 1989, publications on the 1956 Revolution, prepared for circulation as *samizdat* literature, were in practice distributed freely. On 16 June the ceremonial reburial of Nagy took place. He was rehabilitated on 6 July. Other reburials were those of historian and sociologist Jászi [q.v. –1945] and, in 1991, of Admiral Miklós Horthy, regent in 1920–1944.³⁰
- 1989 During the 1989 events, many Communist monuments with a historical-documentary value were destroyed. (In 1991, a Garden of Monuments, called “Park of Tyranny,” was opened in Budapest to preserve the demolished and removed monuments.) HSWP archives were transferred to the state but the list of HSWP members was destroyed almost entirely. Perhaps as many as 100,000 out of 110,000 files on recruitment for the political police were reportedly destroyed.³¹
- 1994 In December 1994, Radio Budapest reported that the government had abolished the Historical Investigation Committee (established 1989). Part of the committee’s role was to account for the omissions in history books left by censors under the Communist regime. The investigations had proved uncomfortable for some of the politicians elected to power in the spring of 1994.³²
- 1998–2009 On 21 September 1998, **János Kenedi** (1947–), a historian specialized in the functioning of dictatorial secret services, asked the Ministry of the Interior for access to certain documents as he wished to publish a study on the functioning of the State Security Service in the 1960s. Upon the ministry’s refusal on the grounds that the documents were classified as state secrets, in January 1999 Kenedi obtained a court order for unrestricted access after arguing that it was necessary for the purposes of his ongoing historical research. After its appeal to the Supreme Court failed, in November 1999 the ministry offered access

²⁹ Kovacs, *From the Turul Bird*.

³⁰ Litván, ed., *Hungarian Revolution*, xii.

³¹ Kovacs, *From the Turul Bird*; S. Rumin, “Gathering and Managing Information in Vetting Processes,” in A. Mayer-Rieckh & P. de Greiff, eds., *Justice as Prevention: Vetting Public Employees in Transitional Societies* (New York/Washington 2007), 411; G. Szücs, “Sickle Amnesia,” *New Hungarian Quarterly*, 1991, Autumn: 73; Yamane Hiroko, “Preservation or Destruction of Personal Files,” *International Meeting on Impunity of Perpetrators of Gross Human Rights Violations* (Geneva 1993), 266.

³² IOC, 1/95: 240; Jones, ed., *Censorship*, 1126.

on the condition that Kenedi signed a confidentiality undertaking. Upon his refusal, and despite repeated enforcement orders, the ministry remained reluctant to grant him unrestricted access to the documents. In August 2005, Kenedi lodged an application before the European Court of Human Rights, which in May 2009 ruled that the authorities had misused their powers by delaying Kenedi's exercise of his right to freedom of expression and therefore violated it. The Court also emphasized that "access to original documentary sources for legitimate historical research was an essential element of the exercise of the applicant's right to freedom of expression." With the excessively long proceedings the government also violated the "reasonable-time" requirement, which was tantamount to arbitrariness.¹

1998–1999 Despite the experts' commission unanimous support, historian **Tamás Krausz** (1948–) was not appointed at Loránd Eötvös University because student blocked his candidacy, allegedly for political reasons. In 2006, Krausz was a professor of history at the same university, Budapest.

2004 On 21 January 2004, **Bencsik András** (1951–), chief editor of the weekly *Magyar Demokrata*, was imprisoned for ten months for defaming Democrat Member of Parliament Imre Mecs in articles alleging that he had betrayed Hungarian resistance members to the Soviet occupiers during the 1956 Revolution and that four of them were executed as a result. A second reporter, **László Attila Bertók**, was given an eight-month suspended sentence.²

2004–2009 In 2004, a public debate took place as to whether a statue should be raised for Pál Teleki (1879–1941), a prime minister (1920–1921, 1939–1941) who cooperated with Nazi Germany in the early stages of World War II. In this discussion, historian **László Karsai** (1950–) [q.v. 2013], a history professor at the University of Szeged, director of the Holocaust Center of the Hungarian Jewish Museum and Archives and Head of the Yad Vashem Research Group in Hungary, specialist in the history of the extermination of Jews and Roma, said that Teleki had been one of the most reproachable figures of Hungarian history, responsible for substantial anti-Semitic legislation and for dragging Hungary into World War II. Karsai published an article on this subject in a weekly paper, criticizing the right-wing media, including publicist B.T., for embellishing Teleki's role and for having made anti-Semitic statements in this context. In 2005, B.T. sued Karsai for defamation. In 2006, the Supreme Court upheld a decision in favor of B.T. In 2009, the European

¹ European Court of Human Rights, *Kenedi versus Hungary* (Strasbourg 2009).

