

**CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF A MARXIST APPROACH TO THE
SOCIOLOGY OF LITERATURE : GEORG LUKACS**

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
award of the Degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

SANJEEV KUMAR SINGH

**CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067**


1989

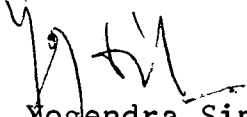


जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067

CERTIFICATE

This dissertation entitled, Critical Analysis of a Marxist Approach to the Sociology of Literature: Georg Lukacs, submitted by Sanjeev Kumar Singh for the Master of Philosophy degree has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other University. We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.


(Prof. R.K. Jain)
CHAIRMAN


(Prof. Yogendra Singh)
SUPERVISOR

DEDICATED TO MUMMY AND PAPA

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I owe gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Yogendra Singh for his encouragement and valuable suggestions. He made fruitful comments and suggested corrections after going through the drafts of my dissertation. I take him in high esteem because he never imposed his views on me. He allowed me to develop my own ideas.

I owe special thanks to Dr. Patricia Uberoi who examined some themes in detail and lent some books.

I wish to thank Shri Ravinder Kumar for being cooperative and for meticulously typing this dissertation.

I offer my thanks to my friends - to Mazhar for making comments on the form of this dissertation and to Anurag, Chandrakant, Hardeep and Vivek for proof-reading.

New Delhi

July, 1989

Sanjeev Kumar Singh

Sanjeev Kumar Singh

CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
1. INTRODUCTION	1-5
2. APPROACH OF GEORG LUKACS TO THE SOCIOLOGY OF LITERATURE: THEORY OF REALISM	6-50
3. APPROACH OF GEORG LUKACS TO THE SOCIOLOGY OF LITERATURE (Contin- ued): Aesthetics and Critical Views on His Approach	51-95
4. CONCLUSION	96-103
5. BIBLIOGRAPHY	104-114

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Literature as an institutional structure takes account of the literary product as object or as process of aesthetic experience, and as an essential link in an extensive network of social and cultural relations. As an institution literature has two functions in society: fostering social stability, and enriching our culture. However, its most important function is developing and spreading values that are alternatives to prevailing ones, values that may become crucial for social change. It is clear that it is not a monolithic institution.

It is widely accepted that the genesis of the concern with literature as a system of thought and as a social institution, lies in Marxism. This is particularly clear in the treatment of literature as ideology, i.e. as epiphenomenon of the class-structure of society or as instrument of propaganda.

After coming to terms with the above-mentioned facts I felt curious to know more about Marxist approaches to the study of literature. What appears most important to me is the Marxist analysis of literature in terms of the historical conditions which produce it. I was also struck by the fact that sociology of literature is not a well-developed branch of sociology in India. This dissertation is an exploratory effort in the direction of research that may enrich this branch in future. The sociology of literature is interdisciplinary in the true sense of the term. It is difficult to draw a clear line of demarcation between literary criticism and the sociology of literature. Difference between these two disciplines can be best understood in terms of emphasis: literary criti-

cism lays emphasis on technique, style, form and characterization on the basis of degree of appreciation, on the other hand, the sociology of literature stresses the relationship between literature and society. It is worth noting that Marxist criticism places the earlier themes in the category of aesthetics and considers the relationship between literature and society equally, rather more, important.

Any problematic with regard to the Marxist theoretical orientation to literature is formed by culture, literature, social structure and of course, mode of production. The nature of connexion between literature and society, the problem taken up in this dissertation, also relates to them. This problem can be grasped better if one formulates the questions that urged one on to get engaged in research into the Marxist orientation.

These questions are:

1. The epistemological question is: What do we consider literature? Is it reflection, refraction, creation, reproduction or production?
2. What are the relations between literature and the masses, and between producer, product and public or audience?
3. What is the impact of historical forces on literature?
4. How can one solve the problem of historical progressiveness of a part of bourgeois literature and its assimilation?
5. What decides the artistic success of a piece of literature?
6. What is the nature of commitment on the part of the writer in terms of his values, views, duties and material practice?
7. What explains the enlightening effect of literature on the consciousness of individual? How powerful is literature as regards cultural reconstruction and social change?

8. Considering literature an attempt to make sense of our lives and sociology an attempt to make sense of the ways in which we live our lives, how relevant do we find the sociology of literature to sociology in general?
9. How should politically oriented literary practitioners relate to political organizations? How can they get orientation from them without unnecessary constraints?
10. How can the findings of Marxist theoretical orientation be applied to our own country?

There are some reasons for the choice of the approach of Georg Lukacs as the topic of this dissertation. He has been a powerful thinker and seminal writer. He has influenced the trends of research in the sociology of literature to considerable extent. Lukacs has also been one of the founders of Western Marxism. Although he never felt at home with Stalinist reductionism he did not reject it courageously and vehemently. His variable relationship with the orthodox Soviet version of Marxism makes an interesting study. His writings cover a wide range of themes concerning the sociology of literature. Above all, his works address almost all the above-mentioned questions. The merit of the answers they provide will be judged in the concluding chapter.

As regards the examination of Lukacs' approach, the English translation of his representative works has been gone through. Relevant material has also been collected from a few distinguished commentaries on these works. Some books on the Marxist aesthetics and literary criticism, and the English translation of writing of Marx and Engels on art and literature have been consulted to situate the 'specific' properly in the 'general'. In short, the method being pursued in this endeavour is

based on the arrangement and analysis of themes gleaned from literary sources.

The scheme for this work does not include a chapter exclusively on the review of literature. Owing to the wide range of Marxist approaches, its inclusion could have turned half the dissertation into a superficial and diffuse presentation. Assimilation of other approaches at right places, especially in the section devoted to criticism, has been preferred. First chapter will contain an exposition of Lukacs' theory of realism. Second chapter will include his later aesthetics and critical views on his approach. The last part of the dissertation, conclusion, will include overall assessment and evaluation in the light of problematic questions mentioned earlier.

A good understanding of the philosophy of a thinker facilitates the understanding of his theory. Lukacs' philosophy will be dwelt upon at appropriate points. The events in Lukacs' life that moulded his views will be mentioned in some parts of the chapters and some notes.

References:

1. Albrecht, Milton C. 'Art as an Institution'. In The Sociology of Art and Literature: A Reader. Ed. Albrecht & others. 1970, pp 1-26.
2. 'Introduction'. Sociology of Literature and Drama. Ed. Elizabeth and Tom Burns. 1973, pp 9-30.
3. Birchall, Ian H. 'Marxism and Literature'.
Eagleton, Terry. 'Marxist Literary Criticism'.
Swingewood, Alan. 'Marxist Approaches to the study of Literature'. In: The Sociology of Literature: Theoretical Approaches. Ed. Routh and Wolff. 1977.
4. Eagleton, Terry. Marxism and Literary Criticism. 1976.
5. Johnson, Pauline. Marxist Aesthetics. 1984.
6. Seminar (Literature and Society) No. 359, July 1989.

APPROACH OF GEORG LUKACS TO THE
SOCIOLOGY OF LITERATURE: THEORY
OF REALISM

APPROACH OF GEORG LUKACS TO THE SOCIO-
LOGY OF LITERATURE: THEORY OF REALISM

The essay entitled 'Georg Lukacs' states the following:

'Though he never used the term, Lukacs is the founding father of what we now call the sociology of literature. If most of modern social theory is a debate with the ghost of Marx, most of the sociology of literature has been a debate with the ghost of Lukacs'.¹ This statement is more or less right. Lukacs' contribution to sociology of literature and art in general and to Marxist Aesthetics in particular has been very significant.

One cannot separate culture,² aesthetics, art and literature from one another and examine them to one's satisfaction. One must come to terms with their complex relationship. For a systematic understanding of Lukacs' view on art and literature we should try to get at the conceptual foundations for 'his' criticism and history of art and literature. Let us start off by seeking the answer to the question: What are the ideas that signify continuity and change in Lukacs' 'philosophy of art'³ (and literature)? The problem of discovering how an enlightened and defetishized consciousness can be produced out of the dynamics of an alienated and fetishistic present has been central to Marxist aesthetics. History and Class Consciousness (1919-22) articulated this problem. He had already written Theory of the Novel (1917) and Soul and Form (1910) to explore the ethical and aesthetical dilemmas of the contemporary bourgeois society.

These earlier writings specifically examined the cultural

crisis in the society. He used the concepts of rationalization and the dichotomy of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. He drew upon traditions in German sociology and philosophy.⁴ Though his pre-Marxist criticism has had great impact upon his Marxian disciples, as Lukacs later admitted, Theory of the Novel contained an admixture of Hegelian and romanticist components. Here Lukacs outlines his concept of 'problematic hero' in modern literature. In this type of hero is contained the alienation of human soul from the external world. Here Lukacs rejects Hegel's Christian theology and replaces it with Nietzsche's anti-Christian activism.⁵ Nevertheless, much of his earlier writings is not important for understanding Lukacs' theoretical approach to art and literature. We will resume discussing the themes of History and Class Consciousness at an appropriate point because they make a useful introduction to his own later writings on aesthetics.

THEORY OF REALISM

Understood in its broadest philosophical sense, realism connotes any view point that accords to the objects of man's knowledge an existence that is independent of whether he is perceiving or thinking about them.⁶ Realism is concerned with objective reality as a concretely developed totality of natural and socio-historical phenomena.⁷ Realism, in art and literature, is the truthful, objective reflection of reality by specific means characteristic of various types of artistic creativity. There are well-defined creative methods such as Enlightenment realism, critical realism and socialist realism. Each of them possesses its own characteris-

tic properties. It does not mean there is unanimity regarding the conceptual tools, rules, principles and so on.

Even Marxist-Leninist theory of art does not have a single definition. However, there is broad agreement on two main conceptions: First, realism is the basic trend in the progressive development of the artistic culture of mankind, in which the profound essence of art as a means for the spiritual and practical assimilation of reality is revealed. The degree of realism of a particular artistic phenomenon is determined by the degree to which it penetrates into life, and by the extent of artistic cognition of the important aspects and qualities of life, especially social realities. In each and every period of history the character of realism changes. Secondly, definite chronological boundaries for realism are historically and typologically specific form of artistic cognition. The characteristic feature of realism is considered to be the method of generalising material drawn from life, or 'typification', a term derived from F. Engels' description of the realistic novel as 'typical characters in typical circumstances'.⁸ It will become more clear, as we further explore Lukacs' theory of realism, that both the conceptions are mutually reinforcing and not mutually exclusive. However, it is a fact that his theory puts emphasis on the second conception.

Impact of Lenin's Theory of Reflection

Marx had maintained, against Hegel, that external reality is prior to ideas in the mind. The material world is 'reflected in the mind of man and translated into forms of thought! Lukacs wrote an arti-

cle entitled 'My Road to Marx' in 1933. Following Marx's above-mentioned idea he renounced the 'idealism' of History and Class Consciousness and withdrew his earlier objections to a theory of reflection. He was highly impressed by Lenin's Materialism and Empirio-Criticism (1908).

Three propositions for a Marxian epistemology have been set up by Materialism and Empirio-Criticism: First, Things exist independently of our consciousness. Secondly, objective reality is not an unknowable in itself but is, in principle, knowable. Finally, knowledge can not be located within the sphere of surface appearance.⁹ This epistemology was used by the official dialectical materialism (diamat) of the Stalinist period to support an economistic determinism. Lukacs did not pursue the conservative implications drawn from Lenin's epistemology. His fully worked out version of the reflection model is not simplistic. He did not see literature reflecting reality as a mirror reflects the objects placed in front of it; literature is a knowledge of reality, and knowledge is not a matter of making one to one correspondence between things in the world outside and ideas in the head.¹⁰ To be real is to possess meaning in the text, and not to make an inventory of objects or a documentary account of events which can be checked against them. Reality is indeed out there before we know it in our heads, but it has shape. It is what Lukacs insists a dialectical totality where all the parts are in movement and contradiction. To be reflected in literature,

literature has to pass through the creative, form-giving work of the writer. The result, in the case of a correctly formed work, will be that the form of literary work reflects the form of the real world.

Lukacs was anxious also to establish the defetishizing capacity of realism's totalizing perspective on reality. Before making an attempt at it he had to analyze the fetishism of every day thinking. He drew upon Lenin's theory of reflection for this analysis of the foundations of false consciousness. Everyday thinking in capitalist society is, because of the character of the production process, a false reflexion of reality. In man's consciousness the world appears otherwise than it is, distorted in structure, divorced from its actual relationships.

Totality, Typicality and Form

"The poetic reflection of reality can not be mechanical or photographic".¹¹ Quest for totality is connected with the attempt of art to mirror reality. However, artistic representation of reality is not the simple reflection of life's appearances. Lukacs stressed the totalization of essence and appearance. 'Poetic reflection' is characterized by a totalizing perspective which draws essence and appearance into a unity. It is able to recognize the falsity of the representation of reality which appears at the surface of society. The 'self-contained complete world' portrayed in the realist work does not prevent its functioning as an objective reflection of reality.

This self-contained complete world is not marked by 'unmediated' totality present in works of writers such as Zola and Proust. Unmediated totalities are representations of the world which give an inflated emphasis to one aspect of reality at the expense of others. They are more than distorted perceptions. They have a political significance, since being reifications or ideological deformations of reality they falsify the objective situation of a society founded on the contradiction between classes. On the contrary, this 'complete world' is characterized by a properly 'mediated' totality. Mediated totality is a representation which reveals the true relationship between the human subject and the objective world, as well as between the various parts of the world itself.

'Totality of objects' is synonymous with this 'totality'. Lukacs appreciates the rich and complete totality of objects in Tolstoy. It always expresses, in immediate, spontaneous and palpable form, the close bond between individual destinies and the surrounding world.¹² The totality of objects is a condition sine qua non of depicting truly typical characters. "Engels stressed the importance of typical circumstances in close connexion with the typicality of characters, as a prerequisite of true realism. But typical circumstances may be depicted abstractly or concretely, even if they are correctly described, so far as their social nature is concerned. In the works of the newer realists such descriptions increasingly tend to be abstract".¹³

It is clear that typicality or the concept of type is situa-

ted in the totality of objects. To be exact, it is 'typicality in totality'. Artistic representation goes beyond appearance. It tries to establish man's relationship to the world through representing what is typical of an epoch, a class, a group of people and so on. This typicality is achieved by sensuous generalization of the whole man. What is typical is grasped through the portrayal of the unique, the particular and the sensuous. It is not a mere statistical average. It is the character or situation in the literary work which brings together the general movement of history and a number of unique and individual traits into a distinctive particularity. It gives the work the 'three-dimensionality' which for Lukacs is the essence of realism.

The typical character in the realist work is the result of a dialectical integration of the general and the specific. For example, examining Tolstoy's method of presenting characters as representatives of the motive forces and decisive trends and contradictions, Lukacs has stated: What is outside the average in Anna Karenina's figure and fate is not some individually pathological exaggeration of a personal passion but the clear manifestation of the social contradictions inherent in bourgeois love and marriage.¹⁴ At another place Lukacs has dwelt upon characterization, i.e., the conception of the typical and observed: 'The older realism presented the typical by concentrating the essential determinants of a great social trend, embodying them in the passionate strivings of individuals, and placing these personages into extreme situations, situations devised in such a way as to demonstrate the social trend in its extreme consequences and implications.'¹⁵

We have seen in the foregoing paragraphs that totality of poetic reflection and typicality in artistic representation are closely connected with and complementary to each other. For Lukacs, quest for totality is facilitated by mastery over typicality. This quest, cognitively speaking, reaches its completion in the doctrine of Marxism. Great literature in many ways parallels the Marxian completion of totality. Both strive for 'the whole man in the totality of his social world' against the social division of labour, against the divisions of classes, against distortion and alienation.¹⁶

Now arises a question: Does this totality remain the same in all literary forms? No, according to Lukacs it does not remain the same. It differs from form to form. Intensive totality is found in drama. Drama conceives and represents 'individual destinies' with a stress on exclusiveness. Individual destinies give direct expression to general destinies, destinies of whole nations and even whole epochs.¹⁷ On the other hand, extensive totality is found in the novel. Novel's manner of portrayal is close to the normal appearance of life. By representing a limited section of reality, it aims at evoking the totality of the process of social development. Here, the problem of the 'totality of objects' as the representational aim should be understood in a very broad sense. This whole includes not only the dead objects through which man's social life manifests itself, but also the various institutions, habits, customs, usages etc., characteristic of a certain phase of human society and the direction it is taking. Society is principal subject of the novel.....¹⁸

Typicality is contingent upon totality. Form of typicality should vary according to the nature of totality. Lukacs has stated, ".... the novel, like drama, must give central place throughout to all that is typical in characters, circumstances, scenes etc. The only difference is that the content and form of what is typical here will be differently constituted in either case. The relation of the uniquely individual to the typical is treated in a slacker, looser and more complex fashion in the novel. While the dramatic character must be directly and immediately typical, without of course, losing his individuality, the typical quality of a character in a novel is very often only a tendency which asserts itself gradually, which emerges to the surface only by degrees out of the whole, out of the complex interaction of human-beings, human relations, institutions, things etc."¹⁹

We have discussed earlier that the form of the literary work reflects the form of the real world. The formalists and later the structuralists considered form as something technical or linguistic. For Lukacs, form is the aesthetic shape given to a content, a shape manifested through technical features such as narrative time and the interrelationship of characters and situations in a work. When Lukacs, for instance, deals with Balzac's novel, Les Paysans, in Studies in European Realism he sees a significant form in the triangular configuration of three social classes: landed aristocracy, bourgeoisie and peasantry.

Lukacs makes an implicit distinction between reality as it could have been embodied in literature and reality as it actually

is embodied. Form in this respect is nothing other than the content of literary work when it assumes a meaningful configuration. And correct form, for Lukacs, is one which reflects reality in the most objective way. He considers the form of the early nineteenth-century novel (Scott, Balzac, Tolstoy, etc.) to have been the most correct for embodying a knowledge of the contradictory content of capitalist society as it develops. It is clear that analysis of form boils down to that of totality and typicality. A literary work, which is characterized by sound totality and exact typicality, has perfect form.

