

**1944, 1948 AND OTHER CULTURAL TRAUMAS.
BENCE SZABOLCSI'S PATH FROM THE LABOUR CAMP TO
ŽHDANOVSHCHINA**

Anna Dalos*

Senior Research Associate, Institute for Musicology, HUN-REN Research
Centre for the Humanities, Budapest, Hungary

**ГОДИНЕ 1944. и 1948. и ДРУГЕ КУЛТУРНЕ ТРАУМЕ.
ПУТ БЕНЦЕА САБОЛЧИЈА ОД РАДНОГ ЛОГОРА ДО
ЖДАНОВИЗМА**

Ана Далош

Виши научни сарадник, Музиколошки институт Истраживачког центра за
хуманистику Мађарске истраживачке мреже, Будимпешта, Мађарска

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ABSTRACT

My study focuses on a turning point in the career of the influential music historian, Bence Szabolcsi (1899–1973). I argue that the year 1948 brought about a significant change in Szabolcsi's scholarly work in several regards. Not only because he reached the peak of his career, as evidenced by his election as a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, but also because his scientific interests, his way of speaking, and his methodology changed under the increasing political pressure which formed even in Hungary under the impact of the so-called Ždanov Doctrine. As a typical example, my study presents the genesis of Szabolcsi's short monograph on Antonio Vivaldi and pre-classical music, *Európai virradat* [European Dawn] written between 1944 and 1948. The study is based on primary sources preserved in the Archives of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences that have not been previously explored.

* dalos.anna@abtk.hu

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АПСТРАКТ

Моја студија фокусира се на прекретницу у каријери утицајног историчара музике Бенцеа Сабољчија (1899–1973). Она указује на 1948. годину као значајну промену у Сабољчијевом научном раду у неколико аспеката, не само зато што је аутор тада достигао врхунац своје каријере, о чему сведочи његов избор за члана Мађарске академије наука, већ и стога што су се његова научна интересовања, начин говора и методологија мењали под све већим политичким притиском који је у Мађарској наметала такозвана Ждановљева доктрина. Студија представља причу о настанку кратке монографије *Európai virradat* [Европска зора] о Антонију Вивалдију и преткласичној музици, написане између 1944. и 1948. године, а заснива се на примарним изворима сачуваним у Архиву Мађарске академије наука, који до сада нису били истраживани.

Кључне речи: историја музикологије, нацистички прогон, преткласична музика, Антонио Вивалди, ждановизам.

In May 1948, barely three months after the publication of the USSR Communist Party's resolution condemning formalism in music and Andrej Aleksandrovič Ždanov's comments on it, the communist music writer and music critic Viktor Lányi (1889–1962) published an article in the newly founded political and social weekly, *Új Világ* [New World], in which he argued for the necessity of applying this resolution in Hungary (Lányi 1948). Many prominent figures in Hungarian music life, including communist composers András Mihály (1917–1993) and Ferenc Szabó (1902–1969), as well as one of the closest colleagues of Zoltán Kodály, ethnomusicologist Lajos Vargyas (1914–2007), had already reflected on the resolution in various press organs (Szervánszky 1948a; Mihály 1948; Vargyas 1948; Ujfalussy 1948; Szabó 1948a); the radio had also addressed the issue,¹ and the Hungarian-Soviet Cultural Society had even organised a discussion on the subject (Lányi 1948). The Society found it useful to generate a debate on the resolution in its own newly founded weekly newspaper. Two weeks later, the most prominent musicologist of Hungary at

¹ Archives of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Bence Szabolcsi's legacy, Ms. 5647/51. Radio broadcast "Music and Progress" on 10 March 1948.

the time, Bence Szabolcsi (1899–1973), and one of the most renowned composers, Endre Szervánszky (1911–1977), responded to Lányi's letter (Szabolcsi 1948b, 5; see also its new edition: Szabolcsi 2003, 250–251; Szervánszky 1948b). However, the editorial board of *Új Világ* distanced itself from Szabolcsi's and Szervánszky's opinions already in the lead-up to the debate, writing that “we make it clear from the outset that we disagree. [...] In fact, their views are completely at odds with ours” (Anonymus 1948i). Ferenc Szabó also challenged Szabolcsi's and Szervánszky's opinions in a long letter in the same issue of the newspaper, saying that Szabolcsi's and Szervánszky's doubts about the resolution were basically due to the fact that they could not think as democratically as Ždanov did (Szabó 1948b, 5). At the same time, he expressed his hope that Szabolcsi and Szervánszky, both of whom enjoyed exceptional esteem in the Hungarian music life, would soon be able to recognise the “great historical task” of the generation after Bartók and Kodály, and that they themselves would be involved in carrying out the task. “Though they can only fulfil this role,” Szabó added, “if they understand and take to heart the principles of the Soviet resolution” (Szabó 1948b, 6).