² *IOC*, 2/04: 130.

Court of Human Rights ruled that Karsai's freedom of expression was violated, in particular by ordering him to publish a rectification at his expense and to bear considerable legal costs. It said that the obligation to publish a rectification affected Karsai's professional credibility as a historian and was therefore capable of producing an intimidating effect.³

2007 In the night between 1 and 2 May 2007, vandals desecrated the grave of János Kádár, the last Communist ruler (1956–1989), and removed his skull and several bones. Graffiti reading “a murderer and traitor may not rest in holy ground” was found nearby.⁴

2007–2013 In May 2007, **Krisztián Ungváry** (1969–), a historian specialized in 20th–century Hungarian history, including the Communist-era State Security, published a study (“The Genesis of a Procedure—Dialógus in Pécs”) in the literary and political weekly *Élet és Irodalom*, dealing with the actions of the State Security service against a spontaneous student peace movement (“Dialógus”) active in Pécs and elsewhere in the 1980s. The article stated that a named judge, K., of the Constitutional Court had worked during the Communist era as an official contact of the State-security service, written reports for the service, and advocated hard-line policies. After K. brought successful proceedings against the paper, *Irodalom* printed a rectification in February 2008, while Ungváry repeated his allegations in interviews and in a book he co-authored (published in April 2008). K. brought a successful civil claim against Ungváry and *Irodalom* for defamation in February 2009, which was upheld by the Supreme Court in June 2010. It ordered Ungváry and *Irodalom* to pay two million Hungarian forints (HUF) together (approximately 7,000 euros, and for Ungváry to pay another HUF 1,000,000 (approximately 3,500 euros) himself.

The European Court of Human Rights ruled that Ungváry's statements concerned Hungary's recent history and the functioning of the secret service, which was a matter of general interest in contemporary Hungarian society. The publication had been based on research relying on material from the security services' archives. Ungváry's criticism had been limited to K.'s role as a Communist Party official in the 1980s and had not focused on his conduct as a Constitutional Court judge. K. had not concealed his past position within the Communist Party and as a public figure had to tolerate stronger criticism by Ungváry acting as a historian. Ungváry's article

³ European Court of Human Rights, *Karsai versus Hungary* (2009); T. Szigeti, “Why Shouldn't a Hungarian Historian Call Jobbik “Neo-Nazi”?” *Free Speech Debate* (18 July 2013).

⁴ *BBC News* (London 3 May 2007).

was scholarly and, although using excessive language, not sensationalist. K. had had the opportunity to comment on Ungváry's allegations and *Irodalom* published a further rectification. Ungváry had to pay considerable damages which affected his professional credibility as a historian and had been capable of producing a chilling effect. Accordingly, a proper balance between the personality rights of K., a public figure, and Ungváry's free expression was not established; Ungváry's free expression had been violated (with four votes to three). *Irodalom* had published K.'s comments on Ungváry's statements in its next weekly edition. Since access to the State security archives was restricted, the information that had served as the factual basis for Ungváry's allegations had, in all likelihood, not been accessible for verification. Moreover, since the use of the archives required special professional knowledge, there had been no reason for *Irodalom* to call into question Ungváry's accuracy. *Irodalom* had thus acted in accordance with the rules governing journalistic ethics; its free expression was violated as well (unanimously).⁵

2008 In October 2008, the extreme rightist Magyar Garda (Hungarian Guard; established August 2007) disturbed the commemoration of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. In December 2008, the organization was banned. In December 2009, the Supreme Court confirmed the ban.⁶

2010– In December 2010, Bence Rétvári, the parliamentary secretary at the Ministry of Public Administration and Justice, made an announcement regarding the files of the Hungarian secret police, interior ministry and state security of the Communist era (1948–1989), which were available to professional researchers at the Historical Archives of Hungarian State Security, Budapest, and regarding a separate collection of unreleased data on over 50,000 Communist state security officers, encrypted on magnetic tape. He reportedly declared: “A constitutional state cannot preserve personal information collected through unconstitutional means, because these are the immoral documents of an immoral regime.” A new law, to be introduced by November 2011, would allow citizens who were spied on by the secret police and government officials to remove and destroy the original documents of which they had been the subject. As copies would not be kept of these original documents, researchers and future generations would no longer have access to tens of thousands of files. The law would replace a 2003 law allowing access to and copying of documents for the persons observed. Rétvári's announcement followed the disbanding

⁵ European Court of Human Rights, Ungváry & Irodalom versus Hungary (2013).

