

summary

THE TASKS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE PROTECTION
DIRECTORATE OF THE HUNGARIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM

Tamás Pusztai

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Pursuant to a new amendment of Act LXIV of 2001 on the protection of cultural heritage, from 1 April 2018 the Hungarian National Museum has been coordinating contracts signed between developers and municipal museums with county legislation for preventive archaeological excavations linked to large-scale investments, and it can carry out certain preventive archaeological excavations if the given municipal museum with county legislation cannot conclude a contract within the required deadline. The Hungarian National Museum set up the Archaeological Heritage Protection Directorate (AHPD) to this effect. Unlike previous central archaeological coordination organisations, the AHPD does not conclude contracts directly with the developers to then subcontract them to other institutions but ‘merely’ coordinates the contracting. The unreliable financing of museums in the past combined with the lack of a codified outcome in the case of preventive archaeological excavations and the ambiguous legal regulation of funds received for these excavations resulted in a situation where the funds received for preventive excavations were – unlawfully – not spent on saving and utilising the endangered archaeological heritage but on operational costs of the institutions (to varying degrees). As investments are developing, archaeological field-work involves more tasks, while the scope of documentation and examinations has also increased. This requires great openness from archaeologists as they need to learn the new measurement and surveying processes as well as the use of new, improved diagnostic tools, while also posing a challenge to institutions since technological developments have created new jobs that are practically impossible to fit into the existing pay scale for public servants. The success of archaeological excavations largely depend on the right approach to the explorable site and finds, and on the way in which the discovered archaeological material is preserved and the new information shared. Based on the new rules and regulations of the Hungarian National Museum, the AHPD is the keeper of an archaeological collection, which entered the museum through the research projects during the tenure of the Cultural Heritage Protection Service of the National Cultural Protection Centre. That is, in connection with the preventive archaeological excavations, the legislator assigned the function of central archaeological heritage protection to a museum. Learning from the mistakes of the previous period, greater emphasis will be paid to the scientific and social utilisation of preventive archaeological excavations during their planning and implementation. This can be achieved in cooperation with the archaeological institutions operating in the archaeological heritage protection area, and museums – the leading venues of social utilisation – need to be given a prominent role.

THE DANUBE LIMES: A WORLD HERITAGE SITE IN 2019?

Marianna Berényi

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In Hungary, Slovakia, Austria and Germany submitted their nominations to the UNESCO World Heritage Centre on 31 January 2018. We asked Dr Zsolt Visy, professor of archaeology, about the almost two decades that led up to this moment. Dr Visy first explored the area of the Roman limes as a researcher and later as a monument protection expert and deputy state secretary; in his capacity as ministerial commissioner, he worked on the preparations for delineating the transnational world heritage site from 2016 to May 2018. According to the present guideline, a country can nominate its own section to be a world heritage site and, upon approval, it will be included in a serial nomination. The selected heritage must be protected prior to nomination: all the owners, local governments and organisations must ensure that nothing will interfere with the future world heritage status of the site, medium- and long-term plans must be drawn up, and the of the area must be properly managed. To fulfil the requirements, a small research team at the University of Pécs explored the Hungarian sites from 2001 and drew up the professional documents for the nomination. Some of the work now needs to be repeated since the initial nation-by-nation application process has been changed to a joint transnational one. By December 2011, the application documentation and the first version of the management plan for the Danube Limes were drawn up within the framework of an EU tender but the process was halted due to financial and other issues. Had it not, according to the regulations of the day, the Hungarian section would already be a world heritage site. Regulations had changed again by 2015. UNESCO and the advisory body ICOMOS proposed new criteria for the transnational serial nominations in 2011. They required feasible and larger areas to be nominated, and wanted to see when serially nominated sites would be completed in their entirety. The old and new limes world heritage sites will form a loose umbrella cluster: they will preserve their unity and will operate as a multi-sectoral world heritage site: the first sector is the Danube limes, running from Regensburg to the Black Sea, the second one is the Rhaetian limes, stretching from Koblenz to the sea, and the third one is the Dacian limes. The first 1,000-km section of the Danube limes, stretching to Hungary's southern border, was ready for nomination in 2016. The other four countries of the Danube limes (Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania) had not even started the preparations by then. From January 2017, a unified description was drawn up of all the locations and the three-volume English publication was ready. The 1,000-km Danube section comprises 164 elements, including main and partial sites, of which 65 main and 98 partial sites are in Hungary.

Whether or not the 150-km sector of the Danube *limes* will be declared part of the UNESCO World Heritage in 2019, planning and preparatory work is already under way to make some of the 98 find sites in Hungary into tourist attractions as soon as possible. The government granted funds to the tune of several million forints from its own budget, from the Economic Development and Innovation Operational Programme (GINOP), and the Competitive Central Hungary Operational Programme to finance the tourism and heritage protection development of the often unknown or barely known locations. Some of the affected municipalities and institutions submitted their tenders in October, while Komárom, Nyergesújfalu, Dunaújváros and Kölked, whose projects are approved, can already look forward to the first results of the Limes Project next year. The chief architect of many elements of the Limes Project is Dr Tamás Kondor, who is vice dean and associate professor at the Faculty of Engineering and Information Technology of the University of Pécs, and the head of C.S.Ő. Architects. Five locations have been selected in the GINOP programme as places that not only have Roman ruins but also valuable potential for tourism. Planning has started in Komárom, Nyergesújfalu, Dunaújváros, Paks and Kölked. (Despite the completed plans, Paks withdrew in the meantime – Ed.) Architects can respond to challenges if they can formulate clear questions, but in this project the values were often ‘invisible’ since the Roman heritage is under the ground, often unexplored, and at times reduced to surviving wall sections and soil stratification traces left by the stones carried away from here. One of the challenges of the Limes Project was to present the points of the border defence line in a way that their thematic connections are shown and their individual differences are also highlighted with the help of constantly renewing experiences designed around them, lending the site a touristic appeal. Everyone takes a different approach to archaeological reconstructions. Some want to evoke an era that they do not fully know for the lack of relevant documents. Despite the warning of the Athens Charter, among others, against building the ‘non-existent’ and thus presenting a false picture of the past, this option is increasingly favoured in reconstructions where touristic appeal is among the priorities. In general, the ruins in the selected locations do not provide a strong visual experience: it is the entire system with the strata of the different periods that is worthy of becoming part of the world heritage. The visitor centre in Verőce was designed by architect István Varga, whose task was to visually represent one of the corner bastions of the fort and make the site directly walkable. Together with the stone finds of the Intersica Museum, the life of the ancient Roman settlement in today’s Dunaújváros might be seen in a new light.

IAs Balázs Orbán said 150 years ago, “[in Transylvania] all the ruins and roads convey a historic truth embodied; all the decaying castra stand as this powerful nation’s stone epopeie speaking of the one-time greatness of Rome and the grand conquests made by its invincible legions”. Yet, if we conducted an opinion poll asking people what they associate the land of Seklers with, only a few would mention the fortification system (*limes*) found here. The administration and defence of the new Roman province of Dacia began in the early 2nd century. The conquerors took advantage of the natural frontier of the Carpathians, while they had to face a new situation too: being used to the linear frontiers of the rest of the Roman Empire, they were vulnerable to any enemy that was well familiar with the diverse topography of this land. The line of auxiliary forts in the inner Transylvanian section provided external protection for Dacia and was built in a line at the foot of the mountains, at strategic points set up at roughly equal distances. Their background support was granted by the legionary fortress in the west of the province (extended to two fortresses by the late 2nd century: Apulum – Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia, and Potaissa – Torda /Turda), while their foreground was formed by the smaller posts and fortifications protecting the border and controlling trade. The extensive research into the Roman *limes* running in the foreground of the Eastern Carpathians began a decade or so ago within the framework of projects administered by the Mureş County Museum. In recent years, increasing focus was placed on the complex landscape archaeology analysis of the surroundings of the find sites, which resulted in identifying new elements of the Roman *limes*. Although the location of several watchtowers have been successfully identified and digs have also been carried out in some cases, our overall knowledge of the Roman border is lacking, probably in the same way as the defence of the land was for those military engineers of the Roman Empire who once surveyed this land. The tower at Felsőrépa (Vătava, RO) was identified at the altitude of 906 metres on the western slope of the Kelemen Mountains during a fieldwalking in 2011. The site’s archaeological examination and the results of the geomagnetic measurements carried out by ELTE’s geophysicists added valuable information to the data gained through site observations. The relatively large body of finds discovered during the excavations and fieldwalkings confirm the intense use of the watchtower area and its immediate vicinity. Other fortifications are expected to be discovered in the area, facilitating the research with important new information (background of their discovery, location details). Similar outposts found earlier along the Maros County *limes* already indicated that the Romans mainly controlled the minor roads and tracks cutting through the mountains.

