# Theories on Socialist Realism and Socialist Music Culture in the 1960s in Hungary

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#### ABSTRACT

In the 1960s, the quantity of publications on aesthetics of music significantly increased in Hungary. The variability of the subjects, the approaches and the opinions are result of an explicit ideological reordering based on the consequently articulated politics of anti-Stalinism. By the mid-sixties the economic founding and sustainability of socialism and its optimized operation became the crucial problem for the power, hence the importance of natural and social sciences increased in the public discourses. The arts were no longer treated as mere illustrations of the political power and its intentions. I focus on the main contributions to aesthetics of music of the so-called creative Marxism written by three internationally acknowledged Hungarian scholars of this period: József Ujfalussy, Dénes Zoltai and János Maróthy. Selected texts are analized from theoretical points of view and interpreted in the context of the Hungarian cultural policy and the national and international career of their authors as well.

KEYWORDS: socialist realism, music culture, Hungary, 1960s, anti-Stalinism

#### Introduction

In the 1960s, the quantity of publications on aesthetics of music based on original researches significantly increased in Hungary. The variability of the subjects, the

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approaches and the opinions discussed in the lively debates indicates that the repression characterising the 1950s was gradually diminishing the process of liberalization of the public and private life together with the culture began (see Romsics 2011: 879). The strengthening of this tendency was founded on the consciously articulated politics of anti-Stalinism "that was sanctified by the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) 14-25 February 1956. At that time, the Soviet leaders announced the principle of the peaceful coexistence of the two social systems. They expressed and canonized that there are several ways to reach socialism and that the mechanic reproduction of the Soviet model would result in mistakes" (Romsics 2011: 881-882). After the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 it became obvious that the practice of political oppression is , thanks to the emigrants more and more people could get information about the life beyond the iron curtain (see Rainer 2016).

The codification of anti-dogmatism and coexistence, and the broadening of the worldview in informal ways changed the official position concerning the arts. A 1958 document of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) (MSZMP 1958) declared the acceptance of all humanistic efforts existing besides the social realism (see Romsics 2011: 895). There was one more important tendency of the ideological reordering. By the mid-sixties the economic founding and sustainability of socialism and its optimized operation became the crucial problem for the power; the natural and social sciences came into prominence in the main discourses, so the arts could discharge the ballast of direct conveying of political ideology (see Kalmár 2004). Although the arts remained important means of the shaping of personality, they were not treated any more as mere illustration of the power and its intentions.

#### Musical realism and its theoretical foundation

József Ujfalussy played a historical role in the positioning of music under the present circumstances of the socialist culture in Hungary. In his book *A valóság zenei képe* [The Musical Image of Reality] (Ujfalusy 1962), he undertook to concretize the basic categories of the general aesthetics of Marxism-Leninism in music to create a theoretical foundation for the debates on musical realism. He wanted to complete "the research method based on the category of intonation of historical-materialist aesthetics of music with a dialectical-materialist contribution" (Ujfalusy 1962: 157). Ujfalussy's main questions are: is the music capable of mirroring the objective reality and how do the socially determined relations appear on the different levels of music? His achievements were methodologically fundamental in terms of the theoretical coherence of Marxist aesthetics and the discourse concerning socialist realism.

Analysing the musical substance, Ujfalussy argued for the concept that the musical sound with its peculiarities (fixed pitch, timbre, volume, temporality) is not a naturally existing phenomenon, but a product of a socially determined stylizing process in which the individual effort of understanding the world and the collective interest of communication are of cardinal importance. According to Ujfalussy, both understan-

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ding and communication are originally based on the reduction of the phenomena to the essential characteristics apprehensible by the senses. The stylized characteristics and forms referring to concrete objects or relations of reality are results of the specific possibilities of imitation and its repetition in collective dimensions (see Ujfalusy 1962: 22, 30). The imitation of the audible side of reality shows a kind of impoverishment in comparison to the richness of the original, noise-like soundings referring to the objects almost so explicitly as the verbal concept. According to Ujfalussy, the simplification and purification of the acoustic imitation led to the clarity of musical sound. As he argued, its fixed quality in pitch and timbre is an abstraction from the characteristics of static objects whereas the alternation of pitches, volume etc. and its measure and temporal articulation are abstracted from the dynamic features of reality (see Ujfalusy 1962: 30–33). Thus Ujfalussy characterised the musical material as a system of static and dynamic coefficients (differentiated musical parameters and their changes) derived from the reality to evoke reality itself and this way he defined music as a generalized sounding depiction of the experienced world.