SZABOLCSI AND HIS “GREAT HISTORICAL TASK”

Bence Szabolcsi's short discussion paper tried to raise doubts about the resolution on three points: firstly, he believed that the elusive concept of “formalism” could be misused at any time, then, he considered the programme of distancing Hungarian music culture from the West to be harmful, and thirdly, he drew attention to the fact that if one considers comprehensibility as the main measure of a work's value, it could even “promote the triumph of petty bourgeois taste” (Szabolcsi 1948b, 5). Nevertheless, Szabolcsi added: “The eminent Soviet thinker Ždanov rightly said in his comments on the Moscow resolution: ‘Not everything that is intelligible is a masterpiece, but everything that is a masterpiece is intelligible’; to which I would add: ‘or it becomes intelligible in time.’” Referring to Beethoven's symphonies, *The Art of the Fugue* and Bartók's *Cantata Profana*, among others, Szabolcsi also cited several examples of works whose intelligible reception has been significantly delayed compared to the time of their creation.

Szabolcsi, as his discussion paper reveals, was also immensely concerned that the state, as the “new employer” replacing the patrons of bourgeois music culture, wanted to influence the direction of creative activity. The state's task, as Szabolcsi argued, was rather to unleash the creative impulse of artists and to believe that the “dull-minded society” and the “divided artist” of the previous era could be replaced by “a conscious society” and “a conscious

artist.” Consequently, by June, when his article appeared in the *Új Világ*, he had found a formula to criticise this thorny issue – the state’s intrusion into the private sphere of the creative artist – with the subtle terminology of the other side. Immediately after learning of the resolution in mid-February (Anonymus 1948a; 1948b; 1948c; Zsdánov 1948) – at least as indicated by his comments on the radio programme *Zene és haladás* [Music and Progress] on 10 March, where his two discussion partners were composers Pál Kadosa (1903–1983), an ardent communist, but an avant-garde composer, and Sándor Veress (1907–1992), who some month later left Hungary – he was much more strident. In fact, one can almost sense from his wording the shock, which later proved to be the starting point of cultural trauma, caused by the unmistakable message of the resolution: “I think it is possible, but not certain, that the party can perform this task of productively directing the artist’s attention as a visible representative of the public, but such a function of the party can be as dangerous as the many whims of the patrons of the old days.”²

That Szabolcsi was most concerned with the role of the state as patron: the “new employer,” and how the individual creative artist adapts to this, is demonstrated by his slim volume published in 1952 under the title *Művész és közönsége. Zeneszerző, társadalom és zenei köznyelv a polgári korszak küszöbén* [The Artist and His Audience. Composer, Society and Musical Vernacular on the Threshold of the Bourgeois Era] (Szabolcsi 1952, 19–38). In its second chapter, it contains excerpts from the employer’s instructions to Monteverdi, Vivaldi, Bach, Haydn, and Mozart, among others. In this chapter, Szabolcsi concludes that the great artists “seek to break free from the system which is, for them, a birdcage,” while the small ones always “wish to be a part of it, as it is their life element” (Szabolcsi 1952, 38). The small volume of essays examines the relationship between the artist and the audience in a triangle of the audience’s demands, the expectations of the political power, and the operating mechanism of music’s intelligibility, which was called “musical vernacular” by Szabolcsi. However, it is necessary to add that, unlike Szabolcsi’s 1948 manifestations, it does not analyse the contemporary situation but focuses on the eighteenth century. To put it another way, Szabolcsi’s approach in *The Artist and His Audience* is not sociological, but historical.

The three aspects of his approach to the subject and the period itself, are among Szabolcsi’s favourite topics. Although his theory of the “musical vernacular” was not developed in detail until much later (Szabolcsi 1968), the underlying idea that there are characteristic melodic types in each period of music history, which freely flow from one composer’s work into another,

² Archives of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Bence Szabolcsi’s legacy, Ms. 5647/51, 4.

had already appeared earlier in his writings. He presented this idea most spectacularly in the book *Európai virradat* [European Dawn], which had a publication date of 1949, but had, in fact, already been in bookshops in 1948 and had been in production since 1944 (Szabolcsi 1949a; 1982, 137–142; Anonymus 1948k). The volume traced the many-faceted paths of the development of the Viennese classical style.