The Gorsium Archaeological Park and Open-air Museum – an exhibition venue of the King Saint Stephen Museum – was renovated in 2016. Since then, the facilities undoubtedly have been providing improved services satisfying contemporary needs. Excavations began here on 20 March 1934, and the finds discovered in 1954 during the relocation of the service road at Tác re-focused attention on this area. The digs were led by Jenő Fitz, appointed director of the museum in 1949. The legendary archaeologist (died in 2011) explored most of the buildings – still seen today – of the settlement of Gorsium in the decades to come, and he would go to the site as late as the turn of the millennia. Digs restarted in 1958 on a large area with the aim of presenting the discovered wall remains to the public. The Gorsium Archaeological Park and Open-air Museum opened in 1962. The park had its golden age in the 70s, when it was one of the flagships of socialist museology and monument protection, often visited by Hungarian and foreign politicians. After the construction of the M7 motorway to Lake Balaton, its access was made especially easy. Several periods of Gorsium have been successfully identified in recent decades. Jenő Fitz's concept was to try and present all the periods. In contrast to other settlements of the Roman Empire on European territory, no town was built over the Roman settlement of Gorsium; it was Székesfehérvár, well protected by the surrounding marshes, which became the seat of the Árpád dynasty. In the Middle Ages, only one village was built over Gorsium, called Föveny, whose church was built over what in the 4th century was presumably a bodyguard garrison. Its ruins were discovered by the archaeologists and are included in the park. The Roman ruins were preserved here by pastures and plough-lands for 500 years after the village was destroyed by the Ottomans. The park had significantly deteriorated by the 2000s and its visitor numbers plummeted. In 2007 the permanent exhibition had to be dismantled for reasons of monument protection. The renovation project, co-funded by the EU to the tune of a net HUF 652 million and by the municipality of Székesfehérvár with HUF 123 million (co-payment required by the project), began in 2014. The scientific section of the museum tender was prepared by Gabriella Nádorfi. At its opening in 2016 Gorsium showed a radically new appearance; its most spectacular aspect is the elegant reception building blending into the landscape and accommodating a reception area, a cloakroom, the toilets as well as the permanent and temporary exhibitions. The two gems of the park are the visitor-friendly 'fresco house', named after its murals, and the 'banqueting hall'. The greatest attraction is definitely the reconstructed section of the fortification wall with three towers, which once protected the Eastern side of Gorsium and now function as viewing towers.

The history of amphitheatres spanning across the entire ancient period is evoked in our article by archaeologists Dr Orsolya Láng and Dr Dávid Bartus. Amphitheatres were chiefly the venue of gladiator games, where historical and mythological battles were also enacted. The ‘historical heritage games’ were often not imitations but fought to the last blood. Wild animal hunts, called *venatios*, at times costing hundreds and thousands of animal lives, were also part of the entertainment. Public executions were also staged in the arenas: first convicted felons were killed, and later on Christians. Dr Bartus – archaeologist, university docent and head of ELTE’s department of archaeology – says that the exact origin of gladiator games is unknown. Some researchers trace them back to the Etruscans, while others to Southern Italy, presumably to the Oscans or Samnites. What is certain is that the earliest gladiator games were held at funerary and sacrificial ceremonies and it is possible that prisoners of war were sent to the arena from the very beginning. The first recorded gladiator game in Rome is dated to 264 BC. Gladiator games were for a long time had various temporary venues in the Roman Empire; amphitheatres were built much later. For some time the Forum Romanum was even used. According to the most recent and widely accepted research, the temporary wooden stalls were arranged to follow the shape of the Forum. The first amphitheatres were built in the 1st century BC from wood. The first stone amphitheatre was commissioned by Sulla for his veterans, who he settled in Pompeii, Italy. Amphitheatre architecture reached its zenith in the 1st century AD, under the Flaviuses; the Colosseum, a classical example of a stone amphitheatre, was built then and the cult of amphitheatres spread across the empire from this time onwards. In places where there was a legionary fortress, such as in Aquincum and Brigetio, to take the example of Pannonia Province, both a military and a civilian amphitheatre were erected. The three main parts of the settlement of Aquincum were the legionary fortress as well as the surrounding military- and civilian settlements. The fourth part was formed by the villas in today’s Óbuda and Buda areas: they functioned as small homesteads with a few square kilometres of land and were owned by members of Aquincum’s elite, the upper-middle class. The civilian amphitheatre was built to provide entertainment for them. With its 5,000-6,000 seats, it was roughly half the size of the military settlement’s amphitheatre. The former can be found at the cross section of today’s Szentendrei Road and Zsófia Street, while the latter in the area bounded by Nagyszombat, Pacsirtamező, Viador and Szőlő streets. The military settlement’s population was three or fourfold that of the civilian settlement and its arena larger than that of the Colosseum. Aquincum’s amphitheatre was the biggest of all the ones in Pannonia Province.

THE ROMAN AUXILIARY FORT OF MIKHÁZA

Archaeology and heritage protection

Szilámér Péter Pánczél

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The Roman auxiliary fort of Mikháza (RO: Călugăreni, Mureş/Maros County, Romania) is located on the left bank of the River Nyárád and on the south-western edge of today's settlement. Exploiting the natural frontier of the Görgényi Mountains and the Sóvidék Hills as well as the watchtower and trench system to the east of the fort, the auxiliary troops stationed here carried out the control of the Roman frontier cutting through the valley of the Nyárád and Szakadát rivers. The roof tiles stamped with the abbreviation CPAI, which were found in Mikháza, suggest that an auxiliary infantry troop, the *cohors I Augusta Ituraeorum*, must have been stationed at the fort throughout the 2nd and 3rd centuries, while the finds bearing the stamps of the *legio XIII Gemina* and the *cohors I Alpinorum* may refer to building material supplies. The Roman ruins were first mentioned in the early 18th century by Luigi Ferdinando Marisgli, an Italian polymath, thanks to whom Mikháza is the earliest recorded Roman find-site in Eastern Transylvania. The first digs in the area of the military fort were carried out in spring 1878, led by Ferencz Kovács, the abbot-parson of Marosvásárhely and a notable collector of antiquities. István Paulovics carried out a comprehensive fieldwalking along the Eastern *limes* in 1942, during which he visited Mikháza. Based on his site observations, he described the exact location of the fort and published a detailed site map. The first planned excavations were carried out in 1961, led by Dumitru Protase. In 2004 the Mureş County Museum started archaeological research on the fort's north-eastern part, led by Nicoleta Man. Geomagnetic measurements carried out in 2008 within the framework of an international project covered most of the fort. Since then, archaeological, aerial archaeological, geodetic and geophysical research have been conducted at Mikháza within the framework of different projects, and a process aimed at the conservation and presentation of the excavated ruins was begun in recent years. The archaeological excavations of the fort's headquarters building began in 2013. Work on the archaeological park of Mikháza commenced in 2015. The Mureş County Museum administers the park and its purpose is to protect the unexcavated archaeological features and provide the opportunity to develop concepts on how to conserve and present the excavated remains. Since the opening of the park, information boards brief visitors on the major components of the site, and since 2016 two wooden buildings, called 'time box' pavilions, have housed the permanent exhibition of the site, focusing on the auxiliary fort and the military unit, as well as the bathing customs and personal hygiene of the Romans. The park's second attraction was inaugurated in summer 2018. The statue-like installation called Compass is a tower providing a view of the find-site embedded in the cultural landscape.

ICarnuntum was an important legionary fortress and settlement in Pannonia Superior. Roman finds referring to its name were discovered on the right bank of the Danube, on the area of today's Petronell and Bad Deutsch-Altenburg, while its unabbreviated name can be read on an inscribed stone from Ószőny (Brigetio). It had a prominent location being situated by one of the main roads that connected it with Italia via Savaria and Poetovio (Pettau, today Ptuj, Slovenia). It played an important role in trade as this route ran all the way to the Baltic Sea; however its strategic significance was even greater since Tiberius, later to become emperor, chose to cross the Danube here in 6 AD, and since the Pannonian conquest stretched to Carnuntum, a garrison had to be set up here; it was then that the settlement became part of Pannonia, and it was granted city status by Emperor Hadrian. Legio XV Apollinaris, which had been stationed in Savaria from the 20s AD, was moved to Carnuntum in 50 AD, and the newly built facilities served their needs. The 14th Legion was commanded here under Emperor Trajan and was stationed here until the fall of the Roman Empire. Carnuntum grew into a city of 50 thousand and became a trade centre connecting the Amber Road and the limes road. Around the legionary fortress (*castra legionis*) a civilian settlement (*canabae legionis*) came into being, where the soldiers' families, merchants and artisans lived. The city began to decline due to the Barbarian attacks and survived the coming centuries without being rebuilt. The archaeological park called Römerstadt Carnuntum – a complex of institutions and other buildings – can be visited with one admission ticket but the units can also be viewed separately. Its slogan "Die Vergangenheit beginnt hier" (The past begins here) reminds us that the organisers' goal was more than a mere presentation of ruins. The concept of an archaeological park arose in the 1980s and the complex was officially established in 1997. The reconstructed buildings of the Ancient Roman Quarter display some of the finds in their 'completed' state, a surprising approach at variance with that typically taken in Hungary to the large body of ancient Roman finds. The public bath halls, the brightly painted wall and furniture decorations bring alive the spaces of the past including details such as storage for footwear, chairs, shelves, a fountain, the mattress of a couch and its cylindrical, tasselled cushion. There are only a few original items here and even where there is – e.g. the floor heating (*hypocaustum*) – visitors might be wondering if what they see is 'real'. Indeed, the original and the copy are mingled in a way that veritably confuses the lay visitor. The Museum Carnuntinum in Bad Deutsch-Altenburg with its 3,300 exhibits is Austria's largest museum devoted to the Roman period and the culture of Ancient Rome. It opened in 1904, three years after the laying of the foundation stone in 1901.

WHAT DID THE ROMANS LEAVE TO US?

