

CHARLEMAGNE’S ROAD, GOD’S THRESHING FLOOR; COMPREHENDING THE ROLE OF HUNGARY IN THE FIRST CRUSADE

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The violence that occurred in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary at the start of the First Crusade in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary appears in several of the works produced in the outpouring of literature that followed the capture of Jerusalem. Examination of these writings reveals ecclesiastic authors inserting exegesis, exempla, allusion, and affabulation into their retellings. These inclusions countered criticism of those who fled, stressed communal Benedictine values, and crafted an understanding of the events and the new Crusade movement. Study of these depictions of the chaotic events in the semi-Christianized territory on the periphery of the Latin West reveals the development in presentation and reception of the crusade.

Keywords: First Crusade, Kingdom of Hungary, narrative history, Peter the Hermit, Rule of St. Benedict

In their accounts of the First Crusade, monastic authors inserted theological exegesis into their retellings of the outbreak of violence in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary.² The bloodshed in Hungary provided them with the opportunity to counter criticism from those who had fled and to craft an understanding of the events and the new Crusade movement for their audiences.

Since scholarly findings and answers are shaped by questions and aims, the textual constructions of Hungary have gone unnoticed. An aim for a chronology of the First Crusade meant these sources were mined for details. To construct a single comprehensive narrative, these historical texts were sliced together with little comment on the hazards of relying on single witnesses for certain passages.³ A focus on regional and national history has likewise resulted in a cutting-and-pasting of sources, similarly overlooking the inherent structures in which the material was embedded.⁴ Crusader studies, predominantly focused on the historical events, long dismissed offhand the voluminous rewritings by non-participants. Recent studies of disregarded historical narratives have revealed telling omissions and insertions.⁵ Rather than looking for the historical event that is not visible, by viewing such texts as unique entities produced by

individuals with particular aims and orientations, it is possible to eavesdrop on specific voices, interpretations, arguments, anticipate the response of an intended audience, and note the discussion in which they participated. Just as the map is not the territory, the historical text is not the historical event; placing external values and aims onto such sources silences what they had originally intended to do. Approaching these historical sources as literary creations, it is possible to see how the authors provided the events of Hungary with a role in their narratives of the First Crusade.

Context of the First Crusade: The Historical Event

Pope Urban, heeding pleas from Byzantine envoys, pledged military assistance against the Seljuqs. He made clear whom he wished to depart eastwards on the Feast of Assumption (15th August 1096).

We were stimulating the minds of knights to go on this expedition, since they might be able to restrain the savagery of the Muslims by their arms and restore the Christians to their former freedom: we do not want those who have abandoned their world and have vowed themselves to spiritual warfare either to bear arms or to go on this journey; we go so far as to forbid them to do so.⁶

Knights could finance themselves and make use of the recent harvest on route; monks, of whom the eleventh century had witnessed a sizable number of knights repenting to join, had their own higher battles to fight.⁷ Support, however, was broader than Urban intended: in addition to monks who went against the prohibition there were also women and children, the young and old. The lesser nobility (Walter Sans-Avoir, Count Emicho), and minor religious figures (Peter the Hermit, Folkmar, Gottschalk), attempted to lead armies through Hungary before the set date and before the contingent led by Godfrey of Bouillon.

Hungary was relatively new to Christianity.⁸ A century earlier, the ruling elite, though tempted by Byzantine missionaries, opted for Catholicism. Foreign dignitaries and churchmen appeared in town centers. Stringent laws and church councils aimed to Christianize a kingdom that included Jews, Muslims, and the semi-nomadic Pechenegs (whose beliefs varied between paganism, Christianity, and Islam). To assist the new faith, several members of the royal family were canonized. Questions remain as to what extent the country retained a 'pagan' identity and whether such a culture (or memory thereof) was a literary topos or a reflection of reality. For those travelling from the Latin West, Hungary would have appeared noticeably different. The opening of the Roman road system in Hungary for pilgrims, permitting a cheaper – and supposedly safer – route to

Jerusalem than by sea, created an impression in the West of an emerging Christian kingdom increasingly central to Christendom.⁹ The kingdom though relied on non-Christian elements: the monarch employed Pechenegs to convey information from the near-uninhabited borderlands, while the city centers (and the kingdom) were enriched by Jewish and Muslim traders.¹⁰ The kingdom's frontier position with regards to Byzantium and the eastern steppe similarly would have made Hungary appear different to those from the West.

In 1096, success in traveling through the kingdom varied; disputes led to violence, closed borders, battles, and the subsequent returning home of many participants. Scholarship has shown that the earliest force that attempted the journey, led by Peter the Hermit and Walter Sans-Avoir, contained more knights and more structure (and leadership) than the frequent popular labels 'People's Crusade' and 'Peasants' Crusade' would suggest.¹¹ The army that obeyed Urban's commands, led by Godfrey of Bouillon, took the overland route presumably to avoid Italian seaports because he had previously sided against the Church in the Investiture Contest (and possibly participated in the 1084 seizure of Rome). Members of this contingent became significant figures in the First Crusade, particularly Godfrey, the first ruler of the new Kingdom of Jerusalem.¹²

The Texts of the First Crusade: The Historical Sources

The capture of Jerusalem and need to support the fledging territories resulted in an unparalleled outpouring of literature.¹³ An early response to the events in Hungary, the annal entry for 1096 in Bernold of Blaisen's *Chronicon*, is possibly an interpolation following the schemata outlined by later texts (described below).¹⁴ The events, and the crusading movement itself, lacked a specific terminology to categorise it as a crusade in late-eleventh and early-twelfth centuries.¹⁵ The participants themselves appear to have partly used the language, concepts, and rules of pilgrimage – particularly with regards to abstaining from sexual behavior (including marital) – though this vocabulary features in recorded oral retellings at a later stage by participants, evidence of which is fragmented (and often worked into a larger narrative by a monastic author).¹⁶

The earliest texts concerned with the First Crusade are frequently labelled 'eyewitnesses.' The first, and most notable, is the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, completed after victory at Ascalon in 1099. It is not mere reportage, but a conscientious construction by an author – whom scholarship disagrees whether he was a religious clerk or a secular knight (or somewhere in between) – with aims, biases, and narrative constraints.¹⁷ The other texts also labelled 'eyewitness,' having been produced by participants, draw upon versions (or sources) of the anonymous *Gesta*.¹⁸ The label is unhelpful: in addition

to the obvious concern that these participants recorded details they could not have observed, the term ‘underplays the narratological ambition and substantive complexity within the texts.’¹⁹

Another, later, text can also be regarded as an ‘eyewitness.’ The *Historia Ierosolimitana*, by a non-participating monk later given the name Albert of Aachen, has also long been subjected to scholarly neglect. The author, whom ‘various hindrances’ prevented his desire to participate, set about after the return of participants of the successful crusade compiling a history ‘as if I were a companion in the journey, if not with my body then with all my heart and soul.’²⁰ This incorporation of oral history has led to the scholarly assessment ‘[a]lmost as good’ as the aforementioned ‘eyewitness’ reports;²¹ the text however has the potential of revealing changes in aims and interpretations. The original intention, recording the journey to Jerusalem, is reached at the end of the first six books of the work; this section, dated to the start of the twelfth century, may have existed independently of the later expansion of a further six books covering 1099-1119.²² As with the earlier sources discussed, this author’s work, produced in a monastery soon after the events, may usefully be given the label ‘first generation’ to remove any stigma concerning value.²³

The ‘second generation’ consists of Northern French monks rewriting the *Gesta Francorum* from c. 1105 onwards. Armed with well-equipped monastic libraries, these non-participating Benedictines engaged in ‘theological refinement’: inserting into the ‘eyewitness’ account scriptural and monastic exegesis.²⁴ Two such works are Robert the Monk’s *Historia Ierosolimitana*, and Guibert of Nogent’s *Dei Gesta Dei Per Francos*. As with the label ‘eyewitness,’ the qualities of these texts have been overlooked owing to a scholarly assertion that these texts were propaganda exercises intended to win support for the new territories in the east.²⁵ In addition to being unlikely, the interpretation is extremely reductive: rather, the texts were meant to show the deeper meaning of the historical event – beyond what was seen by the eyewitnesses.²⁶ These Latin works, with biblical and classical allusions (and varying degrees of versification) aimed to show the divine hand in human history to other well-educated ecclesiastics. Though countering criticisms of the crusade levelled by those who returned disillusioned, these writings made insertions to emphasise and reiterate Benedictine values, for war ‘was among the most useful tools in the monk’s meditative arsenal, and its language and symbolism were intimately woven into his identity.’²⁷ These authors used the correlation between sexual behavior and defeats in battle to stress to fellow ecclesiastics moral conduct, and, in their depictions of the itinerant Peter the Hermit, uphold the judgments of their *Rule of St. Benedict*, the precepts by which Benedictine monastics abide. Having changed the character of the ‘eyewitness’ source, these texts cannot be mere reserve repositories of fact; they should rather be seen as textual devices by which a community understood itself and attempted to improve itself. These were products of a ‘textual community’ in which these

works, 'often re-performed orally,' '[t]he outside world was looked upon as a universe beyond the revelatory text; it represented a lower level of literacy and by implication of spirituality,'²⁸ Though these retellings of the *Gesta Francorum* shared an exegetical-expanded narrative of the recent capture of Jerusalem, the different choices in biblical allusions show that while they shared the same motivation, they lacked a shared design.²⁹ Each text shows a particular author, and, potentially, a particular audience.

The other texts analysed provide illuminating comparisons with the 'second generation' French Benedictines. One is the aforementioned *Historia Ierosolimitana* (of which the later six books, covering 1099-1119, is likely datable to 1120s-30s), whose later references to the First Crusade shows a change in perception likely shaped by continued involvement in a monastic 'textual community.' The change from boisterous anecdotes and colourful memories to a more restrained account may indicate Albert's liminal position as both a first and generation author writing immediately and then decades later the events.³⁰ Another, surviving in a single manuscript, are additions made by an anonymous author after 1118 to Gilo of Paris' *Historia Vie Hierosolimitane*, itself a versification of Robert the Monk's expansion of the *Gesta Francorum*. The alterations made by a figure labelled the 'Charleville Poet' show a conscientious focusing on the local hero Godfrey of Bouillon (Bouillon being approximately twenty kilometres from Charleville). These additions, likely made by a teacher, include a new opening that includes the events in Hungary, suggest that the incidents were considered so important a feature of the narrative of the First Crusade that its absence required correcting.³¹ These three variants of the First Crusade narrative provide an illuminating contrast to the Benedictine versions.

The following studies do not examine the narratives in strict chronological order. This design emphasises that each account is a self-contained stand-alone work produced with individual intentions by an author contributing to a larger outpouring of literary creations concerned with the First Crusade. Examined together, the sources show that with the placing of Hungary in each text by each author for a particular purpose, the kingdom became an increasingly significant feature in comprehending the crusading enterprise.

Regulating a Hermit while Praising Monks: Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*, the *Rule of St. Benedict*, and the *Gesta Francorum*

The depiction of the route through Hungary in Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana* shows the narrative of the *Gesta Francorum* being reshaped for a monastic audience. Details from the *Rule of St. Benedict* are inserted to reiterate Benedictine values.

The *Gesta Francorum* is brief regarding the attempted journey through Hungary. Owing to having taken another route, the anonymous author seemingly combines the separate forces of Peter the Hermit and Godfrey of Bouillon and does not mention the violence.

The Franks ordered themselves into three armies. One, which entered into Hungary, was led by Peter the Hermit and Duke Godfrey, Baldwin his brother and Baldwin, count of Hainault. These most valiant knights and many others (whose names I do not know) travelled the road which Charlemagne, the heroic king of the Franks, had formerly caused to be built to Constantinople.³²

While factual details are muddled in the account – Walter Sans-Savoir’s force, despite entering Hungary earlier, appears later in anonymous’ narrative, and Peter and Godfrey are incorrectly claimed to be the first to reach Constantinople³³ – the intention of the anonymous author is clear. The inclusion of the Charlemagne association subtly praises the monarch’s descendant, Godfrey, in the minds of the audience familiar with the lineage.

Robert the Monk inserted into the *Gesta Francorum* more knowing allusions. The Benedictine monk, ordered by his abbot ‘to add the beginning which was missing and improve its style for future readers,’ kept many of the details (and errors) of the source while inserting Biblical and theological material to provide his community with a more acceptable reading of the events.³⁴

The itinerant Peter the hermit is depicted differently: he is presented as a hypocritical glutton valued by the laity above the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

At that time there was a man called Peter, a famous hermit, who was held in great esteem by the lay people, and in fact venerated above priests and abbots for his religious observance because he ate neither bread nor meat (though this did not stop him enjoying wine and all other kinds of food whilst seeking a reputation for abstinence in the midst of pleasures).³⁵

Robert, a Benedictine monk residing in a monastery, has included a detail from the *Rule of St. Benedict*. According to the rule of his order, there are four types of monks: two acceptable (cenobites, living in a monastery serving under a rule; anchorites, hermits schooled in a monastery but functioning alone), two condemnable (sarabaites, who having no rule nor experience, go in pairs or threes following their desires and forbidding what they do not want to do; and gyrovagues). The last group, the worst,

spend their whole lives lodging in different regions and different monasteries three or four days at a time, always wandering and never

stable, serving their own wills and the lure of gluttony, worse than sarabaites in every way. It is better to be kept silent than to discuss the utterly wretched monastic ways of all these people.³⁶

Robert's insertion reveals an official monk pouring scorn on a figure the Benedictine Rule would categorise as a dangerous inferior. For an author and audience whose lives were regulated by the *Rule of St. Benedict*, this detail would act as a confirmation of their values.

Godfrey is likewise provided with more details. After noting that Peter had gathered 'a not insignificant force' that 'set off via Hungary,' Robert presents the two joining forces. Robert clarifies to his French audience that Godfrey was of French stock (being the son of Eustache of Boulogne), and presents him as a hero in a *chanson* with a telling slant.

Godfrey was handsome, of lordly bearing, eloquent, of distinguished character, and so moderate with his soldiers as to give the impression of being a monk rather than a soldier. However, when he realised that the enemy was at hand and battle was imminent, his courage became abundantly evident and like a roaring lion he feared the attack of no man. What breastplate or shield could withstand the thrust of his sword?³⁷

The obedience and discipline of a soldier was an apt metaphor for the rigid life of a monk; crusaders, regarded as lay pilgrims that temporarily took monastic vows and habits, likewise had allegorical connotations for a monastery. Some in Robert's ecclesiastical audience would have left behind a background in warfare for the religious life; others would nostalgically remember boyish ambitions to imitate the deeds of knights in *chanson*. Robert uses the detail to paradoxically remind them that Godfrey is only a knight, not a monk; as with the criticism of Peter, this insertion reiterates to an audience the values to which they adhere.

While Robert's reworking provides no new information about the historical journey through Hungary, the insertions reveal a Benedictine monk creating a deliberate contrast between Peter and Godfrey to explain their different outcomes. Peter's hypocrisy sets him up for a fall; Godfrey's monastic characteristics explain his success.

All this is done using the *Rule of St. Benedict*, a text that Robert's audience would have known and mentally assimilated. Hearing the details of the *Historia Iherosolimitana* passage regarding Hungary, Robert's audiences would have heard a didactic history lesson confirming to them the values and rules of their order.

**Dealing with Defeat, Explaining Victory: Bernold of Blaisen's *Chronicon*
and Guilbert of Nogent's *Gesta Dei Per Francos***

The entry for 1096 in Bernold of Blaisen's *Chronicon* shows usage of Old Testament motifs to explain the failed journeys through Hungary. Written after the successful capture of Jerusalem, the Guibert of Nogent's *Gesta Dei Per Francos* employs the same conception to explain why some failed and some succeeded. As with Robert the Monk, the two authors, both Benedictines, use the values of their order to emphasise its standards.

The entry for 1096 in the Benedictine annalist Bernold of Blaisen's *Chronicon* includes a seemingly contemporary record of the failed journeys across the land. Bernold noted 'an innumerable multitude of poor people leapt at that journey too-simple-mindedly, and they neither knew nor were able in any way to prepare themselves for such danger.'³⁸ As modern scholarship has shown that this early force was wealthier and better organised than claimed,³⁹ Bernold constructed a reason for the defeat from his distant monastery.

It was not surprising that they could not complete the proposed journey to Jerusalem because they did not begin that journey with such humility and piety as they ought. For they had very many apostates in their company who had cast off their monastic habits and intended to fight. But they were not afraid to have with them innumerable women who had criminally changed their natural clothing to masculine clothing with whom they committed fornication, by doing which they offended God remarkably just as had also the people of Israel in former times and therefore at lengthy, after many labours, dangers and death, since they were not permitted to enter Hungary they began to return home with great sadness having achieved nothing.⁴⁰

The motif of a lawless mob fitted with the monastic condemnation of life outside an order. Monks abandoning their habits, women dressing as men, sexual misbehavior, and such, is regarded through the Old Testament theme of defeat in battle as divine condemnation.⁴¹ The chronicle format, designed to reveal the workings of God in history, here also upholds Urban's prohibition of the clergy amongst general monastic disdain for the outside world.

Guibert of Nogent's *Gesta Dei Per Francos* used such events for a new purpose following the capture of Jerusalem. With the advantage of hindsight, Guibert's text contrasts the failure of Peter's forces in Hungary with those of led by Godfrey; the events are presented as a premonition of the enterprise as a whole. The text is designed for performance: the message of the biblical quotation use to describe the misplaced zealotry of the early participants is reinforced by the claim that the children of the poor, heading to the Holy Land, enquired at each city and each castle whether they had reached Jerusalem.⁴² This mode of tell-

ing reflects the literate elite, believing themselves chosen, distancing themselves from the uneducated masses deemed wayward; the claim that, unlike themselves, the poor cannot recognise 'true' signs because of their lack of knowledge does not need to be spelt out, for Guibert and his audience would share such an assumption. The retelling would have such a notion reconfirmed.

Guibert's depiction of Peter is one such example of the narrative being crafted to fit the attitudes he shared with his audience. In a pointed insertion, Guibert makes it clear who are the real figures of authority in the journey to Jerusalem.

While the leaders, who needed to spend large sums of money for their great retinues, were preparing like careful administrators, the common people, poor in resources, but copious in number, attached themselves to a certain Peter the Hermit, and they obeyed him as though he were the leader, as long as the matter remained within our own borders.⁴³

The last four words are a knowing wink concerning what will follow. The repeated stating of uncertainty knowingly cast aspersions on Peter, providing 'a polished sneer from a Benedictine monk to an itinerant preacher'⁴⁴ that insinuates the common folk follow Peter because of their ignorance.

If I am not mistaken, he was born in Amiens, and, it is said, led a solitary life in the habit of a monk in I do not know what part of upper Gaul, then moved on, I don't know why, and we saw him wander through cities and towns, spreading his teaching, surrounded by so many people, given so many gifts, and acclaimed for such great piety, that I don't ever remember anyone equally honoured.⁴⁵

The focus on Peter's uncertain origins and location (indicative of a gyrovague), and the condemnation of his followers for introducing novelty, are likely allusions to the *Rule of St. Benedict*. An audience that lived by the rule would note such offences along with the pointed description of Peter's appearance, actions, and assumed holiness.

Whatever he did or said seemed like something almost divine. Even the hairs of his mule were torn out as though they were relics, which we report not as truth, but as a novelty loved by the common people. Outdoors he wore a woolen tunic, which reached to his ankles, and above it a hood; he wore a cloak to cover his upper body, and a bit of his arms, but his feet were bare. He drank wine and ate fish, but he scarcely ever ate bread. This man, partly because of his reputation, partly because of his preaching, had assembled a very large army, and decided to set out through the land of the Hungarians.⁴⁶

The earlier statement, ‘within our own borders,’ therefore is an ironic nod that positions Hungary as the location of Peter’s downfall.

Hungary in *Dei Gesta Per Francos* is presented as a bounteous land in which Peter’s followers run amok and fail with their enterprise.

The restless common people discovered that this area produced unusually abundant food, and they went wild with excess in response to the gentleness of the inhabitants. When they saw the grain that had been piled up for several years, as is the custom in that land, like towers in the fields, which we are accustomed to call “metas” in every-day language, and although supplies of various meats and other foods were abundant in this land, not content with the natives’ decency, in a kind of remarkable madness, these intruders began to crush them.⁴⁷

While the terminology and description of granaries may provide glimpses into the structure of late eleventh century Hungarian society, the details are included to criticise the misdirected followers of a gyrovage. Likewise, the Hungarians are depicted as devout Christians to stress the violence of the visitors who, like those in Bernold’s *Chronicon*, commit crimes that go against the natural order.

While the Hungarians, as Christians to Christians, had generously offered everything for sale, our men wilfully and wantonly ignored their hospitality and generosity, arbitrarily waging war against them, assuming that they would not resist, but would remain entirely peaceful. In an accursed rage they burned the public granaries we spoke of, raped virgins, dishonored many marriage beds by carrying off many women, and tore out or burned the beards of their hosts. None of them now thought of buying what he needed, but instead each man strove for what he could get by theft and murder, boasting with amazing impudence that he would easily do the same against the Turks.⁴⁸

Pointedly, Peter’s followers are depicted behaving like the Muslims they had intended to fight;⁴⁹ the ironic, knowing tone of the narration implies such a combat would not occur. Their engagement against fellow Christians, presented as inevitable, becomes an exemplum delivered with derision.

On their way they came to a castle that they could not avoid passing through. It was sited so that the path allowed no divergence to the right or left. With their usual insolence they moved to besiege it, but when they had almost captured it, suddenly, for a reason that is no concern of mine, they were overwhelmed; some died by sword, others were drowned in the river, others, without any money, in abject poverty, deeply ashamed, returned to France. And because this place was called Moisson, and when they returned they said that they had been as far as Moisson, they were greeted with great laughter everywhere.⁵⁰

The coincidental bilingual homonym of the city Moson (Wieselburg), close to the western border of Hungary, and the French word for 'harvest' is used to ridicule Peter and his followers. Hungary provides the monastic author with a punchline at the expense of those deemed misguided.

Like Robert, Guibert used Hungary to stress the difference between Peter and Godfrey. The narrative, after stressing how 'Peter's group in no way helped the others,' returns 'to the men we have passed over, who followed the same path that Peter did, but in a far more restrained and fortunate way.'⁵¹ To deliberately contrast Peter's itinerancy and vague origins, the lineage and nobility of the leaders is emphasised.

Duke Godfrey, the son of Count Eustace of Boulogne, had two brothers: Baldwin, who ruled Edessa, and succeeded his brother as King of Jerusalem, and who still rules there; and Eustace, who rules in the country he inherited from his father.⁵²

Praising Godfrey's mother for her 'profound religious belief,' Guibert announces her son had previously informed her he wished to go to Jerusalem not simply (like a pilgrim) like others 'but forcefully, with a large army, if he could raise one.'⁵³ This inclusion turns Godfrey into a key figure in the enterprise, and presents the eventual success of the family in the Holy Land as divinely inspired and proof of the qualities of the social order. In contrast to Peter's troops,

With the splendid knightly ceremony and spectacle, the band of powerful young men entered the land of the Hungarians, in possession of what Peter was unable to obtain: control over his army.⁵⁴

The contrasting experience of the two armies is presented by Guibert as an explanation one met defeat while the others achieved victory.

The manner of criticism, present in Bernold of Blaisen's *Chronicon*, that read defeat as divine punishment for sin, was a familiar feature of monastic literature. Guibert of Nogent's *Gesta Dei Per Francos*, expanding like his fellow Benedictine Robert the Monk the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, incorporated such motifs in his depiction of the violence in Hungary to emphasise the differences between the Peter and Godfrey, and, like his fellow Benedictine, to view in contemporary history proof of the Benedictine Rule. The events in Hungary, presented by Guibert as an *exemplum* of crusading as a whole, reveals the confines and perspectives of a monastery.

**Additional details, different perspective: Albert of Aachen's
*Historia Ierosolimitana***

Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana* has long been used by historians to fill in details of the failed attempts through Hungary lacking from the versions discussed earlier, often with little thought to his original intention. In the first book of his *Historia*, Albert presents the difficult journeys of Walter Sansavoit and Peter the Hermit, and the failed attempts of Gottschalk and Folkmar; in the second, the success of Godfrey of Bouillon; in the fourth, a reference to the events in Hungary provides a shorter interpretation of the occurrence. Owing to the size of the *Historia*, the account will be dealt with more succinctly than the previous versions.

After recording, contrary to other accounts, Peter as the instigator of the whole enterprise, Albert presents Walter, 'an outstanding warrior' entering 'the kingdom of Hungary with a great fellowship of Frankish footsoldiers and only eight knights who were starting on the journey to Jerusalem in response to the urging of the said Peter the Hermit.'⁵⁵ At the point Albert introduces the sympathetic ruler of Hungary, Coloman, 'the very Christian king of the Hungarians,' the important issue of granting the right to travel and licences for food is first introduced.⁵⁶ After being provided with such grants, problems occur when Walter's forces reach 'Maleville' (lit. 'bad city,' likely Zemun) on Hungary's eastern border: sixteen men, attempting to buy arms after the rest had crossed the river Morava, are robbed by 'certain Hungarians with evil minds.'⁵⁷ This event has possibly been shaped into an exemplum – either by Albert or his source – as is fittingly parallels a later even when a group, following unsuccessful dealings with Bulgar officials, separated from the rest of the army are burnt alive in a chapel.⁵⁸ The two events stress the need for diplomacy and unity.

Albert presents sympathetically the same elements occurring to Peter the Hermit's contingent.⁵⁹ His forces, assembled from numerous kingdoms, pitch their tents 'in front of the gates of Sopron' prior to negotiating transport with the Hungarian monarch. While reiterating the kindness of Coloman, the narration includes the condition that the travellers are permitted if they do not plunder, and procure goods 'without brawling and dispute':⁶⁰ a warning of things to come. They travel peacefully – tellingly – 'without disturbance as far as' Zemun.⁶¹ When the audience of Albert's text hears that a rumour has spread among Peter's group as they reach the border that Guz, a count of Zemun and a Hungarian noble, has plotted with Duke Nichita, prince of the Bulgars and ruler of Belgrade, violence is expected. The shadowy Nichita, subject to scholarly debate as to his identity and role,⁶² has a clear role in the *Historia*: troubled by the rumour Peter misinterprets the earthly objects (the goods of his robbed predecessors hung on the ramparts) at the expense of the divine purpose (Jerusalem), and misdirects his

followers into battle. Unlike the French Benedictines who mock, Albert praises: employing standard motifs of fighting and panegyrics, the *Historia* also emphasises via the losses, '[a]bout four thousand Hungarians [...] as few as a hundred of the pilgrims,' divine support for Peter's followers.⁶³ Support however is fleeting: digressing from their goal, loitering at Zemun, a messenger (like Nichita, unverifiable: 'from a town of people unknown to the Franks') spurs them onwards by stating Coloman seeks revenge.⁶⁴ A difficult crossing of the river Sava while under attack provides another *exemplum*: men from different nations, obeying a 'sworn promise of obedience,' rescue their Frankish brother and reiterate the importance of unity and a shared aim.⁶⁵

The third force, led by Gottschalk, is presented differently. A German priest, inspired by Peter, led 'over fifteen thousand' with 'as many knights as common foot soldiers,' brought 'with honour' to the gates of Moson, are granted licences to trade 'lest a dispute arise from such a large army.'⁶⁶ Having forewarned his audience of the outcome, while narrating the idleness of Gottschalk's forces Albert both praises some of the group ('bold race') while condemning them ('foolishly drank too much'), possibly to placate while chiding veterans who returned.⁶⁷ Noting they 'committed several crimes, all of which we cannot report, like a people foolish in their boorish habits, unruly and wild' – but not omitting to mention a stake driven through a young Hungarian's genitals – the *Historia* notes the Hungarian monarch desired 'the whole of Hungary to stir into battle in vengeance and not one of the pilgrims was to be spared because they had carried out this vile deed.'⁶⁸ Perhaps to continue the previous image of Coloman and Hungary as devoutly Christian, the monarch is not named and the confrontation is located at a St. Martin's oratory in the center of Belgrade (not the Benedictine abbey at Pannonhalma, dedicated to the Pannonian St. Martin).⁶⁹ There, Gottschalk's army acts in 'good faith,' believing the promise they would find favour by surrendering their arms and money, and are promptly slaughtered by the Hungarians ('professed Christians').⁷⁰ A modern view, that 'only a cohesive group would actually have surrendered this way,'⁷¹ does not match the previous description of Gottschalk's army as unruly. The muddling of details, emphasising saintliness, doubting the Christian faith of the Hungarians (while not slandering Coloman by using his name), and labelling the massacre by a Christian army a martyrdom reveals authorial intention. In doing this, the *Historia* presents the followers of good faith, while reproaching them for forfeiting their funds that would have financed their journey to Jerusalem.

The lessons of the previous three attempts are repeated in the presentation of the final force. In contrast to the earlier forces, that are led by a leader that the text names, the final unsuccessful group is presented as a leaderless mob. Sexual misbehavior, made possible by such an enterprise, is condemned by Albert in a manner akin to Bernold of Blaisen (albeit without the complaint of monks dressed

in normal clothes – likely due to Albert’s own expressed desire to participate), before a ‘vacillating statement’ of the author’s attitude towards the pogroms carried out by such armies in Central Europe.⁷² This seemingly-equivocal statement by Albert is likely a rhetorical ploy to focus his audience on the opportunism the ‘intolerabilis’ men and women, including Count Emicho, who ‘continued the journey to Jerusalem with a large amount of booty, going in the direction of the kingdom of Hungary.’⁷³ With passage through Mosony prevented by Coloman having closed the bridge and gate of the fortress, the narrative of the *Historia* presents Emicho’s forces besieging the city as inevitable. As with the depiction of Gottschalk’s forces, Albert’s presentation vacillates: on one hand noting the brave Hungarian defenders, on the other, presenting the killing of a notable Hungarian figure in a manner reminiscent of a *chanson de geste*.⁷⁴ The *Historia* presents victory as being so close that Coloman’s forces were preparing to flee to Russia: a detail Emicho’s forces were unlikely to have known (or subsequently discovered and passed on to Albert). Once again, though the small engagements are successful, such deeds are a distraction from Jerusalem. With Emicho fleeing as his army ‘scattered and alarmed like sheep when attacked by wolves,’⁷⁵ defeat is snatched from the jaws of victory because the leaders are unable to regard the signs and follow them. Misdirection, and bad behavior, led Albert to conclude ‘the hand of God is believed to have been against the pilgrims.’⁷⁶ After this account, Albert reiterates these lessons with a pointed *exemplum* and a rhetorical question: recording ‘another abominable wickedness in this gathering of people on foot,’ that some followed a goose and a she-goat believed to be inspired by the Holy Ghost, the *Historia* noted ‘the rod of his majesty’ was ‘swift and purifying.’⁷⁷ With its accounts of the attempted journeys across the land, the *Historia Ierosolimitana* positions Hungary as God’s divine baton.

In deliberate contrast, the second book of the *Historia* presents the successful journey of Godfrey of Bouillon’s forces as an *exemplum* how it should be done and a chastisement of what came before. Recounting how Godfrey’s contingent stayed near Tulln (on the border with Hungary) to gather information and begin diplomacy, Albert includes a series of documents related to Hungary. Though regarded by scholars as ‘*fictum*’ (meaning literary and non-historical),⁷⁸ this material is significant in the reception of the events. Coloman replies to Godfrey’s query – why a Christian king destroyed a Christian army,⁷⁹ a question that would have lingered among those that survived – with a retelling of the events of the first book of the *Historia*, a mouthpiece for Albert to reiterate to his audience why some armies were successful and others not. With repeated mentions of good will, trust, and good faith, Godfrey and Coloman are presented exemplary; their resolution, concerning how a large foreign force should peacefully travel through a country, reached after diplomacy at Sopron, stresses how Coloman is a Christian monarch and how different Godfrey was to his predecessors. The duke, de-

pictured as concerned for future crusaders (an 'army of pilgrims' – the terminology was in development), appears in the *Historia* as an emerging Christian ruler. The use of his brother, Baldwin, as a hostage (with Godfrey offering to swap places and let his brother lead 'God's army' when his sibling protests) presents the future ruler of Jerusalem advantageously.⁸⁰ With the success of Godfrey's journey across the country presented as evidence of his later success, Hungary – and its ruler – are positioned in Albert's *Historia* as the decider of who and what constitutes a crusader.

This use of Hungary, explaining to those who fled from the earlier failed why they had failed, shows the *Historia* acting as a corrective to criticism of the crusade that emerged from the violence. A rallying speech in book four by a Lombard cleric made at Antioch in 1098 has been seen as evidence that different views existed concerning the motivation of the crusaders.⁸¹ The speech presents a dialogue between a priest and a man dressed as a pilgrim who had asked where the enterprise began. The priest answers that 'different people think different things about this journey,' and that those who went 'for reasons of frivolity' caused 'so many pilgrims [to] have met obstacles in the kingdom of Hungary and in other kingdoms.'⁸² The man responds that the origin was not frivolous but divinely ordained, and he states that those killed on the journey who 'abstained from avarice, theft, adultery, and fornication'⁸³ will be crowned as martyrs in heaven, and reveals himself as St. Ambrose, the noted bishop of Milan. The mention of Hungary, and only Hungary by name, is significant: why, after all the army had endured, would reference be made to such an event? This 'evocation after the fact of an event that took earlier than the point in the story where we are'⁸⁴ is Albert using the Lombard cleric to rally his own audience to the enterprise. Associating the fledging crusaders with pilgrims (and St. Ambrose), identifying the slain as martyrs, Albert repeats his earlier interpretative framework of the attempted journeys through Hungary to answer to an audience likely familiar with criticisms from those returning: though misbehavior was divinely punished, those associated with pilgrims (and St. Ambrose) died not in vain in Hungary but as martyrs. This position taken by Albert may also allude to a contemporary event: the uneventful passage of Lombards (and the then-incumbent bishop of Milan) during the Crusade of 1101 through Hungary, an occurrence that likely saw the same questions about the early setbacks in Hungary.⁸⁵

Schooling the Monastics: the anonymous Charleville poet

The additions by an anonymous hand in a single manuscript of Gilo of Paris's *Historia Via Hierosolitana* are the exception that proves the rule. The expansion of Gilo's *Historia*, itself a metrical rewrite of the *Gesta Francorum*, included a

new opening depicting the events in Hungary omitted by Gilo and his source. Likely writing for a schoolroom rather than a monastery, the additions by the 'Charleville Poet' show how the Benedictine interpretation of the events in Hungary became such an accepted feature of the narrative of the First Crusade that its absence required it to be inserted.⁸⁶

The additions made by the anonymous poet are didactic rather than details. The armies prior to Godfrey are presented as a directionless single force, with Peter and Walter criticized for lacking leadership.⁸⁷ The arrogance of the army, believing themselves worthy of being treated as apostles, believing too quickly they would receive supplies because they were heralds of the gospel, is used by the anonymous poet to explain how the religious adherents, lacking provisions but with crosses sewn on their clothing, resorted to theft in Hungary – entering like citizens, but rapidly becoming hostile.⁸⁸

In presentation and judgment, the Charleville Poet differs from the Benedictines. Depicting the violence as the Hungarians respond to the wild behavior of Peter's followers, classical allusions appear where biblical allusions and divine judgment would be stressed.⁸⁹ Sympathy is shown for those caught in the turmoil, and a less scriptural view of religion appears: the burning of a chapel containing relics (and some followers of Walter) – which Albert places in Bulgaria – is placed by the poet in Hungary, who also asserts the site became a place of miracles and, subsequently, a place of pilgrimage with healing properties.⁹⁰ A failed siege, also misplaced geographically and chronologically, is presented in contrast to the scornful Benedictine authors sympathetically and without doctrinal hostility.⁹¹

Though sympathetic, the additions to Gilo's *Historia* stress a clear didactic message. The Charleville Poet divides the journey through Hungary into two – the first that fails, the second successful – a division emphasized by separating their accounts into different books of the poem, and by the Poet claiming Peter's forces 'almost caused the journey to the Holy Sepulcher to be abandoned,' presenting their behavior as a wound requiring healing.⁹² Godfrey is presented by the poet as the cure, with the events in Hungary emphasizing his abilities in contrast to his predecessors. When confronted after crossing the Danube by fleeing stragglers urging them to turn back, Godfrey rallies his susceptible followers with a stirring speech.⁹³ The exhortation is used by the Charleville Poet to stress an interpretation of the events. Asserting that those who had set out with the right intentions, offered prayers in holy places (like Godfrey), and, following Matthew 5:8, 'did not seek temples of precious treasures, but rather loved holy, pure, and blameless hearts,'⁹⁴ will succeed, the Charleville Poet, via Godfrey, optimistically inverts the Benedictine assertion that misbehavior will result in defeat. The oration, full of rhetorical flourish incorporating Biblical and classical allusions, presents Hungary as the threshing-floor that sifts out the chaff in the breeze that

blows and Godfrey as committed to the militaristic and religious enterprise and capable of succeeding where the earlier group had failed. The passage, showy with erudition, is likely designed for students to grapple with an argument and figure rhetoric via their local hero Godfrey.

In addition to the orations, the message is also stressed in the narrative. Though greater length is given to Godfrey's imagined oration, the brief account of diplomatic dealings with the Hungarians – dealt with at length in Albert's *Historia* – similarly reiterates the Charleville Poet's didactic method. Godfrey displays exemplary behavior, handing his brother over as a hostage, while the Hungarians, following careful scrutinizing of the details, proceed to welcome the army with gifts and celebrations.⁹⁵ Stressing the difference between Peter and Godfrey, the Hungarians likewise behave differently: having previously been violent and destroyed relics, they greet Godfrey's forces with a religious procession with their (unnamed) king kissing religious objects. This becomes the moment the Charleville Poet chooses to record that this land is the birthplace of St. Martin of Tours.⁹⁶ The anonymous expander of Gilo's *Historia* used the events in Hungary to explain the events of the crusade as a whole, concluding the Hungarian section:

They went on from here and progressed on a long march through the areas where the first to go had endured the aforementioned dangers. They learned the value of moderation and good counsel, and the harm caused by rashness and wild frenzy, for those who had been hostile to their predecessors, bringing about their tragic downfall, were now their humble and obedient servants.⁹⁷

Hungary illuminates the crusaders, and the crusaders illuminate Hungary.

Less doctrinal than the French Benedictine versions, less detailed than Albert's *Historia*, the account inserted by the anonymous Charleville Poet presents a sympathetic variant to the monastic rewriters. The claim that the success of such an enterprise is dependent on the actions of armies and their leaders likewise presents Hungary as a divine threshing-floor to explain the early defeats and, subsequently, the values of the enterprise as a whole.

Conclusion: Seeing Historical Text seeing the Historical Event

By viewing the sources as unique texts, a nuanced understanding of how the violence was interpreted by a variety of authors is reached. Literary techniques such as exegesis, exempla, allusion, and affabulation, and the inclusion of considered motifs such as the attributes of gyrovagues, defeat in battle following sexual misbehavior, and Hungary as a threshing-floors, reveal the cultural and religious contexts of these authors and their intended audiences. Whether the intention was

to reassert Benedictine values and place onto the event a religious interpretation or to inspire schoolboys with a local hero, the choices made by the individual authors provide evidence of the historical perceptions of the events in Hungary. Rather than creating a piecemeal narrative by cutting and pasting these sources together, such an approach reveals the deliberate casting of a semi-Christianized territory on the periphery of the Latin West into a microcosm, and exemplum, of the emerging crusade movement.⁹⁸

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Notes

- 1 7/6 Aaly Tokombaev Street, Bishkek, Kyrgyz Republic, 7200600 jamesplumtree@gmail.com
- 2 The following abbreviations are used: *AA* – Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and tr. Susan Edgington (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007); *GF* – *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum: The Deeds of the Franks and the other Persons to Jerusalem*, ed. and tr. Rosalind Hill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979); *GN* – *The Deeds of God through the Franks: A Translation of Guibert of Nogent’s Gesta Dei Per Francos*, tr. Robert Levine (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997); *HVH* – *The Historia vie Hierosolimitane of Gilo of Paris and a second anonymous author*, ed. and tr. C. W. Grocock and J. E. Siberry (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); *RM* – *Robert the Monk’s History of the First Crusade: Historia Iherosolimitana*, tr. Carol Sweetenham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); for sources unavailable in bilingual editions, *RHC Occ* – *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1844-95). Absent from this study is the work of Frutolf and his continuators; it is hoped this will be addressed in a separate study.
- 3 For instance the shared reliance on Albert in Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951-54), 52-55 and 66-74, and Christopher Tyerman, *God’s War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 94-103 and 109.
- 4 *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae*, ed. Ferenc Albin Gombos, 4 vols (Budapest: Szent István Akadémia, 1937-43) is the Hungarian example of this method; the recent reprinting by Nap Kiadó (2005-11), testifies to its usefulness. ‘Szemelvények a korai keresztes hadjáratok történetéhez’, a compilation of extracts mentioning Hungary translated into Hungarian, in *Magyarország és a Keresztes Háborúk: Lovagrendek*

- és Emlékeik*, ed. József Laszlovszky, Judit Majorossy, and József Zsengellér (Mária-besnyő-Gödöllő: Attraktor, 2006), 283-311, shares a similar purpose. Zsolt Hunyadi, 'Hungary and the Second Crusade', *Chronica* 9-10 (2009-2010), 55-65, has recently clarified the 'Sweeney Thesis' proposed in James Ross Sweeney, 'Hungary in the Crusades, 1169-1218', *International History Review* 3 (1981): 467-81.
- 5 *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory*, ed. Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014); Rodney M. Thomson, 'William as Historian of Crusade', in *William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), 178-88; Daniel Roach, 'Orderic Vitalis and the First Crusade', *Journal of Medieval History* 42 (2016): 177-201.
 - 6 'Papsturkunden in Florenz', ed. W. Wiederhold, *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (1901): 306-25 (here 313), tr. Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the idea of crusading* (1983; London: Continuum, 2003), 26.
 - 7 Katherine Allen Smith, *War and the Making of Monastic Culture* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), 39-70.
 - 8 Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims, and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000-c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Nora Berend, 'Hungary, "the Gate of Christendom"', in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. David Abulafia and Nora Berend (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002), 195-215; Nora Berend, József Laszlovszky, and Béla Zsolt Szakács, 'The Kingdom of Hungary', in *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus c. 900-1200*, ed. Nora Berend (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 319-68; Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Europe*, tr. Éva Pálmai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 123-34.
 - 9 *Rodulfus Glaber Opera*, ed. John France, Neithard Bulst, and Paul Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 38-39, 96-97; Attila Györkös, 'La relation de Raoul Glaber sur les premières décennies de l'Etat hongrois', in *The First Millennium of Hungary in Europe*, ed. Klára Papp and János Barta (Debrecen: Debrecen University Press, 2002), 120-26. For earlier pilgrimages taking this route: Richard Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989-1034* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 154-58; Einar Joranson, 'The Great German Pilgrimage of 1064-1065', in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro by his Former Students*, ed. Louis J. Paetow (New York: Crofts, 1928), 3-56.
 - 10 Katalin Szende, 'Traders, 'Court Jews', Town Jews: Changing Roles of Hungary's Jewish Population in the Light of Royal Policy between the Eleventh and Fourteenth Centuries' in *Intricate Interfaith Networks: Quotidian Jewish-Christian Contacts in the Middle Ages*, ed. Ephraim Shoham-Steiner and Gerhard Jaritz (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 93-115 (here 94-97); Enikő Spekner, 'Buda before Buda: Óbuda and Pest as Early Centers', in *Medieval Buda in Context*, ed. Balázs Nagy, Martyn Rady, Katalin Szende, and András Vadas (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 71-91 (here 82).
 - 11 Walter Porges, 'The Clergy, the Poor, and the Non-Combatants on the First Crusade', *Speculum* 21 (1946): 1-23; Conor Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade* (Leiden: Brill, 2008). Regarding Peter's role and capabilities, see E. O. Blake and C.

- Morris, 'A Hermit Goes to War: Peter and the Origins of the First Crusade', *Studies in Church History* 21 (1984): 79-107; Colin Morris, 'Peter the Hermit and the Chroniclers', in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 21-34; Jay Rubenstein, 'How, or How Much, to Reevaluate Peter the Hermit', in *The Medieval Crusade*, ed. Susan J. Ridyard (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), 53-69; Charles R. Glasheen, 'Provisioning Peter the Hermit: from Cologne to Constantinople, 1096', in *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. John Pryor (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 119-129.
- 12 Alan Murray, 'The army of Godfrey of Bouillon, 1096-1099: structure and dynamics of a contingent on the First Crusade', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 70 (1992): 301-29.
 - 13 Susan Edgington, 'The First Crusade: Reviewing the Evidence', in *The First Crusade*, ed. Phillips, 55-77; Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Pilgrims and Crusaders in Western Latin Sources', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 132 (2007): 5-21.
 - 14 *Die Chroniken Bertholds von Reichenau und Bernolds von Konstanz 1054-1100*, ed. Ian S. Robinson (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2003), 527-29.
 - 15 C. J. Tyerman, 'Were There Any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?', *English Historical Review* 110 (1995): 554-77.
 - 16 James A. Brundage, 'Prostitution, Miscegenation and Sexual Purity in the First Crusade', in *Crusade and Settlement: Papers read at the first conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East presented to R. C. Smail*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1985), 57-65; Léan Ní Chléirigh, 'Nova Peregrinatio: The First Crusade as a Pilgrimage in Contemporary Latin Narratives', in *Writing the Early Crusades*, ed. Bull and Kempf, 63-74.
 - 17 Colin Morris, 'The *Gesta Francorum* as Narrative History', *Reading Medieval Studies* 19 (1993): 55-71; Rubenstein, 'What is the *Gesta Francorum*'; Conor Kostick, 'A further discussion on the authorship of the *Gesta Francorum*', *Reading Medieval Studies* 35 (2009): 1-14; Kenneth Baxter Wolf, 'Crusade and narrative: Bohemond and the *Gesta Francorum*', *Journal of Medieval History* 17 (1991): 207-16.
 - 18 For the relationship between *GF* and Raymond of Aguilers' *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, Fulcher of Chartres' *Historia Hierosolymitana*, and Peter Tudebode's *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*: John France, 'The Use of the Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* in the Early Twelfth-Century Sources for the First Crusade', in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusaders and Crusader Societies, 1095-1500*, ed. A. V. Murray (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 29-42, and 'The Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguilers and the *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* of Peter Tudebode: An Analysis of the Textual Relationship between Primary Sources for the First Crusade', in *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. John France and William G. Zajac (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 39-69; Jay Rubenstein, 'What is the *Gesta Francorum*, and who was Peter Tudebode?', *Revue Mabillon* 16 (2005), 179-204.
 - 19 Marcus Bull, 'The Western narratives of the First Crusade', in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, vol. 3, 1050-1200, ed. David Thomas and Alex Mallett (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 15-25 (here 19).

- 20 *AA*, 2-3; the name 'Albert', xxiii.
- 21 Riley-Smith, 'Pilgrims and Crusaders', 15.
- 22 *AA*, xxv.
- 23 Reappraisal of *AA* has been greatly aided by the work of his editor, Edgington.
- 24 Riley-Smith, *First Crusade and the idea of crusading*, 135-152; for criticism of this term, see Jay Rubenstein, 'Miracles and the Crusading Mind: Monastic Meditations on Jerusalem's Conquest', in *Prayer and Thought in Monastic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Benedictia Ward SLG*, ed. Santha Bhattacharji, Rowan Williams, and Dominic Mattos (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 197-210.
- 25 A. C. Krey, 'A neglected passage in the *Gesta* and its bearing on the literature of the First Crusade', in *The Crusades, and other historical essays: presented to Dana C. Munro by his former students*, ed. Louis J. Paetow (New York: F. S. Crofts, 1928), 57-76; Nicholas L. Paul, 'A Warlord's Wisdom: Literacy and Propaganda at the Time of the First Crusade', *Speculum* 85 (2010): 534-66.
- 26 Elizabeth Lapina, "'Nec signis nec testis creditor...': The problem of eyewitnesses in the chronicles of the First Crusade", *Viator* 38 (2007): 117-39.
- 27 Smith, *War and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture*, 3.
- 28 Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 90-91.
- 29 Katherine Allen Smith, 'Glossing the Holy War: Exegetical Constructions of the First Crusade, c.1099-c.1146', *Studies in Medieval Renaissance History*, 3rd series, 10 (2013), 1-39.
- 30 Dating, *AA*, xxv; regarding songs, Susan Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen and the *chanson de geste*', in *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. John France and William G. Zajac (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 23-57; regarding Albert's views throughout the work, see *AA*, xxix.
- 31 Marcus Bull, 'Robert the Monk and his Source(s)', in *Writing the Early Crusades*, ed. Bull and Kempf, 127-39; regarding dating of Charleville-Mézières Bibliothèque Municipale MS 97, *HVH*, xxiv; for other texts in the manuscript indicative of schoolroom use, xxiii.
- 32 *GF*, 2: 'Fecerunt denique Galli tres partes. Vna pars Francorum in Hungariae intrauit regionem, scilicet Petrus Heremita, et dux Godefridus, et Balduinus frater eius, et Balduinus comes de Monte. Isti potentissimi milites et alii plures quos ignoro uenerunt per uiam quam iam dudum Karolus Magnus mirificus rex Franciae aptari fecit usque Constantinopolim.' Other 'eyewitness' accounts omit the passage entirely.
- 33 *GF*, 2 (Peter), 4 ('Guualterius Sinehabere'), 6 (Godfrey); Hugh, I, Count of Vermandois preceded Godfrey in reaching Constantinople
- 34 *RHC Occ* III, 721-23; *RM*, 75-77; aforementioned Constantinople error: *RHC Occ* III, 743; *RM*, 94.
- 35 *RM*, 83; *RHC Occ* III, 731-2: 'Erat in illis diebus quidam, qui heremita exstiterat, nomine Petrus, qui apud illos qui terrena sapiunt magni aestimabatur, et super ipsos praesules et abbates apice religionis efferebatur, eo quod nec pane nec carne vesceba-

- tur, sed tamen vino aliisque cibis omnibus fruebatur et famam abstinentiae in deliciis quaerebat.’
- 36 *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and tr. Bruce L. Venarde (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 16-19: ‘Quartum vero genus est monachorum quod nominatur gyrovagum, qui tota vita sua per diversas provincias ternis aut quaternis diebus per diversorum cellas hospitantur, semper vagi et numquam stabiles et propriis voluntatibus et gulae inlecebris servientes et per omnia deteriores sarabaitis. De quorum omnium horum miserrima conversatione melius est silere quam loqui.’
- 37 *RM*, 84, emended; *RHC Occ* III, 731-2: ‘Hic vultu elegans, statura procerus, dulcis eloquio, moribus egregius, et in tantum militibus lenis, ut magis in se monachum quam militem figuraret. Hic tamen quum hostem sentiebat adesse et imminere praelium, tunc audaci mente concipiebat animum, et, quasi leo frendens, ad nullius pavebat occursum. Et quae lorica vel clypeus sustinere poterat impetum mucronis illius? Hic, cum fratribus suis Eustachio et Balduino et magna manu militum peditumque, per Hungariam iter arripuit, per viam scilicet quam Karolus Magnus, incomparabilis rex Francorum, olim suo exercitui fieri usque Constantinopolim praecepit.’
- 38 Tr. Kostick, *Social Structure*, 283; *Chroniken*, 528: ‘Nimium tamen simpliciter innumerabilis multitudo popularium illud iter arripuerunt, qui nullomodo se ad tale periculum praeparare noverunt vel potuerunt.’
- 39 Porges, ‘The Clergy, the Poor’; Kostick, *Social Structure*.
- 40 Kostick, *Social Structure*, 283; *Chroniken*, 528-29: ‘Non erat autem mirum, quod propositum iter ad Ierosolimam explere non potuerunt, quia non tali humilitate et devotione, ut deberent, illud iter adorsi sunt. Nam et plures apostatas in comitatu suo habuerunt, qui abiecto religionis habitu cum illis militare proposuerunt. Sed et innumerabiles feminas secum habere non timuerunt, quae naturalem habitum in virilem nefarie mutaverunt, cum quibus fornicati sunt. In quo Deum mirabiliter sicut et Israeliticus populus quondam offenderunt. Unde post multos labores, pericula et mortes, tandem, cum Ungariam non permetterentur intrare, domum inacte cum magna tristitia ceperunt repedare.’
- 41 Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading 1095-1274* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 69-108.
- 42 *Rom* 10:2; *GN*, 47; *RHC Occ* IV, 142.
- 43 *GN*, 47; *RHC Occ* IV, 142: ‘Principibus igitur, qui multis expensis, et magnis obsequentium ministeriis indigebant, sua morose ac dispensative tractantibus, tenue illud quidem substantia, sed numero frequentissimum, vulgus Petro cuidam Hermitae cohaesit; eique interim, dum adhuc res intra nos agitur, ac si magistro paruit.’
- 44 Colin Morris, ‘Peter the Hermit and the Chroniclers’, in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 21-34 (here 24).
- 45 *GN*, 47; *RHC Occ* IV, 142: ‘Quem ex urbe, nisi fallor, Ambianensi ortum, in superiori nescio qua Galliarum parte solitariam sub habitu monachico vitam duxisse comperimus; inde digressum, qua nescio intentione, urbes et minicipia praedicationis obtentu circumire vidimus, tantis populorum multitudinibus vallari, tantis muneribus donari, tanto sanctitatis praeconio conclamari, ut neminem meminere simili honore haberi.’