It was Ujfalussy's innovation to deploy certain accomplishments of psychology and neurophysiology<sup>2</sup> in this aesthetic theory. According to him, the effect of music does not depend exclusively on pure musicality. Through the perception of music, a broad circle of mental images is activated which is based on the transposition and integration of the kinesthesia of motor muscles and sense organs to dynamic stere-otypes<sup>3</sup> in the higher neural processes informing the man about the relations of the objective reality and about his subjective relation to them as well (see Ujfalusy 1962: 146–149). Ujfalussy's genuine interpretation of musical influence on emotions sprung from this concept.

These statements concerning the genesis and meaning of music had an explicitly antidogmatic character. Especially because these statements concluded in the negation of the vulgar Marxist theory which originateds music from work. As Ujfalussy said, in labour songs music is an already existing thing and in order to know what the music is and how it conveys specifically human content, we must avoid the unscholarly practice of using notions of our culture to interpret the historical past (see Ujfalusy 1962: 5–19).

Analysing the logic of the development of musical formulas, Ujfalussy similarly focused on the objective reality and the social determination. He stressed that besides the physical qualities of musical sounds and the general categories of human cognition, the moments originating from the collectivity are also fundamental (see Ujfalusy 1962: 40–42): the physical and physiological measure of ability to unite into harmonic relations and the cognitive orientation by the categories of identity and nonidentity are the fundamentals of the selection of the interval set from which the simple formulas and the syntactical basics are built, and which can be observed in clear forms

- 2 Ujfalussy referred to several works of P.M. Jakobson, L. Kardos, I.P. Pavlov, G. Révész, C. Stumpf, B.M. Teplov.
- 3 The concept of dynamic stereotype used by Ujfalussy came from Pavlov.

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at the beginning of the melodic and harmonic evolution. The historical unfolding of this evolution, the differences and the increasingly complex logic of the musical thinking in different cultures, nations, classes, genres etc. are determined mostly by the concrete and historically changing social circumstances (see Ujfalusy 1962: 42–54, 94–101).

The third level of the analyses is the semantic typology of increasingly complex musical units. Mental images of kinetic experiences and the connecting visual (move, luminance) and gestural associations represents the first category which is in a close relationship with the higher integrative activities of the neural system mentioned above (see Ujfalusy 1962: 106–108, 110–111). The directly sensual and naturalistic references constitute the second group involving timbre imitations of acoustic phenomena of objective reality and the formulas of few tones referring to a concrete object (e.g. sound imitations, see Ujfalusy 1962: 112–113).

The third category includes elaborated semantic units with their meaning originating from the social practice. Such a general content or situation can also be evoked by a timrale imitation (e.g. the hunting, the forest or even the nature by a horn). The citations from already existing compositions interlinked closely with certain characters, ideas, types of behaviour, social classes or epochs also belong to this category. According to Ujfalussy these can be indicated in a more general level also by different genres and styles whose general nature gives more possibilities to deploy the creativity and individuality of the composer. The intonation is interpreted by Ujfalussy as the highest level of this double tendency of the generalization in the content and the individualization by the composer. According to him, the essential feature of this special type of evoking a socially fixed general content is that the characteristics of the forms crystallized in the collective practice are completely assimilated into the individual style of the composer which requires the cooperation and mutual complementation of the three levels of this typology in the articulation of the content (see Ujfalusy 1962: 114-118). Thus intonation regarded as the musical equivalent of the notion of type of the general aesthetics is described as a physically, physiologically, psychologically, historically and socially determined category integrating the moments of the individual compositional style as well.

In his work Ujfalussy explicitly intended to give an evaluation concerning the music of the twentieth century (see e.g., Ujfalusy 1962: 87–88). According to his starting point the individual's relation to the world can be directly realized by the emotions which are also fundamental motivations of action. Furthermore, the social function of arts is exactly the refining of the culture of emotions. According to Ujfalussy this can be achieved the most effectively through the artworks having a subtle system of expression. From his dissertation we might conclude that musical works can only fulfil this criterion if, instead of the mere sensual and hedonistic moments, the socialness, that might be described by the category of intonation, plays the decisive role in the composition and the reception. It can also be seen, that accor-

4 Ujfalussy demonstrated his theory using examples from the Hungarian folk music and the tradition of European art music.

