

# 1956 on Photographs: - The 1956 Hungarian Revolution, its Visual Heritage and the Iconographic Classification of its Photographs<sup>1</sup>

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## 概要

この論文は、1956年のハンガリー革命を写した写真を取り上げ、様々な観点から検討する。1950年代のメディアの状況と写真撮影の技術的側面を紹介し、ハンガリー内外のプロ、またはアマチュア写真家の撮影のやり方に焦点を当てて、彼らの目標、写真の構成技法、視覚効果および芸術性などを分析する。また、最近の新しい研究を踏まえ、国外の報道写真家の作品のなかで最近身元の確認が取れたハンガリー人を取り上げ、その写真を紹介するとともに分析を試みる。さらに、本論文は近年、ようやく明らかになったアマチュア・カメラマンの写真集を紹介し、ハンガリー革命の膨大な数の写真を分析して、写真の図像学的分類に挑戦している。

## Keywords

Photography, the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence, foreign press, Hungarian press, professional and amateur photographers, debates and controversies on the visual heritage of the revolution, museum and Internet-based exhibitions, iconography of the revolution,

## Introduction

In 2016, the sixtieth anniversary of the *1956 Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence* provided new opportunities to reconsider and rethink the Revolution from a photographic and visual perspective.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This study was prepared originally as a paper for the Conference of the Japanese Society of Hungarian Studies (Hangari Gakkai) in 2016 and as a companion text to the 1956 photo exhibition in the 2016 Hungarian exhibition room of the the University Festival of Josai International University. The original text was modified and completed, among others, with explanations about photographs that have emerged in the past couple of years (2017-2019). To make the reading easier, the author put the English translation of the Hungarian and Japanese reference materials into parantheses.

<sup>2</sup> After World War II, Hungary signed the Paris Peace Treaty in 1947, which restored basically the borders imposed after World War I. The Soviet Union put Hungary under its sphere of influence and the country became a socialist state. The authoritarian and repressive political system led to political demonstrations and uprising in October 1956. Historians are referring to these events as the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 (in Hungarian: 1956-os magyar forradalom, in Japanese: 1956年のハンガリー革命), and the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence (1956-os magyar forradalom és szabadságharc, in Japanese: 1956年のハンガリー革命と独立の戦い) is also widely used. The words War of Independence put an emphasis on the armed fights. The expression Uprising (in Hungarian: felkelés, in Japanese: 蜂起、動乱) is also used. The participants of the

As one of the most prominent researchers of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, János M. Rainer notes, the Hungarian Revolution was a world event, a world sensation, and a media event. More than one hundred and fifty journalists and photojournalists traveled to Hungary in the wake of the revolution. The BBC also sent two television broadcast camera crews. Hours of motion pictures, tens of thousands of photos were taken.<sup>3</sup>

The analysis of the photographic history of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and has not yet been finished. The photographs of the foreign and Hungarian professional and amateur photographers were not only taken in often adventurous conditions, but the way in which these photos were brought or smuggled out of the country, and how they were kept secret for many decades was also nothing short of adventurous. In Hungary, after the Revolution, the authorities systematically sought to collect photos and footage, and used them to try and identify the participants of the “counter-revolution,” as the authorities had labeled it. The photos were used to compile propaganda material based on politically determined criteria.<sup>4</sup>

During the Kádár Era, many pictures remained hidden in Hungary, and these photos only began to emerge from their hiding places after 1989. In fact, this process continues even to this day.

By the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Revolution, in 2006, several new books were published in Hungary based on photographic documents.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, in the year of the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary (2016), new photos were discovered. Over the last two decades, the Internet has brought a significant change in terms of our visual culture and the way in which the photographic heritage of the Revolution has been dealt with. Scientific research results and many of the ‘56 photos have also been made easily accessible through web sites. One of the most interesting digital databases of the ‘56 photos was launched in spring of 2017<sup>6</sup>.

As Rolf Müller puts it, a photograph is not simply an imprint of a piece of the past, “and it is not only a source, but also a household item, and different functions are assigned to it, while many interpretations and layers of meanings are formed based on it.” In the case of major historical events, the still picture is not only still frame of our private history, but also a historical source.<sup>7</sup>

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Revolution are often referred to as “56ers” (in Hungarian: 56-osok or ötvenhatosok), and the armed fighters as uprisers (in Hungarian: felkelők), or armed uprisers (fegyveres felkelők), freedom fighters (szabadságharcosok).  
<sup>3</sup> János Rainer M., *Az 1956-os magyar forradalom (The 1956 Hungarian Revolution)* (Budapest: Osiris, 1956), 11-13.

<sup>4</sup> György Sümegei, *Naplók, interjúk '56-ról (Diaries and Interviews about '56)* (Budapest: Enciklopédia Kiadó, 2006), 149.

<sup>5</sup> Katalin Jalsovszky, “Az 1956-os forradalom képei az 50. évforduló alkalmából megjelent kiadványokban (Pictures of the 1956 Revolution in the Publications Published for the Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Revolution),” *Fotóművészet*, February 2007, [http://fotomuveszet.net/korabbi\\_szamok/200702/az\\_1956os\\_forradalom\\_kepei?PHPSESSID=e56e58c20f40b3119d4f8c958e0468d6](http://fotomuveszet.net/korabbi_szamok/200702/az_1956os_forradalom_kepei?PHPSESSID=e56e58c20f40b3119d4f8c958e0468d6).

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.magyaroktober.hu>

<sup>7</sup> Rolf Müller, “A forradalom emlékalbumba (The Commemorative Album of the Revolution),” *Betekintő - Az Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történelmi Levéltárának internetes folyóirata (Insight - The internet journal of the Historical Archives of the State Security Services)*, January 2007, [http://www.betekinto.hu/sites/default/files/betekinto-szamok/2007\\_1\\_muller.pdf](http://www.betekinto.hu/sites/default/files/betekinto-szamok/2007_1_muller.pdf)

During their daily activities, domestic and foreign photographers often photographed the same events. Due to the noticeable differences in the technical aspects of the photographers (e.g. methodological approach, local knowledge, aims, interpretations of the situation, accompanying texts of the photos, etc.), their pictures carried multiple layers of meanings and interpretations. The evident and perceptible difference in approaches allowed for a variety of visual representations of the Revolution. On top of that, these photographs faced very different destinies: in Hungary, after the Revolution, the '56 photos were not printed in news magazines, like in the West, but were used in criminal prosecution by the authorities.

The only exceptions are those photographs which were published in the short-lived democratic Hungarian press during the Revolution. During these tumultuous days, the *Igazság* (Truth), the *Magyar Szabadság* (Hungarian Freedom), the *Magyar Függetlenség* (Hungarian Independence), the *Magyar Ifjúság* (Hungarian Youth), the *Magyar Honvéd* (Hungarian Soldier), and the *Népakarát* (People's Will), among others, published pictures about the demonstrations, street scenes, and street fights.<sup>8</sup>

As in the past ten years many additional informations related to the photographic history of the revolution were disclosed, and as the handling of the visual heritage of the revolution is still not fully analysed, the author of this paper will attempt to examine these new developments and to give a summary of the photographic heritage of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution with a focus on the differences between the professional and amateur photographers including an expanded structural and iconographic examination of their photographs.

## **1 Characteristics of photography - Transformation of the cameras and the photographic culture in the fifties**

The fifties were the golden age of press photography. Already, long before the war, the innovation of German Leica cameras, namely the ability to shoot on 35mm films, revolutionized the workflow of photojournalists and press correspondents. As a result of Leica's success, other camera and lens maker companies such as Voigtlander, Kodak (Retina), and Zeiss (Contax) began producing small-film photographic machines, lenses, and equipment, as well as the first Leica replicas. One such example was Zorky camera from the Soviet Union, which achieved a high standard in photographic camera and lens production.

In addition to these small-film machines, portable medium-format (Rolleiflex) and large-format machines became also widespread, so by the late thirties, from the time of the Spanish Civil War, more and more agile, professional photographers could specialize themselves in conflict photography. Professional photo agencies had also been established - one of the most famous being Magnum, founded (among others) by the Hungarian Endre Friedmann, also known as "Capa."

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<sup>8</sup> See below a more detailed analyse.

In the fifties, magazines with photos were published and circulated in large numbers all over the Western world, such as the American Life, the French Paris Match, the Italian Epoca, and the German Stern. These magazines, when informed about the uprising, sent their press correspondents directly to Budapest. After the Leica Series III (which used screw-on lenses during World War II), the company released the first camera of the revolutionary M series, the M3 in 1954.<sup>9</sup> This auspicious debut was right around the time of the beginning of the Cold War and the conflicts of the fifties.

The most widespread and common form of photography was the use of the 50mm lens - which yields a perspective to its users one similar to the proportions and field of view perceived by the human eye. Thus, it is ideal for documentary photography. In photographs of the Hungarian Revolution, the trained eye can actually recognize that they were taken by a 50 mm lens.<sup>10</sup>

At this time, the process of photo development (e.g. development-enlargement, making contact prints for photo editing, etc.) had also risen to the level of professional standards worldwide. In Hungary, portrait photography was already taking place on a large scale in the capital.<sup>11</sup> However, in post-war socialist Hungary, even successful photographers were forced into co-operatives (called FÉNYSZÖV) through nationalization, which limited the photographer's freedom in many terms.

In addition, in Hungary, numerous photographic workshops were running within state-owned companies, and these companies also owned their own photo labs. At the same time, amateur photographers were operating "development labs" in their bathrooms at home.