Sonja Makrai

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City tours based on various themes have enjoyed vast popularity in recent years. Regrettably, none of the tours on offer explore Budapest's ancient Roman heritage. The Aquincum Museum organises tours led by archaeologists in the old civilian and military settlements but not on a regular basis, so we are left to our own resources to explore the unparalleled Roman heritage built between the 1st century and the 4th–5th centuries AD. We can follow the life of the Romans starting from the extensive field of ruins of the old civilian settlement in Óbuda, walking through the legionary fortress to the south and the surrounding military settlement, and finally arriving at the counter-fortification (at the Pest abutment of Elisabeth Bridge, on Március 15. Square), which once lay on the Barbarian territory outside the Empire. Since the Romans followed a linear pattern when building up the area and took into account the direction of the Danube's flow, everything is constructed along the *limes* road here. Their discovery, however, is made difficult since the post-WWII urban planning, the HÉV, the northbound rail line and Flórián Square cut the area of the ancient civilian settlement into four. To make things worse, the lack of connecting public transport prevents visitors from taking an uninterrupted walk from the civilian amphitheatre to Március 15. Square. Budapest's ancient Roman built heritage is pushed to the peripheries. Even the sites that contribute to the city's identity are neglected from the viewpoint of archaeology, monument protection and tourism despite Budapest's fortunate position, since Aquincum is Europe's third largest coherent Roman era ruin-site. Moreover, ancient Pannonia had two amphitheatres: the civilian arena discovered around 1880, and the one in the military settlement excavated in 1935-41 and reconstructed in 1942. Apart from Rome, only three settlements can boast of this: besides Aquincum, two amphitheatres were discovered in Carnuntum (the other capital of Pannonia) and in Utica (in the Africa Proconsularis province; today's Tunisia). The military settlement's amphitheatre – 131.8 metres long and 108.4 metres wide, once accommodating 10-13 thousand people – was located at the cross-section of today's Pacsirtamező Street and Bécsi Road and had a larger arena than that of the Colosseum in Rome; built around the mid-2nd century, it was the largest Roman-era edifice in the Danube region. Going along the *limes*, the history of ancient Pannonia could unfold before us but the neglected state of this heritage suggests that the treasures along the ancient border of the Roman Empire do not represent significant value for the local government. While the reconstructed elements of the civilian and military settlements cannot compete with those in Rome, the ancient ruins in Budapest form an integral part of our capital's history and remain an unmatched cultural heritage.

“THE COLLECTION OF ANCIENT ANTIQUITIES AND OTHERS”

The new permanent exhibition

Emőke Gréczi

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After the reconstruction of the Museum of Fine Arts, the newly arranged exhibition of its 110-year-old collection of ancient antiquities is open to visitors. We talked about the exhibition concept and the re-arrangement with Krisztina Jerger, who dreamt up the installation design, Árpád Miklós Nagy, the head of the collection, and Szilvia Lakatos, a member of the department. As indicated by the title of the new permanent exhibition, the collection comprises classical antiquities, i.e. covers the ancient cultures of the Mediterranean world, and spans from the mid-3rd millennium BC to the 7th century AD. This vast scope is reduced by the department's exclusive focus on artworks. The task at hand was, therefore, to formulate a message about the antique tradition that can only be conveyed through artworks. The new exhibition has a three-pronged concept with art, cultural and religious history being at its centre. The first one is natural for the museum, while in the case of the latter two it can be said that the department is able to show at least a bit from the numerous cultures of the ancient Mediterranean. While it preserves some world standard artworks, the collection's greatest strength is its comprehensiveness, enabling it to showcase the colourful diversity of classical antiquity. The exhibition has a T-shaped plan: the middle section is occupied by a three-part art historical unit titled *Hellas – Italy – Rome. The Three Ancient Paths of European Art*. Two sections open from here in two directions: *The Union of Cultures – the Ancient Mediterranean* deals with cultural history, while *Enter. There Are Gods Here Too. Eros – Dionysus – Thanatos* focuses on religious history. The structure of the newly arranged exhibition is fundamentally different from the previous one, partly because it was moved from its centuries-old place. We would have arranged a new exhibition even if the venue hadn't changed. The 'we' includes János György Szilágyi (1918–2016), who was the first to propose the idea of a revamped exhibition after the old one was closed in 2015, since exhibitions express something of science and art, and because they have histories, they eventually lose their topicality. When the old exhibition was closed for the museum's reconstruction, it became clear that planning a new one must begin. Mounting a new permanent exhibition is an uplifting and exciting task, says Krisztina Jerger. The main task is to 'create order', to translate the content into a visual language. Contextualising and interpreting the artefacts posed the most inspiring challenge, she added. These days permanent exhibitions are more semi-permanent, which is an important aspect of this exhibition too. In addition to the collection's own artefacts, there are loans from Berlin, Vienna, and a small Italian town, called Rosano, as well as from the Ferenc Hopp Museum of Asiatic Arts and the Hungarian National Museum. The temporary nature of loans already indicates the museum's ambition to renew this exhibition from time to time.

FROM 'PETTY MUSEUMS' TO REGIONAL MUSEUMS

The ideas of Klebelsberg, Hóman and Magyary about reforming the administration of local museums

Márton Kálnoki-Gyöngyössy

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Three important museum acts were passed in interwar Hungary: two settled the organisational issues of national public collections. The Hungarian museum affairs, which had been consolidated during Dualism, required a new organisational framework, which was only created in the 1920s. The necessity of change had been addressed earlier – grandiose ideas were put forward during the Hungarian Soviet Republic – but it was only through the efforts of Count Kuno Klebelsberg (1875–1932), an ambitious conservative minister of culture, that a viable solution was achieved. Klebelsberg's favourite ministerial task pertained to science policy, in which he was greatly helped by Zoltán Magyary (1888–1945), who led the ministry's science policy section and was the most outstanding representative of Hungarian administrative science. As already established by research, Magyary played no less a role than conceiving the basic idea for Klebelsberg's science policy system and partly implementing it in practice. They started developing the system, based on the German model, together but after the minister's death were unable to complete it. The key elements of the system of scientific institutions were the administration of the largest national public collections, and the foundation of the University of Collections and foreign institutes; the councils ensuring scientific autonomy, which Klebelsberg urged the establishment of, did not all come into being (the Hungarian Natural Sciences Council and Fund were established last, in 1930). The new minister of culture, Bálint Hóman (1885–1951) did not continue the implementation of the plans; moreover he cut down on the anatomy of the University of Collections, by then renamed the Hungarian National Museum. To make things worse, he and Magyary did not exactly nurture friendly ties. The first prominent result of the Klebelsberg–Magyary cultural policy built on science policy was the passing of Article XIX of 1922 regulating the autonomy and staff of the largest national public collections. Klebelsberg knew full well that local collections were integral to the successful operation of the system of public collections and museums in Hungary. In the meantime, Hóman, appointed the director-general of the National Museum, emerged as the greatest critic of the local museum scene: "...excessive local patriotism and self-seeking personal ambitions have led to the foundation of tiny 'petty museums' representing a dead-end; their maintenance and development (to the detriment of other, viable institutions) are not justified by either scientific or administrative reasons." Indeed, Hóman's critique was shared by Klebelsberg and Magyary. This is partly why the minister submitted his sectoral bill in 1928 aimed at accomplishing the principles and regulation of Article XIX of 1922; after protracted negotiations the bill was passed in 1929.

BERLIN, BUNCE COURT SCHOOL (OTTERDEN), LONDON

¶ It was on April 4, 1939, shortly before his eighth birthday, that Frank Auerbach left Germany sailing out of Hamburg on board of the American luxury liner SS Washington, as intended by his parents and arranged by his paternal uncle.¹ He arrived in Southampton with Heinz and Ilse – the two children of a dr. Altenberg, a stranger to whom he owed the chance for departure – and their nanny. At London Victoria Station, the three children were met by a staff member of Bunce Court School,² who took them to the school of Anna Essinger,³ a German advocate of reform pedagogy classified as Jewish under Nuremberg laws. Her school had to be relocated from Herrlingen, near Ulm, to Kent in 1933, and this was where Auerbach would live until 1947. In an interview with Geordie Greig in 2009, he remembers: “I think I did this thing which psychiatrists frown on: I am in total denial. It’s worked very well for me. To be quite honest I came to England and went to a marvellous school, and it truly was a happy time. There’s just never been a point in my life when I felt I wish I had parents.”⁴

¶ The liberal milieu of the school was exceptional by both countries’ standards at the time, and it became a real home to Auerbach. He switched languages in this period – if the word is even applicable in this case –, and it was these years at the Bunce Court School in Otterden that gradually shaped the identity that would determine his entire life and art. It was an identity built on silencing and fragmentation, defined by an ever so tenuous differentiation of silence/forgetting and silencing/repression. This identity could also be described with the norms of the radically personal and the restriction of the biographical. In other words, Auerbach’s work could not be farther from narrative identity and the corresponding painterly methods – clear contours, the manners of British realism in the interwar years, the representation of social creatures defined by a “brushless style”⁵; his portraits, nudes, and architectural representations all record the archeological layers of a parallel struggle for identity and the painter’s role. The only “grand narrative” in these pictures is the constant of self-evident loneliness and inscrutability.