⁶ *Keesings Historisch Archief* (2009) 80; (2010) 16.

- of a commission to analyze some computer tapes from the former security service. Later, the government's resolution on the preparation of the new law was repealed.⁷
- 2011 On 20 May 2011, the executive director (2009–2011) of the Holokauszt Emlékközpont (Holocaust Memorial Center), **László Harsányi**, was dismissed by the museum's new government-appointed board of curators headed by György Haraszti, a historian teaching at the Jewish Theological Seminary in Budapest. The board temporarily appointed Szabolcs Szita, another historian, to take over his duties. The dismissal was preceded by a controversy over the center's permanent exhibition (mounted in 2006), which the government believed gave a distorted picture of Hungary's ties with Nazi Germany. At its core was a picture of Admiral Miklós Horthy, who led Hungary from 1920 to 1944 and who entered into an alliance with the Nazis in exchange for the restoration of territories (including southern Slovakia and northern Transylvania) lost under the Trianon Treaty of 1920. Undersecretary András Levente Gál of the Ministry of Justice had said that picture unjustifiably linked Hungary's re-appropriation of territory with the deportation of Jews to Nazi concentration and death camps (some 560,000 Hungarian Jews perished in the Holocaust), shown in nearby pictures, and had asked the Interior Ministry from which the center depended that the exhibit be reassessed—something which Harsányi had refused. Historians accused the government of censorship.⁸
- 2013 In March 2013, the far-right political party Jobbik sued historian and Holocaust researcher **László Karsai** [q.v. 2004–2009] for defamation because he had said that Jobbik was “neo-Nazi” in a television program. The Budapest District Court ruled that Jobbik did not hold Nazi views per se in historical terms, portraying itself not as neo-Nazi but rather as a national radical Christian conservative party. It found Karsai's statement “gratuitously offensive.”⁹
- 2014 On 12 January 2014, the deputy leader of the governing allied Christian Democrats (KDNP), **Bence Rétvári**, called on the opposition Socialist Party to transfer their Communist-era documents (1944–1989), stored in the archives of the Institute of Political History (PTI; established by

⁷ C. Adam, “Hungary Erases the Past and Whitewashes the Future,” *National Post* (Toronto; Online; 13 January 2011); <http://www.ipetitions.com/petition/hungarianarchives/>; J. P. Myklebust, “Hungary: Historians Resist Return of Spy Files,” *University World News* (27 February 2011).

⁸ AFP, “Hungary Sacks Holocaust Museum Chief” (21 May 2011); *Historisch Nieuwsblad* (July–August 2011), 29; “Hungary's Nazi Past in Spotlight as Kepiro Goes on Trial” *The New Age* (5 May 2011); “Rewriting History: The Fate of the Holocaust Memorial Center,” *Hungarian Spectrum* (23 May 2011).

⁹ Szigeti, “Why Shouldn't a Hungarian Historian Call Jobbik “Neo-Nazi”?”

- the Socialists), to the National Archives. He said that the 2012 amendment to the archives law obliged the PTI to hand over the documents to the National Archives because it defined documents filed in 1944–1989 as state property. On 11 June 2014, the Supreme Court rejected the PTI appeal and ordered the transfer.¹⁰
- [2015] The government decided to replace the statue of Mihály Károlyi, prime minister and first president of the Hungarian Democratic Republic (October 1918–March 1919), standing outside the parliament, by the statue of István Tisza, the conservative prime minister of Hungary (1903–1905, 1913–1917) in the last years of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.¹¹
- 2016–2018 In March 2016, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences announced that it would close down the Lukács Archives (founded 1972) in Budapest. György Lukács (1885–1971) was a philosopher and literary historian known for his original views of the Marxist doctrine. In 1919, he had been the People’s Commissar of Public Education in the government of the Hungarian Soviet Republic (21 March 1919–3 April 1919) and in 1956 he was the Minister of Popular Culture during the Revolution (27 October 1956–3 November 1956). Among his works were *History and Class Consciousness* (1923) and *The Historical Novel* (1937).
- On 31 August 2016, Ágnes Heller and János Weis founded the Lukács Archive International Foundation (LAIF) to support the survival of the Lukács Archives. On the instruction of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the removal and transfer of the manuscripts held at the Lukács Archives began on 15 January 2018. On 24 May 2018, the last research associate was dismissed.¹²
- 2017 In March 2017, the city council of Budapest, which was dominated by the ruling Fidesz party, announced plans to remove the statue of the renowned Jewish literary critic and Marxist theoretician György Lukács (1885–1971) [q.v. 2016] from Szent István Park. The statue was to be replaced by that of King (and Saint) Stephen (975–1038), considered the founder of the Hungarian State and the person who converted the Hungarian tribes to Christianity.¹³

¹⁰ MTI, “KDNP Calls on Socialists to Hand over Communist Era Files (12 January 2014); MTI, “Pre-1989 Communist Documents To Be Transferred to National Archives,” (12 June 2014).