A perfect or near-perfect piece of art or literary work becomes able to change the recipient's consciousness. We have understood in the earlier section devoted to Lenin's Theory of Reflection and Realism that Lukacs had faith in such art because it could totalize essence and appearance to expose the fundamentally distortive nature of a fetishized appearance. It is distinguished by its ability to make daily life 're-experiencable'. Through this realist work's totalization of essence and appearance, the fetishized appearance of daily life is reconstructed and made comprehensible in terms of its determination by the essence. In other words, he describes the enlightenment of the receptive moment in terms of the irreconcilability of the whole world depicted in the realist work with the practical, fetishized perspective of immediate consciousness. After describing the contrast between the truth of artistic reflection and falsity of everyday thinking Lukacs has explained: 'The effect of art, the immersion

of the recipient in the action of the work of art, his complete penetration into the special 'world' of the work of art, results from the fact that the work by its very nature, offers a truer, more complete, more vivid and more dynamic reflection of reality, than the recipient otherwise possesses'.²⁰ However, Lukacs could not explain realism's defetishizing capacity to its fullness. In other words, he could not explain how realism is able to enter into a dynamic relationship with everyday thinking.

Stages of Growth of Realism and Literary Criticism

Lukacs did not assume that all literature can be explained in terms of the social class of its author. Literature is a complex reflection of reality. Realism in literature can be understood only in terms of connected historical stage. Literature is inescapable from history in general. Changes in the style of presentation are reflections of the changes in the social reality itself.²¹ Lukacs goes on and quotes Hegel in this connexion: Our present-day machinery and factories together with the products they turn out and in general our means of satisfying our external needs would in this respect - exactly like modern state organisation - be out of tune with the background of life which the original epic requires.²²

According to Lukacs, the classical realists escaped the fully constituted conception of a second nature which characterizes established capitalism.²³ The progressive outlook on society adopted by the rising bourgeoisie made a totalizing perspective directly accessible to the great realist writers. Relating the

rise of historical novel to a stage of history he has observed: The Historical novel arose at the beginning of the nineteenth century at about the time of Napoleon's collapse (Scott's Waverley appeared in 1814).²⁴ On the other hand, the limitations on modern writers also are historical and not directly class-based. He associated the deterioration in literature of the representational genre with the growing crises of capitalism. He derived changes in literary form of content from changes in philosophy that itself is influenced by historical forces. For example, naturalism is seen by him as a genre which mirrors the philosophical movement away from the Enlightenment and the idea of progress.

Classical Realism, Manzoni, Balzac & Tolstoy

These two foregoing paragraphs have made it clear that historicism, in relation to his theory of realism, was Lukacs' passion. He wanted to trace the historical forces active in the past and relate them to the growth and decline of realism. Let us try to know his ideas on the historical novel. This knowledge will help us understand the chronology of realism better. According to Lukacs it is only during the last phase of the Enlightenment that the problem of the artistic reflection of past ages emerges as a central problem of literature.²⁵ The sense or understanding of history attributable to the Enlightenment can be grasped by developing familiarity with the extraordinary historical achievements of Montesquieu, Voltaire, Gibbon, etc. He considers the so-called historical novels of the seventeenth century (Scudery, Calpranede, et.) historical only as regards their purely external choice of

theme and costume. The most famous historical novel of the eighteenth century, Wolpole's Castle of Otranto also contains the curiosities and oddities of the milieu and not an artistically faithful image of a concrete historical epoch. What is lacking in such novel before Walter Scott is specifically historical, i.e., derivation of the individuality of characters from the historical peculiarity of their age.²⁶

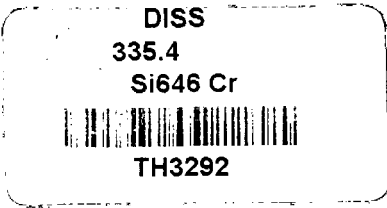
Even the great realistic social novel of the eighteenth century, which in its portrayal of contemporary morals and psychology, accomplished a revolutionary breakthrough to reality for world literature is not concerned to show its character as belonging to any concrete time. Satirical novel of Swift (1667-1745) Voltaire (1694-1778) and even Diderot (1713-1784) faithfully reflect the essential characteristics of contemporary England and France. These writers grasp the salient features of their world with a bold and penetrating realism. But they do not see the specific qualities of their own age historically.²⁷ The tendency in literature to derive the individuality of characters from the historical peculiarity of their age, to portray the historical crisis of popular life, and to show the human greatness being liberated by a powerful disturbance, was sporadically present in the period which directly prepared the French Revolution. It was most significantly present in Goethe. Goethe (1749-1832) draws the general outlines of popular movements, of both Netherlands and French Revolution, with extraordinary faithfulness to life.²⁸

Historically, Walter Scott (1771-1832) continues and extends the abovementioned tendency present in Goethe. Was this 'continuation and extension' a creation inspired by Scott's genius? Or was it the outcome only of Scott's personality traits, mental processes and cultivated literary skills? We get an unequivocal 'no' as an answer to this question. The opening sentence of the first chapter of The Historical Novel (The classical form of the Historical Novel) is: 'The Historical novel arose at the beginning of the 19th century at about the time of Napoleon's collapse (Walter Scott's 'Waverley' appeared in 1814). It was the French Revolution, the revolutionary wars and the rise and fall of Napoleon, which for the first time made history a mass experience, and moreover on a European scale'.²⁹ And the historical novel gave expression to that mass experience. Historical novel is the artistic expression of an historicized attitude to life, of a growing historical understanding of contemporary society.³⁰ However, a mere account of great historical events does not matter. What matters is that we should reexperience the social and human motives which led men to think, feel and act just as they did in historical reality.

It is obvious that Lukacs has considered the historical novel of Scott as the really historical novel. It is genuine and not so-called. Scott had the capacity to give living human embodiment to historical-social types. The typically human terms in which great historical trends become tangible had never before been so superbly, straightforwardly and pregnantly portrayed. And above all, never before had this kind of portrayal been consciously set at the cen-

tre of the representation of reality.³¹ Scott portrays the great transformations of history as transformations of popular life. Before portraying the complicated ideological, political and moral movements he depicts the historical changes that give rise to them. The popular character of Scott's art does not consist in an exclusive portrayal of the oppressed and exploited classes. That would be a narrow interpretation. He aims at portraying the totality of national life in its complex interaction between 'above' and 'below', his vigorous popular character is expressed in the fact that, 'below' is seen as the material basis and artistic explanation for what happens 'above'.³² This quality makes Scott's novel the classical historical novel.

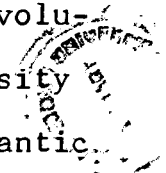
The only German who upheld the traditions of Scott was Willibald Alexis (1798-1871). In Italy Alessandro Manzoni broadened Scott's tendencies with superb originality. In his single novel, *I Promessi Sposi* (The Betrothed), he surpassed Scott in some respects. His inventiveness in telling a story, his imaginativeness in presenting the most varied social classes, his feeling for historical authenticity in the inner and outer life rank at least equal to these gifts in Scott. Indeed, in diversity and depth of characterization, in the way he exhausts all the personal and psychological possibilities of great tragic collisions Manzoni is the superior of Scott. As a creator of individuals he is a greater artist than Scott. He discovered a theme which enabled him to overcome the objective unfavourableness of Italian history and to create a real historical novel,



that is, one which would rouse the present, which contemporaries would experience as their own prehistory. Without ever departing from the concrete framework of time, place and the age and class-conditioned psychology of the characters, the story of Manzoni's lovers grows into the tragedy of the Italian people as a whole.³³

TH-3292

The contemporary novel of Honore de Balzac (1799-1850) and Marie Henri Beyle Stendhal (1783-1842) marks the departure from the historical novel. Where the latter is epic and heroic, the fiction of Balzac signifies a confrontation between literature and an exploitative capitalist world.³⁴ Balzac is the writer who carried forward in the most conscious fashion the tremendous impetus which the novel received from Scott. He created a higher and hitherto unknown type of realistic novel. He passed from the portrayal of past history to the portrayal of the present as history. Lukacs goes further on: 'this extension of the historical novel into an historical picture of the present, this extension of the portrayal of prehistory into the portrayal of self-experienced history has, of course, ultimately, not aesthetic, but social and historical causes. ... He recognized the profound contradiction between the attempts at the feudal-absolutist Restoration and the rapidly growing forces of Capitalism. He fully recognized this economic reality of the Restoration period and portrayed it in all its complexity. The change from his plan to present French history in the manner of Scott to portraying the history of the present coincided roughly and not accidentally with the July Revolution of 1830. The historical orientation towards the necessity of progress, the historical defence of progress against Romantic



reaction essentially comes to a close with the July Revolution. For Europe's greatest minds the central problem now becomes the understanding and portrayal of the historical "problematic" of bourgeois society itself. It was no accident, for example, that the July Revolution also gave the first signal for the breakup of the greatest historical philosophy of this period, the Hegelian system' (The Historical Novel, P.84).

Engels found Balzac's writings appealing. In fact, Lukacs had improved upon Engels' view on his writings. Engels had expressed in his letter to L. Larargue:³⁵ 'There is the history of France from 1815 to 1848, far more than in all the Vaulabelles, Capefigues, Louis Blancs et tutti quanti. And what boldness! What a revolutionary dialectic in his poetical justice! "Still more important is his letter to Miss Harkbess³⁶ in which he has written: 'I have learned more than from all the professed historians, economists and statisticians of the period together. Well, Balzac was politically Legitimist;³⁷ his great work is a constant elegy on the irretrievable decay of good society, his sympathies are all with the class doomed to extinction. But for all that his satire is never keener, his irony never bitterer, than when he sets in motion the very men and women with whom he sympathises most deeply - the nobles. And the only men of whom he always speaks with undistinguished admiration, are his bitterest political antagonists, the republican heroes of the Cloitere Saint-Mery, the men, who at that time (1830-1836) were indeed the representatives of the popular masses.'

Many Marxists have understood this letter to be saying in theoretical terms that realism triumphs over political views that are quite consciously held. Realism seems to enable a writer to see the truth and movement of history even as his sympathies barricade him against it. What Engel's letter does not attempt to explain is how this can happen. How can the writer's work run counter to his prejudices while the writer and a large part of his work remain rooted in these prejudices? This letter seems to have roused the need for some theory of ideology in relation to literature or some explanation of how ideology is confuted by the 'triumph of realism' in the literary work.

It appears Lukacs had tried to offer an answer to the above-mentioned question. In his essay of 1934 on Les Paysans, he has said that what Balzac intended to write was not what he actually wrote (Studies in European Realism). He demonstrated that the form of Balzac's novel corresponds to reality and suggested that it was through this formal reflexion that the work goes counter to Balzac's ideology. A theoretical implication may be that Lukacs plays down the role of the author in the process of reflection. It is not Balzac who reflects accurately in Les Paysans, because the same (author) Balzac could write utopian novels which reflect inaccurately: it must be therefore the form of Les Paysans itself.

Lukacs has summed up the progress of realism upto Balzac: 'Thus with Balzac the historical novel which in Scott grew out of the English social novel, returns to the presentation of contemporary society. The age of the classical historical novel is there-

with closed. But on no account does this mean that the historical novel becomes a closed episode in the history of literature, henceforth only of historical interest. Quite the contrary, the peak reached by the contemporary novel in Balzac is understandable only if seen as a continuation of this stage of development, as its elevation to a higher level. Once the historical consciousness which distinguishes Balzac's conception of the present weakens as a result of the class struggles of 1848, the decline of the realistic social novel sets in. The normative character of this transition from the historical novel of Scott to the artistic history of contemporary bourgeois society is emphasized once again by its repetition in Tolstoy's development.³⁸

Tolstoy emerged as an extraordinary depicter of Russia's period of transformation from the 1861 Emancipation of the peasants to the 1905 Revolution. He turned initially to the major historical problems which formed the prehistory of this transformation and created its social preconditions. He portrayed the Napoleonic wars adroitly. His novel War and Peace is a historical novel of classical type. The term, historical novel should not be (treated) interpreted in a narrow literary historical or formal artistic sense. No direct literary influence of Scott is traceable in Tolstoy. Tolstoy wrote a historical novel of a unique kind. It was a renewal and development of Scott's classical type only in terms of the most general and ultimate creative principles. This unifying, ultimate principle is that of popular character. The depiction of popular life in War and Peace in comparison with Scott or Manzoni, is broader, more colourful and richer in characters.

The emphasis on popular life as the real basis of historical happenings is more conscious. This manner of presentation acquires a polemical accent in Tolstoy.

Tolstoy remained a great realist of the old school to the end of his life. The great realists have always regarded society from the viewpoint of a living and moving centre. According to Lukacs he always depicted the inexorable division between the 'two nations' in Russia, the peasants and the landowners.³⁹ He was the poet of the peasant revolt that lasted from 1861 to 1905. In his life-work, the exploited peasant is the ever-present protagonist. This protagonist has been visibly or invisibly present. Tolstoy always regarded the world from the angle of the Russian peasants. He could not but have a similar conception of society and the state. Like all honest and gifted writers of the period, Tolstoy grew more and more estranged from the ruling class and found their life to an increasing degree sinful, meaningless, empty and inhuman.⁴⁰ Their life was based on the exploitation of the peasants. Exploitation is the central problem in his life work. Tolstoy's characters and Tolstoy himself raised the question on an individual ethical basis: how can life be arranged in a way that men should not ruin themselves morally by exploiting the labour of others? Tolstoy has given several incorrect and reactionary answers to this question. Nevertheless, what is important in Tolstoy is putting the question and not the answer given to it. Chekhov had appreciated this work.⁴¹

Tolstoy depicted the form of capitalism which emerged in Russia, which was called by Lenin an Asiatic or an Octobrist

capitalism. Marx had in his time said of German developments: we suffer not only from the living but also from the dead. This applied no less to Russia of Tolstoy's later years. Lukacs has explained Tolstoy's accomplishment in this regard: 'Precisely because Tolstoy's immediate attention was directed mainly towards describing the upper classes, he expressed in the most vivid and plastic fashion this 'Asiatic' character of nascent Russian capitalism and its tendency not to destroy or eliminate the worst aspects of an autocracy already suspended by historical development but merely to adapt them to the requirements of capitalist interests.'⁴² Universal validity of the hideous tyranny of the oppressors and the utter helplessness of the victims makes Tolstoy's work authentic. Social formations, institutions, etc., are more finished, lifeless, inhuman and machine like in Tolstoy than they ever were in either Balzac or Stendhal. Artistic expression of his thoughts is more concrete and historical.

'Decline of Great Realism' and 'Naturalism'

Lukacs has described the defeat of 1848 revolutions as the decisive turning-point in the history of Western literature. Conditions which made a great realism flourish were destroyed by the evolution of bourgeois society after 1848. Moreover, the ideological shift at the time of 1848 revolutions was one of the major factors that caused the decline of great realism and the emergence of naturalism. The disappearance of a conception of society as a progressive force and the emergence of a defensive ideology which strove to naturalize the existence of capitalism established the condition for the emergence of a naturalist literary tradition.⁴³ For the coun-

tries of Western and Central Europe, Lukacs has maintained, the Revolutions of 1848 meant a decisive alteration in class-groupings and in class attitudes to all important questions of social life, to the perspectives of social development.⁴⁴

The old realists experienced the social process and participated in it. In contrast to them, the writers of post-1848 Europe were increasingly turning into mere spectators and observers of the social process. They did not participate in the social struggle. Their activities as writers were neither part of this struggle nor a reflection, an ideological and literary solution, of the great problems of the time. Lukacs has cited some writers: 'Gustav Freytag (1816-1895) and Georges Ohnet experienced the development of the German and French petty bourgeoisie respectively... . But they depicted a debased, narrow, trivial life full of concealments and hypocrisy, and they did so by correspondingly narrow, trivial, untruthful means. Only in very few cases did an experience related to reactionary tendencies result in literary valuable (eventhough historically insignificant) products, as for instance the experience of the problems of British imperialism in the works of Rudyard Kipling.'⁴⁵

These writers found nothing they could support wholeheartedly. They remained mere spectators. The proletarian class-struggle and its implications were beyond their understanding. This situation did not change until the new humanist movement which began at the end of the 19th century. This movement posed the problem of a new democracy and thereby put the whole matter in a different light.

The post-1848 time changed the writer's position in relation to reality. This change led to the putting forward of various theories, such as Gustave Flaubert's (1821-80) theory of impartiality (impossibilite) and the pseudo-scientific theory of Emile Zola (1840-1902). New type of realist turned into an arm chair scientist. This alienation led the writers to disposing of a much narrower and more restricted life material than the old school of realism. Lukacs has contrasted the 'dynamic and developmental' perspective of naturalist writers such as Zola (The Ideology of Modernism' in The Meaning of Contemporary Realism). He has suggested the crisis character of the collapse of the old and the emergence of the new social order which generated the dynamic, totalizing outlook on realist literature.