These were the technical conditions under which the foreign photo correspondents and their professional and amateur counterparts in Hungary worked during the Revolution. Let's now look at the foreign and domestic photographers who photographed in Hungary during the Revolution.

## 2 Foreign photographers

Foreign photographers were basically professional press photographers who worked for the media introduced in the previous pages. They had to "produce" material of professional quality within a relatively short time. Unlike the Hungarian photographers, who will be introduced later,

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<sup>9</sup> Raika tsushin henshubu (ライカ通信編集部編, ed. by the editorial board of Leica Tsushinbu), *M-gata Raika hisutori bukku (M型ライカヒストリーブック The history book of Leica M)* (Tokyo: 榎出版社 Ei shuppansha, 2003). Kabushiki kaisha Yunizon (株式会社ユニゾン編, ed. by Unizon) *M-gata Raika no subete - M-gata Raika no bodi to renzu no miryoku wo tetsei kensho suru (M型ライカのすべて・M型ライカのボディとレンズの魅力を徹底検証する Everything on the Leica M - A thoroughful investigation on the fascination of the Leica M body and lenses)*. (Tokyo: 榎出版社 Ei shuppansha, 1999).

<sup>10</sup> The 35mm lens, also known as the reporter lens, would begin to spread with the Leica M2 series only after 1957. See the above-mentioned books on Leica.

<sup>11</sup> Ákos Bartha, "Szípal Márton életútinterjúja (Life-Interview of Márton Szípal)," *Történelemtanárok Egylete*, September-November, 2010, [http://www.tte.hu/media/pdf/interjuk10-szipal\\_marton.pdf](http://www.tte.hu/media/pdf/interjuk10-szipal_marton.pdf)

they did not speak Hungarian at all, so their knowledge of local conditions was limited. They had to use local interpreters for their work. In many cases, they only spent a few days in Hungary, and basically only arrived after the outbreak of events on 23 October. In other words, after the initial "hot days". Exceptions were those half dozen press correspondents who were already in Hungary on October 23.<sup>12</sup> This also explains why many arrived to Budapest only near the end of October to report about the clashes on Köztársaság tér (Republic Square) at the Hungarian Working People's Party (MDP) headquarters and at the State Security Authority (ÁVH) (see, for example, Pedrazzini's tragic case).

Some photographers were real "wanderers," constantly seeking photographic subjects in the different corners of the world. Some had experienced themselves earlier persecution, and had been driven abroad with their family members by the political systems and authorities of their countries - such as John Sadovy, a Czech national who became world-famous largely for his documentary work of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution; Russ Melcher, an American who accidentally remained in France to work there; and the Austrian Erich Lessing, who was of Jewish origin.

As for their choices of photographic subject, they tended to choose scenes of dynamic events, and compared to amateur photographers, their effort to consciously frame and spatially organize images is obvious. Their choices affected the visual and artistic quality of their pictures. In addition, they had to take into consideration their magazines' visual requirements as well as the tastes of the country where the magazine was published. In other cases, we know either by personal recollections or a thorough analysis of the pictures, that even without speaking the language, professional photographers communicated skilfully with the primary subject of the pictures to produce revolutionary genre pictures. In some of these photographs of armed revolutionaries, it is apparent that the main subject took a certain pose or turned to the camera and waited patiently for more pictures to be taken of him at the request of the photographer. György Sümegi points out that some foreign photographers rented first floor apartments for a better view.<sup>13</sup> This meant that the photographer's vantage point became different from that of the street level. Pictures of photographers taking pictures from these second level apartments indeed can also be seen in some of the photos of MTI (Hungarian News Agency) photographers.<sup>14</sup>

The technical possibilities of the press were also different in Hungary, as there were no Western-style picture-filled magazines in Hungary at that time. The foreign photographers had to bring fresh material to the editorial offices, so many of them left Hungary after a few days.

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<sup>12</sup> A thorough research and presentation about the foreign press's activity can be found here: János Molnár, "The World Press on the 1956 Revolution." The Institute for the history of the 1956 Hungarian revolution, 2007. [http://server2001.rev.hu/msite/display\\_item.asp?id=2&act=tu&lang=e](http://server2001.rev.hu/msite/display_item.asp?id=2&act=tu&lang=e).

<sup>13</sup> György Sümegi, "A Történelmi Levéltár 1956-os fényképei (The 1956 Photographs of the Historical Archives of the State Security Services)," in *Fényképek 1956* (Budapest: Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történelmi Levéltára (Historical Archives of the State Security Services), 2006), V–XVIII, <http://link.oszk.hu/libriurl.php?LN=hu&DB=any&SRY=an&SRE=000002635877>.

<sup>14</sup> Tamás Féner, ed., *Kor-képek: 1956 (Era-pictures: 1956)* (Budapest: Magyar Távirati Iroda, 2006).

In the meantime, the Suez crisis also may have led to their relocation to the new crisis center. Their pictures became world-famous almost immediately, but the Hungarian public could not see them and wonder at them until 1989.<sup>15</sup>

It might be also interesting to mention here that besides the photographers, television journalists also worked in Hungary during the Revolution, such as the British Charles Wheeler, and the American Ernest Leiser.

Photographers worked independently or with the press correspondents. One of the novelties of the 2006 commemorative year was the book *Budapestről jelentjük: Az 1956-os forradalom az egykorú nemzetközi sajtóban: Válogatás (We are reporting from Budapest: The 1956 Revolution in the Contemporary International Press: A Selection)* edited by historian János Tischler. The book is a collection of articles and comments from the contemporary international, Western and Eastern European press on the 1956 revolution.<sup>16</sup>

According to a summary in the magazine *Fotóművészet (Photographic Art)*,<sup>17</sup> more than 30 foreign photographers worked in Hungary, including Hannes Betzler (Münchener Illustrierte, Süddeutsche Zeitung), Georgette Chapelle (L'Illustré), Raymond Darolle (Sygma), Anders Engman (Se), Jack Esten (Picture Post, BBC), Rolf Gillhausen (Stern), Peter Götz, Benno Graziani, Vagn Hansen (Billed Bladet), John Hillelson, Alfred Hilscher, David Hurn (Reflex Agency), Fritz Kern (ORF), Ginette Laborde, Ernst Laue (Münchener Illustrierte), Fred Mayer (Black Star), Russ Melcher, Jack Metzger (Schweizer Illustrierte Zeitung), Stefan Moses (Revue), Angelo Novi, Willy Rizzo, (Sygma), Michael Rougier (Time, Life), Frank Spooner (Gamma Photos), Franz Finch Stringer, Philip Trevor, Gert Waage, Harry Weber (Stern), Lutz Weitz (Revue), and Gerold Zust.<sup>18</sup>

Unfortunately, less than a hundred pictures of the work of foreign photo reporters can be found in Hungarian public collections (Hungarian Museum of Photography, Hungarian National Museum Historical Photo Gallery), but there have been numerous exhibitions of foreign photographers over the past 27 years in several cities in Hungary (Budapest, Miskolc, Kecskemét, etc.)

The work of certain photojournalists is worth discussing briefly, because of the high profile of their work during the 2006 and 2016 memorial years. John Sadovy was of Czech origin and worked for Life. His series of photos of the October 30<sup>th</sup> lynching taken at Köztársaság (Republic) Square was published in the propaganda publications and “historical literature” on

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<sup>15</sup> Müller, “A forradalom emlékalbuma (The Commemorative Album of the Revolution).”

<sup>16</sup> János Tischler, ed., *Budapestről Jelentjük: Az 1956-os forradalom az egykorú nemzetközi sajtóban: válogatás (We are reporting from Budapest: The 1956 Revolution in the Contemporary International Press: A Selection)* (Budapest: 1956-os Intézet, 2006).

<sup>17</sup> *Fotóművészet* is a Hungarian professional photography magazine with critical, theoretical and historical articles on photography. It was founded in 1966.

<sup>18</sup> Jalsovszky, “Az 1956-os forradalom képei az 50. évforduló alkalmából megjelent kiadványokban (Pictures of the 1956 Revolution in the Publication Published for the Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Revolution).”

the “1956 counter-revolution” of the Kádár regime, so these photographs and the name of the photographer were commonly known in Hungary.<sup>19</sup>

The Austrian Erich Lessing’s work was one of the most significant photographic testimonies, not only of the 1956 revolution, but also of the whole year, which was full of political and social changes. Lessing himself worked for the aforementioned magazines (Heute, Life, Quick, Paris Match, Epoca). Lessing's photojournalistic quality was not an accidental as he and his family were forced to flee Europe before the war, so he was able to illustrate the great changes of the year 1956 with an adequate sensitivity. The volume of his '56 photos has been published in several languages, including Hungarian (2006),<sup>20</sup> and these photos have already been exhibited at the French Institute in Budapest, the Budapest History Museum, and in Vienna.

Another renowned photographer of the Revolution was Vagn Hansen from Denmark.<sup>21</sup> His portrait of Erika, a teenage girl in a cotton jacket with a drum machine gun, was the cover image for the November 13 issue of the Danish Billed Bladet in 1956. The tragic fates of the main characters of many of these types of portrait pictures are underscored by the fact that although they became world famous almost immediately, their identities remained secret for many decades. The identity of this girl was only revealed to the Hungarian public in 2006, although an article on her death was published in Denmark in 1981. The 15-year-old girl was under training to become a cook, but was shot dead on November 4<sup>th</sup>, during the Russian invasion, while working with the Red Cross. The picture was later purchased by the Hungarian National Museum.