- 46 *GN*, 47-48; *RHC Occ IV*, 142: 'Multa enim fuerat, ex his quae sibi dabantur, dilargitione erga pauperes liberalis; prostitutas mulieres non sine suo munere maritis honestans; in discordibus ubique paces et foedera, mira auctoritate, restituens. Quicquid agebat namque seu loquebatur, quasi quiddam subdivinum videbatur, praesertim quum etiam de ejus mulo pili pro reliquiis raperentur: quod nos non ad veritatem, sed vulgo referimus amanti novitatem. Lanae tunica ad purum, cucullo super, utrisque talaribus, byrro desuper utebatur, brachis minime, nudipes autem; vino alebatur ac pisce, pane vix aut nunquam. Is autem vir, partim opinione, partim suo monitu quum immanem conflasset exercitum, per Hungarorum terram delegit abire.'
- 47 *GN*, 48; *RHC Occ IV*, 142-43: 'Quorum regiones quum earum rerum quae ad alimentum pertinent opulentissimas, idem vulgus indocile repperisset, coeperunt luxuriis enormibus contra indigenarum mansuetudinem debachari. Quum enim plurimorum annorum segetes triticeas, ut in ea terra moris est, in modum turrium per agros stabilitas cernerent, quas nos *metas* vulgariter vocare solemus; quum carniū diversarum aliorumque victualium, quorum illa feracissima tellus est, copiae suppeterent, non contenti humanitate eorum, mira dementia, ipsi alienigenae coeperunt turpiter conculcare gentiles.'
- 48 *GN*, 48; *RHC Occ IV*, 143: 'et quum idem, utpote Christiani Christianis, venalia cuncta gratanter ingererent, illi, libidinis impatientes, piae hospitalitatis ac beneficentiae immemores, bello gratis eos aggrediuntur: dum illos opinantur nihil ausuros contra, ac penitus futuros imbelles. Rabie igitur execranda, publicis quos diximus horreis per eos ingerebatur incendium; puellis eripiebatur violentia illata virginium; dehonestabantur connubia crebris raptibus feminarum; vellebant sive ustulabant suis barbas hospitibus. Nec jam de emendis usui necessariis quicquam tractabatur, sed quisque eorum, prout poterat, rapinis et caedibus nitebatur: sic se acturos mira lascivia contra Turcos libere minabantur.'
- 49 *Gesta Dei Per Francos* included earlier a depiction of a rampaging Muslim horde from the spurious letter from the Greek Emperor to Robert, count of Flanders: *RHC Occ 4*, 131-32; *GN*, 36-37; for the letter, *RM*, 215-22; Einar Joranson, 'The Problem of the Spurious Letter of Emperor Alexius to the Count of Flanders', *American Historical Review* 55 (1950): 811-32.
- 50 *GN*, 48, *RHC Occ 4*, 143: 'Castrum quoddam interea habuere pervium, cujus nullo modo poterant evitare transitum; is enim terrae situs est, ut in modum angiporti nequaquam ad dexteram vel sinistram pateat diverticulum. Ipsum solita insolentia obsidere aggressi sunt, sed quum prope capiendum esset, repente, non curo quo eventu, ita obruti sunt, ut pars gladiis occumberet, partem fluvialis unda submergeret, pars sine ullis stipendiis, immo turpi pauperie, magis autem pudore, in Franciam consumpta rediret. Et quare idem castrum Moissonem vocabant, et reversi ad suos ad Moissonem usque se fuisse dicebant magna omnium irrisione excepti sunt.'
- 51 *GN*, 52; *RHC Occ 4*, 146: 'Nunc itaque ad eos quos omiseramus, qui eadem, qua Petrus praecesserat, subsecuti sunt via, sed longe feliciori modestia, revertamur.'
- 52 *GN*, 52; *RHC Occ 4*, 146-47: 'Dux Godefridus, Eusthacii Boloniensium comitis filius, duos habuit fratres: Balduinum, qui Edisseriae urbi praefuit, et post ipsum fratrem rex effectus Iherosolimae, nunc usque regnat; et Eusthacium, qui paterno comitatu praest.'

- 53 *GN*, 52; *RHC Occ* 4, 147: ‘Dicebat namque se desiderare proficisci Iherosolimam, et hoc non simpliciter, ut alii, sed cum violentia exercitus, si sibi copia suppeteret, magni. Cui, secundum divinum a quop imbuebatur instinctum, mirabilis super hoc postmodum opportunitas arrisit.’
- 54 *GN*, 52-53; *RHC Occ* 4, 147: ‘Cum nobili igitur rerum equestrum pompa et spectabili fortissimorum juvenum frequentia, Hungarorum ingrediuntur terram, habentes tamen eam, quam Petrus tenere non valuit, erga suos milites disciplinam; et duobus ante.’
- 55 *AA*, 8-9: ‘Walterus cognomento Senzauehor miles egregious, cum magna societate Francigenarum peditum, solummodo octo habens equites, ex admonitione predicti Petri Heremite in initio uie Ierusalem intrauit regnum Vngarie.’
- 56 *AA*, 8-9: ‘Vbi cognita et audita illius animi intentione, et causa assumpte uie, a domno Kalamanno rege Christianissimo Vngariorum benigne susceptus est, et pacifice concessus est sibi transitus per uniuersam terram regni sui, et emendi licentia. Hic itaque sine offensione et aliquo aduerso incursu, usque ad Belegrauum ciuitatem Bulgarorum profectus est, transiens Maleuillam, ubi terminantur fines regni Vngariorum.’
- 57 *AA*, 10-11: ‘Vngari uero quidam peruerse mentis’
- 58 *AA*, 10-11.
- 59 The biblical allusion, ‘innumerable as the sand of the sea’ (1 Sam 13:5; 2 Sam 17:11), attached to Peter’s forces is ambivalent given it describes the Israelites that followed Absalom and the Philistines that threaten Paul.
- 60 *AA*, 12-13: ‘sine iurgio et lite’.
- 61 *AA*, 12-13: ‘sic sine turbine usque ad Maleuillam cum omni legione sua profectus est.’
- 62 *AA*, 12-15 renders ‘duce, Nichita nomine, principe Bulgarorum et preside ciuitatis Belgrade’ as ‘duke’ and ‘prince of the Bulgars and ruler of the city of Belgrade’; Nicolae Iorga, *Les Narrateurs de la Première Croisade* (Paris: Gamber, 1928), 21: ‘le commandant byzantine de Belgrade’; John France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 90 a Byzantine governor; Elena Koytcheva, ‘Byzantine-Balkan and Western Titles in the Latin Sources of the First Crusades’, *Revue des Études sud-est Européennes* 43 (2005): 123-132 (here 128-129) noted ‘Duke’ does not fit the Slavic equivalent ‘knjaz’ nor fits into Byzantine hierarchy; Günter Prinzing, ‘Zu Odessos/Varna (im 6. Jh.), Belgrade (1096) und Braničevo (um 1163): Klärung dreier Fragen aus Epigraphik, Prosopographie und Sphragistik’, *Byzantinoslavica* 56 (1995) 219-225 (220-224) argued the epithets – *princeps* and *praeses* – is an attempted translation of *protoproedros*, the ‘first proedros’, the highest dignity; Alexandru Madgearu, *Byzantine Military Organization on the Danube, 10th-12th Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 98-99, noted Nicheta is the namesake of Niketas Karykes, commander of the theme of Sirmium in 1071. The Hungarian Guz has received less scholarly attention.
- 63 *AA*, 16-17: ‘Cecidererunt illic circiter quatuor milia Vngariorum; peregrinorum centum tantum preter uulneratos ibidem occisi sunt.’
- 64 *AA*, 16-17: ‘Transactis abhinc sex diebus, nuncius quidam de uilla aduenarum Francorum Petro celeriter mittitur, qui hanc minarum certam legationem illi indicaret dicens: “Rex Vngarie collecto exercitu uniuersi regni sui in ultione suorum ad uos descensus est, de quibus nec unum quidem certum est ab armis illius euadere. Nam dolor

- occisorum et lamenta regem et uniuersos parentes et amicos illorum commouerunt. Quapropter quantocius fluuium Maroam superantes, uiam uestram hinc maturate.”
- 65 *AA*, 16-19; note the mnemonic repetition of seven.
- 66 *AA*, 44-45: ‘supra quindecim contraxit milia [...]. Ad portam uero Meseburch, et eius presidium gratia regis Kalamanni uenientes, honorifice introducti sunt. Quibus etiam concessa est licentia emendi uite necessaria, et pax utrinque indicta ex precepto regis, ne qua seditio a tanto oriretur exercitu’.
- 67 *AA*, 44-45: ‘gens animosa et ceteri fatui modum potandi excederent’.
- 68 *AA*, 46-47: ‘Cetera plurima flagitia que omnia referre nequimus perpetrarunt, sicut gens rusticano more insula, indisciplinata et indomita. Iuuenem enim quendam Vngarum, ut aiunt qui presentes fuerunt, pro uilissima contentione palo per secreta nature transfixerunt in fori platea. [...]Hac rex infamia inquietatus, omnique domu illius turbata, precepit satellitibus suis se armare, et signo totam Vngariam in ultionem huius facinoris ceterarumque contrumeliarum commoueri, et nulli peregrinorum parcere, eo quod fedam rem perpetrassent.’
- 69 *AA*, 46-47: ‘et in campo Belegraue secus oratorium sancti Martini conglobate sunt’.
- 70 *AA*, 46-49.
- 71 France, *Victory*, 92.
- 72 Benjamin Z. Kedar, ‘Crusade Historians and the Massacres of 1096’, *Jewish History* 12 (1998): 11-31 (here 20).
- 73 *AA*, 52-53: ‘et omnis illa intolerabilis societas uirorum ac mulierum, uiam Ierusalem continuauerunt, tendentes uersus regnum Vngarie ubi transitus regis uia uniuersis peregrinis minime negari solebat’.
- 74 *AA*, 54-55: ‘In hac conflictione Willelmus principem exercitus Vngarorum, et collateralem regis congressus, uirum illustrem et niueis crinibus renitentem, decollauit’.
- 75 *AA*, 56-57; John 10:12.
- 76 *AA*, 56-59: ‘Hic manus Domini contra peregrinos esse creditur, qui nimiis immundiciis et fornicario concubitu in conspectu eius peccauerunt, ex exules Iudeos licet Christo contrarios, pecunie auaricia magis quam pro iusticia Dei graui cede mactauerant, cum iustus iudex Deus sit, et neminem inuitum aut coactum ad iugum fidei Catholice iubeat uenire’. The events in Hungary judge their earlier pogroms.
- 77 *AA*, 58-59: ‘Fuit et aliud scelus desestabile in hac congregatione pedestris populi stulti uesane leuitatis, quod Deo odibile et omnibus fidelibus incredibile esse non dubitatur [...] Sed quid mirum si modernis temporibus huiuscemodi abhominaciones, et tam feda scelera inter aliquas societates tot milium inuenta sunt, que Dominus Deus in caput eorum reddiderit, cum temporibus Moysi et Iosue et ceterorum seruorum Dei in medio iustorum inuenta est iniquitas, et ab eo qui est Deus ultionum uirga sue maiestatis correpta et purificata?’ Note Albert concluding with a rhetorical question.
- 78 *Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima*, ed. Georgius [György] György (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1992), vol. 1, 319-321; the correspondence is also questioned in László Veszprémy, *Lovagilág Magyarországon: Lovagok, keresztesek, hadmérnökök a középkori Magyarországon* (Budapest: Argumentum, 2008), 83.

- 79 Godfrey's comment: *AA*, 62-63: 'Quapropter nunc timore et dubietate concussi, Tollenburch moram facere decreuerunt, donec ex ore regis intelligant, cur tam crudele facinus a Christianis Christianorum presecutoribus commissum sit'; it is unlikely that Albert, or a source, witnessed 'Respondit rex uniuerso cetu suorum audiente', which begins Coloman's reply, 62-65.
- 80 *AA*, 64-71; 66: 'Hiis auditis dux uoluntati regis in omnibus cessit, et obsides quod petebat dare non abnuit, hac tamen conditione, ut ultra peregrinorum exercitus, tam presens quam futurus per terram eius transiret sine aliquo obstaculo, et pacifice mutaret uite necessaria'; 68: 'exercitus Dei'.
- 81 Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'The Motives of the Earliest Crusaders and the Settlement of Latin Palestine, 1095-1100', *English Historical Review* 98 (1983): 721-36 (here 721).
- 82 *AA*, 306-7: 'Diuersi diuersa super hac sentiunt uia. Alii dicunt a Deo et Domino Iesu Christo hanc in omnibus peregrinis suscitatum uoluntatem, alii pro leuitate animi hanc Francigenas primores et plurimum uulgi insistere, er ob hoc in regno Vngarie et aliis in regnis tot peregrinis occurrisse impedimenta, nec ideo intentionem illorum ad effectum posse pertinere.'
- 83 *AA*, 306-9: 'Non leuitate aut gratis huius uie credas fuisse exordium, sed a Deo cui nihil impossibile est dispositum, et procul dubio inter martyres Christi in celi aula noueris eos computatos, ascriptos et feliciter coronatos, quicumque in hac uia morte preoccupati fuerint, qui in nomine Iesu exules facti, puro et integro corde in dilectione Dei perseuerauerint, et se ab auaricia, furto, adulterio, fornicatione continuerint'.
- 84 Gérard Gennete, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*, tr. Jane E. Lewin (New York: Cornell University Press, 1983), 40, defining *analepsis*.
- 85 *AA*, 586-587.
- 86 See footnote 29.
- 87 *HVV*, 24-25, ln 1-14.
- 88 *HVV*, 24-27, ln 15-32.
- 89 *HVV*, 26-29, ln 33-50.
- 90 *HVV*, 28-29, ln 51-78.
- 91 *HVV*, 28-29, ln 79-90
- 92 *HVV*, 42-43, ln 1-8.
- 93 *HVV*, 42-49, ln 9-122; 6-7 ln 71-74, Godfrey had been presented as a key figure of the enterprise, having had the patriarch of Jerusalem petition him directly for support.
- 94 *HVV*, 44-45, ln 67-68: 'Nec pretiosarum gazarum querere templa / Sed pia, sed pura, sed amara innoxia corda.'
- 95 *HVV*, 48-51, ln 123-151.
- 96 *HVV*, 50-51, ln. 152-168.
- 97 *HVV*, 52-53, ln 169-174: 'Hinc pretergressi uestigia longaque mensi, / Per que pertulerant memorata pericula primi, / Discunt quid ualeat moderatio consiliumque, / Contra quid noceat temeraria causa furorque, / Cum modo seruitio sibi sint et subditioni / Qui fuerant illis inhonestae perditioni.'
- 98 Investigation into manuscript variants may reveal more precise information about the reception of events in Hungary.

ON THE INNOCENCE OF HISTORIOGRAPHY: JOHANNES SAMBUCUS' EMBLEM ABOUT THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN GRAMMAR, DIALECTICS, RHETORIC, AND HISTORY

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This paper examines the iconographical origin of Johannes Sambucus' emblem dedicated to Carlo Sigonio, which – according to its title – displays the difference between grammar, dialectics, rhetoric and history. I focus on the central female figure whose innocent nudity represents the truth and whose connection with the ideal historiography standing – balancing together with Dialectics and Rhetoric – on the head of the young virgin Grammar. The special relationship between History and naked truth also defines its symbolic connection with the costumes of the other two figures: Dialectics in rough working clothes and Rhetoric in her long luxury dress. Three symbolic animals also belong to the three female figures: a sphinx to Dialectics, a chimera to Rhetoric and a winged dog to History. Contextual examination of the emblem reveals the possible source of the strange winged dog symbol is Plutarch's short story of Osiris and Isis. In addition, the paper draws attention to an ironic twist of History in connection with Carlo Sigonio that shows that its nudity is not always so innocent.

Keywords: emblem, Sambucus, Sigonio, Plutarch, Osiris, Isis, historiography, winged dog, time, nudity

Johannes Sambucus published in 1564 his emblematic work *Grammaticae, Dialecticae, Rhetoricae, Historiae differentia* (The difference between grammar, dialectics, rhetoric and history),¹ which he dedicated to Carlo Sigonio (1522/1523–1584), a humanist of Modena (Figure 1).² Although a group of female figures worthily symbolizes Sigonius, an illustrious professor of rhetoric, philologist, teacher of Greek, and publisher of historical works, worthy of note is the middle figure – ostentatious with her innocence and honesty but naked – *Historia* and close to her the image of a winged dog. Since I have not encountered either the representation of Historiography naked or the winged

dog related to her prior to the emblem associated with the figure of Sambucus, I hypothesize that they first appeared in his emblem book. Unless Sambucus was endowed with foresight, he did not know that this female figure would, due to a strange coincidence of accidents, call into question the purity of historiography and faith in the purity of history. Below is the poem relating to *Historia*:

Sunt tres praestantes diversa veste puellae, / Nituntur hae puellula ut
 crepidine. / Simplex historia est, lux, custos temporis, atque / Veri parens,
 quae gloriam tribuit bonis. / Gratia non ducit, propriis affectibus obstat:
 / Nil iudicans, alios reliquit iudices. / Ordine simpliciter geritur quod
 narrat ab ovo, / Hanc pone rhetorica est sequens loquacior. / Quae coram
 recitat foecundas iudice lites, / Vestita longo syrmate atque obambulat.
 / Et studet efficto lucrari schemate caussas, / Dum se venustis venditat
 coloribus. / Quod manibus tantum planis, longa et petit hasta: / Premendo
 nil urgens suaviter liget. / Aspera, non habitu sequitur Dialectica culto,
 / Sagaciter verum eruens puteo abditum. / Cominus adgreditur, vitum
 et complexibus arctat, / Nunquam remittere iure de suo volens. / Nam
 pungit, laqueo et captat, ratione regitque, / Trux vinculo illigat potenter
 anxio. / Assimilata fuit variae quoque lumine Phoebi, / His sed parum
 iuvabere absque grammatis. / Illa etenim solidi sunt fundamenta laboris,
 / Grammaticae iners statuet nihil perenniter. / Historia ut canis alatus,
 Rhetorque Chimaera, / Sphynx Logice, tenet has Virgo, columna teres.³



Figure 1:

Grammaticae, Dialecticae, Rhetoricae, Historiae differentia
 (*Emblemata* 1564, 142)

In the following lines of the epigram, Sambucus contrasts *Historia*'s simplicity with the clothes of Rhetoric and Dialectics. At the end of the poem, he adds

three mythical creatures to the female figures: a chimera to Rhetoric, a sphinx to Dialectics, and a winged dog to History. Sambucus clearly connects to the iconographic tradition that depicts Truth as a naked woman.⁴ The word *simplex*, relating to *Historia*, means 'plain, artless, honest, ingenuous';⁵ Sambucus – or the illustrator – emphasizes this simplicity and plainness with nudity that compounds the traditional figure of *Historia* with *Veritas*.⁶ These would be evident for a humanist scholar. Aristotle articulates this sentiment in *Poetics* (1451a36-1452a11), writing that the historiographer tells of events that have happened while the poet tells only those which can happen. Although the figure of *Historia* – who openly reveals facts and sometimes serves actual political intentions – intertwines shamelessly with the traditional figure of *nuda Veritas* and the *veritas simplex* (changed to *historia simplex* by Sambucus), the two figures cannot be allowed to blend with each other, because ultimately – as we will see later – Truth can judge over Historiography but Historiography cannot do this to Truth.

In both the poem and illustration, the clothes of the female figures are central. The nudity of *Historia* reaches its symbolic meaning only when contrasted with the dress of Rhetoric and Dialectics. The coarse weave dress of rough (*aspera*) Dialectics is working clothes worn because of her hard work trying to dig out the truth like hidden water drawn from a well (*puteus*, also appearing in the image).⁷ She forcefully corners and ties up her opponent with the snare (which appears as a dagger in the illustration) and chain of exhausting rational argument.⁸ The body of the female figure is none other than the hidden truth screened behind the coarse veil of logic and rationality. No one wants to win her heart. Dialectics, however, drags away and violates her "victim" who perhaps does not suspect that under the rough, unassuming and sweaty clothes, a more desirable Truth is concealed.

In contrast, Rhetoric wears a *syрма*, the long dress of actors of antique tragedy whose long train – probably a reference to her talkativeness – trails along the ground (though it is not shown in the illustration). Rhetoric tries to sell (*venditat*) herself while walking in front of the listeners in her fashionable and colourful dress. She is the celebrated diva who attracts attention with her elegant and luxurious clothing. Her talkative exterior ingratiates herself with everyone, and with this false illusion, she wants to be loved by all those around her. Although she holds a spear, she does not need any weapon to get what she wants: she gently, almost unnoticed, ties up the listener. As indicated by her inviting, open palm, she obtains everything without violence. In contrast to Dialectics, her "victims" give themselves willingly; none however can know for sure the nature of her real, naked body, the Truth hidden under the rhetorical copiousness of the ornamented and beautiful dress.

Compared to them, *Historia* – that is historiography (and perhaps history as well) – is naked, measuring time with an hourglass and supposedly wanting to show only the naked "truth". With nothing to hide, she stands, simple and honest,

naked in front of her judges. The torch she holds in one hand gives light so that nothing on her body shall be hid. In this manner, she shows her form as Truth. However – as the epigram also states – she leaves the judgement of her body to someone else (*Nil iudicans, alios reliquit iudices*). Ultimately, she leaves the sentence to *Veritas* herself, who reveals all truth after some time. There is a big difference between them: *Historia* would just peek under another's clothes, while *Veritas* would pull their dresses down.

The hourglass of the emblem clearly refers to time. Later, Cesare Ripa – who must have known Sambucus's work also mentions the hourglass among the attributes of *Verità* since, sooner or later a concealed truth will be brought to the surface by time. As a consequence, it was frequently represented together with Cronos. (This is significant in connection with the dedication and interpretation of this emblem.)⁹



Figure 2:

Guillaume de La Perrière, *La morosophie*, 48

Regarding *Historia*, it is worth recalling the figure of Clio, the muse of historiography. While traditionally she does not appear nude, among her attributes can be found a parchment scroll and stylus, as well as the trumpet or the lute by which she trumpets – as Sambucus's *Historia* does too – the reputation of excellent people abroad.¹⁰ The comparison of the Sambucus figure with Clio is not groundless because we encounter a similar image in Martianus Capella's *On the Marriage of*

Philology and Mercury (2.122), in which the muse addresses *Philologia*. However, the author referred to her as rhetor! Sambucus certainly knew of Martianus Capella, and he knew that his educated target audience would understand the reference. Martianus associates Clio with rhetoric: her singings about her rhetorical babble uses the word *syrmate*,¹¹ hardly known in the Latin corpus, that originated from the aforementioned *syрма*. Martianus does not allude to the nudity of Clio.



Figure 3:
Conrad Celtis, *Amores*, vii^r

I have managed to find the figure of the unclothed Clio predating Sambucus's *Emblemata* in only two places. The first is mentioned solely as a matter of curiosity since it is unlikely to concern Sambucus. This is Raffaello's fresco *Parnassus* located in the Apostolic Palace in the Vatican. While Clio is not entirely naked here either, in the chorus of the muses, she is the only one who discloses her bosom. Therefore it does not seem too bold to suggest that we observe in this work the attribute of the nakedness regarding the muse. The other more probable source is Conrad Celtis's 1502 work, the *Amores* (Figure 3).¹² The engraving placed at the beginning of the book depicts the author himself and goddess Philosophia (vii^r). Surrounded by books, the inspired Celtis is shown writing words dictated by Apollo and the muses (*Phoebus et Musis dedicatum*). Also the fountain of inspiration is visible, next to which in reference to Celtis's historiographical works, Thalia and the naked Clio sit plucking a harp and a lute.¹³

The Celtis picture and Sambucus's three symbolic animals are reminiscent of Francesco Gafori's illustration of the Neoplatonic cosmos at the beginning of his *Practica musicae* from 1496 (Figure 4).¹⁴ The two lowermost muses in the row are Clio and Thalia visible under the three-headed serpent. Thalia represents one of the essentials of the created material world: time. The former can be found at the border of the sublunary world, while the latter – connecting to the element of earth – is under the sublunary sphere. Gafori's illustration also pictures the all-devouring time dragon.

This refers to the 5th-century Neoplatonic author Macrobius. An *ekphrasis* can be read in his *Saturnalia* (1.20.13–15) about a statue of the Egyptian god Serapis who lays one of his hands on the three-headed creature next to him that has entwined his own draconic body as a serpent. The middle head of the three-headed creature is that of a lion, the right a dog, the left a wolf, representing according to Macrobius time in its three aspects: the present, the future, and the past respectively. This creature devours time with its three heads.

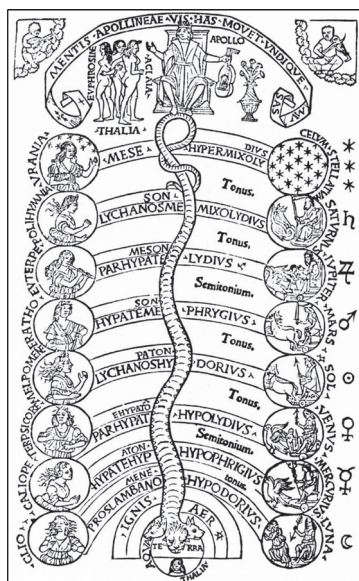


Figure 4:

Franchino Gaffurio, *Practica musicae*, Γi^r

Sambucus' emblem recalls this already commonplace 16th-century image from Macrobius: the dragon of time.¹⁵ Although *historia* has a clear connection with passing time, even with the greatest goodwill, the three figures of the illustration

just refer to the image of Macrobius. According to the lines of Sambucus, the difference is clear: under the figure of *Historia* there is no wolf symbolizing the past, but rather a winged dog (*canis alatus*) that can lead us to time which is closely related to historiography or history. The aforementioned *veritas* and *tempus* link with each other in the figure of the emblem, because time is often represented as an old man or Cronus.¹⁶

Hidden is the connection between the figure of “winged dog” and History. Egyptian mythology depicts the god Anubis with a dog’s head (or, rather, in the figure of the sacred animal that represents him, the dog). The probable source of Sambucus is the short story of Osiris and Isis in Plutarch’s *Moralia* (368E3–F5):¹⁷

When Nephthys gave birth to Anubis, Isis treated the child as if it were her own; for Nephthys is that which is beneath the Earth and invisible, Isis that which is above the earth and visible; and the circle which touches these, called the horizon (ὀρίζων), being common to both, has received the name Anubis, and is represented in form like a dog; for the dog can see with his eyes both by night and by day alike. And among the Egyptians Anubis is thought to possess this faculty, which is similar to that which Hecate is thought to possess among the Greeks, for Anubis is a deity of the lower world (χθόνιος) as well as a god of Olympus (Ὀλύμπιος). Some are of the opinion that Anubis is Cronus (ἐνίοις δὲ δοκεῖ Κρόνος ὁ Ἄνουβις εἶναι).¹⁸ For this reason, inasmuch as he generates all things out of himself and conceives all things within himself (κύων), he has gained the appellation of “Dog” (κυνός).¹⁹ There is, therefore, a certain mystery observed by those who revere Anubis; in ancient times the dog obtained the highest honours in Egypt.²⁰

This interpretation of Anubis is possibly an invention of Sambucus.²¹ By simply replacing Cronus, represented as an old man, with Anubis, represented as a dog, while keeping the wings of Cronus which symbolize the flight of time, the winged Anubis, symbolizing the most important attribute of the nude Historiography – the passage of time – was born. Based on Christophe Plantin’s accomplished edition, the direction that the winged creature faces can also be regarded as deliberate: the animal faces left – the direction of time past.

Sambucus assembled the figure of *Historia* shown in the emblem from the nude Verity, the straight-talking Clio, as well as the winged Cronus and its Orphic version, Anubis, known from Plutarch. Clio is particularly important in order to understand the aspect of *Historia* that wants to grab time because the mother of all muses is Mnemosyne, the goddess of remembrance. As a result, *Historia* (like Conrad Celtis’s Clio) does not just remember, but also reminds us with her own nudity of bare occurred events as she tries to hold, or even guide, the winged dog – that is the all-devouring time – on a leash. Consequently, the memory of Historiography – while it places the occurred events of the past as truth for us – often

remakes and reconstructs them, hiding them in carnival costumes and pretending that they are naked.

In this regard, it is worth noting the perhaps intentional expression *veri parens* in Sambucus's poem. According to this phrase, *Historia* can be interpreted as the 'author of truth' or even the 'inventor, fabricator of that'. Based on the text, all three female figures are balancing on the back of the virginal and innocent Grammar. With Sambucus highlighting the virginity of Grammar (*tenet has Virgo*), he also deprives the other three figures of this status. So even then the all-revealing, judicial and simple *Historia* is not a virgin! Although she honestly shows everything, and we get what we see, she – as we can read – does not give herself to anybody, so she is untouched; however, if she does not give herself to anybody, then why she is not a virgin? Could it be that this is only the pretence of untouched chasteness? Who can tell this just by looking at her? It is as if we had entered a reverse of Andersen's tale in which the nudity of the emperor is seen by everybody as only a skilfully sewed masquerade.

History itself also had words for Sambucus's emblem by showing with an ironic twist that the nudity of *Historia* was not so innocent. Sambucus dedicated his emblem to a humanist predominantly known as a historiographer and a reputable publisher of ancient historical texts. Sambucus could not have known that around two decades after the publication of the edition Sigonio would be embroiled in one of the greatest forgery scandals of the age. He was accused of writing Cicero's *De consolatione*, believed lost until the *editio princeps* was published in 1583.²² Sigonio claimed this was the original work of Cicero, denying any accusation of forgery throughout his life. Contemporaries doubted the authenticity and origin of the text; at present, it is widely considered to be a forgery – though what role Sigonio played in producing the text is unresolved.²³

Sambucus could not have foreseen that Sigonio, as the "keeper of time" (*custos temporis*), would bring to light something that perhaps had never existed before. Because of the charge of forgery, *nuda historia* clashed against *nuda veritas*. In creating or rewriting one episode of history, Carlo Sigonio lost his innocence. Due to the dedication of the emblem, he dragged down with him the nude *Historia* anxious to preserve her own honour. Though nudity can – at least with the pretence of cleanliness – dress up anybody, it seems that we cannot confirm whether the participants of this carnival are really nude or whether their apparent nudity is just the garb of a carnival costumes.

Notes

- 1 Ioannes Sambucus, *Emblemata* (Antwerpen, Ch. Plantin, 1564), 142–143.
- 2 William McCuaig, *Carlo Sigonio: the changing world of the late Renaissance* (Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, 1989).

- 3 “Here are three outstanding girls with different clothes, and these stand on a little girl as a base. History is plain, a light, guard of time, and mother of truth – she grants glory to the virtuous. Favour [sc. Partiality] does not lead her; she resists her own emotions; judging nothing, she leaves others to be the judge. What she tells from the beginning is openly presented. Following her from behind is the more talkative Rhetoric. And she delivers abundant lawcases in front of the judge, and walks about, dressed in a long syrma-robe. And she applies herself to gain her causes with a fashioned manner, while she tries to sell herself with charming colours [appearances]. She even approaches with a long spear what she could be done with open hands; she can bind up without pressing anything, pushing in an agreeable way. Dialectic follows, in a rough, unrefined style of dress perceptively digging out the truth that is hidden in a well. She approaches at close quarters, and binds the defeated with encirclings and never wants to let go of her law. For she jabs, catches with a snare, and rules through reason; with a meticulous chain the harsh lady forcefully ties up. She also was variously likened to the brightness of Apollo, but without grammar you will find insufficient help from these ladies. Those are the foundations of solid work, but when it lacks grammar, nothing will stand forever. History is like a winged dog, the Orator like a chimaera, Logic a sphinx, the virgin (girl) who holds them is like a rounded pillar.” <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/emblem.php?id=FSAb100>
- 4 For example, the female figure of Truth under the title *Fidei symbolum* is nude in Andrea Alciati’s emblem book, and the symbols of truth are also nude (*ignuda*) in Ripa’s *Iconologia*: Andrea Alciati, *Emblematum liber* (Augsburg, H. Steyner, 1531), E7; Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Rome, Heredi di Gio. Gigliotti, 1593), 284–286.
- 5 See the dedication of Sambucus’ edition of Bonfini to Maximilian II in 1568, where he summarizes his conception of “historia pura et vera”, especially its comparison with rhetoric, and – instead of dialectics – poetry: “Quare poeta semper imitator; pugna orator et argumentosus; historicus simplex, planus, certus, tutus, utilis, nihil ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος accersens”. *Humanistes du bassin des Carpates: II. Johannes Sambucus*, eds. Gábor Almási, Farkas Gábor Kiss (Turnhout, Brepols, 2014), 102–109.
- 6 The question arises how much influence Sambucus had on the finished illustration. In the summer of 1563 he commissioned the design of the drawings of his *Emblemata* from the popular Flemish poet and portraitist Lucas de Heere. Sambucus probably met him personally in Gent and in the first stage was likely able to supervise the engravings. For some reason however, Sambucus gave the printing privilege to Plantin in 1564 and was not subsequently involved in the work. Heere – supposedly with the contribution of Sambucus – made 168 illustrations, of which Plantin had 80 redrawn by Pieter Huys and Geoffroy Ballin. It cannot be known which of these were redrawn and to what extent. Arnoud S. Q. Visser, *Joannes Sambucus and the Learned Image: the Use of the Emblem in Late-Renaissance Humanism* (Leiden, Boston, Brill, 2005), XXV–XXX, 62–83, 225–228. In this regard, it is worth mentioning Valeriano’s *Hieroglyphica* surely known by Sambucus – which used the word *simplex* to describe the nude *Veritas*. Pierio Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* (Basel, [M. Isengrin], 1556), 326^v.
- 7 See e. g. La Perrière’s emblem no. 48 (Figure 2), where Truth, hidden in the well, is not found by her father, and the winged Time that reaps everything: Guillaume de La Perrière, *La morosophie* (Lyon, M. Bonhomme, 1553), 48.
- 8 The word *sphinx* also calls up the chain of Dialectics as it is derived from the Greek verb σφίγγω that means to “bind tight, hold together, press”. In the same manner, Dialectics strangles with its logical and rational arguments and debate skills. In addition, according to one version of its mythological stories, the sphinx also received her riddles from the muses (see below Clio). Károly Kerényi, *Görög mitológia* (Budapest, Gondolat, 1977), 248–249.
- 9 See the aforementioned emblem of La Perrière, as well as Annibale Caracci’s 1585 painting on the allegory of truth and time (London, Windsor Castle, Royal Collection), where the naked

- Truth – while resting against the winged old Time – stamps on a dressed woman. Another interesting painting is Samuel van Hoogstraten’s *The triumph of Truth* (Finspång Castle, Sweden) in which the winged time as Cupid emerges from behind the drapery. He appears by the shoulders of the nude Truth whilst a richly clothed figure – with a mask on his belt – flees out of the framed picture.
- 10 See Cesare Ripa, where Clio holds a trumpet in her one hand, and a volume of Thucydides in the other hand: Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Rome, L. Faenius, 1603), 346.
 - 11 “Tu quae Rhetorico clangere syrmate.”
 - 12 Conrad Celtis, *Quatuor libri amorum* (Nuremberg, 1502).
 - 13 Celtis, *Id.*, avi’–avii’. See for this: *Clio gesta canens transactis tempora reddit*. – In: Alexander Riese (Ed.): *Anthologia Latina* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1906), I.2, 134 (No. 664). It is worth noting the seven muses gathered by the feet of Apollo are all dressed. Ulrich Pfisterer, *The Muses’ Grief: Jacopo de’ Barbari on Painting, Poetry and Cultural Transfer in the North*. – In: Kathleen W. Christian, Clare E. L. Guest, Claudia Wedepohl (Eds.): *The Muses and their Afterlife in Post-Classical Europe* (London–Torino, The Warburg Institute–Nino Aragno Editore, 2014), 85–89.
 - 14 Franchino Gaffurio, *Practica musicae* (Milan, per Gulielmum Signer Rothomagensem, 1496), Gi’.
 - 15 In this regard, also see the oft cited „all-devouring time” (*tempus edax rerum*) topos of Ovid (*Met.*, 15.234–236); and Titian’s allegory of Prudence (London, National Gallery). In his epic *Africa* (3.156–164), Petrarca describes the creature in the same manner, but instead of Serapis, he mentions Apollo (see Gafari’s illustration) and speaks about the serpent that symbolizes “fleeing time” (*fugientia tempora*). It appears as a symbol on an emblem of Colonna: Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice, Manutius, 1499), y’. Sambucus’s *Emblemata* was published only eight years after Valeriano’s *Hieroglyphica*, in which the wording “Sol” (referring to Phoebus Apollo) can be seen above the illustration of the three-headed figure (*triceps Serapis*) mentioned as the symbol of time by Valeriano as well: *Id.*, 229A–B.
 - 16 See the previously mentioned emblem of La Perrière, Carracci’s painting and *The Triumph of Truth* by Rubens (Paris, Louvre). The appearance from the 15th-century of Saturnus with hoofed feet and a scythe is based on a false etymology of the word “satyr”. The first such printed illustration appears in Charles Estienne’s anatomical book: Carolus Stephanus, *De dissectione partium corporis humani* (Paris, S. de Colines, 1545), „i. f’.
 - 17 Sambucus does not mention Plutarch in his dedication (see endnote 6).
 - 18 Plutarch might be referring here to the Orphic tradition.
 - 19 Plutarch plays with the participle of κύω (be pregnant with) and the homonymic noun form of κύων (dog). Γεννώσης τῆς Νέφθους τὸν Ἄνουβιν Ἴσις ὑποβάλλεται· Νέφθους γάρ ἐστι τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν καὶ ἀφανές, Ἴσις δὲ τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν γῆν καὶ φανερόν, ὃ δὲ τούτων ὑποσαύων καὶ καλούμενος ὀρίζων κύκλος ἐπικοινωνῶν ἄμφοιν Ἄνουβις κέκληται καὶ κυνὶ τὸ εἶδος ἀπεικάζεται· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κύων κρῆται τῇ ὄψει νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας ὁμοίως· καὶ τοιαύτην ἔχειν δοκεῖ παρ’ Αἰγυπτίοις τὴν δύναμιν ὃ Ἄνουβις, οἷαν ἢ Ἐκάτη παρ’ Ἑλλησι, χθόνιος ὢν ὁμοῦ καὶ Ὀλύμπιος· ἐνίοις δὲ δοκεῖ Κρόνος ὃ Ἄνουβις εἶναι· διὸ πάντα τίκτων ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κύων ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὴν τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπὶ κλησιν ἔσχεν· ἔστι δ’ οὖν τοῖς σεβομένοις τὸν Ἄνουβιν ἀπόρρητόν τι, καὶ πάλα μὲν τὰς μεγίστας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τιμὰς ὁ κύων ἔσχεν.
 - 20 Translation by Frank Cole Babbitt: Plutarch, *Moralia* (London, Heinemann, 1984), 106–107.
 - 21 I have encountered the figure of the winged Anubis only once: in the 17th-century fresco in the Egyptian room in Villa Borghese in Rome by Tommaso Maria Conca.
 - 22 Cicero, *Consolatio liber quo se ipsum de Filiae morte consolatus est* (Venice, H. Polus, 1583).
 - 23 Evan Taylor Sage, *The Pseudo-Ciceronian Consolatio* (Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1910). McCuaig, *Id.*, 303–346. Richard S. Forsyth, David I. Holmes, Emily K. Tse, “Cicero, Sigonio, and Burrows: Investigating the Authenticity of the Consolatio”, *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 14/3 (1999): 375–400.

KONRAD CELTIS, KING MATTHIAS, AND THE ACADEMIC MOVEMENT IN HUNGARY

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This study deals with Celtis' practice of rewriting and recontextualizing his own poetry. His poem *To the literary odality of Hungarians* (*Ad sodalitatem litterariam Ungarorum, Odes II.2*), addressed to a Hungarian 'coetus' (not a 'sodalitas') was first published in 1492. Through a detailed analysis of the poem, I claim that this ode was not directed to an academic circle of friends in Buda, but rather to the 'bursa Hungarorum' at the University of Cracow. As Celtis took up teaching in Ingolstadt in the spring of 1492, he published the *Epitoma*, which contained his course material on rhetoric from Cracow, and contained five poems, including this poem, which he composed while still in Poland. Consequently, it cannot be regarded as a proof of the continuity of academic thought between the Neo-platonic circles of King Matthias (1485-1490) and the Vienna-centered *Sodalitas Danubiana* of 1497. Around 1500, to please his Hungarian aristocratic friends in the *Sodalitas Danubiana*, he revised the same poem in Vienna and added it to the cycle of his *Odes*.

Keywords: humanism, history of education, cosmography, history of universities, Renaissance, academic movement

Konrad Celtis mentions only once King Matthias in his writings,² and he does so in a poem, written in Sapphic strophes, entitled *To the literary sodality of Hungarians, about Buda and the monstrosities that preceded the death of the divine King Matthias, King of Pannonia, in a sad tone*.³ The title would suggest that the poem will describe the circumstances of the death of the king of Hungary; however, King Matthias is mentioned only once in the text, and Celtis includes no political news, personal memories or details about the king's wars, personality, his fate, his virtues or vices. The paper explains the contradiction between our expectations and the poem itself, and, using the poem, draws significant conclusions on the early history of the "academic movement" in Hungary.

The poem's text survives in six manuscripts and early prints:

1. **I:** Conradus Celtis, *Epitoma in utramque Ciceronis retoricam cum arte memoratiua et modo epistolandi vtilissimo*, Ingolstadt, [Johann Kachelofen], 1492, 20v-21v.⁴

2. **M:** München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cIm 442, 266r-267v (without the author's name). A miscellany compiled by Hartmann Schedel at the end of 15th century.⁵

3. **N**: Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. Cent. V., App. 3, 34r. Celtis' personally edited copy of his poems, compiled in Vienna, around 1500.⁶

4. **H**: Lines 85-92 of the poem reappear as strophes 14 and 16 in a dedicatory poem written by Celtis in praise of the city counsellor of Nürnberg, Hieronymus Haller. An occasional cento from several odes of his that appeared at auction in Vienna in 1935.⁷

5. **S**: Conradus Celtis, *Libri odarum quatuor*, Strassburg, Schürer, 1513, D4v-E2r (Book II, 2). A posthumous edition prepared by Celtis' Viennese friends (Johann Cuspinianus, Joannes Camers, Nicolaus Gerbelius, Theodor Ulsenius, Philipp Gundel, Sebastian Murrho, Thomas Velocianus-Resch), headed by Joachim Vadianus, and sent by Lucas Alantsee to Schürer's Strassburg printing shop.⁸

6. Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, ms. hist. 31e, 214v.⁹ A miscellany compiled by Hieronymus Streitel, librarian of the Regensburg convent of the Augustinian Hermits between 1502 and 1527. The text is a copy of the 1513 Strassburg edition (nr. 5.)

Two may be disregarded in our current investigation: nr. 4 reflects only Celtis's poetic practice of self-plagiarism, nr. 6 is a derivative copy of a printed edition.

The earliest, and most interesting, textual witness (nr. 1., **I**) survives in an incunabulum, printed in Ingolstadt by Johann Kachelofen (GW 6463), dedicated to the future Emperor Maximilian I (then still a Roman king) on March 29, 1492. This publication, which included materials covered in his course on rhetoric, was Celtis' first printed product at the university of Ingolstadt; he had arrived to teach there for the summer semester of 1492.¹⁰ In addition to the short treatises – a rhetorical compendium, and texts on the art of memory and letter writing – mentioned in the title are five poems included at the end of the small volume. One is the poem about King Matthias, here bearing the title *To the company (coetus) of Pannonians about the monstrosities that preceded the death of the divine king Mathias of Hungary (Ad cetum Pannonum de monstris que precesserunt mortem Diui Matthie Regis Vngarie)*. Three of the remaining four poems can clearly be connected to Celtis' earlier stay in Poland, in particular to the Cracow environment surrounding him during his stay at the University there between 1489-1491. One is a praise poem addressed to Georg Morsteyn, the mayor of the city (*Ad Georgium Morinum virum consularem in regia vrbe Cracouie in laudes eloquencie et iucunditatem vite*), another talks about Celtis' ship journey in Poland (*Eius de nauigatione sua sarmatica*), and the final poem of this set (*Eius de cena Mirice*) recounts a dinner at the house of Mirica, i.e. Johann Heidecke, the notary of the Cracow. Since Crispus Clogomura, the target of a satirical invective (*Eius in Crispum Clogomuram balatronem*), is usually identified with Johannes Glogoviensis, a professor at the university of Cracow, the fourth poem also belongs to his period in Cracow.¹¹ Though there are no clear hints about the date and place

of composition of the poem on King Matthias, the company of the other four poems would suggest that it took place in Crakow. The same version is transmitted among the copies of Hartmann Schedel (**M**) with minor textual variants. ¹²

There exists however a later and significantly revised version of the poem in a manuscript of the City Library of Nürnberg (**N**, nr. 3.). This bearing Celtis' coat of arms, can definitely be considered to be his *ultima manus*. The text is very close to the second printing of this ode that appeared posthumously in Strassburg in 1513 by Schürer (**S**, nr. 5.). The textual tradition reveals that Celtis significantly revised this poem at least once: the earlier version transmitted in the first print (Ingolstadt, 1492) and the Munich manuscript copy by Schedel, and the second, longer version surviving in his personal copy in Nürnberg and in the 1513 Strassburg print.

The most important revisions can be summarised briefly (see the Appendix for an edition). Celtis inserted two new strophes after the second stanza that describe the location of the Buda castle and mention the new buildings (*monumenta*) constructed by King Matthias.¹³ These additional verses state that the city of Buda and the castle of the king lies on a hill that faces both North and South, and that the buildings constructed by King Matthias were made with the aim of supporting both warfare and culture. These additions reflect a personal familiarity with the landscape of Buda and Matthias' castle, whereas there is no trace of any first-hand knowledge of the country in the previous version.

This part of the poem was in need of revision. In the original version from 1492, the subject of the third and fourth stanzas are not clear at all as the first two stanzas did not have any relationship to the 3rd and 4th:

Auream terram colitis beati
Quam rigat pulcher Savaus, et sonanti
Defluens cursu Drauus, et remoti
Nominis Ister. (strophe 2)

You [Pannonians], who happily cultivate a land
which is watered by the fair Sava, and the Drava
flowing down with loud running, and the Danube,
the river which has a remote name.

Solus **hic** [emphasis added] vastas tumidi procellas
Armaque Eoi potuit tyranni
Ferre, dum late dederat ruinas
Perfidus hostis. (strophe 3/5)

Only he could sustain the immense storms
and the arms of the swaggering tyrant of the East
when the treacherous enemy was
destroying widely everything.

If we only read the 1492 version, we could easily presume that the Danube (*Ister*) itself is the power which stops the waves of destruction coming from the tyrannical Turkish side, but this interpretation would become less probable in the sixth (originally fourth) strophe, where the subject of the original poetic apostrophe (a rhetorical tool that disappears from the second version) is supposed to be victorious over the Turks:

<p>Sed premis victor refugas cateruas, Et truces enses animi furentis sternis, et saeuam rabiem cruentis Stragibus arces.</p>	<p>But you are chasing victoriously the fleeing rabble and you strike down upon the cruel swords of their raging spirit, and you prevent the wild madness with bloody slaughter.</p>
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After having read the title, we would expect the King to be the one who thwarts the passage of this furious enemy. Nevertheless, it is still possible that the “hic” of the 1492 version originally referred to the river Danube (Danubius).¹⁴ When Antonio Bonfini, the court historiographer of King Matthias (and, later, King Wladislas II), wrote about the miraculous events around the death of King Matthias in his contemporary historical work, the *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*, he noted “after the King’s death the river Danube grew unusually large, and it flooded a lot of villages and neighbouring cities, so that it would defend the provinces of Pannonia from the incursions of the Turks, when the main protector of the kingdom has died.”¹⁵ Though Celtis could not have access to the writings of Bonfini at this point (since they started to circulate privately only after Bonfini’s death in 1497), the views of the Italian historiographer might have reflected public opinion or gossip.

If so, then the tension was even greater in the original version. The poem was supposed to speak about the death of King Matthias, but, save for the title, his name was not even mentioned in the 1492 edition, and the only active person in the text, identified with a single “hic”, might not have been him but rather the river Danube. This problem was eliminated by the insertion of the two new stanzas in the second redaction, so the protagonist of the lines 17-24 becomes clearly identifiable with the king.¹⁶ The textual changes introduced by Celtis can be considered as successful because they reshaped the structure and clearly identified the actors of the text.

The remaining part of the poem provides an interesting insight into public opinion regarding the reasons for Matthias’s death. Celtis registers three anomalous phenomena which went against the usual course of nature and preceded the death of the King:

1. The appearance of a comet while the planet Mars was in the constellation of Hercules (line 61).

2. As the Sun (Phoebus) wished to flee away from this tumultuous and dangerous conjunction, he hid his face behind the Moon, i.e. a solar eclipse preceded the king’s death (line 65).

3. A woman in Cracow gave birth to a monstrous dragon or snake that exhaled poison afterwards (line 69).¹⁷

Among the contemporary accounts about the death of Matthias, only Antonio Bonfini mentions any abnormal signs that were supposed to bring bad influence. Bonfini records that in the previous year (*anno superiore*, i.e. 1489) the heavens were thundering after the first day of the year, the Danube flooded more than usual, and the lions that the king kept in Buda died on the same day the king died. Furthermore, the animal world also admonished to the coming perils of the year: the crows (the animal which the *genus Corvinum* bore on its coat of arms) vanished completely from Buda, and they – all mute – appeared in great masses in Székesfehérvár, the traditional burial site of Hungarian kings. Earlier, while *en route* from Vienna to Buda, the king and his entourage saw a stork-nest on the top of a turret where, after the death of the previous owner, four storks contended for the nest. The king asked his retinue to look at the scene, which Bonfini interpreted as a warning that similar fights will follow after his death.¹⁸

Interestingly, while Celtis refers to two important astronomical events,¹⁹ the Italian historian does not mention any specific astrological warnings but states generally that “neither the conjecturers nor the astrologers (*neque coniectores et mathematici*) remained silent about his death in the forthcoming year”.²⁰ King Matthias was a firm believer of astrology: Bonfini records how the King, after having delayed his travel to Vienna in November and December 1489 because of the bad astrological signs, finally decided to leave Buda as a result of an even worse horoscope for the following year.²¹ Unfortunately none of the prognostications could have inspired Celtis to interpret the death of the king in a prophetic way.