Flaubert himself recognized this new position of the realist writer very early and with tragic clarity. According to Lukacs, in 1850 he wrote to Bouilhet, a friend of his youth: 'We have a many voiced orchestra, a rich palette, varied sources of power. As for tricks and devices, we have more of those than ever. But we lack inner life, the soul of things, the idea of the writer's subject.'⁴⁶ At other place Lukacs has written: '.... the extraordinarily sensitive and highly moral Flaubert has against his will become the initiator of the inhuman in modern literature. The development of capitalism not only levels and trivializes, it also brutalizes.'⁴⁷ Lukacs had agreed with Sainte-Beuve's observation on his junior, Flaubert. He had pointed out how the description of objects in Flaubert, the dead environment of men,

overwhelmed the portrayal of the men themselves. All the correct and brilliantly described details did not add up to a whole, not even in relation to the dead objects. It applies less to Madame Bovary and more to Salamambo. "The political side, the character of the persons, the genius of the people, the aspects whereby the particular history of this seafaring and, in its own way, civilizing people is of concern to history in general and of interest to the great current of civilization", Sainte-Beuve has summed up the criticism of Salamambo, "are sacrificed here or subordinated to the exorbitant, descriptive side, to a dilettantism which, unable to apply itself to anything but rare ruins, is compelled to exaggerate them".⁴⁸

Work of Emile Zola, a noted naturalist, is marked by same weaknesses. Unlike Tolstoy's work which displays 'totality of objects', Zola's work displays exhaustive enumeration. Zola's extensively detailed background of 'objects' is realistic only because they are authentic Parisian settings. His work in contrast to Tolstoy's work, lacks in sound connexion between event and plot. For example, there is a difference between the descriptions of horse-race in Nana and that in Anna Karenina, Zola has described the race in his novel, Nana from the standpoint of an observer. On the other hand, Tolstoy does this in Anna Karenina by narrating the events from the standpoint of the participant, Vronsky. Tolstoy's description is more absorbing, and well-connected with the plot. Dwelling upon Zola's weakness, Lukacs has observed: 'The

more this historicism breaks down, the more everything social appears simply as milieu, as picturesque atmosphere or immobile background etc., against which supposedly purely private histories are unfolded. Generalization takes the form both of making the main figures sociological average men and of inserting symbols from outside into the characterization and action. Obviously the greater the social events, the more visible their historical interest, the more inevitable is this kind of portrayal. The portrayal of the outbreak of the Franc-Prussian war in Zola's Nana and of the historical events in Frau Marie Grubbe (novel of Jens Peter Jacobsen, 1847-85) are fundamentally no different in their general conception, however much they may differ technically and stylistically'.⁴⁹

True position of new realism or naturalism (it is found in crystallized or most pronounced form in the work of others such as Zola) can be better understood if we consider Une Vie, the novel written by Guy de Maupassant (1850-93). Une Vie was regarded by Tolstoy as one of the best works, not only of Maupassant, but of newer literature as a whole. Although this novel begins in the time of the restoration of the Bourbons and ends shortly before the revolution of 1848 Maupassant has not depicted the July revolution and the changing position of the nobility in French society in their fullness. Lukacs has stated: '..... fact that Maupassant posed the problem in this way shows that he considered love, marriage and mother-love separately from the historical and social foundations on which alone they could be realistically

depicted. He isolated the psychological problems from the social problems. For Maupassant society was no longer a complex of vital and contradictory relationships between human being, but only a lifeless setting.⁵⁰

After briefly tracing the decline of great realism and dwelling upon writers such as Flaubert, Zola and Maupassant to considerable extent we are in a position to systematically describe the major negative traits of western European realism vis-a-vis pre-1848 great realism. Some points which have been touched upon in the foregoing paragraphs might get repeated in the following description of traits. This repetition will add to the completeness of the 'whole' the decline of realism has been characterized by. It will make the description well-rounded and the distinction sharp. The major negative traits are:

1. This decline has been marked by two tendencies:
 - a) Deterioration in the literary qualities such as genre of artistic expression & scope of artistic expression, and
 - b) Decline has been parallel to a growing degeneration of the quest for totality.⁵¹
2. Lukacs sees naturalism as both genre and doctrine. The same is not true of his distinction of realism. Realism is only an artistic mode of expression. Moreover, he perceives two contradictory trends in naturalism: (a) subjective philosophy of Schopenhauer, Nietzsche and Carlyle, and (b) positivist tendencies of Taine and Durkheim.⁵² As we have seen earlier, Lukacs derived changes in literary form and

content also from changes in philosophy. Naturalism has been seen by him as a genre which mirrors the philosophical movement away from the Enlightenment and the idea of progress.

3. The real, dramatic and epic movement of social happening disappears and isolated characters of purely private interest, characters sketched in with only a few lines, stand still, surrounded by a dead scenery described with admirable skill.
4. The real relationships of human beings to each other, the social motives which, unknown even to themselves, govern their actions, thoughts and emotions, grow increasingly shallow and the author either stresses this shallowness of life with angry or sentimental irony, or else substitutes dead, rigid and lyrically inflated symbols for the missing human and social relationships.
5. Details meticulously observed and depicted with consummate skill are substituted for the portrayal of essential features of social reality and the description of the changes effected in the human personalities by social influences (3rd, 4th and 5th).⁵³
6. Mechanical and 'finished' character of the capitalist world (described by Hegel and others after him) has been a growing evolutionary tendency. Society is "objectively never 'finished', fulfilled, dead and petrified reality". The decisive artistic problem of bourgeois realism was: is the writer to swim against the current or should he allow him-

self to be carried by the stream of capitalism? In the first case he might create life images. The 'true and real' could still depict the still existing spark of life or the struggle against the 'finished' world.

Writers of great realism were engaged in a struggle against the banality, aridity and emptiness of the prosaic nature of our bourgeois life. The formal side of this struggle has been the dramatic pointing of plot and incident. For example, in Balzac, this was achieved by conceiving the typical as the extreme expression of certain strands of life. 'World of profound, rich and many-hued poetry' could emerge from the 'sordid prose of bourgeois life' only by means of these 'dramatic explosions'.

In the second case, there was less and less swimming against the current. This method was followed by new realism since Flaubert. The naturalists overcame the 'romanticism' of Balzac. They lowered literary creation to the level of the 'average' of the banality of everyday life. The capitalist prose triumphed over the poetry of life. Criticising new realists and naturalists Lukacs has written: 'For writers who, in their own literary activity, yield to the undeniably existing social evolutionary tendency referred to in the foregoing must in their works inevitably turn what is merely a tendency into a generalized, all-embracing reality. Their writings, which can not strike a spark of life from capitalist reality, thus become even more petrified, even more 'finished' than reality itself and

are even more dull, hopeless and commonplace than the world they purport to depict.⁵⁴

7. The difference of style between the old and the new realism lay in the characterization. In other words, they differed in relation to the conception of the typical. The typical was presented by old realism in following steps: (a) concentrating the essential determinants of a major social trend, (b) embodying them in the passionate strivings of individual, (c) devising extreme situations in such a way as to demonstrate the social trend in its extreme consequences and implications and (d) placing the personages into these situations. This method of presentation necessitated a plot full of movement and variety.

On the contrary, the new realists had started relying on the substitution of the average for the typical. The lack of action led to mere description of milieu. These essential symptoms of the decline of realism had their origin in real life. Writers grew more and more unable to participate in the life of capitalism. As a result, they grew less and less capable of producing real plots and action.

8. Naturalism abandons the 'quest for literary realism' which was started by the great realists. Apart from description as opposed to narration, naturalism has been marked by two other tendencies: fragmentation as opposed to totality and portrayal of average everyday occurrences as opposed to totality.⁵⁵

9. Unlike great realism, naturalism restricted itself exclusively to the faithful reproduction of immediate reality. It robbed literature of its power to give a clear picture of the driving forces of history. The historical novel (even of Flaubert and Maupassant) degenerated into a collection of episodes. There was no connexion between the private individual experiences of characters and events. The characters ceased to be really historical. The historical events became external and exotic. In a nutshell, history was reduced to merely decorative backdrop.⁵⁶

Critical Realism and Socialist Realism

After World War II, Lukacs moved from Moscow to Budapest. The Meaning of Contemporary Realism contains his new ideas on the problem of realism (Landon, 1963. Tr. from wider den missvers-tanden Realismus, Hamburg; 1958). For realism he now substituted the terms 'critical realism' and 'socialist realism'. Instead of naturalism he started talking of 'modernism'.

For Lukacs, twentieth century critical realism was a heroic genre battling against the inevitable artistic degeneration. G.B. Shaw, Casey, O'Neill contributed to theatre in this regard. On the other hand writers such as Romain Rolland, Upton Sinclair, Theodore Dreiser and Thomas Mann enriched literature, especially prose. Critical realism as a trend or method in realistic literature and art was now followed only in the 20th century. It had been followed also in the 19th century. This concept had been

adopted by Soviet literary and art criticism from M. Gorky. Gorky had used the expression 'critical realism' in 1934 to describe the stress on expose in realist literature of the 19th century.⁵⁷

Lukacs has dwelt upon the possibility of doing away with fetishized nature of capitalist society in the writing of contemporary modern writers. According to him appearance is simply a false reflection of reality. Objective knowledge can be achieved from a standpoint of an order which is quite different from the partial view-point of daily life. Art totalizes essence and appearance to expose the fundamentally distortive nature of a fetishized appearance. His view was that modern writer could adopt an 'indirect method' to achieve a totalizing perspective. "Under capitalism a special intellectual effort is required for a man to see through this fetishizing and to grasp the actual substance - man's social relations - behind the reified terms which determine daily life."⁵⁸

He praised the democratic humanism because it had strengthened critical realism. Praising George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950) he has stated: 'The limits of 'necessary anachronism' in drama are likewise set by the historical authenticity of the deeds, thoughts, emotions and ideas of man. Thus, while Shakespeare's Brutus or Caesar stay within this limit Shaw's comedy Caesar and Cleopatra is albiet brilliantly modernized through and through'.⁵⁹ He also appreciated Shaw's opposition to imperialism. He took Romain Rolland (1866-1944) in good esteem because history, particularly the summits of humanist endeavour and the French Revolution, played a decisive part in his work.⁶⁰

It was Thomas Mann (1875-1955) who impressed him most favourably. According to Lukacs, his novels have exemplified the possibility for a realist perspective in contemporary fiction. However, he has noted an important distinction between Mann's deliberate reconstruction of appearances and the spontaneous totalizing outlook of the classical realist writers. A totalizing perspective on social reality was not immediately accessible to the contemporary writer. The penetration of the fetishized categories of appearance in established capitalist society required a conscious and intellectualized reconstitution of appearance. Thomas Mann effected this reconstitution. After comparing Mann with Kafka Lukacs has observed in terms of artistic presentation: 'The world of Thomas Mann is free from transcendental reference - place, time and detail are rooted firmly in a particular social and historical situation. Mann envisages the perspective of socialism without abandoning the position of a bourgeois, and without attempting to portray the newly emergent socialist societies or even the forces working towards their establishment'.⁶¹ Lukacs has gone on: 'This apparently limited perspective..... is the main reason for the harmony of its proportions. Each section of a portrayed totality is placed in the concrete social context; the significance of each detail, its meaning for the evolution of society, is clearly defined. It is our world that Thomas Mann describes, the world in whose shaping we play a part, and which in turn shapes us.'⁶²

Lukacs regarded Mann's work as the culminating and final achievements of critical realism in the twentieth century. He discerned in him (Mann) the unrelenting quest for totality. He took Mann's novel, Doktor Faustus in very high esteem. In this novel he found a genuine tragic vision of the decline of bourgeois art and the damnation of bourgeois society. According to Lukacs, Kafka created literature symptomatic of impending doom, whereas Mann incorporates an awareness of that fate. For Mann, while modernist art was distorted and often banal, the loss it represented to Western culture was fateful and tragic. The personal fate of Adrian Leverkuhn has exemplified this tragic destiny. In Doktor Faustus, Leverkuhn is the modernist composer who makes an attempt at modern music without transcendental effect. His ambition to create a masterpiece of symphony which could negate Beethoven's ninth drives him to madness and death.

Lukacs went to the extent of calling Doktor Faustus the 'fullest artistic and intellectual confirmation' of the decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on modern music (Essays on Thomas Mann). In this novel he saw intertwined the fate of modern art, of Nazi barbarism, and of bourgeois society. Although the art of Leverkuhn is barbaric and dissonant, its description by Mann is authentic. This authenticity was necessary for the depiction of tragedy and a sense of loss in Leverkuhn's madness. About Mann's portrayal of Adrian Leverkuhn in Doktor Faustus, Lukacs has observed: 'I should be the last to question Mann's unique achievement; his

characterization, both individual and typical, of a distinguished musician from the standpoint of his artistic career the works and crises of the central figure is Mann's broad and deeply grasped presentation of the social life from which - objectively historically - work, crisis etc. grow'.⁶³ Lukacs has accused the critical realists of inability to generate a fully socialist consciousness. However, he admired Mann's attitude of 'mature resignation' and found him worthy of being emulated by other bourgeois writers.

Unlike critical realism, the literary genre of socialist realism is possible only within a socialist society. It can not be the basis of a critical opposition within capitalist society. Development of socialist literature has to await the actual creation of a socialist society. It is only within a socialist society that the transformation from critical realism to socialist realism finally takes place. Critical realism strengthens the challenge of Marxist ideology in bourgeois society. Unlike Marxism, however, it does not really survive the demise of that society. Lukacs has drawn a parallel between the development of socialism and withering away of critical realism as a distinct literary style.

There is some difference between the view of Soviet literary historians regarding the conception of socialist realism and that of Lukacs. They have viewed the socialist realism arose in the era of struggle for the establishment and the building of a socialist society. The rise and development of socialist realism

are linked with the expansion of socialist ideas in various countries and with the growth of the revolutionary working-class movement.⁶⁴ Lukacs' ideas had been influenced by the Russian perspective on socialist realism. It does not mean that Russian perspective was immune to change. Lukacs tried to assimilate the changes but his work on contemporary realism and Thomas Mann seems to have stressed the framework of Stalinist orthodoxy.

Stalin's Russia witnessed the importance given to the ideological control of the party and state over literature. Andrey Zhdanov laid down the main ideological tasks of Russian writers when he addressed the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers in 1934: 'To eradicate the survivals of capitalism in the consciousness of people means to struggle against all the remnants of bourgeois influence of the proletariat, against laxity, frivolity, idleness, petty bourgeois indiscipline and individualism, greed and the lack of conscientiousness with regard to collective property'. In a speech of 1946, Zhdanov stressed the importance for soviet citizens of regular self-criticism and self-analysis.⁶⁵

In opposition to bankrupt bourgeois culture, the Soviet official literary doctrine advocated 'socialist realism', defined as follows: 'Socialist realism, being the basic method of Soviet literature and literary criticism, requires from the artist a truthful, historically concrete representation of reality in its revolutionary development. Moreover, truth and

historical completeness of artistic representation must be combined with the task of ideological transformation, and education of the working man in the spirit of socialism'.⁶⁶ It is interesting to know the role of socialist realism which was articulated by M. Gorky at the Congress of 1934. This 'articulation' adds to the definition formulated by official doctrine. Gorky had stated, "Socialist realism affirms being as action, as creation, whose aim is the uninterrupted development of each person's most valuable qualities so as to attain victory over the forces of nature, man's health and long life, and the great happiness of living on the earth".⁶⁷ In other words, socialist realism had to play the role of helping the individual realise his full potential.

Lukacs has held that a socialist perspective restores on a theoretical level the totalizing perspective immediately accessible to the great realist tradition. However, he has contrasted 'inside' perspective of socialist realism with the 'outside' method of classical realism 'Critical Realism and Socialist Realism' in (The Meaning of Contemporary Realism). In the socialist realist work general social contradictions are made concrete and particular. The great realist tradition, by contrast, has operated through the exposure of the social significance of the individual, personal conflicts it depicts. While the established realist tradition is able to render bourgeois 'false consciousness' into an adequate aesthetic form, the socialist realist

writer is faced with the task of an adequate aesthetic rendition of a 'true consciousness'.

Lukacs saw in Sholokhov's Quiet Flows the Don the continuity of Russian realism. It contains elements of both critical and socialist realism. He found in Sholokov the same critical detachment he had discerned in Thomas Mann. In this novel Sholokhov successfully resisted the temptation of being dogmatic and doctrinaire about the Russian civil war. Fate of the Cossack hero, Gregor Meleykhov has been emblematical of the middle peasantry during a period of class-polarization in rural Russia. The epic totality of revolutionary struggle has been portrayed without the author succumbing to narrow and dogmatic partisanship. In view of Sholokov's work, Lukacs had later on expressed the idea that it was difficult to draw sharp dividing line between critical and socialist realism during the period of transition to socialism.

His enthusiasm for Soviet literature was revived with the advent of Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Now, he saw in Ivan Denisovitch the continuity being reestablished with the major soviet writings of the twenties. It appears by the time he started writing this novella Solzenitsyn had got over the difficulty of the post-Stalin era to come to terms with Stalin. Although it is an account of an ordinary day in soviet labour camp, Lukacs did not accept the idea that it was merely a naturalistic account of everyday experience. It turns out that camp life has become a symbol of the ubiquitously grey life of Stalinist Russia as

a whole. In his essay, 'Solzhenitsyn and the New Realism' (Marxism and Human Liberation) Lukacs has maintained : 'Every genuine style is founded on the ability of writers to seize those particular elements in the pattern and motive forces of the life of their age that characterize it most profoundly, and on their capacity - the acid test of true originality - to discover a corresponding form, fit to mirror these and to give suitable expression to their deepest, most unique and yet most typical identity'. Solzhenitsyn had developed a 'genuine style'.

Other major novels of Solzhenitsyn, Cancerward and The First Circle were viewed by Lukacs in rather different light. "Cancer ward contained socialist and anti-capitalist ideas to offset its pessimistic atmosphere. The First Circle, however, was a time-bomb placed at the very centre of the Soviet literary tradition".⁶⁸ Although Lukacs recognized it as a masterpiece of literary realism he knew its critical spirit contained a total rejection of Soviet society under Stalin. This novel had revived the genre of critical realism within a socialist society. Its problematic hero, Gleb Nerzhin is an ideologically marginal man defying a hostile environment. Lukacs had, just before the end of his life, reluctantly conceded some faults of the Soviet system. He had criticized the failure to form a tradition of democratic participation; the growth of party bureaucracy and the leadership's abuse of power. Solzhenitsyn has gone beyond this criticism because his novel rejects the Soviet society under Stalin.

