

Kuomintang soft power in Budapest, Trianon-propaganda with Gypsy music in Shanghai. To the history of interwar Sino-Hungarian cultural relations

Mátyás MERVAY, Ph.D. Candidate, New York University

matyas.mervay@nyu.edu

Abstract:

Pre-1949 Sino-Hungarian cultural approaches offer valuable insights into the history of cultural diplomacy during a lack of interstate relations. This study introduces the cultural and political agenda of two members of the Shanghai Hungarian diaspora, then turns to a Kuomintang propagandist active in 1930s Budapest. Shanghai Jewish refugee relief organizer Paul Komor and women's association president Theresia Moll introduced the post-Habsburg Central European region with different foci. Ultimately, neither Komor's Trianon revisionism nor Moll's pan-Danubian approach but their shared charity activities left lasting marks in the Chinese metropolis. By following He Zhenya, the first Chinese language instructor of the University of Budapest and a synthesizer of Hungarian pan-Asian Turanism with Sun Yat-sen's Tridemism, this paper achieves two things. First, it brings a new perspective to the Atlanto-centric history of Chinese propaganda while tracing back the roots of Sino-Hungarian bilateral approaches and Hungarian Sinology some fifteen years earlier. Second, while motivated by different political agendas, all three actors presented here applied the PR tool of cultural diplomacy to popularize and elicit international sympathy for their homelands.

Keywords: China-CEE relations; Central and Eastern Europe; Chinese cultural diplomacy; Hungarian irredentism

“In speaking of Hungary today, it is quite impossible to avoid reference to the Treaty of Trianon [...].”¹

“The Treaty of Trianon was the work of political sadists. It lacks fairness and justice [...].”²

“It is quite evident, that they, the Japanese have not learnt from the example that the post-[World]war [One], peaceful, based on justice, Europe has set them, that political aims are not to be enforced at the point of the gun and the scrap iron is, under no circumstances whatsoever, to be removed.”³

¹ KOMOR, Hungary of To-Day 1930.

² KOMOR, Caroll Alcott-nak, az XMHA sanghaji amerikai rádió szerkesztőjének, Re: ‘Undeserved Crack’ Taken at Hungary”. *MNL, OL, P975, I-22, I-3., No. ?.* 1938-1940.

³ KOMOR, “Peace and Its Foundations” 1938.

The quotes above are from Paul Komor, the widely known patron of Shanghai Jewish refugees during World War Two and the then informal leader of the Shanghai Hungarian community. The first quote is from Komor's 1930 lecture addressed to the Shanghai Rotary Club's Chinese and international audience. The second one is an excellent example of how Komor defended Hungary's official positions in numerous letters to the editor.

The third piece was an op-ed published in the esteemed *North China Daily News* exposing the, in Komor's mind, hypocritical criticism of Japanese aggression launched in China openly in 1937. In an article fused with scathing irony, Komor demanded the Western public to account for its unfulfilled Wilsonian liberal democratic ideals that guaranteed national self-determination after World War One. Komor deemed Western powers as hypocrites who criticize Japan's imperialist invasion of China while would not consider revising the peace treaties pleasing their own geopolitical interests in Central and Eastern Europe.

In 1935, a certain He Zhenya 何震亞 authored a book on Hun-Hungarian connections.⁴ While barely a surprise for the contemporary Hungarian audience used to such Asian kinship theories, He's work was unusual in its being published in Shanghai, not in Budapest. A short booklet intended for a wider readership was the fruit of "Prof. Asia Ho Dzin-ja's" almost decade-long stay in Europe. An adventurous young Chinese man, He Zhenya dived into the depth of Budapest's Turanist subculture, taught at the University of Budapest, and even contemplated a scholarly expedition to the *Csángós* an ethnic minority group living in Romania that speak an ancient variation of the Hungarian language.