There is another even more interesting aspect of this poem: its audience. In the first edition, its addressee is the “coetus”, the “company” of Hungarians, while in the second, a *sodalitas litteraria Danubiana*, a literary club (*Busenfreundschaft*) of Hungarians. It is within this context that this poem is usually cited, and it receives a prominent place in Tibor Klaniczay’s account on the history of the “academic movement” in Hungary.

Celtis explicitly refers in this poem to the hours he spent together with his Pannonian friends, who were famous for their wisdom, to the sublime discussion he continued with them, and to the friendly and joyful drinking of wine. The meaning of the term ‘coetus’ can undoubtedly be understood from the later change of the title of the poem. In the posthumous edition of the odes in 1513 it appears with the title *Ad sodalitatem litterariam Ungarorum* [...]. He qualified the *coetus* thereafter as a ‘sodalitas litteraria’, and this term, which was used at the Roman academy of Pomponio Leto for the first time, is the equivalent of the *Academia Platonica* in the terminology of Celtis, as we find out later.²²

Klaniczay added in a footnote “presumably, the poem about the Hungarians was conceived in Cracow, as a memorial of Celtis’ previous visit to Buda.” Obviously, the aim of Klaniczay’s assertions was to provide evidence for the continuity of the academic idea in Buda between the so-called ‘Neoplatonists’ of the court of Matthias and Celtis’ later *Sodalitas Danubiana*, which appears for the first time after his arrival at the University of Vienna, and with the 1497 publication of the *Episodia sodalitatis litterariae*.

Nevertheless, by the time Klaniczay’s paper was published, important new data surfaced about the origins of the 1492 booklet. As mentioned above, the *Epitoma in utramque Ciceronis rhetoricam* first appeared in Ingolstadt, and was a university course book (*Vorlesungsmitschrift*) for Celtis’ lectures as he was employed as a substitute professor of rhetoric. These were the lectures that he started with his famous *Oratio inauguralis in gymnasio Ingolstadensi* that stipulated a humanistic pedagogical program for Germany, and in which he presented himself as the first poet and rhetorician who introduced the teachings of Italy to barbaric Germany.²³ However, the recent studies of Franz Josef Worstbrock and Jürgen Leonhardt present a different image. As is well known, the first published books of Celtis were practical handbooks for teaching poetry and rhetoric at university level. In 1486, he published the *Ars versificandi et carminum* in Leipzig, which was a compilation for teaching metrics, based on the previous such works of Jacobus Wimpheling, Niccolò Perotti, Leonigo da Ognibene, and, to a lesser extent, on the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villadei and anonymous medieval texts.²⁴ His second booklet from 1492, the *Epitoma in utramque Ciceronis rhetoricam* is also a compilation.²⁵ It consists of a summary of the two “Ciceronian” rhetorics (the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and the *De inventione*), an *ars memorativa*, and a *modus epistolandi utilissimus*. The largest section of the treatise on letter-writing was originally written by Flavius Guillelmus Ramundus, an Italian humanist from Agrigento, who was teaching almost the same material in Heidelberg in 1485 exactly when Celtis studied there.²⁶ Another manuscript of the *Epitoma*, discovered by Worstbrock in Berlin Staatsbibliothek fol. lat. 910., proves that Celtis already taught this course material in Cracow.²⁷ The possibility that the entire *Epitoma* had already been conceived in Cracow is confirmed not only by the four poems addressed to Cracow dignitaries and intellectuals but also by the poem *To the Hungarian coetus about the monstrous signs that preceded the death of King Matthias*. A surviving *intimatio*, an academic announcement to his lecture in Cracow, makes the meaning of the word ‘coetus’ clear: Celtis announces that he will start his lectures on the art of letter writing on July 23rd 1489 at 11 o’clock in the Hungarian college (“hora xj in aula ungarorum”), and that he composed a small treatise from several authors for this purpose (“tractatum ex variis illustrium scriptorum monumentis conflatum”).²⁸ Although this *intimatio* (invitation) is dated almost a year earlier than the death of King Matthias there are two reasons

that make it probable that he continued to hold his lectures there and that *coetus* is nothing but the humanist's expression for the medieval Latin *bursa*. In lines 3-4, he addresses the Hungarians by claiming that they were born under a better sky: "You, Hungarians, who were born under a better sky, where the Sun is close." ("Quique sub coelo meliore nati // Sole propinquo") The comparative *better* only makes sense if it reflects an opposition between the cold Poland in the North and the warmer Hungary in the South. Furthermore, in the apostrophe to the audience in lines 41-44, Celtis claims that, "Often you have expelled this Arctic frost under the glacial climate with me deep into the night" ("Saepius mecum rigido sub axe // Frigus Arctoum pepulistis altis // Noctibus"). Seen from the perspective of the Hungarian *bursa* in Cracow, Celtis tried to raise the sympathy of Hungarians because of their common dislike for the cold weather in Poland. In fact, within the context of the four Cracow poems in the 1492 print, and Celtis' stay at the University of Cracow, there is no reason to suppose any other meaning for the word 'coetus' than 'college', or 'bursa'. Later, when Celtis revised the poem that he wrote at the Hungarian *bursa*, the place of his lectures in Cracow, he changed the setting of the poem to please the members of the *sodalitas Danubiana*, after 1497.

During these years, the Hungarian *bursa* was a college open to other nationalities. As Hungarians could not fill the building, all other nationalities— especially Germans – were allowed to stay there and hold or take private classes. In 1483, John of Glogau (of German origin), a famous professor of astrology at the University of Cracow, rented the Hungarian *bursa* for German students for three years, and in 1486 this rent was prolonged for a year for the sake of "Hungarian nobles, or any students wishing to stay the University of Cracow" ("pro dominis Ungaris aut quibusvis studentibus circa Studium Cracoviense morari volentibus"), so that any nationality could reside there.²⁹ Johann Sommerfelder (Aesticampianus), the professor of poetry and rhetoric, continued the rent for a further three years.³⁰

If we accept that the *coetus* in the title of the poem refers to the 'bursa Ungarorum', the Hungarian college in Cracow, and its addressees are its inhabitants, then the poem of Celtis represents the point of view of the German fellows of the college. This situation explains why there is neither direct praise, nor outright blame for Matthias in the text. The poem rather alludes to the disagreements between the two parties. As Bacchus sees the destruction caused by Mars (lines 45-56) and the warfare between the "fraternal arms" (*arma fraternis animis*), he falls into despair and grief (*moeret*), and, as a result, "the omniscient Gods wanted that the human hearts would realize this grave damage, when the wrath of Gods was revealed by great monstrous signs." Thus the wrath of Gods is a result of the warfare between the fraternal arms, Hungarians and Germans, and it justly punished Matthias. A similar viewpoint can be found in the 1490 diary of Johannes Tichtel, a Viennese doctor who later became a friend of Celtis and dedicatee of a number of his poems.

“But, because the leader of nations should be for the welfare of nations, when the entire population [of Vienna] was purified during Lent, on Palm Sunday King Matthias was taken away, but no one knows where his body and his soul went [i.e. to heaven, or rather to hell]. Therefore the omnipotent God gave the people with his grace the most just, chaste, strenuous, and martial Maximilian”.³¹

Thus, according to Tichtel, the death of Matthias was the result of the intense penance of the population during the time of Lent that purified the soul of the believers.

A more specific audience may be tentatively suggested. Lines 25-40 of the 5th-8th (7th-9th in the second redaction) strophes give important clues about the audience in an apostrophe: “Often you were deeply absorbed [alta mente] in enquiring together with me, what the hidden causes of the lower things are, and what the bright order of the heavens is.” According to the sixth strophe, they have discussed how the winds raise the sea level, how clouds are generated (“nubilosus aër”), or how rainbow colours the sky (“vultus triplices coloret nubibus Iris”). The seventh strophe reminds the poem’s addressees that they have discussed the speed and the orbit of the Sun (“globus Phoebi”) around the Earth (“rapido rotatus turbine”), while the eighth evokes its weather effects (“flores”, “pluvius Auster”), and a marginal note reminds the reader of the eccentric orbit of the Sun.³² These subjects belong to the field of cosmography, which a comparison with one of his later course announcements at the University of Vienna clearly reveals:

Cynthus octavam cras postquam ostenderit umbram
Et croceo rutilum sparserat orbe iubar,
Cosmographia mea tunc incipietur in aede,
Quam magnus scribit Claudius octo libris.
Hanc ego per triplicem Celtis reserabo loquelam,
Romanam, Graiam, Teutonicamque simul,
Perque globos solidos coelum terrasque docebo,
Et veteres tabulas edoceamque novas.³³

After the moon shows tomorrow its eighth shadow, and the red shine glows, my class on cosmography will start in my house, about which the great Claudius (Ptolemaeus) wrote in eight books. I will explain it in three languages, Latin, Greek, and German, and *I will explain the firm planets and the heavens and the earth*, and both the old and the new.

It seems quite plausible that the poem to the ‘Hungarian coetus’ recalls the memory of a similar class on cosmography that might have covered similar subjects as the *Cosmographia* of Celtis’ student from Cracow, Laurentius Corvinus, published in Basel in 1496.³⁴

The poem of Celtis addressed to the Hungarian ‘coetus’ cannot be regarded as a proof of the continuity of academic thought between the Neo-platonic circles of King Matthias and the *Sodalitas Danubiana* of 1497. When Matthias died on April 6, 1490, Celtis was still in Cracow, and wrote this poem soon after the death of the king. As he taught there in the building of the Hungarian *bursa* in 1489, the ‘coetus’ mentioned in the poem probably refers to the Hungarian *bursa* in Cracow and its students, and not to a circle of friends in Buda. As he took up teaching in Ingolstadt in the spring of 1492, he published the *Epitoma* that included his course material on rhetoric from Cracow including five poems he composed while still in Poland. In approximately 1500, he revised the same poem in Vienna in order to please his Hungarian aristocratic friends in the *Sodalitas Danubiana*, and added it to cycle of his *Odes*.

Appendix

AD SODALITATEM LITTERARIAM VNGARORVM, DE SITV BUDAE, ET MONSTRIS QUAE PRAECESSERANT MORTEM DIVI35 MATHIAE REGIS, PENTHICE II.

Ultimo nobis celebrandi amici Pannones, claris studiis fauentes, Quique sub coelo meliore nati Sole propinquo.	
Auream terram colitis beati Quam rigat pulcher Sauus, et sonanti Defluens cursu Drauus, ³⁶ et remoti ³⁷ Nominis Ister.	5
<i>Alluit mitem citus ille collem Februos³⁸ Austros, Boream et videntem, Qui gerit pulchram resupinus vrbem, Regis et arcem.</i>	10
<i>Mathiae magni monumenta regis Vidimus priscis ibi multa saeculis Aequa, seu Martis studium sequere, aut Palladis artes.</i>	15 39
Solus hic vastas tumidi procellas Armaque Eoi potuit tyranni Ferre, dum late dederat ruinas Perfidus hostis.	20

Dum [IM: Sed] premit [I: premis] victor refugas cateruas, Et truces enses animi ferocis [I: furentis] Sternit [I: sternis], et saeuam rabiem cruentis Stragibus arcet. [I: arces]	
Saepius mecum repetistis alta	25
Mente, quae rerum fuerint latentes Inferum causae, superumque quis sit Lucidus ordo. ⁴⁰	
Vnde sublatum[IM: tam vastis] mare fluctuosis [I: fluctuosum] Turgeat [M: Turgeret] ventis, nebulosus aer	30
Vnde vel vultus triplices coloret Nubibus Iris. [I: ether]	
Igneus Phoebi globus vnde tanto Impetu currat, rapido rotatus ⁴¹	
Turbine, et lentam roseis[IM: nitidis] reducit	35
Solibus vmbram.	
Et modo celsas properans ad vrsas [M: sub arctos] [I marg: Ec[c]entricus solis] Euocet [IM: parturit] flores, iterum rotatus Orbe decliui pluuium recurrit	
Pronus in Austrum.	40
Saepius mecum rigido sub axe Frigus Arctoum pepulistis altis Noctibus, blando mea dum calebant Tempora Baccho.	
Qui modo vultus posuit serenos,	45
Arma fraternis animis ⁴² perosus, Et gemit raris [M: mestis] habitata moestus [M: raris] Arua colonis. ⁴³	
Martios longos queritur furores, Et truces enses, galeas micantes, [I: galea micante; M: et truces ultrix galee micantis]	50
Stridulos arcus, et abacta lento Spicula cornu. ⁴⁴	
Non habet secum Satyros procaces, Nec leues Faunos calamis sonantes, Moeret et nullis comitata pratis	55
Gratia ⁴⁵ nymphis.	
Quam grauem cladem superi scientes Noscere humanum voluere pectus, Dum fuit magnis patefacta monstris Ira deorum.	60

Visus ardenti rubicundus igne [I marg.: Cometa visus] Crinibus sparsis rutilus [IM: sparsus rutilus] Cometes Et stetit Mauors facie minaci Herculis astro.	
Phoebus et tantos fugiens tumultus, Moestus abscondit rosei micantem Verticis vultum, soror vt decora [I marg.: Eclipsis eodem anno] Lumina texit.	65
Quin et infausto genitrix labore [I marg.: Mulier peperit draconem Cracouie] Tristis immanem peperit draconem, Ille [M: Quique] funesto furiales [M: furiale] sparsit Ore venenum.	70
Hinc graues mundo venient ruinae, et Bella per multas satianda caedes, Quas parit fuluum stolidis petitum Regibus aurum.	75
Quale nobiscum deus ipse fatum Tentat, aut qualem superis [IM: superi] dedere Legibus, fortem teneamus aequam, et [IM:-] Tempore mentem.	80
Et breuis [I: breues] nobis abeunt beati Temporis soles, statuatur altis Cymbijs Bacchus, fugiant necantes Pectora curae.	
Increpet neruos citharae canoros Mobilis pollex, veniat solutis Crinibus curas releuans [M: relevat] edaces Mollior aetas.	85
Cum data est nobis breuis hora vitae, Et cito rugae properant seniles, Hic erat [MH: Vixerat] foelix sua qui fugauit [I: leuauit] Tristia laetis.	90

Notes

- 1 Eötvös University, ELTE BTK, Múzeum krt. 4/A, 409, Budapest, H-1088, Hungary. Email: kiss.farkas@btk.elte.hu.
- 2 Most striking is the absence of any mentions of Matthias in Celtis' correspondence. Cf. Konrad Celtis, *Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis*, ed. Hans Rupprich (Beck, Munich, 1934).
- 3 *Ad sodalitatem litterariam Ungarorum de situ Budae et monstris, quae praecesserunt mortem divi Mathiae Pannoniae regis, penthice*. See Conradus Celtis Protucius, *Libri odarum quatuor*,

- Liber epodon, Carmen saeculare*, ed. Felicitas Pindter (Lipsiae-Szeged, Teubner, 1937), 34–36 and Konrad Celtis, *Oden, Epoden, Jahrhundertlied (1513)*, ed. transl. Eckart Schäfer (Tübingen, Narr, 2012²), 124–130.
- 4 GW 6463; ISTC ic00370000. I used the copy of the Eötvös University Library, Inc. 444.
 - 5 See Richard Stauber, *Die Schedelsche Bibliothek* (Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder, 1908), 64–65. The manuscript contains a number of texts connected to Hungary (165r–258r: a copy of the printed edition of the *Chronicon Budense*, 1473; a Hungarian coat of arms, 164v), thus, this thematic motif can be considered as one of its organizing forces. Celtis' poem is followed by an account of Matthias' entry to Vienna after its occupation in 1485 (269v), followed by moralizing notes ("Mira rerum mutatio. Et novus siderum influxus. Vienna caput Austriae ad Ungaros pervenit, sic deo placuit ludere fortunam dixisset antiquitas. Nos divine providentiae cuncta tribuimus."), which derive from the very last passages of the *Historia Bohemica* of Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Cf. Enea Silvio, *Historia Bohemica*, ed. Dana Martínková, Alena Hadravová, Jiří Matl (Prague, KLP, 1998), 256. The notes are edited by János Csontos, "Bildnisse des Königs Mathias Corvinus und der Königin in den Corvin-Codexen," *Ungarische Revue* 10 (1890): 198. The same note appears (without the moralizing) in the *Notae Altaenses*, In: Pertz, Georg Heinrich (ed.), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores XVII*, (Hannover, Hahn, 1861), 424 (MGH *Scriptores* 17).
 - 6 For a detailed description, see Ingeborg Neske, *Die lateinischen mittelalterlichen Handschriften: Varia: 13.-15. und 16.-18. Jh.* (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1997), 123–124.
 - 7 Hans Rupprich, "Konrad Celtis und der Nürnberger Ratsherr Hieronymus Haller," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 32 (1934): 69–77. See also Kurt Adel, "Die Ode des Konrad Celtis an Hieronymus Haller. Codex Series nova 24205 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien," *Codices manuscripti* 10 (1984): 1–25.
 - 8 Celtis, *Libri odarum*, 1513, a2r–a8v. The title page was designed by Urs Graf; the woodcut representing Celtis was prepared by Hans Baldung.
 - 9 Brigitte Lohse, *Die historischen Handschriften der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: Cod. hist. 1–100* (Hamburg, Ernst Hauswedell, 1968), 43.
 - 10 Jörg Robert, *Celtis, Konrad*, In: Worstbrock, Franz Josef (ed.), *Deutscher Humanismus 1480–1520, Verfasserlexikon*, (Berlin, Gruyter, 2008), vol. 1., col. 387–389.
 - 11 Clogomura must have been a professor of theology (*interpres Iovis et beatitudinis*) at the university of Cracow.
 - 12 This version was published as a poem of an unknown author in Gyula Gábor, "Adatok a középkori magyar könyvírás történetéhez," [Notes on the history of medieval Hungarian book writing] *Magyar könyvszemle* 35 (1910): 13–15, although Jenő Ábel had already stated thirty years before that the poem in this manuscript was written by Celtis: Jenő Ábel, *Magyarországi humanisták és a dunai tudós társaság* [Hungarian humanists and the Danube scholarly society] (Budapest, Akadémia, 1880), 12.
 - 13 The new version – perhaps only by chance – consists of 92 lines, coinciding with the original year of publication, 1492.
 - 14 We find a similar poetic motif in one of the love elegies of his *Quattuor libri amorum* (II, 13): the poet prays to the Danube to defend Elsula, his lover, when she was moving to the provinces of Pannonia (*Ad Danubium ut puellam descendentem in Pannonias tueatur*).
 - 15 Antonio Bonfini, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*, ed. József Fögel, Béla Iványi, Ladislaus Juhász (Leipzig-Szeged, Teubner, 1941), vol. 4., 162. "Multa eius mortem signa portendere [...] item Danubius insolenter post obitum eius excrevit, multos pagos et accolae urbes inundavit, ut extincto regni propugnatore Pannonias a Turcorum incursu tueretur." (*Dec.* 4, 8.)
 - 16 There remain a number of other textual and interpretative problems in the poem: line 15: *sequere* for *sequi*?, 21: *Sed*, the original variant, would be better, as *dum* is repeated twice within three lines.

- 17 Jakob Locher Philomusus, Celtis' friend and follower, issued in 1500 a pamphlet with the title *Carmen heroicum de partu monstruoso in oppido Rhain ad ripam lyci adiacente*. About this poem, and the tradition of the interpretation of monstrous births in general, see Irene Ewinkel, *De monstribus: Deutung und Funktion von Wundergeburten auf Flugblättern im Deutschland des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1995), 104.
- 18 Antonio Bonfini, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*, ed. József Fögel, Béla Iványi, Ladislaus Juhász (Leipzig-Szeged, Teubner, 1941), vol. 4., 162.
- 19 The solar eclipse is perhaps the one that took place on Dec 22, 1489. There is no clear reference to a comet in European sources, but it might be identical to the "Ch'ing-yang event", a huge meteor shower in China in March or April 1490, which killed more than 10,000 people and was recorded in three contemporary sources. Kevin Yau, P. Weissman, and D. Yeomans, D. "Meteorite Falls in China and some related human casualty events," *Meteoritics* 29 (1994), 864–871. The comet C/1490Y1 was seen in December 1490, after the king's death. See Gary W. Kronk, *Cometography. A Catalog of Comets. Vol. 1. Ancient-1799* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999), 290–291.
- 20 Antonio Bonfini, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*, ed. József Fögel, Béla Iványi, Ladislaus Juhász (Leipzig-Szeged, Teubner, 1941), vol. 4., 162.
- 21 Antonio Bonfini, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*, ed. József Fögel, Béla Iványi, Ladislaus Juhász (Leipzig-Szeged, Teubner, 1941), vol. 4., 175–176. For a survey of the role of astrology in Matthias' court, see László Szathmáry, *Az asztrológia, alkémia és misztika Mátyás király udvarában*, [Astrology, alchemy and mysticism in the court of King Matthias], in *Mátyás király. Emlékkönyv születésének ötszázéves fordulójára*, [King Matthias. To the 500th anniversary of his birth] ed. Imre Lukinich. (Budapest, Franklin, 1940), vol. 2., 413–451 (with many inaccuracies); , Darin Hayton, "Expertise ex Stellis. Comets, Horoscopes and Politics in Renaissance Hungary," *Osiris* 25 (2010) 27–45; Áron Orbán, "Astrology at the court of Matthias Corvinus," *Terminus* 17 (2015): 113–146.
- 22 Tibor Klaniczay, *A magyarországi akadémiai mozgalom előtörténete* [The early history of the academic movement in Hungary] (Budapest, Balassi, 1993), 47–48. (My translation) In Italian: *Alle origini del movimento accademico ungherese*, transl. Judit Papp, Orsolya Száraz (Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2010).
- 23 See Conradus Celtis, *Panegyris ad duces Bavariae*, ed. transl. Joachim Gruber (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2003), 82–128.
- 24 Jürgen Leonhardt, "Niccolò Perotti und die Ars versificandi et carminum von Conrad Celtis," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 30 (1981): 13–18; Franz Josef Worstbrock, *Die 'Ars versificandi et carminum' des Konrad Celtis, Ein Lehrbuch eines deutschen Humanisten*, in *Studien zum städtischen Bildungswesen des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht, 1983), 462–498, here 470–474.
- 25 See also Sabine Heimann-Seelbach, *Ars und scientia. Genese, Überlieferung und Funktionen der mnemotechnischen Traktatliteratur des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen, Niemeyer, 2000, 133–135.
- 26 Worstbrock, *Brieflehre*, 257.
- 27 The volume is described in Agostino Sottili, "Codici del Petrarca nella Germania occidentale VII," *Italia medievale e umanistica* 18 (1975): 30. See Worstbrock, *Brieflehre*, 251–252.
- 28 The text is in St. Petersburg, Russian State Library, Lat. O. II. N. 63, 252v. Jan Nepomucen Fijałek, *Studia do dziejów Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego i jego wydziału teologicznego w XV wieku* (Cracow, PAU, 1898), 23–24; Kazimierz Morawski, *Histoire de l'université de Cracovie*, transl. Paul Rongier (Paris-Cracovie, Picard-Gebethner, 1905), vol. 3., 64.
- 29 *Conclusiones universitatis Cracoviensis ab anno 1441 ad annum 1589*, ed. Henryk Barycz, (Cracow, PAU, 1933), 55.

- 30 See Paul W. Knoll, “*A Pearl of Powerful Learning*”: *The University of Cracow in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden, Brill, 2016), 128–129.
- 31 “Sed quia populi princeps est ad populi bonitatem, itaque cum universus populus mundatus fuisset in quadragesima, abstulit in die palmarum regem Mathiam, cuius corpus et anima quo pervenerit, nescitur. Quapropter dedit populo deus omnipotens sua gracia iustissimum, castissimum, strenuissimum, bellicosissimum Maximilianum”. Johannes Tichtel, *Tagebuch von 1477–1495*, ed. Th. G. von Karajan, In: *Fontes rerum Austriacarum I*, 1 (Wien, Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1855), 53.
- 32 The eccentrics of the Sun (i.e. off-centered circle orbits of the Sun around the Earth) was a central element of the Ptolemeian geocentric cosmology.
- 33 Konrad Celtis, *Fünf Bücher Epigramme*, ed. Karl Hartfelder (Berlin, Calvary, 1881), 102. (V, 11.)
- 34 On Corvinus’ *Cosmographia* and Celtis’ copy, see Gernot Michael Müller, *Die ‘Germania generalis’ des Conrad Celtis. Studien mit Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Tübingen, Max Niemeyer, 2001), 319. Although a detailed study of Corvinus’ *Cosmographia* on his astrological interests is still missing, see Áron Orbán, *Born for Phoebus. Solar-astral symbolism and poetical self-representation in Conrad Celtis and his humanist circles* (Vienna, Praesens, 2018), 210–221.
- 35 Cf. Giovanni Garzoni: *Oratio funebris de rege Matthia Corvino*, “Quis est igitur tam suae mentis inops, ut hanc animam ad deos accessisse ambigat?”; *Analecta nova*, ed. Eugenius Ábel; Stephanus Hegedüs (Budapest, Hornyánszky, 1903), 200. Antonio Tebaldeo: *Epitaphium Matthiae Corvini*: “Corvini brevis haec urna est, quem magna fatentur // Facta fuisse deum, fata fuisse hominem.” *Analecta nova*, 191.
- 36 Cf. “Qua Drauus Sauusque vagum exonerantur in Istrum” (v. 226 of the second version of *Germania generalis* of Celtis); “Accedunt amnes Dravusque Savusque sonorus, / Qui duo Danubium flumina magna petunt” (Celtis, *Amores* 2, 13, 27–28). See Müller, o.c., 171.
- 37 Maybe: “with its name removed”, i.e. Danubius instead of Ister, or “distant name”, as Ister refers only to the faraway, lower part of the Danube (after the ‘cataracts’, the Iron Gate). Cf. Ovid. *Pont.* 1, 8, 11 (“Stat vetus urbs ripae vicina binominis Istri”); Celtis *Am.* 3, 1, 41 (“binominis Histri”) and Müller, o.c., 141–142. (Despite his claim, the name Hister appears in the Odes of Celtis, exactly in this poem.)
- 38 Pluuio N.
- 39 These two italicized strophes appear only in N and S.
- 40 Cf. Hor. *Ars poet.* 41 and Celtis, *Od.* 1, 17, 41–44: “Omnis in caelo tibi notus ordo est, / Quam vagi currant rapidis retorti / Circulis septem minimis rotantes / Orbibus orbes” (in his ode to Albertus Brutus, i.e. Adalbert Blar de Brudzewo, his Cracovian master in astronomy).
- 41 Cf. the same passage: “Quam vagi currant rapidis retorti / Circulis septem minimis rotantes” (ibid.)
- 42 Hor. *Epist.*, 1, 10, 4. “arma fraternis animis” could be interpreted as “war between brotherly souls”, hence the wrath of gods (line 60).
- 43 Cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1, 507 (squalent arva abductis colonis)
- 44 Referring to the drinking-horn of Bacchus.
- 45 Graces appeared often as companions of Bacchus (Pind. *Ol.* xiii. 20; Apollon. Rhod. 4, 424)

« LES POÈTES DU XIX^E SIÈCLE » : VIES PARALLÈLES DE PETŐFI ET DE SES CONTEMPORAINS¹

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Le présent article propose de comparer Sándor Petőfi, figure de la révolution hongroise de 1848, avec quelques autres poètes romantiques d'Europe centrale et orientale au XIX^e siècle comme le roumain Mihail Eminescu, le polonais Mickiewicz ou encore Pouchkine. Le parallèle, de type analytique, aborde tour à tour les origines familiales (parfois étrangères), le cursus d'enseignement suivi (souvent interrompu), un épisode militaire au caractère généralement ambivalent, et enfin la complexité de l'engagement national.

Mots-clés: poètes, romantisme, 1848, Europe centrale

Introduction

En étudiant la vie et l'oeuvre de quelques poètes emblématiques des pays d'Europe centrale et orientale au XIX^e siècle, nous trouvons beaucoup de similitudes dans leur vie personnelle et dans leurs sujets de prédilection. Le XIX^e siècle est le moment de la formation des nations européennes. On a dit que le Hongrois Petőfi et le Roumain Eminescu ont transformé leurs peuples respectifs en nations². Si l'idée du poète considéré comme leader national est apparue en Angleterre et en Allemagne, c'est néanmoins dans des pays situés plus à l'est du continent européen qu'elle fut vraiment prise au sérieux. Parallèlement à Mickiewicz, en Pologne, et à Pouchkine, en Russie, Petőfi a joué ce rôle en Hongrie, puis, quelques décennies plus tard, Eminescu en Roumanie et Botev en Bulgarie ont eux aussi joui de cette aura de prophète national.

À certains moments de l'histoire, le parallèle entre les poètes nationaux des pays d'Europe centrale et orientale a été étudié avec enthousiasme : ainsi, dans les années du réalisme socialiste en Hongrie, une intéressante fresque décorait-elle la salle du cinéma "Pouchkine" de Budapest. Représentant l'amitié purement imaginaire entre Petőfi et Pouchkine, elle a été réalisée en 1951 pour des raisons idéologiques, visant à illustrer et renforcer l'amitié soviéto-hongroise, dans le contexte historique des relations forcément très amicales entre les deux pays dans l'immédiat après-guerre.

En prenant pour point de départ la vie et l'oeuvre de Petőfi, nous présenterons dans ce qui suit quelques parallélismes avec d'autres poètes d'Europe centrale et orientale afin de déceler des similitudes idéologiques et poétiques chez ces représentants des nations au moment de leur (re)formation³.

Les origines

Petőfi est né en 1823 dans la Grande plaine hongroise (*Alföld*), dans la ville de Kiskőrös qui abritait à l'époque une forte population slovaque. Plus tard, Petőfi s'est plu à indiquer comme lieu de naissance une ville bien plus magyare, celle de Kiskunfélegyháza, où la famille du poète s'est installée un an après sa naissance⁴. Du reste, si le père, István Petrovics, était effectivement d'origine slovaque, il se considérait comme hongrois et parlait bien cette langue, alors que la mère, nommée Mária Hruz, originaire des régions slovaques de la Haute Hongrie, parlait avec l'accent de sa région d'origine. On sait que le poète a changé son nom en Petőfi, qui est la traduction hongroise du nom slave Petrovics (fils de Pierre). L'identité nationale du poète a fait couler beaucoup d'encre : la question épineuse de la primauté de Petőfi ou de János Arany dans le panthéon poétique national reste ouverte après un siècle et demi de débat. Les partisans d'Arany ont notamment fait valoir que Petőfi, par son comportement, son héroïsme criard, témoigne en réalité de ses racines slaves, face à la magyarité plus discrète mais bien plus naturelle et authentique d'Arany⁵.

Le parallélisme le plus flagrant est fourni par la vie du poète roumain Eminescu, qui a lui aussi changé son nom, en l'occurrence d'Eminovici en Eminescu, sur les conseils de son éditeur à Budapest, Iosif Vulcan, qui trouvait que le nom Eminovici n'avait pas une consonance suffisamment roumaine. La famille du père d'Eminescu provenait probablement de la contrée multinationale du Banat, tandis que la famille de sa mère avait entre autres des origines russes.

Ici, on devra aussi rappeler les origines exotiques de Pouchkine, à savoir son grand-père d'origine africaine, dont le poète a écrit la biographie romancée⁶. Le contemporain, et émule de Pouchkine, Lermontov avait lui aussi des origines étrangères : son nom de famille proviendrait de la famille écossaise des Learmont.

Quant au poète national polonais, Adam Mickiewicz, il a été suggéré que sa mère (née Majewska) avait des origines juives : cette thèse est basée, entre autres, sur le fait que le poète est mort à Constantinople tandis qu'il mettait sur pied une légion polonaise et une légion juive devant lutter contre la Russie lors de la guerre de Crimée⁷.

Parmi de nombreux autres exemples, il nous suffira de mentionner aussi le grand poète slovaque de la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle et du début du XX^e siècle, Pavol Országh-Hviezdoslav qui, comme son nom l'indique, avait du côté de son père des ancêtres hongrois (il fut, entre autres, traducteur de Petőfi).

La scolarité

Petőfi a fréquenté de nombreuses écoles enseignant en hongrois, en allemand et en latin, qui toutes lui ont proposé un enseignement religieux dans la confession luthérienne. Après les classes élémentaires (hongroises), le poète a été inscrit au lycée luthérien germanophone de Pest afin d'améliorer ses connaissances en allemand. Notons que le poète romantique de langue allemande, Nikolaus Lenau, a fréquenté ce même lycée, quinze ans avant Petőfi. Sans doute à cause de ses mauvais résultats, Petőfi a été transféré au Lycée piariste (catholique) de Pest, où l'enseignement se faisait en latin et où son professeur de religion (luthérienne) était l'une des figures marquantes du mouvement national slovaque, Ján Kollár. Dans l'établissement suivant, à Selmečbánya (Banská Štiavnica), la langue d'enseignement était principalement le latin, également, mais le hongrois, l'allemand et le slovaque y étaient aussi employés. Pour preuve de l'ambiance multi-ethnique et plurilingue qui régnait, évoquons cet épisode de la vie de Petőfi, au cours duquel son professeur d'histoire aux vues panslavistes, le Slovaque convaincu Daniel Lichard, sans doute mécontent du penchant magyarophile de son élève en dépit de ses origines slovaques, a recalé le futur poète national en histoire hongroise, qu'il enseignait en latin. À l'âge de 16 ans, Petőfi cessa de fréquenter l'école pour commencer une carrière dans l'armée tout en s'intéressant au théâtre. L'allemand appris à Pest et à Selmečbánya lui permit également de gagner un peu d'argent grâce à des traductions.

Dans ce domaine aussi, les parallèles sont nombreux entre Petőfi et ses confrères. Mihai Eminescu a fréquenté l'*Obergymnasium* germanophone de Czernowitz où son professeur, Aron Pumnul, lui a inculqué l'amour pour la langue et les lettres roumaines. Ayant des résultats médiocres et davantage attiré par le monde du théâtre, Eminescu n'a pas terminé le cursus de cette école, mais, à l'instar de Petőfi, sa connaissance de l'allemand lui a permis de gagner de l'argent en traduisant. Nous pouvons aussi citer le cas de Lermontov qui, à l'âge de dix-huit ans, dut interrompre ses études à l'Université de Moscou dont il venait d'être renvoyé. Le chantre et combattant de la libération nationale du peuple bulgare, Hristo Botev, fut lui aussi exclu en 1863 d'un lycée d'Odessa qu'il fréquentait grâce à une bourse accordée par la Société Bulgare de la ville. Ajoutons aussi que c'est pendant ses années à Odessa que Botev a fait la connaissance de nombreux exilés polonais dont les vues démocratiques et révolutionnaires anti-russes allaient lui inspirer ses propres convictions anti-ottomanes, et par conséquent pro-russes, et cela par une ruse de la raison au sens hégélien du terme. Mais le parcours scolaire du poète et savant slovaque Šafárik est encore plus proche de celui de Petőfi. Grâce à ses études scolaires accomplis dans différentes villes de l'actuelle Slovaquie, il a pu parfaire ou apprendre, outre sa langue maternelle (le slovaque), le hongrois, l'allemand, le latin et plusieurs langues slaves⁸.

Le journalisme

Un autre trait commun entre plusieurs poètes nationaux de l'époque était leur activité de rédacteurs dans la presse. Nous savons que le premier travail régulièrement rémunéré de Petőfi était son emploi en tant qu'adjoint au réacteur du magazine *Pesti Divatlap*. Eminescu a également travaillé comme rédacteur, au journal *Timpul* à Bucharest. Mickiewicz a même été l'éditeur de la *Tribune des Peuples* qui, le 22 avril 1848, a exprimé son soutien à la cause de la révolution hongroise. Pouchkine, quant à lui, a réalisé son rêve d'éditer un journal à partir de 1836, mais la publication du *Sovremennik* a cessé avec la mort du poète. Hristo Botev a également été le rédacteur de plusieurs journaux de l'émigration bulgare en Roumanie.

L'armée

Non contents de lutter par la plume, les poètes nationaux ont également pris les armes, quand les circonstances le permettaient ou l'exigeaient. Dès l'âge de seize ans (en 1838), Petőfi avait rejoint l'armée autrichienne afin d'assurer son autonomie financière. Cependant, la dureté physique de la vie militaire ainsi que l'absence d'occupations intellectuelles lui rendaient sa situation insupportable. Après un an et demi, il fut déclaré inapte au service et démobilisé pour cause de maladie. Quelques années plus tard, lors de la révolution hongroise de 1848-49, il allait réintégrer les rangs militaires, mais cette fois-ci dans le cadre de l'armée hongroise insurgée. Notons que son insubordination et son irrespect de la discipline militaire provoquèrent de fréquents heurts avec la hiérarchie, y compris jusqu'au ministre de la défense. Déjà célèbre en tant que héros de la révolution de 1848, le poète fut dégradé à deux reprises. C'est le général polonais Bem, chef des forces hongroises en Transylvanie, qui le prit à ses côtés en devenant pour lui une sorte de père spirituel. Petőfi a consacré au vaillant général quelques vers emplis d'admiration dans lequel il témoigne de son respect filial : *Oh Bem, vitéz vezérem, / Dicső tábornokom! / Lelked nagyságát könnyes / Szemekkel bámulom. (Négy nap dörgött az ágyú...)*⁹ Petőfi a perdu la vie pendant ou peu après la bataille de Segesvár, le 31 juillet 1849. Notons que les cosaques de l'armée russe qui dispersèrent les unités hongaro-polonaises appartenaient précisément au 3^e régiment de lanciers ukrainiens.

Plusieurs autres poètes ont également fait l'expérience de la vie militaire. Lermontov semble avoir connu les mêmes difficultés que Petőfi au cours de ses deux « malheureuses » années d'école militaire au cours desquelles il lui fut interdit de lire des livres au contenu purement littéraire. À l'instar de Petőfi, Lermontov avait aussi un caractère difficile, souvent querelleur. C'est au cours d'un duel

qu'il avait lui-même provoqué qu'il a été tué par un camarade de régiment. Quant à Mickiewicz, s'il ne franchit pas la frontière russo-prussienne afin de participer à l'insurrection polonaise de 1830, il allait, par la suite, tenter de réparer cette omission en mettant sur pied une légion polonaise et une légion juive afin de lutter contre les Russes aux côtés des Ottomans lors de la guerre de Crimée. Mais nous avons vu qu'une mort prématurée a interrompu son entreprise. Quant au poète et peintre national ukrainien, Taras Chevtchenko, son service militaire, qui a duré huit longues années, fut l'équivalent de véritables travaux forcés, si l'on considère en particulier qu'il lui fut formellement interdit d'écrire et de peindre.

Si nous insistons sur l'armée et les années de service militaire, c'est parce que le XIX^e siècle est justement l'époque où commencèrent à se former dans la région les nations de type moderne. À l'époque de Petőfi, l'appartenance à un État n'avait bien évidemment pas encore le caractère exclusif qu'elle allait prendre au cours du XX^e siècle. La plupart des frontières n'étaient pas gardées par des postes de douane, ni délimitées par des fils de fer barbelés, les contrôles s'effectuaient à l'entrée des villes ou d'un village à l'autre, et beaucoup moins au moment de l'entrée à proprement parler sur le territoire d'un État voisin. On remarque aussi une certaine souplesse dans l'allégeance nationale des militaires. Si l'on considère le parcours du général polonais, Józef Bem, héros national célébré en Hongrie, on observe qu'il participa d'abord à la campagne de Napoléon contre la Russie au sein des rangs polonais, qu'il devint ensuite officier dans l'armée tsariste, avant de reprendre les armes contre la Russie pendant l'insurrection polonaise de 1830. En 1849, on le retrouve à la tête d'une légion polonaise en Hongrie, combattant les Autrichiens et les Russes. Après l'écrasement de la révolution, en 1849, il a trouvé refuge dans l'Empire ottoman, à l'instar de nombreux autres officiers polonais et hongrois, ainsi que de certains leaders politiques de l'insurrection hongroise comme Lajos Kossuth. Afin de conserver son grade et ses fonctions d'officier, Bem s'est converti à l'islam et a terminé ses jours sous le nom de Murat Pacha, avec le rang de gouverneur militaire d'Alep en Syrie, non sans avoir protégé les chrétiens d'Alep contre une insurrection bédouine musulmane en 1850¹⁰.

Le destin de Petőfi témoigne aussi de cette complexité. En effet, s'il a, dans un premier temps, été considéré comme le leader incontesté de la révolution du 15 mars 1848 à Pest, sa popularité a rapidement décliné en raison de ses vues républicaines, jugées trop radicales. Par exemple, dès le début du mouvement révolutionnaire, le poète insistait pour que l'on rappelât en Hongrie – afin de les enrôler dans l'armée nationale – les soldats d'origine hongroise stationnés dans l'armée autrichienne en Galicie. Le gouvernement hongrois, plus réaliste, renonça à cette idée. Les vues anti-habsbourgeoises et anti-monarchiques de Petőfi étaient considérées par les adversaires politiques du poète comme une preuve de son panslavisme et de sa russophilie. Vaincu aux élections dans la circonscription

dont il était originaire, Petőfi fut très touché par sa défaite : il envisagea même de provoquer en duel son rival victorieux¹¹. Le patriotisme à la Petőfi impliquait un républicanisme hostile aux rois et aux empereurs en place, naturellement considérés comme les garants de l'ordre public : la révolution menaçait aussi bien la position de l'Église que celles de la classe nobiliaire qui était pourtant à la tête de cette même révolution nationale en Hongrie.

En Pologne par exemple, le poète Krasiński, membre de la grande triade romantique avec Mickiewicz et Słowacki, rejetait, en raison de ses origines familiales aristocratiques, les changements radicaux et envisageait la solution du problème polonais dans le cadre de l'Empire russe. De la même manière, la situation des Habsbourg n'était pas appréhendée de manière unanime en Hongrie. C'est seulement au XXe siècle que le passé allait être interprété à la lumière des États nationaux qui devinrent, dès lors, les seules formes naturelles de l'existence nationale. C'est sans doute l'une des raisons pour lesquelles le radicalisme de Petőfi a finalement fait de lui le héros principal de l'histoire nationale, à l'égal de Kossuth que l'on a placé plus haut que Széchenyi, qui était davantage prêt au compromis avec les Habsbourg.

Du reste, les deux approches pouvaient coexister au sein d'une même famille. L'écrivain polonais, Teodor Tomasz Jeż (1824-1914), ayant lui-même participé à la lutte armée hongroise de 1848-49, a mis en scène ce phénomène dans un roman publié en 1889 intitulé *Ci i tamci* (*Ceux-ci et ceux-là*). Le livre est proche, par son sujet, du roman de Jókai, *Les trois fils de Cœur-de-Pierre*. On y retrouve un magnat hongrois, Barkonyay, qui impose à l'un de ses fils de s'enrôler dans l'armée hongroise insurrectionnelle, tandis que les deux autres servent, l'un dans l'armée, l'autre dans la diplomatie autrichiennes, afin que la famille demeure en sécurité quelle que soit l'issue du conflit austro-hongrois¹².

La vie familiale

La vie familiale de plusieurs poètes de cette époque peut aussi se prêter à une comparaison. Petőfi excelle à décrire dans sa poésie le bonheur conjugal (par exemple dans *Reszket a bokor, mert...* [*Le buisson tremble*]). Dans l'un de ses poèmes les plus célèbres (*Szeptember végén...* [*À la fin de septembre*]), au bonheur conjugal se mêlent aussi le pressentiment de la mort et de l'infidélité de la jeune veuve. Le comportement de la veuve de Petőfi, qui s'est promptement remariée, a suscité la désapprobation de beaucoup de proches, y compris d'Arany. Celui-ci n'a pourtant jamais publié le poème (*A honvéd özvegye* [*La veuve du soldat*]) dans lequel il reproche indirectement à Júlia Szendrey d'avoir si vite oublié le poète disparu. Le comportement de la veuve de Petőfi peut être comparé à celui de l'épouse de Pouchkine. Si l'on a reproché à Júlia Szendrey d'avoir, en quelque sorte, provo-

qué la mort et donc la gloire de son époux en l'incitant à aller au combat, on a de la même manière reproché à la veuve de Pouchkine d'avoir provoqué le duel fatal par sa conduite éhontée face au séducteur, Georges-Charles d'Anthès. Notons aussi que les vers de Pouchkine, dans *Onéguine*, où il décrit le deuil de courte durée de la jeune Olga après la mort de son fiancé, rappellent le comportement de la veuve de Petőfi¹³. On est frappé, d'un autre côté, par le pressentiment qu'a Petőfi de sa propre mort. Dans son poème *Egy gondolat bánt engemet* [*Une seule pensée me tracasse*], il exprime son désir de ne pas mourir dans son lit, mais au combat, au beau milieu du fracas des armes et des cris de guerre. À l'opposé de Petőfi, le poète roumain, Eminescu, dans l'un de ses plus beaux poèmes (*Mai am un singur dor* [*Je n'ai plus qu'un désir*]), souhaite mourir entouré d'une nature silencieuse : *Mai am un singur dor/ În liniștea serii/ Să mă lăsați să mor/ la marginea mării*¹⁴. Dans le *Testament* (Заповіт) de Chevtchenko également, on trouve l'idée d'une mort calme et d'un « tombeau solitaire dans la grande steppe de la douce Ukraine » (Як умру, то поховайте/ Мене на могилі/ Серед степу широкого/ На Україні милій), quitte à ressusciter plus tard, les armes à la main, pour libérer son peuple le moment venu. Notons que nous trouvons aussi chez Petőfi l'idée d'une mort au sein de la nature : dans son poème *Alföld* [*La Plaine*] de 1844, il souhaite que sa région natale, la Grande plaine hongroise, soit aussi son tombeau. À l'instar de Petőfi, Pouchkine a aussi eu comme un pressentiment de sa propre mort, quand il décrit le décès du jeune poète Lenski, tué dans un duel par Onéguine : Его уж нет. Младой певец/ Нашел безвременный конец. (Онегин, 6, XXI)¹⁵.

Le langage populaire

Ce ne sont pas seulement les thèmes d'inspiration qui rapprochent tous ces poètes, mais aussi leur style. Petőfi, dans la littérature hongroise, a été le premier à élever le langage parlé au rang de la poésie, conformément au programme annoncé par Victor Hugo¹⁶, et pratiqué par Byron, Heine ou Pouchkine. Dans la littérature polonaise, Mickiewicz s'est aussi efforcé d'user d'un langage compréhensible par les masses¹⁷. Plus tard, Eminescu a aussi été le premier à écrire en roumain des poèmes de facture classique avec un vocabulaire populaire nourri des éléments de la poésie du peuple¹⁸. Chevtchenko, à son tour, est considéré comme le fondateur de la poésie ukrainienne destinée aux couches populaires. Evidemment, la question de la poésie de style populaire est sujette à débats. Ainsi, le critique hongrois, Antal Szerb, a révélé ce qu'il considère comme le caractère artificiel du style populaire de Petőfi qui, selon lui, n'était pas un véritable fils du peuple, non plus que son public était véritablement populaire. Cette « mascarade » serait l'une des caractéristiques de la poésie romantique¹⁹.

La lutte nationale

Même si le caractère populaire de ces poètes relève plus d'un programme poéti-co-politique que qu'une attitude naturelle, il n'en reste pas moins qu'ils ont réellement joué un rôle de premier plan au sein des luttes nationales de leur siècle. Certains motifs se retrouvent d'un poète à l'autre à cet égard, comme, par exemple, celui de la chaîne qui tient la nation dans l'asservissement et qu'il faut briser. On le retrouve aussi bien dans le poème *Nemzeti dal* [*Chant national*] de Petőfi que dans le poème *La arme* [*Aux armes*] d'Eminescu, ou dans le *Testament* de Chevtchenko. Si, dans le *Chant national*, Petőfi ne nomme pas les ennemis et se contente d'inciter son peuple à se révolter contre les usurpateurs, Eminescu, dans son poème *Aux armes*, laisse libre cours à sa haine nationaliste : les Hongrois sont appelés tantôt des *Finno-tatares aveugles et cruels* [*Fino-târtanul orb și crud*], tantôt des *Tatares à tête de chien* [*tatar cu cap de câne*]²⁰. La Bucovine se prostitue sous *les mains sales des Juifs*, tandis que la Bessarabie souffre sous les *coups de knout des Kalmouks*. Eminescu semble adhérer ici aux théories racistes de son époque, dans la mesure où il ne mentionne ni les Autrichiens en Bucovine, ni les Russes en Bessarabie, mais attribue la faute aux Juifs et aux Kalmouks, tandis que les Hongrois aussi sont évoqués sous l'appellation exotique de Tatares. Mais, dans un autre poème, il arrive aussi à Petőfi d'employer des expressions peu correctes. Lors de l'attaque des Croates (encouragée par les Autrichiens) contre l'armée révolutionnaire hongroise, Petőfi reproche aux nationalités de la Hongrie historique de s'être rangées aux côtés des usurpateurs autrichiens, au lieu de rester fidèles aux Hongrois. Il appelle à les combattre jusqu'à ce que « la dernière goutte de sang ne s'écoule de leurs coeurs mauvais²¹ ». Chez Chevtchenko, les ennemis « moscovites, tatares, polonais se battent contre les Cosaques » et « la foi est vendue aux Juifs qui ne laissent personne entrer dans les églises ». De plus, « les gréco-catholiques et les Polonais attaquent » simultanément les Ukrainiens : *Ляхи, уніяти/ Налітають*²². Quant à Mickiewicz, il mentionne les Moscovites, à savoir les soldats de l'armée du tsar, dans l'épilogue de son grand poème épique *Pan Tadeusz*, en les comparant aux serpents : *A jeśli czasem i Moskal się zjawiał,/ Tyle nam tylko pamiątki zostawił,/ Że był w błyszczącym i pięknym mundurze./ Bo węża tylko znaliśmy po skórze...*²³ L'érudit slovaque, Ľudovít Štúr, qui a standardisé la langue slovaque littéraire et a pris fait et cause contre la révolution hongroise de 1848, s'est aussi exprimé en des termes semblables dans son poème, *Děvín, milý Děvín* [*La douce Devín*], où il regrette la ruine de la forteresse slave de Devín/Dévény que « la main des Allemands et des Hongrois a malmenée » : *svalila je Němců i Maďarů ruka*²⁴ !

Conclusion

Nos observations ont pu nous convaincre que la nature humaine rapproche souvent ceux qui se trouvent du côté opposé de la barricade nationale ou politique. Les poètes polonais et russes, par exemple, ou encore hongrois et roumains du XIX^e siècle ont beaucoup de traits communs, en dépit de leurs appartenances et leurs obédiences nationales différentes. Considérés comme les leaders spirituels (Mickiewicz, Chevtchenko) ou parfois même politiques (Botev, Petőfi) de leurs peuples respectifs, ils ont tous eu un destin difficile. La mort de Botev, au cours d'une insurrection armée contre les Ottomans, et celle de Petőfi lors des combats contre la coalition austro-russe, ont contribué à l'apparition d'une légende dorée autour de ces deux poètes qui incarnaient les aspirations de leurs peuples respectifs à la liberté. La mort de Mickiewicz, atteint du typhus pendant qu'il organisait les légions polonaise et juive contre la Russie, est également considérée comme l'aboutissement d'une vie de renoncements et de sacrifices de soi. L'exil de Pouchkine et de Lermontov ainsi que leur mort dans un duel correspondent parfaitement à l'image du poète romantique, victime incomprise de son époque. La vie souvent cruelle de Chevtchenko ou la maladie psychique d'Eminescu et de Lenau fournissent elles aussi l'exemple du destin tragique frappant les poètes qui se sacrifient pour la noble cause.