Solzhenitsyn, it seems, has completely dissolved the line of demarcation drawn by Lukacs between critical realism and socialist realism. It was Lukacs' view that under advanced capitalism the writer was driven to social isolation whereas under socialism he was reunited with the community. The critical realist experiences as pure internal. On the contrary the socialist writer locates them correctly in the external world. Solzhenitsyn does both simultaneously. The central character of the novel, Nerzhin, experiences both internal and external contradictions precisely because his creator has not been reunited with the community. Lukacs has tried to circumvent these problems by classifying Solzhenitsyn as a 'plebian writer'. He has seen Nerzhin's populism as an abandonment of the principle of Party supremacy. He has asserted that it could be subjectively justified in terms of injustice done to Nerzhin himself. Nonetheless, it is objectively sterile. Although Lukacs has found the response of Nerzhin credible within the context of the novel, he has censored it as politically incorrect within the context of Soviet society.

Modernism

Lukacs has vehemently criticized literary modernism. He has accused it of simply adopting the fetishized viewpoint of life. For him modernism is naturalism in the age of imperialism and fascism. There is only one difference between the two: modernist authors no longer confine themselves to a documentary chronicle of the facts. They juxtapose there own subjectivity directly and abstractly with such unilluminated facts. However,

both of them have failed in formulating as well as giving adequate answer to the question: what is man? According to Lukacs this question has been central to the humanism of the realist tradition. Conception regarding 'the essential character of human existence' of neither of these literary modes has gone beyond the surface, fetishized appearance. Fetishized perspective of modernist literature represents alienated subjectivity as an inescapable fact of human life and not as a specific outcome of a particular mode of social existence. Modernism describes 'a corpse' who is painfully burdened with an 'evergrowing sense of his own deadness'. It does not describe 'a living person' who has been 'spiritually murdered by capitalism'.

It is clear that Lukacs has considered modernism to be naturalism in the age of imperialism and fascism. He has pointed out the influence of existentialist philosophy on the modernist literary mode. He has observed that modern bourgeois novel expresses an 'ontological view of the image of man' as 'solitary, asocial, unable to enter into relationships with other human beings'. In modern novel, solitude is a universal condition humaine and not a specific social fate. This universalization of solitary experience results in the negation of character and of history. The hero of such novel is confined within his own experience. He is without personal history. He does not develop through contact with the world. He neither forms it nor is formed by it. Thus retreat from realism has become the mark of modernism.

Let us be familiar with the writers whom Lukacs has referred to while talking in terms of modernism. "There are two main periods involved here: the novel of the twenties and the novel of the post-war period. The latter he sees as by and large an outgrowth of the former. Indeed Lukacs' study is notorious for its blanket condemnation of the major novelists who emerged after the First World War. Joyce, Proust, Lawrence, Kafka, Gide and Musil are all criticized in some measure within the modernist framework though, ironically, the existentialist world-view was developed in its post-theological stage at a slightly later date. In particular, Lukacs regarded the stream-of-consciousness technique as a fragmentation of perspective, excluding 'the totality of objects'. he does concede the remarkable eye these authors (Proust and Kafka) have for realistic physical and psychological detail. Unlike Benjamin, however, he did not regard this as a sufficient condition for literary greatness. Such literature still lacked typicality and a total perspective on life".⁶⁹

In the foregoing paragraphs of this chapter, I have tried to present a systematic exposition of the basic assumptions, categories, concepts and propositions relating to Lukacs' theory of realism. This exposition has been kept within the context of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and Lukacs' changing adherence to it. In the second part of the chapter that follows, critical appreciation of his theory has been offered.

NOTES AND CITED REFERENCES:

1. Orr, John. "Georg Lukacs". In The Sociology of Literature: Theoretical Approaches. Ed. Jane Routh and Janet Wolff. Staffordshire: University of Keele, 1977, P. 109.
2. Gyorgy Markus, for example, regards culture as the 'single' thought of Lukacs' life. According to Lukacs, through culture, men and events become part of a meaningful totality. See Gyorgy Markus. "Life and the Soul: the Young Lukacs and the Problems of Culture". In Lukacs Revalued. Ed. Agnes Heller. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983, P.4.
3. Encyclopaedia Britannica defines philosophy of art as a discipline that provides conceptual foundations for criticism and history of art by generating, analyzing, and co-ordinating ideas about aesthetic value, expression and other aspects of art. See The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol.I. Chicago, 1977, P. 547.
4. Johnson, Pauline. Marxist Aesthetics: The Foundations within Everyday Life for an Emancipated Consciousness. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984, P. 9.
5. "Georg Lukacs" in The Sociology of Literature, P.110.
6. The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol.15, Chicago; 1977, P. 539.
7. Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, Vol.8, New York: Macmillan, 1977, P. 614.
8. Ibid., Vol.21, P.5.
9. According to the Marxist methodology, the surface appearance must be penetrated and contradictory relationship between the active forces should be understood. It means actuality does not necessarily coincide with reality. Mere enumeration and analysis of apparent variables may lead to superficial conclusion.
10. Forgacs, David. "Marxist Literary Theories". In Modern Literary Theory: A Comparative Introduction. Ed. Ann Jefferson and David Robey. London: B.T. Batsford, 1982, P. 171.
11. Lukacs, Georg. "Tolstoy and the Development of Realism". From Studies in European Realism (1950). In Marxists on Literature. Ed. David Craig. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975, P. 315.

12. Ibid., PP. 297-298.
13. Ibid., P. 299.
14. Ibid., P. 323.
15. Ibid., P. 314.
16. Orr, John, "Georg Lukacs". In The Sociology of Literature, P. 112. (See Note. 1).
17. Lukacs, Georg. The Historical Novel. Trans. Hannah and Stanley Mitchell. London: Merlin Press, 1962, P. 130.
18. Ibid., P. 139.
19. Ibid., PP. 139-140.
20. Lukacs, G. "Art and Objective Truth". Writer and Critic. Quoted in P. Johnson's Marxist Aesthetics, P. 28.
21. Lukacs, G. "Tolstoy and the Development of Realism". In Marxists on Literature. Ed. David Craig. P. 299.
22. Ibid., P. 300.
23. Johnson, Pauline. Marxist Aesthetics. P. 29.
24. Lukacs, Georg. The Historical Novel. P. 19.
25. Ibid., P. 21.
26. Ibid., P. 19.
27. Ibid., PP. 19-20.
28. Ibid., P. 51.
29. Ibid., P. 23.
30. Ibid., P. 231.
31. Ibid., P. 35.
32. Ibid., P.48-49.
33. Ibid., P. 70.
34. Lukacs, G. Quoted by John Orr. In The Sociology of Literature, P. 115.

35. Engels, F. to Laura Lafargue. December 13, 1883. In Marx-Engels: On Literature and Art. Moscow: Progress, 1978, P. 314.
36. Engels, F. to Margaret Harknes, April, 1888, Ibid., PP. 91-92.
37. The Legitimists were the adherents of the Bourbons overthrown in France in 1792, who represented the interests of the landed aristocracy.
38. Lukacs, G. The Historical Novel. Trans. Hannah and Stanley Mitchell. P. 85.
39. Lukacs, Georg. "Tolstoy and the Development of Realism". In Marxists on Literature: An Anthology. Ed. David Craig. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975, P. 290.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid., P. 289.
42. Ibid., P. 308.
43. Lukacs, Georg. "Idea and Form in Literature" (1949). In Marxism and Human Liberation. Ed. E.S. Juan. New York: Dell, 1973, P. 129.
44. Lukacs, Georg. The Historical Novel, P. 171.
45. Lukacs, Georg. "Tolstoy and the Development of Realism: In Marxists on Literature. P. 283.
46. Ibid., P. 285.
47. Lukacs, Georg. The Historical Novel. P. 194.
48. Ibid., P. 186.
49. Ibid., P. 201.
50. Lukacs, Georg. 'Tolstoy and the Development of Realism'. In Marxists on Literature. P. 285.
51. Orr, John. "Georg Lukacs". In The Sociology of Literature: Theoretical Approaches. Ed. Routh and Wolff. P. 111.
52. John Orr has made this observation after going through the critical essays written by Lukacs in Moscow during 30s. Ibid., P. 117.

53. Lukacs, Georg. 'Tolstoy and the Development of Realism'. In Marxists on Literature. P. 286.
54. Ibid., PP. 300-301.
55. Orr, John. "Georg Lukacs". In The Sociology of Literature. Ed. Routh and Wolff. P. 117.
56. Georg Lukacs. The Historical Novel. P. 206.
57. Great Soviet Encyclopaedia. Vol. 13, New York: Macmillan; 1977, P. 238.
58. Lukacs, Georg. "Marx and Engels on Aesthetics". Writer and Critic. London: Merlin Press, 1970, P. 25.
59. Lukacs, Georg. The Historical Novel P. 198.
60. Ibid., P. 325.
61. Lukacs, Georg. "Franz Kafka or Thomas Mann?" (From The Meaning of Contemporary Realism) In Marxists on Literature: An Anthology. Ed. David Craig. Middlesex: Penguin, 1975, P. 381.
62. Ibid., P. 382.
63. Lukacs, Georg. The Historical Novel. P. 310.
64. Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, Vol.24, New York, Macmillan, 1977, P. 244.
65. Birchall, Ian H. "Marxism and Literature". In The Sociology of Literature. Ed. Routh and Wolff. Staffordshire: University of Keele, 1977, P. 101.
66. Ibid., P. 102 (In fact these lines have been copied out from Soviet Russian Literature written by M. Slonim in 1967).
67. Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, Vol.24, New York, 1977, P. 244.
68. Orr, John. "Georg Lukacs". In The Sociology of Literature. P. 128.
69. Ibid., P. 121.

APPROACH OF GEORG LUKACS TO THE
SOCIOLOGY OF LITERATURE (Continued):
Aesthetics and Critical Views on His
Approach

APPROACH OF GEORG LUKACS TO THE SOCIOLOGY OF LITERATURE (Continued): Aesthetics and Critical Views on His Approach

Lukacs' The Specificity of the Aesthetic was not a break with the past. It was an extension of the general project of theory of realism. Lukacs continued to champion the totalizing perspective of realist art. This perspective could lay the foundations for an enlightened and defetishised consciousness.

An analogy can be drawn between the totalizing perspective of realist art and a perspective which is established by Marx's totalizing methodology. Marx's totalizing methodology has been discussed by Lukacs in History and Class Consciousness.¹ This methodology helps develop a perspective from which empirical consciousness and class position can be drawn into a unity to yield an account of appropriate or imputed consciousness. He describes the notion of imputed class consciousness as follows: 'By relating consciousness to the whole of society it becomes possible to infer the thoughts and feelings which men would have in a particular situation if they were able to assess both it and the interests arising from it in their impact on immediate action and the whole structure of society. This is to say, it would be possible to infer the thoughts and feelings appropriate to their objective situation (Essay on 'Class Consciousness' in History and Class Consciousness)'.ⁱ

Lukacs has stressed three aspects of the problem of the overcoming of reified bourgeois consciousness: (a) Reified think-

ing has its foundations in capitalist commodity production;

(b) This reified thinking has been characterized also by subject-object antinomy, and (c) The proletariat can establish practical social conditions, develop a totalizing perspective on its empirical false consciousness and its objective class position and arrive at an imputed revolutionary consciousness. Nevertheless the above-mentioned analogy can not be stretched too far because Lukacs himself had substantially refuted the clarification of the theoretical problems of the revolutionary movement presented in History and Class Consciousness along anti-naturalist lines.²

He had already denounced his own radical rejection of a reflection theory which arose out of the identical subject-object thesis of History and Class Consciousness. It does not mean, as we have seen in an earlier section of this essay, that he accepted the rigid and dogmatic 'diamat' extracted from Lenin's theory of reflection. He maintained, following Lenin, that a correct reflection of reality was to be used only as an aid and a guide in revolutionary struggle.³

Emphasis on Everyday Life:

Despite being the extension of the theory of realism The Specificity of the Aesthetic is not identical with it. Unlike the theory of realism, it has attempted to locate the basis for a defetishized consciousness within the dynamics of everyday life. It represents a practical basis within immediate experience for an enlightened consciousness. However, for Lukacs, this consciousness can be realised with the aid of an objective totalizing reflection of

reality. He has stressed the responsiveness of the totalizing reflection to a need which arises out of the dynamic of immediate experience.

Agnes Heller has rightly stated, "Lukacs wanted to find a way out of the vicious circle of universal fetishism he attempts to find the solution to the problem of fetishism in the unity of species and individuality, and in the literary essays of 1930s and 1940s he formulates this solution again and again on the basis of a theory of personality..... the rich and many-sided development of personality is identical with species character".⁴ We find Lukacs' analysis of the relationship between essence and appearance very important. It has two aspects: first his stress on fetishized appearance conceals and alienates us from a human essence and, secondly, his attempt at establishing how the human essence can become manifest within the level of surface appearance. What is concealed by fetishized appearance is not, for Lukacs, some abstract and ontological human essence. He has followed Marx's theory of human essence which is a theory of the essential character of human history.

The notion of a human essence formulated by Lukacs consists in Marx's concept of species being. Let us have a brief look at the concept of species being. It was Feurbach who reinstated the materialism of the Enlightenment. "His most basic concept was that of human nature, which he called 'species being'.....

Like Fourier and other Utopian socialists, he widened the concept of human nature so that it included more than mere self-interest. 'The essence of man is contained only in community, in the unity of man with man', he wrote".⁵ Marx took over Feurbach's concept of 'species being' and gave it a radically different content in the 'Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844'. For Feurbach what binds people together in society is love, the natural and unchanging sentiment which attracts individuals to each other. For Marx, on the contrary, labour was the essence of man and the basis of society.

Moreover, Marx has cut across the whole idea of an unchanging human nature in his sixth 'Thesis on Feurbach', where he declared that Feurbach had resolved the essence of religion into the essence of man. For Marx, the essence of man was no abstraction inherent in each single individual. He considered it the ensemble of the social relations. "In other words, there is no such thing as 'human nature' in the abstract. Rather as, society changes, so also do the beliefs, desires and abilities of men and women. The way people are can not be separated from the sort of society in which they live".⁶ For Marx, the 'human essence' lies precisely in the 'essence' or inner unity of the total social development of humanity (G. Markus, Marxism and Anthropology). Markus has the view that Marx, while resolving the problem of 'human essence', sought primarily those traits which would characterize human history as history. This history could be apprehended as a unified process only from the point of view of society.

This interpretation of Marx's idea of a human essence is in

fundamental agreement with the position adopted by Lukacs. Lukacs has suggested that the process of human history, as a process of self-transformation, means a continuous development and unfolding of human capacities and abilities. Discussion of the concept of species being becomes more important in view of the division of labour in capitalist society. Although division of labour expands the scope of activities, it produces an one-sided development of the particular individual's capacities. It leads to the individual's alienation from his or her essential species character. Individual is effectively disinherited from the range of capacities and abilities developed by the history of the species as a whole. Particularization of the individuals' capacities gives birth to the fetishistic notion that it is specific individuality which is the ruling principle of human existence.

The realization of our species character, notwithstanding what has been expressed in the foregoing paragraph, would involve the increase and enrichment of specific individuality and not its abolition. Because fetishistic conception of individual particularity prevents us from developing a species consciousness, antagonism between the general and the particular should be overcome. In other words, the fetishistic conception of isolated particularity acts as a constraint upon objective tendencies within our social existence which push in the direction of a species consciousness. According to Lukacs, the 'push toward generality' created by the increasing visibility of social ties such as the

class and the nation is accompanied and constrained by the fetishistic notion of the isolated particularity of the individual. The increasing visibility of social ties in capitalist society pushes in the direction of a consciousness which exceeds the constraints of a fetishistic conception of subjectivity. This dialectic within everyday life produces a need for totality. The fetishistic notion is both a constitutive aspect of a progressive dialectic within immediate experience and the conception which must be transcended in order to effect the release of a latent species consciousness.

The economic crisis creates a situation in which this antagonism (between particular 'individual' and general 'species being') can enter into a totalizing relation to produce a radical need for universality (Agnes Heller, *The Theory of Need in Marx*). Heller agrees with Marx (*Capital Vol.I*) on the point that capitalist crises necessitate the recognition of the variation of work as a fundamental law of production, fitness of labourer for varied work, and the greatest possible development of his varied aptitudes respectively. She believes that the working class must conquer power and overcome the division of labour. On the other hand, for Lukacs, species consciousness can only be given 'immediately and subjectively' in communist society. Abolition of the division of labour leads to the transition of the individual from isolated particularity to specific representation of species being. It resolves the conflict between human essence and existence.

Artistic Reflection:

"Lukacs' question in *The Specificity of the Aesthetic* runs as follows: 'works of art exist, but how are they possible?' There exist works of art, and these works of art have a function within human life and within human activity. It is this function that is queried. Questions regarding methodological presuppositions are brushed aside: one can not inquire about the existence of the works of art".⁷ The totalizing reflection of realist art appropriately responds to the abovementioned 'need for totality' which arises out of the character of everyday life. The artistic reflection totalizes the individual particularity and the general social. Realist literature creates a whole world of the attributes and behaviour of the particular individual character. However, they appear as a specific integration of the characteristics of the general social environment depicted in the work.

The answer to the need for totality leads to the defetishized consciousness. "Some entity has to be found that already represents in itself the unity of individual and species and provides that, through its adoption, it will give to all the possibility of rising to true, defetishized consciousness. This entity, according to Lukacs is art itself."⁸ Lukacs has analyzed the appropriateness of the artistic reflection of reality as an answer to the need for totality in two steps. First, he has tried to establish that the totalizing perspective of the realist work overcomes the fetishistic conception of subjectivity which prevents the awakening of a species consciousness. Secondly, turning to

the subjective side of the question he has suggested that the enlightening impact of the receptive moment is derived from the reader's recognition of the truth of the reflection of reality.