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ding to him, the required complexity must be graspable primarily by the senses, and not only by the intellect, to talk about a piece of artwork.

Ujfalussy's relationship to the modernity is characterised by a moderate conservatism determined by these presuppositions. He stressed that Schoenberg's school and its tradition can not fulfil the criterion of the sensual grasp and Stravinsky gave up the principle of the responsibility for the society. Ujfalussy declares that although the fulfilment of the double criteria and the integration of European traditions can be observed also in the works of Prokofiev and Honegger, the most significant and "intercontinental" synthesis is created by Bartók, whom Ujfalussy clearly considered as the paradigmatic composer for the socialist music culture (see Ujfalusy 1962: 100–101).

# The music and socialist realism in the light of the general aesthetics

Dénes Zoltai, the philosopher and aesthetician, an important participant in the discourse on the realism of music and the social realism wrote in 1964 his collected theses A szocialista realizmus 'irodalomközpontúságának' meghaladása [Exceeding the 'Literature-Centeredness' in Socialist Realism] (Zoltai 1969) which was published five years later in a volume of his essays.<sup>5</sup>

These theses were originally intended for internal use to the debate of the Department of Aesthetics of Institute for Philosophy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Due to their explicit references to the history of politics and scholarship they are especially relevant in terms of the actual state of the discourses on aesthetics of music and also in terms of aesthetics in general. Zoltai declared the necessity of breaking with the dogmatic concept of arts and with the interpretation of the socialist realism based on the direct political efficiency. In his argument he focused on three fundamental questions: what are the structural peculiarities of art in general and in its individual branches when art is regarded as the reobjectivation of the reality; what is its historically changing function in the society; how do the individual artistic traditions of the different societies determine the history of the socialist realism.

Zoltai's reference to the 20th Congress of the CPSU made it clear that the way scholars were thinking on the concept of art during the period of personality cult could not be defended (see Zoltai 1969: 370). At the same time he declared that the music research based on the category of intonation represents the method to be followed by the creative marxist musicology (see Zoltai 1969: 368–369). However, he still criticised the theory of B.V. Asaf'yev because of his phenomenological approach to the form. As Zoltai argued Asaf'yev could not reveal precisely the nature of the specific medium of music, i.e. of the specifically musical method of mirroring the reality. At this point he referred to the historical researches of Ujfalussy (see ibid.,

5 There is a shortened German version of this volume (Menschenbild moderner Musik. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1978) which does not include the studies mentioned in this chapter.

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369), nevertheless, it is obvious that he wanted to propagate his colleague's achievements<sup>6</sup> in terms of the technical analysis of the "homogeneous medium"<sup>7</sup> of music.

Examining the problem of "literature-centeredness" Zoltai focused on the objectivity of the art and on the concreteness of the so called content and he differentiated three fundamental questions (see Zoltai 1969: 358–360): first, whether literature provide sufficient ground for the aesthetic inductions; second, if the isolable and verbalizable ideal content is a specificity of art; how the relationship of these two questions develops throughout history and how it determines the aesthetic reflections.

Already at the beginning of his collected theses Zoltai states that the defining character of art is its capability to evoke reality in its completeness and, in this way, create the richness of experience in the recipient (see Zoltai 1969: 358–363). Opposing the concreteness of the notion, he identifies the artistic meaning and its scope in a broader sense as a constitutive moment of art in general describing it with Lukács's category of "undefined objectivity". He reveals that the "literature-centeredness" interpreted as unambiguousness has nothing to do with literature and with arts in general. An outstanding achievement of his collected theses is that it clarifies that the norm of directly shaping the society, that is the agitative practice expected from art is a result of the distorted view of the dogmatic period.

It is important to see that Zoltai points out that the dogmatic art concept is based on the illusion as if the statements of Marx and Engels referring to the art would make up a complete system. As he argued since they were not professional aestheticians and their statements were motivated by their actual political aims it is a current challenge to elaborate the Marxist aesthetics in general and in the different branches of art including the theory of the historically changing socialist realism (see Zoltai 1969: 363–364).