¶ The exceptional circumstances of Auerbach’s pre-*Kindertransport*⁶ life and subsequent escape and his extremely reticent, terse self-revelations should not obscure how his entire life was impacted by exile. In any case, what happened to him is better identified as *exile* than as emigration,⁷ and it was exile that enforced a practical, rather than theoretical, answer to the question of his identity. Like others forced into exile anywhere in the world, Auerbach was simply

deprived of any self-evident accord between a past assigned by personal life and social status and a possible future. The relationship between the development of a life story and the hope for an identity that remains valid through all its metamorphoses despite continuously changing in the course of a life is a contract that requires rather complex conditions for its maintenance. If someone is moved to a different country at eight, no matter how exceptionally well treated he might be, and he loses his parents first metaphorically and then literally, his mother tongue is removed from daily life, in other words the former order of his life vanishes entirely, his memories sink and get rewritten, then his life and art will be ruled by trauma, separation and acculturation despite any discipline in his life and art and despite any intentions or statements concerning himself. All of this implies a life lived *outside* and *beyond* a narrative identity based on an experience of unquestionable self-evidence.

- ¶ Modern programs of narrative identity go back to John Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, arguably a foundation of modern anthropology: "This being premised, to find wherein personal identity consists, we must consider what PERSON stands for; – which, I think, is a thinking intelligent being, that has reason and reflection, and can consider itself as itself, the same thinking thing, in different times and places."⁸ Marya Schechtman takes Locke as a starting point in "Narrative Self-Constitution View," a chapter in her *Staying Alive: Personal Identity, Practical Concern, and the Unity of a Life*, where she focuses on the attitude to historical time, the continuity between the past and the future and on the relationships between self-consciousness, the past, and the future: "...the important feature of the Narrative Self-Constitution View is that it sees persons as inherently diachronic entities. What makes someone the right kind of thing to be held responsible for at least some of her past actions and to have prudential concern for at least some of her future experiences is not simply attribute that she possesses at the moment (e.g. self-consciousness of rationality), but the fact that past and future events are actively incorporated into present experience."⁹
- ¶ Auerbach's life was determined by the disintegration of the order of memory, the state of *post-memory*,¹⁰ in other words, by the inextricable duality of repression and amnesia that became the foundation of a new life. The ordinary days of exile, which turned fatelessness into his life's program, decided the validity of the unfulfillable contract according to which what you think and say of yourself, how others judge you, and how contemporary society sees you are never self-evident, yet there are identical elements within its framework.
- ¶ However, when we use the concepts of exile, emigration, familiarity, strangeness and probe their meanings in this case, we need to take into account several details that constrain the interpretation below. One of these is age. The meaning of the concepts just listed will be different for those who could clearly understand what was happening to them at the beginning of their exile or emigration. Enforced transformation and the perfect mimicry and identity switch allowed by a yet unforeseeable future course of life conceal the pasts from a child transferred into a new world, no matter how livable. Yet, the distinctions between the retroactively

visible fractures and continuity are still far from self-evident, just as the finitude of the coming decades is not decisive.

¶ I will argue that only a highly limited interpretation of Auerbach's oeuvre can be made without reference to the consequences of what happened to him; even more awkward errors may follow from describing the main question of his work as a switch between German and English identities. The matter of Jewish identity calls for even more caution. We should not forget that his father, Max Auerbach, was an engineer, a successful lawyer, and a liberal thinker; his mother, Charlotte Nora Borchardt studied art, so the family lived a secular assimilated middle-class life. Although there is no data on whether their origins were a topic of daily conversation in Auerbach's childhood, that is whether he realized their lives were in danger (as they in fact were). He arrived from that German-Jewish world of *Deutschjudentum*, the bilateral contract of which ultimately proved illusory,¹¹ but it was an important aspect of 20th-century German culture that intellectuals of Jewish faith and those who converted from it were at home in German culture and philosophy.¹² In any case, the submerged continental plate of Auerbach's life was German culture and society, including a presence of Jewish culture within it: yet it is no accident that there is no trace of Jewish identity, themes, or allusions in his oeuvre. When the role of "the Jews" is discussed in 20th-century British painting, in the School of London in particular, it is commonly ignored that Lucian Freud, Leon Kossoff and Frank Auerbach had radically different attitudes to Jewishness – according to their different life stories.¹³ I propose that certain highly relevant transformations, which nevertheless defy categorization, radically shaped Auerbach's oeuvre, and its resolute disregard for art historical trends, isms, and the role of the modern artist.

¶ It is true, though, that this distance and nonideological realism were not simply a matter of his (willed and undeniable) personal solitude, but also the definitive characteristic and milieu of modern British painting.¹⁴ Numerous sculptors, painters, writers, and social scientists were forced to flee the racist ideology of National Socialism, emigrating or being exiled to England. Interpretations of this role in terms of art history and social history are inseparable, but I wish to distance myself from any assumption of obviousness about specific details and certainly find it meaningless to enumerate English artists, writers and scholars of "Jewish" descent based on their origin. To make my position as clear as possible, let me refer to the work and role of R. B. Kitaj. The Arts Council commissioned Kitaj to organize an exhibition of contemporary painting, predominantly figurative works, in 1976. This exhibition, which came to be called *The Human Clay* after W. H. Auden's eponymous poem¹⁵ and introduced the concept of the School of London, was virtually unrelated to Kitaj's subsequent publication of his essay *First Diasporist Manifesto* in 1989 and his free verse *Second Diasporist Manifesto* in 2007, devoted to delineating diasporic Jewish art. "I was looking mostly for pictures of the single human form as if they could be breathed on..." Opening with a section on the *School of London*, Kitaj's introduction to the exhibition struck a personal tone: "There are ten or more people in

this town, [...] of world class [...]. I think there is a School of London [...] a School of London might become even more real than the one, I have construed in my head.”¹⁶ Participating artists included Michael Andrews, Frank Auerbach, Francis Bacon, Lucian Freud, and Leon Kossoff among others, who knew each other very well, often appeared in numerous subsequent exhibitions of the School of London and were frequently identified as its members in scholarly studies and newspaper articles. Participation in *The Human Clay* exhibition had nothing to do with the origins of the artists.

THE SEBALD METAPHOR

- ¶ All four novellas of G. W. Sebald's first book, *The Emigrants*, recount a story of flight, emigration, and exile.¹⁷ Sebald, who was born in the Bavarian village of Wertach in 1944, also appears in the book. The first story begins in Norwich in 1970, where the author taught translation at the University of East Anglia, just as the final, fourth novella begins with his arrival in England, recalling his flight to Manchester in 1966. Sebald actually arrived in England as a young visiting lecturer, but he came to position his life story more and more deliberately in the context of stories of those exiled, from whom he wished to learn the lesson of estrangement, as attested by his entire subsequent oeuvre.¹⁸ The German original, *Die Ausgewanderten*, came out in 1992; its final novella was originally entitled *Max Aurach*, and one would not be mistaken in recognizing Frank Auerbach in the protagonist. Sebald revised some of the facts, changing Auerbach's age, having Aurach live in Manchester instead of London, and it is the 19th-century city of textile industrial emigration rather than Camden Town the protagonist is unable to leave. At the same time, he incorporated numerous sentences from the few interviews Auerbach had ever given. Besides the biographical similarities, the inclusion of a drawing by Auerbach in the first German edition of the book made it unequivocally clear whose life and art was being used. Then the name was changed to Max Ferber, and the drawing was omitted from the volume *The Emigrants*, translated by the author, and – honoring the wishes of Auerbach – this was the procedure followed by subsequent editions in various languages.¹⁹ Sebald infallibly recognized that Auerbach's life story does not lend itself to the hope or presumed self-evidence of a constructed identity with one's biography. *There is a close connection between existence without a biography and Auerbach's deepening, yet spectacularly unchanging method of painting and drawing, one beyond styles and justifiably construed as an incapacity for decision-making.*
- ¶ It is as if Max Aurach/Ferber's enforced double naming and the visibility of the image-as-evidence, and its subsequent disappearance from later German editions and translations were an involuntary paraphrase of Auerbach's life and art. Sebald, balancing on the boundary of fiction and reality, makes his protagonist "voice" the self-interpretation that Auerbach resolutely

avoided in real life: what do his memories and the absence of such memories mean? “Naturally, I took steps, consciously or unconsciously, to keep at bay thoughts of my parents’ sufferings and of my own misfortune, and no doubt I succeeded sometimes in maintaining a certain equability by my self-imposed seclusion; but the fact is that that tragedy in my youth struck such deep roots within me that it later shot up again, put forth evil flowers, and spread the poisonous canopy over me which has kept me so much in the shade and dark in recent years.”²⁰

¶ In the chapter of *The Rings of Saturn* about Michael Hamburger, which refers to the character by his real name, Sebald uses the memoirs of the protagonist of this docufiction with complete liberty.²¹

¶ “...Whenever a shift in our spiritual life occurs and fragments such as these surface, we believe we can remember. But in reality, of course, memory fails. Too many buildings have fallen down, much rubble has been heaped up, the moraines and deposits are insuperable. If I now look back to Berlin, writes Michael, all I see is a darkened background, a grey smudge in it, a slate pencil drawing...”²²

¶ Ever fascinated by marginal stories, Sebald saw very clearly that the fragmentary or eventually fragmented life stories – exile, emigration, and endless travelling – forced people born at the wrong time or wrong place to come up with the strangest constructions, and some of these people were, in fact, born Jewish by faith or became Jewish. A work that must be mentioned in this context is one of the most peculiar examples of autobiographical graphic narrative, which has recently become world famous after decades of silence: *Leben? oder Theater? Ein Singspiel* by Charlotte Salomon (1917–1943), which was on display at a number of exhibitions over the past few years and which is similarly a strange document of a life lived against the life story: a love story constructed out of still images accompanied by textual comments, a denial of the self-evidence of continuity.²³