D'un autre côté, on assiste en Hongrie, depuis une trentaine d'années, à la résurgence du débat sur les circonstances de la mort de Petőfi. Selon une théorie qui a la vie dure, le poète aurait survécu à la bataille de Segesvár et aurait été emmené en captivité jusqu'en Sibérie, où il aurait vécu quelques années tout en continuant à écrire des poèmes en russe²⁵. À côté des analyses génétiques effectuées sur les ossements rapatriés de Sibérie du présumé « Petőfi de Bargouzine », mentionnons un recueil, publié par l'écrivain Ákos Szilágyi, des poèmes du soi-disant post-Petőfi sibérien. Ce jeu littéraire postmoderne est en même temps un pamphlet politique visant à ridiculiser le nationalisme hongrois actuel²⁶. Les enjeux de ce débat ne sont pas tout à fait clairs. On peut en effet supposer que les partisans du Petőfi sibérien agissent par amour pour le poète dont ils aimeraient connaître la vie dans ses moindres détails, y compris les œuvres posthumes, fussent-elles en russe. D'un autre côté, les adversaires de ces recherches sibériennes considèrent comme sacrilège toute activité visant à revisiter la légende dorée du poète. Selon eux, il ne faut sous aucun prétexte remuer les cendres du mort. Comme partout dans le monde, en Hongrie aussi, on soigne la mémoire de ceux qui se sont sacrifiés pour la patrie, du roi Louis, mort dans la bataille de Mohács en 1526, jusqu'à Imre Nagy, exécuté en 1958, en passant par les treize généraux martyrs de 1849. En tombant dans la bataille de Segesvár, Petőfi a rejoint leurs rangs. D'autre part, le leader le plus radical de la révolution de 1848, Lajos Kossuth, a quant à lui trouvé refuge en Turquie puis en Italie et n'est jamais retourné en Hongrie

jusqu'à sa mort survenue à Turin en 1894. Pourtant, il est resté l'homme politique hongrois le plus connu et le plus célèbre de tout le XIX^e siècle. La question reste donc ouverte : la gloire de Petőfi pourrait-elle rester intacte, s'il s'avérait que le poète a eu une seconde vie, moins héroïque que la version jusqu'ici tenue pour officielle ?

Notes

- 1 *A XIX. század költői (Les poètes du 19^e siècle)* est un poème programmatique de Petőfi, dans lequel il esquisse sa vision d'un monde meilleur qui sera le fruit du combat livré par les poètes.
- 2 Gáldi László, « Petőfi and Eminescu », *The American and East European Review*, 7/2, 1948, p. 171
- 3 Un exemple de comparaison poético-historique entre deux auteurs romantiques, le Slovaque Šafárik et le Polonais Miczkiewicz, est dans l'article de Peter Káša : « Paralely a podobnosti v ranej tvorbe Pavla Jozefa Šafárika a Adama Miczkiewicza », *Acta Musei nationalis Pragae, Series C – Historia Litterarum*, vol. 58/2013, no. 1–2, p. 20–25
- 4 Sur les débats concernant le lieu de naissance du poète, voir sa biographie : Fekete Sándor, *Petőfi Sándor életrajza I*, Budapest, 1973, p. 22-35
- 5 « *S ha Petőfit nem is éreztük olyannak, akitől magyarságot lehet tanulni* » [Et même si l'on ne peut pas considérer Petőfi comme un modèle de magyarité] (Németh László, *Kisebbségben* (1939), cité dans Németh László, *Sorskérdések*, Budapest, Magvető, 1989, p. 423)
- 6 Арап Петра Великого, 1837.
- 7 Czesław Miłosz, *Istoria literaturii polone*, Oradea, Ratio et Revelatio, 2017, p. 264
- 8 Voir Káša, « Paralely », p. 20
- 9 « Oh Bem, mon vaillant chef de guerre, général glorieux, je contemple la grandeur de ton âme les larmes aux yeux » (*Les canons tonnèrent durant quatre jours*)
- 10 Sur cet épisode, voir Hóvári János, « Magyar honvédtábornokok az oszmán haderőben », *Magyar Tudomány*, 2013/9, p. 1046–1055
- 11 Voir ces détails de la biographie sur <http://magyar-irodalom.elte.hu/sulinet/igyjo/setup/portrek/petofi/petofi.htm>. (site consulté le 30 juin 2018).
- 12 Pour une analyse de ce roman, voir Kovács István, « Zigmunt Milkowski visszaemlékezésének és regényeinek valóság tartalma », *Aetas* 2007/2, pp. 114-120. Consultez le 30 juin 2018 sur le site http://acta.bibl.u-szeged.hu/49906/1/aetas_2017_002_114-102.pdf.
- 13 Мой бедный Ленский! изнывая/ Не долго плакала она/ Увы! невеста молодая/ Своей печали неверна. (Онегин, 7, VIII, IX, X). Pauvre Lensky ! elle n'a pas pleuré longtemps, ta jeune fiancée ! elle ne resta pas longtemps fidèle à son amour ! (trad. E. Bécsau)
- 14 Je n'ai plus qu'un désir / Le soir, quand tout s'apaise / Que l'on me laisse mourir / Au bord d'une falaise.
- 15 Il n'est plus ! Le jeune poète est mort avant le temps ! (trad. E. Bécsau)
- 16 Voir le poème de V. Hugo *Réponse à un acte d'accusation*, écrit en 1834.
- 17 Miłosz, *Istoria literaturii polone*, p. 245-6
- 18 Gáldi László, *op. cit.*, p. 171
- 19 Szerb Antal, *Magyar irodalomtörténet*, 2^e éd., Révai, Budapest, 1935, p. 352
- 20 Il est intéressant de noter que Petőfi use de cette même expression : *kutyafejű tatár*, dans son épopée populaire *János Vitéz [Jean le Preux]*, VIII, 5.
- 21 *Ne légyen béke, míg rossz szivetekből/ A vér utolsó cseppje nem csorog... (Élet vagy halál)*

- 22 (*La Nuit de Taras [Тарасова ніч]*): Як москалі, орда, ляхи/ Бились з козаками/.../ Запродана жидам віра,/ В церкву не пускають! Voir le texte ukrainien sur <http://litopys.org.ua/shevchenko/shev108.htm> et la traduction en russe dans Т. Чевченко, Кобзарь, Saint-Petersbourg, 1876
- 23 « Et si parfois un soldat moscovite est apparu, tout ce que l'on a retenu de lui, c'est qu'il était vêtu d'un bel uniforme brillant. En effet, on reconnaît le serpent à sa peau. » Sur ces vers qui ne figurent pas dans la plupart des éditions de *Pan Tadeusz*, voir l'analyse de Cséby Géza, « Az európai romantika nagy alakja: Adam Mickiewicz », *Monitor* VI/4, 1998, p. 5–6. Consulté le 20 juin 2018 sur <http://www.csebygeza.hu/esszek/mickiewicz.pdf>
- 24 C'est ici à Devín/Dévény que le poète et leader national Ľudovít Štúr a commencé son combat pour l'émancipation du peuple slovaque. Ce poème peut être lu sur https://zlatyfond.sme.sk/dielo/37/Stur_Basne/3, consulté le 30 juin 2018. Notons que la ville de Dévény a aussi inspiré le poète hongrois Endre Ady dans son poème *Góg és Magógfia vagyok én [Je suis le fils de Gog et de Magog]*, dans lequel Dévény signifie la porte occidentale de la Hongrie par où entrent les pensées nouvelles.
- 25 Le site officiel du Ministère de la Justice de la Fédération de Russie (<http://to75.minjust.ru/node/4144>, consulté le 30 juin 2018) parle de la présence de Petöfi en Sibérie comme d'un fait avéré.
- 26 Voir le site <http://www.litera.hu/hirek/szilagyi-akos-posztpetofi-sandor-sziberiai-borbely>, consulté le 30 juin 2018.

EIN MODERNER LÜGENBARON UND SEIN BIOGRAF. ÜBER *MAC ECK'S* *SONDERBARE REISEN ZWISCHEN KONSTANTINOPEL* *UND SAN FRANCISCO (1901)*

ENDRE HÁRS

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Der Wiener Feuilletonist Ludwig Hevesi (1843–1910) hat im Band *Mac Eck's Sonderbare Reisen zwischen Konstantinopel und San Francisco* (1901) die Reiseerlebnisse des Wiener Fabrikanten und Privatgelehrten Friedrich Eckstein (1861–1939) veröffentlicht bzw. nacherzählt. Die Besonderheit der Sammlung besteht in der doppelten Autorschaft, die sich aus der Verquickung der narrativen Stimmen des mündlich berichtenden Eckstein und des protokollierenden Hevesi ergibt. „Mac Ecks“ Berichte über die USA dokumentieren den touristischen Erfahrungshorizont der Gründerzeit und die Auseinandersetzung Wiener Intellektueller mit dem Amerikanismus.

Schlagwörter: Reisefeuilleton, Gründerzeit, Moderne, Autorschaft, Amerikanismus

Das Lebenswerk des Wiener Feuilletonisten Ludwig Hevesi (1843–1910) umfasst zahlreiche Schriften und mehrere Genres, mit denen sich das schriftstellerische Profil eines um 1900 tätigen Publizisten und Intellektuellen charakterisieren lässt.¹ Der hohe Anteil von Reiseberichten in diesem Korpus dokumentiert nicht nur den Lebensstil des liberalen Bürgertums des ausgehenden 19. Jahrhunderts, sondern auch Hevesis Reiseleidenschaft. Der Feuilletonist hat zum einen aus kunsthistorischem Interesse, zum anderen aus touristischer Neugierde zahlreiche Länder Europas bereist und über seine Erfahrungen in beobachtungsreichen humoristischen Reiseberichten auch seine Leserschaft fleißig informiert. Über Europa hinaus hat er sich viel weniger orientiert, wobei er dafür, was versäumt wurde, auf besondere, nämlich literarische Art und Weise schadlos zu halten wusste. Nach seinem berühmten frühen Jugendbuch² und einer Biografie³, die jeweils Reisen und Abenteuer *anderer* gewidmet waren, veröffentlichte Ludwig Hevesi 1901 erneut eine Sammlung von Reiseskizzen, in denen wieder einmal fremde Reiseerlebnisse ‚adaptiert‘ wurden. Allerdings ist die Beziehung zwischen Erlebnis und Bericht in diesem Fall auch viel komplexer geraten, als in den beiden früheren Werken. Beruhen diese auf historischen Quellen – vergleichbar mit Schriften von bzw.

über Andreas Jelky und Wilhelm Junker –, so ist *Mac Eck's Sonderbare Reisen zwischen Konstantinopel und San Francisco*⁴ die Verschriftlichung von mündlich Erzähltem, dessen ‚Original‘ mit Ausnahme weniger Aufzeichnungen nie vorgelegen hat. Abgesehen von etwa dreißig Seiten Eigenbericht, die sich über Mac Eck's Reisen in Friedrich Ecksteins (1861–1939) Memoiren „*Alte unnennbare Tage!*“ *Erinnerungen aus siebzig Lehr- und Wanderjahren* (1936) befinden,⁵ bleibt selbst die Eckstein-Forschung auf Hevesis Buch als Quelle angewiesen. Im folgenden soll das Doppel des erlebenden-erzählenden Protagonisten Eckstein und dessen Protokollisten Hevesi näher untersucht werden. Die in dieser Frage gefällte Entscheidung ermöglicht im Anschluss daran die Analyse des Bandes als Hevesis ‚amerikanischem Reisebuch‘ bzw. als Bestandteil seines Œuvres.

Friedrich Eckstein, Fabrikant, Privatgelehrter und ‚Polyhistor‘, war eine durch sein Netzwerk und seine verschiedenen Professionen bekannte Gestalt Wiens und der späten Monarchiezeit.⁶ Weniger seine philosophisch-esoterischen Schriften als seine Beteiligung am gesellschaftlichen Leben der Hauptstadt haben in Aufzeichnungen und Erinnerungen der Zeitgenossen ihren Niederschlag gefunden. Seine Biografen kehren vor allem Ecksteins Wagnerismus, theosophische Aktivitäten, Freundschaften mit Musikern und Bekanntschaften mit zahlreichen namhaften Intellektuellen seiner Zeit hervor. Anekdotisch verbürgt sind Ecksteins besondere Kenntnisse der zeitgenössischen Wissenschaften und Künste, mit denen er immer wieder zu imponieren wusste.⁷ Als extravagante Figur und fleißiger Mitgestalter des Wiener Kaffeehauslebens wurde er nicht nur durch Hevesi, sondern auch in anderen Texten der Epoche porträtiert.⁸

Die genannten Memoiren des über siebzigjährigen Eckstein setzen bezüglich des Erinnerungswürdigen selbst Akzente. Es handelt sich um keine streng chronologisch gehaltene Autobiografie, sondern um eine Interessengebiete und persönliche Begegnungen gebündelte Folge von Berichten, die in thematische Kapitel unterteilt sind. Sieht man von den knapp gehaltenen Kindheitserinnerungen im ersten Kapitel und dem englisch-amerikanischen Reisebericht in den beiden letzten Kapiteln des Bandes ab, so beschäftigt sich Eckstein vorwiegend mit seinen Bekanntschaften mit berühmten Persönlichkeiten. Eckstein porträtiert systematisch seine ‚Helden‘ (Beschreibungen des Äußeren nicht ausgenommen) und liefert – statt Zeitgeschichte – Miscellen zur einer modern-individualistischen Intellektuellengeschichte. Die Rhetorik ist durch die Emphase der Wirkung der betreffenden Künstler und Wissenschaftler auf Eckstein bestimmt, nicht ohne die Hervorhebung des eigenen Anteils an deren Schicksal. Ecksteins Selbstbild wird an den Ruhm und den Kult anderer gekoppelt und wirkt insofern auch kompensatorisch. Dennoch wartet die Autobiografie auch mit wertvollen zeithistorischen Details und Anekdoten, vor allem aus dem Fin de Siècle auf. Im vorliegenden Zusammenhang ist von Bedeutung, dass Eckstein Hevesi völlig unerwähnt lässt. Verblüffend ist vor allem, dass Hevesi als Verfasser ‚des Lebens‘ Ecksteins,

als Biograph des Ruhmsüchtigen komplett unterschlagen wird. Symptomatisch wirkt auch, dass im amerikanischen Reisebericht gar nicht auf Hevesis Buch zurückgegriffen wird. Die Auswahl des Stoffes überschneidet sich zum Teil mit *Mac Eck's Sonderbaren Reisen*, unterscheidet sich jedoch sowohl im Wortlaut als auch in den gegebenen Informationen. Der Erinnerungskünstler Eckstein scheint hier seine sonst gern erzählten „amerikanischen Geschichten“⁹ hintangestellt und dabei mindestens einen wirksamen „Freund“¹⁰ restlos verdrängt zu haben.

Der Titel *Mac Eck's Sonderbare Reisen zwischen Konstantinopel und San Francisco* ist eigentlich irreführend hinsichtlich der im Band beschriebenen Destinationen. Er verspricht zum einen Abenteuer, zum anderen eine Odyssee, wie sie Jelkys Reisen geboten haben. Erwartungen dieser Art werden im Fall Mac Ecks nur zum Teil erfüllt. Das Reisen bleibt in den im Band behandelten ‚Lebensphasen‘ Ecksteins durch deren biographisches Profil bestimmt. Die Zusammenstellung des Bandes folgt nicht der Lebenschronologie. Den Anfang machen Reisebeschreibungen aus Großbritannien¹¹ sowie Erlebnisberichte aus esoterischen und theosophischen Kreisen daselbst¹² (Erlebnisse aus der zweiten Hälfte der 1880er-Jahre). Am zahlreichsten sind Reiseberichte über die USA (Erlebnisse der ersten Hälfte der 1890er-Jahre)¹³. Den Abschluss bilden die ‚Jugendreisen‘ im nördlichen und östlichen Europa (Anfang bis Mitte der 1880er-Jahre)¹⁴. Auf die Datierung der Reisen wird nicht sonderlich Acht gegeben, so dass man nur aus vereinzelten Hinweisen auf den Zeitpunkt der Reise schließen kann. Die Gespräche zwischen Eckstein und Hevesi sind in der zweiten Hälfte der 1890er-Jahre zu verorten, sodass sich zwischen dem Reise- bzw. Entstehungskontext der Texte und Ecksteins Memoiren immerhin mehr als vierzig Jahre Lebenszeit erstrecken.

1. Das Interviewbuch

Grund für das unharmonisch anmutende Nachleben von *Mac Eck's Sonderbaren Reisen zwischen Konstantinopel und San Francisco* in Ecksteins Erinnerungen ist vielleicht gerade die dem Band zugrundeliegende doppelte Autorschaft. Ecksteins Biographin, Mulo-Déri, scheint selbst in Verlegenheit zu sein, wenn sie sich auf den Band beziehen muss. „Eckstein hat diese Reise [nach Griechenland, E.H.] als ‚Ein Pfingsttritt durch den Peloponnes‘ in Ludwig Hevesis Sammelband [...] beschrieben“¹⁵ – schreibt sie an einer Stelle, Eckstein als eigentlichen Akteur vortreten lassend. Dennoch erkennt sie, wenngleich mit abschätzigen Kommentaren, auch Hevesis schriftstellerischen Beitrag an. Auf das andere Extrem stößt man in zeitgenössischen Kritiken. „[E]s kann einer lange erzählen, ohne als Erzähler sein Glück zu machen, wenn er nicht einen Zuhörer findet wie Ludwig Hevesi“, schreibt Wilhelm Goldbaum im *Pester Lloyd*.¹⁶ Eckstein könne sich glücklich nennen, dass seine „krause[n] Geschichten sich in kleine Wunder-

werke humoristischer Reise-Erzählung verwandel[t]“ haben und er dadurch „auf einem Umwege seinen Einzug in die Literatur gehalten hat“¹⁷. Noch fragwürdiger wird Ecksteins Rolle bei einem Rezensenten der *Wiener Zeitung*, der – Hevesi Vorwort ignorierend – gar erst seine Dilemmata artikuliert, wie denn überhaupt Hevesi an diesen Stoff gelangt sei und ein derart „anglo-amerikanisches“ Buch „in Wien schreiben konnte“¹⁸.

Über die urheberische „Doppelgestalt“¹⁹ äußert sich jedenfalls auch Hevesi selbstbewusst und seinem Medium gegenüber dennoch die gebührende Ehre erweisend. Er hält in seinem Vorwort fest, dass er von Ecksteins „Reisen, von denen [dies]er [...] wie ein Odysseus bunt zu erzählen pflegte“ (Vo VI), „halb in seiner, halb in meiner Weise“ (ebd.) Aufzeichnungen zu machen angefangen hat. Dabei vermerkt er auch: „Die Darstellungsform als zusammenhängende Erzählung ergab sich von selbst, obgleich die mündliche Mitteilungsweise je nach Stimmung und zufälliger Gedankenverbindung zwangloser war und mich auch aus eigenem beträchtlich mitwirken ließ.“ (ebd.) Auch Hevesi hält sich also selbst für mehr als für einen bloßen Protokollisten, und charakterisiert die Zusammenarbeit nochmal, als hätte man dabei „vierhändig Klavier gespielt“ (Vo VII). Er findet auch für die Perspektive des erzählenden Ichs der Texte eine treffende Beschreibung: Die „technisch-sportlichen Augen“ Ecksteins seien ganz andere gewesen, als seine eigenen „litterarisch-künstlerischen“, „aber ich hatte sie gewissermaßen in meinem eigenen Kopf“ (Vo VI–VII). Ecksteins Bericht sei insofern keine Zitation, sondern schriftstellerische Leistung, in deren Rahmen letztendlich Hevesi als Erzähler und Eckstein als Figur agieren.

Die Differenz zwischen dem berichtenden und dem protokollierenden Ich ist in den Beiträgen mehrfach markiert. Die Vorlage bildet das Modell des Interviews als Abschrift bzw. nachträgliche Redaktion eines Gesprächs. Hevesi belässt es nicht beim Vorwort, sondern schreibt sich als Herausgeber in den Text mit ein. Die Hauptregel für die Herstellung der erforderlichen Referenz ist in den einzelnen Beiträgen eine kurze Formel zum Auftakt des Textes, die, als Parenthese nach dem Muster ‚sagte Freund Fritz‘, in die beginnende Ich-Erzählung eingeschoben wird.²⁰ Dieses Signal hat auch in den Zeitungsveröffentlichungen – die gleichwohl öfter auch mit Untertiteln und Anmerkungen versehen wurden²¹ – den Kontext mit früheren Mitteilungen dieser Art hergestellt. Die Pflichtformel ‚sagte Freund Fritz‘ wird in den Texten durch weitere Hinweise auf den berichtenden Freund und dessen Stil ergänzt, spricht doch ‚Fritz‘ seinen Gesprächspartner immer wieder an, und fordert ihn mit Floskeln wie ‚Sie wissen, dass‘²² wiederholt heraus. Diese Formeln sind das konsequent verwendete Minimum, sonst fallen Ecksteins Erzählung und deren Wiedergabe zusammen, als würde man unmittelbar Eckstein lesen bzw. reden hören.

Am geringsten fikionalisiert ist die Beziehung zwischen dem berichtenden und dem protokollierenden Ich in drei Fällen: In *Eine Minute mit Edison* ist Eck-

steins Text durch Anführungszeichen von den (spärlichen) Erzählerkommentaren Hevesis abgesetzt; in *Jack Strap und der Drummer* erzählt Hevesi über die Erlebnisse seines Freundes in dritter Person Singular; schließlich ist dem Beitrag *Jostedalsbrå* eine längere Einführung über Eckstein in dritter Person Singular vorangestellt.²³ In diesen Fällen werden die Zuständigkeiten jeweils dem einen oder anderen Part zugeordnet und der Charakter des Interviewbuchs hervorgekehrt. Es gibt aber zahlreiche Fälle, in denen die Markierung der Differenz den umgekehrten Effekt erzielt. Die Textanfänge thematisieren zwar den Gesprächsrahmen, womöglich auch die Umstände des Interviews, das sogar durch Verabredung und Besuch arrangiert wurde. Aber man liest über all das in Form einer Rahmen-erzählung. Der durchstilisierte Bericht darüber, wie das Buchprojekt entstanden ist, wird selbst zu einem Narrativ, in das Ecksteins Berichte als Geschichten des Ich-Erzählers „Mac Eck“ eingebettet werden. Charakteristisch sind diesbezüglich z. B. folgende Stellen:

Also von Madame Blavatsky soll ich Ihnen erzählen? Sagte Freund Fritz und zog die Augenbrauen ungewöhnlich hoch. (MB 15)²⁴

Ich bin heute zu müde, mit Ihnen im Geiste nach Amerika zu gehen – sagte Freund Fritz –, bleiben wir einmal unterwegs liegen. Im östlichen London vielleicht, wo es auch sehr sonderbar zugehen kann.“ (FG 59)

„Was das Abspringen von fahrenden Bahnzügen betrifft, so [...] gehört eine eigene Turmtechnik dazu. (Der Erzähler demonstrierte sie sogleich; es muß übrigens bemerkt werden, daß er von Kindesbeinen auf in allen Leibesübungen Champion ist.)“ (EA 102)²⁵

In diesen Szenen gewinnt Eckstein als (Erzähler-)Figur Gestalt und die Umstände der Begegnung werden selbst zum Erzählstoff. Ecksteins sprachliche Eigenarten, z.B. seine im Text wiedergegebenen erzählerischen Digressionen, werden durch einen von außen auf ihn geworfenen Blick ergänzt. Die Rahmen-erzählung hat aber auch für den Protokollisten Konsequenzen – konstituiert ihn doch dieser Rahmen erst als Ich-Erzähler. Auf dieser Ebene sind die Formeln ‚sagte Freund Fritz‘ verortet, und je mehr dazu gesagt wird, desto mehr wird die scheinbar beiläufige Befragung selbst zum Handlungsstrang. Hevesi selbst wird zur Figur, die eigene Beobachtungen macht und von „Fritz“ mit ins Gespräch gezogen wird:

„[...] Sie wissen, was ein Teller ist?“
 „Gewiß,“ sagte ich, „eine kleine Schüssel...“
 „Ach, Sie sind ein Grünhorn!“ rief er aus. „Ich meine ja keinen Teller, sondern einen *teller*: von *to tell*, sagen; also einen Ansager gleichsam. [...] (ME 123)²⁶

Der hydraulische Druck führt hier das große Wort. Wissen Sie, was *Druck* ist? ... Ach, Sie wollen sagen, daß Sie selbst für den Druck arbeiten? Nun, kommen Sie einmal zu mir und ich will vor Ihren Augen Ihr letztes Buch, „Blaue Fernen“ glaube ich, das fünf Centimeter dick ist, in eine durchsichtige, unzerbrechliche Glasplatte von 2 Millimeter Stärke verwandeln. Ich übergieße es bloß mit einer Säure und setze es einem hydraulischen Druck aus, der nicht von Pappe ist. (ME 132)²⁷

Wie letzteres Zitat belegt, geht es hier sehr wohl um die reale Person Ludwig Hevesi und dessen Partner, den Fabrikanten Friedrich Eckstein. Die Anlehnung an die eigenen Lebens- und Reiseerfahrungen ändert aber nichts daran, dass deren Verschriftlichung anders verläuft, als wenn Eckstein seine Erinnerungen selbst verfasst hätte. Durch Überantwortung des Erzählens ändert sich der Status des berichtenden Ichs, dessen Erfahrungen erst durch das protokollierende Ich zum Text werden. Die narrative Instanz ersten Grades ist notgedrungen Hevesi, und diesem steht es durchaus frei, durch Ausbau der Rahmenerzählung auch sich selbst mit ins Spiel zu bringen. Zudringlich und übertrieben kann diese narrative Selbstverwirklichung nicht genannt werden, dennoch dürfte sie zur Verdrängung des Bandes in Ecksteins späteren Memoiren beigetragen haben.

Hevesi nimmt seine Möglichkeiten als vermittelnde narrative Instanz immer wieder wahr, so dass die erzählerische Besonderheit des Bandes nie aus den Augen gerät und dem Reisebericht ein besonderes Gepräge verleiht.²⁸ Die narrative Ordnung der doppelten Autorschaft wird vielleicht am ausdrücklichsten im Beitrag *Im Rauchsalon* selbstreflexiv gewendet. Hier legt Hevesi auf die Stilisierung des Erzählstils von Eckstein besonderen Wert. Bereits der Auftakt des Textes nimmt explizit auf die Situation Bezug:

„Sofort – sagte Freund Fritz – ich will nur erst diese Flasche Goldeck entkorken. (Er zog einen blinkenden Gegenstand aus der Tasche.) Sehen Sie, das kriegt man in den ganzen Vereinigten Staaten auf der Straße geschenkt. [...] Auf der Hülse steht nichts zu lesen, als der eingravierte Name Anhäuser-Busch. Das genügt. Anhäuser-Busch ist nämlich die Riesenbrauerei in Saint-Louis (Missouri). Sie wissen, eine Brauerei, so groß wie eine Provinzialhauptstadt.“ (Ra 73)

Schon dieser Anfang deutet an, wie wenig sich der Berichterstatter an den Hauptstrang seiner Erzählung halten wird. Entsprechend wiederholt sich im Text fünfmal die Wendung ‚Doch um zur Sache zu kommen‘, sodass der ganze Beitrag durch Digressionen strukturiert wird. Hierzu passt auch der Inhalt des Textes: Eckstein erzählt, wie die Passagiere der Transatlantikschnelle die Zeit vertreiben. Neben ‚Poker und Whiskey (Ra 75) sind dabei vor allem ‚Wetten und Anekdotenerzählen‘ (ebd.) von Bedeutung. Ecksteins Erzählung vergegenwärtigt, wie

sich die von Reisenden präsentierten Geschichten einander ohne System und Ordnung durchkreuzen:

Sie reißen sich gegenseitig das Wort aus dem Munde. Einer sucht dem andern zuvorzukommen, indem er, bevor noch sein Vordermann geendet hat, bereits beginnt: „Da wir gerade von Buffalo sprechen, fällt mir ein“ u.s.w. In schleppendem, nachdrücklichem Tone beginnt er, noch unverständlich im Gelächter über die Pointe der vorigen Geschichte, aber er hat den Faden erwischt und den Anfang des seinigen in das Ende des vorigen „hinein角度t“. [...] Doch um zu den Anekdoten zu kommen...“ (Ra 77)

Die Schilderung dieser Szene wird zur *Mise en abyme* der Gesprächssituation zwischen Hevesi und Eckstein. Dieser überbietet zwar nur sich selbst im Geschichtenerzählen, tut es jedenfalls nicht anders als die geschilderten „Drummers“. Die zitierte Stelle ist eine Anekdote, deren Sujet auch Ecksteins chaotisches Erzählen charakterisiert. Dieses wird freilich als durchkomponiertes Chaos des ‚wortgetreuen‘ Protokollisten wiedergegeben. Während der Überblick über die eigene erzählerische Leistung „Mac Eck“ selbst verwehrt bleibt, setzt Erzähler Hevesi den Leser in die Lage, die Parallelen zu erkennen. Das hintergründige Porträt Ecksteins als Erzähler ist ein Zusatz, der durch die Rahmenerzählung ermöglicht wird und Hevesi zum Karikaturisten eines Chaoten werden lässt.²⁹ Im Dienste des anderen kommt auch er selbst auf seine (feuilletonistische) Rechnung. Muss er doch auch selbst um ergiebige Unterhaltung der Konsumenten seiner Geschichten über Eckstein sorgen. Und da ist mehr Witz (als Eckstein erzählen wollte) besser als weniger.

Als ein weiterer, das gesamte Bandkonzept charakterisierender Beitrag kann schließlich der Bericht *Nach Klondyke* betrachtet werden. Auch hier handelt es sich um eine Verschachtelung von Erzählungen: „Nun thut es mir leid, daß ich in San Francisco keine Zeit mehr hatte, den wochenlangen Abstecher nach Alaska zu machen“ (NK 274) – sagt Freund Fritz und nimmt diese Beteuerung zum Anlass, aus vor ihm liegenden „*press-cuttings*“ (NK 276) die Erfahrungen eines Goldgräbers in Alaska zu rekapitulieren. Eckstein, der eine solche ‚Reise‘ nicht gemacht hat – wenngleich es seinem Ehrgeiz *sehr* entsprochen hätte –, berichtet über sie aus anderweitigen Quellen und kann sich dabei auch auf zwei Freunde beziehen, die es immerhin – wenngleich erfolglos – versucht haben. Eckstein war zwar nie da, habe jedoch gerade *mit diesen Freunden* „eine halbe Stunde von Wien [...] gewisse Wände“ erobert, „die schon berühmte Ortler- und Matherhornführer ‚paff‘ gemacht haben“ (NK 276). Sie haben Bergrücken zusammen erstiegen, die, wenngleich nicht gleich in Alaska, so doch auch bei Wien selbst *sehr schwer zu schaffen* waren. Einerseits muss man also zum Bestehen schwieriger Proben nicht gleich ans Ende der Welt reisen, andererseits kann man

für sich Freunde einspringen lassen, deren Erfahrungen ebenso übertragbar, wie wilde Orte austauschbar sind. Eckstein, der seine sportlichen Leistungen durchgehend stolz hervorhebt, erreicht hier Alaska gleichsam durch ‚Fernsteuerung‘. Und während die genannten press-cuttings der Zeitungen das Goldgräberunternehmen als etwas Machbares und Leichtes beschreiben, weiß der berichtende Eckstein nun *aus Erfahrung* – aus der seiner Freunde bzw. aus Erlebnissen, die bei Wien gemacht wurden – *ganz genau*, wie beschwerlich ein solches Unternehmen ist. Damit kehrt der Beitrag hervor, was auch an anderen Stellen vorsichtig angedeutet wird, dass „Mac Eck“ ein Erzähler sei, bei dem es nicht auf das letzte Faktum ankommt. Sein Selbstbild ist stark narrativ besetzt und nur mit Abstrichen für eine Biografie geeignet. Durch diese Erkenntnis rückt wieder der Rahmenerzähler Hevesi ins Bild, der dies erkannt hat und in diesem Sinne „Mac Eck“ statt Friedrich Eckstein zu verewigen weiss.

2. Reise in die Moderne

Die doppelte Autorschaft in *Mac Eck's Sonderbaren Reisen zwischen Konstantinopel und San Francisco* verschafft dem Band einen besonderen Status im Hevesi Œuvre. Die Thematik verankert ihn unter den Reisebüchern des Feuilletonisten, und die Tatsache, dass dessen Grundlage ‚fremde‘ Reisen bilden, unterscheidet ihn wieder von Ihnen. Dennoch sind die Akzente anders gesetzt, als etwa im Buch über Wilhelm Junker oder in Hevesis anderweitigen Biografien.³⁰ Hier erzählt die porträtierte Person selbst, was zum einen die oben beschriebene Literarisierung als Figur zur Folge hat, zum anderen den Gegenstand seiner Erzählung hervorkehrt: Die Reiseerlebnisse stehen im Vordergrund, sie entsprechen dem Impetus der Reiseliteratur der Zeit³¹ und verorten das Werk statt der Biografien im Kontext von Hevesis Reisebüchern. Bei deren großer Vielfalt fällt hier auf, dass Hevesi mit Hilfe des Mediums Mac Eck nicht nur eine Reise ‚nachholt‘, die er persönlich nie gemacht hat, sondern Themen aufgreift, mit denen er höchstens im westlichen Europa in Berührung gekommen ist.

Mac Eck's Sonderbare Reisen zwischen Konstantinopel und San Francisco greift drei große Themen der Zeit auf: Amerika, den Esoterismus und den Alpinismus (Berg- und Extremtourismus). Während die beiden letzten Themen in nur jeweils drei Beiträgen behandelt werden, widmen sich vierzehn Texte Reisen in den USA, wobei von ihrem Thema her auch die beiden britischen Geschichten zu dieser Gruppe gerechnet werden können: In diesen Texten reist der durchaus technisch interessierte „Fritz“ in Länder der Modernisierung und erkundet eine für mitteleuropäische Verhältnisse fortschrittliche ‚neue Welt‘. Dabei bedient er sich der Stereotype und der Klischees des in diesem Zeitraum gängigen Amerika-Diskurses: Die Reise führt statt aus der modernen Welt hinaus mitten in sie

hinein,³² bei mal distanzierenden, mal affirmativen Beobachtungen der für Europäer verblüffenden Extreme.

Vergleicht man den Ansatz mit der zeitgenössischen Reiseliteratur über die USA, so ergeben sich zahlreiche Parallelen. Eckstein bereist die nördliche Ostküste (New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Newport, Albany), besucht Wisconsin (Milwaukee), Illinois (Chicago), Indiana (Indianapolis), Kentucky (Louisville), Missouri (St. Louis) und reist auch in den Westen, nach Colorado (Denver, Colorado Springs, Grand Junction), Utah (Salt Lake City) und Kalifornien (San Francisco). Damit absolviert er Reiserouten, die um diese Zeit die durchschnittlichen Ziele der Europäer waren.³³ Er gehört zu den wohlhabenden Amerikareisenden, die sich die Reise auf dem Oberdeck der Kreuzfahrtschiffe und die kostspieligen Zugfahrten und Luxuswaggons leisten können.³⁴ Er besucht auch teure Orte (z.B. die Bade- und Kurorte Newport, Rhode Island, Saratoga Springs, Colorado Springs³⁵) und trifft sich mit der gesellschaftlichen Elite.³⁶ Dieses Profil verstärken zahlreiche Themen „Mac Ecks“: Beschreibungen des Hotelwesens,³⁷ Berichte über die Infrastruktur der Städte und des Landes, über Menschen und Gewohnheiten. Man beobachtet dabei eine starke Tendenz zu den amerikanischen Besonderheiten. Der Erzähler konfrontiert mit „österreich-ungarischem Erstaunen“ (Ki 211)³⁸ „kontinentale“³⁹ Erwartungen mit überseeischen Überraschungen, und beschreibt die „Yankee[s]“ (JS 119) als innovativ, reich⁴⁰ und exzentrisch:

„Wissen Sie zum Beispiel, wie man es angefangen hat, sämtliche Ausstellungsgebäude [der Weltausstellung in Chicago, E. H.] schneeweiß zu lackieren? Man stellte den weißen Lack in ungeheuren Bassins auf und sprühte ihn mittels Dampfspritzen über alle die großen und kleinen Bauwerke. [...] Und ein guter Spaß war es auch, was man that, um sich zuletzt die kostspieligen Abtragungsarbeiten zu ersparen. Man stecke einfach die ganze Geschichte in Brand und ließ sie zu Asche werden, aber wohlgemerkt, gegen Eintrittsgeld. (EC 165)

„Der alte Hin- und Hertraber [ein Museumswächter, E.] erzählte mir dabei von einer Wette, die Mr. Astor, einer von der gewissen Achtnullenfamilie, in London mit Lord Soundso eingegangen sei. Nämlich 250 Personen an einem Tische zu bewirten, der aus einer einzigen Platte [dem Querschnitt eines Riesenbaums, E. H.] bestehen werde. [...] Er gewann die Wette. Die amerikanischen Zeitungen aber waren wütend über Mr. Astor, weil er so ‚schäbig‘ gewesen, eine so kleine Sequoja [*Sequoja gigantea*, E. H.] zu kaufen und die Reputation der Vereinigten Staaten in England nicht besser zu verteidigen [...].“ (SF 262)⁴¹

„Mac Eck“ beobachtet kulturelle Spezifika, nationale und regionale Klischees. Er kommentiert immer wieder das Großstädtische,⁴² die amerikanische „Kriminalromantik“ (SM 148)⁴³, den „Kentuckysmus“ (Ke 187)⁴⁴, den Mormonismus⁴⁵

und beschreibt viele ‚Kuriosa‘: die Mustangs (Ke 195), das Popcorn (Ke 198), den Kautabak (Ke 185), den Kaugummi (SD 156), das Müsli (eigentlich das „Shucotash“ der „Rothäute“, SM 150), den „Maple-room“⁴⁶ und das „Preistöten“ (SF 270, im Sinne von ‚Ausverkauf‘). Er ‚begegnet‘ der ‚amerikanischen Mentalität‘ und dem Nationalbewusstsein, entzifferbar etwa in ‚Bekanntnissen‘ zum Amerikanertum von der Art: „Sie wollten keine englischen Lords werden, sondern amerikanische Bürger bleiben und das Yacht-Bootsgeschäft weiter treiben.“ (SM 145) Die nachdrücklichste Erfahrung ist für ihn – als dezidiert technisch interessierten Europäer – jedoch die Modernisierung. „Die Amerikaner müssen recht haben“, heißt es in *Kikapu*, „wenn sie behaupten, ihre Luft sei weit elektrischer als irgend eine andere, und je weiter nach Westen, desto elektrischer.“ (Ki 213). Der Satz ist zwar konkret gemeint, ist aber symptomatisch für Ecksteins Eindrücke: In den Vereinigten Staaten liege die technische Innovation gleichsam in der Luft und beherrsche alles.⁴⁷ „[W]er könnte sich in Amerika langweilen“ (EC 178), vermerkt er auf einer längeren Fahrt auf der Michigan-See, wenn schon das Schiff an sich – ein „Walfischdampfer“ (ebd.) – etwas Besonderes ist, und man langweilt sich gar erst nicht, wo an Bord regelrechte „Bicycle-Rennen“ (ebd.) organisiert werden. Kein Wunder, wenn die Erzählung auch dann bei diesen Themen ankommt, wenn sie dem vermeintlichen Interesse des Gesprächspartners Hevesi bzw. der Leserschaft entgegenlaufen:

„Was mir in Salt Lake City am besten gefallen hat? [...] [E]s war die Feuerwehr ... Das scheint Ihnen nicht recht zu sein, aber ich kann Ihnen nicht helfen, sie hat mir eben außerordentlich imponiert.“ (BM 226)

„Doch ... wollt‘ ich Ihnen nicht von der Feuerwehr erzählen? Ja, das ist das Schönste in Salt Lake City. Aber Sie verstehen ja ohnehin nichts davon.“ (BM 241).

Versucht man das Spezifische von *Mac Eck's Sonderbaren Reisen zwischen Konstantinopel und San Francisco* hervorzukehren, so sind zunächst einmal seine thematischen Schwerpunkte zu nennen. Eckstein ist zwar in zahlreichen Lebensbereichen bewandert, beruflich ist er aber ein Chemiker und Fabrikant, dessen Reisen zum Teil auch fachspezifische Gründe haben. Die Geschichte der Begegnung mit Edison [im Beitrag *Eine Minute mit Edison*] wird durch ausführliche Beschreibung der organisatorischen Details eingeleitet, die nötig waren, um überhaupt nach Schenectady fahren zu dürfen, und sie bietet die Beschreibung der Anreise und des Fabrikgeländes der damaligen General Electric Company, so dass der Text den langen Weg und die kurze Begegnung auch rhetorisch ausspielt. Nachdem Edison Eckstein mit einem Händeschütteln und wenigen Sätzen abgefertigt hat, tröstet sein Begleiter, Mr. Green, den enttäuschten ‚Pilger‘ mit den Worten: „O, eine Mi-

nute ist sehr viel, Sie dürfen ganz zufrieden sein“ (ME 135), wodurch einmal mehr das Klischee der amerikanischen Geschäftigkeit bestätigt wird.

Zum spezifischen Blick des Erzählers bedarf es jedoch nicht zwingend des technischen Umfeldes. Auch sonst richtet sich seine Aufmerksamkeit immer wieder auf derlei Momente. „Ich bin Barbar und bewunderte natürlich den Maschinentempel“ (BM 232), sagt er über sich anlässlich des Berichts über Salt Lake City. Diesem Anspruch (einer Art gespielter Anspruchslosigkeit) folgend unterlässt er nie, die benutzten Verkehrsmittel zu beschreiben,⁴⁸ die Architektur auf ihre Funktion hin zu kommentieren und generell – in europäisch-amerikanischer Gegenüberstellung – die zivilisatorischen Fortschritte (statt der kulturellen) hervorzuheben. Unausgesprochen vermittelt „Mac Eck“ – denn theoretisch wird er nie – das Bild der USA als einer dezidiert materiellen Kultur, ohne freilich ein negatives Urteil zu fällen. Umgekehrt, er versäumt nicht, das Beobachtete als etwas Besonderes – und Erzählwürdiges – zu präsentieren. So etwa in der Beschreibung des Fährbootes von New York nach Albany:

Überall eiserne Säulen, Mahagoni und roter Samt. Als ich dann essen wollte, hieß es: »Sie müssen hinuntergehen!« Ich ging hinunter, in eine zweite solche Halle [...]. Auf meine Frage nach dem Speisesaal hieß es wieder: »Sie müssen hinuntergehen!« Noch ein Stockwerk tiefer speiste ich vortrefflich und steckte mir dann eine Zigarette an. Da kam ein Steward und ersuchte mich nicht zu rauchen. »Dazu müssen Sie hinuntergehen.« In den Rauchsalon nämlich. Ich rauchte um vier Stockwerke tiefer, als ich schlief. (ME 126)

Ein weiteres Spezifikum „Mac Ecks“ neben der Vorliebe für die Technik ist sein Interesse an Sportarten und sein Hang zur Sportlichkeit. In diesem Kontext gewinnen die im vorliegenden Rahmen unberücksichtigten norwegischen Geschichten (*Jostedalsträ*, *Wanderungen in Jotunheim*) und das abschließende – hauptsächlich in der Nähe von Graz spielende – *Wie man das Abstürzen lernt* an Bedeutung. Sie sind alle Berichte über ‚Extremsport‘ um 1900. Aber auch die USA-Feuilletons bringen immer wieder Beobachtungen über den amerikanischen Sport⁴⁹ und Geschichten über Ecksteins eigene ‚sportliche Leistungen‘, etwa über Sprünge von fahrenden Zügen⁵⁰ und über Kletterabenteuer.⁵¹

3. Doppelte Autorschaft

Mit Ecksteins thematischen Schwerpunkten wäre jedoch weder das Besondere von *Mac Eck's Sonderbaren Reisen zwischen Konstantinopel und San Francisco* erschöpft noch deren ‚Reiz‘ erklärt. Zum Gesamtbild müssen wieder die narrativen Aspekte aufgenommen und das Gesamtkonzept des Bandes berührt wer-

den. Spezifisch ist die Zusammenstellung bereits dadurch, dass die Sammlung über die Amerika-Berichte hinaus auch andere Reiseberichte enthält, so dass die erlebende-berichtende Person und nicht deren Destinationen den gemeinsamen Nenner bieten. Hauptattraktion ist der Abenteurer, ohne dass im Gesamttext das Autobiografische überhand nehmen würde. Der Reisebericht-Charakter wird auch dadurch relativiert, dass „Mac Eck“ – auf für Hevesi gar nicht ungewöhnliche Weise – immer wieder anti-touristische Anmerkungen macht und sich vom Baedeker-Stil distanziert:

„Dieses Paradestück des Globus [die Mammuthöhle in Kentucky] ist bereits x-bis y-mal beschrieben worden, und ich möchte lieber kein Wort darüber verlieren, aber ich habe dort zufällig auch Neues erlebt.“ (Ke 196)

„Wünschen Sie auch, daß ich Ihnen das Tabernakel [am Temple Square in Salt Lake City] schildere? Nicht! Das habe ich von Ihrer Intelligenz und Belesenheit vorausgesetzt. Ich bemerke nur, daß die ungeheure ovale Kuppel auf ihrer Reihe weißer Pfeiler mir [...] wie ein 250 Fuß langer Käfer [erschien][...].“ (BM 232)⁵²

In diesen Fällen der Distanzierung fällt sogleich auf, dass „Mac Eck“ bei aller abwehrenden Geste immer unbeirrt weitererzählt. Was er zum Besten gibt, unterscheidet sich jedoch wesentlich vom Mainstream der Reiseliteratur. Ihm kommt es offensichtlich nicht auf Informationen an, die von einer Bildungsreise zeugen oder (Nicht-)Reisende versorgen würden. Statt dessen steht das ‚Storytelling‘ im Mittelpunkt, der Redefluss eines ‚Großmauls‘, eines modernen ‚Lügenbarons‘, in dese Geschichten nach wie vor die Übertreibung und das anekdotische Element vorherrschen. Die Länder, die er besucht, bieten für ihn nicht nur Besonderes und Abenteuerliches, sie bieten etwas, was nur ihm, genau so und nicht anders, hat widerfahren können. So werden in seiner Darstellung, um nur ein Doppel-Beispiel heranzuziehen, überfüllte Eisenbahnwaggons zu Schauplätzen mythisch erhöhter (sexistischer bzw. rassistischer) Menschenschlachten:

Ich bin da einmal hineingeraten und spüre es noch hier ... und hier, besonders wenn sich das Wetter ändern will. [...] Man muß einmal mitten in diesem Publikum gesteckt haben, wenn es im Laufschrift die Remise stürmt und die Waggons besetzt. Aber Sie wissen ja, ich war einst Athlet und weiche noch jetzt nicht leicht einem Ellenbogenduell aus. [...] Als Wagentritte benützte er [ein Schwarzer, der am Erzähler aufs Wagendach klettert, E. H.] wiederum meine Schultern. Nun, er hätte auch, als er oben saß, meinen Kopf als Fußbank verwerten können. Als die Nachlaufenden seinen Erfolg sahen, begannen sie ihm das Akrobenstück nachzumachen. Es entspann sich eine große Voltige über den Hinterpuffer und meine beiden Schultern hinan, auf das Wagendach. Betrunkene Miners (Grubenarbeiter), Cowboys mit langen Rädersporen an den Fersen, Mulatten, Neger, Irokesen und sogar zwei Damen schwangen sich so an mir empor. (EC 167-168)

„Mac Eck“ teilt auf diese Art und Weise seine Abenteuer und kuriose Geschichten mit, aber aus den Zeilen zwinkert dabei auch deren Übermittler, der ‚Stilist‘ Hevesi hervor. Je mehr es „Mac Eck“ auf das Geschichtenerzählen ankommt, desto wichtiger wird die Präsentation bzw. die Redaktion seines Textes. Von den beiden Ich-Erzählern ist es eigentlich Hevesi, der sich aufs Humoristische versteht. Die Beziehung und die Rollenverteilung beider relativiert sich und stellt sich in der Ausarbeitung gleichsam auf den Kopf: Das wiedergegebene Interview erweckt zuerst den Eindruck, als wäre es Eckstein, der sich eines Zuhörers und ‚Ghostwriters‘ bedient. Seine Geschichten erweisen ihn hingegen als einen Gesprächspartner, dem Hevesi nicht umsonst so viel Aufmerksamkeit schenkt. Aus Hevesis Perspektive ist Ecksteins Lebensgeschichte verwertbarer Stoff für ein humoristisches Reisebuch. Mögen Amerika, Großbritannien, das nördliche bzw. das südliche Europa mit noch so viel Sensation aufwarten, ‚rund‘ und interessant werden *Mac Eck's Sonderbare Reisen zwischen Konstantinopel und San Francisco* so recht erst durch die erlebende und erzählende Figur. Diese mitzugestalten liegt allerdings in der Zuständigkeit Hevesis, der auf der Ebene des dargestellten Interviews zwar nur als Sekundant agiert, auf der Ebene der Verschriftlichung jedoch zum Erzähler und Autor avanciert. Insofern bildet die Beziehung der beiden Erzähler zueinander eine Art Kippfigur. Keine Autorschaft Hevesis ohne Eckstein und keine Lebensgeschichte Ecksteins ohne Hevesi. Diese Interdependenz macht den Reiz der Feuilletonsammlung aus und sorgt für deren narrative Spannungskraft. Auf Ecksteins Geschichten legt sich der Schleier einer ‚fremden‘ erzählerischen Macht und macht sie erst zu dem, was sie sind.

Man kann nur spekulieren, in welchem Maße die doppelte Autorschaft zur Verdrängung beim alten Eckstein geführt hat. Die fehlende Ernsthaftigkeit mag in zweifachem Sinne Stein des Anstoßes gewesen sein. Ecksteins Autobiografie belegt, dass die Reisen nur soweit von Interesse sind, als man berühmte Persönlichkeiten (Edison, Mark Twain) kennenlernen kann. Der Rest passt nicht richtig ins Konzept des kultisch operierenden Zeitzeugen. Amerika ist im Grunde zu modern und zu belanglos im Vergleich zu all den klassischen – künstlerischen, vor allem komponistischen – Werten, die sich im Wien von damals dokumentieren lassen. Darüber hinaus mag sich der alte Eckstein auch damit nicht identifiziert haben, sein Leben als einen Witz, ein Spektakel eines kuriosen Reisenden wiederzusehen. Das Angebertum nimmt in „*Alte unnennbare Tage!*“ *Erinnerungen aus siebzig Lehr- und Wanderjahren* noch weiter zu und duldet keine Karikatur. Die – freilich nur vermutbare – Distanzierung ermächtigt freilich einmal mehr zur ‚Rehabilitierung‘ des Bandes in bzw. als Hevesis Werk.