Zoltai completes his arguments by emphasizing the different aspects of historicalness. Thus the collected theses can be an effective basis for exceeding the concept based on extrinsic expectations, and for the establishing a more liberal theory of art. By stressing that the "socialist realism [...] is not the autonomous realization of an abstract 'principle' or an aesthetic 'ideal'" (Zoltai 1969: 364). Zoltai makes way for the unfolding of the concept that socialist realism is rather a general method for the representation of typical emotions and attitudes being characteristic of a certain social and cultural environment, than a norm prescribing elements of form and content.

- 6 Ujfalussy published both his historical and theoretical achievements in his CSc dissertation analysed above. Moreover, the director of the Institute of Philosophy was József Szigeti at the time who supported Ujfalussy in the obtaining the CSs degree as an opponent.
- 7 The "homogeneous medium" category has a central role in the The Specificity of Aesthetic of Georg Lukács. Ujfalussy, Zoltai and János Maróthy belonged to the broader circle of Lukács's followers who could read the his main work on aesthetics in manuscript. Their relationship can be seen also by the adaptation of his category of "undefined objectivity".
- 8 Ignác Romsics states that during the 1960s an increasing liberalization can be observed in Hungary (see Romsics 2011, 897).

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In Zoltai's interpretation the main characteristics of socialist realism are on the one hand, the adherence to the human values of the European tradition in spite of the crisis of the so called bourgeois world and its cataclysm in the 20th century and the belief that these values become available for the masses and, on the other hand, the ability to synthesize the "classical" forms of the artistic expression and the achievements of their deconstruction (see Zoltai 1969: 384).

Concerning the historicalness it is of particular importance that Zoltai realized the significance of national traditions in the development of socialist realism (see Zoltai 1969: 366–368). We must stress that Zoltai does not speak about folklore, folkloristic style elements and patterns of intonation based on them which belong to the obsolete dogmatism characterised by the slogan "national in form, socialist in content". He argues for the concept that socialist realism evolves from the progressive local traditions of the so called high culture, independently from the ideological or bureaucratic control from above (see Zoltai 1969.). Thus Zoltai points out implicitly that there are many ways leading to socialist realism and we must accept the differences of the branches of art and the various genres determined by the specific development of national cultures.<sup>9</sup>

It is remarkable that the former political-ideological narrative based on the proletariat does not play a role in Zoltai's interpretation. The reason for this might be that the "human values" often referred by him are considered universal, i.e. they can not be monopolized by any classes of the society. The disavowal of the politically motivated proletarian-centeredness in art theory was also strengthened by the Eighth Congress of the HSWP where it was declared that the doctrine of "constant 'intensifying' of class struggle" is not adequate anymore in Hungary and that "the foundation of socialism has successfully ended [and] the 'exploiting classes' have ceased to exist" (Romsics 2011: 896–897).

Besides the considerations on general aesthetics Zoltai focuses on the peculiarities of the music regarded as the paradigm of the realism of art and art in general. As he argues, the basically conceptless medium of music draws attention to two moments: art in general has to be a representation based on sensual generalization and realism is not identical with the objectively concrete and conceptually unambiguous imitating of reality. According to Zoltai the cathartic representation of personal characters determined by the society, and the sensualization of typical emotions indicating characteristic relations between the objective reality and the personality are the specificities of music and the realism of arts in general (see Zoltai 1969: 374, 385).

In these theses Zoltai articulates his opinion that the socialist realist music with a high aesthetic quality is still only an unfulfilled promise (see Zoltai 1969: 368, 382). Like Ujfalussy, he mentions the work of Bartók as an example and aesthetic measure of "combative humanism" and of synthesizing the different musical idioms.

Zoltai strengthened his main ideas in an article published within the frame of the realism debate unfolded in the Social Review which was the ideological and cultural

<sup>9</sup> This harmonizes with the statements of the 1956 Congress of CPSU and the 1958 directives of HSWP cited in the Introduction.

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journal of the HSWP (Zoltai 1965). He stressed that socialist realism is a method determined by the social mission, the observation and typifying of the social-human reality, the belief that people can be formed by art and finally by the requirement of cathartic representation of reality (see Zoltai 1965: 354). The latter's appearance in the musical and general aesthetic discourses is of a special importance, because the experiential world of the recipient is a constitutive element of the catharsis and this indicates that, according to Zoltai, it is an essential criterion of socialist realism that it finds its way to a wide circle of receivers. Zoltai also points out that the music concept determined by these criteria has a long history (see Zoltai 1965). In his CSc dissertation (Zoltai 1966), which Zoltai finished about that time, he analyses the European tradition of the philosophical aesthetics of music from these aspects from the beginnings to Hegel.