In *European Dawn*, Szabolcsi also dealt intensively with the social acceptance of music and its place in society, with a large number of quotations from contemporary observers. The relationship between the power and the musician is also one of the central themes of his monograph on Beethoven, written in 1943 but not published until 1947. The subtitle of the monograph, *Művész és műalkotás két korszak határán* [Artist and Artwork on the Border of Two Periods], draws attention to the crucial change in the role and expectations of the public on the one hand, and in the self-image and self-assessment of the artists on the other, which took place at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Szabolcsi vividly describes the process by which Beethoven went from his desire to satisfy the requirements of the electoral court in Bonn to the idea that he wanted to address all of humanity with his works (Szabolcsi 1947a, 65). His third book, titled *A melódia története* [The History of Melody], published in 1950 but also in preparation since 1944, presents the basic melodic types of each era as a characteristic document of the musical styles of that period (Szabolcsi 1950a).

In my study, I will argue that 1948, similarly to 1944, was a turning point in Szabolcsi's career in many respects. Not only in terms of the external events of his career and not only in a positive sense – they have both been affected by cultural-political traumas closely linked to the threat of physical and intellectual existence: Holocaust and Stalinism. As far as the external events of his life are concerned, they are described in detail in György Kroó's two-volume monograph on Szabolcsi (1994a; 1994b) and in Lóránt Péteri's study (2003a; 2003b). It is perhaps only necessary to add that in 1948 Szabolcsi, who was almost fifty years old, reached the peak of his career, and his acceptance, recognition, and even popularity were extremely widespread. As proof of its popularity, his monograph on Beethoven, published first in 1947, must have been reprinted a year later (Szabolcsi 1948c). Szabolcsi worked hard: he gave lectures (Anonymus 1948g; 1948h), contributed to various debates on music politics (Szabolcsi 1948a; Gaál 1948; Anonymus 1948e; 1948f; 1948j), promoted the Vivaldi concertos he had discovered in 1947 in Italy (S. V. 1948; Balassa 1948; Sz. E. 1948), was elected a member of the newly founded Kossuth Prize committee (Anonymus 1948d), taught at the Liszt Academy of Music and the Béla Bartók Association's School for Workers' Choir Conductors (Szabolcsi

1949c), and published extensively (Berlász and Homolya 1969, Bónis 1992, Kroó 1994b). His election as a corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1948 also confirms his acceptance: his name was on the list of scientists whom the communists believed should be given a place at the Academy, which was presented by philosopher György Lukács to the board of the Academy under Zoltán Kodály.³

Lóránt Péteri argued convincingly that even if Szabolcsi was attacked after the year of the political turnaround in 1948, these were occasional incidents – such as the 1949 debate meeting where András Mihály criticised his *European Dawn*, accusing the music historian of “diverting from the path of a realistic view of history because of his attraction toward idealism” (Szabolcsi 1982, 140; Mihály 1949, 13–14) – and were exclusive to the period between 1948 and 1950, but they did not really shake the positions he had taken after 1945 (Péteri 2003a, 10–11).

MUSIC HISTORIOGRAPHY IN THE SHADOW OF TRAUMAS

If we turn our attention from the history of the events of his career to the inner biography manifested in his works, we can see that Szabolcsi's scientific workshop – despite its spectacular productivity – shows signs of a crisis triggered by a series of cultural and political traumas. This is also documented in *A melódia története* [The History of Melody] (published in 1950), which could have been the basis for a major monograph containing a number of original methodological solutions for musicologists. But it seemed that Szabolcsi himself was uncertain of the genre, the purpose, and the target audience of his new work. The first part of the volume, the actual section on the history of melody, seems to follow the concept of the handbook edited by Szabolcsi, *Régi muzsika kertje* [Garden of Old Music] in 1946 (Szabolcsi 1947b), with its anthology-like evocation of source documents – in this case, melodies, whereas in the 1946 handbook, texts – and introductory explanations for the documents from each period. On the other hand, these explanatory passages between the melodies in the 1950 book and the detailed notes written to them, bring Szabolcsi's publication closer to Dénes Bartha's (1908–1993) revolutionary work from the same period, *A zenetörténet antológiája* [The Anthology of Music History], which was the first anthology of early music written in Hungarian (Bartha 1948).