A self-made propagandist of the Kuomintang in the Danubian region, He Zhenya nearly brokered the first Sino-Hungarian Treaty of Amity and Commerce. If ratified, the agreement would have enabled diplomatic relations between the two countries by some fifteen years earlier. It was not He's fault that Admiral Horthy's Hungary joined the Axis Powers to strengthen ties with Japan. Had he succeeded, perhaps instead of the phantasmagoric 1940's intermezzo of "Hungarian-Japanese kinship," today's flourishing Sino-Hungarian relations could have been launched well before the era of socialist Eastern Bloc friendship of Mátyás Rákosi and Mao Zedong.

⁴ He Zhenya (何震亞), 1935.

In this paper, I briefly survey the primary stimuli of cultural diplomacy in interwar Hungary and Republican-Era China, then introduce Paul Komor and Theresia Moll's activities in Shanghai, as well as He Zhenya's in Budapest.

On Interwar Hungarian and Republican Chinese Cultural Diplomacy

Hungarian historian Zsolt Nagy's seminal study characterized interwar Hungarian governments' cultural diplomacy as a "public relations campaign *avant la lettre*."⁵ Its primary goal was to foster a positive image of Hungary abroad. International "image cultivation" was necessary for a country mutilated by the 1920 Peace Treaty of Trianon, leaving it with neither military, economic nor political power but plenty of grievances.

Known by contemporaries as the "Trianon syndrome," revisionism both channeled public opinion in the Horthy regime and dominated the foreign policy agenda of the 1920s-1930s Hungary. From Minister of Culture Kuno von Klebelsberg's educational reforms to the famous and fatal "fixed course" of interwar Hungary's gravitating to the Axis Powers⁶, everything was supposed to serve the recovery of the ancient glory and the lost territories of Greater Hungary.

It was not only Budapest that recognized "the small states' only weapon." Prague, Bucharest, and Belgrade continued fighting the war, only trading frontlines to the battlefields of the international media. Building the networks of cultural institutes (e.g., Collegium Hungaricum), establishing journals published in global languages, reimagining tourism (e.g., Karlovy Vary), as well as producing modern documentary movies and radio broadcasts were all instruments of these rivaling cultural diplomacy campaigns.

While the word *propaganda* started to lose its neutrality mostly due to the Entente Powers' World War One anti-German media campaigns,⁷ it remained widely used in the Hungarian-speaking literature well into the 1930s. Shanghai-resident Paul Komor, for instance, requested advertising brochures on Hungarian tourism and the effects of the Trianon Treaty, referring to them as "propaganda material."

In summary, in a newly independent Hungary torn by revolutions and postwar shock, the ideology of revisionist irredentism as the primary motivating and thematizing force seems apparent.

⁵ NAGY 2017.

⁶ The phrase was coined by historian György Ránki.

⁷ GULLACE 2011.

“Not being understood,” “being misinterpreted,” and the overall PR damages of a negative press were diagnosed as the leading cause for the country’s troubles also on the other side of Eurasia.

Like Central European governments, Republican-era Chinese intellectuals educated in the West proposed a project to fix their country’s international image. Erupted in the patriotic students’ May 4th Movement in 1919, the disillusionment and disappointment brought on by the great powers’ indifference towards China convinced many about the importance of influencing public opinion. Replacing the dethroned Qing dynasty in 1911, the young Republic shaky first steps to prove its commitment to its allies during the Great War seemed to have been in vain.

Dividing up their defeated enemies’ possessions at the Paris peace table, the Entente Allies ruled Germany’s former Shandong colony to China’s rival, the emerging East Asian hegemon Japan. In his study on the Kuomintang government’s image management, Yong Volz shows how many young Republican Chinese intellectuals pointed to “the ignorance of conditions” as the reasons for injustices done to China.⁸ Being graduates of North American and European universities, these young men aimed to show the world what they thought was China’s little-known anticolonial and progressive struggle.

Committed to fighting what Edward Said called “discursive violence,” the Nanjing Decade’s (1927-1937) temporarily consolidated Nationalist government set up the “International Department.” Coordinating the country’s foreign publicity, it enlisted journalists to shape public opinion. While in the West, as Volz notes, such propaganda “feels like the betrayal of democracy and journalism,” Chinese intellectuals regarded their work as a proactive response in a national crisis, a reaction to perceived bias, and criticism of the foreign press coverage of China.