Fußnoten

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- 2 Hevesi, Lajos: *Jelky András bajai fiú rendkívüli kalandjai ötödfél világrészben. Történeti kútforrások alapján a serdülebb ifjúság számára*. Pest: Heckenast 1872; Onkel Tom: *Des Schneidersgesellen Andreas Jelky Abenteuer in vier Welttheilen. Nach historischen Quellen zum ersten Male ausführlich dargestellt und der reiferen Jugend gewidmet*. Budapest: Franklin 1875.
- 3 Hevesi, Ludwig: *Wilhelm Junker. Lebensbild eines Afrikaforschers*. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung 1896.
- 4 Hevesi, Ludwig: *Mac Eck's Sonderbare Reisen zwischen Konstantinopel und San Francisco*. Stuttgart: Verlag von Adolf Bonz & Comp. 1901. Im Weiteren mit der Sigle „McE“. Auf Angaben zur Erstveröffentlichung der Feuilletons wird aus Raumgründen verzichtet.
- 5 Vgl. Eckstein, Friedrich: *„Alte unnennbare Tage!“ Erinnerungen aus siebzig Lehr- und Wanderjahren*. Wien/Leipzig/Zürich: Herbert Reichner Verlag 1936. Hier zitiert aus der Ausgabe Edition Atelier 1992, S. 253-292.
- 6 https://anthrowiki.at/Friedrich_Eckstein [19.05.2018];
- 7 Mehrere Beispiele zitiert: Schönherr, Max: *Wer war Friedrich Eckstein?* In: Eckstein: *„Alte unnennbare Tage!“*, S. 311-328, hier S. 315-316.
- 8 Er sei der in *Das Unbehagen in der Kultur* (1930) erwähnte „Freund“, der Freud über Yogapraktiken berichtet. Vgl. Mulot-Déri, Sibylle: *Alte ungenannte Tage. Zu einer Biographie Friedrich Ecksteins*. In: Eckstein: *„Alte unnennbare Tage!“*, S. 295-310, hier S. 302.
- 9 Vgl. Schnitzler, Arthur: *Tagebuch 1893–1902*. Hg. v. M. Werner Welzig. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1989, S. 103 (Eintrag v. 03.12.1894).
- 10 Hevesi spricht dagegen mehrfach von „mein[em] Freund Fritz Eckstein“. Hevesi, Ludwig: Vorwort. In: McE, S. V–VII, hier S. V. (Sigle „Vo“).
- 11 L. H.–i.: Ein gefährvoller Nachmittag. In: McE, S. 1-14. (Sigle „GN“); In Forest Gate. In: McE, S. 59-72. (Sigle „FG“).
- 12 Ein mystischer Besuch. In: McE, S. 15-29 (Sigle „MB“); Mystische Erlebnisse. In: McE, S. 30-47 (Sigle „Er“); Ein mystisches Haus. In: McE, S. 48-58 (Sigle „MH“).
- 13 Im Rauchsalon. In: McE, S. 73–88. (Sigle „Ra“); Ein Wrack. In: McE, S. 89-97 (Sigle „Wr“); Eisenbahnerlebnisse in Amerika. In: McE, S. 98-113 (Sigle: EA); Jack Strap und der Drummer. In: McE, S. 114–121 (Sigle „JS“); Eine Minute mit Edison. In: McE, S. 122-135 (Sigle „ME“); Ein Seebad für Millionäre. In: McE, S. 136-151 (Sigle „SM“); Sammy und Dinah. In: McE, S. 152-164 (Sigle „SD“); Erinnerungen an Chicago. In: McE, S. 165-179 (Sigle „EC“); Aus Kentucky. In: McE, S. 180-209 (Sigle „Ke“); Kikapu. In: McE, S. 210-225 (Sigle „Ki“); Bei den Mormonen. In: McE, S. 226-241 (Sigle „BM“); Pike's Peak. In: McE, S. 242-255 (Sigle „PP“); Ein Detective in San Francisco. In: McE, S. 256-273 (Sigle „SF“); Nach Klondyke. In: McE, S. 274-287 (Sigle „NK“).
- 14 Ein Pfingsttritt durch den Peloponnes. In: McE, S. 288-304 (Sigle „Pe“); Eine Fahrt nach dem Heiligen Berg. In: McE, S. 305-327 (Sigle „HB“); Jostedalsbrå. In: McE, S. 328-342 (Sigle „Jo“); Wanderungen in Jotunheim. In: McE, S. 343-359 (Sigle „WJ“); Wie man das Abstürzen lernt. In: McE, S. 360-372 (Sigle „WA“).
- 15 Mulot-Déri: *Alte ungenannte Tage*, S. 297.
- 16 Goldbaum, Wilhelm: *Ludwig Hevesi und Mac Eck*. In: Pester Lloyd. 21.11.1900, Morgenblatt, o.S.

- 17 Ebd. Auch Schnitzlers Tagebucheinträge verstärken diesen Eindruck. „Im Kfh. Eckstein; Fülle des Wissens, keine Persönlichkeit“ – notiert er am 7. Dezember 1894. Schnitzler: *Tagebuch 1893–1902*, S. 103.
- 18 – dm –: „*Mac Hevesi*“. „*Mac Ecks sonderbare Reisen zwischen Constantinopel und San Francisco*“. Von Ludwig Hevesi. In: *Wiener Zeitung*, 05.12.1900, S. 8. Allen Ernstes erwägt der Rezensent auch die Möglichkeit einer Übersetzung aus dem Englischen. Ebd.
- 19 Goldbaum: *Ludwig Hevesi und Mac Eck*, S. 2.
- 20 Im Extremfall entfällt selbst dieser Hinweis. Vgl. SM 136.
- 21 Um nur zwei Beispiele für eine solche Zusatzinformation zu nennen: „Friedrich Eckstein, von dessen europäischen und amerikanischen Erlebnissen der Leser schon so manches Interessante in meiner Niederschrift gelesen hat.“ L. H–i.: Ein mystischer Besuch. Nach Mittheilungen eines Wieners. In: *Fremden-Blatt*, 25.12.1898, S. 11–13, hier S. 11; „Der Erzähler ist Friedrich Eckstein, dem unsere Leser bereits nach Amerika und auf den Berg Athos gefolgt sind; Julius ist sein Reisegefährte, der Architekt J. Mayreder.“ H.: Ein Pfingstritt durch den Peloponnes. Nach mündlichen Mittheilungen eines Wieners. In: *Fremden-Blatt*, 29.05.1898, S. 17–19, hier S. 17. Im Band übernimmt das Vorwort diese Funktion für alle Beiträge.
- 22 Vgl. noch FG 62; SD 162; Ki 223; BM 231; PP 242; PP 246; SF 261; Pe 297; HB 308; WJ 355.
- 23 „Im folgenden ist der Versuch gemacht, eine der größten Gletscherwanderungen [...] zu rekonstruieren. Sie wurde am 22. Juli 1886 angetreten. Die Wanderer waren mein Freund Friedrich Eckstein und sein Freund Aichinger. [...] Die Grundlage dieser Erzählung sind die Notizbücher Ecksteins und seine mündlichen Ergänzungen.“ Jo 328–329.
- 24 Vgl. auch: „[...] antwortete Freund Fritz, als ich ihn auf mormonische Erlebnisse zu sondieren begann“. BM 226. Vgl. ebd. S. 227.
- 25 Vgl. EC 166.
- 26 Die englischen Wörter sind im Original – abhebend von der Frakturschrift – in lateinischen Lettern gedruckt. Hier werden sie kursiv wiedergegeben.
- 27 Vgl. Ki 214.
- 28 Mitteilungen (wenngleich nicht Nacherzählung) der Reiseerlebnisse anderer (vor allem in Übersee) begegnet man in den Tageszeitungen übrigens immer wieder. Vgl. z.B. N.N.: Aus der amerikanischen Gesellschaft. In: *Fremden-Blatt*. 22.03.1883, S. 11–12, hier S. 11: „Ein Stuttgarter Doktor, der sich zur Zeit in Amerika aufhält, gibt in einem Briefe an den »Sch. M.« folgendes anziehendes Bild aus der amerikanischen Gesellschaft: [...]“.
- 29 „Einer der Passagiere erzählte nichts anderes als Anekdoten seines Freundes Travers [...] Er ahmte ihn sogar körperlich nach“ (Ra 82) – berichtet „Fritz“. Das liest sich wiederum als meta-fiktionaler Hinweis auf die Beziehung Eckstein-Hevesi.
- 30 Vgl. Hevesi, Ludwig: *Zerline Gabillon. Ein Künstlerleben*. Stuttgart: Bonz 1894; Ders.: *Ludwig Speidel. Eine literarisch-biographische Würdigung*. Berlin: Meyer & Jessen 1910.
- 31 Vgl. Brenner, Peter J.: *Der Reisebericht in der deutschen Literatur: Ein Forschungsüberblick als Vorstudie zu einer Gattungsgeschichte*. Tübingen: de Gruyter 1990 (=Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur, Sonderheft 2), S. 491–505.
- 32 Vgl. Schmidt, Alexander: *Reisen in die Moderne. Der Amerika-Diskurs des deutschen Bürgertums vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg im europäischen Vergleich*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag 1997, S. 67;
- 33 Vgl. ebd., S. 74.
- 34 Vgl. EA 98–100; Ki 225.
- 35 EA 103.
- 36 Vgl. ME 134–135. Die mit Th. A. Edison verbrachte *eine Minute* ist sogar in Ecksteins Autobiografie eingegangen. Eckstein: *Alte unnenbare Tage*, S. 265–268; Vgl. EA 104; SM 140; EC 173; Ke 183; Ke 188; Ke 193.

- 37 Ra 74; EC 166; Ke 183-184; Ke 197; Ke 199; BM 227; BM 235; PP 242; PP 253.
- 38 Vgl. FG 65; ME 130; SD 153; EC 168; Ke 184; Ke 203; Ki 221; BM 229; PP 243; PP 245; PP 255; NK 274. Es handelt sich eher um flüchtige Beobachtungen als systematische Vergleiche.
- 39 „Wir räsonnierten dann noch weidlich über die Barschheit unseres Kapitäns, den wir für die Gelegenheit [Treffen mit einem Schiff unter Notflagge, E. H.] etwas kontinentaler, d.h. sentimentaler gewünscht hätten.“ Wr 95; Eckstein reist mit der SS City of Paris. Wr 89.
- 40 „Sechsnullenmenschen“, SM 136; „Sechsmillenjüngling“, SM 145. Vgl. auch SM 137 sowie die Traumgeschichte des deutschen Einwanderers John Beck, BM 239.
- 41 Vgl. auch die Anekdote von den aus Europa (mit Profit) eingeschifften historischen Dachziegeln. SM 141.
- 42 „ein ganz absonderliches Stück Stadtansicht“ [das Temple Square in Salt Lake City, E. H.], BM 231; Vgl. Ke 182 über die „Himmelkratzer“. Hierzu auch Hesse-Wartegg, Ernst: *Himmelkratzer*. In: *Chicago. Eine Weltstadt im amerikanischen Westen*. Stuttgart/Berlin/Leipzig: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft 1893, S. 75–90.
- 43 „Ueberhaupt erstaunt der Europäer immer wieder, wie viele fliegende Menschen er in Amerika sieht. Menschen werden dort so ohne Umstände zu Fenstern und Thüren hinaus-, oder von Brüstungen, Treppen, Dächern hinabgeworfen, als wenn sie gar nichts Gebrechliches wären.“ EC 168.
- 44 Gemeint ist eine Art Unkonventionalität: „in Hemdärmeln, die Stiefel in die Höhe, den Hut auf dem Kopfe“, Ke 187. Vgl. auch „Ein Kentucky-Farmer!“, Ke 207); „Lynchungen“, Ke 190. Eckstein nennt aber auch andere Regionalklischees, wie etwa: „Eine Bostonerin ist ein geborener Professor und jede Dame dort wird als Fachmann in irgend etwas erzogen.“ PP 247.
- 45 BM 226ff.
- 46 „Maple-room bedeutet eigentlich das Ahornzimmer, nämlich eine mit lichtem Naturholz getäfelte Trinkstube.“ SF 258.
- 47 „[I]n Elektrisch-Amerika giebt es keine Kerzen, sie gelten für »zu gefährlich«.“ BM 236. Allerdings sorgt dieser Sachverhalt an der zitierten Stelle für die durch Stromausfall bedingte komplette Verfinsterung eines Hotels.
- 48 Um nur einige Beispiele zu nennen: EA; ME 128; ME 130; EC 172; EC 178.
- 49 Vgl. „Tennisheldenthaten“, SM 146; „Bicycle-Rennen“, EC 178.
- 50 Vgl. EA 105-106. Generell verbinden sich mit Zügen physikalisch-körperliche bzw. tumultuöse Szenen, vgl. EA 101; EA 102; FG 66ff; über diesen „Bankfeiertag“ vgl. auch Eckstein: „Alte unnennbare Tage“, S. 262-264.
- 51 „Er lachte mich aus; da sei undenkbar, er glaube nicht, daß einer sich da hinausarbeiten könne [...] [I]n sechs Minuten war ich oben.“ Ke 204.
- 52 Vgl. EC 166; Ke 182.

SPENCERIAN INFLUENCE ON THE EARLY MORAL PHILOSOPHY OF ÁKOS PAULER REGARDING RACIAL AND GENDER INEQUALITY

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In this paper I argue that the early moral philosophy of Ákos Pauler was informed by eugenic and racial hygienic theories of his age. Perhaps one of the key social theorists of his time was the British philosopher Herbert Spencer who arguably had an influence on the moral theories of Pauler as well. Pauler became an influential theoretician in Hungary during the interwar period. His ideological commitments to Christianity and national values made him favorable to the authoritarian politics of the 1920s and 30s. His significance lasted until the end of the 1940s; during the Socialist period from 1948 to 1989 Pauler's heritage was played down because of the ideological divide between the two political eras. However, after the transition, the works of Pauler were re-discovered and my study contributes to this strand of research from an intersectional perspective. In this paper I will analyze how conceptualizations of race and gender structured their moral theories in which the responsibility of women was understood in terms of their reproductive contribution to their country's racial future. I claim that Pauler's early moral philosophy rests on racially informed principles that justify gender subordination.¹

Keywords: race, gender, eugenics, ethics, social inequality, Pauler, Spencer

Introduction

In this paper I compare how conceptualizations of race and gender played a role in structuring the moral theory of the British social philosopher Herbert Spencer in the nineteenth century and the early work of the Hungarian philosopher Ákos Pauler in the twentieth Century. Spencer was a very influential thinker of his age and his works were important for Hungarian progressive thinkers as well – Ákos Pauler was arguably one of them. Pauler became an influential theoretician in Hungary during the interwar period. His ideological commitments to Christianity and national values made him favorable to the authoritarian racially exclusionary politics of his time. Here I would only stress his anti-Semitism to maintain my claim, as he openly supported the numerus clausus law, which limited the number of Jewish Hungarian university students (Somos 1999). Mária Kovács claims that this law, which was enacted in 1921, was the first Jewish law of the Horthy-era and

thus marks an exclusionary racial thinking embraced by the state (Kovács 2012). During the Socialist period from 1948 to 1989 Pauler's heritage was played down because of the ideological divide between the two political eras (Somos 1999). However, after the transition, the works of Pauler were re-discovered and scholars started to show interest in re-interpreting his work to better understand his role in the development of Hungarian philosophy (Somos 1999, Gángó 2011, Frenyó 2014, Somos 2016). My study contributes to this strand of analysis by looking at his moral philosophy from a perspective that allowed the critical appreciation of Spencer's ethics by shedding light on some of his problematic heritage.

More specifically, Spencer was critiqued for his arguments founded on Darwin's theory of evolution to justify racial and gender hierarchy (Paxton 1991, Gondermann 2007, Jeynes 2010). A contemporary school in feminist theorising argues that race, class, and gender are not separable identities but mutually structure our thinking and our social conduct (Crenshaw 1989, Hill Collins 1991, *Stauñæs* 2003, McCall 2005, Kóczé 2009). Thus when we look at an ethical problem such as the subordination of women it is necessary to understand how race, class, religion (and depending on the social context other identities, perhaps, as well) act as social forces that structure our life and realize qualitatively different experiences. This intersectional framework is useful not only to show how individual lives are marginalized and discriminated but to reveal how theoretical works are structured by the implicit racial and gender ideologies of the authors. Hence, in the case of Pauler I will show that his early moral philosophy rests on racially informed principles that justify gender subordination.

In order to accomplish this I will first analyze how evolutionism influenced their moral thinking, then from this stage I will look at how we can account for freedom in their ethical theory and the kind of freedom they embraced. A related question is how their conceptualizations of freedom gave foundations to good and bad conduct. These various stages prepare the groundwork for an analysis of how women were subordinated in their theories and how race as a concept influenced their views on the ethical duties and capabilities of women. I argue that the biologization of the interest of race was used to justify the subordination of women in their social philosophies.

Evolutionism Influenced Ethics

The theory of evolution had a significant impact on Spencer's theorization of society in which moral and political issues were included. He explained how biological evolution divides humanity into superior and inferior races. In his analysis the primary contrasting point is the technological development and the structural complexity of European societies in comparison to the social structures of "savages"

(Spencer 1978a, pp. 48-49). Spencer argued for the division of “races” and tried to give a sound justification in his analysis of good conduct. In his view good conduct equated to those human actions or set of actions that help the evolution of the race. He claimed that evolution had a significant effect on conduct in general. According to him, ethical actions are guided by evolutionary conduct, which has assisted evolution, and so influenced the everyday practices of the individual (Spencer 1978a, pp. 50-51). His argument concerning the everyday practices of the individual is important, because I think Spencer understood possible and desirable ways of living as having this biological underpinning, which constrained and limited the ethically acceptable actions of the individual in order to promote the interest of the race.

Pauler agrees that the biological characteristics of the individual are the basic elements of moral actions within the social structure, however he argued that they are still insufficient if the anthropological characteristics of the race² were not preferable. Only good anthropological qualities of a race could support evolution and this allows the evolution of a high moral level. Pauler further claimed that not all human cultures were capable of creating a high cultural level, which in his view accounted for the moral differences between cultures. He tried to support his argument from an imperialist position that civilization spreads across the globe via European expansion which is the *right* direction regarding the evolution of humanity. When he discussed the relation of ethics and biology Pauler argued that biology has an effect on ethics only from the perspective of the complexity of life-forms (Pauler 1907). He claimed that complex life forms such as a human life have the potential for complex moral actions. He was convinced that only biologically evolved life-forms are capable of acting according to a complex ethical system. And biological evolution has an effect on the complexity of ethics only in terms of the capabilities of humans. In his view life as such has no value, and this is the reason, he argued, humans have to sacrifice their lives in order to fulfil their social duties. He did not want to position himself as an ethical naturalist, thus he advanced an argument against the evolutionary idea of the battle of the races, or between individuals, which was a Spencerian idea. Pauler claimed this biological presupposition cannot serve as a universal principle of ethics for humanity entirely (Pauler 1907, pp. 46-49). Despite this tension between Spencer’s understanding and his own, Pauler subordinated the value of individual action to the interest of the race. He was thinking in an anthropological racial frame (see for example Pauler 1907, p. 137) as did most of his contemporaries in Hungary (see Lafferton 2007, p. 730). Pauler created an ethical system that he intended to serve as grounds for the existence of universal values but he did not take into account that his system would marginalize individuals and communities should these individuals and groups fail to internalize the right values and act according to these ideals in the interest of the race.

Pauler defined biological evolution as one among the basic empirical presuppositions of morals. In this analysis (Pauler 1907, pp. 91-96) he claimed that

the biological structure of the individual has an effect on his/her morality. In his examples, he listed and compared *healthy* individuals with individuals who were considered by him and his contemporaries to be ‘degenerates’. He continued by explaining that the healthy individual has more capacity for moral actions than the “degenerate” individual. Based on these examples he argued that if a healthy person becomes ill, and suffers from this health problem for some time, this will affect him/her morally. In this case he relied on superficial stereotypes and tried to come up with a generally acceptable argument against the moral capacities of alcoholics and other “degenerates.” He managed to conclude that the degeneration of the individual has an effect on the level of his/her morality and from this standpoint he claimed that the laws of inheritance imply that these “degenerate” individuals pass on their moral capacities to their children. In summary, what was set out by him in this part of his argument is that more evolved biological life corresponds to a more evolved morality (Pauler 1907, p. 96). Along these lines Pauler basically fragments society with biological terms and deems certain lives to be incapable of a high level of morality. In my view, this is important, because he links moral capabilities with eugenic ideas and problematized individual health issues as if these were transgenerational social problems.

The Concept of Freedom in their Ethical Positions

Both Spencer and Pauler could be interpreted as philosophers influenced by Kant either directly or indirectly. Because for Kant the right of the individual to freedom is primary, however this individual freedom is limited by obligations towards society. In relation to free will and morals, Spencer’s account of free will is very similar to that of Kant. The major difference in their reasoning is in the emphasis on the priority of individual freedom and the obligations of the individual to society; but both agreed on the importance of freedom in relation to ethical theory and the ethical actions of the individual. Spencer claimed that in his ethics the freedom and free actions of the individual are primary and the limitations on individual freedom by others are of only secondary importance (Spencer 1978b, pp. 451-453). I fundamentally believe that Spencer presented a very sympathetic account of individual freedom, but this ‘universal’ freedom implied only male freedom; in his detailed analysis women did not have an equal right to free actions: their freedom always depended on men.

In contrast to Kant, Pauler argued that the metaphysical problem of free will has no relevance to metaethical problems. He claimed that Kant’s mistake was that he confused freedom with autonomy and Pauler argued, that moral autonomy is fundamentally a concept which belongs to moral theory and not ontology. He tried to go beyond the Kantian principle of moral autonomy which implies the ethical value

of an act in its own right. While he analyzed this issue his aim was to disconnect the problem of free will from the sphere of ethics. He claimed that Kant was not right in connecting the question of freedom to morality. In his analysis Pauler pointed out that a moral action is good if it has a value in itself. In his theory moral values are universal therefore, he argued, they have no connection with existence (Pauler 1907, p. 124). In my view it is problematic that Pauler's idealist ethics excludes freedom from ethical judgments because this theoretical approach precisely denies the possibility of the individual's ability to critically distance himself/herself from an act, and using reason is able to judge from another perspective. Pauler did not separate ethical questions according to gender in relation to freedom; This could be interpreted as him intending to prove through pure logical analysis that moral ideals as described are the principles that every individual must internalize in order to act in accordance with the highest good for the benefit of society. But this interpretation must be tempered in view of Pauler's exclusionary political values. From this perspective it is rather the case that he constructed a moral theory from a middle-class, Christian perspective imbued with a strong nationalist bias only ostensibly universal. In trying to avoid relativism and consciously trying to create a theory of universal ethics, he rejected the possibility of plural value systems.

The Basis of Good and Bad Conduct

In his analysis of good and bad conduct Spencer described what we generally perceive as good or bad. This approach maintained that, value judgments were always made in relation to the act of the individual and its end. This means that the relation of an action to its end provides the basis for a judgment as to its value. He claimed that we can distinguish between this good and bad conduct according to their state of evolution. That conduct which is relatively more evolved could be regarded as relatively good conduct, and that which is less evolved is bad conduct (Spencer 1978a, p. 61). Spencer connects goodness to actions in three basic ways: those acts are good, which (1) are good for the individual who acts, (2) good for the individual's offspring, (3) and goodness is associated with acts that further the pleasurable living of others (Spencer 1978a, p. 79). Weinstein interprets Spencer's definition of a good act as referring to actions that "promote the greatest totality of life" in other words "greatest length and greatest breadth of life for all members of society" (Weinstein 1998, p. 143). According to Weinstein length of life relates to the importance of self-preservation. He interprets Spencer's breadth of life as being the quality of life which refers to a pleasurable life that should be realized through good conduct, which ultimately promotes the reproduction of the race.

When discussing the value of life, Spencer presented optimistic and pessimistic views of how individuals can experience their lives (Spencer 1978a, p. 63). He

claimed that if living causes more pain than pleasure then life is not worth living and in opposition to this standpoint, if the dominant experience in someone's life is pleasure, then life is valuable for the individual. This seems to be a relativist perspective, but Spencer managed to find a common point between the optimistic and pessimistic views of life, which is the point when the good and bad experiences diverge according to the senses of the individual. He stated that everyone agrees to judge life worth living or not if the conscious feeling of the individual rises above or declines under the level of indifference into a pleasurable or painful feeling.

Spencer related good and bad conduct to life by differentiating them into two groups of actions. Those acts which contribute to the pleasurable feeling of life are good conduct and those which make life unbearable are bad conduct. In relation to Christianity Spencer emphasized that the peoples of this religion believe that self-caused pleasure is not morally acceptable to their God. As a result Spencer argued that pleasure cannot serve as a central category in defining the semantic field of 'the good' (Spencer 1978a, p. 64) in these religions. Spencer refused to accept the Christian moral tradition and claimed that conduct which causes pleasure to oneself or others is good. His conclusion therefore was that "the good is universally the pleasurable" (Spencer 1978a, p. 66).

In Pauler's moral theory the central ethical categories are truth, good, and beauty; thus his view of good ethical actions were based on these categories. Using these notions as starting points he defined the concept of ethical value as something which must be unconditional or something which is in the process of becoming unconditional in nature. These ethical values become real only when empirical actions are realized, and these realized actions have value in relation to the ideals of truth, goodness, and beauty. Pauler explained the significance of these ideas in the following way: (1) truth is important because we can realize it using the human faculty of correct reasoning, (2) we can realize good by ethical actions and (3) the self-value of beauty is immediately available for human beings through perception (Pauler 1907, p. 129). He maintained that we can define good as the value by which we act while considering the relations of these central categories, although he noted that the analysis of beauty as an absolute value lies outside the frame of his work, he therefore omitted that from his investigation.

The following section will lay out the relation of the absolute ethical values of truth and goodness in his ethical theory. He claimed that the absolute value of truth can be proved simply through the logic of denial. If someone denies the truth value of something, the truth value is indicated in the act of denial; Pauler suggested, in other words, that the act of denying a truth has truth value in itself. There are two criteria that he set for the absolute value: (1) it must be a value in itself and (2) it must be realized unconditionally (Pauler 1907, p. 130). He concluded that the ethical value of truth defines the ethical value of goodness, which is to say that if truth has absolute value, then those human actions which are aimed

at realizing the truth are ethically good, and therefore good as an absolute ethical value, because the act corresponds with its truth value (Pauler 1907, p. 131). This in his view proved the absolute value of truth which serves as a foundation on which to realize good ethical actions.

In order to realize the truth, Pauler encompassed three attitudes in his argument which have to guide our actions. These attitudes are love, respect, and faith. He claimed we must love truth in order to realize it in our ethical behaviour. We cannot realize absolute truth if we do not act as those who love truth, and we have to acknowledge love for this reason as an ethical value. He added to this argument that we can realize absolute truth if we have the right energy to pursue our actions (Pauler 1907, p. 132). Pauler used attitudes such as love, faith, respect, and right energy which themselves are loaded with ethical values. He tried to integrate these attitudes into each other: to respect truth is only possible if the individual in this system acknowledges the ethical value of the act of right respect.

Ethical behaviour is equivalent to the behaviour which realizes the truth, thus Pauler maintained, truth and goodness are absolute values because they are different ideals of the same behaviour and this ethical behaviour gains value because it corresponds to the unconditional truth. One cannot realize truth without ethics, because the realization of truth itself is an ethical act, therefore, he claimed, it is not possible to establish a strict hierarchy between the values of truth and goodness. However he noted that the realization of truth has a necessary presupposition, which is the realization of ethical value as such (Pauler 1907, pp. 133-134). In his view this way of reasoning proves from a moral theoretical perspective that only good morals can give real value to human life, because this is the basic ground which enables individuals to use their reasoning capacities properly.

Pauler analyzed the concept of the highest good because of its centrality in moral theory. This is a theoretical point which needs further clarification in order to understand how he thought that morally wrong actions can be judged in relation to the ideal of the good. He described this concept that defines the right mode of moral judgments which serve as the basis for human actions. In his words in sum: “the highest good is the right and true morality” (Pauler 1907, p. 141). The purpose of human life is the realization of the highest good, which means humans have to live in order to realize the ethical ideals in their actions. He claimed this is the right way of life because these ends are not the results of a power which forces the individual to act according to the ideals of absolute ethical values but individuals themselves choose to live according to these moral principles (Pauler 1907, p. 158).

Pauler’s discussion is problematic from the perspective of freedom. Firstly and most importantly, he claimed individuals choose these ideals, which I think implies that they have the ability to distance themselves from wrong ethical ideals. In other words, these individuals can – at least on a theoretical level – critically judge what is wrong and act according to the ideals of the highest good. But in contrast to this

standpoint, Pauler explicitly excluded freedom from the sphere of ethics. However if, according to him, humans do not have the ability to choose their values because of the lack of freedom, only those live a valuable life whose acts correspond to his ethical system. These lead to the following problem: in Pauler's system there are valuable and invaluable lives which are not worth living. This ethical system creates a hierarchy of lifestyles which, though not explicitly but implicitly support a hierarchization of lives corresponding to the eugenic ideology of his time.

Ethical Indications of Gender Subordination

Spencer commenced his chapter on 'The Rights of Women' by discussing that equal freedom is a birthright for every individual. He argued that for the same reason those who have disabilities must have the same rights as those who are seemingly healthy. However, he eventually concluded that the overall situation of women is not that bad compared to the uncivilized cultures of savages, where subjection of the opposite sex sometimes takes extreme forms (Spencer 1978b, pp. 181-182). In comparison to these societies, he argued that the subjection of women in Europe is much less extreme, moreover, he viewed it to be reasonable and necessary for the interest of further social progress. He tried to support his argument by invoking the social practice that women do not serve in the army and navy, and therefore do not share the same burden as men, which according to him justifies the denial of equal political rights to women (Spencer 1978b, p. 183). Thus by denying equal freedom for women he placed them under the authority of men; by subjecting women to men denied everyone's individuality inasmuch as making a distinction between political rights based on sex. Moreover, Spencer supported his argument by claiming that it is the interest of race in order to achieve a socio-political condition where political authority will have no importance (Francis 2007, pp. 74-75).

Spencer maintained that the most important characteristic of women is to be beautiful (Paxton 1991, Francis 2007). His logic was simple; he reduced the value of women to reproduction. Women were important only to reproduce the race therefore their most important quality was to be physically attractive. Only in this way could women become valuable members of a community, which implies that women had very limited individual agency, since they were always defined and valued through their relation to men/or to the social position of their husbands (Francis 2007). Francis' argument explains why Spencer supported the institution of marriage in his ethics – without any suggestion for reform – and understood its significance as a necessity in the maintenance of the race (Spencer 1978a). Spencer analyzed the tension between individual life and social responsibility which demanded sacrifice from parents for the general good of the race. Spencer stated

that it is impossible to resolve this tension between individual and social life but argued that individuals have to subordinate their personal good to the progeny of the race. In his account of marriage, Spencer analyzed the most conventional economic and social aspects which have an impact on the marriages of young individuals. He listed various examples, such as social status, social relations, and various other driving forces in marriage. He did not exclude love marriages, but wanted to emphasize other factors than physical and psychological attraction. Spencer underscored that these factors are superficial and most of the time, the literature does not place emphasis on the vital characteristics of the parties who intended to marry each other. However, he noted this as the most important factor since the vitality of the parents defines the biological characteristics of their children, which is in the interest of race maintenance. He argued that ethics should drive the habits of individuals and ethical principles should control physiological instincts in order to serve the healthy reproduction of the race (Spencer 1978a, p. 572). This line of thought has been adopted by many Hungarian thinkers who supported eugenics, these naturalists made suggestions as to how to implement these eugenic principles into the practical realization of eugenic ideals (see for example Apáthy 1914). In contrast to Spencer, Pauler did not provide detailed suggestions for the healthy reproduction of the race, he did however fundamentally advocate similar ethical principles, which subjected individual life to the reproduction of the race.

In his chapter on the value of life Pauler placed biological life in the service of the realization of the right ethical ideals. He stated that we must take care of our lives and we have to develop ourselves but only in order to realize the right ethical ideals, which are in his case defined by his Platonic Christian approach to ethics. In his ethical system life as such has value only insofar as individual actions correspond to the right ethical ideals (Pauler 1907, pp. 229-230). The consequence of this standpoint, he claimed, is that our moral duty is to preserve our lives but at the same time we have to sacrifice ourselves to fulfil our social duties. I think the danger of his argument lies in – the perhaps unintended consequence of – his aim: to establish a theoretical ground from which certain ways of life can be judged as worthless.

In the discussion about the value of life, Pauler analyzed the physiological needs of the human body (Pauler 1907, p. 230). His moral theory refuses any kind of *lecherous* way of life. According to his ethical principles humans have to use their body properly: the way that corresponds to the social duty assigned to those bodies. Individuals must keep their bodies healthy – they have to refrain from alcohol or from those sexual pleasures which are not the result of conscious reproductive action – in order to subject their sexuality to the interest of their race. These physiological actions are constrained by his normative ethical principles. “Normalizing the individuals’ instinctual lives is especially important regarding

sexual life, because the danger of hedonism haunts here the most" (Pauler 1907, p. 301). The argument supporting his standpoint rests on the presupposition that life is not an end in itself therefore those pleasures which are gained through the fulfillment of bodily sexual needs are ethically wrong and humans should refrain from practicing them. He stated that sexual acts are only acceptable if the ends of these actions are reproduction, otherwise sexual desires are ethically unacceptable. The most important value of sexuality lies in its end which is the preservation of the race. This means that Pauler subordinated sexuality and every other physiological need to the interest of the race. Individual behaviour is only valuable if it corresponds to transgenerational responsibility dictated by racial interest. He labeled any kind of contraception ethically wrong because it contradicts the biological function of sexuality, as he understood it. For the same reason he claimed any kind of sexual perversity has to be considered morally wrong which distances sexual acts from their right value and original function. Thus Pauler, similarly to Spencer, considered only heterosexuality valuable, and only those sexual acts that aimed at contributing to the reproduction of the race. The social values of women thus were similarly subordinated to racial interest as in the work of Spencer. However Pauler reached this similar position that rested on the biologization of gender by basing it on a Christian Platonic approach.

Conclusion

In this paper I argued that Pauler's early moral theory was influenced by evolutionism and his conceptualization of race supported the subjection of women in a social hierarchy. Critical works regarding Spencer's thinking gave a more nuanced perspective of his social values and how these affected a worldview that was positively received by eugenic theorists during the early 1900s. Eugenic ideas appeared in Hungary in the first decade of the twentieth century and Hungarian eugenic thinking was greatly influenced by the anthropological conceptualization of race. Thus the analysis of Pauler's work from a critical perspective that places emphasis on the conceptualization of race and gender contribute to a more nuanced understanding on how philosophy influenced the developments of eugenics in the interwar period.

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Notes

- 1 I benefited from the suggestions of Andrea Pető, Colin Swatridge, and an anonymous reviewer. I would like to express my gratitude for their feedback.
- 2 At the turn of the century, the dominant understanding of the race concept in Hungary was the anthropological one, and within this anthropological understanding, biological qualities played an important role in clarifying the boundaries of the Hungarian race (Lafferton, 2007).

THE BODY OF HISTORY ON *PARALLEL STORIES*, THE NOVEL BY PÉTER NÁDAS

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Péter Nádas's novel published in the Hungarian language in 2005 deals with both European and Hungarian history, and validates a very specific view on history. The purpose of this paper is to reflect upon the question of relevance to the text concerning the body/body ideology aspects of Nádas's historical approach. Differing representations of our sensuality in addition to placing the issue into a new context is one of the substantial undertakings of *Parallel Stories*, which in my opinion is worth approaching in the interrelationship of *body – sensuality – body ideologies – history – power – novel structure*. In my study, I start out from K. Theweleit's theory, which combines the forceful exercise of power with the ideology of male camaraderie, I then analyse how this approach appears in different text levels, motifs, scenes of Nádas's novel, up to the composition following the "chaos structure".

Keywords: contemporary Hungarian literature, historical novel, Péter Nádas, body ideologies, chaos theory

Péter Nádas's novel has been translated into several languages since its publication in 2005, and has attracted a lot of attention not only in Hungary but worldwide, and has been supported by prestigious literary awards and widespread critical interest. The novel describes the history of the twentieth century milling about turbulently in the spirit of the brown and red dictatorship, through parallel narrations of a Hungarian and a German plotline that also represents historical spaces referring to symbolic poles of Central Europe. The richness of the elaborated historical material, the originality of the viewpoints raised, and not least the formulating features of the novel poetics have inspired analyses with the most varied theoretical starting points, but it seems that Nádas's novel is still worth thinking about; there is still plenty to say.

The purpose of this paper is not to analyse the whole text; it wishes to reflect upon the question of relevance to the text concerning the body/body ideology aspects of Nádas's historical approach.

Let us recall some of the most remarkable scenes/storylines of the novel to introduce our train of thought: in March of 1961, three almost naked men experiment with each other, touching each other in ways that border on the natural

and impudent, love and betrayal, in the locker room of the Lukács Baths. Nine months earlier, on the Margaret Island, homosexual men are pursuing and are being pursued “round and round”, and in this partner rotating “roundelay” their physical abilities (especially relating to their genitals) determine their position. In 1945 (and before), in the life of the inmates of the concentration camp near Pfeilen, Germany, it is the radiant power of the beautiful body too that ultimately – in a way that is devoid of all moral considerations – ensures a kind of hierarchical place with a hope for survival (the Kramer – Peix line). Likewise, in a Swiss boarding school for boys at approximately the very beginning of the 1940s, the innocent ten-year-old student must also experience that the sight of his body is the very secret exchange-value in the boy community which helps prevent humiliation and beatings. Meanwhile, at the time of Fascist domination, in an experimental boarding school in Annaberg of Saxony, the body as such is no longer a merely stake of the hidden night life also affecting the public daytime, but is the downright object and purpose of institutional attention.

The otherness of the representation of our sensuality and placing the issue into a new context is one of the substantial undertakings of *Parallel Stories*, which in my opinion is worth approaching in the interrelationship of *body – sensuality – body ideologies – history – power – novel structure*. Some suggestions:

Sensuality and body ideology

In the novel, the scientific supervisor of the boarding school in Annaberg that serves for racial biological research is Otmar Freiherr von der Schuer, the head of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin, a high-ranking representative of bio power in Foucault’s sense, whose name is hardly different from that of Otmar Freiherr von Verschuer, the scientific father of the Nazi *Lebensborn* program serving for Aryan eugenics, created by Heinrich Himmler in 1935. Von der Schuer of the novel was socialized in a military male community, and his body view was determined by the collision of his bodily experiences in the First World War with the valid body ideology:

“...neither religion nor tradition can explain the shy physical tenderness and cruel physical brutality he had seen and profoundly experienced in water-soaked trenches, among barbed-wire obstacles, in the miserable barracks of military hospitals, and in overheated warehouses reeking of tobacco in small Galician towns. Everything was beyond what could be measured by any social standard.” (726) ¹

The insuperable gap between bodily experience and discourse on the body remains the subject matter/problem of the text, which for the protagonist von der

Schuer could be resolved in solely one way, namely in (male) collectivity, taking shape for him in policing Studentenkörps similar to paramilitary free troops.

The German sociologist, Klaus Theweleit finds the origins of the body ideology of the Nazi society in *Freikorps*, the free companies recreated after the First World War by demobilized soldiers and extreme right-wing volunteers. (Theweleit 2003) This paramilitary organization cooperated unofficially with the Army of the Weimar Republic carrying out policing and cleansing operations etc. Its activity served the German White Terror, which laid down the social foundations of the subsequent Nazi access to power. Although it was disbanded at the beginning of the 1920s, many of Freikorps members infiltrated into the Nazi power structures and military leadership. An analogous career history in the novel is von der Schuer's in the field of science, who became a high ranking representative of *bio power*. Klaus Theweleit analyses the texts of Freikorps comrades, manifestations which accommodate their personal narratives to ideology determined in social conventions and posited linguistically, in Nádas's words "measurable by social standards", that is to say, the given social standard can be gathered from them. According to this, the ideal type of male society is the *soldier male* (Theweleit 2003, 57) enthusing over the people and the fatherland, the comradely community, hunting and fighting, who sees the woman in an objectified form: on the one hand, he idealizes her ("white woman": mother, wife), on the other hand, he experiences her as an aggressor ("red woman": erotic femininity). He defines himself exactly as opposed to the erotic ("red") woman and flees from her to the solid block of army, nation or racial community – as Theweleit's analysis revealing the sexual motivations of the *soldier male*'s anti-sexual attitude emphasizes.²

Nádas's two characters of the *Parallel Stories* – von der Schuer, the racial biologist and professor Lehr, a national ideologist and saviour of the Hungarian people – are excellent examples of this. The quality, intensity, and motifs of their ideological commitment, as well as adjustment of their private life to the scheme of "white" and "red" woman clearly illustrate the body ideology pattern demonstrated by Theweleit. Von der Schuer has a married life that maintains the race and the institution of the family – the mother of the family as virtuous and untouchable, undefilable with desire in the spirit of "white (moreover an Arya) woman" – driving his wife to a frigid existence devoid of pleasure, and himself to the scientific research of measuring erected male genital organs, among others. Professor Lehr does not look for joy in his cold marriage either, he pursues the "red woman" during his night flings, and to top it all, the most extreme version of it, who (according to Theweleit's classification) is erotic; vulgar; standing low in social/ cultural/ mental terms; a whore/ proletarian/ Jewish witch. (Theweleit 2003, 79) In the eye of Professor Lehr, the dirty, mentally or physically handicapped available incognito in the dark park is a perfect exemplar of this. However, the pattern of his wedlock is more complicated than that of his German racial

biologist colleague: at a young age – not yet committed to the ideas of national defence – he had married a Jewish woman who could not act the part of the “white woman” ideal, but due to his alignment he identifies himself with the bio power ideology associated with the nation protecting idea so much that – almost incomprehensibly – referring to his own family declares the following: “...you bore two Jewish kids for me and now I have to suffer the consequences” (244).

Furthermore, the story of Captain Bellardi can be interpreted in the framework outlined by Theweleit, who, disappointed in love and marriage, finds shelter in an extremist nationalistic secret organization; or the story of Karla von Thum reflecting the false pattern of male society in a woman’s career history. However to what extent would the case of the three spies from Budapest, Ágost Lippay Lehr, André Rott and János Wolkenstein Kovách, in the other half of the century show a different pattern? (even if slightly shifted), who do not believe this body ideology any longer, but – for want of something other – cannot escape the effect of its behaviour pattern: they are unable to establish a real connection with women, and can unwind only in their comradesly-friendly community. Moreover it is not young Kristóf’s inner struggle for his own sensuality – so that he can experience himself as a man (like the others) thus becoming ready for a real relationship with a woman which evolves in his homosexual adventure –, the very rejection/mockery/reversal of this body ideology pattern?

The German sociologist examines behaviour models of comradesly-military communities; Péter Nádas refers directly to male hordes in an interview where he speaks of a relevant conception produced in the novel:

“Yes, *Parallel Stories* is mostly about the inner life of these male hordes. The culturally and religiously strictly prohibited, yet active, highly confidential erotic life of male hordes. Of that natural joy of footballers, driven by a sense of shared success, secretly embracing and kissing each other, as they rip their t-shirts off as if they were crazy to their audience’s greatest delight. They do something their mothers, but most of all their fathers have strictly forbidden them to do over the last few centuries. [...] Different collective terror ideologies channel the same prohibited erotic energy. It is the physiological basis of all forms of racism, all kinds of exclusion and collective homicide based on all sorts of exclusion. The efforts of the representatives of Geistesgeschichste and sociologists are in vain, they will not find it where they are looking for it; these processes have an erotic basis, yes indeed.” (Görözdí 2013, 24)

The aspect of cultural criticism is a justified approach in the examination of the novel, applied by Enikő Darabos in her thorough analysis, who comes to the following conclusion: “...even the most radical feminists rarely venture so far into the critique of phallogocentric social order, since in *Parallel Stories* an amazing amount of narrative variations show how the phallus organizes the symbolic order.” (Darabos 2007, 451)

Body ideology and history

Klaus Theweleit emphasizes that the twentieth century male *soldier's* relationship to the “white” or “red” woman is not an isolated phenomenon, but a part within a continuum of the civil patriarchy in history which seeks to secure power within male-female relations.³ Historiography does little to deal with human bodies, their experience, yet – as he writes – “until we have succeeded in reconstructing the development of our bodies in history, we will remain strangers to ourselves [...], unable to experience other bodies as equals.” (Theweleit 2003, 362-363)

It seems that Péter Nádas's project in *Parallel Stories* seeks the same thing. Zsolt Bagi stresses the fact that the key to Nádas's depiction of body/carnality is his realism, by which the inherent language itself and the priority of searching for and creating the order expressing this are meant. In this sense, the novel is “an infinite, boundless, that is, chaotic line of the twentieth century's bodily encounters, incapable of being arranged into or told as a story.” (Bagi 2015, 262) Undoubtedly, Nádas's novel establishes the European history of the twentieth century in a very specific way. Although the text can be exemplified as a genre of historical novels, the genre's definitions get notched on the text one after the other. Since the novel does not present a retroactively edited narration about the past, nor does it represent any grand national narrative or the contents of collective memory. Furthermore, it does not depict necessary assertions of political-power relations in a certain era, nor processes launched by exceptional (historical) personalities. “For the novel does not primarily refer to historical events that actually took place; not the history but the occurrence of bodily-historical experience is the main protagonist” – Sarolta Deczki writes. (Deczki 2016, 57) The novel raises a view of history different from the referred concepts, which, “within the occurrence of the bodily-historical experience” attributes role to the body and to attractions/rejections/power relations between bodies, as well as to the man vulnerable to his own sensuality and body ideologies in the evolution of history. According to Péter Nádas, history is not what historians think it is, but a “consistency” that contemporaries live through in a very individual way. (Rostás 2015) *Parallel Stories* – in my opinion – is a historical novel by revealing this “consistency”. The “consistency” has in itself a diachronic extension but, above all, it has a synchronous feeling: a sense of leaving an impression on resp. within the human body. That is, Nádas does not follow the so-called grand history, nor does he examine how that affects the fate of some, in other words micro-history. He follows the effects in a most detailed manner: for example how Szemzóné's nerves preserve the memory of their deportation when she turns on the light against the darkness in the evenings; how the singer Gyöngyvér's rough childhood results in her vocalisation disturbance; or how Carl Döhring's body experiences are the cause of his irrational guilt in the deeds of his ascendants in concentration camps in his dreams etc.

The technique of capturing and describing the smallest story segment is not a novelty in the Nádas prose: in *A Book of Memories*, for example, it is represented by a macrophotography-like momentum, a kind of frozen picture, whose true content is accomplished in a narrative. In *Parallel stories*, we may call the frozen bodily sensation that smallest unit whose total (or as total as possible) apprehension constitutes the stake of the narrative's credibility. In my interpretation, the Nádas history comprehended as "consistency" is assembled and gets entangled from these narratively frozen bodily sensations.

The view of history in Nádas's novel does not know hierarchy, rejects any central concepts, substance or goal principle (in theological, philosophical, social or natural scientific terms), in which an organizing principle of a hierarchy could be rooted. The events in the novel have no meaning and no purpose. "...a person does not change a bit, and without change, how can there be any progress in history." (554) – Madzar the architect contemplates. The constant question of the women from Pest who lost their fate in the maelstrom of the Second World War sounds as follow: "What should they do with their own stories and those of the others? They were all carrying their own losses, their total, all-encompassing failures. No human on earth could answer their questions, and they found no God to whom they could entrust them." (343) Dr. Schultze, carrying out eugenic measurements, approaches the question from the "diligent" science and his dilemma sounds as follows: "Strength, energy, love, and equality are ultimately kinds of political fiction based on a statistical fiction about the average, and they have nothing to do with physics or biology." (841)

Chaos-structure

If, however, all the rules are fiction, what remains? chaos?

"Do not, indeed, the independent or interdependent, but in any case, self-contained stories interact with each other by the structures whose pattern is chaos itself?" (Nádas 2012, 84) As is well-known, the approach that the structure of *Parallel Stories* follows the pattern of chaos has been introduced by the author himself referring to the old Greeks, Homer, Hesiod and Ovid. (Nádas 2012, 84) However, at the structural level of the text, the chaos concept of chaos theory seems more relevant. Chaos theory describes deterministic systems sensitive to initial conditions, and in the depths of chaotic behaviour's apparent orderlessness, it gives an account of the existence of some kinds of complex geometric structures (fractal dimension), of their self-similar repetition taking place at different levels.⁴

In an interview, Péter Nádas gave some thought to the course of history as follows: "... I am bored of the repetitions of history, those constrains into which things are repeated over and over again. [...] behind the surface [...] of new

situations, there are usually the same structures. The structures of life – within a nation, within a people, within a continent, for example within Europe – and the organizing principles behind the structures [...] change the least, they are usually unchanged and their ambition is to make the most varied new surfaces behind which they preserve themselves even more.” (Friderikusz 2015) The idea is consistent with the concept of history the novel raises in literary adaptation. The compositional aspects of chaos with regards of the text have been dealt with by many; let us look at the nature of deep structure now.

In the depth of the apparently chaotic text of the novel, there seem to be structural repetitions that can be described, similarly to fractals, as structural tropes⁵, appearing in a self-similar way at different moments and stages of the plot organization and which outline some kind of a dynamic formula/pattern/model. I believe it can be captured through sensuality, which intertwines the entire novel.

The cumulative scene of the storyline in a urinal on the Margaret Island (which I consider in a sense to be the focal point of the whole work,) is actually a motion choreography with sexual content, in which bodily desires and vulnerabilities, attractions and repulsions actuate the collective changeovers, drive forward the events that are completely devoid of moral considerations. Seemingly mere materiality and instinct. However, if we succeed in seeing the scene from far enough, the changes in the order of the urinal line-up maintained by erotic tension show a complex movement structure below the surface of the events, some kind of choreographic figure of “operation” which can be found in the depths of further episodes. The horde of homosexual ruts on the Margaret Island displays the same pattern – based on male comradeship – which the aristocratic Bellardi’s secret nationalistic gentlemen’s society follows in the ’30s or the German comrades/military units analysed by Theweleit maintain. And which also happens among the boys in the boarding school, and even occurs among the prisoners of the concentration camp in Pfeilen. It is pleasure that is at stake in one place, the enforcement of national interests in the other, the service of homeland in the third, and survival in the fourth. Its methods here are rough, scientifically chiselled in one, and militant or unscrupulous in the other. Different manifestations in different historical circumstances, but the same deep structure. And as Theweleit’s analysis reveals, this deep structure (imaging the functioning of male communities) has, indeed, ideological implications.

Body and power

The relationship between bodies and body (sensuality) ideologies also encompass power aspects, as has already been mentioned from the point of view of the civil-patriarchal historical continuity of male-female relations. In the text, Péter

Nádas analyses this narratively. He deals with forms, intensity, direction, continuous shifting and displacement of power relations among bodies, examining this from a societal conversation through love act to crude life-death situations or *bio power* (eugenics as the extreme form of state-sponsored racism) that dons a science cloak and strives for the absolute dominance of bodies. He depicts all this with engineering precision and amazing sensitivity. It would be worth analysing thoroughly these very different power relations of the bodies in the novel. Similarities would most likely emerge in the mode of functioning, and mode of actions, that is, at the level of organization.

This view of power is akin to Michel Foucault's horizontal understanding of power, according to which power as such enmeshes the human society in its full width, its mechanisms primarily act flowing through the body of the individual (in their desires, thoughts and energies). The French philosopher is interested in the *microphysics* of the functioning of power which maintains a relationship with our sensuality and knowledge, he examines in the same way how it intrudes the sphere of the most intimate and most individual behaviour, how it keeps control of the forms of everyday activities just like Péter Nádas in his novel. This approach focuses on the body, desires, and thoughts of individuals, shaped also by power, and regards power as something that is not static and cannot be possessed, but a "moving, flowing, net-like organization". (Kelemen 2009, 142)

The bodily concept of the acting of power in society and history with Foucault as well as Nádas incorporates complicated network dynamic structures which again refer to chaos theory. From which, hereafter, I would like to raise two aspects in relation to *Parallel Stories*. The parts of the system that is the subject of chaos theory are self-similarly reminiscent of the whole form or its lower magnification detail. Do structural repetitions of the pattern at different levels not resemble the structure of that novel which evinces the figures, patterns, formulae of the relationship of human bodies and behaviour of communities in the most varied historical situations and under the most diverse conditions? The theory refers to deterministic systems sensitive to initial conditions, where the slightest initial alteration may cause a major change in the long-term functioning (butterfly effect) despite well-defined parameters, and this process is unpredictable, but can be calculated only per phase. Does this not relate to the novel's philosophy according to which the hope for progress, a better human world is futile, as the historical events of the twentieth century essentially mocked this, since the "organizing principles behind life structures"⁶ determined the course of history more fundamentally? In fact, the thought process of one of the protagonists is strained as far as the following: "The two great paddle wheels on a single axle are spinning in place. [...] If there is no progress, there is neither past, nor future." (554) Though – thinking about the world, history and the man thrown into them, in the framework inspired by chaos theory – we might trust in the (butterfly) effect of

minimal changes that are triggered throughout the capillaries of our complicated entanglement.