The objectivity of the artistic reflection is specifically derived from its totalizing outlook. While the realist work retains the specific detail of everyday experience, it transforms it from mere particularity into an aspect of the whole. The specific detail is integrated into the work's whole world and in this way the essential unity of the particular and the general is disclosed. He has said of the elevation of the particular in the realistic world: "There is before us a world which seemingly consists merely of phenomena but such phenomena which, without losing their forms as phenomena, make the essences hidden in the phenomena experienceable, evocative".⁹

It is curious to know that the increased objectivity of the artistic reflection at the same time means an increase in subjectivity. The totalization of the general and the particular in the work of art draws into a dialectical unity the specific aptitudes and dispositions of the individual and the many-sidedness of human capacities as a whole. "A work of art is mimetic if it grasps the species in the individual and represents thereby the sphere of the so-called 'particular'.... Through his intensified subjectivity, the artist attains to objectivity; through his extremely profound and sensitive experience of time he reaches the level of species."¹⁰

The work of art portrays a mediated or typical subjectivity in which the dispositions and behaviour of the particular character are seen to arise out of the general social conditions characteristic of a stage in human history. Heller describes Lukacs' view on realism's defetishizing impact as follows: "Each work of art condenses an essential stage of humanity, of human development, and this is why every man recognizes his own essence, his own history, in every successful work of art".¹¹ It is clear that his concern was to explain the defetishizing capacity of art. Subjectivity of art, Lukacs has maintained, has the power to evoke a response of recognition in the recipient. The totalizing perspective of art can be explained in terms of species consciousness already latent in everyday life. Moreover, the responsiveness of the artistic reflection of reality to the need for totality means it is able to offer a critique of the present from the standpoint of its potentialities.

The Specificity of the Aesthetic distinguishes between science's 'disanthropomorphic' reflection and the 'anthropomorphic' character of the artistic reflection of reality. Science attempts to reflect the world as it exists in itself. The scientific reflection of reality seeks to free itself from all anthropological, sensual and mental determinations. It endeavours to portray all objects and their relations as they are in themselves, independent of consciousness. Art, by contrast, reflects an essentially human world: "Art creates a world of men, always and exclusively in every facet of the reflection man is present as a

determinant: in art the world of men only appears as a mediating element of human concerns, emotions and feelings".¹² The human world created in the work of art discloses the essence obscured by a fetishistic appearance.

We have already discussed earlier that Lukacs' later Aesthetics is an extension of the theory of realism. However, they are different from each other. Position adopted in The Specificity of the Aesthetic marks a new departure in Lukacs' account of the relationship between the falsity of everyday thinking and the objectivity of the artistic reflection of reality. For the theory of realism, the objectivity of the artistic reflection was simply the conceptual opposite of the falsity of everyday thinking. Lukacs simply contrasted the true perspective of the work of art and the fetishism of immediate consciousness. In The Specificity of the Aesthetic, the truth of the artistic reflection of reality appears as an increase in objectivity. Lukacs now argues that everyday life is characterized by dialectical relationship between a tendency towards species consciousness and its blockage by a fetishistic conception of subjectivity. The objectivity of the artistic reflexion resides in its ability to remove this barrier to a true representation of the character of social reality.

The Receptive Experience:

The practical efficacy of the totalizing reflection of a work of art is facilitated by its ability to cause the suspension of the

fragmentary and heterogeneous attitude of everyday life. This attitude thwarts the emergence of a species consciousness. Our characteristic fragmentary attitude is, Lukacs maintains, specifically a consequence of the capitalist division of labour. This social order has atomized tasks and activities and consequently generates a partial perspective on social life. The whole world of a realist work of art establishes an 'homogeneous medium; which elicits a totalizing outlook from recipient. This 'homogeneous medium' compels the reader's concentrated and focussed attention. In the aesthetic experience all the reader's dispersed aptitudes and dispositions are channelled into the pursuit of a single task. The receptive moment sets the reader's 'whole soul in motion'. The aesthetic act allows the recipient to recognize the 'true unity and totality of all-rounded man'.

Lukacs had a balanced view and had rejected extreme views regarding practical effect of art. He refused to accept two notions: (1) independence from all social concerns is essential to art, and (2) progressive art must be guided by didactic intent. The practical effect of a realist work on social concerns can only be indirect. Art achieves a 'human preparedness' and only occasionally results in an 'immediate furthering or inhibiting of certain practical tasks. The effect of art on the recipient is complex. The recipient comes to terms with the work of art 'loaded with impressions, experiences, thoughts'. The receptive moment assumes active and cathartic character

because of the collision which takes place between the fetishism of everyday thinking and the humanistic perspective of the work of art. The cathartic impact is an essentially emotional recognition of the 'true unity and totality of all rounded man'. It can be explained on the basis of already existing dissatisfactions with the fetishistic viewpoint of immediate consciousness.

The evocation of a humanised world in the work of art conflicts with and shatters the fetishism of the recipient's everyday thinking. The cathartic experience involves a: "shaking up of the subjectivity of the recipient so that the passions working in his life obtain new contents and a new direction they are in this way purified and become the spiritual foundation of virtuous abilities".¹³ In order to bring about an ethical regeneration, the cathartic experience must be transformed by the recipient's cognitive effort into terms applicable to his or her daily life.

CRITICISM:

Georg Lukacs could not solve all the theoretical problems that Marxist aesthetics is faced with. His contribution can not be uncritically accepted by students of sociology of literature. Terry Eagleton has rightly observed: The greatest, as generally judged, Marxist aesthetician of the century, then, is not the answer; he is part of the problem.¹⁴

David Forgacs:¹⁵

Forgacs has raised four general points. He has tried to see what

Lukacs' theory of realism leaves out: First, it is not a theory of literature in general. It is a theory of realist literature, and also a theory, with rare exceptions, of the novel. Lukacs focuses on the novel because he develops Hegel's view that the novel is the modern literary form. It is an attempt to reconstitute the totality of man and the world contained in the epic when this totality is no longer possible under capitalism. This totality can be possible (for Lukacs) only under socialism. Secondly, it is an evaluative theory and not a descriptive theory in a strict sense. The reflection model has provided Lukacs with a way of making a basic value judgement: realistic or non-realistic. To reach this judgement he needs to make a number of descriptive distinctions between correct and incorrect form, the presence or absence of types, the true or unmediated totality and so on. Moreover, the value-judgement is no more addendum to the theory: it lies at its centre. Thirdly, it is not a theory which has much to do with language. Lukacs tends to deal with language only as a function or vehicle of some higher principle of form (in his sense) like a character or a genre. He does not, in other words, see language as the substance of literary works but as the transparent medium of these opaque forms.

This charge is based on semantic theory (emphasis on the basis of the distinction between what a word or sentence means and what a word or sentence suggests / semantic thickness and density) and structuralist theory (emphasis on structure and not texture / literary work is a type of discourse). It can be refuted

by presenting two arguments:¹⁶ first, rigorous analysis of language as the substance of a literary work is not the way readers see or understand it, and secondly, institution of literature can not be satisfactorily analyzed from within. Fourthly, it is not (as we have seen with the case of Balzac) a theory which assigns a clear and consistent role to the author. It tends to draw away from the author to the reflection of the world in the literary work itself, yet without undermining the creative presence of the author. In fact, Lukacs has suggested at several places that accurate reflection is a sign of the author's artistic greatness. Lukacs appears to have been either confused or ambivalent in this regard. Realist form, at some places in his writings, appears as *sui generis*. At others, genius of the realist asserts its presence.

Latter scholars, such as Fredric Jameson and Terry Eagleton have tried to solve this problem. They don't seek solution in the realm of psycho-analytic criticism. They come to grips with the problem subscribing to Marxist theoretical orientation. "Whereas conventional psychoanalytic criticism sees fantasy as primal and the ideological as mere secondary revision or rationalization, Jameson (*The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*, 1981) concludes an absorbing chapter on realism and desire in Balzac by boldly inverting this priority: Balzac's textual ideology is neither repression nor expression of his work's unconscious dynamics, but their very enabling possibility - those conceptual conditions of possibility or narrative presupposi-

tions which one must "believe"... in order for the subject successfully to tell itself this particular daydream'. It is for this reason that, as Lukacs recognizes but falsely explains, the ideology of Balzac's texts is so askew to their author's historical-belief: the emergent fantasy of the novels, aspiring to subvert the political reality principle, must posit the most elaborate ideological obstacle to its own gratification".¹⁷

Alan Swingewood:¹⁸

According to Swingewood, Lukacs has seen the society as a struggle between reason and unreason. The contradictions created by this struggle can be overcome only through the dominance of rationalism. Lukacs equated rationalism and socialist humanism. "Lukacs' literary theory, therefore, is less concerned with the 'literary' character of literature than with its social function in society or its value for education. It is this aspect of thought which links him with Plekhanov and the English Marxist writer Christopher Caudwell. The Aesthetic element in Marxism has been developed into a frankly utilitarian aesthetic".

Swingewood has vehemently criticized the concept of the typical. Before moving to the typical he questions the soundness of the conception of totality: From such a utilitarian standpoint Lukacs can only formally appreciate the totality of a literary text in favour of its future-oriented, positive educative impact, characteristics embodied in his concept of the typical. Realism is the most important aesthetic category and the type is the

mediation of what is and what ought to be. Realism presents a true reflection of historical change through the unity, in the typical, of the specific and the particular features of an epoch. Lukacs' theory is marked by rationalism, emphasis on ethics and utilitarian approach. It is eclectic and arbitrary. In the concrete analysis of texts, it comes to mean the total domination of content over form, society over literature.

Lukacs' historicism, and his non-dialectical concept of reflection lie at the heart of his rejection of 'modernism' and defence of the 'type'. For him modernism is a literature which no longer portrays social progress because it lacks the historical perspective. Instead of types, modernism portrays the average, the eccentric, or the surface phenomena rather than the immanent tendencies of capitalism. The importance of types is that they are confirmed by future social development. There is no stopping Swingewood. He goes further on: Many commentators on Lukacs have rightly linked his literary theory with the theory and practice of Stalinism. Lukacs' highly conservative aesthetic, his defence of realism against all forms of modernism are clearly related to the political exigencies of the Popular Front period during the 1930s when the European Communist parties sought out allies in the progressive bourgeoisie.

John Orr:¹⁹

Orr has discovered inconsistency, paradox and self-contradictory statements in Lukacs' writings. He indicates an implication of

Lukacs' historicism that literature will only undergo a renaissance within the context of a socialist society. The continuity of Russian and Soviet realism is possible only because of the unique economic backwardness of pre-Revolutionary Russia where there was no fully developed capitalism. Lukacs' theory creates something of a historical paradox. Russian realism is more recent than its Western European counterpart. Tolstoy wrote 'Resurrection' at a time when the realist tradition in French literature had already gone into a decline. Lukacs has himself stated (Studies in European Realism): "The world depicted by Tolstoy is much less bourgeois than the world of the 18th century English novelists, but, especially in 'Anna Karenina' - it is a world in which the process of capitalist development is more strongly apparent than in the English novels which nearly always depict one particular aspect of it. the decisive turning-point in the history of Western literature, i.e., the defeat of the 1848 revolution, left no trace upon him". This passage contains contradictory ideas. Tolstoy is 'early' in capitalist terms but thematically outside capitalism altogether. Lukacs transfers the limitation of historical context to the plane of thematic analysis. Moreover, Lukacs has confused the issue by stating at another place: "..... greatness of Tolstoy's novels is based on the illusions which caused him to believe that this (the peasant problem) was not a tragic conflict.

After making this point Orr has posed some questions: where, historically, can we locate the deterioration of a realist genre? At what date did English literature start deteriorating (considering little happened there in 1848? Was literary deterioration heralded by the state of economy or by the political consciousness of the emergent proletariat?

Critical and socialist genres of realism are kept by Lukacs pretty well apart. This separation produces immense conceptual problems. He could not solve the problem of socialist modernism either. He has recognized 'The First Circle' of Solzhenitsyn as a masterpiece of literary realism. Curiously, Solzhenitsyn completely dissolves the attempt that he has made to separate critical and socialist realism. He once declared, "... as socialism develops, critical realism as a distinct literary style will wither away". Paradoxically, it is clear from his actual discussion that critical realism survived well into the 1920s. In fact, socialist realism flowered and died an early death. Lukacs lacked the courage to say so. Although, he accepted the idea of socialist realism being popular literature, he did not regard it as a participatory art-form. Moreover, Lukacs never actively supported Gorki's ideas of 'revolutionary romanticism' and scarcely mentioned 'construction' literature in 30s.

Ernst Bloch:²⁰

Bloch had criticized Lukacs' negative approach to Modernism. He had made three important points while refuting Lukacs' criticism

of Expressionist tendencies and programmes:

First, literary, theoretical and critical judgements of Lukacs have been based on what was formulated by the commentators on Expressionism. He himself should have come to terms with Expressionist art and literature. Lukacs uncovers the merely subjective nature of the Expressionist revolt, as well as the abstract mystification implicit in its attempt to reveal the 'essence' of objects by depicting them in Expressionist manner. But even on this question of subjectivity, he does not really do these poets justice. He berates them - on the evidence of Prefaces - for their 'pretentious showiness', and their 'tinny monumentality'.

"The same can be said of his claim that all the content of their works reveal is 'the forlorn perplexity of the petty-bourgeois caught up in the wheels of capitalism', or 'the impotent protest of the petty bourgeois against the kicks and blows of capitalism'. Even if they had done nothing else, even if the Expressionists had no other message to proclaim during the Great War than peace and the end of tyranny, this would not entitle Lukacs to dismiss their struggles as shadow-boxing or to describe them as no more than 'a pseudo-critical, misleadingly abstract, mythicizing form of pseudo-opposition'.²¹

Secondly, "Lukacs takes for granted a closed and integrated reality that does indeed exclude the subjectivity of idealism, but not the seamless 'totality' which has always thriven best in idealist systems, including those of classical German philosophy. Whether such

a totality in fact constitutes reality, is open to question. If it does, then Expressionist experiments with disruptive and interpolative techniques are but an empty jeu d'esprit...".²²

Finally, Lukacs operates with a closed and objectivistic conception of reality. That is why he resolutely rejects any Expressionist attempt on the part of artists to shatter any image of the world, even that of capitalism. Any art which strives to explore the real fissures in surface inter-relations and to discover the new in their crevices, appears a destructive act to him. He thereby relates experiment in demolition to a condition of decadence.

Bertolt Brecht:

Lukacs had set out the main categories and principles of the doctrine of literary realism (in his essays written in the 30s) that he was to maintain for the rest of his life. Those modern writers who ignored or contravened these regulative norms of literary creation were insistently pilloried for 'formalism' by Lukacs. During 1938, Brecht wrote a series of trenchant and sardonic counter-attacks against Lukacs. He mustered a wide range of arguments designed to demolish the whole tenor of Lukacs' aesthetic. Fredric Jameson has highly praised these articles: 'Few critiques of Lukacs aesthetic theory have been so tersely effective in their own terms. Brecht's diagnosis of the insurmountable anomalies and contradictions of his adversary's recommendations for contemporary art remains largely unanswerable. Moreover, perhaps no other Marxist has defended so forcefully - because soberly - the basic necessity for constant freedom of artistic

experiment in the socialist movement' (Aesthetics and Politics 1977, P. 64).

Brecht highlighted the contradiction between Lukacs' view of the great European realists of the 19th century as essentially bourgeois writers and his claim that their literary achievements should serve as a guide to proletarian or socialist writers in the 20th century. Novels of Balzac or Tolstoy were determinate products of a particular phase of class history. They have been superseded now. The principles of their fiction can not be recreated in a subsequent phase of history. The social reality of capitalism has undergone radical modifications in the 20th century. Brecht has passed sarcastic remarks on Lukacs: 'He investigates the decline of the bourgeois novel from the heights it occupied when the bourgeoisie was still a progressive class.... He turns back to our forefathers and implores their degenerate descendants to emulate them.....It is the element of capitulation, of withdrawal, of Utopian idealism which still lurks in Lukacs essays.....',²³

Brecht was disgusted with Lukacs' habit of charging 'modernist' writing with formalism. He made a counter-charge that Lukacs himself had fallen into a deluded and timeless formalism. Lukacs had attempted to deduce norms for prose purely from literary traditions, without regard for historical reality that encompasses and transforms all literature in its process of change. Brecht has observed: "The formalistic nature of the theory of realism is demonstrated by the fact that not

only is it exclusively based on the form of a few bourgeois novels of the previous century but also exclusively on the particular genre of novel. But what about realism in lyric poetry, or in drama?"²⁴

Brecht wanted to see realism vis-a-vis popular art. He was of the opinion that faithful image of life served the interest of the people or the broad working masses. Faithful image of life from literature must be comprehensible and profitable to them. However, he wanted to use 'thoroughly cleansed' concepts for constructing propositions. For him, concepts were not 'completely transparent, without history, uncompromised or unequivocal'. He wanted to 'cleanse' the concept of realism because it had been used by many people and for many ends.

The realistic mode of writing bears the stamp of the way it was employed (when and by which class). He has observed: "Literary works can not be taken over like factories; literary forms of expression can not be taken over like patents. With the people struggling and changing reality before our eyes, we must not cling to 'tried' rules of narrative, venerable literary models, eternal aesthetic laws. We must not derive realism as such from particular existing works, but we should use every means, old and new, tried and untried, derived from art and derived from other sources, to render reality to men in a form they can master".²⁵

Unlike Lukacs, he disliked formal, literary criteria form for realism. He wanted to make the concept of realism wide and political. He criticized Lukacs' narrowminded approach to modernism and went on to define realism: "Realistic means: discovering the causal complexes of society/unmasking the prevailing view of things as the view of those who are in power/writing from the standpoint of the class which offers the broadest solutions for the pressing difficulties in which human society is caught up/emphasizing the element of development/making possible the concrete, and making possible abstraction from it.

These are vast precepts and they can be extended. Moreover we shall allow the artist to employ his fantasy, his originality, his humour, his invention in following them. We shall not stick to too-detailed literary models; we shall not confine the artist to too rigidly defined modes of narrative."²⁶ It is apparent that Brecht did not criticize Lukacs' view on modernism out of annoyance. He tried to modify the concepts and differed with Lukacs in relation to methodology. In accordance with his definition realism was political and ideological and whose formal means were variable. His aesthetic, in conception at least, was much more a live to shifting valencies of form.