Frenchman Jean-Pierre Pedrazzini who photographed the Revolution for the French magazine Paris Match, was seriously injured during the Köztársaság tér (Republic Square) fightings on October 30, and later died on November 7 in a Paris hospital. In Hungary, Pedrazzini was a companion of the Austrian Franz Goëss. Legend says that Pedrazzini put a large telephoto lens on his camera and that was why the defenders at the party headquarters shot him. His surgery and return to France were well known and his death symbolic after the French papers published a picture of him in his hospital bed. Interestingly, there were some Hungarian photographers who knew about his escape from Hungary. Decades after the Revolution, on October 30, 2016, Pedrazzini was commemorated at the Gustave Eiffel French School in Budapest.<sup>22</sup>

Russ Melcher and Dominique Berretty, two Americans who worked for Paris Match, but who were originally not war photographers, stayed at Hotel Gellért. Gellért was very close to

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<sup>19</sup> These propaganda works were frequently published and widely distributed by the Kádár regime.

<sup>20</sup> Erich Lessing, *Budapest 1956 - a Forradalom. Erich Lessing fotográfái. Írások és visszaemlékezések: Erich Lessing, Fejtő Ferenc, Konrád György, Nicolas Baquet (Budapest 1956 - the Revolution. Writings and Recollections: Erich Lessing, Fejtő Ferenc, Konrád György, Nicolas Baquet)* (Budapest: 1956-os Intézet, 2006).

<sup>21</sup> Katalin Jalsovszky, “Ajándék Dániából - Vagn Hansen dán fotóriporter felvételei az 1956-os forradalomról (A Gift from Denmark - Press Photographer Vagn Hansen’s Photos of the 1956 Revolution),” *Fotóművészet*, March 2008, [http://fotomuveszet.net/korabbi\\_szamok/200803/ajandek\\_daniabol](http://fotomuveszet.net/korabbi_szamok/200803/ajandek_daniabol).

<sup>22</sup> “Emlékfát ültettek a forradalom hős fotósának tiszteletére (A Memorial Tree Was Planted to Honor the Revolutionary Hero Photographer),” *Origo*, November 11., 2016, [http://www.origo.hu/itthon/20161111-  
emlekfat-ultettek-1956-hos-fotosanak-tiszteletere.html](http://www.origo.hu/itthon/20161111-emlekfat-ultettek-1956-hos-fotosanak-tiszteletere.html).

the city center on both sides of the city, so they could reach the Pest side easily. Another photographer, the Italian Mario de Biasi worked for the famous Italian Epoca and worked together with journalist Massimo Mauri in Hungary.<sup>23</sup>

The last six photographers are also interlinked by the story of one of the most famous 1956 photographs and a book based on the research of this photograph.<sup>24</sup> The authors of the volume, French journalist Phil Casoar and Hungarian historian Eszter Balázs, researched the making and the afterlife of this world-famous photo published in the 396<sup>th</sup> issue of Paris Match.

The photo, taken on October 30, featured two young people, a young girl injured on her face and a young boy with a submachine gun. They stood as models for the photographer on the Múzeum Körút (Museum Boulevard on Pest). The story of this photograph is very symbolic, as it illustrates well that many of the 1956 photographs had a similar turbulent fate. In fact, the authors of the book needed years of research to discover the identity of the photographer and the revolutionaries in the photograph. Casoar and Balázs explored in their book not only the myriad vicissitudes of the protagonists of the famous picture, but also the way in which they personally became absorbed in their own zealous investigative work, and by this unique perspective, produced a surprisingly refreshing and human-faced presentation of 1956 and its aftermath.

The picture was originally attributed to Pedrazzini, but it turned out during the research that the photographer was actually Russ Melcher.<sup>25</sup> The aforementioned Italian Mario de Biasi and Massimo Mauri had also met the same couple in Váci street on the day the famous picture was taken, and the young girl was interviewed and photographed by the Italian Epoca 10 days later on the other side of the Austrian border in Eisenstadt.<sup>26</sup> One of the people in the photograph, the textile worker Julianna Sponga, fled to Austria with the rest of the fighters of the Corvin Lane group.<sup>27</sup> After a stay in Switzerland, she eventually settled in Australia. Another interesting feature of the book is that the identity of György Berki, the boy in the picture, was identified only long after the publication of the original French volume, and just before the Hungarian edition in 2016 was published.<sup>28</sup> In addition to comprehensively explaining the depth of photojournalistic work, the book also presented newly developed photos and brought the difficulties of the photojournalists' and historians' work closer to the general public. At the time of its publication, critics praised the book, as the 300 illustrations, photographs, and maps

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<sup>23</sup> Phil Casoar and Eszter Balázs, *Budapest hősei (The Heroes of Budapest)* (Budapest: Scolar, Vince, 2016).

<sup>24</sup> Casoar and Balázs, *Budapest hősei (The Heroes of Budapest)*.

<sup>25</sup> Casoar and Balázs, *Budapest Hősei (The Heroes of Budapest)*, 67–71.

<sup>26</sup> Casoar and Balázs, 46–60, 135–44.

<sup>27</sup> The Corvin Lane group was one of the sturthest fighting group on the Pest side of the city. They tried to block the Soviet invasion towards the city center from the southeastern part of the city via one of the main strategical roads, the Üllői Road. The Soviet army entered the city also through the same road during the battle for Budapest in World War II.

<sup>28</sup> Casoar and Balázs, *Budapest Hősei (The Heroes of Budapest)*, 248–49.



intertwined interestingly with the text of the book. The research was also the base of an award-winning documentary by Attila Kékesi.<sup>29</sup>

### 3 Hungarian photographers

Hungarian photographers, both professional and amateur, had more local knowledge than their foreign counterparts. Naturally, the photographers of the MTI (Hungarian News Agency) were able to attend many social and official political events, so they knew well the major political and public figures involved in the events. Both professional press and amateur photographers took pictures of posters, notices, and graffiti, as they were, from experience, more sensitive to those elements than their foreign counterparts.

Some of the photos of Hungarian photographers were published by the Hungarian press at the time of the revolution. Some of these newspapers existed before the Revolution, while others were shortlived and existed only for a few days during that time. These newspapers, including (but not limited to) the *Igazság* (Truth), the *Magyar Szabadság* (Hungarian Freedom), the *Magyar Függetlenség* (Hungarian Independence), the *Magyar Ifjúság* (Hungarian Youth), the *Magyar Honvéd* (Hungarian Soldier), and the *Népakarát* (People's Will), were all publishing pictures about demonstrations, street scenes, street fights.<sup>30</sup>

On 24 October, the *Szabad Nép* (Free People), the Central Journal of the *Magyar Dolgozók Pártja* (Hungarian Workers' Party), posted a photograph about the demonstration the previous day on Margit híd (Margaret Bridge). The picture was later also published by the *Szabad Ifjúság* (Free Youth, the Revolutionary Hungarian Youths' newspaper) during the Revolution. György Gonda's photograph of the demonstrators in front of the statue of Bem on October 23 was published by several journals, including *Népszava*, the central newspaper of Hungarian trade unions, and later on October 27 by *Truth* (the Hungarian Revolutionary Youth Magazine).

The *Igazság* (Truth) published a picture about the burned Soviet books and brochures in front of the *Horizont* bookstore on Kossuth Lajos Street,<sup>31</sup> and another about Üllői Road in front of the Killián Barracks.<sup>32</sup> On November 1, the *Magyar Szabadság* (Hungarian Freedom – the Independent Democratic Daily) showed a picture of a burning Soviet tank on Üllői road.

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<sup>29</sup> Attila Kékesi, *A forradalom arca – Egy pesti lány nyomában* (*The Face of the Revolution - in the Footsteps of a Girl of Pest*), documentary film, Arted Stúdió, 2006. Further details on the movie can be found on the web page of the National Film Institute of Hungary (<https://nfi.hu/hu/film/a-forradalom-arca-egy-pesti-lany-nyomaban>). An interview can be found here with the director of the documentary: Horeczky Krisztina, "Kékesi Attila: A forradalom arca (Attila Kékesi: The Face of the Revolution)," *FILMHU*, November 2, 2006, <http://archiv.magyar.film.hu/filmhu/magazin/kekesi-attila-a-forradalom-arca-interju-szemle-38.html>.

<sup>30</sup> All of these journals with the photographs were republished in the following book. Lajos Izsák and József Szabó. *1956 a sajtó tükrében - 1956. Október 22. - November 5. (1956 in the Press - October 22, 1956 - November 5, 1956)* (Budapest: Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1989).

<sup>31</sup> The *Horizont* bookstore was selling Soviet books. It was located on the Lajos Kossuth street. It was opened in 1950.

<sup>32</sup> The Killián Barracks is located in the intersection of the Ferenc Boulevard and the Üllői Street. The Killián Barracks and its neighborhood was one of the resistance centers during the Revolution and thus the hotspots of the armed fighting against the Soviet Army.

The Magyar Szabadság (Hungarian Independence - Journal of the Hungarian National Revolutionary Commission) presented, on November 2, photo reports on the funeral of freedom fighters, including one at Rákoskeresztúr cemetery and about patrolling freedom fighters. The Magyar Ifjúság (Hungarian Youth - Journal of the Young Workers' Revolutionary Council) published a picture on the removal and clearing away of the rubble and ruins, a picture of a tank with the Kossuth Coat painted on it near Üllői Road, and later a photograph of a temporary grave in Kinizsi Street and a photograph of the Rákosi Residence.<sup>33</sup> A Magyar Honvéd (The Hungarian Defense Forces' Soldier - The Hungarian Defense Forces magazine) published the image of Prince Primate József Mindszenty with his liberators on November 1.