However, the author has something different to offer. In the final chapters of the novel, he launches new storylines with new locations, new characters, and little contact points to the preceding events. The interpretative endless nature of parallel stories in the novel also becomes evident to the reader. The multiplication of the storylines at the end of the text shifts the emphasis from the story (stories) in the novel to be reconstructed in parallelisms: to that analogous pattern which can be found in the “functioning” of the flashed and very different individual fates. Péter Nádas opens his opus magnum resignedly towards the reciprocally and infinitely reflected (self-similar) repetitions of the “formulae” of the deep structure.

Translated by Orsolya Hegedűs

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Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies: Volume 1: Women, Floods, Bodies, History*, translated by Stephen Conway (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003)

Notes

- 1 Péter Nádas, *Parallel Stories* (Kindle Edition), translated by Imre Goldstein, (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011). The excerpts from the novel will be further quoted based on this edition.
- 2 Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies: Volume 1: Women, Floods, Bodies, History*, translated by Stephen Conway (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003). Sándor Radnóti and Adam Bžoch also highlight the comparability of Nádas and Theweleit's concepts. Sándor Radnóti, "Az Egy és a Sok," *Holmi* XVIII/6 (2006): 774–791. Adam Bžoch, "Péter Nádas: Paralelné príbehy," *Revue svetovej literatúry* XLV/4 (2009): 139–142. For my part, I cannot identify with Theweleit's (Marxist) conclusions. However the analyses that make up the starting point of his concept which explicate the body ideology of male-female relations I also consider to be a valid and a relevant approach to Nádas's point of view .
- 3 The conclusions of Michel Foucault, who researched the history of sexuality, are also relevant here: he similarly derives the strategies of power and knowledge that concentrate the relations of bonds and sexuality from the 17th-18th centuries. According to him these are a hysterization of women's bodies, a pedagogization of children's sex, (an economic) socialization of procreative behaviour, and a psychiatrization of perverse pleasures. Cf. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: Volume I: An Introduction*, translated by Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 104-105. Nádas on Foucault's history of sexuality: Péter Nádas, "Jegyzetek az égi és a földi szerelemről," in *Az égi és a földi szerelemről* (Pécs: Jelenkor, 2000), 122–126.
- 4 The author does not specifically refer to the theory of chaos, however, in his thoughts on the chaos structure of his novel, as if the complicated model of chaotic systems was outlined behind the apparent disorder: "Chaos in this case is not the mess [...] The structure is chaotic, because chaotic is the world order, in chaos I do not want to create arbitrary order, not the novelist [...]. At most, I register those elements and principles that form structures in chaos and those that are unable to do such things." Csaba Károlyi, "Mindig más történik: Nádas Péterrel beszélget Károlyi Csaba," *Élet és Irodalom* XLIX/44 (2005). At a literary evening which took place on 29th September 2015 in the context of the conference titled *A párhuzamosság szédülete* [*The dizziness of parallelism*] organized for the translators of the novel, Péter Nádas used the broccoli metaphor for the structure of his novel which is one of the well-known examples of natural fractals.
- 5 Enikő Darabos makes a reference to the fractality of the novel, although her analysis follows another direction. Cf. Enikő Darabos, "A néma test diskurzusa: A saját mássága mint az individualitás kritériuma Nádas Péter Párhuzamos történetek című regényében," *Jelenkor* L/4 (2007): 447–448.
- 6 Nádas's expression from the quoted Friderikusz interview.

L'ASSOCIATION DE DÉFENSE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT CATHOLIQUE EN HONGRIE ENTRE 1945 ET 1948

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La période de 1945 à 1948 est marquée en Hongrie par le passage d'un système parlementaire à la dictature communiste. Pendant ces années, l'Église catholique essaya de maintenir sa place au sein de la société hongroise. Pour protéger l'enseignement catholique, elle mobilisa les parents d'élèves dans le cadre d'une association au sein de l'Action Catholique. L'Association de Parents Catholiques joua un rôle important dans la lutte scolaire entre l'Église et l'État.

Mots-clefs: Église catholique, enseignement, école catholique, parents d'élèves, Action Catholique, communisme, dictature, nationalisation

Introduction

Après la Seconde guerre mondiale, la situation de l'Église catholique évolua radicalement par rapport à l'époque de l'entre-deux-guerres. La protection de l'État, dont elle avait pu jouir sous le régime Horthy, cessa brusquement. Certes, en 1945, on pouvait encore espérer la prochaine réalisation du principe d'une Église libre dans un État libre, dans le cadre de la démocratie parlementaire, mais, peu à peu, il devint évident que la Hongrie prenait le chemin d'une dictature totalitaire de type bolchevik où l'Église n'aurait pas de place en dehors des églises.

L'enseignement catholique fut lui aussi plongé dans une situation nouvelle. À la suite de la loi sur la réforme agraire, votée en 1945, les grands domaines de l'Église étant partagés parmi les paysans ou au contraire nationalisés, les écoles catholiques furent privées de leur principale assise économique. En outre, la question de la nationalisation des écoles confessionnelles fut soulevée par certaines personnalités politiques dès 1945¹. Comme l'Église catholique entretenait environ un tiers des écoles dans le pays, elle devint l'adversaire le plus important du gouvernement (de plus en plus contrôlé par les communistes) en ce qui concerne la lutte pour la liberté scolaire. Main dans la main avec l'Église, une association

nouvellement créée, l'Association des parents d'élèves catholiques, participa activement à cette lutte scolaire. C'est au sujet de cette association que le ministre de l'Instruction publique, Gyula Ortutay², allait faire la remarque suivante dans sa conclusion au débat sur la nationalisation des écoles, en juin 1948 :

« On m'a dit [...] que l'Association des parents d'élèves catholiques était une association artificielle, quelque chose d'inexistant. [...] Au contraire, elle existe, elle s'organise et elle s'active énergiquement contre la démocratie hongroise³ ! »

D'abord je présenterai brièvement le contexte politique, puis j'analyserai la formation et l'organisation de l'association, son activité réelle dans la lutte scolaire et enfin les circonstances de sa disparition.

Le contexte politique

L'année 1945 apporta en Hongrie la paix, la libération de l'occupation allemande et la fin de la dictature d'extrême-droite des croix-fléchés, mais aussi l'occupation par l'Armée rouge. La plupart des hommes politiques hongrois espéraient que l'occupation prendrait rapidement fin, mais les troupes soviétiques restèrent dans le pays au-delà de la ratification du traité de Paris, en 1947, et leur présence exerça une influence déterminante sur la vie politique. Dans un premier temps, les Soviétiques tolérèrent le système parlementaire, tout en soutenant les communistes hongrois en cas de nécessité. Ainsi, quand les élections libres de novembre 1945 assurèrent la majorité absolue au Parti des petits propriétaires (FKGP), au détriment des partis de gauches (communistes, sociaux-démocrates, paysans pauvres), les soviétiques imposèrent la formation d'un gouvernement de coalition incluant ces quatre partis tout en faisant en sorte que le ministère de l'Intérieur fût pris en main par les communistes. En 1946 et au cours de la première partie de 1947, la majorité acquise au FKGP commença à s'éroder, le secrétaire général du parti, Béla Kovács, fut arrêté par les Soviétiques et déporté au Goulag ; le premier ministre, Ferenc Nagy, dût partir en exil, l'un et l'autre étant accusés, à tort, de complot contre la République hongroise. Après les élections du 31 août 1947, marquées par des abus de la part des communistes, la coalition resta au pouvoir, mais le parti communiste se renforça et son influence politique devint ouvertement plus grande. En automne 1947, la stratégie soviétique changea. Il était temps pour les communistes des pays dominés par l'URSS de prendre la totalité du pouvoir et d'installer une dictature stalinienne. C'est ainsi que le 12 juin 1948, on procéda en Hongrie à l'unification du Parti communiste et du Parti social-démocrate, les autres partis politiques furent éliminés entre la fin 1947 et le début 1949. La nouvelle constitution, de type stalinien, fut adoptée le 18 août 1949⁴. Tout cela marqua évidemment la vie de l'Église catholique et celle de ses écoles.

La fondation de l'Association de parents d'élèves catholiques

Lors de leur première réunion d'après-guerre, le 24 mai 1945, les évêques examinèrent la nouvelle situation de l'Église catholique en Hongrie. C'est alors que l'organisation des parents d'élèves fut mise à l'ordre du jour, sur une proposition émanant de la direction de l'Action Catholique (AC)⁵, dont l'argumentation était fondée sur l'expérience de la séparation des Églises et de l'État en France⁶. De fait, l'exemple français joua un rôle majeur dans l'idée d'organiser en Hongrie une association de parents pour la défense de l'enseignement catholique. Notons que l'auteur des documents de réflexion était Gábel Asztrik *O. Praem.* (ordre de prémontrés), directeur du lycée français de Gödöllő, personnalité informée sur la situation française⁷. En effet, c'était bien la séparation qui avait imposé aux catholiques français de s'organiser, les premières associations de parents d'élèves de l'enseignement libre ayant vu le jour au début des années 1930, précédant de quelques années la création, en 1935, d'un organisme d'union nationale (UNAPEL)⁸.

Après avoir pris, en mai 1945, la décision sur l'organisation d'une association de parents d'élèves, les évêques hongrois chargèrent le bureau central de l'Action catholique de la mettre en application. C'est pourquoi le directeur national de l'AC, le chanoine Zsigmond Mihalovics, engagea au cours de l'été des négociations avec l'institution de tutelle sur les écoles catholiques. Le 12 octobre, il adressa un projet de règlement intérieur à József Mindszenty, archevêque d'Esztergom et primat de Hongrie nouvellement installé. Trois jours plus tard, Mgr Mihalovics compléta son projet de propositions concrètes en vue d'établir la structure de l'association. Entre autres, il suggéra, pour occuper sa direction, Ödön Lénárd *Sch. P.* (frères piariste), le nouveau secrétaire de l'AC pour la culture⁹.

Les évêques approuvèrent le projet de règlement lors de leur réunion du 17 octobre 1945. Le mois suivant, chaque évêque envoya une lettre circulaire à ses curés ainsi qu'aux chefs d'établissement scolaire catholique de son diocèse avec la requête de convoquer les parents d'élèves avant le 10 janvier 1946, dans le but de créer des associations locales adossées aux écoles paroissiales. En ce qui concerne les écoles congréganistes, l'archevêque Mindszenty demanda également aux provinciaux de susciter la création d'associations autour de leurs établissements scolaires¹⁰. En conséquence de ce qui précède, on peut constater qu'en Hongrie, l'Association nationale des parents catholiques ne fut pas organisée à partir d'initiatives locales, comme ce fut le cas en France, mais d'en haut, conformément non seulement à la structure hiérarchique de l'Église catholique en général, mais aussi au rôle minime joué par les laïcs au sein du catholicisme hongrois. C'est probablement la cause principale pour laquelle la constitution des associations locales avança plus lentement que prévu. Il faut également ajouter que dans les villages souabes, c'est-à-dire dans les communes habitées par la minorité

allemande, les déportations en cours ou les craintes de déportation en Allemagne empêchèrent toute sorte d'organisation. En outre, certains étaient convaincus que la lutte était inutile contre l'État et pensaient simplement que rien ne pouvait ni ne devait empêcher l'État de saisir les écoles¹¹.

Quoi qu'il en soit, lors de leur réunion du 14 mars 1946, les évêques réaffirmèrent l'importance de mettre en place, dès que possible, une organisation des parents d'élèves¹². Le vicaire d'Esztergom avertit les curés qu'il interpréterait comme une négligence professionnelle tout retard dans la création des associations locales¹³. Malgré tout, en décembre 1946, Ödön Lénárd dut encore prier le cardinal Mindszenty de faire en sorte que les associations locales de parents soient formées sur l'ensemble du territoire et qu'il soit lui-même renseigné avec précision sur l'état d'avancement du projet. En effet, les problèmes de communication étaient importants. Par exemple, sur le territoire de l'exarchat apostolique gréco-catholique de Miskolc, il y avait, selon le vicaire, vingt-et-une associations de parents, mais le bureau central ne disposait d'information que sur une ou deux d'entre elles¹⁴. Selon les statistiques du bureau, le nombre total des associations locales dans le pays dépassait le millier à la fin de l'année 1946, mais, si l'on se référait aux bases de données des diocèses présentées lors de la réunion des évêques des 25–26 février 1947, leur nombre aurait dû approcher le double. Du reste, le cardinal Mindszenty trouvait même cela insuffisant. Bien qu'il n'existât qu'un peu plus de trois mille écoles catholiques en Hongrie, il eût aimé pouvoir compter sur au moins 5447 associations¹⁵. Il est vrai que l'organisation fut élargie aux écoles de l'État et aux écoles communales où la religion était encore une matière obligatoire : en mai 1946, l'Église demanda aux professeurs de religion de convoquer les parents d'élèves afin de créer des associations locales autour de ces écoles¹⁶. Cependant leur tâche devait s'avérer trop difficile, puisqu'ils ne pouvaient, en général, compter ni sur le soutien des chefs d'établissement, ni sur celui d'une grande partie des parents.

Le statut juridique et l'organisation interne de l'Association

Dans le règlement intérieur de l'organisation, on peut lire que « l'Association de Parents Catholiques n'est pas une association à part, mais [...] elle œuvre dans le cadre de l'AC¹⁷. » Elle n'était donc pas régie par le droit civil et n'eut pas à être autorisée en tant que telle par le ministère de l'Intérieur, selon la loi XVII/1938 restée en vigueur après la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Du reste, la précaution d'insérer l'Association des parents catholiques dans le cadre de l'AC était tout à fait justifiée. Dès 1945, le ministère contrôlé par les communistes empêcha ou interdit le fonctionnement de plusieurs associations catholiques. Puis, en été 1946, le ministre, László Rajk, décréta la dissolution d'un grand nombre

d'associations sociales, dont toutes les associations catholiques sauf celles dont l'objet était strictement religieux. Le ministère essaya également de dissoudre l'AC, mais cela s'avéra impossible, puisqu'en Hongrie, l'AC était une organisation ayant pour but de coordonner le travail des paroisses dans le sein même de la hiérarchie de l'Église catholique et elle n'était donc pas enregistrée par le ministère de l'Intérieur en tant qu'association. Il était donc impossible d'empêcher, par une manoeuvre simplement administrative, l'activité de l'AC et des mouvements œuvrant sous son aile protectrice¹⁸. Au demeurant, il était clair qu'en dépit de sa nature juridique informelle, l'Association des parents catholiques – ayant, suite aux événements de l'été 1946, modifié son nom en Association religieuses de parents catholiques – était une association de fait, sinon de droit, puisqu'elle avait des adhérents, même si ces derniers ne s'engageaient pas à payer une cotisation (seule une contribution volontaire leur était demandée)¹⁹.

Au-delà des parents d'élèves des écoles catholiques, on comptait aussi sur l'adhésion des anciens élèves et des amis des parents, puisque le bureau central de l'AC entendait mobiliser toute la société catholique. Fait unique avant le concile Vatican II, même les non-catholiques étaient admis à adhérer²⁰. À Kalocsa, chef-lieu du deuxième archidiocèse hongrois, un tiers des habitants intégra l'une des associations de parents locales.

Le président des associations locales était élu parmi les parents, mais le chef d'établissement jouait un rôle important dans le choix du candidat et le représentant paroissial de l'AC faisait également partie de la direction de l'association locale²¹. Ainsi le processus électoral était-il à la fois influencé par la tradition hiérarchique de l'Église catholique et par les exigences démocratiques de la période d'après-guerre. D'ailleurs le bureau central de l'Association favorisa l'élection de parents reconnus pour être d'efficaces organisateurs et qui étaient prêts à consacrer du temps à leur tâche. Et il désapprouva, au contraire, l'examen des candidatures selon la position sociale, le nombre d'enfants ou les mérites accumulés dans d'autres domaines ou circonstances²².

Au niveau national, il n'y avait qu'un seul organe, le bureau central de coordination du travail des associations locales. Ce bureau fut créé formellement à la fin de 1947, ses membres (choisis par le bureau central de l'AC, représentants à la fois des parents d'élèves et des enseignants) furent confirmés par le cardinal Mindszenty sur la proposition d'Ödön Lénárd. Au départ, le bureau local pour la ville de Budapest fut fortement impliqué dans la gestion des affaires générales. Son président était un avocat, père de six enfants, Miklós Tóth. Les membres du Bureau national et du bureau de Budapest étaient tous d'importants intellectuels laïcs, mais Ödön Lénárd resta toujours le moteur de l'Association²³.

Activités quotidiennes des associations locales

Avant de créer une association, les parents d'élèves participaient déjà activement à la vie des écoles. Par exemple, ils prenaient part à l'entretien ou à la restauration des bâtiments, ils apportaient le combustible nécessaire. Mais les ambitions du bureau central de l'Association étaient beaucoup plus vastes, elles concernaient la diffusion de la presse catholique, l'organisation de conférences sur des sujets pédagogiques, théologiques ou culturels, ainsi que l'activité caritative. Plusieurs associations locales entreprirent effectivement de venir en aide aux enfants des familles en difficulté en leur donnant de la nourriture, des vêtements ou en leur assurant l'exemption de frais de scolarité, certaines organisèrent aussi des conférences aux fins de l'édification des parents, mais, en définitive, la proportion d'associations oeuvrant véritablement dans l'esprit polyvalent demandé par le bureau central resta faible²⁴. Selon un rapport transmis au cardinal Mindszenty par Ödön Lénárd, la majorité d'entre elles se bornaient à élire des dirigeants ou limitaient leurs activités à la protestation contre certaines mesures gouvernementales²⁵.

Dans la tourmente de la lutte scolaire en 1946–47

Même si, au début, l'accent fut mis sur l'aide matérielle des parents d'élèves pour assurer le fonctionnement des écoles, l'objectif principal et ultime des associations de parents d'élèves était la défense de l'enseignement catholique dans son ensemble, pour garantir l'existence des écoles catholiques à long terme²⁶.

En avril 1946, la police – sous contrôle communiste – organisa de nombreuses descentes dans les lycées catholiques dans le but de trouver des armes dissimulées ainsi que des documents antidémocratiques et antisoviétiques. Il importait de pouvoir les étiqueter comme des nids réactionnaires. En réponse, l'Association organisa des manifestations pour protester contre les rafles et les accusations fabriquées²⁷. C'était la première occasion, pour l'Association, de faire entendre publiquement sa voix et cela non sans résultat, puisque la police cessa aussitôt ses descentes dans les établissements d'enseignement catholique.

Quelques mois plus tard, en novembre 1946, les partis de gauche lancèrent une campagne de presse en faveur du monopole de l'État sur la publication des manuels scolaires. Ils souhaitent également autoriser l'accès et l'activité des associations politiques de jeunesse au sein des écoles. Cette fois, l'Association de parents catholiques choisit de donner une nouvelle forme à son opposition : les associations locales – ainsi que les paroisses – expédièrent des télégrammes ou des lettres de protestation munies de signatures en grand nombre aux autorités publiques et dépêchèrent également des délégations auprès du gouvernement et

du parlement. Ces protestations ne restèrent pas, elles non plus, sans suite. Le gouvernement renonça aux deux initiatives lancées par les partis de gauche²⁸.

En mars 1947, les représentants de tous les partis du gouvernement se mirent d'accord à propos de trois mesures d'ordre scolaire : l'introduction de manuels scolaires uniques, la nationalisation des petites écoles rurales et la suppression du caractère obligatoire de l'enseignement religieux. L'Association réitéra sa campagne de protestation en envoyant des télégrammes et des lettres et en mettant sur pied plusieurs délégations. De plus, les représentants des Églises protestantes et même quelques cellules sociale-démocrates s'opposèrent également au projet du gouvernement. Grâce aux protestations massives, celui-ci fut à son tour abandonné, au moins pour un certain temps²⁹.

Tandis que la guerre scolaire marquait une pause, l'AC organisa, les 4-7 octobre 1947, à Budapest, un congrès national de Marie dans le cadre de l'Année de Notre Dame décrétée par le cardinal Mindszenty pour 1947-1948. La séance de clôture du congrès, qui eut lieu sur le parvis de la basilique Saint Étienne, à Budapest, tint également lieu d'assemblée de l'Association des parents catholiques. Cela montre l'importance de cette organisation à l'époque, au sein de la société civile catholique, au moment où toute les associations catholiques dont l'activité n'était pas purement religieuse étaient interdites et où l'existence même des écoles catholiques était périodiquement remise en cause. Les orateurs de l'assemblée soulignèrent la position de l'Église au sujet de l'enseignement, en insistant surtout sur l'importance de l'éducation religieuse, mais aussi sur le rôle des parents³⁰.

En somme, tout au long des années 1946-47, l'Association de parents catholiques venait de lutter avec succès pour la défense de l'enseignement catholique. Cependant, il est à remarquer que ses actions de protestation furent organisées à l'initiative de la hiérarchie : c'est pour répondre à l'appel épiscopal que le bureau central de l'Association écrivit une lettre circulaire aux associations locales afin de lancer l'action concrète. En outre, seulement une partie d'entre elles (un tiers, en hiver 1946/47) y prit part et cela montre que beaucoup d'associations existaient seulement sur le papier³¹.

La dernière étape de la guerre scolaire et la disparition de l'Association en 1948

Au début de l'année 1948, sur l'injonction du Parti communiste, le gouvernement décida de la nationalisation pur et simple des écoles confessionnelles, si possible dans le cadre d'un accord entre l'État et les Églises. Or l'Église catholique, avec le cardinal Mindszenty à sa tête, refusa de remettre ses écoles à l'État. À partir de la mi-avril, une nouvelle campagne s'ouvrit dans la presse de gauche contre

l'enseignement confessionnel. Le 9 mai, les communistes et les sociaux-démocrates rendirent public leur programme commun, revendiquant la nationalisation des écoles confessionnelles. Quelques jours plus tard, Gyula Ortutay, ministre de l'Instruction, annonça que cet objectif serait effectivement atteint dans le cadre du programme gouvernemental. La dernière et décisive étape de la guerre scolaire éclata³². Selon Ödön Lénárd : « nous arrivâmes au point où nous devions défendre l'avenir de nos enfants avec tous les moyens légaux et permis³³. » L'Association de parents catholiques, de concert avec les paroisses entretenant une ou plusieurs écoles primaires, relança elle aussi sa campagne. Plus de mille associations locales s'opposèrent au projet de nationalisation et envoyèrent de nouveau des lettres et des télégrammes aux autorités publiques et leurs copies au bureau central de l'Association. Les communistes, de leur côté, utilisèrent le même moyen. Des cellules de syndicats du corps enseignants et d'autres organisations placées sous l'influence de la gauche expédièrent des pétitions au parlement revendiquant la nationalisation des écoles confessionnelles. À court d'arguments, la police procéda à l'arrestation du président du bureau central et interdit toute réunion au sein de l'Association³⁴.

Le 16 juin 1948, le Parlement hongrois examina en priorité le projet de loi sur la nationalisation des écoles. Pour s'opposer au projet du gouvernement, Margit Slachta, fondatrice des Soeurs du service social et membre du Parlement, déposa sur le bureau du président les copies de presque deux mille cinq cents lettres de protestation dont la moitié avait été écrites par les associations locales de parents d'élèves. Tout cela en vain, car le Parlement vota le jour même la proposition de loi autorisant la nationalisation de six mille cinq cents écoles dont la moitié était catholique³⁵.

Après la nationalisation des écoles, l'Association des parents catholiques perdit sa principale raison d'être. Elle disparut en été 1948. La dictature communiste, encore en construction, cessait déjà de tolérer toute activité de l'Église Catholique hors de la liturgie au sein des églises. Bien qu'ayant appartenu à l'action de l'Église depuis des siècles, l'éducation, la santé ou le travail caritatif lui furent désormais strictement interdits. Quant au leader de l'Association, Ödön Lénárd, il fut arrêté dès le lendemain du vote de la loi et fut condamné à six ans de réclusion en raison du chef d'accusation d'incitation à la révolte contre la république. Au total, il allait passer plus de dix-huit ans de sa vie en prison³⁶.

Conclusion

L'histoire de l'Association des parents d'élèves catholiques en Hongrie est brève (1945-1948). Au cours de ces trois années mouvementées, l'atmosphère de plus en plus anticléricale pesa de plus en plus sur les écoles confessionnelles, jusqu'à

ce que ces dernières fussent bel et bien interdites. Or il apparaît que l'Église catholique réussit à mobiliser de nombreux fidèles jusqu'en 1948 ; beaucoup de parents d'élèves participèrent en effet activement à la défense des écoles catholiques. Mais il est également indéniable que les laïcs étaient moins organisés, et le rôle de la hiérarchie plus important en Hongrie qu'en France ou dans d'autres pays d'Europe occidentale.

Bien que l'Association des parents d'élèves catholiques eût disparu en 1948 au niveau national, on peut remarquer que l'une des associations locales a survécu à l'installation du régime communiste, sous une autre forme (l'association de l'Institut Sainte Margit, qui est devenu une confraternité d'inspiration cistercienne soutenant les soeurs et les anciens professeurs laïcs)³⁷.

D'autre part, l'idée d'organiser les parents d'élèves sous forme d'association fut adoptée par le gouvernement et le ministère de l'instruction : en septembre 1949, le ministre, Gyula Ortutay, décréta la création d'un "conseil de parents d'élèves" au sein de toutes les écoles³⁸.

Notes

- 1 Balogh Margit, *Mindszenty József (1892–1975)*, MTA BTK, Budapest, 2015, p. 640
- 2 Gyula Ortutay (1910–1978) : Ethnographe, homme politique, membre du Parti des petits propriétaires à partir de 1942, membre secret du Parti communiste après 1945, président de la Radio hongroise de 1945 à 1947, puis ministre de l'Instruction publique et des Cultes jusqu'à 1950, membre du Conseil présidentiel de 1958 à sa mort.
- 3 Discours au Parlement hongrois le 16 juin 1948. *Az 1947. évi szeptember hó 16-ára összehívott országgyűlés naplója* [Minutes du parlement convoqué le 16 septembre 1947], Hiteles kiadás, Negyedik kötet, Budapest, 1949, p. 530
- 4 Romsics Ignác, *Magyarország története a XX. században* [Histoire de la Hongrie au XX^e siècle], Osiris, Budapest, 1999, p. 279–294
- 5 L'Action Catholique fut établie par la réunion des évêques en octobre 1932. Son directeur national fut Zsigmond Mihalovics jusqu'au juillet 1948. Cf. Gianone András, *Az Actio Catholica története Magyarországon 1932–1948* [Histoire de l'Action Catholique en Hongrie 1932–1948], ELTE Történelemtudományok Doktori Iskola, Budapest, 2010
- 6 Beke Margit (éd.), *A magyar katolikus püspökkari tanácskozások története és jegyzőkönyvei 1945–1948 között*. [Histoire et protocoles des réunions de l'épiscopat catholique hongrois entre 1945 et 1948] MTA BTK Történettudományi Intézet, Budapest, 2015, p. 70–71
- 7 Primási Levéltár [Archives Primatiales, PL] 714/1945
- 8 Associations de parents d'élèves de l'enseignement libre. Propos, souvenirs et documents recueillis par P. M. Léonard. "Famille éducatrice", Paris, 1978, p. 7–9
- 9 PL 3790/1948, lettre de Zsigmond Mihalovics à János Drahos, vicaire d'Esztergom le 22 juin 1945. PL 3679/1945, lettres de Zsigmond Mihalovics à József Mindszenty le 12 et le 15 octobre 1945.
- 10 PL 3790/1948, lettre de József Mindszenty aux provinciaux le 12 novembre 1945, lettre circulaire aux dirigeants des paroisses le 15 novembre 1945, lettre circulaire aux chefs d'établissement le 30 novembre 1945.
- 11 PL 9107/1948, PL 3790/1948.

- 12 Beke, *op. cit.* p. 113.
- 13 PL 3790/1948, lettre circulaire de János Drahos le 23 avril 1946.
- 14 PL 1627/1947, lettre d'István Szántay-Szemán à József Mindszenty le 4 mars 1947
- 15 Beke, *op. cit.* p. 228
- 16 PL 3790/1948, lettre circulaire de József Mindszenty aux ordinaires le 23 mai 1946
- 17 PL 1627/1947, règlement de l'Association des parents catholiques point I/4
- 18 Beke, *op. cit.* p. 154–155. Szent István Társulat, Esty Miklós hagyatéka [Société de Saint Étienne, Fond de Miklós Esty], 4/66, correspondance de l'Action catholique avec le ministère de l'Intérieur en juillet 1946
- 19 PL 9107/1947, rapport sur le travail de l'Association le 1^{er} mai 1947
- 20 PL 1627/1947, règlement de l'Association de parents catholiques point I/3. Lettre circulaire 2/1946 du bureau central de l'Association
- 21 PL 1627/1947, Règlement de l'Association de Parents Catholiques points I/6 et II/1, projet d'activités du bureau central de l'Association pour les associations locales en septembre 1946, lettre circulaire du bureau central de l'Association le 23 septembre 1946
- 22 PL 1627/1947, lettre circulaire du bureau central de l'Association aux associations locales du 3 septembre 1946
- 23 PL 9107/1947, *pro memoria* d'Ödön Lénárd à József Mindszenty le 1^{er} mai 1947
- 24 PL 1627/1947, projet d'activités du bureau central de l'Association pour les associations locales en novembre 1946. PL 9107/1947, rapport sur le travail de l'Association le 1^{er} mai 1947
- 25 Beke, *op. cit.* pp. 229, 238. PL 7778/1947, lettre d'Ödön Lénárd à József Mindszenty le 18 décembre 1946
- 26 PL 3790/1948, lettre d'Albin Balogh, recteur d'une académie catholique à József Mindszenty le 5 octobre 1945, lettre circulaire aux chefs d'établissements catholiques le 30 novembre 1945
- 27 Beke, *op. cit.* p. 147. Mindszenty József, *Emlékirataim* [Mémoires], Kardinal-Mindszenty-Stiftung, Vaduz, 1988. 120–128. Új Ember, le 9 juin 1946. pp. 1–2, 4, le 7 juillet 1946 p 1–2. *Szabad Nép*, le 17 avril 1946. p. 2, le 18 avril 1946. p. 2
- 28 Beke *op. cit.* p. 227–229. PL 1627/1947, lettre circulaire du bureau central le 22 novembre 1946
- 29 Beke, *op. cit.*, p. 296. Balogh *op. cit.*, p. 645–652. Mészáros István, *Mindszenty és Ortutay, Iskolatörténeti vázlat : 1945–1948*, [Mindszenty et Ortutay. Esquisse d'une histoire sociale : 1945–1948], A szerző kiadása, Budapest, 1989, p. 66–89
- 30 Gianone András (éd.), *Az országos katolikus nagygyűlések Magyarországon, 1933–1947* [Les assemblées générales des catholiques en Hongrie, 1933–1947], MTA BTK Történettudományi Intézet, Budapest, 2017. pp. 353–356
- 31 Beke, *op. cit.*, pp. 151, 227–229, 557
- 32 Balogh, *op. cit.*, pp. 713–728. Mészáros, *op. cit.*, p. 108–128. *Szabad Nép*, le 16 avril 1948, p. 5, le 9 mai 1948, p. 13, *Friss Ujság*, le 30 avril 1948, p. 3, le 16 mai 1948, p. 1–2
- 33 Állambiztonsági Szolgálatok Történeti Levéltára [Archives Historiques des Organisations de Sécurité de l'État] V-700/57, p. 390, lettre circulaire du bureau central de l'Association le 16 mai 1948
- 34 Beke, *op. cit.*, p. 419. *Szabad Nép* le 15 mai 1948, p. 5, le 23 mai 1948, p. 6. PL 3790/1948, lettre d'Ödön Lénárd à Zsigmond Mihalovics, le 22 mai 1948, lettre de József Mindszenty au bureau central de l'Association le 25 mai 1948
- 35 Kovács Éva, « Az iskolaállamosítás parlamenti vitája, Érvek és ellenérvek (1948) », [Le débat au parlement sur la nationalisation des écoles, Arguments pour et contre (1948)] In Zeidler Miklós (éd.), *Tanulmányok a XIX–XX. századi történelemből*, ELTE BTK, Budapest, 2001, p. 226, 232–233
- 36 Gianone András, *op. cit.*, p. 212–214

- 37 Csonka Pálné Wurga Margit, « Ha a kövek beszélni tudnának » [Si les pierres pouvaient parler], In Csonka Pálné Wurga Margit (éd.), *Visszapillantás a Szent Margit Intézetben eltöltött évekre* [Chronique des années passées à l'Institut Sainte Margit], Manuscrit, 1990, p. 63, 83, 88
- 38 A vallás- és közoktatásügyi miniszter 1.213-S/1949. (195) VKM. számú rendelete, Magyar Közlöny – Rendeletek Tára, le 20 septembre 1949, p. 1595–1596. On remarque aussi, depuis 1945, d'autres initiatives de la part des partis de gauche d'organiser sous forme d'associations les parents d'élèves. *Fővárosi Közlöny*, le 21 juillet 1945, p. 445. *Népszava*, le 6 novembre 1945, p. 4.

FASCINATION WITH UNIFORM? CHOOSING BETWEEN MILITARY AND CIVIL CAREERS IN THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HABSBURG MONARCHY

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*“Ad pedes Majestatis Vestrae Sacratissimae
humillima eaque homagiali devotione provolutus insto,
post praestita viginti annorum in omnibus retroactis bellicis
fidelia militaria servitia me in consiliarium Administrationis Scepusiensis
benigne resolvere dignetur” ...
Josephus Baro Vécsey¹*

The article deals with the phenomenon of popularity of military service in the eighteenth-century Habsburg Monarchy. It exemplarily examines cases of entering and quitting the army in a wider context of belated career-start or switch in profession. Most typical models under scrutiny are disillusioned officers losing hope of promotion, ex-Jesuits who had joined the army to compensate the consequences of the dissolution of the Society of Jesus, retired army officers using the patronage networks to get admitted to the administrative elites, and retired Hungarian guardsmen who had chosen administrative career. The study is based primarily on ego documents, such as petitions and private letters, which are supplemented (where available) by the minutes and resolutions of respective administrative bodies. Successful, or unsuccessful, case-studies under scrutiny let describing society of the Habsburg Monarchy as horizontally mobile and highly motivated to reach social ascend through flexibility in the occupations-choice.

Keywords: Habsburg Monarchy, military career, royal service, social mobility

Introduction

The eighteenth century brought the Habsburg dynasty a series of wars, which the Austrian historian Michael Hochedlinger has rightly called “the wars of emergence” [of the Austrian Monarchy²]. It might seem that the possibility to demonstrate courage on the battlefield and earn a higher rank or military order would

have made the army career attractive for hundreds of ambitious youngsters. Yet, considering the composition of the Monarchy's officer corps, the historian came to the conclusion that "the Austrian-Bohemian nobility – with the exception of a few military dynasties often close to the Court – proved surprisingly reluctant to enter the officer corps, instead preferring posts in the more leisurely central and provincial administration." As a result, "the Austrian officer corps therefore remained as heterogeneous and cosmopolitan as ever."²

This statistically verified statement based on the analysis of the Habsburg army personnel sounds persuasive. One should agree with the historian's assumption that the concept of the professionally trained officer provoked "aristocratic contempt" and consequently "have widened the gulf between traditional nobility and military service even more." By the same token, the practice of mass ennoblements of the officers of common origin – in the absence of other efficient, first of all financial mechanisms of encouragement of personal courage – "conserved or even reinforced the social openness of the officer corps."³ The Hungarian historian József Zachar came to a similar conclusion. Zachar calculated that in the period between 1693 and 1815 42,6% of the Hungarian colonels in the Habsburg army came from the petty or landless nobility, and every fifth Hungarian general was of the common origin.⁴

Nonetheless the statement about the full indifference of the noble elites of the Monarchy to the career of an officer needs further specifications. Even random acquaintance with the history of aristocratic and lesser-noble families would rather lead to the assumption, that, as everywhere in Europe,⁵ children were more or less proportionately divided between the civil, military, and clerical careers, depending on their predispositions, physical conditions and progress in learning. And yet none of the child's (youngster's) inclinations were to bar his flexibility in catching up with as many career opportunities in his adult life as possible. As the rector of the Theresian College Theodor Kronstein warned Count Ferenc Nádasdy about his relative, the young Count Weichard Trauttmansdorf: "Before he joins one or another regiment, the count must finish his studies... insofar as we all know his inconsequent nature, there would be no wonder that the young man might change his mind to be an officer and, having no required preparation and knowledge for civil service, would be doomed to retreat to his estates, feeling little thankfulness for that."⁶

In other words, the military service, once the young man decided to join the army, was never seen as his only career opportunity. In the age, when profession was in a way inherited from father to son (one might give numerous examples of military, or bureaucratic "dynasties"), there was a clear understanding, that one should use the opportunities suggested by the friendly circle, father's professional contacts, or the patronage networks available. Flexibility supported by good schooling and reinforced by useful acquaintances, was a sufficient foundation for a long, often diverse career. A young noble, as one shall see below, might start as

an army officer and, getting retired in his thirties or forties, enter the civil service, or, begin as a clergyman and make up his mind to try his luck on the battlefield.

As to the military profession, interest in it in the Habsburg Monarchy obviously differed from one land to another. Thus, the Bohemian-Austrian nobility in the eighteenth century lacked the vast group of lesser, often landless nobles, who were indeed overrepresented in Hungary, including Croatia-Slavonia. In a country predestined to defend its southern borders from the Turks, sons of both aristocrats and impoverished nobles saw the military service as a profession, which matched their estates status or even promised quicker social ascend. The Hungarian historian Attila Réfi had analyzed the social and ethnic composition of the higher cavalry officers between 1792 and 1812 and came to the conclusion that this corpus was predominantly noble and Hungarian (not necessarily “Magyar” though).⁷ This might be extrapolated to the previous half century.

Hungarian graduates of the Viennese Theresianum are an instructive case to consider. This college was designed as a training-school for the future bureaucrats in different brunches and on different levels of power. A letter-writing manual composed especially for its pupils by the famous economist and jurist Johann Heinrich Gottlob Justi provides an indirect indication of this purpose. In 1749-55, Justi taught law and *Cameralwissenschaften* at the Theresianum. None of the sample-letters suggested that the graduates would apply for a position in the army.⁸ Yet two very first Hungarian pupils, admitted in 1746, József Niczky and Count András Berényi (1731–1816) – both sons of royal judges – became officers. In 1751, the empress ascribed the incomes of the rich southern-Hungarian abbey of St. Archangel Michael in Bátorfő to the Theresian College and ordered the nobles of the Austrian Monarchy to provide ten scholarships, of which at least half should come from the Kingdom of Hungary. Of the first five Bátorfő-pupils, two graduates had careers as royal servants, while three preferred to wear a uniform.⁹ As the Hungarian Noble Guard was founded in 1760 (to be considered below) many Hungarian pupils of the Theresian College – both the offspring of lesser noble families and illustrious magnates – tried join its ranks. Some of them, like Michael Bobok (1747–?), after two and a half years as guardsman (1766-69) went on with a military career in the standing army, others, like Count Zsigmond Zichy (1747–1803), after almost three years (1760–63) quit the Guard and later served at the Lieutenancy Council of the Kingdom of Hungary.

To get a more diversified picture of how young men were choosing between the military and civil service, or what were career-expectations among (retired) army-officers, and different layers of the nobility in general, one should also use sources, other than the regiments’ documentation and similar statistics lead by the military authorities. Those could be first and foremost the archives of central governmental bodies of the Monarchy and private correspondence of the leading aristocrats of whom admissions and promotions in the army and bureaucracy

might depend. In the former case, the most instructive might prove to be the Court Chamber with its wide network of affiliated offices responsible for collecting taxes, extracting salt or performing postal services. At the time, when a petition to the monarch combined the rigid epistolary norm with the most intimate overtones and was not determined in length and content, appeals to the sovereign contained precious pieces of information concerning both careers as expectations and possibilities.¹⁰ In the latter case, the epistolary collections of such Hungarian families, prominent both in the military and civil spheres as the Nádasdys or Károlyis provide a unique glimpse into the career strategies of the age. The Croatian Vice-Roy, proprietor of a cavalry regiment and commander-in-chief of the two confine regiments Count Ferenc Nádasdy (1708–83), or the high-sheriff of Szatmár county (most of its territory, including the administrative capital Satu Mare, is now in Romania), proprietor of an infantry regiment and Captain of the Hungarian Noble Guard Count Antal Károlyi (1732–91) helped more than one nobleman be enrolled into the army or win an administrative position.

Without intervening in the specific field of military history, extensive exploration of such groups of sources would necessarily enrich our knowledge of the age with an anthropological dimension, present impersonal lists of personnel as a sum of unique individuals with shared values, views and regularities in their behavior. This would also help verify the extent to which people were conceiving career as a foreseeable, rationally built sequence of actions, what were the factors, which made people more “professionally flexible,” adjustable to the given circumstances and often limited opportunities on their way to power, wealth, prestige or simply a better lot.¹¹

Patronage

Modern historiography no longer views patronage as corruption, i.e. the triumph of particularistic interests over the common good and nepotism, but rather considers it a composite part of early-modern state-building and nation-building. In a social order, where there were neither national-wide school system, nor its prerequisite – standard diplomas certifying knowledge and skills acquired, filling positions in the army and bureaucracy with apt individuals would have been impossible without omnipresent client’s networks.¹² The mechanisms of patronage in the early-modern Habsburg Monarchy might shed light on how noble youngsters became officers, and how retired officers were admitted to administration. The first dignitaries of the Monarchy were simultaneously filling positions at the court, holding key posts in the central royal and local county administration, possessing and commanding military units. This could not but attract numerous clientele – mainly the well-to-do county nobility, generations-long tied to their aristocratic

patrons, who in exchange for their loyalty were employing their children in the subordinated offices or entrusted regiments. This widespread network was based on mutual trust,¹³ both between the patrons keeping each other informed about skilful men in their surrounding and between the patrons and their clients interested in the continuing advantageous cooperation through good offices.

The extent to which social ties outside the army penetrated into the military sphere is demonstrated by the following letter of Count Imre Esterházy to Count Antal Károlyi. Esterházy refused Károlyi's friendly request to employ the young Baron Lepel as a cadet: "After the recent changes in the cavalry it became pretty obvious, that it would be merely impossible, to promote a youngster from such a good family, and even more so, inasmuch as along other cadets in my regiment there are sons of five county vice-sheriffs who serve by me, and with the reduction of one squadron none of them have any hope."¹⁴

Two letters to Count Ferenc Nádasdy written by a lesser nobleman from Vas/Eisenburg County, a solicitous father Imre Bárdossy,¹⁵ give insight into the patronage mechanisms and its function in career-planning. His elder son József, after the personal intercession of the Hungarian Chancellor Count Lipót (Leopold) Nádasdy (1700–1758), received a royal scholarship to the Löwenburg noble college (*Löwenburgisches Konvikt*), where he spent 1756–1758. The young man's wish to join the army in the middle of the Seven Years War evoked ambiguous feelings in his parents. On the one hand, Ferenc Nádasdy's readiness to enroll the young man as an ensign and cover the necessary expenses was received with gratitude. On the other hand, given the Bárdossys' younger son had become a priest, they were concerned that had József fallen in the battlefield, this line of the family would die out. The father expressed hope that his son's military service would not last longer than one or two years, just to give him the necessary experience, and he prayed that the proprietor would not send the youngster into warfare, since the inexperienced ensign hardly understood Croatian.

The councilor of the Hungarian Court Chancellery József Kelcz had two sons, one of whom was a cadet in a military academy (most likely not in Wiener-Neustadt, but in Vienna) and dreamed about joining the standing army as soon as possible. The caring father had turned to their remote relative the influential courtier Count Ferenc Balassa with a request to intercede in enrolling the youngster in the Archduke Royal Lieutenant's Regiment, where should be a vacant place of a cadet. The father wrote: "My son is tall, of solid stature and is already educated in a way to become, of which I am sure, a useful citizen of the Fatherland." Already in a postscript he also added: "My abovementioned son speaks Latin, German, French and Hungarian languages."¹⁶ Balassa asked General Kempelen to be a mediator, and soon an assuring answer from Archduke Albert followed. Councilor Kelcz did not forget about his remote relatives and charges either and never missed an opportunity to remind regiments' proprietors about them. Thus

in a letter to Antal Károlyi in 1778 he wrote: “Among others, since there are many occasions in these war circumstances, I supplicate: deign to take into consideration my humble relative Imre Novakovics, who has been serving, satisfactory, as I am informed, for some years in Your Excellence’s regiment as a cadet.”¹⁷

Generally speaking, in a social order, where parental merits were building the starting point of the children’s successful careers, it was by no means unusual, that the fathers (and mothers) were using the institute of patronage to render assistance to their apparently grown-up sons. In 1779, when the War for the Bavarian Succession was over, Count Ferenc Nádasdy’s minor client József Naypár was writing to his patron: “My poor son [László], whom Your Excellence could have long ago made a major, is still a corporal, and neither he, nor I in present peaceful times have a slightest hope of promotion.” In the following lines he expressed his intention to turn to Prince Esterházy, asking him to admit the youngster to the Hungarian Noble Guard. Two years later, the persistent father was still besieging his patron with requests to take his son into consideration, lest a vacant place in the regiment were “given to others against the will of Your Excellence.”¹⁸

By and large, patronage was omnipresent and indispensable in cases of both military and civil careers, as well as when one wanted to switch from one activity to another. The following examples of ex-members of the Society of Jesus, who decided to try their luck on the battlefield, show what a munificent patron might do for his protégé.

Ex-Jesuits

The careers of some ex-Jesuits give an indirect indication of the high prestige of the military service. The abolition of the Society in 1773 meant a great challenge for thousands of its members, both young and elderly. Those were ambitious youngsters, who had to feel in a way betrayed. They had joined the Society at seventeen or nineteen years of age, full of hope to reach higher positions in the rigid hierarchy, now in their mid-twenties they were to reconsider their career strategies. More than one decided to quit the clergy and become an official in central or local administration, or even to try his lot as an army officer.

So far, four instances of ex-Jesuit army officers have been found: the captain László Klobisiczky in the Károlyi Infantry Regiment, the ensign Karl Henseler and the second lieutenant Jakob Sussics in the 2nd Croat-Vice-Royal Confine-Regiment, and the cadet Johann Fischer in the Archduke of Toscana Carabineer Regiment.¹⁹ Yet, one also finds an interesting testimony in a letter of the auditor Sebastian Sprengl to Count Ferenc Nádasdy. He mentions an ex-Jesuit in uniform (whose name he did not notice), who was aspiring to be employed as a regiment-auditor or syndic and – in order to pass the prescribed examinations – was taking private

lessons from the Vienna garrison-auditor in *praxis militaris* and attending lectures on criminal law at the university.²⁰ Such cases, however rare they might be, let us better comprehend the phenomenon of a career as a symbolic investment of time, efforts and hopes and the place the army was taking in these speculations.

For example, the Hungarian nobleman László Klobusiczky (b. 1750) came from the family, which had been among devoted clients of the abovementioned Count Antal Károlyi. Antal Klobusiczky, László's elder brother, became, with his patron's protection, a minor clerk at the Hungarian Lieutenancy Council; his brother József – the future Fiume governor – finished his studies in the Waitzen (Vác) Theresian College at Count Károlyi's expense. László was 20 years old, when the Society of Jesus was dissolved. His elder brother György, also a Jesuit, preferred to become a priest was later appointed a canon to Nagyvárad (now Oradea Mare in Romania). László came to a decision to join the army. Antal Klobusiczky wrote to the family's patron Count Károlyi: "Brother László is now in Vienna and is waiting for an appointment, and Her Majesty expressed her ultimate satisfaction with his intention to join the infantry; she has also asked which regiment he would prefer and which of the regiment-proprietors he trusted most. On behalf of my brother the following answer came, that we due to God's providence grew up under the wing and patronage of Count Károlyi, and my brother would be very thankful indeed, if Her Majesty would ascribe him to the regiment of Your Excellence. It is most likely though (of what we should be informed soon), that the regiment of Your Excellence would be manned with one more cadet, hence, if the *Bellicum* issue were not arranged in some other way, I have the honour *nunc pro tunc* to entrust my poor brother to your fatherly solicitude and guidance of Your Excellence."²¹

Cadet Klobusiczky joined Károlyi's regiment on 1 September 1774, and in less than a year, on 1 August 1775, was promoted to ensign. His letters to the proprietor and patron were mainly written on occasions of his name days or New Year Eves, in an elegant Latin reminding of his former schooling and occupation and revealing less about his true hopes, fears or endeavors.²² The task of representing his younger brother's interests overtook Antal Klobusiczky, who was well informed about the daily routine of the infantry regiment: "For my brother's promotion in rank, which he thoroughly owes to the fatherly care of Your Excellence, we thank you from the bottom of our hearts, and inasmuch as we have recently learned, that the vacant charge of the recently died captain Ussovitz would be ascribed to one of the first lieutenants, I dare humbly recommend you my brother to the would-be-vacant charge of a first lieutenant."²³ In three weeks affectedly surprised Antal Klobusiczky wrote to Károlyi again: "In as much as Your Excellence called my brother first lieutenant, I dare hope, that it happened due to kindness of Your Excellence and express my most devoted gratitude, unless it were a frivolity of your secretary."²⁴ Ten years later, in 1789, Klobusiczky was promoted to captain. He did not reach the rank of higher officer, but still had made a career others could envy.

The opposite case presents the young Baron Carl Henseler (born in Brussels). After the dissolution of the Society, he was employed by Countess Patachich as a private tutor for her son Frederick studying in the Vienna Theresian Academy. An accidental acquaintance in her house with Count Ferenc Nádasdy, the Croat Vice-Roy and commander-in-chief of two confine infantry regiments, changed the life of the twenty-three-year-old ex-Jesuit. He decided to try his fortune as an officer. Full of excitement, he wrote: “My only humble request to Your Excellence would be to confer me at least an officer title without wage... so that I could take part in military exercises or do them on my own, which is otherwise very uncomfortable in an *abbé*’s dress.”²⁵

It seems that the young ensign officer²⁶ devoted all his ambitions and unspent zeal to his new vocation, as if he were trying to recompense “those nine years, which were consecrated to the service to the state in the Society of Jesus.”²⁷ He was permanently reminding his commander and benefactor: “I do not demand therefore to drive off my most well-earned comrades; my only desire goes as far as to be placed, in accordance with your disposal and will, in a stand, which would improve my condition just a bit.”²⁸ Yet, as an unsuccessful latecomer Baron Henseler had little chance of a quicker promotion. The fragmented state of the regiment’s documentation for the late 1770s does not allow reconstructing his career after the War of Bavarian Succession (1778–79). Anyway, Baron Henseler remains an example of a fairly unlucky career switch from a clergyman to an army officer.

Losing illusions

For many young men their dreams of heroic deeds turned to be a wretched life in remote garrisons. They were suffering from the lack of money, were losing their vain hopes to be promoted from younger officers, or having been seriously wounded, were barred from any further participation in warfare. All these men sooner or later retired and searched for a new place in the bureaucracy at different levels. It might be suggested, that for many officers the military career was desirable until it justified its value and invested expectations.