## THE HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION OF SOCIALIST REALISM IN MUSIC

János Maróthy, a prominent historian and sociologist of music in the Hungarian musicological scene, was also an important participant in the Hungarian discourse on socialist realist music in 1960s. In his monumental DSc dissertation Zene és proletár [Music and The Bourgeois, Music and The Proletarian] (see Maróthy 1966a), finished in 1964, he undertook to outline the historical antecedents of socialist realist music wanting to demonstrate that it is not a brainchild of bureaucrat-aestheticians and there are many connections binding the socialist realist music to the rich European traditions (see Maróthy 1966a: 5-6). In his work based on the analyses of an enormous historical material, it is methodologically important that he puts in the centre the category of genre and the concept of type, e.g. the intonation concretized in music by Ujfalussy.

It is of crucial importance that Maróthy realized that the mass music is also an organic part of the music history, moreover, there is an interaction between the development of the genres of the professional and the mass music. Therefore, as he argues, the real historical processes can not be understood omitting either of them. This correlation also plays a central role in Maróthy's interpretation of socialist realist music. In his definition it is an organic synthesis of the mass music, especially the workers' folk music characterised by extraordinary variability, and the forms and techniques of art music (see Maróthy 1974: 569–571).

Owing to this theory, Maróthy's work is relevant in terms of the contemporary musical and musicological life. It served as a ground for the theoretical possibility and practical acceptance of diversity of contemporary music. Focusing on musical type as a unit of the musical form and socially determined content, he demonstrated that it is necessary to research the musical products in a broad spectrum. Hence he made

<sup>10</sup> The short Introduction to the Hungarian version is omitted from the English. Hereafter I am referring to the latter (Maróthy 1974).

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the techniques and styles of a considerable part of the bourgeois and mass music available and applicable for the contemporary compositional practice and he also made it a legitimate subject for different musicological investigations.

However it is obvious that Maróthy's ideological view of history marks out the limits of the artistic application and the theoretical frame of scholarly evaluation. His view was based on the class principle and determined by the opposition between the isolated individuals and the more conscious masses, the model well known from the dogmatism of the 1950s. Maróthy described the period of the professional music from the late Middle Ages into the 19th century as to be uniformly characterised by the negativity of the bourgeois mentality. Its most essential feature is the increasingly introverted ego-centrism. It generated a duality of the private and public life, in which all kinds of collectivity become an abstract generality (see Maróthy 1966a: 11-12). He argued, that this trend appeared also in the communities and culture of the peasantry bequeathing the traditional "folklore". And opposing to this trend, the proletariat represents the principle of collectivity adopting or creating ligaments that is excluded from the life of bourgeoisie and peasantry (see Maróthy 1966a: 253–259). As Ujfalussy pointed out as well, these two poles are separated by undialectical and unhistorical rigidity in Maróthy's theory, which is in sharp contrast with the historian's and aesthetician's sensitivity observable in his concrete musical analyses focusing on the history of certain genres (see Ujfalussy 1967).

According to Maróthy's obviously tendentious interpretation the ego-centered world view is represented by the type of solo song characterised by homogeneity in the mood and rounded-off form making a closed musical unity. Furthermore, this social-psychological ego-centredness is strengthened by the monocentrism of the tonality, the dualism of 4/4 and 3/4, the uniformly graded proportioning, the homorhythm, and the homophony (see Maróthy 1974: 17–22). In a broader sense, Maróthy sees all types of rounded-off forms and harmonious arrangement of musical elements as attributes of bourgeois music (see e.g. Maróthy 1974: 38).

Contrary to the negative individualism of schematized forms of bourgeois culture, for some time the original collectivity is expressed by the peasantry and later by the protoproletariat and proletariat. In their music Maróthy observes a high degree of variability of formal elements which come from the collectivity itself and their direct relationship to the harsh reality (see Maróthy 1974: 271–273). Maróthy, however, stresses that the "workers' folk music" has many connections to the bourgeois culture and to the peasant and urban folklore which are analysed from compositional, sociological, and historical aspects. Maróthy's aim is to demonstrate that the peculiar realism of the "workers' folk music" is based on its variability mentioned above, and on its unstylized character and outspokeness. The attributes of this realism are the recontextualizing and transmuting employment of the common genres of bourgeois music in order to express the special proletarian content or social criticism (see Maróthy 1974: 429–484).