Theodor Adorno:

The Meaning of Contemporary Realism was first published in West Germany in 1958. Adorno had reviewed the book²⁷ and availed himself of the opportunity of passing judgement on Lukacs' cri-

tical opinions on literature. At places Adorno's criticism degenerated into vituperation. Adorno made an acid comment on Lukacs that he had sacrificed his intellect to a restricted and suffocating conceptual structure.

Adorno has charged Lukacs with indifference to the philosophical question of whether the concrete meaning of a work of art is identical with the mere 'reflection of objective reality'. Art does not provide knowledge of reality by reflecting it photographically or 'from a particular perspective'. It does it by revealing whatever is veiled by the empirical form assumed by reality. This function is possible only by virtue of art's own autonomous status. A work of art becomes both work of art and valid consciousness only by virtue of 'aesthetic distance' from existence. According to Adorno, a theory of art which ignores this is at once philistine and ideological.

A charge made by Adorno against Lukacs relates to the use of terms like 'image' and 'essence' in aesthetics. Adorno has made a difference between their application in the realm of art and that in philosophies of essence or of primitive images (especially refurbished versions of the Platonic Ideas). He has stated: "The most fundamental weakness of Lukacs' position is probably his inability to maintain this distinction, a failure which leads him to transfer to the realm of art categories which

refer to the relationship of consciousness to the actual world, as if there were no difference between them. Art exists in the real world and has a function in it, and the two are connected by a large number of mediating links. Nevertheless, as art it remains the antithesis of that which is the case. Philosophy has acknowledged this situation by defining art as 'aesthetic appearance'. Even Lukacs will find it impossible to get away from the fact that the content of works of art is not real in the same sense as social reality. If this distinction is lost, then all attempts to provide a real foundation for aesthetics must be doomed to failure".²⁸ Hence, the use of these terms in aesthetics is not idealistic.

For Lukacs, the emphasis on style, form and technique was grossly exaggerated. Adorno opposed this idea. What looked like formalism to Lukacs, appeared to Adorno as structuring of the elements of a work in accordance with laws appropriate to them and relevant to 'the immanent meaning of life'. Adorno resented Lukacs' 'stylistic amalgam of pedantry and irresponsibility' in latter's dismissing the whole of modern literature except where it could be classified as either critical or socialist realism. In invoking the concepts of decadence and modernism Lukacs yoked together people who had 'nothing in common' e.g., Proust, Kafka, Joyce, Beckett, Benn, Junger and in the realm of theory, Benjamin and himself (Adorno). Moreover, "Lukacs' central line of attack is the charge of 'ontologism', which if sustained, would enable him to pin the whole of modernist lit-

erature on the archaic existential notions of Heidegger".²⁹ Adorno has concluded his review by stating: "The supreme criterion of his aesthetics, the postulate of a reality which must be depicted as an unbroken continuum joining subject and object..... rests on the assumption that the reconciliation has been accomplished, that all is well with society, that the individual has come into his own and feels at home in his world".³⁰ We can judge that Adorno was a severe critic of Lukacs' theory of artistic reflection, and concepts of realism, modernism and decadence.

Fredric Jameson:

Though Jameson has criticized Lukacs for few things he never goes to the extent of reviling. Unlike Adorno, he is a sympathetic critic. According to him, the Western critics pay lip-service to Lukacs as a figure, but the texts (Lukacs' writings) themselves were not what they had in mind at all. Lukacs' life work fails to be understood from the inside, as a set of solutions and problems developing out of one another according to their own inner logic and momentum. His works are taken to be external signs of arbitrary positions, and symptoms meaningless in themselves and comprehensible only in terms of shifts in the party line. His intellectual development is replaced by a myth of his career which all commentators repeat in one form or another without reflection.

Concept of 'the typical' has been defended by Jameson. Realistic characters are distinguished from those in other

types of literature by their typicality: they stand for something larger and more meaningful than themselves or than their own isolated individual destinies. Notion of typicality explicitly relates to the problem of the historical drama or of the historical work of art in general. Lukacs' own version of this notion is worked out at great length in his book, *The Historical Novel*. Its relevance to other forms of literature may be debatable.

It should be noted that for Lukacs the typical is never a matter of photographic accuracy. He has pointed out that the Balzacian character is melodramatic owing to romantic exaggeration and unrealistic grotesqueness. Nevertheless, it is far more 'expressive of underlying social forces' and 'profoundly typical' than the highly schematic and stereotyped characters of Zola. Jameson has observed along the Lukacs' line: 'Thus a Balzac character is not typical of a certain kind of fixed social element, such as class, but rather of the historical moment itself; and with this, the purely schematic and allegorical overtones of the notion of typicality disappear completely'.³¹

This discussion of the content of works of art has been considered by Jameson a formal one. A built-in distinction between form and content is maintained only in the structure of the historical novel or play. Ordinary novel gives the illusion of absolutely disengaged reading. On the contrary, the

historical novel holds a model or an object (basic external reality) in the outside world. The very structure of our reading of the historical novel involves comparison. Turning to the realistic novel in general Jameson has restated the above discussion on 'typicality' in "purely formal terms: but in these terms, the human elements of the work, the characters, become raw materials just like any others, just like the material settings of the book, for example, and the notion of the typical, no longer quite appropriate for this more general formal point of view, gives way to another kind of terminology. Here, the principal characteristic of literary realism is seen to be its antisymbolic quality; realism itself comes to be distinguished by its movement, its storytelling and dramatization of its content; comes following the title of one of Lukacs' finest essays, to be characterized by narration rather than description".³²

'The structural and historical identification' between the 'symbolic techniques of modernism' and the 'bad immediacy of a photographic naturalism' was stressed by Lukacs. For Lukacs, symbolism results from the will of the creator who imposes a meaning on them by fiat and not from the properties of the things themselves. It represents a vain attempt of subjectivity to evolve a human world completely out of itself. In symbolic works of art, artist strives for some meaningful relationship to the outside world or to objective reality, but he returns empty handed. Rejection of modernism in general is im-

implicit in this idea of Lukacs. Jameson has observed: 'In this connexion it is significant that the attitude of Lukacs reproduces almost exactly that of Goethe and Hegel toward Romanticism itself. Classicism is the healthy, said Goethe, Romanticism the sick. And Hegel criticized the subjectivism of the Romantics in much the same terms that Lukacs reserves for the modernists'.³³

According to Jameson, Lukacs' criticism of modernism was already implicit in the *Theory of the Novel* itself. Its first two chapters were rich in suggestions and intimations of modernism. Modern or symbolic art is characterized precisely by its ahistorical and metaphysical way of viewing human life in the world. The basic methodology of this work - the separation between soul and world, meaning and life - retains its vitality in Lukacs' later writings. It has, of course, shed its familiar Hegelian terminology. It will continue to inform the distinction between symbolism and realism, i.e., between a merely willed synthesis of meaning and life and one which is somehow present in a concrete way in the historical situation itself.

However, the symbolic mode of presentation is, for Lukacs, itself merely a symptom of some deeper underlying mode of apprehension that he will call description. Description is a purely static contemplative way of looking at life and experience which is the equivalent in literature to the attitude of bourgeois objectivity in philosophical thought. The possibility of narration, essential to realistic mode of presentation, is present

only in those 'movements of history in which human life can be apprehended in terms of concrete, individual confrontations and dramas.' In these moments some 'basic general truth of life can be told through the vehicle of the individual story, the individual plot'. Such moments have become relatively rare in modern times. Nothing real ever seems to happen. Life is felt as 'waiting without end', perpetual 'frustration of the ideal', 'blind routine' without any possibility of events, the 'drudgery of daily work' and so on.

We should not be inspired by 'Jameson's interpretation of Lukacs' ideas' into believing that Jameson does not have sharp critical opinions on Lukacs' position. He castigates Lukacs' denunciation of 'alleged links' between Expressionism and trends within Social-Democracy, not to speak of fascism. For him, it is an instance of 'the practice' of affixing instant class labels (generally 'petty bourgeois') to the textual or intellectual objects which has discredited Marxism. 'Class ascription' in itself is not wrong. Ideological analysis is inconceivable without a conception of the 'ultimately determining instance' of social class. What is wrong with Lukacs' analysis is the incomplete and intermittent sense of the relationship of class to ideology.

Jameson is highly critical of Lukacs' concept of decadence. He finds this concept equivalent in the realm of aesthetics of that of 'false consciousness' in the domain of traditional ideological analysis. "Both suffer from the same

defect - the common presupposition that in the world of culture and society such a thing as pure error is possible. They imply, in other words, that work of art or systems of philosophy are conceivable which have no content, and are therefore to be denounced for failing to grapple with the 'serious' issues of the day, indeed distracting from them".³⁴ Moreover, the proposition connecting modernism with decadence seems to be based on the assumption that modern writers are not subject to historical compulsions. Lukacs had qualified his denunciation of the modern writers by pointing out the negative and constraining features of the modern life. Why did he blame the modern writers? We are again faced with the same question that was relevant to the relationship between Balzac's reactionary ideology and the realistic form of his novel. We have already seen the Lukacs could not answer this question.

Jameson wants to accomplish a synthesis of the positive aspects of realism and modernism. He has observed, "In our present cultural situation, if anything, both alternatives of realism and of modernism seem intolerable to us: realism because its forms revive older experiences of a kind of social life (the classical inner city, the traditional opposition city/country) which is no longer with us in the already decaying future of consumer society: modernism because its contradictions have proved in practice even more acute than those of realism".³⁵

Jameson has expressed the view that two problems in relation to art should be solved. These problems are: First, co-optation as the problem of political art under capitalism (Ernst Bloch) - question of the uses of the world's cultural past (in increasingly single culture of the future) and of the place and effects of diverse heritages in a society intent on building socialism. Bloch's formulation of problem (in opposition to Lukacs' narrow polemics) can include the 'immense variety' of popular or peasant, pre-capitalist or 'primitive' arts. Secondly, under the present circumstances of reification of late capitalism, problem of consolidating a new realism whose function would be: 'to resist the power of reification in consumer society and to reinvent that category of totality which, systematically undermined by existential fragmentation on all levels of life and social organization today, can alone project structural relations between classes as well as class struggles in other countries, in what has increasingly become a world system. Such a conception of realism would incorporate what was always most concrete in the dialectical counter-concept of modernism..... (in the world of) commodity system and the reifying structure of late capitalism'.³⁶

Agnes Heller:

Heller has made three important points in her essay, 'Lukacs' Later Philosophy':

First, talking in terms of doubts, problems and questions regard-

ing philosophy she claims to have got at the central paradox in Lukacs. What is this paradox? It is "to insist on rational, critical thinking on the one hand to believe in the absolute on the other , (which) led to ambiguity. The legitimate belief that all problems of the world can be posed and resolved in a rational manner, and that these acts of posing and resolving problems will be comprehensible to all persons, is tacitly replaced by another: all problems have already been solved once and for all, but because of their class limitations, philosophers have not understood and accepted the solutions".³⁷

Secondly, Lukacs rejected the epistemological approach and accepted the 'theory of art as mirroring reality'. These are signs of unsound philosophical construction.

Thirdly, a question regarding modernism and decadence has been raised by Heller: how is it possible to conceive of nearly the whole of modern art as an expression of fetishistic consciousness? Lukacs has questioned the 'species character' of modern art. "If the validity of works of art is evidence of their being on the level of 'species character (or being)' how could he know that these works would lose their validity in the future".³⁸

Pauline Johnson:

Johnson has criticized Lukacs for evading some basic questions. Although he has been a sympathetic commentator on both, theory of realism and later 'aesthetics' he articulates what he finds

wanting in them. Let us see the points, which could have been considered and explained, one by one. Johnson's points of disagreement with Lukacs are more or less the same we have come across in the foregoing paragraphs of comments and criticism:

1. The effect of realistic art, for Lukacs, results from the fact that it offers a truer and more complete reflection of reality than the recipient otherwise possesses. Now, Lukacs should have provided an account of the felt inadequacy of everyday thinking or of immediate consciousness. By using Lenin's theory of reflection he was committed to the idea that 'immediate consciousness in capitalist society is simply a cognitively false reflection of reality.' At this point, he has been unable to explain how the recipient is able to recognise that work of art's totalizing outlook offers a better perspective.³⁹
2. Lukacs could be able only to reaffirm the contrast between the falsity of everyday thinking and the truth of the realist work's totalizing reflection. He did not explain how realism is able to enter into a dynamic relationship with everyday thinking: an ability which is essential to its defetishizing role.⁴⁰
3. Lukacs' assertion of the possibility of realist writing (critical realism) in the contemporary (non-socialist) situation is a problematic claim. He did not explain how the contemporary writer might be released from the partial and fetishized viewpoint of daily life. How can only a

conscious decision taken by an author make him enlightened'?⁴¹

4. Johnson appreciates later Lukacs (The Specificity of the Aesthetic) for giving a successful account of the defetishizing capacity of realist art on the basis of his analysis of the need for a totalizing species consciousness. However, he finds something unsatisfactory about an aesthetic theory which calls upon us to repudiate the whole modernist literature. It seems that Lukacs himself found it rather difficult at times to formulate the precise distinction between realism and modernism in contemporary literature: 'The dividing line is often blurred..... realism is not one style among others, it is the basis of all literature; all styles (even those seemingly most opposed to realism) originate in it or are significantly related to it.' (The Meaning of Contemporary Realism)⁴²

Terry Eagleton:

Eagleton is one of the most gifted younger Marxist critics now writing in English. As a commentator, Eagleton neither praise someone to fulsome extent, nor does he vituperate. Being at home in Marx's writings and familiar with a vast range of writings on Marxist aesthetics, he is in a position to remark the similarity as well as difference between the noted aestheticians. He places his observation with a self-developed pers-

pective on it vis-a-vis those of other commentators. He formulates them well and express^{es} them in exquisite style.

Comparing Lukacs and Brecht he has examined both the theory of reflexion and the theory of realism. After adopting Lenin's epistemological theory of reflection Lukacs accepts the notion that concepts are somehow 'pictures' in one's head of external reality. But true knowledge, for both Lenin and Lukacs, is not thereby a matter of initial sense-impressions. It is 'a more profound and comprehensive reflection of objective reality than is given in appearance. In other words, it is a perception of the categories which underlie those appearances. These categories can be discovered by scientific theory or great realistic art. At this point, we notice the inadequacy of the theory of reflection. Eagleton observes, "..... it is doubtful whether it leaves much room for 'reflection'. If the mind can penetrate to the categories beneath immediate experience, then consciousness is clearly an activity - a practice which works on that experience to transform it into truth. What sense this makes of 'reflection' is then unclear. Lukacs, indeed, wants finally to preserve the idea that consciousness is an active force: in his late work on Marxist aesthetics, he sees artistic consciousness as a creative intervention into the world rather than as a mere reflection of it".⁴³

Literature does not stand in some reflective, symmetrical, one-to-one relation with its object. The object is deformed, refracted and dissolved before being reproduced. It is obvious

that it gets reproduced less in the sense that a mirror reproduces its objects. What intervenes between 'the material' and 'the finished product' is a 'transformative labour'.

Eagleton has examined the conflict between 'realism' and experimentation (we have already gone through Brecht's criticism of Lukacs' infatuation with narrow realism and denunciation of modernism) in terms of reality and rationality. For Brecht, the experimental forms are an urgent imperative in the struggle against fascism. On the contrary, for Lukacs, they make a part of the 'irrationalist' heritage of which fascism is a grotesque culmination. Eagleton finds 'opposing assumptions about the problem of rationality itself' behind this antagonism. Lukacs has concluded that the rational is what faithfully reflects the real. The question that Lukacs leaves in suspension is: why should accurate cognition and representation of the real afford aesthetic gratification? He has not also confronted the issue of nexus between description and evaluation. It just is the case that art which gives us the 'real' is superior art.

Brecht's sense of rationality differs in important respects from Lukacs'. Brecht has not believed that art can 'give us the real' only by a ceaseless activity of dislocating and demystifying. "Brecht's practice is not to dispel the miasma of 'false consciousness' so that we may fix the object as it

really is; it is to persuade us into a living a new discursive and practical relation to the real. 'Rationality' for Brecht is thus indissociable from scepticism, experiment, refusal and subversion".⁴⁴ It was not delving through ideological deformations of the object in order to get at the 'real' which had been reproduced by the 'rational' artistic or the 'rational' theoretical.

Eagleton has gone further on and examined the essence/phenomenon model which is for Lukacs the very key to historical truth. Unlike Brecht, who found social reality contradictory in its very being, Lukacs stressed the 'essence' of social reality. Lukacs appears to have replaced the word 'being' there with essence. In his reply to Bloch's defence of Expressionism,⁴⁵ Lukacs speaks of the artefact having a 'surface of life sufficiently transparent to allow the underlying essence to shine through'. A few lines later, he speaks of art 'grasp(ing) hold of the living contradiction of life and society'. "But it is surely very strange to think at once in terms of essence and contradiction. For one meaning of 'contradiction' simply cancels the whole notion of 'essence'; it is only the reifying ploy of Hegelian parlance that allow us to conceptualize contradiction as unity. That Lukacs, like the rest of us but more than some, remains the prisoner of a metaphysical problematic is perhaps nowhere better demonstrated than in this".⁴⁶ Eagleton has sarcastically stated that the artist, for Lukacs, must first

abstract the essence of reality, then 'conceal' that essence in his text by recreating it in all its 'immediacy'.

On the other hand, for Brecht, one can not determine the realism of a text merely by inspecting its intrinsic properties. For him, realism can only be, so to speak, retrospective. Realist quality of a text can be judged only by its effects. Since those effects belong to 'a particular conjuncture', a text, which is now realist, might have been anti-realist six months ago. A text may well 'potentialize' realism, but it can never coincide with it. Texts are no more than the enabling or disabling occasions of realistic effectivity. Therefore, 'realism is as realism does'.