The Népakarat (People's Will - The journal of the National Union of Hungarian Free Trade Unions) published on October 27, a picture of a tank surrounded by protesters. On November 3, it published a picture about the collecting of money for the martyrs, removal of a tram tilted to the side during the re-launching of the public traffic of Budapest, the selling of revolutionary newspapers, and a street scene of Elizabeth Boulevard.<sup>34</sup> The November 4 issue of the People's Will showed a photo of the relaunch of tram traffic and a picture of the funeral of two members of the National Ambulance Service (Országos Mentőszolgálat) in Farkasrét cemetery.

Let us now examine the work of the professional photography community. Photographers of the Magyar Távirati Iroda (MTI - Hungarian News Agency) took photos of the Revolution (Tamás Munk, Ferenc Balassa, Sándor Bojár, Tamás Fényes, Ferenc Bartal, etc.), and one of their young photographers became a victim of the 25 October volley and massacre at the Parliament. However, after the revolution, the Ministry of the Interior tried to collect all existing photographs, including those of MTI and numerous amateur photographers, so we do not know the fate of many. Hundreds of amateur photographers destroyed their photographs so that they could not be used in investigations and prosecutions during the period of retaliation. In 2006, from the remaining press photos, MTI created a rich, digitized press photo archive of those events in 1956 on the Internet consisting of 3000 photographs,<sup>35</sup> and that same year also published an impressive photographic book about the year 1956.<sup>36</sup>

Other than press photographers, there was a group of professional studio and portrait photographers. Many of them came from old, prominent photographer families, and went abroad in 1956. This was partly because they themselves took photographs during the Revolution and feared for their own or others' lives at the time of the retaliation, and partly because they had previously been forced into state photographers' cooperatives (FÉNYSZÖV). After having experienced the loss of their artistic autonomy, they gave in to the call of colleagues from abroad. It was then that Martin Szipál, whose father had been a court photographer, went abroad to become a major Hollywood portrait photographer. Béla Kálmán

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<sup>33</sup> Mátyás Rákosi was a Hungarian communist politician and the leader (General Secretary) of the Hungarian Communist Part, and then its successor party, the Hungarian Working People's Party, and thus in these positions basically the ruler of Hungary from 1949 until 1956.

<sup>34</sup> One of the major boulevard on the Pest side.

<sup>35</sup> "1956," MTI, accessed April 22, 2017, <http://1956.mti.hu/Pages/Default.aspx>.

<sup>36</sup> Féner, *Kor-képek*.

also left for the US,<sup>37</sup> just like Béla Hollenzer, who went to Canada. Győző Szkíta, Tamás Veres<sup>38</sup> and many others left the country with them.<sup>39</sup>

László Almásy also left in 1956.<sup>40</sup> He took only a few dozen shots with his Leica during the Revolution. He then developed, magnified, and hid the photos in his downtown business shop. After selling them to a foreign journalist, his pictures were published during the time of the Revolution with black stripes on the faces of the people in the pictures. After the revolution, an unknown, suspicious person inquired about his pictures. Since he was confidentially informed by others that he was being observed by the authorities, he left the country. Many of the above photographers also worked together in America for some time with Róbert Halmi, a photographer who lived at that time in the US and worked for Life, and who later became famous as a television producer. Before moving to the US, Halmi had had problems with both the Nazis and the Communists in Hungary.

Another example of the tempestuous fate of the '56 photographs is that of Almásy's photographs, which were added to an album compiled by him in America. The album was then returned to Hungary through several hands and finally made its way to the National Museum's Historical Photo Department in 1992, but was identified as Almásy's only after 2004. So Almásy also had photos that became famous while the name of its photographer remained unrevealed until the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Let's mention here another photographer, Györgyné Nagy. She worked as a *kisiparos* (self-employed) photographer, and took 6x9 and 35mm Leica format photographs during the Revolution. Her images have also been entered into the Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security (Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára).

Among the art photographers, we should mention Ata Kandó (originally known as Etelka Görög), who lived in the Netherlands before the revolution and who, having been informed about the revolution, went to Austria to photograph the fleeing Hungarian citizens and children at the border and in the refugee camps around Vienna. His photo album was released by Christmas 1956 in order for the book revenues to help the Hungarian refugee children. A photo exhibition was later made based on these pictures.<sup>41</sup>

As for the graphic artists, many students of the College of Fine Arts (Képzőművészeti Főiskola) fought during the Revolution and were supported by their renowned teachers.

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<sup>37</sup> Sándor Bácskai, "Beszélgetés Kálmán Bélával ...És a kamerám velem utazik (Conversation with Béla Kálmán ... and my Camera is Traveling with Me)," *Fotóművészet*, May-June, 1999, [http://www.fotomuveszet.net/korabbi\\_szamok/199956/beszelgetes\\_kalman\\_belaval](http://www.fotomuveszet.net/korabbi_szamok/199956/beszelgetes_kalman_belaval)

<sup>38</sup> Tamás Veres (Tom Veres) was the photographer who being at the side of Raul Wallenberg shoot pictures of the deportation of the Jews during World War II.

<sup>39</sup> Bartha, "Szipál Márton életútinterjúja. (Life-Interview of Márton Szipál)"

<sup>40</sup> Sümegi, *Naplók, interjúk '56-ról*, 155–59.

<sup>41</sup> János Bodnár, *Ata Kandó (Ata Kando)* (Budapest: Art & Globe Kft., 2019). And see also: Sándor Bacskai *Fotóművészet*. "Ata Kando a forradalomról (Ata Kando About the Revolution)," *Fotóművészet*, May-June, 1999, [http://fotomuveszet.net/korabbi\\_szamok/199956/ata\\_kando\\_a\\_forradalomrol?PHPSESSID=b4c65c233f2e2fb2a0217f08c07a8ed3](http://fotomuveszet.net/korabbi_szamok/199956/ata_kando_a_forradalomrol?PHPSESSID=b4c65c233f2e2fb2a0217f08c07a8ed3). See also: Féner, Tamás, ed. *Kor-képek: 1956 (Era-pictures: 1956)*.

As for the visual and fine art interpretations and representations of the 1956 Revolution, graphic artists like Richárd Rapai, Ádám Lux and Győző Ambrus made 1956-themed works (graphics, etc.). Hungarian emigrants' exhibitions were held in reputable art galleries and museums (e.g. Gare D'Orsay in Paris or in Munich) in later years.

Richárd Rapaich emigrated to France after the Revolution, where he worked as a graphic designer for the advertising industry and as a tapestry artist. In Budapest, he shot three rolls about armed clashes with a Weltax Junior camera (4.5 x 6 film) and made drawings and graphics, in which he later found inspiration for his art. For Rapaich, these 1956 photographs provided an example of fine art photography.<sup>42</sup> As Rapaich puts it, "The use of photography for fine art: it is a mode of performance. The creator can turn to the memory-preserving, associative capabilities of the photograph, when he needs a specific starting point from which he can 'quote' from, or from which his imagination can depart into new directions, and it produce variations, stimulate paraphrases."<sup>43</sup>

Éva Saáry took photographs of the fights between October 26-28. After 1957 she emigrated to Switzerland where she worked as a poet, writer, editor, photo- and fine artist. She joined the Hungarian Literary and Fine Arts Circle in Switzerland (Svájci Magyar Irodalmi és Képzőművészeti Kör or just simply SMIKK), so she lived a Hungarian intellectual life in the West. Only 10 frames of her 6x6 Rolleicord documentarist photographs remained. Saáry's photographs captured the street scenes, the "relationship" between the Revolution and the city.<sup>44</sup>

After the revolution, the Ministry of Interior and state agencies systematically collected photographs taken by Hungarian photographers and used them in the criminal proceedings against the revolutionaries. In 1957, the National Museum issued a call asking for available photos, but many Hungarians did not comply. Amateur Hungarian photographers destroyed many images at the time to protect others, while in other cases, faces on the negatives were made unrecognizable.

Many photographers decided to hide their photographs. Secretly taken photographs were often hidden without development in lockers or other secret places that even family members were not informed about. Since 1989, more and more photographs have turned up and can be viewed in exhibitions, publications, and more recently in digital form. The decades-long fears have been dissolving since the year 2000, and even today there are photographs suddenly coming to light.

For example, the high school student Kálmán Kecskeméti, who later became a photographer, painter and graphic artist lived in Baross street, very close to one of the hottest spots of the

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<sup>42</sup> György Sümegi, "Négy nap alatt - Rapaich Richárd fényképei 1956. október végéről (During Four Days - The Photographs of Richárd Rapaich Taken at the End October 1956)," *Fotóművészet*, March, 2004, [http://fotomuveszet.net/korabbi\\_szamok/200434/nygy\\_nap\\_alatt?PHPSESSID=b4c65c233f2e2fb2a0217f08c07a8ed3](http://fotomuveszet.net/korabbi_szamok/200434/nygy_nap_alatt?PHPSESSID=b4c65c233f2e2fb2a0217f08c07a8ed3).

<sup>43</sup> Sümegi, *Naplók, interjúk '56-ról (Diaries and Interviews about '56)*, 141–44, 211–18.