Although Maróthy does not deny the realism of the bourgeois music, he stresses that it comes only from the fundamentally realistic character of music itself,

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which is a system of intonation "conveying the behaviour patterns of social man" (Maróthy 1974: 102). He also does not argue that the static song-centeredness of the bourgeois culture ends around the late Middle Ages and that from that time the forms of professional music is becoming more dynamic and elaborated (multithematic structures, motivic development) (see Maróthy 1974: 106). But he interprets the growing possibility of depicting reality as an involuntary effect of the development of the bourgeois world view. Thus he considers it only a product-like realism which is different from the conscious mirroring of the social reality (see Maróthy 1974: 90–111).

In Maróthys analyses the bourgeois realism can not select and generalize the directly existing characteristics of the individual and its world because of its egocenteredness (see Maróthy 1974: 96). "The 'luxury' of showing reality from every angle" (Maróthy 1974: 109) is the consequence of this, and that is why the works of bourgeois artists are unable to convey unambiguous moral judgements. This conclusion makes it evident that the dogmatic criterion that art is a vehicle of clear political and moral directives still plays a fundamental role in Maróthy's concept on socialist music.

The same doctrinairism, outmoded by that time in Hungary, underlies another essential criterion defined by Maróthy. Like others, he also declares that socialist realism grasps the reality of its time based on the world view of the proletariat. He adds that its realization in music is possible only if the forms and intonations developed during the history of workers' music appear in the art music (see Maróthy 1966b, 3–4). In addition, he stresses that socialist realist music cannot simply continue the workers' folk music since socialist music culture must be made for all people (see Maróthy 1974, 569–571). It must involve all genres of mass and art music and it has to assimilate the former and actual technical achievements of the professional music culture. In this context it is noticeable that in Maróthys theory the products of mass music are important both in terms of content and form, but the professional line of bourgeois music is relevant only because of its compositional technique.

It was undoubtedly significant that Maróthy, the influential music historian, spoke up for the many-sided approach of the bourgeois music culture, especially for the modernity of the 20th century. He theoretically legitimized certain applications of atonality and dodecaphony, which were excluded from the mainstream in the dogmatic period, and he drew attention to the epochal achievements of different artistic "isms" and the Eastern-European national schools. Although he also included Ferenc Szabó, a Hungarian composer, into his concept on socialist realism, all these could not compensate for his statement that the bourgeois trends are deficient because they "tried to break loose from the traditional bourgeois world image without discovering its only real possibility and social foundation - the proletariat" (Maróthy 1974 567–568). By the mid-sixties this view was considered queer in the socialist Hungary where the task of rehabilitating and canonizing the entire work of Bartók was already completed.

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#### PARALLEL STORIES - THE COMMON PURPOSE AND THE CROSSROADS

The work of Ujfalussy, Zoltai and Maróthy in the 1960s marked the new era. Their planned and well organized collaboration served as the basis for founding the aesthetics of music and musicology in the spirit of creative marxism in Hungary. Ujfalussy elaborates the category of intonation on the basis of musical theory, history of melody and psychology, thus introducing the specific musical interpretation of the mirroring theory.

He stresses the relevance of his work by adding references to certain historical studies of Maróthy and Bence Szabolcsi - a doyen of Hungarian musicology of the time, and by adopting Zoltai's aesthetic narrative. In order to clarify the concept and history of socialist realist music, Maróthy develops a music historical typology using the category of intonation previously elaborated by Ujfalussy. In parallel with this, Zoltai contextualizes the aesthetics of music, positioning it in the general aesthetics of the time and in the aesthetic tradition of European philosophy.