In conclusion of the rudimentary introduction of Hungary’s and China’s cultural diplomacy background, I want to make an observation that pertains to an important similarity between the two cases. When at the beginning of the 20th-century revolutions swept away the Qing and Habsburg dynasties that ruled since premodern times, both countries found themselves in a challenging PR situation. After Versailles, both countries’ intellectuals and political leaders blamed international media for the troubles they found themselves in. Based on the abovementioned diagnosis, it only seemed reasonable the realization that to achieve national goals, the propagation of their own narrative and the winning over of the foreign public opinion will be necessary.

⁸ VOLZ 2011.

Paul Komor and Theresia Moll’s “national image-cultivation” in Shanghai

Having introduced the larger context, we are ready to shift our focus on a couple of hitherto unknown case studies. Neither the Shanghai image-cultivation campaigns of Paul Komor and Theresia Moll nor He Zhenya’s liaising activities in Budapest have been analyzed and evaluated by the relevant scholarly literature. Nevertheless, by being presented to the English-speaking readership, they will not only serve as important contributions to pre-1949 Sino-Hungarian relations but also highlight significant parallels with the present.

A Hungarian businessman and longtime China-resident Paul Komor’s name is memorialized by the descendants of survivors from the 1938-1945 Shanghai Jewish refugee crisis. A virtual no-man’s-land where immigration regulations were rarely enforced, wartime Shanghai became the world’s only safe haven, saving ca. 20,000 European Jews that fled Nazi persecution.⁹ Paul Komor’s earlier efforts assisting the repatriation of World War One prisoners of war from Siberia via China and organizing the local Hungarian community in the 1920s were both “training grounds” for this larger humanitarian undertaking.

Risen to the informal position of the “quasi-consul” of the Shanghai Hungarians by the 1930s, Paul Komor served his fatherland he left behind some fifty years ago in ways other than charity work. A curio-dealer emigrated from Habsburg Austria-Hungary to East Asia, Paul’s father lay the foundations for his family’s economic stability and solid patriotism. Grandson of a rabbi from a Hungarian provincial town, Paul Komor was a beneficiary and epitome of the liberal-conservative, assimilated Jewish Hungarian conserved in emigration. Although Komor studied in Shanghai’s German School, next to British Victorian classics, the masterpieces of Hungarian romanticism populated their family library’s shelves.

As a conservative patriot and a Habsburg loyalist, Paul Komor could not accept the post-World War One dissolution of Greater Hungary. Although the 1920s Sino-Hungarian negotiations broke down, halting Komor’s consular appointment, that did not stop the leader of the local Hungarian community from engaging more in his patriotic duties. During the 1930s, he spread anti-Trianon propaganda received from the Budapest diaspora association “World Congress of Hungarians” in the English-speaking cosmopolitan environment of the Yangtze Delta. Holding “enlightening talks” to illustrious audiences, he explained the consequences of the peace treaties

⁹ VÁMOS 2004.

concluding the Great War. Writing letters to the editors of Shanghai's largest newspapers, Komor rectified what he called "entente propaganda" Hungarian-related reports of the international news agencies.

On the occasions of national holidays, Komor would organize gatherings for the local Hungarian community, inviting his ethnic compatriots regardless of nationality. For ethnic Hungarians of Czechoslovak nationality not to have to confront their Prague-appointed consuls, Komor would typically hold the March 15 commemorations of the 1848 revolution a few days later. The Hungarian Radics Gypsy Band working on a contract with the infamous Joe Farren's nightclub also performed at such national banquets. Much more pious but equally patriotic was the March 1939 Catholic Mass celebrated by a Shanghai Hungarian Jesuit priest on the occasion of Transcarpathia ceding back to Hungary from two decades of Czechoslovak rule.

In contrast to Komor's Trianon-centered Hungarian agenda, Theresia Moll's cultural events opened a broader scope. Born as Terézia Grünfeld in the Upper Hungarian town Szenice (today's Senica, Slovakia), Moll trained as an actress, pianist, and singer in Budapest. Following a short career in Budapest and Prague, she accompanied her ex-prisoner of war-turned physician husband Alexander Renner, who by the 1920s established an exclusive clientele in Shanghai.