Modernism has been repudiated by Lukacs for giving expression to 'immediate' experience which is inescapably 'opaque, fragmentary, chaotic and uncomprehended'. Modernism is marked by distortion owing to this weakness. It lacks 'totality' and only 'totality' can make us see life steadily and see it whole. Bloch has retorted (we have seen his criticism of Lukacs' bias against Expressionism) that Expressionism (for Lukacs, it is an example of modernism), by reflecting the immediacy of a particular crisis, performed a progressive role. According to Eagleton, Bloch could not shift the very terms of debate and remained 'an unwilling captive of the Lukacsian problematic. Eagleton challenges Lukacs' empiricist notion of immediate experience. He asserts, "Expressionist and surrealist art, need it be said, are

very bit as much constructed as Balzac; we are judging (if we need to) between two different products of ideological labour, not between 'experience' and the 'real'.⁴⁷

Another charge made by Eagleton against Lukacs relates to the issue of partisanship. We have seen Lukacs in the last chapter arguing that modern writers should do more than merely reflect the despair, distortion and ennui of late bourgeois society. They should reveal positive possibilities beyond it. It is enough if they can manage 'critical realism' marked by positive, critical and total conception of society. Although being inferior to 'socialist realism', it is at least a step on the way. Hence, they should (in absence of direct commitment to socialism) at least take (socialism) into account and (do) not reject it out of hand'. Eagleton has endorsed the criticism of the 'lameness of Lukacs' position' (by the Hungarian Communist Party) figured in the abovementioned plea.⁴⁸

Eagleton has not lost sight of the historical perspective on Lukacs' career, and the development of and changes in Lukacs' thoughts. According to Eagleton, Lukacs' later career represents a sustained, internally consistent attempt to reconcile Stalinism and bourgeois humanism. For example, Lukacs' contrast between critical realism and formalist decadence had its roots in the cold war period when it was necessary for the Stalinist world to forge alliances with 'peace-loving' progressive bourgeois intellectuals.⁴⁹ Eagleton grasps also the

internal unity of Lukacs' development, from an earlier ultra-leftism shaped by a 'whole repertoire of idealisms' to a later Stalinist complicity with 'progressive' bourgeois values. He praises George Lichtheim for pointing out that Lukacs belongs essentially to the great classical-humanist German tradition, and regards Marxism as an extension of it, Marxism and bourgeois humanism thus form a common, enlightened front against the irrationalist tradition in Germany which culminates in fascism.⁵⁰ Eagleton exclaims; 'Indeed what was Marxism itself for Lukacs but the triumphant sublation of the bourgeois humanist heritage, the full flowering of an anthropological essence whose history could be tracked all the way from Sophocles to Solzhenitsyn?'⁵¹

We can arrive at the conclusion that Lukacs' later Aesthetic was an attempt at understanding the defetishizing capacity of art in the context of everyday life. The problem of overcoming the reified bourgeois consciousness was adequately addressed by Lukacs. He tried to find out the practical basis for an enlightened consciousness in immediate experience. This consciousness can be realized by dint of a totalizing reflection of reality. This reflection of reality responds to the need which is the outcome of the dynamic of immediate experience.

I would like to end this chapter, having several critical views at the back of my mind, with the same quotation from John Orr (we started off in the first chapter by quoting him):

'Though he never used the term, Lukacs' is the founding father

of what we can call the sociology of literature. If most of modern social theory is a debate with the ghost of Marx, most of the sociology of literature has been a debate with the ghost of Lukacs'. It's another matter that a good part of that debate occurred with Lukacs in flesh and blood and not with the ghost of Lukacs. We will engage in the assessment and evaluation of these critical views in the concluding chapter of this dissertation.

NOTES AND CITED REFERENCES:

1. We should also remain aware of the fact that several Marxists have criticized the version of Marxism expounded by Lukacs in *History and Class Consciousness*. They have found it Utopian and messianic in its conception of the proletariat as the absolute negation of bourgeois society. According to them, the proletariat functions in *History and Class Consciousness* as a philosophical category. Social relations have been reduced to forms of consciousness and ideological struggle has been given primacy in the overthrow of capitalism. (Callinicos, Alex. Marxism and Philosophy. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983, P. 74 and P. 77).
2. We have discussed in the beginning of this essay (Impact of Lenin's Theory of Reflection) that Lukacs had later on rejected the Hegelianism of *History and Class Consciousness*. After accepting Lenin's 'revolutionary Realpolitik' he moved away from the messianism of his early Marxism. He repudiated his early Marxism also in his article, "Realism in the Balance" which was first published in Das Wort, 1938. This article was later included in *Aesthetics and Politics* edited by Fredric Jameson in 1977.
3. See Pauline Johnson, Marxist Aesthetics. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984, P. 35. For Lukacs, Lenin was essentially a theoretician of practice. Stalin had distorted mediating role of Lenin's theory of reflection and erroneously tried to establish Marxism's purely combative relationship to the falsity of immediate consciousness.

Lukacs has endorsed Lenin's view that immediate struggles 'only produce the germs of class-consciousness in the proletariat'.

4. Heller, Agnes. 'Lukacs' Later Philosophy' . In Lukacs Revalued. Edited by Agnes Heller. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983, P. 184.
5. Callinicos, Alex. The Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx. London: Bookmarks, 1983, P. 63.
6. Ibid., P. 66.
7. Heller, Agnes. 'Lukacs' Later Philosophy'. In Lukacs Revalued. P. 182.
8. Ibid., P. 184.
9. Lukacs, Georg. As quoted by K. Kiralfalvi. The Aesthetics of GyorgyLukacs. Princeton University Press, 1975. P.77.
10. Heller, Agnes. 'Lukacs' Later Philosophy'. In Lukacs Revalued. P. 187.
11. Heller, Agnes. 'Lukacs' Aesthetics'. The New Hungarian Quarterly. no.23. 1966. Quoted by Pauline Johnson. Marxist Aesthetics. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984, P. 41.
12. Lukacs, Georg. As quoted by B. Kiralfalvi. The Aesthetics of GyorgyLukacs. P.51.
13. Lukacs, Georg. The Specificity of the Aesthetic. Quoted by Pauline Johnson. Marxist Aesthetics. P.43.
14. Eagleton, Terry. Walter Benjamin or Towards a Revolutionary Criticism. London: Verso, 1981, P. 84.
15. Forgacs, David. 'Marxist Literary Theories'. In Modern Literary Theory. Edited by Ann Jefferson and David Robey. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1982, P. 176.
16. Olsen, Stein Haugom. The Structure of Literary Understanding. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
17. Eagleton, Terry. 'The Idealism of American Criticism'. Against the Grain (Essays 1975-1985). London: Verso, 1986, P. 60.

18. Swingewood, Alan. 'Marxist Approaches to the Study of Literature'. In The Sociology of Literature: Theoretical Approaches. Ed. Jane Routh and Jenet Wolff. Staffordshire: University of Keele, 1977, P. 136 and PP. 139-40.
19. Orr, John. 'Georg Lukacs'. In The Sociology of Literature. Ed. Routh and Wolff. PP. 113-4 and PP. 125-8.
20. The conflict between Ernst Bloch and Georg Lukacs over expressionism in 1938 forms one of the most revealing episodes in modern German letters. In 1937, a co-ordinated assault on German Expressionism was launched in 'Das Wort'. The signal for it was given by Alfred Kurella with an attack on the heritage of Expressionism, manifestly inspired by Lukacs' essay which had appeared three years ago. The most trenchant rejoinder came from Ernst Bloch. Dismissing Kurella, Bloch directly engaged with Lukacs as the source of the current polemics against Expressionism. (Fredric Jameson, Aesthetics and Politics, 1977, PP. 9-12.)
21. Bloch, Ernst. 'Discussing Expressionism'. In Aesthetics and Politics. Ed. Fredric Jameson. London: Verso, 1977, P. 19 (First published in Das Wort, 1938).
22. Ibid., P. 22.
23. Brecht, Bertolt. 'The Essays of Georg Lukacs'. Ibid., PP.68-9.
24. Brecht, Bertolt. 'On the Formalistic Character of the Theory of Realism'. Ibid., P.70.
25. Brecht, Bertolt. 'Popularity and Realism'. Ibid., P. 81.
26. Ibid., P. 82.
27. Adorno, Theodor. 'Reconciliation under Duress'. Ibid., P. 151. (First published in Noten zur Literatur, Frankfurt, 1961).
28. Ibid., P. 159.
29. Ibid., P. 158.
30. Ibid., P. 176.
31. Jameson, Fredric. 'The Case for Georg Lukacs'. In Marxism and Form. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971, P. 195.
32. Ibid., P. 196.
33. Ibid., P. 199.

34. Jameson, Fredric. 'Reflections in Conclusion'. In Aesthetics and Politics. Edited by Fredric Jameson. London: Verso, 1980, P. 201.
35. Ibid., P. 211.
36. Ibid., PP.212-3.
37. Heller, Agnes. 'Lukacs' Later Philosophy'. In Lukacs Revalued. Ed. Agnes Heller. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983, P. 181.
38. Ibid., PP. 185-6.
39. Johnson, Pauline. Marxist Aesthetics. London: Routledge & Kagan Paul, 1984, PP. 28-9.
40. Ibid., P. 29.
41. Ibid., P. 31.
42. Ibid., P. 44.
43. Eagleton, Terry. Marxism and Literary Criticism. London: Methuen, 1976, P. 50.
44. Eagleton, Terry. Walter Benjamin or Towards a Revolutionary Criticism. London: Verso, 1981, P. 85.
45. Lukacs, Georg. 'Realism in the Balance'. In Aesthetics and Politics. Ed. Fredric Jameson. London: Verso, 1977 (First published in Das Wort, 1938).
46. Eagleton, Terry. Walter Benjamin or Towards a Revolutionary Criticism. PP. 86-7.
47. Ibid., P. 88.
48. Eagleton, Terry. Marxism and Literary Criticism. PP. 52-3.
49. Ibid., P. 53.
50. Ibid., P. 54.
51. Eagleton, Terry. Walter Benjamin or Towards a Revolutionary Criticism. P. 83.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

It will be simplistic to conclude that Lukacs considered literature a mirror-like reflection of reality. It will ^{be} also a vulgarization of Lenin's epistemological theory of reflexion. Literature, of course, realistic literature, for Lukacs, is the profound and comprehensive reflexion of the objective reality as a concretely developed totality of natural and sociohistorical phenomena. The artistic success of a piece of literature lies in the harmony between its form and the form of objective reality. Reality is dialectical totality in which all the parts are in movement and contradiction. The whole dominates the parts. And to be realistic (literature) is to possess meaning in the text, and not to make a list of objects or a documentary account of events.

For Lukacs, poetic reflexion is characterized by a totalizing perspective which draws essence and appearance into unity. He was for mediated totality which represents the true relationship between the human subject and the objective world. He supported Engel's formula of 'typical characters in typical circumstances'. Realistic artistic representation tries to establish man's relationship to the world through representing what is typical of an epoch, a class, a group of people

and so on. This notion of typicality may prove fruitful in regard to sociology in general. Literary facts present in the text, especially of historical novel or historical drama, can be carefully treated as sociological facts. Such text can make a good source of crude data.

For Lukacs, the category of totality is the universal and determining domination of the whole over the parts. It constitutes the essence of the method Marx borrowed from Hegel. According to Lukacs, for Marxism, there is only one science. It is the historical, dialectical and unitary science of the development of society as a whole. Therefore, the combination of totality and typicality, it seems, can help in forming hypotheses.

Other concepts, categories, propositions and hypotheses present in Lukacs' works can be used in a more tentative and critical way. Like other sociological systems, the Marxist sociology should have the aim of providing fruitful descriptions, establishing significant correlations and formulating causal explanation (mostly of limited generality). It should not bear the burden of vague (and not even sensitizing)

concepts and loose categories. However, Marxist sociology as a developing interplay of social thought and social action should encourage research-scholars to inquire into the past attempts at the analysis and application of Lukacs' ideas; to reflect upon their consequences, and to explore the possibility of their further use.

The charge of formalism made by Adorno against Lukacs' theory of realism is not very appealing. However, one can not absolve Lukacs of rigidity and narrowmindedness. Brecht had rightly pointed out anachronism and contradiction in his theory of realism: how could the modern writers follow the classical bourgeois model? Modern writers could not be bound to rigidly defined modes of narration. They should experiment and grow. Lukacs has been incessantly criticized^{by} several theoreticians and commentators for developing a Marxist theory of realism from a strongly anti-Modernist stance. Lukacs was quick at putting labels on literary works. What he found in modern writings was a series of negative 'isms', i.e., existentialism, experimentism, formalism, fascism, imperialism and

so on. On the contrary, for Brecht, realism was a political and ideological end whose formal means were variable. In short, realism is what realism does, and not what realism ought to be. This emphasis on the role of realism (and not on pattern and texture) appears alive and acceptable.

Lukacs found a symmetrical relationship between the quality of a writing and the writer's sympathy with the masses. Honest and gifted writers have always grown estranged from the ruling class, and found its life meaningless and inhuman. The ruling class exploits the masses. The writer indignantly reacts to this exploitation. Great realists such as Tolstoy always regarded society from the viewpoint of a living and moving centre. Tolstoy depicted the inexorable division between the peasants and landowners in Russia. He was the poet of the peasant revolt that lasted from 1861 to 1905. In his life-work, the exploited peasant is the ever-present protagonist. Because he regarded the world from the angle of the Russian peasants, he came to terms with their conception of state and society. Although he was unable to give

right answers, this sympathy enabled Tolstoy to put right questions.

The relation between the producer and the product in relation to literature has been better explored by P. Macherey (A Theory of Literary Production). Relationship of the writer with the public having a class character, the problem of commitment, and the link between the literary practitioners and political organizations have been more efficiently studied by J.P. Sartre (What is Literature? and Between Existentialism and Marxism).

Impact of historical forces upon literature has been a favourite theme of Marxist literary theorists. Lukacs had the view that historical transition such as the Enlightenment and breakdown of feudal mode of production followed by the French Revolution, produced great realistic literature. On the other hand consolidation of capitalism and forced harmony, especially after the defeat of proletarian revolution in 1848, encouraged naturalism. Naturalism was a hopeless depiction of mechanical and fetishized character of the capitalist world. Depiction of details became a substitute for the portrayal

of essential features of social reality. In the contemporary capitalist society critical realism has appeared the only hope to Lukacs. In absence of socialist realism, only critical realism (special intellectual effort), embodied by Thomas Mann, could see through the fetishistic appearance and grasp the substance - man's social relations - behind the reified terms which determine daily life. Critics have rightly questioned this neat periodization of literary history. Lukacs could not explore the complexity of the impact of historical forces on literature.

Notwithstanding, it is more or less correct that Lukacs solved the problem of selecting from bourgeois literary products and assimilating them to the cultural heritage of a socialist country. Any piece of literature which depicts the progressive forces and represents the features of contemporary society is worth preserving. It is obvious that appreciation in this regard boils down to the discovery of 'totality' and 'typicality'.

Lukacs has explained the enlightening effect of literature on the consciousness of individual in terms of the totalizing perspective of the realistic

piece of art or literature. This perspective helps the recipient overcome the fetishized and reified consciousness. The totalization of the general and the particular in the work of art draws into unity the specific attitudes and dispositions of the individual and mansidedness of human capacity as a whole. Every man recognizes his own essence and history in every successful art.

Even if one overlooks the Hegelian aspect of the foregoing explanation, one can accept Lukacs' belief in the power of literature in regard to cultural reconstruction and radical social change. Realistic art and literature help us get at the reality which is behind the actuality. This knowledge disturbs us emotionally and mentally. After a series of such experiences, we feel an urge to 'do something' or at least to ask ourselves the question: 'what is to be done?'

Application of Lukacs' theory of realism and later aesthetics to the Indian literature can be fruitful. Research along this line can illuminate more problems; help one develop insight into the present problems which face the Marxist literary criti-

cism and the sociology of literature; and solve some of them. The problem of characterization of the poems of the late Hindi poet, Gajanan Madhav Muktibodh can be cited. Muktibodh's conception of realism seems to have been influenced by Brecht rather than Lukacs. He has expressed the view that the realistic purpose is more important than the realistic form. A writer can experiment with literary form but can not ignore the realistic content. Objective reality can be expressed through new symbols (Naye Sahitya Ka Saundaryshashtra). He has asserted that realistic elements can be traced even in Hindi Romantic poetry (Kamayani: Ek Punaryichar.)

Muktibodh's own idea of realism could not dissuade Dr. Ram Vilas Sharma from putting the label of existentialism on some of the best long-poems of Muktibodh. Criticism of Dr. Sharma can be found in crystallized form in his book, Nayi Kavita aur Astitvavad. He had already expressed his opinion in some articles. Dr. Namwar Singh has tried to refute the charge of existentialism against Muktibodh (Kavita Ke Naye Pratiman.) A comparative study of Lukacs' realism and Sartre's existentialism may benefit someone who wants to do research into the nature of Muktibodh's poems.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography lists three kinds of books:

- (a) those included in Notes and Cited References,
- (b) those which, though not specifically referred to, were also important in the writing of this dissertation, and
- (c) those which might help others who want to do research into the Marxist orientation to 'the sociology of literature' or the Marxist aesthetics.