¹¹ Molnár, “Slam Session,” *Index on Censorship* (2015, no. 4), 20.

¹² “Protest Against Closing Down the Lukács Archiv” (Petition; 8 March 2016); Alex Doherty, “‘History Has a Habit of Intruding’: Save the Lukács Archive” (14 March 2016); “György Lukács,” *Wikipedia* (31 March 2016); “Statement on the Formation of the Lukács Archive International Foundation (LAIF) (Hungarian: LANA)” (31 August 2016); updates (13 January 2018; 3 June 2018).

¹³ Davidzon, “Statue of György Lukács in Budapest to Be Removed,” *Tablet* (30 March 2017).

- 2018 On 28 December 2018, the authorities removed a statue of Imre Nagy (1896–1958), pro-reform Communist and hero of the 1956 anti-Soviet uprising executed in 1958, from Martyrs' Square in front of the parliament building (where it was erected in 1996) to Jaszai Mari Square, a northern location of Budapest. It would be replaced by a monument to the victims of the Red Terror (a purge of anti-Communist forces by the short-lived Communist regime in 1919), which replicated one that stood there during the pro-Nazi rule of wartime Admiral Miklós Horthy (1868–1957), who fueled anti-Semitism. Some critics accused Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's nationalist government of revising Hungary's history, while its supporters argued that the aim was to return parts of Budapest to their pre-World War II appearance, before the decades of Communist rule (1949–1989). On 16 June 1989 Orbán – then an anti-Communist activist – had addressed a rally celebrating Nagy's reburial and rehabilitation.¹⁴
- 2019 On 13 February 2019, the Committee of Historical Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences expressed its support for the action of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences aiming to preserve the autonomy of its research and finances.¹⁵
- 2019 In June 2019, Prime Minister Viktor Orbán signed a decree to incorporate the 1956 Institute (a historical research center funded in June 1989 and dedicated to the 1956 Hungarian uprising against the Soviet Union) into the Veritas Historical Research Institute and Archive, created by the government in 2014 and which critics said promoted a version of history favoring Orbán's agenda. The 1956 Institute had been part of the national library and its director, historian **János Rainer** (1957–), was not consulted prior to the decision. All ten historians employed at the institute resigned. Government spokespersons insisted that the change was intended to improve the efficiency of research.¹⁶
- 2019– In 2019, the government withdrew accreditation and funding for the two gender studies masters programs in Hungary (at Eötvös Loránd University, ELTE, and Central European University, CEU). **Andrea Pető**, historian in the CEU Department of Gender Studies, received an anonymous threatening email via the academic website academia.edu

¹⁴ "Hungary Removes Statue of Anti-Soviet Hero Imre Nagy," *BBC News* (28 December 2018); Novak, "Hungarians Fume as Statue of Former Leader Is Downgraded," *New York Times* (28 December 2018).

¹⁵ Letter from Tomasz Schramm (Head of the Presiding Office of the Committee of Historical Sciences) to László Lovász (President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences) (13 February 2019).

¹⁶ Hopkins, "Hungary's Viktor Orban and the Rewriting of History," *Financial Times* (25 July 2019).

because of her lectures dealing with gender, politics, the Holocaust, and war. The email was also anti-Semitic, saying that it “foresaw the eradication of her breed.” The CEU offered to provide her with a bodyguard, but she turned the offer down. As a result of the affair, her book on sexual violence during World War II in Hungary moved on to the bestseller list there for weeks. Pető was the author, with Ildikó Barna, of *Political Justice in Budapest after World War II* (2015); co-editor, with Ayşe Gül Altınay, of *Gendered Wars, Gendered Memories: Feminist Conversation on War, Genocide and Political Violence* (2016), and edited the volume on *War in the Interdisciplinary Handbook: Gender Series* (Macmillan, 2017).