<sup>44</sup> György Sümegi, "A forradalom krónikása, Saáry Éva - Fényképek 1956 októberéből (The Chronicler of the Revolution - Photographs from October 1956)." *Fotóművészet*, March-April, 2003. [http://www.fotomuveszet.net/korabbi\\_szamok/200334/a\\_forradalom\\_kronikasa\\_saary\\_eva](http://www.fotomuveszet.net/korabbi_szamok/200334/a_forradalom_kronikasa_saary_eva).

fightings, Corvin Lane. He photographed with his East German-made Altissa the fightings and the city, but many of his pictures were destroyed by his mother after the Revolution to protect the family members and others. Only some of his pictures documenting the horrible destruction his neighbourhood suffered when clashes happened with Russian tanks survived.<sup>45</sup>

Some of the amateur photographers were involved by profession in technical sciences or were members of the photography clubs of state companies, and had their photographs developed at the company. Some of the amateurs arranged their pictures into albums and collected fliers printed during the revolution.

One of them was László Fettich, who made 148 photographs during the Revolution, most of them in the 7<sup>th</sup> district.<sup>46</sup> Today, the Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security (Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára) is preserving his collection of photographs.<sup>47</sup> As a member of the MÁVAG<sup>48</sup> Photo Club, Fettich exchanged his pictures of houses, vehicles, and dead soldiers with his colleagues. After the confiscation of his photographs and the album he had compiled, these items were used by the authorities during the criminal procedure against Ottó Szirmai and István Angyal, along with their 15 companions,<sup>49</sup> and then later they were taken to the High Prosecution Office of Budapest (Fővárosi Főügyészség). Fettich was convicted. His acquaintance, a chemical engineering student, Zsolt Papp, was a member of the same circle, but after the arrest of the Fettich group, he successfully hid his photographs and only made them public after 1990. At the same time, along with Fettich, students of the Budapest Technical University (műegyetemista) were condemned for collecting, exchanging and organizing photos into albums.

László Gara was an electrician at the Mechanical Laboratory (Mechanikai Laboratórium). At the age of 26, during the Revolution, he made 38 shots with his Velta camera. He was also hiding these pictures for many decades in his apartment before making them public in 2004 after a '56 car show.<sup>50</sup>

The electrotechnician Gábor Gazda took 38 pictures. His pictures were also entered into the Historical Archives.<sup>51</sup> Gyula Kinczler (1926-2005), a chartered design engineer, made 143 photographs, but after developing them in 1956 he carefully wrapped them and put them in a hiding place, so that prior to his exhibition in 2004, he did not see the enlargements himself. His exhibition *Unknown Images of the 1956 Revolution* (1956 ismeretlen képek a

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<sup>45</sup> Sümegi, György. "Kecskeméti Kálmán 56-os képei - Fotózni veszélyes (The 56 Photographs of Kálmán Kecskeméti - It Is Dangerous To Take Pictures)." *Fotóművészet*, March-April, 2003. [http://www.fotomuveszet.net/korabbi\\_szamok/200334/kecskemeti\\_kalman\\_56os\\_kepei](http://www.fotomuveszet.net/korabbi_szamok/200334/kecskemeti_kalman_56os_kepei).

<sup>46</sup> Müller, Rolf. "A forradalom emlékalbuma (The Commemorative Album of the Revolution)."

<sup>47</sup> Sümegi, *Naplók, interjúk '56-ról (Diaries and Interviews about '56)*, 161–68.

<sup>48</sup> MÁVAG is an abbreviation for Magyar Királyi Államvasutak Gépgyára (Hungarian Royal State Railroads' Machine Factory). It was one of the biggest industrial enterprises of Hungary, and as a rail vehicle producer it produced large number of locomotives and wagons. After the war, the word *Royal* was removed from its name.

<sup>49</sup> István Angyal and their companions made the Tűzoltó street group which fought close to the aforementioned Corvin Lane group. About the group's activity see László Eörsi, *A Tűzoltó utcai fegyveres csoport a forradalomban (The Tűzoltó street armed group in the revolution)*. (Budapest: 56-os Intézet, 1993).

<sup>50</sup> Sümegi, 165–67.

<sup>51</sup> Sümegi, 165–67.

forradalomról) was organized by the Lutheran National Museum (Evangélikus Országos Múzeum) in 2005.<sup>52</sup>

It is worth mentioning here a diary, which, though not containing photographs, but hand-drawn illustrations, contributes to the visual interpretation of the revolution. Gyula Csics decided as a young child to work consciously on a diary about the Hungarian Revolution, and he also made, with his friends, Kossuth coats of arms and city maps. This revolutionary diary, which captured the events with the eyes of a child, was not made available to the public until after 2000.<sup>53</sup> The diary was later made into an animated documentary movie by Boglárka Edvy and Sándor Silló.<sup>54</sup>

Coming back to the photographers, József Kárpáti took pictures of the removal of the red star from the Soviet monument on Szabadság (Liberty) place, and the painter and photographer, Kálmán Kecskeméti photographed the district Józsefváros.

The thirteen-year old László Haris took photos in the 8<sup>th</sup> district near important sites of the Revolution. Because of rumors of search warrants and arrests, he later destroyed his photographs. Miraculously, several of his pictures were discovered after 2000, including 15 enlarged images that he got back from a former classmate in January 2006.<sup>55</sup>

Lajos Rác worked for BKV (Budapest Public Transportation Company) and was tasked with photographing damaged public transport vehicles and electrical systems in the city. a total of 150 photographs were taken of damaged electrical systems.

The most prominent amateur photographer of the 1956 Revolution was Gyula Nagy.<sup>56</sup> In 1990, 800 of Nagy's photographs were put into a photo collection in the Kiscelli Museum, which has permanent Budapest history exhibitions, and serves also as the Municipal Picture Gallery of Budapest. Some of the copies of his original master-negatives were later added to the collection of the Historical Photographic Library of the Hungarian National Museum (Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Történeti Fényképtára). Nagy's photographs were not analyzed and studied by researchers until just before the fiftieth anniversary of the Revolution. Unfortunately, Nagy died in the early nineties. As a passionate amateur photographer at the Design Institute of MÁV<sup>57</sup>, he wandered all over the city untiringly from morning till night during the Revolution and photographed obsessively the revolutionary Budapest with his small film camera. He used

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<sup>52</sup> Sümegi, 149–54.

<sup>53</sup> Gyula Csics, *Magyar Forradalom 1956 – Napló (The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 – A Diary)* (Budapest: 1956-os Intézet, 2006).

<sup>54</sup> Boglárka Edvy and Sándor Silló, *Naplófilm, 12 éves voltam 1956-ban (Diary-Movie, I Was Twelve in 1956)*, Documentary-Animation. 1956-os Intézet, 2006.

<sup>55</sup> Péter Baki, “15 előkerült fénykép - Haris László 56-os felvételei, (15 Newly Found Photographs - The Pictures of 56 of László Haris).” *Fotóművészet*, March-April, 2006, [http://fotomuveszet.net/korabbi\\_szamok/200634/15\\_elokerult\\_fenykep?PHPSESSID=b4c65c233f2e2fb2a0217f08c07a8ed3](http://fotomuveszet.net/korabbi_szamok/200634/15_elokerult_fenykep?PHPSESSID=b4c65c233f2e2fb2a0217f08c07a8ed3). See also “Haris László 1956-os fotói,” Balassi Intézet, accessed December 19, 2016, <http://www.balassiintezet.hu/hu/1956t/>.

<sup>56</sup> Zsuzsanna Demeter and Katalin Jalsovszky, “Egy 1956-os fénykép-együttes különös története - Nagy Gyula fotográfiai (The Strange Story of a Photo Collection from 1956 - The Photographs of Gyula Nagy),” *Fotóművészet*, March-April, 2006, [http://www.fotomuveszet.net/korabbi\\_szamok/200634/egy\\_1956os\\_fenykepegyuttes\\_kulonos\\_tortenete](http://www.fotomuveszet.net/korabbi_szamok/200634/egy_1956os_fenykepegyuttes_kulonos_tortenete)

<sup>57</sup> MÁV (Magyar Államvasutak) is the Hungarian Railway Company.

almost 40 rolls of film. After November 2, he was appointed by Béla Király<sup>58</sup> as the official photographer for the National Guard (Nemzetőrség) and the police. He took photographs of the events with thoroughness and professionalism. After the revolution was suppressed, he took even more pictures of the women's silent mourning process on December 4. Gyula Nagy was arrested in 1957 but released after a few days. Some of his photos had disappeared, but most of them were preserved in a hidden place, which he did not reveal to his relatives.<sup>59</sup>

It is worth mentioning here another book published in 2006: *Az 56-os forradalom zalai fotókrónikája* ("The Photo Chronicle of the 56th Revolution in Zala county"). The pictures published in this book are important, as they captured events outside Budapest. This volume, made for the commemorative year, presents pictures taken by amateur photographers in Keszthely, Nagykanizsa, Bázakerettye, Sármellék, Tornyiszentmiklós, and Zalaegerszeg. A special feature of the photographs is the participation of the rural students in the revolution and the actions of the Hungarian and Soviet troops loyal to the communist government. Some of the pictures could only be made secretly from behind windowsills.<sup>60</sup>

Related to the event of rural Hungary, it is worth mentioning here some interesting photographs of Prime Minister Imre Nagy. Prior to the revolution he was participating in a grape harvest (in Hungarian: szüret) in the famous Badacsony hill area before 23 October. Antal Kotnyek, a professional photographer who also participated the event, took black and white photos of the harvest and the joint lunch with the Zabó host family. Antal Kotnyek hid these pictures for decades and didn't make his first enlargements of the original until 1989.<sup>61</sup>

Finally, it is worth mentioning here the photographic sensation of the past few years. In 2016, during the commemoration year, new and colorful photographs were made public. The color photographs were taken by Dr. Emmanuel Csorba during the Revolution. At that time, the photos published by family members on the Internet were also widely discussed by the Hungarian media.<sup>62</sup> Also in the same year, in 2016, the photographs of György Faragó,<sup>63</sup> and in 2019 the pictures of mechanical engineer Miklós Eleőd and his brother-in-law, László Blahunka were published.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> The commander of the National Guard (Nemzetőrség).