THE GARDEN AND THE CITY

¶ At the same time, the German art which ultimately never integrated Auerbach,²⁴ Salomon and Hamburger, except as ghostly presences, was also developing, even if this was invisible from the vantage point of exile, emigration, the new world of the promised land. Two recent exhibitions with notable affinities have reconstructed a story of German art during and after the war, which was largely “forgotten” and understandably marginalized in the decades after 1945. *Inventur – Art in Germany 1943–1955* was on display at the Harvard Art Museum in February–June 2018, presenting the works of artists who remained in Germany despite National Socialism and the war, yet held their distance from official art and remained within or close to the paradigm of 20th-century modern art. These included Willy Baumeister, Oskar Schlemmer, Frank Krause, Hans Uhlmann, Louise Rösler, Fritz Winter, Jeanne Mammen, Hermann

Glöckner, Werner Heldt, Wilhelm Rudolph, Ernst Wilhelm Nay, Hannah Höch, Heinz Trökes, Karl Hartung, and Konrad Klapheck, whose works can be understood as a (re)construction of an artistic space and grand récit that was barely covered in the German art history of exhibition practice over the past few decades.²⁵ *Neue/Alte Heimat – R/emigration von Künstlerinnen und Künstlern nach 1945* was on view at the Kunsthau Dahlem in Berlin between June 30, 2017—June 17, 2018.²⁶ These two exhibitions partly corrected *Art of Two Germanys. Cold War Culture*, an undoubtedly influential show held in Los Angeles, Nuremberg, and Berlin in 2009 and 2010 and its paradigm, which essentially went back to the 1960s and no further.

- ¶ Pictures by German artists – such as Louise Rösler, Werner Heldt, Wilhelm Rudolph, Erwin Spuler, Otto Dix, Chargesheimer, and Emil Schumacher – show the cities destroyed by the Royal Air Force, a topic partly identical with the urban landscape in works by Leon Kossoff and Auerbach, who was living in a postwar London significantly damaged by the Germans. However, what was Stunde Null for the Germans was the dawn of new life in England: however neutrally one might view and acknowledge this difference, it would come across as somehow uncanny.
- ¶ For London was not a city filled with the sins, guilt and repressions of the loser; just the opposite, in fact. “Long ago in 1945 all the nice people in England were poor, allowing for exceptions. The streets of the cities were lined with buildings in bad repair or in no repair at all, bomb-sites piled with stony rubble, houses like giant teeth in which decay had been drilled out, leaving only the cavity. Some bomb-ripped buildings looked like the ruins of ancient castles until, at a closer view, the wallpapers of various quite normal rooms would be visible, room above room, exposed, as on a stage, with one wall missing; sometimes a lavatory chain would dangle over nothing from a fourth- or fifth-floor ceiling; most of all the staircases survived, like a new art-form, leading up and up to an unspecified destination that made unusual demands on the mind’s eye. All the nice people were poor; at least, that was a general axiom, the best of the rich being poor in spirit.”²⁷
- ¶ “The ruins of British cities in the late 1940s and early 1950s were remembered with something like affection by those who had survived the war to see them. The experience was described by the painter Frank Auerbach in terms that echo Spark’s description of nice people’s poverty, and the often deceptively communitarian nature of postwar city life.... He moved to London in 1947 to attend art college, where among other things he began a series of paintings of the bomb sites, craters, and ruins of the postwar city. In interviews he has described the atmosphere of London in the 1940s as engendering “a curious feeling of camaraderie” among “the survivors scurrying about the ruined city.” “One felt much closer to what was going on in the street, there wasn’t any particular indoor life..., so this [the sites and the streets] was really the fabric of one’s life.”²⁸ Filled with hardship, foreigners and languages, postwar London was the first real experience after Bunce Court. It was no longer the education of upper middle class children in the heart of a secret garden hidden from the world, to foster freedom and creativity. Bunce Court had been an experience of Berlin repressed and/or forgotten and and

experience of home as an island of freedom and safety – both were rendered irrelevant now by the concurrence of solidarity and being an outsider in the metropolis and its implacably democratic order of experiences.

- ¶ The (re)building of the city, the changing schools, the solitude of adulthood, the inscrutable duality – representability and unrepresentability – of body and soul came together to determine the painter's program. Unrelated to current political ideologies, this program would allow one to witness images-turned-reliefs, dramatic solutions that could be classified as impasto, but always exceed it in complexity: the quiet implacable radicalism of avoiding closure and unambiguity.

FRAGMENTED REALITY

- ¶ The mode of painting that Auerbach struggled with from the very start of his career never entailed the acceptance of (any tradition of) illusion; in other words, the works produced over long decades never included a single one that would have allowed viewers to immerse themselves in them without reservation even for a moment, and disappear into the picture, so to speak. The denial of illusion in the picture can be understood as an argument for the truth of what can be seen in the picture: the material reality of representation rather than the erasure of this material reality through technical perfection.²⁹ This involves much more than Auerbach's indifference to the perfection of *trompe l'oeil*, the simulation of three-dimensional reality: he has absolutely nothing to do with the traditional contract of Renaissance perspective, which deems the optical verisimilitude of the relations of image, place and space a nonnegotiable component, or even minimal requirement, of representation.
- ¶ One of the crucial turns of modern painting was the critique of the artwork as a concept in the *object as art / art as object* "debate" – this critique, however, was not a relevant, aesthetically valid issue for Auerbach. His program included neither the ready made, nor conceptual art. The incontestable existence of painting as painting was a self-evident given, as far as he was concerned, and the real issue was how the real could be translated into an image. It is a significant problem that many of his paintings are not simply informed by the tradition of impasto, the logic of traceable visible brush strokes and their "syntax"; in other words, he never wished to conceal the traces of the image's making, but rather opened the possibility – in fact, the task – of viewing the traces as reliefs. Abstraction based on aesthetic-ideological programs had little to do with his painting, based as it was on living in exile, on the familiarity of individual identity or, more starkly, of solitude. Whereas Pollock's painting and the liberty of abstract expressionism produced the method of the artwork's truth as the Ego's document and the sole importance of the creative artist, Auerbach's radical fumbling, the ruthless candor of his indecision, his struggle for the object and subject of representation and their release from the prison of political relations and the regime of normative social identity has been an unending

fight for annulling art historical and socio-historical conventions, for overwriting irrelevant national traditions, for recording the uniqueness of his existence which has been rendered invisible by grand histories – in other words, for recording the unmistakably unrepeatable. There are a number of intersections between the different themes: “there is a clear parallel between Auerbach’s early landscapes and his portraits. The landscapes – like the sitters – envelop the canvas, one looks down into Smithfield Meat Market, or into building sites with their deep excavation into the earth, without any sense that there is a sky above, without purchase on the division of figure and the ground, scene and background, of any firm sense ground level and horizon.”³⁰ So the material reality of the painting, the contourless representation never relaxes its grasp on the viewer: Auerbach’s pictures are not governed either by the freedom of accepting abstract expressionism or geometric abstraction, the absence of the object as an art historical reality, nor by a clear narrative contract between the viewer and the realisms meant to document and re-create the lucid borders, roles and spaces of social existence. What is the axiom of Auerbach’s pictures, then? “...the best of his painting convinces us, or at least me, that the axiom isn’t just assumed to be true in the first place and then the painting produced according to it, but has discovered – discovered as any approaching the world, and then discovered to be a true way - in the painting, as the painting, as what ‘painting’ has become.”³¹ It is the constant struggle for recognizing the subject of the image: he simply demands that viewers do their job, traverse the same path one can learn from the painter’s work. The perception of Auerbach’s paintings is deeply influenced by the duality of recognizability and inscrutability, both in a literal and a metaphorical sense. “Auerbach’s paintings are made through a process of constant revision and reworking. Their ‘painterly’ surfaces manifest figural elements that emerge slowly as the spectator looks. They engage us in a complex operations of temporality and perception.”³² All that Anne Robinson understands (in Helen Cixous’s words) as the metaphorical problem of how to “write like a painter” can be identified with the method of writing, in which the forming of the text, the sentences are never submerged in the story, are never pushed into the background, and consequently prevent the acceptance of the realist illusionism of continuity, just like contours and their absence do. They prevent immersion in the text under the reign of narrativity.³³ Auerbach’s oeuvre is also a radical reflection on the tradition of painting. It is as if he did not know any alternative to painting, a method of creating reality unlike any other, yet he does not recognize any tradition of painting, or rather he refuses to recognize painting as a tradition deserving respect in and of itself.