The first International Seminar on Marxist Musicology in 1963 in Prague revealed their common purpose. Here Ujfalussy presented the main principles of his CSs dissertation (see Ujfalussy 1963) while Maróthy sketched the challenges of contemporary musical historiography based on the concepts and methodology of his DSc dissertation (see Maróthy 1963) that he was working on at the time. According to the published protocol their clearly antidogmatic theories brought success to them (see e.g. Beiträge 1963, 365). The peak of the career of the three scholars was undoubtedly the second International Seminar on Marxist Musicology in 1965 in Berlin. The fact, that they together made one of the keynote speeches (see Maróthy-Ujfalussy-Zoltai 1965) is already remarkable in itself and indicates the reputation of Hungarian aesthetics of music in the eastern bloc. The next important step was the third seminar in Moscow in 1966, but they gave individual speeches there (see Maróthy-Ujfalussy-Zoltai 1967).

The mutual aim of the three scholars made the basis of their collaboration: breaking with the dogmatic music concept of the 1950s, the softened approach to the bourgeois musical traditions and the theoretical foundation of the practical assimilation of the results of musical modernity. Despite the success they achieved together we could see the signs of disagreement already in 1964–5.

Their views collided on the interpretation of the achievements of bourgeois traditions and the positioning of Bartók's importance in terms of socialist music culture. Despite his many important and detailed theoretical and historical analysis Maróthy condemned the achievements of the bourgeois tradition as products of narrow minded egocentrism. Ujfalussy and Zoltai could not agree with his obvious ideological commitment. Zoltai's collected theses (see Zoltai 1969) clearly shows his respect for the humanism of bourgeois tradition. However, from the same point of view, it was Ujfalussy who openly confronted Maróthy in the article (see Ujfalussy 1965a) published within the realism debate. This confrontation might resulted that

<sup>11</sup> Ujfalussy answered to an article of Maróthy (Maróthy 1964) in which he comprised his main theses on realism of his DSc dissertation. Many well known Hungarian theoretician participated in this debate.

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in the co-authorized Berlin keynote speech the section on socialist realism - obviously written by Maróthy - is quite permissive on the bourgeois tradition and rather moderate about the role of mass music (see Maróthy-Ujfalussy-Zoltai 1965, 269–273).

As for Bartók they are also the previously mentioned works of Zoltai and Ujfalussy which are the starting points. In their publications the works of Bartók is clearly regarded as paradigmatic. Certainly the construction and acceptance of the Bartók paradigm had its antecedents. From the 1950s Hungarian musicology put a lot of effort in this task. In 1958 Ujfalussy published his Bartókbreviary (Ujfalussy 1958). In his 1959 Debussy monograph (Ujfalussy 1959) many references stresses that Bartók carried on the epochal work of Debussy to integrate the musical traditions inside and outside Europe, including the different branches of modernity, into a coherent musical language. The Bartók paradigm culminated in the 1965 Bartók-monograph of Ujfalussy (Ujfalussy 1965b) which was translated into many foreign languages<sup>12</sup> and awarded with the Kossuth prize (the highest state honor) in 1966. This together with the comment made by János Kádár, the First Secretary of the HSWP at the 1966 Congress that "the Bartók tradition has been placed to its worthy position in our musical life" (Breuer 1975, 220) demonstrate that the Bartók interpretation of Ujfalussy, also strengthened by Zoltai, became officially acknowledged.

The disagreement between the Ujfalussy-Zoltai platform and Maróthy certainly had an important role in developing the special circumstances of the publication of Zoltai's CSc dissertation. It was pressed in the same year as the above analyzed DSc dissertation of Maróthy. It was unusual that Zoltai's work, with Ujfalussy's recommendation, was published before receiving the CSc degree. The small number of copies and the low quality of printing may reflect that it had to be published urgently. In my view the aim of this was to counterbalance the ideologically biased and therefore politically less supported work of Maróthy. The fact that the next publication on a subject in which all of them had interest was coauthored only by Ujfalussy and Zoltai (Ujfalussy-Zoltai 1966) underlined their disagreement with Maróthy.

The differences in interpreting the relationship between the bourgeois tradition, Bartók and the socialist musical culture become more obvious in 1967-68. Ujfalussy does not even mention in his review on the DSc dissertation of Maróthy the articulated aim of the monumental work to sketch the historical narrative of the development of the socialist realist music. In my interpretation it clearly shows that by this time Maróthy was excluded from the mainstream of developing the official ideology.