2020 In late November 2021, resigned from the humanities subcommittee of the Hungarian Accreditation Committee after she was asked to withdraw criticism of the European Association for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ENQA). In a draft article, Pető had argued that the ENQA failed to confront the “illiberalization” of educational policy in Poland and Hungary and that the illiberal turn in higher education policy was leading to self-censorship among Hungarian academics.¹⁷ In mid-February 2020, after Prime Minister Orbán emphasized national pride in his state-of-the-nation speech on 16 February, the government announced that it would modify the national curriculum in September in order to instill a spirit of national pride in school pupils. The change would affect the teaching of history and literature. Hungarian history would be taught in a continuous form while global history only insofar as it affected Hungary. Military victories would be emphasized, defeats downplayed. State-published textbooks would be pushed. The move was widely criticized, among others by the President of the Történelemtanárok Egylete (TTE; Association of Hungarian History Teachers), **László Miklósi**. TTE published reports outlining the many errors in new state-published history textbooks.¹⁸

2020 Defamation and slander remained criminal offense, along with desecrating the memory of deceased persons. The Criminal Code also prohibited dishonoring or degrading national symbols, while the prohibition on incitement to hatred problematically included incitement to hatred of the Hungarian nation. Prohibitions on totalitarian symbols and open denial of Nazi or Communist crimes also

¹⁷ Sally Gimson, “Macho Politics Drive Academic Closures,” *Index on Censorship*, 2019 no. 3, 103; “Andrea Peto” (CEU website, September 2019); Jennifer Rankin, “How Dictatorship Works’: Hungarian Academic Quits in Censorship Row,” *Guardian* (30 November 2021).

¹⁸ Thorpe, “Hungary’s New Patriotic Education Meets Resistance,” *BBC News* (25 February 2020); Vodli, “History and Courage: The Position of Teachers in Hungary,” *EuroClio* (7 October 2019).

raised free speech concerns, since they were not limited to contexts where this speech constituted hate speech and they did not include intent requirements.¹⁹

2020 In September 2020, the National Core Curriculum was rolled out in elementary and secondary schools. One of the curriculum's goals was for students to learn to be "proud of their people's past." The nation's historical wartime defeats were deleted from textbooks and replaced by portrayals of victorious battles; legends and myths were presented as historical facts. The authoritarian rule of Miklós Horthy (1868–1957) in 1920–1944 was to be portrayed in a positive light, despite the fact that he had passed anti-Jewish laws in 1920 and later became one of Adolf Hitler's close allies. The literature program further removed Nobel Laureate Imre Kertész (1929–2016), who wrote extensively about the Shoah, and German Peace Prize winning author Péter Esterházy (1950–2016) from the curriculum. It made works by József Nyíró (1889–1953), a member of the fascist Arrow Cross Party and an admirer of Nazi propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels, and Albert Wass (1908–1998), who was an avowed anti-Semite and convicted war criminal, mandatory readings. The government of Viktor Orbán's Fidesz party had been pushing the rehabilitation of these authors for years, erecting new monuments and naming streets after them.²⁰

2021 In 2021, no official commemoration was held for the victims of the first deportation of Jews from Hungary to Kamianets-Podilskyi in the summer of 1941. In 2013, the government of President Viktor Orbán had founded the historical institute – "Veritas" – which critics said promoted a version of history favoring Orbán's political agenda. "Veritas" allegedly denied that anti-Semitism had been part of the state's policy during the Horthy regime (1919–1944). In 2014, Sándor Szakály, the military historian who headed "Veritas" and who had met opposition for his revisionist views of history for almost twenty years, stated in an interview that the 1941 deportation to Kamianets-Podilskyi had been an "police action against aliens", claiming that the Hungarian gendarmes could never have done such a thing. His comments had led Jewish organizations to demanding his dismissal, but to no avail.²¹

¹⁹ Centre for Law and Democracy, *Restrictions on Civic Space Globally: Law and Policy Mapping Series, vol. 2, Europe and Central Asia Region* (Halifax: CLD, July 2020), 28.

²⁰ Schlagwein, "New School Curriculum Raises Eyebrows in Orban's Hungary," *Deutsche Welle* (31 March 2021); Amnesty International, *State of the World's Human Rights 2020/21* (London: AI, 2021), 181.

²¹ Pfeifer, "Ohne Druck von deutscher Seite," *Jüdische Allgemeine* (18 July 2021).

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Greek Catholics and Orthodox Christians using an interdisciplinary approach. Her research is supported by the University Research Scholarship Program (EKÖP). She also examines early 20th-century Russian philosophy of religion and seeks to answer the question of how Dostoevsky's oeuvre became a source of inspiration for Russian philosophers of religion N. A. Berdyaev and V. V. Rozanov. In 2025, she won first place at the 37th National Scientific Student Association Conference (OTDK) with her study "In court for conversion to the Orthodox faith. Lipcse, a village in Maramureş County at the turn of the 20th century" and won the Pro Scientia Gold Medal.

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