¶ Even though it is possible to view photo reproductions of Auerbach’s paintings, I am afraid understanding their weight requires an encounter with the original, since their significance is inseparable from whether the viewer decides to let him- or herself over to the process documented by Auerbach: the drama of a personal encounter with the work. Ever since I had the chance – or rather the good fortune – to spend hours facing these pictures at the Tate Britain on several occasions and now at the Hungarian National Gallery, and understood the meaning of construing the year 1952 as

a turn – a consensus in Auerbach scholarship – I cannot help thinking this seems to repeat the unintended, yet hardly accidental turn of Franz Rosenzweig from a historian into a philosopher. Rosenzweig wrote in a letter to his mentor, Friedrich Meinecke, in August 1920: “In 1913 something happened to me for which *collapse* is the only fitting name. I suddenly found myself on a heap of wreckage or rather I realized that the road I was then pursuing was flanked by unrealities.”³⁴ “[Auerbach] was working from Stella (Estella Olive West, or. EOW) and she was someone he was involved with, not a professional model, ‘so the whole situation was obviously more tense and fraught. There was always the feeling that she might get fed up, that there might be a quarrel or something. I also had a much greater sense of what specifically she was like, so that the question of getting likeness was like walking a tightrope. I had a far more poignant sense of slipping away, of it being hard to get...’”³⁵ – And this is not so far from Rosenzweig’s realization in the midst of the wreckage: “Cognition [Erkennen] no longer appears to me as an end in itself. It has turned into service, a service to human beings.”³⁶

¶ This is as unambiguous as it can be. The modern program created by Duchamp and numerous outstanding artists after him was the absolute of impersonality. Auerbach’s personal is not a program, but the inseparability of the uniqueness and inscutability of the other. Only the personal could create the space that exceeded the placement of the model within the order of perspective, the space that was more important and in which the portrait, the trace of the model’s body was also her death mask.

¶ A narrow section of London, the same studio for decades, without old acquaintances, lovers and illusions, the attempt at objectivity time and time again: one cannot help but acknowledge the absurdity of distinguishing forgetting and repression, between the search for home and the flight into isolation, between great painting and documenting marginal existence. The portrait of Frank Auerbach that appears in the exhibition catalogues of the Tate Britain and Kunstmuseum Bonn shows held in 2015 was taken by Antonio Olmos in September 2014. It is a silent, yet far from gentle provocation. Olmos’s work is tied to recording life “in the shadows.” He took numerous photos in Budapest and elsewhere in Hungary in the summer of 2015, during the refugee crisis. His *Landscape of Murder* series, recording traces of memory or traceless crime scenes at various site of murder in London was made in neighborhoods far from Mornington Crescent, and not only in a geographical sense. The photograph of Auerbach, with its sharp contours, conveying the meaning of hyperealism with all the details that are often invisible in real life, this photo that is *too sharp* is an unambiguous testimony to the subject of the painter’s resolute silence that nevertheless begins to seep through the decades. It is a portrait of infinite sadness and desperation long decades after the great painting by Lucian Freud, showing an introspective, downward gazing Auerbach, who simply refused to give in to his good friend’s relentless selfishness and genius.

¶ *Paint or Die*, the interview he gave to Geordie Greig in 1998, and the photo taken in 2014 combine into a montage, a silent and implacable assemblage framing the exhibition and, indeed,

Auerbach's entire oeuvre is a way that leaves little ambiguity. "It was 'tactfully leaked' to him at school that his parents had been murdered in the Holocaust, but Auerbach remembers little grief. His school became his surrogate family to such an extent that even after he had left, to go to art school in London, he returned in the summer holidays. 'I painted a picture a day. No one had the heart to ask me what right I had to be there or told me I couldn't stay there. It was really home and gave me as much confidence as a family would have done.' Is there a sense of psychological denial about how he dealt with the Holocaust and the loss of his parents? 'There might well be, but I have avoided psychiatrists all my life, and also all that gnawing at the past, I have no sympathy with it. I just think one plays the cards one is dealt and that's it. I've been aware of what happened all my life, and as luck would have it I found myself in the situation of being the »innocent party«'. If I had not been Jewish, who knows what I would have done or felt, I was also lucky to be young enough not to come with a lot of emotional baggage.'" ³⁷

¶ We will never know if this was true and, if so, how. All we can deduce, while facing the pictures, is what an enormous burden it must have been.

- [1] Max Auerbach (Rawitsch, 1890 – Auschwitz, 1943), Charlotte Nora Borchardt Auerbach (Memel, 1902 – Auschwitz, 1943). Auerbach lived at 49 Güntzelstrasse in Berlin's Wilmersdorf district until 1938. 23 Stolpersteine commemorates former residents, including Auerbach's parents, in front of the building.
- [2] Hildegard Feidel-Mertz and Andrea Hammel, "Integration and Formation of Identity: Exile Schools of Great Britain", *Shofar. An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* vol. 23, no. 1 (2004. Fall): 71–84.
- [3] See Judith Tydor Baumel-Schwartz, *Never Look Back. Jewish Refugee Children in Great Britain, 1938–1945* (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue UP, 2012); Mary R. Ford, "The Arrival of Jewish Refugee Children in England, 1938–1939" *Immigrants and Minorities, Historical Studies in Ethnicity, Migration and Diaspora* vol. 2, no. 2 (1983): 135–151.
- [4] Georgie Greig, "The Constant Painter", *London Evening Standard*, 10 September 2009, 32.
- [5] "Alongside the brushless style, we can identify some other common characteristics of this generation of realist artists. There is a uniformity of emphasis across the whole picture, and a tendency to paint everything with the same level of cool, clinical detachment. There is a rejection of drama, narrative and anecdote: favoured subjects include portraits, landscapes and everyday life, particularly modern-life subjects such as sport, bathing and outdoor leisure pursuits tied to vacations." Patrick Elliott, "About British Realist Painting", in *True to Life, British Realist Painting in the 1920 and 1930s* (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 2017), 11–12. The interrelations between class consciousness, social program, political commitment and painting techniques, brushwork and surface treatment are rather prominent, when one considers the oeuvres of painters such as Walter Sickert, Dora Carrington, Paul Nash, Christopher Nevinston, Sir Stanley Spencer or David Bomberg, that is painters who formed the world of the School of London. Cf. Wendy Baron, *Sickert* (London: Phaidon, 1973); David Boyd Haycock, *The Crisis of Brilliance, Five Young British Artists and the Great War* (London: Old Street Publishing, 2010); Richard Cork, *David Bomberg* (Yale UP, 1986).
- [6] Ten thousand German, Austrian, Czech and Polish Jewish children were moved to England in the framework of the Kindertransport arranged by the World Jewish Relief, thereby saving their lives. A Kindertransportról számos, eltérő szempont alapján írott könyv született, s komoly szerephez jutott a filmiparban is.

- [7] Cf. Paul Tabori, *Anatomy of Exile: A Semantic and Historical Study* (London: Harrap, 1972). "The search for a stable identity ... is an integral part of exile itself", 37.
- [8] John Locke, "11. Personal Identity", in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Chapter XXVII: Of Identity and Diversity (London, 1690).
- [9] Marya Schechtman, *Staying Alive. Personal Identity, Practical Concern, and the Unity of a Life* (Oxford UP, 2014), 102.
In her landmark book *The Constitution of Selves*, published in 1996, she analyzes the problem of personal identity with a critical perspective on the abstraction of analytical philosophy and juxtaposes the issues of "reidentification," "Narrative Self-Constitution View" and identity as withstanding time and as carried away by time. She examines the "machine" operating within a set of relationships of the psychological, the narrative, the moral, and of memory and forgetting, a machine whose identity and authenticity is also the fundamental question of modern art. The cover art of Schechtman's book is *Head of a Woman* by Picasso, a monochrome work from 1933, published as a print in 1966, a variant of the plaster bust of Marie-Thérèse Walter from 1931. (The complex history of this sculpture is beyond the scope of this study.) The cover is, in fact, an example of the inextricable philosophical and art theoretical problem that defined Frank Auerbach's work as a whole: the inscrutability and intricacy of the relationship between the personal and the Self. "Life is not a sequence of independent moments, but an integrated structural whole much like the unity of a musical composition (which is not one sound after another)." László Kajtár, "Az életem én vagyok?" [Is My Life Equal to Me?], in *Kiskaté, Kortárs Filozófiai Kiskönyvtár*, comp. Tibor Bárány (Miskolc: műút könyvek, 2017), 16.
- [10] Marianne Hirsch, "The Generation of Postmemory", *Poetics Today* vol. 29, no. 1 (2008): 103–28.
- [11] Gershom Scholem, "Against the Myth of German-Jewish Dialogue", in *On Jews and Judaism in Crisis*, ed. Werner J. Dannhauser (New York: Schocken, 1976), 61–64.
- [12] Paul Mendes Flohr, *German Jews. A Dual Identity* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1999); Franz Rosenzweig: *His Life and Thought*, presented by Nahum N. Glatzer (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, A Schocken Book, 5713–1953).
- [13] Jonathan Jones: How Jewish Émigrés Brought the Best German Art to Britain. *The Guardian*, 16 July 2016. Émigrés and exiles played a crucial part in the intricate and truly significant relationship between "British provincialism" and continental modernism, yet construing them as a homogenous community it is a grave methodological problem that leads to misunderstandings.
- [14] Cf. Tamás Bényei, *Az ártatlan ország. Az angol regény 1945 után* (Debrecen: Kossuth Egyetemi Kiadó, 2003).
- [15] *The Human Clay. An Exhibition selected by RB Kitaj* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1976), 3. Alistair Hicks claims in the introduction to *The School of London: The Resurgence of Contemporary Painting* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1989, 9–11) in 1989: "British painting has never been so strong. ... The last thirty years have witnessed a renaissance in British art." Yet, the meaning of the School of London is not self-evident. Cf. Michael Peppiatt, "A School or Not a School?", *Modern Painters* vol. 8, no. 2 (1995): 64–66. Most recently: Elena Crippa and Catherine Lampert, *The London Calling, Bacon, Freud, Kossoff, Andrews, Auerbach, Kitaj* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, in Association with London: Tate, 2016).
- [16] *First Diasporist Manifesto, with 60 illustration* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1989). R. B. Kitaj, *Second Diasporist Manifesto (A New Kind of Long Poem in 615 Free Verses)* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 2007).
- [17] G. W. Sebald, *The Emigrants* (New York: New Direction Books, 1997).
- [18] See his novel *Austerlitz*, a historical fiction or pseudo-autobiography published a month before his fatal car accident, in which the narrator, a person of Jewish origin from Prague, finds his repressed, forgotten mother tongue using the methods of *recovered memory*. The work, which that can be read as a catalog of recent trends in literature and the politics of memory, is an important document of post-holocaust identity.