Mentioned often in the press as "Mrs. Renner" instead of her Budapest stage name, Moll initially popularized Hungarian playwrights such as Ferenc Molnár and Menyhért Lengyel in the Shanghai German Theatrical Association (*Deutscher Theater Verein*). Conversely, in 1931, she also held Chinese poetry reading in Budapest's progressive literary club *Nyugat*. However, the major turn in Moll's life came in 1929, when she decided to enlist her cultural activities in the service of charity work.

Consisting mostly of Czechoslovak and Austrian nationals, the Danube Countries Women's Association united various ethnicities, including many Hungarians. Bringing together citizens of ex-Austro-Hungarian successor states, the Association soon to be led by Theresia Moll was a unique organization that engaged in representing "Danubian culture" and charity activities. While their husbands were busy cultivating their more narrow national associations, Moll and her fellows introduced a much wider scope of the post-Habsburg region. Contemporary Viennese choreography, pieces of Hungarian classical composers, Czech poetry, and Slovak folk dance all appear in the advertisement published in the Shanghai press.

Interwar Shanghai, just like today, was an important stage for countries of the world to showcase their culture. However, as we have seen, different actors chose different ways to take advantage of this opportunity of cultural diplomacy and image cultivation. While Paul Komor played by the rules of the Horthy-era Hungary's Trianon-centered agenda, Theresia Moll was interested in a pan-Danubian cultural mission.

He Zhenya – Kuomintang soft power and Turanism in Budapest

“Chinese examination in Budapest”; “The first Hungarian-Chinese Grammar Book has been published”; “The koutya [dog; Chinese ‘gou’ 狗, Hungarian ‘kutya’] barks, the nǚ [Chinese ‘nü’ 女] nǚ [woman]; no wonder Budapest is beginning to learn Chinese.”¹⁰

The headlines above are testimonies to the journalistic fascination surrounding He Zhenya in 1930s Budapest. The first Chinese language instructor of the University of Budapest (today's ELTE), the author of the first known Hungarian-Chinese grammar book, and the Turan Society's Chinese course teacher was more than just a mere wandering intellectual.

Applying vogueish ideologic slogans of his time between 1928-1934, He Zhenya, the journalist, academic, and dramaturge, preceded official Sino-Hungarian approaches by some fifteen years. In contrast to the post-1949 Eastern Bloc “socialist fraternity” narrative, He combined Sun Yat-sen's “Three Principles of the People” (*Sanmin Zhuyi* 三民主義) with Hungarian Turanism¹¹ to achieve very tangible economic goals.

During his six years spent in Hungary, He Zhenya found the perfect cultural-ideological sweet spot to construct a positive image of his homeland in a small Central European country. In 1934, back in China, he promoted to the Nanjing government a Treaty of Amity and Commerce with Hungary.

¹⁰ “A „koutyua” ugat, a „nǚ” nǚ — nem csoda, hogy kínaiul kezd tanulni Budapest” 1931; „Kínai vizsga Budapesten” 1932; „Megjelent az első magyar-kínai nyelvtan” 1932.

¹¹ On the history of Hungarian Turanism see ABLONCZY 2016; for a review in English see LACZÓ, 2017.

“The Hungarian government claims that the Hungarians as a people are Asians. Yet, among all the Asian countries, only Japan sent an envoy to Hungary. To recognize kinship relations, there is also a Japanese-Hungarian Society. ¹² The Hungarian people feel that the world treats them unjustly. If China continues to waken small nations in the spirit of the Three Principles of the People, it could prevent Japan from turning Hungary against China.” ¹³

Originally set out to become a teacher, the Hangzhou-born young man never earned his degree at Beijing University. Leaving for Europe perhaps in 1926, He Zhenya appeared first in Paris, then in Stockholm; others claimed that he worked at the Chinese Embassy in Berlin and then in Vienna. The latter itinerary seems to be more plausible as research conducted at the Foreign Ministry Archives in Taiwan revealed He’s close cooperation with the Chinese ambassador in Vienna, who was not accredited in Budapest.