The pupil of the Vienna Theresian Academy Count Maria Nepomuk Engelshaus (1753–1802) was introduced by his classmate Count József Draskovics to his stepfather – Count Ferenc Nádasdy. The elder son in an impoverished aristocratic family, Engelshaus had in the future the right of primogeniture on the family estates. Yet, as he calculated, the capital of thirty thousand invested at 4 or 5% interest rate would guarantee him twelve of fifteen hundred florins a year, of which he had to sustain his mother, two sisters and a younger brother.²⁹ To serve in one of the confine regiments under the command of the Croat Vice-Roy Nádasdy seemingly opened perspectives which would have been brilliant for him.

“What luck for a twenty-two-year-old young man, who, by the way, absolves his studies in July and has already made his utmost to become useful to his monarch and would do the same all his life long, – wrote Engelshaus, – when he has the luck to serve and obey under the glorious standards of the immortal – by his name and most honest deeds – field-marshal.”³⁰

The young man was taking his new vocation seriously: “I would like to thank Your Excellence as my benefactor for the advice concerning geodesy and the Croat language, for I have already made some progress: as to the former, it is mainly based on mathematics, as to the latter, hence I am a born Carniolean and speak my mother tongue pretty well.”³¹ In a couple of weeks he assured his new patron: „I have good proficiency in accounting and have begun to acquire experience in calligraphy and judicial issues, inasmuch as I have been studying law for three years, Your Excellency might also rely on me.”³² The happy father, who, in an eloquent letter, thanked the regiment proprietor for his beneficence, presumed that his son would receive the rank of a lieutenant.³³

Nevertheless the young man was enrolled just as an ensign³⁴ and spent five years (1774–78) in a vain hope of promotion. In December 1777 he wrote: “I rely upon nobody but God and after God upon Your Excellence, I am confidant, that you have made many hundreds happy and just nobody unhappy, therefore I hope that Your Excellence would at first convenience embrace me with your kindness and let me be promoted to strengthen my zeal for service and provide me with better lot.”³⁵ Meanwhile Engelshaus got married, a child was born, and the deepest desperation moved the officer to address Nádasdy in the last (preserved) letter with the bitter words: “I want to find a civil office... and ask Your Excellence to let me quit, insofar as I would like as soon as possible to go from the regiment back home.”³⁶

Letters by young low officers to their regiment-proprietors might not be free from deliberate exaggeration and yet disclose their miserable existence. They fashion themselves as “poor abandoned cavaliers,” enjoying monthly 3 fl. as cadets, or even no wage during their first years as ensigns, their impoverished aristocratic families failed to render them whatever aid, they were playing cards in vain hope to win money, or relying on occasional beneficiaries, as, for example, the ensign Count Joseph Stadl, who, according to his own confession, bought the uniform, horse and equipment at a bargain price from Count Erdödy. It took him ten years to be promoted from ensign to lieutenant.³⁷ Others, less lucky, as Maria Nepomuk Engelshaus, preferred to quit the army.

Having taken off the uniform

Most likely, further traces of Maria Nepomuk Engelshaus’ career could be found in Carniola. Was his switch from military to civil service typical? Inasmuch as

historians do not have at their disposal prosopographic studies, devoted to the social composition of the bureaucratic elites of the Monarchy in the eighteenth century, it is hard to come to more general conclusions. Yet random references to the military service are found in petitions (both accepted and rejected), where retired officers, having served five, seven, ten, and more years in the army, commoners, nobles and aristocrats (see the motto chosen for this article) were requesting positions in central and local administration. A case typical for many is summed up in a petition of the officer-widow Katharina Pök: “My husband Ferdinand Pök having dedicated 28 years to the military service and seven years to the chamber service in the salt-office in Somlyó died in 1760.”³⁸

What were the preconditions of successful integration into the bureaucracy? Let us consider the case of the Chamber councilor Podivin von Kutschersfeld (†1769). This Bohemian nobleman joined the army around 1739, fought in the War of Austrian Succession, and in 1741 became a prisoner of war in Prague. After obtaining his freedom, he was assigned to the Savoy Dragoon Regiment in Italy, took part in numerous battles, and was wounded. He quit the military in 1752 at the rank of captain in order to fill the position of councilor in the Zips (in Hungarian called Szepes; now the region of Spiš in Slovakia) Chamber Administration situated in Kaschau (now Košice in Slovakia). Little is known about how this switch came about and who promoted the retired officer. In his later petitions, Kutschersfeld himself referred not once to his comprehensive experience in finances and administration: as an officer he had undertaken numerous private financial commissions for his military commanders. He was probably also a skilled financier and administrator given that the Vienna Court Chamber President, Count Rudolph Chotek, praised him as an “active, indefatigable and diligent man, who is competent in Hungarian fiscal issues, as well as in juridical and economic matters, [and] who has increased the income of the Hungarian crown estate of Altenburg [Óvár] such that last year the treasury received 30,000 fl. due to his skill.”³⁹ After ten years at the Court Chamber, Kutschersfeld was awarded a patent of Hungarian nobility. Even if his petition (1765) for the cross of the Order of St. Stephan was rejected, Podivin von Kutschersfeld’s career at the Court Chamber may be considered exemplary in many ways.

Mathias Klohammer (†1769) is another noteworthy example of the successful integration of a retired officer into the bureaucratic hierarchy. A commoner from Pressburg County (in Hungarian the town of Pressburg is called Pozsony; it is now Bratislava in Slovakia), he joined the county war effort in 1741 after the outbreak of the War of Austrian Succession,⁴⁰ taking over the duties of a victuals- and quartermaster. The protection of the county’s high-sheriff, Count János Pálffy, paved his way into the standing army. Cornet Klohammer served in Bavaria, Tirol and Northern Italy, was wounded (or, as he himself wrote: “I have been exposing my body and life to danger for the sake of serving my sovereign”), and after 14 years

felt no longer up to military service. More than once, he requested that the empress employ him as a chamber official⁴¹ and pointed out his experience in accounting. In 1756, he received the position of salt-extractor in Körmend (Vas County) and a noble title.⁴² There is no direct indication that his transfer was arranged by the proprietor of his regiment, Count Ferenc Károlyi; on the other hand, someone probably persuaded the Chamber that the petitioner deserved this appointment. (Let us notice in brackets, that his elder son Johannes/János graduated from the *Collegium Oeconomicum* in Szenc/Wartberg (now Senec in Slovakia), was sent for nine months to study hydraulics in the Netherlands, later employed as a Court Chamber's hydraulic-engineer, and left behind a significant collection of books.⁴³)

Early acquaintance with and practical experience in accounting and financial management obviously helped retired officers switch to a civil career. This circumstance made them employable in the whole range of chamber offices in central administrative bodies and in offices all over the kingdom. The retired officer János Sztankovics, who wanted to be employed by the Court Chamber as currier, wrote: "I have been serving for ten and a half years in the Archduke Ferdinand Infantry Regiment and during the last five years have been responsible for correspondence in Latin, Hungarian, German and Slovak and carrying financial matters; all officers including the regiment commissar were thoroughly satisfied with my work, what my retirement certificate and other credentials testify."⁴⁴ Though in this particular case, it was the protégé of the Hungarian Court Chamber president who got the desired position, nevertheless the petitioner's belief in the relevance of his experience for the future appointment is remarkable.

Furthermore, the abovementioned instances demonstrate that both joining and quitting the army with a subsequent admission into the bureaucracy were hardly possible without influential patrons. Social practices of intercession were so widespread and in a way so transparent, that petitioners never hid the names of their beneficiaries. Captain Maximilian Rosenvals wrote in 1755 to the president of the Hungarian Chamber: "Having got the recommendation promised to me by Prince Liechtenstein, I pray Your Excellence about ultimate munificence and kindness: deign to take into consideration my 25 years of military service and merits I have seized, not less than lives of my father and six brothers dedicated to service in the army." The Hungarian Chamber immediately placed him the first among competitors to fill the vacancy of salt-extractor in the town of Baja in southern Hungary.⁴⁵ In 1773, the minor clerk from a remote salt-office in Rhónaszék Johann Peter Bertin was a son and grandson of army officers, who was brought up in a military camp by a comrade of his deceased father. Yet the young man had to quit the army after being heavily wounded by a horse. As he would write almost half a century later: "In the end, having got a recommendation from General Count Zinzendorf I was admitted to the chamber service, which I have been performing already for 46 years." His eldest son was ascribed to assist

him in the office, the second one became a hussar in Count Török's regiment, and for four minor boys the Chamber was to scholarships or other accommodation.⁴⁶

It is hard to draw any general principle of personnel policy in regard of the retired officers. In every case the constellation of factors, such as the petitioner's ability to formulate a persuasive request, his luck with a patron and his ability to win the sovereign's compassion was different. Thus, Courier Lorenz Höbert from Rudolf Pálffy regiment failed to obtain the position of tax-collector in Pressburg despite his picturesque description of dangerous reconnaissance-missions in the Prussian rear during the Seven Years War.⁴⁷ Yet Maria Theresa's endeavor both to give rational fundamentals to philanthropy and to reserve enough space for the monarch's compassionate benevolence, could be traced in a whole number of voluntarily decisions on the cases with retired soldiers. For instance, the retired lieutenant Ludwig Donegg – a petty noble from the town of Szatmár (now Satu Mare in Romania) – persistently directed numerous petitions to the empress and the Court Chamber requesting employment as a tax-collector. Despite the fact that the Hungarian Court Chamber only ranked him third after two other candidates who were professional chamber-officials with the necessary professional experience, and the fact that the Vienna Court Chamber preferred another soldier, whose father had held this office before his death, the empress inexplicably tapped Donegg for the job “if he brings good testimony from his regiment” (which he did).⁴⁸

It is remarkable that retired officers – unlike sons of the imperial-royal servants, who were almost predestined to run the same bureaucratic career often in the same little town, marketplace, or tax collector's office – enriched the bureaucratic corpora of the kingdom through ethnic diversity. Many of them were *Hungari*, that is ethnically non-Magyar subjects, or even members of the noble communities from other Habsburg provinces. In their new offices they had also successfully applied their personal and professional experience brought from abroad. For instance, Andreas Franz Puecher was a commoner from Sopron/Ödenburg County, who in 1728-1735 served in the Messina garrison in Sicily (in charge of the regiment's finances and logistics); later moved with Prince Lobkowitz's Regiment to the Apennine peninsula; once accompanied Austrian emissaries to the Ottoman Porte; and in the War for Austrian Succession was employed by Duke Carl of Lorraine as manager of his military finances.⁴⁹ Such people were eroding the exclusivist character of the bureaucratic elite. In the nineteenth century, this social group would become one of the centripetal forces keeping the Monarchy together.⁵⁰

Like any “outsiders” in the bureaucratic milieu, retired army-officers posed a potential threat to the basic principle of promotion in rank – gradual ascend in the bureaucratic hierarchy. In the system, where minor clerks were tediously waiting for the next appointment, employment of ex-officers came into contradiction with the proclaimed bureaucratic ethic. Such breaks in continuity were explicitly considered a danger to the existing order, which might cause undesired dissat-

isfaction among the personnel. For example, in 1775 György Nászvady applied for a position in the Hungarian Court Chamber and wrote that he had dedicated thirteen years to the military service, got retired physically ruined and retired in the rank of captain. Feeling himself still in good condition for the civil service, he was ready to convert his military pension into salary “in order not to pose burden for the royal treasury.” The head of a numerous family, obliged to educate his children, he was at the edge of financial ravage, because one half of the modest fortune inherited from his mother was bonded for debts. The royal service seemed to Nászvady a way to improve his financial lot and continue being useful for the public good. On the empress’ request the president of the Chamber Count Festetics answered though, that despite the petitioner possessed the required skill to serve in this governmental body, the Chamber cannot suggest him any position comparable with his actual pension (there was the whole number of minor clerks “standing in the line” for such an appointment). For this reason, as a usual form of polite refuse, it was ordered to keep an eye on Nászvady, but even in the best case he would not have gotten a wage higher than 200 fl. a year.⁵¹

The monarch as the ultimate patron and beneficiary of the subjects was often practicing his/her absolute right to make final decision on the appointments to promote retired officers incapable of military service. In the age of permanent wars, dozens of disabled young men were accommodated due to Maria Theresa’s motherly compassion reinforced by her sense of sovereign’s responsibility for the subjects. On the other hand, the practice of employing amateurs in financial matters was less and less welcomed by the Chamber authorities. When Maria Theresa asked through her cabinet-secretary to employ a sergeant from Esterházy Regiment as salt-office controller in Pécs/Fünfkirchen, the Court Chamber advised the empress to find a another job for this “highly experienced in surgery and deserving consolation in his own sphere” man.⁵²

The Hungarian Noble Guard

This Hungarian Noble Guard⁵³ was created in 1760 to socialize provincial nobles at court, picking up the most gifted and ambitious for further promotions in the army and administration, “re-delegating” them to the estate structures, and so forth. Insofar as the selection of the candidates was in the competence of the Hungarian counties, most of the guardsmen came from the old provincial nobility, often sons of the dignitaries in the county administration. Young men – sometimes after years of military service, but more frequently just after finishing their education, be it a noble college or university – spent four, seven and even more years in Vienna and then were allowed to choose between the military and civil career. Hungarian guardsmen could be described as an exact example of “spon-

sored mobility”⁵⁴. (The term was introduced by the American sociologist Ralf Turner, who argued that coherent elites and their agents controlled the induction of new recruits into its ranks by selecting them at an early age and requiring them to meet its standards). In the case of the Noble Guard, personal acquaintance with the empress⁵⁵ and proximity to the decision-making centers made further accommodation of guardsmen incomparably easier.

Indeed, many former guardsmen who had chosen a civic career could be found in the Court Chamber, or its tax and salt, and post offices, Hungarian Court Chancellery, and Royal Lieutenancy Council, in district courts of justice, county- and town-administrations. The share can be calculated from the biographic lexicon of the Hungarian historian Kálmán Hellebronth⁵⁶ and totals approximately one third. Archives of the central governmental bodies of the Monarchy as well as private correspondence of the prominent aristocrats preserve guardsmen’s petitions and private letters, as well as the official papers with considerations, decisions and resolutions made on particular instances. These sources unveil reasons and circumstances, why guardsmen were striving, – successfully, or in vain, – to get employment as royal servants, and which arguments they adduced in their favor.

For the guardsmen, there were apparently three career opportunities: to quit and be given a position in administrative or judicial sphere, to go on with their “paramilitary” service at court and keep on fruitlessly applying to civil jobs to get retired with a modest pension. For example, the young noble from Abaúj County Michael Cserghö (1738-?), whose father (the county notary) died, when the boy was just three years old, got educated and was employed by the county administration as a minor clerk. In the age of twenty-one he was enrolled, among the very first ones, as a Hungarian guardsman and spent eleven years (1760-71) in the Habsburg capital. His skills in letter-writing and clever self-fashioning helped him, without any doubts, to win the empress’ benevolence. “I did not waist a single hour, – wrote Cserghö in an eloquent petition, – but have used the time free from my routine duties for learning the natural law and the law of nations, the *Cameral-Wissenschaften* in accordance with Sonnenfels’ principles of accounting, and, the last but not the least, made progress in the German and Italian languages, and all that with the passionate zeal to be even more useful to Your Majesty.”⁵⁷ He was eventually employed at the Hungarian Court Chamber in 1771, soon promoted to the vice-secretaries, and in 1776 became a secretary, where he remained until 1783.

In contrast, Jozsef Doczy (1741–1825) from Zala County joined the Noble Guard in 1762, served in Pressbug, Parma and Milano, accompanied Joseph II on the War of Bavarian Succession, he was making his sure progress in rank and got retired in 1819 as colonel. His petitions about employing him as an out-of-stuff assessor in the administration subordinated to the Hungarian Chamber, remained just an episode in the officer career. Yet he was well informed about the vacancies

and, similar to his comrades, that during “the time that I spent in Milano, I was not only most punctually fulfilling my duties, but also studying sciences and languages, in order to be capable of filling such an office.”⁵⁸ His fellow-guardsman Imre Györgyi (1741–?) more than once asked to employ him at the Hungarian Court Chamber, but failed to persuade the authorities, and, as the president of this governmental body advised the empress, “the request of the supplicant could be recommended even less, inasmuch one can easily presume that he possesses no required knowledge of or familiarity with the responsibilities of a Chamber assessor.”⁵⁹ Which role did the patronage of influential aristocrats play in cases of positive, or negative decisions, one could reconstruct from private correspondence. For example, in 1783 Count Károly Zichy recommended to the President of the Hungarian Chamber Count Ferenc Balassa the ex-officer and actual guardsman Pál Zsitkovszky (1753–?) to the office of salt-collector in Pressburg.⁶⁰ That time this private request was not satisfied, but in one or another way the officer was retired in 1785 and soon was employed as postmaster in the town of Tokai.

Although it was presumed that, after years spent in Vienna, the guardsmen were fluent in German, the personal files of those who were employed as royal servants reveal details showing that this assumption is flawed. For example, Elek Okolicsányi (1744–?), the offspring of an old and merited noble family, having served in the standing army, joined the Hungarian Guard in 1763 and after six and a half years quitted as lieutenant. In 1773, he applied for a job in the Zips Chamber Administration. The authorities have found the way to satisfy his request: Okolicsányi’s pension was converted into his salary. As any applicant, he was supposed to take a routine examination in German and prove his aptness for a chamber-office, but his chief Count József Török gave him (although in a semi-private writing) an uncomplimentary assessment: “Okolicsányi makes an impression, that he does not understand German at all, and even less is able to work using this language, his analytical capacity is modest, his temper is troubled, he is inclined to intrigues.”⁶¹

Okolicsányi’s numerous petitions preserved in the Court Chamber archives prove Török’s assumption. The public discourse of the age implied that the subjects had their full right to request remuneration from the sovereign for troubles, losses and inconveniences suffered for the sake of the public good. One can find the whole spectrum of the most common *topoi* there: conversion to Catholicism, which deprived him of aid and support of his Protestant relatives and friends, unbearable costs of a privately undertaken trip to Pressburg in order to win the empress’ audience and supply for a higher position, humiliation felt by a retired lieutenant doomed to live miserable life of a badly-paid minor clerk and so forth. Yet it seems the authorities did not consider him worthy of promotion: in 1779 his petition for appointment as a chamber-administrator to Zombor was rejected,⁶² and the ex-guardsman went on with his work in Kaschau.

Some conclusions

Destinies of both Hungarian guardsmen and standing-army officers testify that individuals in the eighteenth century were perfectly aware of career as social rise, which resulted from symbolic investment of time and skills and clever exploitation of available social ties. The Habsburg army was, as ever, awakening expectations of quicker ascend and, for this reason, attracted youngsters of both noble and non-noble origin. By the same token, dangers and inconveniences of military profession coupled with the impossibility of making a spectacular career within a short period of time was pushing young and ambitious men to quit the army and try their lot in the bureaucracies. Furthermore, retired officers in their forties and fifties still felt themselves capable of serving the public good, and the civil career became for them a decent way of sustaining their families, giving their children a better start in the adult life. Eighteenth-century individuals, coping with circumstances, were demonstrating a high degree of flexibility in adjusting to the situation, when they were to change their chosen vocation. Society of the Habsburg monarchy considered through the prism of men choosing between the arguments “pro” and “contra” a career in the army, could be described as a social order with a relatively high degree of horizontal (and to a certain degree vertical) mobility.

Notes

- 1 “Prostrated to the feet of Your Most Sacred Majesty, I pray with humble and true devotion: deign to appoint me, after twenty years of my in all recent wars loyally exposed military services, to the post of a councilor at the Chamber Administration to Zips.” See: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Wien (hereinafter ÖStA), Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv (hereinafter FHKA), Hoffinanz Ungarn (hereinafter HFU), Fasz. r. Nr. 834, 24. Apr. 1752, fol. 318r.
- 2 Michael Hochedlinger, *Austria's Wars of Emergence: War, State and Society in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1683–1797* (London—New York 2003) 305.
- 3 Michael Hochedlinger, “Mars Ennobled. The Ascent of the Military and the Creation of a Military Nobility in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Austria,” in *German History* 17/2 (1999) 141–76.
- 4 József Zachar, “A katonai pálya mint karrierlehetőség a XVIII. századi Magyarország előtt. Történeti-statisztikai adalék a társadalmi mobilitás kérdéséhez,” in: *Írott és tárgyi emlékek kutatója. Emlékkönyv Bánkúti Imre 75. születésnapjára*, ed. K. Mészáros (Budapest 2002) 249–59.
- 5 Marc Motley, *Becoming a French Aristocrat: The Education of the Court Nobility 1580–1715* (Princeton, 1990); cf.: Karin Jutta MacHardy, “Cultural Capital, Family Strategies and Noble Identity in Early Modern Habsburg Austria, 1579–1620,” in: *Past and Present* 163 (1999) 36–75.
- 6 Magyar Országos Levéltár, Budapest [Hungarian National Archives, hereinafter MOL] P 398, Nádasdy család. B. X. Nádasdy Ferenc horvát bánhoz címzett levelek, 35. cs., no. 433, Theodor Kronstein to Ferenc Nádasdy, *sine dato* [1772?].
- 7 Attila Réfi, “A császári-királyi huszárezredek törzstisztikara a francia háborók időszakában (1792–1815),” in: *Századok*, 142/5 (2008) 1267–90.
- 8 Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi, *Anweisung zu einer guten Deutschen Schreibart und allen in den Geschäften und Rechtsachen vorfallenden schriftlichen Ausarbeitungen zu welchen Ende allenthalben wohlausgearbeitete Proben und Beyspiele beygefüget werden* (Wien 1774) 213.

- 9 The list of the Theresianum graduates see: Max Fraiherr von Gemmell-Flischbach, *Album der k. k. Theresianischen Akademie (1746–1913). Verzeichnis sämtlicher Angehörigen der k. k. Theresianischen Akademie (ehemals k. k. Theresianische Ritterakademie) ... mit kurzen biographischen Daten* (Wien 1913) 19–62. For the detailed analysis of the functioning of the Bátaszék fund cf.: Olga Khavanova, *Zaslugi otsov i talanty synovoi: vengerskie dvoriane v uchebnykh zavedeniakh monarkhii Gabsburgov* [Fathers' merits and sons' talents: Hungarian nobles in schools of the Habsburg Monarchy] (St Petersburg 2006).
- 10 Cf.: Olga Khavanova, A kérelemírás mestersége és hivatalnoki pályafutások a XVIII. századi Habsburg Monarchiában [The Art of Writing Petitions and Bureaucratic Careers in the Eighteenth-Century Habsburg Monarchy], in: *Századok* 142/5 (2008) 1249–66.
- 11 See more: Olga Khavanova, *Userdie, chestolyubie i kariera: chinovnichestvo v monarkhii Gabsburgov v epokhu prosveshchennogo absolutizma* [Diligence, ambition and career: administrative elites in the later eighteenth-century Habsburg Monarchy] (Moscow 2018).
- 12 Heiko Droste, “Patronage in der Frühen Neuzeit – Institution und Kulturform,” in: *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 30 (2003) 555–590.
- 13 It is noteworthy that another widespread network of the early modern period, the republic of letters, was organized in many ways along the same lines. Cf.: Franz Mauelshagen, “Netzwerke des Vertrauens. Gelehrten Korrespondenzen und wissenschaftlichen Austausch in der Frühen Neuzeit,” in *Vertrauen. Historische Annäherungen*, ed. Ute Frevert (Göttingen, 2003) 119–51.
- 14 MOL P 398, Károlyi család levéltára, Missiles [The Károlyi family archive, Correspondence (hereinafter P 398)], no. 16734, Imre Esterházy to Antal Károlyi, 14 June 1771.
- 15 MOL P 507, 25. cs., no. 143, Imre Bárdossy to Ferenc Nádasdy, 8 March 1758; 18 May 1758.
- 16 MOL P 1765, Balassa Ferenc levéltára [Ferenc Balassa's archive], 65. cs., 22. t., no. 4494, József Kelcz to Ferenc Balassa, 6 October 1777.
- 17 MOL P 398, no. 38163, József Kelcz to Antal Károlyi, 19 March 1778.
- 18 MOL P 507, 36. cs., no. 515, József Naypár to Ferenc Nádasdy, 23 November 1779; 6 February 1781.
- 19 The last was, for example, enrolled not as a Jesuit, but as a student, although his father's petition to the monarch describes him as a former member of the Society of Jesus. Cf.: ÖStA, FHKA, Österreichisches Camerale, Fasz. 10, Fasz. r. Nr. 663, “F.V.U.,” 50 ex Mar. 1774, Fol. 93.
- 20 MOL P 507, 41. cs., no: 683, Sebastain Sprengl to Ferenc Nádasdy, 17 June 1774.
- 21 MOL P 398, no. 40069, Antal Klobusiczky to Antal Károlyi, 9 July 1774.
- 22 Cf.: MOL P 398, nos. 40462–82, László Klobusiczky to Antal Károlyi, 18 March 1775 – 17 December 1790.
- 23 MOL P 398, no. 40080, Antal Klobusiczky to Antal Károlyi, 3 March 1779.
- 24 MOL P 398, no. 40069, Antal Klobusiczky to Antal Károlyi, 23 March 1779.
- 25 MOL P 507. 33. cs., no. 347, Karl Henseler to Ferenc Nádasdy, 29 October 1774.
- 26 ÖStA, Kriegsarchiv (hereinafter KA), Musterlisten (hereinafter ML). Kt. 5923 (2do Banal-Infanterie Regiment).
- 27 MOL P 507, 33 cs., no. 347, Karl Henseler to Ferenc Nádasdy, 1 November 1778.
- 28 MOL P 507, 33 cs., no. 347, Karl Henseler to Ferenc Nádasdy, 10 November 1776.
- 29 MOL P 507, 30. cs., no. 255, Maria Nepomuk Engelshaus to Ferenc Nádasdy, 1 October 1776.
- 30 MOL P 507, 30. cs., no. 255, Maria Nepomuk Engelshaus to Ferenc Nádasdy, 22 December 1773.
- 31 MOL P 507, 30. cs., no. 255, Maria Nepomuk Engelshaus to Ferenc Nádasdy, 11 January 1774
- 32 MOL P 507, 30. cs., no. 255, Maria Nepomuk Engelshaus to Ferenc Nádasdy, 25 January 1774.
- 33 MOL P 507, 30. cs., no. 255, Maria Ignaz Engelshaus to Ferenc Nádasdy, 25 January 1774.
- 34 Maria Nepomuk Engelshaus' name is mentioned in the Indices of the Court Military Council (*Hofkriegsrat*), but the acts do not exist anymore. See: ÖStA. KA. Hofkriegsrat. Index (pub-

- licis). Bd. 1101; 1113. The random acts of the banal regiments are dramatically incomplete exactly for the years 1774–1778.
- 35 MOL P 507, 30. cs., no. 255, Maria Nepomuk Engelshaus to Ferenc Nádasdy, 15 December 1777.
- 36 MOL P 507, 30. cs., no. 255, Maria Nepomuk Engelshaus to Ferenc Nádasdy, 2 February 1778.
- 37 Letters of Count (according to Constant Wurzbach – Baron) Josef Stadl to Ferenc Nádasdy see: MOL P 507, 41. cs., no. 684.
- 38 ÖStA, FHKA, Camerale Ungarn (hereinafter CU), Fasz. 29, Fasz. r. Nr. 604, Subd. 1, no. 24 ex Aug. 1764.
- 39 ÖStA, FHKA, Hoffinanz Ungarn (hereinafter HFU), Fasz. r. Nr. 917. 15. Jan. 1762, fol. 442r.
- 40 More than one young royal official in the early 1740s joined the noble insurrection in the hopes of trying his lot as a soldier. For example, the young chamber official Ignáz Kákony, having served three years in Pressburg, joined the insurrection in 1741 and quitted military service three years later in order to go on with the chamber service (where his father was also employed). Cf.: ÖStA, FHKA, HFU, Fasz. r. Nr. 831, 31. Oct. 1751, fol. 545–50.
- 41 Cf.: ÖStA, FHKA, HFU, Fasz. r. Nr. 857, 2. Sept. 1755, fol. 24–26; Fasz. r. Nr. 864, 4. Maj. 1756, fol. 169–70.
- 42 MOL A 57, Királyi Kancellária Levéltára, Libri Regii, 44. köt., pp. 296–8.
- 43 See: Hegyi Ferenc, “Klohammer János XVIII–XIX. századi geometra-hidraulika könyvtára” [The library of the eighteenth-nineteenth-century geometrician and hydraulics engineer János Klohammer], in: *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 96/1 (1980) 60–9.
- 44 MOL, Magyar Udvari Kamara Levéltára [The archives of the Hungarian Court Chamber], Cancellariae et registraturae ... negotia (hereinafter E 47), 19. cs., no. 599 ex Sept. 1775.
- 45 ÖStA, FHKA, HFU, Fasz. r. Nr. 853, 11 Mar. 1755, fol. 94–5.
- 46 ÖStA, FHKA, UC, Fasz. 19, Fasz. r. Nr. 423, no. 82 ex Dec. 1773, fol. 468–76.
- 47 ÖStA, FHKA, HFU, Fasz. 899, 3 Jul. 1760, fol. 271r.
- 48 ÖStA, FHKA, HFU, Fasz. r. Nr. 818, 16 Maj. 1749, fol. 163–89.
- 49 ÖStA, FHKA, HFU, Fasz. r. Nr. 789, 5. Dec. 1744, fol. 233r.
- 50 István Deák, *Beyond Nationalism: A Social and Political History of the Habsburg officer Corps, 1848–1918* (New York–Oxford, 1990).
- 51 MOL, E 47, 19. cs., no. 133 ex Dec. 1775.
- 52 ÖStA, FHKA, HFU, Fasz. r. Nr. 869, 18 Apr. 1757, fol. 143r, 147r-v.
- 53 Illéssy János, “A magyar királyi nemes testőrség felállítása 1760-ban” [The foundation of the Hungarian Noble Guard in 1760], in: *Hadtörténeti Közlemények*, 8 (1895) 367–94.
- 54 See: Ralf H. Turner, “Sponsored and contested mobility” in: *American Sociological Review*, 25/6 (1960), pp. 856–7.
- 55 For instance, the guardsman Antal Paxi wrote in his petition: “Your Most Sacred Majesty, on the occasion of a kindly given audience, to my humble request ... to be attached to an aged salt-inspector, honoured me with the gracious answer that I was to describe my case in a supplication that would be considered in a due course by the Hungarian Court Chamber.” See: ÖStA, FHKA, UC, Fasz. r. Nr. 423, no. 3 ex Sept. 1773, fol. 139v.
- 56 Hellebronth Kálmán, *A magyar testőrségek névkönyve, 1760–1918* (Budapest, 1940).
- 57 ÖStA, FHKA, UC, Fasz. 1, Fasz. r. Nr. 4, Konv. 2, no. 63 ex Aug. 1771, fol. 61.
- 58 MOL, E 47, 20. cs., no. 190 ex Mar. 1776.
- 59 ÖStA, FHKA, UC, Fasz. 29, Fasz. r. Nr. 592, Subd. 1, no. 1 ex Jun. 1776, fol. 168r.
- 60 MOL, Balassa család levéltára, P 1765, Balassa Ferenc levéltára, 86. cs., 22. t., no. 9762, Károly Zichy to Ferenc Balassa, 11 October 1783.
- 61 ÖStA, FHKA, UC, Fasz. 27, Fasz. r. Nr. 591, Subd. 1, no. 49 ex Jul. 1774, fol. 459v.
- 62 ÖStA, FHKA, UC, Fasz. 27, Fasz. r. Nr. 592, Subd. 1, no. 122 ex Jul. 1779, fol. 241, 244–5r.

**THE HUNGARIAN POST-COMMUNIST
BLACK SERIES (1956–2012)
A PREPARATORY SKETCH ABOUT THE HISTORICAL
TIMES' STRUCTURE**

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The humanities have known few moments as decisive as the time when “Empires,” dynasties, and centuries placed under the evocation of an eponymous hero, all those old divisions, in a word, born from a monarchic and oratory tradition, started to give ground to another type of division, based on the observation of social phenomena.
Marc Bloch, *La Société féodale* (1939-40)

Nothing is more important, in our assessment, at the center of the social reality, than this keen, intimate, indefinitely repeated opposition between the instant and the slow passage of time. Whether it is for past or actuality, a sharp consciousness of this plurality of social time is indispensable to a common methodology in the human sciences.
Fernand Braudel, *Ecrits* (1958)

Through a corpus assembled under the name of the Hungarian Post-communist Black Series, this paper aims to reconsider the proposals of Nouvelle Histoire historians as well as the time stratum of R. Koselleck, regarding the articulation of different time sets when constructing film history. How can film historians build a proper time structure involving economic and political memory, the evolution of the Hungarian film production system and the multiple times a film may recall? This reflection was made in order to understand such a chain of events as 1988–1990, and to offer new ways of considering the problem of an event's status in its relation to films and the form of memory they present.

Keywords: Hungarian film, post-war filmproduction, transition

In their respective times, Bloch and then Braudel raised two different – yet deeply related – issues regarding our understanding of historical time. Their lessons, along with the works and ideas of other historians', nourished extensive debates

during the following decades. Nevertheless, it seems to me that they still, today, offer consequent food for historical thought, especially when interrogations of the arts take center stage and overwhelm the equilibrium (always needing to be renewed) of the articulation of historical times, carriers of the riddled diversity of the phenomena inherent to each social structure.

In this respect, I would like to introduce a few reflections on the matter of time in film history, based on the example of a corpus of movies¹ gathered by András Bálint Kovács under the title “post-communist black series” in Hungary [36]. These films, which present a strong shared sense of aesthetics,² led me from the hypothesis of their serial gathering to the possibility of their gathering due to the Hungarian micro-society out of which they were produced – an “art world” [Becker] that still seeks ascertainment. Thus, this research is centered upon the exploration of linkages between two major transformative points; one of an aesthetic nature exemplified by *Kárhozat* [Damnation], in 1988, and the other, political, attributable to the fall of communism in 1989. Could those two transformative points be linked?

The most obvious answer calls for a “stylistic reaction” or rather “anticipation”³ of the political and social changes which took place around 1989 [Kovács, 35]. I would like to suggest a different way of approaching this issue,⁴ based on a more meticulous examination of those events, replaced in structures⁵ which belong, on this observation’s scale, to a form of Braudel’s long length (*longue durée*).⁶ Those movies rather appear to translate the results of a slow evolution between this Hungarian film society and the history of their own country over the course of the past sixty years: the aesthetic transformative point of 1988 would not mainly be linked to 1989 nor would reflect a form of interest related to the post-communist transition, but would rather translate a point in the evolution of a much deeper, life-sized pattern of *mental atmosphere* [Bloch; 96] in the society under examination.

At this point, we can clearly see the importance of merging Braudel’s multi-temporality with Bloch’s idea, according to which time(s) have to be set, for the needs of the analysis, depending on the structures of the social phenomenon. As Michèle Lagny noted,⁷ very few – at least, film – historians have shown an ability to adapt themselves and produce, beforehand, a consequential theoretical reflection on time – the “substance of history” [Prost; 103] – by conducting their work to the fundamental point where it takes into account time’s superposed plurality given by the essence of the object in question, in order to get as close as possible to the nature of the relationality between the different series of events composing the evolution of a society.⁸ The German historian Reinhardt Koselleck seems the most visionary heir to Braudel, and in his wake I will refer from this point forward to the concept of “time’s stratum” (*Zeitschichten*) [Koselleck; 21], rather than to Braudel’s multi-temporality, for it more efficiently reflects the fundamental idea

of different, autonomous, yet related layers of time, and in their tracks, that is to say, the “contemporaneity of the non-contemporary” [Koselleck; 151] – a lesson Siegfried Kracauer initiated in his last, unfinished work [139 sq]⁹.

Therefore, the question still remains: how can we come to a proper historical understanding of distinct chains of events? In this case, how can we build and define a real *structure of historical time's stratum*s based on the “observation of social phenomena” in order to answer the basic etiologic questions asked by an aesthetic transformation? Which times do we have to determine, how should we periodize them (externally and internally), how can we define their inner characteristics (rhythm, speed, form) and their external, human-based representation and perception (see *infra*)? How can we articulate them and, in the end, how can we bring them together within a unifying time?

1. Economic and political memory

Although conducting a geographical study of Hungary – and it is worth taking a moment to underline its position in the heart of the Pannonian basin, surrounded by the Alps in the west, the Carpathians in the north and east, and the Balkans in the south – could help stress the specific remoteness of its inhabitants and the society under examination, it seems that these considerations, paired with a short linguistic overview, is not relevant at this stage. Braudel found his beloved *longue durée* there, and built his story on this premise,¹⁰ but our fundamental time's stratum is not of a *longue durée* and should be sought in the general aspects of Hungarian economy. In 1968, a reform gave Hungary a different profile from the other East European countries, leading to the famous idea of the *legvidámabb barakk*, or the most cheerful barrack. This was referred to as the New Economic Mechanism (NEM). The economic growth of Hungary rose in the 1970s, a situation which was to deteriorate from the beginning of the 1980s, until 1994. During this second period, which could symbolically start in 1982 with the entrance of Hungary into the International Monetary Fund (with 7.5 billion dollars of debt), 1989 appears to be, on a strictly economic level, the surface sanction of a deeper, longer crisis. The regime change accelerated something which had already been in effect for years. The Antall government continued to switch from the planned economy to a market economy, and kept implementing privatization. In 1994, the situation changed. A new government, led by Gyula Horn, applied the “austerity program” with, for example, aggressive privatization of state-owned companies, which yielded impressive growth until the global crisis of 2007–2008¹¹.

Political time works in a different way, yet tightly woven together with economic time. The hypothesis on which this inquiry is based merges the political

approach with Hungary's ideological history, since what is at stake is mainly the question of the transition toward democracy. In this respect, shifts from left to right wing after 1989 do not affect the structuring of time. That is to say, keeping the events of 1956 in mind, 1962 is our real starting point. It was in 1962 that the period of the "consolidation of socialism" was declared complete by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party – and a general amnesty was pronounced for most of the people who had been sentenced in 1956. This is the context that allowed the development of the NEM. Thanks to the durability of János Kádár among several other phenomena, a long era started, ending in 1988–1990, with the fall of communism.¹² The second era, from 1988 until 2012 – when the new Constitution, offered by the Orbán government, was adopted, which meant a shift from the *Magyar Köztársaság* (Republic of Hungary) to *Magyarország* (Hungary) – is the extensive post-communist era, the effective transition toward democracy – ending with a surprising question mark.

The interwoven structure, composed of the relations between economy and politics in Hungary during more than half a century, could not possibly be overlooked. Mutual influences were strong, from the end of the "consolidation of socialism" to the NEM, from the early 1980s crisis to the political events around 1989 – staying on the most upper layer of events. Other fundamental considerations, however, have to be taken into account – such as general social consequences, basic material conditions of life, distinct impacts on the different "class mentalities" – the list goes on. But to analyze properly the relation between those chains of events, they have to be kept separate: not only do their respective periodizations, external and internal, not match – we will see later the importance this has – but they also do not evolve in the same way. Economy's time shows ups and downs, growths and decreases, whereas politics' time shows flats and reliefs, stabilities and disparities. Institutions' and laws' time can only be considered as corresponding to stages, there is no form of growth, and stability cannot be overthrown. Economy's time is slower and with much bigger inertia than that of politics', where an event can lead almost immediately to another and change the face of the country in just a few hours.

In the end, what should be at stake, and built on the premises of economic and political history, is rather a *memory*: answering not the question "what happened?" but rather "how did/do people have a certain consciousness of the events and the global situation?" This shift in perspective is crucial in order to rummage about in the *experience* of political events and economic structures that Hungarian society has gone through. From the two types of traces differentiated by Georges Duby, sources should be used as sediments for building the questionnaires, and collecting the first kind of traces, which "reside, diffused, swaying, countless, clear or muddled, in the memory of men from our time" [Duby, 1973; 8–9].

2. Organization of the Hungarian film production system

Hungary's global, economic, and political situations are derivatives of multiple evolutions: the evolution of laws pertaining to cultural life, and the evolution of filmic institutions, as well as the shift in production structures and general organization of film production. In 1963, the system of production, which was to last for the next twenty years, was settled. To briefly summarize¹³: there were five studios, including the Béla Balázs Stúdió (BBS), under the tutelage of the General Council of Film (censorship, exploitation of production) and Mafilm (State society, only employer and owner of film installations). This setup was to last until 1985, due to the control of György Aczél, who was the main cultural politician during these twenty years. On 1 July 1985, the film production system was deeply re-organized, in order to answer the economic wellbeing of the country. An increased element of autonomy and responsibility was introduced, as well as a new element of economic competition between the different film studios¹⁴. In the end, there was an opportunity to make films outside of the official studios, financed by private capital. As Jean-Pierre Jeancolas stated it, “this year of 1985 was the year of Társulási Stúdió's closing, Gábor Bódy's suicide, also the one, even if it is less clear on their discontent consciousness', in which the economic crisis and its immediate consequences in every field [...] became unavoidable imperatives. 1985 would have been the year of the shift, of the blockage and the closing of Hungarian cinema. 1985 was more important in their eyes, for the cinematographic creation, than the political and social turn of 1989-1990” [Jeancolas; 211]. In 1987, a second major reform came. The four studios were transformed into financially and artistically independent companies, opened to private capital, and the monopoly of Mafilm was abolished. In 1991, the previous state organization was replaced by the brand new Magyar Mozgókép Alapítvány (MMA), which became the Magyar Mozgókép Közalapítvány (MMK) in 1998. It is worth noting that Ferenc Köhalmi accompanied this very progressive transition. From 1982 to 1996, he remained the Head of the Film Management Board (*Filmfőigazgatóság vezetője*), which shows quite accurately how Hungarians intended the transition to be – as a slow, seamless process toward a new reorganization.

This filmic production time is a lower stratum of the global structure. As Pierre Sorlin stressed, if films “bring up to date possibilities of meaning, virtual in the society, they do it inside an economic group they are marked with” [112]. Consequently, this time helps us understand how the transformations of the film production system allowed for the creation of certain films and greatly influenced them. On the other hand, the period before the actual transition, in 1985, is useless besides having drawn the outlines of an initial, stable situation, which would change quite slowly for almost fifteen years. Although it is slow, its inertia is not that high, since changes are rapidly put into action in the film industry.

3. Sociology, mentalities, commitments

The three previous time's stratum aim to prepare the analysis of the fourth one, where I will switch from mostly descriptive comments to the explanatory part. The genealogy of this time's conceptualization finds its roots as far back as the late 1940s, with Lucien Febvre and his "mental equipment" (*outillage mental*) [Febvre, 1947; 166]. Additionally, Bloch went to the earlier quoted idea of a "mental atmosphere." First, Febvre's rather psychological approach, and secondly, Bloch's more socially based approach led to a great shift in the practices of French historians in the 1960s toward a mentalities history. In this psycho-sociological path, though slightly divergent, my goal in this section is to define a time able to frame an inquiry of what one could call a "form of extended commitment" from a society to this ideology: how did this *art world's* insight, *representation* about the communist and post-communist era as well as their daily consequences evolve?

The periodization operation is surely not proof against challenges, since such a time cannot be marked out by precise events. This time is on the human-life scale, it begins with people: in the Hungarian film society under examination here, most of the people involved were born in the 1950s and are still alive today. In this floating set of time, a suspended pattern could be used, tracing the human's natural evolution: childhood and somehow neutrality until about sixteen years of age (the 1970s), adolescence with a time of strong commitments until the age of thirty/thirty-five (around 1985), and ultimately developing into maturity with disillusionment from then on¹⁵. This should also be handled with great care: whereas economic time was mostly constructed as a line going up and down, and political time is rather understandable in terms of flats and reliefs – consistencies and tumults – this time should be seen as a unique, mono-directional line similar to a very long and slow transition, consisting of an outstanding number of swerves and redirections toward something known only *a posteriori*.

At this point, a few considerations regarding the characteristics of this time will shed light on its relations to the others. First and foremost, here lies Braudel's *longue durée*¹⁶. This time is the slowest, the most anachronistic one regarding the constellations of events which may occur in the other sets of time – "the inertia, capital historical force, which is rather due to minds than to the matter" [Le Goff, 1974; 112] reigns supreme in this time. In this spirit, we should also stress its depth: one could react immediately to something, but to reach the deeper levels of one's consciousness and basic everyday life philosophy, events are slowed so that they can be processed, and most of the time it takes several, sometimes seemingly non-related events to reinforce such and such aspect of someone's inner construction. Here, revolutions are almost imperceptible, shaped by an innumerable amount of insignificant events. Furthermore, we have to take into account the fact

that a man is much more affected by events or situations when he is sixteen than when he is forty years old.

This time is comparable to the *longue durée* also because of its unifying value. Paul Ricoeur, in his analysis of Braudel's work, highlighted the convergence of the *longue durée* with physical time as "the unifying principle of the specific times of diverse colors" [1983; 381]. This coordinating body will be responsible for the "interlacing of times," inviting to a mind in counterpoint. As a result of the previous draft in its characterization, I could say, for example, that depending on the point (age) at which we are situated, other times will not have the same strength. The consequences of the NEM during the 1970s were much more important for a thirteen-year-old teenager in his understanding and perception of communism than everything which might have been going on in the political sphere. On the other hand, the persistence of censorship mechanisms during the beginning of the 1980s will guide a young filmmaker in his practice, on the level of poetics and theme, more strongly than the beginning of a national economic crisis. The 1985 law about the reorganization of the cinematographic structures has a much deeper impact on a young filmmaker's life than the entrance of Hungary into the IMF, three years before. The austerity program of the nineties surely helped Hungary to get back on track, but it was a complete disaster for the Hungarian film industry and its filmmakers. There are also some sociological knots at work here, cultural networks, "main centers of global sociability" [Le Roy Ladurie; 399] such as the BBS, the short adventure of the Társulás Stúdió, the 25th Theatre (25. Színház) or the Young Artists' Club (*Fiatal Művészek Klubja*), where people from the *anti-világ*,¹⁷ as they called it, met, exchanged ideas, opinions, etc. A few elements, like spatial knots in the time, which had a strong influence on the ideological evolution of the supra-individual and intersubjective structure – mentalities, beliefs, commitments: "a mentality is not only the fact that several individuals think the same thing: this thought, in each of them is, in diverse ways, marked by the fact that others think it as well" [Veyne; 113]. These are the very places where the process of ideological commitment and artistic thinking are the strongest.

4. Films, transition, historicity

In the end, some results of this artistic thinking can be seen in the films themselves. The misleading evidence of this periodization would like to state that this time starts in 1988, with the Hungarian release of *Kárhozat*, and stops in 2011, with Tarr Béla's last film, *The Turin Horse*. Two examples on each side will show that both films are not to be trusted. I will use them to bring some answers to the initial hypothesis and, hopefully, to the question of how one can rethink

the simultaneities and the difference of interactions between events that have to be understood through their respective positions within separated temporal sequences, proving that such a structuring of time allows a sharper understanding of the phenomenon.

Kárhozat is nothing like a film-manifesto. When asked about its influence on his first film, *Árnyék a havon* (1992), Janisch claimed that he started to work on the project in 1987, and at this time, he rather recognized himself in the conception of György Fehér's *Szürkület* (Twilight, 1990) – he caught sight of it in a studio.¹⁸ Before that, Janisch also directed two short films in which traces of his later style are undeniable. Tarr's *Sátántangó* (Satan's Tango, 1994) was a project he started in the middle of the 1980s, before *Kárhozat*, but could not go through because of financial reasons. János Másik, who worked as a composer with Szabó Ildikó and Enyedi Ildikó, explained that, at the time, *Sátántangó* was much more unexpected.¹⁹ Either way, it is possible to theorize neither a transformative point, nor a real transition from communist – or rather, for most of these filmmakers, anti-communist – films to post-communist films. In my understanding, these movies and their appearance do not reflect a political change, and 1988 cannot be linked with 1989. Gábor Eröss stated that “the ‘fall of communism’ does not particularly interest Hungarian filmmakers, at least not the events, rather the results” [239]. In the case under examination, I only agree with the first part of Eröss' claim. The second is an anachronism, “the sin amongst all unpardonable” [Febvre, 1947; 32]: how could a series of films have, as a topic, the *results* of something which actually started only five years later? I would rather describe a longer evolution: this society, mainly born in the difficult aftermaths of 1956, grew up in the 1960s. These filmmakers were raised in a paradoxical time, since their youth was marked both with a national trauma, and a very progressive broadening of the dictatorship. During the 1970s, life got a bit softer – the NEM started, slowly, to have positive effects –, although they kept fighting against a coercive regime – after all, it remained a dictatorship. Tarr, who already made films, belonged to what has been named the “Budapest Documentary Film School,” shot about practical social issues. In the 1980s, communism – through economy and social conditions mostly – started slowly to deteriorate. This is the movement which influenced, most probably unconsciously, the creation of what Kovács called “the post-communist Hungarian black series” which was, at least at its beginnings, much more communist than post-communist, meaning that it is linked to the history of communism, rather than to the post-communist transition. The second part of the 1980s showed, especially in the film society, through the laws of 1985 and 1987, the fall of an economic system as well as the crumbling of a dominant ideology. I think directors were doubly disappointed: after being raised in it, by communism itself, but also by its progressive disappearance during the 1980s, since everyday life did not get any better.

In this respect, I tend toward minimizing the importance of the consequences of the revolutions of 1988-1990. Major political changes did happen, but years had to pass before any economic and social visible improvements occurred. The first government, led by Prime Minister József Antall (also a scholar, archivist, historian) and president Árpád Göncz (also a writer and translator, for instance of Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings*), was not ready to handle such a difficult situation, and life continued to worsen. The consequences of the policies of the second government headed in the same direction, since the austerity program could not possibly raise the standard of living in the first years – the inertia of economic time is fundamental. On the whole, during the twenty years surrounding 1989 (ten on either side), the Hungarian situation mainly got worse and worse. The event itself was almost nothing more than the continuation of the second disappointment, a “slender bobble of history [with] small backwashes” [Duby, 1973; 8], crushed into the torrent of people struggling in vain, one day after another, for their wages, a bigger flat, a western car, etc. It reminds me of what Aby Warburg said about the discovery of the *Laocoon* in 1506: “if they had not discovered it, the Renaissance would have invented it” [241] – the event as a symptom of socio-economic currents.

Henri Rousso asked about French films under Vichy “what is the link between a filmic representation and the collective memory?,” concluding on different possibilities in terms of “anticipation” or “crystallization” [274–275]. In my case I would say that the economic and social movements of the time, with their high inertia, but long length, progressively led, from one disappointment to another, this specific Hungarian artistic society pushed to operate changes in their aesthetic and themes. They got away from practical social issues to reach more philosophical interrogations about the meaning of time, the possibility of progress or the status of hope. Together, these ‘black series’ films, created by a society about “a historical experience belonging [to them] inherently” [Leutrat; 9], constitute a representation of their collective memory of a social trauma²⁰, lived on a daily basis for decades.