³ Archives of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Minutes from the meetings of the Governing Board of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, K 1182 152/1945. Minutes from the Governing Board of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences meeting, 19 February 1947. See also Péteri 1989, 25.

Whatever the concept was, the pedagogical function of the first part of Szabolcsi's book is undeniable – as it is indicated by the style of the passages wedged between the melodic examples, which almost resembles the speech-like character of a university lecture. In this light, the chapters on the history of melody can also be seen as the course material of the “History of Style” course that Szabolcsi was outlining for the Liszt Academy of Music at exactly the same time (Szabolcsi 2003, 245–247). The connection between the two projects is also supported by the subtitle of the volume: “Vázlatok a zenei stílus múltjából [Sketches from the Past of Musical Style].” And although *The History of Melody* was published by Cserépfalvi Publishers, the first part of the book could have been a new volume in the series of manuals published by the Magyar Kórus [Hungarian Choir] Publishing Company, in which, in addition to *The Garden of Old Music* and *The Anthology of Music History*, Szabolcsi's seminal work, *A magyar zenetörténet kézikönyve* [The Manual of Hungarian Music History], was also published in 1947 (Szabolcsi 1947c).

However, *The History of Melody* was presumably not intended to be a manual, since in the appendix to the volume, which makes up more than a third of the book, Szabolcsi published his most important studies on the history of melody written since the 1930s, including such fundamental works as “Egyetemes művelődéstörténet és ötfokú hangsorok [The Universal History of Culture and the Pentatonic Scales]” (Szabolcsi 1936), or “A zenei földrajz alapvonalai [The Outlines of Musical Geography]” (Szabolcsi 1938), but the recent “Makám-elv a népi és művészi zenében: típus és változat [The Maqam Principle in Folk and Art Music: Type and Variation]” (Szabolcsi 1949b) also appeared here as a reprint.

Prior to 1945, Szabolcsi's writings were clearly separated by different genres based on their target audience: the range of writings addressing the scientific community can be clearly defined, such as the study “The Outlines of Musical Geography,” which deals with methodological issues, while attempting to prove the thesis that styles of music history are always developed in geo-cultural borderlands, or the numerous articles on the sources of Hungarian music history (all of them published in professional journals). His publications – as one of the highlights of his oeuvre: *A zene története* [History of Music] (Szabolcsi, 1940), the already mentioned monograph on Beethoven, or the writings on new music, especially Kodály (Szabolcsi 1987) – which were based on a broad knowledge of the repertoire and the literature on it, but were written for the general public, i.e. the music-loving city-dwellers, can also be clearly separated. However, after 1945, and especially between 1947 and 1950, Szabolcsi appears to have become uncertain about the boundaries of these categories.

Seven years later, in 1955, he himself seemed to recall his disorientation of 1948, when he summarised the outcomes of Hungarian musicology in the ten years since the end of the Second World War, in a report:

The music journals that appeared in the post-liberation period [...] showed a striking fluctuation in their tone, content, and overall character. Research work, workshop studies or public education? That was the question for all of them; and the fact that this question was being raised in an increasingly acute form was already of symptomatic importance. Our journals had lost their old audience and could not yet organise a new one. In the background of this phenomenon, the same process was taking place that was to give a new face to our whole musical life: the emergence of a new musical public with its own new needs. The masses who wanted music and who enjoyed music were becoming more and more numerous; musicologists had to learn a new language to write about music, about historical, formal and aesthetic questions in order to make themselves understood and become not only a good “ideological” educator but also a qualified interpreter of music; and this study proved to be no easy task for even the best specialists. Yet not only the new audience, but also the professionals themselves were in dire need of learning this new language, which went beyond the professional, found its way to the “laymen,” was essentially non-confrontational, but opened windows, widened horizons, and educated the masses.⁴

The reference to the “no easy task” for the “best specialist” could also be a kind of implicit reference to Ferenc Szabó’s call in the debate of *Új Világ*, when the communist composer instructed Szabolcsi to embrace the essence of the musical resolution and, as a result, to participate in the construction of a new Hungarian music culture based on communist principles. However, the 1955 summary also contains several elements that reveal Szabolcsi’s personal situation, as he writes about the “fluctuating” tone of the journals, the uncertainties about the target audience, or even about genre preferences on the threshold of the new era. Moreover, he refers twice to the “new language” that the musicological community had to master in 1948, and to some extent create from scratch. Szabolcsi, thus, had to rethink the relationship not only between the artist and the audience, which led to the 1952 book on the subject, but also between the musicologist and the reader, in the new social structure and, if not explicitly stated, under the weight of the expectations of political power. All this went hand in hand with a process in which he was transformed from