- [19] Sebald's books included numerous photographs – some taken by the author, some previously published. These photos were always uncaptioned and rather than subordinated illustrations, they were the equals of the text. This is the method he followed when he published the drawing by Auerbach without permission, and the meaning of the unmarked quotations in the text also shifted as a result of the image.
- [20] Sebald 2006. 191.
- [21] Michael Hamburger, *String of Beginnings: Intermittent Memoirs, 1924–1954* (Skoob Seriph, 1991).
- [22] *The Rings of Saturn, Exile in England*, VII. 177. (New York: New Direction Books, 1999).
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- [24] Cf. *Forced Journey: Artists in Exile in Britain 1933–1945*, Ben Uri Gallery, London, 2009, 20 January–19 April. It was partly an issue of generations which emigré remained in the paradigm of German art, stayed at the edges of that paradigm, or moved into the art history of a different country (like Auerbach into England's). Auerbach had an exhibition at the Hamburg Kunstverein in 1986, and he was shown as a British painter at the Venice Biennale in the same year, winning the Golden Lion (sharing it with Siegmund Polke who had emigrated from the GDR to West-Germany) in a triumph of cold-war culture.
- [25] *Inventur – Art in Germany, 1943–55*, ed. Lynette Roth with Ilka Voermann (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard Art Museums), distributed by Yale UP, New Haven and London, 2018.
- [26] Ed. Dorothea Schöne. Burcu Dogramaci's study *Nach dem Exil: Remigration als künstlerische Rückkehr / After Exile – Remigration as Artistic Return* also evokes a period, field, and cultural exchange untouched in many respects.
- [27] Muriel Spark, *The Girls of Slender Means* (London: Macmillan, 1963), 1. See also Clair Wills, "Digs and Lodging Houses: Literature, Ruins, and Survival in Postwar Britain", *Éire-Ireland* vol. 52, no. 3 (2017 Fall–Winter): 57–74.
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“WE EITHER FIND IT, OR WE MIGHT MISS THE CHANCE FOREVER”*In conversation with Paula Zsidi*

Emőke Gréczi

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The ancient Roman heritage is one of Budapest's greatest assets, but do we appreciate it, look after it? What can a museologist do if part of this heritage is blown up, buried, built over or neglected by its owner? What do visitors want to see in an archaeological park and what do experts want to show them? We discussed these questions with Paula Zsidi, retired director of the Aquincum Museum and retired director-general of the Budapest History Museum. Paula Zsidi graduated in history and archaeology from the Humanities Faculty of ELTE in 1975. She earned her doctoral degree in 1983 and her PhD in 1997. From 1975 to her retirement in 2017 she worked at the Budapest History Museum. She was the director of the Aquincum Museum of the BHM from 1989, and from 2000 also the deputy director-general responsible for archaeological tasks. Her research area is the archaeology of provincial Rome and archaeological heritage protection. Her digging activity primarily extended to the civilian settlement of Aquincum and the surrounding villa estates. At university she specialised in the Migration Period and studied under István Bóna and Gyula László. When she graduated in 1975 she had a choice of two jobs: to work at the library of the Department of Archaeology or do Roman era practical archaeology at the Budapest History Museum. She decided on the latter and was able to participate in a challenging task: Szentendrei Road was being broadened at the time and the tracks of the local interest railway were being modified and taken through the middle of civilian Aquincum. In those days a road only ran through the Danube side of the Roman aqueduct pillars, and changing the track required the 'shaving off' and paving the middle section of the ancient civilian settlement in a 10,000-square-metre area. If the rail tracks had been taken to today's Huszti Road or Kunigunda Street, a lot of the heritage could have been saved. Although the mementos of 1st-2nd centuries are still there under the road and the tracks, what was once above the surface is lost forever. If we take the campaign led by István Schönvisner in 1778 as the starting point, excavations have been conducted in Aquincum for 250 years. There are white spots, such as the Late Roman Era fort or the inner section of the legionary fortress, which are built over. Aquincum's topography, including the military settlement, the related cemeteries and the villa estate buildings, are gradually being discovered. Almost 40% of the civilian settlement – forming part of the Aquincum museum's area – has been explored but at most 15% of the legionary fortress and even less of the Late Roman Era fort have been excavated. Archaeologists specialised in the Roman period regularly visited each other's digs as they basically explored the same find-site. They were aware that if they did not do their utmost then and there, the given areas and finds could not be researched for the next 100-120 years, or ever again.

“WE MUST ORGANISE EXHIBITIONS DIFFERENTLY
BUT ALSO COLLECT IN ANOTHER WAY”

In conversation with Reinhard Spieler, the director of the Sprengel Museum in Hannover

Péter Emőd

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The Sprengel Museum is one of the most prominent collections and exhibition venues of 20th- and 21st-century fine art in Germany. Its core material was the valuable collection of the renowned local chocolate factory owner, Bernhard Sprengel, comprising works by Picasso, Chagall, Macke, Beckmann, Marc, Klee and Feininger, which he donated to Hannover in 1969. Sprengel contributed 2.5 million Marks to the museum housing his collection: the institution opened in 1979, was extended with a new building in 2015 and has borne the name of its generous patron since 1984. It has the richest selection of works by the masters of German Expressionism and French Modernism but it also preserves the art collection of Lower Saxony and Hannover. The Kurt Schwitters archives, which contains the largest material of works by the notable Hannover-born Dadaist artist, is integrated into the museum. The German section of the International Association of Art Critics (AICA) awarded the Sprengel Museum the Museum of the Year title in 2017 mainly on account of the unique qualities of its collection, which is true but not a novelty. When a new building was added, visitor numbers increased: the figure almost came to 170 thousand last year. (The average for previous years was 130 thousand.) The aim was to reach a steady number at around 150 thousand a year, allowing for a bit more or less depending on the annual programme. A real blockbuster can radically change the figures: the *Marc, Macke and Delaunay* exhibition in 2009 attracted 270 visitors within four months. The museum's funds are granted half by the province and half by the municipality, which comes with certain responsibilities. The best local artists of the region must be paid attention to when drawing up the acquisition policy, while Sprengel's legacy obliges the museum to also think globally. Reinhard Spieler is 54 years old and has been the director of the Sprengel Museum for four years. He studied art history, archaeology and literature in Munich, Berlin and Paris; he wrote his dissertation on Max Beckmann's triptychs. He first worked at the regional art museum in Düsseldorf and in 2002 he became the founding director of the Franz Gertsch Museum in Burgdorf, Switzerland. He achieved major professional recognition with thematic exhibitions and those showcasing Gertsch, Gerhard Richter and Lucio Fontana. From 2007 to 2014 he directed the Wilhelm-Hack-Museum in Ludwigshafen, which was undergoing large-scale reconstruction. From there he went to Hannover. He is a teacher at several German and Swiss universities. This May he was elected to the board of the Association of German Museums, where he represents the interests of art institutions. The main focus of his academic work is the classical moderns – especially Max Beckmann – and contemporary art.



A MI MÚZEUMUNK

MÚZEUMI ÉS KÖNYVTÁRI FEJLESZTÉSEK MINDENKINEK



FÉLIDŐHÖZ ÉRT A MÚZEUMI ÉS KÖNYVTÁRI FEJLESZTÉSEK MINDENKINEK CÍMŰ PROJEKT

TA múzeumi és könyvtáros szakma a *Múzeumi és könyvtári fejlesztések mindenkinek* című, EFOP-3.3.3-VEKOP-16-2016-00001 azonosítószámú kiemelt projekt keretében sokat tesz azért, hogy csökkenjen a korai – azaz a végzettség nélküli – iskolaelhagyók aránya, javuljon a hátrányos helyzetű csoportok munkaerőpiaci helyzete, erősödjön a fiatalok társadalmi integrációja, csökkenjen a szegénységben, társadalmi kirekesztettségben élők száma. A nemes célok elérése érdekében a két kulturális szakterület három éven át tartó programot indított 2017 februárjában.

TA Széchenyi 2020 program keretében 2017. február 1. és 2020. január 31. között kétmilliárd forint keretösszegeből az Európai Unió támogatásával 36 hónapon keresztül zajló projekt a múzeumi és könyvtári terület intézményeit és szakembereit készíti fel arra, hogy választ adjanak az új társadalmi-gazdasági kihívásokra. Teszi ezt oly módon, hogy a munkatársak a társadalom fiatal korosztályaira fókuszálnak, s fejlesztési tevékenységüket az oktatási intézményekkel, a pedagógusokkal, illetve a leendő pedagógusok érzékenyítése által valósítják meg.