<sup>59</sup> "560 kép 56-ról (Nagy Gyula fotói) (560 Photos of 56 – the Photographs of Gyula Nagy)," Fortepan Blog, accessed December 19, 2016, [http://fortepan.blog.hu/2013/06/14/560\\_kep\\_56-rol\\_nagy\\_gyula\\_fotoi](http://fortepan.blog.hu/2013/06/14/560_kep_56-rol_nagy_gyula_fotoi).

<sup>60</sup> Katalin Béres, Erzsébet Csomor, and Imre Kapiller, *A legyőzött győz, az elesett él - Az 1956-os forradalom krónikája (The Defeated Wins, the Fallen Lives - the Chronicle of the 1956 Revolution)* (Zalaegerszeg: Zala Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 2006).

<sup>61</sup> Eszter Kiss and Szabolcs Barakonyi. "Az utolsó békebeli képek Nagy Imréről (The Last Peacetime Pictures of Imre Nagy)," *Index*, October 21, 2019, [https://index.hu/fortepan/2019/10/21/az\\_utolso\\_bekebeli\\_kepek\\_nagy\\_imrerol/](https://index.hu/fortepan/2019/10/21/az_utolso_bekebeli_kepek_nagy_imrerol/).

<sup>62</sup> "Színes fotók '56-ról: Csorba Emánuel portréja (Color Pictures from '56: The Portrait of Emánuel Csorba)," *Mandiner*, October 25, 2016, [http://1956.mandiner.hu/cikk/20161025\\_csorba\\_emanuel\\_szines\\_fotok\\_56\\_rol\\_csorba\\_emanuel\\_portreja](http://1956.mandiner.hu/cikk/20161025_csorba_emanuel_szines_fotok_56_rol_csorba_emanuel_portreja).

<sup>63</sup> Ádám Koložsi és Szabolcs Barakonyi, 60 évig voltak asztalfiókban: ismeretlen képek a forradalomról (They Were Lying for 60 Years in a Table Drawer: Unknown Pictures About the Revolution)," *Index*, October 23, 2017, [https://index.hu/fortepan/2017/10/23/60\\_evig\\_voltak\\_asztalfiokban\\_ismeretlen\\_kepek\\_a\\_forradalomrol/](https://index.hu/fortepan/2017/10/23/60_evig_voltak_asztalfiokban_ismeretlen_kepek_a_forradalomrol/)

<sup>64</sup> Ádám Koložsi and Orsi Ajpek, "Bíbor képek a komódból: új fotók kerültek elő a forradalomról (Purple Pictures from the Chest of Drawers: New photographs about the Revolution Came to Light)," *Index*, October 23, 2018, [https://index.hu/fortepan/2018/10/23/eleod\\_miklos\\_fortepan\\_1956\\_szines\\_foto/](https://index.hu/fortepan/2018/10/23/eleod_miklos_fortepan_1956_szines_foto/).

Unlike foreign professionals, amateur photographers did not necessarily photograph a spectacular scenario or element, but often portraits, moods, and life pictures. Many of them did not take photos every day, and others recall that they explicitly avoided emergency situations, street combat, and military action in neighbouring areas. Amateur photographers' free movement was often blocked by the shutdown of public transport, so they often moved on foot, sometimes in lorries, and were usually only able to travel around certain areas, as opposed to professional photographers, who arrived in cars and used them inside the city. Amateurs often took captions. In many cases, amateurs were not motivated to document comprehensively what was happening in Budapest, but they took photos for themselves, and these photos were meant to become part of their and their families' private history. Sometimes, they had to borrow a camera or a roll of film to continue shooting.

#### 4 The classification, the features and the usage of the photographs

It is worth highlighting here those photographic works that showcase the preparative period for the revolution, the preceding years, the activities of the Petőfi-kör (Petőfi circle),<sup>65</sup> etc. In this sense, the photographs of the photojournalists of MTI stand out as benchmarks of continuous high-standard photographic works.<sup>66</sup> These photographers had the opportunity to work in their home country. Another good example is the Austrian photographer Erich Lessing, who had a permanent access to Hungary and thus, knew Hungary well. The political changes of 1953, the resignation of Rákosi, Nagy as Prime Minister, the dramatic changes of 1955,<sup>67</sup> the replacement of Nagy, the removal of the Soviet troops from Austria following the Austrian State Treaty in May, and the establishment of the Warsaw Pact were all crucial for the events of 1956.<sup>68</sup>

As Vince Mátyás, the president of MTI Co., states in the foreword to the MTI Book, many amateur photographers destroyed their images after the 1956 Revolution, and on some subjects, such as events in rural Hungary or the November 4<sup>th</sup> Russian invasion and the weeks following the invasion, very few pictures remained.<sup>69</sup>

As it was mentioned earlier, the Ministry of the Interior (Department of Political Investigation of the Department of National Police Headquarters)<sup>70</sup> collected all existing

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<sup>65</sup> See the collection of original archive data of the Petőfi Circle, for example "A Petőfi Kör Vitái Hiteles Jegyzőkönyvek Alapján - I. Két Közgazdasági Vita (The Debates of the Petőfi Circle - I. Two Economical Debates)," on this web page: János Rainer M. and Judit Topits (ed.), „Évforduló: 55 éve vitázott a Petőfi kör (1956. május-október) (Anniversary: The Petőfi Circle was debating 55 years ago (May-October, 1956))," *Országos Szécsényi Könyvtár 1956-os Intézet és Oral History Archivum*, [http://www.rev.hu/ords/f?p=600:2:::P2\\_PAGE\\_URI:kiadvanyok/petofikor01](http://www.rev.hu/ords/f?p=600:2:::P2_PAGE_URI:kiadvanyok/petofikor01).

<sup>66</sup> Féner, *Kor-képek*.

<sup>67</sup> Féner, 11–18.

<sup>68</sup> Tibor Valuch, *Magyarország társadalomtörténete a XX. század második felében (The Social History of Hungary in the Second Half of the 20th Century)*. (Budapest: Osiris, 2005), 133

<sup>69</sup> Valuch, 7–9.

<sup>70</sup> In Hungarian: Belügyminisztérium Országos Rendőr-főkapitányság Politikai Nyomozó Főosztálya.



photography about the revolution taken by the MTI or any other person, and either used them as evidence during the reprisals or destroyed them. Collecting and preserving the images was also considered a crime and could be considered as an "inducement against the people's democratic order."<sup>71</sup>

To counterbalance the propaganda material produced by the Kádár regime, many people collected and organized photographs after the Revolution, but when these were revealed, prosecutions were launched against such people by the authorities. Fearing the subsequent reprisal, the revolutionaries themselves were banned many times from taking photos after the first few days of the revolution. Sometimes, the film rolls or the cameras were taken away from them. For the same reason, beginning November 1956, Western papers began to publish pictures covering the faces of the people on it. Many people, both Hungarians and foreigners, took photos at the same location.<sup>72</sup>

Not only were the photographs used by the authorities to identify the participants during the reprisal, but they were organized by the authorities into albums explaining the "counter-revolution" and propaganda materials.<sup>73</sup>

The story of one recent drama by Géza Bereményi, *Apacsok* (The Apaches) which ran at the Radnóti Theatre in Budapest, reveals the dramatic afterlife of these 1956 photographs during the years of retaliation. The drama was also adopted into a TV movie.<sup>74</sup>

Photographs were also important for those who left Hungary after the Revolution and settled in Western Europe or North America. For example, American Hungarians' personal recollections with photographs were edited into several books in the past decades.<sup>75</sup>

As György Sümegi points out, the 1956 photographs are diverse in their different levels of meaning, function, and use, and as such they can be classified into different categories: 1. the objective records of events in the (world) press, 2. items used for the identification of the revolutionaries and participants of the events after the revolution during the years of reprisal, 3. forbidden, concealed black market items during the years of reprisal, 4. tools of counter-revolutionary propaganda in Hungary (during the Kadar-era), 5. in the West they carry the memory of the revolution; 6. documents of street art and graffiti during the Revolution 7. primary visual resources for fine art drawings, art objects, and newspaper drawings.

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<sup>71</sup> Müller, "A Forradalom Emlékalbuma (The Commemorative Album of the Revolution)."

<sup>72</sup> Sümegi, *Naplók, interjúk '56-ról*, 149.

<sup>73</sup> For example: Árpád Szabó, *A Magyar Forradalmi Honvéd Karhatalom: 1956. November-1957. Június. (The Hungarian Revolutionary Armed Forces: November 1956 - June 1957)* (Budapest: Zrínyi, 1977); Sándor Geréb and Pál Hajdú, *Az ellenforradalom utóvédharca: 1956. November - 1957. Március (The Rear-guard Fighting of the Counter-Revolution: November 1956 - March 1957)*. (Budapest: Kossuth, 1986).

<sup>74</sup> *Apacsok (Apaches)*, directed by Ferenc Török, Vertigo Média - Katapult Film, 2010, film.

<sup>75</sup> Laping, Francis. *Remember Hungary, 1956: A Pictorial History of the Hungarian Revolution*. Alpha Publications, 1975. Lauer Rice, Andrea, and Edith K. Lauer, eds. *56 Stories - Personal Recollections of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. A Hungarian American Perspective*. Budapest: Lauer Learning - The Hungarian American Coalition -Kortárs Kiadó, n.d.