He’s Turanist career was already predicted in 1928, when a cynical journalist of the liberal and anti-government *Pesti Napló* first interviewed him. Indeed, in a 1930 art exhibition under the auspices of Minister of Culture Klebelsberg curated by former Austro-Hungarian prisoner of war-turned Beijing Art Academy director,¹⁴ He Zhenya was glowing next to prominent figures of the contemporary “Eastern opening.” Besides the high-level politicians, diplomats, notable Orientalists, celebrated artists, and illustrious public figures made up the audience of the Chinese envoy in Vienna Tong Deqian 童德乾, who praised the “ancient Sino-Hungarian brotherhood.”

¹⁵

It is unclear how exactly He Zhenya immersed himself so deep in the Hungarian Orientalist subculture. However, it is certain that from 1930 he led the Chinese language course organized by the Turanist Society. Out of thirty-four of his students, including the notable art historian Zoltán Felvinczi-Takács, the majority completed his course; half of them even took the exam. Budapest’s first officially advertised Chinese language course helped He Zhenya to gain the support of the University’s two Asianist professors.

¹² *Ri-Xiong Xiehui* (日匈協會).

¹³ He Zhenya’s petition to the Nanjing government, March 7, 1934, AS IMH DA, „Zhong Xiong (Xiongyali) shangyue (中匈(匈牙利)商约”, 11-06-05-06—01-001.

¹⁴ More on Vojtěch Chytil: ČAPKOVA 2013; PEJČOCHOVÁ 2019.

¹⁵ „A kínai kiállítás megnyitása” 1930; „Ünnepi keretek között nyílt meg a kínai képzőművészeti kiállítás” 1930.

In 1931, two active Turanist professors, the polyglot Turkologist Vilmos Pröhle and the China-traveler geographer Jenő Cholnoky were lobbying at the faculty conferences to appoint He a language instructor. According to Pröhle, “*the Chinese official circles exhibit a special sympathy towards Hungary,*” while Cholnoky argued that “*the instructor is indispensable for scholarly works, to read ancient Chinese script.*”¹⁶ While the ministry did not provide him financial support, He received lodging at the University’s prestigious graduate school Eötvös Collegium. Finally, in 1932, He was appointed as lecturer along with such big names as the young Mongolist and future founder of the institutional Hungarian Sinology Lajos Ligeti and composer and ethnomusicologist Zoltán Kodály.¹⁷

The scope of this study does not allow us to elaborate on He Zhenya’s various activities popularizing China’s culture and its political leadership in the Budapest press, radio broadcasts, as well as in academic and popular talks. Therefore, we can only offer a glimpse of He’s collaboration with Melchior (Menyhért) Lengyel, a playwright often drawing on Eastern themes. It is very probable that Budapest premiere of Lengyel’s play “The Chinese Girl (*A kínai lány*)” played in Berlin by Hollywood’s first Chinese actress Anna May Wong (Huang Liushuang 黃柳霜), went down as a failure thanks to He Zhenya’s overly politicized dramaturgical suggestions. According to the press reviews, the show also attended by Admiral Miklós Horthy, the Regent of Hungary, was only saved by the seasonal subscribers. Apparently, despite celebrity actor Gyula Csontos’ starring, the Hungarian audience was not receptive to the Kuomintang’s nationalist criticism of Chinese warlords.¹⁸

His questionable performance as a dramaturge did not prevent He Zhenya from advancing in his career. In 1932, he was appointed chief correspondent for Central Europe by the Nanjing government. As an official propagandist, He ramped up his activities in Budapest. In 1933, he fostered the establishment of the first Hungarian-Chinese Association (*Zhong Xiong Xiehui 中匈協會*). Bringing together big names of contemporary Hungarian academic, cultural, and public

¹⁶ Jegyzőkönyv a Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem BTK-nak VIII. üléséről 1932.

¹⁷ A Budapesti Királyi Magyar Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem almanachja az 1931-1932. tanévre 1932.