⁴ Archives of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Bence Szabolcsi’s legacy Ms. 5647/22. Manuscript of Bence Szabolcsi’s text “Zenetudományunk a felszabadulás óta.” 1955.

a private scholar holed up in his father-in-law's bookshop into, what we would today call, a public figure (Kroó 1994a, 222).

THE *EUROPEAN DAWN* AS A MULTI-LAYERED DOCUMENT OF CULTURAL TRAUMAS

His essay *European Dawn* is a tragic document of this turn of events. In his monograph on Szabolcsi, György Kroó (1994a, 615) calls *European Dawn* an outstanding work even in the context of international Vivaldi literature, the first scholarly work to make a substantial statement on the composer's style, the formal characteristics, and the musical types of his compositions. Moreover, Kroó (1994a, 614) stresses the novelty of the approach, pointing out that Szabolcsi's volume is unique in the Vivaldi literature in that it not only paints a detailed portrait of the Venetian composer but also presents the contemporary workshops of composers. Yet, despite this clearly laudatory assessment, it is clear from Kroó's wording that it was obvious to him too that the essay is conspicuously lacking in specifics. At the same time, however, Kroó (1994a, 624) felt that Szabolcsi's exceptional ability to create atmosphere was so unique that the works of the Vivaldi specialists of the second half of the twentieth century, which were full of data, could not compete with the essay. *European Dawn*, while a fascinating read even today, is indeed not without problems. So much so that even its genre is difficult to define, as is the audience to whom it is addressed. Is it a small monograph or an ambitious study? Is it an essay or an academic paper? Is it about Vivaldi or about the musical centres in which the Viennese classical style was shaped?

In the foreword to the second edition of *European Dawn*, published in 1960, Bence Szabolcsi (1982, 7) recalled that he started writing his book in the summer of 1944, forced as a Jew into a labour camp near the small town of Karcag in Eastern Hungary (Kunmadaras), and that a Soviet naval officer saved most of the manuscript (Kroó 1994b, 613). The A5 format notebook containing the first draft of the *European Dawn* was preserved in the musicologist's estate. On one of the last pages of the notebook there is a letter written by Szabolcsi to his wife, asking her to carefully preserve the notebook; the letter contains the exact address in Budapest where the notebook should be sent, in case anything should happen to Szabolcsi.⁵

⁵ Archives of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Bence Szabolcsi's legacy, Ms. 5651/17. Notebook consisting of the first draft of Bence Szabolcsi's *European Dawn*.

On the cover of the booklet there is the year 1944 in frames, and below it Szabolcsi has written the various title and subtitle variants of the book, with the following variants partially crossed out above and below the title *European Dawn*: “Vivaldi,” “Klasszikus napkelte [Classical Sunrise],” “A tizennyolcadik század csodája [The Miracle of the Eighteenth Century],” “A tizennyolcadik század zenéje Vivalditól Mozartig [Music of the Eighteenth Century from Vivaldi to Mozart],” “A klasszikus zene felébredése [The Awakening of Classical Music].” On the first page of the booklet appears a further variant of the title: “Vivaldi vagy a tizennyolcadik század [Vivaldi or the Eighteenth Century].” The original book plan for the *European Dawn* can be read on the first page dividing the work into three larger sections instead of the ten chapters of the final version. But the contents of the three sections list eleven topics, each of them appearing in the final version either with the same title: “Barokk ünnep [A Baroque Feast],” “A költő és világa [The Poet and his World],” “A nyelv elemei: dallam és forma [Elements of Language: Melody and Form],” or with minor changes in the titles – for example, “Az új térkép és az új stílus [The New Map and the New Style]” became “A nagy stílusváltás; az új térkép [The Great Change of Style; the New Map]” in the later, final version.