Needless to say, the revolution and the war of independence itself, is a highly visual "genre", and these produced many daily visual "performances" as well. The sight and outcome of the fighting is often shocking.

According to György Sümegei, from the point of view of representation, photographs can be grouped into several iconographical groups (the examples are added by the author of this article): parades, demonstrations, mass demonstrations (emphasis on the volley of Kossuth Square), street fightings, insurgents (Corvin Street, Republic Square, etc.) , group portraits, dilapidated houses, street fragments, public buildings (at Astoria, Calvin Square, Blaha Lujza Square, Baross Street, Corvin Street), burning of books and pictures (e.g., the Free People's Home serving the system; the Horizon bookstore selling Soviet books).<sup>76</sup>

As Ungváry and Tabajdi indicate, after the revolution during the Kádár era, the authorities tried to make the remnants of the revolution disappear as soon as possible.<sup>77</sup> After analyzing many 1956 pictures, I would like to give here another tentative list of some additional iconographic groups. Some of the visual performances and other signs of the revolution were ultimately preserved only by photographs, and it is therefore important to further "fine-tune" the iconographic classification. These give us clues for the patterns of revolutionary and symbolic action: The images of the cutting, pulling down, and splitting of the Stalin statue (Blaha Lujza Square, Akacfa Street on the Pest side) and Soviet soldier's statue (e.g. Gellért Hill) might be grouped into one separate group. Many photographs show the destruction, "dismemberment" of the hated political leader's statue. There are also pictures about the removal, cutting into pieces, and destruction of the symbols of the Soviet and Hungarian Communism (Stalin statue, five-pointed red star). The beheaded Stalin statue and the bodyless Stalin head, which was pulled into the city center (Blaha Lujza place), and thus lowered from its original height, "humiliated" and repositioned in the city space were and remained on of the most important and emblematic photo subject during the Revolution.

Another group contains the photographs of the participants of the demonstrations and the uprising. Similarly, another iconographic group shows pictures of the spontaneous graves of the fallen erected at certain points in the city (such as the tomb of István Svoboda on Ferenciek Square - then Felszabadulás Square - at Kígyó Street on the Pest side). As these were later moved to another place, the images of spontaneous in situ graves as visual signs of the outcomes of street fightings were preserved only in these photographs. Another iconographic group might be the pictures of the funerals of the fallen (Kerepesi cemetery, Pestszentlőrinc cemetery etc.).

Only photographs can report to us faithfully about the visual signs and performances adopted by the Revolution. These can be also put into a separate group: the "redesigned" Hungarian national flag, with the coat designed in the Rákosi-era cut out from the middle of it and then

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<sup>76</sup> The above places are all in Budapest.

<sup>77</sup> Here is an interesting work on the eradication of revolutionary memories: Krisztián Ungváry and Gábor Tabajdi, *Budapest a diktatúrák árnyékában (Budapest In The Shade of Dictatorships)* (Budapest: Jaffa Kiadó, 2012).

proudly put in many corners of the city, the Kossuth coat of arms,<sup>78</sup> painted or drawn with chalk on tanks and armed vehicles, and the rewritten billboards of the movies (e.g. "Irene Go Home" to "Russians Go Home!"). Similarly, there were other types of visual signs and performances like the graffiti on the walls of the buildings or the inscriptions on the immobilized tanks and vehicles ("Vesszen az ÁVÓ!" – „Down with the ÁVÓ!"; "Éljen a magyar szabadság!" – "Long live the Hungarian liberty!"; "Russzik haza!" – „Russkies go home!" etc.), or the posting of traffic signs in Russian for the invading Russian troops showing them the way back to Moscow ("V Moskvu!" "To Moscow!"). Visual performances included the removal of the Red Stars from different parts of the city (Szabadság place, Kálvin place, Deák place etc.), and the removal and demolition of statues not only in Budapest, but in other parts of the country. The remnants of these destructed monuments and symbols are also important and these were also photographed. The pedestals of the statues and their surroundings were often modified (e.g. supplemented with the Kossuth coat of arms, such as found in Klauzál Square in Szeged). Some Soviet World War II memorials were demolished, such as Kossuth Square, in Nyíregyháza. The carrying around and hanging on buildings of the Hungarian flag during the Revolution were also visual signs and performances of the Revolution.

Based on some of the photographs and the patterns of revolutionary actions, we can also set up pairs of opposites: freedom fighters versus aggressors, armed fighting street scenarios versus "calm," before and after street views, and so on.

I have already briefly discussed the fine art of processing photos. An early example of revolutionary art can be found in the November 1 issue of the Magyar Ifjúság (Hungarian Youth). The graphic art showed two freedom fighters: one was fallen, but still grasping his weapon, while the other was drawn slightly wounded on his head but with a flag in his right arm and a weapon (possibly a submachine gun) in his left arm.<sup>79</sup> In some respects, Time magazine's famous 1956 October cover, which depicts the man of the year, the Hungarian freedom fighter, also falls into the category of graphic art works. It looks like the main male figure is also handling a weapon and the side figures in the picture were drawn by the artist based on different freedom fighters photographed on the streets of Pest. The illustration was obviously designed to meet American visual needs.<sup>80</sup>

Similarly, as was mentioned earlier, in the case of several Hungarian artists, the objective that photographers strived for was to offer an opportunity for the imagination of the War of Independence to flourish.

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<sup>78</sup> The coat of arms used during the 1848-49 Hungarian Revolution and Freedom War against the Habsburgs: the Hungarian coat of arm without the Holy Crown.

<sup>79</sup> Republished by Lajos Izsák and József Szabó, *1956 a sajtó tükrében - 1956. október 22. - november 5. (1956 in the Press - October 22, 1956 - November 5, 1956)* (Budapest: Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1989), 227.

<sup>80</sup> See Müller, "A forradalom emlékalbuma (The Commemorative Album of the Revolution)." Also see György Sümegei, "A Történelmi Levéltár 1956-os fényképei (The 1956 photographs of the Historical Archives of the State Security Services)." in *Fényképek 1956, V–XVIII.* (Budapest: Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történelmi Levéltára (Historical Archives of the State Security Services), 2006)

## 5 Museums, exhibitions, and the Internet

In Hungary, the 1956 Institute, which operates within the Széchenyi Library, has done a great deal of research on the history of 1956 in Hungary over the past decades.<sup>81</sup>

In Hungary, besides MTI, the collection and storage of photos is also dealt with by the Budapest City Archives (Budapest Főváros Levéltára), the Budapest History Museum (Budapesti Történeti Múzeum), the Hungarian National Museum (Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum), and the Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security (Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára). The latter (among others), acts as a specialized archive, preserving and handling the documents of the of the former State Security Organizations from December 1, 1944 to February 14, 1990.<sup>82</sup>

Both the Hungarian National Museum and the Budapest History Museum exhibition related to 1956 have highly visual contents.

All the more, the Museum of the House of Terror's exhibition especially tends to use extremely strong visual elements, along with musical and sound effects. The House of Terror Museum in Budapest is located at 60 Andrásy Avenue. The building served as the seat of the former Arrow Cross Party during World War II, and the State Protection Authority (Hungarian: Államvédelmi Hatóság or ÁVH) during the post-war communist system until 1956. The ÁVH was the de-facto secret police of the communist regime. Its brutality and the tortures committed by the ÁVH among others in this building generated an implacable hatred among the Hungarian people. The House of Terror aims through its exhibitions to show the workings of totalitarian systems and preserve the memory of its victims. The museum is highly popular among tourists visiting Hungary, but the content of its exhibitions and the way they are organized is based on strong visual and sound effects, stirring a lot of controversy and also criticism from time to time during the past years by some historians.

Beyond these institutions, exhibitions about the photographic heritage of the Revolution have been held in various locations and institutions around the country since 1989.

The 1956 photographs have already been on display in the Hungarian House of Photography, also called Mai Manó House in Budapest and in the Hungarian Museum of Photography in Kecskemét Museum. The preparation for the commemorative years (2006, 2016) was commissioned to State Committees (1956-os Emlékévet előkészítő Emlékbizottság - Committee for the Preparation of the Commemorative Year 1956). During the commemoration year of 2006, the revolution was celebrated in many cities through conferences,

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<sup>81</sup> "1956-os Intézet – Oral History Archívum (1956 Institute - Oral History Archive)," <http://www.rev.hu/hu/http%3A//www.rev.hu/hu/munkatarsak>.

<sup>82</sup> "General Information | ÁBTL." *ÁBTL*, Accessed December 20, 2016. <https://www.abtl.hu/english-information>.

exhibitions, and publications. In 1956, many books, publications, and periodicals based on the photographic material of many public collections and private collections were published.

Needless to say, photographs are widely used also in historical books. It is worth to highlight here that books about the Revolution translated into Japanese and Japanese books are also containing many original photographs. Photographs of the events, armed fights, and photographs of original documents and newspapers are included into the Japanese translation of György Litván's edited original 1991 textbook, the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 (1956 のハンガリー革命)<sup>83</sup>. The translation of the book of Bill Lomax, Hungary 1956 also contains many pictures<sup>84</sup>.