¹⁸ GÁSPÁR 1931.

scenes, the Association declared to cultivate the “traditional Chinese-Hungarian kinship relations,” as well as bilateral academic and economic cooperation.¹⁹

In the 1930s, while animating the imagination of some Hungarian entrepreneurs, in the absence of a bilateral commercial treaty, the Chinese market remained largely out of reach. The Hungarian-Chinese Association gave rise to hopes for those corporations wanting to sell weaponry to the KMT government. After more than a decade of negotiations in Vienna, Berlin, and Prague, Chinese and Hungarian diplomats could not bring the treaty to ratification.²⁰ In the years leading up to World War Two, Nanjing and Budapest found themselves on opposite sides of global alliance systems.

In 1934, He Zhenya left Hungary via the port of Trieste on one of those Italian oceanliners that four years later would carry Jewish refugees Paul Komor would host in Shanghai. He had already been in China when he wrote his abovementioned petition calling the Nanjing government’s attention to the potentials in Hungarian Turanism. We learn from Paul Komor’s correspondence held in the Hungarian National Archives that while in Shanghai, He continued his activities he began in Budapest.

Established during Wang Jingwei’s 汪精衛 collaborationist government in Japanese occupied Shanghai, He Zhenya’s Sino-Hungarian Association had recruited local Hungarians to its membership, including Theresia Moll’s husband, the revered physician Alexander Renner. He’s 1935 booklet “Huns and Hungarians” is still circulating on the Chinese internet, where obscure amateur websites discussing Hun/*Xiongnu*-Hungarian kinship theories use it as a reference. 1930s newspapers from the *Jiangnan* 江南 area mentioned He’s name as a “Chinese diplomat who went to Hungary,” “professor in Budapest,” and “expert of Sino-Hungarian relations.” Once, he was reported to have given a lecture to Suzhou high school students about Hungary, with the famous anarcho-syndicalist-turned collaborator political activist Jiang Kanghu 江亢虎.²¹

¹⁹ He Zhenya, Prof. Asia Ho and [illegible signature], Hungarian-Chinese Association, Budapest to the Nanjing government, „Handelsverbindung zwischen China und Ungarn“, AS IMH DA, „Zhong Xiong (Xiongyali) shangyue”, November 4, 1933, 11-06-05-06-01-001.

²⁰ „Zhong xiong xiehui ji zhong xiong shangwu qiaowu diaocha qingxing wenjian deng (中匈協會及中匈商務僑務調查情形文件)”, AS IMH DA, “Zhong xiong shang yue (中匈商約),” 1933-1937. 11-32-04-00-001.

²¹ Zhongwai wenhua xiehui chuangan. Zhongwai yuwen xiao ji kaixue (中外文化協會創辦。中外語文校即開學) 1935; Zhengwai wenhua xiehui juxing. Shouci li dongshi huiyi (中外文化協會創辦。中外語文校即開學) 1935; He Zhènyà jìnrì yǎnjiǎng. Rúhè zhèn fā zhōngguó mínzú de zìxìn lì (何震亞今日演講。如何振發中國民族的自心力)

Unfortunately, after some 1937 published journal articles written on Central European countries, He Zhenya's name disappears from the records.²² Except for Zsolt Tokaji's hitherto unpublished research on the Hungarian press reception of He Zhenya, no study is known to have dealt with him and his activities. In this paper, I wanted to highlight the trailblazer role this adventurous young man played in the history of Sino-Hungarian relations. His cultural propaganda that combined Hungarian Turanism with the Chinese Three Principles of the People is unique and unprecedented. By learning about He Zhenya, it is possible to trace back post-World War Two Hungarian Sinology's roots by some fifteen years earlier.

Conclusion

In this paper, I showed three methodologically different cultural diplomacy agendas of two countries' three representatives. Paul Komor and Theresia Moll introduced the post-Habsburg Central European region based on their contrasting approaches to nationality. In contrast to Komor's patriotic, Hungary-centered revisionism, Moll displayed a pan-Danubian culture to Shanghai. Finally, it was their charity efforts, not the cultural mission, that left a lasting mark discernible to this day. While Moll's relief work in the women's association has not received much publicity, Paul Komor's life-saving efforts are rightly memorialized worldwide. Komor's mission, albeit not the way he had imagined, did eventually bear fruits. Today, instead of the Trianon Peace Treaty's revision, Komor himself became a pillar of Hungarian cultural diplomacy in China.