WRITINGS BY LUKACS:

1. Lukacs, Georg. Studies in European Realism: A Sociological Survey of the Writings of Balzac, Stendhal, Zola, Tolstoy, Gorki and others. London: Hillway, 1950. (Translation of Essays uber Realismus. Berlin: Aufbau, 1948.)
2. Lukacs, G. Die Zerstörung der Vernunft. Berlin: Aufbau, 1954.
3. Lukacs, G. The Meaning of Contemporary Realism. London: Merlin Press, 1963a. (Translation by J. and N. Mander of Wider den missverstandenen Realismus. Hamburg: Claasen, 1958.)
4. Lukacs, G. Die Eigenart des Aesthetischen. Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1963b (2 vols).
5. Lukacs, G. The Sociology of Modern Drama. Oshkosh, Wisconsin: Green Mountain Editions, 1965a. (Translation of A Modern drama fejlo desenek tortenete. Budapest: Kisfaludy Tarsasag, Franklin, 1911. 2 vols.)
6. Lukacs, G. The Historical Novel. New York: Humanities Press, 1965b. (Translation by Hannah and Stanley Mitchell of A tortenelmi regeny. Budapest: Hungaria, 1947.)
7. Lukacs, G. Essays on Thomas Mann. London: Merlin Press; and New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1965c. (Translation by Stanley Mitchell of Thomas Mann. Budapest: Hungaria, 1948.)
8. Lukacs, G. The Theory of the Novel: A Historico-Philosophical Essay on the Form of Great Epic Literature. Cambridge, Mass: M I T Press, 1971a. (Translation by Rodney Livingstone of Die Theorie des Romans: ein geschichtsphilosophischer

- Versuch über die Formen der grossen Epik. Berlin: Cassirer, 1920.)
9. Lukacs, G. History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics. Cambridge, Mass: M I T Press, 1971b. (Translation by Rodney Livingstone of Geschichte und Klassenbewusstsein: Studien über Marxistische Dialektik. Berlin: Malik, 1924.)
 10. Lukacs, G. Asthetik. Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1972a. (4 vols)
 11. Lukacs, G. The Question of Parliamentarianism and Other Essays. Translated London: New Left Books, 1972b. (Selections of Taktika es ethika. Budapest.)
 12. Lukacs, G. 'Marx and Engels on Problems of Dramaturgy'. International Theatre, No.2 (1934), pp. 11-14.
 13. Lukacs, G. Soul and Form. Cambridge, Mass: M I T Press, 1974a. (Translation by Anna Bostock of A lelek es a formak (Kiserletek). Budapest: Franklin Tarsulat Nyomda, 1910.)
 14. Lukacs, G. Heidelberger Asthetik, 1916-1918. Edited by Gyorgy Markus and Frank Benseler. Neuwied: Hermann Luchterhand Verlag, 1974b.
 15. Lukacs, G. Heidelberger Philosophie der Kunst, 1912-1914. Edited by Gyorgy Markus and Frank Benseler. Neuwied: Hermann Luchterhand Verlag, 1974c.
 16. Lukacs, G. Tactics and Ethics: Political Essays, 1919-1929. New York: Harper, 1975a. (Translation by Michael McColgan of Taktika es ethika. Budapest: Kozoktatasugyi Nepbiztossag Kiadasa, 1919.)
 17. Lukacs, G. The Young Hegel: Studies in the Relations between Dialectics and Economics. London: Merlin Press, 1975b. (Translation by Rodney Livingstone of Der junge Hegel: über die Beziehungen von Dialektik und Okonomie. Zurich: Europa, 1948.)
 18. Lukacs, G. Marx's Basic Ontological Principles. London: Merlin Press, 1978. (Translation by David Fernbach of Zur Ontologie des gesellschaftlichen Seins. Vol. I. Die ontologischen Grund-prinzipien von Marx. Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1971.)
 19. Lukacs, G. Hegel's False and Genuine Ontology. London: Merlin Press, 1979. (Translation by David Fernbach of Zur Ontologie des gesellschaftlichen Sens. Vol.2. Hegels falsche und echte Ontologie. Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1972.)

20. Lukacs, G. Reviews and Articles from Die rote Fahne. Translated by Peter Palmer. London: Merlin, 1983.
21. Lukacs, G. Marxism and Human Liberation: Essays on History, Culture and Revolution. Ed. E. San Juan, Jr. New York: Dell, 1973. Fifteen essays in sections on 'Theory and Practice', 'Aesthetics and Literary Criticism' and 'Problems and Perspectives'.
22. Lukacs, G. 'Introduction to a Monograph on Aesthetics'. New Hungarian Quarterly, 5 (Summer, 1964), 57-72. Lukacs' Aesthetics, left incomplete at his death in 1971, has not yet (until 1980) been fully translated in English.
23. Lukacs, G. Record of a Life: An Autobiographical Sketch. Ed. Istvan Eorsi. Tr. Rodney Livingstone. London: Verso, 1983.

WRITINGS ABOUT GEORG LUKACS:

24. Murphy, Peter. Writings By and About Georg Lukacs: A Bibliography. New York: The American Institute for Marxist Studies, 1976.
25. Lowy, Michael. Georg Lukacs - From Idealism to Bolshevism. London: New Left Books, 1979.
26. Heller (Agnes), Ed. Lukacs Revalued. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983.
27. Parkinson, G.H.R. Georg Lukacs. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977.
28. Csak (Gyula), Ed. Gyorgy Lukacs: His Life and Works. Delhi: Sri Satguru Pub., 1985.
29. Johnson, Pauline. 'Lukacs: reification and its overcoming'. In Marxist Aesthetics (PP. 9-48). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984.
30. Jameson, Fredric. 'The Case for Georg Lukacs'. In Marxism and Form. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971.
31. Jameson (Fredric), Ed. Aesthetics and Politics: Debates Between Bloch, Lukacs, Brecht, Benjamin, Adorno.
32. Lichtheim, George. Georg Lukacs. New York: Viking/London: Fontana, 1970.

33. Orr, John. 'Georg Lukacs'. In The Sociology of Literature: Theoretical Approaches. Ed. Jane Routh and Janet Wolff. Staffordshire: University of Keele, 1977.
34. Goldman, Lucien. Lukacs and Heidegger. London & Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977. (First published in French in 1973)
35. Schmidt, James. 'The Concrete Totality and Lukacs' Concept of Proletarian Bildung'. Telos. No.24 (Summer, 1975), PP. 2-40.
36. Markus, Gyorgy. 'The Soul and Life: The Young Lukacs and the Problem of Culture'. Telos, No.32 (Summer, 1977), PP. 95-115.

A GENERAL LIST OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES:

37. Adorno, Theodor W. Prisons. London: Spearman, 1967. (Original in German, 1955. Trans. Samuel and Shierry Weber)
38. Adorno, T.W. The Jargon of Authenticity. London: Routledge, 1973. (German, 1965. Trans. Knut Tarnowski & Frederick Will.)
39. Adorno, T.W. & Horkheimer, M. Dialectic of Enlightenment. Trans. J. Cumming. New York: The Seabury Press, 1972.
40. Adorno, T.W. Negative Dialectics. New York: Seabury; and London: Routledge, 1973. (German, 1966.) Trans. E.B. Ashton
41. Adorno, T.W. Against Epistemology. Oxford: Blackwell, 1980. (Original, 1956. Trans. Willis Domingo)
42. Albrecht, Milton C. Barnett, James H. & Griff, Mason. eds; The Sociology of Art and Literature: A Reader. London: Duckworth, 1970.
43. Althusser, Louis. For Marx. London: Allen Lane; and New York: Panthem, 1969. (French ed. 1965. Trans. Ben Brewster)
44. Althusser, Louis. Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays. London: New left books, 1971. (French ed., 1969. Trans. Ben Brewster)

45. Althusser, Louis. Essays in Self-Criticism. London: New Left Books; and Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1976. (Essays translated by Graham Lock), contains full bibliography and includes 'Reply to John Lewis. Paris: 1973.
46. Anderson, Perry. Considerations on Western Marxism. London: New Left Books, 1976.
47. Arvon, Henri. Marxist Aesthetics. Introd. Fredric Jameson. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1973. (Useful accounts of European Marxist criticism, Soviet literary history. Brecht versus Lukacs, other topics.)
48. Avineri Shlomo (ed.). Varieties of Marxism. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1977.
49. Barker, Francis. "Althusser and Art". Red Letters: Communist Party Literature Journal, No.4 (Spring 1977). PP.7-12.
50. Baxandall, Lee, ed. Radical Perspectives in the Arts. Baltimore: Penguin, 1972.
51. Benjamin, Walter. Charles Baudelaire: A Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism. Ed. Harry Zohn. London: New Left Books, 1973.
52. Benjamin, Walter. Illuminations. (Translated by Harry Zohn). London: Fontana/Collins, 1973. (Originally published in German under the title 'Schriften' in 1955.)
53. Benjamin, W. Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings. Ed. Peter Demetz. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978.
54. Benjamin, W. One-Way Street and Other Writings. Intro. Susan Sontag. London: New Left Books, 1979. Essays on politics, aesthetics, language, literature.
55. Birchall, Ian. 'The Total Marx and the Marxist Theory of Literature'. In Situating Marx: Evaluations and Departures. Ed. Paul Walton and Stuart Hall. London: Human Context Books, 1972, PP. 118-45.
56. Buck-Morss, Susan. The Origins of Negative Dialectics: Theodor Adorno, Walter Benjamin and the Frankfurt School. New York: The Free Press, 1977.
57. Burns, Elizabeth and Tom. ed, Sociology of Literature and Drama: Selected Readings. Harmondsworth: Penguin Education, 1973.

58. Callinicos, Alex. Althusser's Marxism. London: Pluto Press, 1976.
59. Callinicos, Alex. Marxism and Philosophy. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
60. Carver, Terrell. Marx's Social Theory. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982.
61. Caudwell, Christopher. Illusion and Reality: A Study of the Sources of Poetry. 1937; New York: International Publishers, 1963.
62. Caudwell, C. Romance and Realism: A Study in English Bourgeois Literature. Ed. Samuel Hynes. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970.
63. Caudwell, C. Studies and Further Studies in a Dying Culture. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972.
64. Craig, David. ed, Marxists on Literature. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975.
65. Culler, Jonathan. Structuralist Poetics: Structuralism, linguistics and the study of Literature. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986.
66. Dowling, William C. Jameson, Althusser, Marx: An Introduction to The Political Unconscious. London: Methuen, 1984.
67. Eagleton, Terry. Marxism and Literary Criticism. London: Methuen, 1976.
68. Eagleton, Terry. Walter Benjamin or Towards a Revolutionary Criticism. London: Verso, 1981.
69. Eagleton, Terry. Literary Theory: An Introduction. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983.
70. Eagleton, Terry. Against the Grain: Essays 1975-1985. London: Verso, 1986.
71. Fischer, Ernst. The Necessity of Art: A Marxist Approach. 1959; London: Penguin, 1978. (Particularly good on the origin and functions of art.)
72. Fischer, Norman. Patsouras, Louis. Georgopoulos, N. eds; Continuity and Change in Marxism. New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1982.

73. George, Richard T. De and George, Fernande M. De. eds; The Structuralists: From Marx to Levi-Strauss. New York: Anchor Books, 1972.
74. Giddens, Anthony. Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis. London: Mac Millan, 1979.
75. Goldmann, Lucien. The Hidden God: A Study of the Tragic Vision in the Pensees of Pascal and the Tragedies of Racine, 1955; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964.
76. Goldmann, L. Towards a Sociology of Novel, 1964; London: Tavistock, 1975.
77. Goldmann, L. 'The Sociology of Literature: Status and Problems of Method'. International Social Science Journal, Vol.XIX, No.4, 1967.
78. Goldmann, L. Cultural Creation in Modern Society, 1977; St. Louis: Telos Press, 1976.
79. Goldmann, L. 'Criticism and Dogmatism in Literature'. In The Dialectics of Liberation. Ed. David Cooper. Baltimore: Penguin, 1968.
80. Goldmann, L. 'Marxist Criticism*'. In The Philosophy of the Enlightenment. Cambridge, Mass.: M I T Press, 1973, pp. 86-97.
81. Goldmann, L. 'Genetic Structuralism in the Sociology of literature'. In Sociology of Literature and Drama, Ed. Elizabeth and Tom Burns, 1973.
82. Gramsci, Antonio. The Modern Prince and Other Writings. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1957.
83. Habermas, Jurgen. Knowledge and - Human Interests. London: Heinemann, 1972. (German ed., 1968. Trans. Jeremy)
84. Heller, Agnes. The Theory of Need in Marx. London: Allison and Busby, 1974.
85. Heller, Agnes. A Radical Philosophy. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984. (Originally published in 1978)
86. Horkheimer, Max. Critical Theory: Selected Essays. New York: Herder, 1972.

87. Jameson, Fredric. Marxism and Form: Twentieth Century Dialectical Theories of Literature. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971.
88. Jameson, Fredric. The Prison-House of Language: A Critical Account of Structuralism and Russian Formalism. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972.
89. Jameson, Fredric. Aesthetics and Politics: Debates between Bloch, Lukacs, Brecht, Benjamin, Adorno. London: Verso, 1980.
90. Jameson, Fredric. The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act. London: Methuen, 1981.
91. Jay, Martin. The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research, 1923-1950. Boston: Little, Brown, 1973.
92. Jay, Martin. Marxism and Totality. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984a.
93. Jefferson, Ann and Robey, David, eds; Modern Literary Theory: A Comparative Introduction. London: B.T. Batsford, 1982.
94. Knight, Stephen and Michael Wilding, eds; The Radical Reader. Sydney: Wild & Woolley, 1977.
95. Lang, Berel and Forrest Williams, eds; Marxism and Art; Writings in Aesthetics and Criticism. New York: David McKay, 1972.
96. Larrain, Jorge. Marxism and Ideology. Mac Millan, 1983.
97. Lenin, V.I. On Literature and Art. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1967.
98. Le Roy, Gaylord. Marxism and Modern Literature. New York: The American Institute for Marxist Studies, 1967. (On the 'cognitive function of art' form, realism, modernism, socialist realism, and related topics)
99. Le Roy, Gaylord and Ursula Beitz, eds. Preserve and Create: Essays in Marxist Criticism. New York: Humanities Press, 1973.

100. Machcrey, Pierre. A Theory of Literary Production. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978.
101. Marcuse, Herbert. One Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society. Boston: Beacon Press; and London: Routledge, 1964.
102. Marcuse, Herbert. 'Art as a Form of Reality'. In On the Future of Art. Ed. Edward F. Fry. New York: Viking Press, 1970, PP. 79-128.
103. Marcuse, H. 'Art and Revolution'. In Counter revolution and Revolt. Boston: Beacon Press, 1972, PP. 79-128.
104. Marcuse, H. The Aesthetic Dimension: Toward a Critique of Marxist Aesthetics. London: Macmillan, 1979. Boston: Beacon Press, 1978.
105. Marx, Karl & Engels, F. On Literature and Art. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1976.
106. 'Marxist Alternatives to the Traditions'. The Minnesota Review, No.5 (Fall 1975), PP. 33-163.
107. Merquior, J.G. The Veil and the Mask: essays on culture and ideology. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979.
108. Merquior, J.G. Western Marxism. London: Paladin, 1986.
109. Morawski, Stefan. Inquiries Into the Fundamentals of Aesthetics. Cambridge, Mass.: M I T Press, 1974.
110. Morawski, S. 'Historicism and the Philosophy of Art'. Praxis, No.4 (1978), PP. 71-85.
111. Pradhan, Sudhi. Marxist Cultural Movement in India: Chronicles and Documents (1943-1964), Vol. III. Calcutta: Pustak Bipani, 1985.
112. Pomorska, Krystyna. Russian Formalist Theory and its Poetic Ambiance. The Hague: Mouton, 1968.
113. Raghava, Sulochana Rangeya. Sociology of Indian Literature: A Sociological Study of Hindi Novels. Jaipur: Rawat, 1987.
114. Rimmon-Kenan, Shlomith. Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics. London: Methuen, 1983.
115. Rudich, Norman, ed. Weapons of Criticism: Marxism in America and the Literary Tradition. Palo Alto, Cal.: Ramparts Press, 1976.

116. Sartre, Jean-Paul. What is Literature? 1949; New York: Harper, 1965.
117. Sartre, J.P. Literary and Philosophical Essays, 1955; New York: Collier Books, 1962.
118. Sartre, J.P. Essays in Aesthetics. Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1970.
119. Sartre, J.P. Politics and Literature. London: Calder & Boyars, 1973. (Five essays from the sixties on language, theatre, revolution and the intellectual.)
120. Scholes, Robert. Structuralism in Literature: An Introduction. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974.
121. Solomon, Maynard, ed. Marxism and Art; Essays Classic and Contemporary. New York: Random House, 1973.
122. Sturrock, John. ed; Structuralism and Since: From Levi Strauss to Derrida. Oxford: Oxford Paperbacks, 1979.
123. Sturrock, J. Structuralism. London: Paladin, 1986.
124. 'Symposium on Marxist Aesthetic Thought'. Arts in Society, 12 (Summer-Fall. 1975) PP. 216-41.
125. Trotsky, Leon. Literature and Revolution, 1924; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1960.
126. Trotsky, L. On Literature and Art. Ed. Paul N. Siegel. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970.
127. Williams, Raymond. Reading and Criticism. London: Muller, 1950.
128. Williams, R. Culture and Society, 1780-1950. London: Chatto and Windus, 1958.
129. Williams, R. Marxism and Literature. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.
130. Williams, R. Politics and Letters. London: New Left Books, 1979. (A volume of interviews with R. Williams, conducted by New Left Review.)
131. Witte, Bernd. 'Benjamin and Lukacs: Historical Notes on the Relationship Between Their Political and Aesthetic Theories?' New German Critique, No.5 (Spring, 1975), PP.3-26.
132. Wellek, Rene and Warren, Austin. Theory of Literature. London: Jonathan Cape (3rd) Revised Edition, 1966.

LIST OF HINDI BOOKS:

133. Muktibodh, Gajanan Madhav. Naye Sahitya Ka Saundaryashastra (Aesthetics of the New Literature). Delhi: Radhakrishna, 1971.
134. Muktibodh, G.M. Kamayani: Ek Punarvichar (Kamayani: A Reassessment) Delhi: Rajkamal, 1974.
135. Sharma, Ram Vilas. Nayi Kavita Aur Astitvavad (New Poetry and Existentialism) Delhi: Rajkamal, 1978.
136. Singh, Namwar. Kavita Ke Naye Pratiman (New Patterns or Standards of Poetry) Delhi: Rajkamal, 1974.
-