Visual interpretations of the revolution dominated the commemorations of 2016 as well. A website was created for the events,<sup>85</sup> and a government-sponsored image video was made about 1956. On October 23, there was a torchlight parade commemorating the contemporary university students' demonstration from the University of Applied Sciences to Bem Square.<sup>86</sup> By the 60th anniversary, enormous molinos were made and exhibited city-wide, using pictures of Julianna Sponga and Erika Szeles (among others), who were already mentioned in this paper as being involved in the armed struggle of the revolution and made known world-wide by photographs. The molinos were basically designed and made to emphasize the personal contributions and tragedies of the revolution. However, the editors and preparers of the molinos modified the original pictures in several places. The original black and white images were colored, the backgrounds of the original images were changed, often placing the main characters in front of the ruined backgrounds of the Budapest battles, or occasionally altering the characters' clothing and putting weapons in their hands that were not seen in the original pictures. In one case, the name of another person may have been placed under the picture.<sup>87</sup> The same images were also widely used and published in the printed and internet-based Hungarian media.<sup>88</sup> Because of all of this, and as the original images were presented with a highly stylized artistic design to have a more eye-catching and dramatic effect, the molinos and other related images provoked a lively professional, media-related, and political debate.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> György Litván (ジュルジュ・リトヴァーン), *1956 nen no Hangari kakumei – kaikaku, hoki, jiyusesno, hofuku* (1956 年のハンガリー革命—改革・蜂起・自由戦争・報復 *The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 – Reforms, Revolt, War of Independence, Reprisal*) (Tokyo: Gendaishicho shinsa (現代思潮新社), 2006). The original Hungarian book was: György Litván and János Bak, ed., *Az 1956-os magyar forradalom: Reform – Felkelés – Szabadságharc – Megtorlás* (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1991). The book was published by the Tankönyvkiadó, the Textbook Publisher Company.

<sup>84</sup> Bill Lomax (ビル・ローマックス), *Owari naki kakumei – Hangari 1956 (終わりになき革命—ハンガリー 1956 The unended Revolution – Hungary 1956)* (Tokyo: Sairyusha (彩流社), 2006).

<sup>85</sup> <http://magyarforradalom1956.hu/>

<sup>86</sup> The torchlight parade was entitled: *Hangulatképek az 1956-os forradalom és szabadságharc 60. évfordulójáról* (Presentations of the atmosphere for the 60th Anniversary of the 1956 Revolution and War of Independence)

<sup>87</sup> “Hazugságokkal és hamisítással gyártják az új 56-os mítoszt (The New 56 Myth Is Being Manufactured with Lies and Forgery),” *168 óra*, November 5, 2016, <http://168ora.hu/hazugsagokkal-es-hamisitassal-gyartjak-az-uj-56-os-mitoszt/>.

<sup>88</sup> For example: “1956: Ők voltak a forradalom gyermekei – Archív fotók (1956: They Were the Children of the Revolution - Archive Photos),” *NL Café*, 21 September, 2016, [http://www.nlcafe.hu/56\\_cikkek/20160921/1956-forradalom-gyerekek-foto/](http://www.nlcafe.hu/56_cikkek/20160921/1956-forradalom-gyerekek-foto/).

<sup>89</sup> Tamás Német, “56-os Intézet vezetője: A plakátügy a mai emlékezetpolitika csődje és kudarca (Head of the

The Internet has brought far-reaching and unprecedented changes in the presentation, explanation, and exhibition of the photographic heritage of the 1956 Hungarian revolution. Needless to say, the above institutions have pages for 1956 on their websites. For example, Dr. Emánuel Csorba's colorful photos were made available to the public via the Internet.

At the same time, the MTI's 1956 site,<sup>90</sup> the 1956 Institute's digital photo database, and the FORTEPAN web collection, showcase Hungary's photographic output up to 1989. These are of particular significance.<sup>91</sup>

Researchers and the public had long been missing a public 1956 online photo gallery or digital database. There was already a strong demand at the 2006 conferences for something of this nature. Finally, the Magyar Október (Hungarian October), the online map database of the 1956 Revolution was launched.<sup>92</sup> This database allows everybody to identify the locations and chronology of the Revolution through photos and film footage. Its expanding photo database will hopefully be able to showcase the astonishing complex and manifoldness of the visual heritage of the 1956 Revolution.

The Internet is also important because it can accommodate many other forms of 1956 commemorations. Among other things, it makes possible the digital publishing of original official sources and researches, while also accomodating more personalized pages. For example, the photographer Örs Csete published a photo-text book based on his recollections of the participants of the Revolution and their portrait pictures. The book has also been published in Japanese.<sup>93</sup> Csete also runs a website called Hősök Tere – 1956 (Heroes' Square – 1956).<sup>94</sup>

It is vital to emphasize the importance of video-sharing platforms. YouTube, for example, has made it possible to not only show contemporary foreign newsreels made by the foreign media correspondent teams,<sup>95</sup> but also publish personal photo-montage memoirs<sup>96</sup> and video news reports about the 1956 commemorations in smaller Hungarian settlements. It also broadcasts history research conferences on the Hungarian evolution.

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'56 Institute: The Poster-Affair Is the Fiasco and Failure of Today's Politics of Memory),” *Index*, November 6, 2016, [http://index.hu/belfold/2016/11/06/56os\\_intezet\\_vezetoje\\_a\\_plakatugy\\_a\\_mai\\_emlekezetpolitika\\_csodje\\_es\\_kudarca/](http://index.hu/belfold/2016/11/06/56os_intezet_vezetoje_a_plakatugy_a_mai_emlekezetpolitika_csodje_es_kudarca/).

<sup>90</sup> [www.fotomozaik.mti.hu](http://www.fotomozaik.mti.hu) és [www.foto.mti.hu](http://www.foto.mti.hu)

<sup>91</sup> For example here is the access point to the pictures of Gyula Nagy: *Fortepan*, accessed December 19, 2016, <http://www.fortepan.hu/?view=owner&lang=hu&name=nagy+gyula>.

<sup>92</sup> <http://www.magyaroktober.hu/>

<sup>93</sup> Örs Csete (チェテ・エルシュ), *Budapest 1956 - kao, soshite towazu katari (Budapest 1956—顔、そして問わず語り Budapest 1956: faces and stories)*. (Tokyo: Toshishuppan, 2000).

<sup>94</sup> See the homepage edited by Örs Csete: “Hősök Tere - 1956 (Heroes Square - 1956),” accessed on November 21, 2016, <http://1956.blog.hu/>.

The name of the blog obviously comes from the Heroes Square, which is one of the major squares of Budapest. Its statue gallery features the leading figures of the Hungarian History.

<sup>95</sup> *Az 1956-os forradalom és szabadságharc (The 1956 Revolution and War of Independence)*, YouTube video, 13:39, posted by “Videótanár - digitális tananyag”, April 28, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TiYqH3iaCqw>. See also the documentary series of CNN on Cold War.

<sup>96</sup> See for example: *1956- 60 éves évforduló. Tisztelet a hősöknek!!! (1956 - the 60th Anniversary. Hommage to the Heroes)*, YouTube video, 4:44, posted by “Richárd Riedel”, October 27, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AVAkEe8rccc>

## Conclusion

This paper tried to summarize the visual and photographic heritage of the 1956 Revolution. As many new information and photographs emerged recently, the author not only tried to include these in his paper, but also to track down the turbulent fate of these photographs. Focusing on the work of the foreign professional and Hungarian professional and amateur photographers, the paper first analyzed the background media situation and the transformation of the photographic culture in the fifties and the technical aspects of photo-taking (including the cameras, the lenses, the development of the pictures, the Hungarian photographer's cooperatives and the photo labs in the Hungarian companies). The workflow of the foreign professional, Hungarian professional and amateur photographers shows distinctive differences, as their educational background, their goals, the composition techniques of their pictures, their visual and artistic qualities, their use of means of transport and vehicles, their financial backgrounds, and the time given to work in Hungary were all different. This paper tried to analyze the workflow of some of the foreign press photographers (Lessing, Melcher, Sadovy, Vagn Hansen, Pedrazzini, de Biasi) and tried to highlight and analyze those information that emerged recently and how did these help to identify the people featured on some photographs (for example Julianna Sponga). Besides looking closely on the workflow of the Hungarian press photographers (MTI) and the professional photography community the paper also gave a showcase of the short-lived Hungarian revolutionary newspapers that published photographs at the time of the revolution (Igazság (Truth), Magyar Szabadság (Hungarian Freedom)).

After the revolution the Hungarian Authorities tried to collect the photographs and used them during the retaliation. Many professional photographers (Almássy, Szipál etc.) had to flee from Hungary, while some others had to hide their photographs for decades. Some artists also used the photographs taken at these turbulent times as starting points to their artistic activities. Hundreds of amateur photographers destroyed their photographs so that they could not be used by the authorities, and many others hide theirs for decades (Nagy, Gara, Haris, Kinczler, Kecskeméti), while others' pictures were used in investigations and prosecutions during the period of retaliation, criminal procedures (Fettich). This paper examined the turbulent fate of these pictures while highlighting also those which came to light in recent years (Csorba, Faragó, Blahunka). Given the vast corpus of the photographs, and based on previous researches, the paper tried to provide some additional categories for the iconographical classification of the pictures while highlighting also the visual performances of the revolution. At the end, it examined the way how the museums are exhibiting recently these photographs, and looked closely on how visibility dominated some of the recent yearly commemorative events. The paper also tried to bring attention to the fact that the Internet, the video-sharing platforms, special websites commemorating 1956, photographic websites, online databases and interactive

historical maps are reshaping the way how we can research and try to understand better the 1956 Hungarian Revolution.

All these indicate that we are still not at the end of the road to a full understanding of the visual heritage of the revolution. One might reasonably anticipate new pictures turning up, or the publishing of newly edited historical photo albums. More photos can still be expected to emerge in the coming years, both in Hungary and abroad. Additionally, we can, in all certainty, expect the further development of websites, internet-based collections of documents and primary sources, and interactive virtual museums and exhibitions.