Thus, Szabolcsi had an extremely strong vision of the structure and content of the essay in the labour camp, so much so that the text of several chapters of the booklet was preserved in almost identical form to the final one (chapters Two, Three and Four), i.e., Szabolcsi polished these sections to perfection in his mind before writing them down in the booklet. The final form of these chapters mostly differs from the 1944 version only in that Szabolcsi added a large number of quotations and footnotes, since he had no access to the sources or literature in the labour camp. The first paragraphs of the chapters of the final version, which serve as transitions between the chapters, have also not been included in the booklet. They must have belonged to the later layer of writing, since they provided coherence between the chapters.

The starting point for Szabolcsi’s vision must have been the evening song of the women of Malamocco in Venice. According to Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, the women go to the beach in the evening and send messages to their husbands, who are fishing at sea, with their strong voices, and are waiting for a reply. Szabolcsi planned to begin the volume with this image. There can be no doubt as to the personal implications of this picture: letters written by his family at the time show how eager he was for news of his loved ones, who were doing their best to hide the news of his son Gábor’s disappearance and death from him (Kroó 1994b, 504). In the final version of the book, however, the women on the beach are relegated to the end of the first chapter, in keeping with the change in Szabolcsi’s living conditions, and are replaced by the sights

and sounds the tourists' experience when arriving in Venice from the sea, as a reflection on his own experiences as a state scholarship holder researching in Italy in 1947. The manuscript of the new chapter opening – a few pages torn from a notebook – also survives in the estate and is obviously from a later stage of the work's writing, perhaps 1947.⁶

The 1944 booklet also contains notes for the later chapters of the volume (the topics of chapters Five, Six, and Seven can be well identified). In most cases, Szabolcsi collected the aspects he wished to discuss in the following chapters. For Chapter Five, which deals with the questions of melody and form, he had already written down music examples from memory. From this section it becomes clear that Szabolcsi was primarily concerned with the melodic types of the period, or in other words, with the basic musical formulas characteristic of the period. It cannot be a coincidence, therefore, that at this point in the booklet he also recorded melodic examples for *The History of Melody*. The reader of the 1944 notebook can thus witness the moment when the music historian working on his current research topic has gotten the idea for the next topic. From then on, he worked on the two works in parallel, even during his stay in Rome in 1947. His correspondence from 1948 with composer László Lajtha (1892–1963) is also proof of this (Kroó 1992, 54).

The 1944 booklet was also used in Rome in 1947. While he wrote in pencil in the labour camp, the later entries in the notebook were written in black pen. The later layer of writing includes, for example, a note listing the details of Vivaldi's biography with bibliographical references (prepared for Chapter Four). The booklet also contains a large number of separate notes and library request forms, documenting his study of sources held in libraries in Italy. In one of these libraries, the library of the Conservatoire of San Pietro a Majella in Naples, Szabolcsi found two previously unknown manuscripts of Vivaldi's Violin Concertos (Kroó 1994b, 615). The discovery, as Kroó points out (1994b, 615), offered Szabolcsi the prospect of an international career, but history intervened. The German-language publication of *European Dawn* in 1970 was, by all accounts, too late (Szabolcsi 1970).

Even the 1944 volume plan reveals uncertainty as to whether the work focuses on Vivaldi or on the transitional period in music history between 1720 and 1780. Less than half of the volume is about Vivaldi, so it is an exaggeration to speak of it as a "Vivaldi monograph," although, as László Lajtha's letters to Szabolcsi suggest, this is primarily how the musicologist thought of his work (Kroó 1992, 50). However, the notes preserved in the 1944 booklet relating

⁶ Archives of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Bence Szabolcsi's legacy, Ms. 5651/18. Manuscript of the beginning of Bence Szabolcsi's *European Dawn*.

to the final section of the book (Chapter Ten) make it clear that Szabolcsi's original idea was to show direct links in the works of Haydn and Mozart with the music of Vivaldi, who died in Vienna, especially in the melodic types used by all three composers, and the concertante technique. In the course of his work, Szabolcsi clearly recognised that such direct links could not be demonstrated, primarily because the style we call "Viennese classicism" is a fusion of a large number of different stylistic experiments. It was for this reason that it became necessary for him to mention the other stylistic antecedents in chapters Eight, Nine, and Ten. The first part of the volume, which is on Vivaldi, is, accordingly, much more concentrated. It introduces the composer and his Venetian environment – his cultural, historical, and musical milieu – and then, in addition to the biography, it also attempts to typologize Vivaldi's concertos and to divide his career into periods. However, the second half of the volume, for all its perceptive observations, is more of a bird's-eye view of a complex and complicated period in music history. Since Szabolcsi did not draw on primary sources in his treatment of musical vogues in France, Germany, and Vienna – which he had the opportunity to do in Rome and other Italian cities in the case of the Italian music history of the period – the final chapters retreat into the primarily informative world of *The History of Music*.