He Zhenya, just like Komor, never saw the result of his work. His efforts to bring about an official Sino-Hungarian agreement were seemingly in vain. However, looking at the blooming bilateral relations and the Hungarian Sinology in the post-1949 period, the role He Zhenya played indirectly is undeniable. Recovering the traces of his work at the then newly founded East Asian Institute at the University of Budapest can be the subject of future research. One thing is for sure,

1935; Wu shi tan hu bu (吳市談虎補) 1935; Goutong zhongwaijiao hua zhi. Zhongwai wenhua xiehui zuo chengli. Zhong wai laibin dao hui yanshuo. Xuanju jiang kang hu deng dongshi (溝通中外交化之。中外文化協會昨成立。中外來賓到會演說。選舉江亢虎等董事) 1935; Guo xuehui zhi gongkai yanjiang jiang kang hu zhi jueshi miao lun (國學會之公開演講*江亢虎之絕世妙論) 1935.

²² He Zhenya, jinri zhi Aodaliya Gongheguo (何震亞, 今日之奧大利亞共和國) 1937; He Zhanya, xiongnu yu Xiongyali: Yi xiongnu de lishi (何震亞, 匈奴與匈牙利: 一 匈奴的歷史) 1937; He Zhenya, Ou zhan hou zhi Jiekasilafu xinxing gongheguo (何震亞, 歐戰後之捷克斯拉夫新興共和國) 1937.

despite the obvious ideological differences, He's supreme leader Chiang Kai-shek would be satisfied to see today's strong, sovereign, great power China he fought for all through his life. In He Zhenya, we can see the first cultivator of the positive China-image in Hungary.

Bibliography and Primary Sources

- ABLONCZY, BALÁZS. 2016. *Keletre, magyar! - A magyar turanizmus története*. Budapest: Jaffa Kiadó.
- Budapesti Hírlap*. 1930. "A kínai kiállítás megnyitása." november 23: 20.
- ČAPKOVA, HELENA. 2013. "Collecting Modern Chinese Art in the 1930s The Collection of Vojtěch Chytil and the Architect Bedřich Feuerstein." *Journal of the History of Collections* 1-10.
- GÁSPÁR, JENŐ. 1931. "Beszámoló a Nemzeti Színház idei szezonjáról." *Uj Nemzedék*, június 19: 7.
- GULLACE, NICOLETTA F. 2011. "Allied Propaganda and World War I: Interwar Legacies, Media Studies, and the Politics of War Guilt." *History Compass* 9 (9): 686–700.
- HE ZHENYA (何震亞) 1935. *Xiongnu yu Xiongyali (匈奴與匈牙利)*. Szerk.: Wei Juxian (衛聚賢). Sanghaj: n.y.
- HE ZHENYA (何震亞) 1937. "Jinri zhi Aodaliya Gongheguo (今日之奧大利亞共和國)." *Zhongwai wenhua (中外文化)* 14–20.
- HE ZHENYA (何震亞) 1937. "Xiongnu yu Xiongyali: Xiongnu de lishi (匈奴與匈牙利:— 匈奴的歷史)." *Zhongwai wenhua (中外文化)* 39–40.
- HE ZHENYA (何震亞) 1937. "Ou zhan hou zhi Jiekeshilafu xinxing gongheguo (歐戰後之捷克斯拉夫新興共和國)." *Zhongwai wenhua (中外文化)* 19–27.
1932. "Jegyzőkönyv a Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem BTK-nak VIII. üléséről." *Levéltári iratok, Egyetemi jegyzőkönyvek, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem jegyzőkönyvei, 1889-1974*. Budapest, április 4.
- KOMOR, PAUL. 1930. "Hungary of To-Day." *The Pagoda - Shanghai Rotary Club*, September 25: 2–4.
- KOMOR, PÁL. 1938-1940? "Carroll Alcott-nak, az XMHA sanghaji amerikai rádió szerkesztőjének, Re: 'Undeserved Crack' Taken at Hungary"." *Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár, P975 Magyarok Világszövetsége (1924-1973), I-22 Kína, 1-3., No. ?*.
- KOMOR, PAUL. 1938. "Peace and Its Foundations." *The North - China Daily News*, February 9: 218.
- LACZÓ, FERENC. 2017. "Review of Balázs Ablonczy, Keletre, Magyar! A Magyar Turanizmus Története [To the East, Hungarian! A History of Turanism in Hungary]." *The Hungarian Historical Review* 6, no.1: 250–53.
- Magyarország*. 1931. "A „koutyua” ugat, a „nü“ nő — nem csoda, hogy kínaiul kezd tanulni Budapest." január 31: 2.