Marc Ferro wrote that films can be the basis of a “historical and scientific investigation mode” [211], underlining that “a process apparently used to express length, or an other device (of style) transcribing a displacement in space etc., can unbeknown by the director and reveal ideological and social zones he/[she] was not aware of” [22–23]. In this respect, I would like to briefly delve into a single example: the question of time. The very original treatment of time and its *mise-en-scène*, in most of those movies, can be explained by various factors. I do not want to deny the strong aesthetic influences these movies carry, such as the first of Jancsó's films²¹, Bergman, or rather philosophical influences, like Kafka or Nietzsche [among others, Bouquet; 76–77, Lengyel; 265–284, Tison; 107–121]. I do want to stress that besides that, we can also trace the extent to

which these films are traces of a “regime of historicity,” witnesses of the historical self-consciousness of a society in a “crisis of time, [...] when the articulations of past, present and future come to loose their obviousness” [Hartog; 29]. We shall see “cinema as one of history’s forms of experience [...], it attempts, in its own way, to get closer from the places and times were the interiority of our memory and process of our socialization meet” [Delage; 98]. The progressive disappearance of historical films, popular during the 1960s and 1970s, and their taste for characters imprisoned in an endless time and undefined places leads to the above all fact: “henceforth, the question of time is at the origin of the story. An uninhabitable, opaque, uniform yet shapeless time: a present without past but not without memory; a present without future yet suspended in an indefinite waiting” [Rollet, 2006; 103]. Rollet’s insightful analysis of historical time in Tarr’s films contains the seeds of a reflection to conduct inquiry, with the recent work of François Hartog, about the regimes of historicity.²² Hartog analyzes – in the legacy of Koselleck on modern times – the contemporaneous regime of historicity as *presentism*, “understood as the closing in on the present alone, and point of view of the present on itself” [261]. In society ruled by *presentism*, “future is no longer equated with]promises nor the “hope principle,” but with threat. Such is the reversal. This future is no longer a bright horizon we walk toward, but a shadow line we set in motion in our direction, while we seem to be stamping the present area and brewing over a past which does not pass” [255-256]. I will not develop further than another quote from Rollet: “Béla Tarr’s cinema does not fall under a “postmodern” imaginary, but rather under a “metamodernity,” where the consciousness of our unsurpassable historicity collides with history’s absence of meaning” [2016; 35].

On the other side of the historical pole, *A Torinói ló* as the closing movie is debatable. A sociology of cinematographic forms – or rather a morphologic analysis – should take into account a hard core²³ from which every films distance to it would be determined. In this respect, *A Torinói ló* seems quite far from Fehér’s and Tarr’s previous films. If it still belongs to the corpus, it should not be included without qualification. Same for Kornél Mundruczó’s *Delta*, since the director does not belong to the same generation, started making films later and uses a quite different style. This grey area is part of a bigger one: the second period of this time. Regarding them as a whole, we can clearly distinguish two main periods. Leaving the conception time of the first films behind, we first have the blossoming of those dark flowers, from 1988 to the end of the nineties. In this decade, eleven of the fifteen films were released, whereas only four were released during the next thirteen years, at a decreasing pace and, even more importantly, by only two of the eight directors. By the end of the nineties – the will to put an arbitrary time limit to the result of complex conditions would be childish –, the directors’ use of this aesthetic weakened. They took different paths, except for Tarr who kept building

his work, step by step. The last hypothesis I will draft, following and concluding the pattern I have been developing until now, is that this aforementioned weakening reflects the progressive economic and political stabilization from the middle of the nineties. Possibly, hopefully, necessarily, facing the contemporary political and social conditions evolution of Hungary, a new art world will tighten back up from younger filmmakers, new films will be created, answering to, arguing with the dominant experience of time – where progress is made out of an invasive past, and future is consigned to the level of the past.

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Notes

- 1 It includes Tarr Béla's *Damnation* (*Kárhozat*, 1988), *Satan's Tango* (*Sátántangó*, 1994), *Werckmeister Harmonies* (*Werckmeister harmóniak*, 2000), *Man from London* (*A Londoni férfi*, 2007), *Turin Horse* (*A Torinói ló*, 2011), Fehér György's *Twilight* (*Szürkület*, 1990) and *Passion* (*Szenvedély*, 1998), Enyedi Ildikó's *My 20th Century* (*Az én XX. Századom*, 1989), Szász János' *Woyzeck* (1994) and *Witman's boys* (*Witman fik*, 1997), Szabó Ildikó's *Child Murders* (*Gyerekgilkosságok*, 1993), Sopsits Árpád's *Shooting Gallery* (*Céllövölde*, 1990), Janisch Attila's *Shadow on the Snow* (*Árnyék a havon*, 1992) and *Long Twilight* (*Hosszú alkony*, 1997) and eventually Kornél Mundruczó's *Delta* (2008).

- 2 Among other characteristics: depressed atmosphere, use of black and white, sequence shots, slow movements of camera, slow pace, undetermined places, etc.
- 3 Marshall McLuhan already underlined arts' ability to "forestall a social or technology future evolution, sometimes more than a generation beforehand" [15]. All quotes are translated from French by author.
- 4 An interesting warning of the misleading nature of different transformative points in different chains of events can be found in *De Blum à Pétain. Cinéma et société française (1936–1944)*, where the author shows through consequent analysis that French fiction films from this era "worked in the opposite direction of prevailing ideologies before and after the Occupation" [Garçon; XII].
- 5 Since interrogations about time are at stake here, structures as such will not be described as they should.
- 6 His most famous example is his PhD dissertation, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (1949). See also the insightful analysis by Paul Ricoeur [1982; 366–381].
- 7 "Rarely until now [film historians] made the effort to formulate the conceptual frames with which they could justify the delimitations imposed by themselves" [Lagny, 124].
- 8 "Above all, I guessed that a society, like a landscape, is a system with numerous factors determining its structure and evolution, that relations between those factors are not of cause and effect but of correlation, interferences" [Duby, 1992; 15].
- 9 He wrote about the non-homogeneity and the non-contemporaneous nature of time and the historical universe, arguing that an event's date only has importance from the position it has within its temporal sequence [214].
- 10 Fernand Braudel, *op. cit.* We should notice that his master, Lucien Febvre, close to geographer Vidal de la Blache, started his 1912 dissertation with a chapter dedicated to the geographic *mise-en-scène* of his territory [Febvre, 1970; 24–43]. Additionally, one should not forget that a consequential amount of theoretical propositions from the French *Ecole des Annales* can already be found in Jules Michelet's masterwork: "Without a geographic base, the people, the historic actor seems to be walking in the air, like in those Chinese paintings where the floor is missing" [VI].
- 11 One could ask why the chronology is stopped at 2008, while the last produced film was in 2011. Exploring different times, seemingly hardly related to films, should not make us forget that, in the end, the movies are the center of this study. However, from 2007 only one movie was released, the last of Tarr Béla's, whom, by this time, was renowned worldwide, preventing him from most of the economic constraints.
- 12 Needless to say that this summary has to be nuanced. Even though I do not want to sink into wider considerations, I would like to clarify one point I cannot possibly investigate deeper here. 1988–1990 should be looked over as a "revolution" in how Krzysztof Pomian would understand it: "Every revolution is nothing but the disruption of a structure and the advent of a new structure. In this meaning, 'revolution' loses its ideological aura. [...] A revolution is no longer thought of as a sequence of unique events. It is a wave of innovations." Pomian, in koselleckian terms, raised the "horizon of meaning" (*Sinnhorizon*) of the event, transforming it into a revolution. Therefore, 1988–1990 should not only be understood as a revolution, but also as a part of a wider period, the post-communist era. [Pomian; 132].
- 13 For further information, refer to listed secondary sources from which this abstract was constructed: [Jeancolas; 51–58, Iordanova; 22–29, Cunningham 94–159, Havas; 211–221].
- 14 At the end of the year came the annual account, and the success of the studio's productions set its subsidies for the following year.
- 15 This overall simplification – which leaves place for more complex analysis to be accomplished in a larger work is based on my discussions with several persons from this society (Másik János,

Janisch Attila, Forgács András, Víg Mihály, etc.), along with a Hungarian proverb Víg Mihály quoted : “Someone who does not want to save the world at twenty years old is bad, someone who still wants to do it at forty is stupid” [Chiffolleau; 32], and the often repeated assertion of Tarr according to whom both his interests in his realizations went from social to ontological and cosmic problems [Ballard].

- 16 “The *longue durée* does not have to be a long chronological period, it is this part of history, the one of structures, which evolves and changes in the slowest way.” [Le Goff, 1983; XI–XII].
- 17 Literally “anti-world” – the opposition.
- 18 Interview with author, 27/07/2015 in Budapest.
- 19 Interview with author, 08/07/2015 in Budapest.
- 20 Ricoeur’s paper about relations between history and verity on one side, and memory with mourning on the other is prior to any reflection [1998; 22–23].
- 21 Particularly in the camera’s slow, incarcerating movements, as Jarmo Valkola noted it [183].
- 22 Antoine De Baecque’s work about Tarkovski, Guerman, Sokurov and Kusturica, with its central idea of “demodernisation” as a “cinematographic form of history” in East European films is an important and complementary theoretical point of view [311–373].
- 23 Jean-Pierre Jeancolas rightfully determined that the two films from Fehér György and those from Tarr Béla, until *A Londoni férfi*, constitute this ‘hard’ core [294–299].

MIKLÓS JANCÓSÓ'S HISTORICAL CINEMATIC SPECTACLES AND MOVING PICTORIAL FIGURATIONS IN A HUNGARIAN LANDSCAPE A STUDY AND A PHENOMENOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON JANCÓSÓ'S FILMS OF 1960S AND 1970S

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In the following article, I examine the originality of Hungarian director Miklós Jancsó's (1921–2014) filmmaking practice. Jancsó appears as a unique representative of European filmmaking tradition who was motivated by a specific commitment to develop and increase the function of cinematic form, the effectiveness of images and sounds and performances of the actors which aesthetically formulate, translate and change the effects of Hungarian cinema to higher qualities and dimensions of art and spectacle. The significance of the filmic form comes forward, and the camera-based organisation of it increases the intensity of narration. Jancsó's use of folk rituals adds a strong sense of pictoriality to the overall narrative structure, because his emphasis lies in the physicality of different appearances inside the frame. In his own stylistic way, Jancsó processes these various formations executed by the performers in a style in which all the elementary forces—whether physical, pictorial, psychological, or aesthetic—work in conjoint with one another. In this regard, Miklós Jancsó's cinematic spectacles are symbolical fantasies enriched by phenomenological realism.

Keywords: Miklós Jancsó. Hungarian cinema, audio-visual spectacle, formalism, style, performance aesthetics, history, myths

Hungarian director Miklós Jancsó (1921–2014) became universally known as a filmmaker at the 1966 Cannes film festival, when his film *The Round-Up* (*Szegénylegények*, 1966) was screened and met with an enthusiastic reception. At the same time, it was clear that a new and very specific talent for the international cinematic scene was born. The film is set on a vast Hungarian plain, puszta, the year is 1868, and Austro-Hungarian troops are trying to break the unity of Hungarian partisans by using interrogations, torture and killings.

In some other director's hands, *The Round-Up* could be just one way of dealing with a nation's history, but in Jancsó's hands this is something deeper: a study

of milieu, rituals, and history of a certain culture proceeding on a non-illusionist level of living.

At the same time, *The Round-Up* creates a vision of a timeless period, which works on a symbolic level since it deals with historical myths and basic living conditions. The film is structured around epic dimensions dealing with expanded length of shots and images, which features a game of rituals with no real pity.

The identity of people is measured and controlled by selfish interests. Even the treatment of objects has these meanings dictated by selfishness. This all creates a cold vision but maybe it also conveys an increased gravity of the situation, and maybe it is also a geometrical presentation of evil and fear. Jancsó's stylistic bravura reaches its culmination points with the overall design connected with filmic devices, the grandiose camera-pans, the effective close-ups, the rhythmic editing, which has a kind of musical quality (in a film that has no music), etc.

Generally, in Miklós Jancsó's films of the 1960s and 1970s, in films such as *The Red and the White* (Csillagosok katonák, 1967), *Silence and Cry* (Csend és kiáltás, 1968), *The Confrontation* (Fényes szelek, 1969), *Agnus Dei* (Égi bárány, 1970), *Red Psalm*, (Még kér a nép, 1972) and *Electra, My Love* (Szerelmem Elektra, 1974), the focus of the narrative form is not really concentrating on each individual camera movement of each section, but on the consequences of audio and visual relationships, and the arranged movements and relations affecting the space. The audio-visual effects produced by actors and camera movements are concerned with the spatial qualities of narration. This features intensive shooting and editing "through the camera movements", as actually the form of narrative is avoiding editing in the classical sense. The implications of entering the space of the film mean that the camerawork activates the space and the landscape.¹

Exploring the space

In this sense, the landscape of a Jancsó-film of that period forms an open narrative space with a field or range of a sphere in which its relations and viewpoints are equally distant from the centre of action. It creates an effect of narrative and spatial logic, which is brought into existence from the inside out, since the camera's geometric arrangements create a circular pattern of narration in which its internal logic is the decisive force of the viewer's experience. Both space and time work as indicators of actions of the camera and events that are chronologically represented.

These include the concentration on framing the shots and on the movements of the performers, controlled by the actively mobile camerawork, which creates changes between still-moments and walking. Subsequent variations of these strivings appear later in the narrative, and the exploring of the space is enlarged into new areas, which also transforms the spectator's perception. The temporal

extensions of Jancsó's approach are seen in the beginning, and we can sense the uniqueness of the style through the conveyed audio-visual information. The spectator notices the categorical uniqueness of Jancsó's filmmaking practice, in which the viewer's attention is concentrated according to the movements of the performers, their places inside the frame, and the camera's multiple² activations. The gaze of the spectator follows the movements and appreciates the spatial changes connected to it. In certain scenes, the directions of the camera movements guide the viewer's eyes to the edges of the screen. Other movements with bisecting intervals act as lines directing the spectator's look to notice the different parts of the screen.

Through his filmic stylization, Jancsó follows the classic search for perfection in terms of pictorial sensibility and readiness to control the visions. These visions of the environment, nature and other phenomena are composed entities, carefully arranged pictorial views and expressions, which are seeking to unfold human experience into an organised existence. A search for general perfection can be found among these filmic samples, which provide an illustration for the particularity of matters equipped with an encompassing range of ideas, and focusing on the images and sounds embracing the edges of imagination. One can benefit from the approach and exercise by following the arrangement of views and evocative perspectives that attempts to capture a certain pattern of representation that has shaped the director's vision.

A wide discourse

The present approach is, therefore, dedicated to an understanding of Miklós Jancsó's cinematic oeuvre as a concept, and a specific movement among the arts. It appears especially in cinema as a practice of filmmaking, and as a dialogue between art, aesthetics and philosophy. The perception of audio-visual narration is a question of seeing these connections in relation to the history of art. These are the main points addressed in the study. Jancsó's filmic work is seen as an essential part of developments, and as a modern way of dealing with the artistic practices of our time. The development of audio-visual communication forms a partly theoretical and partly practical background to these endowments.

At the same time, as this development is seen as a connection between the earlier and contemporary dimensions of art, it is seen also as a sign uniting traditions and modernism. The perspective tries to avoid simple solutions and promulgate an understanding of further levels of comprehension and interpretation connected with possible reorientations of history, art, cinema and aesthetics. I would like to locate my study and discourse within several fields; namely, film studies, history, aesthetics, performance, representation, phenomenology and cognitive studies.³

In each case, I want to describe and interpret especially the formal features of Jancsó's films, using the link to significant historical periods, and their interpretation through filmic devices. I intend to develop an analysis that starts from these matters and examines Jancsó's filmmaking practices in order to understand their influence on our perception of the past and present issues, whether they are real or imaginary.

Controlled narrative formations

In Jancsó's cinema, it is noticeable that diverse media connections inside the narrative can possess a specific capacity to serve as a means of communication, to transfer and deliver, for instance, moments of still-life or pictorial stillness, which can come across and mediate images and pictures consisting of predominantly non-moving characters or inanimate objects. As these elements appear in the narrative, pictorialism also renews itself, foreboding future narrative developments. Of course, these pictorial reflections can also mediate movement, implying no more than the idea of the changed positions of the characters or, as in the case of Miklós Jancsó, Theo Angelopoulos, Andrei Tarkovsky, and Béla Tarr, showing a series of actions taken by a group to achieve an impression of joined movement on the scale of narrative, repeated actions. These are specifications of audio-visual communication, detailed and precise presentations of cinematic outcomes in the modern language of cinema.⁴ They consist of architectural forms, filmic inventions, and single items of this selective representation. They can bring tenseness or density to a single scene or image adopted for the further purpose of the narrative.

Miklós Jancsó managed to make over 40 short films before his *Cantata* (*Oldás és kötés*, 1963) started the magnificent period of Hungarian cinema in the 1960s. This film is structured around elements that could be from an Antonioni-film: crisis of the intellectuals, a break-through from the burden of former of the older generations, and a search that becomes a voyage. The main character of the narrative is a surgeon, and the narrative features a sequence in which there is a penetration into the human heart. After this the "Jancsó scenery" unleashes, featuring the Hungarian *puszta* with its operatic dimensions.

Jancsó's style is one of the most original among modern cinema. Usually, his films consist of 10-minute shots, which have a resemblance of a collective ballet, handling the relationships between oppressors and the oppressed. Masterful technique shows not only its technical brilliance but is a natural consequence of matters that are based on Jancsó's historical vision.

In my mind, these relations form a unique corpus and, in some sense, even a principal substance of the narrative whole. As an individual designer, Miklós

Jancsó has the possibility of controlling the narrative actions. He has the ability to arrange or produce changes inside the narrative chain. This can emerge as the unfolding of events, which can be arranged and marked by present actions, or have the nature of symbolically implying further indications of represented actions in the Jancsó-films of the 1960s and 70s. The topics of these films include peasant uprising, Greek mythology, mediaeval accounts and Roman antiquity, among others and more contemporary references. It is noticeable that, for instance, the year 1919 is represented in three films; namely, *The Red and the White*, *Silence and Cry* and *Agnus Dei*, but each time from different perspective. *The Red and the White* represents how Hungarian volunteers are fighting on the side of the Bolsheviks in the Russian Civil War, while *Silence and Cry* depicts the aftermath of Hungary's short-lived Communist government of that period and *Agnus Dei* illustrates the last days of the same regime.

Historical underlining

The historical touch of Jancsó follows Marc Ferro's idea that cinema is "a source and an agent of history", since a single framing of a film can contain the entire memory, both for what it shows (its past or current image) and for what it suggests (its missing image) (Ferro 1988: 14). According to this reference, cinematic ideas and spaces they depict, not only refer to the past, but also to the present and future. They shape and underpin our senses and our perception in the sense that they are our source of inspiration.⁵ As understood here, many Jancsó's films are also collective memoryscapes that go back to a more or less idealised past, as well as individual mindscapes that offer new meaning for traces of the past, thereby creating an imaginary cinematic reality that complements the historical one and, in some cases, even foresees its future developments. No matter how much time has passed since the disappearance of a given memory, the film can show it, and although it may be covered with a feeling of nostalgia or melancholy, it still stimulates the filmmaker's creativity, whether by embracing the usual parameters of historical discourse, or simply depicting the awareness about the passage of time. The main advantage of Jancsó's approach is based on intersubjectivity, the ability to create a shared experience, in which Jancsó conveys his metafilmic strategy in building a cinematic expression that includes his own vision and perception of history, open for a wider audience.⁶

Electra, My Love is based on László Gyurkó's play which was, in turn, based on the myth of Elektra. The film is set 15 years after the murder of King Agamemnon. Elektra (Mari Törőcsik) still believes that her brother Orestes will return to kill the tyrant Aegisthos (József Madaras). Aegisthos orders his people to celebrate and announces the death of Orestes. In the narrative, a messenger (György

Cserhalmi) arrives with news of the death of Orestes and Elektra kills him. Resurrected, he turns out to be Orestes and, together with Elektra, provides the focal point for the people's revolt against tyranny. Their role is to die and be reborn like the phoenix, the firebird and symbol of revolution. There are only 12 shots, namely long takes in the film, cinematographed by János Kende, and balletic movements emphasise the arrangement of narration.

The whole comprises a magical tale, an electrified, ancient drama of Greek mythology. The very distinctive features of *Electra, My Love* display a feminine-centred narrative; its structure is energetic, focused on themes of truth, justice and freedom. Mari Töröcsik's performance controls the narration with a sense of specific sensual presence. *Electra, My Love* goes even beyond this, on to the basics of primal symbolism, expressing an uncompromising female challenge against her oppressors. Song and dance are her weapons in this struggle, and huge audio-visual fiesta, which clearly demonstrates the power and elegance of movement in Jancsó's choreographed entity.

On a large scale, these movements of the narrative can be capable of referring to historical states or conditions of cinematic language. By this I mean that it is a question of working out and developing the evolution of cinema and virtual culture since, through the development of audio-visual communication, we have arrived at a new stance and another kind of intellectual and emotional readiness, connected with late modernism, through which we can find new ways to connect different forms of media, causing interactions inside the cinematic canon and forming a display of noteworthy events.

As a mode of filmmaking practice and style and as a variation of aesthetic, technological and other qualities of representation, Jancsó's filmic style is both an independent sign of stylisation and a unit of the language of cinema, a part of the total structure and an arrangement of the tones, schemes and expressions of the filmic universe. In Jancsó, its value comes from the relative importance and magnitude of its possession of control and influence to act as an audio-visual centre and force implying physical, mental (or even spiritual) abilities, or a quality of characteristics that enables its workings inside the narrative chain to produce imaginable meanings and connections.

In this regard, Jancsó's style works as a stronghold of the means of communication associated with various forms of art: photography (the process of producing images on a sensitised surface or virtually); cinema (the process of producing moving images through audio-visual display—from the Greek *kinēma*, motion); painting (the process of representing lines and colours on a surface by applying the substance of pigments); and architecture (the art or science of designing and building structures).

As this makes clear, Jancsó's cinematic style combines the spatial (extents in which objects and events occur) and temporal (time-related) dimensions of cine-

ma in bringing together the formal (and mental) act of the still-life representation and visual presence of proposals for action to adjourn and enlighten the scope of narrative. This works as a combination and coexistence of these diverse forms of presenting images (and sounds) to serve and act as signs and symbols in certain phases of narrative to produce an especially marked influence or effect on the sense and mind of the spectator. This can appear as a form or impression of the depiction of an image or a scene evoking a sense of historical or other realities processed under the skin of the narrative; or as a mental continuity of events occurring in the narrative chain. As a conclusion to these modulations on Miklós Jancsó, the tension between the quick instances of motion and movement and the sudden, almost immobile action is brought into existence.

Imaginative arrangements and painterly visions

Jancsó has often been blamed of making abstract films, although he is a director that clearly handles historical situations with a concrete vision. By avoiding personal psychology, Jancsó actually creates more realistic drama than many other filmmakers, since he studies only matters that can be handled through cinematic means. His narratives are depicting a topic that is the greatest one, namely history, which, in many sense, contains the most important issues of life.

Jancsó's symbolic parables are concrete documents of the mythological past of Hungary. Many of his films have a connection with the Civil War. *The Red and White* happens in Soviet Union and resembles Russian films of the 1930s. *Silence and Cry* and *Agnus Dei* are situated in Hungary. The latter creates a vision concerning collective happenings and the rise of fascism. Jancsó has stated: "Irrationalism rises everywhere, and its forms include religion, various folk-movements and right-wing anarchism. That's why I'm on the roots of these phenomena in *Agnus Dei*."

The Confrontation is nearer to modern age. It happens in the year 1947, when a group of young communists try to turn the heads of the students of theology, first through singing and dancing. Later on, these features are aligned with ritualistic violence. The film is a fully controlled combination of preplanning and spontaneity. Jancsó's geometrically sharp direction controls the actors and ends up into a collaborative expression of inner and outer forces. The power of expression lies in the unity of the topic and method, since they reflect each other. A 4-minute plan-sequence opens the narrative with Andrea Drahota, Lajos Balázsovits, András Kozák, Kati Kovács and Benedek Tóth in the main roles, cinematographed by Tamás Slomló and edited by Zoltán Farkas. The narrative is geared around circle as the main visual design of affairs with ornamental decorative forms and rituals. Jancsó's screen is phenomenologically open to all senses featuring em-

bodied experience, foreground and background relations of characters in a milieu, evoked by the virtual time-space of moving images. Jancsó's description of happenings is resonant with impressive and emotional responses.⁷ "Rendering almost every scene in a single shot effectively denies us the spatial ubiquity of a more editing-centered style. Within the scene, this narration refuses to show us anything that is not within the ken of a traveling camera; no instantaneous changes of angle, no crosscutting. Yet this restriction is not motivated by the limits on a character's knowledge."

In these discrete and self-contained formations, the cinema of Miklós Jancsó configures itself and exposes its connections as an interaction between an artwork and the audience. We can experience ourselves in time, phenomenologically bracket out the objective reality and rely more on intentions to figure out these proponents of spatial and temporal impressions through which cinematic spaces were formed and technological transitions initiated.⁸ My claim is that the audio-visual outcomes of Jancsó's films feature an original persistency of vision that has its clearest, although in another sense different, cousins in modern cinema, especially in the works of directors such as Michelangelo Antonioni, Peter Greenaway, Andrei Tarkovsky, Béla Tarr, and Theo Angelopoulos.

Jancsó's cinema can be understood as a tension between a mode of vision at distance where objects are presented as forms and figures in space, and a mode of vision that appeals to tactile connections on the surface-plane of the image. Jancsó's filmic images invite a "look" that circles on the surface-plane of the image for some time before connecting to the details. The durational dimension of the spectator's perception comes about because of the "thickness" of the images, which requires that the observer delves into the image, and brings his or her resources of memory and imagination into play to fulfil the message of the image.⁹ In this regard, we might be somewhere in the middle of the images and sounds of an individual work to experience and possibly contemplate on the matters of form and content that function within this interactive system of implicit and explicit dichotomies. As Richard Eldridge exemplifies:

Original arrangement, freely achieved through shaping imagination and presenting a subject matter as a focus for thought distinctively fused to emotional attitude and the exploration of materials remains a central aim of artistic making and a principal means for producing such clues to fully human life. (2003: 127)¹⁰

Miklós Jancsó's cinematic discourse inscribes pictorial codes of developing the image in connection with a specific durational power as an emblem of self-definition through its very constituent elements. Simply by catching these visions,

Jancsó can create tension in the scenes by providing them with specific intervals designed to support the architectural nature of the narration.

Jancsó's painterly visions are connected with the film's ability to hold and concentrate on certain aspects of narrative, including the pictorial stillness of representation, and its complex outcomes. By looking at things in this way, Jancsó activates the spectator's understanding of the happenings, creating a tension between the history of Hungary and its present state of life. The sites of the narration underline the places in which something usually happens in the period of history, causing changes in the narrative structure of the films.

While some of his films evolve around modernist perspectives, there is the double-layering of history that touches the present and brings forth new aspects. They all raise the more or less recurrent questions around the historicity of Jancsó's approach. The question of our relationship and understanding of the past is more than crucially related to the content of the images. Our initial comparison of Jancsó's filmic work can be now specified. On a broader level, it seems that Jancsó's way of dealing with historical issues occurs often without a clear intention, since he does not seem to be very interested in explaining the historical background of happenings.

Jancsó's filmmaking practice is a vision that deals with a view of film as an autonomous, pure medium, and it is grounded in the notion that cinema has grown both independently and together with other media such as photography, painting and architecture. It gives him the possibility to elaborate and explore the different layers of audio-visual traditions as a mode of disclosure of spatial and temporal ideas. These principles are crucial insofar as they are his operative guidelines expanded in space, by which an individual film is made to integrate pictorial, environmental views, and by which the modern forces of narration are balanced. This expansion plays an important role in the creation of the audio-visual qualities of narration.

Jancsó produces a timely and organised historical narrative with the sublime effect of the landscape represented fully in films such as *Electra*, *My Love*, *Red Psalm* and *The Confrontation*.

Panorama of people and objects

This formation of cinematic and natural forces entails an understanding of the combination of pictorial and aural possibilities depending on a vision of Hungarian film culture, transmitting a panorama of objects and situations that is precisely there, and made entirely visible for the viewer. It is a creation in the most traditional sense of the word. The affective charge for a person committed to the comprehension of others and the experience of trauma are, of course, elements of difference to the person who has really experienced them and to the spectator

but, in Jancsó's hands, these signs in the narrative structure of films such as *Red and White*, *Electra*, *My Love*, *The Confrontation*, and *Red Psalm* can produce an effect of inseparability of narrative and its temporal dimensions.

They work side by side in the articulatory practice of Jancsó's cinematic methods expressing effectively and distinctively the shades of meanings consisting of these filmic segments. While the first section of *Electra, My Love* is more observational, concentrating on the presentation of characters, their "history", and their milieu, the second half is more "social" (even political), and ambiguous both in its content and style. The habits and mannerisms of characters have merely been exposed but they remain partly unexplained, since, after all, we know very little about their lives.

Agnus Dei, *Red Psalm*, and *Electra, My Love* are tentative, and reflexive films based on historical encounters that Jancsó creates in front of the camera. Their most valuable lesson is certainly in their pictorial treatment of the bodily movements on the screen. Their unusual organisational models and their pictorially centred and oriented logic, and range of thematically organised subject matters serve as a measure of their ambition. In Jancsó's films, some images look like frescos, canvases filled with temporal duration. After a brief moment of the characters' appearance, they are already on the move, and their body movements are about the continual effort to do so and meet the forthcoming expectation of motion.

Consequently, their movements imply changes in the condition of their environment. In the sense of spectatorship, they are our anchors in time and space. They are located in the landscape and, at the same time, in our mental mindscape. As the characters move rapidly across the screen, the contours of their performance develop, and with Jancsó, this process is constructed as an exceptional choreography of human and camera movements. Entering into their specific state of appearance, the motion of the camera expresses their continuous body movements. We perceive their actions as a sequence of phases. The image of their presence turns into an audio-visual representation of characters and their movements.

The films are statements of the cineaste's aspirations featuring a personal memory-landscape. Considering that characters in the discourse have no absolute final meaning, their combined presence in the same work allows a filmmaker to develop a creative historical discourse of his story without ever losing the sense of place. In cinematic context, it means a relation to the production of image-memories through montage, narration and *mise-en-scène*. Therefore, Jancsó is concerned with the transference of conscious and unconscious elements into a narrative that works as an expressive reflection of the personal and national history in a situation in which the deployment of the past actions is spread out to various memory levels in order¹¹ to connect memory and history. From this perspective, all this functions as a way to realise how psychic and personal ambitions can set out filmmaking practice that covers the elementary forms of existence.

This emphasises a look that stays on the surface of the image for some time in order to realise where to focus next. This accounts for the pictorial quality of representing the image as a field and the source of deciphering contours between stasis and movement, surface and depth. All this forms a cinematic milieu that results from these mutual interactions with painterly and atmospheric renderings in a landscape of emotions whose elements work as interfaces of dimensions in space and time. It is precisely in these terms that we can best associate the pictorial turn of image in Hungarian film culture, the mutation from previous paradigms to a new sensitivity of pictorial forms of expression.

The pictorial development of film is crucial here. The landscape or the image of the landscape works with a certain "Hungarian" iconography in Jancsó's films. These views are stylised, containing a real sense of echoes of the Hungarian past. All the views are tightly tied to audio-visual representation. Our reading of his images often happens horizontally. This horizontality is crucial, since in Jancsó's films of the 1960s and 1970s, the landscape opens with a general view, which presents gestures of movement, and then the camera lingers around these gestations locating the people and their positions in the frame.

Human gestures form an especially rich array of possibilities for Jancsó because of their functionality and meaning as signs, which convey intentions, emotional states, and commands. Symbolical gestures are, in this following, derived from functional and signalled behaviour in recording small or large changes of position, looks, gestures and motion, which indicate vitally important intentions.

The precision of the formal qualities of the cinematic composition is needed to communicate the audio-visual characteristics of a scene. In Jancsó's cinema, the compositional force is born out of the integrated movements that manifest the necessary repetitive aspects of a scene to work out pictorial controversy. This is done through perceptual factors; the complexity of the movements, the orderly grouping of the performers, the distinction of figures and ground, and the use of light and perspective to design the spatial values of the narrative. The depth of the visual field is punctuated by the elements of the picture. In these moments, the horizontal reading of the images invests the narrative with a painterly effect of moving images in motion. Depth significantly extends the pictorial affectation of single images referring explicitly to the very original nature of Jancsó's film-making practice.

Strategies of camera-based observation

In films such as *Red Psalm*, *Electra*, *My Love* and *The Red and White*, landscape is used as a means of exploring its contours through camera movements. This is focused through an introduction to the themes and subject matters of the narrative, the strategies of camera-based narration, the pictorial use of relationships

between characters and landscape, and by activating links between on-screen and off-screen happenings. All this makes possible the representation of the film-world.

In Jancsó's films, there is a correspondence between performer and environment that operates through the staging of natural settings. He adopts strategies of perceptual interrogation associated with the presentation of pictorial elements, viewpoints, and camera movements. He sets the stage for the essential information of "social" knowledge concerned with Hungarian society, and Hungarian film culture, and value-system linked to forms of presenting the camera-based observation of social life.

His image-sequences (plan-sequences) reinforce ideas of psychological, physical, material, and social existence, based on character-identities explored throughout each film. These connections are associated with other verified narrative dimensions proposed by each film. The audio-visual representation of these visions can serve as the materialisation of on-screen and off-screen views.

Through his films Jancsó is disclosing the role of perception in constructing the traces of historical accounts of the past on the basis of the view that a thing related to the past is never simply external to the perceiver, as these signs can create and unfold a web of internal relationships between the levels of narration. Jancsó's filmic productions are the signs of historical perception representing his way of perceiving the world, and, at the same time, they make possible the subjective involvement of the viewer. Occasionally, the subjective view can increasingly grow and give space to a more objectified view of perception. This phenomenon is not a function of the viewer or Jancsó alone, but an intention to which they are connected, constructing the overall audio-visual dialogue.

His scripting of space happens partly through his meditative look on characters and their environment, and partly because of his specific understanding of the pictorial possibilities of audio-visual representation. It forms a controlled endeavour through which Hungarian film culture is explored within special ritualistic, formalistic, and environmental parameters. Its significance is born out of conspicuously investing the narrative with a method of seeing and investigating the filmic world of appearances that phenomenologically relate to one another through Jancsó's sophisticated modes of filmmaking practice.

Aesthetics and space: A choreography of matters

Miklós Jancsó's *Red Psalm* is pictorially and cognitively an exceptionally interesting example of art based on historical events, as the storyline follows a series of revolutionary peasant uprisings in Hungary between 1890 and 1910. The Hungarian title *Még kér a nép* is the title of a poem by Sándor Petőfi meaning "the

people still demand”, referring to the theme of the film. The scriptwriter of the film, Gyula Hernádi found a notebook of “Socialist psalms”, and he and Jancsó were heavily influenced by Deső Nagy, a historian, who emphasised the meaning of popular folklore as the inspiration for the uprisings. Yvette Biro, credited as dramaturge, helped transform the ideas into dramatic actions and characters.

The actual performances in the film are imaginary, and many of the incidents and happenings inside the narrative were improvised during the shooting of the film. The setting of the film is the Hungarian plain with a river, a church, some farm buildings and a railway line. The film begins with a peaceful image of a woman’s hand holding a dove and the image is accompanied by the tinkling of bells, and the music of the “Marseillaise”. The scene stretches out to show a group of male and female peasants, horses and soldiers in uniform. The local bailiff steps in, and the peasants sing, dance and walk. The bailiff tells the peasants that he wants to talk with them and the latter demand rights for the people.

One of them reads Friedrich Engels’ letter commenting on the political situation in Hungary in the late 1890s. The bailiff withholds sacks of grain from them, and a blond woman (Andrea Drahota) tries to link the separate groups of villagers. The soldiers are approached by a group of women who take their rifles and throw them on the ground. They then confront the bailiff. The peasants dance around to the music of Carmagnole. A folk-violinist quietens the mood, and a few officer cadets hover around the folk-dance group curiously or thoughtfully.

Jancsó’s film is another example of a study of rituals, milieu and the history of a certain culture. Again, Jancsó creates a vision of a timelessness, which happens through symbolic forces dealing with a phenomenologically created atmosphere that combines historical references with a specific view of struggle. The film is developed around epic dimensions offering an expanded length of shots and images, and an expanded game of rituals. The identity of people is measured and controlled by selfish interests. Even the treatment of objects has meanings dictated by selfishness. All this creates a cold vision but it maybe also conveys an increased gravity of the situation, and maybe it is also a geometrical presentation of evil and fear. In earlier Jancsó-films such as *The Round-Up* and *The Red and White*, women are seen mainly as victims of male violence, but from *The Confrontation* onwards, women begin to take more active roles in resisting the opposition and attempting to defeat it (Petrie 1998: 26).¹² In *The Round-Up*, the occupying Austrians promise a peasant that he can escape execution if he can find a partisan who has killed many people. Before suffering torture or execution, victims must march in single file, form circles, strip or lie down, or undergo absurd ceremonies which merely display their subjection to the will of authority. Jancsó belonged to a generation appalled by the revelation of wartime atrocities, and the Nazi death camps. In his films, Jancsó suggested that power was exercised through public humiliation, and the total control of the victim’s body (2003: 465).¹³ Jancsó’s sty-

listic bravura reaches its culmination point with the overall design connected with all Jancsó's cinematic devices, the grandiose camera-pans, the effective closeups, and the rhythmic editing which has a kind of musical quality.

Jancsó creates an impression of space with a vision that is not only pure choreography and external artistic skill, but also works as a presentation of national cinematic culture, and in which, for example, the close-ups are expressions of feelings and emotions, clues to what the performers are actually thinking about – usually something that is beyond words.

The style of Jancsó's films is geared to a collective struggle. The moving camera makes no separation of leaders, and *Red Psalm* develops an essentially literary text by the means of physical movement, and the film's minimally terse dialogue suggests actions without specifying historical trends and moments. Characters are mainly not individualised, but presented mostly as anonymous performers. Almost all villagers are young, and the practically total absence of old people seems to function as part of the film's stylisation.

Jancsó's style is often an abstract and increasingly complex combination of camerawork, dialogue, sound, colour and music. *Red Psalm* shows his characteristic style as most expressive and powerful. The direction interweaves different dimensions of space, movement and change. Most unusual is the walking choreography with its changing body movements and rhythms. There is also a strong pictorialist dimension within the landscape images. They are often revealed gradually, and the camera movements become a focus of attention with their own kinetic dynamism. They are calligraphic, so the camera lens seems to move across the scene as a pen moves across a piece of paper. There is rarely any one centre of visual interest that is followed throughout the shot.

Usually, the camerawork is a combination of zooming and tracking, and shifting from one individual to another, and from one group to another as they confront one another and intermingle throughout the narrative. The camera does not stay with one activity or character for very long, and often incorporates several centres of interest within the frame. From this constant succession of actions and movements emerges a pattern that sets up the play of opposing forces, and qualifies the nature of on-going confrontation between different groups. The lack of interest in following certain characters and performers throughout the scenes, and the avoidance of following a conventional plot structure give the film an episodic and abstract nature in which the focus shifts changes without warning from one series of actions to another (Petrie 1998: 30).

Jancsó tried to avoid normal continuity, and instead of that created a kind of different continuity with a focus on certain themes and structures rather than following characters and their actions. Visual and rhythmic delight is created mostly through the moving camera. The compositional values of the narrative are very high and, for instance, in the scene with the peasants' massacre by the soldiers,

the camera watches everything from a high angle and in a long shot. This creates a majestic composition with painterly dimensions. to lengthen space-time.

Though Jancsó's cinematic spectacles emphasise long shot arrangements, he also uses straight and abrupt cuts, usually from a long shot to an initially complacent close-up, introducing another scene. He does not use conventional establishing shots in his oeuvre. If the overall momentum of affairs is less strong, the close-ups might break the flow and the mood of narration. The soundtrack is meticulously wrought especially when overlaid sounds add aural space to visual space, the sparse use of words enlarges the local actions to wider patterns of history and the music suggests moods and tensions inside the narrative.

In *Red Psalm*, as in *Elektra*, *My Love* some of the characters come in pairs, and many elements in the films are actually paired in one way or another. As well as pairs, there are triads and, in drama as in history, these relations change all the time during the course of the narrative. The cinematic forms are descriptive since the narrative events could have remained identical even if technical or other factors had created different outcomes. Generally, fiction writers shape the narrative to accommodate a character or a scene which they wish to take in at the same time as their descriptions respond to certain narrative requirements. In Jancsó's universe, the overall descriptive stance of his filmic display dominates the narrative, and vice versa.

The basic unit of film, the photographic shot, is a descriptive, pictorial structure, and in all of the arts, style serves description as conspicuously as it serves narration. In *Red Psalm*, the pictorial landscape becomes an arena like a theatrical space, which is created by a body of actors whose relations assert a visual and diegetic unity (Durgnat 2003: 120).¹⁴ The same logic applies to a conventional theatre when actors enter the space around them, or play scenes amidst the audience as well as on stage. There is a sense of spatial unity in *Red Psalm*, and it is there even though many changes of setting, breaks of action, and edits of time do appear.

In Jancsó's films, the general approach to *découpage* is mostly concerned with the cineaste's will to control the *mise-en-scène*, e.g. what happens in the image. In this sense, a single shot with all its changing patterns forms the basic compositional unit of the narrative. In the editing phase, Jancsó created the shot lengths according to his vast pictorial patterns and schemes of expectation. In the cognitive sense, the audience adopts subliminally these changes of shot development. The pace of the cutting is swift and full of different developmental lines, since it is expected to dominate and control the overlaid aspects of the material. According to his audio-visual pattern, the duration of the images and shots is developed in conjunction with the plotline revelations, achieving a specific formulaic quality. Generally, this means the way that the shots are joined together in an audio-visual manner. The causal lines of events happen alongside these shot developments,

and when a new causal line is introduced, the cutting closes the previous one, or returns to it later. This affectation is completed with the intricate play of spectator expectations. The visual logic of Jancsó's cinema is created by eyeline matches, connecting links with scenes and building the overall narrative context. Changes in the action lines are usually punctuated by the entry of the characters and their movements. This can sometimes include brief moments of character presence that can have effects on the overall continuation of a scene. In Hungarian cinema, these cognitive and phenomenological connections can achieve the state of artistic eloquence with its painterly affectations that evoke the floating reality of an Hungarian *puszta* film, and the affective presence of filmic figures and lines. As a consequence of this, a Jancsó film can be, at the same time, an observation of figures (performers) in a specific landscape, heightening its pictorial finesse and conceptual abstraction, and a depiction of the *puszta* as an open space for emphasising the complex presence of pictorial, perceptual vision, a frame-based audio-visual engagement with images and sounds. These compositional features are clearly expressive in Jancsó's films of the 1960s and 1970s.

The Jancsó-model of space is created through a compositional logic that exposes the placement of characters in their environment, evoking an atmosphere of austere connections exemplified in the purely pictorial and audio-visual patterns of the depicted world. In Jancsó's cinematic narrative, the space, the *puszta*, forms an open stylistically formed entity that operates as a visual arena of our understanding of the events. These formal actions invite the audience to participate in an open-ended spectacle of narrative construction. The filmic style searches for narrative logic, constituting of rules and activities that form an area of gradual awakening on the part of the audience that follows the narration, which conveys central thematic points of narration. Jancsó's outdoor staging relies on grandiose *découpage* and the depth and aperture effects characteristic of the director. In outdoor-planning, he insists on moving his characters side by side with one another. He then treats their common directional lines as an axis along which the shooting happens. The camera thus either faces the action or frames it from various directions.

In this respect, Jancsó anticipates the Greek director Theo Angelopoulos, another landscape artist. They both developed totally filmic settings as forms of extended theatre.¹⁵ In *Red Psalm*, Jancsó is able to combine richly realistic elements with a stylised choreography of movements and actions. The real surprise of all this is that the outcome is not totally unrealistic or artificial, but mostly a melange of different elements. Jancsó's use of folk rituals adds a strong sense of pictoriality to the overall narrative structure, because his emphasis lies in the physicality of different appearances inside the frame. In his own stylistic way, Jancsó processes these various formations executed by the performers in a style in which the elementary forces—whether physical, pictorial, psychological, or

aesthetic—work in conjoint with one another. In this regard, Jancsó's films are symbolical fantasies enriched by phenomenological realism.

Readdressing Hungarian film culture

The Hungarian cineaste has the capacity to expand the language of cinema, registering achievements of exceptional quality and Jancsó's cinematic syntax consists of complex shot combinations, which can generate a variety of messages and meanings. Such constructions touch on the "mystique of cinema", creating a peculiar and original cinematic reality. His film phrases, constructed through fragmentation, tamper with reality by showing the total geography of a setting and spatial relationships. Jancsó exemplifies that the intensity of the audience's involvement depends on the filmmaker's arrangement of dramatic sequences. His films function on many perceptual levels, which are addressed according to the rules of performance. Generally, art films are expressive of national concerns, and characterised by the use of self-consciously artful techniques, which are designed to differentiate them from the merely entertaining popular cinema.

This strategy enables the art film to be viewed as part of national Hungarian film culture which is worthy of particular attention. The resulting inference is that in evaluating a work of art we should consider not only the formal properties, but also such elements as the philosophical ideas, the emotional expressiveness and the fidelity to the represented external reality. In the reception and evaluation of a work of art, we do not concentrate only on the appreciation of its formal properties, since we need to also discover cognitive dilemmas and moral endorsements. In Jancsó's films, the formal elements and other patterns of expression are referred to as choices, as when an artist contemplates and articulates his essential points he has an array of options. Creating an artwork involves the electing of forms that the artist finds useful, and which will function optimally in the final realisation. Accordingly, forms are formal choices and marked stylistic events when they are selected from a certain array of options. Forms are also selected and intended to perform certain functions.

Though the importance of form was made especially apparent by the tendency of modern art towards abstraction, significant form was a property said to be possessed by all artworks concerning past, present, and future. Significant form is comprised of the arrangement of lines, colours, shapes, volumes, vectors, and space. Art addresses the imagination of the audience as it was believed in Gestalt psychology, prompting the idea that the audience "fills" the artwork as an organised configuration of lines, colours, shapes, vectors and spaces.¹⁶ Another statement was that films renew our perceptions and other mental processes, as art is a sort of mental exercise. The spectator's relationship to the artwork becomes

active, and the audience is involved on the levels of perception, emotion and cognition. possibilities from within the contours of audio-visual representation. Jancsó creates an impression of space with a vision that is not only pure choreography and external artistic skill, but works as a presentation of national cinematic culture, as well, and in which, for example, the close-ups are expressions of feelings and emotions, clues to something what the performer's area actually thinking about – usually something that is beyond words.

One conclusion can be drawn concerning Jancsó's films, and that is that there are no private acts, since whatever the people in his films are doing, they are responding or rebelling against the current social order. Not a single human being can avoid of taking part in the power struggle, either as a tool of a manipulator or as a victim of circumstances. Behind all this extremely original cinematic language, lies Jancsó's dream, which is a dream of human equality – this is his perspective, and a touchstone of his morality.

What is common to his filmic works is an attempt to bring forth the spacetime connections which emphasise human aspirations together with formal cinematic design and the presence of body movements in a vast arena of the milieu. Jancsó's "socio-historical cinema" articulates specific ideas and viewpoints concerned with past and present issues. We need various insights to understand this, and it is clear that historical narratives revolve around modernity and its implications. Modernity unifies past conditions and present realities. History needs diverse narratives to be explained in a certain context. In cinema, movements towards these goals concern a certain filmic "reality", but despite – or because of – this, the ambivalence of the situation finds its aesthetics in another way.¹⁷ In Jancsó's visual narrative, the perspective of a single moment, dislocates the next move, but the lines linking the viewpoints of the characters are usually in control, linking together the performance and the camerawork. In other words, the movements of the camera gain their controllability through this interaction between the performers and the camera.

His films give spirit and vigour to audio-visual ideas, because his cinema needs the painterly atmosphere to be fully alive with movement and activity. He uses conventions and techniques, which are specific to film, but, at the same time, form a meaningful continuity between different functions, and traditions of art. It gives certain autonomy to his works, since they are situated under the wings of these historical relations between painting, photography and cinema, trying to figure out how cinema evolved in relation to these phenomena, as well as trying to discover film's hidden links and influences. The questions of time and space come forward in this display of moments, affecting the spectator's situation in the narrative. Miklós Jancsó's experimentalism embraces different practices of filmmaking that are unified through a fascination with cinematographic representation, perception and the expressive, imaginary qualities of the world me-

diated and transformed in visual culture. Film's historical antecedents, painting and photography, are at stake here.

Notes

- 1 Landscape here is understood as (1) a picture of natural scenery, (2) a portion of land that the eye can see in one glance, and (3) a mental picture, a human internal "landscape".
- 2 See Budd, Malcolm (1993) *How Pictures Look*, in D. Knowles and J. Skorupski (eds.) *Virtue and Taste*. Oxford: Blackwell, 154-75. Reprinted in Peter Lamarque and Stein Haugoin Olsen (2004) (eds.) *Aesthetics and the Philosophy of Art: The Analytic Tradition*. London, Blackwell, 390.
- 3 See, for example, Anderson, John R. (1976) *Language, Memory and Thought*. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum; Barthes, Roland (1991) *The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays on Music, Art and Representation*, translated by Richard Howard. Berkeley, University of California Press; Bíró, Yvette (2008) *Turbulence and Flow in Film: The Rhythmic Design*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press; Frayling, Christopher (1993) *Research in Art and Design*. London, Royal College of Art; Gray, Carole and Julian Malins (2004) *Visualizing Research: a guide to the research process in art and design*. Aldershot, Ashgate; Huyssen, Andreas (1995) *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia*. London and New York, Routledge; Flusser, Vilém (2005) *Towards a Philosophy of Photography*. London, Reaktion Books; Carroll, Noël (1996) *Theorizing the Moving Image*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; Bolt, Barbara (2004) *Art Beyond Representation: the performative power of the image*. London, I. B. Tauris.
- 4 See, for example, Bruno, Giuliana (2002) *Atlas of Emotion: Journeys in Art, Architecture and Film*. New York: Verso; Burnett, Ron (2005) *Cultures of Vision*. Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana University Press; Sturken, Marita and Lisa Cartwright (2001) *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture*. Oxford, Oxford University Press; Valkola, Jarmo (2016) *Pictorialism in Cinema: Creating New Narrative Challenges*. Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- 5 Ferro, Mark (1988) *Cinema and History*. Detroit, MI, Wayne State University Press.
- 6 See about metafilmic strategies, for example, Lipovetsky, Gilles and Jean Serroy (2007) *L'écran global. Culture-médias et cinéma à l'âge hypermoderne*. Paris, Editions Seuil.
- 7 See, for example, Ihde, Don (1979) *Experimental Phenomenology: An Introduction*. New York, Paragon Books; Merleau-Ponty, Maurice (1945) *Phénoménologie de la perception*. Paris, Librairie Gallimard.
- 8 See, for instance, Wahlberg, Malin (2008) *Documentary Time: Film and Phenomenology*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.
- 9 See Hochberg, Julian (1964) *Perception*. New Jersey, Prentice-Hall Inc.
- 10 Eldridge, Richard (2003) *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Art*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- 11 See Ricoeur, Paul (1984) *Time and Narrative*, Volume I, trans. Kathleen Blaney and David Pellauer. Chicago III, University of Chicago Press.
- 12 Petrie, Graham (1998) *Red Psalm*. London, Anthony Rowe, FB.
- 13 Thompson, Kristin & David Bordwell (2003) *Film History: An Introduction*, (2nd edition). London, McGraw Hill.
- 14 Durnat, Raymond (2003) "Psaume Rouge", in Feigelson, Kristian and Jarmo Valkola (eds.) *Cinéma hongrois, le temps et l'histoire*. Théorème n:o 7. Paris, Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle.

- 15 See Valkola, Jarmo (2017) *Cognition and Visuality: Analysing Functions of Artistic Modelling*. Saarbrücken, LAP Lambert Academic Publishing.
- 16 See Sobchack, Vivian (1995) “Phenomenology and the Film Experience”, in Linda Williams (ed.), *Viewing Positions: Ways of Seeing Film*. New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press.
- 17 See, for instance, Rosenstone, Robert, A. (1995) *Visions of the Past: The Challenge of Film to Our Idea of History*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press; Stubbs, Jonathan (2013) *Historical Film: A Critical Introduction*. London, Bloomsbury.