The final moment of this process was when Lukács, who recently regained his party membership, wrote an introduction (Lukács 1968) where he stresses that the art of Bartók conveys the spirit of democratism orientated towards the people in an exemplary way (see Lukács 1968: 5). He calls the attention to the Hungarian musicology which is well ahead of the other scholar interpretations of arts in terms of "real marxism". He explained this with the many defining impulses of Béla Bartók on the Hungarian musicology. He mentioned by name Ujfalussy and Zoltai and their works

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in general but only one work of Maróthy, which was not even his 1966 DSc dissertation on the development of the socialist realist music.

This selective reference to Maróthy's work implies that the official ideologists of the socialist music culture of the time had already broken with the oversimplified and ideologically distorted concept of class struggle. The official concept of binding the socialist music culture with Bartók is a clear sign and catalyst of the increasing liberalization of musical and cultural life. Although this progress can be a tactical element in a cultural and political strategy cautiously opening to the West, still nobody doubts that it enhanced a less biased recognition and a more diverse creation of real values.

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#### Андраш Ранки

Теорије о социјалистичком реализму и социјалистичкој музичкој култури у Мађарској шездесетих година XX века

(Резиме)

Током шездесетих година прошлог века, број публикација о естетици музике значајно се повећао у Мађарској. Разноврсност тема, приступа и мишљења резултат је експлицитног идеолошког престројавања услед артикулације политике антистаљинизма. Будући да су средином шездесетих година економска утемељеност и одрживост социјализма и његова оптимизација постале кључни проблем власти, порастао је значај природних и друштвених наука у јавним дискурсима. Уметност више није третирана као пука илустрација политичке моћи и њених циљева.

У овом раду фокусирам се на главне доприносе естетици музике од стране заступника тзв. *креативног марксизма;* аутори чије радове разматрам јесу три међународно призната мађарска естетичара из овог раздобља. Одабрани текстови анализирани су са теоријског становишта и интерпретирани у контексту мађарске културне политике, као и националне и међународне каријере аутора.

На основу семиналне књиге Музичка слика стварности (1962) испитујем како се Јожеф Ујфалуси (József Ujfalussy) обавезао да ће конкретизовати основне категорије опште естетике марксизма-лењинизма у музици, да би створио музичко-теоријску основу за дебате о (социјалистичком) реализму у музици. Као резултат својих истраживања, Ујфалуси је разрадио интерпретацију категорије интонације, која садржи психолошке, неурофизиолошке и акустичке компоненте, као и разматрања о историји музичког материјала, мелодији, хармонији и жанровима уопште. Према мојој хипотези, његова естетика је од велике важности јер је послужила као чврста основа за Бартокову парадигму културне политике која се опрезно оријентисала према Западу и његовој "буржоаској" култури.

Ову тенденцију је додатно развио Денеш Золтаи (Dénes Zoltai). У овом сегменту текста истражујем како је Золтаи заговарао антидогматску и либерализовану теорију уметности у својој збирци радова Превазилажење "књижевноцентричности" социјалистичког реализма (1964), у којој је музика коришћена као методолошка основа (а не књижевност). У својим написима он је изнео и ново тумачење националног карактера социјалистичке културе, наглашавајући важност интеграције разних дивергентних националних

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традиција буржоаске уметности. У овом раду, Золтаи се изричито позвао на политички маргинализованог, светски познатог филозофа и естетичара Ђерђа Лукаша (György Lukács), који је са ентузијазмом заговарао оријентацију социјалистичке музичке културе према Бартоковом духу и укупном опусу.

Књига Музика и буржоазија, музика и пролетеријат (1966) коју је написао Јанош Мароти (János Maróthy) такође је престављала фундаменталан допринос мултидисциплинарном успостављању марксистичке музикологије у Мађарској. Интегришући неке резултате Ујфалусија и Золтаја, Мароти је конструисао наратив који је требало да буде предисторија социјалистичког реализма. Услед његових политички мотивисаних и застарелих ставова о функцији уметности,као и делимично телеолошког и нормативног карактера његове теорије, ова књига се изразито супротставља другим двема књигама које су предмет овог разматрања.

Упоређивањем комплементарних и супротстављених елемената ових дела и њихове рецепције, постају нам разумљиви теоријски проблеми реализма и социјалистичке музичке културе тог времена, а може се видети и како су марксистички теоретичари покушавали да пронађу везу између савремених изазова и европских традиција.

Кључне речи: социјалистички реализам, музичка култура, Мађарска, пездесете, анти-Стаљинизам