- NAGY, ZSOLT. 2017. *Great Expectations and Interwar Realities: Cultural Diplomacy in Horthy's Hungary*. Budapest: Central European University Press.
- Nemzeti Ujság*. 1930. "Ünnepi keretek között nyílt meg a kínai képzőművészeti kiállítás." november 23: 23.
1932. A (...) *Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem almanachja az 1931-1932. tanévre*. Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda.
- PEJČOCHOVÁ, MICHAELA and VERONIKA LOPARAUOVÁ. 2019. *Emissary from the Far East: Vojtěch Chytil and the collecting of modern Chinese painting in interwar Czechoslovakia*. Prague: National Gallery.
- Pesti Hírlap*. 1932. "Megjelent az első magyar-kínai nyelvtan." június 8: 11.
- Pesti Napló*. 1932. "Kínai vizsga Budapesten." április 19: 19.
- Shishi Xinbao* (時事新報, *The China Times*). 1935. "Zhongwai wenhua xiehui chuangan. Zhongwai yuwen xiao ji kaixue (中外文化協會創辦。中外語文校即開學)." June 21: 7.
- Shishi Xinbao* (時事新報, *The China Times*). 1935. "Zhengwai wenhua xiehui juxing. Shouci li dongshi huiyi(中外文化協會舉行。首次理董事會議)." April 23: 6.
- Shishi Xinbao* (時事新報, *The China Times*). 1935. " He Zhenya jinri yanjiang. Ruhe zhen fa zhongguo minzu de zixin li (何震亞今日演講。如何振發中國民族的自信力)." November 17: 9.
- Shishi Xinbao* (時事新報, *The China Times*). 1935. "Goutong zhongwaijiao hua zhi. Zhongwai wenhua xiehui zuo chengli. Zhong wai laibin dao hui yanshuo. Xuanju jiang kang hu deng dongshi (溝通中外交化之。中外文化協會昨成立。中外來賓到會演說。選舉江亢虎等董事)." April 15: 6.
- Suzhou Mingbao* (蘇州明報, *Min Bao Daily News*). 1935. "Wu shi tan hu bu (吳市談虎補)." January 14: 8.
- Suzhou Mingbao* (□ □ □ □, *Min Bao Daily News*). 1935. "Guo xuehui zhi gongkai yanjiang jiang kang hu zhi jueshi miao lun (國學會之公開演講*江亢虎之絕世妙論)." January 11: 7.
- VÁMOS, PÉTER. 2004. "Home Afar: The Life of Central European Jewish Refugees in Shanghai During WWII." *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 1: 55-70.
- VOLZ, YONG Z. 2011. "China's Image Management Abroad, 1920s–1940s: Origin, Justification, and Institutionalization." In *Soft Power in China: Public Diplomacy through Communication*, by JIAN WANG, 157–79. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US.
- "Zhong xiong (Xiongyali) shangyue (中匈(匈牙利)商約)", Guomin zhengfu waijiao bu, Ouzhousi Xiongyali Jingji Hezuo (國民政府外交部, 歐洲司 匈牙利 經濟合作).

Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo (中央研究院近代史研究所) [Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica]. Taipei.

“Zhong xiong shang yue (中匈商約)”, Guomin zhengfu waijiao bu, Guoshiguancang waijiaobu Ouzhousi Xiongyali (國民政府外交部, 國史館藏外交部歐洲司匈牙利). Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo (中央研究院近代史研究所) [Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica]. Taipei.