But it is not only the sketchiness of the last chapters, perhaps due to a lack of time and travel possibilities, that indicates the author's uncertainty about his work. Whereas in the monograph on Beethoven – published before *European Dawn*, although written in the labour camp as well (Kroó 1994a, 465) – the history of the composer's life and the history of his oeuvre show a close unity, and the musicologist-author's relationship to the genre, function, and audience of the written work is in every respect harmonious, in *European Dawn* this harmony is broken. The question for Szabolcsi was: where is the place of the direct contact with and knowledge of the primary sources, the results of philology in this study which, on the one hand, still follows the principle of music historiography according to his geo-cultural concept as formulated in *The Foundations of Musical Geography*, but on the other, already aims to shed light on the nature of the melodic migration, the eighteenth-century melodic types, and the mechanisms of the "musical vernacular"? The description of Vivaldi's biography, which Szabolcsi calls "thin," and the compilation of Vivaldi's catalogue of works, which he calls "incomplete," seem like alien bodies in the volume too loosely defined in terms of genre (1949a, subtitle of Chapter Three).

At his inaugural speech at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on 6 December 1948, Bence Szabolcsi read the first chapter of his forthcoming Mozart monograph, "A felvilágosult Európa és végvidékei [Enlightened Europe and its Endlands]," which presented the historical context of Mozart's oeuvre

(1950b). The monograph was never finished, and apart from the first chapter, only the plan for the structure of the book was left to posterity.⁷ The fiasco of the Mozart monograph, I believe, was due to similar reasons as the failure of the *European Dawn*. The reception of the 1948 Soviet resolution in Hungary fundamentally questioned the genre and methodological issues towards which Szabolcsi had moved as a scholar in the *European Dawn*. Seeing the overriding demand of the “great historical task,” to use the words of Ferenc Szabó, and the impossibility of avoiding it, Szabolcsi was forced to turn his back on the cultivation of musicology in accordance with international standards, independent of political power and made for its own sake. The new situation called for new solutions, and from this point of view, the question whether the *European Dawn* had found its ideal form as a scientific work was of secondary importance in every respect. The cultural and political traumas of 1944 and 1948 fundamentally changed Bence Szabolcsi's scientific orientation.

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⁷ Archives of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Bence Szabolcsi's legacy, Ms. 5645/49. Manuscript of Bence Szabolcsi's Mozart-monograph. See also Kroó 1994b, 566–569.

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1944, 1948 AND OTHER CULTURAL TRAUMAS.
BENCE SZABOLCSI'S PATH FROM THE LABOUR CAMP TO ZHDANOVSHCHINA

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АНА ДАЛОШ

Године 1944. и 1948. и друге културне трауме.
Пут Бенцеа Саболчија од радног логора до ждановизма

(РЕЗИМЕ)

Ова студија бави се реконструкцијом процеса настанка најзначајнијих научних дела мађарског историчара музике јеврејског порекла Бенцеа Саболчија, написаних између 1944. и 1948. године. Заснована је на примарним историјским изворима сачуваним у Архиву Мађарске академије наука, који до сада нису били истраживани. Контекстуализацијом података указује се на године 1944. и 1948, које су суштински промениле Саболчијев животни и професионални пут. Реч је о културно-политичким траумама – холокаусту и стаљинизму – директно повезаним с претњама по физичку и интелектуалну егзистенцију. Године 1944. Саболчи је интензивно радио на трима књигама током принудног боравка у радном логору. Две од тих књига завршио је тек око 1948. године, али у политички измењеној ситуацији. Година 1948. представљала је значајну промену у Саболчијевом научном раду, не само зато што је аутор тада достигао врхунац своје каријере, о чему сведочи његов избор за члана Мађарске академије наука, већ и стога што су се његова научна интересовања, начин говора и методологија мењали под све већим политичким притиском који је у Мађарској наметала такозвана Ждановљева доктрина. Иако је Саболчи био међу онима који су на директиве Комунистичке партије реаговали са скептицизмом, кроз анализу његових радова и дебата у којима је учествовао указује се на утицај Ждановљеве доктрине на његово музиколошко размишљање и избор тема којима се бавио.