TA múzeumi és könyvtári komponensből álló projekt a Szabadtéri Néprajzi Múzeum Múzeumi Oktatási és Módszertani Központ konzorciumvezető és a Fővárosi Szabó Ervin Könyvtár konzorciumi partner együttműködésében valósul meg. A projekt szakmai megvalósítói elkötelezték az esélyegyenlőség szerepének növelése, a hátrányos helyzetűek felzárkóztatása és a kulturális javakhoz való egyenlő hozzáférés lehetőségének megteremtése iránt.

TA hazai múzeumi és könyvtári rendszerre kiterjedő módszertani fejlesztés átfogó célja, hogy a kulturális intézményrendszer az általa kínált nem formális és informális oktatási szolgáltatásokat bővítse, a hozzáférést növelje. A projekt hatékonyan kíván hozzájárulni a köznevelés esélyteremtő szerepének és hátránykompenzációs képességének erősítéséhez. A minőségi oktatáshoz való egyenlő hozzáférés biztosítása, az oktatásba való visszatérés ösztönzése egyaránt a célok között szerepel.

TMindezen célokat a projekt alapkutatásokkal, mintaprojektek és mintaprogramok megvalósításával kívánja elérni. A projektben módszertani ajánlások, pedagógusoknak, múzeumi és könyvtári szakembereknek szóló továbbképzések valósulnak meg, szakmai kiadványok születnek, továbbá országos múzeumi koordinátori, illetve könyvtári szaktanácsadói hálózatot működtetünk. Az ágazati

együttműködést közös szakmai rendezvények is segítik, így 2017 decemberében sikeresen zajlott le a múzeumi koordinátori hálózat és könyvtári szaktanácsadói hálózat első országos találkozója. A program most ért félidejéhez, de máris rengeteg eredményt tud felmutatni.

A projekt múzeumi komponense,

A mi múzeumunk keretében 2018. július 15-ig elért eredmények

- ¶ A projekt keretében átfogó kutatások indultak a múzeumpedagógia helyzetének feltérképezésére, a múzeumi szakemberek kompetenciáinak vizsgálatára, a múzeumok szolgáltató jellegének és a frontmenedzsment gyakorlatának monitorozására. A kutatások több mint 50 tagú kutatói és módszertani szakember-csapat közreműködésével, valamint 700-nál is több hazai muzeális intézmény bevonásával zajlottak; 10 kutatási részjelentés és 48 mélyinterjú készült el. A kutatási irányok és a módszertani fejlesztések bemutatására több nemzetközi múzeumi konferencián és módszertani napon is sor került, melyek jelentőségét neves külföldi múzeumi szakemberek előadásai és részvétele növelte.
- ¶ A kutatási eredményeket is felhasználó modellprogramok, az ún. mintaprojektek keretében olyan múzeumi jó gyakorlatokat teszteltek muzeális és oktatási intézmények, amelyeket a jövőben más, hasonló adottságokkal rendelkező szervezetek is sikeresen adaptálhatnak. A projekt keretében tervezett 19 mintaprojektből 10 lezárult az első projektévben, 8 pedig 2018. március végére. A 19. mintaprojekt zárása 2018 szeptemberében várható. A mintaprojektekben részt vevő, közoktatásban és felsőoktatásban tanulók száma meghaladta a 2500 főt. A kutatások és módszertani fejlesztések gyakorlati adaptálása céljából összesen 151 intézménnyel kötöttünk együttműködési megállapodást, ebből 91 esetben a mintaprojekteket megvalósító intézményekkel, illetve az általuk mentorált muzeális intézményekkel, valamint a mintaprojektekben részt vevő közoktatási és felsőoktatási intézményekkel dolgoztunk együtt.
- ¶ A kulturális hozzáférés kiterjesztése céljából *KultúrBónusz* címmel olyan kísérleti jellegű program indul az Észak-Magyarország és Észak-Alföld régiókban, melynek köszönhetően 6000, jórészt társadalmilag hátrányos helyzetű diák tud ingyenesen múzeumpedagógiai foglalkozásokon részt venni 2018-ban és 2019-ben.
- ¶ A projekt keretében 41 múzeumi szakemberből álló országos koordinátori hálózat működik, a budapesti, illetve a megyei múzeumi koordinátorok már 193 rendezvényt szerveztek múzeumi szakemberek és pedagógusok számára, valamint 418 alkalommal végeztek szakmai tanácsadást. A hálózat munkájának támogatására két 30 órás akkreditált továbbképzést, valamint öt alkalommal szakmai műhelynapokat rendeztünk. Két külföldi tanulmányút is megvalósult a koordinátorok

részvételével a szakképzés, a pályaorientáció és a tehetséggondozás külföldi jó gyakorlatainak tanulmányozása céljából, illetve a végzettség nélküli korai iskolaelhagyás csökkentése és a hátrányos helyzetű csoportok múzeumi támogatása érdekében.

- ¶ Nemcsak a múzeumi, de kulturális területen is újdonságnak számít az akkreditált továbbképzések között a projektben kidolgozott modulos képzési módszertan., melynek keretében a résztvevők a kötelezően elvégzendő modul mellé a szabadon választhat modulokból saját igényeiknek megfelelően állíthatják össze a tanfolyam tananyagát. A *Múzeumi menedzserképzés* címmel indított modulos továbbképzés célja, hogy a múzeumok vezetői olyan szakmai továbbképzést kapjanak, amely tartalmazza a 150/1992. (XI. 20.) Korm. rendelet 6/G. § (1) bekezdése törvényi előírás szerint kötelező elemeket (államháztartási és vezetési ismeretek), és amely mellé minden résztvevő maga válogathatja össze azokat a tanegységeket, amelyek elvégzésére a szakmai fejlődésük érdekében szükségük van.
- ¶ A múzeumi szakemberek és a pedagógusok ismereteinek bővítése céljából összesen 11 továbbképzési programot akkreditáltattunk, melyek között tantermi, blended és e-learning tanfolyamok egyaránt szerepelnek. A projekt kezdete óta 12 alkalommal szerveztünk ingyenes továbbképzéseket több mint 300 fő, köztük múzeumi szakemberek, pedagógusok, illetve koordinátoraink és képzéseink oktatói részére.
- ¶ Továbbra is várjuk a projekt keretében meghirdetésre kerülő ingyenesen elvégezhető képzéseinkre kulturális területen dolgozó szakemberek jelentkezését: <http://amimuzeumunk.hu/kepzesek/>.
- ¶ A projekt ernyőhonlapja és a múzeumi komponens honlapja rendszeresen frissül a projekttel kapcsolatos tartalmakkal, s emellett A mi múzeumunknak saját Facebook-oldala, Instagramja, valamint YouTube-csatornája is működik. A projekt egészéről magyar és angol nyelvű imázsfilm, a múzeumi komponens egyes fejlesztéseinek bemutatására pedig hét videóhírlevél készült. Kövesse a múzeumi komponens híreit a projekt honlapján: <http://amimuzeumunk.hu/>.





IAzon ma már senki sem lepődik meg, ha Magyarországon római kori emlékekre bukkannak a régészek. Természetes, hogy az egykori római provincia területén út- és épületmaradványok, használati tárgyak vagy éppen veretes pénzérmék emlékeztetnek a régi időkre. Sokan tudják talán azt is, hogy Rómában és az egész birodalomban milyen fontos szerepet játszottak a pénzügyek: a beáramló zsákmány, a sok kincs magával hozta az üzletkötést, és egyre többen reméltek nyereséget vagyonuk megforgatásából. Pénzügyi ismeretei azonban csak keveseknek voltak, emiatt haszon helyett gyakran vagyonszerzés következett be.

INapjainkban talán még nagyobb szerepe van a pénzügyi edukációnak, a pénzügyekkel kapcsolatos ismeretek átadásának annak érdekében, hogy jól dönt-sünk befektetéseinket, megtakarításainkat illetően, és tegyük ezt akár már középiskolás-egyetemista kortól. Egy jól működő gazdaságnak fontos alapját képezik a pénzügyekben tudatosan gondolkodó és tudatos döntéseket hozó családok és vállalkozások, és a pénzügyekben való jártasság elsajátítása valójában egy életen át tartó folyamatnak nevezhető.

Idén tavasszal, többek között a Magyar Fejlesztési Bank támogatásával nyílt meg az első FINTELLIGENCE Pénzügyi Oktatási Centrum a Miskolci Egyetem Gazdaságtudományi Karán. A központ banktörténeti elemeket felvonultató kiállítótérként, illetve modern pénzügyi edukációs előadóteremként is működik. Az ünnepélyes megnyitó a *FINTELLIGENCE Pénzügyi kultúra* konferencia keretében zajlott, ahol Bernáth Tamás, az MFB elnök-vezérigazgatója arról beszélt: minden pénzügyi intézet számára fontos kell legyen a lakosság és a vállalkozások pénzügyi kultúrájának és tudatosságának fejlődése és erősítése. Az MFB, mint gondolkodó bank, hosszú távú befektetésként tekint erre a területre, melynek révén bővül a hitelezésbe bevonható társaságok köre, és amely hozzájárul ahhoz is, hogy a már működő vállalkozások szintet lépve nagy célokat tűzhessenek ki.

Iktóberben megnyílt az országos FINTELLIGENCE Pénzügyi Edukációs Hálózat újabb központja Debrecenben, majd november elején Pécsen is átadtak egy modern pénzügyi labort. A tervek szerint a közeljövőben Budapesten, Szegeden és Kolozsváron alakítanak majd ki olyan oktatóközpontokat, amelyek feladata a pénzügyi edukáció a különböző bankok anyagi és szakmai támogatásával.

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